GENDER PERSPECTIVES ON THE JOURNEY TO WORK

IN TORONTO, 1901 to 1951

By

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THE JOURNEY TO WORK IN TORONTO, 1901-1951

ABSTRACT

There are large gaps in our knowledge of the journey to work in the first half of the twentieth century, particularly how patterns differed for men and women. My purpose is to examine the changing geographies of work and residence for a sample of men and women in Toronto. The central research problem is how the journey to work differed by gender. Two major hypotheses were developed to address the central research problem: that men travelled farther to work than women, and that the decentralization of work reduced the length of the journey to work in the study period.

City directories are utilized to illustrate the changing geography of home and residence of a sample of over 50,000 Toronto workers between 1901 and 1951. Oral history evidence is also used to provide details on time and the commuting experience of Toronto workers. A discussion of the usefulness of city directories for historical commuting research and gender differences is also a component of the thesis. The conceptual framework for the thesis draws upon two major types of explanation. First, the journey to work was shaped by economic circumstances and, secondly, by cultural norms of the appropriate roles for men and women.

The findings confirm the general patterns observed in the literature, that there were indeed significant gender differences. Men did travel farther to work than women in the early twentieth century. The research illustrates that work in Toronto between 1901 and 1951 generally remained more centralized than residence. Differences by occupation are evident, clerical workers, for example, travelling longer distances than skilled and semi-skilled workers.

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1 INTRODUCTION

> ... the relationship between home and work ...
> stands at the core of everyday life and ...
> is central to understanding the geography of settlement.
> - Hanson, 1992: 576.

Commuting, or the journey to work, is one of the defining experiences of the industrial city. It became necessary with the rise of capitalist industry and the progressive removal of most paid work from the home. The time and expense of getting to work then entered into the calculations of city-dwellers, shaping domestic routines and the social geography of the city. At the same time, the need to commute imposed constraints upon the size and form that cities could take. When workers travelled on foot, these constraints were narrow. From the late nineteenth century, the streetcar and later the automobile relaxed these constraints and made the modern city appear formless. Despite the rhetoric of the electronic cottage, the journey to work remains an important reality of urban life in the late twentieth century.

The daily journey to work has implications both for families and for the structure of cities. Families had to be concerned with the time and costs associated with commuting, choice of residence, and types of transportation used to get to work. The separation of homes from workplaces required new strategies for coping with home and child care responsibilities. The increasing length and complexity of journeys to work had a dramatic effect on urban structure, particularly the growth of suburbs.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, urban reformers hoped that better public transit would allow workers to live in the suburbs which were felt to be healthier in sanitation, regulation and morality. Yet the first improvements in urban transportation technology tended to serve the better off while the poor remained in the crowded inner city (Jackson 1985; Tarr 1973). James Vance (1966)

describes how the increasing separation of home and work led to cities developing increasingly contrasting functional areas and urban stratification, whereby the means test came to substitute for the place of employment in determining where people would live. While commuting gives potentially more spatial flexibility, the era of the journey to work has seen a greater segregation of residential areas by class, family income and ethnicity.

In recent years, researchers have shown that the journeys to work of men and women differ, and in ways that are connected to the gender division of labour within the labour market and at home (Madden 1981; Hanson and Johnston 1985). However, most historical students of the journey to work have focused, implicitly or explicitly, upon male workers. This is a serious deficiency. Women have always made up a significant minority of paid workers, and in certain industries they have been dominant. If, as many scholars now argue, women's commuting experience in the contemporary city should be taken seriously, the same is true of the past.

Toronto is an appropriate city to examine as it was a mid-sized city throughout the period of study. It ranked twenty-first in North America in 1911, rising to fourteenth by 1951. During this period it grew quite rapidly, from about 220,000 to more than a million. Its employment base was diversified, ranging from garments and publishing, through electrical goods, rubber, agricultural implements, and auto factories, to regional and national head offices in banking, commerce, and insurance. As the capital of Ontario, it also possessed a number of public institutions, including hospitals, the largest university in Canada, and a majority of the provincial civil service. Thus Toronto contained a variety of jobs for both men and women. Toronto may not have been "typical" but it provides ample scope for an examination of the issues at hand. There are also good documentary sources available for studying Toronto, including Might's City of Toronto Directories, assessment rolls and major archival collections

containing valuable records that are easily accessible. Other more specialized information is also available on the origins and operations of major companies, such as the T. Eaton Company. There is also substantial material on the Toronto Transportation Commission (formed in 1920-21) and its predecessors. The geography of the metropolitan area is well covered for the period in a growing body of published material (Harris 1996; Lemon 1985).

There are large gaps in our knowledge of the journey to work in the first half of the twentieth century, particularly how they differed for men and women. My purpose in this thesis is to examine the changing geographies of work and residence for a sample of men and women in Toronto. The central research problem of this thesis is how the journey to work differed by gender in Toronto between 1901 and 1951. Other researchers have found that men generally travelled farther to work than women during this period. The reasons noted for this have been higher incomes which enabled more choice of transport mode and place of residence (Odencrantz 1919; Pratt 1911). Often too, the location of male employment was more dispersed, resulting in longer journeys to work. Married women were also more constrained in terms of the journey to work, given their domestic responsibilities. The expectation is that men travelled farther to work than women in Toronto.

In the early twentieth century, manufacturing was being decentralized. Changes in production methods, the scale and organization of work, and new transportation modes meant that industry could be more flexible in terms of location. Until the early twentieth century, manufacturing was closely tied to the rail networks of the inner city (Ferguson, 1923). By mid-century, industry was located near major road networks, on suburban greenfield sites which could accommodate the larger structures needed for horizontal assembly lines. Contemporaries hoped that this would mean healthy living in the suburbs and would reduce the length of the daily journey to work (Tarr, 1973).

Perhaps men benefitted more than women from industrial decentralization, as auto assembly plants, for example, relocated in the suburbs while the female dominated clothing industry did not. The thesis is linked to existing geographical literature on the journey to work and industrial decentralization, but provides a unique perspective by examining gender differences in the journey to work in the past. Subsidiary questions which guide interpretation of the patterns are: How did the suburbanization of employment affect the residential location and the journey to work of men and women? Were male workers suburbanizing faster than female employees in the first half of the century?

Two major hypotheses were developed in order to address the central research problem:

a) that men travelled farther to work than women; and

b) that the decentralization of work reduced the length of the journey to work over the study period.

In order to test these hypotheses, six databases, amounting to over 50,000 workers, were created from a sample of listings in Might's City of Toronto Directories for years coinciding with the Census of Canada (i.e. 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951). Specially designed statistical and mapping programs were developed to measure and illustrate the journey to work for all workers and for men and women separately. The results derived from the data analysis show clear differences between men and women in the spatial relationships of workplaces and homes. Only a small selection of the maps generated in the research can be presented in the thesis. During the course of the study, it was decided to add some oral history interviews to provide detail on the experience of the journey to work. The results of these interviews cover the period from the 1920s to the 1950s and are a useful counterpoint to the quantitative data derived from the directory sample.

This study is related to existing work in economic and social geography, and to the more specialized literature on the journey to work, which has a long tradition in the social sciences (Liepman 1944; Pratt 1911). Geographers such as James Vance (1960) examined the effects of commuting upon cities, particularly during the 1960s. The thesis also draws upon the contemporary journey to work studies on gender differences in commuting behaviour (Madden 1981; Pratt and Hanson, 1988). It also utilizes the interpretive qualitative methods used in many geographical studies, namely oral history interviews. My study differs from most of the existing geographical literature in being an historical examination of the journey to work and by examining the significance of gender in the past. Advantages of my approach include the combination of large-scale quantitative methods, supplemented by qualitative sources, in answering different types of questions about the journey to work.

From this study and its approach, we can learn many things about the changing geography of the city. These are related to the broader issues of urban growth and change. The study demonstrates a critical linkage between the economic (work) and the social (residence) geographies of the city. It also provides a dynamic sense of the city, which helps us to understand more about the role of transportation in people's lives as well as the suburbanization of employment and the process of suburban development. Historical studies of the journey to work have emphasized the importance of transportation technology. There can be no question that prevailing methods of transportation set an outer limit upon how far people can travel to work, with manifold consequences for the geography of the city. Within this context, however, patterns and trends in commuting must be interpreted in the light of labour and housing market conditions. For example, in a context where jobs are decentralizing, it is much more likely that workers will stay with their employer if alternative employment is scarce.

Given that labour markets have typically been gendered -- with certain jobs deemed appropriate for women, and others for men -- it is also likely that male and female employees have often responded differently to job relocation. Similarly, in situations where workers choose to remain with a company that has relocated to the suburbs, their chances of being able to move house, and hence their new journey to work, will be determined largely by the cost and availability of housing near the new job site. As the constraints of technology have become less narrowly determining (as, for example, the automobile and buses allowed for more flexible travel patterns), the relative importance of labour and housing market conditions has increased. In this thesis, I interpret the journey to work in the context of local housing and labour market conditions.

This study also relates to shifts in economic structure. The first half of the twentieth century saw the growth and transformation of office employment and the rise of the big corporation and big government. This was also a time when the organization of work became more segmented; production methods shifted from craft to craft/machine and then to Taylorist mass production. This affected the nature of work, resulting in more deskilled jobs. These changes in the nature of work had implications for cities as workers' occupations and incomes increasingly determined where they lived and worked and how they travelled between the two.

My focus on the labour shed supports a new emphasis on work-related elements of urban structure. The nature of labour markets can be explored in more detail, particularly in terms of gender and occupation. Labour sheds for this period illustrate a complex urban structure with the growth of multi-nodal employment zones -- challenging some of the old models of urban structure, such as Burgess (1925). Thus cities in this period were more multi-nuclear than previously thought. This helps in understanding the early decentralization of employment. The Central Business District

was therefore less dominant than previously considered. We also learn more about the gendered nature of labour markets, in that women's employment was more centralized than that of men.

This thesis raises questions and issues about the urban development process. There are periods of both employment and residential decentralization, which often occur well in advance of the provision of public services, such as streetcar service. These features of decentralization are evident especially in the years between 1910 and 1930 as well during and after the Second World War. The urban development process illustrates a leapfrogging effect of work and home which results in some workers living long distances from their employers. World War II was very significant in altering the geography of the city. The urban area decentralized with the growth of suburban munitions factories and the geography of employment shifted dramatically, especially for women.

This research makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the journey to work and urban life more generally. In the context of the traditional journey to work studies that were very transportation-focused, it provides a stronger sense of the reasons for mobility and illustrates a complex geography of work and residence. This is a dynamic study of substantial change in a major city, including the suburban shifts of employment and residence and how these differed by gender. The study suggests that the journey to work is a multi-faceted issue, to be explained not only by distance but also by more varied factors such as gender, occupation, household status, income, marital status and ethnicity.

My primary focus is on the journey to work in the context of home and work but other issues are considered with the interviews. Oral histories show that people undertook much more complex journeys than just travelling from one point to another. Not only would they combine several modes of travel such as walking, streetcar and

buses, but they also did shopping and other errands as well. Their modes of transport also varied seasonally and, while many families owned cars before World War II, they continued to use the efficient public transit routes for work trips and the automobile largely for recreation. In terms of decisions about the journey to work, workers found that the time it took and the convenience of the transport mode were more important than absolute distance or cost in getting to work. In terms of locational determinants of residence, the results tend to confirm the primacy of the head of household: families located closest to the workplace of the principal breadwinner (usually male) which had implications for others in the family. As a result, the other family members often had to travel longer distances to work.

The thesis begins with an examination of some of the literature on both the contemporary and historical journey to work (Chapter 2). Evidence is also provided about male/female differences in the journey to work in the first half of the twentieth century. Sources and research methods are discussed in Chapter 3. Both quantitative and qualitative sources are used, especially city directories (too often neglected in historical research) and oral history. Original research methods are applied to a sample of over 50,000 workers in Toronto between 1901 and 1951, with innovative computer maps and techniques to measure distances between home and work. The main findings, illuminating the changing geography of home and work in Toronto from 1901 to 1951 and the gendered journey to work over this period, are presented in Chapters 4 and 5). Chapter 4 focuses on differences in the workplace locations of men and women while Chapter 5 examines the male/female differences in commuting patterns. A case study of the T. Eaton Company is used to illustrate these generalizations in Chapter 6. Major findings and further research questions are considered in the final chapter.

2. THE JOURNEY TO WORK IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

> The journey to work is a product of the spatial separation of workplaces and residences and, thus may result from the changing location of either of these two phenomena. It is therefore a product of the changing structure and functioning of urban areas. Historical studies of the journey to work are consequently of interest not solely in their own right but also because they provide insight into evolving urban structures (Barke, 1991, 108).

Understanding the journey to work is important because it affected the lives of individual workers and their families and it also affected the structure of urban areas. As the journey to work became longer, cities grew and became more complex. I shall examine three major areas of the journey-to-work literature: namely, contemporary studies, historical studies and recent analyses of gender and commuting. This review will illustrate the original nature of my research, by focusing on the gendered nature of the journey to work in the past. It illustrates gaps in studies of the journey to work and explains the theoretical context of my study as well as its significance to broader questions of urban and economic change.

2.1 The Journey to Work in the Early Twentieth Century

There have been comparatively few contemporary studies of the journey to work in the early twentieth century. Important contemporary studies include Pratt (1911) in New York City, Taylor (1915), Odencrantz (1919) and Liepman (1944). Later studies of this period may reflect an appreciation of features that may have been taken for granted by contemporaries. The importance of flat rate fares and large scale surface transit systems, for example, made for very efficient passenger movements during this time. Some key studies, after the Second World War, such as Vance (1960) and Schnore (1960), were notable in helping to set a research agenda and to raise interest in the journey to work and changing urban structures. They were particularly

concerned with contemporary traffic issues and the reshaping of cities by the greater usage of private automobiles to get to work. I examine some of the findings in the literature on the distances travelled to work, differences by occupation and the impact of suburbanization upon the journey to work.

There have been relatively few studies of commuting for the period before the World War II. Some notable exceptions include Carter 1975; Ericksen and Yancey 1979; Greenberg 1980; Hershberg et al. 1981; Vance 1960; Vance 1966; Vance 1967. The industrial city, dominant from about 1880 to 1930, was increasingly segregated by class, occupation and ethnicity, with the wealthier, managerial and largely Anglo-Saxon groups having the greatest choice of residence. The growth of larger factories led to an increasing separation of home from work. This resulted in increasing journeys to work as more workers worked outside the home and had to walk or, later, use public transport to get to work. Hershberg et al. (1981) find that the journey to work in Philadelphia doubled for those working outside their homes between 1850 and 1880. The journey to work for industrial workers increased from about half a mile in 1850 to about one mile in 1880. White-collar workers lived farther away than blue-collar workers. The middle class used the street railway to get to their new suburbs, while blue-collar workers lived close to the firms where they worked and tended to relocate if they got new jobs (Jackson, 1985).

Journey-to-work distances in the early twentieth century were shorter than today and differed by occupation. Ericksen and Yancey (1979) find that typically in industrial Philadelphia, the least skilled and lowest paid workers lived closest to their jobs while more highly paid or skilled workers had more choice of residential location. Goheen (1970) examines the journey to work of selected Toronto occupations in 1860 and 1890, using city directories. Industrial workers had to commute longer distances than professionals in 1860 as the former could not afford to live in more accessible

locations, but this was no longer the case by 1890. The literature suggests that traditionally blue-collar workers had to live closer to work as they could ill afford the costs of commuting (Jackson 1985). Thus it has been argued that the well-off could afford to decentralize to the suburbs earlier.

The main dynamic influence upon journey-to-work patterns in the first half of this century was the decentralization of industry. From at least the 1880s, certain manufacturing firms, especially those that specialized in iron and steel and later auto production, decentralized to new suburban greenfield sites. These offered lower taxes, abundant and cheap land, access by rail as well as less congestion, less risk of fire and a less concentrated workforce, which often reduced its militancy (Stilgoe 1983; Taylor 1915; Walker 1981). The early decentralization of work tended to be of large-scale factories with largely male employees. Scott (1982) suggests that the capital-intensive industries tended to suburbanize early, while labour-intensive firms such as the garment industry remained in central locations. Since the former employed mostly men, and the latter mostly women, the selective decentralization of industry probably had a different impact on the journey to work of men and women. Some industries, like brickworks, had never concentrated in the centre of the city, and others had begun to move out during the late nineteenth century. After 1900, a large-scale movement of manufacturing industry into the suburbs gathered momentum (Lewis, 1991; Muller and Groves, 1979; Pred, 1964: 169; Taylor, 1915). By about 1915, this trend was widely noted and praised. Contemporaries hoped that it would encourage a suburbanization of workers, thereby improving living conditions, reducing labour turnover and promoting industrial efficiency. Their main concern was that a shortage of affordable suburban housing would prevent this from happening.

The growth of suburbs provided not only more residential accommodation but also more business sites, both manufacturing and commercial. Jackson (1985) discusses

the importance of transportation technology in residential suburbanization. The early railway suburbs tended to be middle-class. Although the streetcar assisted the decentralization of the working-class, it was supposedly not until after the Second World War that the bulk of blue-collar workers suburbanized. Harris (1990) examines self-building in Toronto, effectively challenging much urban theory on the suburbanization of the working class. He suggests that the working class were relocating to the edges of cities earlier than people had previously thought. Self-building was important in allowing blue-collar workers to acquire new homes and settle in the suburbs. The development of the electric streetcar in 1887 had lower costs per passenger mile and thus allowed lower fares. The street railway allowed the central business districts of large cities to thrive. In Toronto, the policies of the Toronto Railway Company from 1891 to 1921 kept the street railway compact (Davis 1978). Auto suburbs, which originated in North America in the 1920s but developed mainly after 1945, allowed a new pattern of residential settlement, no longer just along railway corridors. They also allowed increasing journeys to work, often from one suburb to another. Public transportation in the mid-twentieth century was still used for commuting from suburb to central city. The automobile also allowed deconcentration of employment to the urban edges, particularly with the growth of truck transportation which also pulled warehousing and distribution activities to the periphery (Jackson, 1985).

The relationship between workplaces and homes is dynamic (Vance, 1960; 1966). In a situation where a new factory is established, we might expect that workers would initially be drawn from quite a wide area but that, over a period of months and possibly years, there would be a tendency for the labour shed to contract. Long-distance commuters moved closer to their new workplaces, or else quit to find jobs closer to home. Carroll (1949: 418) cites evidence for companies in the vicinity of Detroit, Michigan, and Fontana, California, to suggest that discernible "tightening" of a

plant's labour shed could occur within a twelve-month period. A dramatic example was the Willow Run bomber plant, completed in 1942 between Detroit and Ypsilanti in a largely rural area. From a standing start, employment rose to 30,000 by September of that year, peaking at 42,331 in June 1943 (Carr and Stermer, 1952: 65). At first there was a severe housing shortage. Many workers were forced to commute, in some cases long distances. Soon, however, workers brought in trailers or built shacks and basement homes for themselves so that, even while employment was still expanding, the labour shed began to contract. A study by Hawley (1943) shows that, between 30 September 1942 and 6 May 1943, the proportion of workers living very close (within 10 minutes) of the plant jumped from 26 per cent to 40 per cent. Such tightening was not automatic, however, for it depended upon the availability of affordable housing near the new plant. In London, England, Liepman (1944: 134,145) suggests that rigidities in the housing market were preventing the tightening of labour sheds around new suburban plants during the 1930s. Here, such tightening ran against, and may to some extent have been obscured by, the long-run trend for commuting distances to increase. The forces affecting the labour shed of a single plant are usually complicated by the simultaneous and continuing relocation of other employers, perhaps into adjacent areas. New, neighbouring employers may help attract workers to a previously isolated industrial suburb, thereby encouraging the tightening trend. Alternatively, they may compete for the limited pool of local workers and force companies to draw upon a much wider area. In an early and influential study of industrial suburbs across the United States, Graham Taylor (1915: 92-125) discusses at some length a situation like this in Norwood, a suburb of Cincinnati. Taylor uses the employee lists of several companies to show that, in about 1914, Norwood contained many factory jobs, but that a shortage of housing was forcing most employees to commute from farther afield.

Kate Liepmann (1944) suggests that the journey to work had several important economic and social implications as daily travelling widened the labour market and increased the independence of the wage-earner. Firms could tap a larger market and were more likely to find "the right person for the job." Daily travelling helped preserve the family unit by making it possible for various earning members to work in different localities. The worker could pursue a wider range of jobs, reducing the danger of unemployment, and could more easily change his/her employer without changing residence. Liepmann also states that the daily journey to work facilitated the social rise of a family. For example, a docker's children could travel to firms to get proper training and thus have access to skilled occupations, not often found in vicinity of the father's workplace. Thus the journey to work could be an important means of giving the necessary flexibility to industrial structure, increasing the mobility of labour and mitigating the impact of change. Yet when people do have to move or travel, the change has a social cost and individuals weigh these within the context of the family.

My study advances our understanding of the links between the journey to work and industrial change. By examining a fifty-year period, change in the industrial city is clearly visible. My research fills a gap for the period following the late nineteenth and early twentieth century for which there have been studies of urban and industrial change (Goheen 1970; Hershberg 1981; Pratt 1911; Warner 1978). Major industrial changes over this period include the decentralization of factories from central cities to suburban greenfield sites; growth in the scale of factories; the increasing deskilling and segmentation of work; and an occupational shift from manufacturing to service employment. The gendered journey to work is connected to this as these processes affected men and women differently. The decentralization of industry initially helped men, as the new suburban factories of the 1920s and 1930s tended to be male jobs, in auto manufacturing for example. Thus industrial decentralization did accomplish one

of the things that its proponents had hoped -- shortening journeys to work, especially for men. Harris and Bloomfield (1995) find that many suburban residents (particularly women) in Toronto did not depend on suburban jobs but had work downtown.

Women did not benefit from the decentralization of industry until the Second World War, when large-scale munitions factories located on the fringes of cities (Milkman 1987). The conversion of these factories into consumer goods production, after the war and rearmament for the Korean War, meant jobs for both men and women in suburban areas, men tending to have the more skilled jobs. Women "benefitted" from the shift to segmented assembly line production, especially in consumer goods production such as food processing (Glucksman, 1994) where there was a demand for semi-skilled and unskilled work in packing, "nimble-fingered" assembly and inspection. The deskilling of office work from 1910 also allowed many new job opportunities for women as stenographers, typists and telephone operators (Lowe, 1982).

2.2 Gender and Journey to Work

Most of the literature on the early twentieth century commuting has been gender-blind. Men and women are lumped together, or women are ignored, and differences between the two are not considered. Historical studies of the journey to work have had little to say about women. It may be true that the female participation rate today is higher than at any other time in the past century, but a significant minority of women has always been in the labour force. Women workers have dominated specific industries, for example certain branches of garment manufacturing.

There is every reason to believe that gender differences in journey-to-work patterns were significant in the past, and that such differences helped shape the social and the industrial geography of the city. Certainly this is the case in recent years. Significant differences are noted in contemporary commuting patterns for men and women. Academic research in the 1970s and 1980s has shown that women usually

travel shorter distances, and for a variety of reasons (Hanson and Hanson 1980; Hanson and Johnston 1985; Hanson and Pratt 1995; Madden 1981). Most researchers have emphasized the importance of women's lower incomes, greater reliance on public transit, and heavier domestic responsibilities. Recently, however, research by Hanson and her associates has indicated the determining influence of the location of available jobs (Hanson and Johnston, 1985; Pratt and Hanson, 1991). In this context, most researchers have suggested that women living in suburban areas are a captive labour force, one which employers have been eager to tap and exploit (Nelson, 1986). Unfortunately, such evidence, and associated arguments, have largely been presented in an historical vacuum. England (1993: 240) has recently suggested that the circumstances causing women to travel shorter distances to work may be specific to the postwar years (cf. Hanson and Pratt, 1994; England, 1994). Her research, however, like that of other contributors to recent debates, has focused upon this recent period. Geographers have not looked at these questions for an earlier period.

Contemporary studies are valuable in illustrating the current problems of women, in combining work outside the home with domestic responsibilities and in generally having shorter journeys to work than men. The studies found that lower car ownership rates, the constraints on them in terms of domestic responsibilities, their lower job mobility and weaker labour market position were important factors. Women thus tend to select closer jobs so that the earnings returned to the household are not reduced (Madden, 1981). All these studies examine contemporary women; Pratt and Hanson (1991) argue that an understanding of household strategies is crucial to conceptualizing men's and women's work in the labour force and at home. They find that 29 per cent of dual income earners used the strategy of sequential scheduling of paid employment so that one adult could always be in the home to care for the children. Women, as the secondary income-earners in a family, tend to take the less

optimal time-slots and tend to arrange their schedules around everyone else's. Finch and Mason (1990) look at family obligations, specifically responsibilities to adult kin. They are concerned with conflicts of interest between people's commitment to employment and care of the elderly.

The extra responsibilities of women for family and domestic tasks have traditionally affected the time and distance they can travel to work. There is considerable evidence that indicates that women's domestic responsibilities affect their relationship with paid work. Participation in the labour force has been closely related to stage in the family life cycle, thus marriage and children have had a negative impact on women's labour force participation in the twentieth century. Married women with heavy domestic work in contemporary Worcester were most likely to work part time and in female-typed occupations, and generally have a shorter journey to work (Hanson 1992; Hanson and Pratt 1995). Hanson and Johnston (1985) consider five main factors in their contemporary study of men and women commuting in Baltimore, Maryland, to explain why the journey to work for women was considerably shorter in distance. They examine differences between men and women in terms of mobility rates, spatial factors, the jobs in the labour force, income, and household responsibilities. They determine that mobility was the most significant factor. Women have less access to a private car for commuting and thus have less flexibility in terms of journey to work. Yet the commuting by public transport took almost as long as long-distance commuting by car for men. Spatial factors were also significant; working women were more likely than men to live in the city, close to jobs. Household responsibilities are not found to have a significant impact on this sample because single women had shorter journeys to work than married women. Differences between men and women in terms of use of public transportation were presumably smaller in the

early twentieth century, as both men and women tended to use the streetcar to get to central workplaces.

In the early twentieth century, we have reason to believe that lower incomes and heavier domestic responsibilities (for married women) would have influenced their journey to work. These women would have tended to work for pay either in the home or nearby, so as to reduce the time and costs associated with commuting. Suburbanization of employment and job search strategies would have been less significant factors for women than men. Recent research on the contemporary journey to work of women suggests that their work trips are shorter than men's (Hanson and Hanson 1980; Madden 1981; Nelson, 1986; Pratt and Hanson 1988). This needs to be tested for the early twentieth century and by occupation and class.

2.3 Gender Differences in the Journey to Work in the Past

Few studies have examined the journey to work by gender for workers in the past. Only two writers, Edward E. Pratt and Kate Liepman, have paid serious attention to male-female differences in journey-to-work patterns in the first half of this century. Given that the academic literature on women has grown very rapidly in recent years, it is notable that both were writing about their own time. In a footnote to their study of Philadelphia, Hershberg and three associates justify their neglect of women (and youths) by arguing that "there is no evidence to suggest ... that their J[ourney] t[o] W[ork], when computed, will be significantly different than that of adult males. What differences emerge will likely be in the direction of a shorter distance travelled" (Hershberg et al, 1981:169, n.6). Their authority was Edward E. Pratt, who surveyed employees in New York City in the first decade of this century.

Pratt (1911) obtained information about the incomes and commuting experience of thousands of working men and women. As Hershberg et al. note, one of his findings is that in general women did not travel as far to work as men. He shows that a large

part of the difference is associated with the fact that women earned less, though he also notes that women had a "greater inclination ... to get work near home" (Pratt, 1911:134). Pratt's interpretation was soon confirmed by Louise Odencrantz. In a study of Italian women workers living in Lower Manhattan, Odencrantz (1919:34) suggests that when employers moved uptown, or into the boroughs, women workers quit and sought new work close to home. (The implication is that men were more likely to follow the company). But Pratt also shows that not all women travelled shorter distances to work than men, and especially for those employed outside Manhattan. At one of three unspecified factories located in the "outskirts" of the metropolitan area, Pratt (1911:181) finds that women spent more time travelling to work than men. The same was true at two factories in Brooklyn, close to the bridge. In the latter case patterns as well as distances differed: more of the men commuted across the bridge from adjacent portions of Manhattan, while more of the women lived in Brooklyn, but not necessarily close by (ibid.:160-167). Pratt does not offer a sustained discussion of the issue, but his evidence does suggest that male-female differences in commuting distances were greater, and more consistent in their direction, for central-city employees. The situation in the suburbs was more variable and less clear, given that Pratt provides less systematic coverage of suburban workers.

A similarly complex conclusion emerges from the work of Kate Liepman, whose The Journey to Work (1944) had a great influence even on those who did not pay attention to its author's treatment of men and women. Liepman's discussion of male-female differences is unsystematic, but unfailingly subtle and sensible. She not only recognized the existence and importance of such differences, but also paid attention to vital contextual influences: marital status, domestic roles, housing and labour market conditions. Acknowledging the gendered character of the labour market, for example, she notes that in a number of situations men and women commute past one another,

women travelling to work in districts which offer them employment while local male residents have to travel elsewhere (Liepman, 1944: 21). The point is valid and significant. As Hanson and Pratt (1988) have shown in a contemporary context, there is a gendered geography of employment which, arguably, shapes not only commuting patterns but also the social geography of the city.

Using a variety of sources, including company records, Liepman documents male-female differences in commuting for a number of factories located in London and Birmingham, England, during the 1930s. She finds that in some cases women did not travel as far to work. She suggests that this was quite a common pattern in "outlying suburbs", where new companies had located and were seeking cheap unskilled labour: "they offer employment to women and juveniles living on nearby housing estates", she observes, "but have no demand for skilled men" (Liepman, 1944:22). This situation sounds reminiscent of recent discussions of suburban entrapment. However, it was by no means universal. Liepman (1944:187) presents information regarding the employment field of four inner London Boroughs which indicate that in no less than three cases more men than women were employed "locally." Moreover at one of the suburban factories examined, she finds women travelling farther to work. Achille Serre, cleaners and dyers, had moved to Walthamstow in 1929. Employee records in 1936 indicate that a higher proportion of male than female employees spent less than half an hour commuting. Moreover, since more women used public transportation, while more men commuted on foot and by bicycle, women generally travelled from farther afield (ibid.: 141-4; 174-7). Liepman does not offer a persuasive interpretation of this situation, but it would appear that a housing shortage in Walthamstow might have played some part.

If Pratt emphasizes the importance of income as a determinant of male-female differences in commuting, Liepman notes the effect of a wider range of factors,

including marital status and domestic responsibilities. As far as her sources allowed, she consistently treats married and single women separately, and apparently with good reason. "Housewives", she argues, "on taking a job ... have a double range of duties and find it, therefore, imperative to avoid long journeys" (Liepman, 1944: 40). In contrast, girls living at home are able to range more widely, in the process spending a relatively high proportion of their earnings on transportation (ibid. 22, 158). In general, the evidence that she presented bore this out (cf. Hanson and Johnston, 1985: 216). In four London boroughs, for example, adult daughters living at home were more likely to use public transportation than were their mothers, fathers, or brothers (ibid. 188). Liepman suggests that in many cases the relatively wide employment field for daughters (and also sons) reflected a search for better job opportunities and eventual social mobility.

Neither Pratt nor Liepman offers a sustained or complete analysis of male-female differences in journey-to-work distances and patterns. Nevertheless, their evidence and discussions are suggestive, and it is reasonable to ask why later scholars have not built upon their work. Sexist attitudes towards the economic role of women have played a part in this, but so too have more practical considerations having to do with the availability of appropriate evidence. Pratt undertook special surveys and Liepman relied heavily upon company records. Neither are readily available to historical scholars, and contemporary transit surveys are usually unhelpful. One of the purposes of the present study is to explore the usefulness in this connection of the city directory, a comparatively neglected source.

2.4 Conclusion

Review of the literature of the journey-to-work studies reveals few works which cover the 1901-1951 period and substantiates the earlier claim that the older classic

literature is largely gender-blind. Such features provide a justification for the present thesis and reinforce the significance of the direction being developed.

The key research question -- how did the journey-to-work patterns of men and women change during the period 1901-1951, and why? -- is clearly an important one. Researchers need to know more about the journey to work in the past, specifically how patterns differed for men and women. The journey to work may provide insight into patriarchal relations within urban society and how the form of the city influences them. Findings of some contemporary work show that lower incomes and domestic responsibilities affect women's time and the distance that they are able to commute. Other factors such as mode of transport affected men and women less in the past than today. We need to know more about trends in the mean journey to work between 1901 and 1951 as well as how these differed by gender. Related questions are: What was the differential and changing location of male and female jobs in cities during this period, and how did this affect the journey to work?

We need to know more about the gendered journey to work in the past and how it will improve our understanding of urban change. It is important to have longitudinal studies that can provide benchmarks against which to measure change. The relationship of work to residence needs to be documented over a longer period of time in order to illustrate change. My study spans the period from early electrification of the public streetcar system to the maturing of the motorized city. During this fifty-year span, urban areas experienced tremendous changes. They altered from simple, pedestrian cities to large, multi-nucleated urban zones. Changes in the nature of work (increased white-collar, salaried jobs), rapid urbanization and immigration transformed the nature of the North American city and were reflected in different journey-to-work distances by occupation, gender and ethnicity.

