SEXUAL POLITICS IN QUEBEC

SEXUAL POLITICS IN QUEBEC:

THE STRUCTURE AND DYNAMICS

OF

CLASS, NATIONAL AND SEX OPPRESSION

By

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Abstract

     This study focuses on a substantive sociological problem, namely, how to account for the particular forms and rhythms in which sexual politics have been played out during the course of capitalist development in Quebec. The social position of women is seen as oppressed and determined by the intersection of three structures of domination--of nation, class, and sex--which characterize the Quebec social formation as a whole. Ideologies of women, changes in these ideologies, and women's political self-organization in the feminist movement are analyzed as expressing the contradictions inherent in the intersection of these three structures of domination and as emerging in the context of global political dynamics. Three historical moments--the Conquest and its aftermath, the process of capitalist industrialization, and the Quiet Revolution and its aftermath--at which the status of women was called into question as a social issue and at which a modification in the sexual division of labour took place have been selected for study. The position of women in the family, in production, in the juridico-legal structures of the state, and in the ideologies which reflect and distort, define and justify that position will be examined. A central problem will be how to interpret the political practice of francophone women in the public domain.

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1. Introduction

1.1 The historical problem: the exceptional character of feminism in Quebec

On International Women's Day, March 8, 1975, francophone women met in a Montreal secondary school to discuss issues of education, work, childcare, and sexuality. This teach-in, which was organized by a nucleus of feminist activists drawn from the trade unions, community and student groups, an abortion counselling service, and the far left, marked the emergence of an ongoing mass-based movement of women challenging the fundamental bases and forms of the contemporary sexual division of labour. During the rest of that spring, campaigns were organized in rapid succession against day-care cut-backs, in support of free abortion and in defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler,[1] and to build for the first time a special women's contingent in the annual May Day demonstration organized by the labour movement. Such activities have of course been typical of the second wave of the women's movement in North America; and this new feminist activity in Quebec can certainly be understood in terms of the general social conditions which produced a radicalization of women in North America as a whole and, indeed, throughout the capitalist west. But what is sociologically interesting about the contemporary women's movement in Quebec are the respects in which its forms and

rhythms of development are exceptional.

In North America in general, a women's liberation movement emerged in the context of the campus radicalization of the sixties, peaked in 1970-1971, and, in its most anodyne form, was institutionalized as a media image of the "new woman" on the one hand and as a continuing reformist pressure against sexual discrimination on the other.[2] By 1975 in English Canada, this movement was demobilized and dispersed into state-funded women's social service networks or safely channelled into government-based status of women councils. It was not until International Women's Day, 1978 that united actions were organized by feminist militants inside and outside the union movement.[3]

In short, what defines the specificity of the women's movement in Quebec in the first half of the 1970's and thus, from an ideographic point of view, most calls for an explanation are the following two features:

> 1) the timing and rhythm of its development. In comparison with the development of the second wave of North American feminism up to 1975, a self-defined autonomous women's movement came relatively late onto the Quebec political scene. But, on the other hand, a comparison of the Quebec experience with the subsequent course of women's politics in English Canada reveals that, taken overall, the Quebec movement's development was more condensed and more explosive;

2)   the nature of its social and political
relationship to the Quebec social formation as a
whole. Most importantly this consisted in a
privileged relation with the labour movement which
first provided organizational space for its embryonic
development and then, by asserting a moral and
strategic juncture existed between the struggles
to overcome sex and class oppression, acted as a
vehicle for feminist ideology and demands.

> Pour pouvoir poursuivre et accentuer la lutte
> contre le régime capitaliste et sa classe dirigeante,
> il faut donc travailler à refaire l'unité entre les
> travailleurs et travailleuses. Pour cela, il faut
> que les travailleurs soient prêts à intégrer les
> luttes revendicatives visant à réduire l'oppression
> des femmes à la lutte qu'ils mènent contre le systeme
> capitaliste. Les travailleuses et les ménagères
> doivent simultanément mener des luttes revendicatives
> contre leur oppression et participer à la lutte
> politique pour l'instauration du socialisme. 4

Conversely, an important sector of the women's
movement has identified itself with the projects of socialist
revolution and national independence and has sought alliances
with the labour movement and nationalist independentist forces.
This organic relation with organized labour is not only a
striking contrast with the rest of the North American labour
movement but is also notably different from the situation in
other Catholic neo-colonial countries where even a general
radicalization has produced only a primitive and somewhat
economist sexual politics within the workers movement.[5]

But these developments in the women's movement in
the aftermath of the Quiet Revolution do not constitute the

only instance where sexual politics in Quebec seemed
exceptional in the North American context. One has to do
with the political question of suffrage. Here, two exceptions
to the timing of women's enfranchisement in North America
can be found. Having voted in Quebec long before their
sisters in the rest of British North America, women were
disenfranchised by an act of the Quebec legislature in 1849
and remained so on the provincial level until 1940 despite
the granting of the federal franchise to women in the pan-
Canadian state in 1918. Thus, the rhythmic discontinuity
of the development of women's political rights in the North
American context moves from an advanced position to a lagged
or retarded one.

The second historical anomaly in the development of
feminist sexual politics has to do with the organizational
and ideological forms taken by women's organizing in Quebec
during the first wave of the women's movement. Canadian
feminism of this period, which is identified primarily with
the struggle for suffrage, emerged in the context of an
urban, middle class reform movement.[6] After some initial
attempts as social and political reform in co-operation with
women of the anglophone bourgeoisie in Montreal, francophone
women withdrew for the most part from the leadership and
activities of joint organizations into exclusively Catholic
ones.[7] These confessional organizations took on a nationalist
ideological cast and were, moreover, apparently less radical
on the questions of women's rights particularly in regard

to work than parallel anglophone organizations. Here, the question is concretely posed of the relationship of nationalist and feminist politics and of national, sex, and class structures of domination both one to another and to the dynamics of political struggle to which they give rise.

In short, what we are faced with is a substantive sociological problem, namely, how to account for the particular forms and rhythms in which sexual politics have been played out in the course of capitalist development in Quebec. The social position of women is seen as the object of sexual politics, as oppressed, and as determined by the intersection of three structures of domination -- of nation, class, and sex -- which also characterize the Quebec social formation as a whole. Ideologies of women, changes in these ideologies, and women's political self-organization in aspects of the feminist movement are analyzed as expressing the contradictions inherent in the intersection of these three structures of domination and as emerging in the context of societal political dynamics. Three historical moments -- the Conquest and its aftermath, the process of capitalist industrialization, and the Quiet Revolution and its aftermath -- have been selected for study. At each of these conjunctures, the status of women was called into question as a social issue and a modification in the sexual division of labour took place. The position of women in production, in the family, in politics and in the juridico-legal structures of the state, and in the

ideologies which reflect and distort, define and justify
that position will be examined. A central problem will be
how to interpret the political practice of francophone
women in the public domain.

1.2   The theoretical context and goals of the study
        Although such a project may be of intrinsic interest
to students of Quebec and Canadian society, it was primarily
conceived as a contribution to the ongoing attempt to develop
and refine contemporary feminist theory. It is then diversely
located in relation to sociological fields. Its empirical
objects lie in the fields of Canadian and Quebec women's
studies and of studies of Quebec political economic
development. But, by virtue of its theoretical concerns and
orientation, it is located in recent feminist explorations
of social theory and, more particularly, in relation to
attempts to develop reciprocal critiques of marxism and
feminism. The last ten years have produced important
intellectual advances in each of these areas which permit
this study to be carried out but, nevertheless, much synthetic,
analytic, and empirical work remains.

1.2.1.   In search of feminist theory
        The course of development of the revival of feminist
theory in the sixties was profoundly influenced by three
conditions: first, the social location of its proponents,

young, for the most part university educated and based
women, secondly, its strategic interest, and thirdly, the
impact of a generalized critique of bourgeois ideology. Its
first task was, quite naturally, to establish that women were
indeed oppressed as a sex, and so to lay the ideological
basis for a women's movement. In turn, this new movement
began to explore the contemporary, oppressed form of feminine
sexuality and psychology mainly through a praxis of
consciousness raising and cultural contestation. The
discoveries of this period were in the first instance
descriptive and concerned the way in which the primary
identification of women as wives and mothers was reproduced
in and reinforced by family, school, commercial propaganda,
science, and even everyday language. However, it soon
became clear that consciousness raising was not enough and
that women's oppression was not just a question of
mystification and prejudice; rather, the social position
of women and the ideology which served to maintain it had
roots in the broader organization of economy and society.

Confronted with a growing and almost overwhelming
awareness of the multidimensionality and interlocking
complexity of the sexual division of labour and of an
apparently universal male dominant gender hierarchy on the
one hand and, on the other with, limited material resources
and woman power, the movement was forced to consider the
strategic question of how best to proceed to build an

egalitarian and liberating society. The search for causes of women's oppression moved, in this period, beyond the documentation of the immediate mechanisms of its reproduction to a search for its origins, whether in social arrangements created in the long history of humanity or in some pre-social biological determinant. Gayle Rubin states the strategic implication of the search for origins clearly:

> If innate male aggression and dominance are at the root of female oppression, then the feminist program would logically require the extermination of the offending sex, or else a eugenic project to modify its character. If sexism is a by-product of capitalism's relentless appetite for profit, then sexism would wither away in the advent of a successful socialist revolution. If the world historic defeat of women occurred at the hands of an armed patriarchal revolt, then it is time for amazon guerrillas to start training in the Adirondacks. 8

Thus, driven by political differentiation, theoretical debate polarized into "radical feminist" and "marxist" camps, each claiming to represent the total, if brief, heritage of the women's movement. For the former, biological differentiation was the root cause of women's oppression, there was a male "ruling class", and sexual rather than economic power was crucial for social transformation.[9] For the latter, a sexual division of labour co-incident with and reinforced by the development of private property in class society marked "the world historic defeat of the female sex" and the liberation of women was bound up with the overthrow of capitalism.[10]

But in the long run such sweeping monocausal
theories of women's oppression seemed to have more to do
with existential dilemmas and political self-definition
than with the development of adequate sociological theory.

> At this level of inquiry into "first causes" it
> has often seemed more like an attempt to deal
> with the "eternal verities" than a treatment of
> a manageable sociological problem.   11

The problem for feminist theory presented by the
false counterposition of such one-sided positions as those
represented by Shulamith Firestone and Evelyn Reed was how
to produce a synthetic position which both corresponded to
the multi-dimensionality of social reality and which was
also capable of transcending the reductionism and evolutionism
that pervaded both former camps.[12]   What has become clear
from cross-cultural analyses is that no simple one-to-one
relation obtains in all cases between sexual structure and
mode of production and, more particularly between patriarchy
and capitalism.   Among simple hunting and gathering
agricultural societies there are instances if varying degrees
of female autonomy;   capitalism has proved itself capable of
adapting, as in the case of Japan, "feudal" family forms;[13]
and even among transitional socialist societies in the
Soviet Union, eastern Europe, China, and Cuba there are
profound differences in orientation to the division between
public and private life, sexual mores, and the role of the
state in legislating the relation between the sexes.[14]

The theoretical problem is then, in short, to

establish what mediates between structures of production and gender relations and how.

A final theoretical inadequacy of theories which establish themselves on the terrain of the original cause of sexual oppression is that they typically fail to explain the ebb and flow of actual sexual politics. Kate Millett was one of the first to point out that as in class politics there were revolutionary and reactionary periods in sexual politics.[15] Furthermore, as studies of sexual politics in Nazi Germany and of the birth of the contemporary women's movement have shown, there can be a disjuncture between global ideological orientation and the actual working out of sexual politics. In the former case, the requirements of the war economy and population policy resulted in legislation that was almost identical to the programme of radical-feminists in the Weimar Republic.[16] In the latter, as Juliet Mitchell, among others, has pointed out, a self-defined radical movement reacted with extreme chauvinism against the first appearances of women's liberation activists.[17]

The theoretical point is that the political play of sexual forces has a dynamic of its own. Sexual politics is clearly part of the political field as a whole but not reducible to it. And politics, as Poulantzas has pointed out, is in turn a relatively autonomous level of social practice and structure:

> The political must be located in the structure
> of a social formation, not only as a specific
> leval, but also as a crucial level in which the

> contradictions of a formation are reflected
> and condensed.   18

The methodological implication here of accepting this

theoretical distinction is that in order to understand the

appearance of sexual politics in a particular time and

place, one must analyze it separately as well as in relation

to the structural contradiction which the politics express.

Recent feminist theory has attempted to break out of

these various reductionist impasses while retaining the

insight that the position of women in contemporary society

is determined both by the structure of the family and by

the structure of the economy, and that these two structures

are in some way crucially interrelated. A frequent starting

point for the development of the requisite framework has

been Engels' notion that the core social relations are

doubly determined:

> According to the materialistic conception, the
> determining factor in history is, in the final
> instance, the production and reproduction of
> immediate life. This, again, is of a two-fold
> character: on the one side, the production of
> the means of existence, of food, clothing and
> shelter and the tools necessary for that production;
> on the other side, the production of human beings
> themselves, the propagation of the species. The
> social organization under which the people of a
> particular historical epoch and a particular
> country live is determined by both kinds of
> production; by the stage of development of
> labour on one hand and of the family on the
> other.   19

All this is very well as a starting point, but

Engels' conceptual framework remains schematic and far from

lucid unless the nature of this relation between production

and reproduction of the means of existence and of human
beings which is surely different in different types of
society can be unravelled in all its concrete complexity.
As Rayna Rapp Reiter has pointed out even "the major
problematic of the book -- the postulated intertwined
origins of class oppression and gender oppression -- has
barely been examined."[20]   Nevertheless, the posited inter-
relation between sex structure and class structure has served
as an heuristic framework for a whole programme of anthropo-
logical and historical research which itself is essential
if basic feminist social theory is to be refined. What is
specifically interesting about the study of the rhythms of
development of women's politics in Quebec in relation to the
theoretical project is that its dynamic is generated by the
intersection of more than sexual and economic contradictions.
The existence of a complex national question historically
mediating women's social condition and politics rules out
of court simplistic interpretations whether economist or
radical feminist. This problem of how to conceptualize the
intersection of complex structures of domination is not one
that North American sociology as a whole has been well
equipped to handle and attempts to do so have remained
largely within the framework of static structural analysis.[21]
How do we conceptualize the position of women workers in
Quebec? Or indeed of women of the dominating classes in a
dominated social formation?

Even granting feminist assumptions that patriarchy oppresses women as a sex in ways that cannot merely be reduced to exploitation at the point of production, we are faced with the problem of explicating and concretizing the modes in which it does so.[22] A central analytic goal is to shed some light on the ways in which the interrelation of specific structures of domination define the social position of women in the case of Quebec by reading back to those structures through the politics which express their contradictory intersection.

1.3   The empirical fields: Quebec studies and Canadian and women's studies

The intellectual impact of the sixties radicalization was felt not just at the level of theory nor only in the area of women's studies. A radical nationalist movement in Quebec sparked investigations, many informed by marxism, of Quebec history, politics, and economics. Similarly, specific investigations of women's history have made important contributions to our knowledge. Here I will review briefly some of the developments in these two fields which are most germaine to this thesis.

1.3.1   Quebec political economy: a reconsideration of the retardation thesis

Like the women's movement which grew in its confines, the development of the Quebec social formation as a whole has

long seemed out of sync with the rest of the North American
social formation. Long after the social forces which shaped
the Quiet Revolution had coalesced, the popular image of
Quebec, at least among English-Canadians, was of a poor
agricultural society which remained rural while the rest of
Canada developed a modern industrial infrastructure. The
society which rested on this agricultural base was, therefore,
similarly unmodernized: dominated by conservative ideals
and a stern clergy, the uneducated Canadien/ne passively
and dully accepted her/his lot in life as an expression of
God's will.[23]

Such popular notions variously dressed up and
modified as sociological theory rested on two intertwined
assumptions to explain the particular form of Quebec's
economic development and superstructure. The first of these
assumptions dealt with the economy: Quebec had failed to
develop a capitalist industrial base at the same rate as the
rest of Canada. Thus, the failure of Quebec society to attain
the lines posited as normal for a modern bourgeois liberal
regime could be explained by the lack of economic development.
This assessment is what I have called for the purpose of this
study the "retardation thesis". Implicit in such a formulation
of the retardation thesis is a further theoretical assumption,
one which I have already mentioned as a bugbear in women's
studies. It is an assumption which reduces the structure
of social and political relations in a given society to a
reflection of its economic base and thus makes the mode of

development of the former merely epiphenomenal to that of
the latter.

The problem with such formulations is not only that
they are theoretically inadequate and empirically false but that
they   offer no insight into one of the central problems
of this study, the asymmetrical rhythms in which the women's
movement develops. Much more useful are notions of uneven
development first formulated by Trotsky.[24] and given further
theoretical clarification by such diverse thinkers as Mandel[25]
and the Althusser-Poulantzas school.[26] In relation to Quebec
the notion of uneven or retarded sectoral development has
been explored in relation to the economy originally by
Raynauld[27] and then by Savaria,[28] Bernier,[29] and by Monière[30]
for ideological development.

In general, these thinkers adopt a methodological
orientation which I share and which insists upon the fact
that many of the distortions in the development of the Quebec
social formation can best be explained in the framework of an
historical political economic analysis. Their general
analytic perspective, with its emphasis on the status of
Quebec as a dominated and dependent national social formation,
has thus been adopted for this study. I then go on to
formulate the consequences of that domination in a way that
is, I think, both new and illuminating for the analysis of
sexual politics.[31] I shall argue that Quebec can best be
understood as a society with a dualistic insertion into the
overall North American social formation; that is as, on the

one hand sharing the ryhthms and courses of development of
the rest of North America and, on the other, having a
specificity of its own. This theoretical notion can then,
also be explored in relation to the forms and rhythms of
development of the women's movement and ideologies of women.

1.3.2.   Women's studies in the Quebec and Canadian contexts
as an aspect of the new social history

Much has been written about the fact that women
have been, in Shiela Rowbotham's phrase "hidden from
history".[32] Their exclusion from written history tends to
reflect both the fact of their exclusion from the public
realm in western society and the androcentric bias of amle
historicians.[33] Indeed, although they appeared from time
to time as adjuncts of great men, we learned most about
their lives from the relatively non-prestigious field of
social history. Their reemergence into historical writing is,
then, a result not only of the new feminism but also of a
new concern for social history.[34]

The results of the phallocentrism for Canadian
women's history have been pointed out by Ramsey Clark in his
introduction to Catherine Cleverdon's study of the first
wave of women's movement in Canada.

> But Canadian historical writing, for the most
> part, has continued to reflect the two (male
> and female) spheres' philosophy . . . The
> major exception is . . . The Woman Suffrage
> Movement in Canada. Written nearly a quarter
> of a century ago, it remains the only complete
> account of the suffragist struggle in Canada.   [35]

The situation has changed significantly since that time. A number of new studies have appeared, earlier papers written both by academics and by women's rights activists and their opponents have been republished, and editors of two major collections have set out to correct sexist biases and omissions that arise from them in previous work by presenting a vision of women as oppressed and as engaged in struggle against that oppression:

> En excluant le concept d'oppression on avait en effet créé une 'psychologie féminine', une 'sexualité féminine' et une 'condition féminine' qui, la plupart du temps, servaient à justifier et à perpétuer un système d'oppression.
> L'histoire n'a pas faire exception à la règle . . . La vision sexiste que la société québécoise s'est donné de son passé a ainsi relégué ses femmes parmi les sans-histoires. Mais en donnant à celles-ci comme seules ancêtres des vierges héroiques, des religieuses mystiques et des mères comme it ne s'en fait plus, cette histoire cautionnait et consacrait leur oppression réelle.   36

From feminists working in this perspective we now have a series of monographs that, in combination with more traditional historiography, enable us to trace the role of women in the economy from the seventeenth century through to the 1940's.[37] In addition, recent work has explored women's political history in the suffrage movement with greater depth, sensitivity, and theoretical sophistication than Cleverdon and has followed political debate concerning the status of women from the early 1800's to the present day.[38]

The effect of this new social history is contradictory. While such work provides the necessary background for

sociological studies like the present one, there nevertheless remain a number of problems at both the empirical and theoretical levels. Mona-Josée Gagnon's work on Quebec ideologies of women lies perhaps more strictly within the sociological field than some other studies.[39] It can, however, be used to illustrate common difficulties at both these levels. As the first systematic attempt to periodize the dominant ideologies on women and to link their existence with, first, global Quebec ideology and, secondly, with the social conditions of their production, her work would, in any case, remain important. But the strength of her contribution lies elsewhere in the depth and scope of her research. Her analysis of successive prescriptions for the proper place for women and the style of femininity that they should display covers a wide range of material including popular magazines and clerical and left wing journals, and is further deepened with regard to the labour movement's policies towards its women members and the positions they occupied within its ranks.

Despite these strengths some problems remain which can usefully be examined in relation to her use of the term "idéologie traditionelle". This notion of femininity centred on women in the home and on their spiritual qualities is conceptually limked with a global "idéologie de conservation" and remained, she argues, dominant in Quebec up until the 1960's. First let us examine a conceptual lacuna in her theory of ideological development. Implicit in her analysis

of the powers of endurance of this traditional ideology
is a variety of the retardation thesis: "la révolution
industrielle . . . arrive en retard mais s'installe plus
rapidement."[40] This explanation, which is, from her
methodogogical perspective, central to specifying a theory
of ideological development, appears only briefly in a preface
and is neither explained nor supported by data. The immediate
result is a conceptual vagueness about the developmental
relationship she is examining.

This notion of "idéologie traditionelle" is,
however, not merely problematic in relation to a theory of
ideological development but is itself inadequately defined
historically. There is not analysis of the moment and condition
of its actual development nor of how it managed to contain the
contradiction of partial female enfranchisement up until 1849.
And since there is no clear analysis of changes and
fluctuations within that ideological framework, the existence
of social conflicts and the nature of any forces that might
lie behind such conflict also tend to remain nebulous. Although
we must recognize that an important feature of Quebec history
was the extent to which superstructural elements of politics
and state remained frozen, we must not neglect the fact that
conflicts and changes continued underneath the surface of
the glacier.

Such theoretical weaknesses are not limited to
Gagnon's work. If I point to their effect here, it is only
to emphasize that the lack of a general theory of the

development of sexual politics can cause difficulties in
carrying out specific historical studies. Other writers
share the central problem of how to interpret the
discontinuous political status of women. And other concepts
which remain undefined and abstract. This is particularly
important in relation to the ways in which "nationalism"
or the "clerico-nationalist ideology" is used as a stop-gap
to explain defeats that the women's movement suffered.

If we are to understand the political dynamics that
arise from the contradictory effects of overlapping structures
of domination then we need a much more flexible operational
definition of ideology, one which emphasizes the ways in which
individuals live out ideological and structural contradictions.
I would contend that the sociological notion of "definition of
the situation" can usefully supplement more structuralist
notions of ideology as systems of ideas.[41] As Henri Lefebvre
pointed out these structuralist readings tend to negate
individual experience and choice.[42] The difficulties which
arise in supplanting dominant ideologies which support social
relations of oppression and subordination do not only reside
in power structures external to the individual but also have
an internal psychological component. It is true that
nationalism and clericalism served to reinforce sexual
oppression and class domination in Quebec, but it is also
true that nationalism as an ideology is a spontaneous response
to national domination. We must strive for an understanding
of the ways in which the strategic political choices of

francophone women have been mediated by structures of class and national domination as they were lived out in experience.

Whatever the weaknesses of feminist theory in failing to provide a general theory of social development, the work of general analysts of Quebec society has much more seriously neglected the question of women. Women still tend to have a presence only as pale ideological ghosts. Their absence from recent history written in French may be plausibly read as the academic reflection of the absence of a francophone women's movement from the social scene. We can take the case of Denis Monière's work which was published after much of the new feminist history had become available. As a crude measure of the neglect of women as social actors in forming history and ideology, we should note that none of these essays appear in his bibliography. In the body of the work itself, the chapter which covers the period 1869-1929 mentions women only once except as a component of a more general ideological complex -- and that is to comment on their "proletarianisation active".[43] While Henri Bourassa's anti-feminist positions are explained in detail no mention is made of the feminists who sought in large part successfully, to transform that ideology to their own ends.

There are then two central tasks to be accomplished in relation to these two areas of Quebec and women's studies. The first is one of synthesis: women as social actors must be introduced into the general history of Quebec economic development and women's studies must take account of the global

social and economic developments. But this juncture needs
to be made not merely historically and empirically but
more importantly at the level of conceptualization. It
is no longer enough to show how women provided much of the
cheap labour force in Quebec's consumer industries. We
cannot rest content with the advances in economic history
that show that much of Quebec's cheap labour was the labour
of women. Rather we need also to develop conceptual
frameworks that show how the role of women in domestic
labour and the family articulated with different phases of
the development of capitalism.

To sum up, there are available for sociological
interpretation two bodies of empirical studies, on women
and on Quebec. But, in the first place, these need to be
integrated. Secondly, the studies of women in Quebec in
particular need a more adequate theory of their situation
in the development of Quebec political economy than has been
used to date. Theoretical tools lie to hand to begin to
accomplish these tasks; the feminist theory of sexual
politics and of patriarchy and the marxist theory of the
uneven nature of social development are particularly useful
here. But these notions in turn need to be concretized.
Such a project cannot be accomplished by a simple application
of "theory" to "facts", but it must be carried out through
the development of concrete historical analysis.

The last ten years have produced studies of
encouraging variety, imagination, sensitivity, and seriousness

carried out from within the programmatic perspective of
feminist theory. From these studies we have begun to
gather concrete knowledge of sufficient breadth and depth
about the condition of women -- their relations with one
another and with children and men, their place in their
families, their work, their hopes, their perceptions of
themselves, each other, and the world, and their struggles
for self definition -- so that theory can begin to advance.
This study is intended as a modest contribution to that
process.

1.4   Method and plan of study.

Several feminist authors with a committment to
marxism have played the game of questions and answers:
should we ask feminist questions and get marxist answers?[44]
Or, is it possible to somehow invert the process and seek
feminist answers to marxist questions? Although I have
situated myself theoretically in that marxist-feminist/
feminist-marxist camp, I do not believe that the conceptual
schizophrenia that is sometimes generated by such a position
can be overcome with the questions and answers game. Both
"sides" of the debate need to progress theoretically to
overcome the disjuncture which lies between them at their
current level of development. And, of course, an important
element aiding the possibility of such progress is the growth
of political movements of liberation -- of women's liberation
and sexual liberation more generally, of class liberation,

and, in the case of Quebec, of national liberation which provide the historical object for sociological analysis.

But, within the limits of this study, the marxist and feminist elements which form the investigative perspective can be schematized as follows:

1) the object of study is feminist sexual politics;

2) the theoretical goal is to refine feminist theory; and

3) the method of investigation is marxist.

To say that the heuristic which guides this research overall is marxist methodology is to invoke two central assumptions which affect its order of investigation and presentation. The first is the emphasis on analytic movement from the abstract to the concrete. The second is a holistic and historical emphasis on the necessity of understanding sectoral superstructural elements in relation to the mode of production or, more concretely, in relation to the social totality of which it is a part and at a specific moment in its development.

These two general methodological requirements can then be placed in relation to the two more specific notions -- Engels' dualistic determination of social life by economic and kinship structures, and Poulantzas' argument for the autonomy of the political -- that have been mentioned briefly above. In combination, then, these two sets of assumptions define the order and direction of study. In order to comprehend

any political and social reality whether as sociologists
or as political actors, we must begin abstractly by
establishing a set of theoretical categories which become
progressively refined as we move closer to the complexity
of the concrete. In the case of sexual politics in Quebec,
then, we must begin with an understanding of the stage of
development of the economic and social relations of
production and move toward an analysis of the ways in which
women carried out their feminist campaigns and struggles in
the context of class political conflict and of the politics
of resistance and accomodation to national domination.

      Chapter Two, "Theoretical Considerations," begins
the selection and examination of categories to be used in
the work of analysis. Since there is no one body of integrated
theory available it has been necessary to select appropriate
tools appropriate to each of the elements I have defined
as central to my conceptualization of the problem. Thus,
sociological theories of economic and social modernization
as well as feminist notions of patriarchy, male dominance, and
sexual politics are examined in a developmental context.
The critique of evolutionism and reductionism which was
begun in relation to problems confronting feminist theory
is continued in relation to theories of economic development
along with simplistic developmental models. The effects of
nationalism as an ideology are explored.

      In the next chapter, I turn to the analysis of the
rhythms of Quebec's economic development up until 1960.

Economic development is understood as a broad category that
includes the development of class forces, the state and its
institutions, as well as the productive infrastructure.
The analysis is focused in large part on the complex of
elements that make up the political level of the society:
the state, ideological transformation, and the emergence and
consolidation of class forces. This dual focus -- on the
development of the economic infrastructure on the one hand
and on the politics specific to Quebec as a dominated national
formation on the other -- allows for the clarification first,
of the ways in which some elements but not others of Quebec
society were retarded and, secondly, of the sociological
effect of its particular dualistic insertion into the North
American social formation.

Chapter Four takes up the central question of this
study: the rhythms and forms of the development of Quebec
feminism in its political econimic context. But it does so
only up until 1960, that is, during the first two moments
under consideration. The presentation can be broken at this
point because it is here, with the Quiet Revolution, that a
profound change takes place in the structure and integration of
Quebec society. We can say, if somewhat schematically, that,
up until 1960, the particular effects of Quebec's mode of
uneven development produced a division between the level and
progress of the development of an industrial capitalist economy
and the political, ideological, and state structures which
was reflected in the social position and ideologies of women.

During this period then it is possible and, indeed, useful
to analyse separately sexual politics and economic development.

But with the other side of the process of uneven
development, the "rattrappage" or "catch-up" of the
modernization process of the Quiet Revolution, the relations
between the state and the economy, and those determining the
social position of women shift radically and rapidly. For
example, the expansion of and secularization of the public
service sector especially the civil service, health care,
and education and the accompanying changes in labour legislation
especially affect women in their relation to the state, to the
labour movement, and to paid employment. But it was not only
women who were affected by the attempt of the economic
planners of the Quiet Revolution to modernize Quebec's state
institutions so as to encourage economic development. The
contradictions generated in this period by the failure of
the Quiet Revolution project also gave rise to a nationalist
movement and a new left current among middle class intellectuals,
students and youth, and within important sectors of organized
labour. The exploration of these contradictions and of
their political outgrowth form a matrix against which the
specific development of sexual politics can be considered.

Finally, I draw some conclusions about the specific
operation of the intersection of the class, national, and
sexual structures of domination that have been considered.
Further directions for research and theoretical clarification
are considered.

Chapter 2   Theoretical Considerations

2.1 Introduction

Before we proceed to confront the historical
appearance of sexual politics in Quebec, a first task is to
establish the sociological categories which will frame the
object of study. A certain arbitrariness arises unavoidably
in the order of presentation of these categories in this
chapter. These difficulties reflect, on the one hand, the
underdevelopment of the theory required for this analysis
and, on the other, the complexity of the topic. Each of the
regional theories of the political economy of development,
of the determinants of the social position of women, of
Quebec, and of nationalism, strains toward comprehending
the whole; but so far none of these has arrived. If this
study has a contribution to make in the development of a
theory of sexual politics in Quebec and, hence, to feminist
theory in general, it does so because it attempts the necessary
synthesis. But it also must pay the costs of its ambition.

The order of presentation does, however, follow
a logic dictated by the method of investigation as closely
as possible. The movement is from totality to sector,
general to particular, abstract to concrete. Thus, the first
set of categories selected for discussion are those which deal
with economic development seen as the abstract notion of
"modernization" and are at the level of modes of production.
Modernization theory is chosen as a focus for theoretical and

practical reasons. In the first place, a normative model of
the type of sex structures, family forms, and ideologies of
women that ought to exist in a developed industrial economy
lurks behind previous treatments of Quebec sexual politics
which rely upon the explanatory capacity of the retardation
thesis. Before tackling the inadequacies of such theories
in the concrete, it is useful to examine the theoretical
assumptions that lie behind them.

Secondly, the notion of uneven development is used
critically in relation to modernization theory for the
following reasons:

1) this notion of unevenness in social development
corresponds to the ultimate problem to be examined
by this study, that is, the problem of the exceptional
timing or rhythm of development of the Quebec
women's movement in the North American context;

2) comprehending the nature of the Quebec social
formation's economic and political development is a
precondition for understanding the sectoral politics
of feminism;

3) the impact of modernization theory on the planners
of the Quiet Revolution strategy of rattrapage. In
order to understand the contradictions inherent in the
Quiet Revolution project, the political matrix that
these produced, and their effect on the emergence and
political orientation of left movements, including
feminism, it is useful first to grasp the ideology

that motivated its planners.

The questions taken up in this first discussion are those necessary to analyse one side of Engels's notion of the determinants of social life; the level of development of production. If it does so with some confidence it is because it rests on a relatively well developed area of theory (albeit one that has gained clarity at the expense of ignoring, to a certain extent, the question of women). The next section considers a far more vexed question, one which corresponds to the other side of the Englesian dialectic; the problem of how to analyse the social position of women. Here sociological and feminist theory is much less certainly established as it has had to confront the full complexity of the family/economy and sex/class dialectics in order to develop a "theory of women".

Nevertheless, there have been some advances. At the relatively trivial level of academic politics, there has been a recognition that, for a large part of the history of western society, women have been oppressed by social arrangements biased in favour of men. More importantly there has been a certain progress made in the debate concerning the nature of patriarchy as the system which has enforced that female subordination. In this debate, I will situate myself on the side of those who argue that patriarchy is not an invariant psychological structure, but one that must be understood historically and materially in relation to the mode of production of a social formation. For advanced state societies

then, the analysis must take account of the role of the state
in reproducing social relations. A central task of this
section is to develop indices for analysing patriarchy as
a social phenomenon. These must grant its existence as an
irreducible social structure, but at the same time allow for
an understanding of its historical evolution in relation to
changes in the mode of production and in relation to the
level (militant and overt or not) and forms (ideologies
espoused, demands, issues, allies) of the struggle of women
in the feminist movement.

The final set of concepts arising from the initial
statement of the problem which need to be clarified here are
those to do with the situation of national domination of
Quebec. In part, this task is carried out in Chapter Three
in the concretization of the analysis of the historical
development of the Quebec social formation. The discussion
is begun, however, in the present Chapter which considers the
political problem of nationalism. Here the focus is limited
to nationalism as an ideology. Obviously, a much more complete
discussion of the nature, forms, and determinants of nationalism
is possible than is attempted here, but there are two reasons
for this restricted treatment: first, the study requires only
that nationalism be understood as a political ideology which
mediates sex and class struggles and, secondly, a much more
comprehensive analysis than I could hope to achieve is
available in previous work.

The decision to treat nationalism as an ideology and, hence, to discuss ideology last in this chapter, illustrates the problem of arbitrariness in the presentation of the theoretical categories. While it makes sense to order the presentation in this way from the perspective of the study as a whole, this selection means that the notion of ideology has been used in a taken-for-granted way throughout the chapter and in relation to patriarchal ideology in particular. The only other solution would have been to develop a separate section of the problem of ideology, but this would have, I think, tended to turn the focus from the analysis of concrete political dynamics to the problem of knowledge. With the reservations I have already put forward then, this notion can be understood as similar to the usage in the Althusser-Poulantzas school in general and, for patriarchal ideology in particular, to that of Juliet Mitchell.[1]

2.2. Theories of modernization and development

Contemporary sociological theory of development represents a large body of ideologically disparate literature. While modernization and development theory have a common basis in classical sociology, there have been several important divergences in the field. These have basically to do with two issues: idealism and evolutionism. These issues are examined here in order to clarify the conceptual schema that I will take to analyse the Quebec social formation.

2.2.1. The idea of social and economic development

Classical social theory arose in the nineteenth century as a scientific rationalist attempt to problematize the dramatic transitions from feudal to capitalist and from pre-industrial to industrial societies which were read, from the heights of the bourgeois revolution, as progress.[2] The tendency to identify these historical processes with progress in an absolute and unilateral sense was theoretically reinforced by the apparent success of the evolutionary paradigm in the "other" life sciences of physiology and zoology.[3] Whatever degree of nostalgia characterized individual historical description, contemporary western society was seen as in the throes of an inescapable process of transition from a "lower" to a "higher" form of social organization: prerational to rational (Kant), feudal to industrial (St. Simon), theological to positive (Comte), gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft (Tonnies), mechanical to organic (Durkheim), traditional to modern (Weber).[4] Spencer developed a full blown evolutionary model in which society was depicted as a quasi-biological organism subject to a law of increasing internal differentiation.[5] Marx himself, although consciously opposed to the complacent progressivism of contemporary bourgeois theorists, nevertheless remained in the grip of the evolutionist perspective, a feature of his thought symbolized in his celebrated attempt to dedicate Capital to Darwin and expressed theoretically in a tendency to present historical development as a dialectical logic of stages.[6]

While classical sociology's central concern was to analyse the political and cultural crisis associated with the emergence of industrial capitalism in the west, twentieth century development theories have, however, increasingly focussed on disparities in levels of economic and social development between "developed" western societies and "under-developed" non-western societies. In this comparison, an ideal typical construction of the western bourgeois democracies has typically served as a model against which degrees of "underdevelopment" were to be measured.[7] In the case of Quebec, the post-war American rhetoric of modernization and evolutionary change was picked up, on the one hand, by the planners and politicians of the Quiet Revolution's strategy of "rattrapage"--catch-up--and, on the other, by social scientists attempting to construct explanations of that period as a social and historical phenomenon.

However useful a single dynamic category may be in serving to unify sociological explanations of changes in diverse levels of social structures, the use of such a category is prone to slippage in so far as it allows for explanations of changes in one level of social structure, for example, the economic, to be made as a function of changes in another analytically separable level (or levels) of social reality (for example, the psychological) without specifying either theoretical or phenomenal mediations between them. It is this capacity to totalize explanations of historical reality by specifying mediations among various levels of

social reality that marks, on the one hand, good history and on the other, good sociological theory. Any explanation that ignores the lived experience and actions of individuals (and groups of individuals) as a key level of mediation between structural economic conditions and the political play of social forces risks reductionism.[8]

Yet these experiences and the debates which go in to formulating political strategy are not always available to the historical investigator. Certainly letters, diaries, reported conversations and so on go some way to provide some of the material necessary to build a full analysis, but it is perhaps extremely dangerous to assume that these fragments present a complete picture. On the other hand, although official statements of organizations and groups, the goals sought by political movements, and such diverse aspects of the social superstructure as legal codes, popular novels, and what seems not to be talked about, can be analysed to extract the ideologies that they vehicle, it is equally problematic to assume that these offer keys to analysing individual and collective experience that are any more complete. Nevertheless, if any explanation is to be essayed, risks must be taken.

In relation to specifying the nature of this key mediation between economic and political structures and changes in each, however, the risks have to do with more than the empirical materials. There is the problem of where to situate theoretical categories in the debate around the

question of ideology vs. consciousness.[9] In this study the debate will be, to a certain extent, elided. It will be assumed that ideologies carried by different classes and class fractions and by women as a sex through the organizations that represent them can be read as expressing consciousness and can, therefore, be seen as a primary structure mediating between the economic infrastructures and political action. Furthermore, these ideologies will also be read as an important element in the mediation between the economic relations and the family form in a given mode of production.

In the course of this presentation I will contend that this mediating role has two facets in Quebec. On the one hand up until approximately 1960, "consciousness" functioned to retard social development from approaching the modern paradigm despite progress towards modernization in the economic substructure that was "normal" in terms of the development of both the forces of production and of the structure of class relations. But, later we shall see how elements of this ideology also combined at a different moment with material changes in the mode of production to accelerate the development of new ideologies and new political movements with a self-proclaimed revolutionary praxis.[10]

Two particular theoretical problems remain to be confronted if we are to clarify theoretical categories designed to explain "development": the first concerns the causal interplay of what in a marxist lexicon are called

base and superstructure, that is, whether economic, political,
or cultural factors are dynamic as the prime motors of
(industrial) development; the second concerns the linearity
or non-linearity of the process itself, that is, the co-
existence of apparently disparate rates of achieving the modern
paradigm of a developed society and the uneven development
of different social sectors in any particular case.

2.2.2. Idealist and materialist theses of development.

Orthodox modernization theory of the fifties and
sixties was vitiated not only by its ethnocentric projection[11]
of western capitalist history as the future of third world
societies but also by its idealist tendency to define cultural
forces as the prime motor of social development and thus as
the main factor in accounting for a society's taking or failing
to take the path of self-sustaining economic growth and
industrial development.[12] Pye, Almond and Verba, and
Eisenstadt, may stand as examples of a school of thought
which dominated the sociology of development during the time
when the politicians and technocrats of the Quiet Revolution
were in the universities as teachers or students.[13] Their
structural-functionalist account of the prerequisites for
modernization imported into development theory the neo-
Weberian assumption that rationalization as a process of
value-transformation was the crucial and governing factor.[14]
Given the particular notion of values as acquired through
socialization but having at the same time a cognitive

element that was malleable and therefore directly open to influence, it is not surprising that many of these writers, to the extent that they were concerned with the family, saw it as a locus of value acquisition. They tended, therefore, to focus the role of "traditional" family structure and organization mainly as an obstacle to economic growth. Women were, in turn, considered to be embedded in the family as primary socializers sheltered from the new values and educational upgrading that would promote economic growth. In short, women were seen as a resistant (or at best passive) element and the family as outside of the mainstream of economic life who retarded real, that is, industrial development.[15]

For Leon Dion, a conscious publicist for the goals and aspirations of the modernization project in Quebec, the Quiet Revolution was to be seen as the liberating expression of ascendant liberal progressive political ideologies that had been repressed in the conscience collective during the Duplessis period.[16] For him, indeed, the conflicts of this period could equally well be interpreted as a crisis in religious as in political values.[17] Similarly, students of the family in Quebec tend to see traditional values preserved by women as "value matriarchs in the home".[18] But however important cultural factors--religion, family structure, political ideologies, and character structure--may be as mediations in the reproduction, transformation, and modernization of social structure, such superstructural

realties comprise only one moment of the social ensemble
within which the determinate instance and, in capitalism, the
dominant instance, is the economic.[19]

From a materialist perspective the central category
in the analysis of social formations is the mode of production,
not culture, and modern problems of socio-economic development
are properly analysed in terms either of the theory of the
theory of transition from one mode of production to another
or of the theory of the laws of motion of a particular mode
of production -- here obviously capitalism.[20] The development
of such a global theory of transitions is as yet only embryonic.
However, recent developments in first, the theory of the stages
of capitalist development from market to monopoly to state
monopoly capitalism and second in the theory of imperialist
exploitation and "underdevelopment", provide a number of
useful concepts.[21]

2.2.3. From market to monopoly capitalism

According to marxist theory, the laws of development
of the economy of the capitalist mode of production have
peculiarly dynamic consequences for the organization of social
life. Impelled by the processes and requirements of capital
accumulation, there is, at the level of productive technology
a constant attempt to harness science for the ends of
innovations that, in the long run, reduce production costs.
But, more importantly, there arises, in relation to these
economic and technological transformations a continuous,

qualitative transformation of social institutions:

> Modern industry never looks upon and treats
> the existing form of a process as final.
> The technical basis of that industry is
> therefore revolutionary... It is
> continually causing changes not only in the
> technical basis of production, but also in
> the functions of the labourer, and in the
> social combinations of the labour process.
> At the same time, it thereby also revolutionizes
> the division of labour within the society... 22

Although Marx laid the basis for a theory of the
laws of motion of capitalist development, we should note
that his work was far from complete. First, he neglected to
deal with the role of the state and indeed with the other
superstructural instances in his economic analysis.
Secondly, while he dealt with the growth and mutation of
commodity production in its early phase, his thought on
the implications of the continuing concentration of capital
for the general articulation of the capitalist mode of
production remained speculative. It was up to later Marxists,
beginning with the path-breaking work of Lenin and Gramsci,[23]
to develop sociological theories of the transformations that
capitalism has undergone since the stages of primitive
accumulation and early industrial capitalism.

Contemporary marxist theory has thus set itself the
task of developing theories of the expansion and structural
crises associated with the ongoing phases of capitalism as
a mode of production and a world system. For example,
according to Samir Amin, Ernest Mandel, and others the
driving force behind the global socio-economic development
of late capitalism arises from the contradiction between

the increasing socialization of the forces of production
and the need to renew capitalist production relations and
leads to the destruction of precapitalist modes of production
and an increasing concentration of capital.[24] Although, as
I have pointed out above, there is by no means a coherent
general theory of contemporary capitalism there seems,
currently, to be general agreement on the four following
points:

1. There is a qualitative difference between "early" and
    "late" capitalism. This difference has not merely
    to do with the organization of the economy, i.e.,
    the rise of vertically and horizontally integrated
    multinational corporations which transcend the
    boundaries of nation-states (Lenin's definition of
    imperialism) but also concerns the whole structure of
    the social formation.

