

WOMEN & ENVIRONMENTS

\$4
FALL 1988



A SPECIAL ISSUE ON WOMEN AND WORK

WOMEN AND UNIONS

WORKER CO-OPS

EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES

TECHNOLOGY

WORK AND FAMILY

WOMEN INVENTORS

EVENTS

December 19-22, 1988

The International Congress on Mental Health Care for Women will be held at the University of Amsterdam.

Contact: Congress Secretariat, International Congress on Mental Health Care for Women, Koninginneweg 11, 1071 HZ Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

October 21, 1988

The 1988 International Conference on Women, Development and Health will examine the connection between socio-economic change and women's health in the Third World.

Contact: Rita Gallin, Director, WID office, 202 Center for International Programs, East Lansing, MI 48824-1035 USA.

January 27-29, 1989

Women and Architecture

A weekend meeting for women architects in California.

For more information contact: The California Project, AWA, 820 East Third Street, Los Angeles, California, 90013-1820, USA

June 14-18, 1989

Feminist Transformations will be the theme of the 1989 Annual Conference of the National Women's Studies Association meeting at Towson State University.

For further information contact NWSA '89, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742-1325 USA.

March 12-15, 1989

Women and Peace: An International Conference at the School of Social Work, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Contact: Golie Jansen, School of Social Work, University of Illinois, 1207 West Oregon, Urbana, IL 61801 USA.

April 7-10, 1989

Beyond Survival: Women, Addiction and Identity conference to be held in Toronto. The conference will explore different forms of addiction, theoretical concepts and clinical practices from a feminist perspective.

For more information write: 150A Winona Drive, Toronto, Ontario M6G 3S9 (Tel): 416-658-1752.

May 12, 1989

Gender and Aging

Conference at St. Jerome's College in Waterloo, Ontario, organized by the Women's Studies Programs of Wilfrid Laurier University and the University of Waterloo will address issues of gender, aging and: poverty, housing and health. Speakers include Janet McClain, Anne Martin Matthews, Neena Chappell.

Contact: Juanne Clarke, Co-ordinator, Women's Studies Program, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, N2L 3C5, (519) 844-1970 ext. 2516.

Call for Papers

Women & Environments invites submissions (articles, reports, reviews) on Women and Environmentalism, Elderly Women, Rural Women, Women and Recreation, and Women's Spaces. Maximum length of material is 2,000 words. Guidelines available upon request.



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WOMEN & ENVIRONMENTS

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A WORD FROM US

In our tenth anniversary issue we signified our intention to include the paid workplace in our coverage. This special issue marks our entry into this area.

There are two reasons why we attach importance to the paid workplace. First, it is the environment in which the majority of adult women spend a significant proportion of their time; their job defines economically and socially how well or otherwise they and their families survive. Second, the paid workplace, more than any other institution in these post-traditional days, defines our society. The major changes in relationships between women and men are being played out in the paid workplace. Legislation aimed at creating an equitable society is targeted at the workplace. Measuring "how far we've come ..." is usually done on the base of our income and occupational standing.

While it is vital that we continue to struggle for access to training and jobs, equal pay for work of equal value, promotional opportunities, safety and health — especially reproductive health, and freedom from harassment, there are some even more fundamental and systemic issues which are epitomized by the workplace. These have to do with hierarchical patterns of human behaviour and the use of dominance from one level to the one below. These patterns are self-perpetuating and virtually require that there will always be some group of people at the bottom of the hierarchy. These patterns also accept the notion of man's dominance over nature — as in this way of perceiving reality, mankind is just below god, but certainly above women, children, animals and the earth. Thus, when large numbers of people were brought together in industrial workplaces, the systems and division of labour which evolved were based on hierarchical structures. Both the workers at the bottom of the hierarchy, and the impact on the earth — the environment — of the consequences and by-products of the production process, were deemed unimportant. Both workers and the environment were expendable.

The very way in which work is done still reflects this underlying hierarchical paradigm. Added to this are traditions and assumptions which came originally from the army and the church and were refined in the Industrial Revolution. Such assumptions were that only those at the top of the structure could see the whole picture and thus give commands; those at the bottom could only perform mindless repetitious tasks. Workers became alienated from the products of their labour and were deemed to be highly replaceable and therefore not valued by the organization, which could indeed treat them as human cogs in a machine, stripping them of both their individual humanness and their rights and dignity as citizens.

New technology, while holding the potential to transform the structures and processes of organizing work and people, also holds the potential to further alienate and dispossess workers. The choice is in the assumptions made about people, and the value base which underlies these assumptions.

And, of course, the assumption that runs through the design of paid work is that workplaces are operated and populated by men. Of course women (and children) were part of the workforce, but their presence and influence was largely invisible. This allowed the system to be organized for workers who did not have to go home to prepare the family supper, did not get pregnant and have to care for dependents and, more important, had a personal support system at home to nurture and service them for the workplace. This system was called a wife.

We are very familiar with the consequences of these workplaces. The costs to women trying to mold themselves into this male culture — and deny their biological function — are proving to be very high. The costs to society of such hierarchical competitive and alienating workplaces are equally high.

It is not enough for us to fit into this men's world. We must move the struggle from "freedom from ..." to "freedom to ...". We must have freedom *from* economic discrimination and harassment. But we need freedom *to* change the very nature of these organizations to effective and productive workplaces which value workers as individuals and citizens, which take responsibility for the products and by-products of their processes and which abide by a code of ethics which is rooted in the democratic tradition, not the law of the jungle.

Unless, as women, we carry our struggle into the "freedom to ...", we will be men in skirts, contributing to the environmental destruction of our society and our planet. □

WHERE ARE THE WOMEN'S TEMPLES?

by Sara Morley

Where are the women's temples?

Men have many temples.
The Banks,
The International Corporations,
The Army,
The Government,
The Courts of 'Justice',
The Police Force.

Men have many temples.
The Churches,
The Synagogues,
The Mosques.

Women have their own temples too, they say.
The Home is a glowing example, they say;
But only when the man is away.
The kitchen — the ultimate 'women's room';
Room of her own,
Yes, but when a man enters the Priestess becomes the Slave.

So I ask you,
Where are the women's temples?

The secretarial wings
and cafeteria kitchens
are as much forced labour camps
as the mines are for men.

The maternity wings are our own, I suppose.
But it is Man who determines the structure;
Turning Motherhood into a factory experience.
Mass producing for His big machine.

Then where are the women's temples?

There are none, as far as I can see.
We have no great steel monoliths,
No splendid halls to call our own.

Yet, each time I sit down with my female friends,
We unconsciously form a circle.
A life circle.
We talk of our dreams,
Our plans,
Our love for each other.

We need no bricks and mortar,
No creeds hammered in stone
to validate our existence.

We are,
We feel,
And we live for each other.

Men have many temples.
Women have one soul.

Juggling Work and Family

by Anne Crouter

As I sit down to organize my thoughts about work and family life, I cannot help but smile. I am working at home today because my four-year-old has an ear infection. In many ways, a sick child epitomizes the growing interest in interconnections between work and family. Andy's announcement that his ear hurt triggered a series of phone calls: attempt to find child care, cancel appointments at work, and negotiate with my husband about who would be home when. It was a reminder about the ever-present meshing of work and family responsibilities, particularly for people in families where both partners work outside the home.

Given the commonplace nature of this domestic drama, it is difficult to believe that only a decade or so ago, sociologist Rosabeth Moss Kanter had to argue that work and the family are *not* separate worlds but are intricately linked in many ways. She pointed out that the features of work — the reward system, schedule, commonly shared values, emotional atmosphere, and so on — are important influences on workers' families. Jobs not only structure people's use of time and their economic resources, but work can also affect how much energy and attention employees devote to family activities and relationships.

Similarly, the work setting is not immune from family effects. Families help shape occupational values and teach skills, such as role-taking, that are useful on the job. It is also likely that when workers experience stress at home — a troubled marriage, problematic child care arrangements, or worry about an elderly parent, they carry their concerns and preoccupations with them to the workplace. These personal concerns in turn can subtly influence workers' productiv-

ity, morale, absenteeism, tardiness, and the likelihood that they will want to remain in their work situation.

Innovations in organizations often occur because someone at the top believes in them. An orientation to the work and family needs of workers is likely to be attractive to management if it is seen as relevant to a varied spectrum of individuals. Broadly defined, the goal becomes one of creating policies and practices that will help all workers — men and women, parents and non-parents — perform at their best in their work and personal lives.

Women tend to earn significantly less income than their husbands.

These issues are even more urgent for employed single-parents, who not only face the challenge of balancing work and family life but who do not have the emotional and financial support or the practical day-to-day assistance of a live-in partner.

A concomitant trend on the part of government and industry involves the growing concern with workplace productivity, intensified by global competition. In addition, as the baby boom cohort ages, many companies will face a labour shortage. To attract and retain workers with valued skills, some employers are beginning to realize that it may make good sense to develop policies and philosophies that are responsive to workers' personal and family needs.

Although rigorous evaluation studies in this area are very scarce, there is growing evidence that workers themselves see a link between having child care problems and having productivity problems on the job. Similarly, some employers describe the "3 o'clock syndrome," referring to a mid-afternoon lull in productivity when parents begin to call home and check in with children returning from school.

The need to provide care for someone can occur at almost any age. While much attention has focused on the rise in the number of infants, toddlers, and preschoolers in non-parental care, recent research has pointed to the importance of parental monitoring and supervision of school-aged children and adolescents as well. Parents' work schedules are rarely synchronized with children's school schedules, making the task of providing supervision on weekday afternoons, school



CHILDCARE RESOURCE AND RESEARCH UNIT

holidays and vacations a real challenge. Rigid work schedules can make it difficult to attend a parent-teacher conference or a child's baseball game. Indeed, parents working afternoon shifts (generally 3 pm to 11 pm) may spend virtually no time with school-aged youngsters during the week.

In addition, middle-aged workers may find that just as their adolescent offspring achieve some independence, elderly parents begin to need more of their time, resources, and attention. Gerontologists describe "the woman in the middle," the "kin keeper," who administers care up and down the generational tree. At least in the United States, where community support systems for the elderly and their middle-aged care-givers are not consistently available, middle-aged individuals, especially women, often face serious choices about how to allocate time across work and caring responsibilities.

Although the conflict between work place demands and responsibilities to provide care are potentially relevant for all workers, they are particularly pressing for women. Women are traditionally the designated providers of care and there is overwhelming evidence that, even when women work full-time, their husbands do not increase their participation in housework and child care. Further, women tend to earn significantly less income than their husbands. This economic disparity leads to women's work being seen as secondary, as less important, and therefore as the job which should "give" when a need to provide care arises.

While women generally bear the brunt of the burden of juggling work and family responsibilities, there is a sense that work-family initiatives will catch on more readily in the workplace if they are conceptualized as broadly as possible. From this perspective, somewhat narrow initiatives in the area of child care are gradually being complemented in some work organizations with policies that emphasize flexibility and personal choice. Examples include flexible benefits and flexible scheduling.

Flexible benefit packages give workers a basic core of benefits (e.g. medical insurance, vacation time, contributions to retirement pension, etc.) and then allow workers to select their remaining benefits from a "cafeteria" of options. A parent might select child care, while another worker might opt for dental insurance or more vacation time. A husband in a dual-earner marriage might opt to omit his wife from his insurance coverage because she is covered by her employer. Instead he might select vision insurance or perhaps tuition assistance for night school.

Not only can individuals select the package that makes sense for them, given

... even a rather conservative flex-time arrangement can at least reduce commuting time and modestly increase time that can be spent at home.

their age, family situation and so on, but this kind of policy means that innovative programs, such as on-site child care, can be introduced without raising the issue of equity and the whole political question of individual versus society's responsibility for children. Thus, with flexible benefits, workers who have no need for workplace childcare can simply allocate their benefits in different ways.

Employers are also beginning to experiment with various ways to make the timing of work more flexible. While modest flex-time arrangements have not been found to reduce work-family stress significantly, there is some evidence that even a rather conservative flex-time arrangement can at least reduce commuting time and modestly increase time that can be spent at home. More radical flex-time arrangements, as in systems where workers are expected to work 80 hours over a two-week period but can do that in any way they choose, are expected to improve the work/home interface further. Unfortunately, evaluation studies in this area are scarce, and those that have been done have not focused on flex-time systems that offer a great deal of personal choice and decision-making.

The theme of flexibility has also extended to how some employers conceptualize time off. Sheila Kamerman describes one company that gives workers a certain amount of "paid personal time off," a concept that encompasses vacation, sick time, staying home with a sick child, personal business, and so on. The system appears to work well because decisions about time off are in the hands of the worker, rather than the supervisor. Moreover, it signals recognition that workers have responsibilities outside the workplace. It is no longer necessary, for example, for parents in that particular company to call in "sick" when they are really staying home with a sick child. Those personal issues are now legitimized.

As we head into the 1990s, there is every reason to expect that the issues surrounding the interconnection between work and family roles will continue to be visible and important. Indeed, as women continue to enter the labour force and as employers begin to look ahead at the demographics of a shrinking work force, we

may see greater awareness of these issues manifested in social policy and in the policies of work organizations.

It is important, however, that we pay attention to who in society has access to innovative work-family initiatives and who does not. If the private sector is the only primary mover in this direction, we can expect serious disparities to develop. Certain industries, those seeking highly skilled, scarce workers, will become more innovative, while others will not. Thus, we need to push for these issues not only at work, but in union halls, community organizations and through the political process.

Staying home with a child who has an ear infection is, at a very modest level, an investment in the next generation — an investment that should be made not only by parents, but by labour organizations and the social system as well. □

For further reading:

U. Bronfenbrenner and A.C. Crouter, "Work and family through time and space." Chapter in S. Kamerman and C. Hayes, eds., *Families that Work: Children in a Changing World*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1982.

