HAMILTON WORKING WOMEN AND 'PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION'

HAMILTON WORKING WOMEN AND 'PROTECTIVE' LEGISLATION: A REVIEW OF THEORIES ON THE GENDERED DIVISION OF LABOUR

By

SANDRA AYLWARD, B.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

June 1983

MASTER OF ARTS (1983) McMASTER UNIVERSITY
(Sociology) Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Hamilton Working Women and 'Protective' Legislation: A Review of Theories on the Gendered Division of Labour

AUTHOR: Sandra Aylward, B.A. (Wilfred Laurier University)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Meg Luxton

NUMBER OF PAGES: 230

ABSTRACT

This work represents an attempt to test the utility of existing theories on the gendered division of labour by applying them to an empirical example of Hamilton, Ontario. Recent theoretical debates locate the period of the early consolidation of industrial capitalism as central to the emergence of a particular family form - the dependent female - breadwinner-male which embodies, enforces and reflects the gendered division of labour. The family wage is central to the notion of this specific family form and has become the focus of ensuing debates. The test of the theories generally indicate a similar pattern occurring in Hamilton as noted by these authors. However, a significant variation of fewer Hamilton married women employed in paid labour points to the emergence of the dependent family form as a slow process contingent upon specific historical elaborations and developments of the separation of the domestic from the industrial unit.

A refinement of existing theories is presented by including the role of state labour policies in shaping the form of the family household. The implementation of these policies can be understood as a component of the state fulfilling its function of reproduction. The factory Acts

of 1884 distinguished women as a separate occupational group, institutionalized their double day of work, and exacerbated the gendered division of labour. The minimum wage policy for females in 1920, premised on the 'family wage', consolidated the gendered division of labour under capitalism.

From these theoretical treatments of historically specific elements in the family wage comes a new question of the relationship between class and gender components in this ideology. It is argued that a theory on the gendered division of labour must include an analysis of the state's contribution to the reproduction of labour power.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to the numerous people who have in one way or another been instrumental in the completion of this thesis. In particular, many thanks go to the members of my committee, Meg Luxton, Vivienne Walters and Bob Storey, for their tremendous support, intellectual guidance and interest in the topic of this research. To my supervisor Meg Luxton a special thank-you is given for her enthusiasm and encouragement throughout this project. I would also like to express my appreciation to Jane Synge who generously provided me with her unpublished manuscript on Early 20th Century Family Life in Hamilton and who in addition read my entire thesis offering valuable insights and suggestions. To my colleagues in the Sociology Department, Jane Vock, Judy Grant, Sam Aries, Mike Corbett, Rich Whiting, Debbie Gulewitsch, and Somer Brodribb, my thanks for your friendship and for sharing ideas and resources. I would especially like to thank Jane Vock for the many hours of stimulating discussion and her immeasurable support. Finally I would like to thank the Sociology Graduate Secretary Helen Bennie for her friendliness and undaunting willingness to help with bureaucratic details and Susan Milne for typing the final draft of this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

A major current in feminist analyses identifies the gendered division of labour as the major source of women's oppression in society as a whole and of women's subordination to men within the family. Recent theoretical debates locate the period of early consolidation of industrial capitalism as central to the emergence of a particular family form - dependent female - breadwinner-male - which embodies, enforces and reflects this oppressive gendered division of labour. In examining the development of this fundamental family form and the ideology of familialism which accompanies it, theorists have generated conflicting explanations.

This thesis will examine recent theories on the gendered division of labour and attempt to evaluate them in light of Canadian data.[1] Through a critical assessment of the insights and issues raised in this debate, a refinement of existing theory is presented by including the role of state policies in shaping the form of the family/household. This larger framework is applied to an empirical example of Hamilton working women[2] to test its utility.

The first chapter outlines the development of theory to explain the gendered division of labour as central to women's oppression. Early conceptualizations will be briefly

summarized and criticized. This initial work laid the groundwork for a more complete and comprehensive analysis. The ensuing debates, centered on the notion of the family wage, will be discussed in greater detail as they provide the focus for this thesis. From these theoretical treatments of historically specific elements in the family wage ideology comes a new question of the relationship between class and gender components in this ideology. The state is identified in shaping these relations. This chapter concludes with an analysis of the role and nature of the state in capitalist society. It is argued that the family wage may be understood in light of the state's contribution to the reproduction of labour power.[3]

The purpose of the second chapter is to document the general transformation that various authors in Britain and the United States have noted occurred with the development of early capitalism and to consider the specific form that process took in Hamilton.[4] Specifically, the pattern of few married women working for pay in Hamilton in 1871 indicates that the emergence of the dependent family form was a slow process contingent upon the elaborations and developments of the separation of the domestic from the industrial unit.

The third chapter will outline the development and operation of the 'protective' Ontario factory legislation 1884 that governed the conditions of Hamilton women's work.

I will attempt to explore the interests involved in this state policy to see how well the patterns fit those described by the authors of theories on the gendered division of labour. A refinement of the family wage debate is presented by including the role of the state in the implementation of factory policies. It will be shown that the implementation of the Ontario Factory Act distinguished women as a separate occupational group exacerbating the gender division of labour.

Chapter four will investigate the gendered division of labour in Hamilton by documenting the structure and nature of women's work. It is argued that job segregation by gender was shaped in part by the ideological and material components of 'protective' factory legislation. A demographic picture using census data will be given of women's labour force participation. Several of women's leading occupations will be specifically examined to describe what constituted female as opposed to male work. Finally, the conceptualization of women as a 'reserve army' is illustrated by women's work during the war. Women's paid work was viewed as secondary to their primary role of wife and mother and this view served to justify their exploitive work conditions and to keep married women in the home as both dependent labourer and as available labour supply.

In chapter five, the emergence of the 1920 Ontario Minimum Wage Policy for Females will be discussed. The first part of this chapter will examine the ideology that

encompassed ideas about Hamilton women before, during and after the war. Next, the imposition and acceptance of this ideology by and for the working-class is shown in the working-class demand for a minimum wage policy. The specific interests of the owners of capital in this policy will be detailed. Finally, the role of the state in the provision of a minimum wage for women will be illustrated. It is argued that this state policy was premised on the ideal of the family wage and aided in the consolidation of the gendered division of labour under capitalism.

In summation, it is argued that a theory on the gendered division of labour must include an analysis of the state's contribution to the reproduction of labour power.

FOOTNOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

[1]This body of literature is specifically addressed as all other theories fail to question the gendered division of labour or take it as a given.

[2]Hamilton has been used as it is one of the best studied areas of Canada. These previous works have provided the essential groundwork of the specifics of the transformation to industrial capitalism on which my analysis can be based. For example see Katz, 1975; Palmer, 1979; Kealey, 1980; Stoney, 1975.

[3]An expanded use of the concept of reproduction is used here. It has been defined by Edhom, Harris and Young (1977) as having three analytically distinct referents: social reproduction; daily and generational reproduction of labour power; and human or biological reproduction.

[4]The research on Hamilton either totally ignores women, or it recognizes that men and women do different work without analysing the dynamics of gender relations. In addition no attempt is made to examine the household economy and the place of women's work in it.

CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

The Problem: The gendered division of labour and the family wage debates

Introduction

This chapter will review existing theories of the gendered division of labour.[1] These theories all identify the gendered division of labour as the major source of women's oppression under capitalism, in society as a whole and women's subordination to men within the family. In an attempt to develop an analysis that explains this oppression, several bodies of literature have emerged that remain fragmentary and contradictory.

Recent theorists have identified a particular family form - the dependent female - breadwinner-male with the oppression of women. The family wage is central to the notion of this specific family form and has become the focus of ensuing debates. Contending positions argue either that the "family wage" is a product of class struggle or that patriarchy[2] and patriarchal relations are central. Recent directions are attempting to integrate the two perspectives to develop a more satisfactory argument.

In arguing for an integrated analysis, this thesis adds to this work by insisting that the role of state policies is also a central factor in the development of this oppressive family form. The state, through its policies,

plays a major role in determining the gender division of labour under capitalism.[3]

> On the one hand, for the reproduction of labour power the state sustains a family household system in which a number of people are dependent... On the other, for the reproduction of relations of production (specifically the nature of labour power as a commodity) the state has played an important part in establishing women as a latent army of labour again by sustaining the family household system which structures her wage labour experience (McIntosh, 1978:264).

This chapter will begin by summarising the debates on domestic labour, the reserve army thesis, and the family wage. Through a critical evaluation of these debates the framework for this thesis will be outlined including an analysis of the role and nature of the state.

Domestic Labour Debate

In an attempt to link the subordination of women to the gendered division of labour, theorists identified domestic labour as a key to an historically concrete understanding of women's oppression. Out of this recognition arose a complex debate that has contributed to our understanding of the relationship between wage and domestic labour. The major positions in this debate will be discussed to highlight points taken up by later theorists. The first acquisition was recognition that what women do in the home is "work" not a biologically or god-given natural role.

Productive/Unproductive Labour

Initial contributers to this debate focused on whether the work women did in the home was productive or unproductive labour in the technical Marxist sense of producing surplus value. Margaret Benston's article, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation" (1969) opened this debate and represents one of the major positions. She argued that women's home labour is an important economic contribution to the production of use values and is thus not entirely outside the development of the capitalist process. Women as a group have a different relation to capitalism than men. In describing the household as a separate and parallel mode of production she contends women in the home produce use values while men in the labour market produce exchange values.

In producing only use value, women's unpaid work is defined as having no value for capital. However it is seen to be essential and economically necessary for the creation of profits in social production. It serves "for the ideal consumption unit". The amount of unpaid labour performed by women is very large and very profitable to those who own the means of production (Benston, 1969:207). The material basis for women's exploitation under capitalism lies in the fact that they are outside the process of exchange value but not outside capitalist production which is dual in nature. Benston explains:

> Women are not excluded from commodity production. Their participation in wage labour occurs but, as a group, they have no structural responsibility in this area and such participation is ordinarily regarded as transient. Men, on the other hand, are responsible for commodity production, they are not in principle given any role in household labour (Benston, 1969:199).

Women as people "who are responsible for the production of simple use values in those activities associated with the home and family" constitute, Benston argues, a distinct class (Benston, 1969:199).

Pat and Hugh Armstrong's recent review of the domestic labour debate (1983) summarizes the basic limitations and strengths of Benston's analysis.[4] Specifically they state:

> The distinction between use value and exchange value thus indicates how capitalism transforms work primarily into wage labour and domestic labour (making the latter invisible in the process), and allows for an exploration of the relationship between the two through the concept of the reserve army of labour;[5] it does not, however, solve the problem of how to fit women into the class concept (Armstrong, 1983:17).

The strength of Benston's work is in showing the economic contribution of women's home labour to capital. This shown somewhat to the exclusion of women's wage work which denies a dialectical analysis. Her representation of women as a class is also both inaccurate and misleading. As the Armstrongs point out, "her conclusions suggest that women

are to become part of another class by eliminating their household labour and joining the labour force on equal terms" (Armstrong, 1983:17). Subsequent authors picked up on Benston's statement that domestic labour is valueless to capital which shifted the site of the debate towards a "focus on the reproduction of labour power and the connection of women's work to capitalist production" (Armstrong, 1983:17).

The second major position in the productive/ unproductive discussion is represented by Mariarosa Dalla Costa, who contends that women's labour power produces more than simply use values - it produces surplus value (1972). In an earlier version of this work, Dalla Costa pointed out the social importance of housework by arguing its necessity to capitalism. In demanding wages for housework, its significance as "real work" was legitimized. Influenced by new contributers to the debate, Dalla Costa's first assertion that housework was an essential function in the production of surplus value was expanded to include domestic labour itself, being productive of surplus value.

Dalla Costa built on the work of Peggy Morton (1972), who argued that it is necessary to "see the family as a unit whose function is the maintenance of the reproduction of labour power" that this conception of the family allows us to look at women's public work (work in the labour force) in an integrated way."[6] Morton's approach illustrated that women's domestic labour was subject to the contradictions of

capitalism, so unlike Benston's rosy portrayal of the home, the family unit was filled with tensions. Similarily Benston's notion of women as a class is rejected on the basis of this relation. Morton's addition was to specify a more direct relationship between the reproduction of labour power and capitalism. Extending this analysis, Dalla Costa argued women's work in the home produces the commodity labour power which is essential for surplus value. Women, by virtue of their responsibility for domestic labour, have a direct relation to capitalism (i.e. not indirectly through their husband's labour) and can be defined as a class.

The problem with Dalla Costa's analysis is a misuse of Marxist terminology. Specifically, Dalla Costa confuses productive and unproductive labour. The housewife does not sell her labour power directly to the capitalist for wages nor does she sell her products to the capitalist for profits. Domestic labour is not directly productive of surplus value. The importance of the formulations of productive/ unproductive labour is twofold. It identifies what women do in the home as necessary for species survival; and highlights the reproduction of labour power and the interconnection of this work with wage labour. Out of Dalla Costa's claim that women's work produces surplus value came a new direction toward the issue of value.

Housework and the Value of Labour Power

Subsequent discussions concentrated on the question of whether or not household production is value production. This involved an intense and complex debate remaining at the abstract definitional level of theory[7] based on Marx's assertion of what constituted the value of labour power.

> The value of labour-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labour-time necessary for the production, and consequently also the reproduction, of this special article. So far as it has value, it represents no more than a definite quantity of the average labour of society incorporated in it... Given the individual, the production of labour-power consists in his reproduction of himself or his maintenance. For his maintenance he requires a given quantity of the means of subsistence. Therefore the labour-time requisite for the production of labour-power reduces itself to that necessary for the production of those means of subsistence; in other words, the value of labour-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the labourer.[8]

Two distinct and somewhat inconsistent definitions are given here[9] making clarifications necessary. Wally Seccombe's work represents one such attempt.

In "The Housewife and Her Labour under Capitalism", (1974) Seccombe claimed domestic labour is not productive in the Marxist sense but it is part of the total social labour directly or indirectly governed by the law of value and is therefore necessary. Commodities bought for domestic

consumption and thus for the reproduction of labour power require additional labour - namely housework to convert them into their final form - regenerated labour power (Seccombe, 1974). The women's labour in the home, Seccombe states, "becomes part of the congealed mass of past labour embodied in labour power. The value she creates is one part of the value labour power achieves as a commodity when it is sold" (Seccombe, 1974:9). For Seccombe, domestic labour does not directly produce surplus value (and is therefore not productive to capital) although it contributes to the creation of the commodity labour power and therefore creates value. The cost of the maintenance required to reproduce labour power through domestic labour is equivalent to the value it creates.

Jean Gardiner's work locates the basic criticism of Seccombe's assertion raised by various authors while providing a contrary explanation for the relationship between domestic labour and value. According to Gardiner, "there appears to be no mechanism for the terms of sale of labour power to be determined by the domestic labour performed in its maintenance and reproduction" (1975). Gardiner's own analysis does little to illuminate this problem. In a somewhat different vein she also proposes that domestic labour is not productive labour (ie. does not have a direct relation to capital) but contributes to surplus value:

> ...the contribution which domestic labour makes to surplus value is one of keeping down necessary labour to a level that is lower than the actual subsistence level of the working-class (1975:54).

Domestic labour is profitable for capital by allowing payment of a wage lower than the value of labour power. In sum, as Armstrong and Armstrong assert, the debate on the law of value has not shown that women's domestic labour creates value.

In critizing the contentions of Seccombe and Gardiner, these authors say what this debate does show is that domestic labour differs from wage labour.

> By claiming that housework creates value, these theorists must be suggesting that housework is itself a commodity that is exchanged for part of the husband's wage. Yet as Margaret Coulson et.al. in particular point out, the housewife as housewife does not sell her labour power as a commodity to her husband. Although she does contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of labour power, her participation in the social process is mediated by the marriage contract rather than the labour contract. She is not paid a wage: the exchange between husband and wife is variable and arbitrary, and subject to impersonal bargaining. This has fundamental consequences in terms of the difference between wage and domestic labour.[10]

Wage labour is free labour in that a worker sells her/his labour power in return for a wage. On the other hand the domestic labourer is not a free labourer.

> She is not paid a wage and thus does not produce surplus value directly, there is little interest on the part of the capitalist in reducing the necessary labour time by increasing her productivity (ibid.).

Domestic labour is neither equivalent of interchangeable with wage labour.

As domestic labour is neither equivalent or interchangeable with wage labour, it is outside the law of value and the production of surplus value. Women who do domestic labour, however, form a reserve army of labour. Seccombe premised his argument on the fact that these two forms of labour are equivalent. He states:

> When real male wages fall women can compensate for the decrease either by intensifying their housework or enter the labour force to supplement the family income (1975:89).

This does not explain the movement from one form of labour to the other. As the Armstrongs point out, "If they are equivalent why would a women take the other job?... Women cannot decide today that they will quit being pregnant so they can go out to work, but they can decide to stop washing the floor once a week and do it only once a month" (1983:24). It is because women in the home are not creating value and not directly subject to the law of value that they form a reserve army. The discussion of housework and the value of labour power did not show that women's domestic labour created value but it did posit it as integral to the capitalist mode of production.

The domestic labour debate generated an abundant body of literature that was complex, provative and problematic. This work for the most part remained at the level of abstract

theory and tended to economism and functionalism which created confusion and internal contradictions. No attempt has been made to cover all the arguments or to belabour criticisms; rather the intent is to raise the issues necessary for an understanding of the gendered division of labour. The legacy left by the domestic labour debate was the recognition that what women did in the home was "real work", that it was the other side of wage labour and an integral part of the capitalist mode of production.

The domestic labour theorists focused almost exclusively on women's work in the home, ignoring women's wage work. In an attempt to fill this gap Marxist-feminists concentrated on the limitations placed on women by their role in the family that prevented them from participating fully in wage labour. They explain that married women form a reserve army of labour to be drawn into the workforce in times of economic expansion and sent home when no longer needed. It is to this set of debates which we now turn.

Women As A Reserve Army Of Labour

The theoretical conceptualizations of women as a reserve army of labour built on the previous assumptions of the domestic labour debate. Women's oppression is seen to be primarily located in the family. It is this recognition of women's role in the family that ultimately determines their subordination in the labour force. The limitations

placed on women as reproducers of labour power allow an understanding of women as a reserve army, brought into the workforce in times of expansion and forced back into the home during economic decline. Two formulations of this thesis will be reviewed. The first to be considered is Veronica Beechy who asserts that the value of labour power of married women is lower than that of men and that this in turn has advantages for capital (1977). Her work compliments attempts made by domestic labour theorists to determine the value of domestic labour. Secondly, Pat Connelly's account (1978) will be examined as it is the only Canadian account of the reserve army as it applies to women. Her application of this concept to the historical experience of women in the labour force is useful for my later analysis on Hamilton working women.[11]

Female Wage Labour and the Value of Labour Power

Beechey's analysis of women's role as a reserve army begins where the domestic labour theorists left off - with the question of the value of labour power. In the previous section it was noted that Gardiner argued domestic labour is profitable for capital by allowing payment of a wage lower than the value of labour power. In equating (male) wage labour with domestic labour she ignored women's wage work. Armstrong and Armstrong reiterate Molyneux's criticism that because wage and domestic labour are not

equivalent, "there is no basis for the calculation of the transfer of surplus labout-time between the two spheres unless the law of value is redefined".[12] In addition:

> Men married to women who are full-time housewives do not receive lower wages than men married to women who work full-time in the labour force, or men of similar age with no wives at all. In fact, the reverse relationship is more likely; women married to men who receive low wages are more likely to work for pay and thus do less housework (1983:23).

Beechey attempted to rectify this imbalance through an analysis of female wage labour and the value of labour power. Like Gardiner, Beechey begins by establishing the benefits to capital of women's wage work.

The employment of married women who are dependent upon the family for part of the costs of producing and reproducing their labour power is profitable to capital in three ways. On the one hand, the employment of women pulls down the value of labour power overall. When capital employs two family members rather than one the costs of reproduction and production are undertaken by both workers. On the other hand, (married) women's labour power has a lower value than that of men. Beechey gives two reasons for this assertion. First, the lesser training women have received reduces the costs of reproducing their labour power. Secondly, women's dependent position in the family creates a need for the family to assume parts of the costs of reproducing and producing their labour power (i.e. the man's

wage). The final benefit to capital of women's employment is that women can be paid a wage that is below the value of their labour power. This follows from women's position within the family where she is dependent on the male wage. The ability of capital to pay married women a lower wage likens them to semi-proletarianised workers.

Married women's dependence on the family which enables capital to pay her lower wages results in women forming part of the industrial reserve army of labour. Defining who makes up the composition of the reserve army at any given time, however, is problematic. According to Beechey:

> ...such an analysis would have to examine the role of the state in constituting and reconstituting the industrial reserve army ... through regulations governing women's work - e.g. shiftwork - as well as Equal pay, sex discrimination and employment protective legislation. It would also have to examine the practices of particular capitals in labour recruitment, and organized labour's resistance to the employment of particular categories of labour (1977:56).

Although Beechey simply stated these provisions, they will be expanded on later in this thesis through the example of Hamilton women's work and state protective labour policies. Most importantly Beechey specifies that the state provides services which maintain the reserve army of labour (i.e. health and educational services) but without relieving women of the necessity of domestic labour.[13] Her analysis fails to elaborate on these issues.

The limitations of Beechey's thesis are similar to those raised in the domestic labour debate. In locating women as a group in terms of either their domestic labour, or their paid employment, class differences are obscured. Morton, in discussions of women's work in the home, insisted that class distinctions of their husbands, families or paid work affect the position of women and are fundamental to the structure of capitalism. Like Gardiner, Beechey stresses the benefits to capital of women's work but avoids Gardiner's economism by stressing that this analysis will only hold if we presuppose a certain form of the family (Barrett, 1980). Nevertheless, in positing the effect of women's employment as one of its causes her analysis is circular and teleological (Anthias, 1980). Judy Grant contends that these issues identify the limitations of the reserve army thesis, but do not negate its usefulness (1983). Beechey's work is an important attempt to link women's wage work with the value of labour power and women's domestic responsibility.

Defining Women as a Reserve Army

Pat Connelly in Last Hired First Fired (1978), proposes that the definition of women as a reserve army is vital in comprehending the increasing participation of women in wage labour. She fines the criteria necessary for this consideration:

> The necessary condition for a reserve army is that it compete with the actively employed workers for their jobs. Beyond the principal condition of competition there are two preconditions which must be satisfied by a reserve army. The first precondition is that of availability. A reserve army must be available to be drawn on when the economy is expanding. The second precondition is that of cheapness. A reserve army must provide cheap labour in order to act as the necessary threat to those employed when the economy is not expanding (1978:21).

These criteria are applied to the historical experience of women in wage work.

First, Connelly illustrates that women are available. With the development of capitalism the split of the labour process into two spheres historically removed women from production into the domestic sphere. From the beginning of the 20th century on, "women as a group became an available source of labour power for the capitalist system. Indeed, women became an institutionalized inactive reserve army of labour." (1978:21)

Secondly, the other precondition is women's labour power is cheap. Women's labour power has a different value than men's. Men's labour involves the production of commodities in exchange for a wage while women's labour is defined in terms of domestic production of use value, having no exchange value. Connelly argues that women having been defined out of the capitalist labour market, their subsistence

comes to be included in the male or 'family' wage. "The inclusion of women in the value of men's labour power is the explanation for the lower wages accruing to female labour power in the market" (1978:22). Connelly establishes this fact by documenting the lower wage rates of women which illuminates the segregation of the labour force.

Third, the major condition is the competitiveness of female labour. Having revealed the existence of a segregated labour force this presents some difficulty. Connelly does not view this as a problem; however she states,

> ...within the female labour market women do look for the same work and thus compete with other women for jobs. Furthermore, the existence of a separate female labour market appears to have an indirect competitive effect on male labour (1978:41).

Having defined Canadian women as a reserve army, Connelly next explains the increasing labour force participation of women.

Connelly contends that the reasons women take on wage labour must be seen as a result of supply and demand. With the expansion of capitalism and therefore as female occupations developed, the demand for women's labour increased. Concommitently, women were forced to increase the supply of their labour based on its competitiveness, cheapness and availability. Subsequent additions to Connelly's formulation, while not negating its utility, have pointed out the need to distinguish class and social

characteristics of women who seek wage work. For some theorists Connelly undermines her whole thesis by not showing that women directly compete for men's jobs.[14] However, others have developed and refined Connelly's formulation.

Bonnie Fox (1981) suggests that income and class divisions must be considered within the female population to determine the nature of women's involvement in wage labour. It has been clearly established that women work out of economic need. Seccombe showed how women are compelled to enter the labour market when real male wages fall (1980). But this does not explain, Fox argues, the labour force participation of women from higher income groups (1981:51). In addition, Beechey noted how men's wages are further depressed when women enter wage work by lowering the value of labour power overall. Specifically, Fox cites studies at the turn of the century which indicate women were central to the process of detailed division of labour and deskilling of work, which lowered men's wages in many industries (1981: 52). Overall, Connelly's contention of the competitiveness of women's work is supported while arguing for a clearer delineation of class and income characteristics.

In agreement with Fox's analysis, Luxton includes the necessity of distinguishing the varying social characteristics of women in the composition of the female reserve army (1981). When women enter wage work their structural responsibility for domestic labour will result in different implications for

> those women who are married with young children and those with no dependent children, or between married women whose husbands do not contribute to their wives and children's support and those whose husbands do (1981:52).

Despite the enormous burden of a "double day" of work (more so for some than for others) women continue to enter the labour force. Luxton concludes that, "structurally all married women constitute a reserve army of labour", but how this is experienced will depend on the different types of women.

Theories of women as a reserve army of labour, to be drawn into the labour force during economic expansion and sent home when no longer required, represent an important advance for understanding women's unequal position in the labour force. They tie women's movement between the home and paid work to the needs of capital accumulation. Social, political and economic processes are identified as limiting and determining options open to women. Such limitations exacerbate the gendered division of labour, endorcing both women's dependence on the male wage and wage earning men's dependence on women for domestic services. The conceptualization of women as reserve army remains the most useful explanation for women's subordination in the labour force.

The domestic labour debate, beginning from the standpoint of women's work in the home, and the discussions of women as a reserve army, focusing on women's wage work,

identified the wage form as mediating between production and the reproduction of labour power. The next direction for Marxist-feminist theorists was to investigate the "two worlds in one" through an analysis of the family wage.

The Family Wage Debate

The male-earned family wage has in recent years become a powerful argument for women's domestic role and position as a secondary earner in the labour force. The family or "living" wage, was a wage paid to a man sufficient to keep not just himself but his family as well, resulting in a dependent female - breadwinner-male - family form. This family form which embodies, reflects and enforces the gendered division of labour is central to women's oppression under capitalism. Two major perspectives which emerged from this literature will be reviewed and criticized. The first emphasizes the role of patriarchy in the creation of the family wage, the other identifies working-class resis- resistance at the core of the demand.

Patriarchy

Heidi Hartmann claims the family wage is the 'cornerstone of the sexual division of labour', the result of a crucial intersection of two interrelated yet autonomous social systems of capitalism and patriarchy (1981). Hartmann argues that Marxist categories such as the "reserve army of labour" are 'sex blind' as they do not explain why particular

people fill particular places. Feminist analyses have developed the concept of patriarchy[15] to correct this limitation. Hartmann defines patriarchy as "a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women" (Hartmann, 1981:14). It is her basic argument that patriarchy existed long before capitalism. The emergence of capitalism which was drawing both men and women into social production created the necessity for men's individual control over women's labour power in the home to be translated into the public sphere. The family wage ideology represents a partnership between the two systems of capitalism and patriarchy.

In an historical account of job segregation by gender in both England and the United States, Hartmann emphasized the role of male workers and their unions, along with the male capital class in the development of the wage form. She contends that men collectively supported the family wage as a means to control women's labour both within and outside the family. In making this claim of an "alliance of men", she argues that the gender division of labour is as much a function of patriarchy as capitalism.

She points out that the conditions of the factory were incompatible with the reproductive needs of the worker

and created a crisis in the health and life of the industrial proletariat. This crisis generated concern among both capitalists and workers. Male workers resisted the entrance of women into the labour force and sought to exclude them from social production. "Not only were women 'cheap competition' but working women were their very wives, who could not 'serve two masters' well" (Hartmann, 1981:20). Hartmann has convincingly argued for the primacy of patriarchy in the subsequent actions taken by organized labour:

> While the problem of cheap competition could have been solved by organizing the wage earning women and youths, the problem of disrupted family life could not be. Men reserved union protection for men and argued for protective labour laws for women and children. Protective labour laws, while they may have ameliorated some of the worst abuses of female and child labor, also limited the participation of adult women in many "male" jobs. Men sought to keep high wage jobs for themselves and to raise male wages generally. They argued for wages sufficient for their wage labor alone to support their families. This "family wage" system gradually came to be the norm for stable working class families at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth (Hartmann, 1981:21).

So while the problem of the unorganized worker could have been solved by unionizing these women, male workers sought the family wage in order to keep their wives services at home. This family form was also seen as benefiting the interests of capitalists by providing for the reproductive needs of the workers and operating as a consumption unit.

Hartmann's 'alliance of men' is not disputed here. Gita Sen, (1980) however, has raised some pertinent issues regarding the role played by male trade unionists in creating jobs segregation through their epousal of protective legislation and the family wage. She contends, trade union struggles for protective legislation and a male wage exacerbate the gendered division of labour but do not create it. "Patriarchal and sexist ideology has in this context, a secondary, not a primary effect" (Sen, 1980:80).

The fist issue Sen raises, is the difficulties of organizing a weak labour force in the presence of a large and growing reserve army. She points out that trade unions were relatively weak in Britain in the 1840's. On the one hand, in such a phase of industrialization where there is high levels of unemployment and poverty, the strategy of organized labour is to work on fairly narrow issues of wages. On the other hand, women working under strict supervision were probably difficult to organize. Sen suggests, "rather than representing the patriarchal interests of male workers, the union's support of protective legislation may have been a defense strategy for skilled workers who strove to consolidate their own position at the expense of other workers" (Sen, 1980:80).