This study can assist in understanding factors that have both enabled and

constrained women's employment activities. In the later twentieth century, women have been discriminated against in terms of transportation mode. Public transit of the early and mid-twentieth century was less gendered. Every class used the system and it was considered "safe." Today, public transit routes do not provide enough flexibility for most suburban work. Thus lower-income women, especially single mothers in inner cities, are constrained in their job choice and accessibility. The journey to work helps us to comprehend contemporary employment issues. These have been continuities and changes in factors that have affected women's journey to work and employment. One continuity has been the continued significance of central city office employment for women who still commute from the outer suburbs to the downtown for work. As the metropolitan city has expanded, this means longer and more complex journeys to work. Yet there has also been an increase in "docile, female" labour employed in the suburbs (Nelson, 1986). Lower-income groups are increasing constrained -- there are few unskilled jobs left for them. Most clothing/small parts assembly jobs that women held in the mid-twentieth century have gone to Third World countries. Industrial change has altered patterns of stable career jobs, leaving some people with no work or commuting.

Thus the journey to work has had important implications both for people and job access as well as an impact on the city. The journey to work influences both the process and pattern of how people are sorted out in the industrial city. Differentiation, particularly by gender and occupation, is examined in this longitudinal study. The journey to work has had a significant impact on the separation of land uses (commercial or industrial or residential) in the city. Increasingly income level or occupation have become more important than place of employment in determining place of residence, thus leading to a loosening of the work-residence relationship (Greenberg, 1981). Yet the journey to work has also meant greater flexibility for industrial

structure – increasing the mobility of labour, while mitigating some of the impacts of change. Unemployment, for example, can be less of a problem if the worker can travel through a wider area for new jobs.

This conceptual framework draws upon an understanding of the urban economy developed by geographers and historians as well as some recent feminist research. The conceptual framework for this thesis draws upon two major types of explanation. The first is that the journey to work was shaped by economic circumstances. These included the price and availability of transit and the location of employment. The second major explanation utilized in the thesis are the cultural norms of the "appropriate" roles of men and women, both in the labour market and at home. This perspective has emerged from a review of the literature.

In terms of economic explanations, it seems that people will minimize their journey to work. Those with higher incomes have more flexibility in terms of residential location and mode of transport and they can afford to travel farther. Thus in the early twentieth century, men had higher wages as the "breadwinners" and could afford to pay more for commuting. With increased use of motor transportation, men again could afford to own cars earlier than women. The location of employment has shifted during the twentieth century. Initially it was quite concentrated in the central city, the waterfront or rail networks. By the middle of the century, industrial location was more flexible. Greater use of truck transport and the horizontal organization of manufacturing meant that industry could be located in suburban greenfield sites. This had implications for workers: they wanted to decentralize to be closer to these workplaces. They also wanted larger homes in the suburbs. Initially new suburban employment to be gendered, as most were male manufacturing jobs. Women workers tended to have to commute downtown still for work.

Society has had certain stereotypes of the sorts of work that are appropriate for

men and women. The concept of "separate spheres" means that women's roles have tended to be caring, domestic and at home (private and unpaid work) whereas men have more public paid work. When women worked outside the home in the past, their paid employment was usually an extension of their domestic role. It was considered all right for them to work in clothing manufacturing, for example, as this was similar to dressmaking for the family. Other factors that determined the type of work that women did included level of skill and light physical work which meant lower pay rates than for men. It was only because of the severe labour shortages, during World War I and World War II, that women took non-traditional jobs such as bus conductors. Cultural norms have also affected whether women worked outside the home at all. It was considered appropriate for women to work for pay only at certain stages of their lives. Young women working until marriage in clerical or manufacturing occupations (depending on their class) was common, especially from the 1920s. The practice of married women working was frowned upon until after World War II. If they were the sole breadwinner, separated or widowed, then they could work in manufacturing, clerical or self-employed jobs. Many employers fired women upon marriage. Women with children rarely worked outside the home until after World War II, unless it was necessary for economic survival. In terms of the journey to work, this meant that fewer women than men commuted and married women, in particular, were not able to commute long distances, because of both economic and time considerations.

The review of the twentieth-century literature on commuting not only helps to identify directions for detailed study but also offers many possibilities for the choice and use of source materials and methodologies. James Vance's (1960) concepts of labour shed and employment field are particularly informative and can be used for any time period. The distinction between the two concepts is explored further in the next chapter and used in the geographies of workplace and residence developed in Chapter 4.

3. SOURCES AND METHODS

In order to examine the different geographies of home and work for men and women in Toronto in the early twentieth century, I used various sources and methods. In principle, I assumed that both quantitative and qualitative sources would be useful in probing the relationship between home and work. Quantitative sources, such as the census, company records, assessment records, city directories and traffic surveys, give systematic data on large numbers of people. Qualitative sources, including oral history interviews and newspaper articles, offer deeper insights into the experience of individual commuters and the constraints and tradeoffs they faced.

Some questions can be answered only with more qualitative sources, such as how women combined their domestic and paid work and how they rated their work experience. In this chapter I discuss the various sources that may be used in studying the journey to work.

3.1 Quantitative Sources

Quantitative sources for the journey to work include the census, company records, traffic surveys and city directories. None was wholly satisfactory, but together they give a rich and generally accurate picture.

The Census

The Census of Canada offers general information, from which patterns can be derived, every ten years during the study period. Unfortunately, journey-to-work data are not reported in the census until 1971. The Census of Canada is useful in this study chiefly as a source of background information and as a means of assessing the reliability of other sources, notably the directories. Results gathered from the city directories are compared to aggregate census data. These included proportions of

women in the labour force and the proportion of workers in different occupations. The census reports also contain information on the average earnings of workers; these are most detailed in 1951, yet they can also be calculated for 1911 and 1931. Thus the census can confirm the larger context of the more detailed sample.

Origin and Destination Transportation Studies

Traffic data are a useful source for measuring the journey to work and illustrating home and workplace locations. Between 1944 and 1959, about 150 origin and destination (O & D) studies were carried out in U.S. metropolitan areas, after a standard methodology was developed under federal sponsorship (Schnore, 1960). These studies were undertaken in the context of rapidly expanding cities and increasing traffic congestion. A "cordon line" is drawn around the urban area to be studied, and two separate interview surveys are conducted – the external and the internal. The external survey examines inter-area vehicle movements by establishing interview stations on all major highways leading into the study area. Occupants of vehicles passing through are questioned with regard to their purpose and origin and destination of trip. Also noted are number of occupants, home address and intermediate stops in the travel area. The internal survey looks at a sample of households to get a description of the origin, destination, purpose, time of arrival and departure for all trips by each resident for the preceding day. These home interviews also list some census-type characteristics for each person and household.

Consulting engineers first used O & D studies in the 1920s to study intra-urban movements for highway improvement purposes. Their application spread worldwide in the 1950s and 1960s. This reflected the shift from public to private transportation for ordinary workers and the results showed surprisingly long-distance movements as well as complicated cross-city commuting. Transit surveys can be useful in capturing data for many employers across an entire urban area, but they are usually

available only for one year. Moreover, since specific cities were typically surveyed one at a time in different years, often by different consultants which employed varied methodologies, transit surveys do not readily provide comparative data.

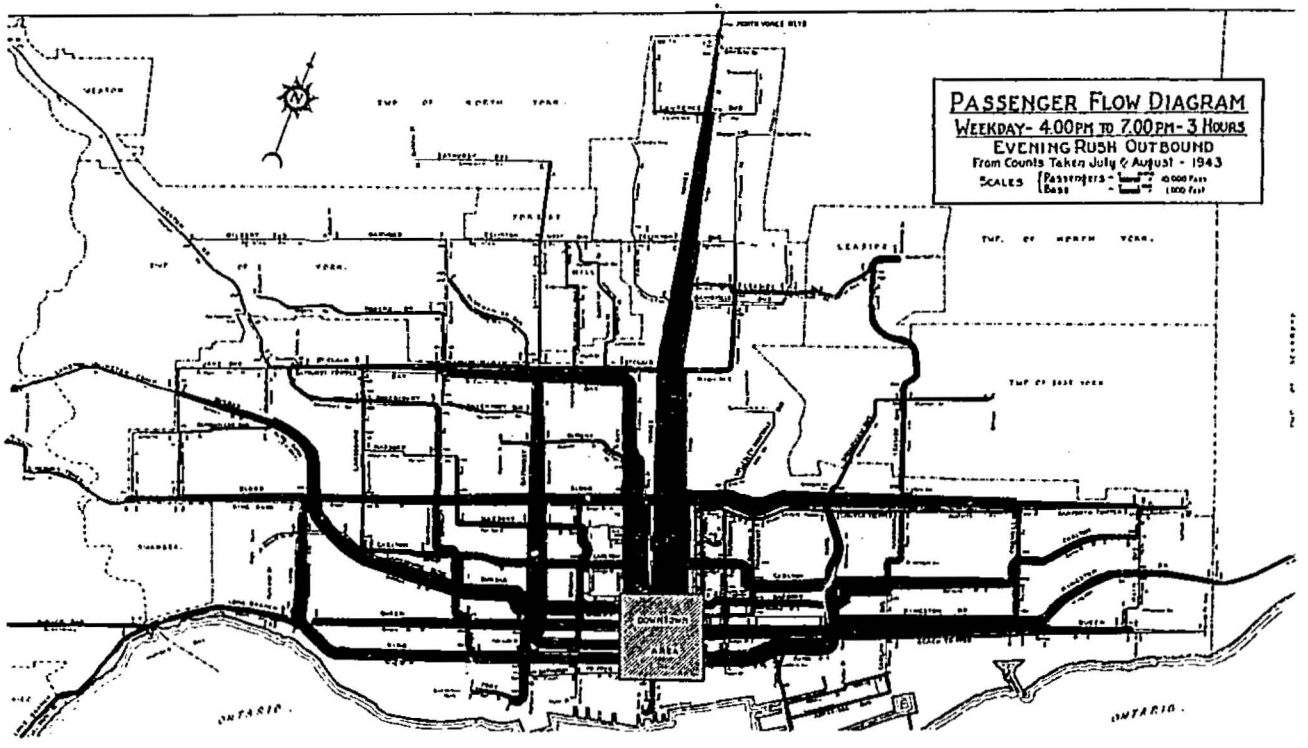
These traffic studies were more common for the period after 1951 in Canada, so are not so useful for my historical study. One exception is an 1915 study that is reproduced in Gentilcore & Head (1984, 270), Diagram showing Homeward Passenger Movement during the Evening Rush period, Mid-week Conditions 4:30 to 7:00 p.m. This is useful in illustrating the importance of the streetcar in early twentieth-century Toronto. The Toronto Transit Commission has records of origin and destination of streetcar and bus users for some years. Vehicular movements and passenger flow diagrams have survived for the summer of 1943. Figure 3.1 illustrates TTC passenger flows during the evening rush hour, 4-7 pm, outbound from the downtown. They clearly illustrate the significance of the Yonge street, Bloor/Danforth, Bay and Queen street lines for passengers.[1]

Company Records

Schnore (1960) compares three types of sources for examining commuting patterns of workers: census data, origin and destination traffic studies (O & D) and business records. He concludes that company records allow the greatest possibility for longitudinal surveys and tracing individuals. Employee records and surveys can be invaluable, and were used effectively by contemporaries, including Graham Taylor (1915), Helen Conant (1952), and most notably E.E.Pratt. In a large-scale study of commuting in New York City around 1907, Pratt (1911) surveyed many companies and made extensive use of employee records to analyze, among other things, the effects of workplace location upon the journey to work. Historical researchers, however, do not

[1] Thanks to Ted Wickson, TTC Reference Archivist at the Metropolitan Toronto Archives for assistance in locating rare, historic maps of passenger flows, passenger counts and route maps for Toronto in the first half of the twentieth century.

FIGURE 3.1: TTC PASSENGER FLOW DIAGRAM - EVENING RUSH OUTBOUND FROM DOWNTOWN, WEEKDAY 4-7 PM, JULY / AUGUST 1943



Source: TTC Records, courtesy of Ted Wickson, Metropolitan Toronto Archives

have access to the number and range of employers contacted by Pratt. Typically, historical employee records are very difficult to locate, and they rarely pertain to more than one year. Company records of employees and residential addresses, are difficult to obtain; often these records have been destroyed or companies are reluctant to let researchers use them for reasons of confidentiality.

Some historical scholars have used company records. For example, Carter (1975) examined the journey-to-work patterns at the C-K-D factory in Prague, Czechoslovakia between 1871 and 1920, using employment registers for a machine-making company, employing over 20,000 workers. Examining a sample of the employees, Carter found that a high proportion of workers lived within two to three kilometres of the factory and could walk to work. Hoskins (1987) used payroll records of the Point St Charles Shops of the Grand Trunk Railway in Montreal to study commuting patterns of workers in the period from 1880 to 1917, when between 2,000 and 3,000 workers were employed.

Some company records have been located for major employers in Toronto. The T. Eaton Company preserved personnel records for General Office employees for the period 1921-1927, including details on home address, gender, religious affiliation and educational experience. I found these records useful in documenting commuting patterns for a sample of clerical workers at Eatons.

Assessment Records

Assessment records are useful for providing additional detail at the household or family level. By examining both men and women in the directory, quite a few family profiles can be compiled to show where fathers, sons, daughters and, later, mothers worked. While the primary purpose of assessment records is to identify property-owners and calculate the amount of tax to be paid, they may also provide data on family size, the general occupation and age of the household head. The assessment

records for the City of Toronto are fairly accessible on microfilm for the period from 1901 to 1951.

Assessment records are a valuable source in that they have yearly information on occupiers of dwellings, and whether they are tenants or freeholders. They may also give the age of head of household and include details on numbers of children and of boarders and religious affiliation. In some years, such as 1921 in Toronto, assessment rolls give good details on employers and residential locations of workers, thus allowing a study of the journey to work.

City Directories

Directories proved to be by far the most useful single source. In the absence of easily accessible company records for most employers, city directories provide indispensable information on home and workplace and type of employment. City directories can be used to document the geography of employment as well as decentralization of certain businesses over time. They also permit tracing the relocation of a family to a new residential location as well as changes in workplaces. Some discussion of the completeness of directory coverage has been reported in the literature. Harris and Moffat (1986) discuss the reliability of the modern city directory and its advantages, such as its availability every year, its inclusion of information about occupation and the tenure status of household heads, and the detailed data relating to individual households that can be aggregated/disaggregated to any chosen scale. Yet most modern social geographic or housing studies use census or special survey data.

Directories seems to have some bias toward upper- and middle-class occupations, such as businessmen and skilled occupational groups. Single women appear to be quite well covered, while the poor and the transient are not. Shaw (1984) compares directory coverage for Britain and Canada and also addresses the question of reliability. He describes some of the problems of eliciting information in working-class areas in the

nineteenth century, noting that people may have feared that inclusion in the directories would make them more liable to taxation, and that many women employed as domestic servants in the nineteenth century were not listed.

A few scholars have used city directories to examine either labour sheds or employment fields (Galois, 1979; Goheen, 1970; Pred, 1966; Vance, 1960, 1966). Most notably, Vance (1960) uses directories to document the changing employment field of Natick, MA, between 1882 and 1951, effectively showing how the town became integrated into the Boston metropolitan area. Adopting a very simple classification of origins and destinations, Binford uses directories to show the extent of commuting from Boston's suburbs in the mid-nineteenth century (Binford, 1985:129-142). Other scholars have concentrated upon labour sheds or specific occupational groups. For late nineteenth-century Toronto, Goheen (1970) documents and contrasts the labour sheds of city and suburban factories; Galois (1979) uses directory evidence to document the residential patterning of workers employed at B.C. Sugar Refiners at the turn of the century. Pred (1966: 207-213) employs directories to estimate the journeys of nineteenth-century Manhattan workers in specific occupations. No writer, however, has thoroughly assessed this source, or exploited it to the full by gathering data on both labour sheds and employment fields. Neither Vance nor Goheen, for example, explains how he uses the directories or offers an assessment of them. Indeed Vance, who makes exemplary use of the directory to analyze a changing employment field, asserts that "no body of information has been found that could be used to construct an historical series of labor-sheds" (Vance, 1960: 207). The directories may have more potential than even their best academic customers have understood.

City directories have been used as a source for employment linkages. The ideal source may be company records, such as those used by Carter (1975) and Graham Taylor (1915) in his study of the industrial suburb of Norwood. Several writers have

shown that, by combing the directory, lists of those employed by the company can be compiled. For example, E. Bloomfield (1990) examines the changing distribution of factory workers for six firms in Berlin/Kitchener-Waterloo for 1897 and 1927. A.V. Bloomfield (1991) also uses city directories to illustrate the decentralization of auto workers in Toronto in the 1920s. Harris (1996) examines city directories for employees of selected Toronto suburban factories to illustrate the labour sheds of Goodyear Tire in New Toronto and Canada Kodak in York Township.

Collecting data each year on people's work and residence was a big job for city directory compilers. To ensure the greatest possible accuracy in Might's City of Toronto directories, management listed some false or deceased persons to check the door-to-door collectors' accuracy. Any errors by the collectors resulted in immediate dismissal in 1913. Might's directory also sent out blank forms to employers to fill out names, addresses and occupations of employees. The directory employed full-time staff checking the directory for duplicate names ("Making Toronto's Directory", 1913).

City directories provide various opportunities to trace individuals over time. For example, women in a "B surname" sample were traced between 1901 and 1911, as well as between 1911 and 1921. Just over 8 per cent of the 1901 sample of women were found in 1911 and 8.9 per cent of 1911 women in 1921. One difficulty about tracing women through time is that they changed their names on marriage. One sizeable group of women that continued in the labour force (about twenty per cent) were unmarried teachers, who were located often working at the same school ten years later. The directory also allows the documentation of patterns of employment and residence and of links between the two. Some waged work, such as domestic service which was the leading employer of women until after World War I, are not well covered in the city directories. Some women domestics are listed in the directory but it is not always clear whether they lived and worked in the same place (see Appendix 3). In examining the

coverage of women employed in the city directories, the percentage of separated or divorced women is also difficult to determine. Therefore some types of work done by women are less well covered in the directory than many male jobs.

Thus the use of the city directory is vital in establishing the overall geography of work and residence for Toronto workers in the first fifty years of the twentieth century. Qualitative sources, such as oral histories can address other questions and illustrate the real experience of individuals.

3.2 Oral Histories

The more traditional sources, such as company records, city directories, assessment rolls and even the census cannot reflect the lived experiences of male and female workers. Women have not been well covered in most existing quantitative data sources. Yet these sources can help put their experiences in context. Feminists have questioned the usefulness of some conventional research methods. The use of statistics may inhibit the investigation of women's lives or gender relations; since such sources do not adequately distinguish women from their families or adequately record their waged work. Thus feminists have debated whether there is or should be an accepted set of feminist research methods. There is broad agreement that a collaborative and non-exploitative relationship between researcher and participants is desirable and may be based on in-depth interviews and participant observation (McDowell, 1992).

In this context, oral history interviews are a useful source of information of the personal experiences of workers. They restore the complex integrity of an individual whereas routinely generated sources only describe a small part of people's lives. Interviews can give a sense of realities of life in the factory and the monotony of the assembly line (Bodnar, 1989; Cavendish 1982). Oral history interviews also give a fuller sense of family and household strategies. Finch and Mason (1990) look at the conflict of interest between people's commitment to employment and care of the elderly. Using

119 in-depth interviews in Greater Manchester, they reveal that various compromise strategies are used to protect women's employment. These include leaves from work to cover crisis points; sharing care of dependent relatives between spouses; or part-time employment. Pratt & Hanson (1991) report 620 personal interviews in Worcester, MA, in which they discovered that 29 per cent of dual income earners used sequential scheduling of paid employment so that one adult could always be in the house to care for the children. Women tended to take the less optimal time slots, such as late afternoon and evening employment.

Joy Parr (1990) used a combination of business records, assessment rolls and oral history to study male workers in Hanover and female workers in Paris, Ontario. These were two towns of similar size and notable manufacturing centres, but their labour forces differed substantially by gender. Oral history interviews provided personal and family history details as well as work experience, married life and housing, community life and union activity. This source allowed her more detailed information on household work strategies in the early twentieth century. Parr describes, for example, how married working women used kinship networks for domestic labour and child care as men were reluctant to increase their household work. In the Toronto context, Ruth Frager (1992a) interviewed Jewish garment workers to get their perspective on women's role in the labour movement of the needle trades.

A major disadvantage of oral histories is that they can only reach a certain distance into the past: oral histories undertaken in the 1990s can only reach back as far as the 1920s. Also people's recollections may be biased: they may have either very rosy or very negative memories. Yet is possible to undertake oral history interviews to discover the real-life experiences of workers in Toronto for the period between 1921 and 1951. People, now in their seventies or eighties, can give a sense of work in Toronto before the Second World War, but are not too old to be forgetting their home, work and

commuting experiences. The reliability of people's recollections has proved very accurate: they have been located in the city directory living and working in the locations when and where they remembered up to 70 years later.

For my thesis research, I examined a sample of women and men in the Toronto city directories and established their patterns of residence and workplace at ten-year intervals between 1901 and 1951. From this information base, one can determine changes in the distances and directions of journey to work between 1901 and 1951 as well as different patterns between men and women. Yet women have tended to be under-represented in the traditional sources, such as directories and particularly assessment rolls. I wanted to know more about how women got to work, their work experience, when they worked in their life cycle, and how marriage and children affected this, whether other family members assisted with the care of children, and so on. Actual accounts, by means of oral history, provide insights unavailable from any other source. Using only quantitative sources would lead one to think that journeys to work were quite simple -- just using the streetcar -- whereas the reality was more complex. People used a variety of modes of transport to get to work, depending on the weather and their age and family circumstances. Also from the oral history interviews, one learned the time it took to get to work. A number of texts on feminist research practice suggest that the hard, logical, quantitative approaches are inappropriate for feminist research and should be replaced by more qualitative, unstructured methods that lead to empathy between researchers and subjects (McDowell, 1992). Yet for my research, both approaches are necessary to address changes in the journey to work in Toronto through half a century.

For the oral history interviews, I included structured questions (Appendix 1). However other (unforeseeable) questions emerged in the course of the interview. Generally the interviewees were over 70 years old and included more women as they

live longer. In total, 36 people were interviewed. Most were friends of friends or members of retirees' associations (such as de Havilland's) and all lived and worked in Toronto between 1921 and 1951. These people tended to be white-collar workers; it was harder to find blue-collar workers willing to share their experiences; yet their stories tended to be more complex and interesting. Participants were contacted by telephone or mailed an explanation of the project and the questions to be asked.[2]

Participants were interviewed individually, as a couple, or in a larger group, depending on what they preferred. My main purpose was to stimulate participants to remember as much as they could about their journey to work, and work experience in the early twentieth century. They also recalled their parents and other family member's work and commuting experience in Toronto. Participation in this project was entirely voluntary and people seemed glad to be interviewed and to remember their experiences of working in Toronto between the 1920s and 1950s. Most were happy to have their recollections recorded on tape.

Interviews were conducted with 36 people who lived and worked in Toronto between the period 1920 and 1951--20 women and 16 men. Twenty-four of the interviews were conducted in person (one was a group session with four); and twelve by mail and telephone (these people preferring this option). Many of these people had relocated from Toronto and now live in places such as Brougham, Cobourg, Cambridge, Flesherton, Newmarket, Oakville and Kitchener-Waterloo.

Most workers tended to relocate to the suburbs from central residences upon marriage, often in the late 1940s. Most women ceased working upon marriage and definitely when they became pregnant. Many of those interviewed tended to be

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[2] For permission to conduct the oral history interviews, I submitted a proposal to the McMaster University Committee on the Ethics of Research on Human Subjects. The methodology, covering letter and the actual questions were approved by the committee before this stage of research began.

professionals--five nurses, two University of Toronto professors, and men in white-collar jobs such as Insurance and sales/purchasing and a traffic manager. A few subjects were blue-collar workers (Appendix 2). One woman worked in the warehouse at Canadian Laboratory Supplies to support herself as a widow and one man was a furniture finisher at the T. Eaton Company. All interviews discussed precise residential and work locations; work experience; the time, method and distance of the journey to work; as well as the significance of housework and shopping in their lives (often very minor). Also discussed were wages, boarding and recreation as well as the general suburban development of Toronto.

3.3 Comparison of City Directories to Other Sources

Other sources, notably assessment records and the census, were examined to obtain information that would help to explain the changing commuting patterns of men and women between 1901 and 1951. Broad patterns observed in the census by occupation, industrial classification and wages can be compared to results in the directory and assessment rolls. Comparison of the results from the city directories with other sources was important to establish the reliability of the city directory. Workers in the city directories have been compared to the census as well as other sources such as assessment rolls and oral history evidence.

Results for occupation by gender were compared to Census of Canada data. In general, the Toronto sample found quite similar results for most occupational categories, differing most in the unskilled, skilled and semi-skilled, and the clerical sectors. The results for management were very similar: the B sample had slightly lower findings than the census for men and the reverse was true for women. In the professions, women seemed to be slightly under-represented while men were slightly over-represented. The B sample included a slightly larger share of people in supervisory/foremen jobs than did the census. After 1931, there tended to be slightly

fewer self-employed in the sample than in the census. Clerical workers appear to be well documented in the city directories: both women and men (1931-51) are higher than in the census. In terms of skilled and semi-skilled employment, both men and women tend to be slightly under-represented in the directory sample. The number of unskilled workers appears to be the most variable, with a higher percentage in the census for 1911 and a higher percentage in the sample in 1931 and 1951. It is difficult for both the census and the directory to obtain an accurate count of domestic and casual labour. Thus the directory tended slightly to over-represent the clerical occupations and under-represent the skilled and semi-skilled workers (Tables 3.1 and 3.2).

How useful directory data are depends, crucially, upon how complete and accurate the listings are. It is unreasonable to demand perfection in either respect. Given that no other source of information about the journey to work will usually be available, the significant question is not whether the directory is incomplete or biased but, rather, whether its imperfections are sufficiently serious to prevent its use. The quality of directories varied greatly. In general, they were more complete and reliable in the early twentieth century than today, more useful in smaller centres than in the largest. But their coverage could vary over shorter periods and in less predictable ways. In Toronto, for example, separate street listings for suburban areas was not provided until the 1920s. Prior to that date, it is possible to document the labour sheds of some specific factories, regardless of location, but only the employment fields of those neighbourhoods that lay within city limits. With local peculiarities of this kind, the directory must be assessed in each place and for each year.

As with any source, directories have to be assessed both in terms of the intentions of their compilers and also in terms of the results. We know that directories were commercial ventures, and that their makers and consumers cared most about locating people with disposable income. Often, however, the procedures of directory-

Table 3.1: OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTION FROM STUDY SAMPLE IN RELATION TO CENSUS, 1901-1951

	1901		1911			
	Male	Female	Male		Female	
	Sample	Sample	Sample	Census	Sample	Census
Owners & Managers	6.8	1.8	7.2	8.2	1.5	6.5
Foremen	3.0	0.9	2.5	2.3	1.5	1.8
Self-employed	13.9	13.8	6.5	N/A	1.6	N/A
Professionals	7.0	10.8	6.3	4.8	12.2	13.2
Clerical	15.5	24.2	13.7	14.4	24.8	14.2
Skill/Semi-Skilled	39.2	23.4	41.2	47.9	28.6	36.8
Unskilled	14.2	24.8	22.2	21.7	29.4	27.2
Total	99.6	99.7	99.6	99.3	99.6	99.7

	1921				1931			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Sample	Census	Sample	Census	Sample	Census	Sample	Census
Owners & Managers	9.4	11.3	1.0	1.7	5.7	8.4	2.3	1.0
Foremen	3.3	1.0	1.8	0.7	3.3	1.3	1.8	0.7
Self-employed	7.2	3.5	2.1	2.5	6.9	10.8	7.4	12.2
Professionals	7.5	9.1	10.6	15.3	7.2	7.6	9.8	11.5
Clerical	17.5	11.5	43.9	26.2	15.0	11.1	39.0	30.4
Skill/Semi-Skilled	41.4	49.6	36.4	50.2	44.2	47.8	34.0	42.9
Unskilled	13.2	13.3	3.8	3.1	17.3	12.9	5.3	0.7
Total	99.8	99.3	99.6	99.7	99.6	99.9	99.6	99.4

	1941				1951			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Sample	Census	Sample	Census	Sample	Census	Sample	Census
Owners & Managers	8.5	9.1	2.3	1.6	9.8	12.8	2.8	2.4
Foremen	4.5	1.8	2.5	1.4	5.1	2.4	1.9	0.7
Self-employed	5.3	8.2	8.0	11.3	6.9	5.2	5.8	6.9
Professionals	9.3	6.4	9.1	10.8	10.8	8.8	9.8	9.6
Clerical	11.5	12.8	40.5	30.8	10.5	12.9	47.0	43.6
Skill/Semi-Skilled	53.3	53.5	35.7	42.6	44.2	49.5	27.5	33.5
Unskilled	7.1	7.6	1.6	1.5	12.3	7.9	4.9	3.0
Total	99.5	99.4	99.7	100.0	99.6	99.5	99.7	99.7

N/A Cannot reliably be estimated from the census.

Calculated from: Census of Canada 1911 Vol. 6, Occupation of the People, Table 6; Census of Canada 1921 Vol. 4, Occupations, Table 5; Census of Canada 1931 Vol. 7, Occupations and Industries, Table 41; Census of Canada 1941 Vol. 7, Occupations and Industries, Table 7; Census of Canada 1951 Vol. 4, Labour Force - Occupations and Industries, Table 14; Might's City of Toronto Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942 and 1952 (B sample).

TABLE 3.2: STUDY SAMPLE (WEIGHTED) IN RELATION TO CENSUS, 1911-1951

	1911		1921		1931	
	Sample	Census	Sample	Census	Sample	Census
Owners & Managers	6.0	7.7	7.5	5.5	4.9	6.3
Foremen	2.3	2.2	3.0	2.6	2.9	1.1
Self-employed	5.5	0.1	6.1	4.8	7.0	12.3
Professionals	7.5	6.9	8.2	9.0	7.9	8.7
Clerical	16.0	14.3	14.5	29.9	20.8	16.5
Skilled/ Semi-Skilled	38.7	40.7	36.4	39.1	41.7	46.4
Unskilled	23.7	23.1	15.0	8.8	14.4	9.5

	1941		1951	
	Sample	Census	Sample	Census
Owners & Managers	6.9	6.7	8.0	6.3
Foremen	4.0	1.7	4.3	3.5
Self-employed	6.0	9.2	6.6	6.3
Professionals	9.2	7.8	10.6	10.2
Clerical	18.8	18.5	19.6	28.7
Skilled/ Semi-Skilled	48.9	50.0	40.1	35.9
Unskilled	5.7	5.7	10.5	8.6

Calculated from: The Census of Canada 1911 volume 6, Occupation of the People, Table 6; The Census of Canada 1921 volume 4, Occupations, Table 5; The Census of Canada 1931 volume 7, Occupations and Industries, Table 41; The Census of Canada 1941 volume 7, Occupations and Industries, Table 7; The Census of Canada 1951 volume 4, Labour Force - Occupations and Industries, Table 14; Might's City of Toronto Directories 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942 and 1952 (B sample).

making are a closed book. Fortunately, however, a reporter has left us with a detailed account of the making of the Toronto directory in 1914 ("Making Toronto's Directory", 1914). This account gives us some sense of the problems faced by enumerators, as well as of the techniques adopted by the company to address them. The main problem was non-response, especially in cases where the door-to-door enumerator found no-one at home. Apparently, enumerators had instructions to return twice, and finally "to get the information next door." To save effort, it was tempting for canvassers to fudge, or even invent, information, but supervisors had developed an ingenious, if macabre, scheme to discourage this. Canvassers were supplied with the list of residents in the previous year and asked to make appropriate corrections. This list, of course, included a few people

who were no longer living. Independently, the company obtained the names of those who had died within the previous year, but did not inform canvassers of the fact, nor delete the names from the lists that were handed out. Lazy canvassers who reported deceased persons as still resident were dismissed.

Company records were also examined for major employers in Toronto. It is difficult to obtain company records that can illuminate the journey to work. Such records do not tend to survive. In the case of the T. Eaton Company, some select employment records have been kept. Among the company's records, deposited at the Archives of Ontario, are two employment rolls for workers in the 1920s and 1940s. Both have 75-year restriction on access, but Series F-229-67 General Office Employee Records and F-229-169 Employment Rolls could be viewed, following a research agreement allowing Eatons to view references to the records in the thesis and a promise not to name individuals. Series 169 are employment rolls from the T. Eaton Personnel office for the period 1941-44. They are held in four large binders, one for each year, and then divided into male and female employees. This source gives employee name, department at Eatons, date of birth, marital status, education and date terminated. Unfortunately for the purposes of this research, they do not contain home address, which was vital to establish the geography of residence.