2. Perhaps the most central structural difference lies
    in the changed relation between the state and the
    economy. The nightwatchman state of pre-monopoly
    capitalism is replaced in advanced capitalism by a
    vastly expanded complex of institutions which takes
    on a central role in planning and co-ordinating the
    economy, mitigates growing structural unemployment
    by providing social insurance and increasingly by
    operating itself as an absorber of surplus labour, and
    intervenes in social life to ensure the reproduction
    of labour power through education and retraining.[25]

3.   As well as the destruction of pre-capitalist production
     modes (i.e., the decline of the small family farm), the
     shift to advanced capitalism is also marked by the
     dissolution and replacement of pre-commodity cultural
     forms of the sexual division of labour and of the
     relation of the kinship system and family unit to the
     organization of production.[26]

4.   All of these changes are associated with the development
     of a new general social crisis, one which has had the
     effect of mobilizing women in feminist political actions
     to an extent not seen since the days of the suffrage
     movement. On a systemic level the work of Jurgen Habermas
     and Claus Offe on "legitimation crisis" has provided
     recent writers with a general framework for the analysis
     of these new structural contradictions. Their specifically
     economic dimensions have been explored as a fiscal crisis
     of the state by James O'Connor, and, for Canada, by
     Rick Deaton.[27]

2.2.4.   Non-linearity and asymmetry in capitalist development

         It is certainly possible to develop a model of the
development of other instances of a capitalist social
formation and their articulation just as Marx developed an
abstract model of the capitalist economy even if it may not
be possible to give such laws of motion the same degree of
precision. Nevertheless, the empirical development of any
particular social formation cannot be understood as a simple

expression of such a logical model. Furthermore, we cannot compare empirical societies as if they were monads differing only in the degree to which they have approach replication of a model "advanced" society.

As André Gunder Frank and Gerald Bernier have pointed out, any approach which implies a mechanical theory of stages of development has a number of crucial theoretical and empirical weaknesses:

1. With the creation of a world market and a world communication system, no national social formation can be sociologically understood in terms of purely endogenous forces and structures. A society's economic, political, and cultural arrangements and the "level" of development achieved by any or all of these sectors must thus be comprehended as a function, in part, of that society's relation to the world system as a whole.[28]

2. Given a world social formation with complex series of relations between and among different societies, the overall level of development achieved by any given society may be a function of a particular set of relations it has with another society.

3. Furthermore, the relative level of backwardness of a given society may be systematically produced as a result of its economic and political subordination to centres of imperialist expansion. A dominated society can exhibit a form of artificially blocked cultural or technological developments and in extreme cases even

forms of structural incompleteness as a social
formation.[29] The persistence well into the twentieth
century of peasant-based agrarian economies in Latin
America illustrates the first possibility; colonialism
in its classical African form provides many instances
of the latter. In general, Baran's observation that
"the rule of monopoly capitalism and imperialism in
the advanced countries and economic and social backward-
ness in the backward countries are intimately related",
points to a causal interdependence on the international
level that invalidates any analysis of a particular
social formation that rests on a unilinear schema of
socio-economic or superstructural development.[30]

4. The notion that there is an essential asymmetry between
the capitalist development process in different societies
has as its counterpart the recognition that there is
also an essential asymmetry in the mode of development
to which a particular one is subject. The very inter-
penetration of economy, politics, and culture on an
international level which makes "backwardness" in one
region or nation-state a partial effect of "progress" in
another also renders problematic any assumption that
any society at any point in time constitutes an integrated
whole, each sector in balance with the stage of social
development attained by the totality.

Given, then, that the process of social development

is inherently asymmetrical and uneven, the rhythm of social
development is not likely to be that of smooth or linear
passage through logically ordered stages. This suggests a
fifth proposition: that at the levels both of material life
and of consciousness, relatively backward social formations
can experience accelerated development whereby certain
stages of the "logical" model of social transformation can
be leaped. This "privilege of backwardness" as Trotsky calls
it can occur under given conditions in some or all levels
of a given social formation.[31]

To sum up, the problem with the functionalist schema
is more than that it misses the existence of and distortions
caused by international linkages but that, in any case,
social development is normally an uneven process. As Althusser
puts it, the structure of a social formation is not that of
an expressive but of a complex totality and different instances
and levels of social practice develop according to their own
modalities and thus, in their own separate time.[32]

These conclusions about the nature of social development
in general and of the nature of the legitimation crisis of
late capitalism in particular have some implications for
this study. First, the notion that is developed here of
"retarded or accelerated" modes of uneven development corresponds
at the theoretical level to the problem of exceptional timing
in the rhythm of development of the Quebec women's movement
that has been posited as sociologically important. Secondly,
some theoretical signposts have been established for

understanding the particular situation of Quebec as a
dominated society and the departures from the normative model
of capitalist development that may arise from its situation
of domination. These remain to be discussed in the concrete
in the Chapters on political economic history. But first
we must turn to questions of sexual structure, sexual
oppression, and sexual politics from within the general
theoretical framework established here.

2.3.   Patriarchy, sexual politics, and industrialization
2.3.1. Patriarchy

Patriarchy is used here to refer to a structure of
social relations in which a sexual division of labour
coincides with male supremacy. This definition is the broadest
interpretation of a term that has been revived and revised
by feminist authors seeking to explore the nature of the
subordination of women in order to elucidate similarities
and differences in sexual asymmetries, in power differentials,
control over one's person, sexuality, production, and access
to public life.

Although the notion of patriarchy has become accepted
as a central heuristic in feminist studies, the intertwined
debates about its nature and universality are far from
resolved. Some feminist anthropologists argue unequivocally
that sexually egalitarian societies have existed; others
argue with equal conviction that the oppression of women is

universal in human history. For example, for Sherry Ortner

cultural evaluations of three types--explicit ideological

devaluation, implicit symbolic devaluations, and the

exclusion of women "from participation in or contact with

some realm in which the highest powers of society are felt

to reside--constitutes <u>adequate</u> evidence of universal

female subordination."[33] But there are others who would

point to the languages and "hidden cultures" of women where

jokes are made at the expense of males, where they are

considered incompetent to perform certain tasks, where on

the symbolic level of ritual, male semen and menstrual

blood are equally polluting, and where men are excluded from

women's societies.[34] On the positive side, Draper documents

"features of the foraging life which promote egalitarianism"

among the !Kung: their control over the distribution of

food they have gathered, wide ranging mobility for both

sexes, and "lack of rigidity in sex-typing of many adult

activities, including domestic chores and aspects of child

socialization".[35] The problem is how to interpret this

evidence. Does sexual differentiation automatically mean

inequality? What does equality itself mean in different

social formations?

In her introduction to <u>Towards an Anthropology of

Women</u>, Reiter calls for theoretical clarification of notions

of sexual inequality, "We do not even know what we mean when

we define a group as having male dominance."

When we apply such terms to humans, what are
we labelling? Is it a strict division of labour
by sex, with more cultural value being awarded
to male activities? Or does male dominance refer
to situations in which men possess the power to
physically control women ('We tame our women with
the banana,' say Mundurucu men, referring to gang
rape). If we only have a vague ides of what
constitutes male dominance, we cannot know if it
reflects the experience of both men and women,
or if it is instead something the men assert and
the women deny.   36

Writing in the same volume, Leavitt, Sykes, and
Weatherford offer an important component to developing an
answer: the projection of androcentric western models of
sexual relations and of axiologically non-neutral valuation
of the relative significance of social activities:

Androcentrism prevents male scholars from recognizing
that the natives fully acknowledge the importance of
the women's economic contribution so that they
participate commensurately in the other institutions.
Androcentrism leads male scholars to exaggerate the
importance of political power and technology for the
natives. Androcentric male scholars project on the
aborigines patriarchal notion that the pyhsiological
differences between the sexes determine all sex-role
differences . . . In addition, male scholars who
are androcentric are also misanthropic, for they
misrepresent Australian men as brutal, domineering,
and oblivious to the humanity of the women.   37

The questions that these theoretical considerations
raise about objective existence and subjective experience of
sexual asymmetry are further complicated by the fact that
patriarchy is not constant across cultures and modes of
production. The right of women to control the distribution
of the fruits of their labour, for example, will be manifested
differently in cases where the fruits grow on trees and can
be consumed immediately, are a portion of a communal wheat
harvest, or come in a pay packet. What is necessary in

proceeding with a comparative or historical study is to establish a working definition that is clear enough to allow for comparison, comprehensive enough to encompass formal change, and sufficiently discriminating to grasp the subtle qualitative differences between official social arrangements and their actual operations. Furthermore, given the current debate in feminist analysis, even a preliminary account must establish a notion of the nature of the relation of patriarchy with other social structures of domination and oppression and consider the mechanisms of its reproduction. The following sections attempt to do so by first, discussing the relation of patriarchy to mode of production in general and the capitalism made of production in particular; secondly, examining the nature of sexual politics as a key to understanding the modes of reproduction of patriarchal relations and alternately of their supercession; and thirdly, by positing a preliminary account of the working out of national and patriarchal structures of domination in Quebec which will be explored in greater depth in the thesis as a whole.

2.3.2. Patriarchy and modes of production

The modern feminist concern to develop a strategy for the liberation of women which is the underlying energizing force of much of the present theoretical work arose in an intellectual atmosphere where sexual differentiation was interpreted in a Durkheimian framework of functional integration and naive progressivism. In order to find historical

predecessors, women turned to the heroic period of nineteenth century anthropology. Here in Bachoffen, McLennan, and Morgan were found the first systematic attempts to elaborate notions of sexual power structures and to develop theories of their evolution, the first scientific contentions that societies that were "matriarchal" existed. Bachoffen relied mainly upon the interpretation of myth and religious symbolism to argue that societies that we would now identify as matrilineal and matrilocal were remnants of an original matriarchal civilization.[38] But beyond a classificatory interest, these earlier attempts were also intended as a theory of history, one that was teleologically infused.

Engels's synthesis of earlier work had the virtue of attempting to place the historical development of family forms, sexual authority, and kinship structures in a necessary relation to levels of economic development. Changes in both the relations and technology of production are at the centre of his analysis; changes in kinship structure follow along until the organization of class society usurps the central importance of kinship.

> The less the development of labour, and the more
> limited its volume of production and, therefore,
> the wealth of society, the more preponderantly does
> the social order appear to be dominated by ties of
> sex. However, within this structure of society
> based on the ties of sex, the productivity of
> labour develops more and more; with it, private
> property and exchange, differences in wealth,
> the possibility of utilizing the labour power of
> others and thereby the basis of class antagonisms:
> new social elements which strive in the course of
> generation to adapt the old structure of society
> to the new conditions until finally the incompatability

of the two leads to a complete revolution. The
old society based on sex groups bursts asunder
in the collision of the newly-developed social
classes; in its place a new society appears,
constituted in a state, the lower units of which
are no longer sex groups but territorial groups,
a society in which the family system is entirely
dominated by the property system and in which the
class antagonisms and class struggles, which make
up the content of all hitherto written history
now freely develop. 39

What is posited here, then, is a moment when kinship

structures lose out to economic structures: the dualistic

determination of society becomes dominated by class relations

of production. In a certain sense, Engels's theory maintains

this economist distortion: sexual morality, for example,

is reduced to a reflection of property forms. In general

his discussion of the autonomy of patriarchal ideology and

its role in maintaining women's subordination is weak.

While he considers the rise of religion as an important

justification for and reflection of property relations, of

class patriarchal society, he does not consider the consequences

for women of "culture-lagged" ideologies of male dominance.[40]

But there is a further weakness. After some specula-

tive muddling around with anthropologically misinformed data,

Engels places economic development firmly on the route

through barbarism, feudalism, capitalism, and beyond.[41] And

the family form trots along behind. In the very theory then,

where feminists sought an escape from evolutionary notions

that the contemporary North American nuclear family was

the peak of human achievement, is the origin of that notion.

This problem in understanding ideology reflects contemporary

bourgeois thinking about female sexuality.

There is a second way in which Engels's economism and evolutionism betray his insights into the nature of sexual asymmetry and power structure. His initial metaphor, along with Marx's, for the relations between women and men is one of class. Women (and children) become slaves of the husband or, as in the Communist Manifesto, men are the bourgeoisie, women the proletariat.[42] But since the origin of women's oppression, "the world overthrow of the female sex" is coincident with the development of private property and the appropriation of women's labour in the private household, it follows logically that when women reenter social production, and/or private property does not exist, then neither does women's oppression.

> The emancipation of woman will only be possible
> when woman can take part in production in a
> large social scale and domestic work no longer
> claims anything but an insignificant part of
> her time. [43]

Where this leaves Engels is in a position to deny that oppression of women by men exists within the proletarian family (no private property) and to suggest a purely economic solution for "the emancipation of woman" with entry into social production. His evolutionism and political interests blind him to the need to understand the structures mediating between mode of production and the lack of social equality for women in modern capitalist society. In effect, he ends up denying the autonomy and persistence of patriarchal structures and the ideologies which support them. Contemporary

(marxist) feminism has taken over and modified this Englesian
problematic to address two questions: first, how to develop
a grounded theory of the relation of the various forms of
family kinship, and of patriarchy to the mode of production;
secondly, how to analyse the relation of patriarchy to kinship
in the course of the reproduction of gender hierarchies
within the family.

From the point of view of resolving these issues,
the sociological definition of patriarchy needs to be more
abstract than the initial nineteenth century anthropological
usage, i.e., rule by fathers. The term for male domination
needs to be freed not only from its restrictive sense of a
regime of rule by fathers, but also from the identification
with the prevalence of a particular family form.[44] In
order to preserve the openness of inquiry we must avoid an
a priori assumption that male dominance is evenly distributed
through out all spheres of social life or that the family is
the primary generator of male dominant social relations in
all societies.[45] Bearing in mind Reiter's warning about the
dangers of "building master theories" based on an unreflected
universal notion of male dominance and, hence, the need to
locate and specify its concrete manifestations in relation
to historical social formations, we must proceed to elaborate
a definition of male dominance in capitalist society. In
other words, patriarchy as a social reality mediates and is
mediated by all levels of social practice and so requires
particular theory. But the ultimate requirement for a global

theory which conceptualizes those relations and the modes
of transformation of those relations remains as yet
frustrating and problematic.

As Roberta Hamilton concludes from an attempt to
evaluate the relative completeness of "feminist" (family-
centred) and "marxist" (economy-centred) theory to analyse the
effects of the rise of the capitalist mode of production
and the religious transformations of the Protestant
Reformation on the position of women in seventeenth century
England, "We must draw on these two equally necessary
perspectives."[46]

2.3.3. Patriarchy and industrial capitalism

Let us now return to our original definition of
patriarchy as a sexual division of labour which co-incides
with male supremacy. In further elaborating this general
definition we must specify the nature both of the division
of labour by sex and of male supremacy.

2.3.3.i. The sexual division of labour in industrial capitalist society.

An obvious place to begin is with the division of
labour in (sexual) reproduction. But since this division is
(so far) universal, it does not allow us to grasp what is
specific to the capitalist mode of production. What is
new here is that with the final separation of labour from
the means of production, labour becomes abstract, freed from

ascriptive ties, and so the family ceases to be the principal
unit of goods production.

> A presupposition of wage labour, and one of the
> historic preconditions for capital is free labour...
> (which requires) the release of the worker from
> the soil as his natural workshop--hence the
> dissolution of small, free landed property. 47

Instead of units of production that were (in almost
all essentials) co-terminous with units of consumption and
in which the division of labour was based for the most part
upon criteria of age and sex, a market in labour organized
upon principles of economic rationality, a need for cheap
labour, and the wage nexus intervened between social production
and individual consumption in the household.[48] The effect
of the change in the economy was to create a whole new
organization of the social institutions in the kinship
structure. "Production" became separated from "reproduction",
workplace from home, work from housework, wage labour from
domestic labour, public from private. But furthermore,
there arose a specific distribution of men and women
between the spheres of commodity production and the production
and reproduction of human beings or labour power and a sexual
division of labour within the two spheres themselves.

Although this division of labour by sex is specifically
new with industrial capitalist society, it does not arise in
a vacuum. Three moments conditioning its development should
be noted. First, patriarchal social organization, as well
as other structures of domination which existed prior to

the rise of capitalism were adapted to its rationality:

> Capitalism inherited from its own past such
> sexual inequalities as wage, inheritance and
> property-holding differentials, as well as
> judicial systems which were sex-biased, and
> the peasant patriarchal family. It transformed
> these structures to new and more elaborate
> purposes, but it did not invent them. [49]

Secondly, during the period of primitive accumulation,
the creation of capital pools and the development of an
industrial infrastructure, and the consolidation of
bourgeois dominance was not a peaceful or somehow automatic
process. Its other side was the forced separation of the
dominated classes from the means of production, unprecedented
migration, the dissolution of social morality, hardship
and resistance.[50] The success of the bourgeoisie rested
on their political victory: control of state power over the
proletariat.[51] Similarly, the new form of capitalist
patriarchy was consolidated at the expense of women, and
not without a struggle. Time and again we can find women
fighting to retain their "feudal rights" to be tradeswomen,
dignified partners in marriage and family enterprise, and
to prove "out of the best Authors that ever liv'd, that women
have been, and are, and will be, must be, and shall bee,
either mens betters, or their equalls".[52] Both E. P. Thompson's
classic work and Alice Clark's important study of the
transformation of trades with the advent of industrial
capitalism document women's struggles to retain professions
(brewing and in textiles), for wages, and to maintain unions
and self-help associations.[53] And with the full development

of industrial capitalism, women were forced not only into industrial employment out of economic necessity, but also to defend their right to be there against the forces of patriarchal order.

In the third place, we must note that the disrupting effects of the capitalist mode of production on the feudal form of patriarchal relations was by no means linear or even. To speak of the division between production and reproduction as co-incident with that between men and women is to state a truth at the most abstract level. The exclusion of women from the work force occurred within the proletariat. Indeed, at some periods, in some industries, and in some places industrial production has had a special appetite for the labour-power of women. The New England cotton mills first employed farmers daughters, and a similar development can be demonstrated for Quebec's light industry which produced consumption goods.[54]

But despite these historical asymmetries of class, period, and location in the development of the changed relations between the economy and the family and between women's labour and the family, however, there is a structural relation that remains to be examined. We can agree with Zillah Eisenstein's assertion that:

> Capitalist patriarchy, by definition, breaks
> through the dichotomies of class and sex, private
> and public spheres, domestic and wage labour,
> family and economy, personal and political, and
> ideology and material conditions.   55

We must also realize that despite the diffuseness of
patriarchy within the capitalist mode of production, there
is also a structural contradiction between patriarchy in its
fully articulated forms and the abstract requirement of
capital for labour. On the one hand, the relegation of
the costs of reproduction of labour power on a generational
and daily basis to the private household facilitates as
Wally Seccombe has pointed out, the realization of high
levels of surplus value.[56] In this purely economic sense,
aside from whatever political benefits the bourgeoisie
reaps from the class divisiveness of male chauvinist
ideology, this form of the sexual division of labour directly
benefits and supports capitalism.

At the same time and to the contrary, the general
tendency of capital to strip the ascriptive characteristics
of sex, race, and circumstances of birth from labour-power
in the market provides the preconditions for the economic
independence of women. As principal locus of production in
the class-dominated structures of the modern economy supercedes
family-based production units, the economic foundations are
laid for women's autonomy from patriarchal domination first
in the family, and then, depending upon the relation of
political forces on the sexual question, in the social
structures regulated at the macronic level of the state.[57]

To sum up, then, we can say that the relationship
between patriarchy and the development of capitalism in
altering the sexual division of labour is uneven, but that

it exhibits certain important features. In the first place,
at the level of the economy, the feudal form of the sexual
division of labour is undermined by capitalist production
relations and in industrialization and during the development
of the state monopoly phase of late capitalism generate
further changes in the occupational structure which in turn
affect the sexual division of labour between the spheres of
paid labour (production) and domestic labour.[58] Secondly,
as well as the structural economic antagonisms, there also
arise contradictions of "modernization" at the level of
ideology in the social institutional arrangements of the
division of labour within the family, in politics,and at the
level of mass psychology. As a mediated result of the need
to develop internal markets for consumption goods and of the
expansion of capital into the tertiary sector, a more labile
narcissistic personality structure develops for both men
and women which,in turn,affects personal orientations to
sexuality itself.[59]

Finally, as an outgrowth of the harnessing of science
for production technology which marks industrialism (whether
capitalist or post-capitalist), strength requirements are
reduced by power--and later cybernetic--assisted production.
Although "heavy work" has tended to be defined in such a way
as to protect higher wages for men rather than to protect
women from strain, this development removes an apparant
material basis for sexist ideology restricting women's access
to all aspects of production. The parallel application of

science to the problems of human biology in disease and
contraception-control now also greatly increase the possibility
of women's control of their fertility with greater efficacy
than in, at least, the last historical period preceeding
capitalism.[60] For women, as for men, sexuality can be
separated from reproduction, and therefore, they can have
sexual lives with less need of marriage as the only protection
against bearing the full costs of uncontrolled pregnancy.

2.3.3. ii.   "Male dominance" in industrial capitalist society

        All this has been in the way of a necessary detour
to arrive at a point where indices of patriarchal power can
be specified without reification. We need to take up again
and look at four separate areas of male-female differentiation
and power asymmetry: the economy, the polity, ideology, and
sexuality.   Here these areas will be examined in relation
to the implications of the changes of the sexual division of
labour that have occurred in the course of transformations in
the course of capitalist development. The concrete description
of the operation of these structures and of the opposed
political practices of feminists and anti-feminists in Quebec
will be discussed below in Chapters Four and Five.

        In general, societies with high levels of male
dominance are those in which men control women's labour
power, their access to the means of production, and appropriate
their products; where women are excluded from public life,

collective decision making processes, and dispute settlement;
where explicit and implicit ideological and symbolic systems
devalue women's capacities, social contributions, intelligence,
and justify the social structures which reproduce this
denigration of feminity on the basis of biologically based
sexual differentiation; and where women's participation
in the reproduction of the species is either denied or
subject to strict male control, where children become either
the possessions of, or members in, the patrilineal kin
network, and where women's sexual life is controlled by a
strict double standard moral code which denies her the right
to all forms of extramarital sexual expression and to divorce.
These inequities imply a high level of sexual dimorphism in
adult social roles with a concomitant gender-specific form
of child socialization.

The specification of these structures of male
domination in the broad terms outlined here is useful for
historical analysis insofar as it meets the goals I have
specified for a clear, comprehensive and flexible definition.
Each of these can in turn be further examined as to what
would constitute higher or lower levels of male dominance
and female oppression within the capitalist mode of production.
By considering the form, intensity, and generalization of
male dominance or of campaigns against female autonomy we
can then point to periods of reaction and reform in gender
relations. The period of bourgeois sexual patriarchal

reaction which accompanied the sweeping away of medieval

social and production arrangements of guilds and self-

sufficient households continued into the middle of the

nineteenth century and then gave way to increasingly militant

and broad feminist agitation for equal rights and economic

self-sufficiency.[61] The twentieth century reactionary waves,

notably in the thirties and fifties, were most successful

as first, ideological campaigns and, secondly, and to varying

degrees, as movements to exclude women from the paid labour

force.

Let us consider the issues that might arise in an

attempt to specify the changing forms of male dominance in

capitalist society in each of the four social structures that

I have mentioned above in turn:

1.   The economy:

The two central questions to be examined here are

women's right to work and to control property. The right

to work should be understood analytically as the end of all

overt and covert barriers to women's work force participation.

Thus, on the one hand it includes the end to job ghettoization,

job related education and training, equal promotion, equal

pay, access to all professions, and equal membership in

workers' organization. Trade unions in turn in order to fully

represent the needs of women members, should have a militant

commitment to their promotion inside the union structure, to

including equal work and equal pay demands in negotiation

and serious bargaining, and ultimately to educational campaigns

and active struggles which promote so-called "women's
issues" such as child care as issues which concern the whole
proletariat. Conversely, in order to be analytically
complete, the categories for understanding equality in
work must include some measure which incorporates sexual
assignment and cultural valuations of domestic labour in
the household. As I have pointed out above, what is at
issue here under the rubric of domestic labour is the
production and reproduction of labour power on a generational
and daily basis.

The meaning of the second aspect of economic equality
in capitalist society varies with class membership and with
historical period. In the first wave of North American
feminism for proletarian and petty bourgeois women, it means,
in the first instance, the right to dispose of their own
salaries. For bourgeois women, this issue is supplemented
by demands to control their own property in marriage, for
the right to inherit, and the right to bank accounts and
financial services. In its contemporary form, this notion
of equal access to and control of property should be under-
stood in relation to two issues. The first has to do with
access to new forms of credit typical to consumption patterns
in late capitalist society. The second includes the new
forms of property division that are sought with marriage
dissolution that recognize women's domestic labour in
monetary terms.

2. The polity:

The central issue in relation to political rights can be formulated as equality for women as citizens before the law and in the civil law regulating marriage. This implies in the first instance the capacity of women to act in legal disputes in their own interests and to full participation in the political structures of the society--in capitalst democracies usually the right to vote and to participate in elections. A non-sexist legal code regulating marriage would affirm the economic issues mentioned above, protect women from violence inside the marriage relation, and assure equality in divorce proceedings and child custody. Among the particular struggles that marked women's attempts to gain full bourgeois legal equality and that are of concern to the Quebec and Canadian cases are Caroline Norton's suit for child custody, the Canadian case to have women declared to be "persons" and, hence, elibible for the senate, and the relatively recent reforms of jury and divorce laws in Quebec.[62] The most dramatic of these struggles was, of course, the suffrage movement which served to focus much of the equal rights agitation of the first wave.

3. Ideology:

The question of ideology is complex. In the short term, it means the banishing from official practice and everyday usage a whole series of images that are denigrating to women. But the critique of sexist ideology, reflects changing historical dimensions of what is considered "anti-woman".

Indeed, at any one point, there may well be differences
within the broad confines of a single women's movement--
say that of Canada in the 1970's, or of Quebec of the 1910's--
as to what exactly constitutes a sexist attack. For Mona-
Josée Gagnon, the most developed feminist ideology is one of
"sexual indifferentiation", but the first wave francophone
Quebec feminists used precisely the opposite argument of
sexual differentiation and specialization to advance their
claims for professional equality, equal wages, higher
education, and political and civil rights.[63]

In establishing a mode of measuring the extent of,
or dominance of, male supremacist ideology, even if we adopt
similar criteria, that is, those established by the feminist
movement in its on-going development, we nevertheless face a
more complicated problem. Not only does the extent of the
analysis of women's oppression become deeper, and specific
demands, like those centered around credit for example, with
transormations in the social relations and practices of the
society at large, but the underlying problematic which serves
to orient and justify those demands also changes. Can we
then isolate any invariant elements in non-sexist ideology?

At the most general level, we can say that women as
a sex must not be regarded as lacking in any culturally
valued characteristic that men as a sex may be perceived
as having access to or typifying.[64] In a religious context,
whether in pre-literate pre-industrial societies or in
contemporary denominations of which the most striking example

is Roman Catholicism, male supremacist ideology would
exclude women from the possibility of relation with the
sacred that is a precondition for priestly capacities.
Politically, in the relatively restricted sense of sexual
politics, women are excluded from the capacity to command.
A high degree of male supremacy is marked by a social order
in which women do not "give orders" to men, whether in the
larger political sphere, in the job-hierarchies of production,
or in the domestic context. And in relation to sexual
ideology, assumptions that female sexuality diverges radically
from male sexuality either because women are temptresses and
contain sexuality in their persons or because they are
assumed to have no sexual feelings or desires of their own,
are generally accompanied by a lack of female autonomy in
sexual matters.[65]

For the Quebec case, it is possible to examine
closely the importance of the relationship of sexist
ideology in some of these spheres, especially religion and
politics. In the case of these two, we will see that the
sphere of activity of women is sometimes broadened in fact
when it is hegemonized ideologically by patriarchal insti-
tutions. But it is important to keep in mind even those
aspects of ideology that cannot be examined in the concrete
in this study since they can provide a test of the adequacy
of explanations about the concrete development of particular
historical ideologies of women.

4.   Sexuality:

In a non-patriarchal society, there would be a single standard of sexual morality. But, as the first wave of the women's movement showed, such a standard is not necessarily sexually libertarian. In part, the advocation of a restrictive morality by reformers of the first wave can be ascribed to the lack of efficient fertility control for women. But in many cases supporters of turn of the century feminisms were opposed to the use of contraceptive technology that was available.[66] A single standard in a sex-positive context has radically different consequences from one embedded in a sex-negative attitude even though each may exhibit similar positions on gender equality.

This discussion of the indices by which the degree of male dominance in capitalist society might be measured can be summed up under two central points. The first is that in such societies the structures of women's subordination are complex and interlocking. While this mode of production may have the potential to erode direct patriarchal authority in new production relations, women's oppression may, nevertheless, be justified ideologically and enshrined in the law. In the latter case, male dominance may be enforced both in labour law and, in civil law relating to marriage. As Margaret J. Gates put it, marriage law is less a contract between two individuals than it is an obligation that necessary social tasks are accomplished for the society as a whole.[67]

The second point is methodological and has to do with the relationship of sociological theory to political movements. An index of male dominance in capitalist industrial society is theoretical as are all forms of sociological measurement.[68] But this index is more complicated to conceptualize than most because it attempts to measure the degree of change possible between an historical past and a theoretical future, that is, it is grounded empirically at one end and purely theoretical at the other. This second, theoretical projection of what a society free from male dominance would look like is closely tied to the ongoing debate, speculation, agitation, and wildest imagination of feminists as activists and thinkers who offer both a critique and a vision. Contained in both the negative and positive aspects of feminist ideology are the bare outlines of a society that would, so far as we can comprehend at this time, support the liberation of women from male domination, distorted and fragmented development as persons, and from the domination of global structures of class, race, and ethnic oppression.

In Hegelian terms, what we are talking about is adopting a negation as a component of the analytic indices which we are trying to construct.[69] The theoretical difficulties of constructing adequate ways of measuring male dominance do not, however, stop here. Since what we are using as one pole is the negation of a present, then we must understand that negation as being itself historical. In

order to avoid reification in the overall construction of
concepts, then, we must avoid projecting such an index
either backward into history or forward as complete and final.
Let me illustrate the position in relation to "androgyny"
as a normative notion, signifying the lack of social
differentiation based on sex.

As Jane English has pointed out, there can be more
than one concept of androgyny--two of which she calls
"unisex" and "freedom".[70] The first argues that to be "equal"
women and men must be more alike. The second points out
that "there would be a greater variety of personality types
in a society rather than a mixing or compromise between the
two gender types seen today." The first version of this
notion is theoretically reified and politically suspect
insofar as it projects elements of oppressed feminity (and
equally fragmented masculinity) into the future as the real
or essential nature of women. Similarly, when we try to
construct a way of measuring male dominance or of women's
struggles against it, we must try to locate the measures in
their historical context. The major implication for this
study as a whole is that the issues and demands of the first
wave of the women's movement should be analyzed within their
historical context.

2.4. Sexual politics

So far in this study I have used the terms sexual politics, and feminism in a relatively unspecified fashion. This has been, I think, unavoidable in the attempt to state the nature of the historical and theoretical problems necessary to get the analysis under way. Briefly, I have contended that:

first, patriarchy is an irreducible social structure characterized by a male dominant sexual division of labour and with specific mechanisms of reproduction. Its form in capitalist society is complex, multi-dimensional, and persistant and mediates all social practices and structures including the economy, politics, ideology, and sexuality; and

second, sexual politics expresses and regulates materially based social conflict between women as a sex and men as a sex and, thus, reproduces patriarchal social structure. There has been a further, if implicit, characterization of sexual politics as feminist (against male dominance) and patriarchal (to ensure the subordination of women).

Further, I have asserted that while sexual politics has a dynamic of its own it is also part of the whole political field in any social formation. It is in this perspective that the central question of this study has been posed, that is, the analysis of the rhythms and forms of the development of feminist sexual politics in Quebec. This section proceeds

with the explanation of the relationship between first, the
political structures of the state and society and patriarchy
and, second, the interplay of sexual and other (class and
national) political dynamics as a preliminary to developing
some concrete theses to guide the historical analysis. This
elaboration will take place without considering the particularity
of a dependent state structure in a dominated social formation.
That is, the contradictions arising from national domination
will be subsumed as part of the structural contradictions as
a whole. The particular effect will reappear in the last two
sections of this chapter which deal specifically with
nationalism and its effects on sexual politics.

2.4.1. Sexual politics and the state

Kate Millett first introduced the term "sexual politics"
to describe the pervasive structures of male dominance and
male chauvinism and to assert that sexual power asymmetries
assure the subordination of women :

> In introducing the term "sexual politics" one must
> first answer the inevitable question "Can the
> relationship between the sexes be viewed in a
> political light at all?" The answer depends in
> part on how one defines politics. This essay
> does not define the political as that relatively
> narrow and exclusive world of meetings, chairmen,
> and parties. The term "politics" shall refer to
> power-structured relationships, arrangements
> whereby one group of persons is controlled by
> another. 7[1]

Millett sought to illustrate the ways in which sexual politics
of contemporary North American patriarchal society coperates
in the intimate interactions between men and women in the
family, the kitchen, the bedroom, as well as in the public

spheres of the economy, literary images and state politics.
Because of its origins in literary analysis and because
this intimate form of politics did not yield, at first
glance, either a structure regulating   sexual subordination
or an organized means of violent repression of the subordinated
group by the dominant group (women by men), the emphasis
growing out of her work has tended to be placed on
psychological and ideological manifestations of the
regulation of sexual power relations. How men have tended
to be seen as the direct beneficiaries of women's subordination.
Difficulties arose in developing a broader structural
analysis of sexual politics which were in part, due to the
essentially Weberian concept of politics and the political
that Millett adopted. Against these, other analysts
posed historical and marxist interpretations. [72] Since
the notions that are developed of sexual politics cannot
be separated from those adopted for politics in general, it
is useful to examine the theoretical assumptions and
strategic consequences of the two polar perspectives--a
Weberian and a marxist interpretation of power--in which
much of the writing about sexual politics is based.

The Weberian notion of power which has been adopted
by several feminist academics is both concise and abstract:
it is "the probability that one actor within a social
relationship will be in a position to carry out his own
will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which

this probability rests."[73] Such a definition seems remarkably

flexible and therefore analytically useful, since it can be

applied to many situations. But, the problem with it is

precisely its lack of specification. Power is similar in

all situations, there may be less or more of it, or it may

be legitimated as authority or not, and so on.

As Dair L. Gillespie has pointed out, however, in

her critique of Blood and Wolfe's analysis of power relations

in the family, power must be precisely defined in relation to

the social institution or totality where it is manifested.[74]

The range of power in decision making must be specified in

relation to which decisions "objectively" have a "greater

degree of importance" for the family unit. Some measures of

power differentials, she argues, can disguise the "hidden

power" of one of the decision makers in a group and, in

order to avoid bias in measuring power, the sociologist must

look to the structural sources of power from which power is

derived. To say that a woman has the power to influence a

family decision about, for example how to do something, or

which one of many to choose, is often to ignore that either

the "real decisions" had been made outside of the family

group itself or that the husband simply did not choose to

exercise his decision making capacity in this instance. The

methodological implications of these cautionary notes in

examining sexual power within the family can be extended to

the analysis of patriarchal power as a structure. First,

in any society power and politics must be analysed in

relation to the appropriate levels of the social whole.
From a marxist perspective in class and state society, the
state is the key instance to which we must be able to relate
the analysis of power insofar as it is the key instance in
the reproduction of existing social relations (of domination).
In Poulantzas's words,

> Inside the structure of several levels (of a
> social formation dislocated by uneven development,
> the state has the particular function of
> constituting the factor of cohesion between the
> levels of a social formation. 75

Secondly, structural sources of "hidden" power

must be sought. Here too the state is an important instance
of patriarchal domination in capitalist society as an
aspect of its global role in regulating class conflict and
assuring social cohesion. The maintenance of women's
oppression in this mode of production assumes a political
importance which is quite independent of the direct and
indirect economic benefits to the accumulation of capital
by the bourgeoisie of lower wages for female labour and
unpaid domestic labour that I mentioned earlier. In essence,
the capitalist regime has been able to utilize prior
patriarchal ideology as an aspect of its legitimation
strategy. One obvious example in the case of Quebec is
the adoption by the state of Roman Catholic patriarchal
religious ideology. By placing the legitimating cloak of
Catholic family dogma over regressive social policy,
Canadian regimes have been able to pull of the trick of
appearing to be defenders of the French Canadian dominated

classes while acting as brokers and conduits for imperialism.

The implication of such a view in defining sexual politics is not to ignore the ways in which individual men benefit from the labour, sexual services, and psychological submission of individual women. It is rather to insist that the capitalist state is crucial to the reproduction of these micro-social manifestations of patriarchy. In short, it is to see men as the agents and benefactors of women's oppression and the state as regulating its form. Without falling into economism, we can then look to macrosocial structures outside of the family and particularly to the politico-legal structures of the state that justify and order sexual asymmetries in wages, education, and marital obligation as crucial to the maintenance of women's subordination. The family as a social and ideological institution serves to concentrate, to express and to reproduce patriarchal domination as it reproduces the particular forms of the sexual division of labour. Whatever the unconscious psychological structures of male domination reproduced in the family in the process of socialization, these concrete macrosocial manifestations of patriarchy in the capitalist mode of production will penetrate back into intimate family relations.[76]

In short, women's oppression in the capitalist mode of production is intimately connected with the structural contradictions of class domination that is, with the economy. Since the state acts to regulate the contradictions arising out of all structures of domination and subordination, it

also plays an important political role in regulating the structures of patriarchal domination. But since social development is characterized in general by asymmetries and unevenness, sexual politics will be only a mediated and uneven expression of other structures of domination.

Such a structural formulation of the relationship of sexual politics to the ensemble of contradictions of a social formation as uneven and as mediated by the state has both analytic and strategic consequences.

This formulation is important, first of all, because it permits progress to be made in the synthesis of studies of Quebec's economic development and women's studies. These can now be interrelated empirically not only by emphasizing the actual historical importance and extent of women's economic activity but also by showing how state structures have intervened into and attempted to regulate the contradictory intersection of patriarchal and capitalist economic structures and politics. The theoretical emphasis on the state as the political instance which assures the cohesion of a social formation thus also places it as the crucial mediation of economic and sex structures. The definition of politics and the political as a particular and relatively autonomous level of social structure, then, permits the analysis to go forward without reductionism. Secondly, it has the methodological virtue of supporting the earlier contention that sexual politics must be analysed both as a relatively autonomous political dynamic with its own

rhythms of development and as an aspect of global political development.

In the third place, this view points to the strategic importance of the state for feminist politics. Feminist struggles for social reform in legislation and so on can, in the light of this theory, and have in fact, had an effect on the ideological configurations and the actual operations of capitalist forms of patriarchy insofar as they suceeded in reducing the extent and severity of male domination in the economy and in the polity. But, since patriarchy as it has been defined here is a structural component of global domination in the capitalist class relations and state, then it cannot be superceded without overturning those structures as a whole, that is, without socialism. These strategic distinctions will, in turn, be used as a basis for defining different currents within the feminist movement.

Having explored the determinations of sexual politics in relation to the state and to the economic sturctures of class domination, we can now develop a very concise definition of politics that will be carried throughout this study. Politics is then dynamic social practice of individuals and organized groups, that is materially based and expresses contradictions in the development of a social formation as they are reflected in the contradictions of ideology and (conscious) experience. The object of politics is power to assure representation of sectoral class, sex, national (and so on) interests in the social whole. The immediate object

of politics in this light then becomes the state as a
"regulating factor of global equilibrium."[77] Sexual politics,
in particular, is practice whose object is the social
position of women.

On the surface, then, there are two definitions of
sexual politics which confront us: Millett's notion of
"power-structured relationships" in general and the more
specific if more complex marxist notion of the state as the
key instance for the mediation of conflict and power in the
capitalist mode of production. But as I have shown the
emphasis on the breadth of sexual asymmetries that Millett's
definition urged can be emcompassed in the marxist version
and also given greater structural concreteness. I have
argued in a previous section (2.2.) for the general validity
of the class/state perspective in understanding economic
development. Here I have argued that such a perspective is
also valuable in understanding sexual politics in particular
and that furthermore adopting such a perspective allows for
a non-reductionist analysis of sexual politics which
nevertheless situates this sectoral politics both theoretically
and empirically in relation to the most general anaytic
category used here, the mode of production.

2.4.2. Restrictions on the present study of sexual politics

It is, on grounds other than theoretical that this
study is forced to make a more restricted use of the term

sexual politics than Millett encouraged. The historical

material to carry out a complete analysis of the working

out of male-female relationships in Quebec simply does

not exist. In part this is because research that has been

conducted on the family and kinship structure in Quebec,

lacked categories for sexual exploitation. The debates of

the fifties which arose in relation to Gérin's, attempt to

characterize "The Strengths and Weaknesses of the French

Canadian Family System" focused more on the relation of

the family to the external social institutions of the parish,

the church, the political system, and government, and

industrial society than on the internal sexual division of

labour and power.[78]

   Nor can we make use of Quebec literature to deepen

the analysis of sexual politics in the first two moments

of this study. Indeed, as Louise Valois Davies points out

in her analysis of Québécois literature, it is not until

"the new urban reality" makes an impact on literary

consciousness that themes treating of women and internal

family relations surface.[79] This is in contrast to the

development of the novel in Britain and France where women's

concerns and the shifting family relations provided a focus

for literary production. [80] In Quebec, the centre was reserved

for the problematic aspects of social life that could be

called national-political concerns: the land, the identity

of the Canadian, the role of the Church. The women died

young and silent.

The urban French-Canadian mother survives to
tell her tale in Gabrielle Roy's celebrated
Tin Flute, published in 1945. Where Euchariste
Moisand barely notices his wife's death in his
concern for the harvest, Acarius Lacasse could not
subsist without his wife's ministrations. The
novels highlights the sociological impact of the
move to the city on the balance of power in the
family. Men are no longer the robust providers,
they are often out of work, these being the
Depression years, and their authority is
dwindling. Female characters are on the threshold
of a long and successful rule in fictional
households, and the loving matriarchy of Rose-Anna
will become more shrill, agressive, manipulative,
and domineering with each passing novel. 81

The primary focus of this study of sexual politics

is forced to remain, then, in the public domain of the state,

its juridico-legal apparatus, the ideological apparatus

producing official definitions of feminity, the economy,

and the political movements of protest that can be considered

as left. To emphasize the public domain is not to ignore

other social structures, in particular the family. The

organization of family and kinship structures and changes in

that organization (conceived particularly in relation to

changes in the economy) will be considered as being structurally

important to the working out of sexual politics. In one sense,

the sexual politics considered here are those arising in the

course of the struggle of women to enter into that public

domain and gain the power to construct definitions of

feminity and women's role that are appropriate to their own

perspectives of their needs in industrial capitalist society.

2.4.3. Currents in the women's movement

I have chosen to call the struggles of women organized

around these issues the feminist movement. This definition
is broad rather than restrictive. The first and second
waves of this movement are the focus of sexual politics
at two moments of this study: capitalist industrialization
from about 1860 until the suffrage was gained and the
contemporary post-Quiet Revolution period. While there are
few terminological problems associated with the first,
women's rights and suffrage movement, there is some confusion
about how to distinguish the theoretically and strategically
heterogeneous second wave. Although women and men live
side by side in the same social formations, share the same
families, and work in the same factories, previous studies
have shown that their perceptions of reality and their needs
differ profoundly.[82] As an important aspect of overcoming
their social subordination, the women's movement historically
has concentrated on struggles over ideology, legal and
political equality, and the right to gain a living.

There are some problems in deciding how to distinguish
the internal political differentiations of this contemporary
movement. Lynn Teather, for example, chooses Women's Rights,
Women's Liberation, and Feminist.[83] This distinction
reflects, in the first place, labels chosen by the
women's movement at a particular point in its recent history.
These labels would no longer even be an accurate reflection
of empirical terminology. Secondly, the term Women's Rights
has also been strongly identified with the earlier suffrage

struggle. "Feminist" is now rejected in favour of radical feminist as a political label.[84] Having reserved feminist for the overall women's movement and women's rights for the first wave, I will distinguish the contemporary currents on the basis of their political orientation.