Secondly, all workers were presumably interested in the health of pregnant women and in a decline of infant mortality. Among the working-class, high rates of mortality,

morbidity and degenerative disease, created a legitimate concern over its health, its consumption standards and its infant mortality rates.

Third, capitalists who supported protective legislation were troubled with the crisis of overproduction. This legislation was expected to rid the labour market of the small capitalists who thrived on the cheap labour power of mothers and widows, or at least it would lower their productivity.

Sen's arguments do not negate Hartmann's contention of an alliance of men. She does, however, point out the presence of other possible motives besides solely patriarchal interests in the struggle for protective legislation and the family wage. As to Hartmann's assertion that "the family wage became the norm for stable working class families around the turn of the century", the evidence suggests that although most male organized workers' unions came to support the family wage it was realized only in a small number of families. Therefore as 'an achievement for male workers', clearly only a few benefited (May, 1982:407). What Hartmann's analysis did do was to place gender at the heart of family wage ideology.

Toward Integrated Theory

As the major representative of the other side of this debate, Jane Humphries, in her analysis of the working-class family in England, views the family wage as a desired

reform won by the working-class in its struggle for a higher standard of living (1977a). Rather than simply a patriarchal tool, it is to be seen as a material gain of the working-class. However, because this family based system has never been clearly established, Humphries' argument, that the family wage was simply a demand for subsistence, is problematic.

Humphries central thesis is that the working class had a material interest in the family structure. The benefits which accrued from the family wage system according to Humphries are that: it provides a non-degrading form of support for non-labouring members of the working class; it gives the working class a lever on the supply of labour power; and it has historically been crucial for the creation and transmission of a militant class consciousness and has motivated political struggle.

Humphries' first claim is that dependents were better secured by the traditional familial methods (1977b:31). Gita Sen points out that the relations between men and women in the traditional family are not visible. To pose the family as a "primitive communal core" is an overly rosy picture (1980).[16] Moreover charges Sen, Humphries' argument is premised on the fact that the most important divisions are between those who work and those who do not. She has therefore made a crucial omission by ignoring the insight of class analysis, (i.e. that of dependency) and thus conceals

the basis of women's oppression. Indeed, as Barrett succinctly argues, "A family wage system would in fact enforce the dependence and oppression of all women and subject single women especially mothers to severe poverty" (1977:59). Humphries' overly rosy view of the primitive communism of the family ignores the component of the family wage demand that has to do with maintaining gender divisions and keeping married working class women in the home.

Humphries' second assumption is based directly on Marx's explanation of the spread of the value of labour power. She states:

> There is considerable evidence that the proletarianisation of the wives and children of male workers did lead to a cheapening of the value of labour power in certain trades (1977b:34).

Therefore according to Humphries', the family may be viewed as an obstacle to lowering the value of labour power and hence male workers sought to preserve it. This claim is in direct opposition to the general conclusions of the contributers to the domestic labour debate discussed previously. Specifically, Barrett notes, "there is no necessary connection between the withdrawal of women from wage work and the value of labour power" (1977:64). As Molyneux suggests, this must be answered historically and be seen as variable (1979). Existing evidence suggests that the family wage in reality never existed for the major proportion of the working class.[17] In summation, Humphries' assertion that the family was an

obstacle to the lowering of the value of labour power has not been proven as there is no evidence to show that the family wage did in fact exist.

A final point made by Humphries is that the family wage system has historically been crucial for the creation of a militant class consciousness and has motivated political struggle (1977a). She bases this argument on the fact that the family wage united families in class endeavours. Barrett argues however that the family wage principle divides and weakens the working class (1977:66). It secures one major division in the working class - one between men and women. The strategy of trade unions not to organize women further illuminates this critique..

To summarize, Humphries' arguments in favour of a family wage structure have been convincingly refuted. First, this structure is identified as being politically divisive for the working-class. Secondly, there is not evidence to suggest that women's domestic labour raises the standard of living of the working class. Third, the family has proved to be oppressive for women. As Barrett contends, "the family household system has not been of great benefit to the working-class, as a class, although within the working class, its establishment can be traced to a struggle of male interests over female interest" (1980:219).

One of the questions raised, and posed directly in feminist analysis, is of the relationship between the growth

of trade unionism and the growth of the ideal of the family wage (see CSE, 1979). Hartmann takes the two as causally linked. She argues that the trade union movement developed as much to promote the collective interests of men as of the working class. The trade union movement attempted to achieve total control over women's labour power through the imposition of the family wage form. Humphries on the other hand, has observed that the miners opposed protective legislation where it deprived them of their wives income. Only where male wages are to be the sole or main wage is there a specific basis for exclusion by gender (1981). The CSE group have suggested a more plausible interpretation:

> To recognize that the family wage system was an interest of capital and that the adoption of such an objective by the organized working class reflected their narrow vision of the struggle they were engaged in. The vision was narrowed as much by their acceptance of traditional sex roles as by their acceptance of the capitalist wage relation. The two may be analytically distinct but the practices of the trade union movement were, and are structured simultaneously by both, such that the account of trade unions as patriarchal institutions is part and parcel of the account of them as reformist institutions (1979:88).

Hartmann and Humphries have both developed an analysis of the family wage that is partial and reductive. Hartmann, in claiming primacy for female subordination in the demand for a family wage, ignored important aspects of the labour process and worker control. Humphries' view neglected the

implications of gender oppression in the family/household structure. From the limitations and strengths of Hartmann's and Humphries' analysis an alternative direction has been posed to explain the family wage system.

Barrett (1980) and McIntosh (1978), suggest that the organization of the household and its accompanying ideology of the family must reflect the interests of capital. Several reasons are given for this assumption. First, this specific family form emanated historically from the bourgeoisie, and second it is inflicted upon and accepted by the working-class. Third, this system protected the inheritance of capital. Fourth, the state has supported this structure and ideology. The relationship of capitalism to the family is however contradictory.

The long-term interests of the bourgeoisie as a class benefit from this family/household but somewhat ambiguiously. Irene Brugel (1979) argues that capitalism tends to both destroy and maintain it, pointing out a need to distinguish economic, political and ideological factors in relation to the bourgeoisie's interest in the family (Barrett, 1980:220). Barrett questions whether the family/household is the only structure that can satisfy capital's need for the reproduction of labour power given the enormous expenditure by the state to sustain this form. However this expenditure is balanced off by the family/household as a unit of consumption. Politically, this family form strengthens the bourgeoise

hegemony, and ideologically sustains it. The discussion on the family wage reveals that the organization of the family/household and its accompanying ideology of the family is not unequivocally in the interest of the working-class, men or women, but does reflect the interests of capital.

This thesis will expand on this line of argument - that the family/household reflects the interests of the capitalist class. It is argued that the state acts in the long-term interests of the capitalist class as a whole.[18] Given this premise, this thesis addresses the question of - What part did the state play in supporting the family/household which oppresses women in society as a whole and subordinates them to men within the home?

The Role and Nature of the State

Theoretical developments in Marxist theories of the capitalist state begin with the basic assumption that the state in capitalist society broadly serves the interests of the capitalist class. Marx and Engels stated this premise in The Communist Manifesto "...the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (1971:17). Given this principle Marxist theories of the state have attempted to answer, - why the state serves the interests of the capitalist class? - and how does the state function to maintain and expand the capitalist system? Recent theoretical developments on the state, in

responding to these questions, have moved beyond the crude economism of Marx and Engel's assertion. A dynamic model of the state system has been presented in order to explain the functions fulfilled by the state system as it attempts to respond to the accumulation demands of the capitalist class and the welfare demands of the subordinate class.

Ralph Miliband has dilineated the components of the state (1978). Miliband argues that the "state is a complex of institutions, including government, but also including the bureaucracy (embodied in the civil service as well as in public corporations, central banks, regulatory commissions etc.) the military, the judiciary, representative assemblies, and (very important for Canada) what Miliband calls the sub-central levels of government, that is provincial executives, legislatures and bureaucracies, and municipal government institutions" (cited in Panitch, 1977:6). Miliband has argued that in advanced capitalist countries the tendency towards centralization of state power has eroded the power of sub-central governments. This has not been the case in Canada. According to Panitch, "provincial state power has historically been important and has become increasingly more so in recent years" (Panitch, 1977:10). The state at the federal level and the state at the provincial level and the relationship between the two must be taken into consideration when considering the activities of the state system. Panitch (1977) and Stevenson (1977) note that depending on

the issue under discussion the relationship between the different levels of the state may be collaborative or conflicting. In order to perform mediating and reconciling functions the state maintains "relative autonomy" from the capitalist class.

To fulfill its broadly defined role of reproducing capitalist relations of production, the state maintains 'relative autonomy' from the capitalist class while at the same time serving the interests of this class.[19] Miliband suggests three reasons why the state acts in the interests of the capitalist class (1973). First, the personnel of the state belong to the same class as those who wield economic power. They share common ideological and political positions, values and perspectives. Secondly, the capitalist class exerts a certain measure of power over the state by virtue of its ownership and control of the economic resources of the country. Third, there are structural constraints within the capitalist economic process that operate independently from outside pressures which the state must eventually submit to.[20] In order to ensure the predominance of the capitalist class, it is argued that the state acts in the long-term interests of the capitalist class.[21]

The conflict and competition that occurrs as a result of individual and certain segments of the capitalist class in pursuing their short-term interests is clearly revealed in the nature of the Canadian state. In Canada,

important sections of the ruling class have an interest in strengthening their power at the provincial level as opposed to the federal level in Ottawa. On the one hand, "the common interests of the bourgeoisie in a particular province are clearly defined by the predominant industry of that province and may place them in opposition to the bourgeoisie of other provinces" (Stevenson, 1977:79). On the other hand, the federal state by maintaining 'relative autonomy' from the ruling class functions to represent the common interests of the whole Canadian bourgeoisie. This relationship is also played out within the provincial states. It is only by protecting the long-term interests of the capitalist class as a whole that the state can ensure the reproduction of the capitalist relations of production.

The second question Marxist theories of the state have attempted to answer is - how does the state function to maintain and expand the capitalist system?

O'Conner has identified two functions of the state.

> Our first premise is that the capitalist state must try to fulfill two basic and often mutually contradictory functions -- accumulation and legitimization. This means that the state must try to maintain or create the conditions in which profitable capital accumulation is possible. However, the state must also try to maintain or create the conditions for social harmony (1973:6).

The state system must attempt to respond to the accumulation demands of the capitalist class and the welfare demands of

of the subordinate class. O'Connor has located an inherent contradiction in the state's mediating role between capital and labour. The provision of welfare services which fulfills the state legitimizing function necessitates certain concessions to the working-class. The 'welfare state' has been seen as an anomaly to its primary role of serving the interests of the capitalist class. Gough (1979) has contributed to an understanding of this seeming contradiction by contending that the state is at one and the same time both supportive and coercive. On the one hand, welfare policies do benefit the working-class, but on the other hand they serve to shape the population to the requirements of the capitalist production process.

Gough expanded the conceptualization of the 'welfare state' by being the first to include an additional function of the state, of reproduction.[22] He argues that the wage labour system characteristic of capitalist societies separated production from reproduction. The new family form that evolved could not provide adequately for its reproductive needs, thus the welfare state evolved to fill the gap:

> To summarize then, the welfare state denotes state intervention in the process of reproducing labour power and maintaining the non-working population. It represents a new relationship between the state and the family in this process. The dynamic of capital accumulation continually alters both the requirements of capital, particularly with regard to the first, and the capacity of the family to meet these requirements (1979:49).

Gough's analysis of the state, in integrating issues of reproduction, points out the necessity of including the family and the role of women in relation to the state. This brings us back to the question posed in the earlier section of this chapter of - what part does the state play in supporting the family/household which oppresses women in society as a whole and subordinates them to men within the home.

It is assumed that the state has an interest in the family form because of the daily and generational reproductive activities which take place in this sphere. Feminist theoretical formulations, previously reviewed, have pointed out the centrality of women's domestic labour to the capitalist production process. Given that the state functions to protect the long-term interests of the capitalist class as a whole, state policies and services will support the family/household as the reproduction of labour power is not seen by individual capitalists to be of immediate concern. The state, then, plays a major role in the oppression of women. On the one hand, for the reproduction of labour power the state sustains a family household system in which a number of people are dependent on the male breadwinner (McIntosh, 1978). When the state takes on some of the financial support (such as with family allowances) it is accompanied by an ideology that is seen "as 'taking over' functions properly belonging to the family or substituting

for work that 'should' be done by a housewife (McIntosh, 1978). On the other hand, for the reproduction of relations of production (specifically the nature of labour power as a commodity) the state has played an important part in establishing married women as a latent reserve army of labour, again by sustaining the family/household system (McIntosh, 1978). In summation, the specific form of the family/household - the female dependent - breadwinner-male - embodies, enforces and reflects the gender division of labour which is a result, in part of state policies.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the recent theories of the gendered division of labour. They each have identified the gendered division of labour as the major source of women's oppression in society as a whole and women's subordination to men within the family.

The strength of the domestic labour debate lies in its breadth and differences. This debate illustrated that women's work in the home was 'real work', that it is the other side of wage labour and an integral part of the capitalist mode of production. Based on the assumptions of this debate theorists attempted to balance the previous concentration on domestic labour by turning to women's wage work for an explanation of the gendered division of labour.

Conceptualizations of women as a reserve army represent an important advance in understanding women's oppression and remain the most useful explanation for women's unequal position in the labour force. They linked women's movements between the home and paid work to the needs of capital accumulation, concommitantly identifying the social, political and economic processes that limit and determine options open to women. These limitations exacerbate the gendered division of labour, enforcing women's dependence on men and of wage earning men on women for domestic servicing. Together, the domestic labour debate and the debates on women as a reserve army located the wage form as mediating between production and reproduction of labour power.

The ensuing debates on the family wage premised on a specific family form - the female dependent - breadwinner-male - allow an investigation of the gendered division of labour encompassing both women's wage and domestic labour. The initial formulations are marred by a primary emphasis on gender or class in the creation of the wage form. Criticism of these perspectives paved the way for the framework to be used in this thesis.

This thesis first addresses whether or not the existing theories on the gender division of labour are useful in explaining the empirical example of Hamilton? Secondly, it is argued that the development of the form of the family/

household and its accompanying ideology of familialism is not unequivocally in the interest of the working class, men or women but reflects the interests of capital. Given that the state acts in the long-term interests of the capitalist class, the provision of state policies are implicated in establishing and sustaining this family form. Two Ontario labour policies, the factory acts and minimum wage policy for women, that were implemented during the period of early consolidation of capitalism will be examined. Specifically, the question posed is - what part did male trade unions, male workers, capital and the state, play in shaping these policies? Third, what was the ideological and material effects of these policies on women's work experience? From these theoretical treatments of historically specific elements in family wage ideology, comes a new question of the relationship between class and gender components in this ideology. The next chapter will test the usefulness of the theoretical theories by applying them to Canadian data.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

[1]The gendered division of labour is used here rather than sexual division of labour because it better captures the phenomenon. The concept of "gender" focuses on the social meaning of the division, rather than the biological or natural division. The existing literature uses these terms - 'sexual' and 'gender' interchangeably which accounts for my usage of both terms.

[2]Patriarchy is defined in this thesis following Hartmann (1981) as "a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women.

[3]It is recognized that the gendered division of labour predates Capitalism however this thesis is concerned with the form it took under this particular mode of production.

[4]This is an extremely complex debate and so no attempt will be made to list all the criticisms that have been raised. My purpose is simply to indicate the major points taken up in later analyses.

[5]Armstrong and Armstrong have the advantage of hindsight here as the notion of women as a reserve army developed separately from this debate. This conceptualization will be the next debate discussed in this chapter.

[6]Peggy Morton (1972) cited in Pat and Hugh Armstrong (1983:18).

[7]Molyneux, (1979) notes that in less than a decade since the first texts on the domestic labour debate appeared, over fifty articles have been published on the subject of housework.

[8]Marx (1974) cited in Smith (1978:200).

[9]Ibid.

[10]Armstrong and Armstrong (1983:22).

[11]See Atlantis 7,2 (1981) for several Canadian articles on women as a reserve army.

[12]Maxine Molyneux (1979:9) cited in Armstrong and Armstrong (1983).

[13]Judy Grant (1982) feels that Beechey is overstating her case here. The burden of domestic labour has been lessened greatly by the infiltration of the state. Nevertheless, Beechey's point is simply to argue the continuing necessity of women's labour rather than the amount of it.

[14]See for example of this argument Heron, (1981).

[15]The concept of patriarchy is the central concern of radical feminist theorists. For literature on the development of Patriarchy see Millett, (1970); Rubin, (1975); Mitchell, (1971A); Rapp, (1977).

[16]Ellen Ross' study of domestic violence in working-class families in East London at the turn of the century goes even further in displacing such illusions (1982).

[17]May contends that in at least one instance, the actual achievement of a family wage occurred as the result of class conflict over the labour process and worker control, not initially as a working-class demand for either subsistence or female subordination. Yet both subsistence and female subordination were part of the objective consequences. Her case study is limited in that it doesn't account for conflict arising from gender in the wage labour process. She states that female labourers were already excluded from the Ford plant (1982). The importance of this study is that it is one of the few documented cases of the material gain of this ideal.

[18]Miliband (1973)

[19]Considerable debate surrounds this view. The instrumentalists argue for the state as an autonomous institution whose interests are aligned with the capitalist class and is somewhat similar to elite theory (see Miliband, 1973). The structuralists, on the other

hand see the state as a "relatively autonomous" body and analyse it in terms of the functional requirements or needs of capitalism by emphasising the structural tensions between the state and the capitalist class (see Poulantzas, 1973).

[20]This discussion is based on Gough's analysis (1979).

[21]Miliband, (1973)

[22]Gough's analysis is limited to a definition of production that includes the daily and generational reproduction of labour power. See Edholm et.al (1977) for an expanded definition that includes social, biological and the daily and generational reproduction of labour power.

CHAPTER TWO

EARLY INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM, THE STATE AND THE WORKING CLASS HOUSEHOLD

Introduction

In the last chapter I reviewed recent theoretical explanations for the oppressive gendered division of labour. I showed how Sociologists built on contributions of preceeding literature to arrive at a more complete and comprehensive analysis. These discussions identified the period of early consolidation of industrial capitalism as central to the emergence of a particular family form - dependent female - breadwinner-male - which maintains the gendered division of labour. I suggested a refinement of this perspective by including an analysis of state policies in establishing and sustaining this specific family form.

In this chapter I will document the general transformation that these authors have noted occurred in Britain and the United States with the development of early capitalism. By detailing the specific form this transformation took in Hamilton, I plan to test the usefulness of the expanded theoretical framework. Theorists of the family wage debate cite broad generalizations of the transition to capitalism to support their arguments. Recent historical

research has pointed to the development of industrial capitalism as a complex and diverse process.[1] In addition, the historical accuracy of theories about the origins of labour market segmentation has been called into question.[2] There is a need to empirically examine the variability of gender relations in a specific historical context.

This chapter will begin by discussing the general transformation in women's work, noted by theorists on the gendered division of labour, that occurred with industrial capitalism in Britain and the United States. Next, the empirical example of Hamilton will be outlined. First, the patterns of women's work in 1851 commercial Hamilton will be discussed. Secondly, the variation that occurred as Hamilton industrialized in 1871 will be illustrated. It will be argued that although Hamilton follows similar patterns discussed by the various authors, a significant divergence appears. The pattern of few married women working in Hamilton in 1871 indicates that the emergence of the dependent family form was a slow process contingent upon the elaborations and developments of the separation of the domestic from the industrial unit.

The Emergence of Capitalism in Britain and the United States

This section will summarize the general transformation authors on the theories of the gendered division of labour have described as having occurred in Britain and the United

States with the emergence of capitalism. Although these analyses refer to different historical time periods, they generally discuss identical patterns of change.[3] The most significant result of the transition to industrial capitalism, that is noted by these authors, is the emergence of large scale workplaces away from the home. This had three important implications for the relations of production; capital and labour were now separated in production; the labour force was now entirely comprised of wage labourers; and the workers and capitalists lived apart from the production site (Seccombe, 1980). The central focus of the following discussion is the impact on women's work ensuing from this development.

Accounts of women's work during the transition to capitalism in Britain, and the changes that took place as it occurred, rely primarily on the work of Alice Clark, The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century (1920). Clark contends that the pre-industrial city was characterized by a system of Family Industry: an organization of production in which the "family becomes the unit for the production of goods to be sold or exchanged" (1920:6). The two main characteristics of the family industry was the unity of capital and labour for the family, who owned the tools of production and provided the labour. Secondly, the workshop existed within the confines of the home. The family unit was more or less self-sufficient and each member of the family was

responsible for contributing to the household subsistence (Alexander, 1976:4).

Within this system of family industry, women's work was central to the production process. As Demos states, "work indeed was a wholly natural extension of family life and merged imperceptibly with all of its' other activities" (1970:183). The combination of productive and reproductive labour allowed women to participate in the family business as well as carry out their traditional domestic duties.

Hartmann suggests that women were subordinate to men within the pre-capitalist family unit and generally performed different tasks (1976:214). Women assisted their husbands - the male household head - in their work while children served as apprentices to their father. Men usually worked at what were considered more skilled tasks leaving the finishing of products and the processing of raw materials to women (1976:214). In addition women performed their traditional domestic duties (Brown, 1970). In the pre-capitalist household domestic labour was imbedded in the family's total labour process so although men and women generally participate in different tasks there was an absence of a strict gender division of labour (Seccombe, 1980).

With the advent of industrial capitalism, capitalists began to organize production on a larger scale. The single most profound consequence was the disintegration of a family

based economy and the subsequent separation of the labour process into two distinct units. Seccombe illustrates this division of labour which now began to follow gender lines:

> With the advent of industrial capitalism, the general labour process was split into two discrete units: a domestic and an industrial unit. The character of the work performed in each was fundamentally different. The domestic unit reproduced labour for the labour market. The industrial unit produced goods and services for the commodity market. This split in the labour process had produced a split in the labour force roughly along sexual lines - women in the domestic unit, and men into industry (1973:6).

This new situation meant that, on the whole, men went out to work for wages while married women stayed at home, unless compelled by poverty to seek additional income for the family. This shift in the family economy to what Scott and Tilly (1978) call the "family wage economy" was accompanied by an ideology of separate private and public spheres.

Ideology of Familialism

At the level of ideology,[4] the significance of the new household arrangements for the conception of the 'family'[5] was influenced by the developing bourgeoisie. The family/household was viewed "as 'naturally' based on close kinship, as properly organized through a male

breadwinner with a financially dependent wife and children and as a haven of privacy beyond the public realm of commerce and industry" (Barrett, 1980:204). This ideal had its roots in the past. It relfected the earlier patriarchal relations of the male head of the household and the required monogamy of women (to ensure the proper transmission of inheritance through the male child). In addition, the notion of the dependent wife was based on the Victorian middle class ideal of the "idle" wife and mother. "The leisured wife came to be a symbol of the economic success of the capitalist and served to differneti-ate him and his family culturally from the social classes below while identifying them with the older propertied and former ruling class" (Cameron, 1981:6).

This bourgeois notion of the 'family' to a large extent became accepted by the industrial working-class. By identifying women's 'proper sphere' as in the home disadvantaged her in the market place and provided effective motivation for the family wage demand. Bourgeois women were similarily oppressed in the home but the harsh reality of the working-class life presented a different picture for these wives. Theorists of the family wage debate note that as the evidence pours in and more is known of women's work to complete the historical picture, a fundamental disjunction between the ideology of familialism and the economic organization of the working-class household is

revealed (Barrett, 1980).

Women and the Family Wage Economy

Changes in the pattern of women's work with the advent of capitalism, are associated with what has been called the family wage economy (Scott and Tilly, 1978). The family wage economy meant that an increasing number of family members entered wage employment. According to Scott and Tilly, "their work was defined not by household labour needs but by the household's need for money to pay for food and to meet other expenses such as rent" (Scott and Tilly, 1978). The basic features of the family wage economy are argued, by the various theorists on the gendered division of labour, to have occurred in both Britain and the United States.[6]

Domestic Labour

Under the family wage economy women faced increasing difficulty in combining productive and reproductive activities. Porduction was not separate from household work in the pre-capitalist household and women's work was an integral and indispensable part of that process, with housework playing a lesser role. The demands of wage labour occurring outside the home conflicted with women's remaining domestic responsibilities, devalued their household work, all without decreasing the amount of this work. The housewife's labour shifted from manufacture to personal service

(Oakley, 1974:55) and continued to be their responsibility whether or not they were participating in wage labour.

Changes in the organization of production created additional demands and duties to be met by women's work in the home. As Meg Luxton has pointed out, "what women do in the home is not just housework. It is domestic labour - the production of both family subsistence and labour power" (1980:20). She identifies four components of women's domestic labour: a) looking after herself, her husband and other adult members of the household; b) child bearing and rearing; c) housework; d) the transformation of wages into goods and services for the household's use (1980:20). These components applied to women's labour in early industrial capitalism negate the notion of the 'leisured' housewife in the working-class household and illustrate its essentiality to the production process.

The first component of domestic labour involves the reproduction of labour power on a daily basis. Married women provided a variety of services, including the nursing of the sick, but the provision of food remained their major task. The household's reliance on the wage, and the rising cost of commoditised goods, increased the demands placed on women in allocating the household budget and created tensions between husband and wife over its distribution. Wage earners' needs claimed primary importance. A woman, even when participating in wage labour, could not exchange

her labour power for as high a price as that of her husbands. Thus his needs tended to remain predominant. Often the woman deprived herself of food so the breadwinner might eat (Tilly and Scott, 1978). It was also the practice that men were served the meat, while women and children went without (Oren, 1973:229). Women's new domestic responsibilities which lowered the value of their labour power, required that they sacrifice their needs in favour of the male wage earners.

The second component entails the reproduction of labour power on a generational basis. High fertility rates, were a function of excessive infant mortality (Tilly and Scott, 1978:141). Within days of fatiguing and often complicated births, women assumed their other domestic tasks. With most members of the family at work, the care of children became the sole burden of women, increasing their domestic labour. The practice of keeping wage-earning children at home as long as possible also contributed to this expanded workload.[7]

The third component is housework. Industrial capitalism precipated little change in the major tasks of this work. Many jobs were laborious and physically exhausting. Luxton notes: "like childcare, housework in the early period was so demanding that women could only go to work for wages if an alternate worker could be found" (1980:194). Seccombe describes what was involved in doing

just the one household chore of laundry:

> Doing the family laundry, for example, took a woman a full day a week. She fetched water in buckets from an outdoor well, hydrant or tap, and carried them back to her residence by hand (often up several flights of stairs). The fireplace had to be set, lit and stoked, and the water boiled. (A cake of soap had been previously made.) After scrubbing down the clothes over a hot steamy tub, she then carted the dirty water outside to be dumped and fetched fresh water for rinsing. After being wrung out, clothes were hung up to dry (collecting their first layer of soot in the process). A full load of clothes and linen for a family of six might easily require her to repeat the process three times (1980:470).[8]

Although these tasks remained relatively the same in this stage, the family work schedules differed. The housewife often found herself having to prepare several extra meals depending on the shift schedules of the household members which inflicted new demands on her time.

The final component envelopes the working conditions of domestic labour. As Luxton states, "this is the ultimate expression of household management, the process which integrates all components of domestic labour into one whole, continuous work process" (1980:195). Juggling housework, childcare and the daily needs of the family, at one and the same time, becomes a balancing act which often required the non-wage housewife to take on additional work. Seccombe indicates the kinds of extra work married women might engage in:

> Without leaving home to work full-time as a regular factory hand, a married woman could nevertheless supplement the income of her spouse and children in a variety of ways. She might bake bread, grow vegetables or weave cloth, selling or swapping them locally. Alternatively, she would often do piece-work on consignment for a capitalist, usually garment finishing. Finally, she might take in a boarder, supplying him (less frequently her) with board, breakfast and dinner at the family table (1980: 468).

Attempting to do several of the tasks of domestic labour at once was not only mentally and physically strenuous, but also often dangerous. Conditions of work at home resembled the hazardous life in factory work. Furthermore if women entered wage work their responsibility for domestic work remained, enforcing a 'double burden'.

The physical shift of the site of production away from the working-class household affected the activities defined as women's work. It became increasingly difficult to interweave the times and rhythms of production and reproduction. In addition childrearing and bearing is of no immediate interest to the capitalist. (This is a contradiction of capital. The reproduction of labour power is in the interest of all capitals but not in the immediate interest of any individual capitalist (Sen, 1980:82).) Consequently, interruptions in Women's wage work occasioned by pregnancy, and infant-care were viewed as an additional cost to the capitalist. In an attempt to reduce such

interruptions as much as possible, single women were a preferred source of labour, limiting married women's job options (Scott & Tilly, 1978).

The Household Life Cycle[9]

The gendered relations of the production process along with the household life cycle signigicantly shaped the participation pattern of women's paid work. Women usually spent most of their time in wage work when they were single. Marriage and childbirth generally forced women out of paid work which may have lasted as long as there were young children in the home. Although women might have picked up some form of home work, this period generally represented a decline in household resources. When children reached the age at shich they could be employed, the mother may have returned to wage labour, depending on job opportunities and the needs of the household. The standard of living might have increased depending on the number of offspring that worked outside the home. According to Sen, the decline of women's labour force participation among the poor strata of the working class is likely to have been less steep (1980:82). "The withdrawal of the young mother from wage labour in the interest of better infant and childcare, and better performance of domestic consumption work, became the ideal norm within the working class" (1980:82).

