

Ideology Surrounding Women's Work
in Canada, 1931-1956

IDEOLOGY SURROUNDING WOMEN'S WORK
IN CANADA, 1931-1956

By

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ABSTRACT

Ideology determines how one experiences the world, shapes beliefs and expectations. Ideology is rooted in the structural dynamics of the social formation within which it exists. The articulation of the ideological with the economic structure can become problematic at certain points in time. This thesis uses a structural analysis to explore how changes in the economy have affected women in the Canadian labour force and how these changes related to the ideology surrounding women's work. Integral to this thesis is an analysis of how the State, through its labour policy, its government publications, and so on, does at times mediate between the economic situation and the dominant ideology as reflected in the popular media. This ideology is manifested through the institutional structure of the State as it influences both labour policy and the media.+

This thesis presents empirical data on the changes that took place in Canada between 1931 and 1956 in the ideology surrounding women's work. We take articles appearing in popular magazines and government publication of the era to be manifestations of the dominant ideology. We analyzed materials in Maclean's, Chatelaine, Saturday Night, and the National Home Monthly. We analyzed government publications relating to labour policy, focussing on the Labour Gazette, and several reports and publications of government committees.

+Within a structural framework the State labour policy, the media, etc. are seen as Ideological State Apparatuses. This will be discussed in more detail later. See Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus", in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, New York, 1971.

The thesis begins with a theoretical outline. We discuss the concept of ideology and consider its role in the reproduction of class relations, the concept of a reserve army of labour, and finally, a brief summary of the concepts outlined above. We conclude the first chapter with a discussion of the methodologies used in our qualitative and quantitative analyses.

The second, third and fourth chapters use qualitative analyses of periodicals to trace the articulation of the ideological with the economic. Specific references are made to the media, to labour policy and to changes in the economy. These chapters deal with three distinct time periods -- with the Depression, with the World War Two years, and the period 1946 to 1956.

In Chapter 5 we present a quantitative content analysis of selected magazines over the three periods. Our analyses of variations in the frequency of publications of articles relating to women's work and their activities both inside and outside the home confirm the shifts in emphasis over the period 1931 to 1956 that emerge from the earlier quantitative analyses. However, while the content and tone of articles does change with time, as is revealed in the qualitative analysis, the majority of articles have always related to traditionally domestic and feminine concerns. The data show an increasing professionalization of the housewife role.

We conclude with a discussion of the importance of ideology in determining what is defined as women's work, and the importance of the control of women's labour market participation to the maintenance of the existing capitalist economic order.

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CHAPTER ONE

Theoretical Framework: Ideology and Women in the Canadian Labour Force

Canadian women (and women in other countries) occupy a position in the paid labour force which is qualitatively different from that of men--the labour force is segregated by sex along lines of occupation, income, status and power, with women occupying lower positions on every dimension. (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1975; Gunderson, 1976; McDonald, 1975; Marsden, 1975; Connelly, 1976) The job experiences of men and women are so different, the sexes are segregated in the labour force, that it has been suggested that there are in fact two separate labour forces--the male and the female. (Connelly, 1976; Marsden, 1975; Milkman, 1976).

This phenomenon raises the question as to why such diversification exists and is reproduced. How is this pattern legitimated, and accepted, ideologically? Answers to these questions which remain at the descriptive level or which attribute occupational segregation to individuals' characteristics (such as education) or which emphasize subjective decisions to work (Allingham, 1967; Gunderson, 1976; Zellner, 1976) do not satisfactorily explain the function and reproduction of occupational segregation. Occupational segregation, the sexual division of labour, needs to be analysed both in terms of its structural function within the capitalist mode of production and its role in the reproduction of the relations of production. Integral to this is the concept of a reserve army of labour as applied to Canadian women.

Lorna Marsden has outlined the disadvantaged situation of women in an economy largely controlled by multinational corporations alligned with government.¹ While she provides insights into the consequences of this relationship for women's bid for equality, she does not provide a theory adequate for dealing with these issues. Marsden outlines how Canadian women fill the need for a cheap and flexible labour force and describes the ease with which multinationals can move operations if Canadian women and minority groups no longer fill that need. At the same time she discusses the ineffectiveness of government in eliminating discrimination. But there is no concept of discrimination as ideology, or of ideology as a structure (like the economy) which is related to the economy yet has a certain autonomy of its own. Connelly provides a structural analysis in her study of women in the Canadian labour force, 1901-1971.² Here the analysis is limited to the concept of a reserve army of labour, and, again, there is no account of the structural dynamic of ideology.

A segregated labour force with diversified skills functions under capitalism to ensure that workers compete only for the limited number of jobs open to them. This highly competitive labour market not only serves to keep wages down, especially for non-unionized workers, but also tends to inhibit workers' solidarity and organization. This remains the case for "female" jobs such as clerical and sales, where workers are low-paid and non-unionized. Hence we must recognize that the continual reproduction of such a diversified labour force is essential to the continuation of capitalism.

In contemporary social formations

labour power has to be (diversely) skilled and therefore reproduced as such. Diversely: according to the requirements of the socio-technical division of labour, its different 'jobs' and 'posts' ...How is the reproduction of the diversified skills of labour power provided in a capitalist regime? Here...(it is) achieved more and more outside production: by the capitalist education system, and by other instances (ideological or political) and institutions...(through) a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology. (my emphasis)

The "diversified skills of labour power", integral to occupational segregation in the paid labour force as well as a sexual division of labour which keeps women in the home, is necessary to the functioning of capitalism and must be continually reproduced. The reproduction of this division of labour does not take place entirely within the economic sphere (as, for example, when one receives "on the job training") or on an individual basis, but also is reproduced ideologically by means of the Ideological State Apparatus.

At this point it is necessary to outline the concept of ideology as employed in this analysis. Marx provides a clear definition of the concept of "dominant ideology" in The German Ideology:

In every epoch the ideas of the ruling class are the ruling ideas, that is, the class that is the ruling material power of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual power. The class having the means of material productions has also control over the means of intellectual production so that it also controls, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of intellectual production. The ruling ideas are...the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas, hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one and therefore the ideas of its domination. The individuals who comprise the ruling class possess, among other things, consciousness and thought...Among other things they rule also as thinkers and producers of ideas and regulate the...ideas of their age.

Following Marx, Dorothy Smith points out the effect of the dominant ideology on individual members of a society. She writes:

The ideas and images are a pervasive and fundamental mode which serves to organize, order and control the social relations, the working practices, the ideals and objectives, of individual members of the society. These are the forms given to people to understand what is happening to them, what other people are doing, particularly those not directly part of their lives. These are the means we are given to examine our experience, our needs and anxieties, and find out how they can be made objective and realized (made real) as a basis for action.

In order to comprehend the nature of the articulation of the ideological and the economic; however, we turn to the structuralist interpretation of Marx for a more comprehensive definition of the concept. Louis Althusser constructs a concept of ideology as follows:

Ideology is indeed a system of representations, but in the majority of cases the representations have nothing to do with 'consciousness': they are usually images and occasionally concepts, but it is above all as structures that they impose on the vast majority of men, not via their 'consciousness'. They are perceived-accepted-suffered cultural objects and they act functionally on men via a process that escapes them.⁶ (original italics)

Marx has outlined the class relationships which are the basis of dominant ideology. Further, however, Althusser has attempted to give more rigour to this relationship between ideology and the economy. Althusser describes social formations in terms of three types of social activity, or instances: the economic, the political and the ideological. In any given social formation the economic instance will be "determinant" and another, or the same one, will be "dominant"... As Macintyre and Tribe explain:

According to Althusser, Marx showed that the economic or the political or the ideological instance could be dominant in a particular social formation. The role of the economic base...is to determine which instance is dominant, by which is meant the instance in which social conflicts are formulated. (original italics)

In capitalist society, although the ideological instance has a relative autonomy, its dynamics are best understood with respect to the economy. As Althusser notes: the State and ideology are not mere expressions of the economy, they are autonomous within a structured whole where one aspect is dominant, this dominance being determined in the last instance by the economy."⁸ (my emphasis) It is crucial to note these two dimensions of ideology: 1) that ideology is autonomous with respect to the economy although the economic is determinant in the last instance; and 2) the unconscious nature of ideology.++

Althusser illustrates the unconscious nature of ideology with an example from the eighteenth century which is worth quoting at length.

The ruling ideology is then the ideology of the ruling class. But the ruling class does not maintain with the ruling ideology, which is its own ideology, an external lucid relation of pure utility and cunning. When during the eighteenth century, the 'rising class' the bourgeoisie, developed a humanist ideology of equality, freedom and reason, it gave its own demands the form of universality, since it hoped thereby to enroll at its side, by their education to this end, the very men it would liberate only for their exploitation. This is the Rousseauan myth of the origins of inequality: the rich holding forth to the poor in 'the most deliberate discourse' ever conceived, so as

++ See Louis Althusser, "Marxism and Humanism" in For Marx, Harmondsworth, 1965.

+ See Althusser, "Contradiction and Overdetermination" in For Marx, Harmondsworth, 1965.

to persuade them to live their slavery as freedom. In reality, the bourgeoisie has to believe in its own myth before it can convince others, and not only so as to convince others, since what it lives in its ideology is the very relation between it and its real conditions of existence which allows it simultaneously to act on itself (provide itself with a legal and ethical consciousness, and the legal and ethical conditions of economic liberalism) and on others (those 'free labourers') so as to take up, occupy and maintain its historical role as a ruling class. Thus in a very exact sense, the bourgeoisie lives in the ideology of freedom the relation between it and its conditions of existence; that is, its real relation (the law of a liberal capitalist economy) but invested in an imaginary relation (all men are free, including the free labourers).⁹ (my emphasis)

Hence in Canada in the period under study, ideology is not a tool of the capitalist class, but rather an objective and unconscious structure which functions to serve class interests. The dominant ideology in the popular media would be verbalized and experienced by journalists and publishers as "reality", or "a reflection of popular opinion", or perhaps "reasonable advice".

Due to the strict occupational segregation in Canada, women generally play no part in the reproduction of the dominant ideology projected in the media. As Dorothy Smith argues:

In our society men, to a large extent, appropriate the positions that govern, administer and manage the community. Men hold the positions from which the work of organizing the society is initiated and controlled. A distinctive feature of this social form is that the work of organizing is largely done symbolically. Things get done, or rather their doing is initiated and co-ordinated, in words, in mathematical and other symbolic forms, on paper. It is an ideologically structured mode of action. Images, vocabularies, concepts, knowledge of and methods of knowing the world are integral to the practice of power. The work of creating the concepts and skills which transform the actualities of the empirical into forms in which they may be governed, the work of producing the social forms of consciousness

in art and literature, in news...is done by institutions which are themselves an integral part of the ruling structure...Broadcasting and publishing corporations (and others)...are ideological institutions of the society. They produce, distribute, and socialize in the ideological forms upon which social organization depends.¹⁰

Those notions of the sexual division of labour and the nature "women's work" which reinforce women's position in the labour force, therefore, are maintained as ideological structures through institutions (broadcasting and publishing corporations) which are controlled by men. Symbolic images of women's work through the media in "art and literature and in the news" are male-produced in institutions integral to the ruling structure. This is not to imply that men consciously and deliberately attempt to create certain images and stereotypes of women because they are men, but to point out that it is men who are in positions which have that power.

The function of the media and government policy in the reproduction of class relations becomes more clear if we consider them in terms of the Ideological State Apparatus. This also incorporates a brief look at the State. Within the theoretical problematic of this study, the State is seen as the instance which institutionalizes the ideological instance--hence, ideology is seen as a material practice.+ In its function in protecting and serving ruling class interests,++ the State has two means of

++Rather than viewing the State as a mere tool of the capitalist class, the State here is defined by its function of maintaining the cohesion of the social formation, which of course, protects the interests of the capitalist class as a whole. See Poulantzas,

+See Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus" in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, New York, 1971.

achieving social control and playing its part in reproducing class relations--through overt repression or on an ideological level.

The institutions which achieve these ends are the Repressive State Apparatus, including the Police and the Army, and the Ideological State Apparatus. Our concern here is with the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). Althusser has developed the concept in contemporary capitalism. He has listed the following institutions as ISAs:

- the religious ISA (the system of different Churches)
- the educational ISA...
- the family ISA
- the legal ISA
- the political ISA (The political system...)
- the trade-union ISA
- the communications ISA (press, radio and television, etc.)¹¹
- the cultural ISA (Literature, the Arts, sports, etc.)¹¹

Some ISAs are not entirely of the public domain (such privately-controlled realities as churches, families, some schools, some of the media, etc.) but are defined as Ideological State Apparatuses by virtue of their function. Althusser writes:

What distinguishes the ISAs from the (Repressive) State Apparatus is...(that) the Repressive State Apparatus functions 'by violence', whereas the Ideological State Apparatuses function 'by ideology'.¹²
(original italics)

And further,

If the ISAs 'function' massively and predominantly by ideology, what unifies their diversity is precisely this functioning, insofar as the ideology by which they function is always in fact unified, despite its diversity and contradictions, beneath the ruling ideology, which is the ideology of 'the ruling class'. Given the fact that the 'ruling class' in principle holds State power (openly or more often by means of alliances between classes or class fractions), and therefore has at its disposal the (Repressive) State Apparatus, we can accept the fact that this same

ruling class is active in the Ideological State Apparatuses insofar as it is ultimately the ruling ideology which is realized in the Ideological State Apparatuses. (original italics)¹³

The ISA we are primarily concerned with in this analysis is the Canadian communications ISA (popular magazines and government publications of State policy) but the participation of women in the labour force obviously has consequences for and is influenced by the other ISAs, especially the family. Women's position in this social formation makes for a unique relationship to these ISAs. While women are appealed to as readers of mass circulation magazines, due to the segregated occupational structure, women are not in positions of power in the communication ISA under study here. The consequences in this society are those Smith has argued. It is men who control the communications ISA, leaving women to interpret the world through an ideology, the reproduction of which they have no control.

The final concept to be introduced here is that of the reserve army of labour. The principal defining characteristics of a reserve army of labour are that it "meets the pre-conditions of cheapness and availability as well as the principal condition of competition".¹⁴ Women workers in Canada are a source of cheap labour, competitive and available when needed to be drawn into and forced out of the labour force as the economy demands. More specifically, it is Canadian married women who function as a reserve army of labour. Until the depression it was taken for granted that a single woman worked but would relinquish her job upon marriage. This assumption was challenged by families'

economic needs during the depression and the labour force needs of WWII.

Because women are a source of cheap labour, the working class as a whole, and especially working class men, have an interest in restricting the employment of married women. Capitalist employers can use women as a reserve army of labour to drive male wages, and total family income down. This is evidenced historically by Labour Gazette reports of Canadian Labour Congress statements and by contemporary studies of views of male union members by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada. This also serves to reinforce the ideology that "woman's place is in the home".

The purpose of this thesis is not to ascertain whether or not Canadian women are in fact a reserve army of labour. On the basis of Connelly's (1976) study I accept the notion that Canadian women function as a reserve army, to be called upon to participate in the labour force when needed. It is important, however, to note that the use of this concept is integral to a structural analysis of the ideology in question here. As Connelly explains the utility of the concept and the approach:

A structural approach moves the focus away from subjective conditions and individual choices to the objective conditions of the capitalist system. This approach is based on the assumption that objective conditions structure behaviour. Individuals may or may not be conscious of these objective or class conditions. In either case, they have little control over them as individuals. Objective conditions provide the context within which individual decisions are made... Restated (within a structural framework) the question (of women's participation) becomes--under what conditions do women participate in the labour force? (pp. 158-159).

We are concerned here not with why and when women participate in the labour force, but rather with how ideology is transformed depending on the need for women's participation, reinforcing or discouraging that participation, and determining the types of occupations that women will be permitted to enter.

To summarize, we are posing the question of how the ideology surrounding women's work articulated with the economy in Canada over the period 1931-1956. Occupational segregation and the position of women in the Canadian labour force is seen in light of the need of the capitalist system for a diversified labour force. The reproduction of this occupational segregation is seen to be reproduced ideologically. The concept of "dominant ideology" is taken from Marx and expanded by Althusser and Smith. Althusser's notion of "instances" is crucial to this analysis, as it provides a basis for understanding the articulation of ideology with the economy. Also crucial is the notion of the autonomy of instances which allows a more sophisticated analysis of ideology than one of economic reductionism. Integral to this concept of ideology is its unconscious nature. The groups that institutionalize ideology in modern social formations are termed Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA's). The primary one examined in this analysis is the communications Ideological State Apparatus. The use of the concept of the reserve army of labour allows us to eliminate questions of subjective decisions, and, focusses our attention on the conditions under which women do or do not participate in the labour force. This study examines the ideology associated with women's entry into and

departure from the paid labour force.

For this analysis the concepts will be operationalized as follows. The capitalist social formation under study is the liberal democracy of Canada, between the years 1931 and 1956. The economic structure is the paid labour force and the economy which is its base. We take articles appearing in Chatelaine, Maclean's, the National Home Monthly, Saturday Night, the Labour Gazette and reports of government committees as representing the dominant ideology.

Unfortunately circulation statistics for these magazines were unavailable. We can, however, assume a middle and upper class readership. The cost of magazines prevented the low-wage earners of the working class from buying magazines, especially during the depression, although the magazines may have developed a wider audience at the end of the period under study. This class bias is evidenced not only in the tone and content of some articles, but also in the advertisements. Obviously, to sustain themselves, magazines appealed to readers who could and would purchase the expensive products advertised in their pages. Hence the magazines and their advertisers had an interest in appealing to the desires and class prejudices of their readers.

With the exception of Chatelaine, the editors of the magazines were male. Bryne Hope Saunders was the editor of Chatelaine for most of the period under study but her Editorial Director was H. Napier Moore, the editor of Maclean's. Both Maclean's and Chatelaine are publications of the Maclean-Hunter Publishing Company whose President, Vice-President and General Manager are all male.

There were two types of content analysis done, a qualitative and a quantitative. The quantitative analysis provides concrete evidence of the trends over time. From a sample of 300 issues of three of the publications we present statistics on the frequency of types of themes found in the magazines. The themes are categorized as women's interests inside and outside the home. The methodology for the quantitative analysis is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five and the appendices. The findings of the quantitative analysis are briefly summarized in Chart 1.1.

The qualitative analysis gives breadth and scope to the quantitative analysis, reflecting more thoroughly the subtleties of ideological change. Quotations from articles which indicate ideological changes are examined in the economic and demographic context, and the different eras are discussed in depth. The quantitative analysis substantiates the trends discussed in the qualitative analysis which otherwise might have been attributed to the writer's bias.

The twenty-five years under study were broken into three periods: the depression, 1931-1938; the war era, 1939-1945; and the post-war era, 1946-1956. The periods are distinct not because they represent distinct political eras but also because of their characteristic employment trends and family patterns. In the following tables and charts these trends are traced over the century, except where data is unavailable.

