

PUTTING-OUT IN THE NINETIES: A QUALITATIVE
ANALYSIS OF WOMEN HOME-BASED EMPLOYEES

by

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MASTER OF ARTS
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DEBORAH C. WOODMAN

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate homeworking as it exists in Winnipeg today. To date, the information concerning homeworkers in Manitoba is sketchy pertaining to numbers and identities of women engaging in this unique form of labour. Furthermore, this thesis outlines the inadequacy of theoretical frameworks to analyze homework. Homeworkers have been ignored in many theoretical discussions of our economy because of the differentiation made by many analysts concerning the split between the public and the private sectors. Homeworkers remain unseen because they combine work for the public workforce and homemaking within their households, making analysis difficult.

To gain an understanding of homework, this investigator used qualitative interview methods combined with Canadian statistical data. The outcome is an appreciation for the ordinary nature of the homeworkers. The nineteen women who form the basis of this study come from the centre of the Canadian economy and do not fall into categories of newly arrived immigrant groups or other disenfranchised peoples. Indeed, the result of this survey suggests these homeworkers are average Canadian women working to maintain the subsistence levels of their respective households. Furthermore, the homeworkers in this survey underwrite the costs of their own employment by supplying the place, the

supplies, and subsidizing labour costs by underestimating hours. Finally, the research shows a lack of specific data on homeworkers and the need for further work.

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I dedicate this thesis to homeworkers everywhere, hopefully this thesis will help explain part of their "story".

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Ultimately, any errors or omissions in this thesis are solely and entirely mine.

Deborah C. Woodman

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to Homework in Society

Over the years, homeworking has been the focus of some assumptions and rhetoric. For instance, the "advantages" of working from home are made clear in the Homeworker's Directory of Income Opportunities (1990). They explain how "you are your own boss" that homeworkers can make their own hours and work at their own pace. Furthermore homeworkers "also have the luxury of working in the comfort of their own homes" with no traffic to deal with and no daily work grind. Some working expenses are eliminated by working in the home such as "childcare, eating out, gasoline, auto maintenance, dry cleaning, uniforms, business wardrobes, etc." (1990:2). However, research done in Europe, particularly England, has shown these assumptions are not based in reality. As shown by Sheila Allen (1983; 1989), homeworkers do not have the best of both worlds, instead homeworkers are often exploited with few legal protections, working long hours for their employer while tending to family duties. This account of homework or the system of "putting-out" is about people lost between the official description of work and the realities of people's lives.

Little has been done to research assumptions concerning homeworkers in Canada. Recent articles in the popular press

and current sociological and economic literature indicate increasing numbers of people are working from their homes. But, estimates concerning the breadth of homeworking vary partly due to a lack of a single definition of homework and partly because there has not been a comprehensive study done on the phenomenon. There are indications that certain forms of homework are on the increase and more people are turning to the home as a locus of employment (Christensen 1988; Orser 1992). Estimates of the number of people working from their homes has been attempted in Canada. For instance, Montonen (1991) estimates "in Canada, three percent of the employed urban labour force works at home" (1991:46). As of November 1991, it was estimated over 600,000 employees reported they work some or all of their hours at home, a total of 6% of all paid workers in Canada (Siroonian 1991:9).

Speculations about the identity of homeworkers and their reasons for adopting this way to make a living have been attempted by some authors. For example, Orser (1992) suggests "independence, convenience, job flexibility, low overhead costs, potential income, restricted full-time job possibilities and the recession of the early eighties and nineties are factors in the home-based business sector" (1992:1). Nevertheless, little has been done to speak directly with homeworkers to assess their views of this workstyle, although a few studies have attempted to

"uncover" homeworkers. For instance, a study done in the United States in 1988 by Christensen detailed the lives of twenty women discussing their perspectives on working from home. Even though her study is illuminating, it does not attempt an analysis of the economic imperatives behind working at home or the historical indicators concerning such work.

There are authors who, like Montonen (1991), point to the advantages of homework for the employee. Homeworking creates savings in time and money: flexible working hours; increased productivity; a higher quality of work; and the opportunity to spend time with one's children. There are also a number of potential drawbacks that vary according to the employment situation. Montonen identifies two groups of homeworkers. The first consists of professionals and the self-employed who tend to enjoy a large degree of autonomy. The second includes garment, clerical and other homeworkers employed by businesses. It is this second group that has been the focus of my investigation. This group is subject to, as Montonen found, "jobs that are relatively less complex, often learned by rote, and a large labour pool meaning wages are poor and working conditions can be exploitative" (1991:47).

Many of the conditions affecting homeworkers in the 1800's of Canada are continuing to affect the modern-day homeworker. Historically many women involved in homework

were poor and had no alternatives for childcare; they were isolated, lacking opportunities to organize or improve the conditions of their employment. My research shows these situations still prevail for the many home-based employees. Women have few alternatives for childcare and due to the fragmented nature of homeworking have few opportunities to organize and protect their employment situation. Ben Fine (1992) suggests "women are exploited through their position within the household. They take primary responsibility for housework" (1992:5). Exploitation of the traditional role of women's position in the household extends into their roles as homeworkers. Since many women are functioning in a traditional role as homemaker, they become targets for companies as willing homeworkers.