S.B. Kamerman and A.J. Kahn, *The Responsive Workplace: Employers and a Changing Labor Force*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.

Ann Crouter is Associate Professor of Human Development at Penn State University where she conducts research on the interrelationships between parents' work, family activities, roles and relationships, and the development of school-aged children.

Portrait of My Mother as an Artist

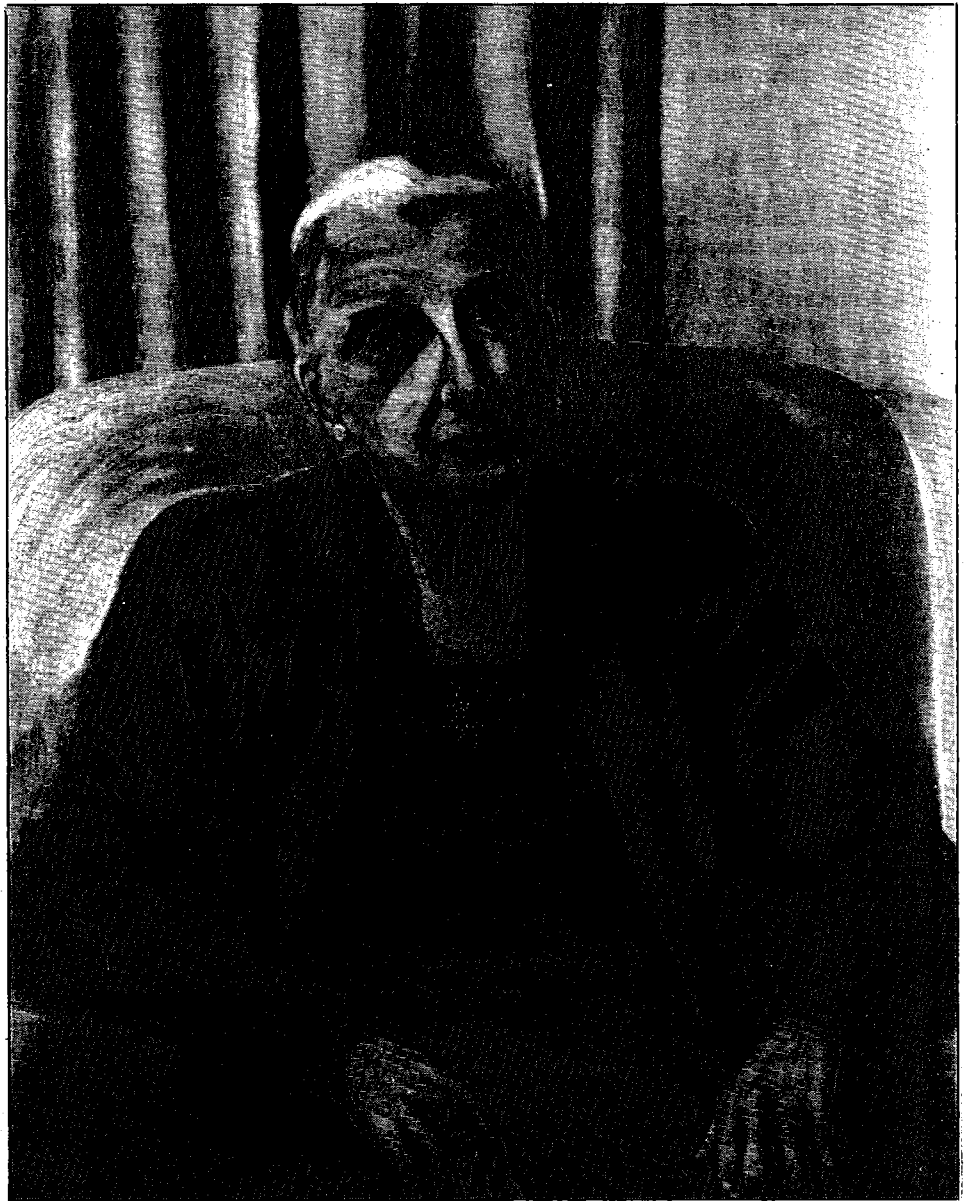
by Susan Wright

I remember as a young child watching my mother paint the portrait of Granny. Granny in the big chair by the window, light streaming in over her shoulder and my mother facing her across the room behind her easel. My mother worked at just a few charcoal lines on the canvas, not really an outline, but more a few key connections: the space between the eyes and other facial features, the shape of the chin, the line of the shoulder. I could see the lines had meaning to my mother but I had to look very hard to make these few lines resemble Granny sitting by the window.

Slowly, knowingly, the paint was added in increments — layers, shadows, contours, textures, highlights. Numerous little brushstrokes, each helping shape the image, so that over a period of days Granny's face emerged from the canvas. My mother sometimes worked very quickly, sometimes stopped and just looked ... at Granny, at the canvas, back and forth. I thought she must be imagining how to paint some part of Granny's face, how to capture some part of her character. What intrigued me was that the likeness was more than what I saw when I looked at Granny from where my mother sat yet, in another way, less. The portrait managed to incorporate Granny's personality; her pensiveness, determination and strength stood out in the strokes of paint. It was, to me, unquestionably magic!

Ever since then I have been fascinated by the process of design. Over the years I have studied and practiced it and, I think, come to understand it a little. I see that it is a kind of dialogue with the subject (like my mother's mental conversation with Granny), in which designers create a "likeness" of their vision through a process of translating an image into reality using countless small acts that each shape the final outcome. I understand design as a primary means for the expression of culture. Rembrandt, Monet, Picasso all painted portraits using similar tools and similar principles yet each interpreted the culture of their time as well.

I have come to believe, too, that the design process is generic; that once I had experienced the pattern of all design processes, I could see how the process could be applied across many fields. In each case, there were principles to be learned and tools to be mastered but whether it was buildings or clay pots, logos, clothing, or kitchen cabinets, the process of creating meaning through design was the same. The design of a work organization is similar. It is this process of creating meaning in our world, of making our visions come alive, that is the ultimate magic and was my mother's ultimate gift to me. □



Portrait of Granny

Susan Wright is a part time professor at the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University in Toronto, and a freelance organizational consultant.

Feminists: Explorers or Exploiters

by Pat Bradshaw-Camball and Rina Cohen

Rina and I both have PhDs, full-time jobs, children and husbands. Our lives are structured and the necessary support systems are in place — nannies, secretaries and our mothers. Around us other women are breaking barriers; being appointed to the cabinet of the Province of Ontario, promoted within organizations, and benefiting from legislation such as Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value. The ways women are changing the landscape of work and family life are exciting, challenging and rewarding — like explorers women are facing barriers and getting ahead.

Judith Ramirez of Intercede, a Toronto-based advocacy group for domestics, says:

Working mothers "are the very women who define and defend themselves as feminists, as opposed to exploitation of women. But it's a definition that few extend very far beyond themselves. Canadian women need to ask themselves — and they haven't yet — to what extent they'll exploit women of colour for cheap child care to support their own fight here."

The domestic work relationship falls

for the winter. Money is the most important reason we are here." Many domestics found a discrepancy between wages agreed upon and payment received. Older domestics (over 45) do not make trouble over this for fear of losing their jobs; although they feel extremely deprived, they remain in exploitive relationships because they see no alternative.

Domestic workers often work overtime without being paid, a practice arising historically from notions of servanthood (rather than service). Some of those interviewed complained that they were asked to perform tasks that went beyond their contract.

"I was hired as a mother's helper. One day she tells me very politely, I should wash the garage door, kind of nonsense, slavery" (domestic on a work permit).

In most cases domestics continue to perform these extra chores because they urgently need a good employer reference letter when applying for "landed" immigrant status. Some likened this to "doing time" in a prison. They have to put up with many things, keep quiet, maintain a clear record, and get out on good behaviour.

Another common form of contractual violation is the employer's failure to recognize the "days off" that were originally stipulated in the contract. About 30 per cent of the interviewees complained of being expected to do some work regularly on their days off with no extra compensation.

"I am entitled to two days off, but instead my employer only gives me a day and a half off. I don't say anything and just pretend everything is O.K. for I really want to get my landed soon" (nanny, on work permit).

"The women treat me in a know-your-place style, like I am white and you are black ... as if I just came down off the tree."

Yet are women really winning? Or are we part of a new elite, exploiting other women to advance ourselves? Are we in fact duplicating the patriarchal structure we so dislike by repeating the relationship of powerful men and dependent women in our own relationship as self-sufficient women employing dependent women? An examination of our relationship with domestic workers poses a two-fold question: Has our success come at the expense of their success? And has what appears to be progress for some women been achieved at the expense of equal progress for other women?

somewhere between a personal privatized relationship and a formal contractual one. Most of the 50 domestic workers interviewed during our recent research project felt they were exploited in both the "contractual" and the "personal" domains.

Domestic workers see themselves as deprived in terms of payment, working hours, number of tasks, days off, vacations, working conditions, deductions and feelings of "collective" deprivation. Over 60 percent of domestic workers interviewed complained about low pay. As one woman expressed the general sentiment, "We are in Canada for the money and not

Provisions for pay, hours, days off and vacations are explicit in most employment contracts yet the "room and board" provision does not give any indication of the type of accommodation or food to be expected. At one extreme we interviewed a woman (part of a husband-wife team) living in an attractive, well furnished home built especially for the couple in the backyard of the main house. At the other extreme, some nannies are forced to share laundry rooms or unfinished basements with the family dog. Eight percent of the women slept with their employer's children in the same room. Some complained about lack of food or inadequate meals, especially in homes where the employers were dieting or eating out a lot.

Personal relationships in domestic work can take the form of the domestic becoming "part of the family" and include friendship and gift exchange, as well as employer mediation between the employee and the Canadian bureaucracy.

Such personal relationships are often abused by employers. More than half the domestics interviewed complained about various demeaning attitudes and racial discrimination. For example:

"Black women do the same thing as other domestics and get less pay"

"The women treat me in a know-your-place style, like I am white and you are black ... as if I just came down off the tree ..."

"Come on, move it, aren't jungle people supposed to be fast?"

In a few cases nannies or domestics complained about sexual harassment and certainly the live-in work arrangement is more conducive to sexual exploitation than is the live-out alternative. Although only one of the women reported sexual involvement (in this case with her employer's brother), we had the feeling many were sexually harassed. This one reported incident may well be the tip of the iceberg. Sexual remarks are quite common among male employers, as this example from a nanny on a work permit illustrates:

My third employer was a very nice lady but her husband I could not stand. He kept joking with me. Before I left on my day off he goes "Can I come with you." And when I was back on Monday morning he would be there (he worked from his home) and asks "Did you have fun with your boyfriend?" or when I am at the sink he'll come from behind and scare me to death with a sudden hug, tickle my waist or pull my hair. When I went to the cottage with them in the summer he would always find a reason to be around me. I couldn't stand his teasing and the

dirty jokes so when I came home from the cottage I told the lady I was not happy with the pay and quit.

The nanny chose to disguise this intimidation with a contractual excuse, low pay, covering the personal reason — violation of her self-respect. Many complained about lack of privacy. A common complaint was that employers and their family members continually came into the domestic's room without knocking. Others complained that they were ignored by their employers or treated as objects. The families often discussed their most troubling affairs, assuming the domestic did not hear or understand. One family spoke Hungarian all the time, even at meals, ignoring the domestic completely.

background, knowledge of legislation or membership in support groups. An employer's concern with equity may include personal values, traits and interpersonal skills, familiarity with legislation, and willingness to comply. Even this partial identification of the factors indicates how complex the issue is.

The remaining two boxes on the matrix show us two other types of relationships between the equitable and the exploitive. Box C indicates a situation in which the employer has a high level of concern with equity and fairness but the nanny has a low sense of power. This relationship can be characterized by reliance on the terms of the contract, so that the nanny's low self-concept impacts minimally on the interactions, or by a nurturing, supportive

Matrix of Nanny-Employer Relationships

Employer's Concern With Equity & Fairness

		Employer's Concern With Equity & Fairness	
		High	Low
Nanny's Sense of Self-Worth	High	A Relationship of Equity	B Conflictual Relationship
	Low	C Nurturing or Contractual Relationship	D Exploitive Relationship

Not all employment relationships are exploitive, but in many cases there are problems. We have designed a matrix which captures the range and diversity of relationships between domestics and employers. Two continua are critical: first, employers vary from those concerned with equity and fairness to those at the other extreme, who exploit nannies. Likewise, nannies vary in their sense of self-worth and power, some feeling powerless and unable to demand their rights while others feel powerful and aware.

Two elements comprise an exploitive relationship — an employer with little regard for equity and fairness, and a nanny with low self-esteem and power. An equitable relationship combines an employer with a high level of concern for equity and fairness and a nanny with a high sense of self-worth and power. A nanny's sense of power may be influenced by such factors as her own self confidence, ethnic

or mentoring relationship in which the employer tries to enhance the employee. Such a relationship can move toward a more equitable one (Box A) as the nanny feels more confident and powerful, or toward an exploitive one as the employer discovers the nanny's dependence. Similarly the relationship characterizing Box B (low levels of employer concern with equity and high employee sense of power) can move from one characterized by conflict towards an equitable or an exploitive one. Given the possibilities of change in these relationships, the important issue is how we, as feminist professionals, can work towards more equitable relationships.

First we must ensure that we meet the terms of the contract as negotiated with the domestic and as laid out by the legislation. In the personal area, maintaining the contractual relationship and not dealing with the personal level appears ideal

because it is simple and clearcut. Yet this fails to help with the domestic's feelings of personal deprivation or to facilitate another woman's personal development. As in our own workplaces, we must adopt a mentoring, even nurturing role; we are aware that we can be a role model and offer a view of what is possible for women. The balance between the contractual and personal is delicate — the goal is to empower not to increase dependency.

