

**"WOMEN'S WORK: A CASE STUDY OF THE PAID HOUSEWORK WOMEN DO IN
SUPPORT OF A COMMUNITY-BASED HEALTH CARE AGENCY"**

A thesis submitted to the School of Social
Work, University of Manitoba in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Social Work.

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BY

PATRICIA STEELE

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
INTRODUCTION	1
A. Purpose of the Study	1
B. Methodology	7
C. Recent Trends in Women's Labour Force Participation	11
CHAPTER I	
THEORIES OF WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION	24
A. Neo-classical Theory	24
1. Human Capital Theory	25
2. Theory of Allocation of Time	28
3. Gender-based Discrimination	31
B. Dual Labour Market Theory	41
C. Radical Theory	44
1. Marxist Theory	44
2. Monopoly Capitalism Theory	59
3. Marxist Feminist Theory	69
CHAPTER II	
OVERVIEW OF HOME MAKER SERVICES IN CANADA	89
CHAPTER III	
PROFILE OF THE AGENCY HOME HELP STAFF AND REVIEW OF HOME HELP PROGRAM	104
I. Analysis of Questionnaire Completed by The Agency's Home Help Staff	104
A. Home Helpers	104
B. Home Helpers at Home	106
C. Home Helpers at Work	107
D. Job Satisfaction	109
E. Comments	111
II. Analysis of Interviews: Executive Director, The Agency and Assistant Director, Home Help Program	116
A. Home Help Program Review	116
B. Trends in Home Help Service	129
C. Value of the Home Help Program	132
D. Comments	136

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE HOME HELPERS' POSITION

IN THE LABOUR FORCE 143

A. Neo-classical Theory 143

B. Dual Labour Market Theory 145

C. Radical Theory 147

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 163

A. Legislative Amendments 163

B. Wage and Job Description 166

C. Staff Development and Job Evaluation 174

D. Recruitment 176

E. Part-time Work and Benefits Payments 176

FOOTNOTES 181

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a case study of the paid housework women do in support of a community-based health care agency. Its purpose is to demonstrate that Home Help work performed by women for The Agency is essential to The Agency's mission and has economic and social value unacknowledged by commensurate pay and working conditions. The Home Help Program supports a community-based health care policy which is more effective and less costly than institutional care. By providing light housekeeping and meal preparation services to clients in their own homes, The Home Help Program supports The Agency's health care services in the community to clients, who, lacking their own home support services would otherwise require care in hospital.

This paper examines the Home Helpers' work from three theoretical perspectives, Neo-classical Theory, Dual Labour Market Theory and Radical Theory to explain these workers' disadvantaged position in a sex segregated secondary labour market. Drawing primarily upon a socialist feminist perspective, the paper offers recommendations for improving the working conditions of these women.

INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of the Study

Despite women's ever increasing labour force participation, despite their increasing visibility in male dominated occupations, despite the protections intended for them in employment standards and pay equity legislation, and affirmative action policies, women continue to experience inequality in the labour force. Women's labour force inequality, evident in the unequal working conditions they face in the labour market, is perpetuated by ineffectual legislation and policies and reinforced by deeply engrained societal values upholding women's primary commitment to their domestic role.

The work of the Home Helper employed by The Agency* typifies the workforce inequality experienced by women doing women's work in the secondary labour market. This work is performed by a female staff, organized on a part-time basis, paid a low wage, is non-unionized and insecure. The conditions of employment for these employees illustrate how women who work in the expanding sexually segregated services sector of the labour force, remain minimally protected by legislation and unrepresented by a union.

This study will show that the work performed by these Home Helpers is important work performed by marginalized workers. Its function is essential to the fulfillment of The Agency's mission which

*The Agency is the designation of the subject organization of the case study. All references to it in this paper will be The Agency rather than its actual name.

is to provide health care to clients in their own homes rather than in hospitals. The Home Help Program supports a community-based health care policy which aims to provide health care on a more effective and less costly basis than institutional care for certain clients.¹ "The Homemaker plays a vital role in the overall care of a client by providing the support necessary to maintain family life and enable people to remain in their own homes."² By providing light housekeeping and meal preparation services to clients in their own homes, the Home Help Service supports the extension of The Agency's health care services in the community to clients who would otherwise require institutional care. Just as private unpaid housework is essential to the maintenance of families, so is the paid housework of the Home Help Program essential to the fulfillment of The Agency's mission.

If the findings of this study corroborate those of existing research, its recommendations may contribute to an improved understanding and increased valuation of Home Helpers' work in The Agency and a consequent improvement of the conditions of their employment within it, and of conditions of employment of employees doing similar work in other agencies.

The study aims to inform participants in the system of the problems faced by Home Helpers. As Horton and Leslie point out, this is a necessary condition for social change. "No condition no matter how dramatic or shocking to someone else, is a social problem unless and until the values of a considerable number of people within the

society define it as a problem."³ Not until improvements in this area are made incrementally, agency by agency, workplace by workplace, will improvement become generalized.

Justification

The workforce situation of Home Helpers typifies the issue of employment inequity experienced by women in the secondary segment of the workforce; it persists despite recent heightened awareness of the issue. Concern for employment inequity has been expressed at the national level in The Report of the Commission on Equity in Employment, (Abella, 1984), and targeted in provincial legislation by the Manitoba Pay Equity Act, 1985. Employment inequity persists despite the considerable body of theory and research investigating problems of occupation segregation and the wage gap, part-time women's work and non-unionized women's work. No policy has been implemented to progress toward employment equity for this group of women in the workforce.

This study also responds to recommendations made to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council by the Institute of Social and Economic Research at its 1982 conference on "Women and Work." Of the thirty recommendations, two called for the support of "case studies on all aspects of Women in the Canadian Economy" and "case studies of firms which would explore the extent and causes of occupational segregation within and between firms."⁴

Three other relevant recommendations were: "that fringe benefit

data be collected in connection with part-time, as well as full-time work; that data be developed to measure household work; and that data be developed to support a study of women's proportional contribution to household income." The call for case studies and data development of this nature by two Canadian research institutions clearly identified the need for investigation of women's segregated work in the Canadian economy, its nature, value and organization. This study aims to contribute to this body of knowledge.

Background

Recent experiences of the 1,900 Home Support Workers employed by the Continuing Care Program of Manitoba Health had prompted my interest in conducting a case study of their working conditions. Their large number, combined with developments in the Civil Service and the Manitoba Government Employees' Association (M.G.E.A.), had brought into sharp focus the issues of their low salaries, lack of benefits and part-time scheduling. Their plight became more visible for two main reasons. First, within the Civil Service, Pay Equity Legislation was being implemented. Second, the M.G.E.A. was negotiating a first contract with the Home Care Attendants, another group of employees in the Continuing Care Program. The Home Helpers employed by The Agency face employment conditions similar to the Home Support Workers employed by Manitoba Health. Both groups do similar work for provincially funded community-based health care agencies, providing assistance with household maintenance, food preparation and activities of daily living. I, therefore, selected this group of

workers for the subject of this case study.

With the expansion of the Manitoba community-based health care policy, employment of home support work has grown since 1960. Home Care workers' schedules must be flexible to respond to the individual health-related client need, accommodating meal times, twelve and twenty-four hour supervision services, as well as usual household maintenance. Work schedules are determined primarily by client-need. However, the shift-like nature of the demand for homemakers has resulted in management's use of cost-efficient part-time scheduling.

The dominant management practices pertaining to this category of part-time employees in health and social service agencies contributed in large part to bringing their conditions of employment to the writer's attention.

For example, in the Continuing Care Program part-time Home Support Workers are defined by the Civil Service Act as "casual employees" who "normally work less than the full normal daily, weekly or monthly hours of work, as the case may be, and whose work is irregular or non-recurring or does not follow an ongoing predetermined schedule."⁵ They are paid on a hourly bi-weekly basis. As casual employees, they are not Civil Servants and are not represented by the M.G.E.A. as a bargaining agent.

The Continuing Care Home Support Workers had remained quiescent as a workforce component until two events in 1987 highlighted their workforce identity.

On September 1, 1987, employees affected by the implementation of

the Pay Equity Act received their first pay cheques reflecting the first phase of their salary increases over a four year period.

Amidst the publicity and bravura accompanying this achievement, the Continuing Care Home Support Workers as a group realized they were excluded from Pay Equity eligibility. The Legislation applies only to Civil Servants, which excludes Home Support Workers. Even as a female dominated class of provincial government employees they were ironically excluded from the benefit of legislation inspired by an ethos and intent which ought to have included them. Nineteen hundred Continuing Care Home Support Workers felt the sting of legislative discrimination.

The second event was a reception for Manitoba Homemakers given by Manitoba Health and Community Services at the Legislative Building. An article featured on the front The page of the Winnipeg Free Press reported that "Home Care Workers Claim Government Blocking Union Bid" (See Appendix B) It claimed government administrative practices deterred M.G.E.A. representatives from identifying, contacting and signing the members of this decentralized workforce for the purpose of becoming their bargaining agent. The Manitoba Government stood accused of depriving these workers of employment benefits in the interest of containing program costs.

The Manitoba Government's employment practices influence the standard for non-governmental organizations. Consequently, when the issues of pay equity and conditions of employment came into sharp relief for the Home Support Workers employed by the Manitoba

Government, so too did they for the Home Help Service staff of The Agency.

B. Methodology

1. Research Design:

This is a cross sectional, descriptive case study of the work and workers in the Home Help Service within a community-based health care agency in Winnipeg. The study is also supported by a review of home maker services in Canada.

A case study, the "observation of a single group at one point in time, usually subsequent to some event that allegedly produced change,"⁶ is intended to yield subjective information about a particular situation to the researcher. It is the investigator's task to shape this information into a theory testing or theory building presentation.

The intent of this study is to follow a principle of good research design encouraged by Chadwick, Bahr and Albrecht, 1984, which is "triangulate when possible."

Generally, triangulation refers to the search for consistency of - findings from different observers, observing instruments, methods of observation, times, places, and research institutions ... Triangulation embraces theory triangulation which is Denzin's (1970, pp. 303-306) term for the assessment of a single observation or data set from the standpoint of several theoretical perspectives. In essence, one investigator approaches a data set with multiple conceptual perspectives, or several investigators, each with a distinctive perspective, may view and interpret the same data set.⁷

A questionnaire was administered to the Home Help Staff of The Agency to develop profiles of them as workforce members (See Appendix C).

Information regarding The Agency and work-setting was gathered by interviews with the Executive Director of The Agency and the Assistant Director of the Home Help Service (See Appendix D). Applying the method of theory triangulation, this information will be interpreted through the perspectives of Neo-Classical Theory, Dual Labour Market Theory, Radical Theory and Feminist Theory.

2. Methods of Data Collection and Analysis:

a) The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to elicit individual profiles of the Home Help staff, showing demographic characteristics, workforce histories, family and household responsibilities and attitudes toward their current job (See Appendix C).

Responses to the questionnaire were analysed using the STAT PAC system.

b) Sample and Method of Data Collection

It was important for the validity of the study that as large a number as possible of the ninety-two Home Help staff respond to the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was distributed in two phases. The first phase took place at a regular bi-monthly staff development meeting, March 21, 1988, attended by twenty-four Home Helpers. The group in attendance was prepared to complete the questionnaire which had been announced previously in the agency newsletter.

Following the March meeting, sixty-nine questionnaires were mailed to all remaining Home Help staff. Of these, forty-five

completed the questionnaire and returned it by mail in the pre-addressed and stamped envelope. A total of 69 (75%) completed questionnaires comprised this part of the primary data.

c) Interviews

This primary data consists of interviews by the researcher of the Executive Director of The Agency and the Assistant Director, Home Help Service (See Appendix D).

Advantages of the Research Design

The case study, an "intensive examination" of a single unit, serves a dual function, contributing to general knowledge while aiming to "make a practical improvement in the specific instance examined."⁸

The advantage of the case study approach is its potential as a "tremendous producer of ideas, suggestions and hypotheses about behaviour,"⁹ particularly in the exploration of a relatively new subject.¹⁰ Although the case study does not lead to well established conclusions, it may lead to "empirically developed hypotheses."¹¹

The descriptive approach which involves "painting a picture" rather than "ferreting out so-called cause and effect relationships"¹² suits the objective of this case study. After gathering and analyzing the data, "the final stage of the descriptive study is making inferences, and perhaps, recommendations for whatever action is implied by the results of the analysis of the data gathered."¹³

A primary advantage of the questionnaire study is its directness. "Perhaps the simplest way to obtain descriptions of people and their behaviour is to ask them to provide you with the necessary information

either by personal interview or mail survey."¹⁴ Another major advantage of the questionnaire survey is its economy, yielding the greatest number of facts or research data per research dollar" (and implied time). However, the price of this economy is the inherent limitation on the depth of the data obtained. A second advantage of this type of survey is that "mail questionnaires produce fewer responses biased in the direction of social desirability than do interviews."¹⁵

Limitations of the Research Design

The case study is recognized as the weakest quasi experimental design, offering no baseline measure of the study group or control group with which to compare. In this case study the "non-event", which produce change within the group, was their ineligibility for a salary increase under the Pay Equity Act. The empirically developed hypotheses of the study itself however, may become baseline data for a future study.

In preparing for this study, my intent was to develop primary data by two methods: individual interviews of individual Home Help staff and completion of a self-administered questionnaire by the Home Help staff. However, the Executive Director of The Agency would agree only to allowing the self-administered questionnaire.

Furthermore, as sources of secondary data, I requested access to The Agency's annual report, and Agency records to document data which were relevant to the operations of the Home Help Service. In this case, The Agency Executive Director suggested that I submit specific

questions to the Assistant Director of the Home Help Service and gather the secondary data in this way.

Denial of the opportunity to develop qualitative primary data through individual interviews was a major disappointment. So too was the limited access to agency operations information. These limitations on access to The Agency were justified by the Executive Director in the interest of Agency confidentiality. I decided to approach the study and develop the data within the constraints imposed by the host agency.

The Executive Director and the Assistant Director of Home Help were exceedingly helpful in administering the questionnaire and accessing agency data and information within these constraints.

This study of the Home Helpers and their working conditions with The Agency occurs in the context of today's rapidly changing workforce. Described below is a profile of the current workforce and women's position in it.

C. Recent Trends in Women's Labour Force Participation

The primary incentive for most women entering the labour force, is a wage. For some women, a wage means maintaining a minimum standard of living. For others, a wage means achieving economic independence. Since World War II, the ever increasing women's labour force participation rate has been the outcome of married women entering the labour force. Most married women "going out to work" have been those who need a second wage to supplement their husbands'

low wage (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1975; Weeks, 1977; Connelly, 1978; Fox, 1980). A growing proportion of self-supporting women living alone participates in the labour force. With the increasing number of marriages ending in separation and divorce, the proportion of women who are single parents is also rising. During the eighties, families headed by women have incomes which "average half those headed by men." Over forty percent of these women aged 15-64 had incomes below Statistics Canada's Low-Income Cut-Offs.¹⁶

Most women need their wages to maintain a minimum standard of living. Industrialization has revolutionized the standard of living making the luxuries of the past the necessities of today. Women need their wages to keep up with "domestic technology and inexpensively produced consumer goods, particularly in times of high inflation."¹⁷ Women are responding to the strong demand for their labour in the expanding tertiary sector of the economy, filling the clerical, sales and service occupations.

Societal attitudes towards women working are changing gradually. Gallup polls taken in 1960 and 1982 compared the attitudes towards women working, showing that in 1960, only 65% agreed that women without children should work outside the home, while in 1982, 82% agreed that they should. In 1960, the Gallup polls showed only 5% of the Canadian population approving of working mothers, while, in 1982, 38% did.¹⁸

These changing attitudes are reflected in women's choices to postpone child-bearing and to have smaller families. Statistics

Canada shows the dramatic decline of fertility among Canadian women since 1970. In 1982, there were just over 1,000 more births than in 1970, although there were over one million more women of child bearing age.¹⁹

More women preparing for careers in the labour force, are pursuing post-secondary education at the university and community college level. In 1982, while women were just over 50% of all university students, an increase from 37% in 1970, they were over-represented in part-time studies and under-represented in graduate studies.²⁰ At both the university and community college level, slightly over sixty percent of women are choosing fields traditionally dominated by women: education, fine arts, nursing, social sciences, and secretarial science.

Despite gradual societal acceptance of women's labour force participation, women still face a labour market offering them low skill jobs and poor pay.

Women's Labour Force Participation Rates

In Manitoba, the existing pay equity legislation and affirmative action policies were established in response to the dramatic influx of women into the paid labour force. Currently women account for over 40% of the Canadian and Manitoba labour force with a participation rate of over 55%. By the year 2000, should current trends continue, women will account for 50% of the labour force²¹ (See Appendix A-1). Comparative Labour force statistics for 1981 and 1986 released in March 1988 by Statistics Canada indicate trends which analysts

consider astonishing. Womens' overall labour force participation rate increased from 51.6% to 55.9%, for all women with children, it rose from 51.1% to 61.2%; for married women with children under six years it shot from 49.5% to 62.1%²²

In Manitoba, between 1975 and 1985 the largest labour force participation rate increases occurred among women between 25-44, married women of all ages, women regarded as members of a family, and all women with more than eight years of education.²³ Evident in these patterns is the break from women's traditional employment pattern determined by marriage and child bearing. Before this time, labour force participation rates were highest for young women before marriage, showing a sharp decline when they left the labour force to marry and raise children, rising only slightly when children entered school and then declining before retirement. The recent pattern of women's labour force involvement, though peaking earlier than men's, does not decline with child bearing age as noticeably as in the past.²⁴

Women entering the labour force fall into several main categories: married women who contribute a necessary second income to provide families with an adequate standard of living - often keeping families out of poverty; married women who prefer a career in the paid labour force, and women who are single, divorced or widowed, "sole-support" women responsible for themselves, and often their children and other family members. The reasons which bring women into the labour force are keeping them there. Not only have women become permanent participants in the labour force, their numbers are

predicted to increase. National statistics show that more women remain in the labour force after marriage and child bearing, and of those who do leave, many return when their children enter school. The work life expectancy of women who do leave, and return to the work force is 25 years despite their break in employment; for those who never leave, forty five years, the same as for men.²⁵

The Wage Gap

A measure of women's persistent labour force inequality is the wage gap, the indicator which expresses the difference between men's and women's earnings as a percentage of men's earnings. The Census is the most comprehensive source of information on female and male average earnings for determining the female/male wage gap. The most recent wage gap data for full-time employment reported by Statistics Canada based on the 1981 Census are for 1982, when the national average earnings of women employed full-time were 64% of earnings of men employed full-time; \$16,000 compared with \$25,000 resulting in a wage gap of 36%. In Manitoba the average earnings of women employed full-time were 66% of earnings of men employed full-time; \$14,792 compared to \$22,427, resulting in a wage gap of 34%.²⁶ According to Statistics Canada, for Manitoba Women, this represents a modest increase since 1970, when women working full-time, full year, made only 60% of the income of men.²⁷

The Survey of Consumer Finances conducted by Statistics Canada since 1951, provides the most current information source on male/female employment earnings. Since 1971, the earnings ratio for

female and male full-time workers according to this Survey have shown some positive changes in Manitoba: .66 in 1971 to .70 in 1986. In Canada, overall, there has been a narrowing of the gap with a ratio of .60 in 1971 and .66 in 1986 (See Appendix A-2).

To dramatize how little things have changed over the millennia, pay equity advocates are fond of quoting Leviticus 27:1-4:

And the Lord spoke unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them:

when a man shall clearly utter a vow of persons unto the Lord, according to thy valuation, then the valuation for the male from twenty years old even unto sixty years old, even the valuation shall be fifty shekels of silver, after the shekel of the sanctuary. And if it be a female, then the valuation shall be thirty shekels.²⁸

The valuation of women in the labour force has made slow progress.

Measures of the wage gap do not include fringe benefits which are estimated to constitute one third of the total compensation package.²⁹ Furthermore, generous fringe benefits are paid by large organizations in industries where most employees are unionized, a condition of employment which applies to 55% of Canada's male paid workers and 25% of female workers.³⁰ Fringe benefits are shown by Statistics Canada to have been steadily growing since 1953. All this implies that the total wage gap, rather than remaining steady during the past few decades, as widely claimed, has more likely been widening.

Among the usual explanations offered for the differences in wages of women and men are the differences in their productivity related characteristics, such as education and training, the amount and nature of their labour force experience and the number of hours worked

(including differences in full-time work schedules and part-time work schedules). As well, there are differences in the degree of unionization of their jobs and the kinds of jobs they hold. Finally, discrimination and occupation segregation are also admitted as contributing to the wage gap.

Occupation Segregation

In both full-time and part-time work, the labour force participation pattern of women reflects their response to trends in the economy which create demand for labour. They are under represented in industries in the shrinking primary or resource extracting sectors and the shrinking secondary or goods-producing sector of the economy, while they remain over-represented in the expanding tertiary or service-producing sectors. Over-representation of women in industries and occupations is commonly referred to as occupation segregation (See Appendix A-3).

In Canada, since 1951, when 73% of all women were concentrated in the service sector, the degree of female concentration in this sector has steadily grown.³¹ By 1985, 4,070,000 women or 83.6% of all female workers in the Canadian labour force were concentrated in service-producing industries.³²

In Manitoba in 1985, 189,000 women or 83.2% of employed women were concentrated in the provincial tertiary sector, with 106,000 women, 46.7% concentrated in the community business and service sector,³³ while 68% of women in the provincial labour force were segregated into clerical (30%), service (20%), health (10%), and sales

(8%) occupations.³⁴

The link between occupation segregation and the wage gap is now undeniable. In 1974 the I.L.O. reported:

Almost everywhere there remains a clear division of labour by sex with jobs labelled as "men's work" and "women's work"... It creates a situation in which work traditionally done by men commands higher pay and prestige while that traditionally done by women is accorded lower pay and prestige ... It has no inherent logic.³⁵

More recently, in 1981, the internationally recognized United States' National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences (henceforth N.A.S.) reported "Not only do women do different work than men, but the work women do is paid less and the more an occupation is dominated by women the less it pays."³⁶ In response to its charge from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission the committee concluded that "women are systematically underpaid"³⁷ and that "there is substantial discrimination in pay."³⁸ The N.A.S. committee carefully defined its use of the term, discrimination: "where there is inequitable treatment based on a person's sex, race, or ethnicity."³⁹ It further refined its definition of "employment discrimination" as existing "when one class of people is denied access to higher paying jobs solely or partly on the basis of social characteristics -- this pattern is not easy to detect and is often difficult to measure or prove."⁴⁰ This results in "wage discrimination" which "exists when individuals of one social category are paid less than individuals of another social category for reasons that have little or nothing to do with the work they do."⁴¹

Thus from a policy perspective, pay equity has evolved from

"equal pay for the same or essentially similar work," to requiring equal pay "for dissimilar jobs of equivalent worth to the employer."⁴² Conceptually, the policy goal of pay equity addresses the issue of "whether work done primarily by women (and minorities) is systematically undervalued because the work has been and continues to be done primarily by women."⁴³ Operationally, pay equity involves "correcting the practice of paying women (and minorities) less than white men for work that requires equivalent skill effort and responsibility."⁴⁴

The reasoning of the N.A.S. committee has injected the goal of the pay equity movement with a fresh emphasis: "to rectify the wage discrimination that is a by-product of occupation segregation."⁴⁵

Part-time Work

Part-time work has become an integral feature of the women's labour force. Between 1975 and 1985, for Manitoba women, part-time employment grew 51% while their full-time employment grew 34%. During this period, part-time employment also increased 33% for men.⁴⁶ In 1987, of 84,000 part-time workers in the province, 61,000 are women.⁴⁷ They represent 72.6%⁴⁸ of all part-time workers and 12% of Manitoba's employed total.⁴⁹ Men working part-time are 4% of the provincial employed total⁵⁰ (See Appendix A-4).

Studies of women who work part-time have confirmed that they work part-time out of economic necessity.⁵¹ Their choice in working part-time is a necessary compromise which results in their assuming two jobs: one paid job to supplement their family income and their unpaid

job at home where they carry most or all responsibility for child care and housework. The debate continues about whether part-time work is a benefit or hardship for women, whether it accommodates their primary social role as wives and mothers or perpetuates their marginal status as workers.

Unemployment

Between 1975 and 1985 in Manitoba unemployment increased for both men and women. Unemployment for men increased from 11,000 to 23,000, or 4% to 7.9%; for women, from 9,000 to 19,000 or 5.5% to 8.5%. For unemployment rates in Canada (See Appendix A-5).

Women and men are unemployed for different reasons. Men are more likely to be laid off or lose their jobs than women, as in Canada in 1983, when 76% of unemployed men were laid off as opposed to 56% of unemployed women.⁵² Family responsibility is the most likely reason for women to be unemployed. As well, unemployed women are more likely to be labour force entrants than unemployed men.⁵³ In Manitoba in 1985, 57% of unemployed women had been working before becoming unemployed as opposed to 77% of unemployed men, and 22% had been keeping house.⁵⁴

Unionization Rates

The benefits of unionization to women are evident in the difference between wage rates for unionized and non-unionized workers.

The December 1984 Labour Force Survey conducted by Statistics Canada shows that "a larger proportion of male paid workers than of

female paid workers were unionized," and that "women earned less than men in both unionized and non-unionized employment. It also showed that wages for unionized women were higher than wages for non-unionized women.

The December 1984 Survey showed a 37.2% unionization rate for all paid workers; for men, 41.5%; for women 31.9%.⁵⁵ In Manitoba, of the 184,000 paid women workers, 63,000 or 34.2% were unionized.⁵⁶

The majority, 65.2% of all union members in community, business and personal services, were women.⁵⁷ "This is the only industrial sector where women's unionization rate was higher than that of men, 38.9% as opposed to 36.7%."⁵⁸

For full-time employment, women earned less than men in both unionized and non-unionized employment. The average hourly wage rate for unionized women was \$10.96, 83.5% of that for unionized men, \$13.13.⁵⁹ The average hourly wage rate for non-unionized women was \$7.83, 69.9% of that for non-unionized men, \$11.20.⁶⁰

Within the business and personal services industry, for unionized women, the average hourly wage rate was \$6.93, 85.3% of that for unionized men, \$8.12.⁶¹ Within the same industry, for non-unionized women, the average hourly wage rate was \$6.26, 69.4% of that for non-unionized men, \$9.02.⁶² For part-time employment, unionized women earned \$11.15; non-unionized women, \$6.39.⁶³

The Labour Market Activity Survey, 1986, indicates that "the average weekly earnings over all union paid-worker jobs held by women was \$388 compared to \$242 for non-union paid worker jobs." Further

more, the LMAS, 1986, indicates an 81% difference between unionized and non-unionized jobs in the service occupations. "The average weekly earnings for women in unionized jobs in service occupations was \$277 compared to the average weekly earnings of \$153 in non-unionized jobs."⁶⁴

Although women's rate of unionization is still lower than that of men's, it, nevertheless, is increasing, reflecting the increased participation of women in the work force (See Appendix A-6). The rate of unionization for women increased from 17% in 1966 to 27% in 1976.⁶⁵ Eight years later it was 31.9%. Women's lower rate of unionization is in part explained by their entering sectors of the work force, services, trade and finance having no history of unionization. Historically, unions have organized goods producing jobs in construction, transportation and manufacturing. As women's permanent attachment to the work force becomes apparent, their unionization rates appear to be increasing in response to changes in industries where they work.

Unionization for women is occurring primarily in the public sector, where employment by any level of government includes public administration, and education and health sectors of the services industries.⁶⁶

Thus, a profile of women in Manitoba's labour force shows their 57% participation rate, 44% labour force share, 34% unionization rate and 83% concentration in the tertiary sector. Women are 72% of the province's part-time labour force. Two major factors contributing to

the 34% wage gap in Manitoba are the high degree of occupation segregation and low rate of unionization.

The subject of this study, women's work, the paid housework women do in support of a community - based health care agency, occurs in this labour force context. The Home Helpers' work will be examined from the perspectives of the theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter I.

CHAPTER I

THEORIES OF WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Three theories, neo-classical theory, dual labour market theory and radical theory offer distinctly different interpretations of women's position in the labour force. This Chapter outlines the main elements of each theory and Chapter IV examines the labour force situation of women who work as Home Helpers for The Agency from the perspective of each theory.

A. Neo-classical Theory

Neo-classical micro-economic theory assumes a perfectly competitive market in which the unfettered law of supply and demand operates. Briefly,

Micro-economics treats the labour market as if it were any other market in which the price is the short-run market clearing mechanism. Individuals buy and sell skills in a bidding framework in which the equilibrium price clears the market so that there are no unsatisfied buyers or sellers. In the long run, cost minimization on the demand side and earning maximization on the supply side determine shifts in supply and demand curves.¹

Individuals are held responsible and accountable for all their actions determined entirely by their own utility optimizing rational choices. The theory assumes all workers and all employers share complete information of each other and all employees have complete freedom of mobility.

Based on these assumptions, neo-classical theory offers three

major approaches to explain the wage gap: the human capital approach; the "choice" approach, i.e. housework vs. market work; and approaches to explaining gender-based wage discrimination.

1. Human Capital Theory

Human Capital Theory elaborated by Gary Becker in his "Human Capital" is concerned

...with activities that influence future monetary and psychic income by increasing resources in people. These activities are called investments in a human capital ... The many forms of such investments include schooling, on-the-job training, medical care, migration, and searching for information about prices and incomes. They differ in their effects on earnings and consumption, in the amounts typically invested, in the size of the returns, and in the extent to which the connection between investment and return is perceived.²

Human capital theory explains the wage gap by claiming that women rationally choose jobs that pay poorly for reasons other than pay.

An explanation for women entering low-paying jobs, derives from the neo-classical human capital theory which "assumes rational individuals continue to invest in human capital as long as they expect future returns to compensate them for foregone earnings."³

Women who expect to marry and withdraw from the labour force or who expect to spend fewer years in the workforce, expect only an intermittent participation in the labour force, choose rationally not to forego earnings to invest in expensive long-term education or on-the-job training. Women do not expect "to capitalize" on training.

Women seek jobs that pay beginners about as much as experienced workers. To accommodate their husbands' careers and their dual demands of family and paid work, women prepare themselves for jobs

which are easy to enter and exit, jobs with limited demands, convenient hours, no overtime or travel. These are jobs which do not require the continuous accumulation of skills and consequently do not lead to significant increases for earnings with experience. The human capital which women do possess depreciates through disuse rather than appreciates with labour market experience. Such job choices by a majority of women have resulted in the "crowding" phenomenon where many women in pursuit of jobs within a narrow range of occupation reduces the price of women's labour.