However, Series 67: General Office Employee records, do contain the residential address. These personnel records are in a large ledger book listing all employees (about 450) in this department between 1921 and 1927. It is in alphabetical order by employee* surname. Essentially it is a collection of completed forms on General Office employees at Eatons, with details of name, address, date of birth, religious affiliation, marital status, educational attainment, previous work experience, work history within the T. Eaton Company, duties within the office and comments on employee work habits. The latter includes remarks on accuracy, personal appearance, health, promptness,

attitude toward duties and whether they were capable of filling a better position. The records also contain quarterly reports on employees. Work performance is rated with comments such as "faithful" or "troublesome". The reason why workers left is also noted: some did not prove satisfactory, others were transferred to another department, and some young women married.

A sample of these General Office employees was selected to create two Eaton company databases. All employees working in the first year (1921) as well as those in the last year (1927) were enumerated. Some people were found in both years (28.1 per cent). No names were recorded, instead they were given ID numbers. Gender, address, age, religion, marital status, education, previous work, dates of employment and the department within the office were all coded in a dBASE file. The General Office had various departments. These included cost and selling, invoices, purchasing, traffic, correspondence, advertising, claims, journals, orders, parcels, customs and wages. Women represented just over one third of general office employees in both years. They had shorter work duration in the office and were younger on average; fourteen left to be married in the period 1921-27 and one was transferred to another department.

The 194 employees listed as being employed in 1921 were sought in the directory for that year. Just over three-quarters (78 per cent) were found, with their occupation and employer correctly identified. A significant proportion of the remainder would have left the company between the time that the company list was prepared (spring 1921) and the fall of the year, when the directory was compiled. Labour turnover in the General Office was substantial. Nearly one quarter of these employees lasted less than eighteen months. The company records and city directories often had different addresses for the same employee, illustrating the transient nature of a mainly young workforce. Making allowances for labour turnover, then, it seems likely that the directory missed no more than one in every ten office employee at Eaton's in the 1920s.

Interviews were conducted with a number of people who lived and worked in Toronto between the 1920s and early 1950s. All these individuals were later checked in Might's City of Toronto Directories. They all appear in the directory. Their home address, employer and residential status (head of household or lives) are all correct. Thus the directory provides excellent coverage of single women, widows and men but is weaker on married women. Some women who changed their surname on marriage but continued working are not listed in the directory. For example, Fran continued to work as a nurse for the Toronto General Hospital after her marriage in 1946, but she is no longer listed in the city directory. This illustrates a bias against married women in the city directory.[3]

3.4 Research Methods

In order to examine the different journey-to-work patterns of men and women in the early twentieth century in Toronto, I used a combination of quantitative and qualitative sources. A fairly large sample of workers from the city directories was used and compared to other sources including the census, assessment data and employee records. Qualitative methods were also used, in-depth interviews being conducted with people who lived and worked in Toronto in the early twentieth century.

Many of the scholars noted in Chapter 2 for looking back at this period, used quantitative methods, examining overall trends in journey-to-work distances by measuring average distances. Their results were very general, largely aggregate patterns of commuting by occupation. Contemporary studies both of that period and the present have focused more on the journey-to-work experience of individuals and their time costs and constraints. I have utilized both these research approaches, to establish an overall view of the journey to work in Toronto as well as details of the range of actual experiences of female and male workers.

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[3] Oral History Interview with Fran in Oakville, April 12, 1994.

Creation of Computerized Databases 1901-51

My main purpose was to compare women's commuting patterns with men's. I chose to examine a sample of employed men and women listed in the 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951 directories.[4] This allowed me to compare the results with the census. Toronto was chosen as a significant site to study for several reasons. It was a centre that grew a great deal in the first decade of the century. It saw significant suburban development during the 1920s. A new phase of decentralization occurred after World War Two with the establishment of munitions plants on the fringe of the city, such as de Havilland in Downsview. Practical factors included the availability of the Toronto city directories on microfilm and the good quality of their data. Toronto is also conveniently located for research. Thus the period 1901-1951 can be used to document significant spatial growth in Toronto.

I chose to use a sample of workers drawn from the personal name section of the city directory. I selected those who surnames began with the letter "B," as Sherri Olson and her research associates used a similar sampling strategy in their geography of little children in Montreal (1986). They found that selection of "B" surnames in the directory produced a good representation of Scottish, French, English and Irish names, the main ethnic groups in Toronto. Women with "B" surnames listed in the 1931 Toronto city directory accounted for about seven per cent of all working women in Toronto. This was an estimate based on the proportion of B names of the total alphabet.

Might's City of Toronto Directories give home address and employer for men and for single women as well as married women. They also state the type of job at the workplace, such as clerk, stenographer or operator. Research methods included careful

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[4] Might's City of Toronto Directories were used for 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942 and 1952 to reflect the reality of the previous year.

coding of all these data, as well as the name and gender of each individual. Further details were added to the database: coding of residential address according to location within 1951 Census Tracts; place of work by street address and 1951 Census Tracts; and classification by major groupings of occupation[5] and industry. This was a very time-consuming process given the size of databases involved and the variety of Toronto employers by 1951. As a result however, the commuting linkage can be demonstrated in two ways using directory evidence: one can focus on either places of employment or residential neighbourhoods.

As discussed in the previous chapter, in order to understand commuting patterns, it is necessary to examine the household situation of the commuters. The six main factors of explanation noted earlier emphasize the importance of viewing workers within their household and family contexts. Thus the household head (typically male) and all other employed adults should be examined. A sample of women workers with "B" surnames was examined in each of six census years. About 1,300 women were found in 1901, about 2,000 in 1911, about 2,500 in 1921, about 5,000 in 1931, about 6,000 in 1941 and about 8,000 in 1951. To collect a similar-sized sample of men for these years, I decided to include the same numbers of men with the "B" surnames in each year. This aspect of the research design allows both the measurement of commuting by different family members, and the illustration of the process of suburbanization.

The samples for each year represent 5 per cent of all paid female workers according to the census in 1911, 7 per cent in 1931, and 5.6 per cent in 1951. The B sample represents about ten per cent of all the names in the city directory. All the

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[5] The occupational classification was based on one used by Richard Harris (1996) whereby workers are grouped into 7 major types: unskilled, skilled and semi-skilled workers, clerical, professional, self-employed, supervisory/foremen and owners and managers.

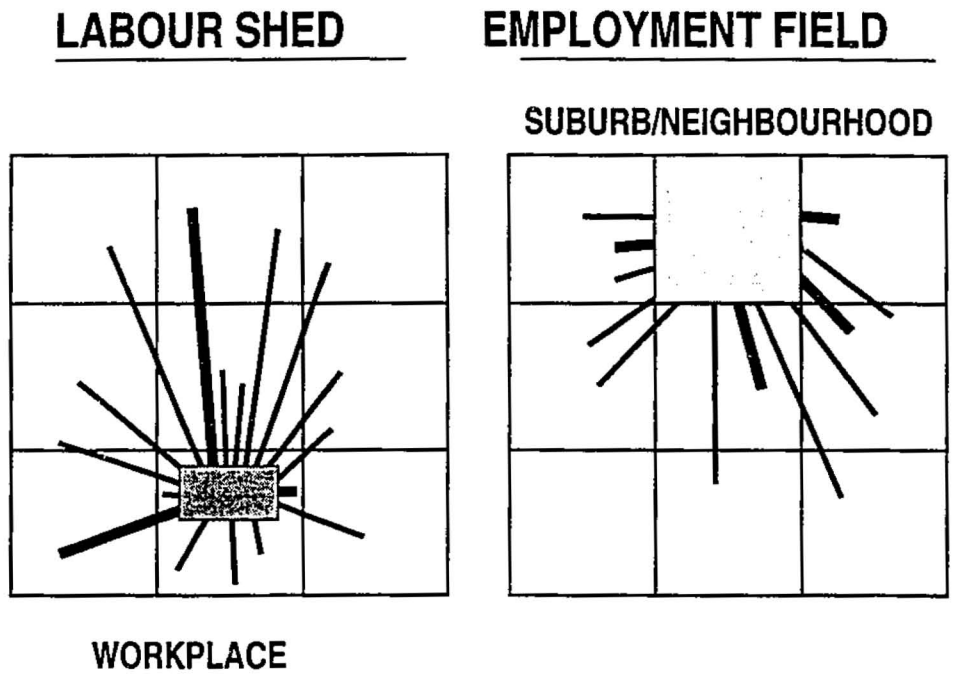
results were computerized using dBASE software, to facilitate computer mapping and tabulating and cross-listing of the data for men and women from year to year. Verification of the broad trends in terms of gender, occupation and household status are possible by comparison with the decennial census.

The city directory, as used by Vance (1960), Goheen on Toronto (1970) and Barke in his study of Newcastle upon Tyne (1991), can provide a method of examining the location of workplaces and residences in different years. The city directory provides names and home addresses of individuals as well as place of work and type of occupation. The **labour shed** refers to the total territory from which a company or industrial district draws its labour force. Alternatively, one may focus on a particular neighbourhood or suburb to show where local residents work, which is termed the **employment field**. Both approaches offer insights: the labour sheds look at the labour markets and their extent; while employment fields give a sense of the job opportunities for people in a particular part of the city (Figure 3.2). The analysis of labour sheds also reveals whether and how rapidly workers follow jobs to a new location. Vance also stresses that the relationship between homes and workplaces is dynamic. Thus, when a new plant is established, it is expected that the pool of workers will initially be drawn from a wide area but, after a few years, the labour shed will contract. In order to illustrate the changing geography of work in Toronto in the early twentieth century, I used to concept of the labour shed to illustrate the decentralization of both selected workplaces and residences.

Creation of Maps for Toronto

In order to create computerized maps illustrating the geographical distribution of work and residence for Toronto workers in the city directory (B sample), the framework of the 1951 Census Tract boundaries was used. These were adapted backwards for previous decades (from 1901 to 1941) and public transport routes were

FIGURE 3.2: LABOUR SHED AND EMPLOYMENT FIELD MODEL



After Vance (1960)

researched and added for each year. Each record for the six years (over 50,000 records in all) was coded for its residential Census Tract (CT) and work Census Tract (WCT). Using these data in relation to digitized map bases with ATLAS*GIS software, it was possible to produce all kinds of maps illustrating where workers lived and worked in Toronto, classifying subsets by combinations of gender, occupation, major companies (such as Eatons) and the marital status of women.

In 1951, the City of Toronto had 135 tracts and the surrounding townships had an additional 122 tracts. This provided the advantage of standardized areas that are clearly defined by the census and thus my 1951 data could be compared to the 1951 census results by Census Tract. Key elements in the analysis of commuting patterns were the locations of home and work as well as public transportation services available at that time. Public transport routes for the Toronto Railway Company (1891-1921), the Toronto Transportation Commission (from 1921), and private operators in the period from 1901 to 1951 were researched and mapped. Harris and Luymes (1990) illustrate the growth of Toronto's built up area from 1861 to 1941; their maps provide invaluable context on the expansion of Toronto in the early twentieth century. Municipal boundary changes were also researched and mapped.

The computerized database was thus linked with the map base for each year (1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951) through the Census Tract. Codes for the origin (residential CT) and destination (workplace CT or WCT) were added to the original city directory data by going through the directory in each year twice, first through the B's for home addresses, then through the entire directory for workplace addresses. Maps were produced illustrating home and workplace patterns as well as differences by gender, occupation and household status.

In order to calculate changing distances of the journey to work of Toronto workers, centroids were defined electronically for each of the 257 Census Tracts. Also,

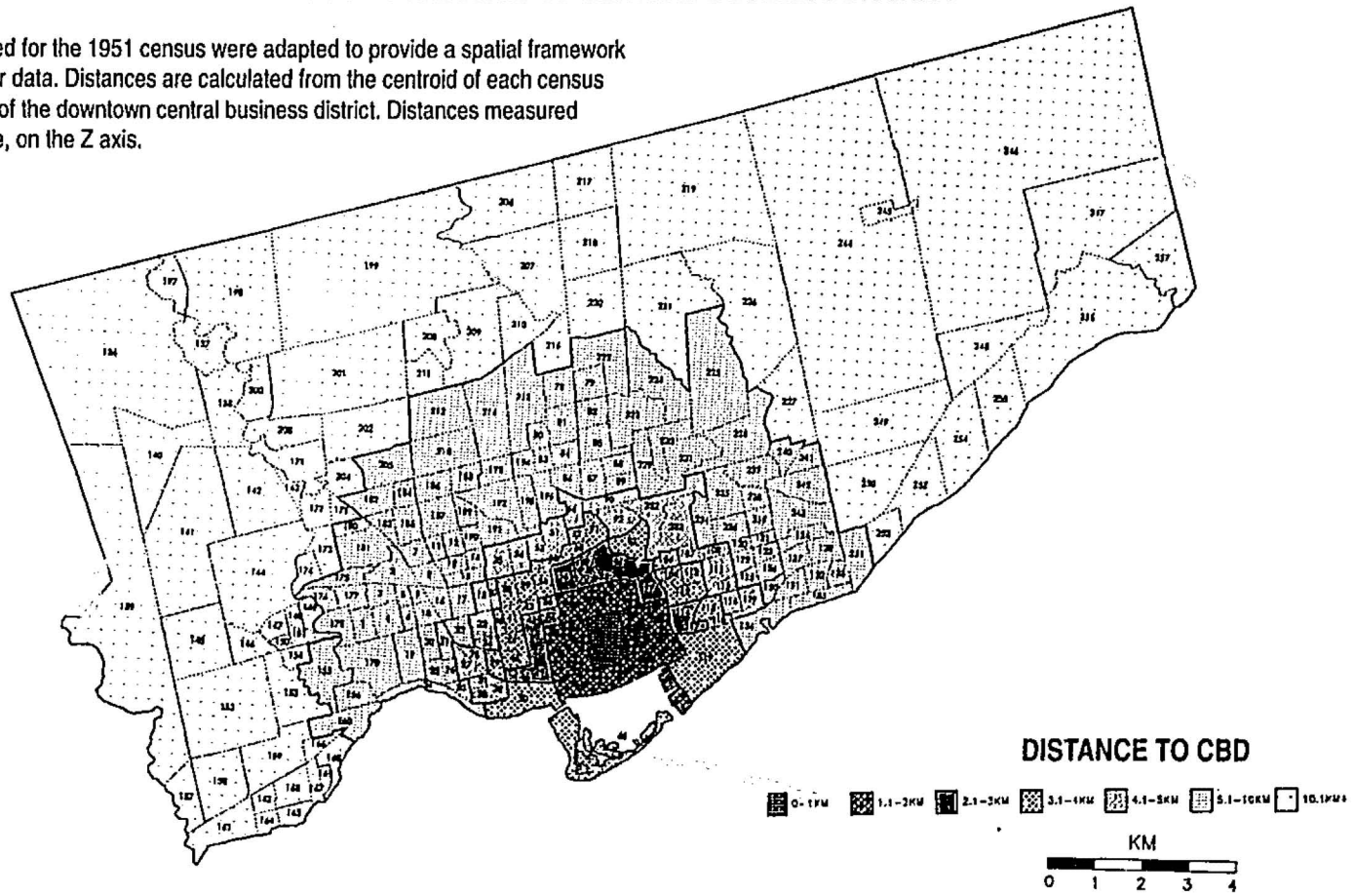
using ATLAS*GIS software, distances were calculated on the basis of co-ordinates from the south-west corner of the Toronto base map. Each of the six datasets from 1901 to 1951 was uploaded to the mainframe computer at the University of Guelph and SAS programs were devised, using principles of trigonometry, to perform statistical analysis on each dataset. These included calculating the mean, median and maximum journey to work (in kilometres). Distances were measured in two ways: a) the straight-line distance (Z) as well as b) the long distance (X+Y), which was closer to the real journey for commuters taking public transport. Aggregate distance calculations were made for each of the six years between place of residence and workplace, classified by: gender; major company (such as the T. Eaton Co); occupation; housing tenure; and marital status. Histograms were also compiled, to illustrate the changing percentages of workers living and working within kilometre bands of distance from the CBD (illustrated in Figure 3.3).

3.5 Conclusion

Both quantitative and qualitative methods are utilized in this thesis to answer the questions of how the geography of home and work changed in Toronto in the early twentieth century and how this affected the journey to work by gender and occupation. I am able to measure, using different sources and methods, the journey to work in terms of both distance and time as well as mode of transport. Quantitative methods, using city directory data, allow the reconstruction of overall patterns of employment and residence for Toronto workers and the calculation of mean and median journey-to-work distances. Qualitative methods, such as oral history interviews, "fleshed out" and illuminated these generalities with real-life experiences of work and commuting. One could learn the mode of transport used, the time it took, the commuting and the work experience, the longevity of working for different employers, and the frequency of changing residences. These interviews also provided important details on how people

FIGURE 3.3: TORONTO CENSUS TRACTS AND DISTANCES TO CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

Census tracts defined for the 1951 census were adapted to provide a spatial framework for analysis of earlier data. Distances are calculated from the centroid of each census tract to the centroid of the downtown central business district. Distances measured here are straight-line, on the Z axis.



in the past combined home and work responsibilities. Participants also reflected on the growth and changes taking place in Toronto in the early twentieth century, and how these affected their jobs, homes and journeys to work. The methodology described above supports the generation of results presented in subsequent chapters.

4. GEOGRAPHY OF WORK AND HOME 1901-1951

Toronto, like most metropolitan cities of its age and size, had distinctive geographies of employment and residence in the first half of the twentieth century. The concentrated patterns of employment and residence, characteristic of the late nineteenth century, began to change with improvements in public passenger transportation and with the substantial overall population and economic growth of the metropolitan area after 1901. Both employment and residence patterns became more decentralized decade by decade, although in an irregular fashion. At some periods, employment appears to be decentralizing faster than residence; in other periods, there is a reversal with residential movement being predominant.

This chapter is organized in three main parts. The first part (sections 4.1 and 4.2) develops the focus on employment and changing workplace patterns for the period 1901 to 1951. The second part (sections 4.3 and 4.4) examines some of the distinctive features of women and work. In the final part (section 4.5), the changing patterns of residence from 1901 to 1951 are presented. The residential patterns shown in Figures 4.4 and 4.5 are therefore complementary to the workplace patterns displayed in Figures 4.2 and 4.3. All the distinctive spatial patterns presented here were developed from the sources, databases and mapping routines already described in Chapter 3.

4.1 Elements of the Geography of Employment in Toronto

Toronto was a centre of diverse economic opportunities: there was employment in different manufacturing, financial and service industries for both men and women. In 1911, for example, Toronto had over 65,000 industrial employees and was significant in the clothing, printing, publishing, metal fabricating and food processing sectors.

Toronto was also more diversified than other Canadian cities such as Hamilton, and therefore less vulnerable to downturns in the business cycle.

Toronto attracted a growing range of banks, insurance companies, and head offices which provided jobs for clerical workers, professionals, and managers (Harris, 1996: Chapter 3; Lemon, 1985). It was also home to Eaton's, the city's largest department store and the nation's leading mail-order house. Even so, from at least the 1880s, it attracted a range of industries. As late as the turn of the century, most of these were concentrated in or near the downtown. Garment manufacturing, the city's largest industry, was also its most centralized (Hiebert, 1990). In order to supply its mail-order customers, Eaton's alone employed about 10,000 garment workers by World War I, mostly in factories just west of its downtown store. After the turn of the century, however, Toronto experienced a surge of industrial growth which shifted the employment structure in favour of those industries which preferred a suburban location. Iron and steel, and associated metal fabricating industries, which came to include auto manufacturing and assembly, soon rivalled garments and were in the forefront of the movement to the suburbs. Rubber, chemicals, food processing (including meat packing), and wood fabricating, all grew rapidly, and in many cases leapfrogged to the developing fringe. By the mid-1920s, manufacturing employment was still concentrated in the centre, or quite close by in the near west side, but fingers and pockets of industrial development had begun to reach out as far as, and then beyond, city limits.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, most manufacturing was located on the waterfront, adjacent to the downtown core or along the western rail line through Parkdale and West Toronto Junction. West Toronto Junction had began luring industry away from the city in the 1880s with incentives of free sites, cheap water and tax exemptions (Beeby, 1984). The junction was by far the largest of the new centres of employment and grew rapidly after the turn of the century. By World War I, it had

acquired the city stockyards, several packing plants, iron foundries and metal fabricators, together with factories making rubber goods, automobiles, furniture, chemicals and paints. One of the largest of these employers, and the largest auto plant in the city, was Willys Overland. Although the Junction ceased to be a separate suburban municipality when annexed by the City of Toronto in 1909, it remained suburban in other respects until at least the 1920s, when the tide of settlement swept beyond it to the north.

The rise of industrial suburbs began in the early twentieth century due to the emergence of single storey factories and the larger scale of industry. In 1913, Leaside was incorporated and Canada Wire and Cable began manufacturing. New Toronto became a major industrial satellite in 1917 with Goodyear Tire (Ferguson, 1923). By the 1920s, some industry was decentralizing; Kodak relocated from the central city to Mount Dennis in 1917 and Canadian Cycle and Motor (CCM) relocated to Weston in 1916. Also more American branch plants, including automobile assembly factories (such as Ford, Durant and Dodge) were coming into Toronto. These tended to locate either on the waterfront or in the suburbs.

Garment production was significant in Toronto between 1901 and 1931. Between 1901 and 1915, there was a rapid growth of large, vertically integrated clothing factories. This trend was reversed after 1915 when small, vertically disintegrated clothing firms began to recapture the market for ready made apparel. Garment manufacturers in Toronto tended to be located near the central business district. Among the reasons for this locational pattern were that since working-class areas of labour existed nearby, many garment manufacturers acted as both manufacturers and wholesalers. Home work meant that managers had to negotiate with home workers and the semi-finished garments had to be moved around. Many Jews worked in the

factory district that had concentrated around Spadina and King Streets by 1921. About 20 per cent of workers were non-British (Hiebert, 1990).

In 1931, manufacturing was still employing about 30 per cent of Toronto's workforce with the retailing and wholesaling trades as the second largest group. About a quarter of women held jobs outside the home in that year, many of them in the service sector. About one third of women were employed in factories, and half of these were in the textile/clothing sweatshops. Feminization of clerical work was evident by that year, as about half of all clerical workers in Toronto were female - typists, telephone operators and retail clerks (Lemon, 1985). The feminization of office work was evident with female clerks as a proportion of the total female labour force growing from 9.1 per cent in 1911 to 17.7 per cent by 1931. Women did not replace men but were recruited into a new layer of routine, mechanized jobs (Lowe, 1982).

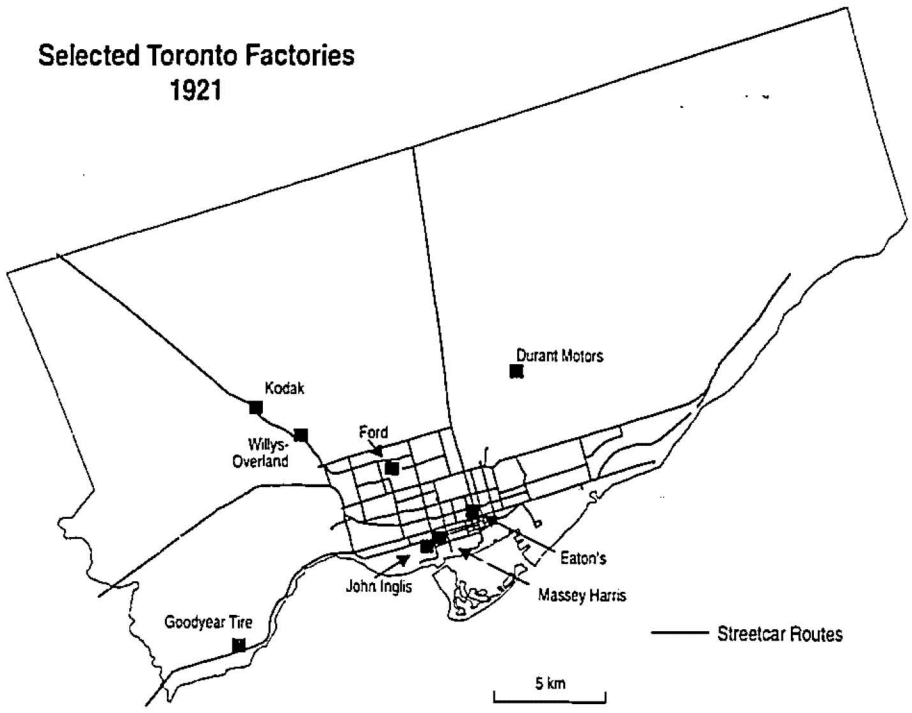
Economic development and growth in Toronto in the early twentieth century was evident in the built environment. Between the 1890s and 1950s, large central city employers, including banks and insurance companies erected skyscrapers in the city, dramatically altering the streetscape. There were three stages of skyscraper development visible in Toronto in this period. Canadian Life erected a 7-storey building of 73,000 square feet in 1890. The second generation of tall office complexes was exemplified by the Dominion Bank Building, erected 1913 with 13 storeys and 166,000 square feet. The Canadian Bank of Commerce Building (1929) represented a third generation with a 7-storey base and a 27-floor tower with 450,000 square feet (Gad and Holdsworth, 1987).

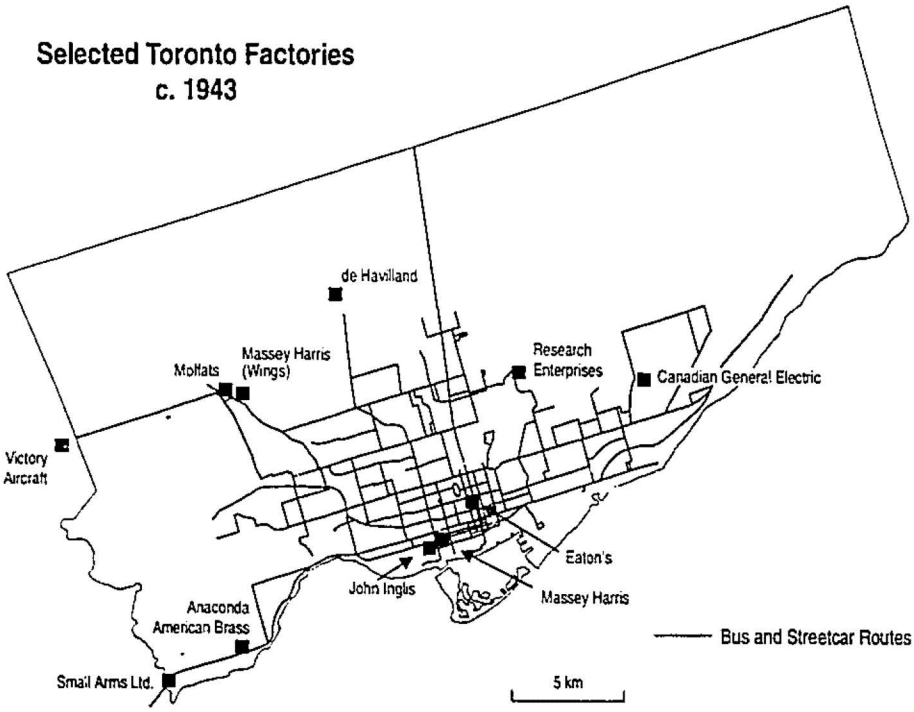
During World War Two, many federal crown corporations were created to assist with munitions production, such as Research Enterprises in Leaside, Victory Aircraft in Malton, and Canadian Arsenals in Long Branch. Planning for postwar reconstruction began in 1943 and, in 1945, these companies were privatized. Victory Aircraft was

to A.V. Roe, Research Enterprises to Corning Glass and other companies, such as Massey-Harris which had built aircraft during the war, converted back to peacetime production of agricultural machinery (Kennedy, 1950). The number of manufacturing firms in Toronto grew rapidly from 2,762 in 1939 to 3,622 by 1946. The Toronto labour force increased from 285,778 in 1941 to 338,576 by 1951. Women's share of the city work force decreased from about forty per cent during World War Two to about a third in 1951. By 1951, Toronto was a major manufacturer of iron and steel products, electrical goods, clothing, food and beverages and printing/publishing, and workers' wages had increased substantially. Large sprawling suburban factories were developing on the fringes of the city (Figure 4.1), such as in Scarborough (Lemon, 1985).

The importance of Toronto as a major centre of employment can be seen with its attraction of labour from outside. Many people, both men and women, relocated to Toronto to get jobs. Forty per cent of the people I interviewed, for example, came to Toronto for employment. Brad came to Toronto from Port Dover in 1936 after his father's mill in Port Dover burned down. Brad had a tremendous challenge finding a job during the depression; in fact the job he eventually got at Imperial Optical, when "400 people lined up for three blocks, four wide." The job as a stockroom clerk, he says he got because of a friend; it was "the only way to get a job during the Great Depression." Lisa and Anne relocated from Cobourg in the 1940s to get jobs in Toronto. Fran came to Toronto for nursing training in the early 1930s and continued working there after she qualified in 1939. Andrew found it impossible to get a job in Galt, because of health reasons; he moved to Toronto in 1942 and eventually was categorized into work at Eaton's. John's family relocated from Timmins to Toronto in 1941 when his father was "categorized" into selective war service in the Canadian

FIGURE 4.1: SELECTED TORONTO FACTORIES 1921 AND 1943





Arsenals factory.[1] Thus Toronto in the 1930s and 1940s was a magnet for workers from across Ontario. Often there were no jobs in their own communities or, during World War II, their labour was needed in specific jobs.

The largest occupational group in the 1901-1941 period was of skilled and semi-skilled workers, accounting for between 30 and 40 per cent of workers (Table 4.1). Unskilled workers represented 20 per cent of the sample in 1901, but this fell to 8.6 by 1951. Clerical occupations were expanding in the early twentieth century, with a share of 20 per cent of the sample in 1901 rising to 29 per cent by 1951. Again women increasingly dominated this occupational group, their share rising from 60 per cent in 1901 to 81 per cent in 1951. Professionals represented about nine per cent of the sample workforce between 1901 and 1941, rising slightly to 10.2 per cent by 1951. Although a majority were female until 1931, by 1941 they represented less than half of professionals, a trend also evident in 1951.

Table 4.1: PERCENTAGES OF TORONTO WORKERS IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS: B SAMPLE, 1901-51

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Self-Employed	13.8	9.0	4.8	7.1	6.7	6.3
Managers	4.3	4.7	5.5	4.0	5.4	6.3
Professionals	8.9	8.9	9.0	8.5	9.2	10.2
Supervisory	1.9	2.1	2.6	2.5	3.5	3.5
Clerical	19.9	18.5	29.9	26.8	26.0	28.7
Skilled/Semi-Skill	31.3	34.6	39.1	39.2	44.5	35.9
Unskilled	19.5	21.9	8.8	11.4	4.4	8.6

SOURCE: Database derived from Mights Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1952.

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[1] Oral history interviews with Brad, Lisa and Anne, July 6, 1994 in Cobourg; Fran, April 12, 1994 in Oakville; Andrew, July 18, 1994 in Cambridge, Ontario; and John, June 30, 1994.

One interesting shift in the occupational structure was the decline in the numbers of self-employed. In 1901, the sample revealed a significant proportion of men and women who were self-employed--13.8 per cent (often working at home). By 1951, the share of self-employed in the Toronto sample had declined to six per cent. Also in 1901, men represented just 50.2 per cent of this category, whereas in the following decades, they were 70 per cent or more of the self-employed. This points to a disappearance of many self-employed women, such as widows running small grocery stores.

Table 4.2: GENDER COMPOSITION OF OCCUPATION GROUPS: B SAMPLE, 1901-51

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Self-Employed (% male)	50.2	83.7	79.1	82.4	71.9	87.3
Managers (% male)	78.4	86.2	90.9	71.9	78.5	77.7
Professionals (% female)	60.7	59.5	55.3	56.7	49.7	47.2
Supervisory (% male)	77.3	68.4	67.4	64.9	64.2	72.4
Clerical (% female)	60.7	56.4	68.8	71.5	78.0	81.5
Skilled/Semi-Skilled (% male)	62.6	70.4	70.7	71.7	64.6	70.0
Unskilled (% female)	63.5	56.0	58.2	56.2	50.6	46.2

SOURCE: Database derived from Mights Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1952.

Managers represented between four and six per cent of the workforce in the sample years. Managers in the Toronto sample were overwhelmingly male -- 78 per cent in 1901, 91 per cent in 1921 but falling to 70 per cent by 1951. Workers in supervisory capacities, including foremen, represented a small proportion to the total workforce, between two and three point five per cent in the years surveyed. Again, this

occupational group was male-dominated: the male share decreased from 77 per cent in 1901 to 65 per cent in 1931 and rose again to 72 per cent in 1951. Thus the types of occupations of Toronto workers were highly correlated with gender. If a worker was male, he was more likely to be self-employed, a manager, in a supervisory capacity or in the skilled or semi-skilled workforce (Table 4.2). By contrast, women were more likely to be either unskilled workers or in the clerical and professional occupations which they dominated.

Toronto was growing in the first half of the twentieth century and its employment base was also expanding. Its jobs were initially in the downtown or on the waterfront, but from the 1910s, manufacturing employment grew in the suburbs. Being a major centre, then Toronto drew many workers in from other parts of Ontario.

4.2 Changing Workplaces 1901-1951

Toronto had a wide range of employers from insurance and banking corporations to the University, Government of Ontario and manufacturing companies. Table 4.3 lists some of the largest employers in Toronto found in the B sample from 1901 to 1951. Companies include Eaton's and Simpsons which employed a large percentage of the sample workforce throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Some companies were significant employers in particular years (especially during World War II, such as John Inglis). Other businesses employed many women as semi-skilled operators, such as Christie Brown, Neilsons, Canada Kodak and Rogers Majestic. Some companies reshaped the geography of employment in Toronto by decentralizing to the suburban fringe, such as National Steel Car in Malton (later AV Roe) and de Havilland in Downsview.