Therefore, the focus of this thesis is to undertake a primary investigation of nineteen women who are employed by businesses and work from their homes. First, I will describe the consultants' lives based on in-depth interviews with them. Second, I will place these women in the larger Canadian economic context, comparing them to women and men working in the public labour force. Finally, this study undertakes to add a qualitative element to the few quantitative studies that exist concerning Canadian homeworkers.

Viewpoints - The Public/Private Distinction and the Valuation of Part-time Work

This thesis challenges two assumptions - the public/private distinction and the valuation of part-time work. The first assumption is the usefulness of the theoretical distinction between the public and private domains. The private domain often refers to the subservient role of the domestic and is considered female. The public domain pertains to the public world of work and is often regarded as the dominant economic role of the household. As Montonen (1991) indicates, "men are associated with a public world of work and institutions; women are associated with a private world of home and neighbourhood" (1991:46).

Pennington (1989) and others identify a changing economic structure during the Industrial Revolution combined with the development of the middle class as factors encouraging the growth of homework. They suggest that as the middle class emerged as the dynamic class, its class ideals permeated the entire society. Intrinsic to the identity of the middle class as a group is the identification of separated sectors of domestic and public spheres.

However, the women I interviewed are working for wages from their homes while maintaining their role as homemaker. They cannot be relegated to one domain or the other. As pointed out by Beneria and Roldan, there are dynamics between the "household and its connection to wider

socio-economic processes that shows the arbitrariness and insufficiency of analyzing the two areas separately" (1989:5). At the most basic level, analysis becomes difficult when assessing hours spent doing homework. "It is often difficult to differentiate between work time and personal time, so estimates of hours spent in home-based work are likely to be unreliable" (Orser 1992:5). Therefore, in this thesis the public and private domains are not differentiated theoretically.

The second perspective questioned in this thesis is the undervaluation of part-time work. There is an assumption that households do not gain a significant economic contribution from members who work part-time. Part-time work has been seen as the panacea for bored housewives wishing to add income to the household while maintaining their domestic role. However, part-time work, as will be seen in this thesis, is used as sole support for some households. The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, observes "there are many who actually view part-time work as an accommodation to women, to enable them to combine raising a family and paid employment." Actually, part-time employment as it presently exists benefits business more than it benefits the employed women (1982:1). As will become apparent in this thesis, many of the women I interviewed have little choice. They are not working because they are bored, rather they are working for the basic maintenance of

their households.

Furthermore, I examine the position of women in the household and whether this position is strengthened or weakened by homeworking. Other authors like Armstrong and Armstrong(1983; 1990) have explored issues of women's position in our society. They have illuminated many of the issues concerning the equity gap between men and women in the areas of work and household duties. Even though the Armstrongs have not discussed homeworking as a way of perpetuating stereotypes, they have noted that homeworking encourages the wage gap between men and women. The lack of academic studies on homeworkers does little to explain the wage levels earned within the household. Heck points out, "little is known about the characteristics of people involved in home-based work over a period of time or the nature of their work" (Heck 1987:18). It is my goal to present some of the elements integral to understanding characteristics of homeworkers and add information to the field.

Objectives

This study is exploratory and intended to identify future areas for study. The general objectives of the thesis are:

- 1) to identify current themes in the literature and illuminate areas within economic research that may clarify

the issue;

- 2) to identify common characteristics among homeworkers;
- 3) to outline the economic circumstances of homeworkers that may indicate a motivation for working from home;
- 4) to present themes for continued study.

A specific objective of this thesis is to examine homework in a local context, for example, Winnipeg.

Defining Homework

The literature on homeworking is not grounded in one particular theory or discipline. Therefore, there is no uniform definition of homework. Some authors have found it useful to identify homeworkers by their lack of traveling to another location for work. Heck, for example, considers "home-based work as employment in which workers do not travel to their place of employment" (1987:17). This characterization implies the home as a workplace. Other authors have broadly identified homeworkers to include both home-based employers and home-based employees. For instance, Orser and Foster define their home-based workers as "any paid work activity in or from the home" (1992:i). Montonen (1991) has defined home-based employment to include self-employed workers as well as homeworkers employed by others.

For the purposes of this discussion, I have found it useful to confine my study group to women who are employed from their home. Therefore, they are not self-employed but

rather employed by another owner of a business. The homeworkers I have investigated base their main location of work in their homes. This group is different from small business people who work from their homes and are the owners of the means of production. The homeworkers selected for this investigation do not own the means of production. Therefore these homeworkers are people who do not appropriate surplus value, but are the labourers involved in the process of creating surplus value.