Chart 1.2 traces the participation of women in the labour

Chart 1.1
 Changing Frequency of Types of Magazine Articles, 1931-1956.
 (Percentage of Each Type of Article)

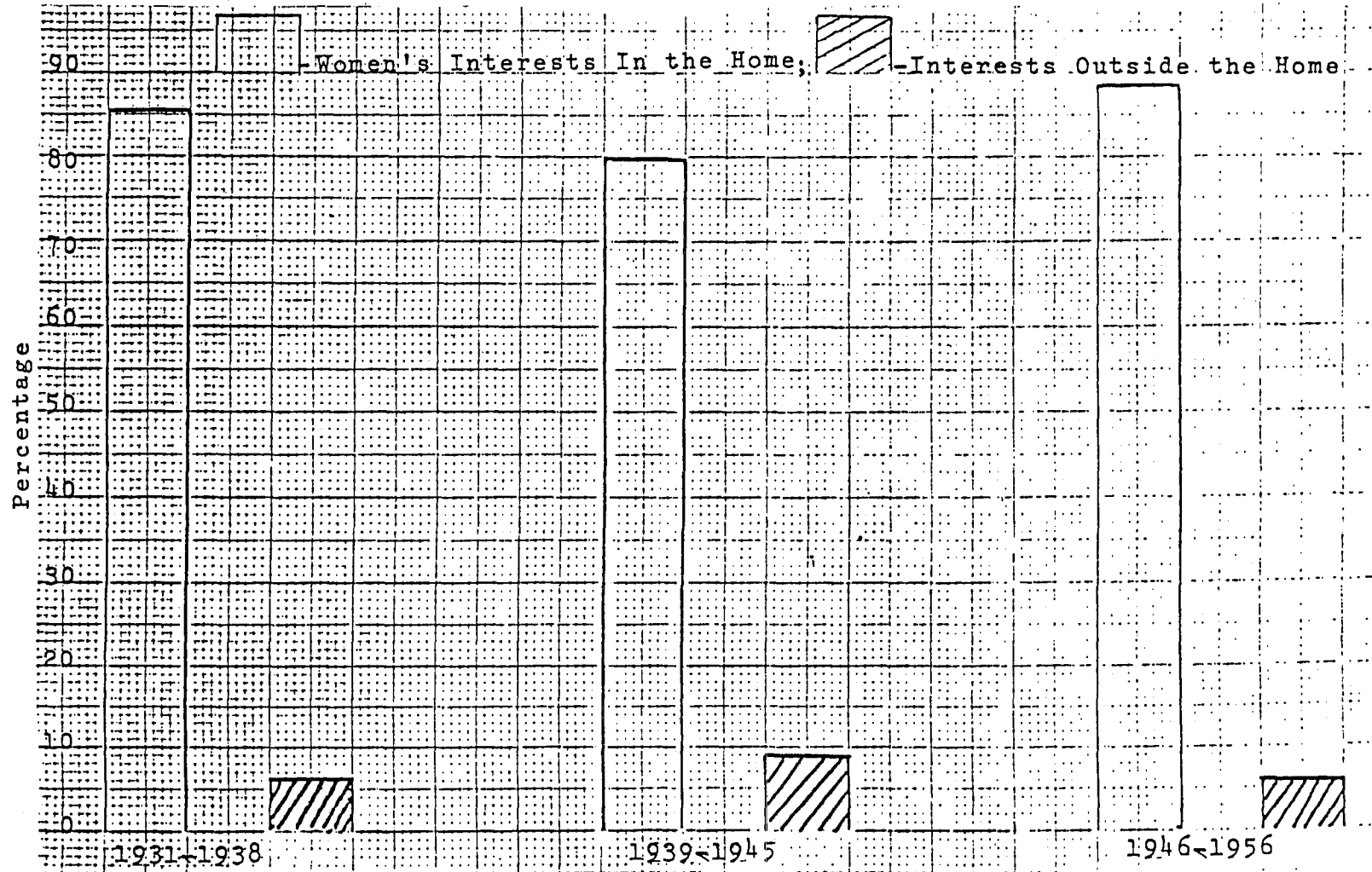
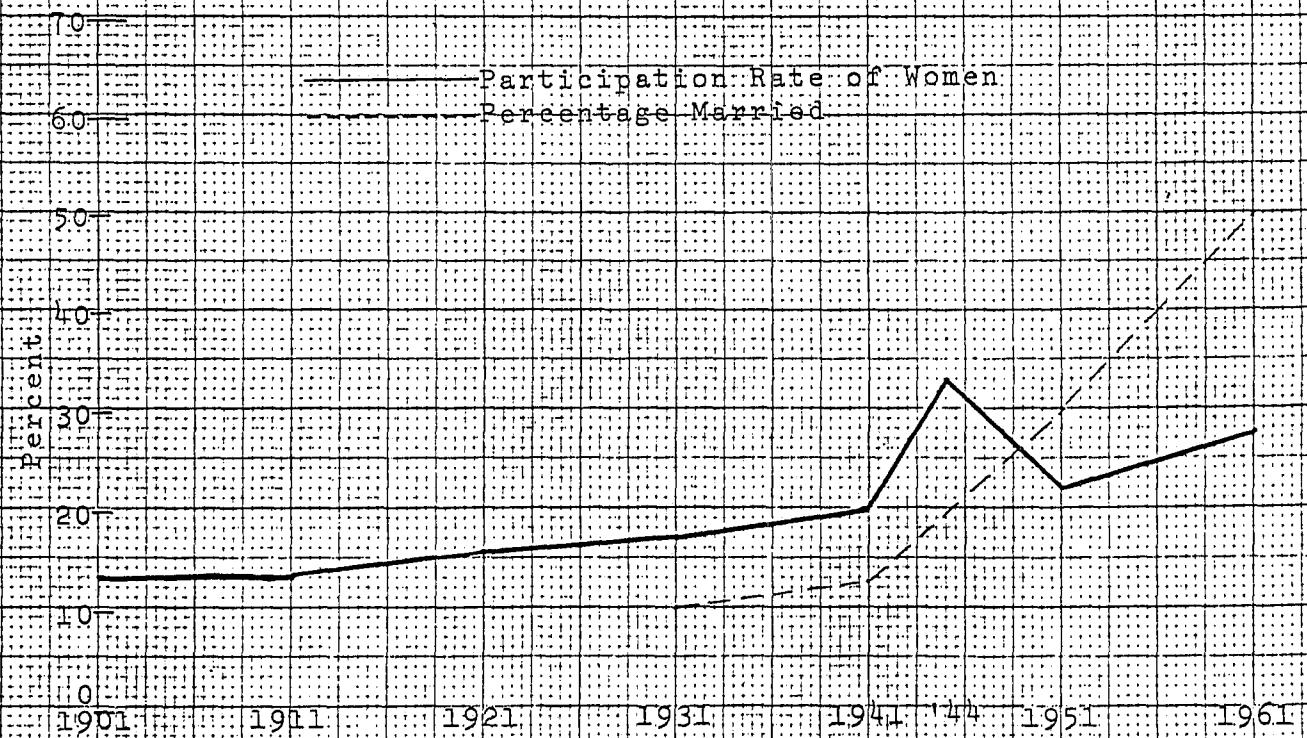


Chart 1.2 Participation Rate of Women in the Canadian Labour Force, 1901-1961, and Percentage of Working Women who are Married, 1931-1961



Source: Women Who Work, Department of Labour, Ottawa, 1964, p. 21.

force and the marital status of women workers from 1901 to 1961. Overall female participation and married women's participation increased over the century and showed a marked increase during WWII.

Table 1.1 presents average annual earnings of Canadians from 1931 to 1961. Women's earnings are consistently lower than men's earnings over the thirty year period.

Chart 1.3 traces family and demographic patterns. Again the low-birth rate of the 1930's and the peak after the war suggests a natural division of the three periods. Similar distinctions occur in marriage and divorce rates over the period.

Finally Table 1.2 traces the changing occupational structure of the female labour force over the century. Although the wartime peak in women's participation is not evident in this table, the steady increase in female participation in "All Occupations" is clear, as is the steady increase in the "Clerical" category. In fact, this table presents a trend which appears to be more continuous and smooth than our analysis indicates because census figures do not account for the wartime trends, as we do.

Table 1.1
Average Annual Earnings of Persons in Each Major Occupation Group
by Sex, Canada, 1931-1961.

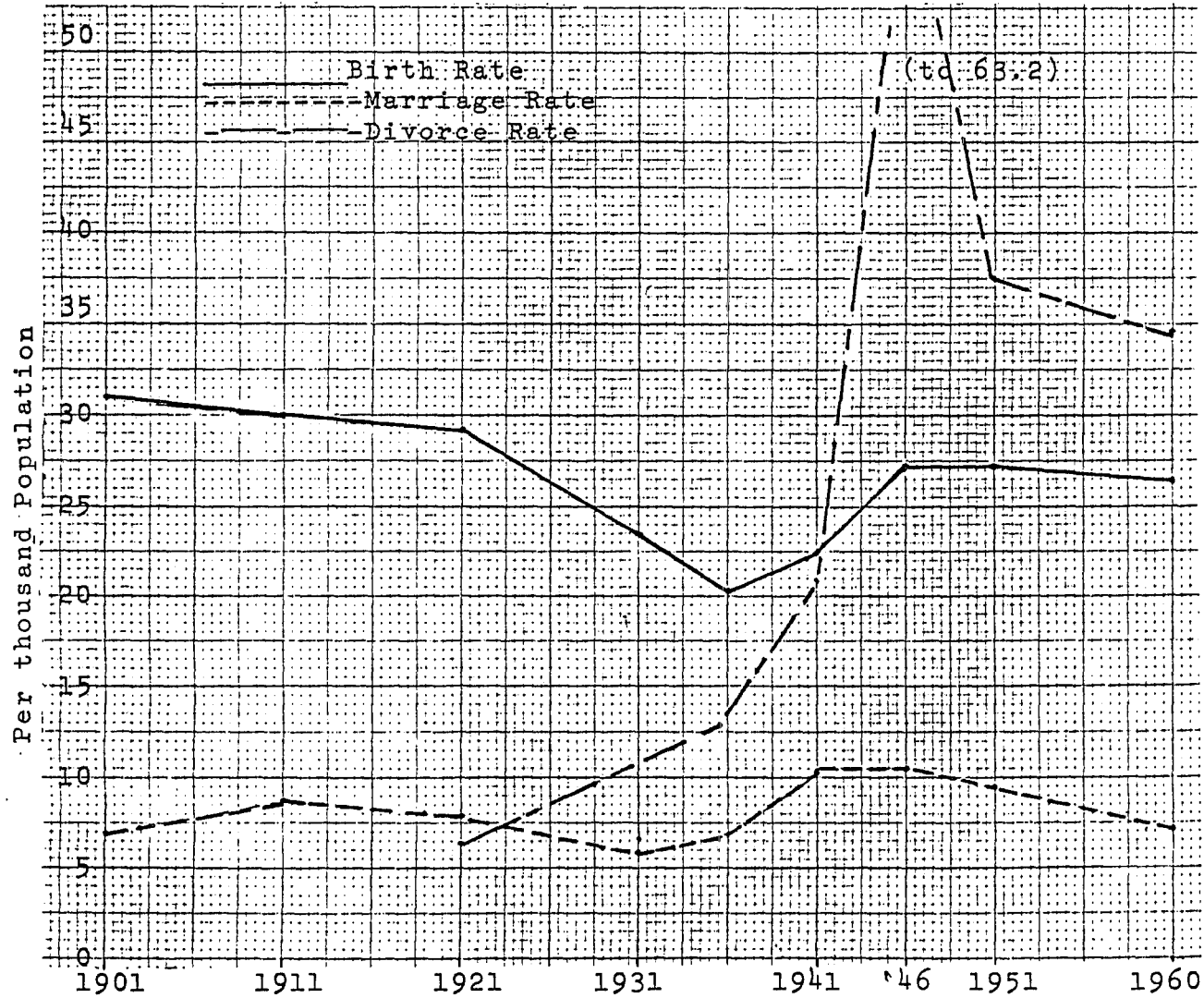
	Average Earnings, Total				Average Earnings, Male				Average Earnings, Female			
	1931	1941	1951*	1961	1931	1941	1951*	1961	1931	1941	1951*	1961
All Occupations	847	867	1,860	3,170	925	993	2,131	3,660	559	490	1,220	1,993
White-collar.....	1,307	1,181	1,989	3,690	1,604	1,502	2,521	4,759	778	680	1,439	2,360
Proprietary & managerial.....	2,843	2,421	3,491	6,438	2,903	2,508	3,604	6,721	1,083	861	1,756	3,104
Professional	1,426	1,293	2,329	4,443	1,978	1,746	3,011	5,507	853	746	1,620	3,007
Clerical	1,007	922	1,771	2,743	1,153	1,113	2,166	3,381	830	731	1,546	2,339
Commercial & financial.....	1,104	985	1,730	2,985	1,294	1,215	2,281	3,891	536	468	1,014	1,443
Manual	768	880	2,013	3,171	793	929	2,118	3,334	494	490	1,261	1,839
Manufacturing & mechanical ²	876	944	2,139	3,409	968	1,055	2,313	3,730	468	481	1,264	1,813
Construction	862	884	2,103	3,279	862	885	2,106	3,283	476	480	1,304	1,728
Labourers ⁵	485	597	1,516	2,142	488	607	1,555	2,186	375	389	1,076	1,449
Transportation & communication	1,041	1,009	2,065	3,343	1,067	1,030	2,135	3,451	704	653	1,353	2,160
Service	529	456	1,054	1,877	897	844	1,800	2,797	301	233	644	1,153
Personal.....	433	354	906	1,591	739	682	1,632	2,425	300	231	643	1,143
Protective & other	1,255	1,130	2,177	3,491	1,266	1,140	2,198	3,567	656	506	748	1,928
Primary.....	428	508	1,118	2,147	429	511	1,140	2,202	235	240	Under 500	622
Agricultural.....	325	298	769	1,341	326	300	788	1,400	235	185	Under 500	606
Fishing, hunting	456	407	860	1,482	457	409	860	1,498	238	160	895	804
Logging	442	476	1,173	2,013	442	476	1,173	2,014	—	—	999	1,262
Mining & quarrying.....	782	1,116	2,399	3,970	782	1,116	2,399	3,971	—	318	1,499	1,742
Not Stated	863	617	1,435	3,154	948	669	1,610	3,540	283	434	1,019	1,908

* Median in 1951

— None

Source: Noah M. Meltz. Manpower In Canada, 1931-1961: Historical Statistics of the Canadian Labour Force. Canada: 1969, p. 241.

Chart 1.3
 Marriage, Divorce and Crude Birth Rates, Canada, 1901-1960.



Source: M.C.Urquhart and K.A.Buckley, Historical Statistics of Canada.
 Toronto: 1965, pp.38-42.

Table 1.2
Females as a per cent of Total Labour Force in Each Major Occupation
(per cent)

Occupation	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
All Occupations	13.3	13.4	15.5	17.0	19.8	22.3	27.8
White-collar	20.6	23.8	29.5	31.5	35.1	38.1	41.3
Proprietary and managerial	3.6	4.5	4.3	4.8	7.2	8.9	10.3
Professional	42.5	44.6	54.1	49.5	46.1	43.5	43.2
Clerical	22.1	32.6	41.8	45.1	50.1	56.7	61.5
Commercial and financial	10.4	19.2	23.1	23.1	29.4	35.2	36.7
Manual	12.6	10.4	10.4	8.5	11.0	11.5	10.6
Manufacturing and mechanical	24.8	25.9	24.3	18.7	19.1	18.8	16.8
Construction	*	*	0.1	*	0.2	0.3	0.2
Labourers	0.9	0.1	0.2	2.6	4.4	6.0	6.1
Transportation and communication	1.4	3.5	8.4	6.5	5.3	8.2	7.9
Service	68.7	65.3	58.9	63.0	65.1	55.4	57.8
Personal	71.7	67.2	68.9	69.6	72.9	64.2	66.4
Protective and other	2.7	6.8	11.9	2.1	1.8	3.1	5.1
Primary	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.9	1.5	3.1	9.2
Agriculture	1.2	1.7	1.7	2.1	1.8	3.9	11.7
Fishing, trapping	0.1	0.8	0.2	1.0	0.6	0.5	1.1
Logging	-	-	-	-	-	*	0.2
Mining, quarrying	*	*	*	-	*	*	*
Not stated	-	-	23.0	18.0	15.1	20.5	25.8
Not elsewhere classified	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

* less than 0.05 per cent; - none

Source: Noah Meltz, 1969, P.61, Table A.4, in Connelly, 1976, p.128.

Table 1.3
 Female Labour Force, Male Labour Force, Distributed by Major Occupation
 Groups, Canada, 1901-1961.

Occupation	(per cent)													
	Females							Males						
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
All Occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White-collar	23.6	29.9	47.9	45.4	44.6	55.4	57.4	14.1	14.8	21.0	20.2	20.4	25.8	31.4
Proprietary and managerial	1.2	1.6	2.0	1.6	2.0	3.0	2.9	4.8	5.0	8.2	6.4	6.2	8.8	9.8
Professional	14.7	12.5	19.0	17.7	15.6	14.4	15.6	3.1	2.4	2.9	3.7	4.5	5.4	7.9
Clerical	5.3	9.1	18.5	17.7	18.3	27.4	28.6	2.9	3.0	4.7	4.4	4.5	6.0	6.9
Commerical and financial	2.4	6.7	8.4	8.4	8.7	10.6	10.3	3.3	4.4	5.2	5.7	5.2	5.6	6.8
Manual	30.6	28.0	21.1	16.9	18.5	19.4	13.3	32.5	37.3	33.1	37.2	37.1	42.9	43.2
Manufacturing and mechanical	29.6	26.4	18.0	12.7	15.4	14.6	9.9	13.8	11.7	10.2	11.3	16.2	18.2	18.8
Construction						0.1		5.4	5.5	5.5	5.6	5.8	7.2	7.3
Labourers	0.5	0.1	0.1	1.8	1.4	1.8	1.2	8.2	13.8	11.4	13.2	7.6	8.1	7.1
Transportation and communication	0.5	1.5	3.0	2.4	1.7	2.9	2.2	5.1	6.3	6.0	7.1	7.5	9.4	10.0
Service	42.0	37.6	27.0	34.0	34.4	21.3	22.5	2.9	3.1	3.4	4.1	4.6	4.9	6.3
Personal	42.0	37.5	26.0	33.9	34.3	21.1	22.2	2.6	2.8	2.1	3.0	3.2	3.4	4.3
Protective and other		0.1	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.5	2.0
Primary	3.8	4.5	3.7	3.7	2.3	2.8	4.3	50.5	44.8	42.3	38.5	37.6	25.1	16.4
Agriculture	3.8	4.4	3.7	3.6	2.3	2.8	4.3	45.9	38.9	38.1	33.9	31.7	19.7	12.5
Fishing, trapping		0.1		0.1				1.8	1.5	1.1	1.5	1.5	1.3	0.8
Logging	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.0	1.8	1.4	1.3	2.3	2.5	1.7
Mining, Quarrying								1.8	2.6	1.7	1.8	2.1	1.6	1.4
Not stated	-	-	0.3		0.2	1.1	2.5	-	-	0.2		0.3	1.3	2.7
Occupations not elsewhere classified	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Noah Meltz, 1969, Pp.59-60, Tables A.2, A.3, in Connelly, 1976, p.122.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lorna Marsden, "Why Now? The Mirage of Equality", Canadian Forum, Vol. 55, No. 654 (Sept. 1975); p.12.
2. M. Patricia Connelly, Canadian Women as a Reserve Army of Labour, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto: 1976.
3. Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Toward an Investigation)", in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, New York: 1971; pp.131-133.
4. Karl Marx, The German Ideology, edited by C.J. Arthur, New York: 1973; p.64.
5. Dorothy Smith, "An analysis of ideological structures and how women are excluded: considerations for academic women", The Canadian Review of Anthropology and Sociology, Vol. 12, No.4 (1973); p.356.
6. Louis Althusser, For Marx, Harmondsworth: 1965; p.253.
7. Stuart Macintyre and Keith Tribe, Althusser and Marxist Theory, Second Edition, S. Tribe and K. Macintyre, Cambridge: 1975; p.8.
8. Louis Althusser, op cit., 1971; p.251.
9. Louis Althusser, op cit., 1965; p.234.
10. Dorothy Smith, op cit.; p.354.
11. Louis Althusser, op cit., 1971; p.143.
12. Ibid, pp.144-145.
13. Ibid, p.146.
14. Patricia Connelly, op cit., p.159.
15. Ibid, pp.158-159.

CHAPTER TWO

The Depression Years, 1931-1938

Any discussion that surrounded women and their work during the depression, as it was presented in magazines and in government publications, must take account of the economic pressures upon the family during the depression, and the position of women therein. We first consider how unemployment rates were associated with changes in marriage and birth rates, and then explore the nature of the ideology surrounding women's work.

High unemployment rates among both men and women led to changes in the ideology surrounding working women. Unemployment also is the key issue in considering the distribution of relief, its surrounding ideology and the sexual division of labour.

This analysis is thus divided into two sections. The first section provides the economic demographic framework within which the ideology was developed and articulated. We draw on government statistics and a descriptive analysis of secondary sources, both Canadian and American. The second section analyses the ideology itself, as it was articulated in the popular magazines of the era.

The Economy and Employment

Unemployment during the depression years ranged from 2.9 per cent in 1929 to 19.3 per cent in 1933. (See Table 2.1.)

The participation of women in the Canadian labour force had been steadily increasing since 1901 and continued during the

TABLE 2.1

Unemployment in Canada, selected years during the Depression

Year	Total labour force (thousands)	Percent * Unemployed
1929	3,964	2.1
1930	4,060	9.1
1932	4,211	17.6
1933	4,275	19.3
1938	4,588	11.3

*These rates are derived from the official statistics and may be lower than the actual rates. S.A. Saunders in L. Richter (ed.) Canada's Unemployment Problem, Toronto 1939, for example, calculated unemployment in 1933 to be 26.6 per cent.

Source: M.C. Buckley and K.A. Urquhart, Historical Statistics of Canada, Toronto: 1965, p. 61.

thirties, but the rate at which women increasingly participated in the labour force levelled off slightly during the depression. The decade 1930-1940 showed the lowest percentage increase of any between 1901 and 1961.¹ (See Table 1.2, Chapter One.)

In 1931 women composed 17 per cent of the total labour force of these women the leading occupational groups was Personal Service employing 34 per cent of women workers, followed by Professional and Clerical.² (See Table 1.3, Chapter One.)

The occupations entered by women during the depression were poorly paid, and it was only during WWII that women entered highly paid occupations. The jobs, given to women in the depression were for the most part, taken to enable the family to survive and these were not high in status or pay, domestic service, for example. In fact, after WWI domestic service never regained its position as the largest employer of women. We see a historical pattern whereby women entered occupations in times of economic crisis* and we can assume this happened again in the 1930's. For the average wages earned during the period, see Table 1.1, Chapter One.

Single women have traditionally worked. However, the percentage of married women in the labour force also increased

* See Genevieve Leslie, "Domestic Service in Canada, 1880-1920", in Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930", Janice Acton (ed.), (ed.), Toronto, 1974.

slightly during the depression. Of women in the Canadian labour force in 1931, 80.7 per cent were single, 10.0 per cent were married, and 9.2 per cent were classified as "Other". By 1941 the percentage of married women had increased to 12.7 per cent. (See Table 1.3, Chapter One.)