Thus, the human capital theory explains women's training and educational choices as the main cause of the wage gap.

Neo-classical economic theory "treats wages (the price of labour) like all other prices"⁴ and claims that "in the absence of discrimination, equilibrium wages will be just equal to the marginal revenue product of labour."⁵ This means that in the absence of discrimination workers will be paid an amount exactly equal to the value of their economic contribution to the firm. The theory aims "to their economic contribution, or productivity."⁶ The "residual, or wage differences not accounted for by differences in productivity could then be ascribed to discrimination."⁷ As attempts to measure productivity directly have proved impossible or unsatisfactory, neo-classical researchers have instead attempted to measure productivity indirectly by using investment in "human capital" as "proxies for productivity,"⁸ "by assuming that differences in productivity derive

from differences in human capital,"⁹ that is "education, training, work experience, continuity of work history, effort or commitment, health, etc."¹⁰ Estimates are made of average earnings if men and women received an equal return on their human capital. The only differences in their earnings would then be due to differences in "amount" of human capital, or productivity. The "residual," or the part of the wage differential often assumed to represent discrimination" is due to "differences in the rate of return on investment."¹¹

To explain the wage gap, then, human capital theory relies on four basic assumptions. First, wages paid are equal to their marginal productivity; workers are paid what they are worth. Second, productivity can be measured indirectly by relating human capital investment to earnings. Third, equal amounts of human capital yield equal returns. Fourth, women's human capital investment choices are rationalized by a "given" division of labour.

The Neo-classical theory of wages relies on the abstract model of a perfectly competitive market in equilibrium to justify equating wage to marginal productivity. It concludes from this abstraction that if a woman is paid less than a man it is because she is less productive.¹² The notion of the lesser market productivity of women is rooted in an abstraction so pervasive in society, that it has become a major obstacle "to disassociating women's wage from the true value of women's work."¹³

The validity of empirical studies which measure productivity

indirectly by using investments in human capital as proxies for productivity is circular and dubious. This method has persisted in leaving a substantive portion of the wage gap unexplained.¹⁴ Human capital investment in itself is not a sufficient predictor of productivity or earnings or the wage gap.

Human capital theory assumes "as given" the sexual division of labour and the "supremacy of the family in a woman's life. It accepts as rational, women's lesser human capital investment choices; as a logical consequence of these choices, women's lesser productivity; and as justifiable, the gap between men's and women's wages.

2. Theory of Allocation of Time

How to allocate time between doing housework at home and getting a job outside the home is a decision which today over half of Canadian housewives must carefully consider and make. The continuously increasing labour force participation by women has prompted economists to study and explain female labour supply, female non-market activity and female labour-force decisions related to competing uses for time and resources.

The neo-classical model of labour supply analysis relies on individual rational choice to allocate time between work (income) and leisure (non-market activity). In maximizing utility (income potential), the individual must choose between constraints and preferences. The dilemma stems from "contradictory prices: 'the income effect,' whereby higher wages encourage more leisure, and the substitution effect, whereby higher wages make the opportunity cost of

leisure higher and encourage more work."¹⁵ Objections to this model were based in the recognition that "leisure" is not the same for men and women and that emphasis on rational free choice "does not acknowledge the true nature of the constraints women face.

Jacob Mincer in his "pathbreaking" article in 1962 - Labor Force Participation of Married Women - A study of Labor Supply acknowledged that "to derive a market supply function for married women, not only the demand for hours of leisure but also the demand for hours of work at home must be taken into account. The latter is a demand for productive service derived from the demand by the family for home goods and services."¹⁶ Thus a married woman's work choices are between work at home, work in the market and leisure. Work choices are made in the family context assumed by the neo-classical model: the family is the unit of analysis (in studying consumption behaviour), family income is pooled, total family consumption is positively related to family income, and the "relevant income variable in the demand for home services and for leisure for any family member is total family income."¹⁷ Thus, as the opportunity cost of leisure consumption and/or home production increases with an increase in the wage rate of the wife, and/or greater degree of substitutability of market goods for home production and consumption, more married women have been encouraged into the labour market. Alice Amsden refers to this as the "triumph of the substitution effect over the income effect."¹⁸

This awareness of the opportunity cost of time, developed during

the 1960's by Jacob Mincer, and Gary Becker in his "Theory of the Allocation of Time," has led to the development of a new "home economics." It views the allocation of the scarce resource, time, between non-market activities and market activities as a matter of optimizing family utility. It has led economists to study fertility, marriage and divorce, and the division of labour and resources in the home.

Individuals marry or co-habit to maximize their utility, with the gain being positively related to their incomes, the relative difference in their wage roles and other non-market variables. The more complementary the inputs of each partner into the marriage, the greater the gains to the partnership. A marriage benefits from the specialization of division of labour and resource allocation in the household. Women's specialization is biologically imposed; child bearing and child care. Their productivity is assumed to be higher in the home than their productivity (ie. wages) in the market. Men are assumed to earn more in the market than women. In the choice model, homework vs. market-work, then, the female-male wage differential is "the given" and the division of labour within the household logically follows from it.

Gary Becker in his "A Treatise on the Family," describes the self perpetuation of the system: "how market-wage differences lead to a household strategy of resource allocation that perpetuates the market-wage differences."¹⁹

The explanation of the wage gap in the neo-classical model is

circular: the human capital argument claims the division of labour as given with resulting women's lower market productivity and wages; while the housework vs. market-work choice model claims the wage gap "as given," determining division of labour in the household as a rational outcome. Economists have done nothing more than describe the status quo in society where sex roles are "givens" defined by culture biology or other factors, not specified in the economic model.²⁰ Thus, the neo-classical model concludes "women stay home because of low wages; women earn low wages because they stay home."²¹

3. Gender-based Discrimination

Explanations for the wage gap in the neo-classical model derive in part from two main theories of discrimination, as well as from the human capital theory and the homework vs. market-work model. These are found in the work of Gary Becker and Edmund Phelps.

Discrimination according to Gary Becker in his pioneering "The Economics of Discrimination" involves substituting prejudice for rational economic behaviour. "Individuals are assumed to have "tastes for discrimination" and these tastes are the most important immediate cause of discrimination."²²

According to Becker, if an employer has a taste for discriminating against women, he must be compensated for hiring them. Therefore each employer who practices wage discrimination "hires females as if the female wage were the market wage minus an amount compensating for the distaste of associating with women. All those employers for whom the male-female wage gap is not sufficient will

hire only men at higher salaries, thus paying for their discriminatory behaviour.²³

Becker's model is optimistic in predicting that wage differentials will decrease over time. Competition will cure discrimination. If discriminators bear the cost of discriminating, non-discriminators will gain a competitive advantage and will be more efficient producers. Competition will not allow discriminatory employers the luxury of indulging their "tastes."

However, the persistence of the wage gap contradicts Becker's prediction. On the contrary, it "suggests that labour markets may not be competitive and/or that discriminators may not be making trade-offs between the exercise of prejudice and the attainment of profits."²⁴

The neo-classical theory justifies the rationality of statistical discrimination by which employers judge an individual on the average of the group to which he/she belongs. Profit maximizing principles prompt employers to fill their better jobs with men, in the belief that their stable labour force attachment on average is better than that of women. The theory admits that although "some" women with labour force attachment as stable as that believed of the "average" man, will experience discrimination, the "high costs of obtaining information about individual workers makes such stereotypical judgments rational."²⁵ So convinced of this rationality is Edmund Phelps, he has provided proponents of statistical discrimination with an "exact equation" to support their position.²⁶

Chiplin and Sloan rationalize the practice of statistical

discrimination as a basis for formulating an explanation of labour market segmentation and wage differences between women and men. Statistical discrimination is the outcome of a combination of "pre-entry discrimination" (which occurs prior to entry into the labour force, occupations or industries) and "post entry discrimination" which occurs within industrial and occupational classifications; and it may be enforced both by employers and employees (or trade unions).²⁷ Wage differentials are the result of both supply side and demand side factors which "apologize" for statistical discrimination.

Employers are not necessarily practising pure discrimination but are behaving rationally when "lower wages for women may be seen both as a means of increasing the net rate of return on their training investment and as compensation for the expected duration of employment."²⁸ The rationale of women's smaller human capital investment, ie. their less stable labour force attachment perceived to be entirely dependent on their assumed family role, age and extent and type of training, explains their lower wages. According to human capital theory, women's labour force characteristics are responsible for the evolution of the dual labour market, characterized by a primary market "marked by high levels of skill, wages, employment ability and the prospect of advancement on the secondary market marked by "relatively low levels of skill and wages, little likelihood of promotion and high labour turnover."²⁹ Human capital theory attributes the labour force choices women make to the probable growing distinction between the two market segments and to the further

entrenchment of the internal labour market; and predicts that female wages will become a lower ratio of men's wages. The theory does allow for some pure discrimination in the form of unequal opportunities for entry into the primary labour market between equally qualified males and females.³⁰

Human capital theory distinguishes discrimination from "deliberate exploitation" and "non-deliberate exploitation." Deliberate exploitation occurs when "the employer consciously attempts to pay labourers less than the marginal rate of productivity though able to pay the full amount."³¹ Non deliberate exploitation occurs when "conditions are beyond the employer's control. (eg. monopsony, the evidence of a kinked demand curve or the costs of adjustments or search costs do not warrant being made."³²

Perfect discrimination is said to occur if "the female were to receive her transfer wage and the total economic real wage were to be retained by the monopsonist."³³ Less extreme possibilities would be "to pay the same wage to workers with different levels of performance, where each receives the marginal rate of productivity of the least proficient worker - as with time-rate payments;"³⁴ or "to pay different wages to workers with identical levels of performance as could occur with two clearly identifiable groups such as men and women."³⁵ Pure discrimination is distinguished from exploitation - which is a "consequence of lack of perfect mobility of labour."³⁶

Chiplin and Sloan conclude that if sex discrimination does occur at all, it is only at the pre-entry point, in the family, education

system or via the dual labour market. Despite their own elaboration of possible discrimination in the labour market they spuriously conclude that women "may be prepared to work at similar jobs to those of males at lower wages."³⁷ Responsibility for women's lower wage rests, therefore, entirely with women as a group.

Critique of Neo-classical Theory

In their Marxian Critique of human capital theory Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis conclude that it "provides a framework for an elegant apology for almost any pattern of oppression or inequality, ... for it ultimately attributes social or personal ills either to the shortcomings of individuals or the unavoidable technical requisites of production."³⁸

They refer to the more commonly recognized shortcomings of human capital theory: market imperfection such as monopoly and labour unions which drag wages below their marginal products; the "training robbery" interpretation of schooling which reduces schooling to 'screening' and 'labeling'; and the problems that arise from skills being "embodied" in human beings; incomplete capital market and incomplete information.

Their more fundamental criticism of human capital theory is based on its exclusion of an analysis of class and class conflict in explaining labour market operation in a capitalist system. In failing to deal with class in society, it also omits a theory of reproduction and social relations in explaining the demand for human capital by firms, supply of human capital and the rate of return to human capital.

The Marxian interpretation of the demand for human capital by firms emerges from a theory of the capitalist firm: production is understood to be a social process as well as a technical one; production is always "joint production," involving the transformation of raw material into products and the altering or modification of workers' skills and consciousness; labour is an "active agent," not a "commodity."³⁹ Given the Marxian distinction between "labour power," the maximum potential of all characteristics of a worker, and "labour," the actual work supplied by an individual, the labour wage exchange cannot be regarded as a pure market exchange as it is in human capital theory. The labour wage exchange involves the "power of the capitalist over the worker."⁴⁰ This power of the capitalist is realized through incentive and control mechanisms to extract as much labour as possible from workers at the lowest possible wage in order to maximize profits. To exercise incentives and control over workers, employers seek "worker attributes," or human capital in workers which are unrelated to intrinsic skill and ability to do the job required. The "worker attributes" such as race, sex, ethnicity, formal credentials and desired "modes of self presentation," orientation to authority determine the assignment of workers to jobs and thus become a control tool for employers in extracting work from workers.⁴¹

The education system by which human capital is "produced" and supplied is ignored in the neo-classical model. It is assumed that the "state of the art of education" is what society wants, what it demands, and represents a "simple aggregation of individual choices"⁴²

for education or human capital development. The model also assumes the individual to be responsible through one's own choice of personal development investment and abilities for how one "turns out."

However, the issue of human capital investment is far more complex than this. Though it produces "worker traits" demanded by employers, it does so by paralleling "the social relations of education with those of capitalist production."⁴³ Thus the schools, vocational schools, colleges and universities are producing the kind of workers which the controllers of the capitalist society need for the reproduction of their own interests and the changing structure of production. Furthermore, the history of the social organization of schooling reveals how responsibility for its current status is not a matter of "aggregate choices of individuals" but rather one of imposition by "professional elites against popular resistance."⁴⁴ Examined from this perspective the education system is understood to perpetuate and segment the work force and to legitimate economic inequality in the schools, using IQ tests, screening tests and channeling procedures which assign individuals to preparation for unequal occupations.⁴⁵

Human capital theory is marred by a further major flaw: the assumption that economically relevant skills are unidimensional.⁴⁶ To reduce the concept of heterogeneous labour to a human capital measure is invalid.⁴⁷ The theory fails to acknowledge that "families and schools teach different things to different people" and that "differing learning contexts are closely associated with racial,

sexual and class characteristics of the student body."⁴⁸

A further criticism of human capital theory is the implication of the word capital, which in its classical sense embraced two distinct meanings, "claim on future income" and "ownership over the means of production."⁴⁹ Used as it is in neo-classical theory, it gives rise to the notion that every worker is a "capitalist," though it is clear that few educated workers control or own the means of production or even their own labour.⁵⁰

Returns to schooling in human capital theory are explained superficially by supply and demand and the interaction of tastes, technologies and abilities. It does not seriously account for differing abilities or increased productivity through increased cognitive capacities. Bowles and Gintis conclude that "there is no reason to expect equality in the rates of return" "either among different types of schooling or between schooling and other forms of investment," following from the "often contradictory requirements of capitalist production, and reproduction of the class structure."⁵¹

Despite the adaptation of the neo-classical model to meet the needs of the "new home economics" by which it claims the ability to apply the tools of market analysis to non-market behaviour, the theory stops short before women's housework. Not only does the model fail to measure women's housework, it does not even "see" it. The neo-classical model insists on regarding women's housework as consumption rather than production, despite its being, in fact, "the single

largest industry" in terms of the number of people working at it⁵² and estimates of its value at one-quarter⁵³ of the gross national product. By failing to incorporate household production costs including labour expenditure, and capital and maintenance costs into the total cost of production, the neo-classical model fails to achieve two of its basic theoretical goals: to measure efficiency and to employ scarce resources to alternate ends.⁵⁴ The significance of market equilibrium (ie. the optimum use of resources in the economy) is lost if such a major portion of productive activity is omitted.⁵⁵ The theory is confined to counting alternative ends which can be given a value through the market.⁵⁶ The failure of the model to regard housework as production impacts seriously on policies intended to provide alternatives to production in the home, such as child care options. Such policy options are considered only in cost-benefit terms on the market, rather than as their impact on total resource use.⁵⁷

Though the neo-classical model defies history in attributing the motivation of gain to all human behaviour,⁵⁸ it provides the rationale, utility maximization, to determine time allocation between market and household. In so doing however, it also provides a rationale for maintaining the status quo for the sexual division of labour in the household.

Whether the neo-classical model regards women's housework as production or as J.K. Galbraith refers to it, "consumption administration" the theory is basically dishonest. Women are treated as "crypto-servants" in the household where they provide the tasks of

"menial service" assumed to be natural to the sex. Though their housework is "critical for the expansion of consumption in the economy"⁵⁹ it is treated instead as a "new social virtue," unacknowledged by a money price. The real world depends on the "real work" of women, but the neo-classical model does not "see it" much less value it.

The neo-classical model offers a "disguise" for the role of women in the concept of the household. The household is equated with an individual, even though the household includes all individuals in it, with differing needs and preferences. The "individual" woman is "buried" in the household where the neo-classical model ignores her individual choice and preference. The neo-classical consumer equilibrium which requires satisfactions "to be roughly equal at the margin," "requires extensive subordination of preferences of one member by another."⁶⁰ In the neo-classical household the man provides the income and this is accompanied by his decision-making authority, a configuration which destroys the myth that the wife controls the purse strings. Rather, the wife merely implements decisions made by the head of the family subordinating her needs and preferences. The household is "essentially a disguise for male authority."⁶¹

In sum, neo-classical theory holds the individual responsible for determining one's employment fate. The theory justifies the wage gap claiming women are paid what they're worth. If women chose to be more attractive as employees with greater human capital investment, the wage gap would disappear.

Neo-classical theory justifies occupational segregation as being merely an aggregate of individual rational choices. It assumes the sexual division of labour "as given," and justifies it further as the basis of rational utility maximizing decisions in the allocation of time between market work and housework. It tolerates discrimination on the assumption of its disappearance in the long run. It explains unemployment by an individual's unwillingness to accept the wage she/he is worth. At best the neo-classical model describes but does not explain the status quo. At worst, it provides an "apology for almost any form of oppression or inequality"⁶² in attributing all outcomes to individual inadequacies or choices.

Women's activity has been incorporated into the neo-classical model as an after thought. It fails to explain women's situation both in the work force, and in the home, or to relate the two.

B. Dual Labour Market Theory

Dual labour market theory explains occupational sex segregation and women's lower pay by showing that "men and women are recruited into different labour markets which are structurally organized to be disadvantageous to women."⁶³ As succinctly described by Paula England:

The dual or segmented labour market is characterized by primary and secondary jobs. Secondary jobs are menial, not connected to mobility ladders, and are filled by persons with high turnover rates. Primary jobs have relatively good pay and working conditions, chances for advancement up institutional mobility chains, governed by administrative rules, due process and custom. A critical distinction between primary and secondary jobs is the attachment or non attachment to institutionalized mobility ladders. Since

only primary jobs are attached to internal labour markets, women entering a firm through a secondary job are unlikely to move up to a primary job.⁶⁴

Women are more likely to be recruited into the secondary market; men into the primary one.

Segmentation also occurs within the primary sector and results in "'subordinate' and 'independent' jobs." "Subordinate primary jobs are routinized and encourage personality characteristics of dependability, discipline, responsiveness to rules and authority, and acceptance of the firm's goals," whereas "independent primary jobs encourage and require creative problem-solving, self-initiating characteristics and often have professional standards for work."⁶⁵ While minority workers are present within the above mentioned segments, they often face "distinct segments within those markets."

The major contribution of dual market theory is to analyse the effects of internal labour markets on workers, both within and outside of them. England defines internal labour markets as "administrative units within which the pricing and allocation of labour is governed by a set of rules and customs rather than by the forces operating in the external labour market."⁶⁶ Internal labour markets have developed in response to the apparent requirement for firm specific skills, whereby on-the-job training, experience and seniority determine productivity. They have evolved to ensure the stability of labour forces, particularly with the demands of the efficient functioning of complex technology.

Employers striving for a stable workforce try to limit turnover

by hiring employees who meet criteria they believe will promise stability and by offering employees higher wages, promotional opportunities or internal advancement ladders within firms. The point of hiring, "the port of entry" into the firm, is the strategic point where employers discriminate. The effect of this employer behaviour is to create stability in the primary sector and to nurture instability in the secondary sector. Secondary sector workers continue to provide the flexibility required by the total system by working as required on a temporary basis in the primary sector. Secondary workers either assume or are labelled as possessing labour force characteristics considered unsuitable for employment in the primary sector.

The unique contribution of dual labour market theory is to focus on "the clustering of jobs into ladders and the non-attachment of some jobs to ladders. When female entry-level jobs are not on mobility ladders or are on short sex-segregated ones, sex-segregation is perpetuated over time without the need for further overt sex discrimination.

Dual labour market theory accepts three factors as "givens:" women's socialized sex-roles and the impact they have on women's job "choices;" the homemaking structure and its relationship to the labour market; and the current phase of development of the political economy, capitalism, as a context for the theory. By itself, without incorporating analysis of these factors, dual labour market theory is severely limited in explaining women's position in the labour market.

C. Radical Theory

Radical theory is comprised of three separate but related strains: the writings of Marx and Engels with particular emphasis on the Marxist labour theory of value; the writings of theorists who analyze advanced monopoly capitalism; and the recent writings of feminists who elaborate the relationship between women's non-market (home) labour and market labour, and the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy.⁶⁷

1. Marxist Theory

Marxism is both a theory of capitalist development and a method of analysis which is materialist, dialectical and historical. Concerned with the historical development of class inequality in capitalist society the theory provides a context for the analysis of women's position which is missing from neo-classical and institutional theories. The analysis of class conflict does not specifically address "the woman question," but focuses instead on the relationship of women to the economic system, identifying women's oppression with their connection (or lack of it) to production.⁶⁸ Because Marxist theory obscures the position of women in this way, it has been described as "sex-blind."⁶⁹

Nevertheless, as a method, Marxism has been adapted as an analytical tool to examine women's position in the historical, material relations of production.

Marxism takes as a primary concern, the ways people, as producers of their own material existence, provide for their daily and future

basic needs; food, clothing and shelter. The double meaning of materialism is that "there is a real world and that material conditions establish the framework for any society."⁷⁰ A "guiding thread" for his studies is Marx's own summary of his materialist approach:

In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which corresponds definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social political, and intellectual life process in general.⁷¹

Central to Marx's elaboration of the mode of production as the total productive system of a society, which also generates a system of social relations and forms of consciousness, is his principle of historical explanation:⁷² The actions of individuals take place in a "structure of objective conditions" of which people may or may not be aware, and over which they have little conscious control as individuals.⁷³ This concept helps to explain the relationship between the work people do and their consciousness of themselves.⁷⁴ This concept is effective when applied to the issue of sex division of labour and its origins. It is integral to the question: Why do women do the work they do both in the home and in the workforce?

As a method of analysis Marxism is also dialectical, showing that every system continuously produces contradictions. The classic Marxist contradiction is between capitalist appropriation of profits

and wage labour, the class conflict. It produces the contradiction of the capitalist class amassing wealth while simultaneously generating the working class, the seeds of its own destruction.⁷⁵ Though Marx ignored the conflicts between men and women, between household and capital, these subjects, like class conflict lend themselves to dialectical analysis.

As all material conditions and contradictions have a history, Marx insisted on historical development indicating "the wide range of possibilities that exist within any particular mode and within any social formation ... Analysis must be historical ... (to) sort out the historical variations between modes of production and within them."⁷⁶

The foregoing discussion illustrates how radical theory as an approach to analysis of the position of women in the workforce is characteristically materialist, dialectical and historical.

A necessary first step to an understanding of occupation segregation and sex segregation is to situate these issues in the historical development of modern capitalism.

In the Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (1972) Engels incorporates Marx's notes and analyzes the evolution of the family, its relationship to the emergence of private property, the sex division of labour and the development of capitalism. It is "the major Marxist attempt to situate the family and the oppression of women in relation to the historical development of production."⁷⁷ The work establishes the theoretical framework of "the private and public spheres" linking the emergence of the family and its reproductive

functions to the emergence of the state and its productive functions.

In the Preface to the First Edition 1884, Engels explains the materialist base for historical analysis:

According to the materialist conception, the determining factor in history is, in the last resort, the production and reproduction of immediate life. But this life itself is of a two-fold character. On the one hand, the means of subsistence of food clothing and shelter and the tools requisite therefore; on the other, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species.⁷⁸ [Engels 1972:25-26]

He proceeds to assume an historical pattern of societal development where the less developed and communal the society "the more...does the social order appear to be dominated by ties of sex."⁷⁹ The public and private spheres are not separate. However, as societies become more complex, the functions of the public and private spheres and their accompanying sex division of labour become more distinct until women are entirely isolated in the private sphere, excluded from any social relations of production.

When this occurs

...the old society based on sex groups bursts asunder in the collision of the newly developed social classes; in its place a new society appears, constituted in a state ... a society in which the family system is entirely dominated by the property system and in which the class antagonisms and class struggles which make up the content of all hitherto written history now freely develop.⁸⁰ [Engels, 1972:26]

In less developed societies where property was not private, both men and women were involved in the production of subsistence. The development of the private property stem altered economic and political relations and ultimately relations between women and men. Gradually, as production by men for exchange eclipsed

production by women for use, the nature and significance of women's work within the household changed. Women's labour was necessary but less important than producing for exchange. Engels claims

Household management lost its public character. It no longer concerned society. It became a private service; the wife became head servant, excluded from all participation in social production.⁸¹ [1972:81-82]

Engels attributes the source of women's subordination to their exclusion from social production and their exclusive involvement in the private sphere of reproduction.

For their liberation he advocates the participation of all women in the labour force:

The first premise for the emancipation of women is the reintroduction of the entire female sex into public industry ... And this has become possible not only as a result of modern large-scale industry, which not only permits the participation of women in production in large numbers, but actually calls for it and, moreover, strives to convert private domestic work also into a public industry ... Here we see already that the emancipation of women and their equality with men are impossible and must remain so as long as women are excluded from socially productive work and restricted to housework, which is private.⁸² [Engels, 1972:510]

The Origin of the Family contributes a lasting and compelling insight into the subordination of women by linking the sex division of labour within the family to the economic organization of society.

Nevertheless, Engels' depiction of women in pre-capitalist societies has been challenged by anthropological literature showing women are not necessarily equal in non-class societies lacking private property and for assuming the split between socialized production and the family as it occurred under capitalism to have been the same for all previous societies.⁸³

A major weakness of *The Origin of the Family* is Engels' failure to specify the relation of women to capitalist production. Although in the Preface to *Origin of the Family*, quoted above, he implies women's work in the private sphere to be integral to the mode of production, this concept is not developed. Rather by advocating that all women become part of the workforce, he reinforces the concepts of production as production of surplus value and work with wage work. These ideas, combined with Engels' acceptance of the natural sexual division of labour, entrench the notion of the marginality of women's home labour to society.⁸⁴

Both Marx and Engels regard the removal of production from the home, the evolution of the public sphere where production occurs and the private sphere where reproduction occurs as the explanation for women's subordination. They saw the institutions of marriage and private property as isolating women in the private sphere, making them the possessions of men and instruments of reproduction for men.

Marx and Engels regard marriage as merely an economic relationship to explain women's subordination within the family. In the family, the woman is the private property of the man, "a mere instrument of production," and "the species - relations itself, the relation between the man and woman, becomes an act of commerce. The woman is bought and sold."⁸⁵ As the private property of their husbands, women's labours are private services for their husbands. Their labour power is not their own to sell. Their labour is no longer production for the community. It occurs only in the private

sphere. This concept of women as the private property of their husbands was formulated within a materialist interpretation of history which saw the family as an "historically changing product of the changing material conditions of society."⁸⁶ Marriage established the economic dependence of women on the husband in a family transformed by the mode of production.

Engels advocated ending the oppression of women by abolishing private property. "The predominance of man in marriage is simply a consequence of his economic predominance and will vanish with it automatically."⁸⁷

Patriarchy, based on the accumulation of private property by men, emerged as the family formation associated with capitalism, providing the ideology which in part explained state relations, class relations, sex relations and wage relations. This important contribution of Marx and Engels was to show "the importance of women's oppression as a problem of history, rather than one of biology, philosophy or religion."⁸⁸

With his primary focus on the social division of labour, Marx sees the development of capitalism alone as the cause of women's subordination. According to Marx, Capitalism is a mode of production where workers, (the proletariat), work for the owners of the means of production, (capitalists or the bourgeoisie) to produce both the basic needs of the society and surplus to these basic needs. The private accumulation of profits by capitalists depends on production by waged labourers. This contradiction results in conflict between the two

classes, and becomes the moving force of capitalism.

The consequences of this class analysis for women are two fold. First, women are not distinguished from men as members of the labour force; both are workers who produce surplus value for the capitalist. Second, class relations or social relations of production emerge.

The labour theory of value which treats all labour as the ultimate source of value is a Marxist concept fundamental to understanding workers' labour force activity under capitalism. Workers who own no means of production have only their labour power to sell to the capitalist for a wage. The worker thereby loses control of her/his labour, working conditions and product.

The worker's labour is made up of two parts: Necessary labour and surplus labour. Necessary labour is the labour required for a worker to reproduce himself/herself or the amount of time required to ensure her/his return to work the next day. Surplus labour is the amount of time a labourer works beyond the time she/he needs to produce herself/himself. Capitalists pay workers only for their necessary labour and appropriate the surplus for themselves.

Marx distinguishes labour from labour power. Labour is what the worker does, labour power is the worker's capacity to work. Labour power becomes a commodity as it is sold by the worker and bought by the capitalist:

In order to be sold as a commodity, labour must at all events exist before it is sold ... What the labourer sells is his labour power.⁸⁹

The insight that human labour power is the only commodity worth

more after it is bought than before is a major contribution by Marx.⁹⁰

The value of a worker's labour power is determined by the cost of producing and reproducing the worker; the cost of the worker's necessary means of subsistence.⁹¹ The wage paid by the capitalist corresponds to the worker's means of subsistence which are culturally and historically defined.⁹² The determination of the value of labour power unlike that of other commodities has a moral and historical element.⁹³ The value of a worker's labour power, the wage, is always less than the value of the product created by the worker. The product represents surplus labour and is sold on the market for a profit by the capitalist.

Marxist View of Women in the Labour Force

Marx, in his labour theory of value, considers all workers, men and women, in the same relation to capital, exchanging their labour power for a wage equal to the value of their necessary means of subsistence. He shows, however, women's labour power to be cheaper for the capitalist than men's labour power.

First, he ascribes to women, physical strength lesser than men and physical suppleness greater than men.⁹⁴ For these physical characteristics women (and children) were deemed to be more suitable as machine operatives. Employing the weaker segment of the population was justification by capitalists to pay lower wages to women, particularly when they required a higher ratio of machinery to labour.⁹⁵ Women's lower wages were also rationalized by the notions of the family wage and the presumed lower cost of reproducing women's

labour power. Furthermore, capitalists regarded women as "more docile, and lacking a tradition of craft organization."⁹⁶ According to Marx, capitalists saw they could realize more surplus value from women's labour than men's.