The geography of employment in 1901 was very centralized (Figure 4.2). Workplaces were overwhelmingly located in the Central Business District or along the waterfront. Solid numbers of workers were also found to be employed along Spadina

Table 4.3: MAJOR EMPLOYERS IN TORONTO 1901-51 (City Directory "B" Sample)

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	*
Eaton's	242	498	562	847	794	777	D
	m=43 f=199	m=102 f=396	m=109 f=453	m=220 f=627	m=185 f=609	m=201 f=576	
At home	341	318	223	356	340	210	X
Simpsons	189	190	126	262	394	247	D
Anaconda American Brass (NT)				9	47	29	S
Bank of Commerce			11	69	69	96	D
Bell Telephone		2	59	194	126	295	X
Can Acme Screw & Gear				11	87	28	S
CCM	11	5	-	23	30	9	S
Can General Electric (CGE)			16	72	140	182	C
Can Kodak	13	16	12	32	64	53	S
CNR				165	127	186	X
CPR	16	79	46	136	113	132	X
Can Packers			1	62	62	69	S
Can Wire & Cable			1	14	34	37	S
Christie Brown	16	-	11	55	41	78	C/S
de Havilland					74	23	S
General Steelwares				28	49	33	C
Goodyear Tire			9	53	69	81	S
Gutta Percha	8	30	12	62	44	20	C
Inglis	2	-	-	7	136	39	C
Lever Bros				12	48	40	C
Loblaws				23	60	70	X
Massey Harris	36	3	12	18	72	118	C/S
Moffats (Weston)					34	25	S
National Steel Car/ A V Roe (Halton)					41	59	S
Neilsons			15	35	78	27	C
Rogers Majestic					22	20	C/S
Royal York Hotel				39	57	61	D
Toronto Star			9	33	49	70	D
TTC			26	95	118	224	X
U of Toronto			9	59	54	57	C
Woolworths				43	68	55	X

* Location type: C= Central; D=Downtown; S= Suburban; X= Dispersed.

SOURCE: Database derived from Mights Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1952 (B Sample).

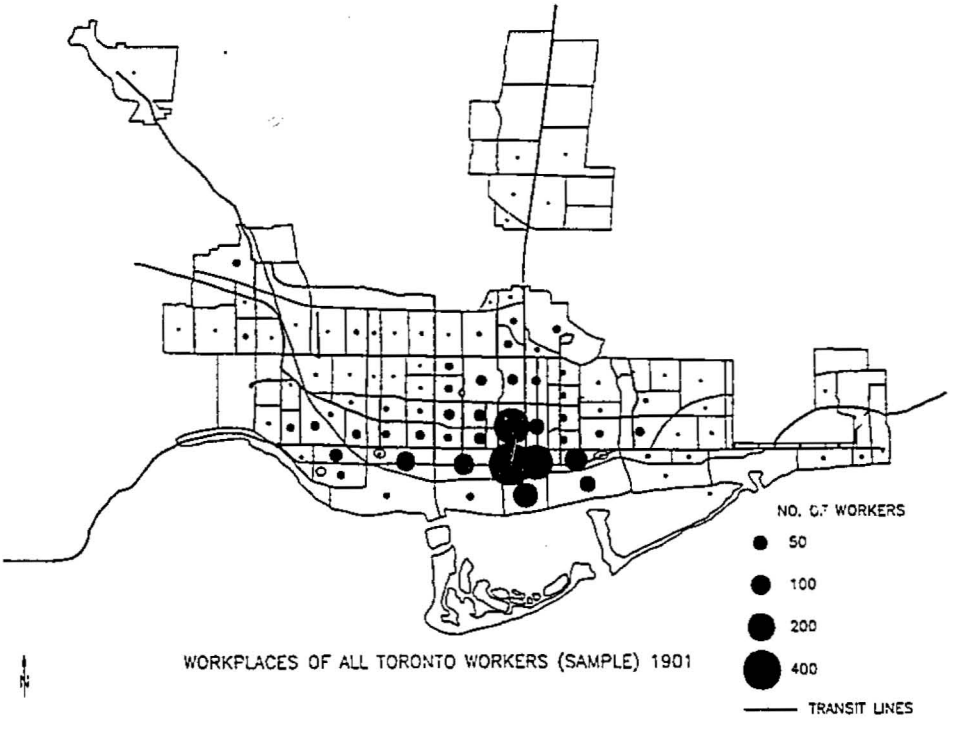
appeared to be little employment on the suburban edge. Even West Toronto Junction had small numbers. In 1901, major industries in the Junction included the CPR shops, Canada Cycle and Motor Works, Heintzman Piano factory, Dodge Manufacturing Company, Wilkinson Plough, Queen City Flour Mills, Comfort Soap Works and the Gasoline Engine Works. These employed about 1,200 hands and paid out $60,000 each month in wages (Miles, 1986). Railway employment and the growth of some industries was evident in the Parkdale area and visible to a lesser extent just east of the Don. In 1921, specialization of work became more evident in certain areas of Toronto, such as metal and chemical manufacturing on the waterfront, and factories near the railways, including piano components near Parkdale. 1931 continued to illustrate the dominance of employment in the centre, in the CBD, the surrounding office and garment district with manufacturing employment along the waterfront.

By 1951, most workplaces were still located in downtown Toronto but new suburban zones of employment were emerging. The CBD remained vibrant with over a quarter of the sample workforce working in four central tracts 73, 74, 75 and 76.

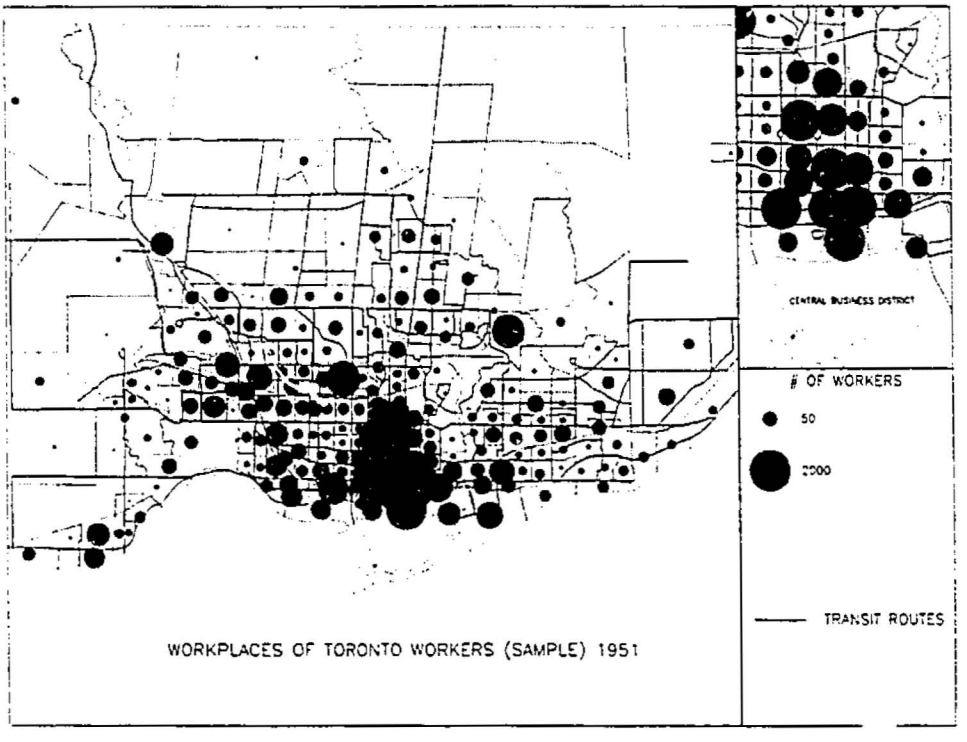
The waterfront remained significant, with more male and manufacturing jobs compared with the more female and clerical workforce in the CBD. Spadina and University Avenues also had many employees--especially garment workers and government employees, who were mainly female. Old railway manufacturing areas including West Toronto and also along the railway and Dupont Street, had workforces in which males slightly exceeded females (Figure 4.2).

The first outlying area of significant employment was West Toronto Junction in the late 1880s. By 1921, other new suburban employment was developing. This was especially evident in the case of New Toronto, with a major employer like Goodyear Tire. Other suburban employment remained limited, with Kodak in York Township, CCM in Weston, Durant in Leaside, and Ford in East York. In 1941, suburban

FIGURE 4.2: WORKPLACES OF ALL TORONTO WORKERS (SAMPLE) 1901 AND 1951



WORKPLACES OF ALL TORONTO WORKERS (SAMPLE) 1901



WORKPLACES OF TORONTO WORKERS (SAMPLE) 1951

wartime industrial needs led to a significant decentralization of work. National Steel Car in Malton, de Havilland in Downsview and Moffats in Weston pulled workers out from Toronto. World War Two also saw the conversion of many existing factories into munitions production. For example, Massey-Harris ceased making agricultural implements and, under contract, built wooden aircraft wings for the Mosquito Fighter-Bombers. They used the defunct Ritchie Cut Stone factory in Weston and in the beginning employed 160 workers. This number expanded to over 3,000 and the plant operated on a 24-hour schedule. Lots of conduits and wiring were needed in the wings for the controls and electrical equipment, so many "nimble-fingered girls" were employed to connect wires to the D boxes (Massey-Harris booklet, 1945). The de Havilland company expanded tremendously during World War Two. In 1940, the plant in Downsview employed about 250; this grew to about 7,000 by 1942. To get workers out to the suburban fringe of Toronto, the company ran buses from a main depot at Dufferin and Eglinton to the factory. For those that lived outside the city, car pools were arranged. The company also paid workers a transportation allowance of $1.25 per week during World War Two.[2]

New Toronto in 1951, with Goodyear Tire, Anaconda American Brass, Campbells Soup and Continental Can, was a major industrial hub for male manufacturing employees, as was Weston with CCM, Moffats (makers of gas ranges and electrical appliances) and Radio Valve. The industrial area of Leaside, first planned in the 1910s, took a long time to develop. Canada Wire and Cable located there in 1914 and Durant operated a vehicle assembly plant there 1922-31, but the industrial and residential parts of the suburb failed to take off until the 1940s. By 1951, significant male industrial employment was available, including Canadian Arsenals, Sangamo Electric, Rogers Majestic, Frigidaire and Standard Chemical. New developments in

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[2] Oral history interview with Chris, September 7, 1994.

Scarborough along the Golden Mile, included Black and Decker, Supreme Aluminum. The suburban fringe was also pulling out workers from Toronto to locations such as the AV Roe plant in Malton and de Havilland in North York. Women workers were more centralized than male workers: fewer were employed in the suburbs. There were more men employed in the Junction, Leaside, and the Bloor-Davenport industrial belt.

The suburbanization of work opportunities by the 1940s and 1950s was evident in talking with former Toronto workers. For example, Andrew became traffic manager at E.S. & A. Robinson, a British firm of large paper converters which manufactured waxed paper, paper bags and wrapping paper in Leaside in 1946. He commuted by bus and streetcar from Brookdale Avenue in North Toronto. He remembered that there were no restaurants in Leaside then, so he took his lunch to work. By then, he recalled, there were several factories in Leaside, including Canada Wire and Cable, a manufacturer of bulldozers, as well as Frigidaire which built commercial freezers. Harold commuted in from Lakeview on the west side to Leaside during World War II to work as an engineer at Research Enterprises. His journey to work of 25 miles often took an hour, and he commuted either by car or motorcycle.[3]

Histograms were constructed to illustrate the percentages of male and female workers within 5 kilometres (km) of the Toronto CBD. The percentages of all employed men and women working within this zone declined over time from 97 per cent for men in 1901 to 67 per cent in 1951. Women working within this zone declined from 98 per cent in 1901 to 75 per cent by 1951. Women's employment was more centralized than men's in all years except for 1941, when 79 per cent of women in the B sample worked within 5 km of the CBD, compared with 83 per cent of men. The percentage of women working in the very heart of Toronto was also higher than for men. Over 50 per cent

[3] Oral history interviews with Andrew, July 18, 1994, in Cambridge; Harold, September 15, 1994.

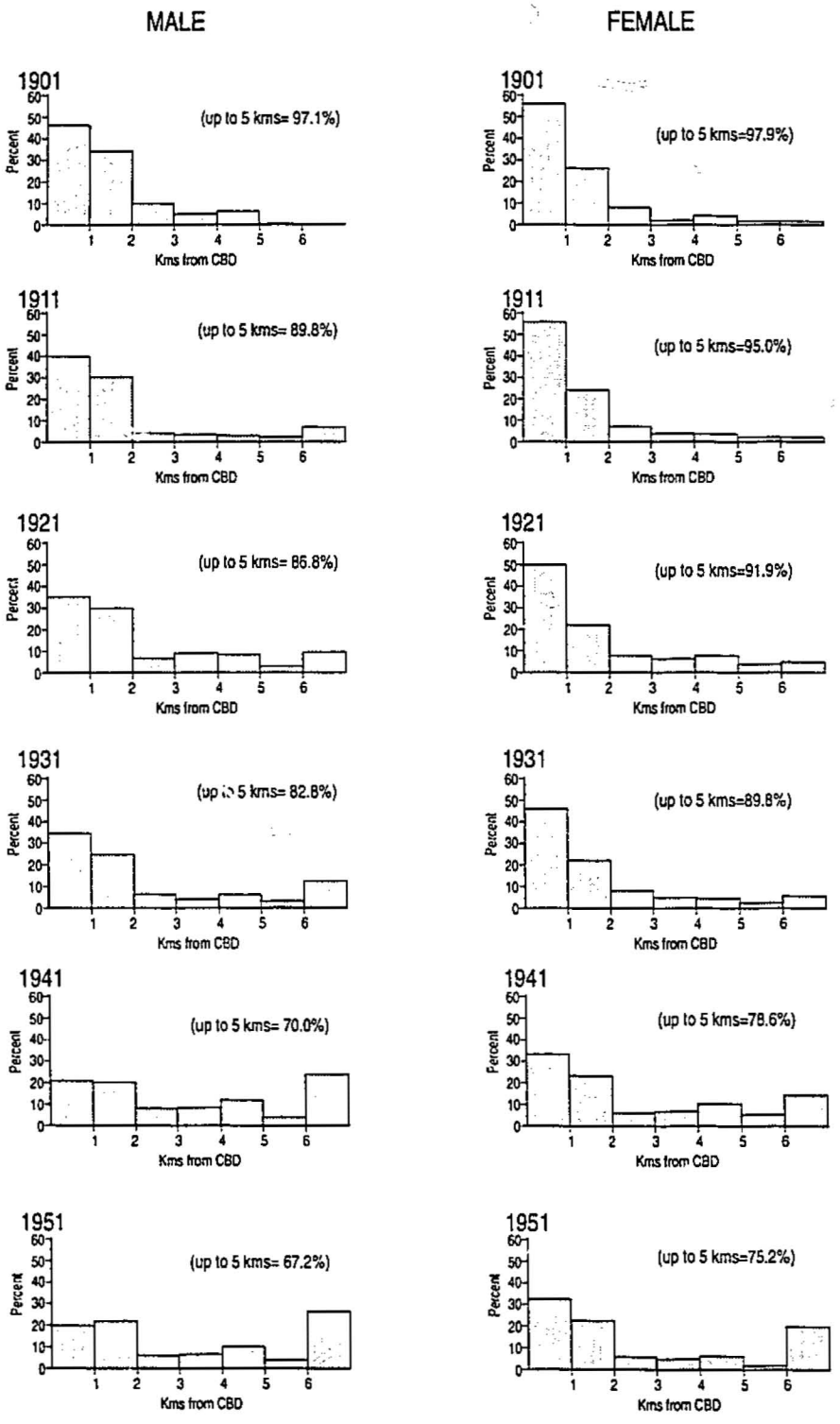
of women worked within 1 km of the CBD between 1901 and 1921, whereas the percentage of men working there declined from 45 per cent in 1901 to 20 per cent by 1951. Indeed by 1951, about 30 per cent of men were working six or more km from the CBD, as opposed to only about 20 per cent of female workers (Figure 4.3).

Employment in Toronto may have been more centralized than many other Canadian cities during this period, reflecting the significance of office jobs in the CBD, notably in banking, insurance, etc. One factor may be the city directory's tendency to list central city employers more than newly emerging peripheral ones. Suburbanization of work in Toronto occurred before 1940, but World War II accelerated the pace and scale of this phenomenon with dramatic effects for the employment of men in particular.

4.3 Women and Work

Women made up an increasing percentage of the total labour force, as measured by The Census of Canada between 1921 (15.45 per cent) and 19.85 in 1941. Even against society's disapproval, married women's participation increased from 7.19 per cent of the female labour force in 1921 to 10.26 in 1941. The segmented labour market meant that there was little competition between men and women for the same jobs. By segregating occupations on the basis of sex, employers could keep women's wages low. Women over this period were concentrated in only a few industrial groups compared to men. Over 70 per cent of women between 1921 and 1941, were in six census categories; textiles and clothing, retail and wholesale trade, education, health and welfare services, personal and recreational services, and food and lodging. Within these industries, women were "ghettoized" into low-paid and unskilled categories, such as factory hands, assemblers, typists, secretaries, clerks, servants and waitresses. Working-class girls' options were often restricted to personal service and blue-collar occupations.

FIGURE 4.3: HISTOGRAMS - TORONTO WORKPLACES BY DISTANCE FROM CBD 1901-51



Girls and women with extensive training tended to get jobs in the "female professions" such as teaching, nursing and librarianship (Strong-Boag, 1988).

The Census of Canada counted working women in Toronto in two ways. Before the 1931 Census, classification was more akin to industry than the strict occupation in later definitions. Thus clerical workers tended to be subsumed into a type of activity rather than as distinct clerical workers as occurred in 1951. In 1951, women were classified by type of occupation and by type of industry, but in 1921 they were classified only by occupation. Thus the classification of occupations relates to the jobs performed by individual workers rather than the industry in which they work. No census data for employed workers in 1901 appear to have been published.[4]

Numbers of women employed in Toronto were first published in the 1911 Census of Canada. Female employment in Toronto grew from 42,000 employed in 1911 to 59,000 in 1921, and to 159,000 by 1951. In 1921, 26.8 per cent of women over 14 years were employed; this increased to 34.5 per cent by 1951. The service sector (which includes domestic and personal service) declined significantly between 1911 and 1951 in terms of the proportion of women employed. Actual numbers had more than doubled but percentages fell from 40 per cent in 1911 to 35 per cent in 1921 to 31 per cent in 1951. By 1951 then, there were slightly more women employed in manufacturing than in service. The percentage of women employed in manufacturing declined slightly from 35 per cent in 1911 to 30 per cent in 1921 and then rose slightly to 32 per cent by 1951. Within manufacturing, over a third of the women were employed in textiles and the clothing industry.

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[4] Occupational data are first available in the 1891 Census. No occupational data published for 1901. See: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Historical Catalogue of Dominion Bureau of Statistics Publications 1918-1960 (Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1967) 186. Details of occupation at the large city scale are first available in 1951.

The proportion of women employed in transportation and communications rose between 1911 (3.7 per cent) and 1921 (6.1 per cent) but fell to four per cent by 1951. The number of women employed in trade and retailing increased fourfold between 1911 and 1951, while the proportion of women in finance, increased markedly from 1.3 per cent in 1911 to 9.3 in 1951. In 1951, 40.9 per cent of women in the labour force were female clerical workers. Between 1921 and 1941, the proportion of women in clerical and sales rose from 32.8 to 40.5 per cent of all workers. The emergence of large office and retailers created low-waged and repetitive jobs. Graham Lowe has examined the feminization of office work that occurred in Canada, particularly between 1911 and 1931. He finds that female clerks as a proportion of the total female labour force increased from 2.3 per cent in 1891, to 9.1 per cent in 1911 to 17.7 per cent in 1931. The proportion continued to increase to 27.4 per cent in 1951. Women did not replace men in clerical jobs, for example as bookkeepers, but were recruited into a new bottom layer of routine jobs. The feminization of machine-related clerical jobs was completed by the late 1920s and in 1931 women represented 95 per cent of all stenographers and typists and 86 per cent of all office machine operators.

In the Toronto sample of 1901, the most numerous employers of women were small manufacturing establishments, such as small-scale merchant tailors, clothing contractors, and wholesale clothing manufacturers. These included dozens of businesses, employing women, such as A. Lochore, Charles A. Miller, Gale Manufacturing, Gillespie, Ansley & Company, the Standard Cap Co, William Reinholt, R. Crean and Co., the T.E. Braime Co, Barnes & Hughson, and AA Allan Co. These businesses tended to be located close to the Toronto waterfront on Front Street, King Street, Richmond Street and Queen Street. Some women ran their own small-scale costume and millinery establishments, such as Bryden & Walker, Amelia Barrett, Ball & Co., Mrs Bishop and Miss Alexander. By 1951, there were women employed in a wide variety of industries

in Toronto, most often as clerical workers. Twenty employees of the Goodyear tire factory in New Toronto were caught in the sample. Half of these workers lived in New Toronto, Mimico, Long Branch and Etobicoke. Another fifth lived in Port Credit and Mississauga. About two-thirds were clerical workers and the rest worked in the factory. Canadian General Electric, in 1951 sample, has 86 female employees: about a quarter of them resided in York Township and about half were clerical workers. There were some women in manufacturing jobs, working as assemblers and coil winders. There was also a glass worker and a radio assembler. Women were found working at long established businesses such as Christie Brown & Company, Lever Brothers, Canada Kodak and Massey Harris, as well as in newer businesses such as IBM, Kraft Food, General Foods and Campbells Soup in New Toronto.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the numbers of women employed in the tertiary service sector began to increase. While domestic service was still the largest area of employment, growth in clerical, transportation and trade and finance was more rapid. There was an increasing proportion of women in clerical work (accounted for 76 per cent of typists and stenographers in 1891, increasing to 85 per cent twenty years later), the sales labour force (with the rise of the department store) and as telephone operators (accounting for 21 per cent in 1891 and 45 per cent in 1911) (Cohen, 1988). Jean Scott (1892) noted that in the 1880s, Bell Telephone employed 70 girls at its central and branch offices, who worked an average of nine hours a day and each girl worked every fourth Sunday with extra pay from 8:30 to 4:00. Women at Bell Telephone in the first decade of the century were unskilled, lacked union protection and their protest in 1907 was damaged by strikebreakers. Also labour turnover was high in the company; six months after the strike, half the female operators were no longer there. The majority of Bell's operators were single women aged 17-24 who stayed an average of less than three years with Bell (Sangster, 1978).

Shirley Tillotson (1991) finds that in 1902, 42 per cent of operators in the Great North West Telegraph's Toronto office were women while 28 per cent in the Canadian Pacific Railway Telegraph's office were female. By 1900, telephone systems were taking over local telegraph services and leaving mostly long-distance business to the telegraph companies. Officials' sexist assumptions prevented most women from getting experience on the heavy wires necessary to increase their productivity. Thus highly-skilled jobs for women were few and only a small proportion could hope to get well-paid work on high-volume wires. Women also tended to be segregated into certain jobs. For instance, although men and women might work together on a press circuit, women tended to be receiving operators, rather than senders. The telegraph and telephone industry was one sector that remained predominantly an employer of single women. In the 1951 Census, there were 2,660 single female telephone workers in Toronto compared with 1,063 who were married and 103 widowed or divorced. The telegraph industry had 960 single women, 194 married and 79 widowed/divorced. In the sample for 1901, there are four female workers at the Great North West Telegraph Co. and two in the 1921 sample. Of the 48 Bell Telephone workers found in the 1921 sample, all were listed as unmarried: 39 were operators, five were clerks and there were two bookkeepers, one supervisor and one nurse. In 1951, 204 Bell Telephone workers were traced. There were 55 clerks, 34 operators, nine supervisors, eight dining servicewomen and three nurses, with 73 listed as "with" or "employee of" Bell Telephone.

The number of women employed in the trade sector increased between 1921 and 1951. In 1921, 5,812 women were employed as saleswomen in Toronto, of whom 2893 were employed in department and general stores. By 1951, there were 26,636 women employed in retailing, 13,026 in department stores. The second largest department store after Eaton's, in terms of numbers captured in the sample, was the

Robert Simpson Company. Sixty women were found working for the Robert Simpson Company in the 1901 sample, 143 in 1911, 99 in 1921 and 149 in 1951. In 1901, jobs in stores only represented nine per cent of all working women.

The teaching and nursing professions were stable female employers in this period. Veronica Strong-Boag (1988) points out that the entry of middle-class girls into the labour market, became common between 1919 and World War II. They became teachers, nurses and clerical help in the years between school and marriage. Generally they left the workforce upon marriage and never re-entered the paid labour force. Female teachers inevitably had lower status and pay than equally qualified men. The percentage of women employed in these professions remained fairly constant between 1901 and 1951. Teachers in 1901 and 1911 represented 5.1 per cent of all women workers in the sample, 6.1 per cent in 1921 and declined to 2.7 per cent in 1951. Ninety per cent of teachers worked in major institutions such as the public schools, special industrial schools, such as the Victoria Industrial school, the Normal school, the Orde Model School, the High School of Commerce or Havergal Ladies College. By 1951 there were 38 women in the sample employed at the University of Toronto, a handful of whom were lecturers.

Nurses formed 4 per cent of the samples in 1901 and 1911, dropping to 2.8 per cent in 1921 and then rising again to 3.5 per cent in 1951. Many nurses were listed as hospital employees, e.g. at the General Hospital, the Western Hospital, the East General Hospital, the Grace Hospital, the Women's College Hospital, the Isolation Hospital and the Hospital for Sick Children. Nearly half the nurses in 1921 were not listed with a hospital; presumably many of these were private nurses. Women were generally poorly represented in government and civil service jobs. The influx of women into the civil service in Ottawa during World War I concerned many male bureaucrats. High numbers of female clerks were seen as an impediment to male recruitment to

higher levels of the service. By 1921, there were limitations on the hiring of married women. Women in the 1920s received only minimum wage and lost all former seniority. The number of women in Ottawa dropped from 4,296 in 1921 to 3,729 in 1931 (Strong-Boag, 1988). There were few women employed in Government or Related Services, such as the Post Office in the 1901 and 1921 samples. By 1951, there were many women working in government departments, including 12 women in the Treasury Department. The 1921 sample includes five women in the Post Office; by 1951 there were 20.

New opportunities developed for women in the service sector, as jobs in restaurant dining, for example, proliferated during the 1920s. Women were finding jobs both as waitresses and in the kitchen. In the 1880s and 1890s, many girls had been employed at restaurants, lunch parlours and coffee houses. Women working in this sector were generally organized in two shifts, one from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. and the other from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. and all generally worked on Saturday evenings. They were paid $2-3 per week and got their meals as well (Scott, 1892). By 1951, there were many women employed in hotels and restaurants. One of the largest employers was the Royal York Hotel, with 41 employees in the 1951 sample. Most women were employed as maids, laundresses and waitresses. These jobs were considered suitable for women, as they were an extension of their domestic work in the home.

City directories provide various opportunities to trace individuals over time. Aggregate census data cannot give details on particular women. Individual women in the "B" sample were traced between 1901 and 1911, and between 1911 and 1921. Just over 8 per cent of the women in the 1901 sample were found in 1911 and 8.9 per cent of the 1911 women in 1921. About 2 per cent of women who worked in 1901 were located in 1921. One sizeable group of women that continued in the labour force (about 20 per cent) were unmarried teachers, who were often working at the same school ten

years later. For example, Sarah Barrington of 934 College taught at Givens Street School in 1901 and still worked there in 1911 and 1921. Other teachers like Jessie Baillie changed place of work, moving from Dovercourt School in 1901 to Huron Street School in 1911 and 1921. There were also several married women who operated grocery stores and laundries in the sample, who were found still operating businesses, one or two decades later. Mrs Cecilia Baillie of 32 Leonard Avenue, operated a laundry out of her home in 1901 and 1911. By 1921, she had moved to 68 Hilton Avenue, but her old home remained a laundry. Mrs Sarah Brown operated a confectionery business out of her home at 320 College in both 1911 and 1921. Mrs Sarah Burnham operated a boardinghouse on Church Street in 1901 and 1911.

The nature of women's work changed somewhat during the early twentieth century - women in domestic service declined and the number of women in trade and retailing increased dramatically. The feminization of office work created a new class of female clerical workers, generally performing routine, repetitive jobs.

4.4 Combining Work and Home Responsibilities

One question not addressed in traditional sources, such as the city directories and the assessment rolls, is: How did married women in the paid labour force combine their work outside the home and their domestic responsibilities? Fran, who worked as an obstetrics supervisor at the Toronto General Hospital in the 1940s and 1950s, continued to work there after she married in 1946. Her husband, a manager at the Canadian National Exhibition, did the cooking and she also had a cleaning lady. She would often shop on the way home from work at Badali's fruit market at the corner of Yonge and Castlefield, near the streetcar stop, and went to Loblaws every Saturday for groceries.

Doing housework and domestic chores differed from family to family. Women who were only children, such as Betsy, Peggy and Brenda, did not do any housework,

their mothers doing all the cooking and cleaning. Brenda came from a quite well-off family, her father was manager of a manufacturing plant in Renfrew, Ontario and she was even driven to work sometimes by her mother. Daughters from large, less well-off families, such as Milly, Eva and Rose, had to combine their work outside the home with contributing board as well as lots of housework. In Eva and Rose's family, the domestic responsibilities were divided up: their mother did the cooking, Eva did the gardening, and Rose cleaned floors, did the dishes and general maintenance around the house.

The educational opportunities and later work experiences of over half the women interviewed, were constrained by the needs of their families. Milly's education was cut short in the late 1930s, by having to care for her blind mother and sick sister. She was only able to go to high school for half-days and was not able to attend a four-year commercial course; she did however complete a one-year business course with honours. She then went to work for Goldsmiths of Canada on Wellington Street West, using the streetcar. She was hired for the Christmas rush (a busy season for crystal); then her job as typist/cashier/reception was extended to cover the January inventory period and she ended up staying for four years. "Those were happy years" as she met future husband Thomas there. Eva's high schooling was also cut short and she had to quit school to start earning because of her father's disability. (He broke his leg, and was an invalid for some time before his death in 1933). She and her older sister had to support her mother and younger children. Her first proper job was as a waitress in the R. Simpson Company coffee shop. She used the streetcar to travel from Cabbagetown downtown which took about 20 minutes. Sometimes she and her sister, who worked in the luncheonette at Simpsons, walked home.[5]

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[5] Oral history interviews with Fran, Betsy, Brenda and Milly, April 12, 1994 in Oakville; Peggy, April 19, 1994 in Oakville; Eva and Rose, August 30, 1994 in Flesherton, Ontario.

Friends and relatives could sometimes be useful in helping young people get jobs, particularly in large firms. For example, Eva's older sister, Ellen, helped her obtain a job at Simpsons in the 1930s as a waitress. Later, in the 1950s, when she was employed as an accountant at Modelcraft Hobbies, she assisted Ellen and their younger sister Rose in securing employment in other departments at the company. Kate, who worked at de Havilland in Downsview from 1938 to 1972, was first told about the job opportunity in the fabric shop, by her brother who was employed there as a test pilot. During the 1940s, her father came to work at the plant as a janitor and her sister also worked there for a few years. But since they all worked in very separate departments, there was no real family contact at work.

Anne and Kate both worked in "male jobs." Kate worked for de Havilland and moved into upholstery in the late 1940s, which was a male workplace by "unwritten rule." She was the only woman working there and although "they tried to get rid of her, they could not, given her seniority". However her fellow workers and foreman were not very nice to her and she found it a "stressful environment." Anne also worked as the only female employee in the warehouse section of Canadian Laboratory Supplies in the 1940s alongside male workers. But her experience was different: "they were always polite." Other women working at the company then were all in the office.

Edith was unusual in shifting from blue-collar to white-collar work. She started working for de Havilland in 1942 as a rivetter. She was sent to the Central Technical School for training, and started work at 30 cents per hour. This was raised to 88 cents an hour by 1945. She worked 10.25 hours each day on shift work; two weeks on days, followed by two weeks of night work. She had a partner, who assisted in cutting out the metal patterns and then putting them together for the Mosquito Ailerons. In early 1945, the Mosquitoes were subcontracted to Canadair in Montreal, so she and other rivetters went to Montreal for 10 weeks, worked the night shift and stayed in a hotel

(paid for by de Havilland) and explored Montreal during the day. She was laid off in September 1945 and went to work at General Electric for six months, putting together electric plugs. In April 1946, she was rehired by de Havilland to work as a rivetter on Vampires and Chipmunks. By July 1950, she decided she had had enough of rivetting, so went to work at Simpsons mail order department on Mutual Street part-time, while she went to school to learn typing. She was then hired by de Havilland to do office work in the production control office for $32 per week. She remained with the company until her retirement in 1981. She said that "she enjoyed both the office work and being a rivetter" and that having been on the assembly line, then she understood what she was typing up in the office. She stressed the importance of making do in those years. "We did not feel uneasy in those days - you knew your neighbours and there was not the crime. During the Depression and the war years, people did not have very much and what they did have, they shared. You had to make your own fun; schools and church clubs were hubs of activity; stores were not open at night and you went with a group to shows.[6]

Before World War Two, full-time employment outside the home was for many women just a temporary interlude between leaving school and getting married. The majority of women came from working-class backgrounds and the wages they earned, whether as domestics, sales clerks, tailoresses or factory operatives, were important contributions to their families' financial support. They seldom thought that they would have to return to the labour force, for their future husbands were assumed to be the breadwinners who would earn a family wage. If the husbands became ill or died, some women would have to return to the workforce as full-time wage-earners (Forestell, 1989). The gendered division of labour was a significant aspect of women's work. Most

[6] Oral history interviews with Eva and Rose, August 30, 1994, in Flesherton; Kate, October 5, 1994; Anne, July 6, 1994; and Edith, October 20, 1994.

women, whether employed in manufacturing or clerical jobs, performed different tasks from men. In manufacturing, they tended to have less skilled jobs as packers.