Society in general also has a responsibility. Legislation which will clarify and improve working conditions needs to be introduced (where it is not already in place) and strengthened. Support groups for domestics, opportunities for them to join unions — we should be actively lobbying for these.

However, we are uneasy with the assumption that this is primarily or exclusively a women's issue, concerning only female employees and employers. While women still have primary responsibility for domestic work and child care, we hope that this will change in the future. The situation needs to be redefined and seen as the responsibility of men and women of equal power and opportunity on both sides of the employment equation.

We acknowledge that these relationships of dominance and inequity are intrinsic to the capitalist system and the fundamental restructuring of society may be required for their resolution. As feminists, we must first acknowledge the problem in our relationships with domestics workers and nannies and then begin to find ways to improve the situation. Ignoring the issue is a denial of the feminist and humanitarian values we espouse and makes us no better than the employers from whom we demand change. In the home, a domain under our control, we can model our vision of a new type of working relationship which transcends domination and exploitation. We can, and must strive for equity in our own backyards. □

For further reading:

R. Hertz, *More Equal Than Others: Women and Men in Dual Career Marriages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

M. Silvera, *Silenced*. Toronto: Williams-Wallace, 1983.

L. Thomas, "But Their Hearts Belong To Nanny," *Toronto Life*, April, 1988.

Pat Bradshaw-Camball teaches organizational behaviour at York University, with a research interest in power and politics. She is the mother of two young boys.

Rina Cohen teaches sociology at York University and has conducted a major research project on domestics in Toronto. She also has two children.

Can Feminists Have Power?

The article by Pat Bradshaw-Camball and Rina Cohen provoked more than the usual editorial debate among board members, centring on the potentially exploitive relationship between employer and domestic. Clearly, exploitation flourishes across a number of occupational groups, especially among workers who are vulnerable for reasons of language, skills and legal status. And clearly, women as well as men are among the exploiters. As feminists, we are obviously outraged at this and identify more with the exploited and marginalized person or group than with those in power.

In reflecting on this debate, it seems to us that we were facing some of the paradoxes of feminism that are emerging as feminism, as well as feminists, mature and age.

One paradox for us was around the consequences for some women of achieving some economic and organizational power. How do we, as feminists, use this power? And are we easy with the notion of power?

What do you, our readers, think? Write and tell us — we'll run some of the letters in subsequent issues.

Anella Parker Martin and Pat Bradshaw-Camball

UNTITLED by Hans Van Beinum

Thousands of years of patriarchy
poured down the scaffolding of our consciousness
like cement
hardens into the invisible context of
what is and what ought to be.

Subtle process and programmed learning
as well as plain force and courtesy
make up the contours of love and life
and generations of linear logic.

We breathe the phallic fabric that blinds
man and woman locked in Kafka-esque embrace
which keeps their masculine and feminine secure
and paired in prison.

When animus falls in love with anima
and two explodes into four,
the paradigm breaks and lets us move beyond.

Union Maid

Ann Marie Wierzbicki interviewed by Barbara Sanford

Ann Marie Wierzbicki is a Regional Representative with the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC), the union for federal government employees across Canada. She helps to resolve grievances, represents people on appeals, helps to organize locals, and represents PSAC on issues such as workforce downsizing. Her portfolio also includes working with women; running education workshops, a newsletter, and starting women's regional committees. She was interviewed by Barbara Sanford of Women & Environments' Editorial Board.

Wierzbicki: We have a women's network newsletter and the beginnings of a women's regional committee. We held a national women's conference in 1987; the resolutions went directly to the PSAC convention in April 1988. Women organized to win two of their major ones: to recognize and fund women's committees on a regional basis; and to provide full funding for regional women's conferences and one national one within the next 3 years. Women's transportation, lost wages, child care, etc. will all be paid.

W & E: You have been involved in other types of education activities, specifically for union women as well. Can you tell us about these?

Wierzbicki: At the PSAC conference, the focus was on skills building. One of the biggest barriers to women's participation in unions is our socialization. We don't know quite what to do when we first walk into a union meeting with a zillion men all arguing with each other. For women to start participating in this aggressive, adversarial scene, we have to overcome that socialization. We did mock union meet-

ings and practised using rules of order, but the real success was the start of our networking. Women had an opportunity to look at common concerns and goals; that started binding some women together.

The CEIU (Canadian Employment and Immigration Union) women's conference, however, was far more exciting because it dealt with process. We were working together as women. Also, the workshop I did there dealt with sexual orientation. As far as I know, this is the only time it has come up on any formal union agenda.

The irony is that the conference followed our winning a "no sexual orientation discrimination" clause in the collective agreement. If you looked at the collective agreement in 1986, you would think "how progressive," but this didn't come up through the rank and file. In fact, it has been a surprisingly easy victory... probably because employers haven't seen any costs involved, yet. The recent court ruling that excluded gay and lesbian couples from the definition of "family," for example, was a close decision and could change in the future.

I also participated in the Women and Unions weekend at Grindstone Island last summer (1987). That came out of the annual Grindstone Women's Celebration weekend. Those weekends were simply for the enjoyment and freedom women feel when they are alone together, but at the 1986 celebration weekend, some union women thought that this would be a good thing for women in unions to do, too.

The 1987 Women and Unions weekend had an official agenda that was issue-oriented. We did a lot of talking about the economy and about free trade. Then, at the final plenary session, it came out that most of us thought we were coming there to talk about what it was like to be women working in unions, but we hadn't had time to do that. So this year we have set aside time to get our gripes out about what it's like to work in unions, which are very patriarchal and hierarchical, and then we will address the process that we want to work within... a feminist process.

W & E: Can you define feminist process?

UNION MEMBERSHIP AND COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT COVERAGE OF EMPLOYED PAID WORKERS IN CANADA

	Female	Male	Total
% of Paid Labour Force	42.2	57.8	100
% Unionized	31.9	41.4	37.2
% Covered by a Collective Agreement	36.6	46.0	41.8
% of Total Union Membership	38.5	61.5	100

Source: Statistics Canada, unpublished data from the Survey of Union Membership, a supplement to *Labour Force Survey*, December 1984.

Wierzbicki: It involves the sharing of power, the equalization of roles, and doing things like rotating the chair and pairing people to share their skills. Feminist process includes being "real" with each other. Working in groups, we tend to have our own little paranoid fantasies and these are disruptive to our collective process. If we institute check-ins, to identify how much you can commit to the work and why, we can avoid a lot of the guilt and anger associated with these differences. For example, differences in family responsibilities are real, and if we identify these at the beginning we don't have false expectations of each other. Personal crisis should be acknowledged, if not in content, but at least by admitting to the group that you will be distracted today because of personal reasons... good reasons. Check-ins should be a part of each meeting.

W & E: What has been the union's position towards job betterment, training, re-training, and other policies supportive of working women.

Wierzbicki: It's clear that technological change is affecting women's jobs much more than it's affecting men's jobs. The Union has been very strong at the negotiating table around this issue, just trying to maintain some level of employment equity for women. but it's hard to get the collective agreement clauses strong enough and there is still a feeling that women's issues are more easily dropped. This is part and parcel of what we see in the statistics on the proportion of women on the negotiation team. Women, if they were there, would put up a stronger fight for their own issues. We have had some success around child care; some on-site child care has been established, but it has been minimal.

We have funding for on-site daycare at all official union functions as well as a reimbursement policy for child care costs incurred. But child care is still a barrier to women's participation in the labour movement, no matter who pays. Leaving your kids so that you can use your free time to participate in union activities can present personal problems. The Union has not really addressed the issue of disruption of our personal lives. Union women who are mothers face the triple day syndrome: they work all day, come home to care for their house and family, and then they have to go to meetings, lobby and be active in the union. It can be incredibly painful, especially in terms of relationships with husbands or lovers.

Women have broadened the scope of what unions will look at and fight for.

W & E: What about women of colour? Do you think their experience or situation is different?

Wierzbicki: The emergence of visible minority and immigrant women as a strong force within the women's movement and the labour movement will eventually force us to address this issue. It's hard for all women, but especially for immigrant and minority women. They now face the same barriers that white, activist women first faced 20 years ago, when the second wave of feminism started. Their organizing is similar. They are starting to challenge the Ontario Federation of Labour and the Canadian Labour Congress,

saying, "Look at the composition of your executive. We are not adequately represented in the labour movement."

The Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto has been doing some good educational work, especially around English as a second language. Many programs have been instituted in the work place, often during working hours. Again, it's doubly hard for the women. Men are expected to go out to work and learn English, so they get money and support from Canada Employment and Immigration, but women often don't. It's not a policy of Employment and Immigration, but there is a kind of systemic discrimination that allows men to have better access to these opportunities.

W & E: Do you think that the relationship between PSAC and women in PSAC is typical of other unions in Canada or other public employees' unions? What is different, if anything?

Wierzbicki: The Alliance is similar to other public service unions. Sometimes it feels as if we're ahead, and sometimes as if we're behind. The fact that we have a national women's conference that can send resolutions directly to the national convention is flabbergasting. We are the only union that has that. Yet OPSEU (Ontario Public Service Employees Union) has had funded, formally recognized women's committees for years.

In trade and industrial sector unions the problems are obvious. They are not as progressive around women's issues, because their membership is not as highly composed of women. Public service unions have been more progressive about women's issues because they have more women members. For example, they have led the fight against sexual harassment. Other unions have excellent policies, but their implementation and the involvement of women has been much more difficult because of the environment in the workplace. And remember that the major employers of women are not the types of employers to have unions; restaurants, retail establishments and banks have been difficult to organize in the past.

W & E: Do you think that unions have or should have any special role to play in promoting women's issues?

	Number of Women Members	Percentage of All Members
1965	292,056	16.6
1970	513,203	22.6
1975	711,102	26.0
1979	890,365	29.3
1980	932,883	30.2
1984	1,336,200	38.5*

Source:(*) Pradeep Kumar and Mary Lou Coates, *The Current Industrial Relations Scene in Canada: 1986* (Kingston: Industrial Relations Centre, 1986); other data from L. Brisken and L. Yantz, ed., *Union Sisters: Women in the Labour Movement* (Toronto: The Women's Educational Press, 1983).

Wierzbicki: Unions should have a special role to play in promoting women's issues because one of the major burdens women carry is their undervaluation in the workforce and their ghettoization in low-paying jobs as secretaries and as clerical and service workers. We have made some progress in terms of equal pay laws. In 1978, the Canadian Human Rights Act had an equal pay clause. It is only now being acted upon. The Alliance is currently carrying out an equal pay study, which will take another year to complete; then you have to start talking about implementation.

One of the key issues for Grindstone is equal pay. I expect we will be taking a critical look at the law and at collective bargaining strategies. Once we've got it in the collective agreement, we are responsible for enforcing it. Unions, and especially public services unions, may not be as strong as we would like, but they are trying to negotiate equal pay clauses, child care clauses, parental leave clauses, care and nurturing clauses, etc. and the increasing participation of women in the labour force demands that.

W & E: Generally speaking, do you think that women have or should have any special role to play in unions?

Wierzbicki: Women have a very, very special role to play in unions, Feminists in particular have a key role to play in the democratization of the labour movement. Over the years, unions have become very bureaucratic and, in general, the membership has become inactive. Women active in unions have a role in changing the hierarchical power structures and empowering themselves. We have had a lot of successes to date and I think that we are going to change the face of the labour movement even more in the future.

It is remarkable that throughout the recession, women were broadening the scope of what unions would look at and fight for. We won concessions on things that had never been considered union issues before. And men benefit, too. It's such a misconception to think that these are solely women's issues. If it's a benefit to the family, it's a benefit to the men in the family as much as to the women. Our whole lives are affected by the work we do. We spend the majority of our time at work, and the quality of our life at work affects the quality of our life everywhere else, including in our relationships with men. □

Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC)

PSAC is made up of 17 components or unions. Statistics on the proportion of women among the "card-carrying" members and the national executive of some of these components follows:

PSAC's National Board of Directors is made up of 30 people (23% women): 5 are from the Alliance Executive Committee (40% women); 17 are component Presidents (11% women); and 8 are National Directors representing different regions in Canada (43% women). The Alliance Executive Committee members and the National Directors are elected at triennial Alliance Conventions. Component Presidents are elected at Component Conventions.

PSAC's negotiating team is currently 25% women, though women make up 48% of the Alliance's membership. In 1985-86, only 17% of the negotiating team were women.

Staff in PSAC Regional Offices are members of the Canadian Union of Labour Employees (CULE). CULE 1 are Regional Representatives (31% women) and CULE 2 are Administrative Support Workers (100% women).

The Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto has compiled statistics on women's participation in Metro area unions, generally. They indicate that 53% of union members are women, yet only 9% of union executive members are women.

Components of PSAC	Per Cent Women	
	Membership	Executive
Environment	37	0
National Defense	40	25
SECO (Public Service Commission)	66	40
Postal & Communication	50	50
Canadian Transportation	22	7
Solicitor General	45	40
Veterans' Affairs	61	86
Public Works	38	6
Supply & Services	54	48

Racism Hurts Us All

by June Vicocq

June Vicocq is the Director of Human Rights and Race Relations at the Ontario Federation of Labour. Prior to this she worked at a hospital in Toronto and was active in the Women's Committee of CUPE, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Local 79. June is from Guyana, where she also held executive positions in her union. She chairs the board of the Shirley Samaroo Shelter for Battered Women in Toronto — the first of its kind for immigrant women. We have excerpted these comments from her speech to the CUPE conference on women's economic survival, March 1988.

The road to equality remains full of obstacles for all women but for visible minority women the obstacles are compounded by racism. Racism limits their entry into the workforce and relegates them to employment in workplaces where the wages are low, the work is laborious and where they are often subjected to other discriminatory practices in working conditions and opportunities for advancement.