The total number of women in the labour force increased from 794,000 in 1931 to 959,000 in 1939. As was the case with the male labour force, 1933 was also the year which showed the greatest number of women workers unemployed and seeking work. In 1933 725,000 men were classified as "Persons without jobs and seeking work" as compared to 654,000 in 1932 and 555,000 in 1934. There were 101,000 women "without jobs and seeking work" in 1933, in comparison with 87,000 in 1932, and 76,000 in 1934. Unemployment decreased for both sexes in 1939, with 356,000 men and 55,000 women seeking work but rose again in 1938 to 443,000 men and 79,000 women, and in 1939, was at 443,000 men and 86,000 women unemployed. Of course, the outbreak of war in 1939 brought an end to the depression and unemployment rates fell in 1940.³

Women and the Family

Integral to the situation of unemployment and women's participation in the labour force is the situation faced by families at this time. One of the most important factors to be considered is the provision of "relief" during the depression. It is noteworthy that reasons for receiving relief throughout the thirties are not simply due to unemployment. They are complicated by droughts suffered

at that time, especially severe on the prairies in 1937 and 1938: Farm families needed relief as droughts ruined their farms. It is possible that the receipt of relief in "Dried-Out Areas" may have been somewhat more socially acceptable than receiving relief because of unemployment. Hence the ideology surrounding relief and employment (male or female) may have been qualitatively different in these areas. However there is insufficient material for the question to be adequately considered here. While statistics in Table 2.2 indicate increases in the receipt of relief in 1937, the possible changes in ideology at that time in drought-stricken areas will not be considered.

The lowest average yearly number of those on direct relief was in 1932+ when 150,595 heads of families and a total of 759,321 persons were afforded direct relief (exclusive of Dried-Out Areas). The highest number of persons on relief was in the following year, 1933, when 230,063 heads of families and a total of 1,147,161 persons were on direct relief (exclusive of Dried-Out Areas).

The social effects and ideology surrounding unemployment will be discussed later but first, to provide a more comprehensive framework for this discussion, we will consider some demographic trends. The following table indicates marriage trends over the

+These figures are from a study which takes 1932 as its starting point. It is therefore possible that figures are lower for 1930 and 1931 but it is doubtful that the trend noted here would be significantly affected by more data. Figures on government spending on social welfare from Urquhart and Buckley (1965) support the trend noted here. Above figures are from L.Richter, Canada's Unemployment Problem, Toronto: 1939, p.34.

Table 2.2
Numbers Afforded Direct Relief in Canada

Year	Dried-Out Areas	Total Number on Direct Relief
1932	74,667	833,988
1933	80,396	1,227,557
1936	128,527	1,149,263
1937	170,842	957,085

Source: S.A. Saunders in L. Richter (ed.), Canada's Unemployment Problem. Toronto:1939, p.34.

Table 2.3

Number of Marriages and Rate, Average Age at Marriage for Brides and Bridegrooms, Number of Divorces and Rate, Canada, 1929 to 1939.

Year	Marriages		Average Age at Marriage (Yrs.)		Divorces	
	No.	Rate per 1,000 population	Brides	Bridegrooms	No.	Rate per 1,000 population
1939	106,266	9.2	25.1	29.0	2,073	18.4
1938	90,709	7.9	25.3	29.3	2,228	20.0
1937	89,983	7.9	25.2	29.3	1,833	16.6
1936	82,941	7.4	25.0	29.1	1,570	14.4
1935	78,908	7.1	25.0	29.0	1,431	13.2
1934	75,034	6.8	24.9	29.1	1,123	10.5
1933	65,516	6.0	24.9	29.2	931	8.8
1932	64,141	5.9	24.9	29.2	1,007	9.6
1931	68,239	6.4	24.9	29.2	700	6.8
1930	73,341	7.0	25.0	29.2	875	8.0
1929	78,977	7.7	24.9	29.1	817	8.2

Source: M.C. Urquhart and K.A. Buckley, Historical Statistics of Canada. Toronto, 1965, p.42.

(See Table 2.3)

From the table we see that the marriage rate dropped during the two worst years of the depression, 1932 and 1933, but then continued to increase until 1939. While the divorce rate dropped in 1931 and 1933, it continued to rise throughout the remainder of the depression. The average age for brides rose slightly during the depression and the average age for bridegrooms fluctuated slightly but remained at a fairly constant average of 29.2 years, dipping to 28.9 in 1940, at the end of the depression. One of the most striking features of the thirties is the low birth rate. (See Table 2.4). Marriages were being postponed during the depression, as was childbearing. At the same time families had fewer children because they simply could not afford them. Fewer young children also freed women to enter employment outside the home if it was necessary.

As is usually the case, there may have been a class difference in the marriage, divorce and birth rates but that data is unavailable here as so we can discuss only the general trends.

Ideology during the Depression

Turning to the social consequences of the depression in everyday experience, Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd's classic

Table 2.4
Crude Birth Rate¹, 1929-1940.

Year	Crude Birth Rate
1929	23.5
1930	23.9
1931	23.2
1932	22.5
1933	21.0
1934	20.7
1935	20.5
1936	20.3
1937	20.1
1938	20.7
1939	20.6
1940	21.6

¹Number of live births per thousand population.

Source: M.C. Urquhart and K.A. Buckley, Historical Statistics of Canada, Toronto: 1965, p.38.

American study Middletown in Transition is relevant to the trends outlined here. Certainly not all characteristics of Middletown will be relevant to the Canadian scene, but where trends are similar some insights might be drawn. The Middletown analysis can be used to consider female participation in the labour force, marriage and divorce rates in a cultural and ideological context. Not only do Lynd and Lynd provide a statistical view of the social trends but also a portrait of everyday life.

In Middletown during the late twenties and thirties, there was an increase in female participation in the labour force with "the sentiment in favor of working...spreading steadily"⁴ among girls leaving high school. However, as was the case in the Canadian labour force, the rate of increased participation was low during the depression. The sharp competition for jobs during the depression accounts for much of this trend. As the Lynds state,

Not only are men competing more directly for women's jobs, but so great has been the burden of local relief that a strong, though still scattered (in 1935), sentiment has developed...in favor of filling new jobs with unemployed men first, especially married men--and only after that with women.⁵

Hence, although women, married and single, were participating more in the labour force, the ideology surrounding this trend was somewhat complex. On the one hand the Lynds note that the "high-school girls parade their independence and many of them talk of 'working' after they get out of school rather than 'just marrying and settling down'",⁶ and,

Woman's traditional great dependence upon man has been less acceptable and more irksome. Careers for women have opened and alternative path diverging sharply--in its demand for male traits of drive and single-mindedness, the qualities associated with power--from the traditional woman's path in the home with its emphasis upon the feminine traits of gentleness, willingness to be led, and affection.⁷

On the other hand, high unemployment and the distribution of relief created an ideology of prejudice against female workers, who were seen as in less economic need than male heads of families.

While the women of Middletown were seen to carry the emotional burden of the depression, ("In many cases the wife has had to support not only her own morale but that of her husband as well.")⁸ for those women who remained in the home, the round of daily activities changed very little in Middletown. It seems however that this latter observation may be somewhat biased in two ways. First, there may be a class difference in the extent to which daily life changed for women. Closely related may be a bias in overlooking qualitative differences in the housewife's role, which arise from the economic resources available. For example, middle class women who did not face the reality of going on relief and had only slightly lower family incomes due to depression, may have indeed changed their daily lives very little. However for the lower class woman on relief due to unemployment the strain and tensions arising in everyday life may have been more disruptive than Lynd and Lynd imply. Certainly shopping and cooking were still done but an important point in understanding the ideology which gave meaning to the lives of lower class women is overlooked if a lack of money is not always considered.

Lynd and Lynd point out that it is largely married women of the lower middle and working classes who work; women of higher social standing were those for whom the "traditional" daily home life changed least. Certainly the qualitative differences in the roles of housewives of different classes is illustrated in the following letter of a Canadian housewife in the depression, in comparison with the experience of upper class Middletown people.⁹ The Canadian woman writes,

Have been trying to send 3 to school and live on \$10.00 a month relief for everything, medicine, meat, flour, butter, scribblers. Haven't had any milk for 3 months...I don't know what to do for money the children come to me about everything its the women & children who suffer in these terrible times, men don't notice things.⁹

At the same time in Middletown some of the upper class "do not seem particularly aware that there has been a depression."¹⁰

As was the case in Canada, Middletown showed lower marriage and divorce rates early in the depression. The marriage rate in Middletown and in Canada dipped until 1933 but then again continued to climb. Changes in the marriage rate are plausibly related to the ideology surrounding what economic needs and resources are for married and unmarried people. Young unmarried men were in more tenuous positions with respect to being laid off than heads of families, because the loss of an income to a family was seen as more serious. In fact, many single persons were supporting not only themselves but also their parents and siblings. It was often the employment of an unmarried older daughter or son which kept a family from accepting

relief. This situation, faced by many, is seen as contributing to the reticence to marry during the early years of the depression.

After 1933, however, the marriage rate again rose.

Unemployment rates lowered after this year, the economy had suffered its worst year and was slightly improving. An ideological development seemed also to result from this trend. After 1933 there was a growing feeling that the economic "hard times" might in fact be permanent and were no longer a valid reason to postpone or cancel marriage plans. Lynd and Lynd speculate that,

What one apparently witnesses...in this upturn in the marriage rate...is the propensity of people to brook postponement of marriage only so long, and then to go ahead regardless of adverse circumstances.¹¹

A class difference is again evident in marriage postponement. No data exists for the Canada, but Lynd and Lynd note that in the USA it was the less-secure middle class, and more-secure working class families who postponed marriage. Those in the two extremes, the upper class and the lower working class, did not postpone marriage because the depression did not create great changes in their lifestyles and life plans. The increasing acceptance of the employment of married women developing in the thirties may also have been related to the marriage rates. As the entire economic responsibility for a family rested less with the husband, it is possible that more couples considered marriage a reasonable step to be taken, even during the depression.

Early thirties divorce rates dipped in Middletown and in Canada. Because there is no available Canadian data indicating

the class position of those seeking divorce one can only speculate as to how applicable Lynd and Lynd's observations of Middletown are to Canada. In Middletown it was estimated that "'more than eighty per cent (of the city's divorces)...came from the laboring class.' A falling divorce rate is attributed to unemployment in the working class--the loss of income leaving a couple with no means of paying for a divorce. Whether or not this in fact was a factor in Canada's falling divorce rate can only be left open to speculation.

However, the two trends in the depression divorce rate (an early decrease followed by a steady increase until 1939, in both Canada and Middletown) provide a focus for the ideology surrounding the family during the era.

There were two conflicting opinions on what effect the depression was having on the family, or more specifically, the effects of unemployment on familial relationships and overall stability. One view is that the depression, as a time of crisis, drew family members closer together in the face of adversity. The other view is that financial difficulties gave rise, or brought to the surface, problems in interpersonal relationships within the family.* In Middletown, and possibly in Canada, the former opinion was popular with those whom Lynd and Lynd term "the solidier folk...(of) responsible opinion".¹³ However, Middletown lawyers handling divorce cases saw the depression as a major cause of divorce. Two typical cases were stated as:

*See Glen Elder's Children of the Great Depression, Chicago, 1974 for an account of the effects of the depression on children's development.

Case 49. Well along in thirties. Married about eight years. One child. Husband had a prosperous business until the depression hit him. Fine home and family life up to then. Husband began drinking after depression hit him. Business failed and wife went to work to support family...

Case 67. In mid-twenties. Married about three years. One child. He could not find work and they had to live with her relatives..The latter finally encouraged wife to get divorce.¹⁴

In a study of one hundred Chicago families during the depression the same pattern, of unemployment eventually leading to divorce, is continually repeated.¹⁵

In Canada it was common for married men to leave their families to look for work, usually settling in Vancouver, where the winters were less severe.+

The study of Chicago families during the depression, The Family and The Depression, by R. Cavan and K. Ranck, concludes that there were indeed the two possible effects on the family. The families under investigation here were categorized as either well-organized or disorganized prior to the depression. It was found that those families which suffered most psychologically during the depression were disorganized prior to the depression. However, a class difference again emerges as the authors state:

As a group the disorganized families were less secure financially than were the well-organized families, that is, a greater proportion had small incomes or were dependent. Financially as well as in personal relationships, many of these families tended to be poorly organized.¹⁶

+See The On-To-Ottawa, Trek, by R. Liversedge, Toronto (1973) for an excellent account of everyday life for those men who were forced to leave their homes and became part of the "family" of the B.C. Relief Camp Workers' Union.

It is those families who were less financially secure before the depression which, in this study, were most likely to suffer or end in divorce or separation during the depression.

There seem then to have been two routes a family suffering during the depression could take. The first was to remain together, perhaps in building a stable family relationship, or perhaps due to a lack of viable alternatives (including the money to pay for a divorce); the second alternative was for the marriage to end in separation or divorce. It seems also if the Middletown and Chicago evidence can be applied to the Canadian scene, that it was more likely to be working class families which separated.

It may not have been simply unemployment itself which broke up families, of course, but the many related problems. For example when a family was being supported by a woman in an era when working women were not entirely accepted, interpersonal conflicts might develop. Many working class women were in chronic ill-health* and life became yet more difficult in the depression. Letters to Prime Minister Bennett from Canadians during the thirties repeatedly contain such cases as:

My husband has no shift at all he gets a relief order for five dollars and sixty cents...Hardly enough to keep us from starving. There are 7 of us. I have been in poor health for the last two years.. My doctor claims that most of my sickness is from trouble and worry...

*See Working-Class Wives: Their Health and Conditions, by Margery Spring Rice, Harmondworth, 1939, for an in-depth study of the health of British working class women.

I have come to the end of my resources, my daughter lies dangerously ill in hospital with spinal meningitis, my wife has a nervous breakdown and my little son is getting no care. I must get an appointment.¹⁷

Hence, for many families in face of the burden of ill-health was one more factor to be considered in the problems arising from unemployment and facilitating family breakdown.

It becomes impossible to separate the factors contributing to and developing out of the dominant ideology. Unemployment and its effects on the family as outlined here were the background in which those experiences were articulated and given meaning, and appreciation of the popular media of the era is now possible.

Our qualitative analysis draws most heavily on the popular women's magazine, Chatelaine, which stands out among publications as the one which deals most broadly with issues concerning women of the times. Other magazines such as Maclean's, Saturday Night, and The National Home Monthly were read thoroughly and are also useful, but their shortcomings for this analysis will be explained later. One problem with these magazines is that due to their cost, those who were unemployed could not afford to buy them and are therefore aimed at the people least affected by the depression.

There are several recurring themes found in the articles written for women. Each of these reflects and influences some aspects of the position and experience of women during the depression. The breadth and scope with which women's experience is reflected in "women's" magazines, such as Chatelaine, differs sharply from that found in those which appeal to a wider audience, such as Maclean's,

or Saturday Night.

I will first deal with these "wider-appeal" magazines and then turn to the more complex ideology of women and the family' found in women's magazines.

Maclean's and Saturday Night each featured a women's column. In Maclean's the column was entitled "Women and The Home"; in Saturday Night it was "The World of Women". There was little essential difference between the two. Both regularly featured articles on home decorating and cooking; Saturday Night also covered the social events of the Canadian upper class, such as "coming-out" parties and marriages of the socially prominent. A typical issue of Maclean's is that of January 1, 1932; in "Women and The Home" the two articles featured are "Yesterday's Bird" (giving hints on serving leftovers from the Christmas turkey) and "The Home Beautiful: Period Atmosphere" (on home decorating).

These columns present two interesting points. There is a conspicuous absence of articles on the difficulties many women experienced during the depression. This, obviously, is because those who were in greatest poverty simply could not afford to buy magazines. Hence, the magazines and journalists of the era were writing not for the broadest possible audience, but for middle and upper class people who could afford such luxuries as magazines, Christmas turkeys, and "period" furniture.

Secondly, and more importantly, because articles are written on the assumption that readers are not in great financial difficulty

this assumption can be unconsciously assimilated and taken for granted in everyday life. Given this assumption there can be no possibility of these magazines developing an awareness in their readers of the problems facing many during the thirties. Deliberately or not, the media in this case diverts attention away from the problems of the depression--deliberately, perhaps "boosting public morale"; unintentionally, masking inequalities and power relationships in Canadian society. One journalist looking back on the era described the situation as follows:

We never really covered the news. Here it was, this depression bursting about all around us, and Canadian newspapers didn't cover it...

Mind you, the big things of the Depression got handled, premiers' conferences, Bennett's pronouncements saying the poor were just too goddamn lazy to get out and get jobs...

Newspaper editors just weren't aware, but if they were, they kept that awareness to themselves because they could tread on a lot of big toes in...government, and that meant nothing but trouble...

We didn't cover the Depression because it was not in the best interests of our publishers and the stockholders to do so.¹⁸

It appears that these remarks, although made in reference to newspapers, might apply as well to Maclean's and Saturday Night when one considers the nature of the articles both magazines featured. The class relationship of the dominant ideology reflected in the media becomes clear from these remarks, as is its unconscious nature in the phrase, "editors just weren't aware".

The National Home Monthly was a women's magazine of the thirties which, like the other magazines considered here, spoke to women on homemaking techniques. An interesting feature of

The National Home Monthly, however, was its emphasis on articles of international affairs. Typical articles include: "Afghanistan Destined for Conflict,"¹⁹ "National Banking",²⁰ "German Girls Under the Nazis",²¹ and "Press Circus Day at the White House".²²

Again, but in a different way, the media was diverting attention away from Canadian problems. There was an assumption that Canadian women were not greatly affected by the depression. Readers may in fact, have been among those not greatly affected. This shows the class relationship between the media and the ideology created and reflected therein.

Turning to Chatelaine, we get a much broader view of women. Among the "themes" running through Chatelaine articles were the following--the "professionalization" of the wife and mother roles and the corresponding view of marriage as a career, women's responsibility for successful marriage, women and paid work, and the depression as related to some of women's problems.

Perhaps the most pervasive of the ideological themes or constructs is that of the "professionalization" of the wife and mother roles and the corresponding view of marriage as a career, women's responsibility for successful marriage, women and paid work, and the depression as related to some of women's problems.

Perhaps the most pervasive of the ideological themes or constructs is that of the "professionalization" of the wife and mother roles and women's responsibility for success in marriage. For example, in May, 1934, an article entitled "Let the Woman Propose!"

asks the question, "Would it be so dreadful if women applied for wifehood as men apply for work?"²³ The article continues to clearly outline the attitude women might accept toward marriage:

Marriage is a woman's job, but today the responsibility rests with the men. 'You have won your wife', they are told in effect, 'now keep her happy.'

Actually, we should say to the woman, 'You have undertaken to make this man a good wife. Will you succeed?'

Admittedly, it may not be easy. But neither is business always easy...there would still be divorce for women, just as there is insolvency for men.

And both would represent the same sort of failure.²⁴

In an era when women were increasingly entering the labour force, yet jobs were scarce, the media is encouraging women to experience marriage exactly as a business career to be worked at full-time. In February 1936, in "Debunking the Motherhood Myth", a psychologist argues the importance of a child's early years and the necessity of women being aware of their children's psychological needs. The article claims, "Maternal halos are in the discard. You have to be a first-class mother who works hard, to make good today."²⁵ Again, the woman must "work hard" with the professional psychologist to gain a "halo" of her own, and ensure her child's health.

A special series, written by a psychologist, appearing from Sept. 1937 through January 1938, "Live With a Man and Love It", was forwarded with:

Marriage is the largest business in the world. We invest our lives as well as our money--and want to realize the greatest returns we can on our investment...

If a bond salesman came to us with what seemed a sure-fire proposition, and expected us to put in not only all our hard-earned money, but to mortgage our future as well, we'd think a long

time about it. We'd weigh the advantages and the drawbacks...And yet many people rush into marriage...Love and sex are nature's salesmen.²⁶

As families were increasingly threatened by external economic pressures, women were encouraged to take total responsibility for the success of their marital careers. In the same series Dr. Fisher states:

We hear much these days about the 'career woman' who has no time for love, or the woman who lives alone and likes it, but deep down in the heart of every normal woman there is the urge to love and be loved; to be found desirable in the eyes of some man. That is nature, and you can't get away from basic instincts no matter what you say.

There is nothing to be ashamed of in admitting this, and much happiness is in store for the woman who does not fight her natural instincts.

When the right man rounded the corner of my life, a mere career faded away, and never for a moment would I like to go back to it. After all, marriage should be the most wonderful and satisfying career a woman can have.²⁷

From this perspective, those few married women workers who face the possibility of losing their jobs during the thirties should welcome the return to the home. To help women in this "career" the articles offer such advice as keeping one's temper, controlling relatives' intrusions, looking nice when husband returns from work, etc. Continually, all responsibility for harmonious relationships is given to the wife.

The same theme and advice is repeated in such articles as "Marriage For Two",²⁸ "What Did Your Husband Give Up For Marriage?"²⁹ "Why Husbands Stray".³⁰ The latter two, which heavily placed all responsibility for happiness with an obedient, subservient yet cheerful wife, were answered in letters from readers and in follow-up

articles. In replying to "What Did Your Husband Give Up For Marriage?" one reader wrote,

The marriage ceremony has always seemed impressive and romantic, but it is in truth a most exacting business contract...

The expenditure of every cent of money, every minute of time and every calorie of energy is done with the hope of receiving in return not only the principle invested but also a substantial profit.