Women's Wage Labour

The norm of the non-factory mother is one that not all working-class households could fulfill. In fact, it is argued that it seems likely that it has never been possible for the majority of working class families to manage on one income (Barrett, 1980; Sen, 1980). Women's participation in wage labour reflected the household life cycle and capital's need for available cheap workers in expanding industries. The primacy of women's domestic duties and their dependency on the male wage lowered the value of their labour power in the job market. In turn the ability of capital to pay married women a lower wage made this reserve of labour power essential to the accumulation process.

The expansion of non-mechanical trades increased the demand for unskilled casual workers. It is here in the least industrialized sector of the labour force, women tended to be found, "in those areas where the least separation existed between home and the workplace" (Tilly and Scott, 1978:124).[10] The labour force participation rates of single women were extremely high while married women's rates seem to have been low everywhere in the first stage of industrialization (Seccombe, 1980:478). Generally, it has been estimated that married women's labour force rates did not exceed ten percent in England during most of the nineteenth century (Branca, 1978:135).

However in areas such as the textile industry, it has been shown that 27% of the female employees were married (Hewitt, 1958:11-14).

The wage work of married women affected the welfare of the whole family. Infants and young children suffered the most. Tilly and Scott have shown, for example, that where mothers worked for long hours infant mortality rates were the highest. Capital was indifferent to these tensions created by the separation of production from the reproduction of labour power. Commodity production took precedence over the generational cycle. Tilly and Scott illustrate this assertion:

> The survival of the family unit took priority over an infant life. And when the need was great and jobs available for them, married women worked even at the point in the family-life cycle when they were most needed at home. As one factory operative explained her return to work shortly after the birth of a child: "Well, we must live!" (1978:133).

Daily survival of the family unit took priority over generational reproduction. Hartmann contends that, "apparently enough married women had followed their work into the factories to cause both their husbands and the upper classes concern about home life and the care of children" (1981:7). In order to remedy the 'problems' caused by women's wage labour, male workers as well as higher-class men and women all began to recommend women's

removal from factory production to the home. This was to be accomplished by the "family wage", a male wage sufficient to allow the women to stay home and raise the children and maintain the family.

All proponents of the family wage debate agree on the general impact of early industrial capitalism on patterns of women's work.[11] Where they diverge, is in placing primacy of interests over the ensuing development of the family wage. Humphries (1977b) on the one hand, has argued that the working-class had a material interest in the family/household. The family wage represents an achievement by the working class in its struggle for a higher standard of living. On the other hand, Hartmann gives primacy to patriarchal relations. The family wage was a product of working class patriarchy allied to the longer term interests of capitalists in a healthy workforce (Hartmann, 1976). The partnership of capitalism and patriarchy was at work during the nineteenth century struggles over protective legislation and the family wage, which is the cornerstone of the gendered division of labour (Hartmann, 1976). The gendered division of labour is the source of women's oppression which subordinates women to men in society as a whole and to men within the family.

In summation, these debates locate the period of early consolidation of industrial capitalism as central to the emergence of a particular family form - female

dependent - breadwinner-male - which embodies, enforces and reflects the gendered division of labour. The family wage is central to the notion of this specific family form and has become the focus of ensuing debates. In the next section, I will outline the form this transformation to industrial capitalism took in Hamilton. I will attempt to link the theoretical framework of the gendered division of labour to an empirical example of Hamilton, and in doing so, test its utility.

Early Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton

There is an abundant body of literature on the city of Hamilton, more so than other cities in Canada, which provides the essential groundwork for this analysis. In particular, Michael B. Katz's work, The People of Hamilton Canada West (1975), carefully details Hamilton's history in the key decades from 1851-1871 in which Hamilton grew from a commercial to an industrial city. Katz's account of the family in this period is largely in terms of "growing up". He does not attempt to examine the household economy or the place of women's work in it.[12] Similarly, the existing studies of Hamilton either ignore women or they identify women and men as doing different kinds of work, obscuring the dynamics of gender relations.[13] This section will place women and their work at the centre of the picture. It is an attempt to explain how capitalism

works in relation to women's situation in the family/household, in order to comprehend the specific forms and processes of women's oppression.

The Family Household

> John Mottashed, a 52 year old protestant shoemaker, born in Ireland lived on Hughson Street in a two storey stone house which he rented from T. Stinson. With him lived his 40 year old second wife, Mary Ann, his married 24 year old son Jonathon, a miller and his 20 year old daughter in law, Mary Ann, his sons, John six and Charles one, his sons, John six and Charles one, his daughters, Mary twelve and Anne eight, and his step-children John Calvert, an 18 year old shoemaker, and Sarah Calvert, fifteen years old (1975:209).[14]

Katz describes this example as a typical household in mid-nineteenth century Hamilton. Describing the typical household sixty years later Jane Synge states:

> A typical young working-class family was made up of the husband, usually employed in some branch of manufacturing: the wife who usually stayed home and several children who would start work at the ages of between twelve and fourteen. There was an occasional relative or boarder living with them.[15]

What is significant is the dramatic shift in household composition. In the 1850's a household usually contained a relatively large number of people including spouses and their children, extended kin and unrelated co-residents. By the turn of the century, the household usually consisted of a couple and their children.

The examples of the household composition by Katz and Synge clearly show the separation of paid work from the home for men during this period but the situation is not so clear for women. Katz argues:

> Many men, certainly, by no means a majority, worked at home, thus making some households the scene of both residence and production. In Hamilton about a quarter of men at most worked at home, and a minimum of about forty percent of the households served as a location for both residence and work ...members did not yet participate in the workforce as independent wage earners. Almost no married women worked outside the home, and industries which employed children had not yet been established (1975:293-4).

By 1911 Synge notes that men went out to work in some form of manufacturing and the women stayed home. This literature suggests that in 1851 Hamilton was on a wholly pre-industrial footing and that with the emergence of early industrial capitalism their was relatively little change in the nature of women's work. The following discussion focusses on the situation of women in Hamilton between 1851 and 1871. It will show how the change in the nature of the work process, with the emergence of early industrial capitalism, relates to women and the ways in which they become subordinate.

Women's Work in Hamilton, 1851

In 1851, Hamilton reflected similar patterns noted by theorists on the gendered division of labour in pre-

industrial England. As noted above, about a quarter of men worked at home and a minimum of forty percent of households served as a location for both residence and work. Little industry existed in Hamilton. According to Katz, "most manufacturing took place in small shops, while land speculation and trade comprised the dynamic aspects of the city's economy" (1978:s85). The interdependence of the household and enterprise characteristic of pre-industrial cities existed in Hamilton (1978:s85). It can be assumed that within this system of family industry, women's work was an integral part of the production process although subordinated to the patriarchal relations of the male head.

The existence of a feminine ideology that subordinated women to men may be substantiated by two accounts. On the one hand, the greater proportion of people who immigrated to Hamilton between 1851 and 1861 were from Great Britain. Only about nine of every one hundred adult male household heads had been born in Canada West (1978:s85). The ideas regarding the role and status of women in Britain may be assumed to be part of the culture that they carried with them to Canada. On the other hand, Katz has provided evidence to show that the 'cult of true womanhood' reverberated in Hamilton as elsewhere throughout the Victorian world (1975:55). Katz extends this ideology to explain women's work activities:

> ...at once a sentimental idealization of feminine influence and a mawkish celebration of domesticity, the cult of true womanhood was also an ideology that kept women in their place, which is to say out of the world of work (my emphasis) (1975:55).

He quotes a Dr. Querner from Burlington in 1860:

> ...the labours of a woman are naturally divided betwixt the nursery, the kitchen, the sewing cushion, the garden (1975:55).

To argue as Katz suggests that married women's work in the home is not essential to the production process and occurs solely because of a widely held feminine ideology negates the dynamics of gendered capitalist relations that were decisive in shaping women's work experience.

Official statistics negate the importance of this work, which in part accounts for Katz's devaluation of domestic labour. Katz notes that almost no married women with a husband at home listed themselves as working in the 1851 census (1975:272). Sally Alexander has provided a plausible explanation for this pattern in Britain:

> ...often a wife's connection with her husband's trade would not be mentioned. Many trade societies forbad the entry of women. Also because the head of the household filled in the census, he - especially if he was a skilled artisan or aspiring tradesman - probably thought of his wife as a housewife and mother not as a worker (1976:63-66).

There is no evidence to suggest that this situation was any different in Hamilton.[16] The previous section outlined the enormous amount of work involved in domestic labour

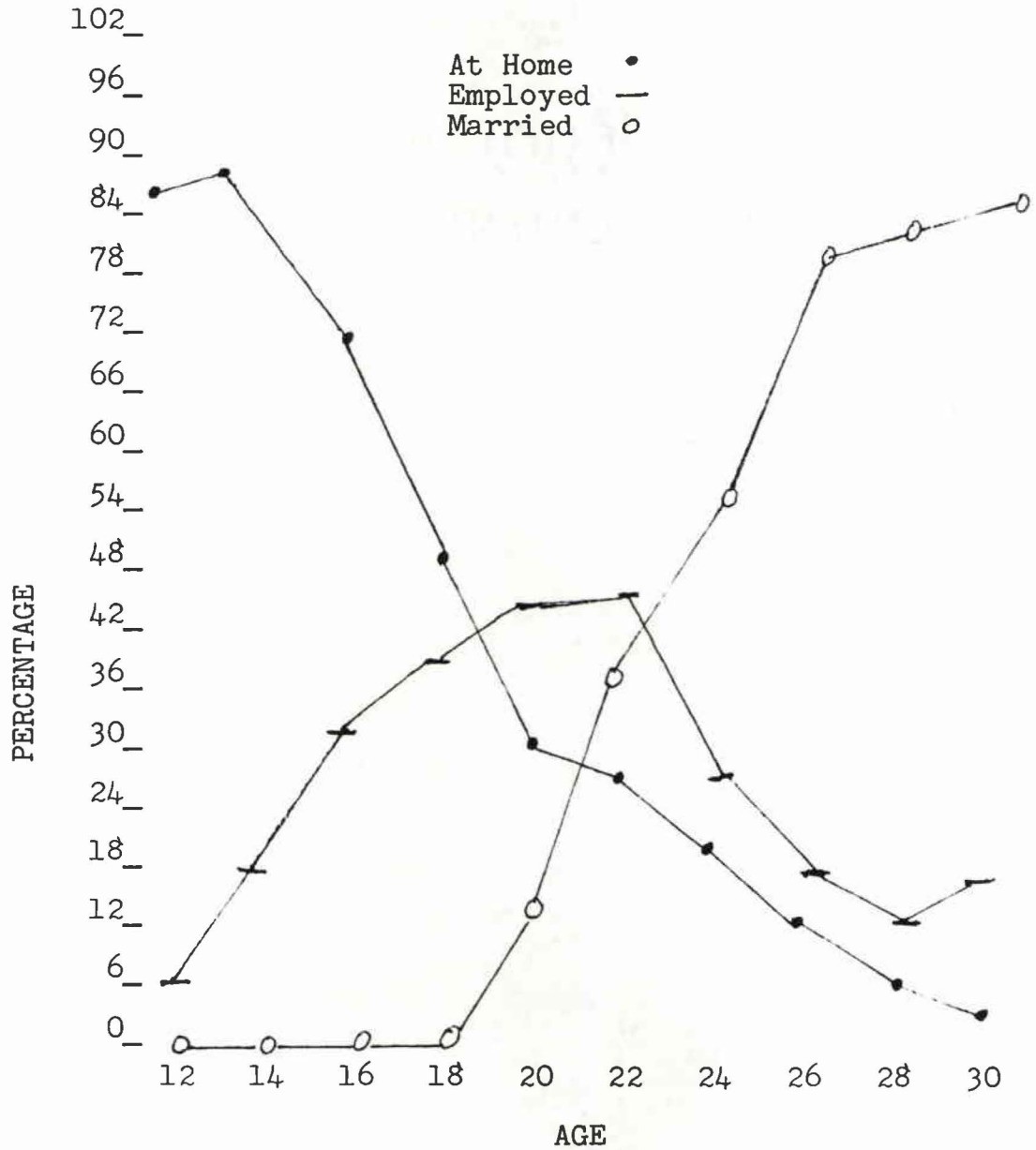
for women in pre-industrial society. The household economy demanded a full-time domestic labourer and household manager and this work was an integral part of the production process.

Hamilton's married women did not work outside their full-time job in the home. Katz found an almost perfect inverse relationship of women employed and married. At age 30 15% of women were employed, 83% were married, and together they accounted for 98% of the 30 year old females in the city (see table 2:1). Katz's neglect of the domestic labour process is particularily acute when he attempts to explain this process.

> Did women in commercial Hamilton not take jobs because work was not available, because their husband earned enough for the entire family, or because they simply did not want to work outside thier home? (1975:273).

Certainly limited job opportunities did exist in Hamilton for women in 1851. In addition to their full-time domestic duties, and in many cases, their work in the family enterprise Hamilton women participated in various aspects of homework (ie. sewing or washing) (Bammon, 1972:19). This enabled married women to more easily combine productive and reproductive activities. The working class housewife did not resemble the middle class Victorian ideal of the 'idle' wife who as Katz puts it 'did not want to work'. Their labour power was needed full-time in the household. As long as the families subsistence could be accomplished by this

Table 2:1 YOUNG FEMALES AT HOME, EMPLOYED AND MARRIED 1861



Source: Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West, Cambridge University Press, 1975:281.

arrangement married women remained employed in the home.

The labour force comprised mostly males and single women and reflected the family division of labour. Females began leaving home at age 10, moving into the household of someone to whom they were not related, as domestic servants (Katz, 1972:58). In 1851 75% of the female labour force were domestic servants, and 14% were dressmakers, seamstresses or millners (see table 2:2). They remained employed until marriage which usually occurred between the ages of 21 and 22 (Katz, 1972:58). In contrast to women, where 25% of all women were listed in the census as employed, 90% of males were participating in paid work. Males left home about the same age as women and similarly moved into a non-kin related household (Katz, 1972:58). More job opportunities were available for males in the areas of production that were being removed from the home into the public sphere. The census takers reported 26.8% of men in the area of commerce, 26% in manufacturing and 15% as common labourers (see table 2:3). Males married relatively late in their twenties and remained in the labour force throughout their adult life. Only about 24% of the cities firms employed 10 or more people so production away from the home was on a relatively small scale. Males often boarded in the homes that combined the place of their work (Katz, 1978). On the whole paid work was not separate from the household.

TABLE 2:2

Occupations of Women Aged 15 and Over
Hamilton, Ontario 1851

Women Employed

Occupation	Number	Percent
Servant	827	71.7
Dressmaker et.al.	156	13.5
Teacher	22	1.9
Washerwoman	19	1.7
Nurse	15	1.3
Prostitute	13	1.1
Cook	11	1.0
Labourer	11	1.0
Innkeeper et.al.	9	0.8
Tailor	8	0.7
Grocer	7	0.6
Governess	6	0.5
Hatter	6	0.5
Clerk	5	0.3
Reed Maker	4	0.3
Tax Collector	4	0.3
Bandbox Maker	3	0.3
Furrier	3	0.3
Other	25	1.9
Total:	1154	100.0

TABLE 2:2 Continued

Employed as Percent of Total number of Women 15 and over

Hamilton, 1851: 25.2%

Women aged 15 and over not employed:

	Number	Percent
No occupation given	865	18.88
Wife	2134	46.58
Spinster	65	1.42
Widow	363	7.92
Total Women not employed	3427	74.81
Total Number of Women 15+	4581	
Total Employed as a % of women 15+		25.2

Source: Michael B. Katz, "On the Condition of Women" in The Social History Project Interim Report #4, The Department of History and Philosophy of Education, OISE, 1972.

Hamilton in 1851 reflected the patterns theorists have noted existing in most nineteenth century pre-industrial cities. Men and women participated in different tasks and paid work occurred within the setting of a family household. Domestic labour was imbedded in the total labour process blurring a distinct gender division of labour. The separation of industry from the household was not yet predominant.

The Industrialized City, 1871

In 1851 capitalism had already become the dominant mode of production in Hamilton. From a commercial city in 1851, Hamilton was quickly transformed to an industrial one in 1871 (Katz, 1983). This case study of Hamilton provides a crucial difference in the patterns of women's work from that noted by theorists in other early industrialized cities. In many discussions the development of textile mills are seen as synonomous with early industrialization.[17] This however was not the case in Hamilton. As Katz asserts, "no textile manufacture of any substance took place within the city during this period" (1972:s86). The absence of textile mills resulted in important differences in the economy of Hamilton and the situation of women. Textile industries had employed considerable numbers of women, including married women, as well as young children. In the absence of textile mills, although women exchanged domestic service for industrial work, they did not remain in the

TABLE 2:3

Occupations of Men, Hamilton, Ontario, 1851

Males Employed

Occupation	Number	Percent
Agriculture	23	1.3
Building	277	15.1
Manufacturing	477	26.0
Food	70	3.8
Jewelry	6	0.3
Print and Art	25	1.4
Metal	32	1.7
Transport trades	86	4.7
Clothing	206	11.2
Home Furnishing	21	1.1
Mechanic	14	0.8
Building Material	12	0.7
Other trades	5	0.3
Transport	19	1.0
Commerce	494	26.8
Professions	80	4.3
Non-professional	6	0.3
Unskilled and skilled labour	432	23.5
Public Service	32	1.7
Total	1840	

Source: Census Canada, 1851 cited in Katz, Michael B. The people of Hamilton West. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975, p.52.

labour force after marriage and few children were found working in the factories. This variation in Hamilton had a particular implication for the emergence of the dependent family form associated with industrial capitalism. Specifically, the notion of the male breadwinner - female dependent was not prevalent until the early twentieth century. The following discussion will outline the patterns of women's work in 1871 industrialized Hamilton.

By 1871 the proportion of the labour force that worked in establishments that employed 10 or more people had increased to 83% (Katz, 1972:s86). The separation of the domestic unit from the industrial unit became more visible. As the productive process is increasingly appropriated by capitalist industrial processes, theorists have argued that the family becomes a consuming rather than a producing unit. Women's domestic labour ceases to play a socially productive role and becomes a personal service to the wage earner (Seccombe, 1980). In Hamilton, the sharpness of this supposed historical moment is not so clear. The emergence of the dependent family form is slow and contingent upon the form and development of the separation of the domestic unit from the industrial process. The dependency of women on the male wage is related to the organization of the labour market and employment possibilities for women outside the home.

Smith has argued that the dependency of working-class women is linked to the man's wage earning capacity and role and men's status and authority in the family is directly related to his ability to earn (1980). Katz has emphasized the irregularity and insecurity that comprised the two dominant characteristics of the industrial work experience in Hamilton. The evidence suggests that this situation had become increasingly acute during industrialization (1972:s87).

> ...early industrial city work took place within a system of structured inequality buffeted by the vagaries of seasonal demand and capitalist economic cycles. Worse almost than low wages was in the inability to predict the number of days in which work would be available and the vulnerability of workers to arbitrary firing, falling profits and business failure (1972:s87).

Under these uncertain conditions working-class women were not solely dependent on the male wage. Their domestic labour was essential to the subsistence of the family/household and the housewife maintained a certain measure of status. This uncertain economy fostered a tight interdependence among household members. The Hamilton working-class household was based on a family wage economy in which all members contributed their earnings to meet the needs of the household.

The supposition of a tight interdependence of family members' is borne out in part by statistical sources which

revealed a prolonged period of dependency for children (Katz, 1975). In 1851 children had left home to work at an early age to reside as boarders in other people's households. In a distinct break with this previous practice, children in 1871 most often remained at home during the early years of employment until they married and set up their own households. The income from employed children buttressed the impact of uncertain, intermittent employment. The proportion of young men employed increased with expanding job opportunities. This was not the case for women.

In contrast to men, industrialization exerted an impact on the kinds of work women did rather than increasing the number employed. Job options for women continued to be limited and in 1871 the number employed decreased from 25.2% in 1851 to 22.3% (Katz, 1972:s96). Women moved out of domestic service into industrial work. Where 72% of the total female labour force were domestic servants in 1851 by 1871 the proportion decreased to 47%. Correspondingly, women in industrial jobs comprised 1/3 of all those employed. The apparel industry - clothing, hats and shoes, that utilized sewing machines used the largest amount of female labour. Single women were the preferred source of labour power. Over 97% of female paid workers were unmarried (Katz, 1972:s96).

The nature and organization of women's domestic labour was also altered in 1871. Most productive activities had been removed from the home changing the nature of housework to that of personal service to the wage earner. The reliance on the wage and the uncertainty of this work forced many women to add various aspects of homework to their full-time domestic role. Taking in boarders was one way married women could contribute to the household economy (Medjuck, 1980). In 1851 many small scale workplaces boarded their male employers in the family/house-hold. With the emergence of large scale workplaces away from the home, this was no longer the case, which accounted somewhat for the prolonged dependency of children at home. Boarding had been seen as a social and moral arrangement in which the wealthier class governed the behaviour of youth. This arrangement became an economic relation associated with the lower classes and poverty. Widows and families in need of extra income by the late nineteenth century took in boarders (Bammon, 1980).

Another significant addition to women's domestic labour in 1871 was the sweating industry. This was a system where women performed finishing tasks on factory products in their home. Katz has noted that sweated labour flourished throughout the city at this time (Katz, 1975c). Employers took advantage of married women's need for wage work that

would enable her to combine this work with their reproductive activities. Sweated labour was (and still is) an oppressive system which paid women pitance for long hours of work. This system starkly revealed the disjunction between the economic organization of the household and the ideology of the family.

In sum, the industrial city of Hamilton in 1871 presented a distinct variation in the pattern of women's work from that noted by various authors of nineteenth century cities in Britain and the United States. Specifically, most married women did not work outside the home. Single women while shifting the kinds of jobs they did from domestic to industrial work did not increase in proportion to the total labour force.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the general patterns authors on the theories of the gendered division of labour have noted occurred with the transition to early industrial capitalism. They indicate that prior to industrialization women's work was an integral part of the production process. Domestic labour was imbedded in the family's total labour process, so although men and women generally participated in different tasks there was an absence of a strict gendered division of labour.

With the advent of industrial capitalism the labour process was split into two discrete units which began to follow gender lines. Accompanied by an ideology of separate spheres, women's work was relegated to the private sphere of the home, while men went out to work. Women's domestic labour ceased to play a socially productive role and became a personal service to the wage earner. The expansion of the industrial sector began to draw both married and single women and children into wage labour. Women's primary responsibility for domestic work disadvantaged their market position which in turn re-inforced their subordination in the home. Concern for the health and life of the industrial proletariat occasioned by women's wage work prompted a demand for the removal of women from production. Premised on a specific form of household - the male-breadwinner-female dependent, the development of the family wage, 'a male wage sufficient to support his family' was viewed as the means to rid the labour market of women. The family wage demand, encompassed in protective labour policies for women, re-inforced women's subordination in the family creating a distinct gendered division of labour.

In order to test the utility of theories on the gendered division of labour the specific transition to industrial capitalism in Hamilton was reviewed. Generally the patterns noted by these authors in Britain and the

United States were similar in Hamilton. There was however one significant divergence from this pattern in industrialized Hamilton. The variation in the economy resulted in most married women, as well as young children, not participating in wage labour. Therefore the removal or women from production was not yet an issue in Hamilton in 1871. The emergence of the dependent family form appears to be a slow process contingent upon the elaboration and development of the separation of the domestic unit from the industrial process.

Chapter three will examine the emergence and implementation of 'protective' factory policy for women. It is argued that in Hamilton, where married women rarely participated in wage labour, the interests involved in demanding 'protective' labour laws for women, which reinforced the gendered division of labour, can be more clearly dilineated.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

[1]See Ava Baron (1982)

[2]See Gordon, Edwards and Teich for a discussion of questions raised by historians regarding labour market segmentation theory. (1982:x-xi)

[3]See for instance, the conflicting time references used by each of the following authors who generally discuss the identical patterns of change: Hartmann (1976); Humphries (1977b); Oakley (1974); Ehrenreich and English (1975). Although similar changes which happened in various parts of the country vary significantly by time frame, the changes themselves were nearly universal in their nature.

[4]See for example Barbara Welter, (1966).

[5]I have avoided the term "family" as it is the subject of much debate. The difficulty arises with theorists seeing the family as essentially the same and natural in all historical contexts. This leads to a biological argument defining women in the family in terms of their anatomy and hence assuming women naturally dependent on men. For a further discussion of this problem see Barrett (1980:187-226); Rayna Rapp (Rieter, 1979). Following Barrett I use the terms of the household and familial ideology to avoid the naturalism and mystification engendered by the "family".

Similarly, following Barrett (1980:97) ideology refers to those processes which have to do with consciousness, motive emotionality; it can best be located in the category of meaning. Ideology is a generic term - for the process by which meaning is produced, challenged, reproduced and transformed. The family/household constitutes both ideological and material relations. Gender differences and women's oppression are reproduced ideologically and in the material relations in which men and women are differentially engaged in wage labour and the class structure.

[6]The family wage economy occurred at different historical time periods in Britain, United States and Canada. In Britain it occurred in 1793-1849 while appearing at a later time period in Canada and the United States. Theorists assign basic patterns to this stage. Seccombe has outlined the broad changes in this stage:

6(con't)

> In the first stage of capitalist industrialization, the social relations of production in the early factory system are mixed and transitional in character, retaining many familial features of the predecessor mode of cottage industry and small-scale capitalist manufacture; the dominant pattern of capital accumulation is extensive, the workday is lengthened, and the working class family is forced by low wages to submit most of its members to work long hours for capital; the wage form is not yet fully individuated and retains many of its collective familial vestiges; only a minority of the means of subsistence is furnished by technologically advanced industries, and the average productivity of labour in department II is relatively low; the working class household rests on pre-industrial foundations and domestic labour retains many of its traditional manufacturing tasks; the nuclear household, with several wage earners, organizes its resources on the basis of a family wage economy; it adds and sheds extra members, kin and non-kin, frequently and flexibly as it moves through the phases of the family cycle; and the co-resident unit is closely integrated into larger kin networks critical to the survival of household groups (Seccombe, 1980).

7This was however a trade off in their earnings. Women looked after their daily reproduction in return for the extra wage.

8It is important to note here that the amount of domestic piece-work that women did in their homes has been greatly underestimated until just recently. This was a critical source of income for the working-class household (see Alexander, 1976:64-65). It was also beneficial to the capitalist as many factory products required hand finishing. Employers took advantage of married women's limited options by paying them outrageously low pay for this outwork.

[9]This discussion is adapted from Scott and Tilly, 1978.

[10]It is important to note here that the kinds of jobs women did in the labour force were an extension of those formerly done in the home. This aided in a distinct job segregation by gender.

[11]The assessment of the impact of industrial capitalism for women has resulted in two polar positions. On the one hand, Edward Shorter has argued, it provided women with a new economic independence and a new individualism (1975). In opporition, using an historical materialist method, other theorists contend with the advent of capitalism women were cut off from the productive process, creating a well-defined gender division of labour which reduced women to economic dependence on men. As we come to know more about this process and many of women's hidden productive activities are revealed, these polar positions become blurred. They begin to represent class distinctions rather than taking account of all women. Middle class women were generally cut off from the production process while working-class women were forced into industrial production.

Early theorists, as well as some recent ones, contend that that employment of women signalled the demise of the family relationships. This view has largely been discredited (see Seccombe, 1980). The organization of the working class family/household reflected a tight inter-dependence among members based on the family wage economy, prescribed by a need for cash.

[12]See Smith, (1980)

[13]See for example Palmer (1979); Synge (1982); Storey (1981).

[14]It is significant to note here that women did not warrant a title for their occupation, hence the widespread notion that housework was not "real work".

[15]Ceta Ramkhalawansingh estimates that the 1911 census failed to include in the labour statistics 750,000 unpaid women workers who were engaged in agricultural production. She argues that had they been included women would have made up one third of the labour force. According to government staticians the percentage of women in the paid work force did not reach this level until the 1970's (1974).

[16]It is equally plausible that men did not tell the census takers their wives were in the labour force, even when asked, because of social implications. It was felt that a man was to support his wife which in Hamilton led to later age at marriage while he saved enough to set up his own household.

[17]See for example Hartmann, (1976).

CHAPTER THREE

'PROTECTIVE' FACTORY ACTS FOR WOMEN

Introduction

The last chapter identified a distinct variation in the pattern of women's work from that noted by theorists of the family wage debate. Specifically, married women in 1871 did not participate in wage labour in Hamilton and the proportion of single women working did not increase from 1851-71. The kinds of work for women, however, did show a shift from domestic service to the industrial sector. The emergence of the dependent-wife family form associated with industrial capitalism had yet to appear in Hamilton in 1871. In addition, the struggle for the removal of women from production that was noted in Britain was not an issue in Hamilton at this time.

Theorists have argued that the institutionalization of the family wage developed in the United States at the same time as the era of protective legislation. The struggle for the family wage and protective legislation was intertwined and resulted in the consolidation of the gendered division of labour.[1] One of the questions raised and posed directly in feminist analysis is the relationship between the growth of trade unionism and the development

of the ideal of the family wage. Hartmann has argued, on the one hand, that the trade union movement developed as much to promote the collective interests of men as of the working-class. The trade union movement attempted to achieve total control over women's labour power through the imposition of the family wage form (1976). Humphries on the other hand, has observed that miners opposed protective legislation where it deprived them of their wives income. Only where the male wages were to be the sole or main wage was there a specific basis for exclusion by sex (1981).

This chapter will examine the emergence of the 'protective' Ontario factory legislation that governed the conditions of Hamilton women's work. I will attempt to explore the interests involved in this state policy to see how well the patterns fit those described by Hartmann and Humphries. It is argued that in the case of Hamilton, where few married women worked in paid labour, the issues surrounding protective legislation can be more clearly dilineated. A refinement of the family wage debate is presented by including the role of the state in the enactment of factory policies. It will be shown that the implementation of factory policies distinguished women as a separate occupational group, exacerbating the gendered division of labour.