Racism is a barrier to equality because it keeps visible minority women locked into jobs which appear to have been reserved for them, doing work that white women don't want to do. They work primarily in hospitals, nursing homes, as cleaners, maids, cafeteria workers, and in the garment industry. For many of them, these jobs are considered initially as short term employment; they plan to move into better paying jobs but the reality is that they remain because other possibilities are often closed to them. Those that find employment in the clerical areas are disproportionately represented in the lower levels. If English is not their first lan-

guage, then they are often easy targets for unscrupulous employers who pit one group against the other, creating an atmosphere of mistrust to their own advantage.

Visible minority women want to be economically independent too but, as a result of their position in the workforce, often characterized by low wages, poor working conditions and lay-offs, economic pressure is a way of life for many of these women. A case in point is what's happening in the garment industry. During 1987 seven plants in Toronto were closed, putting close to 500 women out of work. So far this year, six more unionized plants have closed and another 330 women are out of work. It is expected that a total of ten plants will close by the end of this year, and free trade with the US will wipe out what's left of the garment industry in Canada.

Because racism is not easy to address, trade unions have tended to ignore it.

These women have worked in the garment industry for years; some of them have been on the job for as long as 40 years. Many will not receive severance pay because the plant is too small to be covered by this requirement. These women are not only without jobs and without money, but for many of them there is no hope of finding work again because of language and age restrictions, and a federal program of assistance for

women over 55 has been cancelled. What makes these closures particularly distressing is that even if some of them find jobs they will be paid about \$5 per hour, half of what a skilled dressmaker earns. Work has also been deskilled by rationalization of production.

As trade unionists and representatives of working people we must ask ourselves, what can we do? We may never be able to eliminate racism entirely, as long as the present economic system prevails, but the very least that we can do is work to minimize its destructive influence in our workplaces. We know that racism does not hurt everyone equally, we know that it hurts some more than others but, as long as employers have access to groups of people that they can exploit, it hurts us all.

We must take an activist approach and build a movement that will fight the racist practices of employers. We cannot rely on the good intentions of governments and employers who display the Human Rights Code on their office walls and yet refuse to hire visible minorities.

Because racism is not easy to address, trade unions have tended to ignore it, so it has become an issue that only those who experience racial discrimination try to move forward. If the trade union movement is about fair shares and equality for all working people, it is up to all of us to make anti-racist education a priority in our unions.

I am convinced that if the will is there we can make progress in this area just as we have made progress in other areas. We must not underestimate the role that labour education has played in shaping consciousness and imparting skills to workers. All of us must be involved in the struggle against racism because racism divides working people and weakens our unions. □

Credit, Confidence and Ketchup

by Judith A. Graeff

For women in the Third World, the days of barter and self-sufficient households are rapidly disappearing, and the need for cash to pay for school fees, food imports, medicine, transportation and consumer goods is a growing reality for even the most rural areas. Financial stability as well as the day-to-day maintenance of children, household, and farm fall heavily on the shoulders of women.

While rural women have many strategies for sharing labour burdens — pooling of labour, rotating responsibilities with female relatives, delegating child care and household chores to older children — other, more subtle, constraints to

effective income generation are more difficult to overcome, and gaining access to formal sources of credit is particularly difficult.

Donor agencies from many countries have frequently focused on income generation development schemes for the poor. These schemes are usually based on a Western, male-dominated model, and by not taking into account certain realities of women's lives, fail to help the most needy target group.

Development planners are now seeing that improved income generation for men does not automatically "trickle down" to improve conditions for women and children; on the contrary, it is women who

channel their income more directly to benefit their children.

Credit schemes based on the Western model, even if specially designed as small loans to low income people, still typically require:

— loan collateral in the form of land or cattle or other possessions. In many societies, women are not allowed to own any property.

— loan applications requiring literacy and often the signature of a man. (In many countries, women's signatures are not binding even for adult women household heads.)

— loan applications and maintenance requiring travel to banks in urban centres and inevitably involving women's interaction with men unknown to family members. Watchful husbands very often will not tolerate this.

Is the solution then to create income generating projects aimed exclusively at women? Development projects centering on women have been typically welfare oriented, offering, for example, food supplementation and free child immunizations, or they teach traditional skills of child rearing, nutrition, sewing and cooking. None of these activities explicitly leads to possibilities for earning. Special women-focused income generating schemes are usually low budget and most often emphasize cottage industries and marketing of hand-made crafts. The very nature of crafts (embroidery, pottery, basket weaving, rug making, etc.) makes them too labour intensive for large scale production and marketing to be cost-effective. Constraints to loan application and repayment should and could be minimized for women so that commercial ventures are more feasible for women with severely limited resources.



Ketchup processing plant

Despite the problems they face in gain-

ing access to formal credit sources, rural women are not new to operating on credit on an informal basis. Forming a credit group of neighbours and relatives is one common mechanism for low-income women (and men) to gain access to capital. These groups can provide small loans to participants for years, or they can form and dissolve in a few months — once everyone has had an opportunity to use pooled funds. The basic idea is for each member to contribute a small amount of money (sometimes a few cents) each month, which is then pooled and given to one of the members to use. She may buy a piece of equipment for a home production scheme, pay a child's school fees, buy seeds for her fields, or increase her herd of goats. The pooled sum rotates monthly from member to member, allowing poor women to use an amount of capital they would otherwise never be able to obtain. Also, increasingly banks are granting loans to groups like these, making the group as a whole responsible for repayment. The default rate in these schemes is typically quite low.

There are many success stories of how these women's groups have overcome obstacles to obtain bank loans and mount a viable commercial activity. The following is such a story.

In the canton El Castaño, near Sonsonate, El Salvador, a Mothers' Club of 15 women wanted to switch from nutrition classes and sewing projects offered by the National Association of Peasant Mothers' Clubs and local churches, to something that would earn money. In 1979, USAID/El Salvador responded to the women's request and asked OEF, International (formerly the Overseas Education Fund), an American private non-profit firm specialising in development projects for Third World women, to guide the group with technical assistance and a grant, in developing and operating an income gen-

erating project of their choice.

Where to start? The women of El Castaño, although already having formed a group, were not prepared at the outset to launch a serious commercial venture. The group needed to begin with several months of strengthening self-confidence and learning how to function effectively as a group. OEF began, then, with a program of general group building skills based on the assumption that just because women gathered together for activities, did not necessarily mean that they had the mutual trust, confidence and motivation as a group to do the kind of problem-solving and decision making that lay ahead.

Only one of their group had more than an elementary school education.

The momentum generated through the initial team building process led to the decision to go ahead with a serious commercial venture by exploiting the local tomato crop: to produce ketchup from tomatoes that do not sell during the season and to pickle other vegetables when not busy with tomatoes.

Commercially processing tomatoes into ketchup is a complex business. The women were talking about starting up a food processing plant in a region where there was no electricity or running water. Only one of their group had more than an elementary school education — they were, indeed, typical rural women, busy with husbands and children, raising small animals and tending garden plots. Their husbands were generally supportive of the idea, and would try to supply the venture with tomatoes from their fields. The one woman with higher education could take an important role in managing the business, and in keeping the books.

Now, more confident that as a women's group they could launch and manage a business, the women looked to the earth for the means to begin.

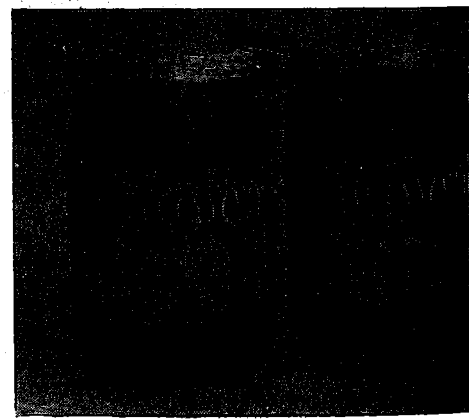
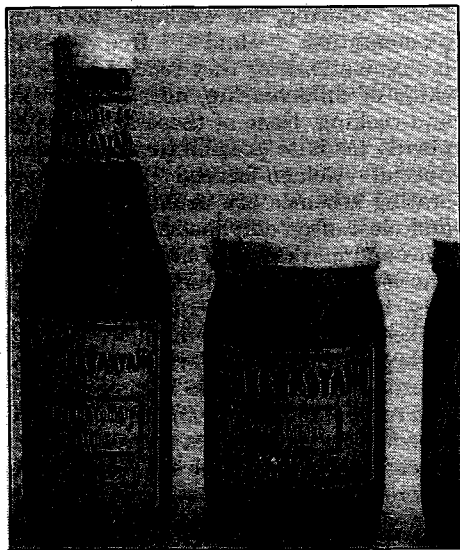
Village men maintained the tomato crops in the region, but several bad harvests had forced them to migrate to the coast to find work on plantations. OEF called in agricultural specialists to help the men improve their crops, assuring a local supply of tomatoes for the women's food processing. The local church donated land for a processing plant, although it was not completed until 1987. Meanwhile, the women arranged to rent the use of a miniature food processing plant, on the

grounds of a government agricultural school 40 km from the village. Since the plant was used for training students, it was accessible to the women on weekends only. Initial money for rent came through the project grant, and OEF brought in an expert from the capital to teach the mass production of pickled vegetables and ketchup.

Group members, loaded with fresh tomatoes, boarded the bus every weekend to ride the 40 km to the plant, learning there how to turn tomatoes into marketable, bottled ketchup. At first, they sold their produce, called "El Castaño" Catsup, just at local fairs. Since all commercially produced ketchup in El Salvador came from Guatemala and Costa Rica, when the political situation worsened in Central America in 1981, ketchup supplies from these countries were cut. The El Salvadorians wanted their ketchup, so the demand for a locally produced version jumped! In response, their modest project was forced to expand, demanding more sophistication in organization and marketing.

As an organisation, the co-op was expanding far beyond the 15 women who had started the project and became formally incorporated as a multi-service production cooperative. Their membership had grown to over 160 male and female members and they required financing to build their own processing plant and to handle operational costs until they were covered by project profits. They needed to learn marketing, accounting, and plant operation skills. Many of the landless members of the co-op wanted their own land to raise tomatoes. Even more fundamentally, the women needed to learn how to travel away from the village, how to negotiate with a bank, and how to meet with and get action from politicians. They were learning self-confidence.

The women quickly saw that there was much more to ketchup than learning a recipe. Two fundamental obstacles faced them. They needed to build a processing plant in a region which had no running



water or electricity. In pursuit of building their own processing plant, not only was financing critical, but the women had to have water and electrical services brought to the community. Co-op and community members mobilized together, putting political pressure on the central government to provide these services, but they ended up having to do the installation themselves.

OEF guided them through these various stages and helped particularly in securing a loan, the other major obstacle facing the co-op. OEF and the cooperative had exhausted all possible commercial funding sources in El Salvador before approaching the Inter American Development Bank (IDB). OEF contacted IDB representatives in Washington DC and in El Salvador. Initially, the bank would not take seriously a large scale business venture proposed and operated by peasant women. The representative's reaction was, "Your women should go back to their homes and can tomatoes as a cottage industry." With much perseverance, however, they convinced the bank representative from Washington to visit the project, and then make his decision. He was sold on the viability of the project, and put into motion a \$400,000 special projects loan for the co-op to cover operating costs and plant construction. At low interest and a 10-year grace period, the loan has been crucial in keeping the project alive in its formative years. Indeed, it was the critical element that allowed the project to become more than a cottage industry.

The very survival of this project has been due to the solidarity of the original women's group and the support and respect they receive from their husbands and the community as a whole. The technical assistance from outside experts for both the good processing and financing aspects of the venture was also crucial. But has the project been successful? After nearly 10 years, it has not yet generated much money for the co-op families. Proceeds from sales, understandably, have had to be used to cover operating expenses. The IDB, while finally willing to provide a loan, has been slow in releasing useable funds, and it is unclear how much longer USAID will continue to support the project.

Although not yet generating many profits, the project has generated a great deal of work for the men and women of the co-op. Everyone has two jobs: to do what is typically necessary to maintain their households, and to respond to the pressing needs of the co-op. The men still often migrate to work on the coast, and the continual civil war also takes its toll. The extra stress on co-op families is high, and until the ketchup venture can support



OEF INTERNATIONAL

them without additional income sources, this stress is sure to continue.

While its success as a business venture is still uncertain, the project's positive results are many. The increased self-confidence among the women is obvious. After giving some foreign visitors a tour of the tomato processing plant, one woman in the co-op who had recited the ketchup recipe and processing method in detail exalted: "I learned this whole procedure and I can't even read or write!" The women have also commanded attention and respect from the political system. The momentum from the co-op has brought needed changes to surrounding communities, including water and electrical services.

This story of a women's group engaging in commercial enterprise does not have to be such an anomaly. For example, women's grass roots organisations (called harambe) are a critical element in Kenya's official development plan. The government lends technical and financial support to nearly 200 women's groups running their own development (usually income generating) projects. In addition, large commercial banks do not have to be so inaccessible to peasant women. Here, the now well-established Grameen Bank in Bangladesh is an example. It began as a pioneering venture to see if a financial institution in the formal sector could remain a viable commercial bank while supporting the development of small-scale industries made up mostly of women. The Grameen Bank has developed loan procedures to respond specifically to the usual constraints traditional women face in seeking formal credit. Part of its procedure is to go into villages to explain and teach loan procedures to women. It also

makes available small amounts of money and will loan to women's groups as well as individuals.