Second, Marx regards women as a part of the reserve army of labour, a surplus population of labourers. "As capital grows, the labour power needed increases, but in diminishing proportion, thus creating a surplus population of labourers."⁹⁷ The demand for labour falls in proportion as total capital increases.⁹⁸ Labourers in different sectors of the economy are continuously losing their jobs or being "freed" into the surplus population. Different sectors of the economy are in differing phases of development at the same time, some absorbing large numbers of labour, some freeing labour into the surplus population. The reserve army of labour is both a creation and a necessary condition of the accumulation process.⁹⁹ As capitalist development continuously generates its own surplus population or labour supply for its own expansion needs, it therefore need not be dependent on population growth. The labouring population while producing capital accumulation are simultaneously creating "the means by which the labourers themselves become increasingly superfluous."¹⁰⁰ This "absolute general law of capital accumulation"¹⁰¹ consequently regards every unemployed labourer or partially employed labourer as part of the reserve army. Consequently, these unemployed workers, are the mechanism inherent in capitalism for regulating the wage level. They keep the wage down by competing in the labour market.¹⁰²

Marx defines three forms of the reserve army of labour: floating, latent and stagnant. The floating form occurs in industries where technological change displaces workers. The latent form "is created when capitalism, in the course of its expansion invades and takes over sectors of pre-capitalist production."¹⁰³ In Marx's time the source of this reserve was the agricultural sector.¹⁰⁴ The stagnant form is extremely irregular or marginal, and "furnishes to capital an inexhaustible reservoir of disposable labour power."¹⁰⁵

Marx did not intend these forms of the reserve army of labour to apply to any particular group in the population. He expected they would differ with historical circumstances.¹⁰⁶ Women, being a cheap source of labour, however, seem to keep wages and workers' demands down, making the labour market more competitive. They are thereby more vulnerable to the cyclical generation of the reserve army of labour.

While Marx objectively shows women to be a cheaper source of labour power to the capitalist than men in social production, he also subjectively rationalizes his acceptance of the natural sexual division of labour rooted in their home or non-market activity. This emerges in his analysis of the capital accumulation process, the production and reproduction of capital. Marx theorized that "every system of production contains its own system of reproduction, ... is a connected whole ... in the constant flux of its incessant renewal."¹⁰⁷

"Capitalist production, therefore, under it's aspect of a continuous connected process, of a process of reproduction, produces not only commodities, not only surplus value, but it also produces and reproduces the capitalist relation; on one hand the capitalist, on the other the wage labourer."¹⁰⁸

The worker reproduces herself/himself both on the job performing necessary labour, and at home using his/her wage

...which the labourer requires for the maintenance of himself and family and whichever be the system of social production, he must himself produce and reproduce. ...The worker "performs his necessary vital functions outside the process of production [that is outside surplus value production].¹⁰⁹

Here is the seed of the "family wage." The wage paid to the worker is assumed to be sufficient to enable the worker to subsist and to ensure that the family reproduce itself to become the next generation of workers.¹¹⁰

Thus, Marx does not extend his analysis of production and reproduction into the home. The individual worker's activity outside the market which is required to maintain and reproduce individual labour power, including the labour power of the wife and family, Marx calls "individual consumption."¹¹¹

The reproduction of the wife's labour power is understood to be included in the worker's wage, even though her labour power is required to transform the family wage into goods and services for individual consumption.¹¹²

Marx certainly acknowledges the necessary labour performed outside the social production process in capitalism:

The capital given in exchange for labour power is converted into necessities, ... the individual consumption of the working class is, therefore the reversion of the means of subsistence given by capital in exchange for labour power, into fresh labour power at the disposal of capital for exploitation. It is the production and reproduction of that means of production so indispensable to the capitalist: the labourer himself. The individual consumption of the labourer ... forms a factor of the production and reproduction of capital; just as the cleaning of machinery does, ...

The maintenance and reproduction of the working class is and must ever be, a necessary condition to the reproduction of capital. But the capitalist may safely leave the fulfillment to the labourer's instincts of self-preservation and propagation. All the capitalist cares for is to reduce the labourer's individual consumption as far as possible to what is strictly necessary. [1967a:572 - in Sokoloff, 1980:122]

Even though he concedes the reproduction of labour power to be a function essential to the survival of capital, Marx omits it from his analysis. Occurring outside social reproduction, reproduction of labour power though necessary labour, is work which has only use value. Having no exchange value, meaning it cannot be sold for a wage, it does not contribute to surplus value. It has no direct connection to capital.

Clearly, the single focus of Marx's analysis is the production and reproduction of capital. For this reason he examines the dual aspects of the worker's job: to produce surplus for the appropriation by capital and to maintain and reproduce himself/herself and family. The reproduction of the worker takes place in two locations: on the job in the form of necessary labour, and away from the job in the form of reproduction. The maintenance and reproduction of the worker's labour power takes place outside social production. Marx implies that housework and all relations within the household are not social relations. It is none of the capitalist's responsibility; it is the worker's own. Thus Marx concludes the maintenance and reproduction of labour power necessary for capital's functioning is assured at the expense of the working class, not of the capitalist class.

By excluding reproduction of labour power from his analysis Marx

disregards the work done by women in converting the worker's wage into consumption, no matter whether the wage has been earned by her husband or herself. He accepts as given the sexual division of labour and women's role in the "daily and intergenerational reproduction of the working class."¹¹³ His failure to examine women's work in the home in the production and reproduction of labour power is the subject of what has become known as the "domestic labour debate" among Marxist writers during the past decade (Dalla Costa, 1972; Seccombe, 1974; Gardiner, 1975; Coulson, Magas and Wainwright, 1975; Molyneux, 1979; Fox, 1980). This group of writers consider Marx's apparent disregard of domestic labour as a major gap in his analysis. Others, Armstrong and Armstrong (1983:10) understand domestic labour distinct from wage labour. They argue the devaluation of women's domestic labour lies not with "faulty Marxist analysis," but with capital.¹¹⁴

In summary, the Marxist theoretical framework for analyzing women's position in the workforce is based on an analysis of the mode of production, capitalism, stressing the importance of the inter-relationships of all societal institutions and the understanding of individuals as "social and creative" beings. This framework impels an examination of the relationship between the institutions of the market and the family, both constructs of capitalism.

Although the Marxist method does not treat women in the market or the home as a group, the analysis raises questions about women as a group. In the market, under capitalism, women are subject to the same market dynamics as men. By selling their labour power to capital for

a wage, they both contribute to surplus value for capital. But, as women are a cheap supply of labour and are a part of the reserve army of labour, capitalists can realize more surplus value from women's labour than from men's. Moreover, women's low wages and presence in the labour force serve to keep men's wages and demands depressed, further enhancing their value to capital. These insights into women's lower wage under capitalism, rationalized by the notions of the family wage and the lower cost of reproducing women's labour power, raise questions challenging their justification.

The explanation for occupation segregation emerges as an explanation of class relations, the relations of social production. Occupation segregation is not treated as a separate issue, but is incorporated into the broader class issue of socio-economic stratification in relation to the means of production. Class theory nevertheless, has heightened awareness of the fact of occupation segregation and its manipulation by capital.

While Marxist theory purports to examine the interrelationships of all institutions in society, it fails to relate (the family) women in the home as a group to the system of social production in capitalism: More specifically, the assumption of women's labour being simply a part of the male breadwinner's individual consumption raises the elusive question: What is the value of women's work in the home and how should it be determined?

Finally, Marxist theory obscures the sexual division of labour by accepting it as natural. It remained for feminist theorists to

challenge this entrenched ideology which followed women from the home to the workforce.

2. Monopoly Capitalism Theory

The second strain of radical theory is that of monopoly capitalism. It is elaborated in three major and best known works concerned with the study of surplus labour supply: "Labour Market Segmentation," (Edwards, Reich, and Gordon, 1975), "Segmented Work, Divided Workers," (Gordon, Reich and Edwards, 1985) and "Labour and Monopoly Capitalism: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century," (Harry Braverman, 1974).

Monopoly capitalist theory, like classical Marxist theory does not distinguish women from men in the labour force, but views them both as paid workers creating surplus value for capitalists. This perspective, stresses that employers actively segment labour markets, create new industries and jobs and apply techniques of scientific management to deskill jobs. These combined capitalist strategies place women in their disadvantaged position in the labour force.

Like dual labour market theory, monopoly capitalist theory combines theories of internal labour markets, of discrimination and technological development to explain labour market segmentation. It goes beyond dual theory by placing it in an historical and ideological context, attributing labour market segmentation to "capitalists' need to divide and rule the labour force."¹¹⁵ Whereas dual labour market theory merely describes the operation of sex-

segregated labour markets and offers their existence as an explanation of women's position in the labour market, radical theory describes the structure of monopoly capitalism and offers its operations as the explanation for the existence of sex-segregated labour markets and women's position in them.

The American economy transformed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from competitive capitalism, consisting of many small competitive units, to monopoly capitalism, "consisting of large monopolistic units with national and international effects. Under monopoly capitalism "a very small number of capitalists control a very large share of the market" while regenerating secondary less profitable industries necessary for the absorption of large numbers of under-employed and unemployed, (Sokoloff, 1980; O'Connor, 1973). A major characteristic of monopoly capitalism developed during this period was the power of corporations to control all decisions about production, prices, and the labour process in the interest of maximizing their own profits and producing large and increasing amounts of surplus value.¹¹⁶

During this period, the growth of machine production "freed" large numbers of workers from the factories and farms, resulting in a large army of unemployed. As mechanization eliminates the need for labourers in some sectors of the economy, capitalists create demand for labourers in new areas of production to absorb the huge amount of surplus value.

This process stimulated the development of new "service"

industries in the growth of the state, advertising and sales, finance and real estate,¹¹⁷ creating new demands for cheap labour. The kinds of jobs generated by these industries were "clerical and sales, professional and technical, and low skill maintenance."¹¹⁸ The newly unemployed flocked into these jobs. Wages below the subsistence level "insufficient to support a family at the levels of spending necessary in modern society,"¹¹⁹ were paid to these jobs in the expanding service industries where most of female employment growth also occurred.

Monopoly capitalist theory shows that owners of production, confronted by an available work force, deliberately segmented labour into primary and secondary sectors. The segmented labour markets described by dual market theory did not "just happen." Segmenting the labour force became a key strategy for capitalists in controlling the labour process. It enabled them to "divide and rule" the labour force rather than allow workers to experience any cohesion which would promote their ability to organize themselves to deal with labour tensions and conflicts.

The central thrust of the new strategies (to "divide and conquer" workers) was to break down the increasingly unified worker interests that grew out of both the proletarianization of work and the concentration of workers in urban areas (in the nineteenth century). As exhibited in several aspects of these large firms' operations, this effort aimed to divide the labour force into various segments so that the actual experiences of workers would be different and the basis of their common opposition to capitalists would be undermined.¹²⁰

Radical theory as outlined by Reich, Gordon and Edwards defines labour market segmentation as "the historical process whereby

political-economic forces encourage the division of the labour market into several submarkets, or segments, distinguished by different labour market characteristics and behavioral rules."¹²¹ They identify four segmentation processes: segmentation into primary and secondary markets, segmentation within the primary sector, segmentation by race and segmentation by sex.¹²²

Techniques of segmentation included "changing the nature of work relations within the monopoly firm by creating highly bureaucratic and hierarchically controlled "internal labour markets, that exclude women entirely from job ladders; creating segments with less stable jobs; ... and transforming jobs into "female" jobs so as to render them less susceptible to organization by men."¹²³

To control the labour process in the new evolving industries, capitalists relied on Frederick Taylor's principles of scientific management: deskilling jobs and separating the planning function from job performance. This involves "simplifying tasks in such a way as to allow the use of less skilled labour in one or more sub-portions of the task as well as to take more and more control out of the hands of the labourer. This leads to increased production, cheapening of the cost of labour power and thereby increased profits."¹²⁴

Deskilling of work occurred in clerical work in jobs throughout the expanding service industries, where most female employment growth occurred. (Braverman, 1974) Braverman's examination of clerical work shows how work that was formerly male dominated changed in nature and became female dominated.

In his analysis of the "universal market", Braverman relates women's domestic labour to their wage labour, and shows how in monopoly capitalism women's labour is exploited.

It is characteristic of most of the jobs created in this "service sector" that, by the nature of the labor processes they incorporate, they are less susceptible to technological change than the processes of most goods-producing industries.... Largely nonunion and drawing on the pool of pauperized labor at the bottom of the working-class population, these industries create new low-wage sectors of the working class, more intensely exploited and oppressed than those in the mechanized fields of production.

This is the field of employment, along with clerical work, into which women in large numbers are drawn out of the household. According to the statistical conventions of economics, the conversion of much household labor into labor in factories, offices, hospitals, canneries, laundries, clothing shops, retail stores, restaurants, and so forth, represents a vast enlargement of the national product. The work of the housewife, though it has the same material or service effect as that of the chambermaid, restaurant worker, cleaner, porter, or laundry worker, is outside the purview of capital; but when she takes one of these jobs outside the home she becomes a productive worker. Her labor now enriches capital and thus deserves a place in the national product. This is the logic of the universal market.¹²⁵

Monopoly capitalism transformed the working class population by developing the universal market, dominating both goods production and services production, creating low-wage industries and occupations, segmenting labour markets and deskilling jobs.

Although the theory of monopoly capitalism acknowledges labour market segmentation by sex, and women's disadvantaged position in the labour force, its main weakness lies in its failure to relate women's work in the market to women's work at home. Like the Marxist theory from which it is derived, monopoly capitalism treats women's work in the home as being outside social production, and making no

contribution to surplus value in the economy.

Reserve Army of Labour

In the context of monopoly capitalism and the universal market, women's labour force participation patterns have appeared to meet the definitions Marx described as the "reserve army of labour."

"The reserve army of labour" is the term Marx used to define the relative surplus population produced by capitalist accumulation. Some radical theorists commonly consider the phrase itself sufficient to explain how women are pulled from the home into the paid workforce and pushed back into the home by ruling class needs in the capital accumulation process. Once again, radical theorists have concerned themselves with the accuracy of including women in another of Marx's abstract theories. They include: Anthias, 1980; Beechey, 1977; Braverman, 1974; Connelly, 1978; Milkman, 1976; Power, 1980; Szymanski, 1976; Yanz and Smith, 1984.

Yanz and Smith argue the inaccuracy of thinking of women as a reserve army of labour. Women are "permanently installed" in the labour force; the concept applies only to those temporarily employed. The concept isolates women from the accumulation process, does not explain women's inequality in the workforce; and does not explain the relationship between women's domestic labour and wage labour.

Ruth Milkman (1976), who limits the concept of the reserve army of labour to the floating form, argues that, as men during the depression did not take over any jobs previously held by women, the term does not apply to women.¹²⁶

Al Szymanski, 1976, in studying the unemployment fluctuations between 1947 and 1974 in the United States, concluded that women's unemployment rates fluctuated no more than men's, that "women were not released from wage work in economic downturns,"¹²⁷ and that women are "regular rather than marginal workers in the paid workforce.

Beechey, 1977, argues that women are a preferred source of the reserved army of labour because "they do not rely wholly on their wages for the reproduction of their labour power, that their dependence on the male wage both lowers the value of their labour power and allows them to be less than their value."¹²⁸ Anthias, 1980, criticizes Beechey's view, claiming that it treats women's cheap labour as both the cause and effect of their inclusion in the reserved army of labour. Anthias argues against including women in the concept, claiming Marxist theories are sex-blind and abstract. Attempts to understand women's wage work entails a "radical shift away from the application of Marxist economic categories to women," and should analyse its "concrete costs and prices and the way these are structured within a concrete social formation."¹²⁹

Braverman incorporates women into Marx's industrial army of labour, identifying women as floating or stagnant forms of the reserve army providing cheap wage labour for the new service industries and occupations:

The industrial reserve army takes a variety of forms in modern society, including the unemployed; the sporadically employed; the part-time employed; the mass of women, who as houseworkers, forms a reserve for the female occupations; the armies of migrant labour, both the agricultural and industrial; the black population with its extraordinarily

high rates of unemployment; and the foreign reserves of labor.¹³⁰

Connelly, in Last Hired, First Fired has extended Marx's concept of the reserve army of labour to include women as a group, showing that women's labour meets the defining characteristics of the reserve army by being available, cheap and competitive.

Two major effects of capitalism's expansion pushed women from the home into the labour force. First, capitalism gradually eliminated home production, leaving only maintenance work to be done in the home creating the "redundancy of domestic" labour, (Braverman, 1974; Connelly, 1978; Power, 1980). As Connelly writes:

The explanation is found in the fact that productivity in the industrial sector has risen significantly relative to the productivity in the domestic sphere. As capitalism develops, the housewife has to work more hours in the home to make up for one hour spent in producing wage goods. Since this is the case, a woman working outside the home can earn enough to replace her lost domestic labour and still have a small portion of her wage to use for her family's needs.¹³¹

Further, the mechanization of housework and the production of consumer goods at low cost created needs out of former luxuries. The redundancy of housework combined with the higher productivity of the industrial sector to push women into the workforce.

Second, the expansion of capitalism exposed the myth of the family wage. Low wages paid to men are insufficient to maintain a reasonable standard of living. Women are pushed into the labour force "to maintain their relative standard of living."¹³²

This process "defined" women as a group out of the capitalist market. They thereby became a source of available labour to the

capitalist. Connelly describes women's availability for labour as "an institutionalized inactive reserve army of labour."¹³³

Women meet the condition of being a cheap source of labour. This is explained by the Marxist theory which supports the concept of the family wage: the wage paid to the male worker is assumed to include "the means of subsistence necessary for both his own and his family's maintenance and reproduction."¹³⁴ When women sell their labour power "its value is not determined by the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance and reproduction of their labour power; at most it is the means of subsistence necessary to maintain their labour power."¹³⁵

The primary condition of the reserve army of labour is that it be competitive with the employed workforce for jobs. The competition for jobs generated by the existence of the reserve army of labour regulates the wage level. Marx's concept of the reserve army of labour assumes all workers, men and women, employed and unemployed compete for the same jobs. By demonstrating the persistence of definite job segregation in Canada since 1901,¹³⁶ Connelly concludes that "men and women are concentrated in different occupations. They are in fact in separate labour markets and therefore not directly competitive with one another. However, women compete for jobs with each other within the female dominated job market and "the existence of a distinct female labour market has an indirect competitive effect on male labour."¹³⁷

In keeping with Marx's expectation that the make-up of the reserve army of labour would differ with historical circumstances,

Connelly associates Marx's forms of the reserve army with characteristics of women's employment in the Canadian workforce. Connelly distinguishes between a women's active and inactive reserve army of labour. The active female reserve army consists of women who are single, widowed or separated and women whose husbands are unemployed or under employed. The active members of the reserve army are associated with the "floating" form of the reserve, moving from job to job as required by employers.

The kinds of jobs these women take typically are paid a low wage, have few fringe benefits, offer little opportunity for advancement or on-the-job-training. Employers often organize these jobs into pools of employees to be drawn upon as required.¹³⁸

The stagnant form of the reserve Connelly associates with women who are part-time employees and welfare recipients. The distinction between the floating and stagnant form, however, seems forced.

Associated with the latent reserve army or as Connelly calls them, the "institutionalized inactive reserve army" are married women. This form, "created when capitalism, in the course of its expansion, invades and takes over sectors of pre-capitalist production," describes the employment pattern of Canadian married women who, prior to World War II did not take jobs in the market. Capitalism, by creating the redundancy of domestic labour, also creates a surplus population among married women; by creating the tertiary service sector jobs, also creates employment for the surplus population, married women.

Connelly justifies extending Marx's theory of the reserve army of labour using structured analysis to show that married women are entering the workforce "to maintain existing standards of life within the family," Capitalism has necessitated both husband and wife selling their labour power in the market. Married women are not choosing wage labour but rather are being "compelled" to do so by the pre-structured alternatives con-structed by maturing capitalism.

3. Marxist Feminist Theory

Marxist Feminist theory is comprised of two streams: Marxist Feminist theory of the home, or Early Marxist Feminist theory, and Later Marxist Feminist theory.¹³⁹

a) Early Feminists

By including women's domestic labour in the analysis of capital, the Early Marxist Feminists adapt Marxist theory, resulting in a theory of the "political economy of housework," which recognizes the economic contribution of women's domestic labour.

While Early Marxist Feminists embrace Marxist theories of class, and patriarchy they disavow Marxist blindness to the value of women's position in society resulting from their work in the home. First, Marxist theory overlooks the relation of women in the home as a group to the system of social production. Second, it overlooks the economic importance of women's labour for capital's profits. It assumes women's labour in the home is merely part of the male breadwinner's consumption, converting the wage into subsistence. Marxist theory fails to attribute the reproduction and maintenance of

the working class, a necessary condition for the reproduction of capital, to the labour of women in the home.

This long-standing neglect of women's isolated labour in their private sphere, spurred the feminists of the 1960's to reformulate their Marxist theoretical inheritance.

The Early Marxist Feminists evolved as two groups: orthodox Marxist Feminists and "wages for housework" Marxist Feminists. The two groups are differentiated by their respective concepts of the productivity of women's labour. The former sees women's home labour existing outside social production, unproductive of surplus value, producing use value; the latter breaks from Marxist theory, and conceptualizes women's home labour as productive of surplus value, without which the reproduction of capital could not continue.

Despite this difference, the orthodox and housework feminists are united in their explanation of women's subordination in capitalism: women's unpaid domestic labour.

Margaret Benston, who in her pathbreaking article The Political Economy of Women's Liberation, 1969, in effect, opened the domestic labour debate, represents the Orthodox Early Feminists.

She argues "the roots of the secondary status of women are in fact economic,"¹⁴⁰ and that women's economic contribution to society is unrecognized. She shows that women's oppression, "in sheer quantity, household labour, including child care, constitutes a huge amount of socially necessary production."¹⁴¹ Not only is women's household work socially necessary production, it is an important

economic contribution to the creation of surplus value. "The amount of unpaid labour performed by women is very large and very profitable to those who own the means of production."¹⁴²

Women's household work, structured by capitalism as a "matter of private" consumption appears marginal and unimportant to society. Benston explains women's inferior status to a consequence of their exclusion from social production: "In a society based on commodity production, it [household labour] is not usually considered "real work" since it is outside trade and the market place."¹⁴³

The material basis of the inferior status of women is to be found in just this definition of women. In a society in which money determines value, women are a group who work outside the money economy. Their work is not worth money, is therefore not even real work. And women themselves who work outside the money economy, who do this valueless work, can hardly be expected to be worth as much as men who work for money.¹⁴⁴

To make women's work more visible, Benston reconceptualizes the capitalist mode of production to be dual in nature; consisting not only of market production of exchange values, but also of domestic production of use values.

She defines women "as that group of people who are responsible for the production of simple use-values in those activities associated with the home and family."¹⁴⁵ She reconceptualizes the Marxist definition of women's housework, from consumption/reproduction of the male breadwinner to production of housework, child care and family. "... it is evident that each family should be seen primarily as a production unit for housework and childrearing."¹⁴⁶ "Each household constitutes an individual production unit ... with the

reduplicative, kin-based, private nature of the work being most important."¹⁴⁷ House work is a "matter of private production."¹⁴⁸

Though women's labour is not exchanged for a wage on the market, and in itself is not "profitable" it is "useful." Its use value is not restricted to the family; it extends to capital. By maintaining and reproducing the family, women's work fulfills "the needs for closeness, community and warm secure relationships."¹⁴⁹ Women's work thereby helps to stabilize the economy by providing the "ideal consumption unit."¹⁵⁰ This is its "use" to capital. Without it, capital would not be able to realize its surplus value. Moreover, capital realizes surplus value from women's labour indirectly:

...the wage-earner, the husband-father, whose earnings support himself, also 'pays for' the labour done by the mother-wife and supports the children. The wages of a man buy the labor of two people.¹⁵¹

Women's domestic labour is not only useful to capital, it is essential for capital's reproduction. "Our (women's) unpaid labour in the home is necessary if the entire system is to function."¹⁵² The use-value of women's domestic labour to capital is ultimately economic.

The economic contribution of women's use-value production to capital places women as a group in relation to the means of production, but in a way different from men. Women in the home as a group are exclusively and "structurally" responsible for the production of use-values:

Since men carry no responsibility for such production, the difference between the two groups lies here. Notice that women are not excluded from commodity production. Their participation in wage labour occurs but, as a group, they have no structural responsibility in this area and such

participation is ordinarily regarded as transient. Men, on the other hand, are responsible for commodity production; they are not, in principle, given any role in household labour.¹⁵³

For improving women's position, Benston advocates changing two material conditions: transferring the work women now do in the home to the public economy, and creating equality in job opportunity. She also acknowledges the obstacles to her revolutionary solution. The socialization of housework would require a massive redistribution of wealth. Furthermore, the labour force would be unable to absorb such a massive influx of labour supply. Finally, capital would have no interest in losing its profits from women's unpaid labour.

Thus Benston adapts Marxist theory, redefining capitalism as a dual mode of production which depends on both social production and domestic production. Women's domestic labour, by producing use-values, contributes economically to capitalism and thus has a definite relation to capitalism, though it occurs outside wage labour. While women's domestic labour appears to be private, it is not outside the process of production, but is integral to it. Because the economic value of their labour is invisible in the home, it appears valueless to capital. The wage of the man buys the labour of two people. Consequently, their devalued domestic labour influences their devalued market labour. This theoretical framework reveals the nature of women's inferior status in society to be economic, not biological, cultural or ideological.¹⁵⁴

While the orthodox Marxist Feminists transformed the Marxist

conception of women's home labour from consumption of husbands' wages in the reproduction process to production of use-values which have no exchange-value; the housework Marxist Feminists extend the idea of domestic production further. Represented by Mariarosa Dalla Costa, (Women and the Subversion of the Community, 1972), they conceptualize women's home labour as production of the commodity labour power which has exchange-value on the market.

The housework feminists refer to Marx for their definition of labour power: "...the value of labour power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labour-time necessary for the production, and consequently also the reproduction, of this special article."¹⁵⁵

Consequently, they consider women's work in the home as "real work" which produces a product, a commodity which has exchange value.

Because labour power is exchanged on the market, women's work is understood to produce surplus value, and is thereby integral to social production.

Labour power, the product of women's labour, resides or is "congealed" in their husbands and children. The labour power which a man sells on the market is understood to include the labour power of the housewife. However, the wages paid for it do not pay for all of her labour power. Part of her husband's wage is her wage and part of her wage goes to the capitalist as surplus value. Women doing housework in their homes are a hidden source of labour to capital providing surplus labour for capital.¹⁵⁶

Wages for housework is the solution offered by housework

feminists for women's unrecognized domestic labour. Moreover, in direct opposition to the orthodox feminists, housework feminists advocate the refusal of women to participate in the labour market. They must "refuse the myth of liberation through work,"¹⁵⁷ If women as a class, were paid for their housework, they would be free to organize and socialize housework. Their work would no longer be isolated and unpaid.

Though the orthodox and housework feminists offer dramatically different solutions to freeing women from their subordination, both groups agree in identifying the source of women's oppression to be economic. Both agree women must control their own money or wage to be completely free.

Early Feminist theory of the home generated a welter of writing during the 1970's now known as the domestic labour debate. Analyzing the nature and value of women's domestic labour, these feminists focused on the productive and unproductive nature of women's work in the home. (Morton, 1970; Dalla Costa, 1972; Seccombe, 1974; Gardiner, 1975; Coulson, Magas and Wainright, 1975; Molyneux, 1979; Fox, 1980; Delphy, 1974; Kaluzynska, 1981; Hamilton, 1980; Miles, 1984). Though criticized for the inaccessibility of their work, "squeezing and pummeling" analysis of women's domestic labour into Marxist concepts,¹⁵⁸ these writers nevertheless have advanced insight into the subordination of women isolated in the family. The domestic labour debate links the subordination of women to the sexual division of labour, questions whether domestic labour creates value, questions

the location of women in class analysis, and suggests various strategies for change. It reveals the pervasiveness of sex segregation and the significance of work in the home "for the daily and generational reproduction of free wage labourers."¹⁵⁹ And it shows "how market conditions shape and in turn are shaped by domestic work¹⁶⁰ as women are pulled and pushed to and from wage labour. The over-riding contribution of the domestic labour debate is that it highlights the economic nature of women's subordination. Buried in domestic labour women's oppression is inherent in the capitalist mode, the result of capitalist organization.

In the final analysis, the arguments about the value of domestic labour show that it is not equivalent to wage labour.¹⁶¹ A woman's housework is mediated by a marriage contract, not a labour contract.¹⁶² "She is not paid a wage: the exchange between husband and wife is variable and arbitrary."¹⁶³ Further, it is clear that domestic labour is not directly responsive to the price of labour.¹⁶⁴ It is performed even when it can't be sold, "Because it is not subject to the law of value, there is no social mechanism to define the necessary tasks, and no measure of value."¹⁶⁵ Domestic labour and wage labour are not interchangeable.

A major flaw in the domestic labour debate and Feminist theory of the home is the single focus on married women who work only in the home, excluding all other women who work at home and in the labour force.

The Early Marxist Feminists explain women's inferior labour force

status by showing a connection between it and their devalued domestic labour. Most women entering the workforce must try to elude the mold cast for them by capitalism. When they enter the labour force, employers assume that their "collective" role as domestic labourers transfers with them as individual employees. Women cannot escape the characteristics resulting from domestic labour ascribed to them as a group by employers. They must challenge employers' stereotyped perception of their devalued labour power, their presumed "natural" abilities, their questionable degree of commitment to a paid job, and their presumed status as secondary family workers.

Women's domestic labour works against them in the labour force in three major ways. First, women's domestic labour acts to devalue their labour power in the market. In the market, the assumption prevails that the male breadwinner's wage pays for a woman's labour power. According to feminists of the home, however, the husband's wage is payment for the reproduction of his labour power, but only part of his wife's labour power. Capitalists don't pay for all of women's actual, but "hidden," domestic labour power. Women's actual hidden labour is unpaid and devalued in the home. Moreover, women's labour power in capitalism is valueless from capital's perspective because it is not exchanged directly for a wage. When women's apparently valueless labour power is transferred to the market it lowers the value of all labour power,¹⁶⁶ particularly women's. Capitalists will pay only low wages for labour power they perceive as valueless.

Second, women's work in the labour force is perceived to be an extension of their valueless work in the home. Just as with early industrialization women entered wage labour to produce the commodities they formerly produced at home, so in the present, women are entering jobs in the market to provide services formerly located in the home. Women's jobs are devalued because women, not men, are doing them. This phenomenon, documented by Treiman and Hartmann (1981) has become a major catalyst in the pursuit of pay equity.