Marriage is no exception. It is also an investment.³¹

Clearly, readers were adopting the ideology of marriage as a business career. Replying to "Why Husbands Stray", the author emphasizes the egalitarian modern marriage stating, "Marriage is a partnership. It should be on a fifty-fifty basis."³² In Chatelaine the "modern" marriage is always articulated in terms of business, a career, a partnership or contract. Appearing simultaneous to these articles adopting the modern "successful business career" ideology of marriage, were articles which were more "traditional" in tone. "The King's Wife" holds the queen as a model for women, stating, "She remains exactly the type of woman she always was-- timeless in style--essentially wife and mother."³³ The key phrase is "essentially wife and mother", which is exactly what even the "modern" woman reader was to be.

In a time of job insecurity for many, appeared the article, "Are You Spoiling His Chances?" According to this article the woman reader may be responsible for her husband's failure in a business career. The state of the economy is never mentioned. The president of the Robert Simpson Company tells women through Chatelaine,

'A man's home must be a refuge from everything else. If it isn't that a wife's falling down on her job'...

He believes that people should marry early and struggle and build together. He's firm in his conviction that the man must be the financial mainstay of the family. It's all right for the wife to use any special talents she has, but her role of homemaker must come first. It's her greatest contribution to her husband's job--and life.³⁴

The "successful wife" of "one of Canada's distinguished professional men, known from coast to coast"³⁵ concludes the article by stating,

The perfect wife? I'd say she has the mother spirit strongly developed...and she's the gracious, intelligent, sympathetic lady. It's her best method of being useful in her husband's career.³⁶

The ideology of this article functions to leave women not only responsible for their own careers as wives and a "traditional" emotional atmosphere in the family, but she is also responsible for her husband's career. The concrete conditions of the economy and the job opportunities available during the thirties are never mentioned, hence reinforcing capitalist "individual achievement" ideology, and making women responsible for any emotional problems their husbands might suffer when they lost work.

Women's participation in paid labour is another issue covered by Chatelaine. The magazine featured articles on the "Domestic Service problem" for several months in 1933. Although accepted as "women's work", the media, employers and domestic workers themselves

were concerned with the stigma involved with, and increasing professionalization of the occupation. The ideology surrounding the work becomes clear in the responses of high school girls to the possibility of entering domestic service. Chatelaine found that,

Exactly fifty per cent put themselves on record as welcoming a chance to go into domestic service if it were recognized as a more 'honourable' calling. An equal number said they would 'rather die' than become a maid.³⁷

From the article the class appeal of the readership becomes evident. The perspective of the article is from that of an employer concerned with attracting women into the occupation by changing the "attitude of mind"³⁸ of workers and employers, rather than changing the occupation itself--the occupation which was a large employer of women at the time.

During the depression, with its high unemployment rates, an article appeared entitled "Why Secretaries Get Fired". Significantly, rather than discuss the economic problem facing the nation and its obvious consequences for women workers, this article expresses an ideology of individual success or failure. According to the article, secretaries lose their jobs because of "inefficiency", "trying voices", and for not being "quiet-looking".³⁹

In 1933, the worst year of the depression, appeared an important article, written by Mederic Martin, a member of the Quebec Legislative Council, entitled "Go Home, Young Woman!" This article and the replies to it are the only ones which directly deal with the economy, the depression and female participation in the labour force. Mr. Martin writes:

...there is a new patriotic call to women--a call to leave their jobs in industry and commerce--a call to step down in favor of the million or so men in Canada who are out of work...

The idea of legislating women out of industry in order that out-of-work men may get their jobs may be fantastic but there is a considerable element of good old-fashioned common sense in it during these troublesome days...

...the largest potential source of employment for men (is) the places at desks, counters and machines now occupied by women...

Equally important are the welfare and happiness of the family and the individual...I am positive that when a choice must be made between two individuals in a family for gainful occupation, the man should be the wage earner and not the woman.⁴⁰

Agnes MacPhail answers Mr. Martin's sexism in "Go Home, Young Woman? Ha! Ha!", arguing that economically independent women play an important economic role as society's primary consumers, "thus creating new channels of industry continuously."⁴¹ She also issues an appeal not to smother the talents, ambitions, and rights of women. Her conclusion, however, is the only statement to be found in Chatelaine throughout the depression which alludes to a problem with the economic system itself, not only problems faced by individuals coping within the system. She states:

When we honestly plan to distribute the real wealth of the world and not juggle with food, shelter and clothing for profits we shall find a means for setting all to work to produce that which they will later consume. That should be the only end and aim of an enlightened and ethical economy.⁴²

Finally, there were articles dealing with problems arising specifically from the depression. The trend of marriage postponement and the possibility of family breakdown is reflected in "Marry Now? No!" and "Marry Now? Yes!".

The author of "Marry Now? No!" writes,

there's a lot more to marriage than biology, or ...the 'cosmic urge'. There's economics. There's the matter of getting and furnishing a home, of holding on to a job, of buying food and fuel and boots and shoes and dresses, of discovering--as many have discovered sadly--that two can't live as cheaply as one. Also, and mighty important, there's the truth that when poverty comes in by one door Cupid is likely to hop out by the other. Love on a chesterfield is much easier than in a kitchen--if the cupboard happens to be bare.⁴³

He deals with the consequences which the economic situation may have on an emotional relationship. He continues, outlining the problems to be faced by a married working woman and her husband during the depression:

The girl to whom I am engaged is working, but they won't let her go on working once they find out that she's married...If two young people go and get married...one of the consequences is that the girl, ⁴⁴ if she happens to have a job, will be asked to quit.

These statements reflect the ideology expressed by some employers, the same ideology as expressed by Mederic Martin, that married women are not entirely acceptable as workers. This also parallels the sentiments observed by the Lynds in Middletown.

Interestingly, this article was prefaced by an editor's note, inviting readers to invalidate the author's position, offering prizes for letters describing couples who have "married recently in the face of economic difficulties and 'made a go of it'... telling just what the situation was and how success was achieved."⁴⁵

Readers' letters were published in "Marry Now? Yes!",⁴⁶ a collection of individual "success stories" of couples who married during the depression. Again the emphasis is on "individual achieve-

ment" and marital success.

In an article on relief in Canada, "Canada's Meanest Racket", Chatelaine articulates the dominant ideology surrounding those people who received relief and the ethics of doing so. Rather than discuss the problems and circumstances of the thousands who were destitute with a legitimate claim to relief, the author writes only of "relief racketeering", claiming many recipients "lie about their own or their children's earnings; reliefees have large sums of money hidden".⁴⁷ The article constructs an ideology surrounding those receiving relief in creating an image of reliefees, stating,

'Other people get it, why shouldn't we?', they say, and plan ways of appearing destitute when they really could get along without help. They don't think of it as robbing their friends and neighbours.⁴⁸

The author, obviously, expects readers to "think of it as robbing their friends and neighbours". Furthermore rather than recognizing the real economic need that stems from unemployment, the articles states that, "Greed, ignorance and the break-down of family loyalty are the three commonest causes of chiselling the government."⁴⁹

The abuse the author takes exemption to is illustrated in the situation she describes here.

Often a family has been on relief for years, gradually becoming more hopeless and discouraged. Then a son or daughter gets a job. Immediately the wage-earner goes off relief, and is ordered, besides, to contribute a portion of earnings toward the support of parents. However, after this levy is paid out of a small salary, there is no money left for recreation, no possibility of saving, and the family standard of living is no better than it was before. Little wonder that some parents neglect to report their children's earnings. Neither is it surprising that the guilty parties feel they are not committing any crime. They can't feel

badly about adding to the taxes of citizens able to pay taxes, when all around them they see people enjoying cars, fur coats, and other luxuries out of their reach.

There is no excuse, however...⁵⁰

The author does not seem to understand that after years of being on relief a family living on one wage is hardly likely to be looking to buy fur coats, but rather to simply repay long-standing debts and regain some stability and self-respect.

There are several important points to be taken from this article. First, the author constructs a negative image of reliefees, using such phrases as "greed, ignorance and breakdown of family loyalty" and "hopeless and discouraged". Although these could plausibly create sympathy for relief recipients the phrases are also used in an overall image of the immorality of the recipients. The article takes a "blaming-the-victim" stance on the issue. This also restates the dominant ideology as articulated by Prime Minister Bennett, that "the poor were just too goddam lazy to go out and get jobs."⁵¹

Secondly, this is the only article to be found in Chatelaine between the years 1932 and 1940 on the problems of relief, created by the economy. The exclusion of articles on the topic support the point discussed earlier in reference to Maclean's and Saturday Night. The media simply avoided dealing with the depression's problems, hence creating an ideology of "no problems" and, indeed, "no depression". When the occasional article such as this one appeared, it covered those aspects of the depression which served upper class interests.

Thirdly, there is a strong yet sincere moralistic tone to this article. Hence, not only is a negative image of relief recipients created, but it is women into the moral code of the society. It becomes clear through this article how ideology is lived, as ideological constructs, such as those articulated here, are incorporated into a society's system of ideas, meanings and experience.

In conclusion, the role of the media as an ideological apparatus in any capitalist social formation is to create a dominant ideology which serves to reproduce existing class relations. As in Canada during the depression, the dynamics of this are somewhat complex. The media functions in this, not only in reporting the issues of the times, but in ignoring certain issues which appear dysfunctional to the dominant class interests.

In the case of the media-created ideology for Canadian women during the depression, this included publishing articles which discouraged women from entering the labour force when there was massive unemployment and when jobs for men were seen as more important. In addition women were encouraged to consider marriage as a career, and to take responsibility for any emotional problems of their husbands, problems that might commonly have had their sources in unemployment and financial difficulties. The construction of ideology and the meaning which women gave to the concrete consequences of the depression was clearly reflected in the popular media as examined here. However, since we have no data on the period of the 1910's and 1920's, we do not know the extent of change associated with the depression.

The unavailability of circulation figures has also created a problem for our analysis of ideology during the depression. We assume that circulation was lowest during the thirties and readers were of the middle and upper classes. The magazines were therefore catering to an audience who wanted to read entertaining articles rather than features on the economic and social problems of the time. This has an obvious effect on the ideology conveyed and is a problem inherent to the use of magazines as dominant ideology. It does not, however, alter the fact that the ideology conveyed functions to reproduce existing class relations.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER THREE

The War Era, 1939-1945

In this chapter we explore the patterns of female labour force participation and the demographic patterns of the period 1939-1945. We then consider the treatment of women's work and family role in magazines and government publications.

The Economy and Employment

At the outbreak of war in 1939 there were approximately 900,000 unemployed in Canada in a work force of approximately 3,800,000.¹ In the war years employment increased with the expanding economy developing from war production. In 1931 there were 665,302 women in the labour force, composing 17.0 per cent of the total labour force. In 1941, 832,840 women accounted for 18.5 per cent of the total labour force.² As the male labour pool was exhausted from both war industry and military recruitment, attention was focused on the reserve of labour among Canadian women. Changes in the labour force composition were seen as imminent in this statement in the 1940

Labour Gazette:

As men are upgraded into higher jobs many women might be employed at the lower levels. Similarly in non-war industries, upgrading would release skilled men for war plants and, in many cases, women could be taken on to replace them.³

After the establishment of the Women's Division of the National Selective Service (N.S.S.), in May, 1942, designed to deal with the employment of women, the August, 1942, issued of the Labour Gazette

stated:

(There is) a total of around 1,200,000 gainfully occupied women at the present time. Of these more than 6,000 are in the armed forces. For the alleviation of the manpower shortage interest centres chiefly on women not gainfully occupied.... Single women are the first to be absorbed in a rapidly expanding war machine. Young women of 15-43 years are the most favoured by employers although for certain types of work, those in the 35-44 and even the 45-54 groups are suitable.⁴

Hence, not only were women regarded as a reserve pool of labour but a hierarchy of preference existed within that pool. Over the war years registration of women with the N.S.S. was carried out in order of priorities and preference of women as workers. As Ruth Pierson points out in her analysis of the recruitment of female workers,

National Selective Service and the federal Department of Labour, in their wartime mobilization of the work force, regarded women as constituting a large labour reserve, arranged in layers of employability, to be dipped into more and more deeply as the labour pool dried up: recruiting first young "girls" and single women and then married women without children for full-time employment, next women encumbered with home responsibilities for part-time employment, and finally women with children for full-time employment.

Hence, the original intention of the N.S.S. was to select only the most mobile group of women (single, aged 15 to 34), but as the economy continued to expand the labour shortage grew. As Pierson outlines the situation,

In May 1942 a survey of the anticipated demand for female labour showed that at least 75,000 additional women would be required in war industries before the end of the year. In addition N.S.S. launched a nation-wide publicity campaign...Newspaper publishers and magazine editors agreed to give space in their publications to pictures of women working on machines, of women war workers in their special uniforms,

and to stories of accomplishments by individual women...
By January 1943, the additional 75,000 women required
for war industries had been recruited." (my italics)⁶

It was further estimated that "by June 1943, 158,000 women had joined the industrial war effort since the beginning of 1942, bringing the total number of women engaged directly and indirectly in war industries to 255,000"⁷ Until 1944 the labour shortage grew and so did female participation in the labour force. The N.S.S. continued to recruit women according to the hierarchy of priorities outlined earlier. Special arrangements were also made to facilitate housewives' employment such as the institution of daycare centres and special "housewives shifts" (from 6:00 or 7:00 to 10:00 or 11:00 p.m.).

One of the benefits to entering war work were the high wages. No data on wage rates in war industries is available here but, in general, wages rose during the war. The only available data is that on manufacturing in general, not war work in particular. In 1938 the average annual wage for both sexes was 956 dollars; in 1939 it rose to 975 dollars and by 1945 had reached \$1,538. (See Table 3.1) Women's wages rose from 619 dollars per year in 1939 to 984 dollars in 1945. Interestingly the peak was reached the year prior to the war ending, in 1944, when women earned 1,051 dollars. Although the same trend is found in men's wages, the proportionate difference is less. We can assume this at least partially reflected women's participation in war industries, rather than simply general decline in wages for the year.

Table 3.1

Average Annual Wage Rates, male and female wage earners, manufacturing industries, 1938-1945. (dollars)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Wage earners</u> (both sexes)	<u>Male wage</u> <u>earners</u>	<u>Female wage</u> <u>earners</u>
1938	956	1,055	594
1939	975	1,076	619
1940	1,084	1,202	655
1941	1,220	1,355	736
1942	1,383	1,558	854
1943	1,525	1,726	987
1944	1,564	1,761	1,051
1945	1,538	1,739	984

Source: C. Urquhart and A.H. Buckley, Historical Statistics of Canada, Toronto, 1965, p. 100.

Women and the Family

With the end of the depression marriage rates and birth rates increased (See Table 3.2) Although the birthrate continued to increase, the marriage rate dropped near the end of the war. This reflects the trend to marry at the outset of war when couples fear a long separation, and then the disproportionate ratio of females to males in wartime. The end of the economic difficulties which families suffered during the thirties meant that couples could now afford to marry and have more children. In "normal" times, one would expect a corresponding ideology which would encourage women who were marrying and giving birth more to stay home and take seriously the wife-mother role. However with the "crisis" of the

shortage and the need for women workers a "new" ideology was necessary.

Table 3.2

Crude Birth Rate and Marriage Rate, 1939-1945

	Crude birth rate ¹	Marriage rate ²
1939	20.6	9.2
1940	21.6	10.8
1941	22.4	10.6
1942	23.5	10.9
1943	24.2	9.4
1944	24.0	8.5
1945	24.3	9.0

1. Number of births per thousand population.

2. Rates per thousand population.

Source: C. Urquhart and A.H. Buckley, Historical Statistics of Canada, Toronto, 1965. pp. 38,42.

The Reversal of the Dominant Ideology

Associated with the changes in the economic base (that is, changes in the labour force requirements) was the encouragement of working women in the media. The dominant ideology was being transformed, legitimating and encouraging women's participation in the labour force.⁹ With the shortage of available male workers and the creation of new jobs in munitions production, great numbers of women were needed. There was also, of course, encouragement for everyone to participate personally in the war effort. For example, the October 1, 1939 "Maclean's Editorials" proclaimed:

We'll all be doing something. The thing is to find out what we can do best... So far as the Canadian people are concerned, there will, we are sure, be unity of purpose...

We have a long job, and a tough job on our hands. But we'll do it.¹⁰

With the need for "war workers" many women could clearly "find out what (they could) do best".

Encouraging women to enter war work was an article in the "New-Fashioned Woman" series of the National Home Monthly, June 1943, entitled "Housewife Takes A Job". Reversing the dominant ideology concerning "women's work", and constructing its reversal for women in war, the author writes:

Many of you would love to do a man-sized job to help Canada win the war. You dream of learning to rivet a plane wing, or handle a welding torch, but you are still hampered by a few old-fashioned notions. You still wonder whether such work is 'women's work'. You wonder what the neighbours would say if you stepped out every morning, wearing a bright bandana and a pair of navy slacks. You forget that the 'new-fashioned woman' has a wider vision than the 'neighbours' ever had, and the slacks and bandana are the marks of service which any woman should be proud to wear in a world at war.¹¹

The article goes on to maintain that there are great similarities between making a petit point chair covering and welding a gas torch, running a sewing machine and riveting a plane wing, fixing a washing machine and jobs in war factories.

The readers are clearly encouraged to rid themselves of the dominant ideology's "old-fashioned notions" of "women's work" and take on a new vision of themselves as competent as men in "men's work", or even more competent. As the author continues:

Most factory managers are so enthusiastic about women workers that they hesitate to speak out and give their names for fear the men will hear them.

One of them told me he would like to staff his whole organization with women because they are so careful.¹²

Further, this article describes patterns of daily living which alter not only the ideology of what is solely "women's work" but also gives very concrete suggestions to facilitate a woman's entry into the paid labour force. It describes one woman worker's routine as, "After (breakfast) Jack (the son) does the dishes while Helen packs the lunches and Fred (the husband) swishes around the house with a mop and a duster...The Bennett family arrives on time for work and school at 9 a.m."¹³

A number of magazines ran articles supporting this reverse ideology concerning the suitability of women for industrial labour. (Although never stated, no doubt many of these articles were in compliance with the directives of the N.S.S. publicity campaign mentioned earlier.) In "Beauty in Overalls" in Saturday Night, one employer stated,

All these girls know their jobs and are efficient, just as efficient as men, and perhaps more so on certain tasks that call for a special touch... there is hardly an employer who does not speak highly of his girl employees.¹⁴

This writer went on to state that, "women in industry are physically just as healthy as their sisters at home or on clerical staffs",¹⁵ again transforming the dominant ideology that women are suitable only for "women's work". He also challenges the ideology that women can only be happy in "women's work" as he paternalistically describes war workers as,

several hundred girls in a factory operating machines and singing to the rhythm of a dance band coming to them from a radio or phonograph. Like Walt Disney's little dwarfs they 'whistle while they work'.¹⁶

In a series of articles in Maclean's on Canada's war production, women were depicted as competent and happily engaged in traditionally male labour. In "The Battle of Brains", an article on the National Research Council's war work, was a photograph of three smiling women with the caption, "Women fill a definite place in the science-at-war picture. Shown are three drafting department employees."¹⁷ Another article, on airplane manufacturing, was illustrated with a photograph of two female workers with the caption, "Helen Rae and Teresa Dore wire parts of control panel. They say they prefer this war work to stenography."¹⁸ The message of the caption is, of course, that women can find "men's work" preferable to "women's work", as long as "men's work" is (unconsciously) masked in the crisis ideology's representation of "war work".

In "Woman Power", June 1942, the author describes women war workers

making ribs for plane wings...faster and getting fewer rejections than the men who previously were making them....

In gun plants women who thought machinery began with a typewriter and ended with a washing machine have learned to handle lathes and practically every type of precision tool...

But no matter what they're doing--setting jewels, pouring nitroglycerin, or sitting at the controls of one of the great fire-belching machines in a gun factory--these women are enjoying it.¹⁹

Throughout these articles there are several recurring points: first, the health and enjoyment in war work, second, the positions women workers hold, and third, the femininity of war workers.

A manifestation of the "crisis" reversal of the dominant ideology of the sexual division of labour is that women are healthy

in and also enjoy "men's work". However one must question the media-created impression of inherent healthfulness and enjoyability of war work. In concern over war workers' health one writer reported:

Aircraft factories, for example, are plagued by half a dozen major hazards to workers' health, some of them new to industry. Dopes consisting of nitro-cellulose dissolved in solvents such as ethyl and butyl acetates, butyl alcohol, benzine and toluene, give off harmful fumes when drying and strangely enough these affect women more than men. The alcohols have a narcotic effect when breathed, in effect 'drug' the worker. Benzine fumes affect the nervous tissues and blood-forming structures, lower resistance to disease, may even cause death if breathed over a long period of time...

An examiner...might find a number of workers with benzine poisoning symptoms--frequent headaches, nausea, pallor, bleeding gums and nose, dizziness, weakness.²⁰

The writer cites high accident rates due to fatigue "caused by over-long working hours, monotonous tasks, inadequate rest periods, excessive noise, overcrowding or women workers required to lift too heavy weights."²¹ Also noted is that "the clatter and bang of a busy war plant is a self-contained hazard. Constant din frazzles the nerves of workers, especially women, and tires them rapidly."²²

From the above report it is obvious that there were many negative aspects of war work but these were usually overlooked, as in the publicity issued by the N.S.S. recruitment campaign. As noted earlier by Pierson, newspaper publishers and editors agreed to an editorial policy favourable to the recruitment of women into war work. Hence the transformation of the dominant ideology was clearly made parallel to the changing needs of the labour force.