More governments and international donors need to follow these examples and support the efforts or women to generate income for their families and lower barriers to formal services. Until governments and donors implement policies to support women's efforts to generate income, rural women in the Third World will continue to be poor and without resources. This is unfortunate when they continually demonstrate their desire to provide sufficiently for their family and their willingness to work together for an economic goal. The benefits to a nation's overall development are many when it designs realistic opportunities for the other half of its population to become economically productive and self-sufficient. □

The author would like to acknowledge the help and cooperation of Carolyn Rose-Avila, formerly of OEF International, for her comments on an earlier draft, and of OEF International for providing the photographs.

Judith A. Graeff works for the HEALTH-COM Project at the Academy for Educational Development in Washington, DC, a health education project for children in the Third World. She manages on-going projects in Zaire and Lesotho.

The Changing Patterns of Women's Work: Reflections on Technology

by Jan Mears

It was a warm spring day in Ottawa in 1979... nearly 10 years ago. For some months I had been worried about the emerging impact of new forms of technology on traditional women's work. I invited Heather Menzies, author of *Women And The Chip*, over to discuss a growing sense of concern I had about the potential for massive job loss for women.

In 1979 I was working in a federal government department that employed a great number of clerks, data entry operators, typists, and comptometer operators; all female-dominated occupations. At that time the focus of equal opportunity employment initiatives was on upward mobility for women — getting them “out of the job ghettos” — not on changes within the occupations where women were concentrated. I had met with various men and women from unions, interest groups and government to share my concern about this issue.

In the late seventies, the focus of the technology debate was on employment. By the early 1980s the impact of the “chip” was felt far more widely and the revolutionary impact of this scientific discovery was being recognized. There are three main areas: household work, reproductive choices and employment, where women are experiencing radical changes in their lives as a result of this tiny invention.

How have things changed since that spring day in Ottawa? Have the predictions about job loss for women come true? Is technology the driving force it was expected to be?

While the decade is not yet over, there is evidence that many jobs have been lost. For example, comptometer operators have been replaced by sophisticated computer software. It is estimated that three word processor operators are capable of producing the same amount as ten typists had

Women now make up over 50 per cent of the paid labour force.

previously produced. Clerks hidden behind mounds of paper have been retrained or replaced by employees seated at computer terminals, the paper replaced by computer discs. The profile of the large bureaucratic organization has shifted. While the same or even increased volume can be produced today, computer power has replaced a lot of good old people power.

In a sense the prediction that a million clerical jobs would be lost by 1991 is true. Those jobs, as they were defined, performed and organized for the last part of this century are disappearing. New jobs however, are being created and filled by women, who now make up over 50 per cent of the paid labour force. The service and public sectors of our economy continue to grow and this is a prime source of employment for women.

But the patterns of women's work have altered. Women are staying in the paid labour force through the child bearing years. It doesn't seem to matter whether they are working as clerks or as lawyers, they're making family accommodations fit their work, and they're demanding that employer policies comply with their family needs. The argument that “women work for pin money” has disappeared. Women work for all the reasons that men work. And furthermore women are doing all kinds of jobs. Although the barriers of

non-traditional jobs still seem relatively impenetrable, women are working in all occupations.

The jobs we knew have altered. When did we last have our groceries packed for us in a supermarket, or line up for a bank teller just to withdraw some cash? A lot of traditional women's jobs have gone, those that remain have changed to encompass more duties and responsibilities. Take the supermarket cashier for example. Using an electronic register she now does inventory control as well as cash and packing... three people did that before. In the banks it is not uncommon to see men at the counter. In the offices there are as many men behind terminals as there are women.

Part-time employment has continued to rise over the last five years with a disproportionate number of women choosing it as a viable way to combine family and work. Although many of the part-time jobs are seen as dead-end opportunities, women are there.

Employer policies and collective agreements are beginning to accommodate women. Ten years ago provisions were limited for workplace daycare, flexible hours, leave policies; although these are still exceptional, changes are coming.

The major driving force changing work organization, productivity improvement, competition etc. is undoubtedly rapidly evolving technological capability. Starting with the manufacturing and resource based sectors of our economy (where women are not employed in large numbers), tech change has had a major impact on the number and nature of jobs. However, just as the proportion of people engaged in agricultural work declined in the earlier part of this century, so will the numbers decline in manufacturing and resource based industries.

In the last decade new issues have been and continue to be identified. The quality of jobs is seen by many to be declining. Interest and commitment to the work ethic is changing. People are being "liberated" from work either willingly or involuntarily. The "good" jobs (ie. in manufacturing) are disappearing. The emerging Information Sector, however, is providing new jobs to which people are flocking. Financial counselling, software development, personal security, environmental engineering — these are where new jobs are appearing. Ten years ago, these jobs were non-existent.

Technology has affected women's employment; it is changing where they work, how they work and the conditions of their employment. Our fears for absolute job loss for women have not been realized at this point, although individual women displaced by technology from traditional jobs certainly experience these changes as job loss. As technology continues to dominate functions in the plant and the office, our fear may not prove to be wrong — just premature. □

Jan Mears has worked for government and industry on employment issues affecting labour and management. She is currently working for the Ontario Public Service Alliance.

WOMEN AND PART-TIME WORK

- 72% of all part-time workers are women
- In 1985 26% of employed women held part-time positions
- 40% of part-time workers work less than 15 hours per week and are therefore not covered by Unemployment Insurance
- Between 1984 and 1986, 26% of new jobs for women were part-time positions
- 28% of women in part-time jobs (approx. 351,000) would prefer, but cannot find, full-time work

Source: *Integration and Participation: Women's Work in the Home and in the Labour Force*; Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women; 1987

TELI — A Career in Computers

by Jacquie Mansell

The future looked dim for a small group of blue-collar workers, mainly women, in the Traffic Systems Division of Teli Industries. Their jobs, of assembling printed circuit boards for highly computerized telephone exchanges, were about to be automated. As low-skilled workers, their employment options did not look good. Their employer, however, had enough vision to consider an untried but intriguing new possibility — why not shift the displaced assembly workers to an area of the operation where committed, capable workers were badly needed?

Although within the public sector, Teli Industries (Sweden's national utilities organization) must finance itself from its own revenues. Like most organizations today, it is greatly concerned with the effective use of its resources. The company was having serious problems finding and keeping the highly trained engineers who produced the software for the telephone exchanges they manufactured. "Why not," asked management, "redesign the systems for producing software so that the displaced assembly workers could be trained to become programmers?"

With help from the Development Programme for developing new programming methods and for the training of the blue-collar workers,

in 1984 the company chose an initial group to pilot the project. The only selection criterion used was that the person be willing to give it a try. The workers, who had been used to working as a group on the line, were trained for a similar work organization in their new jobs. They were given considerable social training and extensive technical training for a period of approximately one year. The technical training was a combination of classroom and actual on-the-job experience.

The experiment was a clear success: and, as of early 1987, there were 20-25 ex-assembly workers, aged from 18-55 years, now writing software for the products they once simply assembled. Only two and a half years after the start of the project, the unit was paying its own way and is quite successful in winning new jobs in the open marketplace. The attrition rate in the department is now very low. And a group of workers who once had few skills, today have not just many new skills, but new careers, with futures. □

This article is excerpted from QWL FOCUS, the news journal of the Ontario Quality for Working Life Centre at the Ministry of Labour, Province of Ontario. Copies of QWL FOCUS can be obtained, free of charge, from the Policy Branch, Ministry of Labour, 400 University Ave., Toronto, Ontario M7A 1T7, Attention: Anella Parker-Martin.

Women perform 2/3 of the world's working hours yet they receive only 1/10 of world income & own less than 1% of the world's property



We must act now to end the second class status of women, to reverse male domination, & to destroy stereotyping.



er... new paragraph.



Women and Technology

An Interview with Ursula Franklin

This article has been excerpted from QWL Focus, the news journal of the Ontario Quality of Working Life Centre at the Ministry of Labour, Province of Ontario.

Focus: Could you define the meaning of technology?

Franklin: Technology is very big word that in many ways encompasses very divergent things. Of technology as I see it, there are two classes. One is work-related technology, things designed to change work as an activity. The other part of technology is control-related. It's not there to make the work easier but is there to control both the work and the workers. Often the work-related technologies change the workplace so that they lead to a deskilling — the devices take on the skilled work and the people take on the unskilled work.

A work-related technology such as the word processor makes it easy to change something, therefore often making the typist less careful and less skillful, but also making authors less likely to craft their words as carefully. So, it is not only the worker who may lose skills, it is also the person who designed the work who becomes much less disciplined and less able to provide prose that is good and need not be revised.

Control technology is imposed on peo-

ple, not because the work is made faster or better or more efficient or more creative. To the contrary, the work is often chopped up so that side functions of control — and that is not only people control but inventory control — can be fulfilled by work that is not necessarily designed for it. An example is the electronic check-out which then becomes inventory control which in turn becomes helpful in purchasing and consumer research. This work is probably carried out by a poorly paid cashier. Fairly major job functions are fulfilled on the side and often on the cheap by people who are there and paid to ring through your bread and herring.

It is important to look at the division of the work process by technologies that allow monitoring of a variety of side issues, particularly as one looks at the labour picture and jobs disappearing, and also at jobs done that may not ever need to be done such as personnel control — monitoring how fast somebody works. You can monitor time or any quantifiable parameter, but usually the value to a company is expressed in things that you can't monitor. And just because it is easy to monitor speed it's very tempting to say the greatest value is speed when in fact there are many situations where speed is the last thing you want.

One of the things that one has to be very clear about is that the "valuable parts of the technology, the things we like about the electronic typewriter or the word processor, can be de-coupled from the things we don't like. Much more information about how the users feel and what their rightful requirements are has to go into the very early stages of the development of the technology. Specific technologies need not work the way they do. Economic, political and cultural forces in the environment determine the choices

that are made.

Once a particular technical arrangement has taken shape, it's very difficult to dislodge it. There's little point in being concerned with a technology that is established and sold. By then there are very strong forces that need to recoup the investment and it's very hard to change. On the other hand, the profit from typewriters that are properly designed isn't any less than the profit from typewriters that are improperly designed. The resistance to change is least at those points at which choices can be made without prejudice to the final financial and corporate outcome.

To address the real concerns about the human use of technology and to identify the processes to which one needs to say no, one has to go three steps back — to the planning stage. One of the real needs for people who use technology is to get in on the systems design stage. Whoever is concerned about the impact of technology needs to project this concern onto the design level.

Focus: When the subject of women and technology comes up, I tend to think in terms of women — and people generally — being on the receiving end of technology, making the best of an irreducible given. But if we focus on the design stage, we can talk about how women can change technology.

Franklin: I think it's very important to look at this subject from a feminist perspective. Generally technology has been designed to work from the top down, and in a very controlled structure, because it has been designed to cement the hierarchical system. If you want to design technology differently without neces-

sarily knowing what the final application will be, you have to design it in such a way that it cannot fit into certain controlled systems.

In designing computers you can make certain information incompatible with certain gatherings. It is often as important or more important to design technology which will not allow particular things to be done. For example data banks ought to be designed so that they are not generally accessible. The means by which the military makes information spy-proof or less commonly accessible is what citizens can ask for, for the protection of their own personal information. It has, through political will, to be done so that the system doesn't allow misuse. People will always misuse systems, and so it is at the design stage that systems ought to make it both very difficult to access data and very transparent when data have been accessed.

I want to come back to my remark about technology being used to cement hierarchy. It is because the system is designed from the top down that the protection of those who have entered data or about whom data are entered is very rarely foremost in the mind of the designer. That is why women, and users' groups generally — those at the receiving end both as users and as subjects — are really the guardians of that technology, trying to ensure that it is used only for legitimate purposes. When we get into the subject of AIDS and compulsory testing, the question of data banks, and confidentiality of information will come forward and I hope it will be dealt with as an example in a generic sense of how to use and not use information technology. That one doesn't fight it out on the level of AIDS but on the level of civil rights.

I think it's quite wrong to think that technology is value free. Technology is value laden and the opportunity of using technology in a different context is at the design stage.

Focus: Are there some places where technology is being designed along much more humanistic, egalitarian principles?

Franklin: Yes. Margaret Benston from Simon Fraser has worked with some of the feminist unions on the automation of the workplace in the Vancouver area on the basis of the workers designing the technology. There's a place called Women's Skills where clerical workers are taught the skills both to cope with technology and also to look at the design, to spot those junctions where technology begins to be misused or used in a manner that is contrary to the well being of workers. □

Workplace Innovations

Work Well is a Canadian resource centre that supports voluntary work option programs, such as job-sharing, flextime, banked overtime and phased retirement. They produce publications, hold workshops, and consult on the design, implementation and evaluation of work option programs. The following 'Snapshots' are examples of some flexible work schedules in practice. They were compiled by Kathy English, Work Well's case study researcher.

Sign painters Jennifer Parkhurst and Shelley Goldfarb work for the B.C. Transit Company and are the Independent Canadian Transit Union's first job sharers. While many unions tend to hold a negative view of part-time work, the ICTU and management came to a mutual agreement in negotiating the specifics of Jennifer and Shelly's arrangement. According to their Letter of Understanding, the job sharers receive pro-rated medical, dental and sickness protection and insurance benefits. Following a six-month trial period, all parties expressed their satisfaction with this work option.

After six years as a full-time senior personnel officer for VanCity Credit Union, Donna Hellewell felt in danger of "burning out." At the same time, co-worker Karen Whitehead wanted more time to prepare for the arrival of an adopted child. Together Donna and Karen approached their divisional manager with the idea of job sharing their position: both working three days a week allowing for "cross-over Wednesdays" to attend staff meetings and update each other. VanCity management has since recognized the value of this arrangement in retaining two valuable, long-term employees.