Women's domestic labour contributes to another stereotyped notion influencing their labour force status. As housewives and mothers their primary commitment is perceived to be their family and children, taking precedence over their job in the workforce. This perception perpetuates the impression that women are unreliable employees exhibiting high incidence of turnover, absenteeism and lateness.

By focusing on analysis of women's domestic labour, the Early Marxist Feminists show the connection between women's inferior status in the labour force and their devalued domestic labour.

b) Later Feminists

Building on the theory of the Early Marxist Feminists, the Later Marxist Feminists integrate the analysis of the social relations of patriarchy with the social relations of capitalism to explain women's subordinate position in the home and in the labour market.¹⁶⁷ Often referred to as "dual system" feminists this group is well represented by Heidi Hartmann, 1977.

The Dual System Feminists also draw upon the theory of the

radical feminists (Daley 1973; Dinnerstein 1976; Firestone 1970; Millett 1970) which identifies patriarchy as the primary cause of women's subordination.¹⁶⁸

Heidi Hartmann provides a definition of patriarchy:

We can usefully define patriarchy as a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women.¹⁶⁹

The interactions of capitalism and patriarchy operating in the home and in the market determine women's positions. They create the conditions for all men to benefit from women's labour.

Early Feminist theory does not identify the sexual division of labour itself as a source of women's subordination. Housework feminists reinforce the sexual division of labour; orthodox feminist theory merely aims to identify the value of sexually segregated domestic work. Later Marxist Feminists on the other hand, show how social relations of patriarchy interact with the social relations of capitalism to perpetuate the sexual division of labour, the real source of women's inferior social status.¹⁷⁰

As Hartmann writes:

It is my belief that not only must the hierarchical nature of the division of labour between the sexes be eliminated, but the very division of labour between the sexes itself be eliminated, if women are to attain the full development of their human potentials.¹⁷¹

Hartmann (1977) acknowledges that the origins of the sexual division of labour are the centuries-old, deeply rooted in patriarchal relations of the pre-industrial family. Over time they have extended

beyond the family and into the market assuming the form of job segregation by sex. Hartmann defines job segregation by sex as "...the primary mechanism in capitalist society that maintains the superiority of men over women because it enforces lower wages for women in the labour market."¹⁷²

Women's low wages encourage them into marriage, where their economic dependence and domestic service define their subordination. In turn the domestic division of labour weakens women's labour market position. This is the "vicious circle" described by Hartmann resulting from the "mutual accommodation of patriarchy and capitalism." It seems, at first to be the neo-classical explanation for women's workforce status. Hartmann's "vicious circle" however, has a material and historical explanation which is manifested in the family wage. She claims the family wage "...is still the cornerstone of the sex division of labour in which women are primarily responsible for housework and men responsible for wage work."¹⁷³

The sexual division of labour in the family is integral to the development of capitalism. During the course of the nineteenth century, the expansion of capitalism gradually penetrated into the home, changing women's household work from mainly production to mainly maintenance. Production for use and production for exchange gradually gave way to replacement by less expensive market goods. The removal of production housework for exchange deprived women of the source of their economic contribution to the family. With the transition from a household economy, supported by petty commodity production by all

family members, to a wage labour economy, a new family (or sexual) division of labour emerged: "women's labour as wives and mothers; men's labour as family wage earners."¹⁷⁴ For women, development of capitalism spelled their ideological captivity in the family and their dependence on the family wage.

Patricia Connelly explains the power of the family wage in determining the reciprocal relationship between the family and the market.

The expectation in a capitalist economy is that each person entering the labor force will sell his or her labor power for an individual wage, yet the assumption remains that the family as a unit is responsible for maintaining and reproducing the new labor supply. Moreover, this assumption underlies the unpaid domestic work and the low-paid, labor force activity of women.

Women and men are not paid as individuals while both must be concerned with maintaining and reproducing themselves. Rather, they are paid as family members who must necessarily combine some amount of wages and domestic labor to meet the cost of raising their children. Always paying women less than men ensures that women will remain primarily responsible for the necessary but unpaid work that must be done in the home. In this way, capitalism maintains a flexibility with regard to the cost and use of the labor supply that would not otherwise exist.

It seems clear that with the family responsible for the new labor supply, the cost can be spread over several members in a number of ways according to the changing conditions of the capitalist system.¹⁷⁵

The family wage persists today as an outcome of the separation of the family from social production as it evolved in Britain during the nineteenth century. The self sufficiency of the family economy declined, sending whole families including women and young children from the home to work for a wage.¹⁷⁶ Some factories employed women

and children exclusively at very low wages and for very long hours.¹⁷⁷ This process saw the beginning of sex segregated jobs, particularly in factories and mines.¹⁷⁸ These conditions led to the passing of the 1840's Factory Acts limiting female and child labour and the 1847 Ten Hours Act, limiting the length of the working day. This protective legislation was supported by an informal alliance of "bourgeois philanthropists, bourgeois state and the emergent Chartist and the trade union movement, all of whom were concerned for the reproduction of a healthy working class."¹⁷⁹

Paramount in the minds of both classes was the fear of the disintegrating family, a fear shared by Marx. They believed women ought to be relegated to their proper sphere. Removing women from the factories meant paying the family wage to men. The family wage was the outcome of this strange alliance among male workers, male legislators, male capitalists and some female reformers.

The family wage was supposed to pay the male breadwinner enough to maintain the family at a "decent level" while "allowing the women to stay home, raise the children and maintain the household rather than sending the whole family out to work."¹⁸⁰ Marx implied his acceptance of this ideology when he stated: "The value of labour power was determined, not only by the labour time necessary to maintain the individual adult labourer, but also that necessary to maintain his family."

Instituting the family wage represents what Heidi Hartmann calls "a resolution of the conflict over women's labour power which was

occurring between patriarchal and capitalist interests at that time."¹⁸¹

While it seemed to beg the question: "whether what is beneficial for capital is beneficial for the working class,"¹⁸² dual system feminists consider the family wage the underlying force in capitalism revealing how "patriarchal social relations divided the working class, "allowing one part, (men) to be bought off at the expense of the other (women)."¹⁸³ Although, the family wage appeared to be the choice of both working class men and women, and the protective legislation evidently eliminated some of the worst abuses of child and female labour, patriarchal feminists argue that men gained most materially from the arrangement.

The presence of women in the labour force spelled two distinct disadvantages for men. Women were "cheap competition" threatening men's jobs. Women's long hours' absence from the home denied men the benefits of their domestic and personal services. The family wage eliminated these disadvantages in a stroke: competition for their jobs declined, their wages increased and their standard of living rose with their wives now serving in the home.

Male unionists chose to exclude women not only from their unions but from the workforce itself. They also understood that promoting shorter hours for women would result in promoting shorter hours for themselves. Men's ostensible concern for women workers did not extend to all women's work places. "...the factory acts did not attempt to limit the exploitation of women in the whole range of employment but

only in specific kinds of jobs, which happened to be in the places where men also worked."¹⁸⁴

Clearly, espousing the family wage while keeping women out of the labour market served the interests of organized labour. This legacy of the patriarchal relationship between organized labour and capital in the labour force has persisted to this day.

For women, the family wage perpetuated and entrenched the sexual division of labour in the home and in the labour force. In the home, its effect was to reinforce their economic dependence on their breadwinner husbands; in the labour force, to limit their job opportunities and lower their wages even further. The women workers affected by the Factory Acts and the family wage were unorganized and unrepresented, powerless to speak collectively on their own behalf. Ironically, they were dependent on the unlikely patriarchal alliance of organized labour, the state, capitalists and philanthropists to represent their interests.

The history of the family wage in Canada differs from that in Britain reflecting, of course, the history of the nation itself. The impact of the concept on the lives of women, however, was similar in both countries.

For most of the nineteenth century, Canada was a rural society of self-sufficient farm families. By 1867, 85% of Canadian families still lived on farms or in villages.¹⁸⁵ The building of the railroads hastened the development of Capitalism and the move to urbanization.

Industrial Capitalism developed rapidly in Canada, and with it

the exploitation of cheap labour. In 1889, the Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital stated:

With us the factory system has not grown slowly; it sprang into existence almost at one bound....But it also has to be pointed out that in acquiring the industries at one bound we have also become possessed, just as quickly, of the evils which accompany the factory system, and which, in other lands, were creatures of a gradual growth.¹⁸⁶

Until the turn of the century, capitalists seeking cheap labour drew on families who had been squeezed off small farms. During early industrialization, unlike British married women, very few Canadian married women worked for a wage.¹⁸⁷ The prevailing family wage ideology of the period is revealed by the estimate that "only three or four per cent of all married women in Canada worked outside their homes before that time."¹⁸⁸

Despite the ideology of the family wage, it was not adequate for working class families. By the turn of the century, most working class families required two incomes.¹⁸⁹ Unmarried women and children usually were the second income earners. Married women earned extra income from the home: rural women sold produce from small garden plots; urban women took in boarders and did laundry and dressmaking.

Demand for the labour of married women was extremely limited. "The supply of women workers for the jobs in shops, offices and factories, exceeded the demand."¹⁹⁰ The family wage was used by unions to justify fighting for higher wages for men and by employers to segregate women into jobs with wages lower than men's. Women were effectively removed from competition for men's jobs.¹⁹¹ Contributing further to reduced demand for married women's labour was the Canadian

government's open-door immigration policy 1900-1920, intended to increase the population of the country and to fill the demand for men's low waged unskilled labour in mining, construction and heavy industry.

"Between 1901 and 1914, 2.9 million immigrants were added to a Canadian population of less than 5.5 million; the vast majority of these were men." Immigrant women were brought to Canada specifically to meet the demand for domestic service. Canadian unmarried women preferred factory textile, garment and food processing jobs to domestic service which allowed no personal freedom.¹⁹²

The low wages paid to single women perpetuated the myth of the family wage. Single women, it was assumed, would live with their families and supplement the inadequate family income; they would leave their jobs when they married and depend on their husband's wages to support them.¹⁹³ In Canada, as in Britain the family wage was mythical. In reality, the concept simply never applied to single women, or dependents without breadwinners, or for that matter, to breadwinners without dependents.¹⁹⁴

During World War II, the Canadian government encouraged married women into the labour force to fill the employment demand as a patriotic duty, and offered incentives such as "free government nurseries and tax concessions."¹⁹⁵ Economic need as much as patriotism prompted most married women enter the labour force.¹⁹⁶ After the war, not only were incentives withdrawn, but government legislation and regulations forced married women back into their homes.¹⁹⁷

The post-war economic expansion created a new demand for female labour in the growing service sector of the economy. Between 1951 and 1971, the disparity between higher and lower paid income earners rose despite the increase in real wages.¹⁹⁸ Married women were drawn into service sector jobs to help their families meet the new standard of living. By the mid seventies, as real wages began to decline for an increasing number of families "two incomes became necessary just to maintain the standard of living achieved in the previous three decades."¹⁹⁹ This necessity has continued into the 1980's marked by high inflation and high unemployment rates.

A mere brief historical overview of women's participation in the work force reveals how changes in the economy dictate whether women work for a wage in the labour force or work for no wage at home.²⁰⁰ For working class women, the decision is not a matter of choice. Neither was the concept of the family wage.

In Canada, the myth of the family wage is still reflected in the low wages paid to women in their sex-typed jobs. The ideology of the family wage implies the expectation that women, earning less than their husbands, will combine their domestic labour with their wages to ensure the maintenance and reproduction of their families. Paying low wages to women reinforces their primary responsibility for their private domestic labour. Employers regard women as employees who can be hired as required and sent home when not. Their domestic labour role is used to devalue their wage labour.

Currently, with women's participation rate in the workforce at

fifty-five percent and that of married women at sixty percent, the myth of the family wage might seem to have disappeared. It has not. The wage differential has replaced it.²⁰¹

The ideology of the family wage extolled marriage as the ideal goal for women, upholding domestic responsibilities as their primary and natural purpose. The consequence of the family wage for women has proved to be a history of their domination by men. Established as a norm by the end of the nineteenth century, the family wage ideology has persisted into the present, granting men the control of women's labour "both within and without the family."²⁰²

The Later Feminists see the "mutual accommodation" between capitalism and patriarchy which delivered the family wage flourishing in today's family and job segregated workforce, despite the growing influx of women into the labour force. While the family wage principle appears to be changing to include the combined wage contribution of both the man and the woman, the wage differential replaces the family wage in fostering the woman's economic dependence on the family, and has become the new basis for male dominance within the family.²⁰³

Women's sex-typed jobs in the workforce, those formerly done by them in the family, are low status and low paying. The wage differential helps to define women's work as secondary to men's and becomes evidence of patriarchy in the workforce.²⁰⁴

Thus the Later Feminists explain the sexual division of labour and the wage differential as manifestations of patriarchy and capitalism functioning in mutual accommodation.

CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW OF HOMEMAKER SERVICES IN CANADA

Homemaking service has become a new vocation for women in Canada. This chapter outlines the central issues involved in providing Homemaker Services and describes the context in which this case study occurs.

Information about Homemaker services in Canada is available primarily from publications by the Canadian Council on Social Development,¹ the Department of National Health and Welfare² and the Canadian Council on Homemaker Services.³ They constitute the national overview of this young, labour intensive social service industry, documenting the rapid expansion and diversity of homemaker services in Canada, indicating the number of agencies increasing from 121 in 1969 to 540 in 1982,⁴ and outlining the concerns accompanying their rapid growth within a context of varied health and social service programs and auspices.

Homemaker services have existed in Canada since the 1920's⁵ and have grown to become an accepted component in the continuum of social services. Homemaker services originally were intended to provide care to families with children in the absence or illness of the mother, or to provide assistance to elderly, chronically ill, disabled, or convalescing individuals, and to prevent the placement of children and adults away from their own homes.

Homemaker services, defined by the Canadian Council on Social

Development are "household management and operations"⁶ including "the practical tasks required to help maintain or restore the physical, social and emotional health of individuals and families" and "to improve the quality of life in the home and in the community."⁷ Homemakers should have "maturity and capacity to work with many different people in different situations. Their relationships require compassion, common sense, self discipline, optimism and a basic knowledge of human behaviour. Homemakers should "be part of a professional team "providing service under continuing supervision."⁸ "It is this professional setting and social purpose, which includes health objectives, that distinguishes homemaker services from straight housekeeping and domestic service."⁹

Homemaker services have evolved over the past sixty years in response to the changing needs of families in Canada's increasingly urbanized society. Small "nuclear" families consisting of parents and children are separated from their extended families. The young and old are isolated from their natural support networks. In periods of emergency or stress due to illness, disability or aging, voluntary and government social organizations have provided programs and services to substitute for those formerly provided by family members.¹⁰ This pattern has been reinforced by the women's participation in the labour force and their changing role in the family. Women, who traditionally have been the care givers are now also becoming the breadwinners. Professional homemakers increasingly have been required to substitute for natural homemakers.

The enactment of the Canada Assistance Plan in 1966 which provides federal-provincial cost sharing for social services, spurred demand for homemaker services during the 1970's with the expansion of home care across Canada.¹¹ Homemaker services proliferated, delivered under different models of health and social service programs with varying program objectives and degrees of professional involvement.

The Manitoba Home Care Program, created in 1974, "is the oldest province-wide, centrally coordinated universal home care program in Canada ... and has served as a model for home care program development in a number of other provinces."¹² The Manitoba Home Care Program distinguishes between the Home Support Worker who provides household maintenance and the Home Care Attendant, who is trained to provide personal care and may provide household maintenance as well.¹³

Evelyn Shapiro in Home Care, A Comprehensive Overview, Canada (1979) reviews the literature on the use of para-professionals in Home Care, defines the work of homemakers, and outlines some techniques for effective homemaker program management. Most of this literature comments on the confusion resulting from the "serious lack of uniformity in nomenclature" for nonprofessional workers in Home Care. A plethora of designations have been created by a variety of funding sources. "Homemaker," "home health aide," "home helper," "attendant," "personal care worker," "home support worker" are some of the working titles used for a variety of home care jobs.¹⁴ The duties of these jobs vary and consequently require different kinds of training. The confusion surrounding these jobs extends to defining the training required to do them.

Shapiro notes the results of several studies conducted during the early 1970's, but concludes that in the absence of a significant body of literature, "more purpose would be served in attempting to develop a rational approach to some basic questions than in reviewing current practices."¹⁵

Shapiro defines generic "homemakers" as "people who carry out the tasks usually performed by individuals themselves and/or their families or who help families in the performance of these tasks." As Homemakers' services are "basic and supportive," requiring no formal education, they can be "designated as non-professional or lay-manpower."¹⁶

Shapiro refers to Little's description of Homemakers' workforce characteristics as a rationale for the administrative recommendations she makes.

Homemakers are usually women who need to work in order to supplement their own or their family's income and/or who have family responsibilities which make employment on a part-time, flexible or intermittent basis attractive. The relatively low wages paid for their services, the hard work coupled with their sometimes substantial family responsibilities result in high turnover of personnel. Periods of high or low unemployment rate also have a considerable impact on the availability and retention of homemakers.¹⁷

In view of these employee characteristics, Shapiro offers recommendations for effective Home Care management.

1. Maintain the machinery for constant recruitment, screening and hiring as well as orientation to the program and placement in the homes.

2. Enhance the working conditions to increase the rate of retention by paying higher wages; offering opportunity for increments in line with experience; offering contractual arrangements for full-time and valuable personnel; special recognition for length of service or additional training.

3. Provide on-the-job training and supervision.

4. Provide clearly defined policy on the specific services to be provided by homemakers.

5. Define homemaking services as "those provided to individuals and families in order to meet their basic needs when these services are required to help them remain at home."

6. Ensure that homemaking services encourage maximum independence and motivation for self care and establish realistic expectations for future service.¹⁸

Three years later, 1982, in an address to the Newfoundland and Labrador Homemaker Services Association, Shapiro elaborates these recommendations for recruitment. Noting the need to improve the quality of recruits to homemaking service, and the need to attract "the best people we can," she also observes that most agencies rely either on newspaper ads or word of mouth for advertising. These methods tend "to bring out the people similar to those you already have." She recommends using radio and television to enhance advertising effectiveness, appealing to potential recruits inclination for contributing to society by helping others.

As an incentive to retention, Shapiro recommends "routes to

promotion" for homemakers, remarking that the benefits of investment in retention are greater than the costs of the revolving staff door.¹⁹

Shapiro reiterates the need for national consistency in designating homemaker service providers by the nature of the services they provide to avoid the disadvantage of reinforcing what she calls "just a housewife syndrome."²⁰ However, she herself proceeds to reinforce this precise perception of homemakers by her position on their training, claiming they require only "basic training" rather than a "uniform across the board training program."²¹ She neglects defining "basic training" and specifying the nature of the services requiring it.

Despite the confusion surrounding the definition of homemaker services, strong support exists for consistent formal training for all in-home services to ensure quality service delivered to a recognized standard, (Trager, 1971; Proulx, 1971; Ellefson, 1985; Gabora, 1985). Associated with this need for a consistent training approach, is the need to define training for specific client groups. The prevalent notion undermining the need for a consistent approach to training "is almost entirely related to the idea that (homemaker) services are so simple that almost anyone could provide them -- that, in fact, we can assume that almost anyone will. Non-institutional service programs which hope to avoid or reduce the need for institutional care, to which almost all human beings are ill-adapted, require equal effort, organization and vigilance (as institutional services). It is not at all a simple matter to replicate normal family life at its best

through the provision of a set of professionally planned services implemented through creative efforts of trained paraprofessionals."²² The quality of homemaker services "depends on the development of efficient administration; on an informed and capable professional staff; on carefully selected and well trained homemakers whose working conditions reflect respect for their services and support for themselves, for those they serve and for the services they provide."²³

Shapiro (1982) defines homemaking services as a "critical" social service contributing more to the independent functioning of individuals and families than medical or nursing services, indicating that two thirds of clients require homemaking services only, while only one quarter of clients require nursing services.²⁴ She stresses how homemaker services, despite their "critical" nature, are stigmatized as are other social services by the needs testing provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan. She argues that during the past twenty-five years, Canadian society has accepted its responsibility for sharing health care costs, but has shunned its responsibility for sharing social service costs. She explains that the explosion in the demand for homemaker services has occurred within the context of government funded home care programs across Canada, and that cost effectiveness motivates the funding of home care programs rather than their intrinsic value as health and social programs. The consequences of public sector financing of these homemaking services have been governments' assuming responsibility for policy setting while holding agency's accountable for cost effectiveness.²⁵

The outcome of this separation of planning and implementing of

homemaker services has been, as Shapiro states in 1985 that home care programs are being asked "to do more with less" (funding), that homemakers are a devalued resource, and that public and political recognition of homemaker services as a critical component of health and social services has not yet been achieved.²⁶

To rectify this situation Shapiro recommends that provincial homemaker associations lobby provincial and national governments and that a federal Task Force or Royal Commission be established to study homemaking services and make recommendations. The frame of reference for such a Task Force would examine: the use of homemaking services in both health and social services; the level of training and supervision essential for homemakers, and the need for agency accreditation "which is integrally related to raising the status of homemaking," and the projected future needs for homemaking services.²⁷

The Canadian Council on Homemaker Services

In the context of expanding home care programs across Canada during the 1970's, the issues of defining, funding and training for homemaker services have crystallized. By 1982, "the service of homemaking, traditionally a role maintained by the family (became) recognized in Canada as a new profession."²⁸

Founded in 1982, The Canadian Council on Homemaker Services, is a non-profit organization with a broad base of membership covering non-profit, government and commercial organizations in the homemaking field. Its objectives include promoting the development and delivery of quality homemaking services to all who need them, and developing

common standards of service, standards of training and terminology. Additionally, the CCHS, acts as a consultant to individuals, agencies provincial associations and government at all levels on issues related to homemaker services, gathers and disseminates information about homemaker services in Canada and represents Canada at the international level.²⁹

In 1982 and 1985, the CCHS conducted two surveys of Homemaker Services in Canada with the intent of "establishing guidelines and minimum standards concerning practices and training."³⁰

The results of the two surveys are based on responses from agencies receiving the survey questionnaire sent by the CCHS. In 1982, the CCHS received 318 responses from questionnaires sent to 464 agencies; in 1985, 291 responses from questionnaires sent to 647 agencies.

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY PROVINCE AND AUSPICE 1985

	PART OF A GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT	NON-PROFIT SINGLE SERVICE	NON-PROFIT MULTI SERVICE	PROPRI- ETARY	TOTAL
Alberta	18	6	12	4	44
B.C.	1	48	8	5	62
Manitoba			4	1	5
New Brunswick		1	13		14
Newfoundland	3			1	4
Nova Scotia	8	7	6		21
Ontario	3	4	41	13	61
P.E.I.	5				5
Quebec	46		1		47
Saskatchewan	7	7	14		28
TOTAL	91	73	103	24	291

Source: Homemaker Services in Canada
Survey, 1985, p. 3.

The 1982 report indicated a total of 540 homemaker agencies in Canada compared to 121 in 1969.³¹ Agencies fall into four categories: government service; non-profit multiple service and non-profit single homemaker service and proprietary agency. Non-profit organizations provide more than two thirds of the service in Canada. Funding sources were: 68% government; 17% client fees; 9% private health insurance; and 7% charity.³²

The three major problems encountered by the responding agencies in 1982 were lack of adequate funding; lack of adequate training; and difficulty in recruiting volunteers.³³

The target populations included individuals and families needing support in dealing with issues of aging, terminal illness, mental illness, physical handicap, convalescence, and mental retardation.

Patterns of service showed a decrease in average hours of service for 1985 of 35,800 hours per agency from 40,100 hours per agency,³⁴ with the elderly receiving 66.5% of total service, the ill and handicapped receiving 29%, and families 4.3%.³⁵ In 1985 the five highest ranking home support services were personal care (1); meal preparation (2); shopping (3); house-cleaning (4); and sitting/companionship (5).³⁶

The 1982 survey estimated 19,000 women working as homemakers based on the figures from the 318 agencies responding to the survey. Of the over 11,000 homemakers employed by responding agencies in 1982, 28% were employed full-time while in 1985, of the 8,300 homemakers employed by responding agencies, 26% were employed full-time. The

1985 survey showed an increase in the number of homemakers working between 20-34 hours per week, 41.5% from 33.3%; an associated decrease in the number working less than 20 hours per week, 32.8% from 39% and only a slight proportional decrease in the number of full-time homemakers, indicating a slight shift toward or more permanent work force. See Table below.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME HOMEMAKERS

CATEGORY	1982		1982	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
FULL-TIME HOMEMAKERS	3,079	27.7	2,141	25.5
20-34 HOURS PER WEEK	3,702	33.3	3,479	41.5
LESS THAN 20 HOURS	4,333	39.0	2,744	32.8
TOTAL	11,114		8,365	

Source: Homemaker Services in Canada
Survey 1985 - p. 15
Canadian Council on homemaker Services

Starting salaries paid by government agencies were highest, in 1985 at \$7.51 for full-time workers and \$7.91 for part-time workers, while proprietary agencies paid the lowest starting salaries at \$4.70 for full-time workers and \$4.51 for part-time workers.

TABLE 3

STARTING WAGES FOR FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME HOMEMAKERS
BY AUSPICE

<u>AUSPICE</u>	<u>1982</u>		<u>1985</u>	
	<u>F.T.</u>	<u>P.T.</u>	<u>F.T.</u>	<u>P.T.</u>
GOVERNMENT	\$ 5.56	\$ 6.10	\$ 7.51	\$ 7.91
NON-PROFIT SINGLE SERV.	4.92	5.05	5.47	5.50
NON-PROFIT MULTI SERV.	4.25	4.94	4.92	5.03
PROPRIETARY	4.15	4.42	4.70	4.51

Source: Homemaker Services in Canada
Survey, 1985, p. 19.
Canadian Council on Homemaker Services

In the 1982 survey, 6% of all homemakers were reported as having a guaranteed wage. By 1985, this proportion had increased to 7.5%. The change is primarily reported by government and multi-service agencies and is more pronounced in Quebec than in any other province, where it shifted from 38.7% in 1982 to 49.8% in 1985. In Ontario there was a slight shift upwards from 21.1% to 23.7%. These two provinces combined in 1985 employed nearly 3/4 of the national number of homemakers with guaranteed wages.³⁷

More benefits were being paid to homemakers across Canada in 1985 as the following table indicates.

TABLE 4
BENEFITS PROVIDED, 1982 AND 1985

BENEFITS	% Agencies 1982	% Agencies 1985
Vacation Pay	74	83
Transportation	64	73
Paid Statutory Holidays	58	75
Sick Leave	23	41
Health Insurance	18	31
Paid In-Service Training		49
Uniforms		40
Compassionate Leave	Less than	39
Extended Health Insurance	10%	25
Life Insurance		23
Pension (other than CPP)		20

Source: Homemaker Services in Canada
 Survey, 1985, p. 20.
 Canadian Council on Homemaker Services

The 1982 Survey indicated that most agencies provide in-service training sessions, while 58% used homemaker training programs offered through community colleges or similar facilities. The surveys' results indicate a decrease in the number of homemakers having community college training: 67% of all homemakers in 1982, compared with 31% in 1985.³⁸ Fewer homemakers earned wages while attending courses: 29% in 1985 compared with 32.1% in 1982.³⁹

A brief summary of the 1985 Survey findings indicates that the rate of growth of homemaker services decreased from 19% in 1982 to 6% in 1985 and that the most rapid rate of development was reported by the proprietary sector. No voluntary agencies reported having started a homemaker service since 1982.⁴⁰ In 1985, the average number of hours of service provided annually per agency had decreased by 11%

since 1982. The distribution of service hours increased for the elderly and decreased for other client groups, families in particular.⁴¹ Between 1982 and 1985, the number of homemakers who had attended a community college course decreased by 30%, and fewer agencies find wages to homemakers while attending community college courses.⁴⁵

With most agencies reporting the problem of inadequate funding, salaries remain low, hours irregular and training limited. However, more agencies are paying more benefits and are hiring homemakers for more hours. Despite the decline in the number of hours of service per agency, homemaker services have been integrated into the social service continuum in Canada.

The main challenges to homemaker service providers, noted by Beverlee Gobora in an address to the Third National Conference on the Canadian Council of Homemaker Services, are : meeting the needs of elderly clients, strengthening homemaker services to families, recognizing and ensuring adequate training for homemakers who are involved in increasingly complex client situations, and promoting recognition by governments, funding sources and the public of the value of homemaker services.⁴³ The CCHS reports indicate the central issues in providing homemaker services are defining the nature of in-home services to be provided to specific client groups and defining the training required of homemakers to provide these services.

The Manitoba Council on Homemaker Services (MCHS) founded in 1982, currently consists of eighteen member agencies representing

approximately 5000 homemakers in the province. Committed to a preventative developmental approach, the MCHS views the home support worker as an important component in the continuum of health and social services. As a member of the Canadian Council on Homemaker Services, the MCHS shares the same concerns as its national counterpart regarding funding and delivering homemaker services, establishing homemaker service standards training homemakers, and improving homemakers' working conditions and image in the community.

The rapid growth in demand for homemaker services presents a challenge to service providers to contain costs while providing quality service. Provincial programs and agencies providing homemaker services, constrained to offer efficient and effective homemaker services within tight budgets, must critically examine eligibility criteria for service, the amount of service to be provided and the nature of training and supervision essential to homemakers.

CHAPTER III

PROFILE OF THE AGENCY HOME HELP STAFF AND REVIEW OF HOME HELP PROGRAM

I. Analysis of Questionnaire Completed by The Agency's Home Help Staff

The intent of Chapter III is, first, to present the results of the self administered questionnaire completed by sixty-nine women who work for The Agency's Home Help Program, giving their workforce characteristics; and second, to present a review of The Agency's Home Help Program based on information obtained from interviews with the Executive Director of The Agency and the Assistant Director of the Home Help Program.

A. Home Helpers

1. Sex and Age

Of the 69 respondents to this questionnaire, all are female, having an average age of 47 years and ranging in age from 22 to 66 years.

2. Level of Education

While 31(48%) of 65 had achieved only up to grade 10, 34(52%) were high school graduates; 9(14%) hold Community College diplomas for occupations of nurses aide, graphic artist and stenographer; 2(1%) have attended university for one and two years respectively, and 2(3%) are Registered Nurses, while 6(10%) have attended school part-time during the past 2 years.

Fifty-five (86%) completed their highest grade inside Canada. Nine (14%) completed their highest grade outside Canada.

Twenty-three (34%) speak and understand a second language. Six (9%) speak French; six (9%) German; three (4%) Polish; three (4%) Ukrainian; one (1%) Czech. One Home Helper is skilled in sign language.