This chapter will begin by discussing the initial demand for shorter hours encompassed in Hamilton's nine hour movement and Hamilton's organized labour's responses to female labour. Next, it will detail the structural constraints perceived by capital to the accumulation process. Lastly, it will examine the implementation and operation of the Ontario factory acts for women. It is argued that 'protective' factory policy for women cannot be seen solely as a desire to subordinate women or in response to working-class struggles for subsistence, rather it can be understood as part of the state's contribution to the reproduction of labour power.

The Nine Hour Movement

Hamilton workers by 1872 had begun to respond in an organized way to defend their wages and working conditions in order to regulate the excesses of the new system of production.[2] The reduction of hours came to be a primary concern of those searching for a solution to the labour problem (Palmer, 1979:127). Labour advocates saw the eight hour day as a blow to capital's mainstay - the reserve army of labour. It would reduce unemployment and fight against the extraction of surplus value (Palmer, 1979:127). The nine hour movement is significant for this analysis for two reasons. First, it demonstrates that the initial demands for shorter hours were clearly in the interests of

improving the lives of the workers (who were mostly male and in skilled trades), but not at the expense of women. Secondly, the platform on which the demand for shorter hours was based presents a stark comparison of gender ideology for the later movement of shorter hours for women.

The major contention of the nine hour movement was leisure-time. Its supporters claimed that legal limitation of the hours of work would give workers more leisure time to improve their minds to take on the important business matters of the country. On February 11, 1872, James Ryan, a prominent working class leader in Hamilton, urged his fellow craftsmen to fight for a shorter day:

> Our country, though young is destined to be great and glorious. Working men want their share in this glory, and seek it in reduction of labour, not in increase of pay. We want to better our physical constitutions and increase our mental power, so that if we cannot equal our Yankee neighbour in the variety of our undertaking, we can at least compete with them in the artistic finish of our productions...we want not more money but more brains.[3]

The demand for shorter hours which took predominance over higher wages highlights the fact that the family wage had yet to become an ideal. As I have argued, Hamilton women in 1871 had not yet been weaned from contributing to the subsistence needs of the household.

There did exist, however, an explicit notion of what constituted men and women's proper sphere. A statement to the local press, representative of the views of the

supporters of the movement, by C.F. Cole, a Hamilton carpenter indicated:

> Although a young colony we have had so much introduced by railways and improved machinery that we excell many others who are our senior in years. Now sir, in whom has the progress of this country rested, and on whom will it depend in regard to her future wealth and glory... how stupendous the barrier, that shuts them out from the circle of society that it is their right as intellectual and scientific men to move in...[4]

Men's proper sphere was in the public sphere of commerce and intellectual society. Shorter hours would "give opportunities for study, reflection, and mental improvement."[5]

Opponents of the idea claimed that the ten hours' day, then considered normal, was a benefit to the working classes, who might otherwise fail to make proper use of their leisure time (Wallace, 1950). Similarily, George Brown of the Globe stated:

> ...shorter hours were bad for Labour. The men would have more time to spend at home, and would make a nuisance of themselves.[6]

Brown was arguing that men would get in their wives way by disrupting their domestic duties. Social reformers also felt that men would turn to drink (Morrison, 1976). The issue of women's labour was not addressed by this movement.

The working-class failed to achieve shorter hours in 1872.[7] The failure of the movement has been attributed to a lack of solidarity among the various segments of the

working-class (Palmer, 1979). The movement of shorter hours for men, claimed a necessity for more leisure time so men could be more physically and mentally fit for their roles as leaders of the country. The subsequent move for shorter hours for women, involved a need to 'protect' women to fulfill their proper role as wives and mothers. (McLean, 1899). The absence of a large proportion of women in the Hamilton labour force in 1871 highlights the working-class' concern over the conditions of the factory for men only. In the next decade a change in this relation can be observed.

Organized Labour's Response to Female Workers

The 1884 Ontario factory act, which limited the hours of women's work, co-incided with the growth of the trade union movement and the development of the textile industry in Hamilton which began to employ more women.[8] Between 1881 and 1891 the population of Hamilton grew by 36.2% to 48,980.[9] Although the proportion of women in the labour force remained relatively the same, the absolute number increased. The number of factories and mills expanded. In 1880, the Hamilton Cotton company opened its doors and two years later, the Ontario Cotton Company was launched by Hamilton's local businessmen. The third major cotton firm, Imperial Cotton Company, appeared in 1900. In addition the Eagle Knitting Company was built in 1889 (Heron, 1981:403). These textile mills, as noted in Britain and the United States, relied heavily on women's cheap labour for

expansion. Organized labour which had grown in number and strength began to respond to the issue of female wage workers (Forsey, 1982) Hartmann's analysis in the United States has made an explicit connection between the growth of trade unions and the emergence of protective legislation for women. Exploring the practices of unions in regard to female labour will identify how well the example of Hamilton fits Hartmann's pattern.

Women workers were a cause of concern for organized labour on two accounts. First, technical innovations which increased output and usually reduced the skill required of the worker was accompanied by a shift to the use of female labour. Secondly, along with the fears of being replaced, men also believed that women's paid work was lowering wages overall. Generally craft workers were anxious about the growing number of machines sub-dividing their skills. A representative statement by a retired worker from the Great Western Railway since 1872, testifying before the Hamilton session of the Royal Commission on Labour and Capital, 1887 (here after RCLC) voiced this concern:

> You see the effect of the introduction of machinery by the manufacturers is to abridge labor and cheapen everything. That must necessarily be against the interests of the man who has his labor to sell, because an unskilled kind of labor can be introduced by the application of mechanism, whereas it is by his skill that the skilled artisan has been detrimental to the interest of the employee, in as much as the introduction of machinery reduced the labour required...[10]

Mechanization posed a vital threat to Hamilton crafts. The need for capital to increase production by employing cheap labour often utilized the unskilled labour of women and children. The commissioners of the Armstrong Report on the Relations of Labour and Capital in 1889 stated:

> To arrive at the greatest results for the smallest expenditure the mills and factories are filled with women and children, to the practical exclusion of adult males. The reason for this is obvious. Females and children may be counted upon to work for small wages, to submit to petty and exasperating exactions, and to work uncomplainingly for long hours. These are the inducements to employ this class of labor and why it is being utilized so largely...So long as one employer is permitted to fill up his factory with this cheap labor, without any restrictions, the others are compelled to do likewise, or suffer the consequences of being undersold in the general market.[11]

These two concerns were faced by organized labour in the 1880's. Humphries has argued that the availability of women and children's cheap pool of labour promoted and re-enforced a gender-based division of labour and accompanying sexist ideology among workers and employers. She claims there is an interactive effect of class-based interest and gendered relations in the emergence of female labour posed as an indirect threat to the security of male labour (1977b:33-36). Hartmann contends that the problem of women's cheap labour could have been solved by organizing the women. Why then, questions Hartmann did the men not

organize the women? (1976:16).

Working women stood in direct contradiction to the prevailing feminine ideology which accounts somewhat for the ambiguous and contradictory responses of trade unions to organizing women in Ontario. Julie White has described the Victorian ideology that was prevalent throughout Canada in the late nineteenth century.

> Victorian ideology defined women as inferior to men, fragile, emotional and in need of protection. This ideology was as prevalent in Canada as an import as it was in Britain. The ideal of womanhood combined religious piety, moral purity and - first and foremost - a complete commitment to domesticity. A woman's primary role, her natural contribution, was as wife and mother (1980:14).

This was a widely held view in Ontario[12] and as the following discussion will show it shaped in part the three different and contradictory positions taken by the union movement. They sought, at one and the same time, to exclude women from the labour force, to demand protective legislation, and to unionize women.

Hartmann's analysis of the cigar and printing unions in the United States is supported by existing evidence of these corresponding unions in Ontario.[13] The fear of male workers was based on an anxiety of the skilled workers for the unskilled, who might undercut their jobs and wages. The printing unions, for example, backed equal pay for equal work as a way to protect the man's wage scale, not to

encourage women.[14] This was based on the premise that women's work was not equal to men's and could therefore not expect equal wages. To re-enforce this notion they supported protective legislation for women, but not for men.[15] The Hamilton-based Knights of Labour, on the other hand, appeared to present a firm commitment to organization of women to struggle for women's rights in the workplace.

The commitment of the Knights of Labour to organizing all workers must not be overdrawn to assume it transcended the prevalent gender ideology that subordinated women to men.[16] Although they demanded equal pay for equal work (as did the printer and cigar unions) they did not attempt to dissuade the common notions of women's proper sphere. Contrary to other unions who supported this demand, the Knights of Labour actively set out to organize women. In contrast to campaigns to organize men, where the strike, mass campaings, boycotts and demonstrations were the drawing card, women were solicited at organized soirees, hops and socials (Kealey, 1983:318). Hamilton was the location for one of the most important assemblies of the Knights of Labour that comprised all women. The excelsior in 1884-85 totalled 3,179 operatives in the cotton and shoe factories, with Miss Katie McVicar as the key figure (Palmer, 1979:166). Kealey's assessment of the Knights of Labour's commitment to women concludes:

> ...the Knights of Labor struggled in many ways, with varying successes, to overcome the limitations of sex. These limitations were at one and the same time conditioned and sustained by consensual norms of women's proper sphere, traditional male attitudes, deeply held prejudices, economic imperatives in capitalist society, and women's own restricted consciousness of their class and sexual oppression (1983:325).

In sum, it would appear that Hartmann's analysis is in part correct. The evidence suggests however that female subordination as well as a desire by the working-class for a higher standard of living were both primary objectives of organized labour in the 1880's in Hamilton. From this example of Hamilton a refinement of this thesis is presented. It is argued that the emergence of protective legislation while developing out of a desire to subordinate women and to improve the living standards of the working-class it also reflected the interests of capital.

Responses by Owners of Capital to Structural Constraints

Labour organizations in the 1880's began to be perceived by owners of capital as a barrier to maximum efficienty. The scope of local labour organizations increased as an outcome of the mutual aid among unions in the general nine-hour movement and the organization of unskilled workers in the industry based Knights of Labour. They began to be regarded by Ontario's owners of capital as an impediment to accumulation (Campbell, 1980:97). In

addition, intense competition from capitalists in other provinces led in part to a crisis of overproduction whereby factories and mills were operating at below capacity levels (Campbell, 1980:97). The mechanization of labour processes had not yet developed enough to allow for intensive exploitation of labour and the extensive use of female and child labour meant relatively low levels of labour productivity. While some measures which aided the elimination of these barriers were largely determined by the internal logic of the capitalist production process, others were consciously conceived.

These latter measures were primarily aimed at preventing intercapitalist rivalry and the unionization of workers. The responses of capitalists in the manufacturing sector, according to Jane Campbell, took three main forms. First, they increased the division of labour, replacing skilled and unionized labour with machinery or with the cheaper unskilled labour. Secondly, they developed class conscious organizations representing the collective interests of employers in controlling labour. Third, they organized as a politically class conscious group capable of presenting and extracting their partisan demands. These responses by employers to the perceived constraints and the reactions of workers to the consequences of employers actions articulated both the potential and actual political context to which the state interpreted a need to respond (Campbell, 1980:101-106).

The Implementation of Factory Acts for Women

The state factory act of 1884 addressed the issue of the productivity of labour.[17] The provision of this policy can be understood as a component of the state fulfilling its function of reproduction. The problem of labour productivity lay partly in the oppressive working conditions which affected the health and life of the industrial proletariat. The exploitation of labour by long hours, low wages, health and safety hazards could not continue indefinitely without slowly destroying the quality of labour power necessary for the expansion of the capitalist production process. Growing social concern over factory conditions prompted D. Darby Bergin, a physician in Cornwall, Ontario, who was familiar with the health conditions in the cotton mills, to present to Parliament in 1880, the first Dominion factory bill. This bill called for limiting the hours of work for women and young children.[18]

In the period between 1880 and 1886, three government bills and four private member's bills dealing with factory conditions were introduced in the federal parliament. None of these bills passed (Forsey, 1945). An important result of these bills was the appointment of two Royal Commissions to investigate the relations of labour and capital in the industrial economy. The Commission supported the need for restrictions on child and female

labour as well as health, hours and safety regulations for all workers.[19] In 1884, the factory bill was again introduced into the house but was withdrawn without debate. It was announced later in this session by Mr. Atkins that, "considerable amount of correspondence was coming in almost daily from 'employers of labour' about the bill, the government thought it better ... to withdraw the bill for the present session" (cited in Forsey, 1945). The bill was rejected by the Senate as being ultra vires the Dominion government and was withdrawn as a result of claimed opposition from 'employers of labour' (cited in Forsey, 1945).

Given the admission by the Dominion government that they did not have jurisdiction to legislate labour laws, the Ontario government passed the factory act in 1884. It was based on the English Factory Laws and the unsuccessful dominion factory bills. This act established a maximum working day of ten hours for women and children. Only factories with twenty or more employees were subject to the regulation of the act with the result that all work shops and 'home work' places were exempt from inspection and control.[20]

There is no evidence to suggest that the implementation of the factories act was in response to direct appeals from labour organizations for regulation or working conditions where these appeals were channelled through the legitimate avenue of bourgeois politics (Campbell, 1980).

The Operation of the Factory Acts

The operation of the factory acts reveals the contradictory nature of the state - that it is at one and the same time coercive and supportive. As an ideological apparatus of the state, the law not only mystifies reality but it also structures real options. The relations and enforcement of the factory acts reduced the hours of women's work offering her a certain 'protection' revealing the benevolent side of state action. The state fulfilled its function of legitimacy by creating conditions for social harmony. On the other hand, the state policy was coercive. The woman worker came to be defined as a problem. It was argued that working outside the home put her health and morality in danger. This in turn threatened her future role as wife and mother and ultimately the home and nation (Scott, 1892). This ideology was not only suggesting that married women remain in the home, but single women had only a temporary place in wage work - only until marriage. It mystified the oppressive side of state law which ignored the exploitive conditions of women's work in the home and market place as well as sacraficing the right of women to work - keeping them to their tasks of reproducing the labour force. In addition the state was faced with fulfilling the function of accumulation. The contradictory fulfillment of this state function is revealed in the narrowness of the factory acts which omitted small factory

establishments and the sweating industries. The factory acts while appearing to benefit the working class, served to shape the population to the requirements of the production process.

Two government commissions (The RCLC, 1889; and the Royal Commission on Sweating, 1896; (hereafter RCS)) during the time period when the factory acts were being discussed and implemented, were important in defining the terms by which women were addressed. In addition they provide vital data on women's working conditions in Hamilton. The low wages of Hamilton women's work were justified on the basis of their primary role as wife and mother (both future and present). It was argued that she was working only for 'pin money' to supplement the income of the family/household. An example of women's and men's wages in the cotton mills reflects this assumption:

> Twenty men's wages range from $10 to $20 a week, average $12.50; sixteen men's wages average $7.29 per week. The boys wages from $5.70 to $1.90 per week. The women will average $5.70 to $1.90 per week. About 20 boys average over $6. per week. The girl's wages range from $5 to $1.90 per week.[23]

The employer of this company stated that $1.90 would not maintain a young girl, but when there were three or four in the family earning higher sums, the family could survive.[24] The women as workers in their own right were negated by their dependency on the males' wages.

Issues such as job security and equal pay, as well as demands for skilled work and union organization were ignored because of this belief in women's dependency on the male wage. Susan Trofimenkoff describes the 'muffled voices' of women giving testimony at the RCLC. By incessantly asking questions regarding immorality at the workplace, "the commissioners neatly avoided the crucial social and economic questions raised by the factory system and women's place in it" (1977:78). Male workers concurred with the commissioners, questioning the moral environment of the factory:

> Young girls should not be working in large mills because they would hear immoral words and thus become immoral (Kealey, 1973:65).

This moral concern led to an assessment of women as a helpless group needing both moral and physical protection from the work world.

The Ontario factory acts passed in 1884 were largely inoperative until the appointment of factory inspectors in 1887. Evidence given at the RCLC emphasized the ineffectual law:

> The act does not include places where less than twenty people work and it is notoriously winked at by the employers of labour. Just as long as there is manifested a reluctance to enforce its provisions by the process of the law it will remain a delusion and a farce upon legislation (Kealey, 1973:44).

To partially remedy this situation and to maintain the legitimacy of the state action, factory inspectors were appointed to enforce the provisions of the law. Nothing was done to change the law to include the small establishments or sweating shops which can be assumed to be an important source of cheap labour power to aid in the accumulation process.

As employees of the state, the female factory inspectors helped to promote feminine ideology. Morality and the effect of work on the reproductive capacities of women were of vital and primary importance. Year after year the factory inspectors' reports made no mention of women's rights to higher wages or to job security. However as Klein and Roberts point out, "there is reference after reference to the ill effects of the factory and shopwork on the nervous system of women (1974:222). They argue that the assumptions elicited from the female factory inspectors did not represent the experience of the 'working woman', but their own class interests.

> ...the working woman appears with her calling of motherhood endangered, her womanly innocence beseiged from all sides by temptation and lack of proper sanitation, and her helplessness in a cruel world requiring intervention by the well meaning. None of these assumptions are warranted judging from what testimony we have from the working women herself (1974:226).

The factory inspectors treated the women as a separate

occupational group, demanding seats for women, restrictions of overtime, provisions of lunchrooms and separate drinking water.[25] This differential treatment according to gender furthered the already apparent occupational distinction - a distinction central to women's oppression.

Limiting the hours of women's paid work did not reduce their workload. Rather it re-enforced their responsibility for both reproductive and productive activities. An explicit assumption underpinning the factory acts was that restrictions in paid employment would allow women more time for reproductive duties. (This is an interesting contrast to men where shorter hours was to give them more leisure time). A Hamilton employer testifying at the RCLC sessions stated:

> In the winter time we start at 7:30 and work until 6 O'clock, allowing them one hour at dinner, and giving them from 4 O'clock. This allows the mother to do the marketing in the daylight and we find that they can do the same amount of work in the nine hours, and then they appear more healthy and strong than when working the longer hours.[26]

Illustrated in this passage is the way industry competes with the home for women's labour. Shortening women's paid work hours did not deprive the employer of this cheap pool of labour. At the same time it allowed the woman more time for reproductive activities resulting in a 'healthier' workforce. The factory acts served to institutionalize woman's 'double day' of domestic and paid work.

The Sweating System

The sweating system illustrates how the state is faced with a number of structural constraints thereby requiring a juggling of priorities. To remove all women from production might seriously impede the production process dependent upon cheap labour for expansion. In contributing to the reproduction of labour power, state action modified the nature, extent and distribution of female labour power by refulating female labour in some establishments but not all of them. The sweating industries, hidden for the most part from public view, initially elicited the least amount of public outcry. However the testimony at the RCLC which revealed this aspect of women's work made it contentious enough to warrant a Royal Commission in 1896.[27] By ignoring the conditions of sweating work and concentrating on the conditions of the garments, the commissioners were able to still the concern over this system, allowing the continued exploitation of women's cheap labour. The sweating system, disproportionately represented by married women, starkly reveals the disjunction between the economic organization of the family/household and the ideology of domesticity.

Many working-class households could not survive solely on the male wage forcing married women to take on paid employment. Under the sweating system, women sewed in their own homes or in small shops for a middleman who

sold the completed goods to a manufacturer. This was one of the few job options open to women burdened with domestic duties, particularly for those women with infants or young children. Wives, mothers and widows were homeworkers because their reproductive and productive activities could more easily be combined.[28]

The RCS found Hamilton to be one of the places where the contractors shop occurred to a great extent.[29] In one Hamilton Company, Messrs. Sanford and Co., a foreman tailor testified that altogether the company employed 2,000 women working at clothing and sewing, and that all of the work was done outside the factory. In addition, another 120 to 160 persons inside the factory took work out of the building employing large numbers of sewing women. Some of these women engaged as many as twenty hands (Kealey, 1973:158). Clearly this system was widespread in Hamilton, although it had been ignored by census takers rendering this aspect of women's work invisible in official statistics.

This 'hidden economy' took many forms. The commissioners of the RCS did not attempt to define the term 'sweating system' as the "differing definitions were as numerous as the men (sic) who gave them."[30] They stated it has been defined as:

> The system of making clothes under filthy and inhuman conditions"; as "work sent out by a first contractor to be done in tenement houses or in the homes of the operative"; "as a combination of the tenement house

> system, the subcontract system and the task system"; "as wherever men (sic) are employed at low wages and under unhealthy conditions"; as grinding faces of the poor";[31]

The commissioners equated the problem of defining the term with varying opinions of the system. Generally, homework referred to any situation in which piecework wages were so low that workers had to keep going at a gruelling pace for many hours at a time.(Johnson, 1982:39).

The Commissioners, similar to those of the RCLC, defined the 'problem' of sweating as a sanitary one. Poor and dangerous working conditions, the commissioners worried, could lead to disease. Most often, questions asked by the commissioners ignored the conditions of work, concentrating instead on the conditions of the garments. Is it at all common practice, one commissioner asked, for employees or members of the families of contractors to sleep in the workroom or sew clothing in the course of manufacture for bedding? Are the manufacturers informed of the sanitary conditions of the workshops or dwelling? Are the shops healthy...? At one point an informant responding to one of the Commissioners questions on health:

> I don't quite understand what you're driving at. I thought it was the hours of work and wages we paid that you wanted to know. I did not come here to learn anything about diseases.[32]

The definition of the problem resulted in no "action" on the part of the state as it was concluded that "no authenticated

case of an infectious disease having been spread by means of garments made in contractors' shops or private houses... was to be found."[33]

Nevertheless, a picture of the extent of the oppression of this work can be discerned from the testimony heard at the commission. Most homeworkers were mothers and wives. Their wages were seen as supplementary to the breadwinner and therefore they were incredibly low. A woman in Hamilton would work from 7.a.m. to 6 p.m. at night, 7 days a week, to earn between two dollars to seven dollars a week.[34] Those women earning the top wages would usually have to buy their own thread. Mr. Davis a manufacturer contended :

> I know of one place where they have to find their own thread. At the same place I have seen them waiting probably two hours to get a half dozen pairs and bring them back the next day in baby buggies and probably several children to look after as well. Then the foreman will pick out four pair and complain that they are not finished enough and the woman has either to do the work over again or be fined.[35]

The Commissioner asked of a union representative whether the system of fining for imperfect or partially spoiled work prevailed to any extent. The representative replied:

> They don't call it a fine. If any one spoils work it is the custom in the trade that he (sic) has to pay for it, or trot. In some warehouses they make a practice of fining as you might call it. A foreman says "that does not go" and pretends to find some defect. He checks so much of her

> money. If she does not take what he gives her he says 'There is no more work for you'.[36]

The women had no alternative but to submit to these conditions. They were burdened by their domestic duties, which in many cases included care of young children. In addition many of them were new immigrants with language and law constraints which further limited their job options.

The setting of the work was similarly oppressive. This sweating system was different from older forms of homework. Robert Johnson has indicated that in rural villages the cottage weaver or spinner had the advantage of fresh air, a garden or the opportunity for part-time work in agriculture. In the city:

> Homeworkers were crowded into slums and tenements. Whole families lived and worked in a single room, with poor ventilation and dismal sanitary conditions. Lighting was minimal, heating often inadequate and plumbing primitive or non-existent (1982:40).

In these poor conditions away from the control and regulation of the factory acts, women and children toiled for much longer hours in the workshops and then took work home to do at night. Women's work was clearly 'never done'.

The apparenticeship system was capable of gross abuse of young children. Young girls were also victims of unscrupulous employers. They were often employed for nothing, particularly young girls, while learning the trade. The commissioner reported:

> I learned of one contractor...who makes a practice of employing 'learners' who engage to work for him without wages while they are learning the trade. These learners usually girls, are kept at some trivial and easily mastered work... and then, when the term for which they agreed to work without wages expires they are discharged...their places being filled by other 'learners' who are in turn defrauded out of several months of work and time.[37]

There was no defense for these children. There was no union organization to turn to and what did exist was concerned with eliminating this form of work altogether. Mothers and Fathers were afraid of loosing their own jobs so this abuse continued on unchallenged.

In summation, the commissioner nicely side-stepped the issue of the exploitation of 'sweated labour'. He remarked that it had not been found possible through a medium of a temporary commission to obtain reliable, detailed and accurate statistical information on the questions of wages and conditions of life and labour among the working classes.[38] At any point during the meeting when talk touched upon such issues the commissioner made a similar statement. He concluded that there was no immediate problem as there was no evidence of disease.

The commissioner recommended that because there was 'no problem', legislation should not be enacted at this time. Legislation would be harmful for the employers:

> The general opinion among employers and working men is that no one province could enact stringent legislation for the purposes of checking or preventing the 'sweating system' without the great risk of injury to business...The probable effect of such legislation would be the transference of the business to some other province...[39]

Along with this material concern for the accumulation process the extension of the factory acts to include 'sweated dwellings' would have constituted an invasion of the sanctity of the home. Inspections and regulation of the houses would mean the "surrendering of the privacy that makes the home sacred."[40]

The participation of women in the sweating system illustrates the disjunction between the bourgeois ideology of familialism and the economic organization of the working-class household. A significant proportion of the households required the additional wages of the wife in order to maintain a decent level of subsistence. This reality, entrenched by an ideology of women as dependent domestic servants forced married women to take on jobs where productive and reproductive activities could be more easily combined. This homework existing outside the regulation and control of state factory policy enabled employers to freely exploit the material conditions of women's work.

Conclusion

It would appear from the evidence presented in this chapter that Hartmann's analysis is in part correct. The trade union movement did develop at the same time as protective legislation for women. However, the absence of married women having been drawn into the paid labour force meant that women in Hamilton in 1880-90 had not been removed from contributing to the means of production. The family wage premised on the dependent-wife family form had yet to become a working-class demand. The initial movement for shorter hours for men was based on providing more leisure time to improve their minds, while the subsequent movement demanded more time for women to attend to her reproductive duties. There is no evidence to suggest that the provision of the factory acts developed primarily from direct appeals from organized labour for regulation on hours of work. Rather the 'problem' was mediated through capital to the state, who were concerned with structural constraints to the production process. The factory acts addressed one of these constraints - that of productivity of labour. The provision of the factory acts may be understood as part of the state contributing to the reproduction of labour power by modifying the nature, extent and distribution of women's labour power. The factory acts distinguished women as a separate occupational group, institutionalized their double day of work, and exacerbated the gendered division of labour.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

[1]See Hartmann (1976); Zaretsky (1978)

[2]See for example Lipton (1966); Forsey (1983)

[3]See Hamilton Spectator, 29 January, 1872 cited in Palmer, (1979)

[4]See Hamilton Spectator, 31 January, 1872 cited in Palmer, (1979). See also the Palladium of Labour, August, 1884.

[5]See Palmer, (1979); Forsey (1982); Kealey, (1983)

[6]Cited in Palmer (1979:99)

[7]A significant body of literature has developed on this movement so there is no need to repeat the issues here. See for example, Palmer, (1979)

[8]For evidence of the textile mills employing more Hamilton women see Heron, (1980)

[9]See Census Canada (1881, 1891)

[10]Cited in Palmer (1979:99)

[11]Canada, Royal Commission on Labour and Capital. Appendices to the Armstrong Report. In Canada Investigates Industrialism. (ed) Gregory Kealey, (1973:42)

[12]For a full description of this ideology in Ontario, see Morrison, (1976)

[13]Ample evidence for this assertion is presented by Foresey, 1982.

[14]See in particular Forsey, (1982:229)

[15]See in particular Forsey, (1982:229). See also the Trades and Labour Congress resolutions that called for equal pay for equal work and at the same time advocated the abolition of child and female labour in all branches of industrial life such as mines, workshops, factories etc.

[16]For a more detailed account of women in the Knights of Labor see Kealey (1983:316-26)

[17]Other measures taken by the state explicitly dealt with unionization and intercapitalist rivalry. For example the Trade Union act amendments and Mechanic Lien Act amendments immigration policies etc.

[18]Department of Labour, Legislation in Canada, A Historical Outline of the Principal and Provincial Labour Laws. Legislation Branch, (Aug. 1945)

[19]"Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Working of the Mills".

[20]Statutes of the Province of Ontario. 1884,47,Vic., Chapter 39.sec.1(c).

[21]RCLC (1889) "Commission to Enquire Upon the Sweating System," (1896)

[22]State reproduction of labour power, following Gough, "refers to the direct public provision of goods and services, or to state action to modify their nature, extent and distribution." (1979:52)

[23]This passage was taken from the RCLC testimony of a manager from Kingston Cotton Company. The wages are the same as in Hamilton's Ontario Cotton Mill. See Palmer (1979: 65)

[24]See Palmer (1979:71)

[25]Reports of Female Factory Inspectors, 1896-1907

[26]Cited in Palmer, (1979:29)

[27]RCLC (1889); RCS (1895)

[28]See Laura Johnson, (1982) for a modern version of this.

[29]RCW (1895:6)

[30]RCW (1895:3)

[31]RCW (1895:3)

[32]RCW (1895:90)

[33]RCW (1895:80)

[34]RCLC (1889:158)

[35]RCS (1895:38)

[36]RCS (1895:26)

[37]RCS (1895:10)

[38]RCS (1895:16)

[39]RCS (1895:9)

[40]RCS (1895:17)

CHAPTER FOUR

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE GENDERED DIVISION OF LABOUR IN HAMILTON

Introduction

In the last three chapters the gendered division of labour was identified as the major source of women's oppression in society as a whole and women's subordination to men within the home. It was shown that the period of early consolidation of capitalism was central to the emergence of a particular family form - dependent female - breadwinner male - which enforces, embodies and reflects this oppressive division of labour. I argued that while both capitalist hiring policies and trade union responses to female labour were significant, the Ontario factory policies enacted at the turn of the century also supported this family form. These policies had both material and ideological components which established and sustained this particular family/household form. I have also argued that there was a contradiction between the ideology of famialism and the actual economic organization of the typical household for the working-class. This disjunction was illustrated by the 'sweating system'.