Radical feminist can stand for those who locate the primary source of women in the family. Women's liberation while used in some instances to refer to the second wave in general will tend to be reserved for those components of the movement who identify their struggles for liberation with those of other oppressed groups of nation and class and whose focus of attack is the state. I have rejected the term socialist-feminist here as too restrictive; it implies a theoretical clarification and a critical appropriation of marxism that is, at this point, limited to a few women.[85] Finally I have chosen to identify that group of feminists whose particular strategy is focused on legislative and attitudinal change through the medium of the existing bourgeois state as "bourgeois reformist". Unlike Eisenstein or Dixon, I do not intend this to refer to the class position of these women or their organizations, but to their political strategy.[86] Denouncing individuals as bourgeois or middle-class women seems to me to lead to analytical dead-ends and to lower levels of political dialogue and debate rather than to strategic and theoretical clarification that can be tested in practice.

Finally, the term "autonomous women's movement" will be used to refer to women-only organizations of whatever political colour with some degree of unity and cohesion. The term "autonomous" is used to indicate both the non-mixed (sex) characteristics of this form of organization and the fact that as a whole this movement is not under the direction of any political party although women with political affiliations (from the Parti Québécois to the far left) may participate in it.

2.5. Quebec nationalism

It is almost impossible to read any discussion of Quebec history and politics without coming up against the phenomenon of nationalism. Unfortunately for the sociological journeywoman, not all those who trace its shifts and turns so eloquently, from a defensive conservative survival orientation, through progressive, "pan-Canadian", corporatist, and even populist and revolutionary forms provide very clear definitions of the social phenomenon that they are cataloging. We might be told that its outgrowth in Quebec was influenced by a European vogue for national self-determination and liberation,[87] that it can be distinguished from patriotism,[88] or that, in any case, what we are now dealing with is "neo-nationalism" which is depressed and pessimistic.[89] What is necessary here is something rather less than a grand theory of nationalism; but an examination of Quebec nationalism as an ideology, in order to distinguish the major political currents

of nationalism that occur in the moments considered here and
to draw out some of the implications of the dominance of
nationalist ideologies for an analysis of sexual politics.

2.5.1.   Nationalism as an ideology

Like the term mode of production, "ideology" is a
notion which has entered mainstream sociology from marxism
and has been subject to much revision there. As well as
this sociological revisionism, there has been a running
debate inside marxism itself about its precise meaning.[90]
In addition to these debates there have been various attempts
to supplement Marx's cognitively biased and somewhat over-
sociated theory of ideology with psychological and psycho-
analytic theories in order to explain the tenacity with which
individuals cling to ideologies that are not in their own
best interests. The impetus for the first wave of these
theoretical initiatives was the rise of fascism and the
second the radicalization, particularly of women, in the late
sixties.[91] This second attempt has been much more theoretically
heterogenous and has produced a number of attempts at reworking
"old" psychological theory, notably Freudian and at producing
new partial or total theories to explain the persistance of
women's oppression and the failure of second wave feminism
to develop a mass base.[92]

The definition of ideology adopted here might be
called neo-classical; the basic tenets of a marxist theory

will be stated and supplemented with two sociological notions.

First, let me state the essentials of a marxist theory of ideology:[93]

1) In a materialist conception, ideology is a product of collective social practice. The ensemble of ideas, images, myths--of intellectual representations in general-- which constitute everyday language, art, academic discourse, the law, and politics arise out of human activity and convey the social relations of a given mode of production.

2) Ideology is not necessarily coherent or consistent. In Lefebvre's words, it refracts rather than reflects social reality.[94] These distortions or opacities in ideology arise from a number of conditions of ideological production in class societies. First, in societies divided by class, national, and sex cleavages, individuals have quite different social practices which are primarily related to their position in social production (whether as workers, owners of capital, state functionaries, housewives, petty commodity producers, and so on). On this basis, then, there is a tendency for different and opposing ideologies to arise which convey the world view and interests particular to the members of these class/ class fraction, sex, and national groupings.

Secondly, since ideology arises out of social reality, the inconsistencies, unevenness, and asymmetries of social

development can also appear in ideology. Moreover
given the cognitive element in ideology and its relative
autonomy it may have either a retarded or accelerated
development. Quebec ideological development demonstrates
both of these aspects of unevenness. Women were drawn
into industrial production before they gave up the
feeling that their place was somehow in the home; newly
proletarianized workers failed to shake off essentially
peasant consciousness and dreamt of returning to the land.
On the other side of the coin, leaps in consciousness
can occur. Just about fifteen years after deconfession-
alization the C.S.N. and the C.E.Q. congress each
adopted one of the most progressive policies on women's
liberation in North America. Thirdly, the social
location of an individual may itself be at the intersection
of contradictory or cross-cutting social forces. A
male worker, a Catholic French Canadian woman, a bourgeois
woman--these individuals are situated in more than one
social structure which can, in turn, give rise to
different and contradictory partial ideologies of class
versus sex, or sex versus nation, or of co-existing modes
of production and each of which can serve to retard or
accelerate awareness of social contradictions and, thus,
affect the overall ideological configurations.

3) Nevertheless, there is usually enough ideological
coherence in a given social formation so that we may
speak of dominant ideology or ideologies. As well as

the notion I mentioned above that social ideology is

specific to a mode of production as a whole, there are

two other factors that are important in assuring this

coherence. The first has to do with language and

socialization. Because the circumstance into which an

historical individual is born includes an already

existant ideological matrix which she acquires through

socialization, ideologies are not created anew by atomized

individuals, but have both continuity and a coercive

quality. Interpretations of what is and values about

what ought (or ought not) to be are imposed upon

individuals in the process of aquiring language itself.[95]

The second source of ideological coherence arises

from the form of class hegemony in class society.

Marx's concise if troubling formulation of this notion is

now so familiar as to be almost a cliché, but it is

worth stating here in order to draw out its structural

implications:

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch
> the ruling ideas: i.e., the class, which is the
> ruling material force of society, is at the same
> time its ruling intellectual force... The ruling
> ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression
> of the dominant material relationships grasped
> as ideas; hence of the relationships which make
> the one class the ruling one, therefore the ideas
> of its dominance. [96]

4) The outcome of this contradiction between the ruling

ideologies which serve to reproduce and convey the

existing relations of production and the existing

structures of class, sex, and national domination and

the actual experience and struggle of dominated class,
sex, and national groupings is, as I have mentioned
above in relation to feminism, to produce a political
struggle for the power to define ideology.

Beside these essentially marxist notions of ideology
there are two supplementary points that need to be included
here. The first of these I have already mentioned in the
Introduction. It is the notion of "definition of the
situation" first introduced by W.I. and Dorothy Thomas.
In their original formulation, the need to define situations
was closely connected with adapting behaviour and knowledge
to changes in social circumstances. "Such an event [change]
is called a 'crisis', and it disrupts habits by redirecting
the attention that had been formerly focused there by the
individual or the group."[97] Thus, by creating new definitions
and by imposing them upon circumstantial flux, individuals
(and groups) can exert a certain degree of control over the
situation. The underlying notion here is a theory of cognitive
and psychological disequilibrium; new circumstances create a
certain degree of conceptual disequilibrium which must be
overcome by developing new definitions, theories, and ultimately,
actions.

While Ropers, Smith and Lichtman have criticized the
use made by symbolic interactists theory of this notion of
definition of the situation as ahistorical, episodic, overly
individualistic, and astructural, I would contend that it can

be rescued from these biases in such a way as to make it
useful for the study the way social movements and ideologies
arise.[98] As well as a dynamic conceptual foundation, it has
the virtue of being a strategic concept and, hence, useful
for political analysis. The individual who defines does so
consciously but must make use of the elements--whether of
knowledge or of action--that are given in the immediate
situation. Thus, we have something very close to the marxist
notion that women make their own history--but like a patchwork
quilt, it is made out of materials and scraps that are not of
their own choosing. This notion of definition of the situation
will then be used to synthesize the ways in which Quebec
women have reacted historically in their attempts to introduce
new ideologies and to modify relations of patriarchal dominance.
While I cannot assert that this notion gives us the point of
view of the women as actors, it does attempt to present their
perspective as thinkers and activists faced with a problematic
strategic situation of social change and cross-cutting social
identifications as women, as class members, and as Quebecoises.

The second supplement which needs to be made to
classic marxist theory of ideology can only be signalled here,
since its full development lies beyond the scope of this study.
Writers working in the tradition of psychoanalysis and marxism
have pointed to the importance of understanding the ways in
which the relations of domination in class and patriarchal
society have consequences for the formation of character

structures or of mass psychology.[99] Sexual repression and
fear of unrepressed and particularly female sexuality,
authority submissiveness, and the capacity to carry out
alienated labour are some of the characteristic psycho-social
residues of these forms of domination.[100] The ways in which
such psycho-structures are reproduced are complex; it is
enough here to say that the mechanisms are, for the most
part, unconscious and have to do with the internalization of
repressive social structures in the socialization process.
These theories emphasize a relationship between psycho-
structure and ideology and point to the possibility of
unconscious elements reacting back into conscious political
action and choice.

In essence, individual and/or mass psychology is
formed in part in response to objective structures of domination.
To be adequately socialized into and to interiorize a particular
reality and its corresponding set of values has consequences
for the kind of character and individual psychology that are
possible. If we deal specifically with nationalism, then, the
consequences in Quebec are that the nation becomes a part of
individual identity, is morally and psychically cathected,
and is experienced as an existential reality. In short, the
individual is in the nation and the nation in the individual.

If we combine the implications of these two notions
used to supplement a more classic marxist definition of
ideology, we begin to see some of the complexities which faced

women activists in Quebec. Not only were they faced with the
strategic problem of defining feminist ideology and activity
in a situation where political loyalties were subject to cross-
cutting pressures arising from their social location at the
intersection of national, class, and sexual structures of
domination, but much of the reactionary social forces and
ideologies that they had to struggle against was deeply
psychically cathected. Now, it is not possible to work out
the full theoretical implications of this view here. Nor is
it the task of this thesis to produce a psychohistory of Quebec
society.

To rule out of consideration this psychological level
on theoretical grounds would be to fall into another (for
example, political) form of reductionism.[101] Indeed ignoring
the psychological power and rootedness of ideologies and
cultural images would be a particular travesty in the study
of feminism and sexual politics. For the women's movement
has taught sociology how important it is to understand
personality and sexuality as, at least in part, concrete
manifestations of political relations.

> Empruntant des détails à la vie quotidienne,
> aux objets et aux personnes qui nous entournent,
> des images s'élaborent et se fixent dans notre
> mémoire et nous nous référons implicitement à
> elles dans nos comportments. Ces 'images-guides',
> telles qu'elles ont été appelées, ont une
> puissance dont nous nous rendons souvent mal compte.
> Lorsqu'il s'agit du statut et du rôle de la femme
> elles ont un dynamisme propre plus grand encoure
> qu'ailleurs peut-être. Etant liées directement
> à la sexualité, l'affectivité qu'elles suscitent
> est d'autant plus vive.[102]

2.5.2.　Currents in Quebec nationalism·

　　　　A central assumption of this thesis which is validated
by history is that some form of nationalism has arisin as a
spontaneous ideological response to national domination in
Quebec since the Conquest.　More than this, nationalism has
been a central component unifying a global social ideology.
But to say this is to assume two points which should explicitly
be stated here:

　　　　first, as an ideology, nationalism has historically been
　　　　able to account for one of the central facts of the
　　　　Quebec situation, that is, national domination, at the
　　　　same time as it veiled others.　Nationalism served to
　　　　disguise the reality of class, sex and other relations of
　　　　domination in Quebec; and

　　　　second, particular formulations of nationalism were
　　　　guided so as to vehicle the particular sectoral interests
　　　　of the classes, class fractions, and institutions that
　　　　articulated them.

　　　　The particular ethnic-national distribution of French
Canadians and the successive anglophone imperialisms between
rural petty commodity production in agriculture and the
developing capitalist sector respectively was reinforced by
the collectivist ideology of Catholicism so as to give rise to
a form of nationalism that was, on the whole, populist.
Nevertheless, there have been variations in its political
orientation toward class and patriarchal domination.　Three

of these arise in the period examined in this study: a
conservative and defensive "nationalism of survival", a
progressive, petit bourgeois form which animated the
patriots of 1837, and most recently, a socialist and
revolutionary "nationalism of liberation".

Boehm's definition of nationalism can be usefully
explored in relation to the two major variations of Quebec
nationalism. Nationalism implies:

> ...the tendency to place a particularly excessive,
> exaggerated, and exclusive emphasis on the value
> of the nation at the expense of other values,
> which leads to vain and unfortunate overestimation
> of one's nation and thus to a detraction of others. [103]

What is important in this definition for the study of the
relationship of intersecting structures of domination is the
notion that the nation is valued "excessively" at the expense
of other values. The question must be posed in the concrete
as to what "other values" or interests and struggles are
swept aside by "raison de nation"?, how?, and to whose
benefit? These will, indeed, be taken up in the following
chapters. But first we should sketch out the main principles
of these two types of nationalism in order to carry forward
into the concrete analysis a base for understanding their
specific manifestations and variations.

2.5.2.i. Conservative nationalism

Perhaps the classic statement of conservative
Catholic nationalism was articulated by Mgr. Laflèche.[104]

He connects the nation with a geographical territory of the
St. Lawrence, with an agricultural mode of life, and with a
God-given mission. If French Canadians fulfill this divine
mission, they will prosper, individually and collectively.
If not, then greed will grow, love of riches abound, and the
downfall be immiment.

> The mission with which Providence entrusted French
> Canadians is basically religious in nature: it
> is, namely, to convert the unfortunate infidel
> local population to Catholicism, and to expand
> the Kingdom of God by developing a predominantly
> Catholic nationality. 105

The main foe of this Catholic mission is anglo-saxon
materialism, which is understood both as an ideology and as
the development of capitalist industrial society. Since
materialism, anti-clericalism, the central Canadian government,
and urbanization are linked in a conspiracy against the
fulfillment of this mission, then the good life for French
Canadian Catholics is made up of precisely the opposite virtues.
Spiritualism, obedience to the church, French language and
customs, provincial rights, and agriculture are essential
to protect the "nation française, canadienne et catholique"
from failure and the wrath of God.

Woman, as mother--"la véritable mère canadienne"--
has a central role to play in the articulation of this
ideology. Indeed, as Paul Chombart de Loewe has pointed out,
the image of woman is particularly important in fixing all
ideological systems:

> Qu'il s'agisse de religions, de philosophies, de
> systèmes politiques ou de sciences humaines, la
> représentation de la femme dans le monde et dans
> la société joue un rôle décisif dans toute
> élaboration d'une conception de l'existence.
> L'égalité ou l'inégalité des sexes, les rôles dans
> le couple, dans la famille et dans la parenté, la
> division du travail, le création artistique...
> sont en partie dominés par l'image que les membres
> d'une société ont de la femme.   106

But in Quebec, the idealization, glorification, and

mystification of woman as mother is developed to an extreme.

As Mona-Josée Gagnon points out, in the "traditional ideology",

the woman is in the home and she is mother first and foremost

and first and foremost among mothers. All other aspects of

the feminine role, as homemaker or wife, are of secondary

importance or rather, fill a support role to the centrality

of maternity. For it is in her maternal capacity that she

not only realizes her individual God-given destiny but also

plays out her central social role. The flavour of the symbolism

and the fervour with which her praises are sung can only be

conveyed by letting the ideology speak for itself.

> C'est la mère--le mère de chez nous--qui a formé
> leur âme: elle a su y découvrir tous les talents
> que le Créateur y avait déposés, elle leur a
> appris à faire fructifier ces talents; elle leur a
> pétri le caractère et éclairé la conscience en leur
> apprenant la discipline, l'honneur, la loyauté, le
> sens du devoir, l'exercice de la volonté, le bon
> usage de la liberté; elle leur a façonné l'esprit
> en lui découvrant, peu à peu, les horizons illimités
> du savoir, du beau esthétique et intellectuel, en
> lui apprenant à juger les hommes et les choses:
> elle a enfin appris à leur coeur la charité,
> l'amour. Le mère s'est faire aussi la confidente
> jamais lasse des chagrins d'enfant, plus tard des
> épreuves de l'adolescent ou du jeune homme... La
> mère de chez-nous n'a-t-elle pas une mission d'une
> importance et d'une gravité exceptionnelle, si elle
> veut maintenir dans toute son intégrité l'âme

française qui a fait la grandeur de notre groupe
ethnique, cette âme apostolique des fondateurs et
pionniers sans laquelle nous ne serions qu'une
entité anonyme dans une agglomération anglosaxonne? 107

As a mother, her value lies not just in her fertility,
although sheer physical reproduction remains central in the
enclave psychology which characterizes this defensive form
of nationalism but also in her capacity to inculcate religious,
cultural, and spiritual values integral to the preservation of
French Canadian national integrity:

> L'autre aspect par lequel la mère canadienne-
> française jouait un rôle déterminant, c'était
> par ses fonctions d'éducatrice qui en faisaient
> la propagatrice des traditions, de la langue de la
> religion des Canadiens français; en bref, la
> qualité des mères canadiennes-françaises était
> considérées comme devant être directement
> proportionnelle à la qualite souhaitée de la
> 'race' dans son ensemble, c'est-à-dire essentielle-
> ment des hommes. 108

This image was promoted by the opponents of "feminism"
as the dignity that Christianity had given women in rescuing
them from the oppression and degradation of pagan society.
According to its spokesmen, at the same time as Christianity
protected women, its creation of the specialized honourable
role of motherhood corresponded to nature:

> La femme, par son sexe même, par sa conformation
> physique et ses qualités morales, par ses goûts,
> ses talents, ses tendances, diffère absolument
> de l'homme, et...cette différence entre lese
> sexes résulte une differénce non moins grande dans
> les fonctions. 109

These differences between men and women could be
sustained because the world was also divided into masculine
and feminine spheres: "La femme, c'est la maison parce que

la femme fait la maison et la maison fait la femme." As

for the husband, titular chief of the domestic hierarchy,

he works, sacrifices, and forsees and prepares for the future.

Because these gender roles date from the beginning

of (Christian) civilization and are, at the same time, natural,

they are in a sense outside of history. More specifically, the

ideal woman is portrayed by nineteenth and twentieth century

French Canadian ideologues, as having had the same virtues

since the first days of the colonies. She will, if the

impoverishment of the home by capitalist industries can be

resisted, continue to have those virtues in a golden future.

Conservative nationalism, as articulated by the clergy

and by secular ideologues placed a central importance to

women, the family, and to the resistance to change. Thus it

made itself extremely vulnerable to change, especially in the

social position of women or in the place that they sought for

themselves in the world. Full discussion of the interplay

of these forces will be left until chapter four but here we

should simply note that conservative, nationalist

ideology was based squarely on patriarchal, religious principles

and a rigid sexual division of labour. Here, the glorification

of Woman, meant the submission of women.

2.5.2.ii. Nationalism of liberation

While previous studies have furnished the bases for

a summary of ideological reflections of the particular form

of Quebec class, national, and sex structures, it is the task

of this study to do so for the new nationalism of liberation.

There are, however, two characteristics of this new nationalism

which are important for this study and which can be posited

here:

first, the centre articulating Quebec nationalism moves

away from church and state intellectuals into new radical

movements ideologically inflected by socialism as strategy

and by the working class as the central social force

capable of carrying out national struggles; and

second, a juncture is made between nation and state

and between nation and working class which in the conditions

of the late sixties class struggle leads to a revolutionary

perspective for this new current. In addition, by the

1970's changes that have taken place in the sexual division

of labour in Quebec economic and social structures have

laid the basis for opening a new period in sexual politics.

The relationship between these two levels of change is not

automatic or fixed, but has evolved historically.

Nevertheless, we can say analytically that a new relation-

ship between national and class and sexual politics is

possible and, indeed, likely. In the first instance,

as we shall see below, women and the family disappeared

from their central role in defining Quebec's specificity.

As a praxis of liberation within an ideology oriented to the

future, to collective self-determination, and to wiping away

the traces of class and clerical oppression, this new
nationalism could potentially include the liberation of
women in its project.

To sum up, nationalist ideology has been a spontaneous
response to the national domination of Quebec. The precise
colouring of nationalism has changed, most notably with the
rise of a new nationalist movement oriented to a praxis of
national and working class liberation. Although nationalism
as articulated by the clergy and adopted by the French
Canadian component of the Quebec ruling bloc built itself
firmly upon a vision of the family and women's role in it
that was patriarchal, there is no necessity for the new
movement to do so.

2.6.   Analysing sexual politics in a context of national
domination

The task of this section is to sum up the implications
of the theoretical orientation adopted for concrete historical
analysis. For the sake of simplicity I will present these in
the form of theses, moving from the general to the particular:
1)   In order to understand any global or sectoral politics,
that politics must first be situated historically in relation
to the development of the mode of production in the social
formation under analysis;
2)   Global and sectoral politics are to be understood as
expressing the structural contradictions of the social
formation. The degree of autonomy between the political

instance and other levels of the social formation means that
any sectoral politics must be analysed in relation to global
political praxis as well as the development of underlying
economic and social structures. In the case of class society,
the central regulating instance of social cohesion and, hence,
a central focus for the analysis of politics is the state.
Understanding contradictions in the relations of production
and hence, political class struggle, is a key to understanding
the particular configurations of global and sectoral politics;

3) Economic and social development is to be understood as
normally an uneven and asymmetrical process. In analysing
structural political contradictions of ideological development,
then, unevenness is a key concept by which sectoral struggles
and partial ideologies can be related to the social ensemble;

4) In a situation of national domination, nationalism is
likely to arise as a spontaneous political and ideological form
mediating all political struggles including those of oppressed
groups and sectors. The actual form of this mediation will
vary with concrete social differences;

5) The relations between women and men in the capitalist
mode of production is to be understood as conflictful and based
in material contradictions. Women are oppressed by patriarchal
structures. Just as the sexual division of labour is partially
determined by the level of economic development, so too the
nature and form of sexual relations and politics plays a
determining role in the social formation as a whole. Hence,

class, national, and sexual politics are to be understood as mediating one another, the underlying structure, and changes in that structure as a whole;

6) In order to understand any politics, for example, that of women engaged in feminist struggles, it is necessary to pose the problems that faced those political actors as a strategic problem;

7) Where the political field defined by intersecting structures of domination is dominated by one political praxis, e.g., nationalism in Quebec, other political practices will tend to be subordinated to it;

8) Despite the structural and conjunctural intersection of relations of domination, there are possible two countervailing tendencies in political praxis: to prioritize one struggle over the other or to attempt to unify these struggles. The first is the classically stalinist approach; the second is shared by spontaneist and trotskyist orientations to national and class struggles;

9) Where a labour movement seeks to present itself as the central agent of social transformation, it will be subject to pressures to integrate into its project--at least at the level of ideology--the political struggles of other oppressed sectors;

10) In a situation where mixed movements are strong and have taken up at least in part some of the demands of the women's movement, autonomous women's grouping may be late to appear;

11)   In a situation where one of the sectoral politics of
liberation is carried by a group within the dominating group,
nation, or class, there will be a tendency for the appearance
of that politics to be retarded among the oppressed group,
nation, or class.

Chapter Three: Capitalist Industrialization in Quebec,
from the Conquest to Duplessis.

3.1   Introduction.

The overall objective of our study is to utilize the

theoretical ideas just discussed in order to explain how the

particular form and tempo of women's politics in Quebec can be

explained in relation to the uneven and asymmetrical development

of the Quebec social formation as a whole.   In examining the actual

historical relationships it is analytically convenient to consider

separately the long period of capitalist industrialization that

preceded the Quiet Revolution and the forms of sexual structures

and politics associated with it before analysing the turbulent

social and political conditions in Quebec during the last twenty

years that gave rise in the 1970's to the contemporary franco-

phone women's movement.   In this chapter, then, we will examine

general socio-economic development in Quebec prior to the 1950's,

paying particular attention to the sense in which that develop-

ment was contradictory and uneven.   In the following chapter,

the changing position and consciousness of women during the

same period will be set in the context of Quebec's particular

path to industrialization.   And, finally, chapter five will

examine the contemporary emergence of women's politics in

Quebec during the post-Duplessis era "rattrapage" and generalized

social conflict.

In fact, the key to understanding the national,

social, and economic contradictions that have dominated
Quebec in the modern period lies in disentangling the
uneven process of early industrial development that Quebec
underwent, and in tracing this unevenness in turn to its
historical roots in the conditions of Quebec's formation
as a socio-economic region within North America. Our
analysis must begin with a consideration, then, of the
British Conquest and the social distortions produced by
its impact on the process of class and, hence also, ideological
formation. What resulted was not a simple "backwardness",
as anglo-Canadian popular mythology and modernization
theory might have it, insofar as the expansion of heavy and
light manufacturing sectors over the last century has in certain
respects been in line with the "normal" path of economic and
industrial development traversed by the rest of North America.[1]
But the exclusion, as a direct political result of the Conquest,
of the francophone majority from access to levers of economic
power combined with their stranglehold on the regional state
apparatus led them to promote a nationalist ideology that was
in the main highly traditionalist and promoted the church, the
rural community, and the family as the bastion of Quebec's
spiritual defence against the overall upheavals of capitalist
development and the ravages of the "anglo- saxon materialist
invader".[2] In the 1960's a liberal modernizing layer of the
urban petite bourgeoisie gained control of the provincial state
and self-consciously set about overcoming the superstructural

backwardness that was a legacy of the accomodation of
the rural ruling class and high clergy with British,
anglo-Canadian, and later American imperialism in the
interests of further economic development in Quebec. This
attempt at "rattrapage"--the accelerated or in our terms
combined development of social institutions and value
orientation in line with a model of the modern industrial
capitalist state--severely shook the established order and
its dominant ideology of survivalist nationalism. The class
alliance that supported this strategy was fraught with
internal contradictions and, moreover, the social bases for
new class layers, interest groups, and social conflicts were
produced as a direct, if partially unintended, consequence of
the Quiet Revolution. However, the politico-ideological
instability of this period cannot be ascribed only to
contradictions internal to the Quebec social formation but
must take into account the effects of the social and economic
crisis that afflicted world capitalism in the late sixties and
gave rise on the international plane to a youth radicalization,
self-identified revolutionary movements for national liberation
and women's emancipation, and a revitalized militant trade
union movement in several advanced capitalist countries.[3]

Because the argument elaborated in the next four
chapters that establishes a relationship between the political
fact of the Conquest, the history of distorted socio-economic
development, and the dynamics of sexual politics in Quebec is

complicated, it is useful to state it briefly here at the
beginning of this chapter. In order to maintain their
position of power as brokers between the forces of succeeding
imperialisms and their base as defenders of the French-Canadian
population, the various layers and generations of the rural
and urban bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie saw it as in
their strategic interest to maintain a closed nationalist
ideology which refused to recognize still less accept the
structural shifts arising out of the development of the
capitalist mode of production through its competitive and
monopoly phases. Nevertheless actual changes between and
within modes of production generated real changes in the
structure of sexual relationships and promoted the penetration
of the family by the relations of commodity production.[4] The
efforts of the ruling bloc in the sixties to sweep aside
pre-capitalist and pre-monopoly vestiges opened up the
possibility of reevaluating sexual ideology in line with
bourgeois democratic egalitarianism and an impersonal
industrial order. Despite the far-reaching demands on gender
relations and the structure of the family made by the first
wave of new feminism in anglophone North America, the reforms
promoted in Quebec during this period were limited to transfor-
mations in the traditional image of women which assigned them
a special or protected status.

The new radical nationalist and student movements
which developed out of the inability of the political architects
of the Quiet Revolution to overcome centuries of national and

class oppression with superstructural reforms and limited state intervention in the economy, on the whole ignored the question of the social condition of women. It was only with the outburst of trade union opposition to the government in the 1972 Common Front that a "spontaneous" militancy was "discovered" among women engaged in economic struggles. A serious attempt was then begun inside the structures of the trade union movement to develop an analysis of the structure of women's social and economic subordination and of the ways in which their oppression was maintained by and served to support the established order. Conversely, it was argued that political struggles for their liberation would contribute to struggles for national and class liberation in Quebec.[5] An independent, organized women's liberation movement did not appear in Quebec until International Women's Year, 1975, when it arose on francophone university and CEGEP campuses in response to activities in the unions and the far left, and during a period when the mass media began to feature long discussions of women's condition.

The argument here turns on two important points. First, that a reactionary sexual politics was promoted by francophone ruling classes in their own interests and in that of capital and the church and that the ideology of this politics was adopted by the francophone population as a whole in the face of national and class political oppression.[6] Secondly, the growth of the women's movement must be analysed

in the context of the political dynamics and relation of
forces in the period of the Quiet Revolution. Overall,
national oppression and nationalist ideology served to
justify and maintain the oppression of women including their
superexploitation by capital at the point of production.
But although it remains hegemonized by nationalist ideology
the opposition of students, community groups and workers'
organizations to aspects of monopoly capitalism and imperialism
created a new political contest for the development of sexual
politics such that the feminist upsurge of the seventies came
to be politically aligned with revolutionary and working class
forces, its politics inescapably inserted into a strategic
debate where the key issues are independence, "mass orientation",
and socialism.

 In sum, the thrust of the analysis in the next four
chapters will be to illustrate that:

 1) Quebec society as a dependent and dominated social
 formation underwent a process of economic development
 which put into place a modern capitalist structure of
 production but which produced certain key distortions in
 class structure;

 2) as a result certain elements in the superstructure
 including institutions of legitimization, and sexual
 ideology exhibited a kind of lagged development;

 3) this disjuncture between levels of social and
 economic development resulted in structural contradictions

which intersected in a particular way with the

contradictions of class society to generate political

conflicts and struggles for power within the petite

bourgeoisie and between the petite bourgeoisie, local

and international sectors of the bourgeoisie, and the

working class. These contradictions in turn sub-

structured the political class conflict which terminated

the tranquil stage of the Quiet Revolution and which,

inter _alia_ and after a lag, led to the development of

a women's movement with close links to the trade unions.[7]

3.2. The effects of the Conquest on the structure of the Quebec social formation

3.2.1. Dependency domination and class formation in Quebec

> One must never lose sight of the fact that a
> foreign conquest and occupation is the greatest
> impact that a society can ever meet. As a
> collectivity the Canadiens were doomed to an
> anemic survival. One must never forget to
> survive is not to live.   8

The history of the Quebec social formation from the

Conquest right up to the present represented a classic case

of uneven development in a dominated social formation. The

character of that dominance and thus the specific structural

complexity of Quebec's insertion in the global social formation,

is the necessary starting-point, then, for an analysis of

Quebec's socio-economic structure and history. However, despite

the theoretical emphasis I place on notions of dependency and

dominance as tools in coming to grips with an analysis of
Quebec, it is important to keep in mind that it is inadequate
and misleading to equate Quebec merely with the colonies and
neo-colonies of the third world and to see it as a region of
underdevelopment struggling to enter the modern capitalist
world system on an equal basis with other industrially
developed states.[9] Quebec's socio-economic development
including its current crisis has had a dual character. On
the one hand, it is marked by the accumulation of class,
national, and cultural contradictions stemming from its
subordinate and superexploited position after the Conquest
in relation first to the British and anglo-Canadian, and
ultimately to the American fraction of world capital.
However, as we shall show below, Quebec was not merely a
backward neo-colony. For as a developed industrial region
in its own right, it has also participated in the general
rhythms and crises of North American capitalist development
in passage from competitive to corporate to state monopoly
capitalism.

> Toutefois,il serait erroné de traiter le Québec
> comme formation périphérique... S'il emprunte
> certains caractères périphériques, le sens de son
> articulation déterminate et les circuits autocentrés
> qui en decoulent interdisnet cette assimilation
> et obligent à distinguer les situations de dépendence
> entre centre et périphérie et celles entre formations
> et régions du centre. Il nous semble ainsi plus
> juste de parler du Québec comme d'une région intégrante
> du centre, mais région mineur, ou région attardée,
> en raison de la permanence de stades antérieures
> au capitalisme monopoliste dominant au centre
> du système mondial. 10

The political expression of this duality in the post-Duplessis

period is to be found in the simultaneous eruption of a

"national" crisis symptomatized in the formation of the

RIN, the MSA, and later, the PQ, and, in a particularly

exacerbated form, of a more diffuse social unrest which

exhibits all the signs of the legitimation crisis of late

capitalism diagnosed by Habermas.[11]

To find the historical moment which assured both

the integration of Quebec as a region within a developing

capitalist society and its economic subordination to imperialist

capitalist blocs, we must turn to the period of the Conquest.

What is most striking about the long range effects of the

shift in imperial dominance from France to Britain (and later

to the United States) upon the social and political structures

of Quebec society is the way in which ethnic-national blocs

were enabled or forced to occupy different socio-economic

positions so as to generate specific and systematic distortions

in class structure. The historical result for Quebec as a

geographically circumscribed region was a class structure

which, on the one hand and as a whole replicated the global

requirements of a developed capitalist society and on the

other was distorted national-ethnic structures, and in a

certain sense truncated. The truncation of the Quebec class

consists in the fact that few francophones have ever achieved

positions within the higher layers of the big commercial and

industrial bourgeoisie. Its distortion lies in the way in

which for structural reasons national origins are systematically over- or under-represented at certain levels of the class structure.

The specific way in which ethnic-national lines of cleavage have interpenetrated with the capitalist relations of production has been the focus of considerable empirical investigation and theoretical debate among social scientists. Inspired in part by the general revitalization of marxist thought in the sixties and,as McLeod points out,stimulated by the need for strategic clarification by a growing radical nationalist movement, this debate has extended into the far left currents and into radicalizing layers of the workers' movement.[12] In the process, theory has advanced from positions which hold that French-Canadians as such constitute an oppressed "ethnic class" to interpretations which find the basis of class in material relation to the mode of production and the key to national domination in the structures of modern imperialism.[13] More recently a number of studies have taken up the question first raised by Barzeau and Guindon, of the relation between control of the provincial state apparatus and the social bases of classes and new class layers.[14] Despite the in-house polemics there seems to be agreement among more recent authors that:

    1)   the French-Canadian national grouping does not constitute a single class but is internally differentiated into classes and class fractions which continue to evolve;

2) in the light of the lack of a developed French-
Canadian bourgeoisie at different periods in Quebec
history different class fractions and alliances have
constituted the ruling blocs; but that this bloc has
usually rested on an alliance between representatives
of the small and medium bourgeoisie and the "professional"
petite bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the representatives
of various imperialist economic interests on the other; and
3) although nationalist ideologies have been rooted
in the general subordination of the French-Canadian
people by British imperialism and have been diffused
throughout the francophone population, nationalist
ideology has existed in many different forms, politically
nuanced (Conservative, liberal, reformist, revolutionary,
and so on) according to the interests and projects of the
particular classes and class fractions which have made it
their expressive vehicle.

From the point of view of the brief historical
investigation that follows, these theses can be considered
background assumptions. It is a question then of drawing out
their implications in the specification, at several key
conjunctures, of the relations in Quebec between class,
national, and sexual oppression. It should be noted that there
has been little or no serious study of the intersection of
these three structures of domination or indeed of any aspect
of the relation of the sexual subordination of women to the

questions of class and nation, and yet clearly in the case

of Quebec, the full analysis of domestic class and sexual

structures and processes is impossible without taking into

account the factor of neo-imperialist domination over an

incomplete and dependent social formation. Even if, as in

this study, a concern with the development of class and

ideology is intended primarily as a background to a study

of another, sexual structure, politics, and ideology, it

must be carried out from within a double perspective. It

must examine the relation of forces among classes and class

fractions <u>within</u> the majority French Canadian population;

But this in turn cannot be accomplished without <u>taking into</u>

<u>account 'external' relations with imperialist blocs and forces</u>

and the effect of these latter relations back upon the former.

At the first level, analysis reflects the extent to which

Quebec is an autonomous political region within British

North America and then the pan-Canadian state; analysis at

the second level confronts the extent of Quebec's incompleteness

as a social formation given its dominated and dependent

position.[15]

3.2.2. The loss of a nascent bourgeoisie and the overdevelopment
of the petite bourgeoisie

        According to Amin, the necessary preconditions

for Quebec to have undergone a process of structural

evolution similar to New England and Upper Canada had been

met in the development of class forces, markets, and industry

in pre-Conquest New France.[16] Like the former, the latter

had been established as a mercantilist colony for the tariff/

free export of raw materials to the mother-country; and its

self-sufficient population of petty commodity producers--

farmers and artisans--had similarly issued from the disaggregation

of feudal society in Northern Europe. "La encore, tant du

côté français que du côté anglais il ne s'agit pas d'une

périphérie, mais d'un sous-produit autonome des changements

sociaux en Europe".[17] In addition to the abstract case that

can be made for the argument that "ce modele de société

fondé sur le mode de production marchand simple comme mode

dominante a le pouvoir de faire naître le capitalisme,"[18]

recent historical research suggests strongly that by the

late eighteenth century New France, like New England, had

begun to generate an indigenous bourgeois class over and

above the metropolitan mercantile capitalists, and as such

had begun to endure as an autonomous region of nascent

capitalist development. Alice Lunn writes that:

> The leading businessmen were not...merely large
> scale shopkeepers. They dabbled in any
> enterprise which presented itself. The same
> names recur in connection with the fur trade,
> with sealing and fishing enterprises, with
> ship building, for a time with the St. Maurice
> (iron) forges, as well as with the domestic
> retail trade and with general importing and
> exporting. The same individual might be
> an industrialist, a general merchant, and a
> land owner. 19

That this process of capitalism was arrested,with

a resultant deformation of the Canadien class structure, was

a direct effect of the British Conquest. The British
victory in 1759 led to the expulsion or marginalization not
only of the metropolitan French commercial bourgeoisie, who
would in any case have been cut off from their trading links,
but also of the French colony's own nascent industrial and
commercial bourgeois class. These French bourgeois ruling
class fractions were replaced in the economic sphere by
English commercial and later industrial bourgeois, and in
the political elements recruited from the ancien regime,
i.e., the seigneurs and the high clergy. The direct domination,
indeed, the hegemony exercised over the French Canadian
population by these precapitalist classes as a result of
their political accord with the British not only provided
an effective transmission belt for British rule; it also
ensured that the dominated classes, for the most part rural
and agricultural, would become ideologically involuted, see
their national salvation as spiritual, and entombed in a
conservative nationalism that fixated on the precapitalist
past, the church, and the traditional family as the essence
and salvation of the nation.[20] Here then are the origins of
Quebec's class structure: the British elements occupying
strategic class positions in a developing capitalist mode
of production, the rural Canadiens isolated in a system of
petty commodity production, ultimately dependant upon urban
capitalism, and the dominating classes among the French
Canadians--whether the seigneurs, merchants, high clergy,

or members of the new "petite bourgeoisie professionelle" functioning as brokers between the two national groups.[21]

> La Conquête a donc eu des effets sur le développement idéologique de la société canadienne en éliminant la classe dynamique, en brisant le rythme du développement idéologique de cette société, en la soustrayant de son champ d'influence intellecturelle naturel et en permettant à une idéologie réactionnaire et en régression de se renforcer et de devenir plus tard dominante. [22]

The failure of the petit bourgeois revolution of 1837 served to reinforce the economic stagnation of the francophone elements and to confirm a reactionary ideology, even though the struggle did lead to the eventual disestablishment of the seigneurial system in 1854. As a class the petite bourgeoisie failed to realize "leur volonté de s'élever au rang d'une bourgeoisie" with the result that their radical elements were politically repressed and the more moderate elements coopted:

> Les représentants de cette classe seront appelés à jouer non pas le rôle de classe dirigeant comme ils l'auraient mais à se contenter du rôle beaucoup plus modeste d'intermédiaires soumis aux interêts de et dominé par les représentants de la bourgeoisie canadienne anglaise. [23]

As Monière points out, this alliance with the anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie provided a new economic base in the civil service for at least a fraction of the Quebec petite bourgeoisie, and thus provided it with the opportunity to ditch its alliance with the peasantry.[24] Despite its new socio-economic base and loyalties, however, the francophone petite bourgeoisie proceeded to ally with the ultramontane wing of the clergy which now established a hold over the leadership of the church

and over its social service apparatus that was unbroken
up until 1945.

> Ces événements historiques laiserent   une
> marque profond dans la conscience populaire.
> Les habitants on été profondément décus, se sont
> sentis trahis et se sont repliés sur eux-mêmes,
> résignés à leur soet de colonisés, d'hommes diminués.
> Désormais, les trompettes de l'idéologie de la
> résignation, de la soumission et de la
> collaboration trouveront résonnance dane l'âme
> populaire. Le nationalisme de dynamique et
> progréssiste qu'il etait deviendra défensif et
> conservateur... L'échec de la Rébellion est
> une victoire pour le clergé, car il permet...
> d'imposer un système de valeurs rétrograde dont
> les thèmes dominants seront l'agriculturisme, le
> messianisme et l'anti-étatisme... Un siècle
> d'obscurantisme débutait.   25

3.3.   Capitalist industrialization in Quebec: 1867-1950.

The development of the capitalist mode of production
through early industrial and later monopoly phases both
sharpened and modified the post-Conquest ethnic-national
structuration of class and class relations in Quebec. The
purpose of what follows in this section is to describe the
history of the development of these structures in the period
1867-1950 in order to establish a basis for an analysis of
Quebec's superstructural evolution, and more particularly,
of the interrelationships between class, national, and sexual
politics that are the main focus of our study. In order to
complete the analysis of Quebec's developing class structure
during the period of capitalist industrialization, we shall
particularly focus on first, conflicts between local and
imperialist capitalist blocs, and secondly, the development

of a workers movement as a key to understanding the process
of proletarianization in Quebec.[26]

3.3.1.   The first phase of industrialization: Conquest to 1900

As Marx points out, the central components of any
mode of production are labour, the instruments and objects of
labour, and modes of distribution.[27]   In an advanced
capitalist economy, these components evolve into a distinct
set of social relations which involve a wage labour force
separated from the means of production, highly developed
capital intensive technologies (like access to raw materials)
owned and controlled by the representatives of capital, and a
complex of distributive mechanisms which include the market and
state fiscal and social programmes.

At the beginning of the first phase of capitalist
industrialization Quebec was rich in only two of these: a
vast reserve of labour stored in units of petty commodity
production in agriculture and in manurfacture, and largely
untapped natural wealth in the form of forest products,
copper, and iron.   The geographic advantages of easy access
to the St. Lawrence which had previously helped make Montreal
a commercial and trading centre were progressively undermined
by the development of new transportation technologies: the
shift to steam-power, the development of a canal system in the
north-central United States and Upper Canada, and the gradual
development of new rail networks.[28]   Lacking, in addition, a

developed indigenous bourgeoisie with access to capital,

French Canadian society in the nineteenth century was essentially

dependent on economic development "from the outside". As a

result of this dependence, the Quebec economy was subject to

a _selective_ development of resources and industries that

generally kept pace with economic development elsewhere on the

continent as well as being responsive to overall fluctuations

in world markets.

While the economic base of Quebec remained largely

agricultural in the sense that the greatest proportion of labour

was concentrated in agricultural occupations, it was an

agriculture that lacked capital investment, that had never

developed technologically, and that relied upon continuing

colonization for expansion.[29] Under pressure from a "demographic

explosion" agriculture in the first quarter of the nineteenth

century passed from export to subsistence and indeed by 1825

Quebec had already been importing American agricultural products

for some time.[30] According to Faucher and Lamontagne's early

assessment of the Quebec economy the presence of a "peaceful

and dependable labour force" of proletarianized French

Canadians forced to migrate from overpopulated and depleted

agricultural areas led directly to the introduction of the

sweating system in the cities.[31] This favourable labour

market was attractive to British capital, which increasingly

invested during the 1830's and 1840's in labour intensive

industries producing consumer goods: textiles, shoes, food

products, and to some extent in mining.[32] Thus new industrial
development at the behest of foreign capital became and was
to remain the essential dynamic of industrialization in
Quebec through the twentieth century.

The social consequences of this first wave of economic
modernization were contradictory in two important senses.
First, while the lower ranks of the French Canadian population
began to be drawn into the growing capitalist sector of
production as wage labourers, their upper ranks tended to be
excluded from it. Absent from the upper layers of the
bourgeoisie, French Canadian businessmen were generally
restricted to small and medium enterprises and continued to
be over-represented among the traditional petite bourgeoisie,
both rural and urban.[33] Thus capitalist industrialization,
while transforming and dissolving existing class relations
in Quebec, reinforced the truncated character of its
post-Conquest class structure and reproduced it in new forms.
Secondly, as Bernier has pointed out, modernization and
development "from the outside" tends to produce less social
upheaval than when the modernizing forces come from within
a society. Therefore, "ce type de modernisation permet de
préserver le statu quo dans les autres sphères institutionelles
tant et aussi longtemps que cet état ne met pas en péril la
continuation de la croissance économique".[34]

In sum, the development of a modern industrial
infrastructure in nineteenth century Quebec was not accompanied
by the development of modern social institutions, and the

passage from petty commodity production to the capitalist

mode took place under conditions that allowed "precapitalist"

ideological forms to be left in place, an opportunity which

was exploited by the "traditional elites", the clergy, and

the petite bourgeoisie to maintain their political and

ideological hegemony.[35]

3.3.2. The second phase of industrialization, 1900-1930's

The second phase of industrialization in Quebec has

been characterized by several authors as the period of

"take off". It lasted from around the turn of the century

through to the Great Depression, with particularly high rates

of investment and development during the period of World War 1.