The second recurring point in these articles is that women are not usually seen in positions of any power in the plants. The prestige offered women workers is in being cogs in the "war machine", fulfilling their patriotic duty.

Occasionally a woman was noted as a "foreman" (sic) or a supervisor but usually women were depicted as dexterous with their hands, or "patient" and "careful" in tasks of manual labour. Dealing specifically with the question of women in positions of authority, one article states that women do not

get an even break with men. The engineer who needs them for certain jobs, because they're not easily exasperated can't see them in any but those particular women's jobs...He takes a grim view of women engineers, of whom there are a few in war plants. 'You can't bawl them out the way you can men', he says, 'and the result is sloppy work.'

To date that is pretty well the stock attitude of bosses toward their women workers. They're content to keep them in that special category of monotonous, detail jobs where their patience is a virtue.²³

One of the difficulties in employing women listed in the article is that "women make poor foremen because they are likely to abuse authority".²⁴ It seems that the reported tendency to abuse authority is considered a justification for women workers absence from authority positions.

Hence the transformations in ideology concerning women's place in "men's work" generally did not extend to positions involving power and authority. As noted earlier, the 1940 Labour Gazette predicted that as the economy changed during the war, women would be employed at "lower levels", while men were "upgraded into higher jobs".²⁵ These required changes in the labour force were closely paralleled by

the ideological transformations as manifest in the media.

The third recurring point in the media is the femininity of the war workers. The women workers were still clearly regarded as "women workers", not simply "workers". Hence the transformations in the ideology surrounding the sexual division of labour was not wholly transformed into its opposite--its opposite being the end of the sexual division of labour. Couched in a "crisis" framework, the ideology encouraged women to do their patriotic duty in taking "low level" jobs, yet was easily transformed again when the war was over.

The Decline in Wartime Production

War production reached its peak in the fall of 1943. In Sept. 1943 the Wartime Information Board issued the following statistics on "the distribution of womanpower in Canada".²⁶

Women over 14 yrs. of age (1941 census).....	4,240,000
Women in industry (at Jan. 30, 1943).....	1,152,000
Engaged directly or indirectly in war industry (approximately).....	255,000
Farm women (at Jan. 30, 1943).....	830,000
Women students (at Jan. 30, 1943).....	309,000
Other women, including non-farm housewives (at Jan. 30, 1943).....	1,629,000
In the armed forces.....more than....	33,090
Considered unemployable.....	300,000

Reviewing the period of decline in wartime production, the March 1945 issue of the Labour Gazette stated:

War employment had reached its peak on Oct. 1, 1943, when 1,116,000 persons, 13.3 per cent of the total population 14 years of age and over, were employed either directly or indirectly on war work. By Oct. 1, 1944 war employment had dropped to 994,000 persons of whom 695,000 were engaged in war manufacturing. This represented a drop of 16.6 per cent in war manufacturing from the peak date when it stood at 834,000. Sixty-six per cent of all persons engaged in manufacturing were on war work at Oct. 1, 1943, whereas one year later the proportion had dropped to 57 per cent. This decline in war manufacturing was mainly due

to lay-offs caused by tapering off of aircraft and shipbuilding programs.²⁷

Aircraft and shipbuilding were the two industries which had shown the most significant increases in the ratio of male and female workers during the war. In the aircraft industry the ratio rose from 30 women per thousand workers of both sexes in 1939 to 291 per thousand in 1944. Shipbuilding showed an increase from 14 per thousand in 1939 to 68 per thousand in 1944. Iron and steel manufacturing accounted for 5 per cent of women employed in 1939, and rose to 21.6 per cent in 1944.²⁸ The "tapering off" of these programs, then, would have had a definite effect on women war workers.

Statistics concerning the declining employment trend in 1945 showed reductions in manufacturing industries and higher proportions of women workers being laid off in comparison to men.²⁹ Also in 1945, Orders in Council giving the International Nickel Company authority to employ women were rescinded. The Orders were passed in 1942 "in view of the scarcity of male labour".³⁰ The Dec., 1945 Labour Gazette reported,

Now that the crisis in the production of nickel has passed, the Government felt that special measures introduced during wartime should be rescinded. A supply of male labour now becoming available renders the continued use of women in this capacity unnecessary.³¹

In May 1945 it was announced that the National Selective Service was relaxing regulations which applied only to women. As the Minister of Labour, Humphrey Mitchell, stated, "Although there still are labour shortages, it is felt that as an experiment, the relaxation of Selective Service control over women seeking employment may now be tried out on an experimental basis."³²

As the labour shortage eased, the pattern of releasing women from jobs before releasing men emerged. Although some of these measures (including such concrete actions as the closing of daycare centres)³³ left women with no choice in the matter, there was general concern over whether or not women would voluntarily exit from "men's work" back into "women's work".

The Reversal of the 'Crisis' Ideology

Anticipating post-war problems the government established an Advisory Committee on Reconstruction and a Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women. The report of this subcommittee was extremely important in the transformations of the dominant ideology concerning woman's "proper" place.

The influence of these committees is clear if we examine first the rough draft of the report of the Subcommittee, a statement by the chairman of the Subcommittee, and minutes of the first meeting of the Advisory Committee.

The rough draft of the report provides insight into the situation, as it reveals not only the nature of post-war problems as seen by the Subcommittee, but also the sensitivity of the members to the difficulties possibly involved in communicating their plans for post-war reconstruction. One section of the rough draft (marked "ENTIRELY CONFIDENTIAL. I rely on you not to allow anyone outside the Committee to see this.") is reproduced below. To facilitate an understanding of the draft, those phrases which were later deleted have been underlined here.

The opinion of many women in all classes--not of all women--appears to be that every effort of education--even of propaganda--ought to be used to present the view that the married woman who has young children (and whose husband is earning sufficient for their support) is serving her country well (originally written "better") if she stays in her home and looks after her family, though at the same time it is contended that the right of choice should be hers. Actually it would seem that the public ban on married women working once removed the result would be a greater readiness to look on marriage as a job quite on a par with that of any "career woman" occupation...

The aim should be to remove, as far as it can be removed, the monotony and even drudgery, though it may be done willingly, of the housewife and mother's job...

...It is desirable then to make the work of 'domestic service', as it is now officially called, more attractive so as to draw into it intelligent young women.

The present status of that work is not such as to reflect credit upon either the workers or the employers, and it will be necessary if housewives who require such help are to be able to find it, to put household work on the basis of skilled employment. We propose to present a plan which will accomplish this.³⁴

The concern of the members of the Subcommittee appears to be the necessity of women returning to an ideology supporting "woman's place" in the home. They are concerned less with the needs of the working class "intelligent young women" who work as domestic servants, than with the needs of the middle and upper class women who employ "domestics". The "plan" proposed by the Subcommittee was later outlined in the Labour Gazette.

As early as August 10, 1943 the Chairman of the Subcommittee issued a statement outlining the possibilities of post-war female employment. It was felt that

a large proportion of (women in household service) will want to avoid it and will only return to household work if it can be made much more attractive...

If we find it impossible to get workers back into the home, we shall have to see what substitute (to family life as it was before the war) form of living we can suggest.³⁵

The implication is clear that the chairman sees the Subcommittee as responsible for transferring female workers into "female" occupations, and creating "forms of living" as well.

The Subcommittee and Advisory committee were also concerned that women enter social service professions, return to farm work, and if possible, remain in business and industry. In considering industrial work the committee noted that,

we must recognize that public opinion will bring to bear an enormous pressure for the employment of men as against women if there remain any unemployed men. Women must be prepared for this and prepared to take their chance in the event of there not being full employment.³⁶

From these documents of government committees the transformation of ideology concerning the sexual division of labour can be seen to develop simultaneously with changes taking place in the economic base, for example, the decline in munitions, aircraft and ship-building industries. At the same time these ideological transformations are further developed through the media--both in the reports of the work of government committees and more "popular" articles referring to "women's work".

The issue of "training" was taken up by the Labour Gazette. The article discussed training techniques and standards to be put into effect in the occupations of: household employment, textiles, stenography, hospital ward aides, salesmanship (referring to sales clerks), waitressing, and other occupation (such as hairdressing, and commercial cooking). Every occupation listed is of a low skill

level, with low wages and is traditionally female.³⁷

In June 1944, the report of the Subcommittee was discussed in Saturday Night. The author notes the report's "many...recommendations... aimed at attracting women away from industrial or 'men's work' type of employment and into more 'womanly' channels."³⁸ The article continues with the report's "many...recommendations...aimed at attracting women away from industrial or 'men's work' type of employment and into more 'womanly' channels."³⁸ The article continues with the report's recommendations that women "choose exactly what they want to do and be aided to achieve their ambitions".³⁹ However, as noted earlier in the unpublished documents, training programs were to be implemented channeling women into the home or into female occupations, especially domestic service. The report points out the service the woman at home performs through her unpaid labour. The report quotes Sir William Beveridge as stating, "The great majority of married women must be regarded as in work which is vital though unpaid and without which...the nation could not continue."⁴⁰

To shift women from industry into new types of employment, not only re-training but "gradual dismissals are recommended as a partial solution."⁴¹

Again a list of possible occupations for women is given, all traditionally female, supporting the ideological transformation of the return to "women's work". Finally a note of discouragement to those women who wish to remain single and in the labour force is offered in the following statement:

...statistics show that the employment of single women drops rapidly once they reach the age of 40. The single woman of over 40, therefore, is to a steadily greater degree insecure in regard to her future.⁴²

The transformations of ideology continued to emphasize the service a woman could perform for her country. In women's magazines such as Chatelaine, the ideology of women's responsibility in the home and nation's future was made explicit. One article appearing in the April 1945 issue stated:

It is both possible and imperative to teach our young Canadians a sense of pride and honour in their national birthright...

This deep-rooted love of country begins to grow soon after birth and should be nourished first in the home. Mothers (and) fathers are best fitted to develop it for they, more intimately than any other are a part of it and it is a part of them to the child whose consciousness of country is at first only a vague extension of the warm security of the home.⁴³

Clearly, women readers are being encouraged to remember their responsibility to society through the nurturance of their children, no longer through their suitability for "men's work".

At the same time, many women were faced with the return of their husbands after years at war. The situation was most delicate. Here were women who were employed in "men's work" readjusting to life with husbands that they had in some cases not seen for years. The prevailing ideology surrounding women's work was of little help to men. War work was seen as temporary.

The media now provided new definitions for the situation. For example, an article in the July 1945 issue of Saturday Night offered advice to women in this situation.

It is your job to supply him (the returned soldier-husband) with a homely friendly home. This cannot be accomplished by assuming a self-righteous attitude but by loving understanding--a generous love that, giving, does not count the cost.
(original italics)⁴⁴

The woman is being instructed in the approach she is to take to the situation. The article deals not only with the emotional atmosphere the woman has a responsibility to create, but also gives hints on such helpful concrete action as getting up at night with her restless husband and quietly making coffee. One might also presume that "the cost" not to be counted includes the loss of employment to a returned soldier, such as those women who were forced out of their jobs with the International Nickel Company.

The post-war expansion of the service sector of the economy, which employed many female workers, was one factor facilitating the post-war transformation of ideology surrounding the sexual division of labour. This expansion of the service sector facilitated the post-war transformation of ideology surrounding the sexual division of labour because it created a demand for workers in female occupations. Hence it became feasible for women to leave "men's" war work yet continue to work--in female occupations. Also noteworthy is the fact that, as mentioned earlier, war workers were always regarded as feminine and therefore working only during the "crisis".

As one Maclean's article illustrates this concern with the feminine nature of war workers,

What will they (women workers) demand of (post-war) society?

Perhaps--and we can only hope--they'll be tired

of it all and yearn in the old womanly way for a home and a baby and a big brave man.⁴⁵

In "They're Still Women After All", L.S.B. Shapiro gives several examples of "feminine" behaviour displayed by women workers in "men's work" (for example, "(she) adjusts, the back her hair, looks in her mirror"⁴⁶) and then states,

(The) women I observe are simply not up to it (competing equally with men). They are efficient and industrious, capable and conscientious but only on a temporary basis.⁴⁷

Before the transferral from "men's work" to "women's work" occurred, there was this anxiety expressed in the media over whether or not a smooth transition would take place. A May 1945 issue of Saturday Night contained an article entitled, "We Can Be Optimistic About Postwar Jobs" designed to relieve that anxiety.

Provided there are jobs for all who need them, the process of industrial demobilization should not present too many difficulties. The chances are it will pretty well take care of itself. In the first place, there are a number of women who are proud to be war workers, but are not likely to remain in the factories after the war. Many of them will take up--or resume--the occupation of homemaker. Others will prefer jobs in stores and merchandising--where they will not have to wear overalls, will have more social contacts, and will escape from shiftwork. Many men left enjoyable and lucrative positions to answer their nation's call. They are anxious to return to what they consider their proper line. Perhaps the demobilization of workers will solve⁴⁸ itself with a minimum of headaches and heartaches.

There are several interesting points here. The author realizes that women are doing "men's work" and will have to be replaced in their jobs by returning soldiers. Unconsciously the sexual division of labour is acknowledged as natural. However there is a conscious awareness that the "crisis" had affected a transforma-

tion of the "normal" ideology and now it is necessary that this crisis situation be "normalized". It is taken for granted that women will prefer "women's work" as "homemakers", or "in stores and merchandising". Even though war-time articles quoted female workers themselves as saying, "they prefer this war work to stenography", the above article assumes that, at the end of the war, women will prefer to return to the office or store, out of "male" war work.

Again, the femininity of war workers has not been forgotten. The reasons given for women naturally preferring "woman's work" are not in the difficulty of the war work itself, but in the nature of women. Women are assumed to loathe overalls, to crave social contacts at work, and to want to be free of shiftwork. The "natural" differences between men's and women's "natures" are seen to result in different work preferences. Thus the jobs which women will be "naturally" anxious to leave are also the jobs which men find naturally "enjoyable and lucrative" and "their proper line". Absent from these articles is any mention of the lower wages women received when they returned to their "natural" places in stores and offices.

At the same time, Saturday Night also initiated a series of articles designed to encourage women to enter work which presumably would be satisfying to them. In the "World of Women" column the series of articles was prefaced with the editorial comment,

'Saturday Night' believes that at no time has it been of greater importance that young women choose carefully and wisely the place in the world where they can be of greatest service to the community in work that brings them personal satisfaction and happiness.

Clearly, this is a direct effort on the part of the editors of Saturday Night to influence women's work preferences and "personal satisfaction". The first article speaks for the tone of the series; it is entitled, "Careers: Today's Librarian Does More Than Hand Out Books".⁵⁰

The recruitment and participation of women workers in the Canadian labour force during World War Two has provided an example of the articulation of the ideological instance with the economic. The ideology surrounding the sexual division of labour, while couched in a "crisis" framework, was transformed to correspond with transformations in the economic base, that is, with the changing requirements of the labour force. This transformation in the ideology of the sexual division of labour was effected through the Ideological State Apparatus, that is, through the committees on reconstruction, state labour policy, and the popular media.

This is not to imply that ideology is always a simple reflection of the economic base. This analysis has been concerned with only one aspect of the ideological instance during World War Two. The complexity of the articulation of the economic and ideological instances found in the Canadian social formation at any historical moment would require a much more exhaustive analysis than is offered here.

However, the dynamics of this particular articulation remain clear. Working class women were transferred into and out of the labour force, or to different occupations within the labour force.

\ This transferral was facilitated by transformations in the ideology surrounding "women's work" made manifest in the media and government policy reports. These transformations did not question the desirability of a sexual division of labour, as women war workers were always regarded as women workers, largely unsuitable for the positions of authority relegated to men. The ideological transformations were seen only as a temporary response to crisis, to be transformed again when warranted by a post-war change in the economy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ruth Pierson, "Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Canadian Labour Force in WWII", unpublished paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1976, p.2.
2. Ceta Rankalamsingh, "Women during the Great War", in Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930, edited by Janice Acton, Toronto: 1974, p.268.
3. Labour Gazette, Department of Labour, Ottawa: 1940, p.1251.
4. Ibid, August, 1942, p.918.
5. Pierson, op cit, p. 1.
6. Ibid, p.5.
7. Ibid, p.6.
8. Ibid, p.10.
9. For a sample of government-issued war posters directed at women workers, see Pierson, op cit, pp.13-17.
10. "Maclean's Editorial", Maclean's, Sept. 10, 1939, p.1.
11. Marjorie Winspear, "Housewife Takes a Job", National Home Monthly, June 1943, p.52.
12. Ibid, p.53.
13. Ibid, p.54.
14. Harold R. Sutherland, "Beauty in Overalls", Saturday Night, May 11, 1940, p.17.
15. Ibid, p.17.
16. Ibid, p.17.
17. Raymond A. Davies, "The Battle of The Brains", Maclean's, June 15, 1941, p.19.
18. Gerald Clark, "Wings For Victory", Maclean's, May 1, 1941, p.19.
19. Thelma LeCocq, "Woman Power", Maclean's, June 15, 1942, pp.10-11.
20. Anne Fromer, "The Health of Women Workers Must Not Be Hurt", Saturday Night, Oct. 31, 1942, p.22.

21. Ibid, p.22.
22. Ibid, p.22.
23. Thelma LeCocq, op cit, p.11.
24. Ibid, p.40.
25. Labour Gazette, 1940, p.1251.
26. "Reference Papers: Fighting Facts", Wartime Information Board, Ottawa: 1943, p.7.
27. Labour Gazette, March 1946, pp.208-269.
28. Ibid, June 1945, p.909.
29. Ibid, December 1945, pp.1850-1852.
30. Ibid, p.1603.
31. Ibid, p.1603.
32. Ibid, June 1945, p.804.
33. For a detailed discussion of the government actions and the consequences of the closing th daycare centres, see Pierson, op cit.
34. Draft of "Suggested Outline of Report of sub-Committee on Post-war Problems of Women", 1943, RG7, VII-1, Vol.9, Department of Labour, Ontario Archives.
35. Statement by the Chairman of the sub-Committe on Postwar Problems of Women, 1943, RG7, VII-1, Vol.9, Department of Labour, Ontario Archives.
36. Minutes of the First Meeting of the Davisory Committe on Reconstruction, 1943, RG7, VII-1, Vol.9, Department of Labour, Ontario Archives.
37. Labour Gazette, August 1945, pp.1120-1121.
38. Anne Fromer, "What War Women Will Do When It's All Over", Saturday Night, June 24, 1944, p.6.
39. Ibid, p.6.
40. Ibid, p.6.
41. Ibid, p.7.

42. Ibid, p.7.
43. P. Dickie, "Can We Teach Our Children Love of Country?", Chatelaine, April 1945, pp.31-57.
44. S. Pearl Clark, "The 'Enigma' of the Man Who Has Returned After Years of War", Saturday Night, July 17, 1945, p.26.
45. Thelma LeCocq, op cit, p.10.
46. L.S.B. Shapiro, "They're Still Women After All", Saturday Night, Sept. 26, 1942, p.10.
47. Ibid, p.10.
48. John C. Dent, "We Can Be Optimistic About Postwar Jobs", Saturday Night, May 12, 1945, pp.20-21.
49. "World of Women" column, "Careers: Today's Librarian Does More Than Hand Out Books", Saturday Night, June 2, 1945, p.22.
50. Ibid, p.22.
51. Pierson supports the argument that women's participation in the labour force during World War II did not bring the emancipation of women because the labour force participation was viewed as a temporary measure.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Post-War Era, 1946-1956

As discussed in the last chapter, there was a reversal of the "crisis" ideology that women were suitable for "male" jobs. Women were expected to relinquish their wartime "male" jobs to returning soldiers. The traditional ideology surrounding the sexual division of labour was reasserted. The post-war era saw changes in Canada's economy which greatly affected women's position in the paid labour force and brought a shift in the wartime ideology surrounding women's work. The basic factors to be considered in this chapter are, again, demographic trends, women's participation in the paid labour force, the occupations held by women, government publications, and trends in the four magazines in this study.

I will first consider the pertinent demographic trends, then move to the economy through women's labour force participation, and finally analyse the media and ideology within this context.

Considering women's post-war labour force participation the demographic trends which should be considered are marriage and divorce rates, and birth rates.*

At the end of the war there was a rise in marriage rates (see table 4.1). In 1946 and 1947 marriage rates jumped from 9.0 per 1,000 population in 1945 to 10.9 in 1946 and 10.1 in 1947. Considering

*To put this era in context of the trends for the century, see Charts 1.2, 1.3 in Chapter One.)

overall trends for the century, these rates are comparable only to those immediately prior to and just at the outbreak of World War II, and reflect a wartime trend toward marriage. In 1948 the marriage rate started to level off at 9.6 and generally continued to decline until 1956 when it was 8.3. It must be noted however that although the marriage rate was falling between 1946 and 1956, it was still higher than it had been at any time prior to 1939, and reflected a significant change in the Canadian marriage patterns. From 1925, except for the three worst years of the depression, Canadian marriage rates generally had been rising. After World War II however, they began to fall, but until the late 1950's remained higher than those from the years 1921-39.