3. Marital Status

Of the 68 responses, 31(45%) are now married; 14(20%) never married; 10(14%) divorced; 5(7%) separated; 7(1%) widowed; and 1 common law. Fifteen respondents (22%) live alone.

4. Total Family Income

Of the 62 responses to this question, total family income for 18(29%) is less than \$10,000; for 21(33.9%), between \$10,000-\$14,999; for 3(4.8%), between \$15,000-\$19,999; for 5, between \$20,000-\$24,999; and for 15, \$25,000 or more.

Of the 27 sole providers, 10 earn less than \$10,000; 15 earn between \$10,000 and \$14,999; and 2 earn between \$15,000 and \$19,999.

Of the 15, who live alone, 10 reported being sole providers. Total family income for 4 is less than \$10,000; for 5, between \$10,000 and \$14,999; for 1, between \$15,000 and \$19,999.

Of 60 respondents, 35(58.3%) report their family's dependence on their salary, while of 63 respondents, 34(54.0%) report that their salary does not provide luxuries.

Of 69 respondents, 59(85.5%) do not think "the pay is good," 41(59.4%) reported that they need the pay, 53(76.8%) responded negatively to "the pay is less than I deserve."

B. Home Helpers at Home

1. Size of Household; Dependents' Ages

The number of members in the households of these employees is not large. 57(85%) households have four (4) members or less; 23(33%) have two members and 15(21%) live alone.

With only seven respondents having pre-school age children, child day care is not a major issue with this group of workers. Only one uses a day care centre while the remaining mothers depend on family members for child care. One, however, reported "no space" as the reason for not using day care. Only 3 responded to the question relating to leaving pre-school children in the care of someone else when they go out to work. To the statement "I am a good mother when I go out to work" one agreed strongly, one agreed; one was neutral.

Five (7%) of these employees are responsible for a handicapped adult dependent; eleven (15%) for adult dependents, all of whom are cared for by other household or family members.

The dominant group of dependents for this group of employees ranges in age from ten to twenty-five years.

2. Housework and Meal Preparation

In addition to the 15(21%) employees who live alone, 34(50%) who share households with others are primarily responsible for housekeeping; and 35(53%) are primarily responsible for meal preparation.

3. Maternity

When pregnant with first child, twenty-two (43%) of the

respondents held a job. Of these, 17(46%) quit their job after the birth of the first child. One received unpaid maternity leave; 3(8%) received maternity leave. Eight respondents quit their jobs for subsequent births. In total, 8(18%) respondents received maternity benefits once, and two received maternity benefits twice.

4. Vacations

Fifty-five (81%) of the respondents take vacations; the majority, 34(57%) take an annual vacation. Thirteen, however, do not take a vacation during the year.

C. Home Helpers at Work

1. Workforce Attachment

The work force attachment of this group to the Agency is quite stable, with average length of service of 6 years. Thirty-four (49%) of the current staff have worked with the agency 5 years or more; 19 (27%) for 5-10 years; 15 (21%) for 10-22 years. Nine (13%) have worked for 3 years; 13 (18%) for 2 years.

Twenty-nine (42%) have worked as a Home Helper with The Agency prior to recruitment to this part-time job, their length of service ranging from 1-22 years.

Eight (11%) Home Helpers hold another part-time job concurrently with this one, their other jobs being Child Care Giver, Dietary Aide, Sales Clerk and Homemaker.

Sixteen (23%) have worked as a paid home help previously outside The Agency for an average of seven years ranging in length of service from 1-20 years.

Thirty-five (50%) have held prior jobs. Most have been in the secondary market: secretary, sales clerk, homemaker, factory worker, hospital aide, lab technician. One was a teacher.

2. Part-time Work

a) Reasons for working part-time

If working less than 30 hours a week, the reasons given were:

- 11 (16%) could find only part-time
- 11 (16%) do not want full-time
- 5 (07%) have another job
- 6 (07%) personal and family responsibilities
- 2 (03%) going to school

Seven of these have other part-time jobs where 1 works 37 hours; 3 work 20 hours, and 1 works 12 hours.

b) Actual part-time hours

Sixty percent (37) of this sample works less than an average of 30 hours a week, the mean work week being 24.7 hours. The average work week for 8 (11%) employees is 30 hours; for 8 (11%) others, 35 hours; and for 6 (8%) others, 40 hours. Most, 65(94.2%) work hours during the normal workday week -- 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. (with some flexibility), Monday through Friday.

c) Attitude to part-time work

Of 69 responses to these questions, 48(70%) do not like working part-time; only 21(30%) like part-time work.

Of 69 respondents, 22(31%) would prefer more hours.

d) Declined work due to illness

Forty-one (67%) reported that they did not decline one assignment due to illness during the year. Eleven (18%) declined assignments at

least twice during the past year. Nine (13%) reported declining assignments more than twice.

D. Job Satisfaction

The two sets of questions relating to job satisfaction elicited a 100% response rate from all of the 69 staff who returned the questionnaire.

1. House Cleaning

While 29 (42%) find house cleaning gives job satisfaction, 40(58%) find it does not give job satisfaction. Seven (10%) dislike house cleaning.

2. Special Skills

This group indicated a self-perception strong in relationship skills: 62(91.2%) skilled in relating to the lonely; 60(88.2%) skilled in relating to the elderly; and 57(83.8%) skilled in relating to the ill.

The aspect of this job which involves communicating with the nurse about a client's health status is regarded positively by 23(33%) of the group, while 100% of the sample regards this function at least neutrally.

Only 49(72.1%) reported a self-perceived special skill in house-cleaning, while fewer, 30(44.1%) reported a self-perceived special skill in cooking or meal preparation.

Only 3(4.3%) find the job boring; and only 2(2.9%) find it endless.

3. Formal Training

Interest in formal training for the Home Help job is high. Three (4%) report having a certificate in Home Support work, while 25(41%) indicated an interest in taking a course towards the certificate.

4. Different Work

Of 58 respondents, 24(41.4%) indicated a preference for pursuing different work in the future.

5. Value of Work

As a group, the respondents value their work for its social contribution and perceive that most others value it also. Sixty-six (97%) agree that their work is essential for the agency to be able to care for clients in their own homes, that their work is helpful to the people they serve and that The Agency values their contribution. Sixty-three (95%) agree that clients value the work of the home helper. Fewer, 55(84.6%), perceive that society, family and friends value their work.

Twelve, (17.4%) perceive their job is not respected by society.

E. Comments

The Home Helpers are a part of Manitoba's female part-time labour force, of 61,000, which grew 51% between 1975 and 1985 representing 72.6% of all part-time workers and 12% of Manitoba's total employed. The Home Helpers' average work week is 25.5 hrs. This group does not prefer part-time work; 48 (70%) report they do not like it and 22 (31%) state they would prefer more hours.

As no specific education level is required for the Home Helper job, the education level of this group only partially explains why these women are doing this job. Those who have achieved only grade school up to grade 10, 31 (48%) may have fewer job options. However, 34(52%) have achieved high school leaving and of these 9 hold community college diplomas, suggesting that for these women the Home Helper job may be a second career choice determined by the structurally defined labour market they face compounded by their family responsibilities.

Economic necessity pushes these women into the workforce with 58.3% of respondents reporting their family's dependence on their salary, and 54% reporting their salary does not provide luxuries.

The average annual salary for Home Helpers employed by The Agency is \$8,619 ($\6.50×25.5 average weekly hours $\times 52$), a low wage by today's living standards with the current Statistics Canada Low Income Cut-off for one person being \$11,118.

The total family income for 18 (29%) Home Helpers is less than \$10,000, placing this group of employees below the Statistics Canada

Low Income Cut-Off. Of this group, 10 are sole providers; 7 have one dependent, 2 have two dependents and 2 have four dependents. These sole providers plus 17 others in this group (43%), are among the cohort of Manitoba's labour force which more than doubled from 12,000 to 28,000 between 1975 and 1985.

Both sole providers and spouses work between 20-30 hours weekly. Sole providers, clustered in the less than \$10,000 family income bracket, need more work hours of work but face a structurally defined work schedule.

Of the fifteen Home Helpers whose family income is more than \$25,000 all are married, indicating the contribution of an additional income to total family income. A low percentage of Home Helpers is married, 47%, (accounting for 31 of 68 respondents who are married and one who is living in a common law relationship) and does not reflect the 48% labour force growth amongst married women in Manitoba between 1975-1985.

The Home Helpers' salary is lower than that of unionized women working within the business and personal services industry. The 1984 average hourly wage rate for unionized women was \$11.15; for non unionized women \$6.39.

The Home Helpers' low wage contributes to widening the wage gap in Manitoba's service sector which in 1980 was at least 40%.

Of 69 respondents, 59 (85.5%) do not think "the pay is good," 41(59.4%) reported that they need the pay, and 53(76.8%) responded

negatively to "the pay is less than I deserve." This indicates that the majority of this group of workers think their poor pay is deserved.

The workforce attachment is strong for a group of employees in the secondary labour market. Of 65 respondents 12(20%) have worked with The Agency for eleven years or more. Of these 5(38.5%) are married. An additional 17 (26.2% have worked with The Agency between 7-10 years, and of these 7(41.2%) are married. For the past five years 42 women, 18 of whom are married, have worked continuously as Home Helpers. This continuity of employment indicates their reliance on their wage as well as their stability as workforce participants.

Home helpers who have worked with The Agency prior to their current recruitment number 29 (42%) suggesting these employees return to the same employer with fluctuations in their income needs. Another 16(23%) have held jobs prior to this one (with The Agency) in sex-typed secondary market jobs, indicating how women, once employed in the secondary market remain in it. The same is true of eight Home Helpers who hold part-time another job in the secondary market concurrently with this one.

Although these women work a weekly average 24.7 hours as Home Helpers with The Agency, their primary responsibility appears to be for their families. While the average age of this group is 47 years, ranging from 22-60 years, the age of the majority of their dependents ranges from 10-25 years. Only 7 have pre-school children, and 16 have

adult dependents. This suggests most of the married women in this group have chosen not to work in the labour force until their children are in school. The average age of this group and the age of their dependents also suggests that child day care was unavailable or inaccessible to these women when their children were younger.

Furthermore, the workforce participation pattern of this group of women is one of quitting the labour force for maternity. Of the 22(43%) who held a job when pregnant with their first child, 17 (46%) quit their job after the birth. While 8(18%) respondents received maternity benefits once, and two received maternity benefits twice, this workforce participation pattern suggests the unavailability of maternity leave for this group.

In addition to the 15(21%) employees who live alone, 34(50%) who share households with others are primarily responsible for housekeeping; and 35(53%) are primarily responsible for meal preparation. This supports the conclusions of the Canadian studies of allocation of housework responsibilities, (Meissner, 1976), (Clark & Harvey, 1976) that most women who work in the labour force, including those who work part-time, continue to carry most of their own household responsibilities as well.

Absenteeism is not high amongst these Home Helpers with 67% reporting they did not decline one assignment due to illness during the past year, contradicting the stereotype that women working in the secondary market are frequently absent. This also suggests these women are going to work when they are ill because they need their salary.

The only questions eliciting a 100% response rate from the study participants were those relating to job satisfaction, indicating a high interest in this topic. These women clearly perceive the dual nature of their job, its practical aspect, cleaning house and preparing meals, and its socially supportive one, relating effectively with clients. They were divided in their attitude towards housecleaning and in their aspiration for continuity in their vocation as Home Helpers. While 58% find no satisfaction in housecleaning, and 41% would prefer different work in the future, 42% do find job satisfaction in housecleaning and 41% indicated an interest in pursuing a course in Home Help work.

This group's strong self perception in relating effectively with the ill, elderly and lonely (over 90%) suggests this aspect of their job is the source of their job satisfaction.

Almost 100% of this group value their work for its social contribution, agreeing that their work is essential for The Agency to be able to care for clients in their own homes, and perceiving that The Agency, clients, their families and friends, also value their work.

One respondent wrote on her questionnaire:

"If I had a dollar for every time a client thanked me and said 'I used to do this for myself you know,' - I'd be rich by now."

II. Analysis of Interviews: Executive Director, The Agency, and Assistant Director, Home Help Program

A. Home Help Program Review

The Agency, operating in Winnipeg since 1901, is committed to the belief "that everyone has the right to comprehensive and compassionate health care," and states as its goal that, "whenever possible, appropriate care be provided to allow people to remain in the familiar surroundings of their homes."

The professional staff and Board of Directors, "composed of skilled volunteers" assume joint responsibility for management and quality of service. The provincial government funds The Agency entirely.

The Agency's primary mandate is to serve individuals and families requiring short-term care, up to sixty days. Added to this target population are individuals and families requiring long term care, (palliative care or special nursing care) served by The Agency's Hospital Coordinated Program.

The Home Help Program has operated continuously since it began in 1965 as a pilot project. The service is supposed to provide light housekeeping duties as a support to the nursing service for convalescing or elderly persons, enabling them to remain in their homes rather than hospital or to return home from hospital sooner than otherwise possible.

1. Funding

The Manitoba Government has financed The Agency since 1973, when the government insured all health services. The Agency has been

accountable to the provincial government through its Board of Directors.

The Finance Committee of The Agency Board together with The Agency Relations Branch of the Department of Health (henceforth, Manitoba Health) prepares the annual budget for the approval of the Board before forwarding it to Manitoba Health. Services for the following year are projected on the basis of the past year's service delivery. The Home Helper Program budget is a separate part of The Agency Budget. Wage rates for the Home Help Program are based on those established for the Provincial Continuing Care Program.

The budget is developed within guidelines established by Manitoba Health.

2. Board of Directors

Board members are appointed for a two year term. A nominating committee of the board prepares a list of nominees to the whole board for election at the annual meeting in June.

The twenty-five member board of men and women, represents clients, religious and ethnic groups, and has expertise in accounting, law, planning and public relations. At its monthly meetings the board directs all policy, administrative and operational issues regarding the Nursing and Home Help Programs.

3. Management of the Home Help Program

Three processes involve the Assistant Director, Home Help in the management of the Program.

First, she is often a member of a Home Help Program sub-committee of the board, contributing to decisions affecting the Home Help Program. Interpretations by the board of Home Help issues are detailed by memo to the Executive Director. Second, the Executive Director and the Assistant Director, Home Help meet biweekly to manage issues relating specifically to the Home Help Program. Finally, the Assistant Director, Home Help keeps abreast of total agency management by participating on the six member Agency Administration Committee. This committee, representing nursing, special nursing, administration and home help is Chaired by the Executive Director and meets bi-weekly.

4. The Home Help Program

The Home Help Service is a relatively autonomous unit within The Agency. Its Assistant Director, B.S.W., as a member of the Management Committee, is responsible for the administration of the unit, including all recruitment of Home Help Staff; orientation of nurses to the program; supervision of the two Home Help Coordinators, one R.N., one B.H.Ec.; staff development for Home Help staff and some supervision of Home Help staff. The two Home Help Coordinators, each responsible for one half the catchment area, Greater Winnipeg, (population, 600,000) assign and supervise the Home Help staff and assess client service need.

The Assistant Director Home Help has been employed by The Agency since 1980; the Coordinators, 1983 and 1985 respectively.

5. Referral to the Home Help Program

Although requests for Home Help service may originate from any source in the Community, the primary source of referrals is from a hospital or physician. The Agency nurse assesses each request and refers eligible clients to the Home Help Coordinator for scheduling.

Clients are eligible for Agency services when services are necessary for: maintaining a client in the home; maintaining or preventing deterioration of functioning essential to remaining in the community; providing relief to family members and preventing deterioration of an appropriate home environment; replacing clinic or out patient care upon discharge from an acute care facility.

6. Scheduling

The Home Help Coordinator usually visits each referred client to become familiar with the client's needs and the home site before assigning Home Help staff to the situation. Assignments of Home Helpers are made on the basis of geographic area of the city, availability of staff and mutual preferences, if any, expressed by staff or patient regarding matters such as sex, age and tasks required.

Neither seniority of staff nor economic need of a Home Helper is a factor in distributing assignments. The number of hours scheduled for clients varies, depending on client need and ranging from 1-8 hours a visit.

Appointments are scheduled Friday mornings for the following week. The Home Help staff usually phone The Agency Friday mornings

for their weekly schedules.

When a Home Helper is unable to accept an assignment no record is kept. However, when the supervisory staff notice a pattern of unreliability, they do document the "absenteeism" and discuss the reasons with the Home Helper.

7. Recruitment of Home Help Staff

The Assistant Director, Home Help, independently recruits all Home Help staff.

The Agency does not advertise for Home Help workers. The Agency's presence in the community has historically served as its advertisement. Daily, the Home Help Service receives phone calls or drop-ins from women seeking employment. Initial interviews are conducted at the point of contact, filed and scheduled for a personal interview as required.

The Agency's recruitment policy accepts women only. Applicants also consider this to be women's work. Since the program's inception, only once did a man apply, a medical student wanting experience in women's work. He was rejected because his interest in the job was unintrinsic and short-term.

At the end of May 1988, no new Home Help staff had been hired since November 1987. The current roster of 92 has filled the need.

The interview schedule is attached as Appendix G. A reference check is always conducted after the interview.

At the point of hiring the Home Helper signs the application form indicating the condition of mutual termination without notice. Each

Home Helper receives a written copy of the job description written policy guidelines for job performance; and a "welcome" letter giving conditions of employment.

8. Selection Criteria

The selection criteria for Home Helpers are general.

1. No specific education level
2. Good command of English.
3. Good command of a second language is an asset
4. Personal maturity
5. Positive attitude towards working with the ill/elderly
6. Previous experience as housekeeper, either in own home or as paid domestic worker
7. No physical examination is required

9. Orientation

Usually, a decision to hire a Home Helper may occur at the time of the interview: The Assistant Director then gives an orientation to the job, reviewing the task sheet, and policies of the program. Orientation does not involve actual performance of the tasks involved.

10. Job Description - Home Helper

The job description for the Home Helper, (See Appendix F) includes light housekeeping duties and some meal preparation. The Home Helper may ensure that medication prepared by the nurse is taken as scheduled; she must not order, or give any medication. The Home Helper may provide some assistance with daily living. (A.D.L.)

11. Supervision

The Home Help Coordinator meets the Home Helper at the site of the first assignment for practical orientation to the procedures and the task sheet. A weekly unannounced on-site supervisory visit is carried out by the Home Help Coordinator or Assistant Director until a mutually satisfactory confidence level is established. Informal monitoring of the Home Helper's work occurs in three ways: through comments from the nurses who frequently meet the Home Helpers in clients' home; from the clients themselves who often phone the Home Help Office for changes in scheduling or for specific comments about the Home Help service; and from the Home Helpers themselves who are encouraged to phone their supervisor for guidance and direction whenever they require it.

Formal written six month evaluations are conducted for new recruits, using the evaluation form designed by the Assistant Director and Coordinators. After the first year a formal performance evaluation is done annually.

The following factors are evaluated for strengths and weaknesses: appearance, promptness, planning ability, adjustment, cooking, dependability, recognition of own limitations, speed, sharing problems with supervisor during visit, and readiness to phone supervisor for guidance.

12. Staff Development

No formal training is required for the Home Helper job and The Agency does not provide formal training. Staff development consists

of close supervision "on the job" and bi-monthly staff development meetings.

The Assistant Director, Home Help is responsible for planning the bi-monthly Home Helpers' staff development meetings presenting work - related subjects of interest to the Home Helpers. Professional guest speakers and films feature topics that have included the effects of diseases such as diabetes, Alzheimer's Disease, Aids, chronic and obstructive conditions; the elderly; medication and alcohol abuse; stress and illness; personal safety; police and community.

The Assistant Director has adapted some of the modules of the Homemaker Certificate course offered by Red River Community College for staff development meetings.

Because the Home Helpers do not take the complete course under the auspices of Red River Community College, they are ineligible for the Homemaker Certificate. Both the Executive Director and the Assistant Director Home Help agree the Homemaker Certificate course is not necessary to ensure the Home Helpers do their job satisfactorily. They also believe the academic nature of the course would intimidate some of the Home Helpers, while others would derive personal satisfaction from the learning experience and receiving a certificate. At present the Homemaker Certificate training cannot be offered due to budget restrictions.

The staff development meetings, serve a social as well as an educational purpose, since staff can meet each other at their common work site.

Attendance at these bi-monthly meetings is voluntary and usually attracts about thirty percent of the staff.

A highlight of the year is the Annual Tea and Recognition Night when Home Helpers with ten, fifteen, and twenty years service are honoured.

13. Relationships

The policies of the Home Help Service are designed to protect staff and clients from unrealistic or inappropriate expectations or behaviours of each other. Staff are counselled to maintain their knowledge of patients in the strictest confidence. They are also advised to refrain from discussing personal issues, offering opinions, religious proselytizing, accepting gifts and exchanging phone numbers. Despite these cautions intended to discourage dependency or abuse, positive trusting friendships between patients and Home Helpers frequently develop.

The Home Helper's regular presence in a patient's home providing maintenance and support nourishes mutual feelings of appreciation and caring. This is particularly probable in eight-hour day situations where clients live alone.

The ability to give emotional support is not an itemized responsibility in the Home Helpers' job description. However, the ability to provide it is an implied selection criterion and is acknowledged by the Assistant Director, Home Help Service to be an important, if not essential factor in maintaining an effective Home Help Service.

14. Staff Retention/Turnover

The Agency's records show that retention of staff in this Agency is quite high with 55% of the Home Helpers having a length of service of more than five years; 6 having a length of service of over 15 years; 12 of 10-15 years; 24 of 5-10 years; 48 of 1-5 years; and 14 for less than one year.

For the year 1987-1988, 35 terminations were the fewest ever. Exit interviews gave the following reasons for terminating:

6 returned to school	2 retired
8 found other jobs	5 found job unsuitable
4 moved out of the city	10 other family obligations

The Assistant Director, Home Help attributes the perceived advantages of part-time work combined with a strong sense of social contribution and identity with The Agency as the main factors keeping these employees in their Home Helper jobs.

15. Conditions of Employment

a) Legislation

While no specific legislation governs the Home Help staff, the Employment Standards Act and the Manitoba Pensions Act ensure minimum conditions of employment and the opportunity to contribute to The Agency Pension Plan as well as the Canada Pension Plan.

b) Salary

The Agency pays a salary higher than the minimum wage, now \$4.70, stipulated by section 29(1) of the Employment Standards Act.

The Home Helpers' hourly wage is now \$6.27 hourly during the

first calendar year, and \$6.50 there after. This salary is currently under review by the Board of Directors. The Agency's salary administration policy for Home Helpers historically has been to pay the same as the provincial Continuing Care Program pays to its first level Home Support Workers.

Effective April 1, 1988, the provincial Home Support Workers received hourly increases of 25 cents, retroactive from September 26, 1987 and 3% retroactive from January 2, 1988, bringing the current hourly rate for the two-step Home Support Worker I to \$6.62 and \$6.85.

Each employee completes daily time cards and submits them for the bi-weekly payroll. Pay cheques are either mailed or picked up at The Agency Office.

c) Hours

The Employment Standards Act, Section 32(1) establishes standard hours of work as 40 hours in any week and eight hours in any day.

Most Home Helpers work a regular workday between 8:00 AM and 5:00 PM usually with two three-to-four-hour assignments. Evening and weekend service is provided in response to special needs requests, depending on availability of staff.

For the fiscal year April 1/87 - March 31/88, with 86 Home Helpers on the roster, the average hourly work week was 25.5 hours.

The Employment Standards Act does not address the concern of this group: that they are not guaranteed weekly hours of work. Section 32(2) of the act allows for variation of hours for shifts, providing the opportunity for The Agency to schedule shifts when necessary, to

avoid the requirement to pay overtime. The Agency rarely schedules workers on such shifts.

d) Statutory Holidays

General or Statutory Holidays are New Year's Day, Good Friday, Victoria Day, Canada Day, Labour Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas Day.

Under Section 35(2) of the Employment Standards Act, the Home Helper is paid for a general holiday; the equivalent of her average daily earnings exclusive of overtime for the days on which she worked during 30 calendar days immediately preceding the general holiday. Section 35(11) of The Act requires the Home Helper to have worked for at least part of fifteen days during the 30 calendar days immediately preceding the general holiday, and to work the day immediately preceding and following the general holiday in order to receive payment for the general holiday.

e) Maternity Leave

Maternity leave under the Employment Standards Act, Section 36(1) is qualified by requiring an employee to have "completed 12 consecutive months of employment for or with an employer." This effectively excludes all part-time employees.

Maternity Leave is not a benefit with The Agency.

The Assistant Director, Home Help, reports that during the past eight years where the average age of employee's is 45.6 years, no request for maternity leave had been made. She is unaware of any terminations of employment being attributable to pregnancy.

f) Termination of Employment

The Employment Standards Act, Section 39(2) allows an employer "to establish a practice which the employer and his employees may terminate employment" within a period of notice shorter than that specified in the Act.

The Agency has established a practice whereby neither employer nor employee is required to give notice of termination.

This practice is acknowledged in writing at the point of hiring on the application form.

g) Pension

Legislative Amendments to the Pension Benefits Act of Manitoba, effective Jan. 1, 1985, require part-time employees hired Jan. 1, 1984, who earn more than 25% of the Years Maximum Pensionable Earnings amount under the Canada Pension Plan for two consecutive calendar years of service with an employer, to join the employer operated pension plan.

Of the ninety-two Home Helpers, twenty-five contribute to The Agency pension plan, with a deduction of 3.5% from each pay cheque to the pension.

The Home Helpers, of course, contribute to U.I.C. and the Canada Pension Plan.

h) Vacation

Home Help employees do not receive scheduled paid vacation time. In lieu of paid vacation time, 4% of salary as vacation pay is included in the total of every pay cheque.

i) Transportation

The Agency pays the bus fare (.90) to Home Helpers for transportation between assignments. Transportation costs to and from work are the employee's own responsibility. Transportation costs are included in the bi-weekly pay cheque.

j) Uniform

An Agency smock and pin are available to Home Help staff if they choose to wear it.

k) Sick Leave

Paid sick leave is not an employee benefit with the Home Help Service of The Agency.

l) Dental Plan

Home Help Staff are not eligible for Dental Plan benefits.

m) Health Insurance

Home Help staff do not contribute to a Health Insurance Plan.

B. Trends In Home Help Service

The extent of the Home Help Service has fluctuated since 1973 as shown in Table 1.

The last fiscal year saw a 10% decrease in hours of Home Help service. This, in part, is explained by government policy cautioning restraint in program spending.

The extent of the Home Help service for the fiscal year 1988-89, though difficult to predict, based on demand for service, is expected

to decline. Combined with the government's directive to work within a 3% budget increase for 1988-89 and a general restraint policy, is the decline in the number of referrals from hospitals, attributed in part to the number of hospital beds closing and the use of laser surgery which does not hospitalize patients.

TABLE 1
THE AGENCY
HOME HELP HOURS OF SERVICE

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Families Visited</u>	<u>Hours</u>	<u>%Increase/ <Decrease> In Hours</u>
1973	1,149	150,725	
1974	1,227	132,888	(11.83)
1975	1,340	143,648	8.09
1976	1,224	115,137	(24.76)
1977	1,253	107,180	(7.42)
1978	1,138	94,189	(13.79)
1979	1,269	90,428	(4.15)
1980	1,357	100,652	11.30
1981	1,573	102,301	1.63
1982	1,643	96,355	(6.17)
1983-84	1,743	93,810	(2.71)
1984-85	1,892	94,587	(.83)
1985-86	2,221	116,623	23.30
1986-87	2,515	126,465	8.44
1987-88	2,416	113,387	(10.34)

Source: Agency records

Service Data

The following data are available for the fiscal year April 1,
1987 - March 31, 1988:

- Total cost of Home Help Pension Fund	\$ 4,858.27
- Hourly cost of Home Help Service	\$ 9.50
- Total cost of Home Help Salaries	\$776,242.00

Source: Assistant Director, Home Help Program.

C. Value of the Home Help Program

The Executive Director and Board of The Agency acknowledge the Home Help Service as an essential component in The Agency's total service.

Data showing the actual cost-saving the Home Helpers' work contributes to The Agency are not available. Nevertheless, the history of the Home Help Program, an appreciation of its purpose and the evaluative statements by The Agency's Executive Director and Assistant Director of Home Help, and studies of the Manitoba Home Care Program support the assumption that the potential cost-saving the Home Help Program provides to community-based health care is considerable.

First, the Home Help Program has operated continuously since its inception in 1965 as a Pilot Project. Its continuity suggests its cost-effectiveness; although the number of clients served and the hours of Home Help service delivered have fluctuated during the past twenty-eight years, (Table 1, p. 126) For the fiscal year April 1, 1987 to March 31, 1988, 2,416 clients received 113,387 hours of Home Help service delivered by ninety-two Home Helpers. Both the Executive Director and Assistant Director, Home Help Program of The Agency claim that if the Home Help Program were to be withdrawn, The Agency would be unable to meet its present mandate. Providing sixty-day health and home care in the community to clients discharged from hospital is dependent on the Home Help support to the Nursing Program. The effect of withdrawing the Home Help Program, would be to prolong the length of stay in hospital of "community ready" clients and to intensify

community nursing care. Both these alternatives are considerably more costly than the current blend of community nursing care supported by the Home Help Program.

The Agency regards Home Help staff as members of a community team which delivers mutually supportive nursing and home maintenance services. In most cases the Home Helper has more sustained contact with the client than the nurse. The work of the Home Helper, the Executive Director states, is "vital for The Agency."

The Home Helper's work requires skills omitted from the job description and only implied in the selection criteria. It requires skill in relating effectively with clients and families, the nurse and the Home Help supervisors. Furthermore, Home Helpers' work requires women to work independently, in isolation from supervisory staff in the unfamiliar environment of clients' homes. Integral to the function of the Home Helper is the social support she offers to clients and families.

The Agency, in aiming to deliver cost-effective health care service, observes the same general policy as the Manitoba Continuing Care Program: "home care costs are not to exceed the costs of clients designated alternative placement (DALP), except in specified types of situations."¹

A possible basis for cost comparison between hospital care and community-based care is the estimated per diem cost for each client served. These figures are not available to this study for The Agency.

However, The Manitoba/Canada Home Care Study, 1982, provides such a comparison:

The total cost of providing home care for the 1,167 persons in the study for the first month was \$188,000. If each of these clients have instead been placed in their designated alternative level of placement, the total cost of providing care for one month* would have been \$1,382,000. Thus the provision of home care rather than placement in an institution, even in those cases where home care was provided but where no alternative institutional placement would have occurred, represented a total saving of \$1,193,000 for one month in terms of these clients.²

Table 6 shows the average cost of one month (30 days)* in each level of designated alternative placement, and compares this to the average total cost of providing home care services to clients for each DALP.