Another focus in my thesis is an emphasis on women homeworkers. I do not deny there are men who are engaging in homework; it was my experience to interview three men in the process of this thesis work. However, my aim is to identify how women are being affected by engaging in homework. Women are affected differently than men in the economic structure of our society. In our society, women consistently occupy the lowest paid echelon of workers (Armstrong and Armstrong 1990:15). They have been consistently separated from owning the means of production by both legal and financial limitations. In Canada's recent history women could not inherit or own property or make policy. For instance, only in 1929 were Canadian women officially identified as persons as ruled by the Privy Council of Britain and eligible to hold public office on equal terms with men (Cook 1976:1). Griffen Cohen notes "ownership of the means of production, both in law and in practice, was firmly in the hands of the

male head of the household (1988:11). Because of these inequities in laws and practices, women have been economically vulnerable. According to the 1994 Canada Year Book, women earn, on average, 70% of the wage men earn for equivalent positions. This thesis focuses on how women are affected by engaging in homeworking.

The stage has been set. The next chapter will go into information concerning the historical and theoretical discussions about homework. The historical accounts of homework are few but they demonstrate the vulnerability of homeworkers. The theoretical discussions are not confined to homework but include the double bind in which many women find themselves. Homeworkers may be unseen and sometimes unheard but they are important to the economic viability of their households.

CHAPTER TWO

A Literature Review of Homework

Homeworking has been acknowledged as a common historical practice (Allen and Wolkowitz 1987; Boris and Daniels 1987; Bythell 1978). Women working from their homes wove, made lace and did laundry for the marketplace. But as some authors write, this practice of labour intensive homework became a vestige of the past with the growing use of mechanization and factories (Wolf 1982; Glucksman 1990). In some parts of the world where mechanization is still in its infancy, women engage in industrial homework and produce craft items for sale in the marketplace. In Canada, the popular media (see Financial Times 1993; The Financial Post 1993) speculates that the women who work from their homes do so in sophisticated formats such as telecommuting (working on a computer using the internet or a mainframe) or as owners of their own businesses. Mitter (1986) explains, "it is thought that one can dismiss it as a sad but transitory phenomenon" (1986:39). These women, if the reports are correct, bear little resemblance to their historical forerunners.

The focus of this thesis concerns the incidence of homeworking here in Canada and more specifically Winnipeg. However, a discussion of homework must take into account the historical implications of homework in other places and times. The homeworkers included in this literature review

have a wider breadth than the segment I am studying in the rest of my thesis. Homeworkers, therefore, are identified by the place where they work and not their relationship to that work. For instance, home businesses are included in this part of my examination as are the more vulnerable home-based employees.

Furthermore, one of the foci of this thesis is the seeming invisibility of the women currently engaging in this unique style of work. In order to frame the current discussion of homework it is necessary to understand the historical circumstances surrounding the practice of homework. Once the historical framework is explored, this literature review will cover some of the theories used to analyze women and their relationship to work. First, I briefly review historical literature on homeworkers. Then I explore various perspectives in feminist theory with reference to homework.

Historical Indications of Homework: *Incidence and Prevalence*

Discussions of homework are presented from two perspectives: either homework is seen as an extension of capitalism, or homework is examined as a practice that existed before the advent of industrialisation and capitalism and continues on as a remnant of pre-industrialization. The differences between these arguments stems from different understandings of the cause of

homework. For instance, Wolf (1982:194) points to similarities between the European economy and the Canadian economy and suggests homework is a result of growing capitalist economies. Briefly, the growth of capitalism influences the frequency of people engaging in homeworking. The underlying theory is that capitalism requires a large labour force available to work. The more competitive the workforce, the lower the wages, the larger the profit for the capitalist owner of a business. The vulnerability of workers exacerbated by low wages encourages the practice of homework, as households attempt to find a variety of coping measures.

An argument postulated by some historians is that around the 1700s in Europe the agricultural mode of production was no longer able to support the majority of the quickly growing rural population. The mode of production shifted, requiring people to earn wages to supplement household income due to the inadequacy of agriculture to support growing populations. One method of coping with the changing economy was to work as a paid labourer; another popular method of the time was to engage in putting-out. Merchants hired people, predominately women, to work from their homes for wages often on equipment rented from the merchants (Wolf 1982:300). Women sewed, produced cotton, spun wool and assembled from their homes. Gradually, as the economy became more commodity based, the preferred method of

employment was outside the home. Manufacturers could control the product and control the labourers more fully by having them organized in one place.

Recent arguments introduced by Mies (1986:21) and others (Beneria and Roldan 1987) give strength to the idea that homework is an integral part of the growth of global capitalism. As capitalism advances, local economies change to incorporate more commodities. The craft goods produced by homeworkers become integral to their households as an important means of cash income. With the growth of industrialized capitalism women become separated from the agricultural mode of production and are focused within the household. The need for additional wages to support a commodity-based household will encourage women to work from their homes, producing goods for the marketplace.