Systems analyst Sally Berger works a V-Time (voluntary time/income trade-off) option of four days per week to allow her to spend more time with her two young children. Before switching to a reduced work week, Sally had been with The Manufacturers' Life Insurance Company for thirteen years. Since she is anxious to maintain promotion opportunities in a demanding field, Sally has made certain compromises that include remaining on-call on weekends and on her Mondays off. Despite resulting complexities in her childcare arrangements by being available at all times to her co-workers, V-Time does give Sally some much-appreciated time for her family.

The majority of Western Community Outreach's twelve female staff either share their jobs or work part-time. In fact, they credit flexible work scheduling with much of their success in responding to variable, multi-source and short-term funding. Although job counselling can be stressful work, Jennifer Lowen, coordinator of this Victoria employment outreach centre, reports that staff absenteeism is low. She is convinced that working part-time gives everyone sufficient opportunities for breaks to prevent "burn-out." This arrangement has also permitted flexible coverage in the case of staff maternity leaves. Turnover is also exceptionally low in this office; qualified professional staff, attracted by the opportunity to work part-time, according to Jennifer, tend to stay even though better-paid full-time opportunities may rise elsewhere. □

For more information on Work Well's publications or services contact: Work Well, Suite 521, 620 View St., Victoria, B.C. V8W 1J6.

Mothers of Invention: The Women Inventors Project

by Rachelle Sender Beauchamp

What do an ex-Flamenco dancer from Guelph, a mother of eight from Waterloo, and an engineering student from Vancouver have in common? They are all part of an elite group, Canadian women inventors. And their inventions are as diverse as they are: a novel three-way mirror for make-up or contact lenses now being sold around the world; the Rainbow speech reader, a teaching aid for deaf infants; and a collapsible prawn trap.

Historically, women have been important, though often anonymous, innovators particularly in the agricultural and domestic areas (necessity really does appear to be the mother of invention). For example, important inventions such as the cotton gin and the sewing machine, commonly attributed to male inventors, were actually invented by women. More recently, women have been responsible for such well known products as the Melitta coffee filter, Liquid Paper™ and the Jolly Jumper™. The latter, a modification of a traditional Indian cradle board, was invented by Olivia Poole of Vancouver and is probably the best known invention by a Canadian woman.

Although women obviously have the drive, creativity and ability to invent successfully, there are at present few women anywhere who receive patents on their inventions. According to the Canadian Patent Office, only one per cent of Canadians receiving Canadian patents are women — less than ten in a typical year (this compares to an estimate of 8 per cent in the United States).¹

The Women Inventors Project, a non-profit, government-sponsored program based in Waterloo, Ontario, was invented by Lisa Avedon and myself, because we were concerned about these dismal statistics. It is the first program in North



Teen Inventors Workshop

America (and possibly the world) aimed specifically at women inventors.

The Project began, in November, 1986, by examining the major hurdles for women inventors. In addition to finance, which we lacked the resources to tackle, the two major barriers identified by women inventors were first, a lack of information on what to do and where to go to commercialize their ideas, and second, a lack of self confidence and moral support. Inventing was seen as such a male activity that few women inventors would even label themselves as such.²

Based on these findings, the Women Inventors Project put together an educational program designed to encourage women to develop their ideas. Because our research had indicated that there were many similarities, such as a lack of self confidence, little peer support and a dearth of role models, between the challenges faced by women inventors and those facing women in other non-traditional fields, we hypothesized that the techniques successful in helping women in the latter groups could, with modification, be useful for women inventors. In particular, we undertook the following activities:

- holding pilot workshops. Our first workshop, attended by 25 women from all parts of the country, was probably the largest gathering ever of women inventors in Canada;
- producing a newsletter FOCUS for women inventors;
- developing and publishing the only comprehensive manual for Canadian inventors, "The Book For Women Who Invent Or Want To";
- establishing local networks of women inventors, including groups in Vancouver, Calgary and Waterloo;
- developing a workshop on inventing and a video for teen girls; and
- raising the profile of women inventors through articles in popular news media.

It is too early to assess the long term impact of the Project but preliminary results are encouraging. For example, there was a dramatic increase in self-confidence among the women selected for the Women Inventors pilot workshop (as compared with another group of women inventors who had no direct contact with the Project). In addition, five of the women at the first pilot workshop have subsequently put their products on the market and

R. SENDER BEAUCHAMP



R. SENDER BEAUCHAMP

Hands-on session

another has applied for a patent and is now negotiating a licensing deal. As of August, 1988, the Project had over 800 women inventors on its mailing list. In addition, the Project has received international recognition, including a gold medal from the United Nations' World Intellectual Property Organization.

In the near term, there are plans to mount additional workshops in cooperation with other groups and to support the start-up of more inventors' networks. The Project will also produce more learning materials for young inventors, a group which is key to increasing the number of women inventors in the future. We have found that women inventors are terrific role models for girls and that the topic of inventing can be used to highlight the creativity and excitement of technology (eg, a plastic injection molding machine producing make-up mirrors)! Unfortunately, most of the otherwise excellent material for young inventors ignores women almost entirely.

For adult women inventors, better sources of financial assistance are crucial. Here women suffer a double stigma both as inventors and as women. Perhaps targeted, non-profit programs, such as those sponsored by the New York-based Women's World Banking are the key to helping this "disadvantaged" group. Other programs that would be helpful include an expanded organization for women inventors, perhaps an international one, and a referral hot line.

The low proportion of women inventors in Canada is regrettable for reasons of social equity but it probably also has a real and adverse impact on the Canadian economy. Many studies have demonstrated the importance of innovation to the economy. According to recent Swedish research, inventor/entrepreneurs are particularly important, and it is interesting that about 50 per cent of the women involved in our Project have been entrepreneurs as well as inventors. It may well be that women inventors, like women entrepreneurs, are the wave of the future for Canada. □

1 Fred Amram, "The Innovative Woman," *New Scientist*, 102:10-12, 1984

2 Susan McDaniel, Helene Cummins and Rachele S. Beauchamp, "Mothers of Invention? Meshing the Roles of Inventor, Mother and Worker," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 11(1):1-12, 1988

Rachele Sender Beauchamp, PhD and Lisa Avedon, MA are co-directors of the Women Inventors Project, 22 King Street South, Waterloo, Ontario N2J 1N8 (519) 746-3443. The Project is sponsored by the Innovations Program of Employment and Immigration Canada, with additional support from the Ontario Women's Directorate, the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology, and Science Culture Canada.

Work and Family Responsibilities: the Government's Role

Canadian provinces, at a November 1987 meeting of First Ministers, committed themselves to developing a strategy which would address the changing relationship between work and family life.

The principles reflect their commitment to the economic equality of women as well as to the family as an institution. It is assumed that society will benefit both economically and socially if work and family responsibilities can be integrated. First Ministers also asserted that workers with family responsibilities should have the same opportunities for advancement as those without such responsibilities. First Ministers also cautioned that increased flexibility should be consistent with job security and equitable treatment of workers.

The Ontario Government is adopting a three part response. The first is to raise awareness of this issue and to encourage private sector employers to provide an environment which permits their workers to have productive careers while caring for dependents. The second is to review their own employment practices in light of the above and, third, to look at its own policies, programs and services to ensure that they are compatible with the goal of harmonizing work and family life.

*Judy Wolfe
Ontario Women's Directorate
Province of Ontario*

"Available All Shifts"

Women on the Global Assembly Line

By Esther Meisels

*This article is based on a report entitled **Export Processing Zones: A Threat to Women, Unions and All Canadian Workers**, prepared by Wendy McKeen for the Women's Bureau, Canadian Labour Congress. All quotes within the article are taken from this report.*

British Columbia's Premier Bill Vander Zalm expects to see a new form of free enterprise zones throughout the province within the next few years, as part of BC's 10-year strategic plan to boost economic development. Though Vander Zalm claims his government does not want to disrupt the status quo of the labour movement's rights and benefits, special enterprise zones or export processing zones (EPZs) would, by their very nature, do just that. And, according to a recent Canadian Labour Congress report on EPZs, a number of Canada's policy makers are also prepared to sacrifice this country's workers to the great god of the bottom line.

Found mainly in developing countries, EPZs are special-treatment areas situated at seaports or near major cities, usually fenced in and guarded with their own zone police force. Designed to attract multinational corporations that manufacture goods for export, EPZs offer such benefits as customs duties and tax exemptions, preferential treatment on loans and tariff rates, zone administration services, and the incentive of a plentiful supply of low-wage labour. In fact, this aspect of low-wage labour is widely used as a principal selling point in EPZ ads.

Export processing zones were originally seen as a solution to the lack of industrialization in developing countries, with potential benefits such as attracting foreign investment, bringing in modern technology and advanced manufacturing

Canada appears to be coming closer to embracing the free enterprise zone concept.

techniques, creating employment, developing managerial skills, and ensuring greater use of domestic raw materials and semi-manufactured goods. The real picture shows, however, that EPZs have not helped these developing countries at all; instead, they are sinking further and further into debt. The zones have drawn only a few kinds of industries — textiles, garments and electronics — and there has been little transfer of advanced skills and technology to the host countries. Employment has not been generated to the extent expected, and the jobs that have been created are mainly unskilled or semi-skilled, monotonous and repetitive.

Young, unmarried women with no children, who have never held a paid job — the multinationals see this vulnerable and exploitable group as the ideal workers for EPZs. In fact, some companies will not even hire married women and will lay women off if they do get married or pregnant while working. Many of the women are over-educated for the unskilled or semi-skilled work they have to do; in the Philippines, for example, about 60 per cent have graduated from high school. Multinationals also like to recruit women from the countryside, where they are helped by village authorities and the fathers and brothers of factory-age women —

men who often have a stake in these women's employment since their income is greatly needed to support entire families.

There are many advantages for the multinationals in hiring women; the most obvious is that they can pay women less than they pay men even though the work is the same. They rationalize this by claiming that men need more money in order to support their families, thus ignoring the fact that many women are single parents or sole wage earners. By paying women less than men, these companies can make use of the traditional discriminatory belief that women are only secondary earners, as well as perpetuate the attitude that inequality between men and women is a normal aspect of the labour market.

EPZ advertising plays on a number of stereotypes to attract foreign corporations. Women supposedly have superior manual dexterity, and investment brochures often boast of the "nimble fingers" of their women workers. Women are also considered to have natural patience, being therefore more suited to monotonous, repetitive work. The personnel manager of an assembly plant in Taiwan believes that "young male workers are too restless and impatient to be doing monotonous work with no career value. If disciplined, they sabotage the machines and even threaten the foreman. But girls, at most they cry a little."

Women are thought to be more docile than men and thus more willing to accept tough work discipline, and many kinds of discipline are used in EPZs. Workers can't talk or sit during work hours, must wear uniforms, take short lunch breaks (eg. 15 minutes), ask permission to take bathroom breaks, incur losses in pay or face lay-offs because of inaccuracies or failure to meet production quotas, and work 24- or 36-hour "stay-ins" and forced overtime.

Women who refuse to obey company rules risk losing their jobs.

In order to recruit young women from rural areas, the multinationals exploit the desire to get away from the hard conditions of rural life and extreme parental control by claiming that they can provide a lifestyle that is modern, western and offers individual freedom. Once lured into the factories, though, these companies then control and manipulate the young workers to assure the greatest productivity and company loyalty, and to diffuse discontent; stressing competition, individuality and passive femininity, the company prevents solidarity or independence.

Women working in EPZs in developing countries must contend with harsh working conditions. There is a high incidence of sexual harassment since most of the workers are young women and most of the supervisors are men. Many women are away for the first time from their parents' influence and protection and are thus particularly vulnerable to this kind of abuse.

Health and safety measures are largely ignored by EPZ companies, especially in the electronics industry. Here, workers are continually exposed to carcinogenic acids, solvents and gases and frequently complain of acid burns, skin rashes, nausea, dizziness, lung trouble, swollen eyes, and urinary tract and other problems. Workers also suffer from eye strain and deterioration because they must constantly use microscopes to weld microchips.

The turnover rate for workers in EPZs is high — the average working life of a zone worker is four years. "It has been estimated that multinationals may already have used up or cast off as many as six million workers of developing nations. There have been reports from South Korea that many former electronics workers have no alternative but to become prostitutes."

Though most countries have minimum wage laws, EPZ companies manage to get around them and usually pay women less than men doing equivalent jobs. They also keep wages down by using trainee systems or trial employment. Trainees are not protected by minimum wage laws and often receive a wage 60 per cent lower. Companies frequently lay workers off just before they are to become permanent and then rehire new workers as trainees — a technique that allows the EPZs to reduce their wage costs by about 40 per cent. Special labour legislation controls the unions, preventing strikes and allowing zone companies to avoid the customary industrial relations procedures — in a number of countries there are no longer any restrictions for work on Sundays and holidays.

Housing conditions are yet another difficulty zone workers must face. Though

some of them live close enough to the factories to stay at home, most have to find accommodation near the plants. Housing is insufficient and expensive — workers often live in make-shift squatter dwellings where there is almost no access to clean water, or in the small, overcrowded company-provided dormitory rooms where beds are shared by three shifts of workers.

Why do industrialized countries (eg. Britain and the US) have EPZs? Those who promote EPZs in industrialized countries say that they will solve the problems of high unemployment, particularly in large cities, and decreasing economic development. In enterprise zones in Britain, however, it appears that no jobs have been created because the zone companies have usually been operating elsewhere in the

"Young male workers are too restless to be doing monotonous work with no career value."

country already. Another justification uses the argument of necessary defence against the growth of EPZs in developing countries and the new ability of industry to locate anywhere in the world. An American critic has said, "EPZs would keep American jobs from being exported — by bringing the Third World home to the US."

EPZs in industrialized countries would have a devastating effect on all workers in their thrust to scale down social benefits and prohibit unions. They would advance the growth of the secondary labour market — non-unionized, low-paid, part-time, casual and unstable employment — and the decline of the primary labour market, consisting of the highly unionized, relatively stable and better-paid jobs.