*Or for the period equal to the number of days on home care by those persons who received it for less than one month, as discussed earlier.

TABLE 6

Average Cost of One Month in Alternative Levels of Placement,
and for One Month of Home Care Services, by DALP

<u>DALP</u>	<u>Average Cost of DALP for One Month</u>	<u>Average Total Cost of Home Care for One Month</u>	<u>Difference in Average Costs</u>
Remain in Own Home Without Care	\$ 0	\$ 93	\$ -93
Personal Care Home Level I (Hostel)	399	98	301
Personal Care Home Level II	524	186	338
Personal Care Home Level III/IV	805	249	556
Non-Acute Hospital	1,744	189	1,555
Acute Hospital	<u>4,012</u>	<u>244</u>	<u>3,768</u>
Weighted Averages	1,184	161	1,023

Sources: Manitoba/Canada Home Care Study - 1982,
Health and Welfare Canada, p. 26.

"The study showed that the average cost of providing home care services was considerably less than the average cost of institutional placement would have been for those clients who would have been so placed if home care had not been available. As expected, the differences in costs increased significantly with the higher levels of DALP.

As a general rule, home care costs are not to exceed costs of the DALP in the Manitoba Home Care program, except for short-term acute episodes or for terminal illness, or for those on the priority list for personal care home placement."³

As The Agency's mandate is to serve clients a maximum of 60 days, a maximum number of client-days served by The Agency for 1987 could be estimated at $(60 \times 2,416) = 144,960$ client-days. A minimum could be estimated at 2,416 client-days. This estimated maximum number of Agency client-days is unlikely to equal the number of potential alternative hospital client-days. However, it is interesting to note that the cost of this number of hospital client days in a Winnipeg hospital would be $(144,960 \times \$385.34)^4$ \$55,858,886.40. The cost of maintaining 2,416 clients in hospital for one day would be $(2,416 \times \$385.34)$ \$930,981.44.

For the same fiscal year April 1, 1987 to March 31, 1988, The Agency Home Help Program delivered 113,387 hours of service to 2,416 clients. For this service the cost to The Agency of Home Helpers' salaries, plus pensions $(\$776,242 + \$4,858.27)$ was \$781,100.27.

These figures are just a crude basis for cost comparison and exclude nursing and other health care related costs. They do however, give an impression of the scope for cost-saving with a Home Help service.

These figures support the rationale for providing Home Help services. The Program is an essential component of The Agency's community health care service. The work the Home Helpers do for The Agency is essential to The Agency.

D. Comments

While the Board of Directors develops its own budget through a process with the External Agencies Branch of Manitoba Health, its

developmental initiative is constrained by the limits directed by the government. In effect, The Agency has little room for significant innovation or change or control over its own budget.

Responsible management for The Agency is to provide community health care at the lowest cost to government within program standards. The Agency's cost-effective management practices have a direct impact on the working conditions of the women it employs to staff its essential Home Help Program.

Part-time scheduling of the Home Helper is a cost effective management practice resulting from the necessity to respond to individual client need. The variability of demand requires flexibility in scheduling. Cost-saving is achieved by paying wages only for hours actually worked rather than for full-time hours involving considerable down time.

Decreasing hours of homemaker service appears to be a current cost-effective management practice evidenced by the 10% decrease in service during the last fiscal year, 1987-1988. The Agency anticipates a further decline in homemaker service hours in 1988-1989 attributable to the government's restraint policy, a 3% budget increase and an expected decrease in referrals from hospitals. The decline in the number of referrals from hospitals is, in part the outcome of more hospital beds being closed and the increasing use of non-invasive surgery which does not hospitalize patients. Careful management practice is to assign service hours to meet client need while encouraging client independence. Home Helpers' time cards are

monitored to ensure only assigned tasks are performed within assigned hours.

The Agency achieves further cost saving because the Employment Standards Act is silent on part-time workers. The Act does not require employers to pay for over-time, to grant maternity leave or adoptive leave or to give two weeks notice before terminating an employee. The only benefits costs to The Agency are conditionally paid Statutory Holidays required by The Employment Standards Act, contributions to The Agency's Pension Plan fund required by The Manitoba Pensions Act, and 4% vacation pay required by the Vacations with Pay Act, 19(2).

The Agency's wages and benefits costs are also minimized because this group of employees is not unionized. The Agency's cost-saving in employing Home Helpers on a part-time basis is the estimated 30% value of fringe benefits.

A barrier to unions' access to these employees is the absence of a common work worksite, with the Home Helpers' scattered and isolated in clients' homes. Though the Executive Director and Assistant Director, Home Help report the Home Helpers' resistance to unionization, these employees are probably unaware of the improvement in wages and benefits unionization might effect.

The conditions of part-time employment impact negatively on the Home Help Staff. There is neither job security nor guaranteed hours of work; fringe benefits are meagre. As a vacation benefit this group would prefer paid vacation time rather than 4% bi-weekly vacation pay.

While their preference is enforceable under the Vacations With Pay Act, the Agency continues paying 4% vacation pay bi-weekly.

Because The Agency is "external" to the government, it is not governed by The Pay Equity Act. The Home Helpers did not receive the salary adjustment paid to their counterparts in the Manitoba Continuing Care Program.

Furthermore, the recent salary adjustment made to the Service Worker in the Manitoba Civil Service places this classification at a higher pay scale, \$8.16 - \$10.59 than the Home Support Worker, \$6.62 - \$6.85. The Service Worker job includes cleaning offices, lavatories, cafeterias, kitchen areas, classrooms, removing and installing storm windows, operating a delivery vehicle, and performing minor maintenance work. Compensation is paid for physical effort in this case, but not for inter-personal and social skills for the Home Helper.

The Home Helper job description is designed to minimize the skills required for it, listing only light housekeeping tasks and placing restrictions on social support and personal care duties which most Home Help staff could perform with some systematic training. By reserving all personal care duties for the nurse and all housekeeping duties for the Home Helper, The Agency has applied the "Babbage Principle," reducing the Home Helper job to its minimal and hence cheapest part. This deskilling of the Home Helper job effectively

aborts a job ladder or promotional opportunity the job potentially could offer. The Home Helper job is a dead end job in an internal labour market within The Agency. The written job description and supervisory directions do not recognize the social support aspects of the job. Described as a low skill menial job, management justifies paying the Home Helpers a wage commensurate with its apparent low skill requirement as a cost-efficient measure.

The compensable factors of the Home Help job have been ignored by traditional job evaluation systems. The responsibility of being the main liaison or connection between the client and the nurse and community support systems is not recognized. The mental effort of relating to ill and elderly clients is also unacknowledged. The working conditions are isolated, variable, and invisible to the evaluator. The adaptability required for always working in unfamiliar environments of clients' homes is ignored. The physical effort involved in house-cleaning is underestimated, even when it is "light" housekeeping.

House-cleaning falls into the category of "dirty work." The Home Helpers' job is doing other people's "dirty work." Society disdains housecleaning tasks as demeaning work, and fails to understand the value of maintaining a decent, clean environment for those who because of age, illness or disability can no longer do it for themselves. This may explain why The Agency has written the Home Helpers' job description as a mere list of light household tasks.

The Agency fosters a matriarchal relationship with these Home

Helpers through its recruitment, orientation, training and termination practices.

Informal recruitment as practised by this Agency encourages occupation segregation and accessibility to a limited pool of recruits. The absence of outreach recruitment misses opportunity for up-grading staff.

However, as of July, 1988, The Agency had not recruited any new staff to the Home Help Program since November, 1987. For the fiscal year 1987-1988 the Program's hours of service declined 10% to 113, 387 hours. Outreach recruitment would yield a deluge of applicants. With the current demand for service, The Agency cannot supply sufficient hours of service to existing staff. Informal recruitment has satisfied The Agency's staffing needs demonstrating the available pool of unemployed and under employed women competing for Home Helper work.

A high retention rate, with 55% of the Home Helpers working for The Agency for more than five years has considerably reduced the problem of high turnover rate usually associated with this kind of work. This high retention rate with 30% of the staff wanting more hours suggests that these women would prefer to work a permanent basis with shorter hours than regular weekly hours.

The Agency recruits and evaluates Home Helpers for their natural talents and general personal suitability. By failing to validate their natural talents with a systematic orientation, training and commensurate salary, The Agency devalues these women and the work they do.

The termination policy allowing dismissal or resignation without notice offers no contractual protection to these employees. The possibility for instant dismissal exists even for long term employees.

From The Agency's perspective, improving and regulating the Home Helpers' working conditions would contradict the reasons for employing them. Cost effectiveness and flexibility would be reduced significantly.

CHAPTER IV
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES
OF
THE HOME HELPERS' POSITION IN THE LABOUR FORCE

This chapter examines the Home Helpers' work and their working conditions from the perspectives of neo-classical theory, dual labour market theory and radical theory with the purpose of developing an explanation for their disadvantaged position in the workforce.

A. Neo-classical Theory

According to neo-classical theory, a woman's decision to work as a Home Helper with The Agency represents her own utility optimizing rational choice. She alone is accountable and responsible for her position in the labour market.

Human capital theory explains the Home Helpers' low wage by their small investment in education: while 52% have achieved high school, 14% of whom hold community college diplomas, the remainder have only grade school up to grade ten. Assuming that wages paid are equal to their marginal productivity, the theory concludes the Home Helpers are paid what they are worth. The theory justifies the Home Helpers' low wage. Human capital theory does not recognize the worth of "natural" homemaker skills or these women's language skills.

The theory assumes that productivity can be measured indirectly by relating human capital investment to earnings, and that equal

amounts of human capital investment yield equal returns. The Home Helpers' employment situation contributes to the enormous evidence that equal amounts of human capital do not yield equal returns and demonstrates that human capital investment itself is not a sufficient predictor of productivity or earnings. The notion of the lesser market productivity of women is rooted in an assumption so pervasive in society, that it has become a major obstacle "to disassociating women's wage from the true value of women's work."¹

The theory also assumes that women do not invest in education and training because they expect to marry. Less than half of this group is married with no pattern of lower educational level among those married.

By assuming the sexual division of labour and the rationality of choice, the theory assumes these women, to accommodate their primary domestic role, have chosen the Home Helper job with its ease of entry and exit and convenient hours. The "new home economics" also assumes that as a (married) woman's work choices are made among work at home, work in the market and leisure, the Home Helpers' choice to work is determined by the demand for productive service derived from the family for home goods and services.² This assumption may be valid for the thirty-one married staff, but does not explain the thirty-seven whose marital status is not married. Moreover, the data show that 70% of this group do not prefer part-time work. The neo-classical model assuming the sexual division of labour aims to explain the behaviour of only married Home Helpers and ignores the rational choices of all others.

Further, the model in explaining occupation segregation as an aggregate of individual rational choices in employment, completely ignores the choices of The Agency in structuring the Home Helpers' labour market. Assuming full employment, the neo-classical model not only ignores fluctuations in the labour force size, unemployment and under-employment, but also The Agency's decision to structure part-time work.

The model assumes women working as Home Helpers, having had equal opportunity in choosing their education, know about all other job opportunities are free to choose any other job at any time, and receive the wage they are worth.

Neo-classical theory, based on the assumption of a purely competitive model has been described as an abstraction, a-historical and timeless, and a-social: classless, sexless, and raceless. In abstracting economics from power, it ignores the context of the political economy, and consequently does not add insight into analysis of the Home Helpers' workforce status.

B. Dual Labour Market Theory

Dual Labour Market theory distinguishes between "primary" and "secondary" labour markets, each consisting of primary and secondary jobs, and describes rather than explains their characteristics. The theory attributes the segmented labour market with its internal labour markets to the recruitment practices of employers intent on meeting their firm-specific cost-efficiency needs.

The Agency's Home Helper Program illustrates dual labour market

theory's description of an internal, sexually segregated secondary labour market. In this situation, the informal recruitment practices of The Agency perpetuates occupation segregation. By not advertising the Home Helper job, The Agency relies on applicants to find their own way to the Agency. Applicants and Agency alike regard the Home Helper job as women's work: only women apply.

The labour supply for this job is large, with the number of applicants exceeding The Agency's demand. This crowding of women only into this job market effectively contributes to keeping the wage low.

The Agency's community health service delivery team consisting of the Nurse and the Home Helper clearly illustrates the structuring of primary and secondary labour markets within one establishment. The nurse's primary job is paid a relatively good wage and benefits, having full-time, secure contractual employment, and opportunity for advancement within The Agency. The Home Helper's secondary job is paid a low wage and few benefits. It has part-time hourly employment with no guaranteed hours of work, no job security and no opportunity for advancement within The Agency. The juxtaposition of a primary job and a secondary job on the same team demonstrates the unequal status of the Home Helper in The Agency.

Despite the Home Helper's unequal status on the same team, her supportive function is essential to The Agency's service. The Agency management stress the importance of the responsibility for community service shared between the Nurse and the Home Helper. The Executive Director describes the role of the Home Helper on the team as "vital."

The Agency, accountable to the provincial government for its total funding, and intent on delivering a cost-efficient community-health care service, realizes cost efficiency by creating a secondary labour market for women whose work is "vital" to The Agency.

Dual labour market theory offers a precise description of the working conditions in the secondary market where Home Helpers find themselves, and highlights how The Agency's need for flexibility in staffing nurtures instability in the secondary market.

C. Radical Theory

Considering the Home Helpers' position in the labour market from the perspective of radical theory, one would begin by examining the social relations of production, the relationship of these workers to capital, remembering that "the purpose of the employment of the worker becomes the expansion of a unit of capital belonging to the employer who is thus functioning as a capitalist."³

The Home Helpers have no direct relationship to capital. Their relationship to capital is mediated by The Agency as employer and by the state as agent of capital. The Agency's relationship to capital occurs through its accountability for its funding to the state, the provincial government. The state, as the instrument of capital complies with capital's accumulation motive in delivering cost-effective community health care services. In this case, the state's interest is not accumulating surplus value, but delivering a community-based health care service as efficiently, as cheaply as possible within program standards. The state, as the instrument of

capital, by its allocation of total funds to The Agency, determines the labour process for the Home Helpers. While The Agency implements cost-efficient measures, the state determines the nature and quality of the community health service and the Home Helpers' working conditions, their part-time work, their schedule, their job description and their wage. While the state's efficiency replaces capital's profit motive, the Home Helpers' relationship to capital remains manifested in their low wage and insecure working conditions.

Marxist labour theory of value explains how the wage of each worker is always less than the value of the product, in this case the service provided by the Home Helper. The surplus value appropriated by capital is the difference between the value of what the worker produces and the value of her labour power. The surplus value of the Home Helpers' hourly wage is \$3.00 an hour, given the maximum hourly wage for the Home Helper, \$6.50, and the cost of providing the service, \$9.50. The Agency appropriates this surplus value of the Home Helpers' wage for management or administrative costs. The Home Helper through her wage contributes to the provision of The Agency's service. Furthermore, as has been demonstrated, in Chapter III the Home Helpers' labour is essential to the provincial government's cost-saving in substituting community care for designated alternative placement. Consequently, the surplus value of the Home Helper's labour is increased by an undetermined but significant amount, the cost-saving realized by the state from substituting community care for a designated alternative placement.

Radical theory views the process of women selling their labour power as Home Helper to The Agency and the extraction of surplus value from their wage by the state as a manifestation of class conflict. The contradiction of this process is even greater in view of the huge discrepancy between the Home Helpers' low wage and the cost saving their labour contributes to the state in providing community health care.

Women working as Home Helpers for The agency have entered into "definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will,"⁴ in a "structure of objective conditions"⁵ of which they may or may not be aware and over which they have little conscious control as individuals.⁶ Women who need to support themselves and their families or who need to supplement their husbands' income, take jobs capital has created in the market. They take jobs that are available in what appears to be a "structure of objective conditions." In fact, capital has structured the conditions.

Marxist theory acknowledges the vulnerability of the Home Helpers as women in the labour force to "super exploitation,"⁷ meaning the worker is paid less than the value of her own labour power. The Agency perceives women as a group, to be a source of cheap labour. First, the value of the Home Helpers' labour power is assumed to be lower than men's. As Marxist labour theory of value implies "the labourer's wage" provides for the maintenance of himself and family." The women who work as Home Helper's are assumed to be receiving their share of their husbands' family wage. They are regarded as second or

supplemental income earners in the family. Second, the Home Helper's "fit" Marxist perception of women's "docility" given their lack of organization in the labour market. The Home Helpers are not unionized and are reported to be resistant to unionization. Third, women willing to work part-time, irregular schedules, as Home Helpers fit the Marxist concept of a reserve army of labour. They are drawn from a pool of surplus labour supply so abundant that The Agency need not advertise for new recruits to meet its staffing requirements. Women seeking a Home Help job are always available to The Agency, crowding the recruitment lists and competing for a low wage.

Monopoly capitalism, incorporating the Marxist theory of class and labour theory of value identifies the Home Helpers' employer, the state, and locates their work in the expanding service economy in the "universal market." Under monopoly capitalism, the welfare state by expanding provision of comprehensive health and social services, has contributed to the vast expansion of the total service economy. By funding community-based health care agencies whose total service incorporates a domestic service like the Home Helper Program, the state has even socialized a part of the domestic labour in the province.

The structure and operations of the Home Help Program exemplify the strategy and process for segmenting the labour market described by monopoly capitalism theory.

The Agency has created a sex-segregated segment in the secondary

labour market by offering low-wage, part-time Home Helper jobs to women only. While The Agency's motivation to recruit women only to the Home Help Program may spring from a normative social value, its hiring practice nevertheless, conforms to monopoly capitalism theory which sees the employer deliberately structuring a sex-segregated segment in the labour market.

Structuring the work of Home Helpers on a part-time schedule to meet client need is a cost-efficient management technique characteristic of monopoly capitalism. Paying workers for part-time work, eliminates hiring full-time workers, and paying the down-time in which occurs in full-time jobs. Consequently hiring part-time employees on an hourly basis reduces the total cost of employee salaries. Moreover, for these reasons unions historically have been resistant to organizing part-time workers. Structuring work on a part-time basis reduces the probability of union interest in organizing workers and reduces salary costs by the additional thirty percent resulting from negotiated benefits.

While The Agency has deliberately structured this group of workers into a sex-segregated secondary labour market, the workers themselves have little opportunity to develop a cohesive worker ethic amongst themselves. Their isolation from each other, however, is not a conspiratorial divide-and-rule tactic of the employer, but an effect of the location of their isolated work in individual's homes in the community. Only the bi-monthly staff development meetings which attract thirty percent of the staff provide some opportunity for them

to meet together with their supervisors at their common work site.

Thus, The Agency cheapens the cost of labour power for this labour intensive job by structuring it on an irregular part-time basis with no permanency or tenure. The Agency has cheapened the cost of Home Helpers' labour power even further, by deskilling the Home Helper job, specializing its main function, reducing it to its apparently most simple physical routines.

The Agency regards the Home Helper job as a low skill, menial job, merely a set of light housekeeping tasks. The assumption is that anyone can do these tasks to an acceptable standard, although this assumption is itself questionable. According to monopoly capitalism theory, The Agency has "deskilled" the job in two ways. First, the written job description does not itemize or acknowledge the compensable factors of the job or the skills a Home Helper requires working in the homes of individuals who are convalescing or ill. The written job description does not recognize the mental effort of dealing with the ill or elderly; the responsibility of being the contact person between the client and nurse, and other community supports; the adaptability required for working in isolation in verifying working conditions in unfamiliar homes; nor does it recognize the physical effort involved in house-cleaning, even "light" house-cleaning.

Second, providing any personal care for clients is specifically excluded from the written job description. The Agency does not provide on-the-job training for personal care and Home Help Staff are directed

not to do any personal care. Some duties associated with personal care are providing assistance with activities of daily living such as assistance with dressing, ambulation, washing, eating and involving clients in appropriate recreation and social activities. The skills required for these duties are as natural to most Home Help staff as are their housekeeping skills are assumed to be. Most Home Help Staff could learn to do other personal care duties such as feeding, transferring and positioning, and providing for elimination of body waste with appropriate training.

This deskilling of the Home Helper job effectively cheapens it and aborts a potential job ladder or promotional opportunity. Once in the Home Help job, a woman is isolated in it, separated from other workers and the common workplace, with no prospect of promotion in this dead end internal labour market.

Monopoly Capitalism theory would describe scientific management operating in this bureaucratic situation where The Agency Board, as management, is responsible for The Agency's planning function and is separated from its staff supervisors. Control of what happens in The Agency is separated from those who work for it. Contending with budget restraint is typical of monopoly capitalism, in which the welfare state incurring the costs of socialized production and comprehensive services is continuously tending towards fiscal crisis caused by expenditures exceeding revenues. (O'Connor, 1973)

In summary, Monopoly Capitalism theory contributes to an understanding of the Home Helpers' position in the work force by

explaining how The Agency has deliberately created a sexually segregated segment in the labour market and follows principles of scientific management in structuring the Home Help work on a part-time basis, deskilling the Home Helper job and separating the planning function from the staff supervisors.

Viewed through the lens of Early Marxist Feminist theory, the work of the Home Helper assumes a much greater value than The Agency acknowledges with the Home Helpers' wage and conditions of employment. By demonstrating the economic and social value of women's unpaid domestic labour, this theory provides an analytical tool for examining women's paid domestic labour when it is done in the labour market.

Early Feminist theory shows why women's unpaid domestic labour is devalued. The reproduction and maintenance of the family appears to be a private matter giving only personal benefit to individual families. Because women's domestic labour is not exchanged for a wage it is excluded from social production. Having no relation to capital it, is not considered real work. When women's labour power is devoted to unpaid domestic labour it appears to capital as a valueless commodity.

Feminist theory urges women to join the labour force as a solution to their economic dependency. In so doing, its proponents fail to acknowledge the secondary jobs most women face in the segmented market, the difficulties of its working conditions and the

burden of the double day.

Women taking the job of Home Helper are doing the same maintenance housework in the public sphere as they do in their private sphere. The sexual division of labour in the market parallels the sexual division of labour in the home. Their housework is women's work, as hidden and isolated in the public sphere as it is in the private one. When women join the labour market as Home Helpers, their status is not enhanced; their low status as "houseworkers" is reinforced.

Nevertheless, the major contribution of Early Marxist Feminist theory is to show that women's economic inequality in the home influences their economic inequality in the labour market. The parallel between women's maintenance housework in the home and the Home Helper's maintenance housework for The Agency supports the argument that women's housework, whether private or socialized is devalued and contributes to capital, though in different ways. Women, by their private domestic labour contribute to capital reproducing and maintaining the family, and depending on their devalued share of the family wage. Early Marxist feminist theory of the home shows women's unpaid domestic labour to be essential for capital to operate as it does.

Home Helpers doing socialized housework for The Agency exchange their labour power for a wage, paid by capital, thereby having a definite relation to capital and being a part of social production. Capital realizes economic benefit from their labour by paying the Home

Helpers a low wage, offering minimal conditions of employment, appropriating the surplus value of their wage and employing their labour to support a cost-effective community-based health care agency.

While Early Marxist Feminist theory focuses on the value of unpaid domestic labour to capital, dual system feminist theory considers the historical evolution of the sexual division of labour both in the home and in the labour market as the root of women's subordination. The sexual division of labour is the outcome of male power within a capitalist society. This theory expounds the family wage ideology, still persistent since its nineteenth century institution, as having given men control of women's labour power both within the home and in the labour market. Men, in capitalism have insisted on women's primary responsibility for reproducing and maintaining the family.

As a group, these Home Helpers, both in their own homes and in the labour market illustrate dual system feminist theory.

At home, even though their average work week is 25 1/2 hours, the majority are primarily responsible for meal preparation and housework. They have two jobs and a double day. At work they serve their clients; at home, their husbands and families.

Furthermore, the workforce participation pattern of this group of women is one of quitting the labour force for maternity. The average age of this group of Home Helpers, forty-seven years, and the age range of the majority of their dependents ten to twenty-five years, suggests most of the married women in this group have chosen not to

work in the labour force until their children had reached school age, and that child day care was unavailable or inaccessible to them when their children were younger. Only seven Home Helpers have pre-school age children.

The married women among these Home Helpers seem to have considered their primary responsibility their domestic one. Dual system theory would interpret this behaviour as the outcome of patriarchy in the home.

In the market, dual system theory would claim the family wage ideology, having generated the wage gap, has devalued the Home Helpers' labour power, resulting in their low wage (\$6.27 - \$6.50 in Manitoba where the minimum wage is \$4.70). The family wage ideology expects that Home Helpers earning less than their husbands, will combine their domestic labour with their wages to ensure the maintenance and reproduction of their families. The wage gap reinforces the ideology of the Home Helpers' primary responsibility for their families and The Agency's perception that Home Helpers can be hired as required and sent home when not. Dual system theory further explains the Home Helpers' devalued labour power by indicating the assumption inherent in the family wage, that women require less for their daily subsistence. The Agency, perpetuating the family wage and the wage gap, paying the Home Helpers a low wage and offering poor conditions of employment, mediates the Home Helpers' relationship to capital and represents patriarchal control over their labour power.

Dual system feminists attribute the position of women in society,

the family and the labour force as much to men as to the mode of production. Men within capitalism are responsible for women's position within capitalism. Dual system feminist theory, then would claim that men in positions of power in the government, by their actions, and men in the unions by their inaction, keep the wage of the Home Helper low. Dual system theory would point to the wage setting process for the Home Help staff, originating with a male dominated Cabinet developing budget guidelines for The Agency's Board of Directors; and it would point to the Minister of Health and Deputy Minister of Health, men, who are responsible for The Agency. When The Agency's Board of Directors receives budget development guidelines from the government directing a maximum three percent annual increase, little room for creative budget development exists. Although the make-up of The Agency's Board is equally male and female and The Agency Executive Director and Assistant Director, Home Help are women, the budget development process does not give them actual power or authority to increase the salary of the Home Helper beyond government guidelines. Patriarchal power dominates the budget process as it does all policy formulation. Neither The Agency Administration nor the Board have actual power or authority to initiate staff development and job evaluation policies to promote recognition of womens' "natural" skills. Dual system theory views The Agency, administered and served entirely by women, as representing the sexual division of labour in the labour market in a capitalist, patriarchal society.

After examining the Home Helpers' work and their working

conditions from the perspectives of three theories, neo-classical theory, dual labour market theory and radical theory, clearly radical theory has proved the most useful in elucidating the labour market position of the Home Helpers.

By selecting and relating the useful elements of Marxist theory, monopoly capitalism theory and feminist theory, an eclectic radical theory emerges to provide a more complete explanation for Home Helpers' disadvantaged position in the workforce resulting from the wage gap and occupation segregation.

Several radical theoretical concepts explain the Home Helpers' low wage. Marxist labour theory of value explains that as The Agency appropriates surplus value from the Home Helpers' wage for management or administrative costs, the Home Helper, through her wage, contributes to the provision of The Agency's service. Furthermore, the Home Helpers' labour is essential to the provincial government's cost-saving in substituting community care for designated alternative placement. Consequently, the surplus value of the Home Helper's labour is increased by an undetermined but significant amount, a part of the cost-saving realized by the state in substituting community care for a designated alternative placement. The huge discrepancy between the Home Helpers' low wage and the cost saving their labour contributes to the state in providing community health care, would justify an increase in the value of the Home Helpers' wage.

The family wage concept, originating with Marx, including the notion that women require less for their daily subsistence, devalued

womens' labour power, entrenched womens' primary domestic role, and assured their economic dependence on their husbands' salaries. The family wage concept still perpetuates the double myth that women in the labour force require a wage less than men require and that they are auxiliary or second family income earners merely supplementing a sufficient family income. The wage The Agency pays to the Home Helper can be interpreted as being informed by the family wage concept.

Dual system theory, rejecting Marxist acceptance of the sexual division of labour, views the family wage as the "corner stone" of the sexual division of labour both in the home and in the market. Dual system theory acknowledges the family wage concept is changing to include the combined wage contribution of both the man and the woman; but claims the wage gap is replacing the family wage in fostering womens' economic dependence on the family and has become the new basis for male dominance within the family. According to dual system theory, The Agency, served and internally managed by women, representing the sexual division of labour in the market, is controlled by patriarchal power represented by the government. Men in government control the devalued labour power of Home Helpers doing devalued women's work, by allocating insufficient funding for their work.

Early Feminist theory demonstrates that women' labour power is devalued because it is associated with domestic labour and clarifies why women's domestic labour is devalued in capitalism, showing that as domestic labour cannot be exchanged for a profit it is a valueless

commodity from capital's point of view. From the perspective of The Agency and the provincial government the Home Helpers' work is worth only a little more than a valueless commodity. Early Feminist theory illuminates the parallel between unpaid domestic labour and the Home Helpers' paid domestic labour. Early Feminist theory asks the question: if unpaid domestic labour has economic value and is essential for capital to operate as it does, what is the economic value of the Home Helpers' paid domestic labour and how is it essential for capital to operate as it does? This question leads to the conclusion that Home Helpers' work is essential to the state, enabling the state to provide cost-effective community health care and to the further conclusion that the economic value of the Home Helpers' contribution to the state is not reflected in the Home Helpers' low wage.

Adding to these insights regarding the value of the Home Helpers' work, monopoly capitalism theory provides insights into how The Agency structure uses scientific management principles to structure the labour market Home Helpers and to design their job.

First, monopoly capitalism locates the Home Helpers' job, capitalized housework, in the "universal market" of the welfare state. The state, incurring the costs of socialized production and comprehensive services, is continuously tending towards fiscal crisis caused by expenditures exceeding revenues. Monopoly capitalism theory demonstrates that the Home Helpers have no direct relationship to capital, and that their relationship to capital is mediated by The

Agency as employer, and by the state as the agent of capital. While the state's objectives of cost-efficient service replaces capital's profit motive, the Home Helpers' relationship to capital remains manifested in their low wage and insecure working conditions.

Monopoly capitalism demonstrates that The Agency, operating within state-imposed budget constraints, has deliberately created a sexually segregated segment in the labour market and follows scientific management principles in structuring the work on a part-time basis, deskilling the Home Helper job and separating the planning function from staff supervisors.