Thus men and women had different patterns of home and work in Toronto. Women had additional constraints on work outside the home, including care of husbands, children, and sick relatives. Single women had the greatest flexibility in obtaining and keeping work.

4.5 Changing Residences 1901-1951

Toronto grew significantly, both in terms of total population and in its relative standing among North American cities, in the first half of the twentieth century. In 1901, the city had a population of 219,000 and ranked 21st in North America; by 1951, the urban area exceeded a million and ranked fourteenth. In half a century, it had overtaken cities like Buffalo, Louisville, New Orleans and Cincinnati and only Los Angeles had experienced more rapid growth (Harris, 1996).

Toronto grew rapidly due to immigration, ranking second only to New York City with 38 per cent of its population being immigrants. Most of Toronto's immigrants in the early period were British. In 1901, four-fifths of the city's immigrants were from the British Isles; this level declined but remained above 50 per cent throughout the first half of the twentieth century. British immigrants to Toronto did not follow the pattern of European immigrants, such as Italians and Jews, of locating just west of the central city. After 1900, most British immigrants tended to locate on the suburban fringes of the city, creating new residential suburbs such as Earlscourt (Harris 1990; 1995).

In Toronto, Jews tended to work in the garment industries, which were concentrated downtown, near Spadina Avenue. Since garment manufacturing relied on a good deal of outwork, many workers were concentrated around the major employers. Many British workers were employed in the metal trades and some of these jobs were suburbanizing in early twentieth-century Toronto (Harris 1995; Hiebert 1990).

Hiebert (1995) finds that the residential landscape of Toronto in 1931 was divided by ethnicity and occupation. Using a small sample of assessment rolls and inferring ethnicity from surnames, he finds that the unskilled blue-collar workers bore the brunt of the economic downturn. The financial, wholesale and retail sectors were more insulated from decline than manufacturing. Factory owners and company executives had the highest rates of home ownership and lived in the most expensive dwellings, whereas only one in four unskilled workers owned their own homes; generally the cheapest available. There was considerable residential mixing of the skilled blue-collar, white-collar workers and the self-employed. In terms of ethnicity and housing, those of British origin tended to live in the most desirable housing. Those of northern and western European descent were well-integrated spatially, as opposed to the British who tended to vacate inner-city, immigrant reception areas in favour of outlying areas. East European households gravitated towards areas in the city with the least expensive housing, such as south of Queen Street and West Toronto Junction. This made sense in terms of their employment patterns: many worked as labourers on construction sites and in railway yards, so they needed to be close to transportation on the Lakeshore and in the Junction. Those of Asian descent tended to live in the ward (Cabbagetown/Chinatown, partly due to racist attitudes of others. Yet many Asians were self-employed proprietors of laundries and restaurants, not only in the ward but along main arterial routes throughout Toronto. The Jews were the most segregated; overwhelmingly clustered in the neighbourhoods surrounding Spadina Avenue, close to Toronto's garment industry.

Thus Hiebert finds not only a connection between the work and home locations of household heads in Toronto in 1931, but also that ethnicity appears to have been "a primary sorting mechanism of urban space" (1995, p.64). He relates this to Bodnar's theory that a chain migration process was taking place. There appeared to be a new

degree of residential clustering among immigrant groups (especially Jews, southern and eastern Europeans). These groups would settle in inner city areas and in West Toronto Junction; and once a foothold was gained, subsequent immigrants gravitated to these respective ethnic enclaves to find shelter and work.

Thus suburban areas in Toronto developed rapidly in the early decades of the century. Between 1907 and 1913, the city annexed portions of its immediate fringe; over 75 per cent of these households were working-class and the proportion beyond city limits was even higher. Thousands of working-class families continued to settle into the suburbs in the early 1920s. The suburbs remained heavily blue-collar in character and in the mid 1920s, only the elite residential suburb of Forest Hill and to an extent, Swansea were notably different. During the second quarter of the century, the working-class presence in the suburbs fell; by 1951, the city of Toronto was more blue collar (55 per cent) than the suburbs (40 per cent). The industrial satellite communities of Mimico, New Toronto and Long Branch, as well as the more residential suburbs of York and East York, remained mainly working-class. In contrast, Forest Hill, Swansea and Leaside became more socially exclusive with the residences of owners and managers, professionals and supervisors. By 1951, there were a new type of mixed suburban development evident in Etobicoke and North York. During the 1940s, many white-collar workers and professionals relocated to these areas and soon outnumbered the working-class residents.

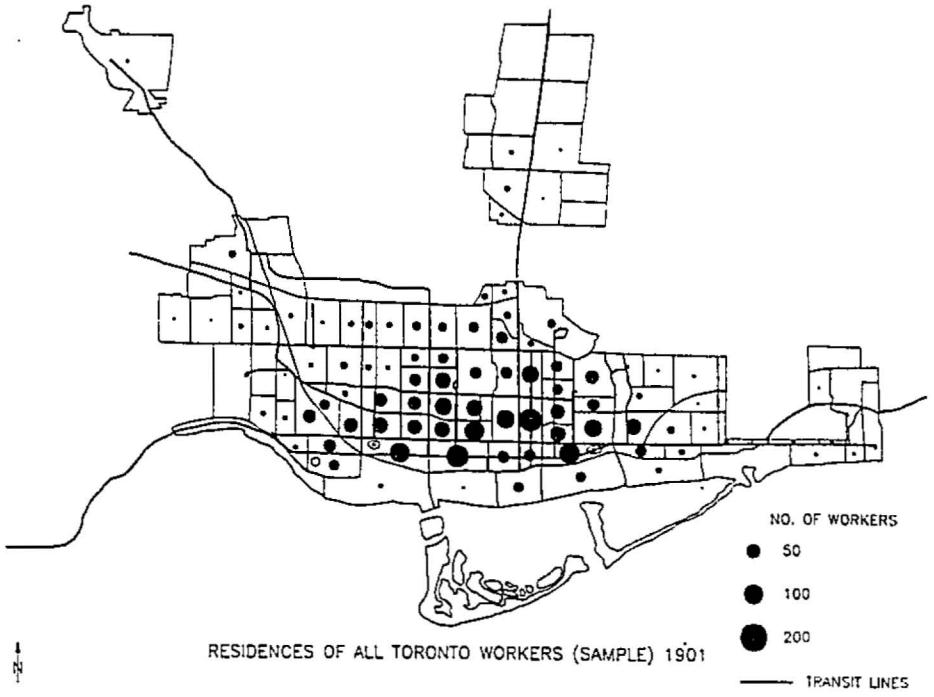
The geography of work in Toronto for the "B" sample of workers is more concentrated than the geography of residence though both decentralized during the first half of the twentieth century. In 1901, much of the residential locations were along the Queen Street axis, close to work and public transportation links. There was also a concentration of settlement visible in the Parkdale area. High numbers of workers lived in central areas, on the edge of the CBD between Spadina and Parliament Streets.

Moderate concentrations spread westwards from Bathurst to Dovercourt. Generally there was little settlement east of the Don River.

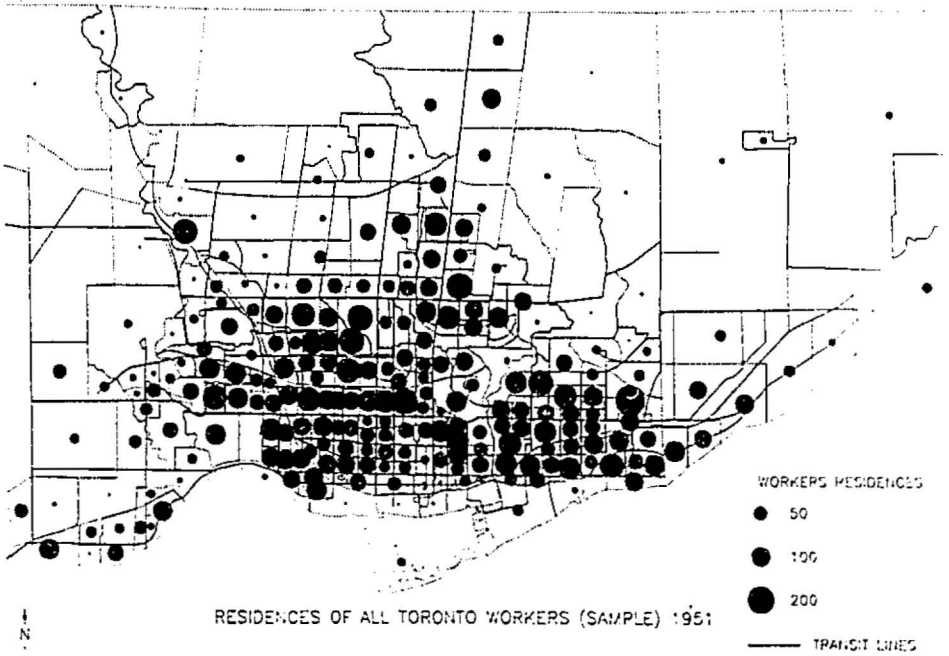
Suburban residential development was extremely limited in 1901. Only three workers were found in Weston, six in Mimico, three in East York and one in York Township. West Toronto Junction and North Toronto had slightly more workers (Figure 4.4). Workers at Eaton's had a similar pattern of residential distribution as the larger sample, with many workers living in the centre and pockets in East Toronto. Change was evident in the geography of homes by 1921. Tremendous growth took place in Toronto and new industry appeared in the 1916-1919 period in new locations such as Weston and New Toronto. By 1921, residences were increasingly concentrated along Bloor Street West, with fewer workers in the centre. There was also were settlement visible in East Toronto, near the edge of the city, as well as an increase in North Toronto, up Yonge street. There continued to be rather little outer, suburban development; although there was some in Scarborough and York Township as well as Weston. There were also workers residing in Mimico and New Toronto.

Male workers in 1931 appear to be slightly more suburban than the females in the sample with more in East York, Scarborough, Etobicoke, York Township and Leaside. By contrast, there were fewer women living around the junction, more in central areas and more in areas of Forest Hill (some as servants). Roughly similar numbers of men and women seem to have lived in East and West Toronto. By 1951, high numbers of workers were found living in Weston, York Township (particularly Wychwood) and East York. There were also increasing numbers living in North York (especially along the Yonge Street axis), Etobicoke and Scarborough as well as a number commuting in from Ajax, Pickering, Port Credit, etc. Male workers' residences appeared to be more suburban than women's. In 1951, residences were generally more suburban than the workplaces (Figure 4.4).

FIGURE 4.4: RESIDENCES OF ALL TORONTO WORKERS (SAMPLE) 1901 AND 1951



RESIDENCES OF ALL TORONTO WORKERS (SAMPLE) 1901



RESIDENCES OF ALL TORONTO WORKERS (SAMPLE) 1951

This was also true for my oral history contacts. Several people lived in the suburbs and commuted in to the heart of Toronto for work. Patrick moved out from a flat on Dewson to a suburban house in Willowdale in 1951. He purchased his first car then and used it to commute to the University of Toronto where he was a chemistry professor. This journey to work took 20 minutes in good weather but could take an hour in the snow. Milly also commuted in daily from Oakville to her clerical job at Abitibi Power and Paper on University Avenue in the early 1950s. She learned to drive, taking lessons from her husband. The trip took three-quarters of an hour in the 1950 Studebaker; there was not much traffic on the Queen Elizabeth Way then. Don also moved to the suburbs in 1952, relocating from an apartment on Glenlake Avenue in West Toronto to the western edge of Etobicoke near Brown's Line. The house cost $12,800 but was close to his work as instrument man for the Township of Etobicoke Public Works Department.

Don remembers clearly the development of suburban housing in Etobicoke in the late 1940s. He worked long hours, at least ten hours each day and also weekends, because of the suburban residential growth. Priorities of Etobicoke Township were to get the roads paved, and watermains and sewers installed as soon as possible. Muddy roads often had to be closed in the spring. He recalls that, in many instances, homes were built before the roads. Early Etobicoke residents, he said, were farmers and factory workers. The Kingsway was built with 100 feet width, as opposed to the standard 66 feet width and a streetcar was planned, but this did not happen. Don also recalls the difficulties of standardizing services when the lakeshore municipalities joined Etobicoke in the 1960s, New Toronto was much better off than the others, having received private money from industry.[7]

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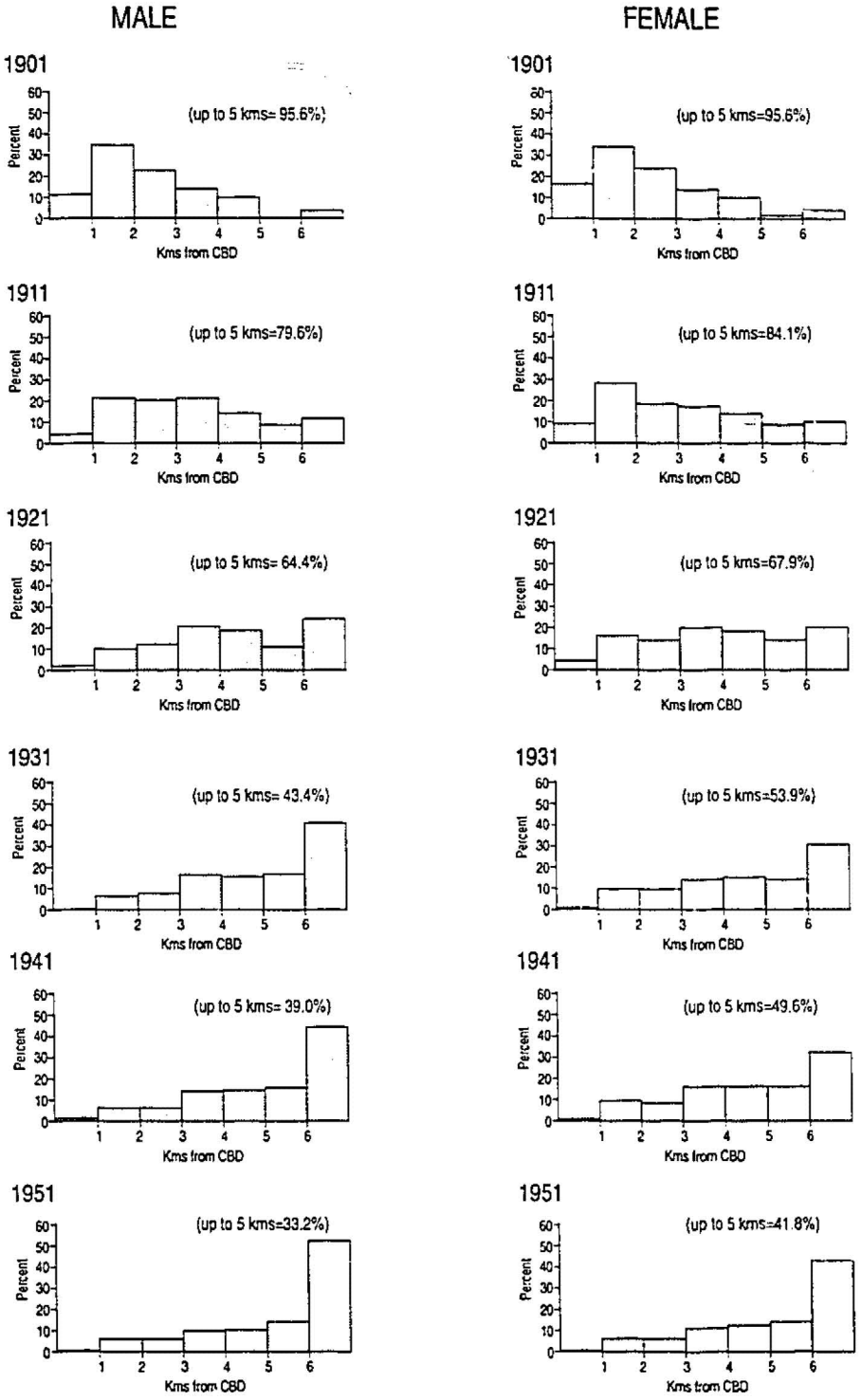
[7] Oral history interviews with Patrick, March 22, 1994, Waterloo; Milly, April 12, Oakville, Ontario; and Don, June 30, 1994.

Percentages of men and women in the sample who lived within 5 km of the CBD declined over the fifty-year period. Toronto workers' residences were less centralized than their workplaces anyway. Women tended to live within 5 km of the CBD more than men. In 1901, 96 per cent of both male and female workers in the sample lived within 5 km of the CBD (Figure 4.5). Yet by 1931, only 43 per cent of men lived in this zone, as opposed to 54 per cent of women. By 1951, only a third of the men lived within 5 km, as opposed to 42 per cent of women. Thus male residences were less centralized than women's. By 1941, about forty per cent of men resides more than 6 km from the CBD, which increased to over fifty per cent by 1951. Women's residences were also decentralizing: by 1951, over forty per cent of their dwellings were at least 6 km from the CBD.

There were interesting variations by occupation for male and female workers in Toronto. Histograms by occupation and gender reveal that about 95 per cent of workers in all occupations in the sample lived within 5 km of the Central Business District in 1901. Women consistently had higher percentages living within the 5-km zone, except for 1901, when male skilled, clerical, unskilled, foreman and managers were higher. Generally the percentages of both women and men living within 5 km of the CBD declined over time, as in the case of professionals, where the percentage of women declined from 97 per cent in 1901 to 71 per cent in 1921, 53 per cent in 1931 and 40 per cent by 1951, whereas men dropped from 94 per cent in 1901 to 69 per cent in 1921, 42 per cent in 1931 and 26 per cent by 1951. The greatest decline was often evident between 1921 and 1931. However, by 1951, some workers lived closer to the CBD than others. Male foremen and managers were the least likely to live near the CBD, only 23 and 26 per cent respectively doing so in 1951. In contrast, 48 per cent of female unskilled workers lived within the 5 km zone.

FIGURE 4.5: HISTOGRAMS - TORONTO RESIDENCES BY DISTANCE FROM CBD 1901-51



Thus women workers in Toronto were more highly concentrated in the CBD census tracts, about 50 per cent of workers in the period 1901-21, as opposed to only 41-31 per cent of men (Table 4.4). Men had more varied work locations than women, including Parkdale, West Toronto Junction and later the suburbs of York Township, Downsview, Leaside, etc. Women remained more concentrated downtown, with significant numbers working for government from 1931. Men were more suburban in their residential patterns even by 1911, but especially by 1931. They were concentrated in parts of East York and York townships.

Table 4.4: PERCENTAGES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN B SAMPLE WORKING IN THE CBD* 1901-51

	Men	Women
1901	41.9	51.7
1911	37.8	54.0
1921	31.8	48.6
1931	31.4	43.2
1941	19.9	31.6
1951	18.2	30.6

* CBD is defined as Census Tracts 73-76.

Database derived from: Mights City of Toronto Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1952.

4.6 Conclusion

The decentralization of jobs in Toronto appears to be slower than the suburbanization of residences in the early twentieth century. Patrick's experience illustrates this pattern. In 1951, he and his wife Mary suburbanized to Willowdale but his job as a chemistry professor at the University of Toronto remained centralized. He used the automobile most days to commute into work.[8] The decentralization of women's jobs was slower than that of men's, largely due to the nature of women's

[8] Oral history interview with Patrick and Mary, March 22, 1994 in Waterloo, Ontario.

work. Occupations in which women were dominant, including certain manufacturing sectors, clerical and professional work, were all concentrated in the downtown area. Most clothing and textile factories remained close to the CBD and office employment (banks, insurance, etc.) was overwhelmingly centralized even in 1951. The growth of new suburban schools, hospitals and banks had not yet occurred and the new manufacturing opportunities employed relatively few women. Thus men's and women's residential geography was more similar than their geography of employment. This meant that women's journey to work was increasing by the middle of the twentieth century, as the distance between home and work increased. For many men who had both homes and workplace in the suburbs, the journey to work may not have been as great as it had been.

Evidence drawn from the Toronto city directories presented a clear picture of changing journey-to-work patterns in the first half of this century. In particular, it is possible to document convincingly the local impact of industrial decentralization. As many observers have assumed or asserted, those who worked in or near the CBD travelled farthest to work, and over time their journeys to work grew longer. This was not consistently true for those employed in the suburbs. At first the decentralization of jobs reduced commuting distances, as many contemporaries hoped it would. For a decade or two, workers enjoyed (modest) suburban homes and lived very close to work. This was true whether the workplace in question was situated in an industrial suburb, a satellite town, or at a fairly isolated site. The effect was quite short-lived, however. In Toronto, at any rate, the tightening of suburban labour sheds began to reverse in the 1930s.

Even though the creation of new suburban jobs did encourage workers to move to the suburbs, it was by no means the only important factor. The directories show that many workers moved to the suburbs and yet kept jobs downtown. They were able

to do so because, around Toronto, housing possibilities were wide open. There was little to prevent workers from building cheap homes for themselves beyond city limits, at least until the 1920s, when some suburbs began to introduce, and then tighten, building regulations. The same was true in the Detroit area in the early 1940s. Evidently the markets for land and housing, as well for labour, had a significant impact upon trends in commuting.

5. THE GENDERED JOURNEY TO WORK 1901-1951

The journey to work is the most significant form of movement of people across the city every day. The journey to work means different things to individuals and social classes. It is time spent travelling, often by different means and at varying costs. For example, the wealthy could commute by private car early this century, while the less-skilled tended to walk to work. The journey to work can be considered in terms of the distance it took to get to work as well as the time. City directory data may be used to measure distances travelled, while oral histories add details on the time, mode and costs of getting to work. The journey to work is a complex reflection of many elements, including the development of residential property at one end and the construction of workplaces like offices and factories at the other. Distances travelled to work changed over time for workers in Toronto and there were also significant differences by gender and occupation.

Journey to work is a pattern of behaviour conditioned by many factors that distil into a personal or family decision made in the context of available transportation technologies and costs. The pattern of behaviour is made within two poles: the place of residence and the place of work. These two poles are built environments, built by capitalist design. The home pole then is affected by land developers and class-based suburban design. It also encompasses both old and new working class areas as well as middle class suburbs and apartments. People then choose their homes, often based on the proximity to work, but the local environment, ethnic associations, church and family connections are also significant. Affluence (or lack thereof) also greatly affects residential choice and mobility. Contemporary studies have examined how gentrification has affected the choice of residence. The poor have often been displaced by this

process. In her study of Montreal, Damaris Rose found that female-headed families are hardest hit by gentrification, as they are most dependent on inexpensive housing, access to jobs and community services. Yet many middle-class professional women want to live in gentrified inner-city areas to reduce their time-space constraints.

Toronto in the first decades of the twentieth century still exhibited some of the characteristics of the pedestrian city, in that some workers lived near their workplaces and must have walked to work. Some suburban residents walked downtown as late as the 1910s. The place of work tended to be quite centralized for many jobs in the early twentieth century, particularly for the new clerical occupations such as banking and insurance. In a compact city like Toronto with a well-organized public transport system, most people used the streetcar to get to work until the mid-twentieth century. For example, Mary took the Danforth streetcar from her home on Logan Avenue to her job as public health nurse in the Hillcrest district. The 5-km trip took about 20 minutes. She tended to travel at rush hour but was usually able to get a single seat on the right hand side of the car. She recalls the overpowering smell of garlic of fellow passengers who stood above her. "Fares were four tickets for a quarter in the late 1940s and she always felt safe using the streetcar." Other workers like Betsy needed to have access to more flexible transport. She worked for the Victorian Order of Nurses in York Township, and used the VON van to drive to her patients in the rich Forest Hill area as well as the middle-income Baby Point and the poorer areas near Weston and the stockyards. This job involved night work, because she was often on call from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. and driving around the township at night. In the 1940s, "home care was cheaper than hospitals and the VON charges were nominal."[1] Other workers in

[1] Oral history interviews with Mary, March 22, 1994 in Waterloo; Betsy, April 12, 1994 in Oakville, Ontario.

Toronto walked to work if they lived close enough, drove to work when they could afford a vehicle, and even used the ferry boat to commute from Centre Island.

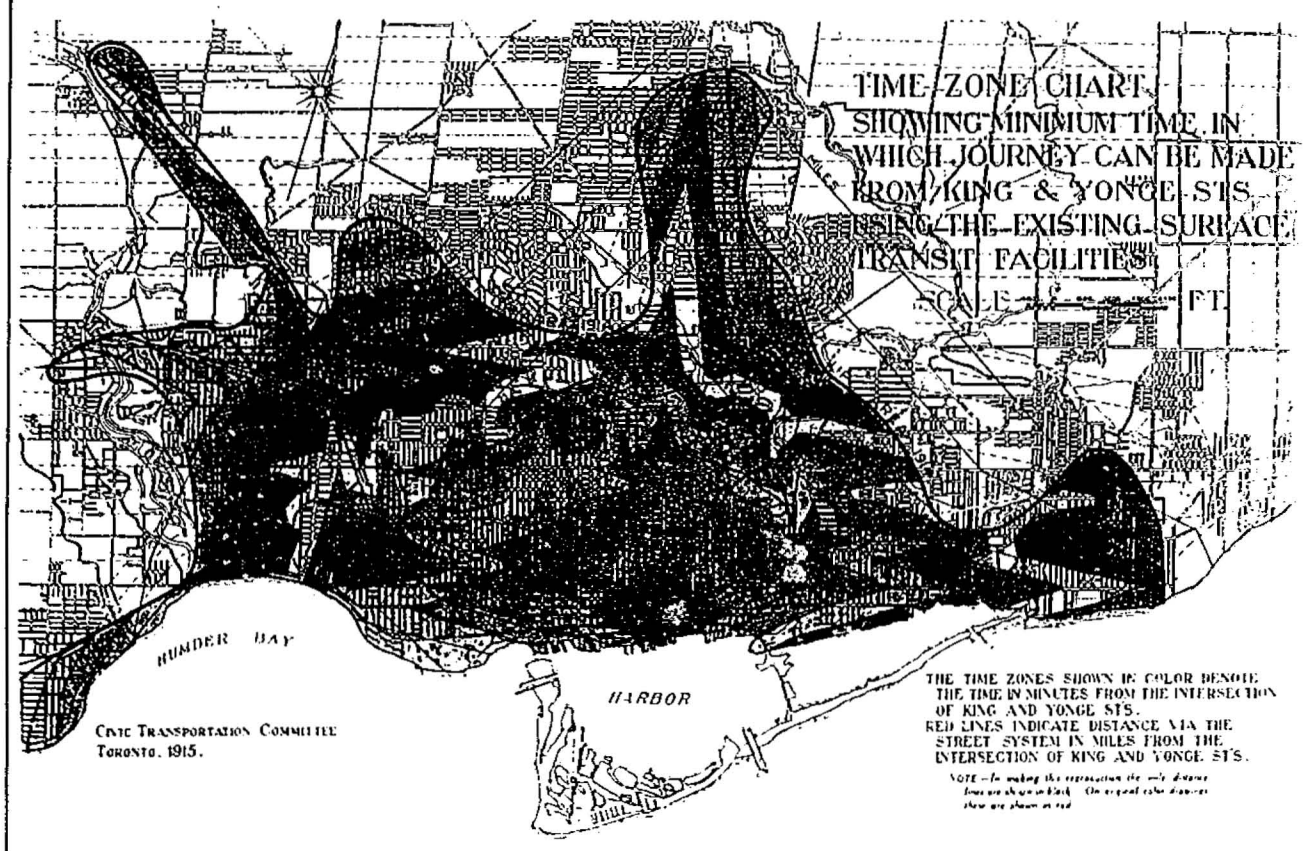
5.1 Distance and Time in the Journey to Work

In examining the journey to work, both the distance travelled and the time taken are important. To commuters, time and cost are the most important considerations. Distance provides a reasonable indication of time. Actual distances can be calculated but measuring the time taken requires recollection and special maps. In general, the mode of transportation influenced the time taken to travel to work. Walking one mile, for instance, would take about 20 minutes. In the early twentieth century in Toronto, many workers walked to work from the suburban edge to the downtown -- about 3-4 miles which would have taken about an hour. Certainly, many of those who lived and worked in the suburbs, such as Mount Dennis by the 1920s, walked to work.[2]

The time it took to travel by streetcar depended partly on the complexity of the route (the necessity of transfers) as well as the congestion. It was necessary before 1921, for example, to transfer from one streetcar company to another on some routes, entailing extra costs. Travelling at rush hour in the early morning or late afternoon, or in bad weather, would take longer than at other times of day. The Civic Transportation Committee produced a map for Toronto in 1915 that illustrates the time taken to travel from King and Yonge streets to the outer parts of the city. Most of the city, including East, West and North Toronto could be reached in 35 minutes, using the existing surface transit facilities. It took rather longer to New Toronto (55 minutes) and an hour to Weston (Figure 5.1). By the 1920s, after the formation of the TTC, Toronto had a good transit system which was well laid out to conform closely to the needs of the population. Toronto, as a compact city, had a very profitable streetcar

[2] Oral history interview with Harry, October 31, 1994, in Kitchener, Ontario.

FIGURE 5.1: JOURNEY TIME (IN MINUTES) BY PUBLIC TRANSIT, TORONTO 1915



The time zones are shown in 5-minute intervals to the outer limit of one hour in Weston.

Source: Harris, R.C. et. al., *Report of the Civic Transportation Committee on Radial Entrances and Rapid Transit for the City of Toronto.*

system with high ridership, numerous short hauls, a low peak at rush hour and the second highest urban density after Jersey City in North America (Davis, 1978). This reflected the policies of the Toronto Railway Company, which helped to create the compact, congested city that made mass transit work. During its operation of the streetcar between 1891 and 1921, the company refused to build new transportation routes beyond the city's 1891 boundaries. Its dedication to profit yielded high receipts per mile of track. Its refusal to extend the system helped to shape a city with high population densities city, which was good for mass transit. The company's policies tended to hold more employment in the inner city for low-income groups and slowed the flight of Toronto's middle-class and industrial plants to the suburbs. The City of Toronto had to create the Toronto Civic Railway in 1911 to service the new suburbs (Armstrong & Nelles 1982; Davis,1978; Doucet, 1982).

Travelling to work by car was also influenced by congestion and weather. Car ownership before the 1920s was limited to the well-off. By the 1930s, many middle-class families had cars and even ordinary workers had secondhand vehicles. Older people, remembering their journeys to work in Toronto, recall that a severe snowfall and rush hour traffic could lengthen their journeys considerably. Patrick recalled travelling from the University of Toronto to suburban Willowdale in 1951, a journey which took 20 minutes in good weather and an hour in the snow. Brad commuted a distance of 12 miles from his home in Etobicoke to his job at National Sea Products on Fleet Street. In good weather, the journey took about 20 minutes but an hour and a half in winter rush hour traffic.[3]

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[3] Oral history interviews with Patrick, March 22, 1994 in Kitchener; Brad, July 6, 1994 in Cobourg, Ontario.

5.2 Changing Distances Travelled to Work

The median journey-to-work distance increased for the B sample of Toronto workers between 1901 and 1951, from 1.6 to 4.6 km (Table 5.1). It increased particularly between 1911 and 1921, from 1.7 to 3.1 km, and between 1941 and 1951, from 3.9 to 4.6 km. These were both decades of rapid growth and change for Toronto.

Table 5.1: MEDIAN DISTANCES FOR TORONTO WORKERS 1901-51 (in Km)

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Median All Workers	1.6	1.7	3.1	3.3	3.9	4.6

SOURCE: Database derived from Might's Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1952 (B Sample).

Table 5.2: MEDIAN DISTANCES FOR TORONTO WORKERS 1901-51 (in Km) BY OCCUPATION

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Skilled & semi-Skilled	1.7	1.1	2.7	3.1	3.8	4.6
Self-Employed	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
Clerical	2.0	2.5	3.9	4.4	4.5	5.1
Unskilled	1.6	1.8	2.9	2.6	3.5	3.9
Supervisory	2.0	2.0	3.8	4.2	4.6	5.3
Management	1.4	2.5	3.4	3.3	3.9	4.7
Professionals	1.1	0.8	2.0	2.2	3.6	4.6

SOURCE: Database derived from Might's Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1952 (B Sample).