Another argument concerning the roots of homeworking relies on historical documents to demonstrate that women have engaged in homeworking before the industrial revolution and the income generated by women by homeworking was even then integral to the functioning of their households. Some authors examining historical literature in Europe indicate the existence of putting-out (homeworking) from at least the 1600s. "Married and unmarried women contributed to wages to the household well before the advent of the factory system" (Sione 1995:145). The types of homework vary from garment production, including more specialized types of craft

production, to anything that can be done from the home with a minimum of supervision. Historical data on homeworkers includes many forms of labour. Women have produced items ranging from foodstuffs to highly specialized types of lace and embroidery.

The women who worked from their homes shared the need to produce for sale or barter. Even though women had few formal employment opportunities open to them, homeworking was one area where women took full advantage of their ability to produce goods for wages. For instance, the production of verdigris [the product of the chemical reaction of copper and acid which produces a green tint used for dyes] in the Montpellier region of France indicates that although women had limited economic opportunities they made full use of this industry to gain wages. "Wives and daughters could use their profits as supplementary income and others such as the peasant families have this as their sole support". (Benhamou 1995:10)

Homework, like many other forms of working, was susceptible to changing market demands. The incorporation of new equipment and changing fluctuations in the marketplace changed the types of work. One example of new equipment changing the nature of work was the invention of Cartwright's spinning loom in England. The speed of the work done on the spinning looms competed with the output of the hand weavers, changing the ability of homeworkers to make a

living by their outdated productive process (Hafter 1995:xi). Many homeworkers were put out of business because they could not compete with the speed of the spinning looms.

Despite increased mechanization and industrialization, homeworkers could still be found. As Tilly and Scott (1987) explain, women worked long, hard hours because they had few choices in employment. The changes to homeworking during the Industrial Revolution reflected the changes in the general labour force. There was a move away from specialized work to automated work. Automation meant that work for the general population became routine, monotonous and simplistic.

Ultimately neither explanation of the cause of homework (the growth of capitalism or homeworking as an historical practice) allows for the possibility that individual households make lifestyle decisions based on their own needs. Very few historical sources (Tilly and Scott 1987) acknowledge that women have actively chosen to engage in homework. Homeworkers often challenged the prevailing legal and social conventions of their day in order to continue working from their homes. Social conventions of the 1700s were based on the expectation that women would firstly be responsible to their households in the roles of manageress and homemaker. Women weaving silk in the eighteenth-century in Lyon, France effectively challenged legal rulings forcing an acknowledgment of official status as "helpmate" and safeguarding their positions as daughters and wives of guild

members (Hafter 1995:43). For these homeworkers, their family's income was based on the assumption that women would weave from their homes helping their husbands and fathers. Homeworking for many women was a method of assuring a steady income in the household. Responsible for family garden plots and animals, women added to their marketplace incomes by engaging in homework. For women who were either widowed or whose husbands did not own land but worked as migrant labourers, homeworking allowed for economic independence. Quataert writing about the early textile trade in the late 1700s notes that the shifting gender work helped "maximize meager incomes in households tied to both agricultural and industrial pursuits" (1995:166). Although women were "essential participants in the survival strategies of the households they remained beneath the surface invisible under the patina of public discourse" (1995:173).

Homeworking, it appears, has always been open to abuses by the owners of businesses employing homeworkers. There has been small remuneration for the long hours of work. Before the industrial revolution the work was often highly specialized; according to reports women were not compensated fairly for their hours. Some manufacturers (like those in France) argued that since women worked for supplemental incomes they would be willing to work for low wages (Liu 1995:185). Particularly after the First World War and the mobilization of many factory workers, the frequency of

homework decreased. Sweets (1995:67) noted that during the Second World War in the Vichy region of France, the practice of making lace not only reinforced the women's position in the home but the income was discussed by officials in the area as supplementary. "Even though their husband's wages in agriculture or as manual labourers often provided little more, and sometimes less, than was brought into their households as lacemakers" (1995:67). The officials in the Lorraine region of France demanded assurance by industry owners that "women would remain in the home to embroider to keep up their other duties, thereby keeping women from workshops "not to contribute to moral decline" (1995:101). Over time, trade unions became stronger and regulations concerning working conditions were enforced, making homeworking seemingly outdated. However, in the past few years, partly due to work done by Sheila Allen in Britain (1983), it has become apparent that homeworking still exists and is on the increase. In Britain there have been attempts to reinstate government policies to control the practice of homeworking.

The Canadian Experience

Due to Canada's close historical connection with Britain, parallels concerning our economies are sometimes made between England and Canada. However, particularly for discussions on homework, there is an inadequacy in this

comparison. There are many differences in the economic history of our countries. England has a long history of capital accumulation combined with the relatively slow growth of a capitalist internal market, including the exclusion of women from the labour market. But in Canada, as Griffen Cohen argues, "one cannot point to the withdrawal of females from market production" in the Canadian economy. In contrast to Britain, "labour involved in non-market activity was critical to the accumulation of capital both in those activities characterised by capitalist productive relations and in those characterised by independent commodity production" (1987:36). These differences need to be considered in an examination of why homework has and continues to be prevalent in Canadian society. The most striking difference in the two economies for this discussion stems from the different settlement patterns in Britain and Canada. Griffen Cohen suggests

conclusions about the impact of industrialisation on women are based on an analysis of economic and productive relations that existed in England and Europe.... Our understanding of what happened to women in the development process is faulty because it is assumed to follow patterns established elsewhere (1987:4).