Canada appears to be coming closer to embracing the free enterprise zone concept. A commitment has been made to establish duty free zones recently by the federal government and by the government of British Columbia. A number of municipal governments have let the federal government know of their interest in the establishment of free trade zones in their regions or cities. Two provinces — Nova Scotia and Newfoundland — have already created zones of sorts and are now trying to market them.

The Fraser Institute in British Columbia is promoting the concept of free trade

zones in Canada. They suggest that minimum wage legislation be suspended, that compulsory employer and employee unemployment insurance contributions, as well as contributions to the Canada Pension Plan and public medical insurance be waived, and that closed shops and other restrictive union practices be prohibited. They advocate that business companies and regional development agencies form an alliance in order to lobby the federal and provincial governments for changes in legislation that would allow free enterprise zones.

The kind of enterprise zone envisioned for the US, Britain and Canada is based on the same incentives offered to industry by export processing zones in the Third World and, once established, what would stop management from demanding the same concessions and conditions from workers outside the zones? For many, enterprise zones and export processing zones are seen as little more than instruments for busting unions or trying to destroy the collective power of trade unions.

Because enterprise zones and export processing zones are based on sexism, inequality and the suppression of unions, they are a threat, not just to women in the Third World, but to all women, to all workers, everywhere. □

CHEAP LABOUR	
Wages Per Hour in U.S. Dollars	
	Wage
Hong Kong	\$1.15
Singapore	.79
South Korea	.63
Taiwan	.53
Malaysia	.48
Philippines	.48
Indonesia	.19

Source: *Semiconductor International*, February 1982.

Export Processing Zone Statistics

- Over 1 million people are employed in EPZ's in the Third World and half of these are East-Asian women
- 80-90 per cent of light-assembly workers are women
- The majority of workers are between 16 and 25 years of age.
- A US female assembly line worker earns between \$3.10 and \$5 (US) an hour. A woman doing the same work in many Third World countries will earn \$3 to \$5 a day.
- Starting wages in the Philippines, in U.S.-owned electronics plants are between \$34 and \$46 a month.
- A survey of workers in Hong Kong who use chemicals found that: 48 per cent had constant headaches, 39 per cent were often drowsy, and 36 per cent had frequent sore throats.
- A South Korean study reported that after just one year of employment most electronics assembly workers developed eye problems: 88 per cent had chronic conjunctivitis; 47 per cent became near-sighted; 19 per cent developed astigmatism.

The above information was taken from Women in the Global Factory by Annette Fuentes and Barbara Ehrenreich; published by South End Press, New York, 1983, 64 pp. It retails for \$4.75 per copy and can be ordered from WIRE, 475 Riverside Drive, Rm. 570, New York, NY 10115 USA.

Profile

Lecki Ord Lord Mayor of Melbourne

Lecki Ord, the first woman to be elected Lord Mayor in the 145 year history of Melbourne is the city's highest ranking public officer. She believes that even though "local government is traditionally associated with roads, rates and rubbish," its function in the community should extend far beyond those services. "As a city ratepayer and worker, and a mum with two young children I'm in a unique position to gauge the quality of service the council offers."

Born in Brisbane, the daughter of city councillor Lex Ord, Lecki Ord graduated from Queensland university with an honours degree in architecture and moved to Melbourne in 1969. She received her Fellowship Diploma in architecture at RMIT in 1975 and is in architectural partnership with husband Ian, who, being the spouse of the Lord Mayor is now, officially, the "Lady Mayoress." She originally stood for city council in 1982, having a long-standing interest in conservation and community issues.

The Lord Mayor is in office for a one-year term and holds no constitutional power in council, except to chair meetings and have a casting vote. All motions are first debated by committee and then taken to council for decision. The only way the Lord Mayor can put a motion before council is to do it the same way as any ordinary councillor, by private member's bill. As chair of the meetings however, Lecki Ord can make a difference by challenging the traditional process of council.

"I was very happy with my last council meeting. There weren't too many shenanigans, not too much name-calling and no questions at question time. At one stage I got

very bored with the bickering in council and never said much for that reason. You spend so long sitting you really don't want to be there if it is unproductive. The good thing in a debate is trying to change somebody's mind. If minds are already made up and you are just scoring points off each other, you have to remember your time is free but the cost of the staff is not."

As well as being the Lord Mayor Lecki Ord is also a founding member of Women in Architecture and participates in the group's Winter School of Architecture and Feminism, a three-day event of workshops and discussion between women architects. Last year they examined women's relationship to space and talked about movement, children's spaces, the psychology of perception of space and safety in the city. Lecki Ord hopes to follow up on the topic this year with more discussion about ways in which to improve the safety of Melbourne; for women, and men. She believes that the answer lies in keeping the city active — having restaurants remain open late at night so there are more people on the streets; changing the lighting to brighten roads and alleyways; move the buildings out to the street line to eliminate forecourts, which are potential trouble spots. She is in a good position to push for changes in urban design, being both an architect and Melbourne's highest public official.

As for being the first woman to occupy the Lord Mayor's office, Lecki Ord maintains that one of her objectives for her term is to "make it seem quite normal to have a woman in the position of Lord Mayor, and to increase women's awareness of the part that local government can play in their lives." □

House/Work

"Just A Housewife": The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America

Glenna Matthews

New York: Oxford University Press, 1987

ISBN 0-19-503859-2

(cloth 268 pp. \$29.95)

Reviewed by Joy Parr

This is a fine readable book by a woman who, having experienced the low esteem in which modern housewifery is held, has written a history of the changing status accorded to the domestic sphere in American life.

Matthews makes plain from the start that here is a cultural history of the value homemaking was assigned rather than of the changing customs and technologies of domestic labour. Her sources are advice books and women's periodicals, but principally novels, both obscure and well known. Matthews' own prose is very good, but she is also well served in crafting an argument, at once compelling and accessible, by the wonderful cast of characters who populate the domestic sphere in nineteenth and twentieth century American fiction. After reading "Just a Housewife" you will never think of Huck Finn, Looking Backward, Uncle Tom's Cabin or the Dollmaker in quite the same way again.

This book breaks from the preceding literature on separate spheres in two ways. First, rather than seeing the domestic and the private as subordinated to the market and the public by the separation of workplace from residence and the transformation from craft-based to industrial production, Matthews dates the devaluation and subsequent disdain for domesticity considerably later. She argues that it was not until the early twentieth century, when home economists began to appraise the patterns and values of domestic life using the paradigms of the academy and the labour market (paradigms which from their first assumptions derogated "female nature and female abilities"), that knowledge came to be separated from and opposed to tradition in the consideration of domesticity. By the 1920s domesticity had come to seem "not merely irrelevant but ... a positive impediment to other meaningful goals." (p. 185) The culture of consumerism proclaimed that everything of substance was made and acquired outside the home.

The timing of this transformation is important for Matthews because she sees women's political influence and power as linked crucially to the worth accorded domestic values. In the mid-nineteenth century in the United States, she argues — the time of female leadership in the campaigns against slavery, and for temperance and married women's rights to property — the "redemptive" qualities of the domestic sphere remained unchallenged. The values associated with the home provided a firm foundation for a separate political culture, a legitimacy and authority for female activism. The identification of the home as the centre of republican virtue empowered women both inside and outside the domestic sphere, and gave women an active role in the civic culture, she contends. Many women in this period dissented from the ideology of separate spheres in this fundamental respect. They, like Catherine Beecher, insisted that the same set of moral and

and domestic relations of the working class, in particular, provided a place from which cultural alternatives to the capitalist mainstream could be lived, and political resistance to the dominant production relations of the economy formulated. The critique of Humphries for ignoring the male domination and female subordination which characterizes working-class households is as well applied to Matthews' conclusions concerning the domestic gender hierarchies of mid-century republican American.

Yet Matthews' reading gives one pause. By historicizing domestic values, taking as questions both the social priority of the domestic compared to the public, and the attendant ranking of the feminine and all females as a response to the reconsideration of homely values, Matthews offers a complexity, contingency and cogency to arguments by Humphries and others, that the home has been, and may again

Women's political influence and power is linked crucially to the worth accorded domestic values.

cultural values should apply to both the public and the private sphere, and that those values should be domestic values.

During the sectional struggle which culminated in the Civil War, women and men both turned to republican domesticity as a guide toward the politics of a new civil political order. Homeliness and housewifery were in these years not atavisms, but vital, even transcendent alternatives to the fragmenting competitive individualism of the market. But as the century wore on and domestic values lost credibility, so too did the political claims which women had lodged on these grounds. By the 1880s the sentimental tension between male reverence for and rebellion against the home had become central to the lives and the fiction of popular novelists such as Samuel Clemens (a.k.a. Mark Twain) and Louisa May Alcott. Domesticity had come to symbolize entrapment rather than resistance.

Readers familiar with historical writing on women's work will find in Matthews an idealist correlate to Jane Humphries' argument that the homes

be, made the site from which both an alternative view of the world and the political force to achieve social change might be launched. □

Joy Parr is Associate Professor of History at Queen's University. Her most recent book, "The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Industrial Change in Ontario 1890-1950" will be published soon.



Women and Knowledge

Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind.

M.F. Belenky, B.M. Clinchy, N.R. Goldberger, and J.M. Tarule, New York: Basic Books, 1986. 256 p.

Reviewed by Lisa Avedon

Shortly before *Women's Ways of Knowing* was published, a short paper by several of its authors appeared in which the research and a few of their conclusions were described, causing many of us who are concerned with women's learning to be impatient for the book's release. There were two reasons for our avid interest — there is now widespread recognition that there are gender differences in learning, and little has been written that is helpful in dealing with those differences.

While math and science anxiety have been recognized as gender issues for more than a decade, there has been a paucity of research which could help counsellors and educators (including those involved in formal, noninstitutional learning) understand either the causes of women's learning difficulties or what was required to help women learn more effectively.

But the importance of this book goes far beyond awareness of how women learn. It legitimizes the assumption that our development is so often an even greater struggle than it needs to be because the societal structures which are purported to be helpful to us are instead alienating. Therefore, we must find other structures which are meaningful to us.

"To learn to speak in a unique and authentic voice, women must 'jump outside' the frames and systems authorities provide and create their own frame." (p. 134)

The authors do as they recommend by creating their own frame in both the book's content and in the way it is organized.

The first part consists of the findings from interviews with 135 women which led to the five categories of women's learning perspectives which are described. The second part examines those perspectives in relation to family interaction, how they influence formal learning experiences and, finally, how "connected teaching" facilitates learning. While the two parts of the book can be read separately, the research findings in the first part provide the context for the second. If that sounds dry and academic, it is hardly that. The

findings are presented as the women's stories, in their own words.

I found myself identifying with many of them in terms of my own development, remembering similar stories told by women with whom I had worked over the years, and most recently in trying to help my teen-aged daughter in her struggles to find her voice.

The five categories are:

"silence, a position in which women experience themselves as mindless and voiceless and subject to the whims of external authority; received knowledge, a perspective from which women conceive of themselves as capable of receiving, even reproducing, knowledge from the all-knowing external authorities but not capable of creating knowledge on their own; subjective knowledge, a perspective from which truth and knowledge are conceived of as personal, private, and subjectively known or intuited; procedural knowledge, a position in which women are invested in learning and applying objective procedures for obtaining and communicating knowledge; and constructed knowledge, a position in which women view all knowledge as contextual, experience themselves as creators of knowledge, and value both subjective and objective strategies for knowing." (p. 15)

have failed them. They distrust objectivity and rationality and feel totally alienated from science; but, like the received knowers, they are absolutist in their assumptions about truth except that it has moved from without to within themselves. They also see themselves as changing and open to new experiences; they have "walked away from the past" and are discovering themselves. While they do not have a "public voice" they are gaining one. Half of the women in the study were classified as subjective knowers.

The fourth category, procedural knowledge, consists of separate and connected knowing. Separate knowers are defined as "tough minded" critical thinkers, impersonal, and objective. Connected knowers are empathetic, non-judgmental, and collaborative. Both types of procedural knowers learn and communicate their learning within a systematic framework which they do not question. They have found their way within a structure.

In constructed knowledge, the last category, women "use themselves in rising to a new way of thinking." (p. 135)

"Women constructivists show a high tolerance for internal contradiction and ambiguity. They abandon completely the either/or thinking so common to the previous positions described. They recognize the inevitability of conflict and stress ... These women want to embrace all the pieces of the self in some ulti-

"... educators can help women develop their own authentic voices if they emphasize connection over separation, understanding and acceptance over assessment, and collaboration over debate."

The silent women are described as victims: passive, dependent, often abused. Their verbal language is limited and they are often illiterate. The "silent" women who were interviewed could not describe themselves, nor did they have any views as to what their future lives would be like.

The received knowers mirror what they learn and what they hear from others. Their sense of self is dependent on the expectations and definitions of others, particularly those whom they see as being in authority. Their perspectives are limited to either/or, good/bad, right/wrong — they are unable to understand or tolerable ambiguity.

Women who are in the position of subjective knowing rely on their inner resources, usually because male authorities

mate sense of the whole — daughter, friend, mother, lover, nurturer, thinker, artist, advocate. They want to avoid what they perceive to be a shortcoming in many men — the tendency to compartmentalize thought and feeling, home and work, self and other. In women, there is an impetus to try to deal with life, internal and external, in all its complexity. And they want to develop a voice of their own to communicate to others their understanding of life's complexity." (p. 137)

Although the five perspectives are presented sequentially, more research would be required to determine if they are indeed stages, moving from silence to de-

veloping their own voices.