From the perspective of the combined elements of radical theory, the disadvantaged position of the Home Helpers in the workforce appears as the reflection of their disadvantaged position in the home, and their devalued positions in both the home and the labour market are the outcome of the mutually accommodating relations between capitalism and patriarchy.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study has been to show that while the Home Helpers working for The Agency have been sexually segregated into a disadvantaged secondary labour market, the work they do is essential to the fulfillment of The Agency's mission; to explain why this contradiction has occurred and to recommend changes to improve their workforce status and working conditions.

I have documented the workforce characteristics of this group of employees obtained from a self-administered questionnaire, and the conditions of their employment with The Agency obtained from interviews with both the Executive Director of The Agency and the Assistant Director Home Help. I have presented three theoretical frameworks which are used to explain the disadvantaged position of women in the workforce and have examined these employees' workforce characteristics and the working conditions they face from the perspectives of these three theories.

This chapter highlights my conclusions from this study and offers recommendations intended to improve the workforce status of women who work as Home Helpers with The Agency.

A. Legislative Amendments

Homemaker service is a young but significant industry providing a new vocation for women. Having originated in the early 20's to provide care to families with children in the absence or illness of

the mother, or to provide assistance to elderly, chronically ill, disabled or convalescing individuals, the purpose of homemaker service was to prevent placement of children and adults in institutions away from their own homes. During the 1970's the changing patterns of family life within the context of an increasingly urbanized and impersonal society have stimulated the demand for homemaker services. Small nuclear families are separated from their extended families; the young and old are isolated from their natural support networks. Added to this isolation of individuals and families is the changing role of women within the family. Women, the traditional family caregivers, are participating in the labour force at a rate of 57%, breaking from their traditional employment patterns determined by marriage and child bearing. In periods of emergency or stress due to illness, disability or aging, government and voluntary social organizations are providing homemaker services to substitute for those traditionally provided by "natural" homemakers. In Manitoba, the eighteen member agencies of the Manitoba Council on Homemaker Services employ approximately 5000 Homemakers.

The majority of women who work as homemakers in Manitoba, like the women who work as Home Helpers with The Agency, are part-time employees and none of them are civil servants. They are among the women who account for 72% of Manitoba's part-time labour force and 12% of Manitoba's total employed.

These women have little legislative protection in the workforce. The Employment Standards Act, silent on part-time employees, exempts

employers from paying employees benefits other than Statutory Holidays and allows termination without notice. The Employment Standards Act provides only a two-week notice of termination to all full-time employees. No legislation exists in Manitoba protecting employees against unjust dismissal. The Pay Equity Act, applying only to civil servants and employees of crown corporations and designated external agencies, does not include women who work as Home Helpers for The Agency or as part-time homemakers. The intent of the Vacations With Pay Act 19(2), is that employees receive two weeks paid vacation once a year with vacation pay equal to 4% of salary accrued during the year. The intent of the Vacations With Pay Act is enforceable and is the preference of the Home Helpers who work for The Agency. The Agency continues to include 4% vacation pay with each bi-weekly pay cheque rather than administer paid vacation.

As the Manitoba Council on Homemaker Services is the umbrella organization for Manitoba agencies providing homemaker services, and the Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women is alert to employment equity issues affecting women, these organizations should cooperate in lobbying the Manitoba government for legislative amendments which would improve legislative protection for these women. Their combined action would mobilize public support for all women working for agencies providing community-based health and social services. The objectives of their political action would be to amend the Employment Standards Act to treat part-time and full-time employees equally; to extend The Pay Equity Act to the private sector;

to enforce the Vacations With Pay Act; and to provide legislation protecting employees against unjust dismissal.

Recommendation #1

It is recommended that the government of Manitoba: Amend the Employment Standards Act to provide benefits to part-time employees equal to those available to full-time employees on a pro-rated basis.

Recommendation #2

It is recommended that the government of Manitoba: Extend the application of The Pay Equity Act to the private sector.

Recommendation #3

It is recommended that the government of Manitoba: Enforce the Vacations With Pay Act for those who prefer paid vacation.

Recommendation #4

It is recommended that the government of Manitoba: Draft and proclaim legislation protecting employees against Unjust Dismissal.

B. Wage and Job Description

The Agency's Board of Directors, accountable to the provincial government for its total funding, has very little control over its own budget. The prime motive for government funding of community-based health care is cost-effectiveness; the social value of strengthening family life and supporting individuals is a fortuitous by-product of community service. The Agency Board of Directors is the captive of

the provincial government and has little opportunity to advocate changes requiring additional funding.

Consequently, management practices, motivated by efficiency, impact directly on the working conditions of the Home Helpers. They result in Helper's low wage, lack of benefits, part-time work hours, deskilled job description offering no opportunity for promotion or systematic staff development and job insecurity; in short, their disadvantaged position in the secondary labour market.

Further, The Agency's management practice controls the Home Helpers' work process by carefully monitoring their time cards for performance of specific assignments. In the interest of efficiency, the objective is to contain service hours and to prevent "over-service" to clients. The Home Help Program service hours declined 10% in the last fiscal year and are predicted to decline further in the coming year. The explanation for this decline in home help service is associated with a 3% budget increase and government restraint policy. In addition, a decline in referrals to the Home Help Program is attributable in part to the closing of hospital beds, and the rise of non-invasive surgery which does not hospitalize patients.

The majority of these Home Helpers are doing this work because they depend on their wages for necessities as indicated in Chapter III. Of this group 29% have a total family income below the Statistics Canada Low Income Cut-Off and 43% are sole providers. Working an average of 25 1/2 hours weekly, they earn an average annual salary of \$8,609. Contrary to the assumption that these workers

prefer part-time work, the majority report that they do not like working part-time; carrying primary family responsibility, they work the double day. While 30% of these workers would like more hours, some of these employees may still prefer part-time work.

Job satisfaction amongst this group is evident in the 55% retention rate of women who have worked with The Agency for five years or more, and in their interest (41%) in pursuing a formal course in home support work. These workers appreciate the dual nature of their work. Although a majority do not derive job satisfaction from housework alone, almost all believe their work is essential to The Agency's service, and that their clients and The Agency value their work. These women recognize the social value and importance of providing a decent clean environment for the physical and psychological well being of their clients. They appreciate their work having a professional setting, identifying with an organization having health objectives and a social purpose. These women make the distinction between "casual housework" and Home Help work.

A surprising contradiction appears in the Home Helpers' evaluation of their own work. Despite their almost unanimous acknowledgment of the social value of their work, they similarly believe they deserve their poor pay. These women accept the social value which devalues their work.

This contradiction between the Home Helpers' assessment of the value of their job and merit of their pay is a probable consequence of the contradiction in The Agency's policies and personnel practices.

The Agency regards the Home Helper as a vital member of the community health team which delivers mutually supportive nursing and home maintenance services. For this role, The Agency uses selection criteria and performance evaluation criteria, such as relationship skills and adaptability, to meet the demands of the Home Helper job. While these criteria are not itemized in the job description, and are not considered compensable, they are the criteria required to make the Home Helper "vital" to The Agency's community service team. The Agency's implied expectation of the Home Helper job transmits a high value to it and respect for the women who do it. Its personnel policies, practices and pay, however, devalue the work and the women who do it.

Neither the Provincial Government nor The Agency recognize the economic and social value of the Home Helper job with a commensurate salary or conditions of employment. Feminist theory suggests these institutions act in accordance with prevailing perceptions in our society of the value of women's work. Two feminist explanations for the Home Helpers' low wage are the family wage and devalued domestic labour theories.

The Agency, The Board of Directors, and the provincial government, those responsible for funding and wage setting policy for the Home Helpers, are influenced by the pervasive ideology of the family wage, which insists that the primary breadwinners in the labour market are men who are husbands supporting their families, and that women, working in the labour market are auxiliary or second family

income earners merely supplementing their family wage. The notion that women require less than men for their daily subsistence accompanied the evolution of the family wage concept. Regarding women as transients in the labour force, and requiring less for their daily subsistence, employers historically have regarded women as a cheap source of labour and have always paid women wages lower than men. The family wage has devalued women's labour power, implying the expectation that women earning less than their husbands will combine their domestic labour with their wages to ensure the maintenance and reproduction of their families. The family wage idea has reinforced the notion of women's primary responsibility for the family and employers' perception that women, as transients in the labour force, can be hired as required and sent home when not. The Agency, Board of Directors and government perceive the Home Helpers as auxiliary income earners supplementing the family wage.

Early Feminist theory explains how The Agency, the Board of Directors and the provincial government perceive the Home Helper job. These institutions regard unpaid maintenance housework done in the home as a valueless commodity; it cannot be exchanged for a profit. When maintenance housework, a valueless commodity is brought to the labour market for exchange, it is not worth much.

The institutions which determine the Home Helpers' wage perceive the wage to be commensurate with its value.

The Agency and Board of Directors in choosing not to match the Home Helper salary to the Pay Equity adjusted salary of the provincial

Home Support Worker, revealed their devalued perception of the Home Helper job. As the wage setting practice in the past has been to match the two salaries, the following recommendation is made to maintain employment equity and wage setting consistency among provincially funded employees doing the same job.

Recommendation #5

It is recommended that The Agency:

Negotiate with the provincial government to adjust the hourly wage rate for Home Helpers immediately to match the hourly wage rate for the Home Support Worker of the Manitoba Continuing Care Program to \$6.62 hourly and \$6.85 hourly.

Even if the Home Helpers wage were increased to match the Home Support Worker wage \$6.62 - \$6.85 the wage remains very low.

The economic value of Home Helpers' work as demonstrated in Chapter III is significant. Implied in the continuity of The Agency's own Home Help Program since 1965, and demonstrated by formal cost-effectiveness research studies of the Manitoba Home Care Program, and in particular, the 1982 Manitoba/Canada Home Care Study, the economic value of Home Help work is found in cost comparisons between in-home care and alternative facility care. Here, the economic value of housework comes into sharp focus. Without Home Help support, cost-effective community health care could not happen. If Home Help support were to be withdrawn from community health care, the result, in the long run would be significantly higher health care costs in either community or facility. Home Help work, as socialized

housework, translates the use-value of unpaid housework into significant economic value.

The low wage paid to the Home Helper does not recognize the economic value of their contribution to government's cost-saving in health care. The huge discrepancy between the Home Helpers' low wage and the cost saving their labour contributes to the State in providing community health care would justify an increase in their wage.

The significant social value of Home Help work is unacknowledged in the Home Helpers' job description, a mere listing of household tasks. Valuable aspects of this work are invisible and have eluded definition as compensable factors in traditional job evaluation systems, as discussed in Chapter III.

The low wage paid to the Home Helper reflects the current job description which omits compensable factors of social value.

Recommendation #6

It is recommended that The Agency:

Develop a job description for the Home Helper position carefully listing and describing the knowledge, skills and abilities required to perform the full range of duties and responsibilities of the position; and specifying the job's two-level structure offering opportunity for earning annual increments for continuous service and incentive to hold the Home Support Worker certificate.

Recommendation #7

It is recommended that The Agency:

Develop a two level wage scale for the Home Helper; the first level, an entry level for all employees; the second level for Home Helpers who do have the Home Support Worker Certificate from Red River Community College.

The Agency has deskilled the Home Helper job in two ways. First, by omitting relationship skills as a job requirement, and, second, by restricting the Home Helpers from providing personal care. By withholding training for personal care and directing Home Help staff not to provide it, The Agency has effectively aborted the promotional opportunity the job potentially could offer. By reserving all personal care duties for the nurse and all housekeeping duties for the Home Helper, The Agency has reduced the Home Helper job to its minimal and cheapest part justifying a wage commensurate with a low skill requirement.

Recommendation #8

It is recommended that The Agency:

Create the position of Home Care Attendant and develop a job description outlining the full range of duties and responsibilities for providing both Home Helper support and personal care; and

Recommendation #9

It is recommended that The Agency:

Develop a two-level wage scale to match that of the Home Care Attendant for the Manitoba Continuing Care Program.

C. Staff Development and Job Evaluation

The potential for the Board of Directors and The Agency Management Committee to assume an advocacy role regarding the conditions of employment for their Home Help employees exists as a part of the budget development process. They have a responsibility to promote requests and justifications for Agency activities and endeavours which promote quality in service delivery to clients and employment equity among their employees.

Some controversy exists among leaders in the Home Care industry regarding the extent and nature of formal training required for Home Helper work; some arguing skills learned naturally at home require only basic on-the-job orientation and supervision; others arguing that systematic training for all employees for the Home Support Worker Certificate available through Red River Community College would enhance the natural skills of these employees, resulting in improved service delivery quality while validating the skills of the Home Helpers.

The Agency currently subscribes to the former argument primarily because of budget constraints. This study supports the latter argument.

Recommendation #10

It is recommended that The Agency:

- a) Negotiate with Red River Community College to deliver its Home Support Worker certificate within The Agency by Agency supervisors.
- b) Negotiate with Canada Manpower for 50% cost-sharing of the

training program to pay a Home Helper her hourly wage while training for the seventy-two hour Home Support Certificate.

c) Designate the Supervisor, Home Help to select employees for the training program on the basis of performance and a specified period of service with The Agency.

Recommendations #11

It is recommended that The Agency:

a) Negotiate with Red River Community College to deliver its Home Care Attendant Certificate within The Agency by Agency supervisors.

b) Negotiate with Canada Manpower for 50% cost-sharing of the training program to pay a Home Helper her hourly wage while training ninety-three hours for the Home Care Attendant Certificate.

c) Designate the Supervisor, Home Help to select employees for the training program on the basis of performance and a specified period of service with The Agency.

The job evaluation system applied to the civil service jobs for Pay Equity evaluations and which point-rated the Service Worker job at a pay level (\$8.16 - \$10.59 hourly) higher than the Home Care Attendant, (\$7.50 - \$9.52 hourly), has not been applied to the Home Helper job.

Recommendation #12

It is recommended that the Board of Directors:

Initiate a Pay Equity job evaluation of the Home Helper job and the Home Care Attendant job based on the new job descriptions which

detail the full range of duties and responsibilities of each position, and compare, in particular, the point-ratings of the Home Helper and Home Care Attendant jobs with those of the Service Worker.

D. Recruitment

The Agency's informal recruitment practice has satisfied its staffing requirements, drawing upon an abundant labour supply without advertising. Despite The Agency's high retention rate and decrease in annual hours of service, an outreach recruitment policy would yield a wider selection of suitable candidates.

Recommendation #13

It is recommended that The Agency:

Change the existing informal recruitment practice to one involving advertising the Home Helpers' job, enhancing the job's image, presenting it as a member of The Agency's community health care team; and developing an eligibility list of applicants selected by interview for future service demand.

E. Part-time Work and Benefits Payments

The Agency employs the Home Help staff on a part-time hourly basis as a cost-efficient measure rationalized by the need for flexible service to meet the health care service demand of their clients, and practices a no-notice termination/resignation policy. The Home Helpers thereby have no job security and no guaranteed hours of work.

In the absence of legislation or a collective agreement, which

would provide for severance pay when permanent lay-off takes place, formalizing the termination procedure would not effect a real change from the current no-notice termination practice allowed by the Employment Standards Act, 39(2). Legislation protecting employees against unjust dismissal is required.

The scheduling requirement for delivering a community health service, dependent on meeting clients' service demand is unique. The unpredictability of the need for scheduling services limits the possibility for scheduling Home Helpers on a regular routine basis. Paid sick leave benefits are customarily predicated on the requirement that an employee follow a regular work schedule, ensuring that benefits are distributed equitably among employees. Scheduling work for the Home Helpers on some form of rotation would provide a more consistent basis for offering paid sick leave.

Sick leave, usually accumulated at the rate of 1/2 day a month for half time work would amount to mere fractions of a day for hours worked less than 36 1/4 hours in a bi-weekly pay period. To administer such small amounts of sick leave in the face of the employer option to schedule another employee is impractical.

If scheduling Home Helpers on a rotation basis cannot be implemented, more equity would be realized in paying sick leave on a pro-rated basis for actual hours worked in a bi-weekly pay period, than by entirely withholding sick leave.

Recommendation #14

It is recommended that The Agency:

Develop and implement a procedure for scheduling Home Helpers' hours of work on some form of rotation basis to ensure more equitable administration of hours of work and paid sick leave.

The only benefits The Agency Pays to the Home Helpers are the Statutory Holidays required by the Employment Standards Act, the contribution to The Agency Pension Plan required by The Manitoba Pensions Act and 4% vacations with pay required by the Vacation With Pay Act.

The retention rate of Home Helpers being high for this Agency, with 55% of staff having five or more consecutive years of service and 30% of staff wanting more hours, suggests these women would prefer a permanent work schedule with shorter-than-regular hours.

To enhance the Home Helpers' workforce status, benefits available to them should equal those available to full-time employees on a pro-rated basis.

Recommendation #15

It is recommended that The Agency implement the following benefits:

Statutory Holidays

That an employee be eligible to be paid time and one-half for all hours worked on a statutory holiday listed in the Employment Standards Act.

Vacation

That the Vacations With Pay Act be enforced, granting the employee a two week paid vacation after one calendar year of service.

That vacation pay be equal to 4% of hours worked in the vacation year.

Over-Time

That an employee required to work in excess of eight hours per day be paid at the rate of time and one-half for all hours required to be worked in excess of forty hours in any week.

Sick Leave

That an employee accumulate sick leave on a pro-rated basis of hours worked in a bi-weekly pay period.

Maternity Leave

That every pregnant employee who has completed nine continuous months of employment with The Agency be granted maternity leave without pay for a period not exceeding 20 weeks.

Adoptive Leave

That an employee who has completed nine months of continuous employment with The Agency and who is adopting a child may be granted leave without pay up to a maximum seventeen weeks.

The implementation of these recommendations would enhance the Home Helpers' employment status by providing a salary increase and improved working conditions.

The recommended salary increase, though small, would initiate The Agency's acknowledgment of the value of the Home Helpers' work. The recommendation for a written complete job description recognizing the full range duties and responsibilities of the job would provide a new basis for job evaluation, while the recommendation for a Pay Equity job evaluation would offer potential for a further salary increase.

The recommendations providing opportunity for annual increments, promotion to the Home Care Attendant Classification, and on-the-job

paid staff development, would accord the Home Helper job status similar to permanent work. The recommendations for over-time, over-time on statutory holidays, sick leave, paid vacation, unpaid maternity leave, unpaid adoptive leave, if implemented, would reinforce the Home Helpers' attachment to the workforce.

These recommendations represent improvement in the Home Helpers' workforce status but their job security remains undermined by the Employment Standards Act, Section 39(2) which allows termination without notice. Amendments to this legislation are required to protect part-time employees at least in the same way it does full-time employees. Legislation protecting employees against unjust dismissal is required, as advised in Recommendation #4.

Unionization would benefit the Home Helpers. A collective agreement negotiated on their behalf would give them some control over the organization of their work, determination of their wage and their job security.

For The Agency, improving the working conditions of the Home Helpers would promote stability in staffing the Home Help program and a consequent consistency in quality service delivery.

By funding these recommendations for improving the Home Helpers' working conditions, the provincial government would promote the principle of employment equity in the province. Moreover, the government would recognize the social and economic value and the essential nature of the Home Helpers' work in supporting cost-efficient community-based health care. The government would recognize that without the Home Helpers, The Agency's community based health care service could not happen.

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Appendix A: Recent Trends in Women's Labour Force Participation

Appendix A-1: Women's Labour Force Participation Rate Trends

**LABOUR FORCE BY SEX (Selected Years)
MANITOBA AND CANADA, 1966-(1987)**

(000)

	<u>MANITOBA</u>			<u>CANADA</u>		
	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>BOTH SEXES</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>BOTH SEXES</u>
1966	243	119	361	5,147	2,346	7,493
1970	255	136	392	5,571	2,824	8,395
1975	278	159	437	6,294	3,680	9,974
1980	287	197	484	6,935	4,638	11,573
1985	296	227	523	7,257	5,382	12,639
1986	301	233	533	7,347	5,523	12,870
1987	300	237	537	7,427	5,694	13,121

SOURCES: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics - Actual Data, Seasonal Factors, Seasonally Adjusted Data, 71-201.

Manitoba Department of Labour and Manpower, Research Branch estimates using Labour Force Survey historical data for Manitoba, by sex, 1966-74.

NOTE: Totals may not add due to rounding.

SOURCE: Women in the Manitoba Labour Market:
A Statistical Compendium.

Research and Planning Branch
Manitoba Employment Services and Economic Security
October 1986 - P. 13.

PARTICIPATION RATES BY SEX (Selected Years)
MANITOBA AND CANADA, 1966-(1987)

(000)

	<u>MANITOBA</u>			<u>CANADA</u>		
	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>BOTH SEXES</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>BOTH SEXES</u>
1966	78.5%	37.0%	57.4%	79.8%	35.4%	57.3%
1970	77.9	40.1	58.7	77.8	38.3	57.8
1975	79.0	43.4	60.9	78.4	44.4	61.1
1980	78.6	51.1	64.5	78.4	50.4	64.1
1985	76.5	55.7	65.8	76.7	54.3	65.2
1986	77.0	56.4	66.4	76.7	55.1	65.7
1987	76.2	57.0	66.4	76.7	56.2	66.2

SOURCES: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics - Actual Data, Seasonal Factors, Seasonally Adjusted Data, 71-201.

Manitoba Department of Labour and Manpower, Research Branch estimates using Labour Force Survey historical data for Manitoba, by sex, 1966-74.

SOURCE: Women in the Manitoba Labour Market:
A Statistical Compendium.

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WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF LABOUR MARKET VARIABLE TOTALS
MANITOBA AND CANADA, SELECTED YEARS, 1966-1985

	1966	1970	1975	1980	1985	1987
Manitoba						
Labour Force	33.0%	34.7%	36.4%	40.7%	43.4%	44.1%
Canada						
Labour Force	31.3	33.6	36.9	40.1	42.6	43.7

SOURCE: Calculated from Tables 2, 4 and 5.

SOURCE: Women in the Manitoba Labour Market:
A Statistical Compendium.

Research and Planning Branch
Manitoba Employment Services and Economic Security
October 1986 - P. 13.

In Canada, by 1987, 5,694,000 women accounted for 43.7% of the Canadian labour force reflecting a labour force participation rate of 56.2%. Since 1966, when women accounted for 31.3% of the labour force with a participation rate of 35.4%, the number of women in the labour force has increased by 3,348,000. (See Tables 2, 3, and 7). By the year 2000, should current trends continue, women will account for 50% of the labour force. (Towards Equity, 1984, p. 1).

Manitoba's participation rates for both men and women have been consistently higher than the Canadian aggregate rates since 1966. Between 1966 and 1987 women's share of the total labour force

increased from 33% of 361,000 to 44.1%, 537,000 as their participation rate grew from 37.0% to 57% and the provincial female labour force grew from 119,000 to 237,000. During this period the number of women in the labour force increased by 118,000 while the number of men increased 57,000 in the total labour force of 537,000. (See Tables 2, 3 and 7).

Between 1975 and 1985, of the 63,000 total employment growth in Manitoba 58,000 or 92% was attributable to women. (Women in the Manitoba Labour Market, 1986,* p. 43). During this period, absolute employment growth was greatest for married women over 25, up by 48.7%, from 76,000 to 113,000. (W in MLM, 1986, p. 46). (Employment actually declined 23.5% for married women 15-24 years, from 17,000 to 13,000). (W in MLM, 1986, p. 46).

Between 1975 and 1985, the number of female household heads in Manitoba's labour force more than doubled from 12,000 to 28,000, attributable to the increase in single mothers looking for work and to some growth in the number of women considered household head in two parent families. (W in MLM, 1986, p. 30). The most significant labour force growth in absolute terms occurred among married women increasing 35.5% from 93,000 to 126,000 in the total labour force. (W in MLM, 1986, p. 35).

*Henceforth W in MLM, 1986.

Appendix A-2: The Wage Gap

Average Earned Incomes and Earnings Ratios For Male and Female Full-Time, Full-Year Workers in Manitoba and Canada: 1971 - 1986

YEAR	MANITOBA			CANADA		
	FEMALE	MALE	F/M RATIO	FEMALE	MALE	F/M RATIO
1971	\$ 5,008	\$ 7,577	.66	\$ 5,232	\$ 8,770	.60
1973	5,659	9,358	.60	6,184	10,434	.60
1975	7,796	12,409	.63	8,231	13,674	.60
1977	9,516	14,268	.67	9,790	15,777	.62
1979	10,804	17,304	.62	11,743	18,537	.63
1981	12,997	20,189	.64	14,608	22,955	.64
1982	14,792	22,427	.66	16,056	25,096	.64
1983	16,412	25,356	.65	17,712	27,288	.65
1984	16,480	25,002	.66	18,136	27,288	.66
1985	17,065	25,032	.68	18,736	28,848	.65
1986	18,324	26,329	.70	19,874	30,131	.66

***Note:** A full-time, full-year worker is one who worked mostly full-time for 50 to 52 weeks (1971 - 1979 surveys), or 49 to 52 weeks (1981 - 1985 surveys).

Source: Statistics Canada, Earnings of Men and Women: Selected Years 1967-1979, Catalogue No. 13-577, 1981 - 1985, Catalogue No. 13-217.

The Survey of Consumer Finances reports a narrowing of the national wage gap for full-time full year workers between 1971 and 1982 from 40% to 36%.

In Manitoba, however, in 1980, a wage gap of 48% occurred between the average annual employment income of women and men, attributable partially to the tendency for women to work fewer hours per week and fewer weeks per year. Moreover, the wage gap "varies considerably for different occupational groups, indicating in 1980, a 35% gap in natural science, teaching, artistic and clerical occupations, as well as in some occupations in the primary and secondary sectors, but one of at least 40% in medicine and health, social sciences, sales and service, as well as farming and other product fabricating occupations.

However, for part-time workers the gap between women's and men's incomes considerably narrows to 13%, where women who worked part-time for the full year earned 87% of income of men who worked similarly. (W in MLM, 1986, pp. 97-98).

Appendix A-3: Occupation Segregation

Two measures are used to indicate the degree of segregation by sex in industries and occupations: the degree of sex-typing and the degree of female concentration. The degree of sex-typing of an industry or occupation is the number of women expressed as a percentage of all workers in the industry or occupation; the degree of female concentration is the number of women in the industry or occupation expressed as a percentage of all female workers. (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1984, p. 26). Between 1981 and 1986, the Community, Business and Personal Service Sector accounted for two-thirds of the total growth in the labour force, comprising one in every three Canadian workers (Statistics Canada, The Daily, Tuesday, March 1, 1988, p. 11). This sector is sex-typed at 61.25% with 2,428,985 women.

In Manitoba in 1985, the following industries were sex-typed employing at least 50% women: hospitals (82.9%); personal services (66.7%); finance, insurance, and real estate (61.5%); education (56.7%); retail trade (50.8%); and provincial government (50%) (W in MLM, 1986, p. 44).

Between 1975 and 1985, the industrial distribution of women's employment shifted by removing education (8.2%) and non-durable manufacturing (6.7%) as 10% female concentrated industries. The shift was to personal services (10.6%) while hospitals (16.3%) and retail trades (14.4%) remained female concentrated (W in MLM, 1986, p. 44).

Segregation also occurs at the occupational level. For 1983, 77% of all female employees were in just five occupational groups: clerical, service, sales, medicine and health, and teaching. The largest groups non-professional accounting for 62% of all female workers in 1983, and 57% of the over all growth in female employment between 1975 and 1983 (Women in Canada, 1985, p. 43). By 1986 this pattern remained the same with the exception of Managerial and Administrative occupations replacing Teaching occupations as the fifth largest category of female workers (Statistics Canada, The Daily, March 1, 1988, p. 13).

Appendix A-4: Part-time Work

Part-time workers are defined by Statistics Canada as "those who work for less than 30 hours per week and who do not consider themselves to be full time workers; or casual part-time workers who work less than the usual full-time weekly hours, but on an intermittent or short term basis; and part year workers, who work full-time weekly hours but only for part of the year."

In Canada, in 1981, 72% of all part-time workers were women, a proportion which had grown from 63% in 1953. Twenty-four per cent of the jobs held by women were part-time while only 7% of men's jobs were part-time. Though in 1981, 20% of part-time women workers could not find full-time work, the remaining 80% claimed to be working part-time by choice or for family or personal reasons (Towards Equity, J. David - McNeil, 1985, p. 4). The 1986 Canadian census shows a sharp increase in the numbers of part-time workers, a 19% increase for men and a 17% increase for women (Statistics Canada, The Daily, Tuesday, March 1, 1988, p. 9). Should part-time work continue to expand at this rate, it is predicted to account for 50% of all jobs by the year 2000 (White, 1983, p. 38).

Women's part-time employment growth occurred primarily among single 15-24 years and married women over 25 years (W in MLM, 1986, p. 45).

In 1985, the most common reasons for working part-time were "attending school (15-24 year olds of both sexes) and did not want full-time work (women over 25)." In 1985, there was a large

increase in the number of workers who could find only part-time work in all age and sex sub-groups (W in MLM, 1986, p. 45).

Two Canadian studies (Meissner 1975; Clark and Harvey 1976) investigated how couples budget their time between their paid job, shared domestic responsibilities and leisure, when the wife goes out to work. Both studies showed that although the husband's total workload remained about the same: 56-58 hours, the combined workload of wives increased 11-17 hours to a maximum of 63 hours. Results of formal studies confirm women's experience with "the double day," have prompted women's rights advocates to lobby for the elimination of part-time work. Others argue part-time work dominated by women to be a symptom, not a cause of women's domestic inequality, and that to eliminate it would deny them the opportunity to alleviate their unequal situation (White, 1983, p. 23).

The average number of hours worked per week in Canada declined from 38.5 in 1975 to 37.6 in 1985. Women worked an average of 32.5 hours per week in 1985 while men worked an average of 41.3 hours (W in MLM, 1986, p. 45).

Appendix A-5: Unemployment

In Canada, throughout the 1970's unemployment rate for women were slightly higher than for men until 1982 and for 1983 when the unemployment rate for men exceeded that of women 12.1% to 11.6%. This shift in unemployment during this recession was caused by the higher rate of unemployment of younger single men in the goods-producing sector of the economy. Patterns of unemployment in 1983 varied with marital status, showing single men to have a higher unemployment rate than single women, but married women having a higher unemployment rate than married men.

In 1983, the unemployment rate for lone mothers was higher than for mothers whose husbands live at home. For lone mothers with children aged 6 - 15, the unemployment rate was 16%, while for mothers with husbands at home it was 10%. For lone mothers with pre-school aged children, the unemployment rate was 26%, double that of mothers with husbands at home (Women in Canada, 1985, pp. 45-46).