In general, this period was marked by the growth of monopolies,

by the transition to American imperialism as dominant in the

economic sphere, by the capital intensive exploitation of

natural resources including hydro electric power, and by

relatively high prosperity.

> Le fait la plus significative de cette période est
> la soumission de l'économie québécoise aux
> capitaux étrangers. 'De 1901 à 1929, les capitaux
> étrangers dans le secteur manufacturier passent
> de $142 millions à $1,246,209,000.' Ce sont
> encore les Britaniques qui investissent le plus
> au Québec, mais avec la guerre, les Américains
> interviennent massivement et se preparent à
> assumer la succession. [36]

This massive influx of British and American investment

had effects on other sectors of the Quebec economy. French

capital became ghettoized in low profit sectors of no interest

to the monopolies. According to Vallerand, the four decades
prior to World War 1 had been relatively successful for the
French Canadian bourgeoisie who had been able to finance
their industrial undertakings from the internal money market.[37]
But access to the large quantities of capital necessary for
the exploitation and development of natural resources or for
expansion in secondary industry in this period was effectively
restricted to anglo-Canadian, British, and American capital.
At the same time, the concomitant increase in the organic
composition of capital in the monopoly sector allowed for the
utilization of advanced production technologies, and thereby
permitted a growth in productivity and real wages. Finally,
precapitalist forms which had persisted in agriculture and to
some extent in artisan production were further undermined
with the result that proletarianization accelerated.[38]

There are, however, two important modifications that
must be made to this cheery picture of accelerated economic
modernization and rising working class prosperity. Both
reflect consequences of Quebec's dependency and domination
and reveal the complex fashion in which hegemonic ideologies
can react back upon the structures of a social formation as
a whole. During this second phase of industrialization we can
note a marked unevenness in the rates of development between
the economic base and the political, cultural, and ideological
superstructure. The resulting asymmetries had the effect of
inhibiting the expression of latent social conflict, reinforcing

a conservative nationalism, and supporting a reactionary
sexual politics.

First, we should note that the effects of a closed
labour market and high fertility rates were to ensure that
despite its relatively rapid economic growth, wages remained
lower in Quebec than in other North American industrial areas.
Both as a result of the nationalist strategy of "revanche
des berceaux" promulgated by the clergy, and as Henripin
points out, as a demographic consequence of the domination
of labour intensive industries, the rate of population
growth remained high, higher for example than in Ontario
where rates of immigration were higher.[39] A high rate of
population growth requires a high rate of "demographic
investment", i.e., capital required to assure a stable rate
of investment per capita, and therefore means that the
proportion of the GNP available for wages and salaries is
kept low. Furthermore, a high rate of natural increase means
that several dependants who have not yet reached the age of
their first job need to be supported by one or two adult
salaries which further undermines the real standard of living;
high rates of immigration, (experienced at the time by Ontario
and the American Eastern seaboard) in contrast, usually put
working adults into the population.

Despite, then, a relative surplus of labour and
despite the relative legal freedom to migrate either to
other regions of Canada or to New England, the ethnic

isolation of French Canadians in North America served as a barrier to the formation in Quebec of an open labour market.[40] For the most part, migration outside of "la province" entailed a loss of language and cultural supports, with consequent psychological hardship.[41] Where, as was usually the case for rural Canadians, a lack of language skills in English combined with an absence of technical or scientific training migrants also faced economic superexploitation in low skilled jobs and labour intensive industries.[42] In short, the relative immobility of the labour force that stemmed from a reluctance on the part of workers permanently to abandon cultural goals in the absence of real prospects of economic improvement further served to depress the price of labour in Quebec. In this connection, we might observe that the reduction of women to breeding machines in the name of national survival in the long run only served to further undermine economic advances for the majority of the population.

The second way in which the long run economic effects of the British Conquest inhibited the social advances that early twentieth century industrialization might have made possible was by retarding the development of non-economic social institutions. I have argued in the previous chapter that a social formation can only be understood as an historical totality, and that any particular instance or sector must be analysed in relation to the overall social ensemble such that the development (or underdevelopment) of one sector is related

to the development of the whole--a complex structure within
which the economy is determinant in the last instance.
But the economic, political, and cultural unity of a social
formation may in fact be subject to cleavages that artifically
isolate instances and sectors from one another. Indeed,
since both the extent and direction of the development of
superstructural instances are in part the conscious product
of attempts to realize certain class values and express
particular strategies for the mediation or promotion of class
struggle, superstructural development is particularly prone
to deflection from the "normal" path of a functionally
integrated "model" society: retarded or, as we shall see
later in the Quiet Revolution, accelerated superstructural
development may be a strategic priority of classes or class
layers controlling the political apparatus, state institutions,
religious organizations, and so on.

Such a resistance to change was central to the political
and ideological "traditional elites" in Quebec during this
period.[43] It was a strategy that met with considerable
success for both the political personnel in charge of the
provincial state and their allies in the bourgeoisie. The
former retained their positions of power, their "ristournes"
form the monopolies; the latter at the cost of having to
tolerate low levels of technical training among francophone
workers and the stridently nationalist anti-foreign propaganda
campaign conducted by the francophone elites, were offered

relatively unrestricted access to Quebec's natural resources

and a tractable working force:

> La modernization 'par l'extérieur' peut aussi
> acontribuer à soutenir pendent longtemps--comme
> ce fut le cas au Québec--un écart ou rythme inégal
> de développement entre l'économie, le politique
> et le social. Ainsi au Québec de 1896 a 1960,
> d'importants changements structurels dans l'ordre
> économique se produisirent sans qu'ils
> s'accompagnent de transformations analogues dans
> les sphères politique et sociale (par exemple, le
> triple retard québécois à mettre en place une
> législation sociale à moderniser son appareil
> gouvernmental, et à assumer les fonctions
> redistributives de l'état moderne. [44]

Thus, despite the growing dominance of the monopoly

sector, the expansion of secondary and tertiary sectors in

the economy,, the emergence of a proletariat "au rythme

d'industrialization", the decrease in the agricultural

sector to a level normal to a developed industrial economy,

and despite the actual changes in social life which accompanied

these transformations in the economy and were reflected in, for

example, high rates of rural-urban migration comparable to

those of Ontario, the transformation of social institutions

towards those typical of other contemporary modern capitalist

states was held back.[45] Right up to the 1950's, the church

hierarchy maintained control of the educational system and to

a great extend of health care and social welfare programmes

as well. Such programmes as were administered by the state

tended to come as a result only of external initiatives taken

by the federal government in Ottawa in response to the social

crisis of the Depression.[46]

The accompanying political stagnation was reflected
in the forty year reign of the Liberal party which more and
more unambiguously represented the interests of the big
financial and industrial bourgeoisie, the "foreign" capitalists.
It was not until 1936 that this grouping was finally overturned
and replaced by an alliance of dissident Liberals and the
former Conservative party, headed by Maurice Duplessis. The
Union Nationale came to power on a vague programme promising
redress against "corruption" and the control exercised by
"foreign trusts" over the Quebec economy.[47] This new political
configuration merely represented the French Canadian ruling
classes (i.e., the rural petite bourgeoisie, the industrial
bourgeoisie in small and medium enterprise, and the urban,
professional petit bourgeois layers) more directly than
had Taschereau's Liberals. No great changes were made towards
the secularization of social services and education, and the
Quebec state under the Union Nationale continued to promote
a self-definition of the Quebecois that was nationalist,
conservative, Catholic, agriculturalist, and family centered.

This dense layer of officially sponsored ideology,
however, could not completely supress the rise of social
conflict between classes within the French Canadian population;
proletarianization was accompanied as elsewhere by the
development of workers' movements. However, the contradictory
aspects of Quebec's insertion into the North American social
formation which structured the asymmetrical development of

classes, social institutions, and ideologies were also reflected in the division of workers' organizations along ethnic-national and religious lines as well as in the particular ideologies and alliances adopted by a majority of organized francophone workers.[48] In addition to the effects of the national question on Quebec's basic class structure, different levels of technical specialization among craft and industrial workers and geographical concentrations of populations served to reinforce existing cleavages between anglophone and francophone sectors of the labour force.

Early union activity, which was illegal, and hence, clandestine up until 1872, has been mainly local, short lived, limited to craft workers, and focused on struggles for higher wages, a shorter working day, and the right to organize.[49] The first full scale union in Quebec was organized in the 1860's by Irish immigrants to contest the fight of employers to impose fluctuating pay rates. The efforts of the "Quebec Ship Labourers Benevolent Society" led to fixed battles between police and the union in 1869 and again in 1878 when two workers were killed. In 1865, three years after the Irish dock workers had begun to organize, French Canadian longshoremen themselves organized a rival society, the "French Ship Labourers Benevolent Society", to break the hold of the Irish over jobs in the port of Quebec. As Moniere points out: "Dès le début, la classe ouvrière est divisée par la question nationale et les conflits sont

nombreux entre ces deux groupes."[50]

Despite these local hostilities, the next wave of unionization was strongly influenced by American and anglo-Canadian events and organizations. The Knights of Labour, founded in Philadelphia, with a strong base in Ontario, still preserving much of the Masonic ritual that reflected its artisanal roots, began to organize unskilled workers en masse on a plant-by-plant basis, and entered Quebec during the 1880's. According to Jamieson, after an initial period of sharp conflict with the church hierarchy, the Knights reached a compromise.

> It made particularly rapid progress in Quebec,
> partly perhaps because the organization changed
> its ritual and procedure in response to
> objections from Roman Catholic authorities in that
> province. 51

But by 1886, in response to initiatives taken in Toronto, the Knights joined the new Trades and Labour Congress--TLC--firmly linking local unions into the structures of the craft based unions, which resulted in a "bewildering series of splits and realignments after the formation of the TLC in Canada and the American Federation of Labour (AFL) in the United States".

The permanent splitting of the Quebec labour movement through the formation of the Catholic syndicats, and their subsequent organization into the Confederation des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada (CTCC) was the result of several different factors: on the one side, a complex series of splits from the TLC and attempts to form other,

sometimes nationalist, sometimes radical, labour centres;

and on the other, the political and ideological influence

of the clergy. Special focus was placed upon the unionization

of women workers in the context of Catholic social action.

While a more detailed account of these initiatives and outcomes

will be left for the next chapter, we need only point out

here that the membership was restricted, the economic

strategy corporatist, and their acceptance by employers

enthusiastic. Despite a wave of militant strikes in the

textile industry between 1901 and 1915,[52] and despite active

drives for unionization of French Canadians by the international

unions and their "socialist" leadership, the rate of

unionization remained low. By 1931, only 11.9% of the work

force in the province was unionized.[53]

> La montée de cette nouvelle force sociale, non
> seulement au Québec mais dans tous les pays
> industrialisés, inquiétait les autorités
> cléricales qui voyaient là une menace à leur
> suprématie sociale. Le syndicalisme catholique
> naîtra avant tout, pour faire opposition à
> l'influence croissante des syndicats neutres
> affiliés aux centrales américaines. 54

The founding of the CTCC on a nationalist basis by

a section of the petite bourgeoisie which preached industrial

peace and cooperation with capital as a precursor of

corporatism, served to reinforce the cleavages inside the

proletariat arising from the national domination of the

French Canadians and to reduce their resistance to capitalist

exploitation. It is Monière's assessment that the deformation

of class and ideology arising from the Conquest firmly

penetrated the workers organizations at this period and
maintained its hold until after World War II.[55] Despite
the American capital inflow that led to further expansion
of the primary and secondary sectors during the post-War
boom, Quebec society under the Duplessis regime remained
socially and ideologically stagnant, its governmental and
cultural structures still dominated by the values of a rural
based petite bourgeoisie. The Union Nationale regime like
that of its Liberal predecessor rested on an alliance
between the traditional fractions of the French Canadian
medium and petite bourgeoisie on the one hand, and anglo-
Canadian and United States capital on the other. By adopting
a policy of virulent opposition to federal involvement in
Quebec affairs (symbolized by the conscription crisis) and
by wrapping himself in traditionalist nostalgia and
xenophobia, Duplessis was able to capitalize on the nationalist
sympathies of his petite bourgeoisie allies and also of a
sector of the francophone working class. This rhetoric did
not however prevent him from making the Quebec state into the
direct instrument of foreign monopoly capital. He both
encouraged American investment in, for example, hydro electric
power development, and pursued a thoroughly repressive policy
towards the labour movement.

But gradually Duplessis began to lose the confidence
of internal and external supporters.[56] Despite its strong
arm tactics, the Duplessis regime was increasingly destabilized

after the War by growing economic militancy in the working class. The labour movement in turn linked up with a progressive, educated, petit bourgeois layer--social scientists, urban reformers (Drapeau), and Liberal party members--to form a combined political opposition. Economic conditions were at the root of the strike wave: low wages, in Lipton's term, "medieval" work conditions in the light industrial sectors where French Canadian workers tended to be concentrated, and an unemployment level consistently higher than that for the rest of Canada and dramatically higher than that of neighbouring Ontario. Moreover, developments in the continental labour movement--particularly the rise of the CIO and the post-War, continent-wide strike wave--also influenced labour politics in Quebec. Solidarity between Fédération des Unions Industrielles du Québec (FUIQ), the Quebec CIO unions and the CTCC were evident both in the textile workers' strike in 1947-8 and in the mid-1950's campaign against Duplessis' anti-union labour code.

Perhaps of even greater significance, a growing section of the clergy began to shift the emphasis of its traditional social policy towards a pro-working class opposition to the state. Charbonneau's slogan "social peace, yes, but not at the expense of the working class" expressed an attitude of at least qualified solidarity by the priesthood which surfaced both at times of major strikes like Asbestos and more continuously if less dramatically in the leadership of small CTCC locals. The Asbestos strike in 1949 was particularly significant because it brought

together all these oppositional elements into a single
alliance for the first time. There also can be found the
roots of a progressively nuanced new nationalism distilled
from the traditional collectivist, national ideology.

It should be added that by the end of the 1950's,
discontent had spread to the more prosperous classes as well.
Squeezed by the effects of the post-War concentration of
Capital on the one side and rising working class militancy
on the other, French Canadian bourgeois operating family
businesses found themselves increasingly disadvantaged.
Other than a few members of boards of directors, these
managers were not easily absorbed into monopoly industry
except in instances where their bilingual abilities proved
useful, for example, in personnel, sales, and advertising.[57]

By the late fifties, then, a broad new opposition
had gathered of educated, middle class, urban professionals,
liberal priests, and various sectors (secularized and Catholic,
blue collar and white collar) of the organized working class.
It was this alliance, united around a diffuse programme of
democratic and modernizing reforms, and activated by a rising
wave of strikes--Arvida, Murdochville, the Catholic school
teachers, and the 1959 CBC strike--that ushered in the Quiet
Revolution and thereby brought to a spectacular and contradictory
end the long period of superstructural underdevelopment in
Quebec.

Chapter Four: Sexual politics from the Conquest to
provincial suffrage.

4.1   Introduction

Let us now turn to the analysis of sexual politics in

the period just examined. Having established some general

theoretical propositions about the way in which the contra-

dictory relationship between patriarchy and capitalism appears

as transformations in gender and kinship structures in the course

of economic development and having demonstrated that the form

of development in Quebec is characterized by a dualistic

insertion into the North American social formation, we can now

specify the effect of these sociological tendencies for sexual

politics and the social position of women. The main theoretical

goal of the chapter is to advance the synthesis that I have

called for between Quebec and women's studies by elaborating a

substantive theory of the concrete reciprocal determination of

politics, sexual politics, and economic development.

This chapter is divided into two major sections which

parallel the previous analysis of uneven development in Quebec

and will carry forward the notion of superstructural

retardation developed there. Sexual politics will be examined

first during the period following the Conquest. The event

which will be taken to mark the end of this first phase is

the act of female enfranchisement by the legislature in 1849.

Obviously, this division overlaps the beginnings of the

centralization of production in capitalist industry which
is the theme of the second section. Indeed, it is precisely
this overlap whose implications other investigators have
failed to consider that is of central importance in
comprehending the regression in women's political autonomy
and the new and juridically more comprehensive form of male
domination in this period.

In the second section, advances in industrialization
and their sociological spin-offs in patterns of social
migration will be considered with reference to the sexual
division of labour, family organization, and the sexual
politics of patriarchy and feminism. During this period,
the essentials of conservative nationalist ideology will
have been fully developed, ultramontanism will have become
hegemonic in the church, and the progressive forces of petit
bourgeois nationalism crushed. Nevertheless, the impact,
indeed the crisis, of the social change wrought by capitalist
industrialization presented a strategic opening for feminist
reformism particular to francophone women in Quebec. The
task of this second section will be to untangle the
interpenetration of sexual, class, and nation politics as
the balance amongst them shifts in the course of economic
development.

4.2. The position of women in New France and the effect
of the Conquest: a paradox of the retarded superstructure

What was life like for those women who left the
villages and cities of France to colonize this new, hostile,
frozen territory? What did they do? What structured their
social role? And what contribution did they make to
transforming a military and trading outpost into a settled
society? As Margaret Andrews has pointed out, the answers
that come down to us depend in part upon the ideological
orientation of the period in which they were written.[1] But,
in general, "l'image qu'on retient de la femme du Régime
française est celle d'une sainte, d'une héroine, d'une femme
virtueuse, tout à l'oppose de la femme coquette et légère".[2]
A recent feminist film treatment of these colonists suggest
much the same somberness to their lives. While men were
off in the woods for furs, or timber, or wanderlust, women
stayed in the settlements and created the new society in
their imagination, as they created its characteristic artifacts--
les tortières, les ceintures-fléchées, the very image of the
land.[3]

Sociology presents us with a less romantic and more
clouded picture of the daily life of women but essentially it
pursues the same questions. It attempts to explain their
position by scientifically situating their activities in
relation to broader social structures which determine their
social status. If men were in the main the traders, merchants,
and farmers in the colony, women nevertheless made important

contributions to the economy. And if men were at the centre
of the military and political structures of the colony, it
was to a great extent women who created its community
organizations. Women and the church, that is. It is the
task of this section to elucidate the structures which
determined women's status in the colonial and post-Conquest
period.

4.2.1. Women in the economic and social life of New France

The social position of women in the colony of New
France was determined by two social structures: the juridical
regime and their relation to production.

4.2.1.i. The legal structure of New France: the Coutume de Paris

The legal foundation of the seigneurial regime of
the French colony of Quebec was the Coutume de Paris. This
code, if not precisely "medieval" was at least a remnant of
feudal social relations, where estate, and the family possession
of certain kinds of property were the basis on which political
rights and social participation were defined. While formally
patriarchal, its provisions nevertheless gave women a broad
range of political, legal and economic rights that they were
to lose with the advent of the new bourgeois law of capitalist
society. Similar customs and laws had existed in England and
in France, but had been eroded by the advance of new forms
of property relations.

> Personal property replaces real property and is
> equated with money and it shifts the relations
> inside the family so that a slow but continuous
> deterioration of the situation of women in the
> household developed as early as the sixteenth
> century. 4

Under this regime, certain categories of women--those who had reached the age of majority at twenty-five and widows--aquired a certain degree of economic and political freedom inside and outside marriage.[5] While it is true that the husband was the master of common property in marriage, his freedom of action in disposing of it by sale, gift or mortgage was limited only by the qualification that it be for the common good. His rights over the property of his wife were more limited; he could control the fruits of her property (rent, interest, the use of houses, sale of agricultural products) but she retained absolute control over its disposal through bequest, sale, or gift. Some authors have suggested that such control has been directly related to high levels of women's power in the marital relation and family circle.[6]

But those women who were juridically autonomous were presented with "un eventail vaste de possibilities".[7] They had the right to manage their own property, and widows had control over the family estate and the guardianship of their children.[8] Although, in the latter case, there were specific rules for the division of property among the widow and surviving children, there was apparently no set limit to the length of her managerial tenure and some continued to oversee the estate after their children had reached the

age of majority or married. If the woman remarried, her property rights and those of her children were protected by contract.[9] Furthermore, when her husband was absent as husbands often were on military, exploration, or trading expeditions into the interior or back to France, married women had the juridical capacity to assume "la gestation, la responsabilité de la famille".[10] Some even continued as independent traders when their husbands were present.[11]

Now it is one thing for legal rights to exist on paper, it is another for them to be exercised. The evidence, although fragmentary, is enough to suggest that many women acted to the full extent of their legal capacities. Women, especially widows of the mercantile, seigneurial, and administrative classes, who possessed the real wealth, business interests, or political connection necessary to large scale financial ventures took advantage of this freedom to engage in trade, to rent out land, and to speculate in real estate.[12] Beyond this, women were active in the beginnings of industrial development both insofar as they founded new enterprises and in the research and design of new industrial techniques adapted to producing materials that met the needs of the colonial conditions.[13]

The analysis of historical records of the commercial activity has so far stopped with the British Conquest of 1759. Even these are, however, too slight to establish their fate in relation to the expulsion and marginalization of

French commercial and nascent industrial interests at that
time. Prior to this change of political regime, however, the
available analysis tends to suggest that such women had
diversified holdings and interests and acted with a certain
boldness of vision. Of one, Marie-Anne Barbel, veuve Forret,
we know that she had funded northern explorations in the
interests of opening up new trade. · The British bombardment
destroyed her central commercial store and some rental housing
and apparently put an end to her career. She withdrew from
all commercial activity at that time and divided the estate
that she had managed since her husband's death among her
surviving children.

As well as this economic activity for women of the
dominating classes, the Coûtume, established political and
juridical rights. All women property owners had the right
to vote and may have also been able to sit on municipal
councils. If the woman was the legal owner of property in a
marriage, voting was her right and did not devolve onto her
husband as her representative or that of the family unit.
Women of all classes and conditions had the right to initiate
law suits and to appear in their own defense in court.
Litigation over the terms of service contracts for women was
apparently common and despite what might be handicaps of sex
and social station, women servants in some cases obtained
favourable judgements over their masters.

There is, of course, some evidence that patriarchal

relations were present and experienced in the legal system. Women were dealt with more harshly than men for "moral offenses". In at least two cases women were flogged and banished for sexual offenses. But the value of men as fighters gave them a certain advantage in the colonial situation. Indeed, despite the debates that rage about the character of women immigrants, especially the filles du roi, the evidence suggests that they were more carefully vetted than the men.[14] Nevertheless, the first census of Montreal shows a number of women registered under the category of prostitutes.[15]

4.2.1.ii.   Economic and social conditions of women of the "classes laborieuses"

Beyond the legal regime itself, it is possible that the scarcity of women in the colony which has been pointed out by several authors served to to increase their social value as workers and marriage mates, and so elevate their social status. Most authors agree that they played an "indispensable role in social and economic life".[16] Certainly, the analysis of the legal disputes already mentioned underlines their value as workers in paid employment. Isabel   Delbosch goes to far as to suggest that, "Perhaps the domestic servant problem has nowhere been more acute than it was in New France during the seventeenth century".[17] While there is little concrete evidence of the actual

structure of division of labour between men and women of the "classes laborieuses" we know that female labour in the fields and in the household was crucial to family-based agricultural production.[18] Food preparation and preservation, routine medical care of children, midwifery, the care of scarce and expensive imported clothing, and later when sheep and flax had been introduced, the production of textiles and clothing were among their tasks.[19] Of course, this labour was not much different from that of peasant women in France at the time, but in contrast with the mother country, women picked up guns in the active military defense of the colony against Indian attacks.[20]

Finally, we can turn to sexuality and reproduction. The most striking historical fact here has to do with their high rates of fertility. Imported as wives and breeders, they fulfilled their function; despite a weak immigration policy the population doubled once every generation. Two explanations for their continuing high fertility have been offered. The first is the classic notion that:

> It was still the time when children were
> economic assets; in New France, they were
> also potential defenders against the Indians
> and the English colonists who were growing
> in strength and threatened to absorb New
> France. 21

The second has to do with changes in marriage customs. Unlike France, widows were encouraged to remarry and did so immediately--in one case before the burial of her last husband's corpse.[22] Frontier expansion which opened up new

lands for the establishment of households also seems to have contributed to a lower age of marriage.[23] Later analysis of fertility patterns suggests that where fishing communities supplemented farming with wage labour on boats, the age of marriage fell.[24] More recently, analysis of parish records indicates that first premarital pregnancy probably accounts for the relatively high rate of marriage during the forbidden seasons of Advent and Lent. This would seem to indicate a higher tolerance of female sexual activity which was legitimated by marriage than Delbosch suggested above.

4.2.1.iii. Women religious.

Women in religious orders also had a relatively broad scope for action in the colonial situaion. As long as they remained formally subservient to the patriarchal authority of the Catholic church, the "esteem of the celibate state" allowed them to play _indirectly_ active roles without the necessity of marriage".[25] Their use of this freedom of action seems to have been marked by "dynamism", not piety.[26] There is some interesting, if slight, evidence to suggest that in the particular case of New France, women with administrative capacities or a taste for adventure were able to work the system of the church to provide a protective cover for their abilities. Correlatively, colonial administrators and metropolitan churchmen used the

energies of these women to found educational, religious, and hospital outposts in the colony.[27]

In any case, the concrete results were the establishment of the foundations of a system of social services from 1639 well ahead of the English colonies. The discussion of the concrete implications of their work for lay women will be left to the next section. But we can point to incongruities between the ideology of Quebec women as mothers and the actual founders and supporters of social institutions in the colony. In fact, most of the latter were either celibate or widows.[28]

4.2.2.   The effect of the Conquest on the status of women

The concrete task of this section is to unravel the puzzle of the discontinuity in women's civil and political status that was marked by the suffrage. A number of analyses of this problem are extant; all equally unsatisfactory. Cleverdon offers no explanation. Those who do tend to rely upon some variation of the frontier thesis. Generalizing from western American experience this thesis argues that in the harsh conditions of the homesteading life, the scarcity of women, a breakdown of the previous sexual division of labour, the disorienting effect of migration on values still in a state of conflict and transition, and the actual contribution of individual women as workers constitute an explanation of high female status leading to early enfranchisement.[29]

> The advent of woman suffrage in the western
> states may have been due in part to the
> positive fact that in pioneer farming
> settlements the contributions of women <u>as</u>
> <u>individuals</u> to the community were more
> apparant than in the older areas in the
> East in the same period. 30

There are a number of problems with this thesis
as a general explanation for all or any apparently "advanced"
exceptions although it may serve as grounded theory for the
American west. In the first place, there is some concrete
evidence to suggest that women themselves resisted the
breakdown of sexual segregation and a transition to more
egalitarian values in the west.[31] It is empirically weak
since it does not account for the link between left and
progressive forces.

Its theoretical generalization is more problematic
still. Were not frontier conditions harsh in New England?
Here too there was a value transition in the attempt to
implant and realize an ideal religious community in frontier
conditions. But here early feminist agitation, while based
squarely on a radical egalitarianism stream in puritanism,
met with repression. And while white European women were
indeed scarce in New France, lay women could not be credited
with establishing governmental structures along the lines of
small town Americanism given the rather elaborate colonial
administration and the activities of women religious.

Yet Francine Fournier proposes an elaboration of
the frontier thesis to explain the exceptional <u>existence</u> of

women's right to vote:

> Cette tradition d'indépendance et d'autorité à
> l'époque de la Nouvelle-France explique sans
> doute l'utilisation que les femmes feront plus
> tard du droit de voter...
>   Fait remarquable, seul le Québec, à travers
> l'Empire britanique a choisi d'interpréter
> l'absence d'interdiction formelle comme une
> autorisation de voter.   32

However, while this "tradition" may explain the exercise of

the franchise, it does not explain its existence in the first

place. And remarkable as it might be, the fact of Quebec

exceptionalism must be explained in the context of the

overall exceptionalism generated by the prevailing class

relations in the stagnating colony.

As I have demonstrated in the preceding chapter, the

effect of the Conquest was to confirm and to extend the temporal

power of precapitalist classes and institutions and to lay the

basis for a defensive and conservative nationalist ideology.

This historical relation with imperialism which was confirmed

in the Act of Constitution of 1791 and in the Quebec Act

of 1794, served to prolong into the bourgeois era a legal regime

which was in all essentials feudal. In this instance, then,

the effect of conservative nationalism combined with a retarded

superstructure protected women's political and juridical

rights that had already been lost in England and France with

the advent of capitalism. While the analysis here leaves some

questions unanswered, it serves, I would contend, to demonstrate

the validity of a structural analysis in general, and an under-

standing of the political consequences of domination in

particular, for the analysis of sexual politics in Quebec.

4.2.3.   The loss of the franchise: reaction in the face
of industrialization

The next moment in the history of women's condition
in Quebec is marked by a defeat, the loss of the franchise.
In order to understand support for the campaign against
women's by now "traditional" right to vote by a clergy
committed to maintaining traditions, it is necessary to take
into account political and economic developments not only in
Quebec, but in North America as a whole in the first half of
the nineteenth century.[33]

Politically the period was one of radical agitation.
The bourgeois ideas of individual rights and freedom, which
had exploded in the American revolution of 1776, and had been
amplified in France in 1789, had now found supporters within
the francophone petite bourgeoisie. In opposition to the
dominant conservative and clerical and political ideology a
new "progressive and dynamic nationalism" was articulated,
and animated the Patriot opposition. Moreover, this new
movement spread beyond the bounds of the urban professional
classes and gained support from the peasantry with agitational
campaigns directed against both the colonial power and the
church. "Il remet alors en question l'idéologie traditionelle
de l'église, sur l'obéisance au pouvoir civil, la puissance
temporelle du pape et la monarchie du droit divin."[34]

In this context, the church turned to defend its version of natural social hierarchy and divine right which it was to carry almost unchanged for the next hundred years. Of course, this reaction found expression in its sexual ideology:

> On appelle présomption, dit Saint Thomas, le fait de s'insurger dans ses actes contre l'order établi par la nature, et de s'assigner une mission trop houte, des opérations trop ardues et en désaccord avec les facultés dont on est doué. 35

The political scene has been set: on the one side, a growing rebellious force; on the other, a hegemonic reactionary apparatus frozen in the contradictions of its dependence upon the colonial power. Its strategic room to manoeuvre was severely limited by the nationalist identification and expectations it had promoted in the past on the one hand, and its incapacity to make a progressive turn in the nationalism as long as it was part of and served to legitimate the established political order on the other. It was, then, in this antagonistic context that the question of women's right to exercise the franchise became a contested question.

> Il n'existair pas en effect de consensus absolu à l'égard de l'utilization du vote par les femmes. Aux élections de 1827 l'officier d'election William F. Scott de la Haute Ville de Québec refusa le vote de Madame Laperrier. 36

Resistance to this exclusion took shape next year in a petition that utilized liberal democratic arguments and an appeal to constitution principles to defend women's right to vote. It was argued that the right to the franchise

flowed from the obligation to pay tax. Refusal of this right was "Un très dangereux précédent, contraire à la loi, ayant pour effet de nier (les) droits et (les) privilèges constitutionnels des (femmes)".(sic)[37] Since the work was tied to property ownership, the right to vote had a limited application.[38] Nevertheless, the campaign generated a series of counterpetitions and a number of legislative initiatives.[39] An attempt to deny women the vote as one aspect of the electoral reform of 1834 was overturned (on other grounds).[40] Finally in 1849, long after the failure of the rebellion and the confirmation of reaction had already wiped out the progressive forces of the petite bourgeoisie, women were denied the right to participate in elections.[41]

This question is one of the places where further empirical research is necessary in order to substantiate any sociological interpretation. It is dangerous to speculate, but it would be of interest to know who Scott was, his political stripe, and who was Mme. Veuve Laperrier's candidate. It is possible that she, like Papineau's mother, in the first recorded instance of a woman's vote, cast her lot with the progressive opposition. Moreover, the pronouncements of church ideologues and the leading nationalists on the sexual question should be examined for this period. All that can be done at this point is to place this particular question of women's political rights in the context of the general ideological and political trends that have been

established and to posit a possible interpretation of the
relationship that might obtain.

I would contend that such an interpretation can
be made along the following lines. Faced with social
instability the conservative elements in the French Canadian
section of the ruling bloc made an alliance with anglo-
imperialism against all progressive forces. It was politically
expedient for the church to defend against an adaptation to
modern industrial and capitalist values, especially as they
appeared within the francophone community. It did so by
emphasizing the involuted ideological complex of family,
farm, and religion. In this context, the right of women to
vote was identified not with "tradition" but with "progress"
and it went by the board. Here then, conservative nationalism
and political interest served to repress women's rights.

Overall, the analysis of the impact of the Conquest
on sexual politics in Quebec presents a structural paradox.
In the first place, the compromise between the British
imperialism and the displaced traditional ruling classes
permitted the establishment of an orderly regime after the
Conquest established a disjuncture between the rhythms and
forms of development in the economy and in the political
superstructure. As a result, women's political and legal
rights were established and maintained in a form that was
apparently in advance of the level attained in capitalist
societies at the time. Yet, this "advanced" form existed

merely as a result of the vestiges of a feudal legal structure.
In turn, these political rights were eroded by the very same
political bloc that had maintained them in the first place
when it came into conflict with new social forces which arose
as the political and ideological expression of the
developments in the economy instigated, in the main, under
the aegis of British imperialism.

Certain partial theoretical conclusions can be drawn
from the analysis of sexual politics developed here. First,
we have seen, in relation to the existence of women's partial
enfranchisements the necessity of a structural analysis.
The prolongation of the feudal superstructure during a period
of mercantile and increasingly industrial capitalist development
demonstrates the autonomy of the political instance. And
finally, the analysis of the last section, 4.2.3., while
it necessarily remains tentative until further research can
establish its adequacy, demonstrates the need to analyse the
sectoral politics of patriarchy and feminism in the context
of a global political analysis. At the level of concrete
theory, we can say that while no necessary relationship
between partiarchal social structures, and class, imperialism,
and nationalism can be said to obtain, it is clear that
these structures mediate one another in a complex and contra-
dictory totality. The defense of "national traditions" in
a situation of imperialist domination may unintentionally
defend women's rights or it may suppress them in the interests
of political hegemony and ideological mystification.

4.3.   Sexual politics in the period of capitalist industrialization: changes in the sexual division of labour and the rise of feminism.

4.3.1.   Formulating the questions for analysis.

The central structural dynamic of the impact of capitalist industrialism on patriarchy as been examined in the previous chapter. Here I shall review briefly the impact that the rise of this mode of production in the nineteenth and early twentieth century has had on the sexual division of labour, patriarchy, and the relation of economic and kinship structures in order to then examine the particular developments in these fields in Quebec:

1)   The rationalization of production in a competitive market has promoted the centralization of production in urban areas, centralized in-migrating labour, and so had an effect upon the organization of kinship and gender relations.

2)   The abstract individual wage labourer replaced family, production, and a new form of the sexual (and generational) division of labour arose. Capitalizing on existing patriarchal ideology, and practice, men and women were distributed differentially in industrial sectors on the basis of two requirements: technical capacity and the maintenance of as low a wage bill as possible.   In the nineteenth century, an increasing demand for workers able and willing to endure low pay for long hours of enervating repetitious tasks requiring quickness and nimbleness drew women and children into paid factory labour.

3)   On the one hand, the capacity of these newly proletarianized workers to sell their labour power as individuals

potentially freed them from dependence upon the patriarchal
father (as owner or tenant) in kin-based structures of
production. On the other hand, the low wages paid to female
labourers during this period make it unlikely that they
could support themselves as individuals; indeed, the low
wages paid to all labourers and the likelihood of long
periods of unemployment following crises in the business
cycle, injury, or illness made more than one wage earner per
family necessary for anything more than bare survival for
large sections of the working class.[42]

4) In addition to these economic constraints there
is some evidence to suggest that families will deliberately
choose to suffer economic hardship in order to maintain
family ties, the welfare of all its members, and kin
solidarity.[43]

5) In summing up the shifts in the interpenetration
of economic and sexual structures, we can say that the
household ceases to be a centre for the production of goods
and becomes a centre for the production and reproduction of
labour power. The two mutually determining structures of
material production and human reproduction that Engels posited
as necessary for any mode of production split into two separate
sets of social institutional arrangements. In the course of
this shift, the labour power of women becomes labile; it
flows in and out of production depending upon the availability
of jobs, the wage rates of male family members, and the

mobilization of the state ideological apparatus.[44] But, as Seccombe points out, it does so not capriciously or only subject to ideological manipulation, but because a complex system of value equilibration operates to direct women's labour into either domestic or capitalist production.[45]

6) The empirical goal of the rest of this chapter is, then, to explore these developments in the process of Quebec's industrialization and to situate the mediated politics of gender relations in that context from the mid-nineteenth century through to the 1930's and 1940's.

The mode of development characteristic of industrial capitalism can be seen in Quebec society. Two problems confront the researcher trying to understand the interrelation of social changes of this period. In the first place, the theoretical question arises of how to interpret the relationship between the two main co-existing modes of production: market industrialism and subsistence agriculture. Was the farming economy undermined by the development of industrial production, as I have argued earlier, or was it in some way sustained by it? Secondly, how did changes to and within capitalism effect the structure of sexual relations? While the answer to these questions is not simply factual but must rely upon theory to interpret historical evidence, there are also some difficulties at the level of empirical evidence.

First, contemporary research has inherited a difficult problem of ideological interpretation. Just as the thrust of

the politics of the francophone elite was to deny the
intrusion of capitalist social relations on a global level,
it was to do so in the specific case of the patriarchal
family as well. As we have seen, the basic lynch-pin of
this dual negation was ideology which must now be demystified.
But, in the second case the task is further complicated by
the incompleteness of historical, statistical evidence.
The Canadian census did not, for example, differentiate
workers by sex in industrial employment until 1871. And
sex, marital status, national-ethnic origin are not available
as correlates to occupation until much later.[46] Finally,
since the various social sciences which impinge upon the
questions of economic development and sex structure are so
schismatically distributed between sociology of the fifties
and new feminist theory as well as among the sociology of
sex and gender and economic, political, and ideological
analysis, the problems that this investigation raises
cannot easily be approached through the available research
material. My strategy in attempting to overcome the complexities
presented by the problem of the material can then be only
partial integration. First, in section 4.3.2. below I
shall review some of the classic material on the sociology
of the family in Quebec from the perspective of the questions
I have raised at the beginning of this section about the form
of the industry-patriarchy intersection. The rest of this
chapter will shift focus to the specific sectoral question of

sexual politics and the condition of women: their relation
to production, their political struggles and the ideological
debates they animated. It is in relation to this second focus
that the notion of the dualistic insertion of Quebec, that I
posited earlier, will be explored more fully.

4.3.2. The precapitalist family in Quebec and the transition
to industrialism

A common, contentious view of early Quebec sociology
of the family can be found in Gérin's 1931 definition of the
"sample of the French Canadian family" as rural, and untouched
by "the influence of urban centres or by contact with industry
or commerce".[47] In this family, a quasi-community, the father
headed a self-sufficient farming unit whose members possessed
diversified skills, and whose stability was assured by the tie
to the land. Although Gérin presents only impressionistic
material in his analysis, he suggests that the patriarchal
structure of the family as a productive unit is somehow
softened by the rule of the mother in the household who is
credited with "wisdom", hospitality, and the housekeeping and
culinary skills necessary to turn to the tourist trade.
The family in this analysis is isolated even in the parish
and embedded in a specifically rural culture which, despite
the depletion of the land, the demographic explosion, and the
penetration of luxury goods--crinolines and corsets--and farm
machinery, cannot adapt to new forms of social organization
which grow up with industrial development. But, the implication

is, that if this contact with industrial society continues, the family will be destroyed. Here a pessimistic form of evolutionary and reductionist economism animates the analysis.

Against this Garigue has argued that French Canadian society has always been open to contact with the outside world.[48] The social structures of the parish were differentiated into religion, political, and business organizations. In this view, the peasantry have always been open to useful technical innovation and permeable to urban culture. Other authors support this more open view of the Quebec family and rural society.[49] This position suggests that the family structure will be able to adapt to new and changing circumstances. Instead of seeing the peasant as a victim--ill-educated, particularistic, and unable to cope with the universalistic value system of a structurally differentiated urban society-- they see him (sic) as a pioneer in that new world.[50] As industrial installation invaded rural Quebec, family obligations were transferred and adapted to maintaining kinship solidarity in the new conditions of work.[51]

As well as the dynamic adaptive capacity of traditional rural families, Hughes points to a paradoxical structural relationship of the two coexisting modes of production:

> However antithetical may be the spirit of
> new industry to that of traditional Quebec,
> it is this very industry which allows the
> customary mode of life to persist. Based as
> it is on the indivisible family farm, the
> prevailing rural system presupposes a stable relation
> between population and tillable land. [52]

In short, even if cheap industrial goods penetrate rural society and undermine the artisanal supplements to agricultural it nevertheless remains true that industrial economic development sustains the possibility of traditional rural life through first, the absorption of surplus population, and second, direct financial contributions from children employed in the cities. The impact of urbanization and immigration ideology in Quebec is shaped by the maintenance of these ties with the rural society. Unlike Great Britain where whole families and villages were displace as a result of the enclosure movement, Quebec's new proletariat sustained active relations with rural kin.[53] These relations helped to sustain not only precapitalist and ruralist ideologies, but also provided an experiential base for the family ideology promoted by the church and traditional elites.

If we now turn back to the question I raised at the beginning of this section about the effect of changing economic structures on changes in gender relations in rural Quebec, we will see that they are mixed and unclear. The economic basis of patriarchal forms of domination is under- mined with the growth of a labour market which drains off young men and women to work in the cities. Similarly, the contribution of women to household production especially in textiles and clothing is partially eroded by the production of cheap, machine made goods. It becomes, then, less economically feasible to keep young men and women at home on the farm; as the cost of their upkeep outstrips the contribution that they can make to family income. But, two factors prevent the

dissolution of family production. The first is ideological.
The second is economic and has two aspects. With the crises
of the business cycle and high levels of unemployment, young
women return to the family farm and take up the chores--bread
baking, field work, the manufacture of clothing--that had been
supplemented by bought goods in their absence.[54] Secondly,
when the urban ideology romanticizes rural life and glorifies
artisanal products as it did in Quebec (at least in the 1930's)
rural women can turn domestic skills at handicraft production
and commercialized hospitality into a source of cash income
in the tourist trade.[55]

In sum, we can see the rural system of petty commodity
production that coexisted along side industrial capitalism
first and most importantly as a store of labour power.
Secondly, we find some support for the contention of Luxton
and Seccombe that women's domestic labour shifts and flows
into the gaps and spaces provided for it in the growth of
capitalist production and between capitalist and precapitalist
forms. Nevertheless, I must again point out the need for
further empirical analysis to substantiate the insights that
a feminist reading of earlier sociology provides. Work is
now being done on family migration patterns both to New England
and to the rural industrial centres in Quebec itself. In
addition it would be extremely useful to find out what
exactly were the financial contributions of women as rural
craft or urban wage labourers to the family economy. Until
we do so, no real conclusions can be developed about the

relationship of patriarchal, national, and sex structures in
the countryside. We are forced to remain on the level of
ideological analysis where the conclusions support the general
contention of the last chapter, that the rural family myth
supported patriarchal ideology and apparently helped ease the
transition into capitalism with low levels of conflict.
Since this material is not yet available, we must turn to
approach the problem of the determination and changes in the
structure of gender relations in Quebec from another angle;
that is, of the experience of urban women in employment and
politics.

4.3.3.   Women's labour in Quebec industry

In the Introduction to this study, I argued that
a simple version of the retardation thesis was inadequate
to explain the conditions of women and their approach to
sexual politics in Quebec in the nineteenth and twentieth
centuries. This thesis was, I contended, empirically
inadequate and theoretically incomplete. In the discussion
of Quebec's economic development I substantiated this contention
for the Quebec economy as a whole, but supported a modified
version of superstructural retardation. In section 4.3. of
this chapter, I have taken up the specific case of
industrialization and sexual politics. Since it is a general
methodological assumption of this study as a whole that
ideology must be understood in relation to the social structures

of production, I shall first explore the position of women
as workers in the new industrial arrangements of Quebec
society in order to situate the development of sexual politics.