With the advent of industrial capitalism women came to be incorporated into deskilled, low paying, dead-end

jobs by both class relations, which opened up these kinds of work, and gender dynamics which allotted these jobs specifically to women. The division of labour is created by the economic requirements of capital accumulation. The form it takes involves an ideological component that pre-dates capitalism and is in turn shaped historically to meet the needs of the present mode of production. The ideology of familialism which accompanied the era of monopoly capitalism served to enforce women's subordination to men in the home and market place. The ideological and material components are readily discernable in state factory policies for women. This analysis is supported by Hamilton women's work experience.

In this chapter I will investigate the existence of a gendered division of labour in Hamilton using primarily the census data from 1911-21. Several of women's leading occupations will be examined to describe what constituted female as opposed to male work. Finally the fact that married women did indeed constitute a 'reserve army' of labour will be illustrated by women's work during the war. It is argued that the Hamilton example confirms the earlier theoretical assertion. Job segregation by gender was established by the material results and ideological components of 'protective' legislation.

The Structure and Nature of Women's Work

In order to understand the structure and nature of women's work in Hamilton, it is necessary to ground this analysis in the historical development of the capitalist labour process. In his analysis of the expansion of the capitalist labour process in North America as a whole, Braverman noted that one key was the usurpation of the labour processes of the pre-capitalist farm family by capital (1974). Connelly discusses the way this process developed in Canada. She notes it was fueled by the erosion of independent commodity production.

> Canadian capitalists looking for a labour supply drew on families whose small farms had gone bankrupt and on tradespeople and artisans who had been forced out of their independent work by competition from large scale production. Machinery and capital equipment introduced into agricultural production 'freed' many farm workers who had no choice but to become wage-labourers (1983:47).

The 'universal market', particularly the service sector, took over many of the labour processes previously performed by women in the home.[1] The necessity to have access to money to purchase such items also compelled women to seek paid employment.

Braverman argues that in the era of monopoly capitalism, the capitalist mode of production appropriates the totality of individual, family and social needs. In this process, the creation of the 'universal market', 'all

social life and indeed the interrelatedness of humankind' becomes dependent on the market place. Concommitently, these needs are reshaped to serve the requirements of capital (1974:271-84). The result is a rapid economic expansion of new products, services and industries. This expansion generates a new occupational structure in which the new social division of labour is divided between the extended manufacturing sector, employing productive labour and the newly created service sector, employing unproductive labour. This process both prompted the growth of manufacturing industries and created a female labour pool. Women were incorporated into the newly developing and changing sectors of the economy.

Increasing female employment was due to more than simply the growth of new jobs. Workers generally and women in particular were incorporated into more simplified jobs in industry. The dehumanized tasks were cheaper to reproduce, and new areas were not mechanized, but labour intensive, forcing many workers to compete with each other, depressing wages overall. In sum, these jobs were deskilled, competitive, low paid and highly supervised.

Monopoly capitalism not only transformed wage labour; it also had an impact on the family/household and women's labour within it. The family/household was reduced to a sphere of production, only of human beings and their capacity to labour and of consumption. Women's domestic

labour was devalued in the process. Their work changed to that of personal service to the wage workers and children but did not decrease in amount. Increasingly compelled to take on paid employment heightened the contradictions of their 'dual role' of wage and domestic labour.

Working-class family life in this period has tended to be shrouded in a romantic mysticism. Members of working-class families are seen forming a cohesive group, working and struggling together for the benefit of all.[2] Jane Humphries' emphasis on 'the primitive communism of the family', (1977a) conceals the hierarchical gender dynamics that occur within this unit and extends beyond it into the public sector.

A distinct gendered division of labour existed in the home. In her study of Hamilton men and women in 1900-1930, Jane Synge found that the only job in the home that was not sex-typed was wall papering and painting (1982:3:49). Women and girls took care of <u>all</u> the domestic duties. Given that most household conveniences had yet to be invented or were beyond the means of the working-class family, domestic labour was difficult and time-consuming and required a full-time household manager. This work of women is obscured in Synge's description of the typical working-class family, "made up of the husband usually employed in some branch of manufacturing: the wife who usually stayed home..." (1982:3:49). Although Synge, like

Katz, has recognized that women and men do different kinds of jobs, she fails to analyse the dynamics of gender relations that kept women to the tasks of reproduction.

The ideological component of 'protective' legislation that defined women's place in the home was maintained by Hamilton's patriarchal employers. There existed in Hamilton's industry an informal sanction against married women, commonly known as the 'marriage bar'. One of Synge's informants recounted the experience of one of her office mates:

> There was a girl over there and she had a good position...And she got married over the weekend, just on the spur of the moment. And she came in on Monday and she didn't have a ring on. But she happened to mention it to someone, and it got to the boss's ears, and he called her in. And she went over to the clothes press (closet), and got her coat and went out. She said he wouldn't let her start (1982,3:74).

As long as there was an abundant supply of single females to fill jobs married women were prevented from entering the labour force. According to Synge, whenever there was a strong local demand for women's labour, married women were incorporated into the labour market (1982). This suggests that the feminine ideology adapts to meet the needs of capital. Married women are forced in and out of the labour force, without regard to their subsistence needs, and this process is justified by the notion of their dependence on the male wage.[3]

TABLE 4:1

CONJUGAL CONDITIONS HAMILTON MEN AND WOMEN 1911*

	% Males	% Females
Single	56.9 (22,546)	52.8 (19,777)
Married	40.6 (16,096)	39.9 (14,933)
Widowed	1.8 (714)	7. (2,607)
Other	.7 (277)	.3 (122)
Total Pop.	39,633	37,439

* Figures are calculated by adding Hamilton East and Hamilton West together

SOURCE: Canada, Census (Ottawa), 1911,I.

TABLE 4:2

MALE AND REMALE WAGE EARNERS BY AGE IN HAMILTON IN 1911

AGE	%M	%F
10-14	.7	1.8
	(194)	(141)
15-24	27.1	51.4
	(7,992)	(4,079)
25-64	69.6	45.9
	(20,530)	(3,641)
65+	(780)	(71)
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	(29,496)	(7,932)

Source: Canada, Census (Ottawa), 1911, VI 307-17.

after marriage, women left the labour market.

Census reports have characteristically overlooked (ignored?) much of women's paid work. In the early stages of capitalism many women worked as domestic servants in private homes outside the public sphere. Increasing industrialization opened up a variety of jobs, first of all in the manufacturing sector, in clothing, textiles and food production. Secondly, the growth of the service sector which had commoditized many of women's home tasks, employed a large number of women. Some of their labour was no longer 'hidden in the household'.

The emergence of women into the public sphere is revealed in the census reports. In 1851 over 90 percent of women employed were in the domestic service sector. By 1911, manufacturing comprised the largest proportion of women, totalling 44.7 percent of the female labour force in comparison to 23.9 percent in domestic service (see Table 4:4). This distinguished Hamilton from other centres in Canada, such as Toronto, where the service occupations predominated. Manufacturing jobs in Hamilton also included the greatest proportion of the male workforce. Craig Heron's study of the Hamilton textile and clothing industries revealed a distinct job segregation by sex in these occupations (1982). Despite women's entry into the labour force there still existed 'men's work' and 'women's work'.

Men monopolized all areas of work except domestic service which was designated as 'women's work' (see table 4:5).

TABLE 4:3

MALE AND FEMALE WAGE EARNERS BY AGE IN HAMILTON 1921-31

	1921		1931	
AGE	%M	%F	%M	%F
10-14	.4 (145)	.9 (94)	- (6)	- (2)
15-24	19.5 (7,183)	50. (5,488)	18.1 (8,908)	47.5 (6,865)
25-34	27.6 (10,195)	24.2 (2,655)	25.6 (12,609)	24.3 (3,505)
65+	3.6 (1,313)	1.3 (145)	3.8 (1,850)	1.7 (245)
Total	100% (36,927)	100% (10,969)	100% (49,314)	100% (14,439)

Source: Canada, Census (Ottawa), 1921, IV, 400-19; 1931 VII, 180-91.

TABLE 4:4

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MALE AND FEMALE LABOURFORCE *
IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

	1911		1921		1931	
OCCUPATION	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F
Agriculture	1.3 (384)	.1 (9)	.8 (304)	.0 (1)	1.1 (551)	2.1 (11)
Building Trade Construction	13.7 (4,038)	.0 (1)	9.8 (3,612)	.0 (1)	9.5 (4,694)	.1 (17)
Domestic and Personal Service	3.9 (1,165)	23.9 (1,892)	6.0 (2,223)	16.6 (1,823)	4.8 (2,382)	24.5 (3,539)
Government and Public Adm.	2.7 (792)	.0 (3)	3.2 (1,186)	-	1.2 (583)	.0 (2)
Manufacturing	50.3 (14,824)	44.7 (3,542)	42.8 (15,802)	32.9 (3,617)	27.4 (13,519)	24.5 (3,535)
(Semi-) Professional	2.4 (710)	6.9 (546)	3.8 (1,388)	12.1 (1,324)	4.8 (2,353)	12.4 (1,794)
Trade and Finance	3.2 (3,892)	9.5 (755)	14.0 (5,188)	12.2 (1,338)	12.7 (6,286)	10.4 (1,498)
Transportation Communication	7.3 (2,154)	1.6 (127)	8.0 (2,958)	3.0 (327)	8.6 (4,255)	2.7 (391)
Mining, Logging Fishing	.4 (117)	-	.1 (49)	-	.18 (91)	-
Clerical	4.8 (1,415)	13.3 (1,057)	7.9 (2,909)	22.7 (2,487)	5.2 (2,555)	20.1 (2,907)
Other-labourers, Unskilled					19.9 (9,796)	2.3 (423)
Miscl. Unspecified			3.5 (1,308)	.4 (51)	4.4 (2,149)	2.2 (322)
TOTAL	(29,496)	(7,932)	(36,927)	(10,969)	(49,314)	(14,439)

* Persons included are aged 10 and over.

Source: Canada, Census, (Ottawa), 1911, VI, 307-17; 1921, IV, 400-19; 1931, VIII, 180-91.

Men comprised 100% of mining; 99.9% of building; 97.7% of agriculture; 96.6% of government and public administration; 94% of transportation; 83.8% of trade and finance and 80.7% of manufacturing. Women, on the other hand, predominated in domestic service totaling 61.9 percent of this sector of the labour force. Even the two groups containing the growing new 'women's occupations' of nurse and typist were male dominated with women making up 43% of the semi-professional category and 42.8% of the clerical sector. This picture varies little throughout the first three decades of the century. It illustrates the areas where women and men were found, but what is obscured in this picture are the important changes taking place within specific occupations.

An examination of the leading occupations for women in Hamilton from 1911 to 1931 demonstrates that in all but two, office employees in manufacturing and the sales field, women are disproportionately represented (see Table 4:6). In other words, where women work their co-workers are also very likely to be women. In 1911, women totalled 100% of dressmakers; 92.8% of domestic servants; 86.1% of typists; 80% of teachers; 73.1% in hoisery and knits; 64% in the cotton mills; 57.8% of trade office employees; 52% of tailoresses; 44.6 of manufacturing office employees and 28.1% of salepersons. Over the next two decades progressively fewer men were employed in these jobs. Seven of the ten

TABLE 4:5

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES THAT ARE MALE AND FEMALE AGED 10 AND OVER

	1911		1921		1931	
OCCUPATION	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F
Agriculture	97.7 (384)	2.3 (9)	99.7 (304)	.3 (1)	98. (551)	2 (1)
Building Trade Construction	99.9 (4,038)	.1 (1)	99.9 (3,612)	.1 (1)	99.6 (4,694)	.4 (17)
Domestic and Personal Service	38.1 (1,165)	61.9 (1,892)	54.9 (2,223)	45.1 (1,823)	40.2 (2,382)	59.8 (3,539)
Government and Public Admin.	99.6 (792)	.4 (3)	100. (1,186)	-	99.7 (583)	.3 (2)
Manufacturing	80.7 (14,824)	19.3 (3,542)	81.4 (15,802)	18.6 (3,617)	79.3 (13,519)	20.7 (3,535)
(Semi-) Professional	56.5 (710)	43.5 (546)	51.2 (1,388)	48.8 (1,324)	56.7 (2,353)	43.3 (1,794)
Trade and Finance	83.8 (3,892)	16.2 (755)	79.5 (5,188)	20.5 (1,338)	80.8 (6,286)	19.2 (1,498)
Transportation Communication	94.4 (2,154)	5.6 (127)	90.0 (2,958)	10. (327)	91.6 (4,255)	8.4 (391)
Clerical	57.2 (1,415)	42.8 (1,057)	53.9 (2,909)	46.1 (2,487)	46.8 (2,555)	53.2 (2,907)
Other-labourers unskilled					95.9 (9,796)	4.1 (423)
Mining, Logging Fishing	100. (117)	-	100. (49)	-	100. (91)	-
Miscl. Unspecified		96.2 (1,308)	96.2 (51)	3.8	87. (2,149)	13. (322)
Total	78.8 (29,496)	21.2 (7,932)	77.1 (36,927)	22.9 (10,969)	77.4 (49,314)	22.6 (14,439)

Source: Canada, Census, (Ottawa), 1911, VI, 307-17; 1921, IV, 400-19; 1931, VIII, 180-91.

TABLE 4:6

WOMEN'S LEADING OCCUPATIONS IN HAMILTON 1911-1931

	1911		1921		1931	
	% female workforce in Occ.	females as a % of total work force in Occ.	% female workforce in Occ.	females as a % of total work force in Occ.	% female workforce in Occ.	females as a % of total work force in Occ.
Manufacturing						
tailoress	9.3 (739)	52.2				
cotton mills	5.9 (467)	64.2				
hoisery & knits	5.5 (434)	73.1				
dressmaker	5.1 (405)	100.				
knitting mills			5.4 (594)	77.9		
clothing factory emp.			2.8 (308)	63.7		
sewers					3. (427)	90.3
Domestic and Personal Service						
domestic servants	12.7 (1,007)	92.8	8.9 (976)	94.8	11.6 (1,674)	96.3
lodge and boarding keepers					3.8 (542)	95.1
housekeeper			2.6 (286)	97	2.7 (397)	96.4
Semi-Professionals						
Nurses			4.8 (525)	100	3. (434)	100
Teachers	3.4 (268)	80.	4.2 (458)	79.7	5.3 (769)	77.7

TABLE 4:6 CONTINUED

WOMEN'S LEADING OCCUPATIONS IN HAMILTON 1911-1931

	1911		1921		1931	
	% female workforce in Occ.	females as a % of total work force in Occ.	% female workforce in Occ.	females as a % of total work force in Occ.	% female workforce in Occ.	females as a % of total work force in Occ.
Clerical						
office clerks			11.4 (928)	47.6	3.5 (500)	21.1
bookeepers & cashiers					6.2 (896)	59.3
typists stenos	2.9 (229)	86.1			10.4 (1,495)	95.8
office emp. trade	4.5 (360)	57.8	3.2 (350)	66.7		
office emp. manuf.	3.4 (273)	44.6	8.2 (894)			
Trade and Communication						
sales	8.5 (677)	28.1	2.8 (302)	58.1		
telephone operator			2.7 (294)	95.5	2.4 (346)	92.8
TOTAL	61.2% (4,856)		57.1% (4,655)		51.7% (7,480)	

Source: Canada, Census, (Ottawa), 1911, VI, 307-17; 1921, IV, 400-19; 1931, VIII, 180-91.

occupations were over 90% female in 1931. Only one of women's ten leading occupations remained mostly male.[5] The evidence suggests that as women were incorporated into paid employment there was increasing job segregation by gender. Even when entering the 'traditional male' areas of work, they were segregated into those jobs in clothing or textiles which closely resembled their former responsibility in the home.

Women's work opportunities existed only in the lowest paid deskilled, marginal, dead end areas classified as 'women's jobs'. It reflected the notion that the 'working girl' was a temporary worker trying to earn a little 'pin money' to 'supplement' the family income until she married and returned to the home. The 'working girl' as the term denotes, was not taken seriously as a worker in her own right. This assumption is indicated by her wage levels. A young woman signing herself a 'working girl', wrote to the Herald demanding to know:

> What could be done for girls who live at home and whose father doesn't get a girl's wage, and the girl herself doesn't. I am one of those girls. I work as hard as I can, I and my sister. We try to be the men of the house, because my father cannot work at a hard job; his health will not let him. My father gives me $20.00 a month -- that is what he makes -- and all that goes to pay for the house and stove, which we are getting by payments. I made last week and the week before, both together. $12.00. My young sister makes $4.00 a week.

> I have no mother and my sister has to stay home and keep house. Tell me how that keeps four? I have not had a new winter dress for three years. I cannot get one, because our money is gone before we get it ... I am not the worst. I think myself lucky compared with some of my poor neighbours who are going to ruin. Help us, please (1913, cited in Heron, 1982:393).

The low wages paid to women did not cover the cost of her own reproduction. As Heron writes:

> The same month that the 'working girl' described her plight in the press, the Herald asked several prominent citizens about what weekly wage would be necessary "to live decently and keep looking respectable and neat in Hamilton." The Independent Labor Party's Allan Studholme, several clergymen, and manufacturers A.F. Hatch and H.S. Frost agreed that $8. would be the minimum necessary. "They also believed, added the newspaper, that the average girl received much less than this amount" (1913, cited in Heron, 1982:393).

Women's work, whether they were single or married, continued to be defined in part by the needs of the family. They expected to be dependent on a male wage and responsible for domestic duties at home. For the female household head, or the widow, this meant certain poverty. Women's low wages re-inforced her dependence on the higher male wage and strengthened patriarchal authority in the family/household.

In summation, a distinct gendered division of labour existed in Hamilton in both the family/household and the

labour force. State factory policy, which defined women as a separate occupational group, led to further job segregation by gender as women entered the labour market. The ideology that assigned women to domestic servicing and dependency on the male wage disadvantaged all women in paid work and perpetuated their oppression in the home. The disjunction between the material and ideological components of their work forced many married women to compete for available homework opportunities and reduced others to poverty. For the most part the female labour force in Hamilton in 1911 was overwhelmingly made up of single women whose co-workers were very likely to also be women.

An examination of women's leading occupations will illustrate what constituted male as opposed to female work and the forces that led to the existence of these jobs for women. Women's traditional employment of domestic service will be discussed first. Next, the inclusion of women in manufacturing will be outlined. Finally, the explosion of 'white collar' occupations of nurses and typists will be delineated.

Domestic Servants

In the early stages of capitalism women in Hamilton were largely employed in domestic service. The Hamilton census reports of 1911 to 1931, indicate that it was the leading occupation for women. It was also disproportionately

represented by women, comprising well over 90 percent females in each census year. In Hamilton fewer women were employed in domestic service, in comparison to other cities in Canada, due, on the one hand, to the predominance of factory work and hence the existence of job alternatives and on the other hand the absence of a large middle class who might have employed servants. Between 1911 and 1921 the percentage of female servants declined from 12.7 percent to 8.9 percent of the total female labour force. The number rose slightly to 11.6 in 1931, the years of the depression when no other jobs were available. This shift out of domestic service has been echoed in other countries and represents one of the most striking aspects of the initial impact of industrialization on the work experience of women.

As capitalism developed, domestic labour came to be devalued as a productive enterprise. It existed outside the bounds of 'protective' legislation and the interests of male unionists. For the capitalists, it produced no direct profit. As most productive work was seen as occurring outside the home, and indeed many productive aspects of domestic labour had been removed from the home transforming the nature of her work to service labour, most of society and the women themselves associated little value with domestic service. The commission on unemployment in Hamilton reported that, "a woman who is unable to engage in

any other occupation apparently is able to describe herself as a domestic" (1914:166). Married women barred from most other jobs, the aged and immigrant women, found employment in this category.

> Hamilton girls did not even think of doing domestic work. That was for older women with family responsibilities, for farm girls who were used to life as a hired girl, for black or native women who could get nothing else, and for recent immigrants (Synge, 1982: 3:52).

The number of domestic servants at any one time, was directly related to the number of other available job opportunities. Hamilton women always preferred factory work. Domestic service was viewed as non-productive and therefore not 'real work', it was privatized and most importantly 'women's work', and was therefore seen as having little value.

The devaluing process is reflected in the labour process as a whole in that household labour has been mechanized but not industrialized. Connelly argues that new technology is introduced into the home simply as a commodity.

> Although the productivity of domestic labour has increased in absolute terms, it has fallen behind the productivity of industrial labour. ...housework has <u>not</u> been influenced by the same forces of technological change that have altered the rest of the economy. This is because domestic labour has no direct relation to capital (1973:67).

Given that many household conveniences had yet to be invented or could not be afforded by many families, domestic labour was a laborious job. The demand was greatest for what was called the "general servant", who was expected to do the work of all categories of servants. The general servant was required to cook, clean, do the laundry and the sewing. This was of course without the equivalent renumeration. Higher pay did little to lure women into this field.

The dissatisfaction stemming from this employment was not totally with the work itself, but also with the conditions surrounding the work. Complaints centered on the lack of freedom, the isolation, low status of house-workers, lonliness and the exploitation by male and female employers. A housemaid in 1913 wrote to the press expounding on the poor treatment received by mistressess:

> When ladies begin to treat their maids more like human beings and less like machines, that will be the first step towards solving the domestic problem. Let them have reasonable hours for work, and a reasonable time off duty. I know dozens of houses in this city where the maids are only allowed out one afternoon in two weeks. Let any other class of workers be kept indoors for that length of time, and these ladies would be the first to make an outcry about the inhumanity of it (Herald, May 10, 1913).

Industrialization had increasingly privatized the domestic workplace. In earlier times when the home and work were combined the domestic servant was considered part of the

family. This relationship changed with the advent of capitalism assuming the character of labour and capital. Unlike most other jobs, domestics did not look to organization to improve their working conditions. These women expressed their dissatisfaction primarily by high rates of transciency. Tremendous energy was put forth in order to procure domestics with very little success.

From 1911 to the beginning of the first world war, the demand for domestic help in Hamilton continued to be greater than the supply (Labour Gzaette, 1911:118). The employment agency of the YWCA in April of 1913, for example, had applications from residents for over a hundred servants that could not be supplied. Many organizations tried to solve the problem by enlisting servants from other countries. In 1911, the Hamilton correspondent of the Labour Gazette noted that steps were being taken by several Hamilton ladies to form a guild for this expressed purpose. The tremendous number of women who immigrated from Great Britain did little to meet the shortage. By the beginning of the war the majority of domestics were not Canadian born but typically British. Clearly the 'local girls' were opting for whatever other available work they could find. By 1918, the National Council of Women was lamenting the passing of the servant in the home.

> The homeworker of the future will not live in the home of her employer, she will live in her own house, or in a community home,

> as does the clerk, the dressmaker, the stenographer or the teacher. She will do her day's work and return at night, as other employees do, when her time will be her own absolutely... With such a programme for our help, how are we ever to get out of an evening, for parties theatres, or amusement? I hear the frightened housewife ask. Why you'll simply hire some one, and pay her for time as in any other walk of life. The old time servant is going and will go, in the natural order of events, but something better will come to mothers in the home who must have help (1918:37).

As predicted something did replace the servant. Further acceptance of the ideology of familialism led to a glorification of the housewife and motherhood. The housewife was delegated the tasks of the former domestic servant.

The occupation of domestic servant exemplified 'women's work'. It suited the ideology of 'domesticity' and therefore remained outside the bounds of 'protective' state policy and the interests of unions. Privatized in the home, employers freely exploited the conditions of domestic work. Similarly, 'hidden in the household' outside the sphere of 'productive work', devalued her labour. It was not idrectly profitable to industrialize the household. Instead capitalists introduced technology into the home as a commodity, mechanizing her labour and increasing their revenue. As jobs became available in factories the number of servants declined and housewives were forced to increase their workload by taking on the tasks of the domestic servant.

Factory Work

Unlike domestic service, Hamilton factories employed both male and female workers. However an explicit job segregation by gender existed in the Hamilton factories. The social division of labour had divided the labour force into productive specialties. Gender relations assigned to women the specific areas of food, clothing, and textiles and to men the building, metal and general labour categories. The detailed division of labour systematically subdivided these specialities into limited operations, creating a volume of new jobs. Managers incorporated women into the least skilled, lowest paying, labour intensive tasks justifying these activities by assuming women had a 'weaker constitution' were primarily responsible for domestic duties and were dependent on the male wage. This lowered the value of her labour power providing the capitalist with a cheap supply of labour.

Factory work posed the greatest potential threat to existing gendered relations. As capitalism moved into more advanced stages, greater opportunities for work in manufacturing opened up for women. This presented the possibility of both men and women doing the same kinds of work. State factory acts, however, singled out women as a distinct group of workers, establishing and sustaining existing class and gender relations. In Hamilton factories in 1911 a division of labour by gender is readily discernable.

The manufacturing sector reflected the family division of labour in force in the pre-capitalist family/household. On the one hand, manufacturing employed the largest proportion of Hamilton women in 1911, comprising 47.7 percent of the total female labour force. Women are found in almost every area of manufacturing, but the majority were in the two regions of production which had been previously performed by women in the home; that of clothing (43.6%) and textiles (28%) (see Table 4:7). On the other hand, it was men that predominated in the manufacturing sector as a whole with 80 percent of the total workers. They were found largely in the categories of metal products (38.6%) and Labourers (29.1%). This represents the division of labour in the family/household and attests to the pervasiveness of the ideological component of state legislation.

Job segregation by gender existed within occupations. The Ontario Trades and Labour Branch described this division in Hamilton industries:

> ...pig and bar iron, steel and grey iron castings, brass castings, structural steel, bar steel screws, tacks, wire, machine tools hardware... These industries employ chiefly men. There are also large cotton and knitting mills, manufactories of confectionery, clothing, thread, brushes, oils, soap, wire and iron goods, mineral waters, paper and boxes, boots and shoes which employ some women, or in many cases chiefly women. Women are employed also in other processes including packing press work, bookbinding, canning, upholstering, dyeing...[6]

TABLE 4:7

PERCENTAGE OF MALES AND FEMALES LABOURFORCE
IN MANUFACTURING OCCUPATIONS IN HAMILTON 1911-1931

Occupation	1911		1921		1931	
	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F
Clothing	5.8 (865)	43.6 (1,546)	3.6 (561)	24. (866)	3.5 (475)	28.1 (992)
Textiles	2.9 (434)	28. (992)	6.2 (983)	42.3 (1,540)	7.5 (1,009)	46.1 (1,631)
Metal Products	38.6 (5,723)	7.5 (267)	56.8 (8,976)	13.2 (479)	63.7 (8,618)	14.3 (505)
Wood & Products	3.9 (574)	3.2 (113)	6.1 (965)	3.9 (140)	5.1 (693)	3.5 (125)
Food & Bev.	3.3 (494)	2.7 (96)	3.9 (609)	3.5 (127)	5.9 (796)	2.3 (82)
Tobacco	2.5 (368)	2.9 (102)	.8 (134)	1.7 (60)	.4 (49)	1.6 (58)
Leather, Fur & Rubber	2.3 (346)	1.9 (69)	1.1 (172)	1.5 (54)	4.4 (597)	1.8 (66)
Printing	3. (445)	1.6 (56)	3.7 (591)	1.9 (69)	4.6 (616)	1.6 (58)
Chemical & Allied	.53 (79)	.6 (21)	1.2 (191)	1.1 (38)	.9 (121)	.1 (5)
Miscl. Unspecified	8. (1,186)	7.9 (280)	8.3 (1,306)	6.7 (244)	4. (545)	.4 (13)
Labourers	29.1 (4,310)	-	8.3 (1,314)	-	-	-
Total	(14,824)	(3,542)	(15,802)	(3,617)	(13,519)	(3,535)

Source: Canada, Census (Ottawa), 1911,VI,308-13; 1921,IV,400-9; 1931,VII,180-85.

In some industries this division would appear to not be as distinct as described by the Trades and Labour Branch. The 1911 Hamilton census, for example, found 267 women in heavy metal machinery occupations. Similarily in 1901, the Hamilton Manufacturer listed ten of Hamilton's representative and leading manufacturing industries. Among them, 150 women were working in the Cigar Company, 40 at the International Harvester Company of Canada, and 85 at Canadian Westinghouse (see Table 4:8). Further evidence suggests that where men and women worked in the same place they were confined to specific jobs, such as coremaking at International Harvester and coil winding at Westinghouse (Spectator, April 7, 1907). In some cases they were 'kept' in separate rooms. A reporter for the Spectator vividly described this separation of men and women while visiting the plant of International Harvester:

> (He)...was first taken through one of the big long buildings where, with machinery rattling on each side, wheels sending forth showers of sparks, furnaces glaring like balls of fire, hammers rattling, cranes moving, men with wheel-barrows, the place full of dust and a sort of general inferno on every side, he wondered if girls could ever work in such a place. But he travelled the full length of this noisy building without seeing a girl, and the superintendent finally led him to another building, where there seemed to be comparatively little noise, and where there was no dust or dirt. Then came the sound of muffled hammering and the reporter was finally led into a spacious room where about 40 girls were busily engaged (Spectator, April 20, 1907).

TABLE 4:8

HAMILTON'S REPRESENTATIVE AND LEADING MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, 1909

NAME	CAPITAL	EMPLOYEES	DURATION OF WORK DAY
International Harvester Company of Canada	$5,000,000.	1,400 Male 1360, Female 40	10hr. Winter: 8½ hrs. Saturday Summer 8hrs.
Canadian Westinghouse	5,000,000.	1,300 Male 1215, Female 85	10hr. 5 hr. on Saturday
Sawyer and Massey Co.	1,225,000.	400 all male	10hr. 5 hr. on Saturday
Canada Screw Co.	1,200,000	400 all male	10hr. 5 hr. on Saturday
Hamilton Steel and Iron Co., (Iron smelter, Blast furnace and Rolling Mills)	3,000,000.	1,450 all male	10-12hr. 5 hr. on Saturday
Canadian Colored Cotton Mills Co.	1,500,000	320 Male 150, Female 170	10½hr. 4½ hr. on Saturday full time per/wk 57h
Eagle Knitting Co. (two knitting and one spinning mill)	400,000	700 Male 250, Female 450	10hr. 5 hr. on Saturday
B. Greening Wire Co.	750,000	275 all male	10hr. 5 hr. on Saturday
Hamilton Bridge Works Co.	1,000,000	300 all male	10hr. 5 hr. on Saturday
Tuckett Cigar Co. and Geo. E. Tuckett & Son Tobacco Factory	400,000. 500,000	900 Male 750, Female 150	9hr. 5 hr. on Saturday

Source: The Hamilton Manufacturer. 1909, p.10.