The divorce rate also showed an increase in 1946 and 1947. (See Table 4.1). In 1945 the divorce rate increased from 32.1 per 1,000 population in 1944 to 42.3. But in 1946 it showed an even greater increase to 63.2 and to 65.6 in 1947. After 1947 the divorce rate began to fall, levelling off to 37.4 in 1956. Although lower than the 1946-47 rates however this is much higher than at any year of the twentieth century prior to World War II.

The average age at marriage remained fairly constant throughout the era; approximately 25.3 years for brides and 28.5 for bridegrooms.¹

When we look at the post-war birth rates (Table 4.2) we see a jump from 24.3 live births per 1,000 population in 1945 to 27.2 in 1946 and 28.9 in 1947. In 1948 the birth rate dropped to 27.3 but generally continued to rise thereafter. The post-war era

Table 4.1
Marriage and Divorce Rates in Canada, 1945-1956

<u>Year</u>	<u>Marriages</u> Rate per 1,000 population	<u>Divorces</u> Rate per 1,000 population
1956	8.3	37.4
1955	8.2	38.6
1954	8.4	38.8
1953	8.8	41.6
1952	8.9	39.1
1951	9.2	37.7
1950	9.1	39.3
1949	9.2	45.1
1948	9.6	54.5
1947	10.1	65.6
1946	10.9	63.2
1945	9.0	42.3

Source: M.C. Urquhart and K.A. Buckley, Historical Statistics of Canada. Toronto, 1965, p.42.

Table 4.2
Crude Birth Rate, Canada, 1945-1956.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Crude Birth Rate</u> ¹
1956	28.0
1955	28.2
1954	28.5
1953	28.1
1952	27.9
1951	27.2
1950	27.1
1949	27.3
1948	27.3
1947	28.9
1946	27.2
1945	24.3

¹Number of live births per 1,000 population.

Source: M.C. Urquhart and K.A. Buckley, Historical Statistics of Canada. Toronto, 1965, p.38.

saw the highest birth rate since several years before the depression

Related to the birth rate and also to women's labour force participation is the number of pre-school age children. The number of children under 5 per 1,000 women aged 15-44 jumped from 397 in the 1941-1951 period to 555 in 1951-1956.² Unfortunately no figures are available for the 1941-1946 and 1946-1951 periods. Clearly, however, the early fifties saw an increase in the rates of pre-school age children in Canada where minimal daycare facilities exist and a stigma is attached to sending one's child to such facilities.

Considering labour force trends we must examine not only overall participation rates but also changes in the occupational structure in the female labour force, and the marital status of women workers.

First I will look at the labour force participation rates of women after World War II, and second, the marital status of working women; thirdly I will outline those occupations which employed women.

Women's participation in the labour force increased from 20.3 per cent in 1941 to 29.5 per cent in 1951 (see Table 4.3). Within this interval however was a drastic change in the mid-forties because of the war and of the economy. The participation rate rose to 33.5 per cent in 1944, dropped to 33.2 per cent in 1945 and then fell to 25.3 per cent in 1946. So although the census data indicate a steady increase over decades, the 1956 level (24.9 per cent) was

Table 4.4

Female Labour Force Participation, 1941-1951¹, 1955, 1957.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Participation Rate*</u>			<u>Total</u> ²
	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Other</u>	
1941	4.5	47.2	17.3	20.3
1951	11.2	58.3	19.3	24.1
1955	12.1			
1957	16.0			

¹Aged 14 and over²Because this table was composed from different sources there are slight differences in some figures. This table is adapted from Connelly, 1976, p.5 and the Labour Gazette, 1955 and 1957.

*It should be noted that these figures are different from those of a report in the 1953 Labour Gazette which showed an even more striking change in the number of married women working. The Labour Gazette reported a fourfold increase in the number of working wives in 1941 (under 4 per cent) to 1 in 9 wives working (under 11 per cent) in 1951).

Table 4.5

Marital Status of Women in the Labour Force, 1941, 1951, 1956.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Single</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Other</u>	
1941	79.9	12.7	7.4	100.0
1951	62.1	30.0	7.9	100.0
1956	51.0	38.7	10.3	100.0

Source: Labour Gazette, 1957, p. 952, and Dept. of Labour, Women at Work in Canada: A fact book on the female labour force, 1964. Ottawa: 1965. p.21.

in fact equal to the 1947 level and not as high as the 1944-45 levels.

There were also significant changes in the marital status of women in the labour force. Although there were no doubt wartime changes along this dimension as well, we cannot document this here as there is only the census data from 1941 and 1951 and some data as found in the Labour Gazette available. (See Tables 4.4 and 4.5) From this data we see clearly that while the participation of married women in the labour force increased, so of course did the percentage of female workers who were married.

Finally when we look at changes in the occupational structure (Tables 4.6 and 4.7) we see that the post-war era saw a rise in the female typed occupations such as clerical, sales and service. More specifically there was a rise in clerical and service occupations, (yet a decrease in domestic service) and a larger percentage of workers in those occupations were women. The importance of the rise in clerical sector in assessing the change in women's paid work and its corresponding ideology must be emphasized. The growth in this sector of the occupational structure meant that there were more jobs available to women outside domestic service. In fact, domestic service had been dealt its death-blow by the First World War,* rather

*For an analysis of domestic service in Canada in the earlier era see, Genevieve Leslie, "Domestic Service in Canada, 1880-1920" in Women At Work: Ontario, 1850-1930, Janice Acton et al, (eds), Toronto, 1974.

than WWII, but this growth of the clerical sector meant that domestic service would not even be considered by most women workers. There is also some problem with assessing where domestic servants appear in the census data, as they might be classified as cooks, laundresses, etc. These occupations, although increasing the percentage of "Personal Service" workers, may be carried out in either commercial establishments or in private homes. Hence although the "personal service" occupations might maintain a constant proportion of the labour force, these workers may have in fact left domestic service.

In white collar occupations clerical jobs increased from 7.2 per cent of the total labour force in 1941 to 10.8 per cent in 1951, and continued on to 12.9 per cent in 1961. (Table 4.6). Table 4.7 indicates that within the clerical occupations the percentage of women workers increased from 18.3 per cent in 1941 to 27.4 per cent in 1951 and to 28.6 per cent in 1961. The percentage of women in personal service fell from 34.3 per cent in 1941 to 27.4 per cent in 1951, but as mentioned above, we do not have data specific to domestic service workers. If one considers the trend over the century, the number of women in clerical jobs increased about twenty-five times, from 12,600 in 1901, to 314,000 in 1951.³

Armstrong and Armstrong point out the corresponding decline over the period in domestic service resulted in a heavier concentration of women in the nine leading female occupations, increasing the sex-segregation of the labour force.

Table 4.6

Total Labour Force, Distributed by Major Occupations, 1941-1961

<u>Occupation</u>	(per cent)		
	<u>1941</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>
All Occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0
White-collar	25.2	32.4	38.6
Proprietary and managerial	5.4	7.5	7.9
Professional	6.7	7.4	10.0
Clerical	7.2	10.8	12.9
Commercial and financial	5.9	6.7	7.8
Manual	33.4	37.7	34.9
Service	10.5	8.6	10.8
Personal	9.3	7.4	9.3
Protective and Other	1.2	1.2	1.5
Primary	30.6	20.1	13.1
Not stated	0.3	1.2	2.6

Source: Noah Maltz, Manpower in Canada, 1969, Table A.4,
in Connelly, 1976, p.128.

Table 4.7

Female Labour Force, Distributed by Major Occupation Groups, 1941-1961

Occupation	(per cent)		
	<u>1941</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>
All Occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0
White-collar	44.6	55.4	57.4
Proprietary and managerial	2.0	3.0	2.9
Professional	15.6	14.4	15.6
Clerical	18.3	27.4	28.6
Commerical and financial	8.7	10.6	10.3
Manual	18.5	19.4	13.3
Service	34.4	21.3	22.5
Personal	34.3	21.1	22.2
Protective and other	0.1	0.2	0.3
Primary	2.3	2.8	4.3
Not stated	0.2	1.1	2.5

Source: Noah Meltz, Manpower in Canada, 1969, Tables A.2, A.3, in Connelly, 1976, p.122.

To summarize briefly, in the late 1940's and early 1950's there was a sharp rise in the birth rate and also rises in both marriage and divorce rates. Women's participation in the labour force dropped drastically immediately following World War II, but then continued to climb. There was a shift away from domestic service and growth of the white collar clerical occupations.

We now deal with the corresponding ideology surrounding women's work as expressed in the Labour Gazette, and Maclean's, Saturday Night, National Home Monthly, and Chatelaine.

As shown in the previous chapter, at the end of the war the emphasis in both the Labour Gazette and the popular media was on the encouragement of women's entry into more traditionally "female" occupations, away from the "male" jobs which women held during the war. As would be expected, this trend continued in the years immediately following the war. The ideology surrounding women's work in this decade became somewhat more complex than it had been in wartime.

Three main classifications are used in this analysis: These are: 1) veterans and their transition to civilian life; 2) women in the labour force; and 3) women's responsibilities in the home.

Veterans

One of the concerns of the post-war period was the placement of female veterans into civilian jobs. In order to train veterans who were not already Registered Nurses, the Canadian Vocational Training program (CVT) was instituted by the federal government. It was hoped that through these training programs the occupations in

which workers were needed would be filled with veterans.

The veterans training programs and the numbers of female veterans themselves were not greatly significant, especially after about 1947. However the types of jobs women veterans chose, and were offered training for, forecast a wider trend to emerge in relation to all women workers.

As outlined earlier, the decline of domestic service continued after the war. This situation was reported in the Labour Gazette, 1946:

It was revealed recently by Miss Marion Graham, Supervisor of the Women's Training, Department of Labour, that there are at present more opportunities for home service employment than in any other field open to women workers. During the war the demands of the Armed Services and of wartime industries presented a strong appeal to women employed in home service and on the staffs of hotels and restaurants. Consequently, many of them left their peacetime employment for war work. Occupational surveys show that they are now reluctant to return, after having had a taste of better pay and working conditions, shorter hours and an enhanced social position.⁴

Middle and upper class families became increasingly concerned with the domestic service problem and at the same time the state was concerned with the possibility of high unemployment. Pierson outlines the state solution which was in the form of the Home-Aide program:

When at the end of the war continuing demand for, but scarcity of, domestic servants came together with fear of unemployment among women, post-war planners fell back on the old hope that domestic service would provide the needed jobs, a clear indication that the notion of certain occupations as suitable for women had survived the war. Most planners, however, realized that, for domestic service to attract women something would have to be done to elevate the status and improve the working conditions of domestic employment. The more substantive proposals called for inclusion of domestic workers under protective labour legislation and social insurance programmes.

The truncated scheme actually implemented by the National Employment Service not only lacked provision for legal protection and benefits, it focussed its efforts on but one small segment of the occupation, the new classification of "Home Aide".⁵

The Labour Gazette, 1946, presented the report of the International Labour Committee on "Women's Employment in the Post-War Period". The report discusses the "widespread scarcity of domestic workers" and suggests the Home Aides program as a model plan to "improve the standards for work, remuneration and skill of the workers".⁶

Briefly, the Home Aide program was a course of three or four one-hour lectures in the evening to be taken during the first month of employment. At the end of the course the employee would receive a badge, and certificate from the local office of the National Employment Service. Old terms such as "maid" were replaced with "houseworker", work was done in "shifts" and wages were to be set in consultation with the local NES office. Wages, in fact, were negotiated, as in the past, between the domestic worker and her employer. The occupation remained low-paying and unattractive for that reason.

Chatelaine, in its support of the program, published an article⁷ which both explained the program in terms encouraging both employers and employees to make the program a success and gave support to the reconversion to the "traditional" ideology of women's work, and the importance of marriage. In describing the Home Aide program itself, Chatelaine describes the trainee as "a new kind of business

girl--doing domestic service on a shift-work basis". It refers to domestic service as "the new occupation of Home Aides, the profession of housekeeping assistant". While complying with the program's intention to raise the status of domestic work, at the same time Chatelaine accepts the traditional assumptions of what women's occupations are, and what is suitable work for women.

The Home Aide (is) to be a business girl or woman... engaged in the nation's most important enterprise. Like any typist or trained factory worker she is capable of certain standard practices in the business of homemaking... (she has a) new attitude and proficiency.

The article concluded with a profile of a Home Aide, describing her as "Audrey Harris, a former CWAC helping her young veteran husband start civilian life". Thus not only has the Home Aide program provided employers with first-class domestic help, but it has also given a female veteran employment in women's work, through which she fulfills her role as a supportive wife.

Other training programs for veterans were outlined in the Labour Gazette. Veterans were channelled almost exclusively into female occupations. Following the Deputy Minister of Labour, Arthur MacNamara's statement the "the training of veterans and war workers and the establishment of vocational training facilities generally were matters, the importance of which could not be stressed too much",⁸ the Labour Gazette lists training programs available. The programs are for such occupations as practical nursing, basic merchandising and salesmanship, dressmaking, commercial training, and "home service"⁹ (apart from Home Aides).

In September 1946, of the total of 44,000 women veterans, 6,811 had enrolled in the Canadian Vocational Training program. Eighty-eight per cent of these women chose the following occupations:

commercial, 46%; hairdressing, 16%; dressmaking, 14%; and prematriculation, 11%. Courses in practical nursing were popular also.¹⁰

Very few took the domestic service option. Discussing the lack of success of the Home Service Training Centres of the CVT, the same 1946 article reflects the reluctance of women veterans to enter domestic service. Their preference for work was still traditionally "female" (that which required "commercial" training) but was outside the home. The report states:

Progress has been made by the half dozen Home Service Training Centres, but the enrolments have been relatively small. The demand for domestic help in the interval between Nov., 1946 and March, 1946 was approximately 5,000. To meet this there had been 700 applicants.

Although the CVT offered some variety of training programs to veterans, although usually for "feminine" jobs, Saturday Night focussed only on the "women in the Home" choice of service women's training. An October 1946 issue put women veterans' homemaker's training in a "happy-families-lead-to-a-happy-nation" context and lauded the "four-month homemakers' course...offered to women in the services...(teaching) technical training in all phases of home management."¹¹ Saturday Night used the training of women veterans as a means of appealing to the patriotic feelings of housewives, persuading them to take seriously their responsibilities, for the household budget. This included training in household

budgeting and shopping.

Women in the Labour Force

The early part of this chapter has shown that women became more concentrated in certain occupations.

According to the Labour Gazette,

In 1951 almost 78 per cent of the women in the labour force were employed in 20 occupations. The largest numbers were in various types of office work: stenographers, typists, clerks, bookkeepers and cashiers. There were also proprietors and managers in the fields of retail trade, telephone operators, sewing machine operators, hairdressers and manicurists, charworkers and cleaners, waitresses, laundresses, cleaners and dyers, packers and wrappers, housekeepers and cooks. Almost all of these are fields that traditionally have been or have come to be considered the special spheres of women.¹²

After the war there was, as has been stated, a need to transfer women from male jobs to female jobs and, in order to alleviate competition and the threat of high unemployment, ensure married women's exodus from the labour force back into the home. Hence the ideological transformations to the pre-crisis ideology surrounding women's work and women's sphere.

On the surface there sometimes seems to be a contradiction between Labour Gazette reports of labour force deficiencies in female occupations and the popular media's emphasis on women's place at home. However this complex articulation of the economic and the ideological becomes clearer when placed into an overall context of women in the paid labour force and women in the home.

Until the end of the war the Labour Gazette, the state's voice in interpreting the labour force trends, paid little attention to

women workers. Those articles which appeared in the Labour Gazette were factual and brief, pertaining directly to women's labour force participation only. In the post-war era the Labour Gazette's articles on women were of a more journalistic style, often relating women's position in the labour force to the home, family and women's individual happiness and satisfaction. It is also noteworthy that this concern with happiness and satisfaction and the suitability of certain occupations was not extended to male workers. Women workers were growing in number and changing in characteristics (increasingly they were married) and were treated as a special category of workers. This special category incorporated a concern with those activities and satisfactions found outside the world of paid work. The concern with the personal satisfaction of women workers coincided with an increasing demand for workers in traditionally female jobs.

In 1946 the Labour Gazette published a report of the International Labour Organization which stated that many differences between men's and women's occupations had disappeared and then went on to discuss the special needs of women workers, especially married women with "a family or household responsibilities".¹³ The scarcity of domestic servants and the need to make domestic service a more attractive occupation was also noted. A difficulty in attracting women to restaurant and hotel jobs was reported in 1947.¹⁴

In 1947 the Labour Gazette reported that in female jobs "vacancies have greatly exceeded applicants. The shortage has been especially acute in the expanding consumer goods industries such

as clothing, textiles, leather goods and electrical apparatus manufacturing."¹⁵ This article continues that in light of the overall labor market situation for women,

an attempt to 'drive married women out of the labour market' would almost surely create more difficulties than it would solve.¹⁶

It is assumed that women should be recruited to female jobs and that "family and home responsibilities" are to be considered only in the case of women workers. So, in 1947 while the Labour Gazette addresses the issue of women workers' responsibilities in the home, the reporting is still primarily directed at labour force needs.

Our content analysis showed that around 1950, a more explicitly value-laden tone appears in some articles, although factual articles continue.

In reports of labour force needs the implicit assumption that only women enter "female" jobs continued to exist, as did the notion that women were a reserve supply of labour.

In 1952 a labour shortage in the aircraft industry prompted the Labour Gazette to report:

There are several possible sources of additional supply (of workers), one of which is women workers. Aircraft industry is generally well-suited to the employment of women..

The proportion of women to the total number of wage and salary workers has remained constant at 10% over the past two years. Most of these are office workers. As more work of the production type gets under way, there will be an increase in jobs for which women are particularly suited.¹⁷

In an 1953-54 series of articles on women in employment, concern is expressed about the shortages of nurses and stenographers.¹⁸

The series also discusses women who are successful in "male" professions and business. Successful businesswomen are reported to have,

started in as stenographers and bookkeepers and gradually, through hard work and ability, have made themselves indispensable and risen to the top in spite of a considerable amount of male scepticism, if not opposition.

There are of course...thousands of girls and women who never reach the top but spend their lives usefully as stenographers and secretaries.¹⁹

Clearly, women are "useful" in the female jobs and in rare cases even become successful in male jobs.

Hence in the post-war era the Labour Gazette reports the factual labour force trends of women working in "female" jobs, and reflects the changing ideology in the assumptions of its more journalistic articles. Even more striking manifestations of this ideology in the Labour Gazette are evident in the articles which discuss women's dual role, in the labour force and in the home.

The Women's Bureau of the federal Department of Labour presented a brief series of reports on the results of a questionnaire issued to women workers. Prefacing individual reports on specific occupations the Women's Bureau outlined its view on the overall position of women in the labour force and the home:

Every girl should be prepared for motherhood and the care of children; she should have opportunity, preferably at home, beside her mother, to cultivate the arts and skills of home-making and housekeeping. But these responsibilities are less onerous and time consuming than in the past. Modern appliances have lightened household tasks, and many of the activities formerly carried on within the family have been moved outside the home, for example, spinning and weaving, canning and preserving,

recreational and cultural life, education and the care of the sick and old. For many women in today's mechanized society, apart from the years of child bearing and rearing, family and home fail to make up a useful and satisfying life. Preparation for another occupation to which she can also give her best gifts is, therefore, increasingly important to every girl. To choose this field of work she needs help in assessing her own interests and aptitudes. She should also have opportunity to explore possible fields of work in order to achieve an outlook that will enable her to integrate these important aspects of life into wholeness.²⁰

In describing several occupations which girls might consider an important section of each report is the participation of married women and the effect the occupation has on home and family. For example, the report on teachers notes the possible togetherness a married couple can share if both are teachers, and the facility with which a woman can fill "the dual role of teacher and housewife".²¹

This dual role is stressed throughout the period. Marion Royce, the Director of the Women's Bureau "emphasized the urgent need for:

- 1) Better standards of day care for the children of working mothers...
- 2) More realistic and effective vocational counselling for girls and women to prepare them for their dual role in modern society--as homemakers and as members of the labour force...
- 3) A study of part-time work opportunities for married women with children and for older women unable to withstand the demands of a full work schedule...The large number of married women engaged in retail trade was thought to be a result of the availability of part-time work in shops and stores.²²

Not only is the ideology of women as a "special" and "feminine" type of worker found in reports of women in female jobs, but also in reports of women in male jobs. The Labour Gazette emphasizes the

"feminine touch" now found in the rare construction project which employed women. It noted the "tidying up of the male population on a construction project and 'gentlemanly deportment'", adding that a woman "should be provided with a home-away-from-home when employed on construction projects."²³

By the end of the period under study, married women were increasingly working after their children were grown and the two peaks of women's labour force participation was evident - the before marriage stage and the post-child stage. The Labour Gazette outlined this as the "Phases in a Woman's Life":

1. A period of education and training usually including some work experience and...in most cases marriage also.
2. A period of child-bearing and rearing when a woman either withdraws entirely from the labour market, works only intermittently or takes a part-time job.
3. A period after her children have grown beyond the dependent stage, when an increasing number of women are impelled to broaden their interests through either voluntary service in the community or work for which they are paid. Indeed for many the latter has become a necessity.²⁴

This report added that, "Recognition of some such realistic pattern of a woman's life is basic to a reasonable approach to vocational counselling and training for girls". Again, women should be channelled into female jobs, maintaining the segregation of the labour force.