But since I have also argued that politics must be
analysed as an autonomous level of social structure and
practice, I shall turn in section 4.4. to the development of
francophone feminism as a variation of the forms of feminism
in contemporary North America. These two projects, then,
will allow a further specification of the precise ways in
which the intersection of class, national, and sexual
structures in Quebec have produced a particular and limited
form of superstructural retardation especially concentrated
on the question of the politics and ideology of gender.

In order to further the analysis here a number of
issues having to do with women's work need to be explored.
Who worked? Why? Where? How did their wages compare with
those of men? What was the extent of married women's employment?
Can any evidence be found which relates the form and variation
in the employment of women with sexual politics either in the
family relation or in the society as a whole? And finally
is there anything in the pattern of women's employment that
allows us to explain the particular rhythms of the development
of public sexual politics in the feminist movement.

4.3.3.i. Women's participation in paid labour

If there is one thing that most contemporary

investigators agree upon, it is that women entered paid employment out of need.[56] The rural demographic crisis made the need to find other forms of work imperative. Since there were fewer sources of paid employment for women than for men in rural areas, many of them immigrated to Montreal in search of work, or in some cases to find husbands.[57] Although he is speaking in this passage of a later period than first concerns us, Terry Copp puts the situation of women of the working classes quite sharply:

> The wages of the Montreal working man in the
> years between 1890 and 1930 remained at the
> subsistence level, and sometimes dropped below
> it... One of the hard necessities was the
> need for young children as well as young
> unmarried women, to go to work at as early
> an age as possible. Working class families
> were caught in a classic bind. Since the
> head of the household normally did not make
> enough to support his family, his children had
> to contribute to the family's income through
> their own labour. Yet the availability on the
> labour market of large numbers of children and
> young women helped keep men's wages at the
> subsistence level. [58]

Yet women were forced to accept low wages to the benefit of the bourgeoisie. If men's low wages in the closed Quebec labour market supported the growth of industry in the nineteenth century, women workers--earning 20% to 60% of men's wages--did so to an even greater degree. "Manufacturers knew that women and children could do this work just as well as men and would accept less pay."[59] Thus, from the beginnings of industrialization there arises a contradiction between unorganized men and women workers which will still be reflected

much later in the politics of the francophone movement.

Material on the condition of working women in
Montreal is scattered, but a picture of its progress can be
pieced together from studies which examine women's participation
among other aspects of the industrialization process from
1825. Just as in the rural farming community the work of
women in an urban setting is relatively labile in the early
stages of industrialization: they were employed as home
workers in the early phases of the increasing division of
labour that proceeded industrial production, as domestics
as domestic labourers in their own households, as day
labourers, and finally, if all else failed,as prostitutes.[60]
During the hundred years beginning in 1850, there is a
definite shift in patterns of employment from domestic
service to factory and white collar occupations. The conditions
of employment for each of these sectors can be summarized
as follows,

1. Domestic service:

Prior to industrialization domestic service and
sewing were the only work available to women outside of the
context of family artisanal production. Prior to the
establishment of factories, working class women had to rely
on domestic service, cleaning, washing, sewing, and caring
for children.[61] Indeed, the service category--both
household servants and day workers--represented 40.6% of
the working population of Montreal in 1825. This high

proportion of "jouraliers" reflects two quite different realities for men and women. Man servants--"l'homme à tout faire"--were likely to be employed in commercial shops as well as in the household. But women in this category were likely to be unskilled and employed on a daily basis to do heavy labour in the household. Furthermore, "Ce groupe est sans doute particulièrement sujet au chômage saisonnier qui frappe l'économie montréalaise."[63] Men and women in this group formed the base for the development of the Montreal proletariat.

The relations between employer and domestic servant were often quite strained. For the women of the bourgeois classes, domestic servants meant the freedom to engage in political and cultural activities. Their concern was with finding workers with adequate training and a willingness to work. For the servants, the disadvantages were close supervision and social isolation. Domestic service was considered for these very reasons to be suitable employment for francophone rural girls, but there is substantial evidence that they took other employment when it was offerred. Although the number of women employed in domestic service continued to be about 7,000 during the first three decades of the twentieth century, the percentage falls from between 40% and 53% to about one-third of the female labour force.[64] Increased opportunities for factory employment in World War I reduced the number of domestic servants; high rates of unemployment in the city as a whole increased the number of

domestic workers some of whom, it has been suggested, worked

for lodging and board in time of crisis.[65] While there is no

published analysis of the attitudes of women domestic servants

to their condition of employment, the facts that the structure

of their work, the patterns of rise and fall in the employment

level, and the complaint of the employers was much the same

as that in Toronto, allows us to generalize that Montreal

domestics also found the work isolating, exhausting, and

without freedom or dignity.

2. Travail à domicile:[66]

The question of the suitability of industrial work

in the home for women has been a contested question in the

Quebec labour movement and represents polar ideological

positions on women's work. Those who argued in support of

such work often contended that it was better for a woman not

to be taken away from the care of her children; if economic

necessity forced her to earn money, then she should be able

to do so at home. On the other hand, its opponents pointed

out that greater economic benefits accrued to the employer

than to the woman. Such work was usually ill paid, on a

piece work basis, and undercut the efforts by unions to

improve women's position in the labour force. It often

required that she invest in machinery, for example, sewing

machines that were too worn or outmoded for factory use.

Thus, to the benefits of cheap labour, the employer reduced

his loss on capital depreciation.

It would seem that the apparent social advantages "protecting" women from the dangers of factory employment were largely mythical. Since she worked in the home, children under the age of legal work could and often were drawn into her activity. And as for the fact that such work was supposed to protect women from the moral danger of working in mixed factories, Evelyn Dumas indicates that as late as the 1930's, piece work was given out on the basis of sexual favouritism and that other workers were subject to the sexual harassment of foremen.[67] It does seem to be true, however, that such work patterns help to maintain family and kinship structures of aid in the urban area. If favouritism in distribution was sometimes a reward for sexual favours, it was also at times nepotistic. And if underage children were forced to contribute to the family income through this form of work, old people could also contribute toward family maintenance.

This pattern of employment is a regular accompaniment to two different phases in the industrialization process. First, during the period of industrialization, there is "an evolution in the organization of production, and of work during the years that mark the transition between artisanal production and large mechanized production".[68] Between 1825 and 1849 when the first "machines-outils" were introduced into shoemaking in Montreal, this industry occupied between 3.8% to 4.8% of the work force. In 1842,

5% of the "chefs de ménage" were occupied in this sector.
Much of this work was carried on at home by wives and
children under the supervision of the male head.

Dressmaking, on the other hand, represents a
"women's industry" that continues to be put out into the home:

> L'industrie de la confection ne necessitant
> que de faibles investissements de capitaux,
> est reconnue pour son instabilite et sa
> tendence a ouvrir des petits ateliers
> specialises dans la realisation de sous
> contrats....
>   La confection est surtout caracterisee par
> le travail parcellaire effectue a domicile et
> dans des petits ateliers plus ou moins
> clandestins (sweating system). Cette forme
> de travail est tres repandue; on a estime
> que les trois quarts des vetements fabriques
> dans la metropole 'etaintent en 1898 sous
> ce systeme. [69]

It is impossible to discuss the exact extent to this system
of employment, but a government inquiry in 1935 still found
it vigourous. The hours of work still exceeded sixty a
week, and the wages were still scandalously low.

3. Manufacturing:

Among the other industries that had a substantially
female work force by the end of the century were textiles,
tobacco, rubber, and paper bag manufacturing. "Two
textile mills, one for woollen and the other for cotton
cloth, began manufacturing in 1852 and 1853 respectively,"[70]
and by the last census in the nineteenth century there were
1035 women employed in cotton, 207 in silk, 163 in wool,
or 63% of the labour force.[71] Conditions in the mills

were extremely bad, injuries frequent, and the hours of
work long. Despite protests and government inquiries
there was not much improvement well into the twentieth
century:

> Les temoinages recueillis par la Commission
> royale d'enquete sur les relations entre le
> capital et le travail a la fin du 19e siecle
> revelent des conditions de travail qu'on retrouve
> encore en 1938 lors de l'enquete sur l'industrie
> textile. Parmi les plaintes on note les
> conditions malsaines des filatures; mauvaise
> ventilation, poussiere, humidite, malproprete,
> bruit et insuffisance des lieux sanitaires. 72

In the textile industry in particular low wages
were further reduced by various manouvres on the part of
employers: declassifying skilled workers, short time,
half time, and wage cutbacks.[73] On the other hand,
during peak time, the generous limits on work of sixty
hours per week were often exceeded:

> Actuellement dans le department de tisserands
> a Hochelaga, on ne travaille pas seulement
> 60 heures par semaine, mais 67½ heures. Car
> trois soirs on travaille jusqu'a neuf heures
> du soir sans desemparer avec une pauvre
> petite demi-heure pour souper. 74

Later as the textile industry spread into rural
centres like Drummondville and Valleyfield, these work
conditions from the Montreal urban and suburban plants
spread with them. There was a definite relationship
between the availability of a female work force and the
type of industrial development. Ill-educated, unwilling
to remain in domestic employment at least partially restricted
to a francophone labour market, and in desperate need of work,

they accepted any factory jobs available.

In the early days of Quebec manufacturing before World War I, we can sum up the position of women in the following way. Their employment was crucial in several light consumer industries, including boots and shoes, paper bag making, rubber, and the needle trades. At the same time, the political conditions which discouraged unionization or any other forms of defensive organization made them particularly susceptible to bad conditions: either forced over time or wage cuts, and lay offs as the result of the crisis of expansion and overpopulation, particularly the depression following the end of the National policy and the depression after the first World War. The main centre of resistance to unsafe machinery, unsanitary conditions, and long hours seems to have been focused on a concern for their moral and childbearing capacities, especially after 1896 when female factory inspectors were appointed and "charged with the special responsibility for occupations employing large numbers of women". Of these two women, the francophone, Mme Louise Provencher, seemed, according to Copp, to exhibit greater concern in her reports for the "moral pollution" that women were exposed to in the factories;

> Some masters conduct their establishments in a manner worthy of all praise...the work women are separated from the men, a silence is strictly enforced. This is generally preferable, not only for the good of the young girls, but also for the benefit of the masters.   75

There is still some debate about the effect of the
increase in women's employment on ideologies about
women during World War 1. Given the shortage of labour
in times of war, women were drawn into production in new
industries (munition), their opportunities for work
were increased in previously female sectors (garments and
textiles for uniforms), and that in some cases they
replaced men in previously male occupations. According
to a survey of industrial occupations of woman made in
Montreal by Enid Price, this meant a movement into heavy
industry:

> For example, before the war, in the railways
> and machine shops, only men were employed to
> do the heavy manual work of constructing and
> repairing the locomotives, machinery and cars.
> Later on, women were employed by the railways
> but primarily as clerical workers. By 1918, in
> Montreal there were 2,315 women employed by
> railway, steel and cement companies in jobs
> that formerly had been done by men only. This
> was an especially marked trend in the trans
> portation sector where firemen, freight handlers
> and trackmen were particularly scarce. 76

There was also debate on the strategy of employing women
at the time. The Financial post approved the employment
of women "begrudgingly" because it helped combat rising
wages. But it held the quality of women workers to be
low: they wouldn't move to follow industry and they
didn't want to work overtime because they were partially
supported by soldier-husband's cheques. The government, on

the other hand, mounted a steady campaign "with a view
to emphasizing the practicability of woman labour in the
production of munitions of war in this country".[77]

4. Commerce:

"Other avenues of employment were open to women
who had some capital or the benefit of a sound basic
education."[78] If in the early days of the colony women
engaged in commerce and retail trades, they seem to have
been partially excluded from these fields with the development
of industrial capitalism. Cross indicates that in the
late nineteenth century some women may have been self-
employed, offering an extension of domestic services:
"The Montreal street directory shows many women running
boarding houses, grocery stores and other small businesses."[79]

When it comes to other forms of "white-collar"
employment the evidence is contradictory. In her analysis
of population distribution by sex, she suggests that
clerks employed in the "commercial and retail centre of
the city" were male:

> In the 1850's merchants and their sale
> clerks lived over the business premises,
> but when the Montreal City Passenger
> Railway began operations in 1860, many
> of them left the area to reside away
> from the centre of the city.   [80]

But, when she discusses occupations for women outside

of domestic service and manufacturing, she indicates
that women "worked as clerks in retail stores and offices."
Perhaps these were women who lived at home with their
parents, or, perhaps there is a shift in employment
patterns by sex at that point.

What seems to be clear, is that despite resistance
in the French press to the entry of women into the
morally dangerous "masculine" office, women's recruitment
at lower salaries than men received increased with the
introduction of the telephone and typewriter during
the last decade of the nineteenth century. These women,
recruited from the "milieux ouvriers plus a l'aise ou
de la petite bourgeoisie" were to be literate.[81] But
if we look at Copp's analysis of basic education in
Montreal for the periods 1905-1916-17, we can see how
thin that layer is among francophones. Anglophone
Grade Eight graduates outnumbered their francophone
counterparts in the public schools 610 to 560 although
they represented a smaller proportion of the population
as a whole.[82] Given the anglophone domination of business
and the predominance of anglo-Irish, anglo-Canadian, and British
workers in the well-paid sectors of steady employment like the
railroads, it is likely that anglophone women were over-

represented among these skilled women clerical workers.

Shop girls were the other main category of white collar labour. Employment in stores was considered "superior" to domestic and manufacturing labour, perhaps because there women were in contact with the petty bourgeois shoppers.[83] In fact, the physical conditions of work were little better than factory employment. Many of these women succumbed to illness from the effects of twelve hour days spent standing in drafts. Most commentators point out that they had to dress appropriately out of the salaries and they were subject to disciplinary action for breaches of dress and behaviour codes.[84] Nevertheless their plight was one of the first to mobilize the sympathy of the ladies in a campaign for seats for shop girls.[85]

5. Marital status of women workers:

There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that much of the female work force was married. These women tended to be concentrated in industrial employment, travail a domicile, or in the worst forms of daily charing and rough labour. The exact proportion of married women -- or even the proportion of women as a whole -- is difficult to estimate because of the inadequacies of record keeping. Census figures

> indicate the number of women working on census day, and probably underrepresent the number who worked during part of the year. There is no way of estimating the number who worked

> temporarily when the main breadwinner was
> unemployed or ill. The wage books for the
> Molson brewery showed a rapid turnover among
> the girls in the bottling factory.   86

Nevertheless, some inferences can be drawn based on the proportion of women workers in some industries that I mentioned above and upon other data. Cross argues that "There is strong evidence that as early as the 1850's it was increasingly common for French Canadian married women to go out to work."[87]

Copp points out that an analysis of neighbourhood employment patterns indicate that French Canadian married women were more likely to work for wages than English or Scots women.[88] Girls of eleven to thirteen cared for younger children while their mothers worked. Finally, analysis of the patterns of attendance at the Gray Nuns "salles d'asilie" or day care centres indicates that the children were for the most part francophone.[89] These centres were set up to ease the stress of women's employment in working class families:

> Le but principal de cette ouevre (les salles
> d'asilie) est de donner aux parents de la
> classe peu aisee, la libre disposition de leurs
> journees afin qu'ils puissent se livrer a un
> travail fructueux pour la famille.   90

Finally, while there is strong evidence to suggest that the exceptionally high infant mortality rates in Montreal were the result of poor housing, bad sanitation, and impure sources of milk and water, it nevertheless remains true that the rates of death were higher in the poorer francophone neighbourhoods and among unmarried mothers who were forced to work.[91]

The toll of the harsh conditions of this early period
of capitalist industrialization was paid not only in infant
mortality. Women's health suffered.[92]Children who survived
infancy were often left alone, uneducated by either formal
processes or informal schooling in the home. While these
conditions may not have been much different from other areas
of the industrial revolution, there seems to have been a
particular reaction to these conditions in Quebec. The
repercussions of the actual suffering upon the mother-centered
nationalist ideology seem only to have increased the tendency
to blame the women, victims of these conditions, for their
creation. Mothers were castigated for their lack of care of
infants and it was, according to Copp, among the English
reformers that initiatives were first taken to improve public
health.[93]The solution proposed by francophone reformers seems
to have been centred on the need to remove women from the
work place. Without a strategy of supporting worker's attempts
to improve working conditions and wages, this policy of
exclusion seemed a dead end. As we shall see in the next
section on the rise of feminism, it was this contradiction
which helped to promote a specifically French Canadian response.

6. Female professions:

There is some debate about the effect of the domination
of social services by the Catholic church in the francophone
community. In the first place there arises the question of

the quality of service. While it seems clear that superior
health care was provided by the religious organization from
colonial times, the issue is not, as Copp warns, so clear
cut in other instances.[94] Some of the social work orders
provided innovative and humane programmes; others remained
reactionary. Secondly, and or more importance here is the
question of how the retention of an ideology of charity and
service affected working conditions, salaries, and opportunities
for the expansion of female employment in the professional
area of social work, teaching, nursing, and so on.

(i) Teaching

In this profession the answer seems clear. Some
insight into the workings of this system can be gained by
examining differences in rates of pay between anglophone and
francophone, male and female, religious and lay practitioners.
Furthermore, difference in the provision of general education
and specialized training from the semi-professions in each
community can be analysed. There is, I believe, substantial
support for the contention of recent writers that, while a
religious vocation offered opportunities to gain and exercise
educational and administrative skills, they offered unfair
competition to, and so undermined the position for women lay
practitioners in the francophone community.

Teaching presents perhaps the clearest case of the
effect of this blockage. Here we can actually compare across
the six categories of male and female, English and French,

lay and religious for training and pay. The first teachers in the colony were French female religious and they retained their predominance well into the twentieth century.[95] But with the growth of the English community there was a concerted effort to produce well trained lay teachers. The McGill Normal School admitted students of both sexes and supported them with bursaries and travel allowances. Despite the possibility of further career advancement for male graduates who could be admitted to McGill University, men were discouraged from accepting this subsidized training by the prospect of low salaries, but over 2,700 women were granted diplomas before the turn of the twentieth century:

> Free tuition and the modest bursaries opened a
> career to many girls who otherwise could not
> have afforded a college education. Although
> the pay for teachers was extremely poor, teaching
> was considered a socially acceptable occupation
> for respectable girls.   96

Even so, salaries were low:

> . . . the average salary for women with diplomas
> was $99 in 1899, but as some teachers at the
> Montreal High School for Girls received salaries
> ranging from $350 to $600 a year many salaries
> must have been well below the average.   97

Bad as things were for anglophone women teachers, in the francophone community, the position of women was much worse. Although a private school opened in 1869 with an eye to preparing girls for teaching and office work they were not admitted into the main teacher training institute, the Ecole Jacques Cartier, until a women's annex opened in 1899.[98] Their

training did not advance their careers, however. Although nearly a thousand girls gained their brevet d'enseignment for elementary, model or academic teaching in the two decades prior to 1901, the greatest proportion of female teachers in the Montreal Catholic school system were religious.

As well as disadvantages arising from sexism and religious competition, the distortions in Quebec's class structure also had an effect on the position of women teachers, and indeed on the educational system in general. A complex system of revenue distribution meant that the Protestant community had twice as much money per pupil as the French Catholic public schools. Despite provincial subsidies to independent Catholic schools "private schools had little impact on the majority of working class populations who had to send their children to the overcrowded and impoverished Catholic public schools."[99]

The results of the intersecting structures of domination that I have posited earlier as determinant of women's social position can be seen starkly in the pay rates in this profession. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Protestants were paid nearly double the wages of Catholics. Within the Catholic wing of the profession, religious teachers in general had an advantage over lay teachers. But the sex difference is most stark. In 1915, for example, the Christian Brothers were paid $500 per year, female religious $350, but while male lay teachers received $600 per year,

women lay teachers were at the bottom of the pile with a
bare subsistence of $300. [100]

(ii) Nursing

Although nursing was originally seen somewhat
differently by the two language groups, changes for the better
in training and pay seem to have occured first in the anglo-
phone community. In England, nurses were seen as servants
and were frequently ill themselves or alcoholics. On the
other hand:

> Nursing in France traditionally had been placed
> in the hands of ecclesiastical orders and
> wealthy patrons of secular nursing charities;
> this heritage assured its respectability and a
> high degree of competence among nurses. [101]

But, as in teaching, the establishment in 1879 of new
forms of scientific training on the Nightingale model began
to upgrade the profession, overcoming "shocking" conditions
and making mursing a respectable profession for middle-class
women. It was not until twenty years later that similar
training was offered in French: "Ainsi ce n'est-ce qu'en 1897
qu'un cours d'infirmière est offert en langue français à des
laiques à l'hôpital de Notre-Dame." [102] Still, even after this
opening and even with the influence of "new structures of
professional nursing from the English environment", salaries
continued to reflect the competition of women religious and
the dominance of charitable ideology and "remained practically
unchanged" from 1900 to 1940.

(iii) Other Professions:

The regulation of most other professions was a joint operation of the professional grouping and the provincial government. Except for social work, where a number of women instituted self-instruction in order to participate in religiously directed activities, the practice of most
103
professions remained closed to women, even to those women who met educational qualifications. This barred anglophone and francophone women equally. But we can see that there was a more liberal attitude within the English community insofar as McGill opened training to women in law and medicine before similar opportunities were available at the campuses of Laval
104
in Montreal and Quebec. The discussion of the twentieth century struggle to open up the professions to women and to lay practitioners on an equal basis will be considered in the context of the development of the feminist movement.

In sum, we can say that there seems to have been very little material validation of the dominant social ideology of the woman as mother promoted by Quebec nationalists and the Church in the changing conditions of capitalist industrialization in Montreal. Women worked out of need, and continued to do so despite low pay, bad conditions, negative religious sanctions, and male opposition at any jobs they could find. It was often married women with children who worked under the most difficult conditions and many of these women workers were francophone. In the professions, sexism,

national domination and religious hegemony over social

services served to place francophone women at the bottom

of the salary, training, and job security scales. For all

women workers the sexism and nationalism in the conditions

of early capitalist industrialization served to maintain

and reproduce toe privileges of men, the bourgeoisie, and

anglophone workers.

4.4. The effects of the dislocation of industrialization
on sexual politics in Quebec: reaction, reform and resistance

In order to assess the effects of the growth of urban

industrial forms of production to a dominant position in the

Quebec social formation on sexual politics there, we must

confront an apparent contradiction in the analysis up to

this point. On the one hand, I have supported Bernier's

thesis that "developpement de l'exterieur" can put new

economic intrastructures in place without disturbing pre-

capitalist and premodern social and political superstructural

arrangements. On the contrary, I have also argued that actual

transformations in the class, rural/urban, and sex structures

occurred as a result of the progress of industrialization

through the first half of the twentieth century. In order

to resolve this analytic contradiction we must turn to

examine the political and ideological manifestations of real

structural contradictions of development in the growth,

ideology, and forces of the twentieth century feminist

movement.

Again, a number of questions are key to the analysis. Chief among these is the question of ethnic-national differences in women's political activities and orientations. Do anglophone and francophone women hold different ideologies of women and do they promote different strategies? Secondly, what is the relation between sexual politics and class? I shall contend that there is a double relation between sex and class in this period. First, the strategies of women's organizations tended to be inflected by the leadership by women of the bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie. But, for working class women, participation in economic struggles in the workplace is one way to better her social position vis-a-vis patriarchal structures, her participation in union organization and strikes may lead her to contest the patriarchal institution of the church directly. Thus we can locate the beginnings of a break with hegemonic ideology, long before like results turn up in the sharp fall of fertility rates and church attendance. And, finally, how is the development of feminism's various tendencies inserted into global political concerns and forces.

4.4.1. Further considerations on the problem of the "idéologie traditionelle de la femme"

For purposes of analytic convenience I outlined the main components of the ideology of women in Quebec that have been dominant during the period considered by previous investigations, that is, from about the 1830's. I pointed out that there were some problems with these analyses insofar as they had, in a sense, accepted the claim of the ideology

With the emphasis newly placed on living a Christian life in the world, the virtue of celibacy was attacked and the family man seen as a particularly responsible citizen. Spiritual equality in the relation between God and the individual served to improve the status of women indirectly. In the new ideology of family, promoted by Protestant preachers, marital sexuality and family partnership were approved. But the requirements of this new ideology were mixed. Her duties now included chastity in the expression of sexuality within marriage, submission to the temporal order of the husband in the household, and the new task of tension management to "ensure the harmony of the household". Rescued from theological association with evil, she was now confined to the household just at the time when the wife's economic partnership was beginning to be undermined by the development of the capitalist mode of production.

In Quebec the experience of the capitalist separation of the instruments of production from labour was sharpened by national domination. The co-incidence of ethnic-national cleavages with those of class inside the capitalist mode of production and between contemporary structures of capitalism and petty commodity production had a sociological effect. After the 1830's, leaving the family farm meant entering the world of the industrial proletariat and immediate contact with anglophone domination. Capitalism and the English were telescoped into one alien experience. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Catholic hierarchy attempted to combat the typical consequences of that transition: turning away

thought to weaken their capacity for moral resistance and to make them "overly trusting" of "the dubious promises of unworthy men".

Still a higher standard of sexual conduct was expected of them. Adultery in particular is thought to be a greater sin for women. They were to remain modest, temperate, faithful, unadorned, and shielded from contact with the opposite sex. The proper modest woman, idealized in the female sainst and in Mary the Mother God, does have a place as the other side of a split medieval Catholic vision of women. But overall women are to be submissive to patriarchal church authority with limited scope as religious actors and leaders. Indeed, these texts and tendencies which promote women as religious leaders were considered heretical:

> Other secret texts such as the Gospel of Mary Magdelen and the Wisdom of the Faith suggested that women leaders challenged and therefore were challenged by orthodox communities who regarded Peter as their spokesman. 107

By 200 A.D. this gnostic tradition of sexual equality had been supressed and a "pseudo-Pauline" position endorsed as canonical, by orthodox Christianity accepted the domination of men over women as the proper, God-given order -- not only for the human race, but also for the Christian church. Differences in the sexual division of labour reflected natural law. In Quebec, attempts to circumscribe the social position of women as late as the second quarter of the twentieth century were legitimated on this basis.

Several investigations have noted a transformation in ideologies of women during the Protestant Reformation.[108]

to have been "traditional" from the colonial period. Here I want to substantiate that argument by considering prior Catholic ideology of women in order to suggest areas of further research.

The centre of this ideology proclaims woman as mother. First as a figure of warmth, comfort, beauty, purity, and multifaceted capacities, she offers the psychological reassurance of the pre-oedipal omnipotent mother -- carefully desexualized by her gravity, her spirituality, and by the way in which she is a symbol of duty. Secondly, as a real woman, involved in the socialization of children, she -- rather than the father, -- is seen as the source of primary moral values which makes the infant fully part of the Quebec Christian community. In this role she forms a part of a parental couple not with the husband but with the authority of the church.

Medieval Catholic ideology presents rather a different picture of women. "The position of the Catholic church on women had been fashioned from the combined mysogyny and ascetism (sic) of Paul; women were evil and sex was evil."[105] So strong and deeply imbedded was this anti-woman ideology that the Council of Macon recognized that women had souls by a majority of one vote! On the other hand canonist legal authorities recognize sexual urges to be "strong and universally shared", but they were also aware that sexual desire could lead to sin -- and usually did.[106] Celibacy was then the preferred state. But if celebacy could not be maintained, then sexual congress of married persons was morally permissable if the object was the procreation of children. A doubly-sexist, double standard prevailed. Women's greater sentimentality was

that her influence would be benign and spread to control

"the destiny of the community". The new feminine role was

to be stabilizing. This view of femininity puts the mother

over the wife, as an asexual, nurturing, maternal authority.

I have treated these ideological shifts in the

context of first, Protestantism, and secondly, industrialization

in the United States at length to prove a point. What has

been identified as the traditional ideology of women in Quebec

was not merely Catholic idiosyncracy; rather it shares the

essential features of bourgeois responses to industrialism

and Capitalism. Although the theologians and other nationalist

ideologues mystified this ideology as the unique glory and

mission of French Canadian Catholicism we can see from this

comparison that these images of family and motherhood were

also part of a much larger pattern. Ironically, it was held

in common with the very atheistic, protestant, and anglo-saxon

materialists whose influence it was designed to combat.

What is idiosyncratic about this particular form of bourgeois

ideology of women in the case of Quebec is not that it arises

in the first place, but that it endures with such strength

for such a long period. It apparently remained dominant

after the rest of North America had made the transition

to the more complex requirements for women to be wives and

mistresses as well as mothers, and had even recognized that

working for wages could be an important part of women's lives.

This new ideology of the "femme symbiose" had only a brief

reign among a restricted circle according to Gagnon's analysis.

from the established church, secularism, unionization, and
destabilizing class conflict. Instead they continued to
promote the family--especially the rural family--as a haven
and the mother as an image of peace and protection. Furthermore,
they recognized her importance in instilling traditional
religious and national values.

Obviously, some of this ideological thrust is specific
to the social condition of Quebec as a dominated nation but
remarkable similarity can be seen in transformations of
ideology in contemporary <u>Protestant</u> New England. There too
a new emphasis on the family as sanctuary and the mother as
its spiritual guardian develops:

> During the late colonial period, magazines
> assigned no special weight to the role of
> the mother either in relation to women's
> other roles or in contrast to the role of
> the father... Around 1790, however, <u>in
> conjunction with the growth of increasingly
> impersonal competitive work</u> engaged in by
> husbands, a sentimental image of the
> 'moral mother' came to dominate and take
> over from previously dominant images of
> women. [109]

And the height of the expression of this ideological
tendency was reached for women of the industrial middle classes.

> Bourgeois women of the nineteenth century
> were expected to be pious, pure, submissive,
> and domestic--again to provide a world of
> contrast to the immoral competitive world of
> their husband's work and a place where their
> own children (more especially their sons)
> could develop proper moral qualities and
> character. [110]

She was to remain sheltered in her home and not desert it
for the lure of world work or politics. Yet she was assured

There is contradictory evidence about the extent
to which women continued to accept the requirements of the
traditional ideology. For example, Colette Morreux puts
forward two different positions in her work at different times.
On the one hand, she shows that Montreal suburban women
continue to hold a double sexual standard well into the
fifties to see motherhood as the most important aspect of
their lives, and to view the home as mother-centred.[111]
We do not have enough evidence to say if this diverges from
other North American patterns, however.   On the other hand,
in another place, she suggests that the reason that the
birth rate fell so dramatically was that the moral values of
the church were never really internalized but only imposed
and reinforced from the outside.

Again, the solution seems to lie in more detailed
research into the process of ideological formation and trans-
formation. It seems clear that the present discussion of the
problem of Quebec ideologies dovetails with the previous
questions raised by the justification of the loss of the
franchise. What is not clear is exactly how. While I argued
there that the most useful explanatory concept had to do with
political reaction and of feudal vestiges I would contend that
the most useful form of explanation here has to do with the
dualistic structure of Quebec society "in" but not "of" the
North American social formation.

This discussion of ideological shifts in the face of

growing capitalist industrialism has now prepared the ground
for an examination of how various tendencies in the Quebec
women's movement approached it, combatted it, or tried to
interpret it for their own ends.

If the ultramontane wing of the clergy in consort
with petit bourgeois nationalists defined the reactionary
sexual ideology, what then were the other social forces and
political currents engaged in the sexual question? One,
as I have already argued, was the effect of the impersonal
forces of capitalist industrialization. Yet these forces,
although they are bewailed time and again could not be
resisted by the church and not blocked by the ruling classes.
The second force on the political field engaged in redefining
sexual politics and ideology is feminism.

> Les premières décennies du 20e siècle sont
> charactérisées par l'essor rapide du féminisme,
> mouvement s'inscribant dans la vague réformiste
> que connait a cette époque le monde occidental.
> Le Quebec n'est pas a l'écart et les
> organizations féministe qui s'y développent,
> se rattachent à ce courant international. 112

4.4.2.   The rhythms of development of the women's movement
in Quebec

4.4.2.i.   Turn of the century feminism

As Kraditor pointed out in her pioneering study
of the ideological basis of the struggle for women's rights
during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in
America, two major types of argument were used to justify
women's suffrage: the argument from natural right or justice

and the argument from expediency.[113] The first was based in
a notion of "common humanity" between the sexes and, hence,
of political equality. However, in the face of rising social
concern with sexual differentiation, and in the new political
conditions arising from the civil war and waves of proletarian
immigration "new arguments for the suffrage evolved,
emphasizing the ways in which women differed from men. If
the justice claim to political equality could no longer
suffice then the women's task was to show that expediency
required it."[114]

This ideological differentiation was not limited to
the United States. The movement for women's rights, although
organized according to existing states and political boundaries
carried on an international debate. This exchange can be seen
in Montreal suffrage circles. For example, speakers from the
British suffrage associations addressed meetings in the first
decade of the 1900's, reports of feminist activities elsewhere
were carried in newspapers, and women attended international
conventions.[115] Ideas and strategies spread through this
direct form of exchange. But as well, middle class movements
for women's rights arose in the capitalist west in response
to the similar social conditions--the exclusion of women from
public political life, their economic plight, and the crying
need for social reform in the new urban industrial cities.[116]

Given the common roots of feminism and their
international linkages, it is not surprising , then, to see

these two types of arguments promoted by feminist currents
in Montreal. But these arguments were carried diversely
by national groups. Although there are some exceptions,
the argument for justice or natural right which had a
potentially more radical egalitarian thrust tended to be
vehicled by anglophone groupings. On the other hand,
francophone women tended to argue a protectionist approach
to women's rights on the basis of a theory of sexual
differentiation.[117]

Although I cannot examine the historical ideological
influences upon anglophone feminist political formulations here, we
should note that these women tend to constitute a distinct
sociological grouping. These associations were based in
the social layer of the anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie and they
were oriented to the British movement, addressed their concerns
to Federal and Imperial authority, and maintained contact
with similar organizations in western Canada.[118] The members
were, for the most part, well educated for the period,
Protestant, and many of the leaders were employed in the
professions. The movement for suffrage was not, on the whole,
a mass movement in Canada; rather it adopted an elite orientation
which was quite pronounced in its early phases in Quebec. This
orientation of the anglophone women in Montreal women's
organizations combined with their social class and isolation
served to allow them to develop a more radical egalitarian form
of feminist ideology.

For the francophone women, however, the mediations
of national ties,   strategic choices, and loyalties to
the church served to produce a distinct variation in the
forms of feminist organization and the rhythm with which the
struggle developed. Like American feminists of the time,
francophone women accepted the notions of sexual differentiation,
of the higher moral purity of women, and of their special
right to be concerned with "domestic" values and virtues. [119]
They turned this differentia specifica into a weapon of
ideological struggle to extend to lay women the right to
realize the feminine spititual values in worldly action.
They argued that new social conditions, arising in the first
instance from industrialism, made it necessary to change the
legal structures that protected women. The feminine
suffrage was an important tool in this struggle, but they
also set about improving the lot of women by direct action
and organizing.

The purpose of this section is to examine the
nature of feminist politics at the turn of the century, to
identify its participants and goals, in order to ultimately
lay to rest some of the common assumptions about the "political
apathy" of francophone women. I will argue that a feminist
current developed among francophone women at much the same
time as anglophone women in Montreal but that it was differen-
tiated on a national basis.

4.4.2.ii.   National tensions in the Montreal Local Council
of Women

The Montreal Local Council of Women (MLCW),

founded in 1893 as the pan-Canadian movement sponsored by

Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Governor-General, united several

independent or religiously affiliated lay organizations of

women.   Initially this organization regrouped both franco-

phone and anglophone women.

> Le NCWC est un organisme confederatif. A
> ce titre il souhaite unifier les associations
> de femmes et s'impose comme organisation
> formelle afin de briser la barriere religieuse
> qui caracterise le mouvement des femmes. 120

If the MLCW attempted to be a religiously neutral organization

it nevertheless had clear class affiliation. Among the male

patrons were Thibeaudeau, Ogilvie, and Angus, all large

Montreal capitalists.   Its members from the French-

Canadian community were drawn from bourgeois families with

a tradition of liberal reform. Marie Gerin-Lajoie,

Josephine Dandurand, and Mme Rosaire Thibeaudeau participated.

Its strategy of religious neutrality met with

opposition from the Archbishop of Montreal. While French

Canadian women were allowed to participate as individuals,

Catholic lay women's organizations were forbidden to affiliate

with the single exception of the Dames Patronesses de

L'Hôpital Notre-Dame. 121   Pinard suggests that the bishop's

inhibition was based on the fact that the supposedly

"neutral" religious character of both the NCWC organization

and the local masked Protestant dominance. As we shall see

the competition was not tolerated from outside organizations

by the hierarchy.

The situation of the French Canadian women inside
the MLCW and the NCWC had been difficult. On the one hand,
they had been pressured by the right wing of the clergy
who were unconditionally opposed both to women's activity
in lay welfare organizations and to women's rights.
Committed to social reform they found allies in the reforming
wing of the anglophone bourgeoisie. Yet they were also
conscious of the necessity of reaching the large numbers
of French women in the urban working classes through
educational, health, and political work. Despite these
difficulties francophone women developed organizational
experience and skills in the mixed social reform movement
which they were able to transfer to the new organization.

> Le MLCW devient, pour les féministes franco-
> phones, un lieu privilegié de militantisme
> pendant une douzaine d'années. Toutefois
> cette expérience dans l'organisation des
> femmes s'implante plus directement en mileu
> francophone à partir de 1902 avec la création
> de la section des Dames Patronnesses de
> l'Association Saint-Jean Baptiste. 122

This new organization was a direct outgrowth of a nationalist
fund raising campaign.[123]

4.4.2.iii. Christian feminism

While the new organization, the Federation Nationale
Saint-Jean Baptiste (FNSJB) carried over concerns for urban
reform and welfare work, the plight of women, and women's
rights, it was differentiated on ideological, religious, national,

and eventually, on strategic grounds. Initially the class
base of the leadership of the two organizations remained
similar: the bourgeoisie, and the petit bourgeoisie, although
the FNSJB, as we shall see below managed to encadre a certain
number of working women in its programmes. The basic reason
given for supporting the split by francophone women was
desire to reach a mass audience. Marie Gérin-Lajoie for one,
shared later analyses common conception that <u>all</u> French
Canadian women were enthralled by their priests.[124] In order
to reach these women it was strategically necessary to work
through the priests, and to search out those among them
"à l'esprit large et entreprenant" who could support their
initiatives in setting up, for example, hygiene classes in
the churches.[125]

The ideology which francophone feminists adopted as
a foundation for their initiatives was Christian feminism:

> Les Canadiennes françaises ont trouve la
> seule voie possible qui leur permettra de
> revendique leurs froits de femmes tout en
> respectant la foi chretienne. [126]

The central thrust of Christian feminism was to adapt
Catholic definitions of women's duty to change social
circumstances to face in the new roles that "she dreams
with ardent desire and vague fear".[127] Education and legal
reform were important in this task. The definition of
the recognized changes in the division of labour, rejected
the limiting of women to special "feminine" jobs that were
low paying but insisted that women's first career was as wife

and mother. This French initiative was welcomed by

Gerin-Lajoie. Writing as "Yvonne" she placed this new

ideology in her strategic vision. It would unite Catholicism

and feminism, avoid the errors of false "free-thinking"

solutions, was within the policy of the current Pope,

and would aid fraternal relations between classes.[128]

Certainly at the level of membership the strategy was

successful. The FNSJB was founded with twenty-two

associations represented thousands of members and was,

hence, the most broadly based federation in the province.

As well as these strategic considerations, for

broadening the movement, resolving ideological contradictions,

assuring national solidarity there had been a growing

radical egalitarianism in the anglo-dominated MLCW. They

supported equal pay for equal work, opposition to all

special protective legislation from women, equal education,

demands that were in any case ahead of, not only their

French Canadian sisters but most of the local NCWC councils

as well. [129]

The work of the components of the FNSJB consisted

officially of three types: charity, education, and economic

and professional organizations. However, a certain amount

of agitation and education on the question of women's rights

was carried on under its banners. The charity activities

of women continued to be dominated by the church; not until

the 1930's was a "social work" organization founded without

the supervision of an aumonier.   Its campaigns included

temperance and a struggle against infant mortality.

Temperance work reached a high point in 1910 municipal

elections. In cooperation with the WCTU "un grand appel

est lance a la solidarite feminine, afin que toutes les

femmes qui possedent le droit de vote appuient les candidates

pronent le programmes de la Ligue antialcoolique."[130]

The second major campaign was focused on the provision of

pasteurized milk for the francophone proletarian neighbourhoods.

With the development of Gouttes de Lait, infant mortality

dropped dramatically. It should be noted that there is no

evidence that the work force participation of their mothers

was lowered at the same time. Nevertheless, despite concrete

evidence to the contrary children's illnesses continued to

be blamed on the lack of maternal care.

4.4.2.iv.   The struggle for women's rights

Like other women's activities, the women's political

rights movement exhibited deep national cleavages. Anglo-

phone women's groups mobilized primarily around the issues

of suffrage and access to the professions. The French

Canadian organizations took on a broader range of social

issues including educational and legal reform.

1. Education.

In the United States, and as one of the French

Canadian activists pointed out "even in Nova Scotia", women's

seminaries or institutes of higher learning were one of the first areas that feminists tackled. In Quebec educational reform was not a concern until relatively late in the public work of the society. Under the church, in Montreal at the turn of the century, education was available for girls in public schools or in private convents. Any young women who wished to pursue higher education were trained in English or in France.[131]

The first moment of educational reform came with the establishment of ecoles menageres for young girls. These were attended for the most part by the young girls of the "agricultural and artisanal classes".[132] The opportunities that were offered them were a clear case of separate but unequal. Here the secondary school curriculum was adapted to girls "special needs". Chemistry and physics were taught in relation to food preparation; several hours a day of child care, sewing, and domestic skills were added to the regular curriculum. Unfortunately the academic education was so inadequate that girls in the teaching stream often were incapable of passing entrance exams to Normal School programmes.

The circumstances surrounding the foundation of these schools illustrates a clear case where nationalism served the end of patriarchal and class inequality. In order to head off initiatives of Ottawa-based reformers to promote a pan-Canadian policy and to blunt criticisms of

Quebec's failure to institute compulsory education, church
officials cooperated with members of the legislative
assembly to promote a programme of educational reform.
They based their arguments in the legal context of provincial
rights in the social contention that Quebec's rural
women needed particular skills, and in the religious
interpretation of the sexual division of labour. Thus,
the first école ménagère was founded in Trois Rivieres
in 1909. This form of education continued until the end
of the Duplessis regime.

For the young girls of the bourgeoisie, there was
a different type of education. These young women, soon to
be married to upright young professionals, the FNSJB
contended, needed a specialized education so that they would
be worthy of their husbands conversation and able to raise
their children as future leaders of Quebec society.[133] They
also pointed out that there was nowhere in the country to
train either lay or religious secondary school teachers in
academic subjects. These two arguments were used to establish
the first collège classique for women, later the
Collège Marguerite-Bourgeoys. It has been suggested that
this difference in educational strategies represents a
contrast between conservative and reformist ideologies.
While this may be a partial explanation, it seems unwise to
overlook the class dimension in the differentiation. In this
second case, an argument was made for the advancement of
female education on national and class grounds.