The final chapters of the book, "Toward an Education for Women" and "Connected Teaching" discuss the kind of environment conducive to women's learning: being accepted as a person, receiving support and encouragement, a structure which allows for freedom — "a culture for growth" in which internal truth, diversity of opinion, objectivity and personal sharing are blended. The authors believe that most women are connected rather than separate learners:

"We have argued in this book that educators can help women develop their own authentic voices if they emphasize connection over separation, understanding and acceptance over assessment, and collaboration over debate; if they accord respect to and allow time for the knowledge that emerges from firsthand experience; if instead of imposing their own expectations and arbitrary requirements, they encourage students to evolve their own patterns of work based on the problems they are pursuing. These are the lessons we have learned in listening to women's voices." (p. 229)

This is essentially what we, as adult educators, think of as good adult education practice and there is reason to believe that men respond to it as well as women. It is certainly possible that men and women in sectors of society with which institutions have had little success may be silent or received knowers.

The strong points of this book are the accounts of the women's lives in relation to their perspectives on knowing. They are stories with which we are all familiar in real life and literature, but reading them in relation to the epistemological categories the authors have evolved provides new insights into how women respond to their life experiences.

It must be hoped that *Women's Ways of Knowing* will be read by everyone who has a concern for women's development and learning and that it will provoke not only more research but will stimulate practitioners to examine their own perspectives and to evolve ways of communicating with women whose perspectives are different from theirs, perhaps by creating more "new frames." □

Lisa Avedon is an adult educator and counsellor with the Ontario Ministry of Labour where she is Coordinator of Adjustment Programs. A former president of the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women, she is also co-director of the Women Inventors Project which is concerned with encouraging women inventors and facilitating their learning.

Women, Work and Place

International Symposium at McGill University, Montreal, February 12-13, 1988.

In the middle of February, at that point when both term and winter are beginning to seem interminable, we set off from Britain to an even colder climate, Montreal, and -15°C . All thoughts of snow were quickly erased when we entered into the conference with a full day of presentations from eight geographers, sociologists and historians, and all papers given by women. For both of us, it was one of the few conferences we had attended where every paper individually brought new ideas and approaches to the common topic, and where, above all else, every paper was well worth listening to.

Susan Christopherson (Planning, Cornell University) opened with a study of women's survival strategies in three mining communities in Arizona. This was followed by Liz Bondi (Geography, University of Edinburgh) outlining a research proposal on the social construction of gender and urban change in Scotland. Continuing the conceptual themes developed in these papers, Linda Peake's (School of Geography, Kingston Polytechnic) presentation focussed on feminist interpretations of social change and women's role in production and reproduction. The final paper of the morning was given by Mary Brinton (Sociology, University of Chicago) with an investigation of factors underlying discrimination against the entry of women into large firm in Japan. The afternoon session began with an address by Sylvia Gold from the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, on trends in women's work in Canada. Audrey Kobayashi (Geography, McGill), who was convening the conference with John Bradbury, then outlined her research on the work experiences of Japanese immigrant women in British Columbia, followed by Joy Parr (History, Queens University) discussing women's roles in a small town textile strike in the 1940s in Canada. Finally Damaris Rose (INRS-Urbanisation, Montreal) presented a paper (co-written with Paul Villeneuve) on women's occupational polarization in Montreal. The following day was devoted to discussion led by Hal Benenson (Sociology, McGill) that successfully drew together the major themes addressed in the papers, namely, the need to redraw the categories of work, both conceptually and methodologically; to adopt a research framework that recognizes all aspects of women's work; to uncover the institutional bases of inequality that accompany women's entry into waged work; to reveal the links between culture

and women's work; and finally, to uncover the mechanisms through which gender identities are transformed by women's experience of waged work.

Of the 50 or more people at the conference (more had been expected but blizzard conditions in Montreal greatly restricted communications), all agreed that the two days had been extremely successful, with the cross disciplinary perspective affording fertile ground for discussion. The papers re soon to be published by McGill University Press. Finally, we would like to thank all of those who made our stay in Canada so worthwhile and enjoyable.

Linda Peake
Kingston Polytechnic
Liz Bondi
Edinburgh University

The Institute on Women & Work

The Institute on Women & Work held its inaugural Conference in Toronto from November 26 to 28, 1987. The Conference explored various social cultural and economic areas relating to women and work in the city, attracting representatives from the private sector, government, unions, educational institutions and advocacy groups.

The Institute will shortly be publishing the Conference proceedings as well as an action plan for the future.

Staff at the Institute are now assessing other initiatives it might undertake, including the establishment of an information exchange network focusing on issues pertaining to women and work.

Meanwhile, papers are available on: Women and Economic Development by George Radwanski; Barriers to Women's Employment Opportunities by Liviana Calzavara; Employment Equity, Pay Equity and the Charter of Rights by Marion E. Lane; The Education System and Women in Toronto by Charles Pascal; Gender Issues in Transportation: Equity and Accessibility by Gerda Werkerle and Brent Rutherford, and Women Workers and Labour Organizations by Laurell Ritchie.

Contact the Equal Opportunity Division, City of Toronto, 180 Dundas Street West, #301, Toronto M5G 1Z8 (416)392-7855. □

Feminist Landscape Planning

Petra Schneider (Fössestr. 67, D-3000 Hannover 91, West Germany) is interested in hearing from anyone who knows of a graduate program in landscape planning that deals specifically with 'Landscape Planning and Women.' She would like to join a feminist landscape planning program in the US or Canada and would appreciate receiving any information on such a program.

A Safe City

In September 1988 the Neighbourhoods Committee of the Toronto City Council released a report entitled *The Safe City: Municipal Strategies for Preventing Public Violence Against Women*. The Committee put forward a number of recommendations in the areas of: Urban Design/Planning, Community Participation in Crime Prevention, Public Transit, and Policing. Suggestions include — night-time parking spaces for women near the parking attendant in all municipally owned parking garages; better lighting of city streets and laneways; Wen-Do training in the schools for all young women; monthly publication by the Metro Toronto Police Commission of a map of sexual assault sites; and that the Toronto Transit Commission give attention to shelter design and location of their surface stops.

The California Project

The California Project is an affiliation between women architects/interns and other design professionals wishing to reach beyond their local organizations to link with others in California and beyond. The California Project publishes a directory of members and two newsletters a year. Their next meeting will be held from January 27-29, 1989 in Los Angeles.

For more information write: The California Project, c/o AWA, 820 East Third Street, Los Angeles, California, 90013, USA.

Putting the Pieces Together

Putting the Pieces Together: An Inventory of Work and Family Resources by Laura C. Johnson and Michael Yzerman of the Working Families Project Committee, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto is an inventory of various workplace programs that support employees with family responsibilities. The study focuses on programs that allow for job-sharing, flextime, permanent part-time work, parental/family leave, work-at-home, and work-related child care. The organizations included vary from those that are part of larger structures to those that operate on a free-standing basis. Almost all the organizations listed are from Canada and the United States.

Copies of *Putting the Pieces Together* can be ordered for \$7 from: Working Families Project, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 950 Yonge Street, Suite 1000, Toronto, Ontario, M4W 2J4.

Housing Options for Midlife

Jane Porcino, writer, and Martha Tabor, photographer are beginning a book on housing options for midlife and older women. They are interested in hearing from, and about, all sorts of women 40 and above, (straight and gay, living in various situations — alone, in community, and intergenerational housing). Please contact Jane Porcino at 20 Waterside Plaza 3D, New York, NY 10010, so that they can arrange for interviewing and photographing.

Conferences

The School of Social Work, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign is holding an international conference on Women and Peace, March 12-15, 1989.

The aim of the conference is to reach across cultural, disciplinary and national boundaries to highlight the visible and invisible contributions of women in the global struggle for peace.

For further information contact: Golie Jansen, Secretary, Conference Planning Committee, School of Social Work, University of Illinois, 1207 W. Oregon St., Urbana, IL 61801, USA.

WEED Donations

Our thanks go to these Pillars of the Environment, who have responded generously to our appeal for funds for the WEED Foundation:

In Canada:

Caroline Andrew
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David Stuewe
Marie Truelove
Jennifer Welsh
Damaris Rose

In the US:

Elise Boulding
Margarita McCoy

Menopause

The Montreal Health Press, a women's non-profit publishing house has just released *A Book About Menopause*. It provides information on all aspects of menopause: the body changes, the health issues, sexuality and strategies for dealing with this mid-life stage.

Individual copies are \$4.00 and can be ordered from: Montreal Health Press, Inc., C.P. 1000, Station Place du Parc, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H2W 2N1.

Women and War

Jean duGal is doing research for a book based on the personal experiences of women during the Vietnam War years. She is interested in hearing from: women who were involved in anti-war activism, women who were medical personnel serving in Vietnam, relatives of those who fought, and women who left the United States in reaction to the war.

For more information contact her at: 4876 Saskatchewan Avenue, Powell River, B.C., Canada, V8A 3G4.

Keeping the Home Fires Burning: Women, War Work and Unions in British Columbia

Scripted and directed by Sara Diamond
Women's Labour History Project
2534 Cambridge Street
Vancouver, B.C. V5K 1L4

This videotape combines original Canadian wartime propaganda; interviews with women workers; original footage and photographs; musical soundtracks and dramatization, to explore the experience of Canada's working women during World War II. It is available for preview, rental or sale and is suitable for gallery and educational use.

Women's Work in the Home and in the Labour Force

Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women

P.O. Box 1541, Station B, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1P 5R5

This is a collection of essays addressing how money and work in the home and labour force affect women at various stages of their lives.

Women, Work, and Protest: A Century of Women's Labor History

Ruth Milkman

Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985

A collection of essays that combines resources from sociology, women's studies, labour studies and history and illuminates the complicated relationship between women and trade unions.

When I Grow Up ...: Career Expectations and Aspirations of Canadian Schoolchildren.

Government of Canada, Labour Canada;
Ottawa: Supply and Services; 1986.

This report details a pilot project that was implemented to examine the career aspirations (ideal choices) and expectations (realistic choices) of elementary school children. The project provides empirical evidence to indicate that children of both sexes are aware of the increasing opportunities for women in occupations formerly undertaken by men.

Free Trade and the Future of Women's Work

Marjorie Griffen Cohen

Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987.

This is the first study to look at the impact of free trade on specific groups of workers. Women have largely been ignored in government and economic assessments, and the effect of free trade on the service sector has also been overlooked.

Technology and Women's Voices: Keeping in Touch

edited by Cheris Kramarae

New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988.
246 pp. &18.95

This collection of essays investigates how technological processes influence women's communication. By tracing the operations of certain innovations (telephone, electricity, public transport, car, washing machine, printing press, typewriter, computer) their effects on women's social interaction are examined. As well as histories of these specific innovations, and user research from the US, Canada, and England, there is discussion as to how all technology affects the ways, places, times, and content of talking and writing.

Children at Child Care, Parents at Work

Childcare Resource and Research Unit,
Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto; and the City of Toronto Planning and Development Dept. in co-operation with the Dept. of the City Clerk Information and Communication Services Division 1988.

This comprehensive examination of the relationship between work and child care in Ontario looks at areas such as: child care arrangements of mothers in the Ontario labour force; cost of child care; varieties of work-related child care programs; local child care initiatives (City of Toronto); case studies; inventory of work-related child care centres in Ontario. The report includes tables and demographic information and comes with a list of recommended further reading and resources. There is also a slide/tape package that goes along with the report. It is available for loan from the ChildCare Resource and Research Unit. *Children at Child Care, Parents at Work* is available free of charge from either the ChildCare Resource and Research Unit, or The City of Toronto Planning and Development Dept.

Working For A Living

Room of One's Own, Vol. 12, numbers 2 & 3, 208 pp. \$5.50.

This special issue from *Room of One's Own* is a collection of poems, stories, reviews and graphics built around the theme of Women and Work. The subjects of the contributions range from food banks to typing pools, but they all explore the diversity of 'women's work' and provide new connotations to the term. Order from: *Room of One's Own*, P.O. Box 46160, Station G, Vancouver, B.C. V6R 4G5.

Women Have Always Worked: A Historical Overview

Alice Kessler-Harris

New York: The Feminist Press, 1981. 191 pp. \$9.95

Spanning two hundred years this book provides an overview of the work experiences of women in the United States. The five sections of the book examine, the meaning of work in women's lives; household labour; waged work; women's social mission; and the changing shape of the work force. Kessler-Harris has gathered material from immigrant and black women; wealthy, poor, and middle-class women; trade union, professional, and volunteer women, to offer as many perspectives as possible on the relationship between women and work. The book is illustrated with photographs.

Making Choices!

Women in Non-Traditional Jobs

Sheila Amato & Pat Staton

Toronto: Green Dragon Press, 1987

135 George St. S., Suite 902

Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5A 4E8

\$14.95

This book, an excellent and important resource, consists of interviews and photographs of 22 women in non-traditional jobs. The interviews deal with the backgrounds of the women; what educational, experiential and personal qualifications they thought were important for their careers; what problems they encountered; what support they received; and, if they ever experienced harassment in the work environment.

The book also contains a detailed resource list of programs, courses, print and film material available from private and government agencies which focuses on women in non-traditional jobs.

The Ideological Construction of Housework: Ninety Years of Ads and Nonfiction Articles in Ladies Home Journal

Bonnie J. Fox

Dept. of Sociology, University of Toronto

Toronto, Canada M5S 1A1

May 1988. #203. \$5.00

An analysis of advertisements for household goods and nonfiction articles appearing in *Ladies Home Journal* between 1890 and 1980, with the aim of understanding the ideological campaign that characterized the years in which households were mechanized and women's domestic labour transformed. Because *Journal* ads for household goods emphasized work performance rather than "liberation" from housework, and increasingly stressed service to family, they represented a source of social control of women.



Women & Environments
c/o Centre for Urban and Community Studies
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Toronto, Ontario
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