Canada's settlement pattern is unique due to a large influx of immigrants in the 1800s. Canada's economic growth was based upon this sudden increase in population. Rather than settling the vast northern regions of the country,

settlement focused mainly along a very narrow geographical region bordering the United States. The immigrant populations reflected the economic systems and social influences from their countries of origin. Therefore, the modes of production introduced in Canada varied from agrarian-based production to industrial production. These modes of production had the impact of involving women in varying degrees in the economic livelihoods of the household. Just as they had in their native countries, women worked in agricultural production, in industrial production, and in combined roles of tending the household while directly producing for the marketplace.

The relationship of women to the economy in Canada is not well discussed in the historical literature. However, a few historical documents from the early 1800s and before discuss the many faceted roles of early Canadian women. In the early fur trade days, both the Indian women and the Voyageur wives made many articles for sale while maintaining their household roles. Van Kirk (1980) has reported on the importance of the level of economic input by women in the frontiers. For example, women produced the netting for snowshoes and, at one trading post, they reportedly made 650 pairs of leather shoes during a one month period (1980:61). In another example, Elias (1988:106) documented how "women knit much of the wool into garments used in the households or sold it in neighbouring towns". He describes the

responsibilities of women as they tend to their households as well as producing for the marketplace.

Women were responsible for keeping small livestock and gardens, and doing much of the production of handicrafts for market as well as the functioning of the household. It seems possible and even likely that during this time the women were producing more income than were the men, primarily because a small garden and small animals could be nurtured through drought years when large fields of grain and hay, or large herds of cattle might fail (Elias 1988:106).

These few examples demonstrate that women were not part of the reserve labour pool but rather they fulfilled a vital economic role both within the household and within the marketplace.

Combining with the agriculturalists that inhabited the land, an immigration of capitalist businessmen in Canada was partly instigated by the completion of the railways that stretched across the nation. The effect of easily transported goods, combined with a protective tariff levied in 1879 protecting Canadian goods from lower priced imports, created an internal market for consumer goods. Pentland (1981:130) points out that increased local self-sufficiency and the completion of the railway caused a drastic economic shift in the Canadian economy. "The factory system had not grown slowly; it sprang into existence almost at one bound."

Winnipeg, with its central Canadian location, was part of this sudden economic growth. The companies that grew in the Winnipeg region based much of their success on immigrant

labour forces in the city. Winnipeg was one of the larger population centres in the country and one of the first settlement areas for newly arrived immigrants. Then as now, immigrants followed employment patterns relying on many members of their households to be gainfully employed. Pahl (1989) observes there are common employment patterns in newly arrived peoples. The people most likely to take homework are those vulnerable to the precarious nature of the job market; for instance, women and young male workers just starting their careers, and newly arrived immigrants from rural areas who have neither firm-specific skills nor contacts in the second economy. Such categories are doubly penalised and need multiple incomes and other household members to survive satisfactorily (Pahl 1989:100).

In Winnipeg, one of the first forms of homework commonly practised was garment work. There is evidence of garment work dating back to fur trade days in the early 1800s. The first garment factory was established in 1898 as Winnipeg "early on became known as the Shmata (garment factory) capital of Canada" (Golz 1991:9). By 1911, Winnipeg was the third largest city in Canada and the fourth in manufacturing (Marsh 1985:1951).

Authors describing the garment factory system in Winnipeg emphasize that it intensified poverty and poor working conditions. Furthermore, the employees of factories were to the "practical exclusion of adult males. Females and

children could be counted upon to work for small wage, to submit to petty and exasperating exaction, and to work uncomplainingly for long hours" (Elias 1988:42). The hiring policies of many Winnipeg firms exacerbated the conditions for homework. "Women piece workers often desperate to earn a living wage and unable to do so during factory hours, offered or were told to take a bundle home" (Golz 1991:16). In the early 1900s, many companies, including Eaton's, maintained a policy of firing a woman from her job if she was married. Information from tapes of interviewed garment workers indicates many women lied about their marital status or when that became impossible due to pregnancy, they "took work in." Because of the high number of garment factories the conditions in Winnipeg were ideal for many women to engage in homework as an additional or sole source of family income.

Griffen Cohen points to an "oversight in understanding the development of capitalism in Canada. Analysts have not investigated the "extent to which household labour has contributed to capital accumulation" (1987:6). The amount of income generated by women homeworking has not been merely underestimated but discounted by economic analysts despite historical observations such as that made by Bliss (1973). He observed "there are a great many widows and a great many who might as well be widows, as they provide for the whole house. Their husbands do not care whether they can or not

and they are making a decent living too" (1973:159). The importance of economic input by homeworkers is unappreciated even by the women themselves. Moore comments on the frequency with which women do not define their household labours as work. "Through their activities, these women make a significant contribution to the household income, both indirectly with their unpaid agricultural and household labour, and directly through the money they earn in market-trading and petty commodity production" (Moore 1988:43).