2. Suffrage.

The structural division of the pan-Canadian state into federal and provincial jurisdictions provided the legal structure within which national political divisions played out in the struggle for female suffrage.[134] Initial efforts to gain th woman franchise seem to have been animated mainly by members of the anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie in Montreal. The first attempt to promote the vote for women was on the part of the Women's Christian Temperance Union(WCTU), and their programme of legislative struggle against the social costs of alcholism was shared by francophone urban reformers.[135] The more narrowly women's rights focus was initially directed toward the federal franchise with a programme of petitions and speakers; public meetings were held in English, although co-chairmanship(sic) by repsectable French Canadians and later "séances françaises" were normal practices.[136] With the gain of the federal franchise as a result of piecemeal measures of war-time acts, attention was turned to the provincial scene:

> After the passage of the federal women's franchise
> act in 1918, the conviction grew rapidly in the
> minds of Professor Derrick and other leading members
> of the /Montreal Suffrage7 Association that in a
> province, seven-eights of whose population was French,
> the provincial franchise could be obtained only
> through effective co-operation between French and
> English speaking groups.   [137]

But in the face of national differences in the fundamental conception of the basis of women's rights and oppostition

from the Church, anglophone feminists were not able to find
a lasting basis of unity with francophone Quebec women.
Despite the founding of united organizations on paper, no real
organizing effort was able to get off the ground until 1927.[138]

The struggle for the provincial vote is a long story
of discontinuous initiatives, committees that lose energy,
turns to the question of opening up professions to women,
general reform in the civil code governing marriage, and
yearly pilgrimages to Quebec city. Therese Casgrain suggests
that many of these initiatives were undertaken in order to
generate publicity and to keep the issue alive. Indeed, for
an organization that at times represents no more than forty
active members, the activity was impressive. Much of it
focuses on presenting briefs and petitions to various
commissions of inquiry, federal and provincial, concerned
directly with women's rights or not. Perhaps the first
major success in the campaign was the establishment by the
Taschereau government of the Dorion Commission in 1929.
Although women were relegated to an auxiliary committee,
some reforms in the regulation of property rights in marriage
were recommended. No longer were husbands to have the right
to all of their wives' earnings or property.[139]

Blocked by Duplessis and Taschereau, the suffragists
turned to the Liberal party out of power for help. They
offered a deal -- to work for the Liberals in the next election
in return for a promise of franchise legislation. There is
more than a suggestion that co-operation from the provincial

party was engineered by behind the scenes pressure from
Ottawa Liberals who were politically embarassed by the
reactionary stand of their Quebec wing.[140] As well as these
political manouveres similar to the tactics of American and
western Canadian feminists at the turn of the century, the
Quebec activists had a new weapon at their disposal -- radio.[141]
Although political differences in class orientation and
strategy had caused a split between the Provincial Suffrage
Association and a new grouping, L'Alliance Canadienne pour
le Vote des Femmes du Quebec, led by Idola St. Jean, both
wings cooperated in the use of radio broadcasts on the new
CBC network. Finally, mass education and political manouveres
paid off and, despite last ditch opposition, the vote was
granted in the legislative session in 1940.

The lack of organization solidarity in Quebec on the
suffrage issue has often been read by English commentators as
political apathy on the part of French Canadian women.
Cleverdon presents a confusing characterization: first she
suggests that francophones were indifferent and then hostile
without explaining if and how this transformation occurred.[161]
This explanation has been picked up by Stoddard and reproduced
as the "indifference if not open hostility" of the francophone
population on this issue almost thirty years after Cleverdon's
book was published.[162] While Stoddard concludes her essay with
a discussion of Albert Memmi's assessment of the importance of
religion and family organization in a colonized society, she
does not seem to have integrated this theoretical notion into

analysis:

> Colonized society is a diseased society in which
> internal dynamics no longer succeed in creating
> new structures....
> Sooner or later, then, the potential rebel falls
> back upon traditional values. This explains the
> astonishing survival of the colonized's family.
> The colonial superstructure has real value as a
> refuge...religion constitutes another refuge value,
> both for the individual and for the group. For
> the individual, it si one of the rare paths of
> retreat; for the group, it is one of the rare
> manifestations which can protect its original
> existence. 163

While she correctly points out the importance of

patrarchal images of woman as "reine du foyer" in cohering

the global nationalist ideology, she fail to extend her

analysis far enough. She does not consider how the francophone

women, confronted with an existing ideological apparatus

and changed conditions, sought strategically to define that

situation anew. Indeed, they had internalized the real value

of the family structure in the face of industrialism's savagery

and the real value of the primary socialization processes in

the home in preserving the linguistic and cultural aspects

of life in a dominated nation surrounded by English-speaking

states and penetrated by various forms of anglo-imperialism.

What they sought was to make use of the authoritative social

values and to turn them to their use throug the mechanisms

of Christian feminism.

Chapter Five

5.1   Introduction

In turning to the last moment problematized as excep-
tional in the development of feminism in Quebec, we also turn
to the other side of the process of uneven development:
accelerated or combined development. In this form, unevenness
and asymmetries are exhibited in social formations along two
major axes: the economic and the politico-ideological.
First, in accelerated development, the "privilege of
backwardness" allows the most advanced forms of social and
economic planning -- in state institutions, technologies, or
industrial organization -- to be realized and set down in the
midst of otherwise "underdeveloped" or unevolved" social
instances. As a result of such juxtapositions, economic and
ideological dislocations may be rendered apparent and defined
as political contradictions. Thus, the second axis of this
side of uneven development may result from the combination
of aspects of old ideological elements with those drawn from
the new situation to produce a synthesis with unlooked for
consequences. In short, new, advanced forms of political
struggle may flow from the combined effects of new contradictions
and old ideologies. This is not to say that any form of rapid
superstructural overhaul or economic change will, like
Aladdin's lamp inhabited by a radical genie, automatically
produce left-wing feminist (or other) forms of radicalization.

Indeed, an opposite and reactionary effect may occur.

Political and economic development in Quebec have, however, exhibited both forms of unevenness and, ultimately, radicalization of important sectors of the trade union movement, students, and women in the late sixties and early seventies. The tasks that remain, then, in this chapter are to specify the direct and indirect effects on the position of politicization of women that the superstructural unblocking of the Quiet Revolution facilitated. The direct effects flowed from the overhaul of the state sector and legal regime and effected women's position as workers, as unionists, and as citizens inside and outside of marriage. But, however important the direct effects of these legal changes may have been, the indirect effect of the political dynamics of the new period in the class struggle on the form and timing of the emergence of contemporary francophone feminism is of greater concern within the investigative problematic here. Thus, consideration of the Quiet Revolution will be circumscribed and directed to exposure of the structural contradictions that it generated and to the new political movements in the student and labour movements that arose in response. It is in this light that the development of the various currents that went to make up the women's movement of the seventies in general and to organize the 1975 IWD Teach-in with which this study opened will be specified.

Here I should clarify what is meant by the labour movement in this chapter. The Quebec labour movement was

organized in two (and later three) competing union centrals--
the CSN, the FTQ, (and the CSD)--and an association, later a
union, of Catholic teachers.[1] These centrals can be
differentiated on the basis of their ideological positions and
in relation to their diverse locations in the relation to the
dualistic North American and nationally specific aspects of the
Quebec social ensemble. The FTQ presents the exceptional case
primarily as a result of its affiliation with the CLC and
AFL-CIO. Located in the international sector of North
American unionism, this central has long supported women's
right to work.[2] For the same reasons of social location, it
was less affected by class and national radicalization in the
sixties. While the FTQ may have been both initially more
advanced on the questions of working women and less touched
by political radicalization of the sixties, it nevertheless
participated in debates on women and organizing initiatives
within the framework of its own and joint union structures.
Therefore, while the analysis will consider the CSN and the
CEQ as the central components of a radicalized labour movement,
the FTQ must be considered to a limited extent in relation to
the formation of new intra-union feminist currents.

Finally this chapter will conclude with a brief resumé
of the argument in order to evaluate and revise the initial
theses proposed about the nature of political dynamics arising
out of the intersection of structures of class, national, and
sex domination.

5.2.   The Quiet Revolution and its aftermath

In the earlier discussion of Quebec's political economy
in chapter two, I argued that the dominated and dependent
position of the Quebec social formation gave rise to a distorted
economy, a truncated class structure, an underdeveloped state
sector, and the hegemony of a traditionalist conservative
nationalism. Furthermore, I pointed out that the development of
the superstructure towards the normative model of a modern
industrial capitalist social formation lagged behind the level
of development attained in the economic infrastructure. It was
this contradiction that was problematized by the progressive
forces that united behind the Liberal Party to defeat the Union
Nationale in 1960.[3] They analyzed the barriers to economic
growth in Quebec society as a lack of skilled labour and of
essential economic planning. In short, they saw the central
structural contradiction in Quebec society as one between the
vestiges of the pre-capitalist past and the requirements of the
capitalist present. The strategy that flowed from this analysis
was one of "modernization"--to rationalize the economy and to
institute the norms of liberal democracy and abstract equality
proper to a fully developed capitalist society. The project
was cast in a technocratic perspective, but its popular
justification was that it would promote economic growth and,
hence, prosperity.

However, as I shall argue below these planners failed
to take into account the structural contradictions of

capitalism, of national domination, and of the oppression of women and were, then, incapable of foreseeing that new political and structural contradictions would be generated by their project which would prevent its realization. Even less did they consider that its failure would result in the resurgence of a movement with a nationalist ideology in a new and radical form, heightened levels of class struggle, and eventually a women's movement whose demands to far outstripped the bounds of bourgeois democratic forms of equality as to require a radical restructuring of all aspects of family and economic life for their realization.

5.2.1.   The political project of modernization

In the strict sense, the term "Quiet Revolution" refers to the series of reforms enacted by the ruling Liberal Party in Quebec, 1960-1966. Monière has identified the goals of the first years as two-fold: democratization and revalorization of the state. To this end, patronage which had knit together electoral alliances and had directed much of the development of the civil service was to be abolished.[4] A separation was to be made between church and state and the latter was to take over education, social welfare, and hospital administration. For women, democratic equalization as understood by the Lesage "équipe de tonnère" was to be realized in a series of reforms of the marriage law in 1964. These "gave Quebec women the title to rights that had long been enjoyed elsewhere".[5] Finally, the labour code was to be rewritten, unions were to be

considered as a normal institution of a pluralist state, and
the provincial state was to leave aside laisser-faire economic
policy in favour of limited state intervention.[6]

In view of the lack of a developed national bourgeoisie,
the state was to be not only the object of this complex process
of modernization but the instrument that would allow French
Canadians to regain control of their economy as well. As
Premier Jean Lesage put it, "We use the state because we
have nothing else".[7]

Despite the fact that one of the first economic projects
of the new government was the nationalization of hydro, we
should not exaggerate the radical character of this economic
policy. As most marxist critics point out, economic rationaliza-
tion was to be carried out without fundamentally altering the
capitalist nature of an economy based in private ownership of
the means of production and the exploitation of surplus-value:

> La Révolution tranquille ne consiste donc pas en
> une transformation quantatiye ou qualative de la
> structure économique du Québec même si elle repose...
> sur une phase cyclique d'expansion du systéme
> capitaliste. La Révolution tranquille se résume
> essentiellement en une transformation des super-
> structures politiques et idéologiques afin de les
> adapter au stade économique atteint par le
> capitalisme monopoliste d'Etat, transformation
> que les sociologues bourgeois qualifieront de
> 'rattrapage' ou de 'modernisation'. 8

Rather than challenging the existence of capitalist
social relations, this reform was designed to develop a state
apparatus capable of playing a centralizing role in economic
planning (after the French model), of producing technically
skilled labour power (in line with the complimentary theories

of the human capital thesis and "education permanante"), and
of supplying social and material infrastructures (hospitals,
urban transportation, energy resources, roads and
communications).[9] These functions have become necessary in
the highly developed stage of state monopoly capitalism but
remain beyond the scope of private investment. As Monière
puts it so concisely and clearly:

> À l'age des sociétés capitalistes avancées,
> l'État joue le rôle de régulatuer. Il nationalise
> le risque. Par l'orientation de ses achats et de
> ses dépenses il absorbe les surplus et assure la
> croissance économique. Il prend en charge les
> investissements trop coûteux pour le secteur privé.
> Il remplace l'initiative privée dans les secteurs à
> faible rentabilité ou à rentabilité à trop longue
> échéance. Il finance aussi l'innovation technologique.
> L'État intervient donc comme régulateur du progrès
> économique dans le cadre de la rationalité capitaliste.[10]

As well as direct economic functions appropriate to
the late phases of capitalist development, these concrete
reforms in the public sector were a response to the crisis of
legitimation provoked by the attack of Liberals and labour
in the long struggle against the Duplessis regime. Planning
bureaus, hospitals, and expanded and modernized systems of
public education fulfilled complex social functions. On the
one hand, they met individual aspirations for better levels of
social service and upward mobility through education. Yet,
on the other, they were designed to provide sources for
supplementing the capital and technical needs of private industry
and mixed enterprise. Finally, they introduced a new role for
the state in relation to job creation. "Ces innovations

institutionelles sont significatives de la conception du rôle

de l'état qui dans la phase monopoliste devient pourvoyer de

capitaux et créateur d'emplois".[11] This complex balancing act

between the demands of citizens as consumers of state services

and as employees and of sectors of the international bourgeoisie

who had united behind the Liberal project were to lead to

social conflicts. But before we turn to the explosion of the

Quiet Revolution's contradictions, we will examine the changes

that occurred in the position of women in the Quebec social

formation in this period.

5.2.2. Changes in the social position of women during the Quiet Revolution

In 1958 Philippe Garigue could write of the family in

French-Canada that "There is a unity between the family of the

XVIIIth century and that of to-day which is due to the fact that

the extremes of change are less strong".[12] He goes on to

argue that, despite a falling birth rate and urbanization,

that the family form was stable, untouched by any crisis of

sexual relations. Among the factors that he cites to explain

a falling birth rate are crowded urban living conditions,

the "economic costs of children", and church approval of

rhythm methods of birth control. Yet, before the end of the

next decade, the stable French Canadian family will have been

revealed as an outdated myth, belonging to a past that was

mostly an ideological creation.

What were the social forces underlying this apparently

rapid change in the form of the family? Other sociologists

have noted the impact of urbanization on more than family size.

First, there has been a tendency to undermine the patriarchal

authority of the father in the mother-centred households of

the new suburbs, much like any other North American example.[13]

As a result of the shift from petty commodity production and kin-

based work units to capitalist production the relations inside

the family have shifted.

> The altered production techniques and economic
> system have disrupted ways of life and principles of
> social organization and modified attitudes and
> conceptual frameworks, all of which has had a direct
> impact on family functions and the authority structure
> within the family. One must recognize that the new
> social environment of French-Canadian families is the
> city and that the vast majority of them now rely on
> salaried work for their income. [14]

Beyond this, family size has continued to be eroded.

The 1971 Canadian census revealed a sharp decline to have taken

place in the Quebec, and above all in the French Canadian, birth

rate in the last decade.[15] Caldwell has argued that the effect

of transferring rural kinship networks to the urban environment

was first to prolong and then later curtail fertility rates.[16]

But beyond the action of the kinship network itself on the

reproduction of family form and size, several authors have

subscribed to a notion of modernization as an explanation

valuable in itself. Henripin, for example, suggests that a

whole complex of factors including female education, employment,

attitudinal change toward family and sexuality, and a desire

for upward mobility linked to education to lie behind these

changes.[17] New patterns of aspirations for family and household

consumption have increased the need for cash income.[18] This
has, in turn, produced a greater reliance upon the salaries of
married female earners.[19] Tremblay has hypothesized that this
new pattern of the increase in women's working for pay on a
permanent basis has indeed had further important subsidiary
effects on family sexual authority patterns.[20]

These factors--education, employment, and ideology--
are important components of the indices established above for
the measurement of women's status. Moreover, each has undergone
important changes during the period of the Quiet Revolution.
The lack of a comprehensive study of the formal evolution of
the Quebec family in the last fifteen years forces us to rely
once more upon partial and limited studies.[21] But we can
nevertheless draw inferences about the ways in which the position
of women changed on these dimensions as an indirect spinoff from
the Quiet Revolution programme. The impact of changes in the
position of women in the labour force will be discussed below.
Here, however, we can review briefly the impact of one of the
central thrusts of the modernization project--an open and
technically oriented system of post secondary education--which
has been of major importance in changing women's life chances
and social ideologies.

First, since the only education at this level that was
available before the 1964 reforms was in fee-paying Collèges
classiques, numerical comparisons of female participation rates

are not very relevant. The increase in female post-secondary
education has been marked for several reasons. The introduction
of the new CEGEP programmes in professional and general
(university preparatory streams) has meant not only the introduction
of co-education in the class room, but the removal of the
barrier of fees which discriminated against women. If young
women are now found to be disproportionately in traditional
pre-professional courses like secretarial and nursing training,
they are nevertheless actively preparing for employment.[22] And
if their participation in technical and professional courses in
general is weak, it can be, in part, explained by the fact that
about 80% of all CEGEP students have, despite the intentions of
the system's planners, chosen the university preparation streams.[23]
Secondly, the expansion of education has itself opened up
important career paths for holders of graduate degrees. It is
likely that a demand for holders of such qualifications which
outstrip the supply of male aspirants, would further tend to
equalize women's access to new jobs.

But as well as these effects on employment opportunities
and socialization, the CEGEP and university system has been an
important locus of ideological change. The provision of courses
and counselling services on "sexologie" puts into place a new
source for moral values outside of the traditional and
conservative church and family.[24] Finally, the very presence
of young women in the expanded post secondary education system
exposed them to the political effects of the political contradic-
tions generated by the Quiet Revolution's inability to meet the

increased aspirations it generated and to the effects of a general
radicalization of youth and students that swept North America
in the late sixties. They were, then, like their predecessors
in the reform movements of the 1860's exposed to a process of
politicization and mass mobilization which would provide an
important education for a later feminist radicalization.

In general, we can say that the shifts in women's social
location in the course of the reforms of the Quiet Revolution
project made them particularly susceptible to any dynamics of
political conflict that it generated. In the economy, women
found employment in an expanded civil service administrative
structure or in state sector education and health services.
Their relationship to the organized working class movement was
effected not only by their increased employment, but also by
the changes in the labour code which permitted unionization of
the civil service. Their civil status was changed as a result of
marriage law reform. And, finally, since the new ideology of
"femme symbiose" did not cohere as a societal ideology, the
ideological definition of woman's proper place was left hanging,
and hence particularly vulnerable to rapid redefinition in the
course of the development of new ideologies. The growth of a
new ideology and of a new feminist movement will be left to the
next section of this chapter. First, however, in order to set
the scene for its development we will turn to examine how the
structural contradictions of the Quiet Revolution served to
generate a new left nationalism and a new socialist current inside
the labour movement.

5.2.3.   Contradictions generated by the modernization project.

The overall impact of the reforms of the Quiet Revolution was not to reach a new social equilibrium supported by constant and unlimited economic growth, but to generate new political and social dynamics of ideological and cultural criticism during the expansionist phase which lasted up until 1968. With the economic downturn, class conflict sharpened to explode in the common front of public sector workers. Despite the fact that these social struggles had causes that were internal to the Quebec social formation, they nevertheless took place in the context of a general crisis in the North American social formation and the capitalist bloc as a whole. For example, the promulgation of the War Measures Act by the federal government in 1970 which was part of a generally repressive reaction to dissident and youth movements on the part of western capitalist governments obviously had an impact on the formation of radical nationalist currents in Quebec. But here I will focus on the sense in which the project of the Quiet Revolution both touched off new social conflicts and was inherently structurally contradictory.

Dion's description of the effect of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec society can serve as a useful introduction. While he provides little analysis here, he nevertheless provides a flavour of the way in which the Quiet Revolution was experienced by individuals and how that disorienting period of change opened up the possibility of a new political consciousness:

Contemporary Quebec, seriously divided as it is
by multiple contradictions and shaken, sometimes
tragically, by convulsions, provides a perfect
example of this changing world (in the second half
of the twentieth century). Nowhere else, perhaps
has the new order challenged the old so suddenly
and so brutally. Nowhere else is the social frame-
work so inapt (sic) to channel this tide of social
change. Few societies have experienced such profound
changes in so shart a space of time as Quebec
during the last decade: demographically, in education,
in religious outlook, and in political life. At a
dizzying pace, traditional values have been discarded,
the elite disposses, and leadership contested....
  Breaking the bonds which held them so securely
to a familiar world, Quebecers find themselves
suddenly cut off from old beliefs, now obsolete....
Long held in bond by ancient taboos...and hopes for the
future (joys of heaven, electoral promises) men and
women with no sure sense of direction are brought
brutally fact to face with the present.... They
become the creators of their own destiny, under
particularly difficult economic and social conditions.
In this way many of the most underpriviledge Quebecers
have acquired a new consciousness of themselves and
of their destiny /in/ urban citizen's committees and
rural movements...determined...to change their present
situation and to take their future into their own
hands. 25

5.2.3.i Overexpansion in the tertiary sector

In the sixties in Quebec as in the rest of Canada and

in the western capitalist bloc in general there was a vast

expansion of the state sector. Still riding on the tail-end of

the post-war boom, the bourgeoisie in the countries of the

imperialist centre had a margin for manouver that allowed new

forms of legitimation through various socio-economic rationalization

and modernization programmes. The coincidence of the investment

of massive quantities of capital by the state in growth oriented

expansionist projects with a period of economic upswing helped

to validate a technocratic post-Keynsian strategy. Or, rather
to sustain its illusions.

Given the retardation of the superstructural instances
and the relatively low level of development of state institutions
in Quebec under the Duplessis regime, the neo-capitalist
transformation was especially dramatic here. Public sector
jobs increased 53% between 1960 and 1965, and many of the new
employees were women.[26] The effect of this expansion in public
and para-public institutions intersected with an reinforced a
process of structural transformation of the economy, the growth
of the tertiary sector to the point where it employed the largest
proportion of the labour force. This shift to tertiary sector
employment cannot, however, be sustained indefinitely. While
growth in this sector appears at first to contribute to overall
economic growth, it is, in fact, dependent and even parasitic
upon a vigorous and expanding surplus-productive secondary sector.

> Est-il besoin de signaler que le prolongement
> des tendances actuelles aurait probablement des
> conséquences nefastes pour l'économie québecoise:
> freinage du progrès de la productivité dans l'ensemble
> de l'économie, diminuation de la capacité concurrentielle
> de la base industrielle vis-à-vis ses concurrents
> etrangers, aggravation de l'inflation, nécessité de
> plus en plus grande de faire des ponctions de
> ressources auprès de la base industrielle pour
> financer l'hypertrophie de la masse salariale du
> tertiaire, difficultés croissantes d'equilibrer la
> balance courante de biens.   27

Furthermore, the continued expansion of the state sector
beyond a certain functional minimum generates a structural
contradiction between the public and private sectors and a
political contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the fraction
of the petite bourgeoisie who are in control of the state. In

the first place, the fiscal requirements of an expanded state
come into conflict with private accumulation. Secondly,
étatiste political modernization tended to accentuate differences
among the international fractions of the bourgeoisie, the
national (industrial or financial) bourgeoisie whose interests
are closely tied to the state, the political leadership of
the state, and the state sector technocrats.[28]

Two factors arising from and reflecting the dominated
position of Quebec in the economic structure of North America
as a whole exacerbated the problems arising out of the expansion
of the tertiary sector. They are first the already disequili-
briated economy and, secondly, the effects of the imcomplete
class structure. As we have seen a lack of a national
bourgeoisie and local capital led to the development of the
Quebec economy in the interests of various imperialist blocs and
a failure to develop a base in heavy industry during the second
phase of capitalist expansion. The decline of Quebec's labour-
intensive light industry which began as early as 1936,
accelerated after World War II, and had reached landslide
proportions in the sixties.[29] Expansion of the state sector
had absorbed surplus labour in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs
and a massive building programme centred on schools, hospitals,
roads, the Montreal Metro, and the Olympics had helped to
sustain a construction industry that had developed in the
resource extractive sector.

Secondly, the truncated class structure was not
fundamentally altered by the sudden appearance on the labour

market of highly skilled francophone intellectual workers. On
the one hand, the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission
studies indicated that francophone Quebecois were excluded
from upper management in industry and finance and tended to
be less well rewarded financially for investment in education
than other ethnic national groups.[30] On the other, studies
continue to indicate that francophone students, perhaps accurately
assessing their chances, prefer to work outside of "big business".[31]
This layer of the middle class tended to look to the state for
employment whether as engineers at Hydro-Quebec, social workers,
or hard scientists. Thus, in the long run, particular stress
was placed on the state because of its current role as an
employer at various levels of the class structure as a result
of the national oppression of the Quebecois and the particular
form of the "underdevelopment" of the Quebec economy.

Finally as I have noted above, this state sector and
tertiary expansion had been particularly important for women.
While it would be an error to consider that women turned to new
employment only with the growth of this sector of government,
this sector was particularly important in relation to women's
union militancy. Women were at the bottom of the heap inside
the civil service as well as in the job market as a whole. In
the civil service a ghettoization of women in the category
"fonctionnaires" is reflected in the wage scale: 90.15% of the
women employed are in this category and over 77% of them earned
less than $6,999.00 for 1974.[32]

> La situation est donc claire: comme groupe, les
> femmes à la fonction publique du Québec se situent
> aux plus bas niveaux de salaires, elles sont cantonnées
> dans des catégories et des corps d'emploi
> traditionellement "féminins" et elles sont largement
> absentes du niveaux décisionnel ou même de gestion.   33

5.2.3.ii.   The fragmentation of the class alliance behind the
Quiet Revolution and the growth of working class militancy

The structural contradiction inherent in the expansion

of the state sector intersected with a political contradiction

inside the class forces that had supported the modernization

project of the Quiet Revolution. On the one hand, the

development of the new technocratic layer of the petite

bourgeoisie in the state sector--or what Milner identifies as

the "state middle class"--with its material interest firmly

tied to state expansion comes into conflict with the interests

of the bourgeoisie in the private sector.[34] Furthermore, the

working class components of the alliance find themselves in

conflict with the "progressive" wings of the dominating classes

as the Quiet Revolution explodes into rising class conflict

highlighed by the 1972 Common Front in the public sector. The

period where the unions were seen by Liberal Party ideologues

as the main progressive social force in the anti-Duplessis

struggle ended with the party's accession to power. At that

point it became the job of the latter to suppress their former

allies in the interests of capital.

The divergence of interests that would lead to conflict

was not immediately apparent, however. The Liberal Party,

once in power, reformed the labour code to give political
rights to unions, to remove compulsory arbitration, and to
remove the provisions of arbitrary decertification on political
grounds.

> Donc, avec la Révolution tranquille, le syndicalisme
> connait un essor sans précédent et faire des gains
> importants. Contrairement à la période duplessiste,
> le droit à l'existance du syndicalisme est non
> seulement reconnu mais aussi intégré institutionelle-
> ment comme corps intermédiaire et interlocuteur
> valable. 35

What this reform accomplished from another perspective, however,
was to put the unions into conflict with the state as employer,
a relation that soon altered the character of union activity
from economic to political.

But there were important shifts in the ideology adopted
by the unions. With the fracturing of the anti-Duplessis
alliance, the unions had retained certain of its ideological
tenets and had given them new meaning. Democratization and
self-determination through the state were oriented to assuring
social and economic justice. By the end of the sixties, the
CSN had "realized that it no longer had a monopoly of contestation,
had lost first place in the avant-garde" and began a period of
self-assessment that was to lead to the publication of a series
of manifestos and a new thrust in organizing.[36]

In his report to the 1968 congress Marcel Pepin
reviews the CSN's history: while the union movement has
fought for social justice in the world of production and must
continue to do so in a period in which workers' conditions
have deteriorated despite rising militancy, it has lost the

role of leader in the fight for justice in the eyes of the
public. He summed up the situation thus:

> In short, union activity has lost a bit of its
> prestige in the eyes of the people, as if it
> dealt on the whole with less absolutely vital
> questions and with rights the privation of which
> would be up to a point less odious, less revolting,
> no matter how important. And the unions themselves,
> which in our time as in the past take part in
> activities which are legitimately commanded by the
> well-being of the workers, do not find as much
> warm support as they did in other times. 37

Faced with this loss of prestige and outstripped by the
dynamics of the social struggle, the CSN moved to open up a
"second front" in the world of consumption--housing, credit,
social services--and to seek alliances in this struggle among
new movements and leaders who "speak more about radical social
change than we do ourselves".[38] This report also opened up
a third front: political action.

Oriented by these new elements, faced with the challenge
of movements by "les éclopées de la croissance",[39] with a
project of building a new humanist social order, the CSN
gradually moved to a new social definition of its role that
nevertheless maintained some continuity with its former identity.
It retained its universal Catholic social consciousness that
provided a moral justification for activity that extended
beyond narrow business unionism, but radically transformed its
social and political project.[40] A key element in this
transformation was its self-identification as a politically and
morally responsible leadership of the broad working class.
It therefore adopted a conscious strategy of global political,
social, and economic transformation to build a society based on

"the sacred cause of justice with a capital 'J".[41]

A similar evolution occurred among the teachers: they identified themselves as members of the working class, although privileged members, who faced the contradiction of being the agents for the reproduction of bourgeois ideology in the schools, and whose real needs were inadequately met by the goods of capitalist consumption society.

> At one point in its evolution capitalism reduced the craftsman to anonymity by setting up factories for mass production. Similarly, capitalism has reduced the teacher to anonymity by setting up factories for the mass production of ideology. They are both now common labourers. [42]

These sociological transformations were also realized in political and economic struggle. By 1968, public and para-public sector workers in the three Quebec based centrals had agreed to proceed with common negotiations in the face of a hardening of the state:

> Évidemment, cette combativité accrue des travailleurs qui pousse l'affrontement, n'est pas sans relations avec l'adoptions du nouveau Code du Travail....
> Plus de 60% des travailleurs qui ont déclenché des arrêts de travail ou subi des "lockouts" appartiennent au secteur public et plus de 40% des jours perdus à cause des conflits ouvriers leur sont attribuables. [43]

In sum, these two union centrals had adopted by the point at which they launched the Common Front of workers in the public sector in 1971 a self definition that was in all its fundamentals congruent with Marx's definition of the proletariat as revolutionary subject. "The proletariat only perfects itself by annihilating itself by creating the classless society through the successful conclusion of its own class struggle".[44]

5.2.3.iii.   The growth of a new nationalism

Discussions of the dynamics of growth of a radical nationalist current in Quebec with allies in the trade unions are so widely available, that I need here only summarize certain key points.[45] What is not usually stressed, however, and what I would like to point to here is the way in which the dynamic of the Quiet Revolution exacerbated the national question. In its attempt to rationalize the Quebec economy and society through centralized planning, the Quebec state was faced with the fact of its incompleteness, an incompleteness which gave rise to an attempt to redefine "provincial" jurisdiction in conflict with the federal Canadian state.[46] The provincial state attempted to repatriate shared jurisdictions and to expand the definition of areas of provincial completence. Thus, social legislation (pensions), long term manpower planning (immigration), cultural questions (Radio Quebec), and lnaguage questions in general became the focus of conflict, and these conflicts were escalated by inter-party rivalry on the Quebec political scene.[47]

Secondly, the language question took on a volatile character. The renewal of interest in French history, language, and culture which came about as a result of expansions of education in the modernization project created a new awareness of the precarious status of French not only in business but as an everyday language in the Montreal metropolis. The social conflicts that arose in response to the sudden

expansion of the education sector throughout the west, in Quebec gave rise to a student movement that contested the relative privilege of English language education. This movement was able to make links with nationalist movements of various degrees of political radicalism and thus gained a strength and continuity that was missing from the student movement in the rest of Canada which remained isolated. It is important to note that the juncture between a radical student mobilization and other oppositional currents effected the labour movement as well as the "new middle class" state employees. Both the CSN and the CEQ moved sharply to a left nationalist position, and, indeed, the FTQ adopted increasingly militant positions on national autonomy inside international trade union structures. But the alliance was not just at the ideological level: while workers joined the opposition against Bill 63 students in Montreal mobilized to demonstrate support for key strikes in both the public and private sectors.[48]

These two strands of opposition to perceived national oppression, a language movement rooted in the student population and an independentist current inside the governmental elite and technocratic administrative layer, with a pequiste current in the labour movement, joined forces to produce an independentist current which sought to reconstitute the class alliance that had supported the original Quiet Revolution strategy on a nationalist basis.

> Le Parti Québécois repose sur la nostalgie de la Révolution tranquille et sur le désir de la ressusciter pour la perpétuer. C'est pourquoi ses deux enemis sont ceux qu'il identifie comme

la cause première de l'épuisement de la Révolu-
tion tranquille: le fédéralisme qui est vu comme
un obstacle au développement du Québec et les
représentants de la bourgeoisie financière
anglo-canadienne dont le pouvoir sur le gouverne-
ment provincial...est jugé trop prohibitif. 49

5.3. Second wave feminism in Quebec

In the introduction to this study I offered a
characterization of contemporary francophone feminism in
Quebec as it had developed up to 1975 that was sociologically
and politically restrictive. Second wave feminism grew out
of the actions of young women, militants inside and outside of
the trade union movement, who were strategically oriented to
mass action, the working class, and national liberation.
Tracing the development of that current up to May Day in that
year is the essential task of this last examination of how
the intersection of class and national politics shaped feminist
sexual politics in Quebec. My task is to explain the reasons
for the late and explosive development of that current. But
before I begin, I should note that these working class oriented
feminist militants were not representative of all the forces
who were in some way politically activated on the question of
the status of women after 1960.

The existence of two other important components need
to be noted and explained. These are first, anglophone
feminism located mainly at McGill University and, secondly,
a reformist feminist current. The former will appear to a certain
extent in the discussion that follows. Here we need briefly
to explain the reasons for not considering the latter current

as an influence on francophone feminist radicalization.
In sum, it was isolated politically, socially and culturally.

Bourgeois reformist feminist in Quebec represents a
unique case in Canada. Because the struggle for the provincial
franchise was so prolonged, it is only here that activists
from the first wave have continued to be present on the scene
of the growth of the women's liberation movement. This nucleus
of activists, apparently for the most part from the Quebec
bourgeoisie and oriented to pan-Canadian political organization
and activity, was preserved as a component of the Voice of
Women.[50] Thérèse Casgrain, for a time president of the VOW,
is an activist whose career spans feminist organizing. As
Marie Gerin-Lajoie was earlier seen to typify the Catholic
Quebec nationalist feminism, Casgrain can be seen as typical
in some ways of this second current. She moved from the LDF
struggle for the vote, was tipped off by the Canadian Prime
Minister to organize against Duplessis' provincial rights
attempt to have baby bonuses paid to fathers in Quebec, and
continued up to the 1967 founding of the Federation des
Femmes du Quebec. As well as a federalist orientation, her
career in women's politics was marked by a refusal to submit
to the organizational umbrella of the church.[51] what marks
her as distinct, however, was her conversion to social democratic
politics in the CCF/NDP after her husband's retirement as
Liberal Speaker of the federal House in Ottawa. But her
federalism and, at least political, anti-clericalism cut her

off from access to the thousands of women organized inside the
St.-Jean Baptiste society.

The orientation of the FFQ had an orientation primarily
to legislative reform. It was active in pressing for further
reform of the marriage law. According to Casgrain:

> Although Bill 16 (the 1964 reform)...improved the
> status of married women...the law retained the
> principle of the community of property which was,
> therefore, under the husband's control. In the
> middle of the twentieth century this was somewhat
> anachronistic. Curiously enough, our lawmakers
> are still seeking inspiration from what is done in
> Europe or elsewhere instead of having the courage
> to innovate and legislate not with reference to the
> past but with a view to the future. 52

The modernizing spirit of the Quiet Revolution reformers then
seems to have ceased when it came to the question of women's
rights. As a final tactic, this group pressed for a
provincial Conseil sur le Status de la Femme which was
finally established in 1973.

It is difficult to evaluate the positive impact of this
bourgeois feminist current on changing the ideological mix on
the woman question in Quebec. As well as their federalist and
pan-Canadian orientation, their ideology was representative of
the "femme symbiose" current. Although they were active in an
organization that pushed for the establishment of a Royal Commission
on the Status of Women, this organization, according to Gagnon,
was not seen as representative of Quebec.[53] At least in the
case of the VOW, much of their ideology conveyed women as
having special rights and needs because of the fact that
they were mothers. Finally, they were sociologically differentiated

from the new women's liberation current a number of variables:
they were older, married, wives of socially and politically
prominent men, and represented diverse "establishment"
organizations like Business and Professional Women's Clubs.[54]
Finally, this reformist current was rarely active in self-
help organizations, demonstrations, or in support of campaigns
of the nationalist movement on the far left.[55] Pestiau points
out that strategic difficulties arose in building a Quebec
women's movement from this social and political disparity:

> However, it is obvious that women's rights cannot
> be established in Quebec, or elsewhere, by a
> series of fire-fighting actions. Long-term
> strategies are needed to change fundamental
> attitudes. This truism bears repetition in the
> Quebec scene where the avant-garde, the centre,
> and the traditionalists frequently lose contact
> with one another and find it difficult to bring
> common pressure to bear on the forces of inertia. 56

5.3.1　The growth of a feminist current inside the union
centrals

Women in Quebec are more highly unionized than women
elsewhere in Canada.[57] This high rate of unionization--37%
of the female labour force as compared to 24.2% for Canada--
is particularly concentrated in the CEQ and the CSN, both
representing a high percentage of public sector workers.
Indeed, the Csn's femlae membership doubled during the Quiet
Revolution, and the CEQ became a full-fledged union during
this period. Both of these centrals had been enmeshed in
political debates about the proper place of women. As
Gagnon point out, breaking with a long tradition of opposing

women's work, the CSN took a reformist position in 1964:
women should be allowed to work, but their "nature" and family
responsibilities should come first.[58] Although the CSN's
comité feminin was dissolved in 1966 it had been "véritablement"
novatrice dans la société québecoise" as the first to consider
the practical problems that working women faced. This
dissolution should be seen as a progressive step insofar as
it marked the recognition of women's right to work. However
its dissolution should be seen as limited in the same way as
the Quiet Revolution legal reforms. It was a move to recognize
women's equality without taking into account their oppression.

Indeed, after this period women seemed to drop from
the concern of the labour movement. Despite the wide ranging
concerns of the CSN's manifestos, they had ommitted any
discussion of the oppression of women and did so up unitl 1973.
While the labour movement in North America had made very little
progress on the question of women's oppression, it had
nevertheless become an agenda item by this point. This ommission
in the Quebec labour movement is particularly striking in
comparison to its radicalism on class and national questions.

> There is no recognition in the CNTU discussion
> of the specific ways in which women in our
> society are exploited.... This is a very serious
> ommission. There are thousands of women in the
> labour movement. Sooner or later they will rise
> up angry, against their condition both within
> and outside the labour movement. Although the
> liberating of women is the task of women them-
> selves, those who do not recognize the specificity
> of their subjugation within the movement do a
> disservice to the progress of radical social
> transformation. [59]

Unlike the CSN, the CEQ had always been open to
feminist influence of a kind. It was the outgrowth of an
initiative by Laure Gaudreault to organize the Fédération
catholique des institutrices rurales against salary disparities
that prevented women teachers from receiving a living wage.
Although its global politics were corporatist and although
it did not take an explicitly feminist political stance until
much later, it continued to struggle on the feminist issue of
equal pay. By the late sixties the CEQ had taken an increasing-
ly anti-capitalist and nationalist stance. Its white paper,
Phase One, had introduced the notion that teachers play an
important role in reproducing the dominant "capitalist ideology"
which helps to disguise and maintain class oppression.[60] It
is not surprising then that with its newly heightened
consciousness about its social role of ideology in the
reproduction of social relations of domination composed in the
main of women, and open to new intellectual currents, the
CEQ should be the first of the union centrals to begin to
develop a radical critique of the social position of women
and the ideology of the family.

A major event in the class struggle catalysed the
further development of a women's liberation current inside
the unions. This was the Common Front Strike of public sector
workers in 1971. The CSN and the CEQ entered into negotiations
with the FTQ unions to develop a common programme.[61] The
former had adopted as a central demand an end to salary

disparities on the basis of regional location or sex of the
individual worker. According to Piotte, this consciously
egalitarian demand was reduced into a slogan of "$100.00 a week"
in the course of inter-union bargaining, in part on the
practical grounds of ease of communication. Since women
were at the bottom of the salary scale across the province,
this demand was particularly important for their needs.
The effect of this demand was to reverse the effects of the
usual operation of unions.

Patricia Marchak has pointed out, in another context,
that it is usually workers at the bottom of the salary, seniority,
and authority levels who look to unions to take their side and
solve their problems.[62] Unfortunately for them however, unions
often serve upper level workers more adequately by helping to
maintain salary scale disparities, by linking more pleasant
work tasks with seniority, and so on. The effect of this is,
of course, to reinforce sexism in the labour movement insofar
as service to union members is structured by the patriarchal
division of labour in capitalist society. In the case of the
Quebec public sector unions, however, the recruitment of women
workers was closely followed by a major strike in which their
interests as the lowest paid were promoted. The juncture
would then tend to overcome the disgruntlement and disillusion
with the labour movement that followed from normal union practice.

In any case, women militancy in this strike was noted
by commentators.[63] Whether this militance arose from the

appropriateness of the central salary demand of the Common
Front for women workers, from the hypothesized tendency of women
workers to strike in support of the provision of social
services, or from a high level of commitment of francophone
Quebec women to continued participation in the labour force,
it had furthered the growth of a feminist current inside the
trade union movement. Among its precipitates were union
sponsorship (through funding and material support work) of a
series of discussions leading to a Teach-In at L'université
du Québec à Montréal in the spring of 1972 and a second
discussion group of union militants who met for self-education
and to try to develop tactics for a working class feminism.[64]
In the central union structures, an interest developed in the
potential of women as an important element in working class
struggles. A joint committee of women active in the three
centrals whose first public act was to sponsor a "féte populaire"
on International Women's Day in 1974 in co-operation with
community and refugee groups, also appeared subsequent to this
date.

Study commissions on the status of women in the unions
were reintroduced in the CEQ, the FTQ, and later the CSN.
The first of these to report was that of the CEQ. At its
1973 congress the CEQ spent an afternoon as a committee of the
in-study commission report on the condition of women. It then
passed a resolution that stressed a strategic perspective, voted
funds and outlined the need for further study and organizing:

> En plénière, le lendemain, on adopta une
> "résolution-fleuve" qui marquait la
> préoccupation globale de la CEQ pour la
> libération des femmes, parallèlement á sa lutte
> pour la libération de la classe ouvrière. La
> résolution parlait également de garderies, de
> salaire à la femme au foyer, et finalement de
> la libération des lois sur l'avortement....
> Concrètement, un comité d'étude a été mis sur
> pied, à la suite de ce congrès; des budgets de
> recherches ont été votés; des enseignantes sont
> libérées pour participer au travail du comité.
> Le comité entend mener particulièrement une
> étude sur l'image de la femme dans les manuels
> scolaires; le comité fera aussi de l'animation
> autour de cette question dans les syndicats locaux
> et susciter la création de comités feminins. 65

The CSN moved more slowly to mandate a study on the condition

of women at its 1974 congress to be made by a mixed committee

that was to report to the next congress following the publication

of a dossier on the question which would prepare the debate.[66]

5.3.2   Changes in union ideology under the impact of feminism

Having examined the course of development of a feminist

current inside the union, we now turn to examine its impact

on the ideologies of women promoted by the official structures

of the union movement. As a result of her review of the

CTCC/CSN documents, Gagnon summarizes the ideology that it held

on the question of women up to 1966 as having three stages:

> Jusqu'en 1953 dommine l'attitude négative: le
> travail féminin est antinaturel, antichrétien,
> moralement dangereux, antifamilial. La CTCC est
> alors l'écho syndical de l'idéologie traditionaliste
> élaborée par les élites cléricales et nationalistes.
> De 1953 à 1964, phase de discussion intense sur le
> travail féminin, a l'instigation de femmes influentes
> du mouvement. En 1964 officialisation de cette pre-
> occupation et reconnaissance officielle de la
> légitimité du travail féminin. Parallèlement,
> élaboration d'une idéologie protectionniste

> se situant dáns le cadre de l'idéologie d'adaptation
> ou de rattrapage.... 67

Despite progressive reforms in its position, there remains for the CSN throughout this period a legitimate distinction between what is proper to workers, and what is proper to women. There are two spheres, and in hers, the home and the family, a woman has primary responsibility, a duty even, for nurturing and care. Similarly, the CEQ describes the dominant ideology about women:

> Celle-ci tente de faire croire à tous, hommes
> et femmes de toutes les classes sociales, que
> la femme sur le marché du travail est une
> privilégiée qui vient chercher un deuxième
> salaire ou un salaire d'appoint, qui enlève
> des emplois aux hommes, qui abandonne son
> foyer ou fuit ses responsabilitiés, etc...
> Cette même idéologie véhicule que la femme
> à d'abord et avant tout des <u>devoirs</u> maternels,
> familiaux, domestiques et que ces devoirs
> passent avant le droit au travail. 68

There is a disjuncture, then, between "women" and "workers".

The documents on women that these two centrals have produced since 1973 register a sharp change in this ideology. They share a critique of previous ideology on the question that their predecessors had reproduced as tending to disguise "the double exploitation" of women as workers (often lower paid than men) in production and as housewives and child socializers in the sphere of reproduction.

> Quand les femmes travaillent à l'exterieur,
> elles sont doublement exploitées: sur le
> marché du travail elle vendent leur force
> de travail au même titre que les autres
> travailleurs, et le plus souvent à rabais
> par rapport aux hommes, et en général elles
> continuent à assumer en plus la tâche ingrate,
> épuisante et non payée du travail domestique. 69

In reproducing labour power, women assume a task that is necessary to all societies but there is no reason why it should be assumed by either the family or by women. Their task is not eased by household appliances; these in fact simply add to profits. What is more important about their situation is the home, however, is that women are socially isolated. As well as psychological ramifications this means, for those who do not work in the labour force as well, that they are cut off from social interaction and have no power or autonomy.