Among women in Manitoba unemployment rates are higher for young, aged 15 - 24, single women and women with lower levels of education. Categorized by family status, the largest number of unemployed women in 1985 were married and the majority (56%) of female U.I. claimants were in the clerical and service occupations (W in MLM, 1986, p. 75-76).

Appendix A-6: Unionization Rates

Women were more highly unionized in public administration, 64.8%; and in transportation, communications and utilities, 55.4%. Their unionization rates were much lower in finance, insurance and real estate, 8.3% and in trade, 8.4% (Women in the Labour Force, Labour Canada, 1985-86, p. 88).

The unionization rate of women exceeded that of men in three occupational categories, natural sciences, social sciences and medicine. Women also were the majority of all union membership "in medicine, 84.4%, social sciences, 69.1%, clerical work, 68.3% and teaching, 55.6%" (W in LF, 1985-86, p. 88).

The highest rates of unionization for paid women and men were in teaching: 73.6% for women; 74.4% for men. Lowest rates were in sales: 5.7% for women; 12.9% for men (W in LF, 1985-86, p. 88).

For part-time employment, however, unionization rates and average hourly wage rates were greater for women than for men, as women are "more likely than men to be employed part-time in service producing industries" which have higher unionization rates. The 1984 data for industrial distribution of men and women shows that 94.8% of women working part-time are employed in the service producing industries. The unionization rate for women part-time workers in this sector was 20.9% as opposed to 13.6% for their male counter parts" (Win LF, 1985-86, p. 96). "The large number of women in part-time employment contributed to the fact that women made up 78.9% of total union membership in this group" (W in LF, 1985-86, p. 95).

For part-time employment, the average hourly wage rate for unionized women was \$11.15, 109.7%, and for unionized men, \$10.16. For non-unionized women, the average hourly wage rate was 6.39, 114.1% of that for non-unionized men (W in LF, 1985-86, p. 100).

Appendix B: "Title of Article" – Free Press – October 25, 1987

chev during their Friday meeting, and Foreign ministers of all 16 members of
sequently publicized by the Soviet news NATO except Greece and Turkey flew to
ency Tass, for an immediate moratorium See SHULTZ page 4

Winnipeg Free Press
Oct. 25, 1987

Home care workers claim government blocking union bid

By Radha Krishnan Thampi

The NDP government does not want to see the province's 4,500 home-care support workers organized, say spokesmen for the workers and the Manitoba Government Employees' Association.

Anne Gosselin, a 66-year-old home-care support worker, and Steve Hammond, an MGEA official, said the province's reluctance is laughable because a week ago Health Minister Wilson Parasiuk, kicking off Homemaker Awareness Week, praised Manitoba's home care work-

ers as a model group for North America.

"It's an absolute disgrace for us to be treated like this by an NDP government," Gosselin said.

Double standard

Gosselin, a widow, said the government is displaying a double standard in the case of home care workers, most of whom are women and new immigrants providing vital domestic help for the sick and elderly.

See PROVINCE page 4

RCMP overtime bill feared in staff cuts

By Glen MacKenzie

Overtime and travel bills could make proposed RCMP cuts in rural Manitoba more costly than keeping staff — and deteriorate service in the process, municipal spokesmen say.

Mayor Bruce Unfried of The Pas said when local RCMP asked for another officer above the current 17, they pointed out the overtime bill exceeds what it would cost to add another officer.

This, Unfried said, means rate-payers pay more for poorer service.

"It's like any other job," he said. "You aren't effective if you have to work 12 or 15 hours a day."

Members of the force expressed concerns in August that the provincial government's suggested 15-per-cent spending cuts for RCMP and other agencies over three years could reduce staff and hurt morale.

cut budgets by not replacing transferred or retiring officers.

Charlie Hill, law enforcement services director for the Attorney General's Department, denied the province or RCMP targeted a certain number of positions for cuts.

Hill said it's up to the RCMP to See CENTRALIZED page 4

Town fights extended bar hours

By Christina Dona

The Pas is looking for ways to limit drinking hours in hotel taverns, including asking their owners to voluntarily close at

of employees' status

continued from page 1

"The province sends us to thousands of homes to care for the sick and the elderly as government employees, yet we are being told we are not government employees," she said.

"Why are they making people believe we are government employees? This government is supposed to be helping ordinary, exploited workers."

Parasiuk and Labor Minister Muriel Smith could not be reached for comment.

Manitoba introduced the home care program in 1974. The government extended the program substantially in recent years as one way to reduce the bed shortage in hospitals and personal care homes.

The program is run by the Health and Community Services departments and involves professionals such as nurses and non-professionals such as homemakers and attendants.

There are about 5,000 home-care workers in the province — about 4,500 of them who do mostly domestic chores are called support workers, while the remaining 500 are home care attendants who also provide personal care help.

Gosselin said health and community services officials distribute home care work in an arbitrary way.

"There's a lot of underhanded favoritism," she said. "If the supervisors like someone, that person can get up to 60 hours a week. But the same supervisor also can send you home packing if he or she doesn't

like you."

Gosselin said she became a victim two years ago when she demanded minimum wage for support workers.

Margaret Barbour, acting director of continuing care at the Health Department, said home care workers serve about 25,000 sick and elderly people who would otherwise need institutional care.

"Homemakers and attendants provide the backbone, the foundation of our home care program," Barbour said.

But she said the workers are allotted as and when the need arises and because of this they can't be considered full-time employees.

"But it's up to the government to decide whether they should be considered full-time employees or not," Barbour said.

MGEA, recently certified to represent the attendants, is currently bargaining with the province for a first contract.

Hammond said the association's efforts to organize the support workers have been unsuccessful because it can't find enough of them.

The association, he said, has to find at least one-third of the 4,500 workers before it can apply for certification.

"The workers don't know one another and they live scattered all over the province," Gosselin said.

Hammond said the province considers them casual workers although many of them put in up to 60 hours a week on a regular basis. Starting workers receive about \$5.50 an hour.

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Global co-ordination has been a chancy thing ever since the gold standard broke down in 1973 over irreconcilable conflicts between countries with weak currencies and those with strong currencies.

History seems to be repeating itself with the current attempt to peg exchange rates within secret brackets agreed to by leaders of the Group of Seven: Canada, the United States, Japan, West Germany, Britain,

France and Italy.

John Kenneth Galbraith, the Harvard economist, says the United States bears a large share of the blame for the crisis in world stock markets.

"Most of what went wrong, went wrong in New York," said the Ontario-born Galbraith. "We need an administration in Washington that isn't out to lunch," he added in an interview last week.

Appendix C: Questionnaire - Home Helpers

Appendix C: Questionnaire - Home Helpers

Dear Home Helper:

Let me introduce myself. My name is Patricia Steele and I am a student at the School of Social Work at the University of Manitoba.

In order to complete the requirements for my degree, I am doing an independent study of women who do women's work. As a part of that study, I am interested in learning about women who choose to work as Home Helpers with The Agency.

If you would take a few minutes to complete this questionnaire, I would appreciate your effort immensely.

Please be assured that all information collected will be used in combination with answers from other participants and that no individual will ever be identified. (The number at the top of the page is purely for research identification purposes).

Please complete the questionnaire and return it by Friday, April 8, 1988 in the enclosed stamped addressed envelope. If you have any questions or concerns, please telephone me.

Thank you for your time and anticipated co-operation.

Patricia Steele

QUESTIONNAIRE
FOR
HOME HELPERS
WINNIPEG

1. For how long have you worked as Home Helper with the agency? Please specify number of years and months.

_____ months

_____ years

2. How many hours on average do you usually work each week as a Home Helper with the agency?

_____ hours (Please specify average weekly work hours)

PLEASE WRITE A CHECK ☒ BESIDE THE ANSWER YOU CHOOSE FOR THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

3. Is your current work with the agency?

_____ during the evening

_____ during the evening and/or weekend?

_____ during the weekend

_____ during the normal work week?

4. If you work less than 30 hours per week, what is the main reason?

_____ Could only find part-time _____ Do not want full-time work

_____ Going to school _____ Have another job

_____ Own illness or disability _____ Other

_____ Personal or family responsibilities

5. Would you prefer a change in hours of work?

_____ no - same hours

_____ yes

_____ more hours

_____ fewer hours

_____ different hours (schedule)

6. Before this job as a Home Helper with the agency have you worked as a paid homemaker outside your home?

_____ no
_____ yes

If yes, for how long? Please specify number of years _____.

- 7.(a) Do you have another part-time job at the present time?

_____ no
_____ yes

If no, please go to question 9.

- 7.(b) If yes, what kind of job is it?

Please specify _____

8. If you have another part-time job as well as your Home Helper job at the present time, how many hours on average do you usually work at your other part-time job each week?

_____ hours per week

9. Have you worked before your present job as Home Helper with the agency?

_____ no
_____ yes

If yes, how many years? _____ years

10. What jobs have you held before your present job as Home Helper with the agency.

Please specify _____

11. What is your age? _____ years

12. What is your sex? _____ Female _____ Male

13. What is your present marital status?

_____ Never married

_____ Divorced

_____ Now married

_____ Widowed

_____ Separated

_____ Living-as-married (Common Law)

14.(a) Do you live alone?

_____ no

_____ yes

14.(b) How many people live in your place of residence in addition to yourself?

Myself + _____ other(s)

15. How many dependents do you have in your family in the following age groups?

_____ 0 - 4; _____ 5 - 9; _____ 10 - 14; _____ 15 - 18

_____ 19 - 25; _____ 26 - 45; _____ 46 - 64; _____ 65+

16. Are any of the dependents who live in your household handicapped or chronically ill?

_____ no

_____ yes

If yes, what age? _____; _____

17. (a) Do you have pre-school age children in your household?

_____ yes

_____ no

If no, go to question 20.

- 17.(b) Who takes care of your pre-school age children while you are working out of the household.

_____ other family member living in my household
_____ other family member living outside of household
_____ housekeeper
_____ baby-sitter
_____ a neighbour or friend
_____ Day Care Centre
_____ other - please specify

18. I think I am a good mother when I leave my pre-school age children in the care of someone else when I go out to work.

Please check one.

_____ disagree stongly; _____ disagree; _____ neutral; _____ agree;
_____ agree strongly.

19. If you do not send your pre-school age children to a Day Care Centre the reason is:

_____ there is no Day Care Centre in my neighbourhood
_____ there is no Day Care Centre available outside my neighbourhood
_____ there are no Day Care spaces available in my neighbourhood Day Care Centre
_____ it is too expensive
_____ I do not like the neighbourhood Day Care Centre in my neighbourhood
_____ I don't approve of Day Care Centres in general
_____ other

20.(a) Do you have adult dependents living in your household?

_____ no If no, go to question 21

_____ yes If yes, go to question 20 (b)

20.(b) Who takes care of adult dependents who live in your household while you are working out of the household.

_____ other family member living in my household

_____ other family member living outside of household

_____ housekeeper

_____ a neighbour or friend

_____ Day Care Centre

_____ other - please specify

21. Who in you household does the major housecleaning chores?

_____ mainly myself

_____ shared approximately between myself and spouse

_____ shared approximately between myself and other family member(s)

_____ older children or other relative(s)

_____ other

22. Who in your household is responsible for preparing most meals?

_____ mainly my own responsibility

_____ shared approximately between myself and spouse

_____ shared approximately between myself and other family member(s)

_____ older children or other relative

_____ other

23. What is the highest level of schooling that you have completed?

_____ no schooling

a) _____ 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____ 7 _____ 8
_____ 9 _____ 10 _____ 11 _____ 12 _____ 13

Where did you complete your highest grade?

_____ in Canada (write in Province) _____

_____ outside Canada

b) University

_____ 0 _____ 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6+ years

Degrees

_____ none _____ B.A. _____ M.A.

_____ B.Sc. _____ M.Sc.

_____ Professional Degree (specify) _____

_____ Diploma (specify) _____

c) Other Post-Secondary

_____ 0 _____ 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5+ years

d) Diploma

_____ Yes _____ No

_____ Polytechnical School - e.g. _____

_____ Community College

_____ Teacher's College

_____ Other (Specify) _____

24. Have you attended school, college or university during the past two years while working part-time as a Home Helper?

_____ no

_____ yes - full-time

_____ yes - part-time during the day

_____ yes - part-time during the evening

25. Do you have a certificate in household maintenance?

_____ no

_____ yes

26. Would you be interested in taking a course which would train you specifically for your job as Home Helper?

_____ no

_____ yes

27. Would you prefer to do work different from Home Helping in the future?

_____ no

_____ yes

28. What special skills do you think you bring to your Home Helper job?

_____ skill in house cleaning

_____ skill in cooking for special dietary needs and tastes

_____ skill in relating to people who are elderly

_____ skill in relating to people who are lonely

_____ skill in relating to people who are ill and/or disabled

_____ skill in understanding and speaking a language(s) other than English

Please specify language(s) _____

29. Please check one:

a) The work I do is valued by the clients I work for:

disagree strongly	disagree	neutral	agree	agree strongly
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

b) The work I do is valued by my family and friends:

disagree strongly	disagree	neutral	agree	agree strongly
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

c) The work I do is valued by

disagree strongly	disagree	neutral	agree	agree strongly
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

d) The work I do is valued by society in general:

disagree strongly	disagree	neutral	agree	agree strongly
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Please check one

30. My work as Home Helper with the agency is essential for the agency to be able to care for clients in their homes.

disagree strongly	disagree	neutral	agree	agree strongly
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

31. I like my job because

Check the reasons which apply to you. You may check more than one.

_____ I like the schedule (hours)	_____ my work helps other people; especially the sick
_____ I need the pay	
_____ the pay is good	_____ I like telling the nurse information she should know about the client's health status
_____ I like working part-time	
_____ cleaning house gives me satisfaction	_____ Other (Please specify)

32. Check the reasons which apply to you. You may check more than one.

I do not like my job because:

_____ it is boring	_____ the pay is less than I deserve
_____ it is endless	_____ I don't like house cleaning
_____ it is not respected	_____ I don't like telling the nurse information she should know about my client's health status
_____ the hours are too few	
_____ I don't like the schedule	_____ Other, (Please specify)

33. Do you take vacations?

_____ no

_____ yes

_____ How many times a year? _____?

34. In the past year have you been unable to accept job assignments because you were ill?

_____ no

_____ yes

If yes, how many times? _____ times

35. When you were pregnant with your first child, did you have a job?

_____ no

_____ not applicable

_____ yes (if yes, go to question 36)

36. When your first child was born did you

_____ quit your job

_____ not applicable

_____ go on unpaid maternity leave

_____ go on paid maternity leave

37. Did you quit your job for maternity reasons for your second or subsequent children?

_____ no

_____ not applicable

_____ yes

If yes, how many times? _____

38. How many times in total were you paid maternity leave?

_____ times

_____ not applicable

39. Are you the sole income provider for your family?

_____ yes

_____ no

40. If no, how many others provide income for your family? _____

41. Does your family depend on your salary for basic necessities?

_____ no

_____ yes

42. Does your salary provide the "extras" or "luxuries" for your family?

_____ no

_____ yes

43. What was your total family income last year?

_____ less than \$10,000

_____ \$10,000 - \$14,999

_____ \$15,000 - \$19,999

_____ \$20,000 - \$24,999

_____ \$25,000 or more

Appendix D: Interview Schedule

Executive Director of The Agency

Assistant Director - Home Help

INTERVIEW FOR THE AGENCY

Executive Director and Assistant Director, Home Help Service

I. History of the Agency in Winnipeg

1. How and when did the Agency originate?
2. For how long has the Agency been serving in Winnipeg?
3. What is the history of the Home Help Service in Winnipeg?
4. What is the mission of the Agency?
5. What is the purpose of the Home Help Service?

II Board of Directors

1. What is the make-up of the Board? How many members? How many women? men?
2. What is the process for appointing members to the Board?
3. What are the qualifications for Board membership?
4. Does the Board hold regularly scheduled meetings? How frequently?
5. Is there a sub-committee of the Board concerned primarily with the Home Help Service?
6. What is the policy formulation process for the Home Help Service regarding: recruitment, orientation, training and supervision, service delivery, client eligibility for service?
7. How are Board decisions relating to the Home Help Service communicated to the Home Help supervisory staff?

III Funding

1. Who funds the Agency?

2. To whom is the Agency accountable for mandate and funds?
3. What is the budget determination process for Home Help Service?
4. How is the rate of pay for the Home Help Service staff determined?
5. Is there an annual increase in wages?
6. What onus rests with the Agency to advocate for more adequate funding for wages, training and service of Home Help staff?

IV Management Team

1. Who are the members of the Management Team (working titles)?
2. What is its meeting schedule?
3. Does the Management Team formulate policy or make decisions regarding the Home Help staff? service?

V Structure of the Home Help Service

1. What is the structure of the Home Help Service?

VI Legislation and Written Policies

1. Is there provincial or other legislation specific to homemaker services under which you operate?
2. What legislation governs the Home Help Service?
3. Is there a written policy for Conditions of Employment for the Home Help staff?
4. Is it shared with each Home Help staff person?
5. Is there a written Policies and Procedures Manual for the Home Help staff? Does each Home Help staff person receive a copy?
6. Is there a cost-ceiling to an individual client or household

for Home Help Service? What is it? Is it ever exceeded? What are the criteria?

7. Do clients ever contribute to the cost of Home Help Service?

VII Target Population

1. What is the written definition of the Agency's target population?
2. What is the approximate number of the population in the catchment area of Greater Winnipeg?
3. Are there written assessment criteria for Home Help Service?
4. What are the assessment criteria for Home Help Service?
5. What are the assessment criteria for clients who receive only Home Help Service?
6. Is eligibility always determined by the nurse's assessment? Describe possible exceptions.
7. What per cent of clients live alone?
8. What per cent of clients who live alone are serviced only by a Home Help?
9. Is there a referral form from the nurse to the Home Help Service? (Copy, if possible.)
10. Which two of the following are your primary sources of referral for Home Help Service?
 - a. Families apply directly _____
 - b. Referral by previous clients _____
 - c. Referral by hospital or physician _____
 - d. Referral by social worker or welfare agency _____

11. Does your agency have any of the following limitations as to clientele?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
a. Age	___	___
Age groups excluded	_____	
b. Income	___	___
Income groups excluded	_____	
c. Religion	___	___
Religious groups excluded	_____	
d. Geographic locations within city	___	___
Areas excluded	_____	
e. Types of needs of families	___	___
Types of needs not served	_____	
Reason needs not served	_____	
f. Age of children in family	___	___
Limiting age	_____	
g. Are there any other limitations in intake policy (specify)?		

VIII Recruitment

1. Describe the recruitment process for the Home Help staff.
2. What are the selection criteria used in recruitment of Home Help staff?
- 3a. Do you require prospective Home Help staff to take a physical examination?
- b. Do you require an annual physical examination for Home Help staff?

IX Orientation

1. Describe the orientation given to Home Help staff.
2. Is the orientation currently given to Home Help staff adequate?
3. What changes or improvements would you suggest?

X Training and Staff Development

- 1a. Please give the job description for the Home Helper.
 - b. To what extent is assistance with activities of daily living included in the job?
2. Do you consider training for the Home Help Service staff necessary?
3. Describe the staff training and development provided to the Home Help staff?
4. Is the formal training of the Home Help staff adequate for the work they do? Please elaborate.
5. Would the Homemaker Training Course offered by Red River Community College be useful for the Home Help staff?
6. Is lack of funding for Home Help training the reason why Home Help staff do not take the HSW course available at Red River Community College?
7. If Canada Manpower or the Manitoba Government funded the Red - River Community College course, would you recommend it for Home Help staff?

8. What training is provided to the Home Help staff in relating to and communicating with clients who are ill, elderly or lonely?
9. What is the educational background of the person in charge of training the Home Help staff?
10. Please give the job description for the Assistant Director and Co-ordinators, Home Help Service.

XI Supervision and Evaluation

1. Describe the supervisory process for the Home Help staff.
2. In the supervision of the Home Help staff, do the supervisors use a special form of check list? (Copy, if possible.)
3. Please elaborate on the nature and extent of training which is done "on the job" as part of the supervisory process.
4. Is there a distinction between supervision and performance evaluation? Are separate forms used?
5. Do written performance standards exist for the Home Help staff? Who is responsible for designing them?
6. What is the educational background of supervisors of the Home Help staff?

XII Termination

1. What is the termination process?

XIII Wage

1. What is the wage for the Home Help staff?
2. Is there a pay range?

3. Do any of the Home Help staff have a guaranteed wage (hours)?
4. Do you have a specific yearly salary increase for Home Help staff?
5. Do the Home Help staff ever work over-time?
If so, how are they compensated for over-time?
 - a. over-time rate _____
 - b. straight time rate _____
 - c. time off _____
 - d. other _____

XIV Benefits

What benefits are paid to Home Help staff?

- pension
- sick leave
- maternity leave
- paid vacation time
- vacation pay
- compassionate leave
- paid statutory holidays
- health insurance
- life insurance
- transportation
- physical examination
- uniform
- telephone calls
- meals

XV Hours

On a regular basis, how many of your staff work:

1. 40 hours per week
2. 35 hours per week?
3. 20-34 hours per week?
4. Under 20 hours per week?
5. What was the average number of hours worked by Home Help staff for the fiscal year 1987 - 1988?
6. What are the work hours of the Assistant Director and Co-ordinators of the Home Help Service?

XVI Scheduling

1. Describe the scheduling process.
2. When a Home Helper is unable to accept an assignment, is a record kept? How is this record used or interpreted?

XVII Staff Retention and Turnover

1. How many staff were on the Home Help Service roster as of April 1, 1988?
2. What factors contribute to the retention of long-term employees?
3. What are the average weekly hours for employees who have worked as Home Helper with the VON for 5 years or longer?
4. What are the most common reasons for staff turnover?
5. List the length of service of all staff on the current Home Help roster:

Time Employed

Number of Staff

Less Than 1 Year

1 - 3 Years

3 - 5 Years

5 - 10 Years

More Than 10 Years

- Comment on extreme exceptions.

6. List length of service of the Assistant Director and Home Help Staff Co-ordinators.

XVIII Links to Other Health and Social Services

1. Describe the working and policy relationships with Continuing Care.
2. How do these relationships affect the Home Help staff?
3. What other health and social services interface with the Agency in service delivery to the same clients?
4. How do these service relationships affect the work of the Home Help staff?

XIX Value of the Home Help Service to the Agency

Please elaborate on the value of the Home Help Service to the Agency with particular reference to its effectiveness in promoting health care and cost saving.

A. Health Care Support

1. Are there written Agency policies or statements which substantiate

the effectiveness of in-home health care? Please elaborate.

(Copy, if possible.)

2. If Home Help Service were withdrawn from clients currently receiving the service, what impact would it have on these clients? Would most of them return to hospital?
3. Do you regard the Home Help Service as more than casual domestic labor? Please elaborate.
4. Do you see Home Help staff as a part of a service team? Please elaborate.
5. Do you see the Home Help Service as an essential element in quality in home care?

B. Cost Effectiveness

1. Is estimated cost-saving based on comparative costs of maintaining clients in their own homes and in hospital?
2. What is the average per diem hospital rate?
3. What was the total number of clients served by Home Help staff in the past year?
4. What was the total number of client-days served by the Home Help Service?
5. What is the hourly cost of providing Home Help Service?
6. Is there a cost-ceiling to an individual client or household? What is it? Is it ever exceeded? What are the criteria and who authorizes the service?
7. What was the total number of hours of Home Help Service in the

last year, 01/04/87 - 31/03/88?

8. What was the total cost of Home Help Service salaries to the Agency in the last year 01/04/87 - 31/03/88?
9. What was the total cost of Home Help pensions to the agency?

XX Extent of Home Help Service

1. Trace the extent of the Home Help Service during past five years giving (a) number of clients served annually, (b) number of hours of Home Help Service annually.
2. What is the anticipated growth decline of the (a) Agency service, (b) Home Help Service?
3. Elaborate on the accessibility of the Agency Home Help Service in the community. Is the Home Help Service listed in the telephone book?

XXI Major Problems

What major problems have you experienced in providing the Home Help Service?

XXII New Directions

1. Are there new directions in Home Help Service anticipated?
Please elaborate.
2. Has there been a decline in hours for the Home Help staff?
Please elaborate.
3. Have you noticed any change in demand for Home Help Service?
4. Do you see any additional duties not currently being performed by the Home Help Service that they might be able to do?

XXIII Recommended Changes

1. What changes would you recommend for the Home Help Service in the near future?

Appendix E: Data Collected From Home Helper
Questionnaire Responses and
Management Interviews

**Appendix E: Data Collected from Home Helper
Questionnaire Responses and
Management Interviews**

a) Characteristics of individuals who work as Home Helpers for The Agency.

- 1) Age.
- 2) Education.
- 3) Marital Status.
- 4) Work force history.
- 5) Family responsibilities: child care, dependent care.
- 6) Housework: meal preparation, household maintenance.
- 7) Family income.
- 8) Attitude toward job.

b) Employment practices profile of The Agency.

- 1) Mission of The Agency.
- 2) History of The Agency.
- 3) History of the Home Help program in The Agency.
- 4) Recruitment and selection process.
- 5) Wage.
- 6) Benefits - (i) pension, (ii) sick leave, (iii) vacation, (iv) maternity leave, (v) dental plan, (vi) health insurance.
- 7) Work assignment process, hours and schedules.
- 8) On-the-job training.
- 9) Duties and responsibilities.
- 10) Supervision.
- 11) Promotional opportunities.

c) Extent of The Agency's Home Help Service.

- 1) Total number of Home Helpers on the staff list.
- 2) Total number of clients per year served by Home Help.
- 3) Total number of Home Helper assignments per year to all clients.
- 4) Average number of Home Help assignments per client.
- 5) Total number of hours per year worked by all Home Helpers.
- 6) Number of staff who work an average work week of more than 30 hours.
- 7) Average number of hours worked by a Home Helper.
- 8) The greatest number of hours worked by a Home Helper.
- 9) The smallest number of hours worked by a Home Helper.
- 10) Total cost of Home Helper salaries to The Agency.
- 11) Total cost of Home Helpers' pensions to The Agency.

Appendix F: Home Helper Job Description

Appendix F: Home Helper Job Description

The Agency home helper assists with light housekeeping duties, enabling convalescing or elderly persons to remain in their homes or to return home from hospital sooner than otherwise possible.

The length of service is assessed and adjusted to the individual and family's needs. Periodic review of service is made with the supervisor and nursing staff.

The home helper is seen regularly by a home help supervisor, who will visit the home and maintain contact with the home helper.

Home Help duties MAY include:

- laundry service
- making and changing beds
- vacuuming major living areas
- mopping kitchen and bathroom floors
- cleaning stove
- defrosting refrigerator
- cleaning bathroom
- some meal preparation, if specified
- assistance with walking and dressing

Home Help duties DO NOT include:

- seasonal cleaning such as washing walls, windows, cupboards, blankets, drapes
- grocery shopping or paying bills
- stripping floors and applying paste wax
- moving heavy furniture or anything involving climbing
- giving or assisting with tub baths, changing dressings or giving treatments
- ordering, dispensing or giving medication
- shovelling snow or cutting grass

The Home Helper is responsible for providing her own lunch.

As the Home Helper is not permitted to stay in the home if the person receiving service is not there, it is important to call the office if there are to be changes in the schedule. Please do not make scheduling changes with the Home Helper.

The office is open 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., Monday to Friday.

WELCOME TO THE AGENCY HOME HELP SERVICE _____

The following information is a guide for you.

1. The Home Help Service is provided to help people who require assistance or support in order to remain at home.
2. A home helper maintains someone else's home as nearly as possible in the way that person would do it if he or she were able. The work you do is important to the family and the community.
3. When you are assigned to a family - be sure you know the exact hours and days you are to be in their home - arrive at the time assigned - identify yourself - stay exactly the length of time arranged - if there are changes to be made call the Home Help Office.
4. Be sure that the person you visit signs your time card each day and fills in the time you arrived and the time you leave. If they are unable to sign the time card and someone else signs for them - be sure they put down the person's name and not their own - if there is no one else to sign it for you, then you may fill in the person's name and hours, being sure to include a note of explanation.
5. Remember to give the family the Home Help Office telephone number and not your own.
6. DO NOT MAKE PRIVATE ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE FAMILY ABOUT YOUR SCHEDULE.
7. Please do not talk about the families you visit to anyone except the Agency staff.
8. If you are sick and cannot keep your assignment, call the Home Help Office.
9. Please provide your own lunch.
10. Please dress neatly, wear shoes that provide support - slippers not acceptable.
11. For emergency situations in the home concerning yourself or the family, call the Home Help Office.
12. Please do not accept money from the families you visit.
13. MAIL YOUR TIME CARD IN PROMPTLY WHEN YOU FINISH WORK ON THE 15TH AND THE LAST DAY OF THE MONTH.
14. HOME HELP OFFICE TELEPHONE

Appendix G: Application Interview

HOME HELP APPLICATION FORM

NAME _____ HOME TELEPHONE NO. _____

HOME ADDRESS _____ BUS ROUTE _____

RELATIVE OR FRIEND TO NOTIFY IN EMERGENCY

NAME _____ HOME TELEPHONE NO. _____

HOME ADDRESS _____ BUSINESS TELEPHONE NO. _____

YOUR PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT OR EXPERIENCE _____

WHAT LANGUAGES DO YOU SPEAK OR UNDERSTAND _____

ARE YOU IN GOOD HEALTH _____ WHEN WAS YOUR LAST CHEST X-RAY _____

WHEN DID YOU LAST SEE YOUR DOCTOR _____

WHEN WILL YOU BE AVAILABLE TO START WORK _____

HOW MANY DAYS EACH WEEK CAN YOU WORK FULL DAYS _____ PART DAYS _____

WEEKEND _____ EVENING _____

WILL YOU BE ABLE TO ATTEND EVENING CLASSES FOR HOME HELPERS _____

DO YOU SMOKE _____ DO YOU MIND OTHER PEOPLE SMOKING _____

DO YOU HAVE ANY ALLERGIES THAT WOULD INTERFERE WITH YOUR WORK _____

DO YOU OBJECT TO PETS IN THE HOME _____

REFERENCES (COMPLETE BOTH)

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____ PHONE NO. _____

DURING DAY

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____ PHONE NO. _____

DURING DAY

PLEASE NOTE NO NOTICE REQUIRED FOR TERMINATION BY EITHER EMPLOYER OR EMPLOYEE.

DATE _____ SIGNATURE _____

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