To this historical backdrop I will add that women continue to work from their homes. They are often the sole support for their households, a fact unnoticed or systematically ignored by officialdom.

The Work Women Do

To help frame issues of women's labour, I rely upon the perspectives of Griffen Cohen (1988). She differentiates three facets concerning women's labour in current literature. The three elements pointed to by Griffen Cohen remain the focus of many discussions on the paid and unpaid labours of women. These include understanding the process of industrialisation which I discuss here under global economy. She also points to the growth of the separation of home and the workplace and, related to this, the division of labour according to gender. I have used these distinctions to frame my discussion on women's work. The topic is immense and

although I cannot hope to cover all its elements, some discussion is necessary. One element which has received some speculation is how women are bearing the cost of reproducing the work force. The marginalization of women's work and the redefinition of this work has also intrigued some authors. For instance, Jonsson (1994:29) asks the question "were women's special kinds of skills lost on the way to industrial society because their jobs disappeared, or did previously female skills get a new code and become male skills?".

Global Economy

As already discussed, homework has been observed as a part in the growth of capitalism. When capitalism gains a hold in an economy, many women turn to homeworking to gain access to wages. In an important work by Beneria and Roldan (1987), they discuss the existence of homeworking in poor countries with developing economies. The women they discuss make up "the margin of the centre of the global economy." Homeworking enables women to participate in the labour market, producing commodities for sale. Homework has been and continues to be based on skills considered domestic. The goods women are producing for the marketplace are often varieties of the goods produced by them for the home or for strictly consumption purposes. The "capitalist relations of production take advantage of and reproduce the subordination

of women in the households" (Kelly 1981:271). The result of the sexual basis for the division of labour has resulted in a generalized marginalization of work done by women, especially if the work appears to be an extension of their domestic role or work done in the home. "The work is not only based on existing social relations and the sexual division of labour within the family, but reinforces them" (Beneria and Roldan 1987:73). The similarities between expectations of employment in Canada are much like research results of Sanchez (1993:454) concerning women in poor countries. She found women will enter the job market and certain job categories according to "prescribed definitions about women's roles". Furthermore, many women do not continue to work outside the home once they have children; however, they do endeavour to take work in to help their household's livelihood. "Women's relegation to both domestic work and subsistence production for family economic survival causes many Third World women to face an extraordinary double burden" (1993:454). Even so the relationship between women and the marketplace, especially in Canada, needs to be examined in light of its particular historical relationship to production. Women have produced items for sale and trade from their homes before capitalism. Perhaps, as Moore (1988:98) suggests, because "industrialization alters patterns of work, it changes the relationship between the workplace and the home." It then becomes difficult to

examine the number of women participating in wage-labour. To uncover the levels of wage market participation it becomes necessary to examine each country's specific economic structure to discover the levels of women's economic activity. No doubt, as June Nash (1983) suggests, the macroeconomics policies of our country affect the poor in other countries. Moore also explains that "an individual country's economy, does not take place in a vacuum, but is directly determined by the part the country's economy plays in the international arena" (1988:100). These discussions lend credence to the examination of the global economy when discussing women's work. Currently, women are at the bottom of wage levels internationally and many households are dependent on women's wages for their maintenance. The exploited position of women in labour practices is often used as an explanation for global economic practices. However, a reduction of issues that concern women as part of an epiphenomenal process does little to explain the reality of their lives (Mies 1986). Therefore, by viewing women's homework in a global economic context without further examination of the particular historical and economic context, we obscure the economic relationships of women within our own social context. Nakamura and Nakamura observe "economists routinely classify wives as part of the secondary work force, regardless of variations among

individual wives in work experience or job commitment" (1985:1). As noted, when applied to Canada, women have actively produced for the marketplace regardless of the economic system. Before similar assumptions can be made about women in other countries, the historical relationship between women and the marketplace must be examined more fully. No doubt, their relationship to capital has changed with the introduction of a commodity-based economy but women's previous relationship to the marketplace must also be appreciated.