The reporter found similar conditions at Westinghouse. This gendered division of labour by task was also apparent in the clothing and textile industries.

The detailed division of labour Braverman associates with the degradation of labour is vividly illustrated in the textile and clothing industries of Hamilton. Specifically they show how women are employed in the least skilled, labour intensive, simplified, tasks. The clothing and textile industries were disproportionately represented by women, with 69.6 percent and 64.1 percent respectively, of the total occupation (see Table 4:9). In both industries women did the jobs that required the least physical exertion and the least skill (Heron, 1982). Men in the clothing shops did the more specialized tasks of cutting and trimming and virtually all the pressing. These jobs required a certain amount of skill and knowledge of the cloth. Female clothing workers on the other hand did most of the sewing by hand or on machines and products that required a more intense division of labour. Women performed jobs such as "pocket operators, lining makers and tackers, basters, shapers, finishers, bushellers, and so on" (Heron, 1982:475).

There was a more rigid gendered segregation of the workplace in textiles. In contrast to the clothing firms, the textile plants were more mechanized, had a larger scale of production, the women workers were much younger and they

TABLE 4:9

PERCENTAGE OF MANUFACTURING OCCUPATIONS THAT ARE MALE AND FEMALE IN HAMILTON 1911 - 1931

OCCUPATION	1911		1921		1931	
	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F
Clothing	35.9 (865)	64.1 (1,546)	39.3 (561)	60.7 (866)	32.4 (475)	67.6 (992)
Textiles	30.4 (434)	69.6 (992)	39. (983)	61. (1,540)	38.2 (1,009)	61.8 (1,631)
Metal Products	95.5 (5,723)	4.5 (267)	95. (8,976)	5. (479)	94.5 (8,618)	5.5 (505)
Wood and Paper	83.6 (574)	16.4 (113)	87.3 (965)	12.7 (140)	84.7 (693)	15.3 (125)
Food and Beverage	83.7 (494)	16.3 (96)	87.2 (609)	17.3 (127)	90.7 (796)	9.3 (82)
Tobacco	78.3 (368)	21.7 (102)	69.1 (134)	30.9 (60)	45.8 (49)	54.2 (58)
Leather,Fur,Rubber	83.4 (346)	16.6 (69)	76.1 (172)	23.9 (54)	90. (597)	10. (66)
Printing	88.8 (445)	11.2 (56)	89.5 (591)	10.5 (69)	91.4 (616)	8.6 (58)
Chemical & Allied	79. (79)	21. (21)	83.4 (191)	16.6 (38)	96. (121)	4. (5)
Miscl. Unspecified	80.9 (1,186)	19.1 (280)	84.3 (1,306)	15.7 (244)	98. (545)	2. (13)
Labourers	100. (4,310)		100. (1,314)			
TOTAL	80.7 (14,824)	19.3 (3,542)	81.4 (15,802)	18.6 (3,617)	79.3 (13,519)	20.7 (3,535)

Source: Canada, Census (Ottawa), 1911,VI,308-13; 1921,IV,400-9; 1931,VII,180-85.

had much less contact with the male workers. Heron writes:

> In primary cotton manufacturing, men predominated in sorting, picking, carding, mule spinning, scouring, dyeing, and drying; women did most of the rest of the work. In the knitting mills women ...wound the yarn, ran the knitting machines, inspected and mended, seamed and finished underwear, paired, ticketed, and folded the hosiery, and laid out the work for pressing (1982:419,428).

In textiles, employers had implemented an advanced sub-division of labour. This continual breaking down of jobs into more simplified tasks created a volume of jobs requiring a pool of cheap labour. The rise in female employment co-incides with this process. The lower value of women's labour power made her a preferred source of labour.

Nurses

The capitalist production process created a need for services related both to the growth of manufacturing industries and to the needs of the family. The 'universal market' rendered home tasks, previously performed by women, to the service sector of the economy. Braverman explains the reasons for the rapid growth of these occupations:

> ...the completion by capital of the conquest of goods-producing activities; the displacement of labor from those industries, corresponding to the accumulation of capital in them, and the juncture of these reserves of labour and capital on the ground of new industries; and the exorable growth of service needs as the new shape of society

> destroys the older forms of social, community, and family cooperation and self-aid (1974:359).

Women had been responsible for health care in the pre-industrial labouring family. Industrialization and urbanization created conditions threatening the reproduction of the worker. In this setting the family could not provide the healthy worker capital required. In response, the state intervened, institutionalizing health care services.

Here too a gendered division of labour emerged. Women were placed in an ancillary role subordinated to male physicians as nurses. In Hamilton, the growth of female nurses proceeded more slowly than in other cities because of the predominance of factory work. By 1921 nursing, one of the ten leading female occupations, comprised 100 percent women. The application of scientific management techniques routinized and deskilled this occupation leaving women with tasks similar to domestic service.

Prior to the first school of Nightingale nursing which opened in Hamilton at the General Hospital in 1890 the 'nurse' was basically a domestic servant (Morrison, 1976). They were frequently older women of thirty-five to forty years of age and married (Freedman, 1956). A patient of the city hospital in 1856, Mr. Alex Somerville gives this picture of the staff nurses:

> In the Hamilton Hospital there are at present several excellent female servants attracted not by excellent

> wages, but meeting her by confulent circumstances of life. I have a recollection of two of their predecessors who, from morning to night, went on a rampage with loud discordant gutteral voices rising at times to yell and going on all night like the railway rolling mills - not an atom or shadow of the one primary cardinal virtue of a hospital nurse in their composition, at least in their conduct (cited in Freedman, 1956:13).

Historical accounts seemed to find it necessary to make a very clear distinction between the Nightengale nurses and their predecessors.[7] The concept of the trained nurse was to complement the newly professionalized physician.

Nurses were trained to know their own proper sphere (Morrison, 1976:71). The nursing school at first to recruit a 'better' class of student. In 1890 admission requirements were a minimum age of twenty-three years, at least high school graduation and good health. In an attempt to weed out the undesireables, applicants were screened in terms of education, temperament, family background and health. For the successful applicant discipline was very strict. A Hamilton graduate recalled:

> Almost immediately after admission we were informed that the training of a nurse followed the pattern of training of a soldier and that obedience (to the doctors who were all male) unquestioned was demanded. This meant that a junior would not presume to speak to a senior before being spoken to and always rose to her feet - if she had the chance to sit - on the approach of a senior (Freedman, 1956:83).

Nightingale nurses were to be 'the ideal lady' transplanted from the home to hospital. They were to show wifely obedience to the doctor, motherly self-devotion to the patient and a firm mistress/servant discipline to those below the rung of nurse (Coburn, 1974:139). In reality the economy of the hospital had come to depend on the apprenticeship system of nursing as a cheap source of labour and therefore prevented the barring of undesireable recruits.

Nursing schools were more or less apprenticeships in the wards. Mrs. Jardine a former Hamilton student nurse remarked on the conditions the 'girls' worked in:

> Our quarters were cramped, poorly furnished without heat...It was hard work...Our hours were from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. but often it was 8 or 9 p.m. before we were finished. Night nurses came on from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. They had to be in their rooms by 9 a.m. and remain there until 4 p.m. unless there were lectures, if these occurred before 4 p.m. they were required to attend...On day duty we had one-half day off a week; three weeks vacation a year in residence in by 10 p.m... For these duty packed nurses allowance was $4. a month for the first year $6. a month the second year and when a third was added to the course in 1898, $8. a month for the third year (cited in Freedman, 1956:41).

Although the nurse came to do less and less work that resembled housework and more duties with regard to the patients, the demands placed on the student nurse were found by many to be unbearable and usually 50% of the

probationers left (Coburn, 1974). The educational recommendations of Florence Nightingale obscured the harsh realities of an exploitive situation in which lower class single women were drawn into low paid, hard work by the promise of respect and upward mobility.

The medical profession and the state promoted this system strongly.[8] The commission on unemployment in 1916 spoke of the profession of nursing as being highly esteemed:

> It is believed to offer opportunities for change, interest, adventure, and for the exercise of kindness and benevolence. These considerations undoubtedly act as an incentive to young women in their choice of this occupation. The universal testimony met with in this enquiry is to the effect by virtue of her training. Knowledge of health, nursing care, the care of children, and of housekeeping matters, diet cleanliness and so on is generally valued by the nurses themselves, and the fact of this knowledge is always commented on with favour by women in other occupations who have been questioned in this enquiry (p.187).

None of this testimony came from the nurses themselves. What the commission heard was middle class values that came no where near the real conditions of nurses work. In fact it is interesting to note that the term 'reality shock' has been adopted by nurses to describe the differences between the promoted ideal and the 'real' work.[9]

The expanded role of the state in concern for the reproduction of the worker, had resulted in the institution-

alization of health care. Class and gender relations positioned male doctors at the top of the medical hierarchy and women in a subservient role beneath them. The male medical profession appropriated all the skills of healing, leaving women the routinized, deskilled tasks that resembled household chores. Women's cheap labour power was exploited in the apprenticeship system, rapidly expanding this service sector, creating a need for even more female employment. As hospitals expanded and became a highly bureaucratized structure, a related need was for clerical workers to deal with the 'stream of paper'.

Clerical Work

The need for clerical support services became apparent with the newly created bureaucratic organization of the monopoly era of capitalism. The complexity of these large corporations increased correspondence, record keeping and office work in general. The concepts of scientific management applied to the office, aided in the development of clerical 'white collar' jobs for women.

More Hamilton women entered office work during this time than any other occupation. The proportion of women participating in clerical work rose from 13.3 percent in 1911 to 22.8 percent in 1921 with a slight drop to 20.1 percent in 1931 due to the depression and expanding job opportunities for women. The industrial nature of Hamilton resulted in most clerics employed in manufacturing and trade,

containing over 73 percent of all clerics in 1911 and 49 percent in 1921. These industries were at the forefront of industrial capitalism and their development entailed a rapid expansion of administration. Generally in Hamilton there was a conservative approach to hiring women.

In the pre-war years female clerical workers were usually found in jobs with no public contact. This was the case for the five women employed at Hamilton City Hall (Herald, April 7, 1919). Women were not hired in Banks until during the war. At that time, J.P. Bell, the general manager of the Bank of Hamilton, boasted that, "150 women are employed in our institution and it was the first bank in Canada to employ women. It was not so less than a year ago!" (Herald, Oct. 26, 1916). The pervasive ideology that encompassed women served to constrain work opportunities in this field.

The ideology that allowed women to be used to fill the need of the expanding business industries changed over the first quarter of the century. Magazines at the turn of the century urged women to stay out of the office (Ladies Home Journal, 1900). Business life was seen to 'check or pervert' womanly instincts. By 1916 the same magazine was glorifying the feminine traits of stenographers; "their ability to radiate sympathetic interest, agreeableness, courtesy" (Kanter, 1977:26). Women were told that they would meet their future husband in the office. Finally by

1924 Hamilton women were informed that in fact 'business girls make good wives' (Herald, Jan. 12, 1924). Helen MacMurchy's guide to women's vocations argued, "many qualities which go to make the ideal homemaker belong to the ideal worker in the office - self control, tact, quiet and agreeable manner, understanding of order and method, tranquility and poise" (1920:17). The loosening of the ideology to include women characterized the nature of clerical work which had changed with the application of Taylorism.

The male clerk at the turn of the century was largely middle class and performed duties now considered 'managerial'. Graham Lowe has argued, "that the growing division of labour and routinization of work within offices were major factors that brought about the substitution of females for males in Canadian offices. The 'feminization' of clerical occupations was laready apparent at the turn of the century. Clerical jobs were monotonous, low paying and without opportunities for upward mobility. Lowe has stated that the basis was laid for the male manager and the new army of female subordinates (Lowe, 1977).

The presence of Hamilton women in clerical 'white collar' jobs, represented a crucial interaction between gender and class relations. Most of the early female clerks worked in the factories away from public view. The change in the occupational structure that occurred with the

expanding industrial economy and a concomitant shift in female ideology, incorporated women into clerical occupations.

Summary

The preceeding discussion of several of women's leading occupations illustrated the forces that led to the existence of jobs for women. The stage of monopoly capitalism was shown to be characterized by the development of the modern corporation and the expansion of the state sector. Concomitantly, the extended capitalist labour process was demonstrated to be complimented by a new occupational structure. Within this process, the detailed devision of labour associated with the application of scientific management techniques explained the emergence of clerical, manufacturing and service jobs for women.

Specific examples of these occupations described what constituted male as opposed to female work. In contrast to men, women were consistently located in jobs that were deskilled, routinized, low paid, unstable and the least powerful. In addition, evidence was given which revealed a distinct job segregation by sex.

Male employers and male workers have been implicated in sustaining gendered divisions. Domestics were shown to be exploited by employers (male and female) in the home. Male doctors aggressively attempted to control women's labour power. Male managers in 'white collar' work and foremen in factories explicitly hired women in subordinate

jobs, maintaining patriarchal relations. In summation, the expanding capitalist labour process in interaction with gender dynamics resulted in the subordination of women to men in the labour market.

According to Connelly, the reasons women take on wage labour must be seen as a result of both, supply and demand (1978). While the expansion of capitalism increased the demand for women's labour as female occupations developed, concomitantly, women were forced to increase their supply of labour based on its competitiveness, cheapness and availability. This analysis will now focus on the supply side of this equation, to examine the historical role of Hamilton women as a reserve army of labour during the first world war.

Hamilton Women as a Reserve Army of Labour

It has been argued that married women form a reserve army of labour to be drawn into the labour force during times of economic expansion and sent home when no longer required. Connelly notes, "by considering factors that activate the female reserve we are essentially focussing on pressures that push housewives into the labour force" (1978:63). Monopoly capitalist theorists are limited in this respect. They have not analysed the role of housewives in constituting a reserve army of labour.

The great war activated thousands of women workers across the country. In an unprecedented move women hung up

their aprons and donned the apparel of welders, munitions workers, drill press operators and rivetters. Many jobs left vacant by a man who had gone off to war were filled by a woman (Campbell, 1980). Work once thought to be too harsh and physically arduous for women's 'delicate minds and bodies' was accomplished both skillfully and competently (Herald, 1919). Many argue that after the war this 'exhilerating', and 'liberating' experience removed women from the casts of their traditional role and heightened their consciousness by instilling a new sense of militancy. Albeit, after the war most women lost their jobs and returned to the kitchen, women are said to have relished in this glorious momentous experience of servicing their country nevermore to be constrained by the hands of Victorian ideology (Herald, 1919).

At the start of 1916, the general consensus was that women's labour was not yet needed for war work (Herald, January 6, 1918). Mrs. Pankhurst, the emminent suffragette commented during her visit to Hamilton that in Britain, "we had a hard time to get the government to recognize women as a great reserve force" (Herald, May 8, 1916). Efforts to enlist the services of women, whereby factories might employ women in the place of men thus releasing them for active service, were not received very cordially (Herald, March 28, 1916). There was a real fear in men that women were scheming to gradually take away men's jobs. Certainly

statements made by women aided and abated this feeling. The conservative organ of the National Council of Women, the Women's Century, for example stated:

> Can it be then believed for a single moment, that women thus freed for the industrial and social struggle is going passively to submit to being herded or hounded back to the position of a mere breeder of races? (1914:133).

By August of 1916 there was a shortage of labour in Hamilton. Their output of munitions was running far behind the quantities promised. The president of the largest local steel mill remarked that there were only two courses open to relieve the shortage of labour - employ women in large numbers and speed up the pace of work by appealing to the worker's patriotic sense (Time, August 12, 1916). In Dundas the first factory opened its doors to women. Both of the local newspapers reported the event. "In the morning eight women appeared at the Bertram plant and commenced work alongside the men, working on munitions. Six more started to work on Tuesday and others will be continually added until the women workers in Dundas are firmly established" (Herald, Times, Sept. 23, 1916). Other companies found it necessary to publish explicit statements to the press (i.e. the Steel Co. of Canada, Westinghouse, and Canadian Cartridge) that they had no plans to hire women to replace men (Herald, Times, Sept. 29, 1916).

Labour was also brought in from outside Hamilton to meet the need. In December about 28 women came from

Toronto to work in munitions as shell inspectors. They worked ten hours a day for $50.00 a month. This high pay was complemented by skyrocketing rent payments. These women were forced to pay $3 - #4 for a single room and $6.50 - $7.50 for room and board. The media continued to emphasize these women workers as having 'purely patriotic motives' (Herald, December 7, 1916).

The Hamilton branch of the provincial employment bureau opened under the charge of Miss Florence Harvey in January of 1917. Its expressed purpose was to coordinate the available labour supply. At the same time the Munitions Board began showing films on Women's Work in Canadian Munitions in the hopes of making women's labour in these non-traditional jobs more acceptable. Of course it was the objection to married women, the large institutionalized in active reserve, that the government wished to mitigate and at the same time mobilize this force. Miss Harvey complemented this move by making it very clear that married applicants would not work at anything else but munitions work. By appealing to the peoples patriotic sense married women working became socially acceptable (Herald, Jan. 6, 1917).

Three hundred and eighty-one women were given jobs in munitions in Hamilton in 1917 and considerably fewer in the second year with a total of 30 (Table, 4:15,4:18). These women as expected comprised many married applicants, 33.3% in Hamilton with a similar proportion in London and

Toronto. The three cities applicants were also comparable in terms of nationality (see Table 4:12). Most applicants were Canadian, (39.5%), then English (39.1%) and a much smaller number were Irish (4.4%), Scottish (12.8% and American 2.2%). It seems that a much smaller proportion of foreign women than men applied for munitions work and the Trades and Labour Branch reported them as being more difficult to place than the British born. Reflective of work characteristics of women in Hamilton, many of the munitions applicant's previous employment was in factory work in contrast to Toronto where domestic service predominated. (Table 4:13). The women on the whole were much older than is the nature of the regular labour force which is indicative of the inactivated reserve. Hamilton employed 16.8% women over the age of 40. (See Table 4:10). The high wage certainly was an incentive. Wages of $10 to $12 a week represented what would be acceptable to the largest number of women, previously earning $3 - $6 per week.

The nature of the women's work in this new setting was typical of old work patterns. In an interview with a munitions worker, Mrs. Elaine Nelso, the work was described this way:

> I imagine the shells came out of the blasting furnaces first, and then they would have to cool. And then gradually they were brought in and they were put on this conveyor belt. I was near the end with my back to the wall. Those things came along there, and there was

> a woman in front of me on the other side opposite to me, she did the first cut and I did the second cut. We pushed a lever and that lifted the shells up onto this conveyor belt and then a man - I don't know how he got there, I don't know what he did - but I just remember that he did something that lowered it onto our machines. When the shell came, I pushed this lever and the belt caused a knife to go just against the shell, and then it would start to peel. The shell was turning all the time, I pushed that lever against it. It would turn, and you had to quickly knock off these jagged long pieces before they got as far as your face, because they would just wing around back and forth (Arabella, 1978:179).

There was not only an intensive division of labour but also gender segregated work. "It seems that once the war was over however women were removed from the machine shops as abruptly as they had arrived" (Heron, 1982:389).

Women took part in other areas of work than munitions. The Hamilton employment bureau handled every type of worker, from social workers, office help, trained nurses to operators, laundresses and houseworkers. In the first year women entered as a reserve, most were chanelled into munitions jobs, but by the next year household help received the most referred to positions as openings for munitions workers had sharply declined. This adds to the evidence that housework was a last resort for most women labourers. Table 4:14 shows that these were largely married women, 48.4% to the 37.1% that were single. The wages were very high (Table 4:16) and it was expected that employers would pay

TABLE 4:10

PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE APPLICANTS FOR MUNITION WORK IN AGE GROUPS

City	-16	16-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50	50-55	55-60
Toronto	1.3	18.1	29.8	21.7	12.7	8.1	6.0	1.5	0.8	-
Hamilton	1.5	5.4	17.6	28.3	17.9	12.5	10.4	3.9	1.6	0.9
London		33.8	28.9	15.7	9.6	6.0	2.4	3.6		

Source: Report of the Trades and Labour Branch Vol.L Part IV. Ontario Sessional Papers #16, 1918.

TABLE 4:11

CONJUGAL CONDITION OF FEMALE APPLICANTS FOR MUNITIONS WORK

City	Single	Married	Widowed	Deserted
Toronto	58.7	32.5	7.0	1.8
Hamilton	59.9	33.3	5.8	1.0
London	61.5	31.3	7.2	-

Source: Report of the Trades and Labour Branch Vol.L Part IV, Ontario Sessional Papers #16, 1918.

TABLE 4:12

NATIONALITIES OF FEMALE APPLICANTS FOR MUNITION WORK

City	Canadian	English	Irish	Scottish	American	Other
Toronto	38.8	34.9	6.9	14.4	1.3	3.7
Hamilton	39.5	39.1	4.4	12.8	2.2	2.0
London	37.3	36.2	9.6	14.5	2.4	

Source: Report of the Trades and Labour Branch Vol.L, Part IV, Ontario Sessional Papers #16, 1918.

TABLE 4:13

PREVIOUS OCCUPATION OF APPLICANTS FOR MUNITION WORK

City	Domestic	Factory	Office	Shop	Munitions	Leisure	Own Bus.	Teacher	Nurse	Other
Toronto	14.3	24.9	9.8	9.8	22.2	9.1	2.4	4.1	3.0	0.4
Hamilton	12.5	46.3	6.6	13.4	-	15.1	-	2.7	2.2	1.2
London	9.6	54.2	9.7	15.7	-	1.2	1.2	6.0	-	2.4

Source: Report of the Trades and Labour Branch Vol.L. Part IV. Ontario Sessional Papers #16, 1918.

TABLE 4:14

AGE AND CONJUGAL CONDITION OF DOMESTIC APPLICANTS AT HAMILTON BUREAU

Age		Conjugal Condition	
Under 16	3.6	Single	37.1
16-19	5.0	Married	48.4
20-29	19.0	Widowed	12.5
30-39	32.1	Deserted	1.6
40-49	27.2		
50-60	13.1		

Source: Report of the Trades and Labour Branch Vol.L Part IV, Ontario Sessional Papers #16,1918.

TABLE 4:15

POSITIONS WOMEN REFERRED TO
NOV. 1, 1917 TO OCT. 31, 1918

Occupation	Number
Munitions	30
Factories (other than munitions)	349
Office and Shops	49
Agriculture	229
Household help	586
Hotels and Restaurants	79
Casuals	112
Total referred to positions	1,434
Help wanted	1,779
Applications for Work	1,552

Source: Report of the Trades and Labour Branch Vol.L. Part IV, Ontario Sessional Papers #16, 1919.

TABLE 4:16

WAGES OFFERED BY EMPLOYERS
IN DOMESTIC DEPARTMENT HAMILTON BUREAU

Monthly Wages	Generals	All Domestic Positions
$10-14	9.3%	10.1%
15-19	48.2	39.7
20-24	30.9	39.2
25-29	10.8	10.1
30-34	.8	.9

Source: Report of the Trades and Labour Branch Vol.L, Part IV, Ontario Sessional Papers #16, 1918.

TABLE 4:17

PERCENTAGE OF APPLICANTS FOR MUNITION WORK LIVING AT HOME AND BOARDING

City	Living at Home	Boarding
Toronto	39.5	60.5
Hamilton	73.5	26.5
London	77.1	22.9

Source: Report of the Trades and Labour Branch Vol. L, Part IV, Ontario Sessional Papers #16, 1918.

TABLE 4:18

APPLICATIONS AND NUMBER PLACED
BY WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT, HAMILTON BUREAU

Occupations	Applications for Work	Help Wanted	Number Placed
Clerical	123	44	17
Daywork	23	88	62
Domestics	304	716	262
Factory	106	288	139
Munitions	1,209	384	381
Miscl.	40	31	33
Total	1,805	1,551	894

Source: Report of the Trades and Labour Branch Vol.L, Part IV, Ontario Sessional Papers #16, 1918.

more as domestics became harder to secure. The wages began at $10 - $14 dollars which was the average wage for munitions workers.

We can speculate that some of these women, due to the decline of available munitions work, picked up the slack in other industries. "At some time during the year all industries reported being short of help, notably cotton, linen and knitting mills, paper box" (Trades and Labour, 1919:24). Women did enter two industries for the first time. They were employed in the processes of drill, lathes, hammers, shapers, millers, grinders, painting, stencilling assembling and finishing. Other new operations involved core machines, threading machines, tapping machines, punch, screw and plane machines. The wages offered were very low. Most Hamilton employers offered less than $10.00 a week (Trades and Labour, 1919:26). This accounted for some of the shortage of labour in these areas.

The expansion of the employment of women in the office and banks was one of the most significant trends to occur during wartime employment. For unlike most other positions women were retained at the end of the war rather than being abruptly removed upon the return of the men. Banks for example, in Hamilton in 1916, hired for the first time, 150 women to replace the men who had answered the call to arms (Herald, Oct. 26, 1916). One newly hired bank clerk echoed the sentiments of many Hamilton residents

when asked what would happen when the men returned home and wanted their positions back:

> When once a woman, she said, has held a position what man would wish to return to it.

A bank official in response to the same question replied:

> ...a large percent of the men would not wish to return to the bank owing to having lived an out of door life. They will want to take up farming and ranching (Herald, October 26:1916).

Despite the many rationales, clearly there were advantages to women's cheap labour. What was to happen is best illustrated by the situation at Hamilton Hall. "So city hall girls will not be shuffled into domestic life, rather men would take back their old positions and the women would (comprise a growing army of subordinates) occupy the newly created (mundane routine) jobs (Herald, April 17, 1919).

Hamilton housewives were drawn into the labour force during wartime economic expansion and sent home when the war was over. This situation characterizes the role of housewives as a reserve army of labour. The ideology that kept married women in the home was actively changed, by state labour officials, to meet the economic need for a cheap labour supply. Women were available in large numbers in the home, the value of their labour power was less than men's and once in the labour force they competed with each other for the best jobs. Women's role as housewives is central to the capitalist production process. It is

precisely because domestic labour is not wage labour that married women form a reserve army for the capitalist productive system.

Conclusion

The empirical investigation of the gendered division of labour in Hamilton has illustrated a distinct job segregation by gender in both the family/household and the paid labour force. The discussion of several of women's leading occupations defined the forces that led to the existence of jobs for women. The stage of monopoly capitalism was shown to be characterized by the development of the modern corporation and the expansion of the state sector. Concommitently, the extended capitalist labour process was demonstrated to be complimented by a new occupational structure. Within this process, the detailed division of labour associated with the application of scientific management techniques explained the emergence of clerical, manufacturing and service jobs for women. Specific examples of these occupations described what constituted male as opposed to female work. While the expansion of capitalism increased the need for women's labour, as female occupations developed, Hamilton's women's role as a reserve army illustrates the supply side of this equation. The example of Hamilton's women's role in war production showed how women were forced to increase their supply of labour based

on its competitiveness, cheapness and availability. Chapter Five will document the emergence of the Ontario Minimum Wage Policy for females which it is argued was premised on the ideal of the family wage.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

[1]As noted in Chapter two, women's domestic labour did not decrease in amount. Instead it changed in nature to that of personal service to the wage workers.

[2]In Hamilton see Heron (1982)

[3]Craig Heron has argued that in Hamilton women did not form a reserve army of labour:

> On the whole, then women did not comprise a flexible reserve army of labour for Hamilton employers who wanted to replace male workers at lower wages. Instead they were hired in narrowly specific occupations which typically became female job ghettoes where all or most of their fellow workers were also women... at most, as a pool of unskilled labour, they posed a potential, though rarely experienced threat to the work routines of the male worker (1982:390).

The central effect of the "special reserve army" of married women was their depressive effect on male wages. They were used predominantly to deskill and routinize tasks. The segregation of the labour force assured that women however did not directly compete with men for men's jobs, but they did compete with each other. This fact alone however does not negate women's role in wage labour as a reserve army. See Fox (1981).

[4]Census of Canada, 1911, unpublished statistics, cited in Synge (1982).

[5]Hamilton bankers were very conservative, hiring females slowly over the years. However this occupation also came to be female dominated, beginning with the first female employees during the Great War.

[6]Department of Labour, Trades and Labour Branch, 1918.

[7]There is also the distinction between home and a hospital which relates to the male "takeover" of midwifery. The hospital being seen in terms of health care to be more scientific and therefore superior in this realm (see for example Ehrenreich and English (1973)).

[8]The state and medical profession are seen here as theoretically distinct. Although some members of the medical profession may be argued to be alligned with the state. See Vock, J. M.A. Thesis, McMaster University (May, 1983).

[9]See Kramer, 1975. The predominance of these middle class values is not surprising since Nightingale herself was a member of the leisured class. Nursing was a reform movement for her to fill up her empty days.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY WAGE

Introduction

In Chapter Four, it was shown that the provision of the Ontario factory policy reinforced a distinct gendered division of labour in Hamilton. This gendered division of labour was maintained by employers and male workers, as women were increasingly incorporated into paid employment with the expansion of the capitalist labour process. It was demonstrated that the activation of the female labourforce chiefly involved single women of working-class background. Married women, on the other hand, were held in reserve in the household, through a pervasive feminine ideology. This ideology proved to be adaptable to changing economic requirements. Characteristically, labour shortages in Hamilton during the war, and the accompanying feminine ideology, activated the 'institutionalized inactive reserve' of married women.