Workers in Toronto had different lengths of journey to work (JTW) depending on their occupation (Table 5.2). The literature suggests that managers and white-collar workers travelled farther than the skilled and unskilled workers (Ericksen and Yancey 1979; Greenberg 1980; Hershberg 1981). Other researchers have found that the middle-class used the street railway in the late nineteenth century to get to work from the suburbs, whereas blue-collar workers lived close to their places of employment and tended to relocate if they got new jobs. The lowest paid employees (especially unskilled workers) also tended to live closer to jobs, as they had less choice of residential location.

Self-employed workers in Toronto had the shortest journeys to work; the median was often zero in their case, because they their workplaces were at home. Professionals usually had the second shortest median JTW: between 1901 and 1921, their median distances were 1.1, 0.8 and then 2 km. This may have reflected the presence of desirable housing quite close to the downtown. By 1951, their median was more consistent with other occupations at 4.6 km. Ken, who worked for the Prudential Insurance Company of America in the 1950s, drove daily from Sunnyside to the CBD. In the green Ford Coupe he bought in 1950, it took 20 minutes to drive to work, then 10 minutes to walk from the parking lot.[4]

Unskilled labourers' median JTW was the second shortest, of all major occupational groups during the period 1901-1951. While their median distance increased from 1.6 km in 1901 to 3.9 km in 1951, they had the second shortest JTW in the last two cross-sectional years. For example in Toronto, Anne worked in a stockroom of Canadian Laboratory Supplies and her distance to work was a 10-minute walk in the early 1950s. The unskilled tended to have seasonal or day labour which meant low, irregular wages. Their very short journeys to work could be explained by their lack of income to spend on travel. Skilled and semi-skilled workers had results closest to the average for all Toronto workers. Their median JTW increased from 1.7 km in 1901 to 3.1 in 1931, 3.8 in 1941 and 4.6 in 1951. John used the Queen Street streetcar to get from his home in East Toronto to Eatons on College street in the late 1940s. This journey took between one-half and three-quarters of an hour each way. His family was very poor, as their father had died the previous year, so all five children had to go out to work. John earned $18 per week in his job as furniture finisher.[5]

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[4] Oral history interview with Ken, April 19, 1994 in Oakville, Ontario.

[5] Oral history interviews with Anne, July 6, 1994 in Cobourg, Ontario; and John, June 30, 1994.

Clerical workers had the longest median JTW in Toronto between 1901 and 1931. Their median in 1901 was 2.0 compared with a median for all workers of 1.6; 3.9 vs Toronto median of 3.1 in 1921 and 4.4 vs Toronto median of 3.3 in 1931. Clerical workers' JTW increased steadily from 2 km in 1901 to 5.1 km by 1951. Clerical workers tended to be young people, living at home. Frank lived at home during the Depression and commuted from West Toronto, where he lived with his mother and grandmother, to his job as a clerk in the claims departments of various insurance companies. The journey to the Central Business District took about half an hour, a distance of about 6 km. He remembers his starting salary was $7 per week in 1930.[6] Supervisory workers (such as foremen and women) had the longest median JTW in 1941 and 1951. Their median distance increased from 2 km in 1901 to 5.3 km by 1951.

Proprietors and managers' median JTW increased from 1.4 km to 4.7 over the period examined. An increase in their median distance travelled was particularly noticeable between 1901 and 1911, from 1.4 to 2.5 km. This may reflect greater numbers residing in areas of North Toronto. Brad, a stock manager at Imperial Optical (at Spadina and Wellington) during World War II, lived close by and walked to work. He was in charge of 15 people. He recalls that the factory produced gas masks, aviator goggles, sunglasses and asbestos suits and that two-thirds of the assembly workers were women during the war.[7] Thus the median distances travelled by major occupational groups increased over time, though at markedly different rates for self-employed as opposed to supervisory workers.

Median distance of the journey to work was also calculated by household status in Toronto for the period from 1901 to 1921. Household status helps to explain

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[6] Oral history interview with Frank, September 29, 1994.

[7] Oral history interview with Brad, July 6, 1994 in Cobourg, Ontario.

occupational and gender differences. Until 1929, Might's City of Toronto Directories categorized workers as to their household status. There were four types of residents listed in city directories: household head (h), boarder (b), roomer (rms) and lives (l) (the latter indicating a secondary resident at that dwelling, for example a son or daughter). The median JTW distance for those living at home was markedly higher at 1.7 km than for the other types. Those living at home continued to have a higher median JTW than the other types in 1911 and 1921, with 2.1 and 3.4 km. Household heads and roomers consistently lived closest to their place of employment (medians of 2.5 and 2.3 km in 1921), while the distance travelled by boarders increased markedly from 1.4 to 3.2 km over the twenty years (Table 5.3). This finding is consistent with the idea argued in recent years by some scholars, that families were locating closest to the principal breadwinner's job (usually the father) and secondary workers (such as sons, daughters and wives) had a longer journey to work.

Table 5.3: MEDIAN DISTANCES FOR TORONTO WORKERS 1901-21 (in Km) BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE

	1901	1911	1921
Boarders	1.4	1.6	3.2
Household Heads	1.3	0.9	2.5
Secondary residents (Lives)	1.7	2.1	3.4
Roomers	1.2	1.1	2.3

SOURCE: Database derived from Might's Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1952 (B Sample).

In 1901 and 1911, there were slightly more boarders than roomers in the sample; by 1921, this pattern had been reversed. For purposes of comparison, the two were combined. Like the strong correlation between occupation and gender, there was a similarly close relationship between occupation and household status. Heads of households were most likely to be either self-employed or in managerial or supervisory capacities. This relationship declined slightly by 1921, with higher proportions of

skilled/semi-skilled and unskilled workers as household heads. Secondary workers, who "lived" at a residence, were more likely to be clerical workers, professionals or members of the skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled workforce, although this declined over time. In 1900, roomers and boarders were most likely unskilled, clerical or skilled/semi-skilled workers. By 1921, although these were still the highest, there were more supervisory/professional roomers/boarders. Thus men were more likely to be heads of households and in managerial/supervisory occupations than women who tended to be secondary residents or boarders and in clerical jobs.

Methods of getting to work in Toronto changed from the early to the middle years of the twentieth century and the distance that workers commuted increased. The experience of Henry, who worked in Toronto for 30 years between 1920 and 1951, best illustrates this. In the 1920s, he lived close to his place of work and walked. He was living in Mount Dennis and walking to his job as a camera repairer at Kodak in 1924/5 and then to the new de Havilland factory in 1928/9. Earlier he was living and working on farms around Toronto. When de Havilland decentralized to a new plant on Sheppard Avenue in Downsview in late 1929, about 25 Mount Dennis residents chartered a bus to get to work. Like other young men by the 1930s, Henry bought a secondhand car of his own (first a Durant Coupe, later a 1928 Chev) and used it to commute to work. He continued to use a car to get to work, even during World War Two, when gas was rationed and supplies of tires and automotive parts were scarce. It took 15-20 minutes to commute from his home in Weston (he relocated there at the beginning of the war) to National Steel Car in Malton, where he was responsible for quality control on Lysanders and also used the automobile to get to the Massey-Harris factory in Weston from 1940 to 1945. During the postwar years, in his job as plant superintendent at de Havilland, a car was crucial to get from Weston to Downsview.[8]

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[8] Oral history interview with Henry, October 31, 1994, in Kitchener, Ontario.

5.3 Contrasting Labour Sheds

The length of the journey to work differed by industry group. Office workers in the downtown, often had long distances to travel, whereas factory workers employed in the suburbs lived close by. However among manufacturers, different patterns were evident. Labour sheds were examined for a selection of notable employers in Toronto; some of which had quite concentrated workforces; others were dispersed across the city. Large companies such as Massey Harris in 1951 and John Inglis in 1941 (Figure 5.2) drew their employees from all over the city. The size of the company appears to affect its labour shed, in that larger companies drew their workforces from all over the city. This was true also for suburban employers: the larger companies there did not have their workers concentrated in one zone.

Inglis established its business in Toronto in 1881. For 108 years, the factory operated almost continuously on Strachan Avenue, close to central Toronto. The founder, John Inglis, was a metalworker, skilled patternmaker and a travelling metal craftsman, who opened his own shop in Guelph in 1859. Having outgrown its premises by 1881, company relocated to Toronto, where it employed 80 men, about twice the size of the Guelph operation (Sobel & Meurer 1994). A new structure was erected in 1885. From 1938 to 1945, the factory produced Bren guns, heavy automatic weapons. Women worked primarily in the assembly of guns, while the Commercial Division and the machine shop were still male-dominated. The former had 43 women and 1,101 men in March 1943 (Sobel & Meurer 1994). Women had not worked at Inglis during World War I. They were employed for war work in the 1940s in specific departments, but they never did "male" jobs. The company between 1940 and 1942 deliberately hired female workers as they could be paid at an average of $20 per week, compared to $32 for men. By 1942 however, male labour shortages were the major impetus in employing women. Peak employment levels were reached in 1943 with ratios of

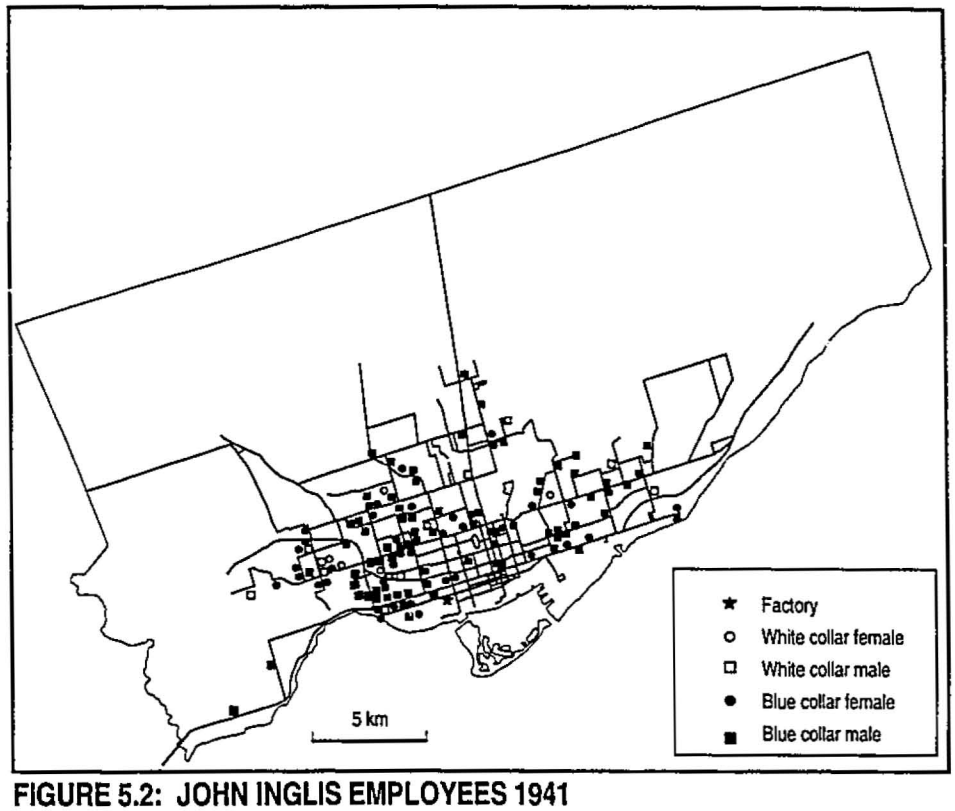

FIGURE 5.2: JOHN INGLIS EMPLOYEES 1941

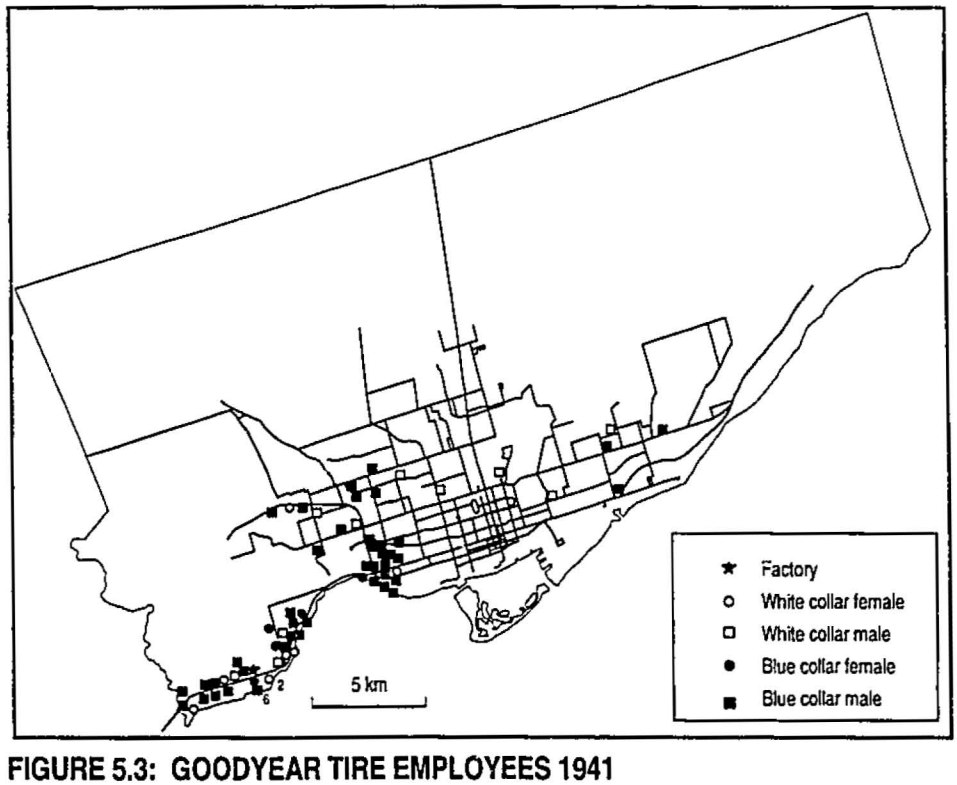

FIGURE 5.3: GOODYEAR TIRE EMPLOYEES 1941

approximately 30 women for every male worker, mothers, wives and daughters all being taken on. Yet women were only four per cent of the total in the Commercial Division, where skilled craftsmen made marine boilers and steam turbines. The company set up new departments for personnel, cafeterias and nutritionists. Inglis was the largest war production plant in Canada during World War Two and also the single largest employer of women. It established the John Inglis Girls' Recreation Club in Parkdale in late 1942 to offer dances, socials, theatre, library and lessons in dance and swimming. During 1944/45, women were encouraged to make way for men returning from the war and go back to being housewives. The ordnance division was renamed Consumer Products, symbolizing the postwar shift in manufacturing, and the workforce contracted to 1500 from a peak of 17,000 by 1946 (Sobel & Meurer 1994, 105). English Electric took control of the company in 1950 and moved many of the large steam turbine and defense-related contracts to their Scarborough factory on Eglinton Avenue, which left the Strachan Avenue plant less diversified.

The labour shed for Goodyear Tire in New Toronto in 1941 (Figure 5.3), illustrates more clustering of employees in areas adjacent to the factory. Many of the blue-collar workers, particularly, lived close to their workplace. This company probably did not have as dispersed a workforce as they were a smaller employers and were located in areas with less transportation access. Goodyear Tire was located in an industrial suburb, some distance from the city.

Goodyear Tire came to Canada in 1910, locating first on a site in Bowmanville. In 1917, a new plant was built in New Toronto and tires were made there for 70 years, until the plant closed and relocated to Napanee, Ontario in 1987/8 (Palmer 1994). The Goodyear plant was a major part of New Toronto which at one time was reputed to have "the highest value of manufacturing per square mile in North America" (Palmer 1994, 75). The multi-storey factory was erected on a 23-acre site with access to

unlimited water supplies and was described as "the most modern tire factory in the world." The floor space expanded five times, eventually reaching 1.4 million square feet. In 1922, 1,500 workers were employed, rising to a peak of 1,900 jobs in the 1980s. The plant's original daily capacity of 200 tires soared to 10,500 during World War Two.

The major biscuit manufacturer, Christie Brown and Company, in contrast to Goodyear, drew its workforce from all over the city. The company, which relocated from a central waterfront location in 1941 to Etobicoke by 1951, had workers living in west Toronto and east Toronto with many employees still clustered by the old factory site in 1951 (Figures 5.4 and 5.5).

In 1941, a new suburban aircraft factory, de Havilland in Downsview, was drawing its workforce from as far away as Scarborough, East York and New Toronto. By 1951, de Havilland employees were generally living in more central locations, whereas A.V. Roe employees were overwhelmingly concentrated in the western sector, especially in the Junction and Weston (Figures 5.6 and 5.7).

Journey-to-work patterns varied significantly among different manufacturing businesses, as well as those working in the financial/insurance sector or in retailing. An analysis of blue- and white-collar workers at Eaton's in chapter 6 will illustrate the different commuting patterns by class and gender.

5.4 Journey to Work and Gender

Men and women have had different experiences of the city, partly based on their access to transportation and their journeys to work. Men tended to get cars earlier than women. They typically drove to work more than women (who relied more on public transportation) in the mid-twentieth century. Men also got cars when they were younger, in their twenties, whereas women who bought cars tended to be in their thirties and unmarried. For example, Harold lived in Lakeview and commuted by car or motorcycle (in good weather) to jobs in Toronto in the early 1940s. It took three-

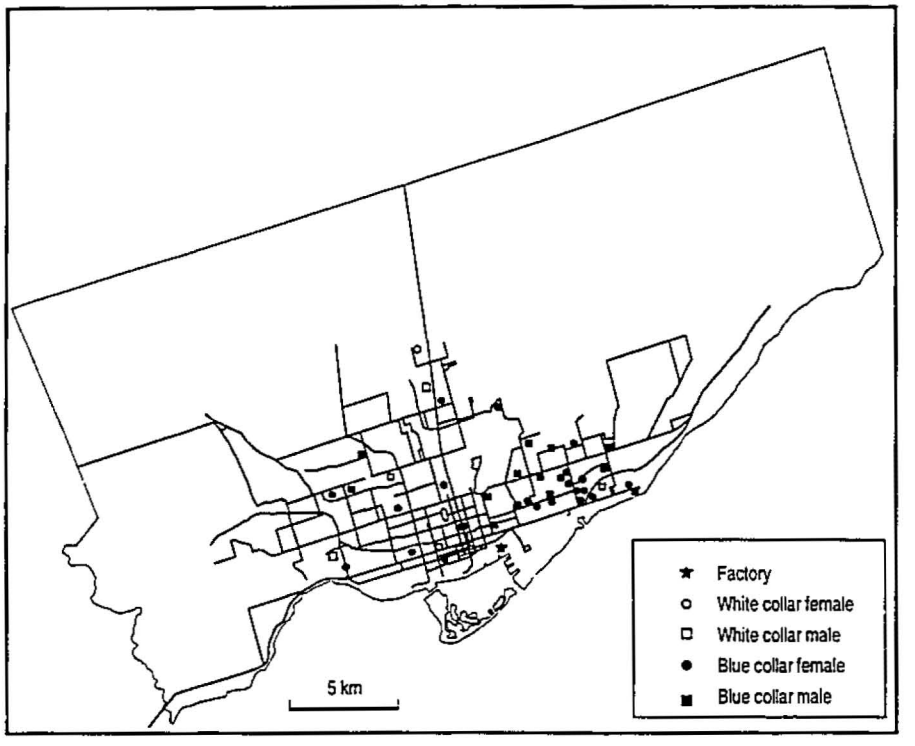

FIGURE 5.4: CHRISTIE BROWN EMPLOYEES 1941

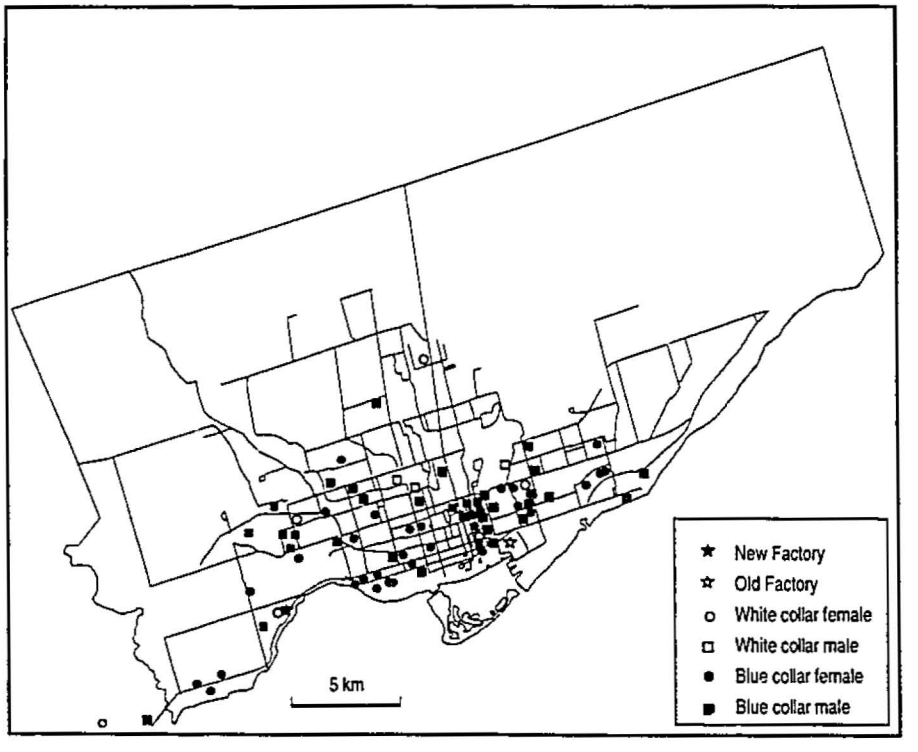

FIGURE 5.5: CHRISTIE BROWN EMPLOYEES 1951

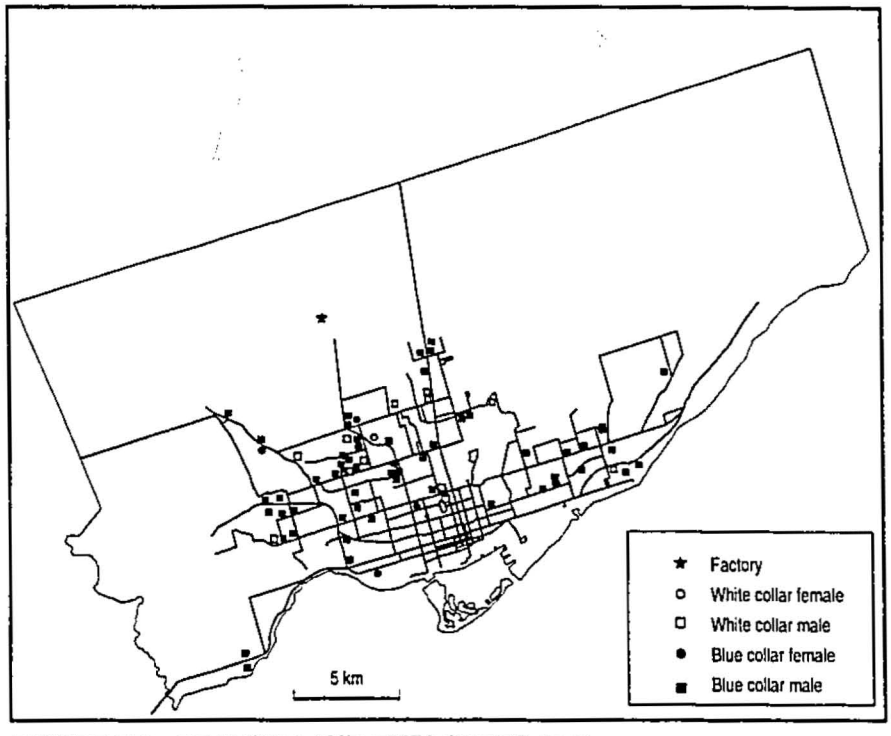

FIGURE 5.6: DE HAVILLAND EMPLOYEES 1941

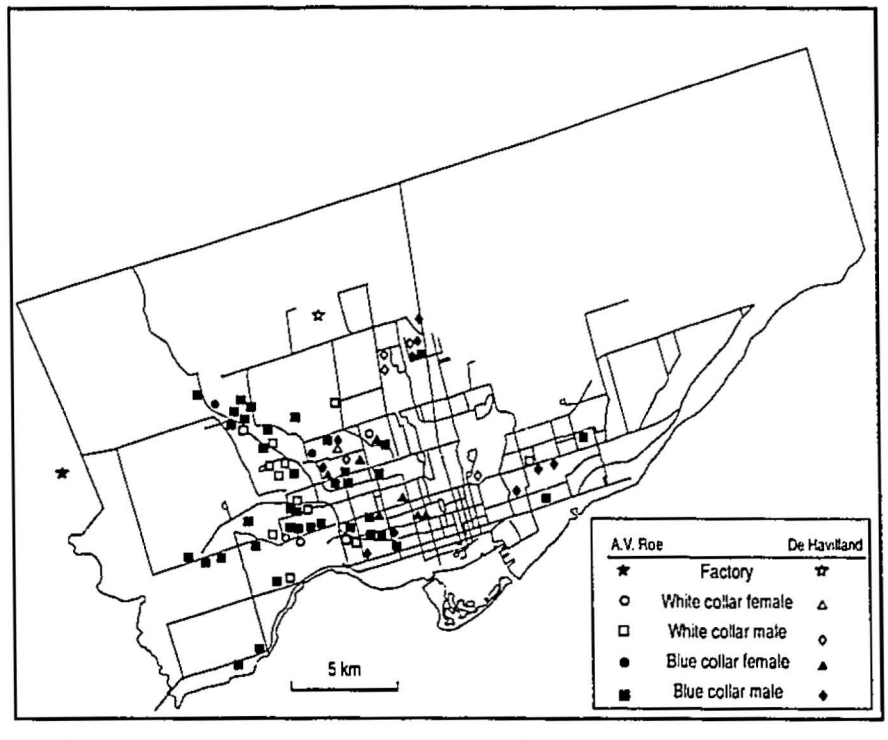

FIGURE 5.7: DE HAVILLAND AND A.V. ROE EMPLOYEES 1951

quarters of an hour to travel from his home to his job at Research Enterprises in Leaside during World War Two. "Driving through the city was not very busy compared to today but it did seem busy," he recalls in 1994. By contrast Kate, working at de Havilland in Downsview, had to depend on family members and fellow workers to get to work, until she got her driver's license and purchased a secondhand 1947 Morris Minor in 1948. Then she was able to chauffeur her father, a janitor also working at de Havilland, from their home in North Toronto.[9]

Since the Second World War, increasing numbers of women have sought and found work outside the home. Over the last decade, scholars have examined this trend and today we know a great deal about the gendered nature of urban labour markets and different journey-to-work patterns for men and women. Women tend to travel shorter distances to work than men, principally owing to their lower incomes, greater reliance on public transit and heavier domestic responsibilities. Women raising young children are particularly constrained (Hanson and Hanson 1980; Madden 1981; Hanson & Johnston 1985; Pratt and Hanson 1991).

For 1901, 1911, 1931, 1941 and 1951, as expected, men had longer journeys to work than women. However, women had slightly longer journeys than men in 1921, 3.3 vs 2.9 km (Table 5.4). This unusual situation seems to have reflected a combination of circumstances -- differences in occupational composition, coupled with earlier decentralization of male employment. Women tended to be working downtown in factory or office jobs, while men were increasingly working in more peripheral locations. Both men's and women's residences were decentralizing, so in 1921, many women were commuting longer distances to the CBD than the men had to travel. Yet, when calculating mean distances, and weighting women's results to the proportions found in

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[9] Oral history interviews with Harold, September 15, 1994; and Kate, October 5, 1994.

the census, then women's distances decline and are shorter than men's in all years. This is due to the over-representation of single women in the sample; they travelled much farther than the mean for all women. Thus a weighted-average female calculation shortens the distance for all women. An unweighted calculation is useful in illustrating the differences among women - especially for unmarried girls.

Table 5.4: MEDIAN DISTANCES FOR MALE AND FEMALE TORONTO WORKERS 1901-51 (in Km)

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
All Workers Median	1.6	1.7	3.1	3.3	3.9	4.6
Female Workers Median	1.4	1.7	3.3	3.2	3.8	4.3
Male Workers Median	1.7	1.7	2.9	3.4	4.0	4.8
AVERAGE DISTANCES FOR TORONTO WORKERS (in km)						
Women	1.7	2.1	3.6	3.4	4.1	4.8
Men	2.0	2.2	3.2	3.6	4.5	5.3
Married Women	0.6	1.3	2.5	2.8	3.9	5.0
Single Women	1.8	2.2	3.7	3.5	4.2	4.7
Widows	0.7	1.6	2.8	2.7	3.3	4.1
Weighted Female Average -		1.7	3.1	3.0	3.7	4.7

Calculated from: Might's City of Toronto Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1952.

Differences in the occupational composition of male and female workers are linked to some of their variations in JTW distances. Generally men travelled farther than women but there were exceptions. In 1901, while men travelled farther to work than women in all major occupational groups, male supervisors had a significantly higher median distance than their female counterparts. In 1911, women travelled farther to work than men in the skilled and semi-skilled, and unskilled occupations, whereas men travelled farther than women in supervisory and management jobs as well as the professions (Table 5.5). In 1921, women travelled significantly farther than men in the skilled and semi-skilled, clerical jobs and in the unskilled category. Men continued to have higher median distances as supervisors and managers. Again in

1931, skilled and semi-skilled women travelled farther to work than men. However male unskilled workers were travelling significantly longer median distances to work.

In 1941, female self-employed workers were travelling longer median distances to work than men. Men had a longer median JTW than women in the skilled and semi-skilled workforce and continued to travel much longer distances as managers and in the professions. In 1951, men travelled farther to work than women in all categories. There were more women in the clerical and professional sectors than men. The sample also had many more men than women as managers, supervisors and skilled/semi-skilled workers.

Table 5.5: MEDIAN DISTANCES FOR MALE AND FEMALE TORONTO WORKERS 1901-51 (in Km) BY OCCUPATION

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Skilled/semi-skilled						
Male	1.7	1.0	2.5	3.0	4.1	4.9
Female	1.7	1.3	3.0	3.3	3.4	4.0
Self-employed						
Male	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0
Female	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0
Clerical						
Male	2.1	2.6	3.8	4.6	4.5	5.6
Female	1.9	2.3	4.0	4.3	4.5	4.9
Unskilled						
Male	1.9	1.6	2.7	3.5	3.5	4.3
Female	1.6	2.0	3.0	1.6	3.4	3.5
Supervisory						
Male	2.3	2.9	3.9	4.6	4.8	5.6
Female	1.4	1.6	3.6	3.2	4.6	4.6
Management						
Male	1.5	2.5	3.6	4.0	4.3	5.1
Female	1.3	1.9	1.7	1.3	1.6	3.6
Professionals						
Male	1.1	1.6	2.8	3.6	4.7	5.5
Female	1.0	0.0	1.8	1.3	2.7	3.6

Calculated from: Might's City of Toronto Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1952.

5.5 Journey to Work and Household Status

Part of the gender variation in JTW can be explained by differences in household status. Employed men and women occupied different roles within the typical household. Men in the sample were most likely to be household heads and also self-employed, managers or supervisors. The proportion of skilled, professional and unskilled male household heads also increased by 1921. Men "living" at home (sons/subsidiary male breadwinners) were most likely to be clerical workers and the few who boarded/roomed were mostly skilled/semi-skilled workers. The few women who were heads of households (often widows or single teachers) tended to be self-employed, often combining home and work, perhaps by running a grocery store or in professional occupations, such as nursing. Women dominated the "living" category which included many professional and clerical as well as skilled workers as well as the relatively few female managers and supervisors. Women boarders and roomers were most often either clerical or unskilled workers, although female skilled/semi-skilled workers who boarded had increased by 1921. A substantial proportion of the women examined in the directories for 1901 to 1921 were listed as rooming and boarding. In 1901, the proportion of women workers who boarded and roomed was 18 per cent, which had increased to 27 per cent in 1911. The greatest proportion of women in the sample, over one third in each year, lived in a house with a male household head, either as wives or dependents.

Differences in household situations help to explain the varied commuting experience of men and women. Household heads, most often male, lived closer to work than other members of the family, except roomers (Table 5.6). This suggests that a family located close to the major breadwinner's workplace and other family members commuted longer distances to find work. This seemed to be particularly true for unmarried daughters in 1921, who were commuting long distances to work, farther than

their brothers or other male relatives. This is illustrated in Peggy's experience. Her family lived on Dovercourt in Toronto, closer to her father's place of work, a wholesale Auto Parts store in the downtown area, to which he took a short trip by streetcar. Her own workplace, the Forest Hill School Board, meant a complex JTW for her. She had to combine trips on trolley bus, bus, streetcar and another bus to get to work. The entire journey took about an hour given the infrequent bus connections. In 1948, she joined a car pool to get to work, which allowed greater convenience and flexibility and took less time.[10] Other writers, such as Liepman (1944) have noted a similar trend, with unmarried daughters travelling long distances to work from West Yorkshire mining villages (where their fathers were employed) to the textile and clothing industries in Leeds. In Toronto, female roomers travelled farther than their male counterparts in all years.