This ideology surrounding the "dual role" of working women is, of course, also evident in the popular medias. There is however a different emphasis in the popular magazines which may be due to the structure of the female labour force and the different audiences the Labour Gazette and the popular magazines write for. As was shown in

Tables 4.4 and 4.5, in 1951 30.0% of the women in the labour force were married but this composed only 11.2% of all married women. So when the popular magazines address the issue of working women it may be that they speak to a smaller proportion of their audience than does the Labour Gazette.*

The ideology expressed in the popular media must be analysed not only in light of trends of women's participation in the labour force but also in light of rising divorce and birth rates. Articles on women in paid employment often referred to the "dual role", or if a profile, stressed the woman's feminity.

One exception to this type of article was one written by Charlotte Whitton for Maclean's. Ms. Whitton gives an outline of the wage and occupational structure in Canada and states, "Practically and dumbbell is paid more than a smart woman, just because 'he's a man'."²⁵

This article, as stated, is exceptional. Equal pay for equal work was sometimes debated during the era, but little was done to put the idea into practice. The reports on proposed government legislation in the Labour Gazette note an Equal Pay for Equal Work Act introduced each year by Mrs. Ellen Fairclough, MP for Hamilton West. It was always defeated.

A typical argument was in Saturday Night, December 1951. The author states that men should be paid more than women and continues,

*This may not be the case in fact, depending on the employment patterns of magazine readers, but unfortunately no data is available on characteristics of these readers.

If men give way on their last battlefield, we shall have lost something we will both regret. The male book-keeper thinks he should be better paid than his female counterpart at the next desk...(as do other male workers). By and large they're quite right, for men do the job better...

"...I do think that year in and year out, men are better employees, better executives. And history shows that they only have reached the top in fields open to both sexes...No woman has yet run second or even third in the arts and sciences. And the world's great cooks are all men...

"So why try to compete?"²⁶

The author insists that instead of competing in "male" fields women should try "something new", such as pig-farming or selling insurance.

The femininity of women workers in both male and female occupations is always mentioned. Profiling a woman engineer, Saturday Night points out her interest in petit-point and handicrafts.²⁷ Maclean's profiles an unmarried schoolteacher as fulfilled and happy because she is surrounded with children.²⁸

Articles also appeared which were less concerned with specific jobs than with the issues faced by working women, especially married women.

In 1948 the National Home Monthly published an article entitled "Working Wives--Two Sides". Two young men state why their brides will or will not leave their jobs at marriage. In favour of "working wives" the author argues that the added income is necessary, that his wife would be bored at home alone (or would "tat dozens of useless doilies...(and) gossip), and that they can share housework. On the other side the author argues that the couple can get by on

his income, that a life of continual rushing, tensions and frayed tempers result when both partners work. He "(looks) forward to coming home...to a relaxed happy wife, an orderly home and a hot dinner",²⁹ and loathes the thought of being "subjected nightly to a head bristling with metal rollers and a complexion slathered in face cream so the office can enjoy the fine results of this homework for beauty." He also adds that they want children while they are young. While the article does present ideas on both sides of the question, it clearly is biased in its illustrations. Opposed to a proud smiling husband and happy wife dancing with her broom to the radio are a sleepy couple missing the bus at dawn, an aproned man sweeping dust under the carpet, and a husband cowering in fear of his wife in rollers and face cream.

The issue of part-time work was touched on as part of a cure for the general malaise of the modern family. In times of high divorce rates and concern with juvenile delinquency, there were advocates of "good old-fashioned family life". A 1947 article in Maclean's implied that unmarried adults were slightly warped and irresponsible, and that children must be taught responsibility. A woman would be ill-advised to work full-time, according to the article, but a part-time job would mean added chores for the children, teaching them a sense of responsibility and family togetherness.

The same message is repeated in 1952 in Chatelaine. The authors feel that children benefit from a sense of responsibility and independence. "Too many older children think that their 'business',

their sole business, is to go to school and they have little if any responsibility toward family and home."²⁹ In their follow-up article, "How To Lead A Double Life", the authors suggest that mothers get involved in family-oriented community organizations or take a part-time job. The ideal woman they profile has started a part-time clerical service in her home which involves her children's help.

Notably these articles place a woman's job within the context of responsibilities to home and children. As stated, "We agree wholeheartedly that no career means more than that of being a mother, that none is more rewarding and satisfying."

In placing paid work in a "family responsibility" framework women are encouraged to recognize their primary identity and role as mothers--a responsibility which leads them to accept low-status, low-paying part-time jobs. As was noted earlier in the Labour Gazette "The large number of married women in retail trade was thought to be a result of the availability of part-time work in shops and stores".³⁰

Continuing with the issue of married women working, in 1948, the National Home Monthly featured an article on the "pre-Marriage Clinic" of Rev. E.S. Lautenslager, a Toronto United Church minister. Rev. Lautenslager offers advice to young couples for marital success. On the question of working wives he advises against it, saying,

The first year of marriage should be spent in learning to make a home for each other, a difficult goal to achieve if the wife arrives home tired out at night.³¹

Later, in 1954, Chatelaine ran an article on the same minister who then advised more strongly,

I would like to warn you about certain dangers in this practice (ie, working wives). Wives, you can unman your husband by taking his place...

"The wife should...take pride at being good at her wifely job."³²

The same theme, that a wife puts her marriage in jeopardy by working is expressed again in Chatelaine. in the article, "I Quit My Job To Save My Marriage".³³

But a married woman is entitled to have the independence of a job outside the home, just as much as her husband is entitled to it, I can hear a whole lot of working wives saying, This is 1955, not 1910; women have the vote; they have a right to select a career.

"Well, they did select a career when they got married. And how much independence do they achieve when it's purchased at the expense of higher taxes on their husband's income, at the expense of the general well-being of their home, at the expense of the happiness of their marriage? That's not independence; that's selfishness. (original emphasis)

The same idea is always expressed in these articles. A woman's work is in the home and outside work should never jeopardize the success of her "home" career.

There is one major difference between the articles on working women of the war era and the post-war era. During the war, ideology was focussed on "average" women workers, and working class women as publicity was given to war workers. This was done in an effort to encourage all women to work during the "crisis". In the post-war era after the labour "crisis" of the war was ended, profile articles focussed on "interesting" jobs and exceptional women. For example, the previously-mentioned woman engineer, one of fifteen in Canada. Two women who started a unique and successful business in temporary clerical

Table 4.8

Percentages of Canadian Households Surveyed that had Certain Household Equipment, 1948-1958*

<u>Item</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1958</u>
Hot and cold running water	-	62.57	73.50
Gas or electric stove	48.49	62.73	76.66
Mechanical refrigerator	29.26	66.33	86.24
Home freezer	-	2.22	8.17
Electric washing machine	59.21	76.38	84.28
Vacuum cleaner	32.02	48.01	60.94
Electric sewing machine	-	23.43	36.30

* Does not include households in the Yukon, Northwest Territories or on Indian reservations.

Table from: Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1970, p.34.

services,³⁴ or the head of Eaton's wedding bureau.³⁵

One article in Chatelaine, "White-collar Wife" comes close to profiling an "average" working woman, but profiles not only the woman, but the couple. The article describes the luxuries, such as household appliances and furniture, which the couple can afford with the wife's income. It emphasizes, however, that the wife will quit work when she has a baby.³⁶

Clearly the ideology surrounding women's work was changing from that which was manifested during the war. Women were no longer suited to men's work, no longer praised by employers as such. In the post-war period women were in a baby boom, with marriage and divorce rates both high. Another important post-war trend to bear in mind is the decline in domestic service. This meant that more housewives were going to do all of their own housework. This was a change from the pre-war family situation when a woman did not necessarily spend a great deal of time with laundry, polishing floors, etc. In the post-war era a woman was forced to do her own housework; it became solely her responsibility. At the same time more and more women were entering the labour force in traditionally female jobs, and they were also doing their own housework. The increase in household appliances in this era is significant. (See Table 4.8.)

If women were to take on all of their housework, they would need the help of appliances. At the same time the increased technology surrounding housework, "women's work", gave it an air of industrializa-

tion or professionalization. An economy in which consumer goods industries were expanding demanded a steady supply of not only workers but of dedicated consumers. As Connelly outlines the situation:

On the one hand a changing industrial and occupational structure has led to the expansion of female occupations, creating a demand for female workers. On the other hand, with the capitalist penetration of the household, commodities once considered luxuries have become necessities and traditional ways of doing things have become obsolete. In order to buy the goods and services now necessary to maintain an average Canadian standard of living women are compelled to enter wage labour. At the same time it is the existence of these goods and services which free women (within limits) to work outside the home.³⁷

Generally speaking then, the absence of domestic servants enhanced the need for women to do their own housework and assume primary identities as housewives, while also stimulating a demand for expensive household appliances, placing demands on the one-income family budget. This is not to imply that the complex ideology of the post-war era is reducible to the domestic service trend. Those economic conditions which allowed domestic service workers to leave the occupation were the basis of important changes in the structure of the labour force, the family and the ideology surrounding women.

Women's Work in the Home

Finally, there was a trend in the media to view women's work as solely work in the home. Because this thesis has been concerned primarily with the notions of women's work outside the home, this trend will be dealt with briefly. I will focus only on those articles

which best indicate the general tone and key ideas.

As noted earlier, both marriage and divorce rates were higher in the post-war era than at any other time in the century. Despite a decline following the wartime jumps, rates were still high in the late forties and fifties. The baby boom of the era also had its effect on women's position in society. These factors, coupled with women's growing labour force participation produced a general concern about the future of the family. This concern was an important part of the ideology of women's work, or more generally the sexual division of labour.

In a 1947 article, "First Aid For the Family",³⁸ Maclean's expressed this concern. The author places the blame for increasing divorce on industrial society's emphasis on the individual.

What's the matter with us? Our grandparents seemed to get along pretty well in marriage--why can't we? What has happened?

"Much has happened of course and most of it can be traced back to industrialization, with the accompanying growth of large cities. In them, the individual, not the family, becomes the unit. And so far as a simple formula can be suggested to curb divorces it is that the nation must again become family-minded.

The article lists eight ways to strengthen family life:

- 1) "Young people should be able to grow up emotionally" (Men should detach themselves from their mothers' apron strings and women should not carry on "adolescent flirting" "with any...male in sight". (Children need) "closer contact with their own parents, especially their fathers"...
- 2) Young people need more dates...
- 3) Rural life should be made more attractive. (This includes a pattern of early marriage.)...
- 4) Specific education for marriage and parenthood are... needed...a little more instruction in parenthood...a little

less in algebra. (The teachers of family life courses should be married themselves as there has been one example of an unmarried teacher who was) the most warped individual on staff...

5) Special counselling services for marital problems...
6) The community should encourage family life...Are we discouraging newspapers and speakers from referring to a divorce as 'gaining her freedom' ...as if marriage were a prison?

...Divorce essentially represents a failure to live successfully at the normal adult level...

7) A great deal should be done to make childbearing more fashionable since it is not merely necessary to national survival but one of the strongest factors for marital happiness... (Highly educated women have the lowest birth rates and the highest divorce rates. For women who want) self-expression outside the home...more part-time jobs, more opportunities for...volunteer work will have to be provided.

The author sees the source of the problem in industrialization and urban life, but places responsibility for correcting the situation with the individual--primarily with women who must marry, have children and a "good old-fashioned" family.

In this era the media emphasized that married women's contributions to society from within the home were as consumers, supports to their husbands' careers, and as responsible mothers.

Chatelaine assumes women's role as consumer in its reports on new products and consumer advice, and also in its assumptions about its own role. In a 1947 editorial, it describes its role as a "mediator" in problems of communication between women and industry and government. At the same time it announced the establishment of its Department of Consumer Relations.³⁹ In October, 1950, an article in Maclean's stated that women should handle all family finances and went on to set up guidelines for wives to follow.⁴⁰ The need for

guidelines and for women to take finances seriously is also expressed in Saturday Night.⁴¹ Housewives' financial responsibilities, indeed, are the basis of the national economy. According to Saturday Night's "World of Women" column:

Financial difficulties in the home inevitably bring demands for higher wages which in turn often result in strikes and labour unrest. Indeed the happiness and security of the individual family and the peace and prosperity of the nation hinge on whether or not personal finances can be put on a sound basis.

In "She Leads The Housewives' Campaign" Maclean's praises the Canadian Association of Consumers, a campaign organized by housewives "to make shopping easier, cheaper and better."⁴²

A woman's second contribution is to support her husband's career. These articles are directed primarily at middle-class women with husbands in white-collar jobs. In "You and Your Husband's Boss"⁴³ the wife's responsibility to create a happy home is stated, and incorporated into this responsibility is the need for "efficient handling of money". In "How Do You Rate With Your Husband's Boss?"⁴⁴ top executives outline the characteristics they look for in an employee's wife and warn, "More than one man has been passed over by a Boss who felt the wife could not measure up to the new responsibilities". The wife's "career" as housewife becomes an important part of her husband's position in the company. As one woman said,

There may be times when the going gets rough, but always back of it all is the wonderful Company we work for AND BELONG TO, the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada. (original emphasis)

The function of a happy home life to capitalism becomes clear in the Labour Gazette report on the Visiting Homemakers Service.⁴⁵

One of the by-products of the Visiting Homemakers Service is the protection given industry from loss of productivity due to absenteeism...

When a crisis overtakes a family of one of the employees of a firm, the results may be loss of time, excessive preoccupation with family worries and a tendency to accidents. Homemakers Service reduces this loss...

Homemakers Service to his family also means that a father does not lose time from his work or suffer a reduction in pay.

A full-time housewife provides the same service in fulfilling her obligations to create a happy home.

Finally, with a baby boom coinciding with rising divorce rates, women were obligated to take seriously their duty to be good mothers.

To safeguard against divorce and unhappiness, a Maclean's article offers "A Frank Formula For A Happy Marriage"⁴⁶:

The wife should not work outside the home after marriage.

Children are a guarantee of married happiness.

Mothers should consider it a duty to nurse their children.

The ideology that a child is a mother's primary responsibility is brought out in the article, "I Won't Send My Child To Nursery School".⁴⁷

A child's development in the first five years is the most important job any mother has.

"Many a mother is only too anxious to shift her responsibilities. Other mothers are simply following a fad in helping to run a community nursery school, misdirecting the energy with which they should be tending their home fires.

Clearly, women who work or even women who are simply involved in community nursery schools are irresponsible mothers.

There were many articles published during the era which emphasized the responsibilities and joys of motherhood, (for example, "New Baby--A Cure For Middle Age",⁴⁸ Chatelaine, 1950). Some stated outright that girls should receive no more than a basic education because biology is destiny ("Don't Educate Your Daughter", Chatelaine, 1954).⁴⁹ Others placed most blame for divorce and desertion squarely on the shoulders of women ("How To Keep Your Mate", Maclean's, 1946⁵⁰; and "Deserted Families: Our Secret Shame", Saturday Night, 1951⁵¹).

Finally, women are warned that if their work as mothers is not taken seriously, they are guilty not only for their family's unhappiness, but the destruction of humanity. In a 1948 article⁵² Dr. Brock Chilsholm cites mass "character defects or neurotic symptoms" as the basis of war and continues,

Our question 'Do Women Make Wars?' may be seen to resolve itself into the question 'Are Women significantly responsible for the development of conscience and character in children?...

"Grown-up children have always engaged in wars; women carry the major responsibility for the development of the character of the children. Therefore we cannot avoid the conclusion that women are at least as, and probably more, responsible for wars than men. That is only to say that the opportunity of women to take constructive steps to ensure that their children and grandchildren do not die by millions is very great. The vital question is whether women, in their own homes, their own communities and schools, and in the polling booths, are capable of answering the challenge and in doing so, saving the race from destruction.

Such an article not only encourages women to stay in the home where their responsibility and opportunity is so great, but might also serve as a rationalization for those women who reluctantly left the labour force after war to raise a family.

In conclusion, the post-war era presented a complex ideology surrounding women's work. Women were increasingly entering the labour force in traditionally female jobs. At the same time marriage, divorce, and birth rates were rising. I have outlined these trends with the ideology as expressed in the Labour Gazette and four popular magazines. The ideology of the period was complex but its salient feature was a return to the traditional pre-war ideology, that woman's work is primarily in the home.

FOOTNOTES

1. M.C. Urquhart and K.A. Buckley (eds.), Historical Statistics of Canada, Toronto, 1965, p. 42.
2. Ibid, p. 44.
3. Labour Gazette, Ottawa, 1955, p. 641.
4. Ibid, 1946, p. 195.
5. Ruth Pierson, "'Home Aide!'" A solution to Women's Unemployment After World War II"; Atlantis, Spring 1977, p. 95.
6. Labour Gazette, Ottawa, 1946, p. 1537.
7. Lotta Dempsey, "Domestic Help: New Style"; Chatelaine, January 1946, p. 14.
8. Labour Gazette, 1946, p. 192.
9. Ibid, p. 863.
10. Ibid, p. 601.
11. Lillian D. Millar, "More 'know-how- for Housewife Might Balance Shrinking Dollar"; Saturday Night, Oct. 5, 1946, p. 34.
12. Labour Gazette, 1957, p. 1285.
13. Ibid, 1946, p. 1536.
14. Ibid, 1947, p. 36.
15. Ibid, 1947, p. 297.
16. Ibid, 1947, p. 297.
17. Ibid, 1952, p. 144-145.
18. Ibid, 1953, p. 382-383.
19. Ibid, 1953, p. 380.
20. Ibid, 1954, p. 1512.

21. Ibid, 1954, p. 1513.
22. Ibid, 1954, p. 1513.
23. Ibid, 1956, p. 1398.
24. Charlotte Whitton, "The Exploited Sex", Maclean's, April, 1947, p. 9.
26. Mona Clar, "It Pays To Mind Your Own Business", Saturday Night, December 1951, p. 38.
27. Margaret Ness, "Girl With An Iron Ring", Saturday Night, September 1952, p. 31.
28. Sidney Katz, "Teacher I Love You", Maclean's, December 1951, p. 18.
29. Sidonie M. Grenberg, and Hilda Sidney Krech, "The Many Lives of Modern Woman", Maclean's, August, 1952, p. 53.
30. Labour Gazette, 1956, p. 1127.
31. Adele Cooper, "A Minister Opens the Pre-Marriage Clinic", National Home Monthly, Sept. 1948, p. 14.
32. Rev. E.S. Lautenslager, "A Minister's Frank Talk To Brides and Grooms", Chatelaine, May 1954, p. 18.
33. Dorothy Manning, "I Quit My Job to Save My Marriage", Chatelaine, June 1955, p. 16.
34. Robert Collins, "The 100 Girls Who Mind Men's Business", Maclean's, June 1954, p. 26.
35. Jean Tweed, "She's Bossed 12,000 Brides", Maclean's, May 1950, p.8.
36. Zoe Bieler, "White-collar Wife", Chatelaine, August, 1953, p. 22.
37. M. Patricia Connelly, "Canadian Women as A Reserve Army of Labour", unpublished doctoral dissertation, O.I.S.E., 1976, p. 160-p. 160-161.
38. Paul Popenœ, "First Aid For The Family" Maclean's, May 1947, p. 19.

39. Bryne Hope Saunders, "Lessons from women and war", Chatelaine, February 1947, p. 80.
40. Sydney Margolius, "Who Should Handle The Family Money?", Maclean's, October 1950, p. 12.
41. Lillian D. Millar, op cit., p. 34.
42. "She Leads the Housewives' Crusade"; Maclean's, October 1951, p. 20.
43. Gertrude Stayner, "You and Your Husband's Boss", Chatelaine, December 1947, p. 12.
44. Ken Johnstone, "How Do You Rate With Your Husband's Boss?", Chatelaine, March 1953, p. 13.
45. Labour Gazette, 1957, p. 51.
46. Francois Roy, "A Frank Formula For A Happy Marriage", Maclean's, August 1950, p. 6.
47. Betty Watford Steele, "I Won't Send My Child To Nursery School", Chatelaine, November 1951, p. 12.
48. Max Braithwaite, "New Baby--A Cure For Middle Age", Chatelaine, November, 1950, p. 14.
49. Phyllis Lee Patterson, "Don't Educate Your Daughter", Chatelaine, September 1954, p. 18.
50. C.R. Adams, "How To Keep Your Mate"; Maclean's, February 1946, p. 20.
51. D.W. McAdam, "Deserted Families: Our Secret Shame"; Saturday Night, December 1951, p. 45.
52. Dr. Brock Chisholm, "Do Women Make Wars?", Chatelaine, July 1948, p. 6.

CHAPTER FIVE

Quantitative Analysis of the Media, 1931-1956

This chapter presents a quantitative analysis of the articles which manifested the dominant ideology over the twenty-five year period. Our data confirm the trends outlined in the qualitative analysis of the three previous chapters. The findings of this analysis are summarized in Table 5.1 and complement the earlier discussion of changes in the ideology surrounding women's work from the depression through to the post-war era.