This chapter specifically addresses the emergence of the 1920 Ontario Minimum Wage Policy for females which it is argued, was premised on the ideal of the 'family wage', and aided in the consolidation of the gendered division of labour under capitalism. The first part of this chapter will

examine the ideology that encompassed women before during and after the war. The latter half will discuss the emergence of the minimum wage policy. First, the imposition and acceptance of this ideology, by and for the working class, is shown in their demand for a minimum wage policy for females. Secondly, the specific interests of the owners of capital in this policy will be detailed. Finally, the role of the state in the provision of a minimum wage for women will be illustrated.

The Women's Movement

The components of gender ideology that encompassed the lives of Hamilton women before the war are clearly discernable in the women's rights movement. The social and economic upheaval wrought by industrialization and urbanization prompted feminists to seek equality with men. The women's movement was considered a threat to the ideas held by the Hamilton middle-class and was strongly resisted. Morrison has argued that women "fought to enlarge their 'sphere' to include those areas beyond the home, not as their critics maintained, to forsake family responsibilities, but to eradicate those forces eroding family stability" (1976:45). The activities of the women's movement in Ontario were of two kinds: 'social feminism' which tended to put social reform ahead of women's rights; and the suffragettes to which the achievement of the vote was a

pre-condition to attaining larger improvements in women's rights (1976:45).

The Suffragette Movement

Granting women the vote meant an 'invasion' of women into the male dominated public sphere of politics. For this reason it became the subject of considerable controversy. Allan Studholme, the labour member for Hamilton East, gave notice in 1910 of his intention to sponsor a resolution supporting the franchise for women, at the forthcoming session of the Ontario legislature.[1] A resident of Hamilton, Clementina Fessenden, initiated a debate by declaring her opposition to Mr. Studholme's proposal. For several months, the local press carried the arguments and counterarguments over the right of women to vote.

From these discussions, the ideological themes embodying ideas of 'woman' can be discerned. First women's proper sphere was in the home. Secondly, women were biologically or naturally inferior to men and therefore unfit to participate in the public realm. Third, the entrance of married women into the public sphere would mean the degeneration of the family. Clementina Fessenden kept up a barrage of 'Anti Sufferage Notes' in the local Herald newspaper:

> The ordinary women has one great primary sphere - the home (Jan. 11, 1910).

There were places according to Fessenden, belonging distinctly to women, as there were those which belonged to men. On the one hand she stated:

> What God gave to woman the holy task of mothering the human race, of nurturing the little ones whose lives are immortal, he placed on her brow the crown of life. He gave to her the highest use which humanity can perform, to work with God in developing a human soul is a responsibility that may awe any woman, yet it is what motherhood means (Jan. 25, 1910).

On the other hand:

> we women have never done any of the big intellectual things. We are assimilative and appreciative, but women have not painted the great pictures of the world, nor hewn the great sculptures, nor written the great poems and symphonies, nor made the great discoveries in science and philosophy. Want of opportunity you say? Genius, like murder, will out. It transcends opportunity (Dec. 13, 1909).

Men and women had separate spheres and separate tasks in life. Women were to attend to domestic duties in the home, while men carried out the important tasks of the world. This she claimed was based on a 'natural law', in which women were inferior to men in all matters except motherhood.

Feminists countered this 'divinely-inspired division' of labour by suggesting that it was to be understood as a complementarity of the sexes. Morrison quotes Principal Austin of Alma Ladies College to ascertain that in her opinion, "the creation of woman 'after man and out of a portion of his body' demonstrates that she is ancillary

to him" (Morrison, 1976:48). Feminists attempted to elevate the role of 'motherhood' to equal that of men's contributions. Austin stated, "Christ's human nature was formed out of woman by a special act of God it requires great ingenuity to prove woman's inferiority to man from the Bible order of Creation" (cited in Morrison, 1976:48).

The second major theme that existed in Hamilton at this time was the notion that women were biologically unfit to participate in public life. Whether women should receive the vote was a question of biological capabilities. The question, Fessenden argued:

> is not one of inferiority, but of fitness; because the spheres of men and women are different owing to natural causes, therefore their share in public management of the state should also be different (Morrison, 1976:48).

Women were thought to be 'organically too weak to participate in the broils and excitement of elections' (Herald: Dec. 13, 1909). A New York doctor, quoted in a Herald editorial entitled "Hates a suffragette", echoed her sentiments.

> Even if women are granted the suffrage they will not keep it long. Nature will eliminate from the race in due course of three or four generations all who care about exercising it...more than once women had made a sudden dash for the front in intellectual matters only to fall back again inevitably to domestic duties. There seems to be a biological law that women who take an interest in things outside the home get rubbed out. It is not the creator that does it but nature. They rub out themselves. It is done quite smoothly, and

> we, in the midst of it, don't notice it (Herald, Feb. 12, 1910).

The public world was thought to possess unlimited danger for the biologically, inferior woman. Sterility and the degeneration of health and morals were the common consequences for women 'daring' to leave the 'protection' of the home.

> That home is their proper sphere few can deny, who have taken the trouble to enquire into the effect this public life is having on the health and morals of our young girls (Herald, Jan. 11, 1910).

It was not simply that the world held danger for women, but the related theme that women were incapable of dealing with public life. It was a widely held view in Hamilton, that the capacity to bear children 'warped' the physical, moral and mental abilities of women. A Biologist, Sir Almarath Wright, for example, based his refusal to grant women the vote on this contention.

> ...the character of woman alters at different stages of her life, and because of this she is unfit for the franchise and to govern... this is quite in harmony with what every thoughtful woman who knows herself, must accept. The disabilities of women, which we are so prone to overlook, carry weight, and the times of reproduction or when that ceases, the dangerous age should compel ceasation from public work. The tendency to moral warp when nervously ill has more than once been brought before the courts. In other words, because women are subject at times to physical ills, they cannot be trusted to say how they wish to be governed. Woman can do all those things we have

> already enumerated, (i.e. domestic duties) but she must not vote because her mind might be warped, and it would be dangerous to allow herself to think of public affairs. (Times, Sept. 14, 1912).

The Times reporter commented that this view was certainly 'silly' and 'pitiful' but he argued, "the fact remains that a large proportion of the Hamilton population believes it to be true" (Times, September 14, 1912). Implicit in Wright's remarks is the devaluation of the home. Nothing of importance was thought to occur in the home where women might need her full mental and physical capacities. At the same time the sanctity of the home must be protected as it was "the nursery of all great men" (Herald, June 5, 1911).

Feminists countered this 'science' argument emphasising the socially defined nature of male and female spheres. They argued that biological differences would not impede any sex from maximizing their potential. In addition the capabilities of men were questioned. A Times reporter asked:

> But what about the wonderful man that the woman places so much confidence in? What is the moral test applied to him as a voter? So long as he keeps out of jail he may be the greatest rake in Christendom, the despoiler of women and a charlatan, but his vote is safe. Is there a mental test for him? No. He may be as crazy as a loon, but he is treated as an intelligent voter. He may be fit for an asylum, but he lords it over (women)...Is he put through a physical test...no.

Similarily, it was asserted that if women could endure the physical punishment of childbirth she was capable of dealing with the public world (Playter, 1890).

The third ideological theme forecasted that women's entrance into public life would mean the ultimate demise of the family. It presented a threat to the 'natural order of things'. Notably, patriarchal authority in the home would be challenged, women's 'God-given' domestic duties would be left unattended, and in turn the life of the nation would be disrupted. Despite the particular failings of certain men, all men were unequivocally, the head of the household. Fessenden, for example, stated:

> The openly expressed contempt for 'that man' who dares to accept the responsibility placed upon him as head of the house and family is all too often heard. We do not claim for all divinely constituted authority, respect and obedience, whenever possible. If the husband loves his wife... there will be no great difficulty experienced by the wife in allowing him to assume the responsibility of the home life and conduct...One particularly offensive feature in this race for first place is that the husband is pitted against the wife, father against the mother, sister against the brother (Herald, March 1, 1910)

Men were seen as having much to loose by women stepping out of thier proper 'sphere'. At the most, it challenged their ultimate patriarchal authority, and at least, it might deprive them of their wives' services in the home. Fessenden continued to proclaim that women immersed in politics could not attend to her God-given home duties.

> What man, what home, could spare the wives and mothers for such a length of time? (Herald, March 1, 1910).

Men wanted women at home to personally service them. The idea that men might take over some domestic duties was clearly offensive to most men. Two police officials sarcastically commenting on the 'nerve of two winsome little misses' to apply for a job at the police station as telephone operators contended:

> The ideal state of which rabid suffragettes dream - men washing the dishes and minding the kids while women are replacing the sterner sex - is a long way off (Times, April 9, 1912).

The threat of women replacing men sparked a related fear that consistently came up in the literature of this period - the notion that women wanted to control men. The more progressive Times newspaper charged the Herald with being opposed to giving women a political vote:

> because they are afraid that the vote will corsen them (women) and create a new race of women that will be a disgrace to the sex and because when women get the vote men will become rude and ungentlemanly in their manner of dealing with them. Another reason is the feminist movement...women who advocate the vote for women so that they can make free love laws and force concubinage upon the male population (October, 14, 1913).

This fear incited an intensive attempt to control women's activities in all aspects of public life. Women were told that the whole nation would suffer by their neglect of

domestic responsibilities. Rabbi Dr. Minkin told a gathering of women:

> In the home lies the hope of the nation...not only is the home the place where true love and affection abide, but it is also the nursery of all great men (Herald, Feb. 21, 1910).

It was women's 'duty' to her country to keep the home together. Women were to safeguard the home and regard it as the proper place for the true 'development of the empire'. In a related vein, the home was the source of all joy and affection 'safe' from the wicked influences of the public sphere.

Feminists and their supporters were in agreement with their opposition on the defense of the family. They, however, felt that society as a whole needed to become safe for their children. Mrs. Nichols, of the Women's Temperance Union, observed:

> for years the wife and mother had remained at home and had raised her family faithfully and well. Now she desired to assist in seeing that the city was a fit and proper place for her children to live in (Times, April 22, 1915).

Women's work outside the home was to assist in protecting the family and the environment of children. The common interest of the condition of the family and its effect on the family joined the purposes of suffragettes with other women and reform groups.

Unlike most cities in Canada, Hamilton women did not have an organization solely for the purpose of gaining the franchise. One reason that may account for this is the absence of a large middle class from which most of the leaders of the suffrage movement in Canada originated. In 1912, the local Times newspaper declared the women of Hamilton to be behind the rest of the world on the suffrage issue (November 20, 1912). At a meeting of the National Council of Women of Canada, held in November of 1912, Hamilton women voted against sending a petition to the Dominion government asking for the priviledge of the vote for women. Mrs. Flora Dennison, President of the Women's Suffrage Movement of Canada, stated in an interview to the Herald, that "the women of Hamilton will soon wake up!" (Herald, 1912). Pressured by women in other areas of Canada, Hamilton women came to support the franchise by March of 1913. Generally, working class women did not participate in this movement.

It has been argued that there was a contradiction between the middle-class suffragettes' demand for political equality and the working-class women's need for special protection in the labour force (Cleverdon, 1950). The evidence suggests that this contradiction was posed by organized labour rather than the women themselves. In a response to Fessenden's column, many working women wrote into the Herald with comments similar to this one:

> Your letter grieved me exceedingly, I was sorry to think one woman could join with men to run down her own sex...It would not take long, perhaps one hour every year to record her vote and help her less fortunate sisters and thereby help to a better state of things (Herald, Feb. 21, 1910).

Alan Studholme introduced the suffrage bill into the House of Commons at the same time as he put forth a bill requesting a minimum wage (Hansard, 1910). His assumption was that women needed to have the ballot to protect themselves in the economic field. "Forced without protective legislation to sell their labour cheaply," he contended, "they undercut the whole labour market" (cited in Cleverdon, 1950:34). Labour organizations understood this and almost invariably supported women's suffrage. The ideological themes that were identified over suffrage also encompassed women in the labour force. The Federal Government granted women the vote in 1918. This was not an indication that the constraining ideology surrounding women had been overcome, but that a shift in the economy required a modification.

Maternal Feminism During the War

Ceta Ramkhalawansingh has suggested that the granting of the vote to women was in the nature of a bribe to enlist the labour power of women during the war (1978:287). In order to facilitate the use of women's labour power in the expansion of war production, existing gender ideology had to be altered. In 1918, the federal government called

a Women's War Conference, inviting women representatives from the various conservative women's organizations from across Canada. Their explicit purpose was to seek the advice of Canadian women on the proposed tightening of labour surveillance. Ramkhalawansingh has argued that they "actually sought to recruit the influential support of these wives and mothers, as well as their labour power" (1978: 285-86).

Under the guise of 'patriotism' gender ideology was modified by state representatives to enable the movement of women into (and out of) the labour force and to enlist the services of middle and upper class women to take on the daily needs of reproducing labour power. At the war conference, Hon. F.B. Carvell told the women that they might play a part in aiding the war effort.

> I feel sure that women can play a great part in making this registration a success. We all have some experience of the organizing ability of women within the last few months and it is a great surprise to most of us. (sic) We find women can organize for an election with an ability that men did not dare dream of. I am sure women will be of great service to the state in this important matter...I feel the time has come when the man and woman power of this country should be mobilized (1918:34).

Women were encouraged to aid in all aspects of war production. The Hon. N.W. Rowell even went so far as to ask the women "what might be the possible reserve power available among

women?" (1918:35). The conference ended with women having received the following message:

> The advantage of discussing subjects of immediate national importance with members of the Government has given us a keener realization of the gravity of present war conditions and the necessity of single-minded effort towards winning the war. We are convinced that as women we can best serve the state at this time by simplicity of life, and by concentrating energy on increased production and on thrift in all our ways, in order to meet the demands for food and money made upon us by the motherland and our allies (1918:46).

It was expected that these ideas would be disseminated among the population of women across Canada encouraging them to participate in public life for the duration of the war. This expectation was explicitly stated by Cavell:

> I hope every woman here will feel that the ideas she has received should be disseminated amongst the different districts of Canada. That must be left to yourselves as to the manner in which it will be done. From the wisdom you have exhibited in bringing in these resolutions, I think you will see that those principles are properly disseminated (1918:42).

The state's campaign was enormously successful in securing women's labour power. Along with the utilization of women in direct production, countless benevolent societies sprang into existence aiding in every aspect of war production and the daily needs of the population. Hamilton women certainly did their part. The Secours National, which was affiliated with the French Red Cross,

was formed to aid the suffering. The Patriotic League and the East Hamilton War Relief Association, knitted literally tons of socks, quilts, blankets, shirts, and pyjamas. In November of 1916, they alone sent 3,500 pairs of socks to the trenches and 5,000 shirts and pyjamas. The object of the Recruiting League, was to aid in recruiting for overseas forces and the production of munitions of war: to secure women speakers to wait upon women who might be holding back volunteer: to cooperate in forming public feeling, and to discourage waste. The Canadian Club promoted intelligent citizenship based upon love of country. Numerous other associations such as the Field Comforts, the Prisoners Fund, the Navy League, the Eleventh battery and the Canadian Hospital, all formed by women, left no stone unturned in supporting the war effort.[2]

State activity during the war, then, had successfully loosened the bonds of gender ideology to meet the demands of war production. Women were compelled to take on both productive and unproductive duties as part of their patriotic duty. Women's war participation facilitated a change in attitudes that might otherwise have occurred more slowly. A number of previously held beliefs, about women, were now being seriously questioned by the women themselves. Most importantly, it was revealed that women were not less fit than men for certain jobs. To reward women for their contribution during the war, the Ministers

of the War Conference promised to address the resolutions proposed by the women. These petitions presented by the women paved the way for an altered gender ideology that was to aid in the removal of women from production after the war.

Ideology of Familialism

The form of gender ideology that arose after the war stemmed from the emphasis by women's organizations, at the war conference of 1918, on child welfare and the importance of the home for the proper nurture and training of future citizens of the state.[3] The loss of lives during the war and high infant mortality rates, sparked a new recognition of the asset to the nation of its child life - as future soldiers and citizens. In a distinct break with past practices, where institutions such as orphanages and refuge houses were expected to compensate for inadequate families, the home was identified as the unequalled environment for child development (Strong-Boag, 1978-9, 1974). In addition, there was a new onus on the state to provide funds for the support of homes where the father of the family was absent. During the war the Canadian Patriotic Fund had augmented the income of the women who were deprived of the support of their husbands. It was expected that the state would now undertake this burden.[4] These assumptions paved the way for a familial ideology,

based on a specific form of family/household - the dependent-female - male breadwinner.

The campaign for mothers' allowances reveals the specific assumptions underpinning the ideology of familialism that "assigns financial support to the husband and father, sexual fidelity and domesticity to the wife and mother, and obedience to children" (Barrett, 1980). The testimony, by ministers, doctors, feminists, social workers and patriotic fund workers at the Hamilton Enquiry on Mothers' Allowances unequivocally agreed that family instability, juvenile delinquency and impoverished maternity, posed a vital threat to national survival.[5] The primary concern of the mothers' allowance scheme was the welfare of the child.[6]

The evidence given at the Public hearings on mothers' allowance pitted the home against the Institution as the best environment for child development. The best institution under the best management, it was argued, could not equal the poorest home.

> The family remains the unit of society and nothing compensates the child for the lack of mother's care. Mothers' allowances keep children at home.[7]

The mother was argued to be the one who is best adapted to raise and train the children.[8] Under proper training in the home, children would become obedient servants to the state.[9] Implicit in these assumptions is that the mother should remain in the home, outside the world of 'work', as employees of the state, training the future citizens

and soldiers of the nation.

The Commission on Mothers' Allowances agreed that infant mortality, juvenile delinquency and the general degeneration of the families' health was caused by mothers dividing their efforts between domestic duties and wage work. Mr. R.E. Mills representing Dr. Hastings, Medical Officer of Toronto, stated:

> Now hundreds, probably thousands of children are weaned because the mother has to go to work to earn a living. Dr. Mullin, of Hamilton, emphasized the same point, citing examples of mothers, patrons of the babies dispensary, who in spite of every effort could not nurse their babies more than once a day, because they had to work.[10]

Miss Dyke, superintendent of Public Health Nurses made a similar assertion:

> Speaking generally as to the health of the family where the mother is both the homemaker and wage earner ...in every instance, I think we must say the health of the family and the education of the family suffer.[11]

With the homes intact, and mothers at home to take care of their children, it was expected that there would be less juvenile waywardness and crime.[12] There was an explicit connection between the 'health of the nation' and the 'wealth of the nation'. Commissioner Boyd of Juvenile court of Toronto, argued:

> (mothers' allowances)...will ultimately be saved in a better type of children, in a higher productive capacity on the part of our citizens.[13]

Neglect of the home was traced to physical defects of children, to the irregular attendance at school, and delinquency. The receipient of mothers' allowances was to be regarded as an employee of the Ontario government, receiving renumeration for services rendered in the proper care of her children.[14]

These assumptions encompassed all families. Ideally, the male breadwinner would provide the sole support for the dependent wife, but where the male-household head was absent, the state would provide financial support. Resolutions and petitions to the government unanimously agreed on these issues. The Committee on Mothers' Allowances resolved:

> ...that the citizenship of our province is endangered if its children are not assured of adequate home care; the second, that it is the duty of the government to provide funds for the support of homes where the father of the family has been removed, and as a consequence poverty threatens to break up the home, or make its influence negligible.[15]

The rights of women are obscured in this statement. Veronica Strong-Boag has observed that it is "an ironic fulfillment of the feminists' maternalist ideology, that the most important reform legislation passed after the women's suffrage campaign in English Canada subsumed the cause of women under that of children" (Strong-Boag, 1978:31). The implementation of this policy had two consequences for the working-class household. On the one hand, payments made

to the women were intentionally not adequate (lest women might take advantage of the system) forcing women to take on part-time paid employment, thereby maintaining a pool of cheap labour.[16] On the other hand, the extension of the state apparatus into the home, through state officials that regulated the programme imposed the bourgeois form of the family/household on the working-class family, subordinating the rights of women.[17]

After the war, women to some extent were no longer seen as unfit for certain jobs and in the public sphere there was now a place for single women in 'women's occupations'. Married women on the other hand were removed from production under the rubric of 'patriotism' and a new emphasis on the welfare of the child. Women in the home were successfully subordinated to patriarchal authority. The idea that the husband should be the sole support of the working-class family household was in fact new. The imposition and acceptance of this ideology for the working-class is revealed in their struggle for a minimum wage which was premised on the 'family wage'.

The Emergence of a Minimum Wage for Females

Before the war an explicit demand for a minimum wage policy for women had not been introduced. The focus of the Ontario state on the question of a minimum wage policy developed out of a critical post-war situation of

increasing unemployment accompanied by considerable labour and social unrest. The public recognition of the enormous loss of lives, the high death rate among infants, and the prevalence of disease during the war, presented a need for steps to be taken to ensure the quantity and quality of labour power in the event of another war. In addition high levels of unemployment called for a re-organization of the labour market. General public opinion and direct appeals from labour induced the state to undertake an examination of a minimum wage for females as a measure to modify the nature, extent and distribution of labour power.

Labour Response

Direct appeals by labour to legislate a minimum wage for females were premised on the 'family wage'. It was during the war years that the wage struggle became defined as a fight for a family or 'living' wage. The labour press in 1922 commented on this development:

> Whatever the date when talk of the so-called subsistence wage originated, to all practical purposes we first began to hear the 'living wage' emphasised to the popular mind during the war when abnormal conditions sent the cost of living upward by bounds that often left the wage earner far to the rear in the struggle to keep up with it...not only has the living wage stayed with us as a phrase, but the amount of wage it was supposed to represent has also...(New Democracy, 1922).

The definition of the living wage was influenced by the middle class ideology of familialism, that assigned a breadwinner role to the male, which accompanied the shift in the economy.

> What do they mean by a living wage? That is to pay every adult male worker a minimum wage sufficient to cover the expenses of a family of five persons, the father, the mother and the three children.[18]

The war ended with new expectations by the working-class including the right to a family wage. Instead, workers faced a threat to their subsistence arising from high levels of post-war unemployment. Concomitantly, soldiers returned home to find women in many male jobs. Labour joined with social reformers to demand government action to alleviate these conditions. Organized labour felt "that the urgent need was for an adequate wage for male workers thus providing the necessary level of subsistence for a family that would enable women to remain at home (Klein and Roberts, 1974).

The state responded to these petitions by organizing a Royal Commission to enquire into industrial relations.[19] On the recommendation of this commission, a National Industrial Conference was formed comprising representatives from both labour and capital.[20] One topic of concern was a minimum wage for females. The explicit connection betweem the minimum wage and the 'family wage' can be

discerned from the discussions at this conference. This link was enunciated by the lone woman labour representative, Helena Gutteridge. Speaking on behalf of the unskilled male, worker she stated:

> ...the law should be established so as to enable the unskilled worker to keep his wife and family ...I want to quote an example of the conditions under which some men are compelled to bring up families. In one trade, a skilled trade, there was at the present time in the employment of some of the large corporations of the Dominion of Canada a number of men who are acting as waiters in various hotels throughout the country. Some of them, not very many miles from here, are receiving the magnificent sum of $7. a week. They are expected to eke out that wage with gratuities. The general public are expected to make up the wages of those men to a sufficient amount to support a wife and family, the assumption being usually that a man married and raises a family. If he does not do so, he is looked upon as a slacker, and is of no use to the country.[21]

The working-class attitude to the wage was marked by a significant change from the pre-war period. At that time, the economic interdependence of the family members involved both men and women contributing to the household economy. This re-definition assigned a new economic role to women - that of dependent, domestic servicer.

In agreement with the familial ideology, labour's emphasis was not on the mother, it focused on the welfare

of the child. Women needed 'protection' as mothers rather than'workers'.

> The women being the mothers of the next generation need protection, then the same thing applies in the case of men, because an underpaid man is as much the father of the coming generation as an underpaid woman would be the mother. Moreover, he has even a heavier burden to bear in this respect. While the good health of the mother ensures the good health of the child, at the same time, if the father of a family is earning a wage which is not sufficient to support himself and that family, then it is not only the future generation but the children of the present generation who are being under fed and therefore are not what we call good citizens.[22]

Women as wage earners were thought to need 'protection' for the purpose of conserving potential motherhood. Men on the other hand, needed 'protection' from women's cheap labour power as sole breadwinners of the family. Instead of demanding a minimum wage for all workers, as urged by Gutteridge, organized labour strongly supported this legislation for women only, based on clearly patriarchal motives.

Responses by Employers

In agreement with organized labour, employers did not attempt to resist the imposition of a minimum wage for women, but strongly opposed it for males. Female minimum wages could be concentrated upon and implemented with the least disruption in the economy. Mr. Grier speaking for the Association of Electrical employers stated:

> ...that with regard to both women and children it is consistent with our general notions as to the wage law that a minimum law fixed, but that in respect of men it would be unfortunate to have any such thing take place.[23]

A minimum wage for males would put too much strain on industry. Management knew exactly the cost of labour and what it could afford to concede.

> We must work in co-operation in order to increase production. If we are going to burden our industries with a minimum wage for unskilled labour, which as has been ably pointed out by Mr. Grier, may not be a benefit even to those to whom the legislation is desired, it may not be possible for us to meet the competition which we shall have to face, unless we do something which I am sure those on the other side do not want to have done, that is bring in labour which has a lower standard of living than ours - our first duty is self-preservation.[24]

Capital was clearly opposed to any barrier to production levels. Minimum wage legislation was in some ways seen as a solution to overcoming restraints to the accumulation process by reducing labour conflict. On the other hand, the costs of production could be passed on in prices.

Employers had a clear idea of what the legislation should look like. Mrs. Parnell described it in this way:

> There should be no attempt to fix an arbitrary statutory amount as the wage to be paid. In the consideration of this subject due regard should be paid to the difficulties which surround the industries, and also the varying conditions created by the extent of this

> country, reaching as it does from the Atlantic to the Pacific. On the contrary I am firmly convinced that the only safe way of establishing a minimum wage is by industries; and then only after a thorough investigation has been made, giving due effect to the grade of living required by the employees in each industry.[25]

A law of this sort was in the interests of the capitalist class as a whole. It would eliminate unfair competition by other employers by bringing the lowest grade of employer up to the level of the best and forcing capital out of crowded industries.

In sum, the conference was unanimously agreed to the principle of a minimum wage for women and minors on the grounds particularly that the women were the mothers of the next generation. The notion of applying it to all workers went unheeded. The following proposal was adopted:

> ...therefore, be it resolved that this Industrial conference recommends to the governments of all the provinces which have not adopted minimum wage laws for women and children, the speedy investigation of the necessity for such law, and if so found, the enactment of such legislation. It is further recommended that the various provinces throughout the Dominion adopt a uniform law and method of application, but that in all cases the minimum of wages for women and children to be determined from time to time, due regard being given to local living conditions.[26]

The agreement of labour and capital on the policy of a minimum wage for women clearly indicates an 'alliance of men' in subordinating women. At the same time it cannot be

argued that there was a 'harmony of interests' between these two classes. On the contrary, this policy was viewed by capital and labour as being in their respective interest but for quite different reasons. The working class were struggling for a higher standard fo living although there is no evidence to suggest that there was a 'radicalization of labour'. On the other hand, capital was concerned with eliminating inter-capitalist rivalry and reducing a certain amount of labour unrest. Capital, in fact, envisioned this policy to be a means of controlling the working-class. This is evident in the conflict over the nature, organization and implementation of the policy. Alternatively, this co-incidence of interests may be explained, following Gough, as the "threat of a powerful working-class movement which galvanises the ruling-class to think more cohesively and strategically to restructure the state apparatus to this end."[27]

The Role of the State

As a result of high unemployment and labour unrest during the first years of the war, the government in 1916 undertook a study to assess both the need for a minimum wage law and to determine the implications of such legislation.[28] The government was strongly influenced by the legislation in practice in the British Commonwealth countries and the relatively successful operation of such measures in some

American states (Derry, 1922). The government outline the economic, political and social benefits of this measure.

The need for a minimum wage law for females was expressed from statistics gathered by the Ontario department of labour.

> The Biscuit and Confectionery industry show that 64.6% of the women and girls employed in that industry in 1918-1919 were receiving less than $10.00 a week; and 51.6% were receiving less than $9.00 per week; that 32% were receiving less than $8.00 per week; that 18.6% were receiving less than $7.00 per week. The Box and Paper Bag industry shows that 75% get less than $10.00 a week; 64.6% get less than $9.00 per week; 36.8% got less than $8.00 per week and 22.5% got less than $7.00 per week; In the Laundery industry 87.5% got less than $10.00 a week; 75% got less than $9.00 per week; and 49% got less than $8.00 per week.

A limited investigation on the cost of living revealed that the minimum for board and lodging for women in Toronto, was between six and seven dollars. They concluded that a comparison of the wages and living costs indicated that a considerable number of women and girls were living either below or on the margin of a minimum standard of decency and comfort.[29] (A comparable study on men was not included). This discovery, along with other findings on the political, social and economic implications of the proposed measure re-iterated the subsequent discussions at the National Industrial Conference.

First, it was concluded, that a minimum wage policy for females could meet the demands of labour by improving

the working conditions and removing a significant proportion of female labour from production. It was stated that the minimum wage policy was economically sound. In the states' characteristically benevolent manner, this finding was expressed as "every worker who is worth anything is worth a living wage...the industry that does not pay is parasitic."[30] A direct increase in wages meant better living conditions, hence healthier and more productive workers. Organized labours' demand could be satisifed at a point when workers were resisting capitalist domination on a wide scale.