These documents tackle the tricky questions of male dominance and the family. In the dominant ideology, marriage and the family all tend to obscure the fact of women's doublt exploitation. Men benefit from and are the agents of women's oppression; the family, which historically has benefited the ruling classes by allowing them to accumulate property, assures that such oppression will continue.[70] The family as the location of unequal division of tasks helps to impede women's progress in the social world of production. The redistribution of these tasks among women and men (CEQ) and in particular within the community as a whole--through cheap canteens, laundry and cleaning services, child care, and so on (CSN)--is a necessary precondition of women's liberation. Of course the analysis of the condition of women can only be understood in the context of a global analysis of capitalism. Women must be understood as a part of the working class if working class organizations are to be capable of building strong, unifed organizations of

struggle. This means that men will have to change their attitudes (CEQ). While the struggle for social liberation and an end to class exploitation is a necessary step towards women's liberation, it is not automatically assured that women's liberation will take place without an autonomous movement that raises the question of women in the context of socialist revolution.

The end result is to overcome structurally and in ideology a particular disjuncture between self and others: either women are not properly workers and not of the unions, or teachers are not workers (but social servants). These two major centrals now identify with women, with the working class, and with one another, and have thereby overcome the disjuncture between trade unions as work and class organizations and women as a sex. This redefinition of the relationship between sex and trade unionism by the CSN and the CEQ was however, reached by somewhat different paths. The crucial step was the recognition of women's right to work and the abandonment of their attachment to the principal of protective legislation. What this means is in effect that "worker" refers equally to men and women, and that working class struggles against exploitation occur both at the point of production and against relations of domination and oppression in the domestic and sultural spheres. For the CEQ "teaching" as a professional had always been a proper sphere for women, and indeed the membership of the corporation-union had been predominantly feminine. Here it was a question of purging teaching of the

two-spheres ideology which clung to it as a form of work and which was enforced by the particular situation of teaching in the social ensemble under the direction of the religious elite. Teachers were, indeed, workers rather than dedicated servants, and as intellectual workers they were organically part of the Quebec working class, even if they were women.

For the CSN it was not a question of redefining work, but rather of women's relation to it. Women do not work merely for pin money or a second salary, but out of economic necessity and in order to be able to participate in collective social life. Women had a right to work and furthermore a right to expect the trade unions to carry demands that would allow them to exercise this right. The CSN has for example, included the demand for child care centres, to be funded by the employer in or near the work place. Maternity benefits have become a focus for union and feminist agitation across the province. Both centrals have, in their self-critiques, recognized that their previous positions were sexist and bound up with a global reactionary ideology that helped to reproduce social inequalities and relations of domination at all levels.

> Cette division si profonde entre les hommes et
> les femmes--au point qu'on la trouve naturelle
> et qu'on la prend pour aquise--ne ser qu'à
> maintenir et à consolider le régime capitaliste
> et conséquemment le pouvoir de la bourgeoisie
> d'une part, en consolidant l. 'institution familiale
> telle qu'on la connaît dans les sociétés capitalistes
> et, d'autre part, en affaiblissant considérablement
> la force de la classe ouvrière. Celle-ci est en
> effet affaiblie par les divisions qui sont la
> consequence de l'oppression des femmes:
> divisions entre les travailleurs et travailleuses

> parce que célles-ci sont sur-exploitées,
> divisions entre travailleurs et menagères
> parce que beaucoup de femmes n'ont pas accès
> au travail social, faible participation des
> femmes aux luttes syndicales et politiques
> parce que les conditions de leur oppression
> créent beaucoup d'obstacles à leur participation. 71

At the organizational level, the unions have lent their support to struggles that help to overcome the oppression of women, such as day care, free abortion and contraception as well as those specifically connected with the work place such as equal pay for equal work. From positions that were integrated with the state apparatus through the religious elites, these two centrals have achieved the highest level of integration of class and feminist consciousness of any mass labour organization in North America. In large part this development is due to the combined national and class struggles in which they have been engaged and which have combined to produce a revolutionary socialist and feminist ideology of liberation.

5.4.4.   The emergence of a francophone women's liberation current

> Ce qu'il faut retenir, c'est qu'au Québec ce sont
> surtout les mouvements de libération nationale
> et sociale qui ont permis aux femmes de sortir
> de l'univers dit féminin, d'affirmer en public
> leur energie et leur intelligence, et
> d'apprendre à leur tour que le monde des
> sentiments ne se résume pas à l'amour, mais
> inclut aussi la camaraderie chaleureuse. On
> pourrait dire la même chose, dans une certaine
> mesure de l'expérience du travail, qui a permis
> à bien des femmes de se redécouvrir et de
> s'affirmer comme des êtres autonomes. 72

Participation in the closely intertwined struggles

for national and social liberation confirmed for contemporary female political activists, their intelligence and energy and entry into the world of work their autonomy, according to Lysiane Gagnon's analysis of "Le women's lib, version québécoise". But that's not all. If we read the above quotation carefully, we can pick out an indication that "the warm comradeship" (presumably with men, since the alternative that is offered is "love") of the struggle against national and class oppressions obscures, at the very least, recognition of sexual oppression and the emergence of organized forms of struggle against it.[73] It is a feminism, she notes, "En douceur et mine de rien".

Gentle or not, the history of the recent emergence of women onto the political scene confirms the dominance of class and national struggles. While women organized autonomously in demonstrations as early as 1969, the purpose was not to agitate for demands specific to women. At the height of the nationalist and student mobilizations in 1969, Jean Drapeau, the mayor of Montreal, passed a bylaw forbidding demonstrations. In this context a group of women wearing red headscarves and arm bands organized a public protest against repression.[74] While they identified themselves as the Front de Liberation des Femmes, the group had a substantial anglophone component. Despite the presence of large numbers of police, there were no casualties or arrests. History then presents us with the irony that the first appearance of a "francophone" women's liberation group was a protest against political repression

with a partially anglophone cast.

During the period when the feminist current was developing in the unions two single groups organizing around the issues of abortion liberalization and day care emerged. The initiative for the first came from the anglophone milieu where an abortion referral service was operated by a group of women for the most part from McGill University.[75]

> Petit à petit, ce service organisé par un groupe de femmes féministes a constituté le lieu de rendez-vous unique à l'époque de toutes les femmes et militantes de groupes mixtes qui s'intéressaient à la question des femmes et qui n'étaient pas satisfaites des débats qu'elles avaient dans leur milieux. [76]

In 1972, le Centre des Femmes, was opened by "certain elements from the nucleus of the FLFQ and other militants" in order to continue the abortion referral service and to provide locus for a "systematize(d) reflection and analysis of the condition of women in our capitalist society". Confronted with the difficulty of "organizing the struggle" for free abortion on demand in a political and ideological vacuum, the CDF militants participated in an anglophone demonated, and pan-Canadian ARCAL (Association for the Repeal--then later, the Reform of the Canadian Abortion Laws), published a manifesto on women's right to contraception and control of their reproduction a bulletin, "Québécoise Deboute!", and became involved in the 1973 Committee for the Defense of Dr. Henri Morgentaler.[77]

The self-evaluation of their own history by the Comité

de Lutte pour l'avortement et la Contraception Libres et
gratuits , which was formed by former members of the CDF,
the CEQ, and a community group, stresses the lack of support
that they found in the rest of the Montreal and Quebec
communities. "Le Centre était très isolé politiquement
et ses militantes pensaient porter sur leurs épaules le
poids entier de la lutte féministe au Québec. Et c'était
presque la réalité...(sic)". What does not appear in this
account, however, is an assessment of the impact of nationalist
consciousness in the women's milieu. While organized feminism
was rejected by much of the nationalist left as anglophone and
divisive of the working class, the movement for abortion reform
itself split along national lines. Elsewhere in Canada, the
division was posed in terms of a reformist or radical/socialist
orientation. The former, which came to dominate the
organization ARCAL, proposed merely a reform of existing
abortion laws; the latter argued for a campaign based on the
slogan "Free Abortion on Demand". This difference of political
orientation took on nationalist overtones in Montreal when
the members of ARCAL who were predominantly anglophone
blocked all discussion of the more radical proposal.[78]

The various organizations that preceded and gave root
to the committee S.O.S. Garderies were more homogenous, at
least in terms of national group.[79] Many community based,
parent controlled non-profit day care co-operatives were
established in Quebec during the OFY-LIP grant spree that

began in 1971. By 1974, these day care centres had been
cut off from federal funds and further threatened by the
proposals for funding of "le Plan Bacon". Founded in
November 1974 the SOS Garderies attempted to negotiate a
series of economic demands from the Ministry of Social Services
headed by Lise Bacon and were met with "inertia and bad faith".
Basing their demands on the number of working women with small
children, and the large number of female headed families that
fell under the poverty line, as well as on an analysis of the
needs of children, they sought and found support from the
union movement, particularly the CSN. As part of their
publicity campaign, this group participated in the organizing
committee for the 1975 International Women's Day celebrations.

Unlike the previous year's IWD celebration which was
confined to an evening party, the 1975 version was organized
by an enlarged committee of women from the CSN, the CEQ, the
FTQ, the two single issue groups discussed above and groupings
of or inspired by the far left.[80] The organizing committee's
perspective was broadened to include an all-day teach-in with
workshops on education, work, sexuality, maternity, and day
care. In preparation for and in order to build support for
the IWD meeting, a trotskyist group, Le groupe marxiste
revolutionaire, established a series of committees on the
francophone university and CEGEP campuses. The committees
(Les comites 8 mars) organized, in turn, a series of "sensitizing
weeks" where the condition of women was discussed and a

political project for the development of autonomous women's
groups was put forward. Two major outcomes of this organizing
drive distinguish the acceptibility of feminist ideology in
the francophone milieu from the previous (1968-1972) period.

In the first place, no anglophone groups participated
in the organizing committee for the IWY/IWD celebrations.
At least three centres of feminist activity existed at the
time (two at McGill and a federally funded New Woman Centre),
and although the Woman centre allowed its name to be used in
publicity for March 8, none of its members appeared as
regular committee members. Previously, "C'est par les
milieux anglophones que le courant neo-feministe est entre
au Quebec, pour repandre ensuite chez les francophones...
mais de maniere extremement diffuse and souterraine".[81] In
1975, however, given the social and political space provided
by feminists in the union movement, the organizing effort of the
gar left groupings, and the occasion for on-going political
action provided by the anti-feminist policies of the state,
this new feminist current crystallized. The mixed March 8
committees on the campuses transformed themselves into
women's groups with a goal of propaganda, self-education,
strategic discussion and political support work. The IWD
committee was broadened and voted to continue as a planning
committee for a women's contingent in the May Day demonstration,
and as a co-ordinating committee to aid the SOS Garderies
in their planned March 20 demonstration and to organize defense
work for Dr. Henry Morgentaler who was being tried on a series

of charges for performing illegal abortions. An indication
of the strength of this new current was its three hundred
member contingent in the May 1st labour demonstration; that
it had broken from the political isolation that plagued the
CDF is shown by the participation of a number of officials
of the CSN and the CEQ in the contingent rather than in those
of their own union centrals.[82]

5.5 Conclusions

This study has attempted to develop and refine feminist theory in the concrete by examining sexual politics at three moments of the development of the Quebec social formation as it moved through the phases of capitalist development from mercantilism, through industrialization, and into the phase of state monopoly capitalism. There were two major theses which guided the investigation, one methodological and the other a theory of the relations and structure of women's oppression in capitalist patriarchal society. The first held that the political play of social forces on the question of sexual politics could best be understood first, as an outgrowth and condensation of structural contradictions and, secondly, as an aspect of global political dynamics. The second thesis argued that in the case of Quebec, women's oppression could be seen as an aspect of global structures of national, class, and sex oppression. Women's oppression, it was argued, was maintained and reproduced by the political power of male-dominance in the social structures of the economy, the polity, ideology, and sexuality. Changes between and within modes of production, especially in their economic structures, would ultimately result in changing structures of sexual politics.

In line with the central methodological principle of
this investigation, then, the development of the Quebec
economic and class structures were examined at the three
moments chosen. Quebec was seen as a dominated and incomplete
social formation with a distorted and truncated class structure
arising as a result of the Conquest. The uneven development
of the Quebec social formation resulted in, for the first
two moments of this study, a retarded superstructure and a
conservative and defensive nationalist ideology. This ideology
had as a central component a particular view of woman as the
centre of a large, rural family and as responsible for the
spiritual purity and survival of the national spirit in her
role as socializer. Throughout the long period of its
existence, this ideology served, in the hands of the francophone
component of the ruling alliance (with various forms of anglo-
inperialism) to justify patriarchal authority. It also served,
by defining the essential reality of the French Canadian nation
as outside of the growing realm of capitalist society, to
preserve the structure of class domination. In this sense
then, the particular political dynamics which arose served to
reproduce mutually reinforcing structures of class, national,
and patriarchal domination.

There were two exceptions to this general rule that
were noted. The first had to do with the vexed question of
why it was that partial enfranchisement of women existed in
Quebec up until 1849. Here I argued that the superstructural
retardation preserved feudal rights, that is, that national

and class domination unwittingly worked to mitigate male dominance in the political sphere. In pointing to the dualistic character of Quebec's insertion into the North American social formation and to the political and economic circumstances surrounding the loss of the franchise, I argued that previous explanations of women's social status in Quebec up to the mid-nineteenth century that relied upon rather loose defintions of frontier theory and traditional ideology for explanatory capacity were very weak indeed and suggested some directions for futher research.

The second exception to the general proposition that class and national domination reinforced women's oppression comes with the growth of the first wave of feminism. Francophone feminism develops in partial exception to North American and British feminism as a whole insofar as its form--ideology and organizational structures--is specific to Quebec but it shares at least the initial developmental rhythm of the rise of women's political activity in urban politics and women's rights with anglophone women in Quebec. Faced with a situation where "feminism" was identified by leading Quebec ideologues as foreign, materialist, and against the interests of national survival (that is, as an ideology of the dominating nation) francophone Quebec feminists made a strategic choice to attempt to use an ideology of sexual differentiation and the structures of the Catholic church to promote reforms in women's rights among women of the dominated national group. Their progress

was slow. Certain of their efforts, like women's "professional
groups" or quasi-unions organized under the banner of the
FNSJB and female separatism, reinforced class domination
and mitigated against class conflict at the same time as they
directly vehicled the interests of working women. Finally,
working class economic struggles were seen as a particularly
important if indirect way of furthering women's autonomy through
increasing their economic independence and challenging the
myths of patriarchal ideology.

The concrete mediated on sexual, class, and national
structures of domination and the politics which flow from
them was seen as more complex at the third moment of this
study. During the phase of accelerated development new class
and national movements arose. While women fell within the
orbit of the Liberal Party's attempt to institute the
abstract norms of liberal democracy in an industrial order and
while their actual situation as students and as workers--
particularly those in the public sector--was affected by a
series of superstructural reforms, economic, political, and
ideological structures still exhibited patriarchal forms of
male dominace. This class initiative of a reforming petite
bourgeoisie based in the state and in support of the new
needs of international capital removed some of the sexual
inequities in the Quebec legal structure but failed to alter or
even problematize underlying structures of male priviledge in
the economy and ideology.

Within the new opposition movement that grew up in

this period, the relationships are similarly complex. At
first in the CSN, a break from past corporatism and a new
class and national militance was also marked by a rejection
of protectionist ideology on women. While this was an
ideological advance insofar as it recognized women's right
to work, it nevertheless vehicled patriarchal ideology in
a bourgeois form. Within the student movement, mass mobili ations
on national and linguistic questions were followed by an
orientation to class struggle as a strategy and marxism as
an ideology. In both these sectors of the left then, national
and class prise de conscience served to delay awareness of
women's oppression. Even those francophone feminists who were
active were isolated politically (within the left) or for
reasons of class and age as well (bourgeois reformism). Yet
as a result of the ideological concentration of a praxis of
liberation, high levels of women's militance in working class
struggles, and the growth of sectoral movements in support of
struggle of concern to women in community groups, a core of
feminist militants inside the unions utilized the new orientation
of the CSN and the CEQ to socialism and nationali liberation
and the long standing FTQ verbal support of equality in the
workplace to promote feminism within the union structures and
debates. Inside the unions, this resulted in adoption of
resolutions on the status of women which vehicled many or all
of the demands of the women's liberation movement before they
were taken up by anglo-Candian unions. Secondly it resulted in
joint organizing initiatives with feminists outside of the

unions that served to cohere a francophone feminist current.
The study of this third moment serves, first, to confirm the
restricted theses about the nature of feminism and nationalism
in the labour movement(numbers 7 to 10 in chapter two).
Secondly it points to the need to analyse in the concrete the
mediation of sexual and national politics by those of class :
as a developmental and historical process.

This study has also poined out several areas where
the available historical information is inadequate to further
analytic progress. These include the origins of the "idéologie
traditionelle", the conditions of women's loss of the vote,
the role of the church in providing career mobility for women
in the colonial period. For the contemporary period, several
question must be clarified about the relationship of the feminist
movement and the labour movement. The actual development of the
nucleus of feminist militants inside the union structures
should be explored. Secondly, there is a whole area of research
to be explored in relation to the degree to which the unions
put their new ideological convictions on feminism into practise.
Finally, the history of Quebec feminism has not stood still
since 1975. The feminist movement has exhibited the political
differentiations, splits, and struggles for unity in Quebec
that it has elsewhere in North America. The real significance
of the 1975 initiative to develop a strong autonomous feminist
movement can only be specified in light of its further development.

In conclusion then, a structural analysis of the

exceptional case of Quebec francophone feminism has provided
a way of understanding the determinants of the social position
of women in Quebec. By examining the dynamic interplay of
class, national, and sexual politics it has been possible to
show the concrete mediation of class, national, and sexual
structures of domination and oppression. While much historical
research remains to be done, and while there are some exceptions,
we can conclude that national domination by British imperialism
and class domination by conservative francohpone elements served
to reinforce patriarchal domination in the post-Conquest
period. While the development of an impersonal capitalist
labour market undermined an important basis for patriarchal
economic deomination, conservative nationalism and bourgeois
domination similarly served to maintain and reproduce women8s
oppression during the process of capitalist industrialistion.
Political struggles of feminism and of the working class
on the otherhand challenged patriarchal authority in this
period directly and indirectly. Francophone feminist movements
have developed in rhythmic discontinuity and formal specificity
in the North American context; this exceptionalism can best
be understood as the result of the mediation of class and,
above all, national domination. Finally, in the period following
the failure of the Quiet Revolution project of modernization,
growing left nationalist and socialist ideologies inside and
outside the labour movement served as a locus for feminist
ideological struggle and, ulitmately, as a vehicle for feminist
ideology and demands.

Footnotes.

Chapter 1.

1.   Dr. Henry Morgenthaler was charged with several
counts of performing illegal abortions. He had run a
clandestine clinic for several years but was finally prosecuted
after he began to speak out publically against the existing
abortion law. His defense is interesting in relation to
national and sexual politics in Quebec. It was only after the
federal department of justice overturned an aquittal by
Quebec juries that massive public support was mobilized in
his defense.

2.   Linda Briskin, "The Women's Movement: Where Is It
Going?" Our Generation 10:3 (Fall 1974); Barbara Deckard,
The Women's Movement (New York: Harper & Rowe) 1975; Ann
Lefler et al., "Academic Feminists and the Women's Movement"
Insurgent Sociologist 4 (Fall 1973).

3.   Joint activities included meetings and demonstrations
in Toronto, Sudbury, Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Vancouver.

4.   Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux, "La lutte des
femmes, combat de tous les travailleurs", Rapport du comité
de la condition féminine, 47e congrès, Québec, juin 1976
(document 4) p. 19. From here on, CSN,(1976).

5.   In Chile, the socialist current effectively subordinated
women's politics to those of the existing class political
organizations with the result that the only movement that
claimed to speak for women was middle-class, reactionary, and
helped overthrow the Allende government by organizing housewives
demonstrations against high prices of food. Observers have
pointed out that for the most part, the saucepan clattering
women who made up these demonstrations were dressed in the kind
of fashionable European clothing that only members of the
bourgeoisie could afford. cf. Gary Crystal, "The Women's
Movement in Chile", personal communication, 1977.

6.   Catherine L. Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement in
Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1970 is the
classic text on the Canadian women's movement of the first wave.
See also Veronica Strong-Boag,"The Roots of Modern Canadian
Feminism. The National Council of Women 1893-1929",
Canadian Historical Magazine, 3:2 (December 1975) for a more
recent account.

7.   Marie Lavigne et al., "La Fédération Nationale Saint-
Jean Baptiste et les revendications féministes au début du
20e siècle" in Marie Lavigne and Yolande Pinard, eds., Les
femmes dans la société Québécoise (Sillery: Les editions du
Boreal Express) 1977, p. 91.

8.   Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the Political Economy of Sex" in Rayna R. Reiter Toward an Anthropology of Women (New York: Monthly Review Press) 1975a, p. 57-8.

9.   Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex (New York: Bantam Books Inc.) 1971, and the collection of papers edited by Anne Koedt et al., Radical Feminism (New York: Quadrangle) 1973 are good examples of this perspective.

10.   Branka Magas, "Theories of Women's Liberation" New Left Review 66 (1971).

11.   Roberta Hamilton, The Liberation of Women: A Study of Patriarchy and Capitalism (London: George Allen & Unwin) p.13.

12.   Evelyn Reed, Woman's Evolution (New York: Pathfinder) 1975.

13.   Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (Boston, Mass: Beacon) 1968   shows how capitalist relations of production were introduced without altering the composition of the feudal aristocracy. Conversely the modern Japanese corporation has taken on and adapted familistic ideology; Thomas O. Williams "Family and Industry in Japan," American Sociological Review 32:   (1967).

14.   For the Soviet Union, Hilda Scott, Does Socialism Liberate Women? (Boston: Beacon Press) 1974; Richard Sites, "Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: 1900-1930" Canadian-American Slavic Studies (Winter: 1973) (some interesting material on the early phases); and from Soviet Sociology: L. Gordon and B. Levin,"Some Consequences of the Five-Day Week in Big and Small Cities"617 (time budget material from working women and their husbands), A. G. Karchev and S. I. Golod, "Recommendations of the Symposium on 'Women's Employment and the Family' Minsk June 21-24,1969" (12), and L. V. Ostapenko, "The Effects of Woman's New Production Role on her Position in the Family" (12); for eastern Europe, as well as Scott, Alena Heitlinger, "The History Development of European Socialist Feminism" Catalyst 10/11 (Summer, 1977); and, for a more theoretical discussion in the context of the Budapest school, see Andras Hegedus et al., The Humanisation of Socialism (London: Allen & Busby) 1976; on China, Judith Stacey, "When Patriarchy Kowtows" Feminist Studies, 2 (1975), Delia Davin, "Women in Revolutionary China" in Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley eds., The Rights and Wrongs of Women (Hammondsworth: Penguin) 1976; and for Cuba, Margaret Randall,Cuban Women Now (Toronto: Women's Educational Press) 1974, a review of the changes in Cuban family law can be found in Carollee Bengelsdorf and Alice Hageman, "Emergency From Underdevelopment: Women and Work in Cuba", in Zillah R. Eisenstein, ed., Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism (New York: Monthly Review Press) 1979. Resistance and Revolution (Hammondsworth: Pelican) 1972 contains a critical historical discussion of socialist feminism in each of these contexts.

15.   Kate Millett, <u>Sexual Politics</u> (New York: Doubleday)
1970.

16.   Jill Stephenson, <u>Women in Nazi Society</u> (New York:
Barnes and Noble) 1975.

17.   Juliet Mitchell, <u>Women's Estate</u> (Harmondsworth:
Penguin) 1971, chapters 1 and 2.

18.   Nicos Poulanzas, <u>Political Power and Social Classes</u>
(London: NLB & Sheed & Ward) 1973, p. 40.   Also p. 29 for
the specific form of the relative autonomy of politics in the
capitalist mode of production;   this autonomy "takes on
different forms" in other modes of production.

19.   Friedrich Engels, <u>The Origins of the Family, Private
Property and the State</u> (New York: International Publishers)
1942, p.5.

20.   Rayna R. Reiter, "The Search for Origins" <u>Critique of
Anthropology</u> 3:9/10 (1977) p. 8.

21.   Andrew L. Wernick, "The Rehabilitation of Durkheim and
the State of Modern Sociology" <u>Catalyst</u> 8 (Winter, 1974).

22.   On the problem of defining patriarchy in an advanced
society see, Barbara Easton, "The Decline of Patriarchy and the
Rise of Feminism: a critique of feminist theory" <u>Catalyst</u> 10/11
(Summer 1977) who argues against the use of the term, and
Zillah Eisenstein, "Developing a Theory of Captialist Patriarchy
and Socialist Feminism" and "Some Notes on the Relation of
Capitalist Patriarchy" in Eisenstein (1978).

23.   Peter Debarats, <u>The State of Quebec</u> (Toronto: McCelland
and Stewart) 1965, p. xiv-xv.

24.   Leon Trotsky, <u>History of the Russian Revolution</u> Vol. 1
(London: Sphere Books) 1967, chapter 1, <u>et</u> <u>passim</u>.

25.   Ernest Mandal, <u>Late Capitalism</u> (London: NLB) 1975.

26.   The best statement of the position from this school
is Louis Althusser, "On the Materialist Dialectic" in <u>For Marx</u>
(New York: Vintage) 1970 especially p. 205 ff.

27.   André Raynauld, <u>Croissance et structure économique
du Québec</u> (Quebec: Ministère de l'Industrie et de la commerce)
1961.

28.   Jules Savaria, "Est-ce le Québec une société
périphéraliste?" <u>Sociologie et Société</u> (7:2) 1975.

29.   Gerald Bernier, "Le cas québécois et les théories de
développement et de la dépendance" in Gerald Bernier, ed.,

La Modernization Politique du Québec (Sillery: Les editions du Boréal Express) 1976.

30.   Denis Monière, Le développement des idéologies au Québec (Montréal: Editions Québec/Amerique) 1977.

31.   See Chapter Four below.

32.   Shiela Rowbotham, Hidden From History (London: Pluto Press) 1973 (1973a).

33.   Gerda Lerner, "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges" Feminist Studies 3:1/2 (1975) point out that there is as yet theoretical eclectism in this new field; Ann Duffy, "Women and History" Occasional Papers of the McMaster Sociology of Women Programme 1 (Spring, 1977) discusses some of the difficulties which face the theory of women's history; Jean Kelly-Gadol, "History and the Social Relation of the Sexes" Signs 1:4 (Summer, 1976); Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, "Introduction" The Neglected Majority place the problem of women's history in the Canadian context.

34.   "Women's history is developing into a new research area at a particularly exciting time. It has been stimulated by two related but essentially independent developments: the maturation of social history and the appearance of a renewed women's movement." Mary Hartman, "Preface" in Mary Hartman and Lois W. Banner, eds., Clio's Consciousness Raised (New York: Harper & Rowe) 1974, p. vii. The new social history is defined by Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian as having a working class and labour focus and attempting à "distinctive new synthesis" of Canadian history in their "Introduction" to Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto: McCelland & Stewart) 1976.

35.   Ramsey Clark, "Introduction" in Cleverdon (1970) p. vii.

36.   Marie Lavigne et Yolande Pinard, "Présentation" in Lavigne and Pinard (1977) p. 5.

37.   Isabel Foulché-Delbosc, "Women of Three Rivers: 1651-63", and Ruth Pierson, "Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Labour Force in World War II" in Trofimenkoff and Prentice (1977) offer useful insights at both ends of the spectrum; more important are by D. Suzanne Cross, "La majorité oubliée: le rôle des femmes à Montréal au 19e siècle"; Marie Lavigne et Jennifer Stoddart, "Ouvrières et travailleuses montrealaises 1900-1940" in Lavigne and Pinard (1977); in Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française, Jean-Paul Bernard et al., "La structure professionelle de Montréal en 1825" 30:3 (Dec, 1976); Joanne Burgess, "L'industrie de la chaussure à Montréal: 1840-1870 -- le passage de l'artisanat à la fabrique" 31:2 (September 1977); and Lilianne Plamondon, "Une femme d'affaires en Nouvelle-France"; Marie-Anne Barbel, "Veuve Forret" in the same issue.

38.   Yolande Pinard, "Les débuts de mouvement des femmes" and despite some shortcomings, Francine Fournier, "Les femmes

et la vie politique au Québec" both in Lavigne and Pinard (1977).

39.   Mona-Josée Gagnon, Les femmes vues par les hommes: trente ans d'histoire des idéologies, 1940-1970 (Montréal: Editions du Jour) 1974 from here on (1974a).

40.   Ibid, p. 14.

41.   The definition originates in W. I. Thomas and Dorothy Thomas, The Wayward Girl but is usually credited to him in The Polish Peasant, personal communication, K. L. Brennan.

42.   Henri Lefebvre, Au-délà du structuralisme (Paris: Editions Anthropos) 1971.

43.   Monière (1977) p. 229.

44.   Mitchell (1971) initiated this word play; both Hamilton and Eisenstein have taken it up.

Chapter 2.

1.   Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Towards and Investigation" in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays (London: NLB) 1971; Poulantzas (1973) p. 17, 81-82, et passim; Mitchell (1973) p. 99-101 and chapter 8.

2.   Anthony Giddens, Capitalism and Modern Social Theory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 1971, p. xi-xiii.

3.   "The notion that society forms an integrated unity which is in some sense comparable to that of a living orgamism is, of course, one which can be traced back to classical social philosophy. But the publication of Darwin's theory of biological evolution gave an entirely new stimulus to the elaboration of organicist theories." ibid, p. 66ff, p. 78-79.

4.   For a discussion of the prevalence of dualist notions in historical thinking see Kurt H. Woolf, "The Sociology of Knowledge and Sociological Theory" in Larry T. Reynolds and Janice M. Reymonds, eds. The Sociology of Sociology (New York: McKay) 1970 p. 50-53; Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace", "Conjectural Beginning of Human History" in Kant on History, (New York: Bobbs-Merrill) 1963, Lewis B. White, ed., for the classic sociological theorists see Edward J. Ruitenbuik, ed., Varieties of Classic Social Theory (New York: E.P. Dutton) 1963; Compte (p. 30), St. Simon (p. 23), Tonnies (p. 137).

5.   For an answer to Crane Brinton's query, "Who Now Reads Spencer?", cited in Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action Vol 1 (New York: Free Press) 1968, p.3, see Leon Shaskolsky, "The Development of Sociological Theory in America" in Reynolds and Reynolds (1970) which traces his influences in American sociological thought.

6.   This tendency is carried to its logical conclusion by Engels in the <u>Anti-Duhring</u>.

7.   Woolf (1970) p. 31-67.

8.   Despite my adoption of a version of the Althusserian schema and conceptual vocabulary, I think that the use of such terms as "experience" and "consciousness" are to be defended and the task of the thesis is, in part, to show the political effectivity of conflicting experiences on the part of Quebec women. The dismissal of these notions and, indeed, of the subject as "unscientific" leads to serious problems, a new version of the over-sociated individual. Both as sociologists and as activists it is important to remember that human beings are the only social actors and that they tend to act in ways that are meaningful.

9.   In opposition to the Althusser and Poulantzas work cited above, see Henri Lefebvre, <u>The Sociology of Marx</u> (New York: Vintage) 1969, p. 64-69.

10.   "Unevenness, the most general law of the historic process, reveals itself most sharply and complexly in the destiny of backward countries. Under the whip of external necessity their backward culture is compelled to make leaps. From the law of unevenness thus derives another law which, for the lack of a better name, we may call the law of <u>combined development</u> -- by which we mean the drawing together of the different stages of the journey, a combining of separate steps, an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms." (p. 23) It is just this fact -- combined with the concentrated oppressions of czarism -- that made the Russian worker hospitable to the boldest conclusions of revolutionary thought," (p. 28) Trotsky (1967). Ernest Mandel, "The Leninist Theory of Organization" (RMG pamphlet, mimeo, n.d.) explores the implications of uneven and combined development of consciousness in relation to different political sectors (students, workers in industry, and intellectual workers) and layers inside the working class for advanced capitalist societies.

11.   Woolf (1970) p. 53.

12.   The classic critique of this position is Andre Gunder Frank, "The Sociology of Development and the Underdevelopment of Sociology" <u>Catalyst</u> 3, (Summer, 1967).

13.   Debarats (1965) p. 111.

14.   Frank (1967) p. 16, p. 45.

15.   This assumption about the retarding effect of the family and of female consciousness has been limited neither to developing countries nor to recent sociological thought. See Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Moral Woman and Immoral Man: A Consideration of the Public-Private Split and Its Political Ramifications," <u>Politics and Society</u> 4:4 (1975).

16.   Leon Dion, Quebec, The Unfinished Revolution, (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press) 1976, p. 34.

17.   Ibid, p. 201.

18.   Colette Morreux, "The French-Canadian Family" in K. Ishwaran, ed., The Canadian Family (Toronto: Holt Rinehart & Winston) 1971 points out that women are still expected and expect themselves to be more "moral" than men on sexual questions in particular. This differentiation is giving way, she suggests before the forces of women's emancipation and the internal contradictions of power inequalities in the family (p. 143).

19.   Karl Marx, "Preface" A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Maurice Dobb, ed., (New York: International) 1970, p. 20-21.

20.   Mandel (1975) p. 13-43.

21.   A particularly useful series of articles on these topics can be found in the New Left Review: Aidan Foster-Carter, "The Modes of Production Debate", 107 (Jan/Feb,1978); Arghiri Emmanuel, "White-settler Colonialism and the Myth of Investment Imperialism" 73 (May/June, 1972), and "Myths of Development versus Myths of Underdevelopment" 85 (May/June, 1974); Bill Warren, "Imperialism and Capitalist Development," 81 (Sept/Oct, 1973); which is discussed in Philip McMichael et al., "Imperialism and the Contradiction of Development" 85 (May/June, 1974).

22.   Marx , Capital Vol 1, (1964) p. 486.

23.   See V. I. Lenin,"Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism"in Selected Works (Moscow: Progress) p. 677; Antonio Gramsci's discussion of the sociological aspects of differentiation within the ruling -- or hegemonic -- blocs in capitalist society in "The Modern Prince" and of the state in "State and Civil Society" in Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, Quintin Hoare and G. N. Smith, eds., (New York: International) 1971.

24.   Ernest Mandel (1975) p. 18ff; Samir Amin, A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment, 2 vols, and Accumulation of a World Scale (New York: Monthly Review Press) 1974 (1974b); "Vers une nouvelle crise structurelle du systeme capitaliste" Sociologie et Sociétés 6:2, 1974 (1974b); Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, Monopoly Capital (New York: Monthly Review Press). 1966.

25.   John Rowntree and Mickey Rowntree, "The Political Economy of Youth", Our Generation 5 (1969), Hugh Armstrong, "The Labour Force and State Workers in Canada", and Stephen Schecter, "Capitalism, Class, and Educational Reform in Canada," with Leo Panitch, ed., The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) 1977.

26.   Ronaldo Stavenhagen, <u>Social Classes in Agrarian Society</u>
(New York: Anchor Books   ) 1975, chapters 1-5 discuss the
dynamics of change in rural peasant societies in the face of
capitalist expansion in general; for the impact on women's
lives, see for example, Norma S. Chinchilla, "Industrialization,
Monopoly Capitalism, and Women's Work in Guatemala", Harriet
Shibisi, "How African Women Cope with Migrant Labour in South
Africa", and Glaura Vasques de Miranda, "Women's Labour Force
Participation in a Developing Society: The Case of Brazil" as
well as the other essays in the special issue "Women and National
Development" <u>Signs</u> 3:1 (Autumn, 1977).

27.   Jurgen Habermas, "Problems of Legitimation in Late
Capitalism" and Claus Offe, "Political Authority and Class
Structures" in <u>Critical Sociology</u>, Paul Connerton, ed,
(Harmondsworth: Penguin) 1976 along with James O'Connor,
<u>The Fiscal Crisis of the State</u> (New York: St. Martin's) 1973
provide the theoretical axis for both the Panitsch collection
(1977) and for Henry Milner, <u>Politics in the New Quebec</u>,
(Toronto: McClelland and Stewart) 1978; Rick Deaton, "The
Fiscal Crisis and the Revolt of the Public Employee" <u>Our
Generation</u> 8:4 (Oct, 1972).

28.   Andre Gunder Frank, <u>Latin America: Underdevelopment or
Revolution</u> (New York: Monthly Review Press) 1969 p. 14-17.

29.   Bernier (1976) p. 40-44; Monière (1977) p. 295.

30.   Paul A. Baran, <u>The Political Economy of Growth</u> (New
York: Monthly Review Press) 1968, p. 8.

31.   Trotsky (1967) p. 22.

32.   Althusser, "Contradiction and Overdetermination"
(1970) p. 102-103 <u>et</u> <u>passim</u>.

33.   Sherry Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to
Culture?" in Michelle Z. Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds.,
<u>Woman, Culture, and Society</u> (Stanford: Stanford University Press)
1974, p. 69.

34.   Janet Siskind, <u>To Hunt in the Morning</u> (Oxford: Oxford
University Press) 1973, p. 80-109; Yolanda Murphy and Robert
Murphy, <u>Women of the Forest</u> (New York: Columbia University
Press) 1974, p. 205-232; Elizabeth Faithorn, "The Concept of
Pollution among the Kafe of Papua New Guinea Highlands" in
Reiter (1975).

35.   Patricia Draper, "Kung Women: Contrasts in Sexual
Egalitariansim in Foraging and Sedentary Contexts" p. 78,
in Reiter (1975).

36.   Rayna R. Reiter, "Introduction" p. 15 in Reiter (1975).

37.   Ruby Rohrlick-Leavitt, Barbara Sykes, and Elizabeth Weatherford, "Aboriginal Women: Male and Female Anthropological Perspectives", p. 123 in Reiter (1975). We should note that this sexist projection is homologous to the projection of western models of development onto third world economies.

38.   Jacob J. Bachofen, Myth, Religion, and Mother Right, Ralph Mannheim ed., (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 1967 is discussed as in relation to matriarchy, "Matriarchy: A Vision of Power" in Reiter (1975) by Paula Webster (1975) and by Joan Bamberger, "The Myth of Matriarchy: Why Men Rule in Primitive Society" in Lamphere and Rosaldo (1974); for the Morgan-Engels connection see, Emmanuel Terray, Marxism and Primitive Societies (New York: Monthly Review Press) 1972.

39.   Engels (1942) p. 6; he discusses his own relation to Morgan, Bachoffen, and McLennan in the "Preface" to the first and fourth editions.

40.   For a discussion of these problems see, for example, Davin (1976) and Karen Sacks, "Engels Revisited: Women, the Organization and Production, and Private Property" in Reiter (1975).

41.   Engels (1942) p. 160-163 .

42.   Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, The Communist Manifesto. cf.: Engels (1942) p. 65-66), "Within the family he is the bourgeois and the wife represents the proletariat."

43.   Engels (1942) p. 148.

44.   Rubin (1975) p. 167-168 argues against the use of the term patriarchy to characterize "the forces maintaining sexism" on the grounds that other forms of male domination can exist, based on group violence, fitual knowledge, men's houses, etc. -- "collective adult maleness" and suggests that "patriarchy" be reserved for Old Testament pastoral nomads. Her empirical criticism seems to me to be weak here; Victorian society was clearly patriarchal although industrial and class-based. Here the state reinforced patriarchal relations between fathers and children, husbands and wives. On the other hand, her more general theoretical contention, that "any society will have some systematic ways to deal with sex, gender, and babies" which may or may not be "gender stratified" and that a distinction between the two should be maintained is an important point to be considered. But, as the transition that is being analyzed here is precisely that from a patriarchal kin and economic unit to a "merely" male-dominant, gender-stratified relations, the term patriarchy has been retained.

45.   Two theoretical issues implicit in this statement will not be examined in detail in this thesis. But, my position can

be stated concisely here. First, to say that male dominance
is unevenly distributed through social institutions is not to
adopt a pluralist epistempolgical or theoretical stance vis-a-
vis social structure. But, in analyses of specific social
formations or institutions, we must leave theoretical space
for varying degrees of power that women hold, for example,
in decision-making power in a domestic context or, as in the
case of the traditional Chinese gentry family, a certain
matricentricity in the midst of dominant patriarchal structures.
Secondly, to say that the family reproduces patriarchal
ideology, social relations, sex-roles, etc., is not to say
that it is in itself their prime generator. In advanced state
societies, it may well be political and economic centres of
power which ultimately determine gender inequality. Even if
male power in the family collapses, the ultimate equality of
the sexes depends upon overcoming the sexual division of
labour and, hence, upon the provision of collective social-
services for child-care and domestic labour. The contemporary
women's movement recognizes this in the demands for the
socialization of housework and the provision of free, universal
24-hour child care. The case is even clearer in transitional
post-capitalist societies where the political apparatus of the
state has the unambiguous power to assign social resources to
provide the necessary infrastructure for the liberation of
women. The relation of the sexes in the political centre is '
then critical. The strategic conclusion that must be drawn
from this is, I think, the necessity of an autonomous, political
women's movement struggling to assure change at macro-social
levels. Individual solutions, whether personalist or
separatist, are inadequate to this task.

46.   Hamilton (1977) p. 104.

47.   Karl Marx, Grundrisse: Introduction of the Critique
of Political Economy, Martin Nicolaus, ed., (Harmondsworth:
Penguin) 1973, p. 471

48.   It should not be assumed that in all cases these units
of production were either families or households. Under
feudalism, for example, the unit is the demense, in gathering
hunting societies the band or an extended kin group. Under
specific conditions of petty commodity production or handicraft
production, this economic unit may be a family. Certainly
within capitalist society, it cannot be understood -- as many
radical feminists and even some who, like Eisenstein, claim
to be "socialist feminists" assert -- as the "basic economic
unit" of the society.

49.   Rayna R. Reiter, "The Search for Origins", Critique
of Anthropology 3:9/10 (1977).

50.   Cf. E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working
Class (New York: Vintage) 1963; Edward Shorter, "Illegitimacy,

Sexual Revolution, and Social Change in Modern Europe" in
Theodore K. Rabb and Robert L. Rotberg, eds., The Family in
History (New York: Harper) 1973.

51.   Cf. John Foster, Three Towns (London:NLB) 1975.

52.   From a pamphlet by Mary Tattle-Well and Ioane Hit-
Him-Home, cited in Margaret George, "From Goodwife to Mistress:
The Transformation of the Female in Bourgeois Culture,"
Science and Society (1973) p. 152.

53.   Alice Clark, The Working Life of Women in the
Seventeenth Century (London: Cass) 1968.

54.   Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (New York:
Atheneum) 1973, p. 57; "The female industrial hand-worker
has been a familiar social type in Quebec for many years.
Her immediate predecessor is the country girl who, back in the
1860's or 1870's, migrated to the New England states with her
family or husband and settled there as textile weaver (sic),"
Jean-Charles Falardeau, "The Changing Structures of Contemporary
French-Canadian Society" in Rioux and Martin (1970) p. 113.

55.   Eisenstein (1979) p. 23.

56.   Wally Seccombe, "The Housewife and her Labour Under
Capitalism", New Left Review 83 (1974).

57.   On the erosion of male power in the family, see
Dair L. Gillespie, "Who Has the Power? The Marital Struggle"
in Hans Peter Dreitzel, ed., Family, Marriage, and the
Struggle of the Sexes, Recent Sociology No. 4 (New York:
MacMillan) 1973).

58.   The entry of women into paid labour does not, of
course, mean their automatic dispersal throughout all aspects
of production nor does it assure a redistribution of domestic
labour so that husbands and wives have equal work weeks.
All to ooften women are concentrated in low paying jobs and
return home to face the second shift of their double day.

59.   For a sociological theory of this relation see
Joachim Israel and Rosemari Eliasson, "Consumption Society,
Sex Roles, and Sexual Behaviour" in Dreitzel (1973).
Christopher Lash's more psychoanalytically oriented and
polemical attack on this phenomenon can be found in
The Culture of Narcissism (New York: Norton) 1978.

60.   Barbara Ehrenreich and Diedre English suggest that
women midwives and healers practices more or less efficient
methods of contraception and abortion for English society,
Nurses, Witches and Midwives (Boston: New England Free Press).
For preliterate societies fertility was controlled by sexual
taboos, herbal remedies, and abortion, but anthropologists
are not always in agreement about whether these were in
women's interests or not. Cf. Ortner (1974).