Division of Labour

One theory posited in many discussions of homework is the notion of a reserve labour pool. Quite simply put, a reserve labour pool relies on women remaining in the household until they are needed in the general labour force. An illustration of this theory often cited is the case of the Second World War. During the Second World War, many men went overseas to fight and women went into the factories to make needed consumer goods and war supplies. Because many women were available for extraction from household duties and employable when needed, the surplus reserve labour theory became a popular way of explaining why women were remaining in the household. The theory states that women have been encouraged to stay at home for availability when they are needed. The position of women in the household has

been undervalued by its lack of payment while being encouraged so that women remaining in the household are underwriting the costs of employment. Migione (1985) indicates "feminist analysts had argued that it was in the interests of the State covertly to support the privatisation of domestic labour as a hidden subsidy to the costs of reproducing the labour force" (1985:3). Women remaining in the household engage in household duties at no apparent cost to the society while making it possible for other members of the household, usually men, to participate in the labour force. "Women have two jobs because it is useful to capitalism. An economic base creates directly and automatically a superstructure that seems to include ideas about women's work, families and domestic work" (Armstrong and Armstrong 1990:70). This theory has been a useful method of analysis in understanding the structure of many households in which women remain in the home and men work in the public labour force. This example, however, is inadequate for a comprehensive understanding of homework. In homeworking, women are being used directly in the labour process. Not only do they fulfil the economic need for cheap paid labour but as housewives "they produce a multitude of goods and services not provided by service industries and social institutions" (Antoinetta 1988:6). Homeworkers are not only reproducing the labour force but are actively engaging in labour market participation. Therefore, although

useful in some discussions of women's labour in the public domain, the reserve labour pool theory does little to explain the frequency of homeworkers or illuminate their livelihoods.

In conclusion, this review of the issues concerning homework is to serve as background for the women I studied. My review of the surplus reserve army of labour is to demonstrate the inadequacy of this argument when discussing homeworkers. As stated, female homeworkers are not "waiting" at home reproducing the labour force so that men can work. They are producing commodities for the marketplace, actively participating in the process. They straddle two worlds, the public and private domains, producing and reproducing. These elements of the unique lifestyle will be discussed more fully in Chapters Five and Six. The methodology of the study will be covered in the next chapter, Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

This chapter covers the methodology of the fieldwork portion of this thesis. I will cover the means, reasons for and practical results of the study in which I was engaged. First, I cover the results from attempts to reach consultants. Then, I discuss the method of interviewing, and the process of information gathering. Finally, I address my attempt to engage in homework.

The interview portion of this study reflects my attempt to add qualitative information to the limited quantitative data on homeworkers. Informal interviews are an effective method of gathering information from the consultants' perspectives. My interviews were conducted in homeworkers' homes and will lend valuable information concerning these women and how they live. As already discussed, my emphasis on women consultants is due to the lack of literature on women's economic situations and the particular position women hold in our society.

I refer to my interviewees in the context of this thesis as consultants. My reason for the usage of this term is to remind myself that the expertise on being and living the life of a homeworker comes from the women I interviewed. I am in the process of learning about homeworking and gathering information by their experiences. I have requested

their knowledge to enhance my own understandings and therefore I am consulting with them on the subject of homeworking.

To fulfil the fieldwork component of this thesis, I interviewed nineteen women. My agenda had been to engage in homeworking myself to add to the information-gathering process. Unfortunately, I was unable to complete this element as I did not find employment from my home. I will discuss the elements concerning this component later in this chapter. The primary method of inquiry was a loosely structured interview schedule. This method of inquiry was used to give a qualitative element to the rare pieces of quantitative data concerning homeworking in the city of Winnipeg. The consent form can be found in Appendix A. The list of questions can be found in Appendix B. Following the ethical standards of the Department of Anthropology (see Appendix C) I guaranteed anonymity to my consultants and this process was done by arbitrarily assigning numbers to the interviews. The purpose of this process is to be sure that no consultant can be injured by information divulged during the interview.

A function of this inquiry is to attempt an identification of who the homeworkers are and how they are making a living. To achieve a fuller appreciation of the consultant's lives, the open-ended interview method was

selected as a method of inquiry. The open-ended interview is a method commonly engaged by anthropologists. Open-ended interviews allow the interviewer to participate in the process of information gathering. The questions can be more general in nature allowing for more comprehensive information gathering than in formal, structured questionnaires. Formal questionnaires, although useful when looking for specific information, would not have allowed for the speculative nature of this inquiry. Furthermore, it became clear in preparing for this thesis that questions concerning homeworking have not been included in either formal Statistics Canada questionnaires or to date in the Winnipeg Area Study conducted by the University of Manitoba. I have been able to use some general material on women in Canadian society in my analysis. By making comparative use of national statistics, I lend to my understanding of homeworkers and illuminate their position within the social whole. To this end, some relevant statistics will be applied to my sample later in the thesis. I gained another source of valuable information during the late summer, 1995, when I spent some time investigating records at the Manitoba Provincial Archives. In records that are open to the public, I was able to go over tapes of female garment workers that gave some indication of the existence of homeworking in the city of Winnipeg from the early 1930s to

the 1950s. These tapes lend a conviction to my thesis concerning the ongoing existence of homeworkers in the city of Winnipeg. I also found records of a survey of Filipino homeworkers conducted in the city in 1985. However, I was not granted access to any of these tapes for reasons of confidentiality. All the tapes are held without public access until at least the year 2000, some until 2010. My interviews were enhanced by the fortunate experience of being invited to a meeting of homeworkers employed for one cosmetics company. A description of this meeting is covered in Appendix D. Analysis of the answers to my questions by the women will be discussed in the next chapters of this thesis. The following information concerns only the practical results of the interviews.