The four magazines that were used in this analysis of the ideology in English-speaking Canada* were Saturday Night, Chatelaine, and Maclean's. National Home Monthly was not used because this magazine stopped publication in 1950. The remaining three provide a comprehensive overview of the ideology of the 1931-1956 period. Every magazine issued in this twenty-five year period was read for the qualitative analysis, in addition, four issues per year of each publication were analysed in depth. The reading of four issues per year allowed us to cover seasonal fluctuations in the types of articles appearing. Issues chosen were rotated monthly, for example, in 1931 the J.n., April, July, Oct., issues were chosen; in 1932 Feb., May, Aug., and Nov. were chosen and so on until Jan. was again chosen in 1934. (See Appendix C, Rotation Schedule). The

*There was also a French edition of Maclean's published during the period but it was not included in this analysis.

TABLE 5.1

Summary of Quantitative Findings, Frequency of Articles by Era and Themes, 1931-1956.

<u>Themes</u>	<u>Eras</u>					
	1931-1938		1939-1945		1946-1956	
	<u>No. of</u> <u>Articles</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Articles</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Articles</u>	<u>%</u>
Interests in the Home	551	85.8	627	79.9	881	88.5
Housewife Professionalization (28)	(28)	(4.2)	(52)	(6.5)	(125)	(12.5)
Interests Outside the Home	41	6.3	71	9.0	69	6.9
Other	50	7.9	86	11.1	46	4.6
Total*	<u>642</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>784</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>996</u>	<u>100.0</u>

*Totals do not include figures from "Housewife professionalization" category. These figures are included in the larger category of "Interests in the Home".

purpose of this rotation was to eliminate a seasonal bias in types of articles found. Clearly there would be an emphasis on cooking and gift-giving articles in December issues. The articles were classified according to the categories in Appendix A, Coding Categories. These categories were then grouped into main types: 1) Women's work and interests in the home; 2) Women's work and interests outside the home; 3) Other. Articles on domestic service were considered as belonging to type 2 because although domestic service is carried out within the home it is paid employment, and domestic servants work outside their own homes and are in paid employment.

Within the first category is a sub-category "Inter-personal relationships". The management of interpersonal relationships is an aspect of "women's" work perhaps most often and most importantly carried out within the family. It is this aspect of women's work in the home which became glamorized and professionalized with the "feminine mystique" of the 1950's.* While it often does not require the physical labour of the larger category of women's work in the home, or of women's work outside the home, it is nonetheless considered a cultural responsibility and requires time and work. The shift of focus from paid work to this aspect of work in the home is an important aspect of the dominant ideology of the post-war era. Especially noticeable is the long-term trend in the professionalization

*See The Feminine Mystique, Betty Friedan, New York, 1963.

TABLE 5.2

Changing Frequency of "Women in the Home" Articles, 1931-1956 with percentage of total number of articles for the era.

Type of Article Column	Category	Number of Articles					
		1931-1938		1939-1945		1946-1956	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
6.	Recipes	129	20.1	177	22.6	240	24.1
7.	Gardens, decorating	104	16.2	111	14.1	102	10.2
8.	Fashion, beauty	138	21.5	244	31.1	277	28.7
9.	Social events *	91	14.2	17	2.1	5	0.5*
10.	Health	4	0.6	5	0.6	25	2.5
12.	Crafts	16	2.4	-	-	70	7.0
13.	Children's features	20	3.1	-	-	-	-
14.	Consumer advice	16	2.4	5	0.6	9	0.9
21.	Housework professionalization	-	-	12	1.5	10	1.0
22.	Childcare professionalization	18	2.8	33	4.2	74	7.4
23.	Marriage professionalization	6	0.9	5	0.6	16	1.6
48.	Women's unpaid contribution	1	0.1	11	0.1	6	0.6
49.	Homes during reconstruction	1	0.1	1	0.1	2	0.2
50.	Happy housewife profiles	1	0.1	-	-	5	0.5
51.	Behaviour stereotypes	4	0.6	4	0.5	22	2.2
52,57	Family problems	2	0.3	-	-	6	0.6
53.	Togetherness	-	-	1	0.1	12	1.2
	Total	551	85.8	627	79.9	881	88.5
	Total number of articles for the era	642	100.0	784	100.0	996	100.0

TABLE 5.3

Changing Frequency Housewife Professionalization and Inter-personal Management Articles, 1931-1956

Column	Category	Number of Articles					
		1931-1938		1939-1945		1946-1956	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
21.	Housework professionalization	-	-	12	1.5	10	1.0
22.	Childcare professionalization	18	2.8	33	4.2	74	7.4
23.	Marriage professionalization	6	0.9	5	0.6	16	1.6
49.	Homes during reconstruction	1	0.1	1	0.1	2	0.2
50.	Happy housewife profiles	1	0.1	-	-	5	0.5
52,57.	Family problems	2	0.3	-	-	6	0.6
53.	Togetherness	-	-	1	0.1	12	1.2
	Total	28	4.2	52	6.5	125	12.5

* The decline in the "Social Events" category may be due to a change in the editorial policy of Saturday Night. There was a significant decrease in the number of social events covered in that publication.

of the housewife/mother role. The percentage of articles in the "Childcare professionalization" category increased steadily over the twenty-five year period, from 2.8% of all articles in the depression to 7.4% of all articles in the post-war era.

There are definite changes in emphasis over the twenty-five year period. As shown in Table 5.1 the changes over the period are not always great, but the nature of the types of changes within the categories is crucial. These changes are discussed in detail in the quantitative analysis.

Table 5.2 indicates the extent of changes in the "Women in the home" category. During the depression there were 551 articles in this category or 85.8% of the total number of articles for the era; during the war 627, or 79.9%, and during the post-war era 881 or 88.5%. While the difference from the depression to the war is not great (54 fewer articles during the war) it does support the thesis, there was a decrease in these articles with the war. The greatest fluctuation occurs in the transition from the war years to the post-war era. There were 254 more articles of this type appearing after the war, an increase of 8.6%. This is the change which seems most important in that it reflects the post-war drive to ensure the traditional division of labour. This increase in the number of "Women in the home" articles functioned to reverse the

previous "crisis" ideology of the war years that emphasized women's suitability for men's jobs and to ensure that in the new "dual role" of women as wives and workers, it was the wife role which was seen as primary.

The primacy of the home role is shown in the analysis presented in Table 5.3. The number of articles which dealt with professionalization of the housewife's role and interpersonal relationships more than doubled in the post-war era, increasing from 6.5% to 12.5%. Over twice as many articles were devoted to the management of home and family as women left "male" jobs but increasing proportions entered the paid labour force. Within this general category of "Women's interests in the home" there is a marked decrease in the category "Social Events". This may reflect a changing class composition of the readership of the magazines. Because circulation figures are unavailable there is no clear evidence, but it does seem that a widening in the readership might account for the decline in the space given to the socially prominent. In the post-war era the magazines may have tried more to attract a readership among married women who had entered paid work, than they did during the depression. However, the overall trend in the professionalization

of the housewife and childcare categories is crucial in understanding the long-term dominant ideology.

We now consider the changes in emphasis on women's interests and activities outside the home. There was a general increase in articles over the whole period with a slight peak during the war period. Articles in the category of "Women in Paid Employment" showed a definite increase during the war (from 6.3% to 9.0%) and then declined (to 6.9%). Perhaps most important of these articles are the "profiles of women in paid employment" because these are the articles which specify precisely the jobs for which women are deemed to be suitable and they show how woman's success was publicly evaluated. The number of these profiles increased continuously.

Even after the war these profiles increased despite the immediate post-war drop in women's labour force participation. This coincides with an increasing acceptance of married women's labour force participation and the notion of women's "dual role". More important than the actual number of these articles, however, are the changes in the specific occupations featured in the articles. Only during the war, of course, were there profiles of war workers--all articles on women doing "men's" jobs. Before and after the war,

TABLE 5.4

Changing Frequency of Articles on Women's Interests Outside the Home, 1931-1956, with percentage of articles for the era.

<u>Column</u>	<u>Category</u>	1931-1938		1939-1945		1946-1956	
		<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
25.	International affairs (women)	2	0.3	4	0.5	1	0.1
31.	Women in politics	1	0.1	-	-	-	-
32.	Women in international politics	-	-	2	0.2	2	0.2
33.	Women in federal politics	3	0.4	1	0.1	4	0.4
34.	Women in municipal politics	-	-	1	0.1	5	0.5
35.	Women in paid employment	-	-	4	0.5	1	0.1
36.	Profiles of working women	24	3.7	34	4.3	43	4.3
38.	Opportunities for employment	1	0.1	1	0.1	5	0.5
39.	Opportunities for domestic service	1	0.1	-	-	1	0.5
40.	Issue of women in paid employment	1	0.1	3	0.3	2	0.2
42.	Equal pay issue	-	-	6	0.7	2	0.2
43.	Problem of domestic service	3	0.4	2	0.2	1	0.1
44.	Employer-employee relationships in domestic service	3	0.4	-	-	-	-
45.	Training programs, domestic service	1	0.1	-	-	1	0.1
55.	Women in the armed forces	1	0.1	13	1.6	1	0.1
	Total	41	6.3	71	9.0	69	6.9
	Total number of articles for era	642		784		996	

Note: The percentage column totals are calculated by taking the frequency column totals as a percentage of the total number of articles for the era. These percentages differ from a simple addition of the columns in this table. I think this is mainly due to the fact that I did not round off the percentages of each category and the percentage total given here is more accurate.

the "men's" fields women were profiled in were the professions, and the femininity of the woman was emphasized.

The number of show business profiles went from 2(8.3% of the profiles) during the depression to 4(8.5% of profiles) during the war and then more than doubled to 10(23.2%) during the postwar era. These were well-known Canadian actresses, such as stars at the Stratford festival. They were not included in the "Movies, movie stars" category.

The articles on women in clerical and "female" jobs increased in the post-war era. There were 3 of these profiles (12.5% of profiles) during the depression, 2(or 5.8% of profiles) during the war and 5(11.6% of profiles) after the war. The percentage of profiles of women in these "women's" jobs exactly doubled in the post-war era.

The other most notable change is the "Other" category. This category includes such occupations as musician, novelist, home economist, and fashion designer. These occupations, while they may be traditionally restricted to females, are of particular interest for women. Profiles of individuals in such occupations numbered 13 (or 54.2% of profiles) during the depression, 10(29.4% of profiles)

during the war and 17(or 39.5% of profiles) after the war.

Although articles on domestic service did not disappear altogether in the post-war era, they did not appear in the sample as frequently as in the depression or in the war years. In general this reflects the trend away from domestic service, (which began during World War I) and the failure of government programs to revitalize the occupation.

This content analysis supports the qualitative analysis presented in Chapters Two Three, and Four. The percentage of "Women in the Home" articles decreased as women were called into the labour force during the war. At the same time "women outside the home" articles increased. The greatest differences are from the war era to the post-war era as women returned to the home and to traditionally female occupations.

CHAPTER SIX

This thesis used Althusser's structuralist interpretation of Marx as a theoretical framework, and shows certain aspects of the relationship between the economic and the ideological with respect to women's work in Canada. A structuralist approach allowed us to examine the conditions under which women participated in the paid labour force. We then proceeded to examine the corresponding changes in the ideological instance, as manifested in the media. Our focus is not on the analysis of individual response to the dominant ideology, but rather, on messages purveyed by the media. The media are, of course, part of the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA), and we show how this functions to maintain and produce both the sexual segregation of the paid labour force and the traditional division of labour in the home.

Our findings were as follows.

During the depression women's overall labour force participation increased, as did the percentage of married women in the labour force, while the birth rate declined. Male unemployment was not only a national problem but also part of social problems such as family desertion and family conflicts as both adults were in the home. Analysis of changing notions of "women's work" in the depression are complicated by the fact that female employment is related to the overall problems of unemployment and relief.

The media expressed concern that employed women were taking jobs away from men and that working women were a cause of the depression. There was also a trend toward professionalization of the housewife role which discouraged women from accepting gainful employment when men were out of work. This type of ideology surrounding women's work functions to alleviate economic problems if it discourages women from seeking unavailable work, or if it encourages women only to enter "female" occupations, not competing with male workers.

More important perhaps is the near-absence of certain themes in the media. The dearth of articles pertaining specifically to the depression functioned to obscure the economic and social problems facing the country at the time. Rather than develop an awareness of the economic, social and political consequences of the depression, there was an ideology which promoted a lack of awareness, perpetuating a passive acceptance of the social structure and the historical situation.

The war brought both an end to the economic depression, and a labour shortage. As production in war industries generated the labour shortage, women were needed to fill vacancies in "male" jobs. A hierarchy of preference among female workers was established by the NES, with married women with children being the last to be called upon for war work. Women's labour force participation increased drastically during the war, with women replacing men in "male" jobs. A changed ideology of women's work, was reflected in

the magazines of the period. Women war workers were quoted as saying they preferred male jobs (war work), which were better paid, to female jobs (stenography). This change in ideology was couched in a crisis framework which permitted an emphasis on the femininity of women workers and a concern with women's post-war role.

Fundamental to these articles was an assumption of the traditional sexual division of labour. It was this underlying assumption which facilitated women workers' return to the home or to paid female occupations. This assumption and the "crisis" framework maintained the post-war sexual segregation of the labour force and the traditional division of labour in the family.

One shift in occupational trends which took place during the war was that away from domestic service. This trend was first and most dramatically noticed after the First World War. It was WWI which contributed most to eliminating domestic service in Canada, and the trend was continued with World War Two. First war work attracted those who once worked as domestics, then the post-war growth of clerical jobs contributed to the decline of domestic service. Economic changes, for example, the growth of sales and clerical occupations, which brought the opportunity for women to work in other jobs, had an effect on the post-war ideology surrounding women's work.

In post-war ideology the professionalization of housework which was initiated during the thirties became full-blown and at the same time greater numbers of married women were entering the

labour force in traditionally female jobs. This stimulated the need for technology in the home in the form of appliances and other consumer goods. Woman's role as consumer thus incorporated her contributions to society as homemaker and as productive worker--her new "dual role".

This analysis was not intended to provide a comprehensive review of women's labour force participation or the changing occupational structure of the labour force. Rather it provides an outline of these changes and the corresponding change in ideology over the period 1931 to 1956. It also takes into account demographic trends that affect women's work in the home and in the paid labour force.

We argue that the needs of the economy determine not only whether or not women will or will not work outside the home, but also which jobs are deemed suitable for women. Within a capitalist mode of production a sexually-segregated labour force ensures that workers compete only in their "own" occupations and women provide a source of cheap labour. The further consequence of this is that women remain in a subordinate position outside and inside the home as they are dependent on their husbands' incomes.* This situation is reproduced and maintained economically and ideologically.

*I am not suggesting that patriarchal attitudes and practices are a result of capitalism and occur only within capitalist social formations. I am outlining only how these practices function to serve capitalism and are perpetuated within that mode of production.

The communications Ideological State Apparatus, of which magazines are a part, is a flexible apparatus which can transform ideology quickly on a mass scale in response to labour force needs, as it did, for example, during and after World War II.

This interrelationship between the economy and the media has implications for contemporary society. Dobbins has outlined the relationship between the feminist movement and women's wage-labour in the United States. She presents empirical data that shows the relationship between shifts in capital investment and the employment of women during the ebb and flow of the Women's Liberation Movement. She concludes that the Women's Liberation Movement can be seen as a "cultural movement which the capitalist class permitted in order to legitimate recruitment of cheap female labour to keep profits high at a particular point in the capitalist economic cycle."¹

While the sources of the growth and maintenance of the ideology of feminism does not have such simple bases as Dobbins implies, and is not consciously controlled by the capitalist class, her argument has some validity. Our analysis of the media over the period supports the argument that economic cycles affect the ideology surrounding women's work. It is likely that contemporary magazines are responding to the current depression in their articles on women's work and further research is needed to document the contemporary trends.

It may be, for example, that as in the 1950's, profiles of working women will continue but will only feature women in "female" or

unusual occupations. It is probable that contemporary magazines will continue to support the "dual role" notion and to maintain the primary importance of the "wife and mother" role for most women.

In a period of unemployment and high expectations among young educated people the discouragement of labour force participation among certain groups may become of prime importance in the maintenance and reproduction of the present social structure.

FOOTNOTES

1. Peggy Powell Dobbins, "Towards a Theory of the Women's Liberation Movement and Women's Wage-Labor", Insurgent Sociologist, Summer, 1977, p. 53.

APPENDIX A

Coding Categories

Note: Except for Columns 1 through 5, numbers in each column represent the number of articles on each category unless otherwise stated.

Column

1. Magazine: 1- Saturday Night
2- Maclean's
3- Chatelaine
- 2-3 Year
- 4-5 Month
6. Recipes
7. Gardening and Decorating
8. Fashion and beauty
9. Social events
10. Health
11. Travel
12. Crafts
13. Children's features
14. Consumer advice
15. Royalty profiles
17. Movies, movie stars
18. Sports
19. Unusual Stories
20. "Social problems"
21. Housework professionalization (includes nutrition)
22. Childcare professionalization
23. Professionalization of Marriage
24. International affairs with no reference to women's role.
25. International affairs--women's role (includes war)
26. Articles specific to depression (problems of unemployment, relief)
27. Col. 26: 0-relief; 1-unemployment; 2-women in economy;
3-effects on home and family; 4-economy and business;
5-causes of depression.
28. Issue of Sexual Equality
29. Col. 28: 0-in favour; 1-opposed; 2-mixed
30. Col. 28: 0-humourous; 1-not humourous; 2-Uncertain.
31. Women in politics
32. Women in international politics
33. Women in federal politics
34. Women in municipal politics
35. Women in paid employment
36. Profiles of women in paid employment

Coding Categories - ii

37. Col 36: 1-professional; 2-politics; 3-business; 4-war work;
5-showbusiness; 6-clerical; 7-"female" jobs;
8-military; 9-other (for example, musician).
38. Opportunities for women in paid employment (not war work)
39. Opportunities for women as domestics (excludes Col. 38)
40. Issue of women in paid employment
41. Col. 40: 1-in favour; 2-opposed; 3-mixed; 4-humourous.
42. Equal pay issue
43. Problem of domestic service
44. Employer-employee relations in domestic service (no reference
to training programs.
45. Domestic service training programs.
46. War stories (morale boosters, news from Europe, etc.)
47. Concern about post-war role of women
48. Women's unpaid contribution to war and the economy, usually
as consumers (includes profiles)
49. Home planning and management during reconstruction with
references to nation's future.
50. Profiles of happy housewives.
51. Stereotypes of female behaviour (for example, illogical,
scheming, emotional)
52. Problems in interpersonal relations, primarily family
53. Togetherness
54. Profiles of women as social leaders
55. Women in the Armed Forces
56. Communism
57. Marriage and family problems (personal stories, not "social
problems")
58. Unclassified, general interest.

APPENDIX B

Division of Articles into Three Parts

Part 1: Women's Work and Interests in the Home

Column	Category
6.	Recipes
7.	Gardening and Decorating
8.	Fashion and Beauty
9.	Social events
10.	Health
12.	Crafts
13.	Children's features
14.	Consumer advice
21.	Housework professionalization
22.	Childcare professionalization
23.	Marriage professionalization
48.	Women's unpaid contribution to society
49.	Home planning and management during reconstruction
50.	Happy housewife profiles
51.	Stereotypes of female behaviour
52.	Problems in interpersonal relations
53.	Togetherness
57.	Marriage and family problems (personal stories)

Part 2: Women's Work and Interests outside the Home

25.	International affairs with reference to women
31.	Women in politics
32.	Women in international politics
33.	Women in federal politics
34.	Women in municipal politics
35.	Women in paid employment
36.	Profiles of women in paid employment
37.	Breakdown of Col. 36 profiles
38.	Opportunities for women in paid employment
39.	Opportunities in domestic service
40.	Issue of women in paid employment
41.	Position taken by article Col. 40.
42.	Equal pay issue
43.	Problem of domestic service
44.	Employer-employee relationships, domestic service
45.	Training programs in domestic service
55.	Women in the armed forces

Part 3: Other

- 11. Travel
- 15. Royalty profiles
- 17. Movies, movie stars
- 18. Sports
- 19. Unusual Stories
- 20. Social problems
- 24. International affairs with no reference to women's role
- 46. War stories
- 47. Concern about the post-war role of women
- 54. Profiles of women as social leaders
- 56. Communism
- 58. Unclassified, general interest

APPENDIX C

Rotation Schedule of Magazine Issues, All Magazines, 1931-1956.

Year	MONTH											
	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEPT	OCT	NOV	DEC
1931	X			X			X			X		
1932		X			X			X			X	
1933			X			X			X			X
1934	X			X			X			X		
1935		X			X			X			X	
1936			X			X			X			X
1937	X			X			X			X		
1938		X			X			X			X	
1939			X			X			X			X
1940	X			X			X			X		
1941		X			X			X			X	
1942			X			X			X			X
1943	X			X			X			X		
1944		X			X			X			X	
1945			X			X			X			X
1946	X			X			X			X		
1947		X			X			X			X	
1948			X			X			X			X
1949	X			X			X			X		
1950		X			X			X			X	
1951			X			X			X			X
1952	X			X			X			X		
1953		X			X			X			X	
1954			X			X			X			X
1955	X			X			X			X		
1956					X			X			X	

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