61.   Juliet Mitchell, "Women and Equality" in Mitchell and Oakley, (1976).

62.   Mary Beard, Woman as a Force in History (New York: Collier) 1921 p. 183-184.

63.   Mona-Josée Gagnon, "Les femmes dan le mouvement syndical québécois" Sociologie et Société 6:1 (mai, 1974) p. 20 (1974b)

64.   As a contemporary example we can point to tests that score a healthy male as equal to a healthy adult, yet prescribe a set of personality traits for women that do not approach that norm. Cf. Naiomi Weisstein "Psychology Constructs the Female" in Vivian Gornick and Barbara Moran, eds., Woman in Sexist Society (New York: Signet) 1972.

65.   For example, the Victorian mothers'(apocryphal) advice to her daughter, "Close your eyes and think of England" and contemporary sexual objectification of women, both posit differences in sexuality for men and women.

66.   Linda Gordon, "Voluntary Motherhood: The Beginnings of Feminist Birth Control Ideas in the United States" in Hartman and Banner (1974).

67.   Margaret J. Gates, "Occupational Segration and the Law" Signs, 1:3, part 2, (Spring, 1976) p. 67.

68.   George Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness (London: Merlin) 1968 is perhaps the most notable example in modern social analysis.

69.   Cf. Herbert Marcuse, Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory (Boston: Beacon) 1960, p. 25-28. "The given facts that appeal to common sense as the positive index of truth are in reality the negation of truth, so that truth can only be established by their destruction". P. 27.

70.   Cited in Jane Moulton, "Philosophy" Signs 2:2 (Winter, 1976).

71.   Millett (1970) p. 24.

72.   Louise Lamphere, "Women in Domestic Groups" in Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974) p. 99.

73.   Jane Fisburne Collier, "Women in Politics" in the same volume relies on Dahrendorf for a definition of politics and so adopts a perspective half-way between a Weberian and a structural one (p. 91).

74.   Gillespie (1973).

75.   Poulantzas (1973) p. 24.

76.   Sheila Rowbotham, <u>Women's Consciousness, Man's World</u>
(Harmondsworth: Penguin) 1973, p. 66, chapters 5 and 7, (1973b).

77.   Cf. Poulantzas (1973) p. 50.

78.   Gérin (1964).

79.   Louise Valois Davis, "To Write is to Exist: Literature
and Politics in Quebec" <u>This Magazine</u> 12:2 (1978) p. 2.
The representation of "woman" in <u>Maria Chapdelaine</u> remains
mythical, the personification of the Quebec soul as seen by
a European.

80.   Ian Watts, <u>The History of the Novel</u>

81.   Davis (1970) p. 10.

82.   To inhabit the same institutions does not of course
always mean that individuals have the same relation to them:
boss/ worker, husband/wife, student/teacher. "Antagonism
between women and men is thus actually built into the separation
of the point of production from the point of consumption, which
was a product of capitalism's organization of work," Rowbotham
(1973) p. 57. In the concrete, Helen Z. Lopata, <u>Occupation
Housewife</u> shows that for a number of suburban women, the family,
children, and household become of much greater importance than
the marriage relation, <u>Occupation Housewife</u> (Oxford: Oxford
University Press) 1971, p. 48 <u>et passim</u>.
         These divisions can have important political
ramifications: compare the differences in the outcomes of the
1956/7 and 1978/9 strikes by Steelworkers against Inco. In
the first instance the strike was broken with the aid of a
management promoted anti-strike "Wive's Committee"; in the
latter a "Wive's Supporting the Strike" played important roles
of material and political solidarity.

83.   Lynn Teather, "The Feminist Mosaic" in <u>Women in the
Canadian Mosaic</u>, Gwen Matheson, ed., (Toronto: Peter Martin)
1976.

84.   This change occured, in Toronto at least, as early as
1972.

85.   Cf. Eisenstein, (1979) "Introduction" and Rosalind
Petchesky, "Dissolving the Hyphen: A Report on Marxist-
Feminist Groups 1-5" p. 373.

86.   For Eisenstein, this tendency leads to a glittering
confusion of ever finer distinctions based on class, sex, and
political orientation: socialist feminists, socialist women,
male leftists and so on, p. 5. Marlene Dixon, "Public Ideology
and Class Composition of Women's Liberation" <u>Insurgent
Sociologist</u> 16 (1971-1972) gains clarity at the expense of

crudeness. The implications of her theoretical position are
reflected in her pedegogical practice which consisted of
dividing up her McGill University classes on the basis of
the occupational position of the student's _father's_ occupation.

87.   Monière (1977) p. 122.

88.   Jean-C. Bonenfant and Jean-C. Falardeau, "Cultural
and Political Implications of French-Canadian Nationalism" in
Ramsay Cook, ed., _French-Canadian Nationalism_ (Toronto:
M. Millan) 1969 p. 18-19.

89.   Dion (1969) p. 296.

90.   Karl Mannheim, _Ideology and Utopia_ (London:Routledge,Kegan
Paul) 1960 represented the first sociologization of the
marxist notion. Again, in contrast and opposition to the
Althusser-Poulantzas school, see Lucien Goldman.

91.   T. W. Adorno _et al._, _The Authoritarian Personality_
2 vols (New York: John Wilet) 1964 represents the most
systematic empirical exploration of theoretical concern.

92.   Juliet Mitchell, _Psychoanalysis and Feminism_ (New
York: Pantheon) 1974, Dorothy Dinnerstein, _The Mermaid and
the Minotaur_ (New York: Harper & Rowe) 1977, and Nancy Friday,
My Mother/My Self (New York: Dell) 1978.

93.   This definition owes something to Moniere (1977)
chapter 1, if only provocation to disagree.

94.   _Ibid_, p. 66-67.
         The second instance of ideological coherence arises
from the form of class hegemony in class society. Marx's
concise if troubling formulation of this notion is now so
familiar as to be almost a cliche, but it is worth stating
here, in order to draw out its structural implications:
            This problem is none other than that of making
            the transition from language to life. The
            problem thus has multiple aspects -- the
            actually existing language, ideologies, praxis,
            the class situation, the struggles actually going
            on. When the bourgeois speak of 'human' rights,
            'human conditions' etc., he actually means
            bourgeois conditions, bourgeois rights, etc. He
            does not distinguish between the two because
            his very language has been fashioned by the
            bourgeoisie.

96.   _Ibid_, p. 39.

97.   Bernard Meltzer et al., _Symbolic Interactionism:
Genesis, Varieties and Criticisms_ (London: Routledge,
Kegan, Paul) 1975 p. 100.

98.   Richard T. Lichtman, "Symbolic Interactionism and Social Reality: Some Marxist Queries," <u>Berkeley Journal of Sociology</u> 15 (1970); Ropers, "Mead, Marx, and Social Psychology" <u>Catalyst</u> 7 (Winter, 1973); Dusky L. Smith, "Symbolic Interactionism: Definitions of the Situation   from H. Becker and J. Lofland" <u>Catalyst</u> 7 (Winter, 1973).

99.   Wilhelm Reich, <u>The Mass Psychology of Fascism</u> (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux) 1971; <u>The Sexual Revolution</u> (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux) 1974.

100.   Herbert Marcuse, <u>Eros and Civilization</u> (New York: Vintage); Gad Horowitz, <u>Repression</u> (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) 1977.

101.   In fact, there is very little material on which such a study might be based. Jean LeMoyne offers some insights into Quebec society from a broadly "Freudian" point of view. Piety, suffering/duty, the strong father/priest, the mother -- sanctified or missing: these recurrent elements in Quebec fiction could be the starting point for a psychohistory of Quebec. <u>Convergences</u> (Montreal: Editions Hurtbuise) 1977, p. 89 <u>et passim</u>.

102.   Paul Chombart de Lawe., ed., <u>La femme dans la société</u> (Paris: Centre nationale de recherceh scientifique) 1972.

103.   Max H. Boehm, cited in Bonenfant and Falardeau (1969) p. 19.

104.   Mgr. L-F-R Laflèche, "The Providential Mission of the French Canadians" in Cook (1969).

105.   <u>Ibid</u>., p. 98.

106.   L. Desbiens, cited in M.-J. Gagnon (1974a) p. 16. <u>ibid</u>, p. 19.

107.   Michelle Jean, <u>Québécoises du 20e siècle</u> (Montréal: Editions du Jour) 1974) p. 65.

108.   Mgr. Louis-Adolphe Paquette, cited in Jean (1974) p. 48.

Chapter 3.

1.   There is, of course, a lack of agreement about the nature of the industrialization process for Canada as a whole. A Canadian nationalist school would argue that the Canadian economy developed in disequilibrium and ascribe that to a failure of consciousness on the part of the bourgeoisie;

cf. R. T. Naylor, "The Rise and Fall of the Third Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence" (p. 1) and Gary Teeple, "Land Labour and Capital in pre-Confederation Canada" (1972b) p. 60; both in Gary Teeple, ed., Capitalism and the National Question in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) 1972 (1972a). Teeple draws his comparisons with Britain and the United States. For the latter the Civil War period is considered key to developing large scale industry. As we shall show below,. large scale industry similarly developed in Quebec after 1860. On the other hand, supporters of the staple theory of economic development support, in essence, an historical and ideographic theory of Canadian economic growth which took advantage of natural resources available to build the capital pools necessary for the base of a stable industrial economy. G.W. Bertram "Economic Growth in Canadian Industry, 1870-1915: The Staple Model" in W. T. Easterbrook and M. H. Watkins, eds., Approaches to Canadian Economic History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart) 1967. Whatever the theory, it is important to keep in mind that comparisons must be rigorous and strict and that no global analysis of Canadian and American economic growth exists. But to return to the specific case of Quebec in relation to North American patterns of development, Raynauld (1961) presents convincing argument that indicates that Quebec's economic development -- measured by urban population, factories, production outputs in iron, steel, and rail -- outstripped that of Ontario until the turn of the twentieth century, chapters 1 and 2.

2.   The phrase is taken by Gagnon to sum up the attitude of the clergy to anglo-capital and more particularly, anglophone unions (1974b) p. 19.

3.   What is meant, then, by "normal" here is first, the normalcy of uneven development and, second, the growth of a capitalist industrial base controlled by a bourgeoisie, proletarianization and immigration of agricultural workers into urbanizing areas, reduction of independent commodity production, and an overall reduction in the importance of the agricultural sector. In turn, the Qubec radicalization was a significant political and ideological factor in the development of a left student movement in Canada as a whole.

4.   Everett . Hughes "Industry and the Rural System in Quebec" in Rioux and Martin (1964).

5.   This phrase is translated from CSN 1976, p. 43.

6.   Monière (1977) p. 231.

7.   See chapter 5, below.

8.   Michel Brunet, cited in Debarats (1965) p. 24.

9.   By the criteria developed by Ralph Miliband in
The State in Capitalist Society (London: Quartet)
1969, Quebec has reached full capitalist development. But
it must be admitted that few -- if any other fully developed
capitalist states -- so closely approximate the criteria of a
neo-colony. For a third-worldist perspective on this question,
see Pierre Jauvin, "Sous-developpement au Quebec et dans le
monde" (Montreal) 1971. But the weight of the argument seems
to lead, at the level of economic development at least, to the
conclusion that Quebec has a developed capitalist economy:
F. A. Angers, "L'evolution economique du Canada et Quebec";
Jacques Henry "La dependence structurelle du Quebec dans un
Canada domine par les Etats Unis"; and Alfred Dubuque
"Developpement economique et politique au Canada: 1900-1940"
in Tremblay (1976).

10.   Savaria (1975) p. 126.

11.   Habermas (1976).

12.   A. McLeod "Nationalism and Social Class: the unresolved
dilemma of the Quebec Left", _Journal of Canadian Studies 8:5_
1973. "In effect the rise of nationalism poses with a new
imagery the question of the organization of the radical left
and the need, in order to resolve it, for a thorough and
objective analysis of the nation question," Gilles Bourque
and Nicolle Laurin-Frenette, "Social Classes and National
Ideologies in Quebec, 1760-1970)" in Teeple (1972a).

13.   Cf. Jacques Dofny and Marcel Rious, "Social Class in
French Canada" in Rioux and Martin (1964); Gilles Bourque,
Classes sociales et question national au Québec 1760-1840,
(Montréal: Editions Parti-Press) 1970; Stanley B. Ryerson
"Quebec Through the Concepts of Class and Nation" in
Teeple (1972a).

14.   Jacques Barzeau, "Quebec's Emerging Middle Class";
Hubert Guindon "The Social Evolution of Quebec Reconsidered";
Guy Rocher, "Research of Occupations and Social Stratification"
all in Henry Milner, _Politics in the New Quebec_ (Toronto:
McClelland and Stewart) 1978, chapter 2.

15.   Tremblay (1976) p. 121.

16.   Samir Amin, cited without further reference in
Savaria (1975).

17.   _Ibid._, p. 117

18.   _Ibid._, p. 118.

19.   Alice Lunn, _Economic Development in New France,_
_1713-1760_ (Montreal: McGill University M.A. thesis) 1942,
personal communication, Rhoda Howard, "The Effects of the

British Conquest of 1759 on the French-Canadian Bourgeoisie"
p. 5.

20.   In Monière's delightful phrase, the francophones were
left "parques dans l'agriculture".   "Une serie d'exculsions,
telles le monopole britanique du transport maritime, l'absence
de liens avec les marchands de la metropole et l'obligation
de commencer a l'interieur de l'Empire engenderent pour le
peuple a conquis l'impossibilite d'accumuler des capitaux
autre que ceux alimentes par la petite epargne agricole."
(1977) p. 125.

21.   "La caractéristique fondamentale de l'économie
québécoise se degage alors avec plus de nettété que jamais
auparavant: nous assistons au développement d'une économie
dont les différents secteurs, contrairement à ce que l'on
pourrait croirs, ne profitent pas comme il conviendrait de
la prosperité relative de l'activité dominante -- l'exploitation
forestière: différents secteurs, au contraire, indépendants
les uns des autre, connaissent de fluctuations asymetriques
qui n'ont incidemment pour effet que d'accentuer le clivage
éthnique et les conflits politiques . . ." Noël Vallerand,
"L'intégration de l'économie québécoise au marché commun
canadien" in Tremblay (1975) p. 49.

22.   Monière (1977) p. 109.

23.   Bernier (1976) p. 49, and see also p. 57.

24.   Monière (1977) p. 157. The social consequences were
contradictory. For the majority of the francophone population
the restriction to a newly distinct agricultural sector, meant
provincialization, ruralization, and ultimately economic
inferiority. This complex, in turn, produced immigration and
urbanization although it did little to overcome economic
hardship. Noël Vallerant, "Agriculturalisme,industriali ation,
triste déstin de la bourgeoisie canadienne-française" (1976b)
in Tremblay (1976).

25.   Monière (1977) p. 158.

26.   Different theoretical perspectives have offerec
different keys to analysing the period of industrialization
in Quebec. Economic geography has been prioritized by Albert
Faucher and Maurice Lamontagne, "History of Industrial
Development" in Rioux and Martin (1964) and by the anonymous
writers of the Office de planification et de développement
du Québec, "La position du Québec dans le nord-est Americain"
in Tremblay (1976) p. 417. This explanation remains inadequate
because it fails to ask the question of the origins of centres
of capitalist concentration inside "North America" and because
it fails to examine ethnic differentiation in capital accumula-
tion inside Quebec. To deal with this ethnic differentiation,
"mentalite" or cultural forms have been suggested as an
explanation by Norman W. Taylor, "The French-Canadian Entrepreneur

and His Social Environment" in the same volume. As in all
non-dialectical explanations which rely upon cultural forms alone
as "the cause" of economic development, the question remains
about the origins, and reproduction of this particular mentality
and, more particularly, its restriction of a section of the
francophone population. If some escaped these global cultural
factors, why not all? Thérèse Casgrain's father was,
according to her auto-biography, one of the largest stock
brokers in Canada and given, despite his decent from leading
seigneurial families, to taking enormous risks in a most
"un-Canadien" manner.

27.   Karl Marx, The German Ideology (New York:International)
(1963) p. 6 et passim.

28.   Faucher and Lamontagne (1964) p. 259.

29.   In part this was a consequence of subsistence
production, see Moniere (1977) p. 50-51.

30.   Ibid., p. 150.

31.   Faucher and Lamontagne (1964) p. 261 estimates as many
as 40% of rural population were landless labourers at the time
of confederation, in Tremblay p. 143. For population development,
see Jacques Henripin, "From Acceptance of Nature to Control:
The Demography of the French-Canadians since the Seventeenth
Century" in Rioux and Martin (1964).

32.   Faucher and Lamontagne (1976b) p. 124.

34.   Bernier (1976) p. 51-52.

35.   Ibid., p. 52. For a characterization of this transition,
see Savaria (1975) p. 119.

36.   Monière (1977) p. 228.

37.   Vallerand (1976b) p. 143.

38.   Ibid.,p. 137, 142.

39.   Henripin (1964) p. 210.

40.   Savaria (1975) argues this position. Nevertheless,
the rate of out-migration should not be underestimated as
Nathen Keyfitz, "Population Problems" demonstrates in Rioux
and Martin (1964) p. 224 ff.

41.   E. Jacques Barzeau, "Language Differences and Occupational
Experience" in Rioux and Martin (1964) p. 296.

42.   As the migration rates to New England and sectorally
restricted employment patterns of francophone demonstrate.

43.   The phrase is Monière's, see chapter 6.

44.   Bernier (1976) p. 52.

45.   For the sectoral distribution of the labour force
1901-1931 see Monière (1977) p. 229.

46.   Ibid, p. 245.

47.   Hélène David, "Rapports de classe au Québec, 1945-65"
Sociologie et Société 7:2 1975 p. 34, here translated.

48.   On the history of the Quebec workers movement, see
David (1975), Louis-M. Tremblay, Le syndicalisme québécois:
idéologies de la CSN et de la FTQ, 1940-1970 (Montréal:
Presse de l'Université de Montréal) 1972; Gagnon (1974b);
Charles Lifton, The Union Movement in Canada (Montreal:
Social Publications) 1968); Stuart Jamieson, Industrial
Relations in Canada (Toronto: MacMillan) 1957; and Gad
Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of
Toronto Press) 1977. The results of this final takeover are
documented in Pierre Fournier, The Quebec Establishment
(Montreal: Black Rose) 1976; Maurio Dumais "L'économie
québécoise contemporaine" and Lysanne Gagnon, "La participation
des québécois à leur économie" in Tremblay (1976).

49.   Lipton documents the organization of typographers in
1827 and other early associations of stonemasons, carpenters;
Moniere indicates that boot and shoe workers were organized
in 1830 (p. 203); Jamieson (1957) p. 30-32.

50.   Monière (1977) p. 204.

51.   Jamieson (1957).

52.   Lipton (1968) p. 108.

53.   Monière (1977) p. 255.

54.   Ibid.

55.   Ibid., p. 259. The Church used its power to excommuni-
cate striking workers, notably at Thetford mines (Lipton (1968)
p. 260) and against the textile strikes of 1937 (p. 272).
See also Evelyn Dumas, The Dirty Thirties in Quebec (Montreal:
Black Rose) 1975, chapter 3.

56.   Bernier (1975) p. 50.

57.   Michael Perez and Francois Vaillancourt "Les
investissements étrangers dans l'économie québécoise" in
Tremblay (1976) p. 286-287.

58.   Monière (1977) p. 158.

Chapter 4.

1.   Margaret Andrews, "Attitudes in Canadian Women's History" copy, personal communication, Lesley Richardson.

2.   Plamondon (1977) p. 165.

3.   Les Filles du Roi, National Film Board of Canada/ Office national du film du Canada, 1974.

4.   Andrée Michel and Genvieve Texier, 2 vols, La condition de la française d'aujourd'hui (Paris: Gonthier) p. 26. This deterioration of the position of women is also noted by Engels, Clark, and Hamilton.

5.   Plamondon (1977) p. 166 et passim. "Laissées seules, elles se revèlent souvent d'excellentes administratrices, ce qui prouve qu'elles étaient déjà très melées à l'entreprise familiale, qu'il s'agisse d'un bien rural ou d'un commerce." Louise Déchène, Habitants et Marchands de Montréal au IVII Siècle (Montréal: Plon) 1974 p. 439.

6.   This is, of course, the central idea behind Engels' call for the entry of women into social production. For an expansion see Sacks,(1975) and Peggy R. Sanday "Female Status in the Public Domaine" in Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974). Emma Tennant "The Rise of Capitalism and the Fall of Women" is a strong if polemical statement of this position in relation to the transition from a feudal to a capitalist mode of production forEngland with some reference to France, in Margaret Laing, ed., Woman on Woman (London: Sidgwick & Jackson) 1971.

7.   Francine Despatie (Fournier) "La femme et la politique" Étude 10, Rapport de la Commission d'enquête sur la situation de la femme au Canada (Ottawa: Information Canada) 1972 p. 21. From here on Bird Com /Com. Bird.

8.   Ibid.

9.   Plamondon (1977) p. 168.

10.   Despatie (1972) p. 25.

11.   Plamondon (1977) p. 165.

12.   Ibid., p. 167 et passim.

13.   For example, cloth dying and manufacturing, pot forges, brickworks, Plamondon (1977).

14.   While much of the writing about these women has been
bent to the interests of masculinity and church ideology --
"Comme toutes les discretes mères de familles des débuts,
Elisabeth Letourneau n'a, pas d'histoire. Elle se contenta
de seconder son valeureux mari, et si elle lui donna peu
d'enfants, ceux-ci, par contre, produisirent de nombreuses
ramifications" Raymond Douville, Les "Filles du Roi" aux
origines de Sainte-Anne: nos premières mères de famille (Sainte-
Anne-de-la-pérade: Editions du bien public) No. 14 1976 --
some historical information can be found in Delbosc. (1977),
Cross (1977) and in Gustave Lanctot, Fille de joie ou fille
du roi: étude sur l'emigration féminine en Nouvelle-France
(Montréal: Editions Chanteclerc) 1952). Guy Frégault lists
Montreal arrivals as "400 respectable men, 50 young women,
and 12 horses" cited in Micheline Dumont-Johnson, "History of
the Condition of Women in the Province of Quebec" Bird Com /
Com. Bird, No. 8 (1972) p. 8.

15.   Bernard (1975) p. 399.

16.   Dumont-Johnson (1972) p. 12.

17.   Delbosc. (1977) p. 16.

18.   R.-L. Séguin, "La canadienne, aux XVIIe et XVIIIe
siècles" RHAF 13:4 (mars, 1960).

19.   Ibid., and Douville (1976).

20.   Dumont-Johnson (1972) p. 9.

21.   Georges Sabagh, "The Fertility of French-Canadian
Women during the Seventeenth Century" American Journal of
Sociology 47 (March, 1942) cited in Henripin (1964) p. 209.

22.   Delbosch (1977) p. 27.

23.   Contrast with Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost
(New York: Scribner) 1965, who argues that shortage of land and
householdings served to restrict the age of marriage.

24.   Keyfitz (1964) Table 1, p. 218-220.

25.   Dumont-Johnson (1972) p. 9.

26.   Lemoyne (1977) p. 87.

27.   For example, the fascinating story that Lemoyne details
of what must have been a conspiracy between a colonial administra-
tor, a French prelate, and two widows -- Marie de L'Incarnation
and Mme de la Peltrie -- to send the women complete with the
latter's dower portion off to the colony where they founded
the first seminary/hospital in Montreal.

28.   Ibid., p. 36.

29.   Flexner (1973) p. 107.

30.   Eileen Kraditor, Ideas of the Women's Suffrage Movement (New York: Ander) 1971

31.   Johnny Faragher and Christine Stansell, "Women and their Families on the Oregon Trail" Feminist Studies 2:2/3 (1975).

32.   Francine Fournier "Les femmes et la vie politique" in Lavigne and Pinard (1977) p. 172.

33.   Ibid., p. 173, Burgess (1977) p. 206-207.

34.   Richard Chabot, cited in Monière (1977) p. 145.

35.   Mgr. Lafleche, cited in Jean (1974) p. 109.

36.   Fournier (1977) p. 173.

37.   Ibid.

38.   Ibid.

39.   Ibid and Cleverdon (1970) p. 214-215.

40.   Neither Cleverdon nor Fournier (who relies on the former) specifies what these grounds in fact were.

41.   Cleverdon (1970) p. 216.

42.   Terry Copp, Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929 (Toronto: McClelland & 1964, chapters 2 and 3.

43.   Ibid.

44.   Ruth Pierson, "Women's Emancipàtion and the Recruitment of Women into the Labour Force in World War II" in Trofimenkoff and Prentice (1977).

45.   Wally Seccombe, personal communication.

46.   Copp (1974) p. 32.

47.   Gérin (1964) p. 32.

48.   Garigue (1964) p. 35 et passim.

49.   See, for example, Guindon (1964), Fortin (1964) and Moreux (1971).

50.   Everett C. Hughes "Industry and the Rural System in Quebec" and Jean-Charles Falardeau, "The Changing Social

Structures of Contemporary French-Canadian Society" (1964a);
both in Rioux and Martin (1964).

51.   Philippe Garigue, "French-Canadian Kinship and Urban
Life" (1964b) and Marcel Rious, "Kinship Recognition and
Urbanization in French Canada" 91964b); both in Rioux and
Martin (1964). In this Quebec is not unusual for North America.
These findings about the importance of kinship networks in an
urban setting are similar to those of Marvin D. Sussman and
his colleagues, for the United States, and Andree Vielle Michel,
"Kinship Relations and Relationships of Proximity in Working
Class Households" in Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel, eds.,
A Modern Introduction to the Family (New York: Free Press)
1968, for France. For a discussion see William J. Goode,
World Revolution and Family Patterns (New York: Free Press)
1970, pp. 70-76.

52..   Hughes (1964) p. 77.

53.   Monière (1977) p. 230.

54.   Gérin (1964) p. 43.

55.   Ibid., p. 44.

56.   Copp (1974) p. 67, Cross (1977) p. 66.

57.   Cross (1977) p. 66.

58.   Copp (1974) p. 44.

59.   Cross (1977) p. 73.

60.   For a general discussion of the relationship between
poverty and prostitution for working-class women during the
period of early industrialization, see Judith R. Walkowitz and
Daniel J. Walkowitz, "We are not beasts of the field: Prostitution
and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious
Diseases Act" in Hartman and Banner (1974).

61.   Genevieve Leslie, "Domestic Service in Canada, 1880-
1920" in Acton et al., eds., (1974).

62.   These figures are taken from Bernard (1976).

63.   Ibid., p. 397.

64.   See the discussion of domestic service in Corss (1977)
and Copp (1974).

65.   This is often true of the "poor relation" who boarded
with family but contributed her work to household upkeep,
Leslie (1974) p. 73 and pp.89-91. See also Lavigne and
Stoddart (1977) p. 132-134.

66.   This discussion relies upon Lavigne et Stoddart (1977) and Dumas (1975).

67.   Dumas (1975) p. 47.

68.   Burgess (1977) p. 189, here translated.

69.   Lavigne and stoddart (1977) p. 127-8.

70.   Cross (1977b) p. 73.

71.   Ibid.

72.   Lavigne and Stoddart (1977) p. 129-130.

73.   Lipton (1968).

74.   Letter from a woman worker, La Presse, Nov. 15, 1910, cited by Lavigne and Stoddart (1977) p. 130.

75.   Copp (1974) p. 48.

76.   Cited by Ceta Ramkhalawansingh, "Women During the Great War" in Acton (1974) p. 275.

77.   Ibid., p. 272 et passim.

78.   Cross (1974) p. 78.

79.   Ibid.

80.   Ibid., p. 70.

81.   Lavigne and Stoddart (1977) p. 135.

82.   Copp (1974) p. 61.

83.   Lavigne and Stoddart (1977) p. 135.

84.   Ibid.

85.   Lavigne (1977) p. 103.

86.   Ibid., p. 104.

87.   Cross (1974) p. 74.

88.   Ibid., p. 74-75.

89.   Ibid., p. 77.

90.   Les Soeurs Grises, 1878, cited in Cross (1977) p. 49.

91.   Copp (1974) p. 93 _et passim_. Infant death have been and continue to be higher for unmarried women reflecting, in part, economic hardship, in part, a solution to an unwanted child. Typically English "baby farms" were divided into those with an extremely high infant mortality rate, where a one time only fee was paid and those with a weekly fee where the child's chances of survival were somewhat higher.

92.   Copp (1974) p. 47; Lipton (1967) chapter 3, p. 108-110.

93.   Copp (1974) p. 91.

94.   _Ibid_., P. 112.

95.   Dumont-Johnson (1971) p. 12.

96.   Cross (1974) p. 80.

97.   _Ibid_., p. 81.

98.   _Ibid_., p. 80.

99.   Copp (1974) p. 62.

100.   _Ibid_., p. 63 and Cross (1974) p. 81.

101.   Judi Coburn, "I See and am silent: a short history of Nursing in Ontario" in Acton (1974) p. 129.

102.   Lavigne and Stoddart (1977) p. 136.

103.   See Casgrain for a short discussion of the establishment of one of these education and charity circles.

104.   Dumont-Johnson (1971) p. 20 _et passim_.

105.   Evelyn Sullerot, _Women, Society and Change_ (New York: McGraw-Hill) 1974 p. 29.

106.   James A. Brundage, "Prostitution in Medieval Canon Law" _Signs_ 1:4 (Summer 1975).

107.   Elaine H. Pagels, "What Became of God the Mother? Conflicting Images of God in Early Christianity" _Signs_ 2:2 (Winter, 1976) p. 300.

108.   See Hamilton (1978) for a discussion, chapter 3.

109.   Ryan (1977) p. 156.

110.   _Ibid_., p. 159.

111.   Moreux (1971) p. 49.

112.   Lavigne (1977) p. 89.

113.   Kraditor (1971) p. 38.

114.   Ibid., p. 39.

115.   Cleverdon (1974) p. 217.

116.   William O'Niell, Everyone Was Brave (Chicago: Quadrangle) 1969; The Woman Movement (London: Allen & Unwin) 1969.

117.   This conclustion can be drawn by constructing a "missing" ideology of anglophone women from Cleverdon (1977) Dumont-Johnson (1971) and Veronica Strong-Boag "Setting the Stage: National Organization and the Women's Movement in the Late 19th Century" in Trofimenkoff and Prentice (1974).

118.   Cleverdon (1974) describes the famous petition sent to the reigning British monarch to demand intervention into Quebec's policy of enfranchisement,p. 247.

119.   Kraditor (1974), chapter 5; Daniel Scott Smith "Family Limitation, Sexual Control, and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America" in Hartman and Banner (1974) proposes a developmental theory of feminism which starts with omen reasserting control over the domestic sphere and using the ideology of angels in the home to their own benefit. This later development seems to repeat earlier tactics in a public milieux.

120.   Pinard (1977) p. 63.

121.   Ibid., p. 73.

122.   Lavigne (1977) p. 91.

123.   Ibid.

124.   Pinard (1977) p. 76.

125.   Ibid., p. 77.

126.   Ibid., p. 85.

127.   Ibid, p. 83, here translated.

128.   Ibid.

129.   Ibid., p. 79.

130.   Lavigne (1977) p. 96.

131.   Dumont-Johnson (1971) p. 36.

132.   Ibid.

133.   Lavigne (1977) p. 99-100.

134.   The importance of the formal political structure cannot be overlooked here since it gives form to the possible struggles and alliances insofar as they are directed at or against the state. Lipset has suggested that the Canadian federal system was important in shaping the development of farmer's radicalism into the CCF, Agrarian Socialism (Toronto). It is,obviously, even more important in regard to the struggle for women's legal rights in a divided jurisdiction.

135.   Pinard (1977) p. 80.

136.   For a list of francophone vice-presidents, see Ibid., p. 69, n. 11. The séance française began at the 1896 congres in Montreal and was presided over by Sir Alexandre Lacoste, the father of Marie Gérin-Lajoi and husband of one of the vice-presidents, p. 74.

137.   Cleverdon (1974) p. 226.

138.   Cleverdon notes the formation of the Provincial Franchise Committee in 1922 with about 35 initial members who organized a 400 woman delegation to Quebec to petition Taschereau. This committee later went under a "complete eclipse" until 1926, p. 228-231.

139.   Fournier (1977) p. 180.

140.   Jeniffer Stoddart,"The Woman Suffrage Bill in Quebec" in Marylee Stephenson, ed., Women in Canada (Toronto: New Press) 1973. This opinion seems to be based on a statement in Casgrain's autobiography rather than any research into the memoirs of the leading liberals.

141.   Cleverdon (1974) p. 240 et passim, short autobiographical sketches of some of the early contributors to Femina, a programme sponsored by La Presse can be found in Emilia Boivin Allaire Profiles feminins: trente figures de proue canadiennes (Quebec: Garneau) 1967.

142.   Cleverdon (1974) p. 219, 242.

143.   Stoddart (1975) p. 92.

144.   Cited in Stoddart (1973) p. 103.

Chapter 5.

1.   The Corporation des institueurs catholiques, later the Corporation des ensiegnants du Québec and now the Centrale de l'ensiegnement du Québec (CEQ).

2.   Gagnon (1974b) p. 27.

3.   Milner (1978) p. 36.

4.   Monière (1977) p. 322. The commission Salvas was assigned to investigage "corruption: in the civil service and in general. On the expansion of the civil service, see Cow, "L'histoire de l'administration publique" Recherches Sociographiques 7:3 (1975);   André Larocque, "Political Institutions and Quebec Society"; and André Gelinas,"The Quebec Public Service"; both in Thompson (1973).

5.   Carolyn Pestieau, "Women in Quebec" in Matheson (1976) p. 66.

6.   An argument for such a policy as necessary to a developing economy can be found in J. P. Rheault, "Vers la maturité du patronat québécois" Economie et commerce 8 (1967). It recommends consolidation of the national bourgeoisie as a strategy to facilitate development and economic growth and quotes Premier Johnson's plea that they form a "real patronat" as "valuable aid to the state".

7.   Cited in Dion (1976) p. 136.

8.   Jean-Marc Piotte et al., Les travailleurs contre l'état bourgeois (Montréal: Editions Parti-Pris) 1976.

9.   Larocque (1973) p. 78.

10.   Monière (1977) p. 323.

11.   Piotte (1975) p. 13.

12.   Philippe Garigue, Etudes sur le Canada français (Montréal: L'Universite de Montréal) 1958 p. 59.

13.   Moreux (1971).

14.   Gary Caldwell and B. D. Czarnocki, "Interpreting Social Changes in Post-War Quebec in a Quebec-Ontario Perspective", paper presented at the Canadian Association of Sociology and Anthropology (Edmonton) 1975.

15.   Gary Caldwell, "La baisse de la fécondité au Québec à la lumiere de la sociologie québécoise", Recherches Sociographiques 17:1 (1976).

16.   Ibid., p. 14.

17.   Cf. Jacques Henripin and Evelynne Lapierre-Adamcyk, La fin de la revanche des berceaux: qu'en pensent les québécoises? (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal) 1974.

18.   Seccombe (1979) makes this point irrelevant to a cost-push/demand pull model of married women's employment.

19.   Again a phenomenon not limited to Quebec; Porter, Ostry, Morton and so on, have all pointed to the crucial economic contribution made by female earners in keeping families at close to a "middle-class" standard of consumption. For Quebec see CSN, "Comment reproduire la pauvreté" nd.

20.   Pierre Harvey "Comparison entre le taux de chomage au Québec et dans le reste du Canada" in Tremblay (1976).

21.   Here the work of Colette Moreux (1971) and La Fin d'une Religion (Montréal: Presses de l'Universite de Montréal) 1969 make the greatest contribution to understanding the changing ideologies of urban families, most particularly as vehicled and influenced by women.

22.   Personal communication, Marie-Christine Dancette.

23.   In fact, the "Rapport Parent" predicted and planned for the inverse enrollment.

24.   These services not only provide individual counselling but also animate "semaines de sensibilisation" on various topics to do with sexuality in the CEGEPs as a whole. The stress in these programmes is on a situational morality.

25.   Leon Dion,"Towards a Self-Determined Consciousness" in Thomson (1973) p. 27-28.

26.   Pierre Lamonde, "La tertieri ation de l'économie québécoise" in Tremblay (1976).

27.   Ibid., p. 352.

28.   This occurred both for long term economic planning and investment as Andre Ryba pointed out "L'intermédiation financière au Québec" in Tremblay (1976), but also for social services. M. Renoud, "Reforme ou illusion? Une analyse des interventions de l'état québécois dans le domaine de la santé" Sociologie et Société 10:1 (1977) stresses that expansion stresses new "profession groups" with their own francional interests who then came into conflict with the state on the one side and the "consciousness" of health care workers and consumers on the other. This triangular conflict sharpened during the period of cut backs which were the solution supported by the bourgeoisie for the state's fiscal crisis.

29.   Lysiane Gagnon,"La participation des québécois à leur économie",Joseph H. Chung, "La natur de declin économique de la region de Montréal"; and Alfred Dubuc "Recul de Montréal ou sous-développement du Québec?" discuss this problem of decline; all in Tremblay (1976).

30.   Cited in Hugh A. McRoberts et.al., "Différences dans la mobilité de francophones et des anglophones" <u>Sociologie et Société</u> 8:2 (October, 1976). They conclude that educational achievement is "more profitable" for anglophones in terms of the first job and in generational mobility over the long term, p.78.

31.   Wayne G. Reilly, "Incipient Elites in Quebec: a Panel Analysis of Political Attitudes" <u>International Journal of Group Tensions</u> 5:1/2 (May/June,1975) p. 8. Further more, as Professor Andrew Cony suggested in an interview, "French professionals are prone to be separatists because they think they can do even better in an independent Quebec" p. 72.

32.   Conseil du Statut de la Femme, "Femmes dans la fonction publique" Québec 2720, (Jan, 1974).

33.   <u>Ibid</u>.

34.   Milner, (1978) p. 93-104.

35.   Monière, p. 345.

36.   Three of the most important of these documents are published in <u>Quebec Labour: Black Rose Editorial Collective,</u> eds., (Montreal: Black Rose) 1972.   "The Second Front". The Report of Marcel Pepin, National President to the Convention of the CNTU, Oct 13, 1968 -- from here on Pepin/CSN (1968); "Ne comptons que sur nos propres moyens" document presented to the Confederal Council of the CSN, Oct 6, 1971 -- from here on CSN (1968); Michel Chartrand, "The General Strike: An instrument of solidarity for the workers against the violence of the system" reprinted from an interview by Gerald Godin in <u>Quebéc-Presse</u>, Dec 12, 1972.

37.   Pepin/CSN (1968) p. 52.

38.   <u>Ibid</u>.

39.   Claude Ryan, ed., <u>Le Québec Se Fait</u> (Montreal: Hurtubuise) 1971   p. 21

40.   L.-M. Tremblay (1972) p. 42-47 draws similar conclusions based on an analysis of the CSN's manifestos of this period.

41.   Pepin/CSN (1968) p. 52.

42.   CEQ, "Phase One" Report on socio-political action, 21st congress, 1971; see p. 104-119, in Daniel Drache, ed., <u>Quebec -- Only the Beginning: The Manifestoes of the Common Front</u> (Toronto: New Press) 1972, from on CEQ (1971).

43.   Piotte (1975) p. 25. A similar tendency is reported for the U.S. in . Cassell and   Baron (1977).

Bargaining in the Public Sector: Cases in Public Policy"
Sociology of Work and Occupations 4:4 (Nov 1977).

44.   Lukaçs (1968) p. 88. Compare with Althusser (1970) p. 135.

45.   The "Prefaces" to Drache (1972), Black Rose (1972)
as well as David (1975), L.-M. Tremblay (1972) and Piotte (1975).

46.   The overlapping jurisdictions in the pan-Canadian and
provincial state formations is a relationship which easily
gives rise to such a political dynamic. See Jean-Charles
Bonenfant, "Confederation Quebec and Canada, Then and Now"
in Thomson (1971).

47.   K. Kabatoff, "Radio Quebec: A Case Study of Institution
Building Canadian Journal of Political Science in Dion (1976),
chapters 1 and 4.

48.   Milner (1978) p. 180-185.

49.   Piotte (1975) p. 25.

50.   These characterizations draw heavily on Casgrain, of
course, as long as the QLP was in power, appointments to its
status of women committees were not likely to be from the radical
left or nationalist currents.

51.   Ibid., p. 67-68.

52.   Ibid., p. 175.

53.   Gagnon (1974).

54.   It is very close politically and socially to the Voice
of Women; see Kay Macpherson and Meg Sears, "The Voice of
Women: A History" in Matheson (1976).

55.   Pestiau (1974) p. 69. For example, Pestiau, a former
Vice-President of the FFQ details the activities and the
organizations of which she was part and ignores the mobilization
of women in defense of language rights, and political freedom,
against the War Measures Act, on the question of abortion, and
even on a question which she treats as central, juridical reform.

57.   CSN (1976) p. 69.

58.   Gagnon (1974a, 1974b)

59.   Black Rose (1971) p. 44, "Introduction".

60.   CEQ (1971) p. 118.

61.   Piotte (1975) p. 137 et passim.

62.   Patricia Marchak, "Les femmes, le travail et le
syndicalisme au Canada" Sociologie et Société 6:1 (mai, 1974)

p. 43 _et_ _passim_.

63.   Le _Devoir_ and _Québec-Presse_ both ran comment articles as well as straight reports on it during this period.

64.   Personal communication, Gail Scott.

65.   Gagnon (1974b) p. 26-27.

66.   CSN (1976) p. 2.   "Un mandat de Congrès de 1974: qu'une étude soit faite sur la condition de la femme (conditions de travail dans les milieux de travail y compris le foyer et place de la femme dans le mouvement syndical); qu'un comité mixte soit formé au prochain conseil confédéral; qu'un rapport soit donne à un conseil confédéral six mois après la formation du comité; qu'on amorce un débat très général dans le mouvement devant aboutir à une prise de position du mouvement   .ors du congres de 1976" p. 2.

67.   Gagnon (1974b) p. 23.

68.   CEQ, "La condition féminine: conditions de travail spécifique aux femmes" nd. p. 7.

69.   _Ibid_., p. 12.

70.   The following is based on the reports of the two centrals -- CSN and CEQ -- where one set of initials appears in brackets, it indicates a specific point made in one of the documents rather than a position _explicitly_ common to both.

71.   CSN (1976) p. 19.

72.   Lysiane Gagnon, "Le Woman's Lib, version québécois" _Maintenant_ (1974) p. 14.

73.   However, to discover theundercurrents of dissatisfaction among women in that period, it is necessary only to ask a militant about her experience. She will almost certainly recite the usual stories about being left to do the typing, and make the coffee. More to the point, the CSN failed to give leave to one of its women staff workers who was involved in the dispute during the Rose trial about the right of women to jury duty and was subsequently jailed for contempt of court. This is to be compared with the support shown the three male union presidents during their sentencing as a result of the common front strike. Moreover, it is important to note that the PQ's major policy statement, _Prochaine étape_ mentions women only four times -- as single mothers on social assistance, along with orphans and abandoned children, and the mentally and physically handicapped and as an abstract component along with students of the "under-employed" without integrating women into a discussion of job retraining. The last instance is as housewives in the context of a recommendation for wages for housework as a way of

"dignifying this profession which no revolution will ever
cause to disappear" Underlying this plan is a strong pro-
natalist policy. This lack of concern with the oppression of
women, if not too publically-avowed, and a vision of them as
continuing the "revanche du berceau" is another explanation of
the vacuum that feminists inside and outside the unions alike
found themselves in during the period when national, rather than
class, politics dominated the political scene.

74.   Personal communication, Dr. Rhoda Howard.

75.   **Comite de lutte** pour l'avortement et contraception
libre et gratuit, "Dossier spécial sur l'avortment et la
 contraception libres et gratuit" (8 mars 1975) Montréal,
p. 39-43.

76.   <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 40.

77.   Personal communication, M.-C. Dancette.

78.   The reformist orientation prevailed overall in this pan
Canadian organization whose adherents included Ontario NDP MPP,
Gillian Sandeman, and Laura Sabia of the Status of Women
Council -- Ontario and which could be characterized by the
criteria above as "bourgeois reformist".

79.   SOS Gardéries, "1975 lutte collective pour des gardéries
populaires". Tracte de manifestation de 20 mars, 1975, np; the
following discussion is based on this leaflet and on a personal
communication from Lise Cameron, one of the central organisers
of that period.

80.   The analysis of the positions of the far-left groups
on the question of women remains to be done; neither Gagnon's
(1974a) nor Milner's (1978) work deals with this question.
In the meantime, this analysis is based on a personal collection
of leaflets, newspapers, and pamphlets produced by the two
Maoist groups -- Le Mouvement Révolutionaire des Etudiants
du Québec, En Lutte -- and the Trotskyist, Groupe Marxiste
Révolutionaire.

81.   L. Gagnon (1974) p. 16.

82.   Personal communication, Gail Scott.

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