Table 5.6: MEDIAN DISTANCES FOR MALE AND FEMALE TORONTO WORKERS 1901-1921, IN KM BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE

	1901	1911	1921
Boarders			
Male	1.5	1.8	3.0
Female	1.4	1.5	3.2
Household Heads			
Male	1.6	1.1	2.7
Female	0.0	0.0	1.7
Secondary Residents ("lives")			
Male	1.8	1.9	3.0
Female	1.7	2.1	3.6
Roomers			
Male	1.1	1.6	2.1
Female	1.3	1.1	2.4

Calculated from: Might's City of Toronto Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1952.

[10] Oral history interview with Peggy, April 19, 1994 in Oakville, Ontario.

5.6 Journey to Work and Women's Marital Status

Most women who worked in Toronto in the mid-twentieth century were single. Many worked until marriage although, during the 1940s and 1950s, more women worked after marriage until they were expecting their first child. For example, Peggy who worked as secretary to the Director of Education in Forest Hill, married in 1951, relocated to suburban Oakville and continued working there until she became pregnant three years later. Some women were forced to re-enter the workforce after the death of their spouse. After her husband died of multiple sclerosis in 1943, Anne moved to Toronto "to support self; there were no jobs in Cobourg." She worked at Canadian Laboratory Supplies on Grenville Street in the stockroom, assembling orders and handling lab equipment and chemicals. The job did not pay well, was hard and frequently involved overtime.[11]

Table 5.7: WOMEN BY MARITAL STATUS 1901-1951 (B SAMPLE)

	Single	Married	Widowed
1901	89.5%	7.0%	3.4%
1911	92.0%	6.7%	1.1%
1921	93.3%	5.3%	1.2%
1931	92.0%	6.6%	1.1%
1941	90.5%	8.3%	1.1%
1951	79.8%	17.2%	2.8%

SOURCE: Calculated from Might's City of Toronto Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1952.

According to the city directory sample, single women predominated in Toronto's female workforce. From 1901 to 1941, they represented about 90 per cent of women in the "B" sample. Married women accounted for between five and eight per cent of female workers during this period, while widows generally accounted for one per cent

[11] Oral history interviews with Peggy, April 19, 1994 in Oakville; Anne, July 6, 1994, in Cobourg, Ontario.

(Table 5.7). An exception to this was 1901, when widows represented a higher proportion at 3.4 per cent. In 1951, the proportion of single women in the sample workforce had declined to about 80 per cent and married women now accounted for 17 per cent and widows three per cent.

Table 5.8: PERCENTAGES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN TORONTO BY MARITAL STATUS, 1911-1951

	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Other
1911					
Men	57.6	39.8	2.0	0.01	0.3
Women	55.3	37.0	7.0	0.01	0.3
1921					
Men	53.4	43.8	2.4	0.07	0.1
Women	52.2	39.9	7.6	0.1	0.1
1931					
Men	51.6	45.4	2.6	0.07	0.2
Women	50.5	41.2	8.0	0.1	0.03
1941					
Men	47.3	48.6	2.8	0.2	1.0
Women	45.3	44.5	8.3	0.3	1.4
1951					
Men	44.0	52.2	3.2	0.3	0.0
Women	40.1	48.5	10.5	0.7	0.0

SOURCE: 1911 Census of Canada, Vol.1 Areas and Population, Table 2 Conjugal Condition of the People; 1921 Census of Canada, Vol. 2 Population, Table 33 Conjugal Condition of the total Population by Nativity and Sex in Cities and Towns of 5000+; 1931 Census of Canada, Vol. Ages of the People, Table 15 Conjugal Condition of the Population 15 years+ for Cities of 30,000+; 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. 3 Ages of the Population, Table 9 Population 15 years+ by Conjugal Condition for Metropolitan Areas; 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. 2 Population, Table 3 Population 15 years+ by Marital Status for Cities of 30,000+.

Table 5.8 classifies Toronto men and women by marital status as reported in the decennial Census of Canada from 1911 to 1951. The percentages of single men and women in Toronto declined consistently over four decades according to the census. Single men comprised 57.6 per cent in 1911 but only 44 per cent by 1951, while single women formed 55.3 per cent and 40.1 by 1951. Percentages of married men and women in contrast increased over this period. The proportion of married men rose

from 39.8 per cent in 1911 to 52.2 per cent in 1951, while married women increased their share from 37 per cent in 1911 to 48.5 per cent by 1951. Nineteen-forty-one was the first year when the percentages of both married men and women exceeded those of single people in Toronto. Percentages of men who were widowers in Toronto remained fairly constant during this period, rising from 2 per cent to 3.2 per cent over the 40-year period. The percentage of widowed women in Toronto was much higher, rising from 7 per cent in 1911 to 10.3 per cent in 1951. The percentage of divorced men and women in Toronto was negligible in all the years examined, less than one per cent.

Table 5.9: MEDIAN DISTANCES FOR TORONTO FEMALE WORKERS 1901-51 (in km) BY MARITAL STATUS

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Married Women	0.0	0.8	1.6	2.0	3.6	4.3
Single Women	1.6	1.7	3.4	3.3	3.9	4.3
Widows	0.0	0.5	3.0	2.8	2.4	3.9

Source: Calculated from Might's City of Toronto Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942 and 1952.

Yet in the Toronto workforce, single women predominated. The marital status of women can be inferred from the city directories, as married women are called "Mrs", widows are "Widow" (with husband's first name in brackets), and in the early years single women are listed as "Miss", although later they are found with no prefix. In the period 1901-1941, single women represent over 90 per cent of the female sample, married women about seven per cent and widows 1.1 per cent. The median commuting distances differed somewhat by marital status (Table 5.9). Widows had the lowest median distance in 1901, 1911, 1941 and 1951, whereas married women were the lowest in 1921 and 1931. Both married women and widows had very short distances to work in 1901 and 1911, suggesting that many were combining home and work, such as

keeping grocery stores. Single women had the longest median journeys to work in all years. The figures increased from 1.6 km in 1901 to 3.9 km in 1941. By 1951, the median was 4.3 km, the same as for married women. Married women might have a longer median JTW in 1951, as they were more suburban and were having to travel longer distances to places of employment.

Married women had the highest percentage of workers living within 5 km of their employment, 91.8 per cent in 1911 as opposed to 86.3 per cent for widows and 83.5 per cent for single women. Married women also were highest in 1931 with 58.4 per cent living within 5 km of their work; compared to 53.6 per cent of single women and 50 per cent of widows. Thus a higher percentage of married women and widows lived within five kilometres of the CBD than single women. This was particularly evident in 1941 when 57 per cent of married women and 55 per cent of widows lived in this zone as opposed to 48 per cent of single women. Both married women and widows needed to work as close to home as possible, to combine domestic and childcare responsibilities and also to maximize the earnings returned to the household. Also they had limited time to spend travelling. For example, Sarah worked for the Department of Highways in Queen's Park as a war bride and continued there after her husband's death during World War Two. She had to live close to work, so that she could deliver her baby to daycare and then continue on to the Parliament Buildings. She had to get up at 5 a.m. to get ready for the day. This also meant she had "no time for contact or social activities with others." When she remarried and relocated to Richmond Hill in the 1950s, she got a job close to home as a medical receptionist (often doing evening work) to be close to home for her son.[12]

Single women were the closest to the average of all women, as they represented over 80 per cent of the sample in each year. There were two main groups of single

[12] Oral history interview with Sarah, in Brougham, Ontario, July 12, 1995.

women in the sample – those that lived at home with their families, and those from out-of-town or the suburbs who roomed or boarded in Toronto. The former tended to be constrained in terms of residential location, whereas the latter were not. Female boarders and residents of hostels (for example, the YWCA) are covered in the directory and they tended overwhelmingly to live in areas adjacent to the downtown and on major arterials, such as Bloor and Yonge streets. Thus their JTW was often considerably less than the other subset of single women. For example, Edith roomed with a doctor's family during the 1930s and combined her places of work and residence by caring for the children in the household. Maggie, on the other hand, lived at home with her family in Leaside and commuted downtown to the commercial printers, Brigdens. In 1945, this journey to work took about an hour, using both bus and streetcar.[13]

The 1951 city directory appeared to have higher proportions of married women working for wages in the newly developing areas of North York and Scarborough. There were several reasons for this. One was that couples were suburbanizing and had house mortgages to be paid off, for which a wife's contribution was helpful. Secondly, many women had got used to working during World War II, and continued to do so after marriage until they had children. Thirdly, women living in the suburbs could now commute shorter distances, as there was more suburban employment available. East York Township and the village of Mimico had more widows than married women working. Women employed in wage labour and living in the elite village of Forest Hill were overwhelmingly single. Certain occupations were more likely to be held by married women than others. Married women tended to be dressmakers at home or to operate grocery, confectionery and dry goods stores; they were also employed as

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[13] Oral history interviews with Maggie, September 18, 1994; and Edith, October 20, 1994.

housekeepers or ran boarding houses. Widowed women shared certain occupations with married women; they, too were dressmakers at home, cooks or housekeepers outside the home, and ran grocery and confectionary stores. There were also some widowed teachers, postmistresses, nurses and office cleaners.

Single women were well represented in all occupations, particularly in clerical work, manufacturing and retailing. Yet this changed by the 1950s. The 1951 Census gave the marital status of women workers by industry and occupation. It revealed that married women in 1951 outnumbered single women in manufacturing (including food and beverages, textiles and clothing), personal service, and retailing, particularly in department stores). Married women were less well represented in education, health and government, transportation and communications and wholesale trade. The economist Claudia Goldin has examined the marriage bar that affected female employment before the 1950s, with women losing their jobs once they married, especially in teaching and clerical work in many large firms in the United States. At its height the practice affected 75 per cent of school boards and over 50 per cent of office workers, but by the 1950s was virtually abandoned. Older middle-class female workers in the mid-1950s became praised for maturity, reliability and neat appearance and became the preferred employees of major department stores.[14]

There have been different attitudes about women's paid work. In the early twentieth century, it was acceptable for single women to work until they were married and also for widows or married women who needed the money because of the absence of a male breadwinner in the family. Frank's mother was a case in point. Frank was born in Toronto during World War One and his parents separated and divorced shortly thereafter. He lived with his mother and she supported the family by working at the

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[14] C. Goldin, "Marriage Bars: Discrimination against Married Women Workers, 1920s-1950s," paper for the Labour Economics and the Economic History Workshop (Toronto: University of Toronto, April 1989) 2, 5 & 26/7.

Conger Coal Company in Toronto from the mid 1920s until her retirement at age 75 in the mid-1940s. Her speciality was selling coal to industrial clients in Chinatown. His father, meanwhile, had a succession of jobs including owning a scrap company, working for Canadian General Electric by developing lamp bulbs, and managing sales of Reo Motor Cars. Thus Frank's mother worked out of economic necessity. Maggie, however, saw her job more as a career. She worked as a commercial artist for Brigdens, commercial printers, in the late 1940s. She was single and commuted six days a week from her home in Leaside by bus and streetcar (her journey took about an hour) to work on Richmond Street. She shared a studio with a friend, who was an artist for the Eaton's catalogue. They ate lunch at work, as they had a hot plate to make tea and soup. When Maggie got married in 1949, she lost interest in a career and ceased to work outside the home, a decision about which she now feels ambivalent.[15]

5.7 Conclusion

Men travelled farther to work than women in Toronto in the early twentieth century, except in 1921. This exception can be explained by the rapid growth that was taking place: Toronto families and work for men were suburbanizing, whereas women's employment remained very central. Therefore women were having to travel longer distances than men. The evidence, however, is inconclusive. In order to determine whether changes in employment location might help to explain the differing journey to work trends for men and women, it is useful to hold job location constant. Since the CBD was the main centre of employment for women and men, Chapter 6 focuses on this specific area. In particular, using business records, it is useful to examine Eaton's, the largest single employer within the CBD.

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[15] Oral history interviews with Frank, September 29, 1994; Maggie, September 19, 1994.

6. EATON'S: A CASE STUDY OF CENTRALIZED EMPLOYMENT

Eaton's was a major employer of both men and women in Toronto throughout the early twentieth century, with its factory, department store and mail order operations. Eaton's is a good example to study as there are detailed records available to document selected workers' residences and their journeys to work. A study of Eaton's can therefore illuminate different rates of decentralization. Eaton's workers travelled farther than the median of all Toronto workers. Was this typical of other central-city employers?

The purpose of this chapter is to explore, in more depth, the issues of commuting and gender that are described in the aggregate in Chapter 5. Aggregate data cannot fully illuminate male/female differences or explain exceptions from expected trends, such as the finding that women commuted farther than men in 1921. By examining central city employers, it is possible to determine whether their employees travelled longer distances to work than others and whether journey to work trends followed the pattern for all Toronto workers.

As a central city employer, Eaton's can be used to test the hypothesis that differential rates of decentralizing industry meant that men were able to live closer to work than women. Thus we expect that men travelled farther to work downtown than women. Given that clerical workers (see Chapter 5) are found to have made longer journeys to work than other occupations, does this hold true for workers in the Central Business District? Eaton's is a valuable case-study in that, unlike other central city employers, the company has made available some company records that allow slightly fuller analysis, such as by age and occupation. These employee records are utilized to illustrate that city directory coverage was good. Eaton's was also a major employer in

the city, particularly of women, as well as the largest employer of workers in the "B" sample in all years.

6.1 Central Business District Employees

The Central Business District (defined as census tracts 73, 74, 75 and 76), was the dominant employment area as illustrated in Chapter 4. Although the CBD decreased in its employment significance over the period, especially after World War Two with the decentralization of industry, it was still the largest single employment zone. The gender balance of my sample (illustrated in Table 4.4) shows the importance of this zone for women; higher percentages of women than of men worked in this area. In 1901, 52 per cent of women in the sample worked there as opposed to 42 per cent of men; by 1951 only 18 per cent of men worked there whereas about a third of women did.

An analysis of central city workers reveals that they commuted longer distances to work than the median for all Toronto workers. The only exception was in 1901, when they were travelling the same distance. Thus from 1911 to 1951, CBD employees were travelling long distances to work in the major banks, insurance and company head offices. CBD workers, as a group, travelled even farther to work than did the subset of Eaton's workers (Table 6.1).

Male CBD workers travelled farther than their female counterparts in all years, including 1921. This is significant because among all workers, women travelled farther than men. Possibly male jobs were becoming more decentralized while female jobs remained centralized. Clerical and supervisory workers had the longest journeys to work. Marital status of women was most variable. Widows had the longest JTW to the CBD in 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1951, while single women's median JTW was longest in 1901 and 1941. (In fact, single women were lowest in 1921). The median commuting distance for male CBD employees increased between 1901 and 1911 from

2.0 to 3.0 km, whereas the overall median scarcely changed. This implies that the commuting distance for non-CBD employees actually fell.

TABLE 6.1 MEDIAN DISTANCES FOR TORONTO CENTRAL CITY AND EATON'S WORKERS 1901-51 (in km)

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
ALL WORKERS						
All Workers	1.6	1.7	3.1	3.3	3.9	4.6
Eaton's Workers	1.7	2.3	3.8	4.8	5.1	5.4
CBD Workers	1.9	2.8	4.0	5.0	5.2	5.7
FEMALE WORKERS						
All Workers	1.4	1.7	3.3	3.2	3.8	4.3
Eaton's Workers	1.7	2.1	3.8	4.6	4.8	5.2
CBD Workers	1.7	2.6	3.9	4.7	4.9	5.4
MALE WORKERS						
All Workers	1.7	1.7	2.9	3.4	4.0	4.8
Eaton's Workers	2.1	2.8	3.7	4.8	5.3	5.5
CBD Workers	2.0	3.0	4.1	5.2	5.7	6.1

Tabulated from: Might's City of Toronto Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942 and 1952 (B sample).

Histograms were constructed to illustrate the changing shares of workers residing within 5 km of the CBD. Eaton's workers had a longer journey to work than the median of all workers in Toronto. For example, the median for all workers in 1941 was 3.9, but 5.1 for Eaton's employees. When calculated by gender, male Eaton's workers had a slightly longer journey to work than female employees (Table 6.1), except in 1921, when women travelled marginally farther (3.8 vs 3.7 km). Men working for Eaton's travelled farther to work than women: 2.8 vs 2.1 km in 1911 and 5.3 vs 4.8 km in 1941. In fact, given the long distances that their workers were travelling in the 1920s, both Eaton's and Simpsons shortened their working day (Ferguson, 1923). Clerical and supervisory workers tended to travel farther to work than semi-skilled and unskilled workers. In 1951, for example, men were travelling a median distance of 5.5 km to work while the median for women was 5.2 km.

6.2 The T. Eaton Company

A sample of male and female workers can be extracted from the city directory to illustrate the labour sheds of specific firms. The T. Eaton Company was a major employer of both men and women in various occupational categories. Women and men were employed not just as salespeople, clerical staff and office managers, but also as drivers, furniture finishers, clothing operatives etc. (We know from oral history evidence that extra help was needed at Christmas to deal with the holiday rush). Thus Eaton's was a substantial employer of both full-time and part-time labour. Eaton's employees were well represented in the directories, probably because the company submitted employee lists to the compilers of the city directory (The Globe, 1913). Eaton's also employed a large number of female workers in its offices, factories, department store, catalogue and warehouse operations as well as for outwork. It is a useful case-study to document male/female differences in the journey to work.

Much has been written about some aspects of Eaton's business in Toronto. Santink (1990) has surveyed the development of the store between 1869 and 1910; while others like Frager (1992a, 1992b) have examined the strikes in the factories in 1912 and 1934. Timothy Eaton opened his first store in Toronto at 178 Yonge Street in 1869, and a new store at 190 Yonge Street in 1883. With the physical expansion of Toronto, Eaton's was making regular deliveries by 1903 to Mimico, Victoria Park, Lambton Mills, Richmond Hill and Cooksville. By 1908, Eaton's store and factories covered some 22 acres of prime downtown land. Employees at the store, factories and mail order operation numbered 4,900 in 1903, 8,800 in 1909 and 11,700 in 1910. The 2,156 sales staff at the Toronto store in 1909 accounted for a quarter of the total payroll, while those employed in manufacturing comprised over half. The rest worked in the office and mail order operations. In 1914, Eaton's had over $53 million in sales compared

with $14 million for Simpsons'; sales doubled to $123 million by 1919 compared with Simpsons' $33 million (Santink, 1990).

The T. Eaton Company was the most aggressive and successful of the vertically integrated, garment firms that emerged in the period from 1901 to 1930 in Toronto. The company began manufacturing cloth in 1890; by 1904 it was the technological leader of the clothing industry and had constructed new factories, adding over 75,000 square feet of work space. As it was vertically integrated, it had no need to locate near other garment factories, but rather near warehouse and retail facilities (Hiebert 1990). During the uncertainties of the 1920s and 1930s, many smaller firms emerged and the market share of large garment factories in Toronto declined after 1915. Employment at Eaton's factories peaked in the 1920s; by 1931 they employed only 3,000 workers, 26 per cent of Toronto's garment workforce, down from 50 per cent during World War I. Both Eaton's and Simpsons began subcontracting work to smaller factories to retain their profit margins. By 1931, the garment district in Toronto was clustered in three inner-city locations: Spadina, especially for female wear, adjacent to a Jewish workforce; the Central Business District (male clothing and wholesaling); and Eaton's factory district, still the technological leader (Hiebert 1990).

The various divisions of the company were located in the heart of downtown Toronto around Yonge and College streets. Many young people's first jobs were there, for example, Rose worked in the Cash on Delivery section in 1940/41, initially getting $5 per week, later raised to $9 per week. Peggy worked in Eaton's College Street store as a summer job when she was 14. This was during World War II and she was a sales clerk at the hosiery counter. Hosiery was scarce during the war, so there were rushes to inspect the merchandise when new shipments came in. A friend of her grandmother's assisted Peggy in getting the job at Eaton's. Keith also worked for Eaton's when he was 17, delivering groceries to customers. He had to load the truck

in the right order and then drive around the city delivering orders. He worked long days, evenings and Saturdays, as well as long hours at Christmas. John began working at Eaton's at age 17, as a furniture finisher on College Street in 1948. He recalls that he made $18 per week when he started, and was getting $32 per week when he quit in 1953. He worked eight-hour days as well as overtime and remembers that Eaton's had an excellent cafeteria. He went to work for the TTC in 1953 as a streetcar operator. He earned much higher wages there because it was unionized and closed shop but the disadvantage was that he had to get up at 4 a.m. and do shift work.

During World War II, low-priority employers like Eaton's could take people with health problems. So Andrew, who could not find work in Galt, Ontario and was not fit enough to work in munitions work (such as Canadian Arsenals in Long Branch) was "categorized" into working for Eaton's. He worked as a shipping clerk in the mail order department of the main store between 1942 and 1946. He recalls having lunch in the cafeteria for 25 cents and working nine-hour days from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. and Saturday mornings, but with Wednesday afternoons off. Christmas was a rush season, when he often worked until 11 p.m. at night in December. Eaton's paid one dollar towards each worker's dinner at that time of year. Andrew was paid $22 per week when he started, rising to $30 per week by 1945. After four years with the company, he received two weeks holiday. In 1946, he went to work for a firm in Leaside as they offered better pay, shorter working hours and it was closer to his home in North Toronto.[1]

6.3 Eaton's Labour Shed and Distances travelled to Work

The T. Eaton Company was the largest employer in Toronto in the "B" sample database of over 50,000 workers in Toronto for the period 1901-1951. Eaton's workers represented a sizeable percentage of workers in Toronto in the early twentieth century,

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[1] Oral history interviews with Rose, August 30, 1994 in Flesherton; Peggy and Keith, April 19, 1994 in Oakville; John, June 30; and Andrew, July 18, 1994, in Cambridge, Ontario.

with ten per cent of all workers in the sample in the years 1901, 1911 and 1921; this declined somewhat to 7.4 per cent in 1931 and 4.8 per cent by 1951 (Table 6.2). The company drew its large labour force from all over the City of Toronto as well as the suburban areas of York Township, East York Township and Scarborough by 1931. Clerical workers lived farther away than people working in the factory.

TABLE 6.2 EATON'S WORKERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL WORKERS (B SAMPLE) 1901-1951

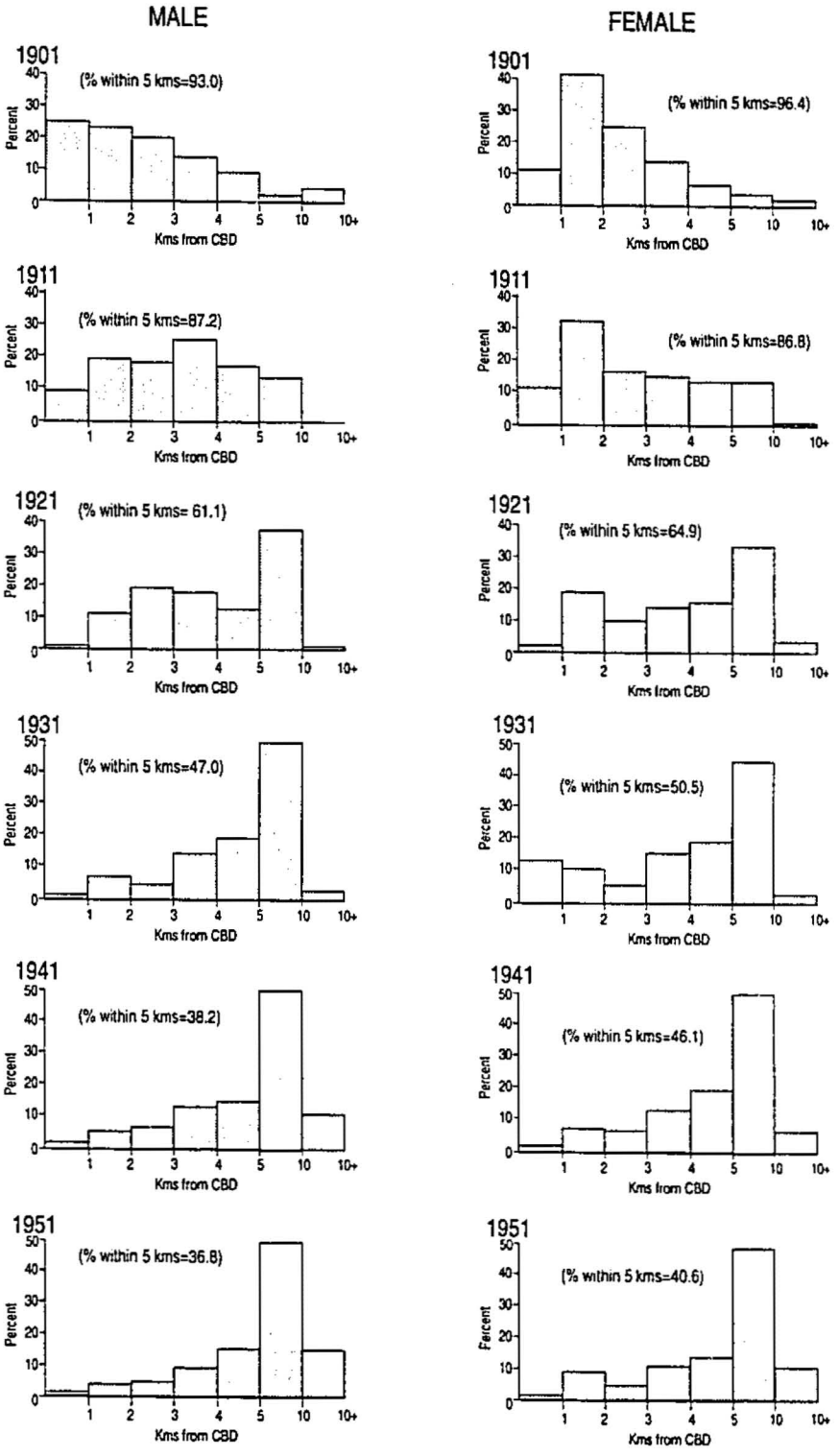
	%
1901	9.1
1911	11.5
1921	11.2
1931	7.4
1941	8.0
1951	4.8

Calculated from: Might's City of Toronto Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942 and 1952 (B sample).

Workers at Eaton's were part of the general trend in Toronto at this time, suburbanizing from their place of work. The percentage of Eaton's workers living within 5 kilometres (km) of their work declined dramatically between 1901 and 1951 from over 90 per cent to under 40 per cent. Except in 1911, men were less concentrated within the 5-km zone than women. In 1901, 93 per cent of men lived within 5 km of the company site, as opposed to 96.4 per cent of women. By 1921, only 61 per cent of men and 64 per cent of women employed at Eaton's lived within 5 km. In 1951, men again were less concentrated than women, with 37 per cent within 5 km of the CBD, compared to 41 per cent for women (Figure 6.1).

There were more women working at Eaton's than men, especially in the early twentieth century. About 60 per cent of workers in the period 1901 to 1921 were women. In the later decades, it was about half each, with 51 per cent of workers being male by 1951 (Table 6.3). Typically, men and women did different work in

FIGURE 6.1: EATON'S HISTOGRAMS - MEN AND WOMEN - RESIDENTIAL DISTANCE FROM CBD 1901-51



manufacturing: men tended to work on skilled tasks while women were less-skilled, doing packing, assembly and acting as inspectors. Women also tended to work in different departments from men. The gendered division of labour at Eaton's can be seen by comparing Figures 6.2 and 6.3. The first illustrates men at work in the jewellery factory on the tenth floor in the furniture building in June 1919. The second shows women in the corset manufacturing department in Toronto in 1905. Women were also employed in the waist factory whereas men were the butter makers in the creamery on Hayter Street in 1919.

TABLE 6.3: EATON'S WORKERS - PROPORTION MALE AND FEMALE - WEIGHTED SAMPLE 1901-51

	Male		Female	
	%	n	%	n
1901	39.3	43	60.6	199
1911	43.5	102	56.4	396
1921	41.9	109	58.0	453
1931	51.2	220	48.7	627
1941	47.6	185	52.3	609
1951	51.1	201	48.8	576

Calculated from: Might's City of Toronto Directories 1902, 1912, 1922, 1932, 1942 and 1952 (B sample).

Eaton's workers are also compared by occupational type, as this can help explain gender differences in the journey to work. Thus, when controlling for occupation, men again travelled farther to work than women. Clerical workers at Eaton's were slightly more decentralized than skilled and semi-skilled workers: 36 per cent lived within 5 km of the CBD compared with 38 per cent in 1951. Except in 1901, female skilled and semi-skilled workers were more concentrated than male skilled and semi-skilled workers; 89 vs 84 per cent in 1911 and 39 vs 35 per cent in 1951 resided within 5 km (Figure 6.4). Male clerical workers at Eaton's represented a significant departure from

FIGURE 6.2: EATON'S TORONTO - JEWELLERY FACTORY - TENTH FLOOR, FURNITURE BUILDING, JUNE 30, 1919

Source: Eaton's Collection, Archives of Ontario, F29-308-0-1816

FIGURE 6.3: EATON'S TORONTO - CORSET MANUFACTURING c. 1905

Source: Eaton's Collection, Archives of Ontario, F29-308-0-1835

FIGURE 6.4: EATON'S HISTOGRAMS - SKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED WORKERS - RESIDENTIAL DISTANCE FROM CBD 1901-51

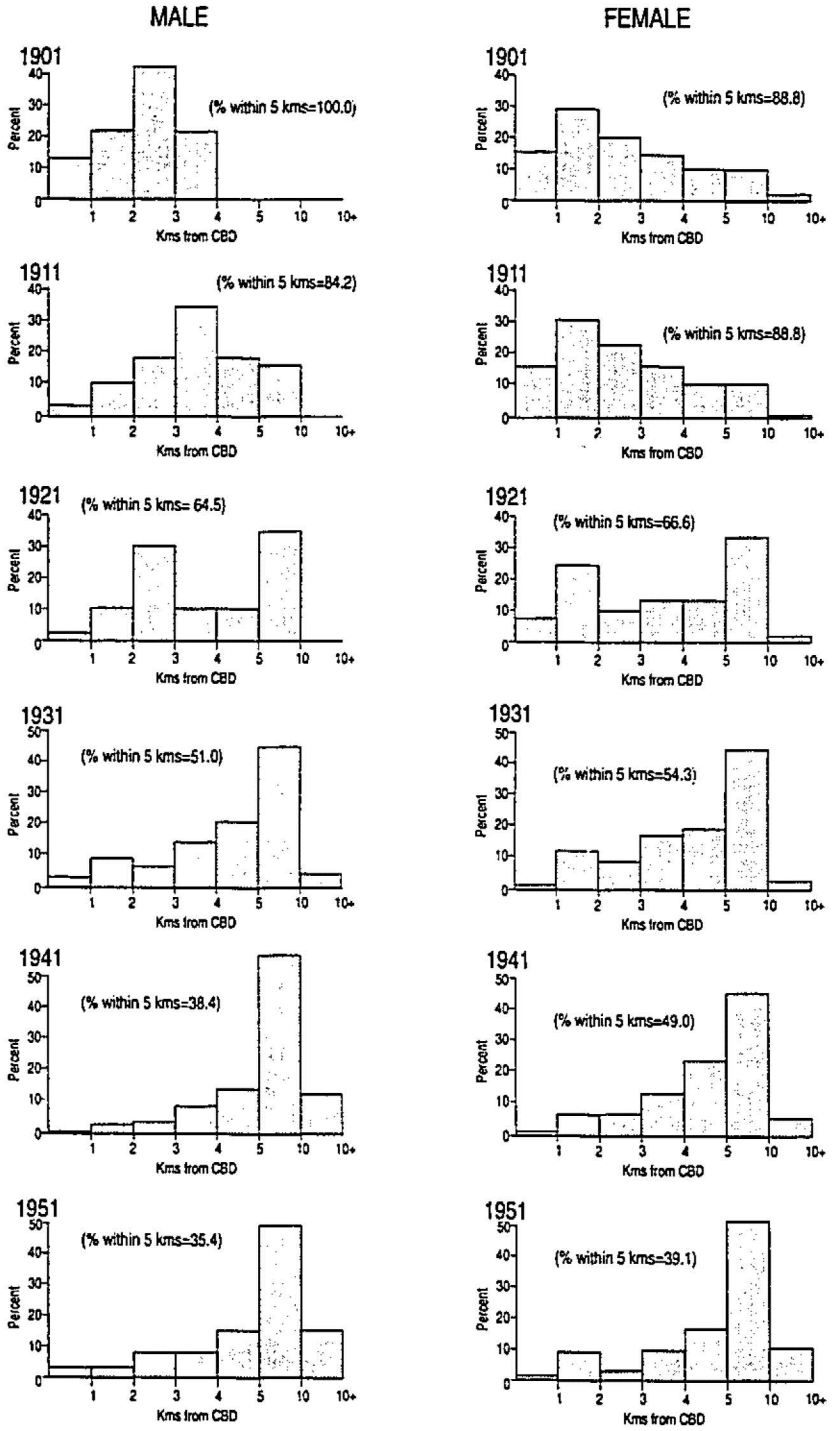
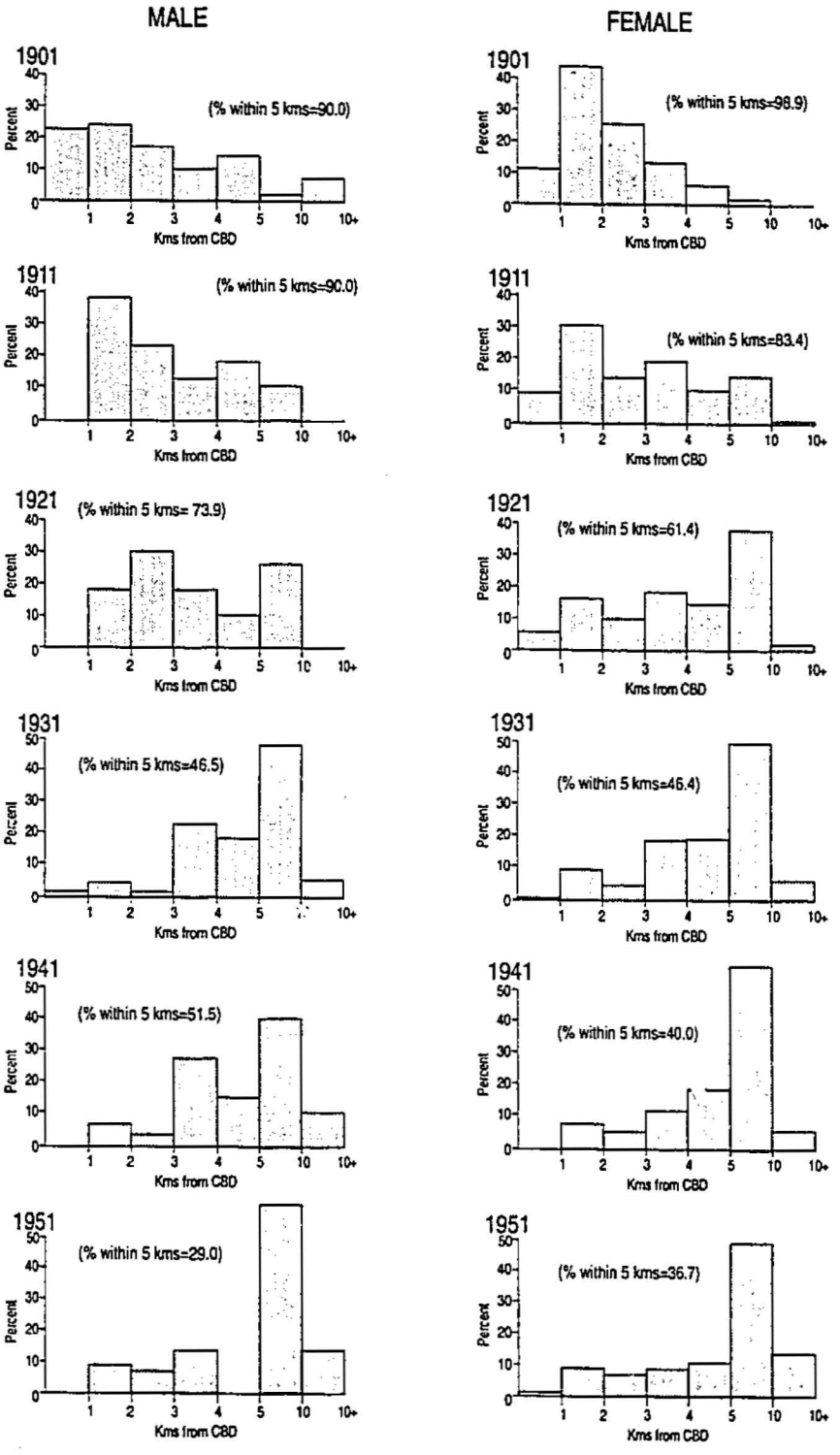


FIGURE 6.5: EATON'S HISTOGRAMS - CLERICAL WORKERS - RESIDENTIAL DISTANCE FROM CBD 1901-51



overall trends in commuting in Toronto. Between 1911 and 1941, they were more concentrated than female Eaton's clerical workers (Figure 6.5). Ninety per cent in 1911 lived within 5 km compared to 84 per cent of women and the equivalent figures in 1941 were 52 and 40 per cent respectively. Thus women at Eaton's were slightly less centralized than all women in Toronto, especially skilled and semi-skilled workers after 1921.