Secondly, since there was little opposition from employers, the state had no feat of alienating this important class and concomitantly, there existed the possibility that the legislation might serve to strengthen the political hegemony of the state. The minimum wage policy might improve methods of production and the quality of goods. Growing industrialization had placed greater emphasis upon the need for efficiency to enable greater productivity. It was felt that overcrowding, low wages and poor morale were major contributers to this low productivity situation. This issue was hinged to the concept that because labour was cheap there was no incentive to increase the efficiency of it as a factor or production. The Deputy Minister of the Department of Labour argued that management should attempt to increase productivity efficiency of labour to secure profit rather than exploit labour rates.[31]

Third, the proposed legislation 'tended to public welfare' by providing 'protection' for mothers and children.[32] It would remove most married women from the labour force as there would be an adequate supply of single women available (i.e. because women's rates would be as high as males, men would be a preferred source of labour, given the high unemployment levels married women would be pushed out of the labour force first). By providing adequate wage rates the potential mothers would be kept in good health.[33]

Minimum wage policy for females was enacted in 1920 by the Ontario government.[34] The policy was notable more for its exemptions and lack of restrictions than for its criteria specifying female wages. Omitted from the legislation were farm workers, domestic servants and those workers whose labour was regarded as being below normal standards of efficiency. In addition, a standard minimum wage for all workers was not set. Instead, a board was established to determine appropriate wages for various groups of workers based on industry and geographical locale. The specific number of hours to which the minimum rate would apply was not included leaving employers the option to extend their usual working hours to compensate for the required minimum weekly wage. As Campbell has noted, the provisions of the act conformed closely to the ideal prompted by employers at the National Industrial Conference.[35]

The provision of the minimum wage policy can be understood as a component of the state fulfilling its function of reproduction by modifying the nature, extent and distribution of labour power. The threat of labour unrest coupled with high levels of unemployment prompted the ruling class to think more cohesively and strategically to restructure the state apparatus to remove this threat. It served to repress and control the population by shaping them to the requirements of the capitalist economy and patriarchal relations.

Conclusion

The family wage was an ideology rooted in middle and upper class ideals and beliefs. It developed to meet the changing economic and social requirements accelerated by the critical post-war period of labour and social unrest. This ideal is exemplified in the emergence of a mothers' allowance scheme, which subsumed the rights of women under the cause of child welfare. The material component is identified in the working-class struggle for a 'living wage' which similarly arose during the war crisis.

The provision of a minimum wage for females encompassed both the ideological and material components of the family wage. It was a product of patriarchy and patriarchal relations. As a reform for the working-class this policy was at one and the same time both coercive and

supportive. While providing benefits to the working-class it also shaped this class to the requirements of the capitalist economy. The emergence of this policy was not an outcome of a 'radicalization of labour'. Instead the state was predisposed to respond to the structural tensions within the capitalist economy. The introduction of minimum wage policy can be understood in terms of the state's role in the reproduction of labour power. This policy aided in the consolidation of the gender division of labour, hence women's oppression under capitalism.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

[1]Cook, R. cited in Cleverdon (1974:vi)

[2]See the Herald and Times (1916-1919) in particular December 16, 1916; December 20, 1919 (in both newspapers).

[3]Women's War Conference Report, held at the invitation of the War Committee of the Cabinet. PAO,1918. Pamphlet.

[4]Provincial Archives of Ontario (henceforth PAO), Papers of the Department of Labour (henceforth DL), General Subject Files 2, File "Mothers' Allowances," 1919, W.A. Riddell, "Report on Mothers' Allowances", "Mothers' Pension Allowance,"Hamilton Inquiry, Feb. 20, 1919.

[5]"Mothers' Pension Allowance, Hamilton Inquiry".

[6]W.A. Riddell, "Report on Mothers' Allowances".

[7]Riddell, "Report on Mothers' Allowances", p.26.

[8]"Mothers' Pension Allowance, Hamilton Inquiry".

[9]Riddell, "Report on Mothers' Allowances".

[10]Riddell, "Report on Mothers' Allowances," p.25.

[11]Riddell, "Report on Mothers' Allowances," p.25.

[12]Riddell, "Report on Mothers' Allowances," cited in Labour World (Hamilton).

[13]Riddell, "Report on Mothers' Allowances," cited in Labour World (Hamilton).

[14]Riddell, "Report on Mothers' Allowances," cited in Labour World (Hamilton).

[15]"Mothers' Pension Allowance, Hamilton Inquiry".

[16]"Mothers' Pension Allowance, Hamilton Inquiry".

[17]See Jane Vock, "Saving the Nations Mother": Maternal Mortality 1919-1939. Unpublished Master's Thesis, McMaster University. (May, 1983).

[18]Canada, Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence. (Ottawa, 1926), pp.8.

[19]Canada, Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, Report, (Ottawa, 1919).

[20]Canada, National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments with Representative Employers and Labour Man (sic), on the Subject of Industrial Relations and Labour Laws, and for the Consideration of the Labour Features of the Treaty, Official Report of Proceedings and Discussions Together with Various Memoranda Relating to the Conference and the Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations. (Ottawa, 1919).

[21]Canada, National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments, Official Report.

[22]Canada, National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments, Official Report.

[23]Canada, National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments, Official Report.

[24]Canada, National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments, Official Report.

[25]Canada, National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments, Official Report.

[26]Canada, National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments, Official Report.

[27]Ian Gough, The Political Economy of the Welfare State, London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1979.

[28]"Brief for a minimum wage act", PAO DLC, RG7, Series II,I. Office of the Deputy Minister, General Subject Files, 1916-1920, Vol.2, File "Minimum Wage Data", 1917-1919.

[29]"Minimum Wages -- Arguments for, as developed by M.K. Rely", 1918-1919. PAO.

[30]"Minimum Wages --"

[31]"Minimum Wages --"

[32]"Minimum Wages --"

[33]"Minimum Wages --"

[34]Jane Campbell. "The Balance Wheel of the Industrial System: Maximum Hours, Minimum Wage, and Workmen's Compensation Legislation in Ontario, 1900-1939. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. McMaster University. (September, 1980).

[35]Jane Campbell. "The Balance Wheel".

THESIS CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to examine recent theories on the gendered division of labour and attempt to evaluate them in light of Canadian data. Through a critical assessment of the insights and issues raised in these debates a refinement of existing theory was presented. This enlarged framework was applied to an empirical example of Hamilton, Ontario so that the conceptual model could be substantiated, modified or discarded.

The first chapter outlined the development of theory to explain the gendered division of labour as central to women's oppression. The domestic labour devate illustrated that women's work in the home was 'real work', that it is the other side of wage labour and an integral part of the capitalist mode of production. Based on the assumptions of this debate theorists attempted to balance the previous concentrations on domestic labour by turning to women's wage work for an explanation of the gendered division of labour. Conceptualizing women as a reserve army they linked women's movements between the home and paid work to the needs of capital accumulation, concomitantly identifying the social, political and economic processes that limit and determine options open to women. They argued that these limitations exacerbate the gendered

division of labour enforcing women's dependence on men and of wage earning men on women for domestic servicing.

The ensuing debates on the family wage laid the groundwork for the analysis framing this thesis. The family wage premised on a specific family form - the female dependent - breadwinner-male which embodies, enforces and reflects the gendered division of labour, allowed an investigation encompassing both women's wage and domestic labour. The initial formulations of this debate are marred by a primary emphasis on gender or class in the creation of the wage form. This thesis presented a refinement of this analysis by including the role of state labour policies as aiding in the perpetuation of the gendered division of labour. It was argued that the development of the specific form of the family/household and its accompanying ideology of familialism is not unequivocally in the interest of the working class, men or women but reflects the interests of capital. Given that the state acts in the long-term interests of the capitalist class, the provision of state policies are implicated in establishing and sustaining this particular family form.

The second chapter examined the general transformation various authors in Britain and the United States had noted occurred with the development of early capitalism, which is associated with the emergence of the dependent family form, and the specific shape it took in Hamilton.

There was however one significant divergence from the pattern in industrialized Hamilton. The variation in the economy resulted in most married women, as well as young children, not participating in wage labour. Therefore the removal of married women from production was not yet an issue in Hamilton in 1871. The emergence of the dependent family form appears to be a slow process contingent upon the elaboration and development of the separation of the domestic unit from the industrial process. This variation allowed a clearer delineation of the interests involved surrounding 'protective' labour policies for women.

The third chapter documented the development and operation of the 1884 'protective' Ontario Factory Act which governed the conditions of Hamilton women's work. The family wage has been argued to have developed at the same time as 'protective' legislation. One of the questions raised and directly posed in feminist analysis is the relationship between the growth of trade unions and the growth of the ideal of the family wage. The evidence presented in this chapter supports the contention that the trade union movement did develop at the same time as 'protective' legislation for women. However, the absence of married women having been drawn into the paid labour force in the early stages of industrial capitalism in Hamilton, meant that the removal of married women from production via the family wage had yet to become a working-

class demand. There is no evidence to suggest that the provision of the factory acts developed primarily from direct appeals from organized labour for regulation on hours of work. Rather the need for this legislation was mediated through capital to the state, who were concerned with structural constraints to the production process. The provision of the factory acts may be understood as the state acting on behalf of the long-term interests of the capitalist class by contributing to the reproduction of labour power in modifying the nature, extent and distribution of women's labour power. The factory acts distinguished women as a separate occupational group, institutionalized their double day of work, and exacerbated the gendered division of labour. This analysis is supported by Hamilton women's work experience.

Chapter four investigated the existence of a gendered division of labour in Hamilton by documenting the structure and nature of women's work. A distinct gendered division of labour was found to exist in both the family/household and in the paid labour force. State factory policy which defined women as a separate occupational group led to further job segregation by sex as women entered the labour market. The ideology that accompanied this policy assigned women to domestic servicing and dependency on the male wage which disadvantaged all women in paid work and perpetuated their oppression in the home. So while both capitalist

hiring practices and trade union responses to female labour were significant, the state factory acts also supported the dependent family form. Women were channelled into deskilled, low paying, dead end jobs by both class relations which opened up these kinds of jobs and gender dynamics which alloted these jobs specifically to women. Finally, the fact that married women did indeed constitute a 'reserve army' of labour confirms earlier theoretical assertions.

In chapter five the development of the 1920 Ontario Minimum Wage Policy for Women was documented. In this instance the demand for a family wage underpinned this 'protective' policy which served to consolidate the gendered division of labour under capitalism. The expanded theoretical framework which includes the role of the state in the enactment of this policy revealed that prior to direct appeals from organized labour to remove women from production the threat of labour unrest and high levels of unemployment prompted the ruling class to think more cohesively and strategically to structure the state apparatus to remove this threat. The provision of a minimum wage policy for females encompassed both the material and ideological components of the family wage. It was a product of patriarchy and patriarchal relations. As a reform for the working-class this policy was at one and the same time both supportive and coercive. While providing benefits to the working class it also shaped this class to the

requirements of the capitalist economy.

In summation, theories on the gendered division of labour were found to be basically correct. The family wage developed both out of a desire to subordinate women and a working-class desire for a higher standard of living. The empirical test of the theories allow us to not only test the utility of the theoretical framework but to also inform our theory.

The emergence of the dependent family form was found to be a slow process contingent upon the historical elaboration and development of the separation of the domestic from the industrial unit. It revealed the importance of other factors that were significant in shaping the form of the family household.

Further research must carefully scrutinize state policies as they contain contradictory and conflicting principles for women. In addition any theory that attempts to explain the gendered division of labour under capitalism must include an analysis of the state's contribution to the reproduction of labour power. State policies in supporting a specific form of family/household - female-dependent - male-breadwinner - serve to exacerbate the gendered division of labour, hence women's oppression under capitalism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

(i) Government Documents

Canada. Census, Ottawa, 1901-1931.

Canada. Department of Labour Legislation. A Historical Outline of Principal and Provincial Labour Laws. August, 1945.

Canada. Imperial Munitions Board. Women in the Production of Munitions in Canada. Ottawa, 1916.

Canada. National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments with Representative Employers and Labour Men (sic), on the Subject of Industrial Relations and Labour Laws, and for the Consideration of the Labour Features of the Treaty. Official Report of Proceedings and Discussions Together with Various Memoranda Relating to the Conference and the Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations. Ottawa, 1919.

Canada. Sessional Papers, 1882. IX,No.42. "Report of the Commissioners appointed to Enquire into the Working of Mills and Factories of the Dominion and Factories of the Dominion and the Labour Employed Therein".

Canada. Royal Commission on Industrial Relations. Report. Ottawa, 1919.

Canada. Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour in Canada. Report: Evidence - - Ontario. Ottawa, 1889.

Canada. Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations. Report. Ottawa, 1929. Proceedings and Evidence of the Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations Upon the Question of Granting Family Allowances as Ordered by the House on 13th of February, 1929.

Canada. Select Standing Committee on Industrial and Internationsl Relations. Minutes of Proceeding and Evidence. Ottawa, 1926.

Canada. Women's War Conference Report. PAO, 1918. Pamphlet. Held at the Invitation of the War Committee of the Cabinet.

Ontario. Bureau of Labour. Reports, Toronto, 1900-15.

Ontario. Commission on Unemployment. Report, Toronto, 1916.

Ontario. Department of Labour. Report, Toronto, 1920.

Ontario. Department of Labour. General Subject Files 2. File "Mothers' Allowances, 1919". "Mothers Pensions Allowance", Hamilton Inquiry, Feb. 20, 1919.

Ontario. Department of Labour, Hon. W.R. Rollo Minister; W.A. Riddell, Department Minister. PAO, Mothers' Allowances, An Investigation. 1920.

Ontario. Department of Labour. PAO. "Brief for a Minimum Wage Act". RG7 Series II,I. Offices of the Deputy Minister, General Subject Files. 1916-1920. Vol.2. File "Minimum Wage Data, 1917-1919".

Ontario. Inspectors of Factories. Reports, Toronto, 1896-1916.

Ontario. Minimum Wage Board. Reports, Toronto, 1921-24.

Ontario. Mothers' Allowance Commission. Reports, Toronto, 1921-24.

Ontario. Provincial Statutes, 1884. 47.Vic. Chapter 39.sec.1 (c).

Ontario. Trades and Labour Branch. Reports, Toronto, 1917-19.

Stewart, Bryce M. compiler. Department of Temperance and Moral Reform of Methodist Church and the Board of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church, Hamilton. Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey of Hamilton, 1913.

Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Report of the Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Annual Convention, Hamilton, Ontario, September, 1919.

Wright, A.W. Report Upon the Sweating System in Canada, Ottawa, 1886.

(ii) Journals

Ladies Home Journal, 1900.

Hamilton Manufacturer/Made-in-Hamilton

Quarterly, Hamilton.

Women's Century.

Labour Gazette, Ottawa.

(iii) Newspapers

Canadian Labour World, Hamilton.

Herald, Hamilton.

Labor News, Hamilton.

New Democracy, Hamilton.

Spectator, Hamilton.

Times, Hamilton.

Newspaper Hansard

Palladium of Labour, Hamilton.

(iv) Books

Kealey, Gregory S. ed. Canada Investigates Industrialism. Toronto, 1973.

MacMurchy, Marjorie. The Canadian Girl at Work. Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1920.

Scott, Jean Thomson. The Conditions of Female Labour in Ontario. Toronto, 1973.

Strong-Boag, Veronica Jane. The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929. Ottawa, 1976.

White, Julie. Women and Unions. Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Minister of Supply and Services. Canada, 1980.

Secondary Sources

(i) Books

Abella, Irving ed. The Canadian Worker in the 20th Century. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Barrett, Michele. Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminism Analysis. London: Verson Editions, 1980.

Branca, Patricia. Women in Europe since 1750. Croom Helm, 1978.

Braverman, Harry. Labour and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974.

Clark, Alice. The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century. London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1919.

Cleverdon, Catherine, L. The Women Suffrage Movement in Canada. Toronto, 1974.

Connelly, P. Last Hired, First Fired: Women and the Canadian Work Force. Toronto: Women's Press, 1978.

Dalla Costa, Mariarosa and James, Selma. The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community. Bristol, 1972.

Demos, John. A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth County. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Ehrenreich, B. and English, D. Witches, Midwives and Nurses: A History of Women Healers. The Feminist Press, 1973.

Eisenstein, Zillah. The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism. New York: Longman, 1981.

Engels, Frederick. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. Edited by Eleanor Leacock. New York: International Publishers, 1972.

Forsey, E. Trade Unions in Canada 1812-1902. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Fox, Bonnie ed. Hidden in the Household. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1980.

Freedman, Marjorie Campbell. The Hamilton Ger
School of Nursing 1890-1955. Toronto, 19

Gordon, David M., Richard Edwards and Michael
Segmented Work, Divided Workers: the Hist
Transformation of Labour in the United St
Cambridge, England: Cambridge University P . 1982.

Gough, I. The Political Economy of the Welfare State. London: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1979.

Hennipin, J. Trends and Factors of Fertility in Canada. Ottawa, 1972.

Hewitt, Margaret. Wives and Mothers in Victorian Industry. London: Rockliff, 1958.

Johnson R. and Johnson, Laura. The Seam Allowance: Industrial Home Sewing in Canada. Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1982.

Katz, Michael B. The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City. Cambridge, 1975.

Kanter, R.M. Men and Women of the Corporation. New York: Basic Books, 1977.

Kealey, Gregory S. Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892. Toronto, 1980.

_____, and Bryan D. Palmer. "Dreaming of What Might Be": The Knights of Labour in Ontario 1880-1900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Kramer, Marlene. Reality Shock: Why Nurses Leave Nursing. 1974.

Luxton, Meg. More Than A Labour of Love: Three Generations of Women's Work in the Home. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1980.

Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels. The Communist Manifesto. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1971.

Miliband, Ralph. The State in Capitalist Society. London: Quartet Books, 1973.

Millet, Kate. Sexual Politics. New York: Double Day, 1970.

Mitchell, J. Women's Estate. New York: Vintage Books, 1971a.

Oakley, Ann. The Sociology of Housework. New York: Pantheon, 1974.

O'Connor, James. The Fiscal Crisis of the State. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973.

Palmer, Bryan D. A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914. Montreal, 1979.

Panitch, Leo ed. The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power. Toronto: University Press, 1977.

Pentland, Clare. Labour and Capital in Canada 1650-1860. Toronto: Lorimer, 1980.

Poulantzas, Nicos. Political Power and Social Classes. London: New Left Books, 1973.

Rapp Reiter, Rayna, ed. Toward an Anthropology of Women. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975.

Sargent, Lydia, ed. Women and Revolution: A Discussion of the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1981.

Scott, Jean Thomson. The Conditions of Female Labour in Ontario. Toronto University Studies in Political Science. W.J. Asjley, ed. First Series. No.III. Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1892.

Shorter, Edward. The Making of the Modern Family. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1975.

Strasser, Susan. Never Done: The History of American Housework. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Tilly, Louise A. and Joan W. Scott. Women Work and Family. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978.

Wilson, Elizabeth. Women and the Welfare State. London: Tavistock, 1977.

Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930. Toronto, 1974.

Zaretsky, Eli. Capitalism, the Family and Personal Life. New York: Harper and Row, 1976.

(ii) Articles

Alexander, Sally. "Women's Work in the Nineteenth Century London: A Study of the Years 1820-50", The Rights and Wrongs of Women. Edited by Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley. Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1976.

Anthias, Floya. "Women and Reserve Army of Labour: A Critique of Veronica Beechey", Capital and Class, 10 (Spring, 1980), pp.50-63.

Armstrong, Pat and Hugh Armstrong. "Beyond Sexless Class and Classless Sex: Towards Feminist Marxism". Studies in Political Economy, 10 (Winter, 1983), pp.7-43.

Baron, Ava. "Women and the Making of the American Working-Class: A Study of the Proletarianization of Printers". RRPE 14,3 (Fall, 1982), pp.23-42.

Brugel, Irene. "Women as a Reserve Army of Labour: A Note on the Recent British Experience". Feminist Review, 3 (1979), pp.12-23.

Coburn, Judy."I See and am Silent: A Short History of Nursing in Ontario". In Women at Work. Toronto: Women's Educational Press, Toronto, 1974.

Connelly, Patricai and Martha MacDonald. "Domestic and Wage Labour in a Nova Scotia Community". Studies in Political Economy 10 (Winter, 1983), pp.45-72.

CSE Sex and Class Group. "Sex and Class". Capital and Class, 16 (1979), pp.12-23.

Davies, Margery. "Women's Place is at the Typewriter: The Feminization of the Clerical Labourforce". Radical America 8,2 (July-August, 1974), pp.1-28.

Derry, Kathleen and Paul H. Douglas. "The Minimum Wage in Canada". Journal of Political Economy. xxx,2 (April, 1922), pp.155-158.

Edholm, Felicia and Olivia Harris and Kate Young. "Conceptualizing Women". In Critique of Anthropology. 9:10 (1977), pp.101-131.

Ehrenreich, Barbare and Deirdre English. "The Manufacture of Housework". Socialist Revolution. 5,4 (1975), pp.5-40.

Findlay, Marion. "Protection of Workers in Indu
Annals of the American Academy of Political Science.cvii (May, 1923), pp.254-266.

Fox, Bonnie."Women's Double Work Day: Twentieth-C
Changes in the Reproduction of Daily Life", i.. nidden in the Household. Edited by Bonnie Fox. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1980.

_____. "The Female Reserve Army of Labour: The Argument and Some Pertinent Findings". Atlantis 7 (Fall, 1981), pp.45-56.

Gardiner, Jean. "Women's Domestic Labour". New Left Review 89 (Jan.-Feb., 1975), pp.47-58.

_____. "Political Economy of Domestic Labour in Capitalist Society", in Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage. Diana Leonard Barker and Sheila Allen eds. London: Longman, 1976.

Hareven, Tamara K., "Family Time and Industrial Time: Family and Work in a Planned Corporation Town, 1900-1924". Urban History Review 2,78 (October, 1978), pp. 8-37.

Hartmann, Heidi I. "Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation by Sex", in Women in a Man-made World. Edited by Nona Glazer and Helen Youngelson Waehrer. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1977.

_____. "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism, Towards a More Progressive Union". Capital and Class 8 (Autumn, 1979), pp.1-33.

_____. "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism, Towards a More Progressive Union". In Women and Revolution. Edited by Lydia Sargent. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1981.

Heron, Craig and Bryan D. Palmer. "Through the Prism of the Strike: Industrial Conflict in Southern Ontario, 1901-1914." Canadian Historical Review Lviii,4 (December, 1977), pp.423- 58.

Humphries, Jane. "Protective Legislation, the Capitalist State and Working Class Men: The Case of the 1842 Mines Regulation Act", Feminist Review 7 (Spring, 1981), pp. 1-34.

_____. "Class Struggle and the Persistence of the Working-Class Family," Cambridge Journal Economics 1,3 (Spring, 1977a), pp.241-258.

_____. "The Working Class Family, Women's Liberation and Class Struggle: The Case of Nineteenth Century British History". Review of Radical Political Economics 3 (Fall, 1977b), pp.25-41.

Katz, Michael, B. "Youth and Early Industrialization in a Canadian City" in Turning Points: Historical and Sociological Essays on the Family. Edited by John Demos and Sarane Spence Boocock. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1978.

Kealey, Gregory S. and Bryan D. Palmer. "The Bonds of Unity: The Knights of Labour in Ontario, 1880-1900". Histoire Social/Social History xiv,28 (November, 1981), pp.369-411.

Klein, Alice and Wayne Roberts. "Beseigned Innocence: The "Problem" and the Problems of Working Women in Toronto 1896-1914". Women at Work, Ontario 1850-1930. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974.

Land, Hilary. "The Family Wage", Feminist Review 6 (1980), pp.55-77.

Lowe, Graham. "Women, Work and the Office: The Feminization of Clerical Occupations in Canada, 1901-1931. Canadian Journal of Sociology 5:4 (1980), pp.361-381.

Luxton, Meg. "Taking on the Double Day: Housewives as a Reserve Army of Labour", Atlantis 7,1 (Fall, 1981), pp.12-22.

McIntosh, Mary. "The State and the Oppression of Women", in Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production. Annette Kuhn and Anne Marie Wolpe eds. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.

MacLean, Ann Marion. "Factory Legislation for Women in Canada", in American Journal of Sociology 5 (Sept, 1899), pp.192-198.

May, Martha. "The Historical Problem of the Family Wage: The Ford Motor Company and the Five Dollar Day". Feminist Studies 8, 2 (Summer, 1982), pp.399-424.

Medjuck, S. "The Importance of Boarding for the Structure of the Household in the Nineteenth Century: Moncton, New Brunswick and Hamilton Canada West. Historic Sociale/Social History. xiii,25 (May, 1980), pp.207-13.

Millet, Juliet. "Women: The Longest Revolution". New Left Review 30 (November-December, 1966), pp.11-37.

Molyneux, Maxine. "Beyond the Housework Debate". New Left Review 116 (July-August, 1979), pp.3-27.

Morrison, T.R. "Their Proper Sphere" Feminism, The Family and Child-Centered Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900. Ontario History 68 (1976), pp.45-74.

Morton, Peggy. "Women's Work is Never Done". Reprinted in Women Unite! Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1972.

Muller, Viana. "The Formation of the State and the Oppression of Women. Some Theoretical Considerations and a Case Study in England and Wales". Review of Radical Political Economics 3 (Fall, 1979), pp.7-21.

Oren, Laura. "The Welfare of Women in Labouring Families: England, 1860-1950". Feminist Studies 1 (Winter-Spring, 1973), pp.107-21.

Ramkhalawansingh, Ceta. "Women During the Great War". In Women at Work, Ontario 1850-1930. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974.

Rapp, Rayna (Reiter). "Family and Class in Contemporary America: Notes Toward an Understanding of Ideology". Science and Society 42 (Fall, 1978), pp.278-300.

Ross, Ellen. "Fierce Questions and Taunts: Married Life in Working-Class London, 1870-1914". Feminist Studies 8,3 (April, 1982), pp.1-32.

Rubin, Gayle. "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the Political Economy of Sex". In Toward an Anthropology of Women. Edited by Rayn Rapp Reiter. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975.

Seccombe, W. "The Expanded Reproduction Cycle of Labour Power in Twentieth-Century Capitalism". In Hidden in the Household: Women's Labour under Capitalism. Edited by Bonnie Fox. Toronto: The Women's Educational Press, 1980.

_____. "Domestic Labour and the Working-Class Household". In Hidden in the Household: Women's Labour Under Capitalism. Edited by Bonnie Fox. Toronto: The Women's Educational Press, 1980.

_____. "Domestic Labour: Reply to Critics". New Left Review 94 (November - December, 1975), pp.85-96.

_____. "The Housewife and Her Labour Under Capitalism". New Left Review 83, (January - February, 1974), pp.3-24.

Sen, Gita. "The Sexual Division of Labour and the Working Class Family: Towards a Conceptual Synthesis of Class Relations and the Subordination of Women". The Review of Radical Political Economics 12:2 (Summer, 1980), pp.76-86.

Smith, Paul."Domestic Labour and Marx's Theory of Value." In Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production. Edited by Annette Kuhn and AnnMarie Wolpe. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978.

Stevenson, Garth. "Federalism and the Political Economy of the Canadian State". In The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power. Edited by Leo Panitch. Toronto: University of Toronto Pres, 1977.

Strasser, Susan M. "The Business of Housekeeping: The Ideology of The Household at the Turn of the Twentieth Century". Insurgent Sociologist 8 (Fall, 1978A), pp.147-63.

Strong-Boag, Veronica. "The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920's". Labour/Le Travailleur, 4 (1979), pp.131-64.

_____. "Canada's Early Experience with Income Supplements: The Introduction of Mother's Allowances". Atlantis 4 (1978-9), pp.35-42.

_____."Wages for Housework: Mother's Allowances and the Beginnings of Social Security in Canada". Journal of Canadian Studies (Summer, 1979), pp.24-34.

Wallace, Elizabeth. The Origin of the Social Welfare in Canada: 1867-1900. The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science. (1950), pp.382-392.

Walters, Vivienne. "State, Capital and Labour: The Introduction of Federal-Provincial Insurance for Physician Care in Canada". Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology. 19,2 (1982), pp.142-185.

Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womenhood: 1820-1860". American Quarterly xviii (Summer, 1966), pp.151-174.

(iii) Unpublished Theses and Papers

Bammon, Haley P. "The Ladies Benevolent Society of Hamilton, Ontario: Form and Function in Mid-Nineteenth Century Urban Helanthrope". Canadian Social History Project Report. No.4, Toronto, 1972.

Cameron, Barbara. "The Sexual Division of Labour and Class Struggle". (mimeographed) Department of Politics, Brock University, May, 1981.

Campbell, Jane. "The Balance Wheel of the Industrial System: Maximum Hours, Minimum Wage, and Workmen's Compensation Legislation in Ontario, 1900-1939". Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. McMaster University, September, 1980.

Grant, Judy. "Women as a Reserve Army of Labour: An Examination of the Limitations of this Conceptualization of the Historical Experience of Canadian Working Women". (mimeographed) McMaster University, May, 1982.

Heron, W. Craig. "'The Mill Girl' in Working-Class Hamilton 1895-1930". Doctor Dissertation. Dalhousie University, September, 1981.

Katz, Michael B. "On the Condition of Women". In the Social History Project Interim Report #4. The Department of History and Philosophy of Education OISE, 1972.

Lawson, Margaret Ruth. "Some Economic Phases of Minimum Wage Legislation in Ontario". Masters Thesis, University of Toronto, 1926.

Smith, Dorothy E. "Women's Inequality and the Family". (Manuscript) OISE, 1980.

Stern, Mark J. "Differential Fertility and Early Industrialization in Hamilton". In Working Paper 26 in York Social History Project. Third Report. Downsview, 1926, pp.314-330.

Storey, R. "Industrialization in Hamilton: The Emergence of the Hamilton Working Class 1850-1870." Masters Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1975.

_____. "Workers, Unions, Steel; The Shaping of the Hamilton Working-Class 1935-45. Phd. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1981.

Synge, Jane. "The Way We Were: Farm and City Families in the Early Twentieth Century". (Manuscript), .981.

Yanz, Lynda and David Smith. "'Women as a Reserve' A Critique". (mimeograph) OISE, 1982.

Vock, Jane. "Saving the Nation's Mothers", Maternal Mortality 1919-1940. Masters Thesis, May, 1983.