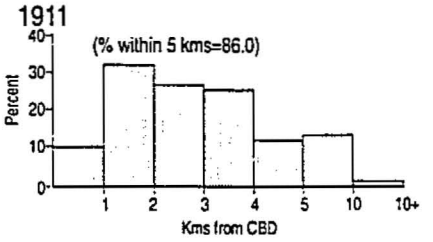
The residential distribution of women by marital status reveals some interesting patterns. Married women were more concentrated than single women in 1911 (100 vs 86 per cent) and in 1931 (66 vs 50 per cent). Yet in 1921, only 50 per cent of married women resided within 5 km of the CBD, as opposed to 66 per cent of single women. Both categories decentralized; by 1951, only 39 per cent of married women and 42 per cent of single women resided within 5 km (Figure 6.6). This suggests that married women needed to be close to their workplaces. With constraints of family and domestic responsibilities, they could not generally afford the time to commute as far as single women.

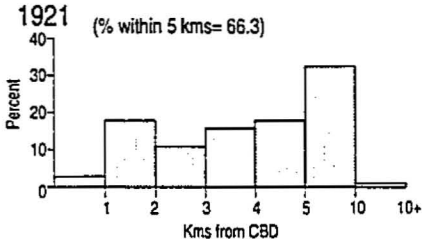
6.4 Conclusion

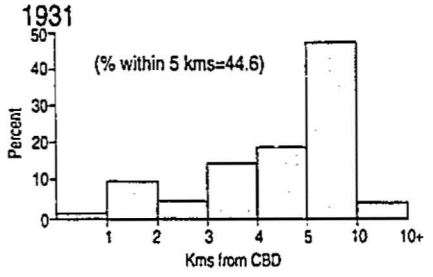
Workers at Eaton's, a downtown employer, had a different geography of home and work from the Toronto average. Female Eaton's workers were slightly less centralized while men were slightly more. This is probably due to the high proportion of female clerical workers at the firm, who were more decentralized than their skilled and semi-skilled counterparts. Male and female employees at Eaton's and other CBD employers therefore had longer median journeys to work than the Toronto average. In 1901, the extra distances travelled were not substantial, but by 1951, men were travelling 0.7 km farther and women 0.9 km farther. A longer journey to work appeared to be standard for those working downtown; in fact many CBD workers travelled even farther than those employed at Eaton's. Men and women working at

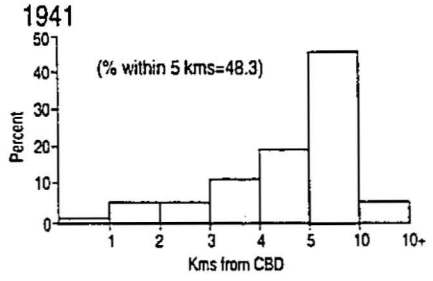
FIGURE 6.6: EATON'S HISTOGRAMS -SINGLE AND MARRIED WOMEN - RESIDENTIAL DISTANCE FROM CBD 1911-51

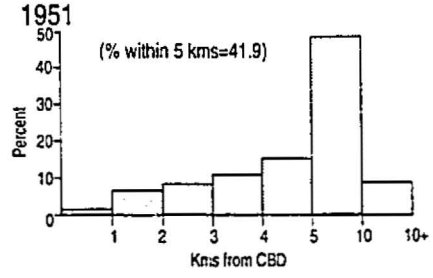
SINGLE WOMEN



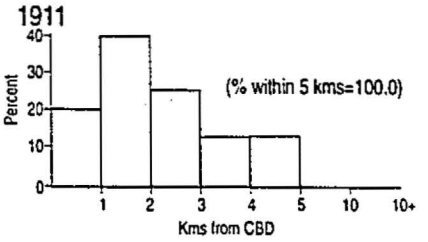


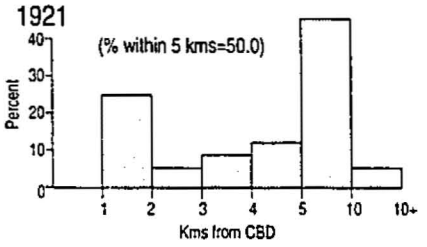


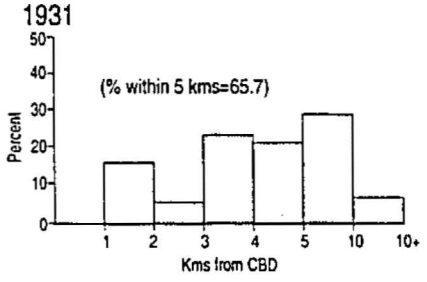


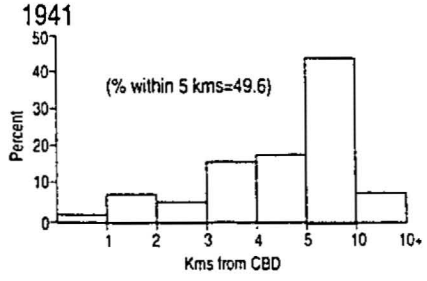


MARRIED WOMEN









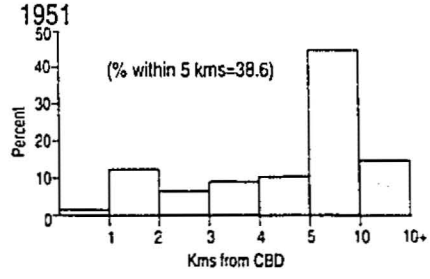
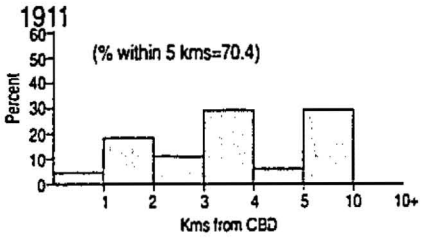
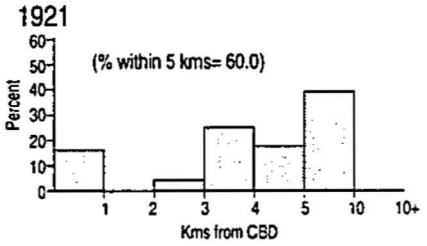
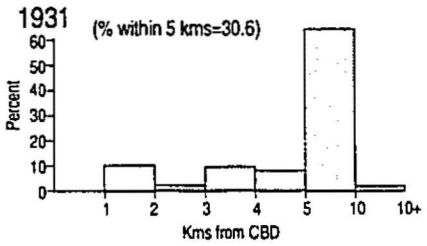


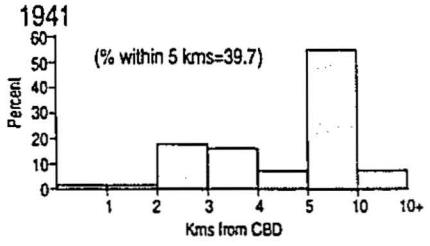
FIGURE 6.7: SIMPSON'S HISTOGRAMS - RESIDENTIAL DISTANCE FROM CBD 1911-51

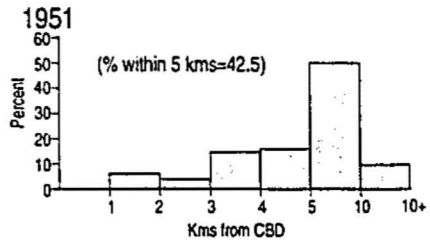
MALE











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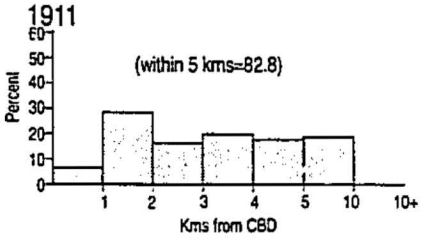

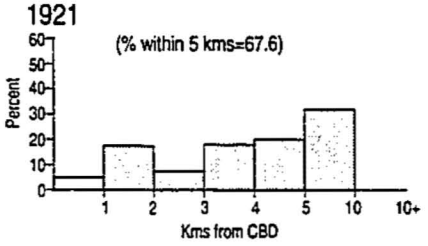

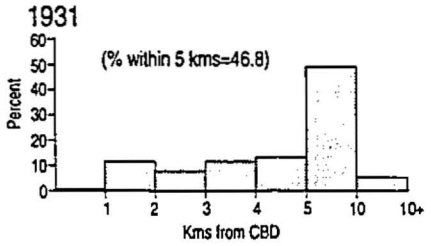

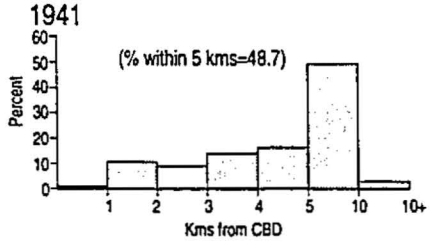

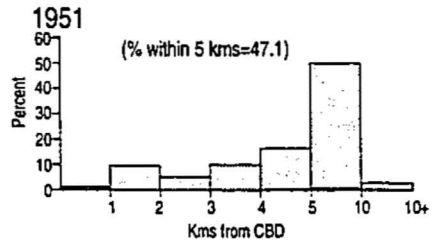

Eaton's were more decentralized than their counterparts at the Robert Simpson Company: 47 per cent of women at Simpsons resided within 5 km of the firm, as opposed to 40 per cent of women at Eaton's (Figure 6.7). Thus male workers employed in the CBD always travelled farther than their female counterparts. We cannot use the differential decentralization of employment explanation to account for this. Men working in the CBD tended to be suburban, whereas women were residing in both suburban and downtown locations.

7. CONCLUSION

My purpose in this thesis has been to examine the changing geographies of work and residence for a sample of men and women in Toronto during the period between 1901 and 1951 and thereby establish how commuting patterns altered. The central research problem of this thesis is how the journey to work differed by gender in Toronto in the early twentieth century. The work is related to existing geographical literature on the journey to work and industrial decentralization, but provides a unique perspective by examining gender differences in the journey to work in the past.

7.1 Major Findings

Two major hypotheses are tested in this thesis:

a) that men travelled farther to work than women, and

b) that the decentralization of work reduced the length of the journey to work over the period studied.

The evidence drawn from the city directories, described in Chapters 4 and 5, confirms these hypotheses, but also reveals some unanticipated patterns. The results generally confirm existing findings in both the historical and contemporary journey-to-work literature. The results support existing studies which find that men were generally travelling longer distances to work than women and that occupation was an important variable in determining patterns (section 5.2). Commuting time, more than the absolute distance of the journey to work, is an important consideration in people's decisions about home/work location. The findings also confirm that the head of household/principal breadwinner was located closest to his/her workplace. Differences from the existing literature include the finding that transportation (given the flat fare and good network of the TTC) was less significant in explaining different patterns than

traditional studies have suggested. The other major contradiction is the result that women were travelling farther to work than men in 1921. The main reason seems to have been that jobs for men were decentralizing more rapidly than those for women. Some employers may have been moving to the suburbs in order to tap a male labour pool, so men benefitted in being able to work closer to their homes. But the same was not true for women to anything like the same extent.

My results confirm that a consideration of the gender differences adds greatly to our understanding of the impact of job decentralization. In Toronto decentralization did not affect all workers equally. It helped to draw male blue-collar workers (and their young families) into the suburbs, while single women stayed downtown, either as employed daughters living in their parents' homes or as roomers in someone else's house. This situation contrasts markedly with that of the postwar years, when job opportunities have made it possible for both single and married women to find work quite close to their suburban homes. Viewed in the long run, this recent development stands out as one step in a continuing process. In the early decades of this century families moved out, partly in response to the decentralization of men's work. Decades later, as more and more women entered the labour force, employers of women followed. Arguably, women were at a disadvantage in both situations. Initially, a new gendered geography of employment forced them to travel far to work, though still less than men. Later, more conveniently-located work encouraged women to accept poor pay in dead-end jobs.

Gender is clearly a significant variable in understanding the complexities of the journey to work. The spatial patterns are substantially different for men and women. Patterns of employment began to decentralize earlier for men, while women's paid work remained much more concentrated in and near the CBD throughout the study period. Women were paid lower wages which influenced the amount they could spend on

housing and transportation. Married women faced additional constraints, including the work location of their spouse as well as domestic responsibilities.

Transportation is also a significant factor in explaining the patterns, as the availability of streetcar routes and their frequency affected the location of work and residence. The widespread network of the TTC after 1921 and the flat rate fare tended to make it less important than some social factors. After World War Two, the greater use of the automobile resulted in physical extension of work and homes beyond the established TTC routes.

Research on the social geography of residence (section 4.5) also shows changing patterns and illustrates the temporary discordance between decentralizing forces. In some periods, residences were tending to suburbanize faster than the workplaces. During World War II, when most residential patterns were frozen, workplace decentralization was substantial.

Social factors, such as the worker's occupation, marital status and household status, are also important. The socio-economic elements of occupation and income are visible with differences in journey to work for Central Business District emplcyees as opposed to all Toronto workers (section 6.1). Marital status of women affects distances travelled (section 5.6) as single women are travelling longer distances than widows or married women. Household status (section 5.5) is also a significant factor - male heads of households usually live closest to the workplace. Other key considerations are age and household formation. During the Depression, falling incomes and loss of work meant that many young people avoided getting married and remained living at home longer. This was in marked contrast to the situation following the World War II, when couples married young and decentralized to the suburbs, such as Willowdale. World War II was a time of housing shortages thus workers remained in flats or shared dwellings with their families.

The research findings confirm the value of the sources used in creating the database and the adoption of the working methodology described in section 3.4. City directories are a valuable source, as they can be used in a variety of ways. They can support fine-grained analysis of trends at a particular company or in a specific neighbourhood. In this manner, it is possible to trace the impact of industrial decentralization, or the degree of integration of particular residential communities into the metropolitan labour market. Alternatively, they can be used to document broader differences and trends between occupations and men and women. They can tell us a great deal not only about the gendered character of commuting but also of labour markets. In many ways, the Toronto directories were probably better than most in terms of their accuracy and completeness of coverage. They provide information about changing employment (and by implication, the commuting) experiences of men and women in a full range of occupations. Thus city directories can be a workable source of information about the journey to work. When analyzed, they reveal an enormous amount about the changing economic and social geography of a metropolitan area.

The significance of these findings is evident in an historical study. A cross-sectional approach, examining half a century of change is necessary in order to observe changing journey-to-work patterns and also linkages to broader patterns of urban change, notably locational shifts in workplace and residence. These results add to previous work by providing a historical dimension to the gendered journey to work and illustrates the dynamism of the city. The study also provides a proven methodology that can be used for similar types of studies elsewhere.

The thesis also has value in enhancing our understanding of the links between changes in the journey to work and broader changes in the social and economic geography of the city. The findings show differential rates of the decentralization of employment and residence in the city. By examining a fifty year period, spatial change

in the industrial city is clearly visible. The thesis results help to fill a gap between studies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Goheen 1970; Hershberg 1981; Pratt 1911; Warner 1978) and the contemporary geographical interpretations of the city.

Some of the shifting relationships of work and residence are well illustrated by specific labour sheds when examined over time. For example, the relocation of the Christie Brown factory creates a different geography of residence (section 5.3). The study also highlights the major economic (creation of new types and locations of factories) and the social (new opportunities for women) changes that occurred during World War II. The study also clarifies our knowledge about the journey to work in the early twentieth century. The findings suggest shifts in transportation mode from the pedestrian to public transit to private automobile. Also this is a period of increasing length of journey to work as well as greater complexities of movement; there was not just one standard model of commuting downtown from the suburbs, but instead some complicated cross-city commuting. The thesis also emphasizes the significance of home-work relationships in space, somewhat neglected in many studies. These relationships are dynamic, which is illustrated in a longitudinal study. Most journey to work literature examines one time period only or a very limited cross-section and do not consider three eras in city development - from pedestrian to automotive.

This thesis also illuminates people's experiences of home and work. Gender and occupation are key factors, as daughters tended to stay at home until marriage. Widows often combined place of work and residence, such as running a boardinghouse or living above the grocery store, as an economic survival strategy. Married women with their heavy domestic responsibilities, also tended to combine work and residence or took nearby employment. Class was an important variable in determining whether women worked outside the home. Oral history interviews show that women with

limited financial resources clearly had to work outside. The interviews also illustrate women's "double burden" of paid and unpaid work and the difficulties of managing travel. Living close to work and childcare facilities was important for women with children. Migration into Ontario's largest urban centre during the first half of the century is also evident in the oral history interviews. Both men and women came to Toronto during the Depression, looking for work which in many cases was hard to obtain. During World War II, a new wave of people came to the city to work in the war industries. Residential location changed for most people upon marriage. New household formation usually meant a flat (during the housing shortages of World War II) or relocation to the expanding suburbs after the war. Before World War II, women ceased working for wages outside the home; whereas during and afterwards, they would continue until they became pregnant. Another finding was that men had access to cars earlier than women: many had cars in the 1930s, even if they did not drive them to work. Few women had their own vehicles, even after World War II.

There were also gender differences in managing work and travel. Women always had more burdens in combining domestic and work responsibilities. There were also differences by class. Women in lower economic classes had to work in order to support the family economy and had to do housework as well. Oral history evidence revealed that women with higher or more secure incomes did not have to combine paid and unpaid work. Some single women were employed in clerical jobs but did no housework, as either their mother did it or there was outside household help. These better off women rarely worked after marriage, at any time between 1901 and 1951. Men had greater flexibility in travel as they tended to have autos earlier or had access to other modes such as motorcycles and bicycles.

7.2 Implications for Future Research

The findings of the thesis emphasize important aspects of the geography of work, both past and contemporary. More research on the decentralization of urban employment is one clear need, following studies, such as those on manufacturing by Lewis (1991) of late nineteenth-century Montreal. Workplace-focused studies are significant in developing a deeper understanding of the process of urban development, not only in manufacturing but in retailing, services and offices.

Contemporary studies of paradigm shifts in production methods, economic restructuring and relocation can provide opportunities for the study of past workplace shifts. The relocation of Goodyear Tire from New Toronto to Napanee in the late 1980s (Palmer, 1994) where "green labour" was a significant factor, may have parallels with some of the early twentieth-century movements to the outer suburbs of cities.

The documentation of workplaces (section 4.2) highlights the role of decentralization as a major factor in overall change. This factor was particularly significant in the case of manufacturing industry, where many large employers moved to suburban locations. Several new types of industry, such as de Havilland aircraft (section 5.3), began on the urban edge. The establishment of very large peripheral manufacturing plants during World War II was a powerful force in the decentralization of work and the creation of new journey-to-work patterns for men and women. Retailing and some service activities also became more deconcentrated.

World War II emerges as an important period of change in many facets of economic and social life and in the spatial organization of cities. This has been suggested by other writers and is confirmed here. This study has demonstrated that there was substantial decentralization of industry, mostly as a result of the demands of the wartime economy. More research on the role of particular federal government manufacturing operations, such as Research Enterprises and Victory Aircraft, could

provide new insights on suburbanization processes after the war ended. Women's work was altered by the war when new spatial patterns were created very quickly. The thesis cross-section of 1941 has some limitations since the war effort had not yet developed to full capacity. Nineteen hundred and forty-three (the peak year of output) would have shown more dramatic shifts. Women's work clearly changed during World War II; more research is needed on their journey-to-work experience during the war, childcare provision and household strategies and on the types of temporary accommodation for those who were drawn into the war industries.

Other lines of further exploration might include the people who combined place of work and residence. What sorts of paid work was done in the home in the past? How does it differ from contemporary experience? The thesis confirms the value of oral histories and more research on the journey to work is indicated. How did women combine household responsibilities with work outside the home in a period when the journey-to-work distance was increasing?

This study points out some other gaps in our knowledge. What was the significance of the "family wage" in shaping who worked and where in a household in the past? The extent to which relative wage levels affected the journey to work and differences by gender needs to be examined in more detail.

The role of ethnicity should be considered in past journeys to work. The rapid immigration into North American cities during the twentieth century needs to be explored. These are key variables in looking at different commuting experiences, as illustrated by some contemporary literature (McLafferty and Preston, 1991). Yet it is hard to find appropriate sources available for study of this theme in the past. Ethnicity is an important issue to consider because it does affect the journey to work of contemporary women in particular. Yet it is problematic to infer ethnicity from the city directories. While one may be able to identify Jewish names in the directory, it is not

possible to tell if they are first-generation immigrants or not. It is suggested that immigrants clustered in certain areas of the city, often very close to their work. Did this mean shorter journey-to-work distances than for British and Canadian residents?

This thesis challenges previous assumptions about the city's spatial structure in the early twentieth century. Labour sheds for this period illustrate a complex urban structure with the growth of multi-nodal employment zones, challenging some of the older models of urban structure such as Park and Burgess (1925). Thus cities in this period are more multi-nuclear than many previously thought. This is true for other large cities as well as Toronto. The complex urban structure helps in understanding the early decentralization of employment. The Central Business District is thus less dominant in terms of work. We also learn more about the gendered nature of labour markets, in that women's employment was more centralized than men's. This study also indicates valuable methodologies and sources that could be utilized by other scholars to examine the journey to work and urban change in other North American cities, such as Montreal and Los Angeles, which have different spatial structures.

APPENDIX 1: ORAL HISTORY QUESTIONS

SECTION A: WORK EXPERIENCE QUESTIONS

1. What company/employer did you work for and what was your specific job?
2. Where was this company located?
3. If you worked for a big company - were there other family members or neighbours also employed by them?
4. How many hours did you work each day?
5. Did you have much contact with other workers at the place of employment?
6. How long did you work for this employer?
7. Did you enjoy it?
8. What age were you at the time?
9. Do you remember how much you got paid?

SECTION B: JOURNEY-TO-WORK QUESTIONS

1. How did you get to work (streetcar/walk/cycle/car?)
2. How long did your journey to work take?
3. Were you going to and returning from work during the rush hour traffic?
4. If you used public transport - did you feel uneasy at certain times of day?
5. Did you eat lunch at a) the place of employment b) go home for lunch - how long did that take? c) eat at a nearby restaurant/lunch counter?
6. Do you remember where other family members worked?
7. Where there any other aspects of your daily journey to work that you recall?

SECTION C: HOME QUESTIONS

1. What was your home address?
2. What was your place of residence like - did you own your house/rent or board?
3. Did you have responsibilities at home as well as paid work in the labour force? What were they?
4. How did you combine these responsibilities? Were there any problems?
3. FOR WOMEN WORKERS: did you continue to work after marriage?
4. Did you work outside the home after having children? If so, how did you resolve this?
5. If both you and your husband worked, who worked closer to home? Why?
6. Did other family members assist with child care/domestic work?
7. Where did you shop?

SECTION D: BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

1. During what period/decade did you work and reside in Toronto?
2. Date of birth.
3. Level of education.

APPENDIX 2: ORAL HISTORY CONTACTS

Date of birth	Pseudonym	Date of marriage	Major jobs in Toronto
1902	Anne	1928	Canadian Laboratory Supplies 1944-65 (stockroom)
1902	Louisa	1940	Great West Life Assurance 1924-40 (stenographer)
1904	Alex	1940	Nerlichs 1920s (assembly) Cansfield Electric 1920s (assembly) Goodyear Tire 1930s-1969 (maintenance)
1906	Henry	1936	farms 1920s - Long Branch; Whitby etc Kodak 1924/5 (camera assembly) Taylor Instrument 1928 (assembly) de Havilland 1928-39 (repairs/inspection) National Steel Car-1939/40 (quality control) Massey-Harris 1940-45 (inspection/quality control) de Havilland 1947-51 (plant supt)
1908	Tim	1942	de Havilland 1934/4 (bench hand)
1910	Laura	n/a	Victoria College 1928-75 (professor)
1911	Alice	1935	Fountain Leather Goods 1934/5 (clerical)
1912	Brad	1949	Imperial Optical 1936-49 National Sea Products 1949-67 (stock manager/sales & purchasing)
1913	Bart	c1935	Ont Dress Co/needle trades 1930s-50s (supervisor)
1913	Kate	n/a	de Havilland 1938-72 (fabric/upholstery work)

APPENDIX 2: ORAL HISTORY CONTACTS continued

Date of birth	Pseudonym	Date of marriage	Major jobs in Toronto
1914	Eva	n/a	Simpsons c1933-37 Research Enterprises 1940-45 Ginn & Co 1945-50 Modelcraft Hobbies 1950-79 (accountant)
1915	Edith	n/a	de Havilland 1942-45; 1946-50; 1951-81 (riveter/office worker) lived in - doctor's family 1937-42 General Electric 1945-6 Simpsons (mail order) 1950/1
1915	Frank	1938	Insurance 1930-37; 1941-49 (insurance adjuster)
c1915	Fran	1946	Toronto General Hospital 1940-42; 1946-53 (supervisor)
1917	Walter	1942	de Havilland 1937-82 (rivetting/mechanic/test flight area)
1918	Andrew	1940	Eatons 1942-46 E.S.& A. Robinson 1946-49 (traffic manager)
1919	Bertha	1942	de Havilland 1938 (fabric shop) Can Headwear 1939/40 (typing) Geo Allan Paint Company 1940-42 (typing) Loblaws (1943-45) (head cashier)
1919	Chris	mid-1940s	de Havilland 1940-42; 1946-53 (purchasing)
c1919	Patrick	1949	University of Toronto 1948-60 (professor)
1920	Lisa	1949	Runnymede Hospital c1945-49 (nurse)
c1920	Harold	1950s	Research Enterprises 1943/4 General Electric 1946-70 (engineer)

APPENDIX 2: ORAL HISTORY CONTACTS continued

Date of birth	Pseudonym	Date of marriage	Major jobs in Toronto
c1920	Kenneth	mid-1940s	de Havilland 1940-42; 1946-1980s (purchasing)
c1921	Kevin	1949	McQuay Norris 1938/9 (office work) de Havilland 1939-70 (stockeeper, production, scheduling clerk)
1921	Sarah	1941 1950	Ontario Government - Department of Highways (typist/Road Bulletin) 1941-51 Richmond Hill (medical receptionist) 1950s
c1921	Mary	1949	City of Toronto 1945-51 (public health nurse)
c1922	Deidre	1949	INCO 1942/3 (mail room) de Havilland 1943-45; 1946-49 (stenographer)
c1923	Betsy	1946	Victorian Order of Nurses 1945-46 (nurse)
c1924	Milly	1944	Goldsmith Co of Canada 1940-44 Abitibi Power and Paper 1945-50 (clerical)
1924	Rose	n/a	Leaside Municipal Offices 1941-49 Modelcraft Hobbies 1950-54 (clerical)
1924	Maggie	1949	Brigdens (printing) 1945-49 (commercial artist)
1925	Brenda	1948	Tradburks (import/export) 1946-48 United Appeal 1948 (clerical)
c1925	Don	1949	Township of Etobicoke 1949-87 (instrument man)
c1926	Keith	1951	Prudential Insurance 1950-88 (claims/supervisor) + numerous summer jobs
c1927	Peggy	1951	Forest Hill Board of Education 1944-51 (secretary)

APPENDIX 2: ORAL HISTORY CONTACTS continued

Date of birth	Pseudonym	Date of marriage	Major jobs in Toronto
c1929	Maria	1949	Display Company; Frost Pharmacuticals 1947-51 (stenographer)
1931	John	1961	Isaac Johnston & Son (woodwork) 1947/8 Eatons 1948-53 (woodworker/furniture finisher)

APPENDIX 3: WORKPLACE TYPES INCLUDED IN THE "B SAMPLE"

Might's City of Toronto Directories cover certain workplace types better than others. Generally the workplace address can be located for industrial and office employees as the firms are listed in the Personal names section. Firms in the central city are particularly well represented. Workplaces of city employees can be documented under the section Toronto government. Employees could be listed at the precise work location. For example, Fred Brown was a fireman at fire station 5 and that address was listed under fire halls. Likewise, provincial employees were listed under the section Ontario government. An employee of the Liquor Control Board's work address could be found here, for example, Mae Bloom worked at Liquor Control Board store #12 at 402 Parliament Street in 1941. Thus work addresses of federal, provincial, city and suburban government employees could be documented.

The location of the self-employed workers was good. For example, small storekeepers and their work location was listed, the Badali family operated several stores in 1951 - in Leaside, on Queen Street East, on Parliament Street and the Danforth. The same was true for those who combined home and work, like private nurses, music teachers and physicians.

Some employees whose workplace was flexible or changing were harder to document include railway employees and construction workers. The workplaces of CNR, CPR and TTC office employees was straightforward but workplaces of conductors/linemen was problematic. Sometimes the precise work location was given - for example, Elias Black did freight at the Parkdale station. If the workplace could not be found, then these employees were not included. In terms of construction workers, some were listed as working for precise firms with addresses listed; others worked out of their own homes. Others were excluded from the sample because they were only recorded in the directory as painter or builder and no indication of work location was given. Thus the B sample by necessity, excluded some types of workers. Domestic servants are also not well covered in the directory. Some are listed as working for employers in elite areas like Forest Hill.

The bias of directory coverage in favour of office and industrial employment has an implication for the overall results in two respects. It indicates that the results may be more reliable for later years when there were fewer domestic servants, for example, and more permanent employees of large firms. Secondly, it may mean that if all domestic servants could have been included, there would have been increased journey to work differences between men and women. The median JTW for women might be lower as many domestics lived with their employers. Also if it was possible to document the workplaces of men on the move, like construction workers and railway/streetcar employees, then the median JTW of men might increase and reveal some interesting complexities. This confirms the importance of using both quantitative and qualitative sources to illustrate the distances and times travelled by Toronto workers.

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