The Consultants

For purposes of expediency, I restricted my field experience to the city of Winnipeg. I located my consultants in a variety of manners. I placed an advertisement in the Winnipeg Free Press (see Appendix E) on three separate occasions for a run of three days each time. As a result of these advertisements, I received a total of forty calls, of which twelve women became consultants and were interviewed. The other twenty-three calls were from people requesting information on my study or on the possibility of working

from their homes. The advertisement indicated that I was engaged in a study of homeworkers employed in the city of Winnipeg and mentioned the possibility of a small payment to compensate for the time of an interview. Given that most of my contacts came through this method, I consider this a very successful means of contacting women. The women who responded to my advertisement generally understood the focus of my study and the purpose of the interview. Because of this understanding, this method of contact facilitated the setting up of interviews.

My other main source of consultants was through acquaintances I have in Winnipeg. I interviewed two personal acquaintances and, through them, established another three interviews. I also tried a variety of other approaches. For instance, I placed ads in the Winnipeg Sun and the Ethno-Cultural Networker hoping to solicit respondents from wider cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. In both of these cases, I did not receive any phone calls that led to interviews. The six women who responded to my ad in the Winnipeg Sun were generally looking for work and were not interested in being interviewed. I also placed flyers in a variety of stores in my area and on public bulletin boards. Although it appeared that my number had been taken from the flyers, only one interview resulted from this form of contact. I contacted several women's groups in the city of

Winnipeg without success. Although one of my interviews came from a contact within a woman's group, none of the groups I approached were open to having me directly contact their members. This is understandable from the perspective of the women's groups who would not want to jeopardize the confidentiality of their members. As will become clear from the results of my interviews, I found little evidence of homeworkers forming a cohesive group. For instance, my consultants live in all areas of the city from the North End to St. Boniface to Kildonan to St. James and they come from a wide range of backgrounds, both economic and religious.

In another attempt to contact homeworkers, I attended the National Action Committee on the Status of Women's Networking Circle. I was able to speak publicly about the issue of homeworking in Winnipeg and later received a list of other groups that attended the circle. I sent all of these groups a letter requesting any information they might have, but received no response. Many of my consultants were found by the advertisements in the Winnipeg Free Press therefore, I can make some assumptions concerning my consultants. I assume women would read the business personal ads and that they would be interested in being interviewed. Unfortunately, this omits all people who would be suspicious of being interviewed, and who cannot read or do not read the Winnipeg Free Press.

The Interview

Once initial contact was made, I set up interview times that would fit in the consultants' schedules, trying not to make more than two interviews in any one day. Once contact was made, the consultants were eager to have an interview quickly. Since I was using public transportation, I wanted to be sure that I would be able to be on time for my interviews. Limiting the number of interviews a day worked very well and generally meant that I did one interview in the morning and one interview in the afternoon after lunch. The times of the interviews were left to the discretion of the consultant. In all but three cases the interviews were done in the consultants' homes. This offered opportunity to observe working conditions and the general lifestyles of my consultants. As well, I was relying on the assumption that people would be more at ease in their homes. In the other three cases, two interviews were done in restaurants near the person's full-time outside work, and the third was done in my home.

Most of the interviews progressed in the same sequence. After gaining entrance to the home, I presented the consultant with the consent form. Once the form was signed, we went through the scheduled questions in a very informal manner. The interviews ranged from 45 minutes to just over two hours, with the average interview taking one hour and a

half. It generally took about one hour to go through the questions, after which time we chatted about work and life. During this point in the interview, I asked for a look at the work area. After the interview was complete, I collected my belongings and presented the consultant with their payment of \$20.00. Although payment was clear when we set up the interview time, most of the consultants reacted to payment saying that the interview was fun and they did not need the payment. I responded to this by indicating that their time and co-operation were valuable to me and should not go without payment. However, in the three cases where payment was refused outright, I found alternate means to compensate the consultant for their time. For one person I bought lunch, and for my two personal acquaintances, I bought small gifts for their children. I found the payment of the \$20.00 to be useful for a number of reasons. Because I was interested in speaking to strangers this gave them some incentive to meet with me. I also found the payment served as a formal end to our interview process, serving my purposes for closure. The interview process was in most cases a pleasurable experience for me. I found the consultants to be helpful, open and quite pleasant. I was welcomed into their homes with no hesitation on their part. Although I was offered refreshment in each case, I refused because I did not want to impose on my consultants and

wanted to maintain a formality to the interview process. I did not audio-tape the interviews but rather took notes, trying to get accurate quotations. Although this process seemed to be intimidating to my consultants, I believe it to be a fairly representative sample of the interview process. Once I put the notepad down, the consultants generally relaxed and started discussing details of their working and life experiences. After the interview, I found the time on the buses to be helpful in going over the interview and reviewing my notes. To the best of my knowledge, none of my consultants have close personal relationships with one another. For example, although some of the consultants work for the same companies, they are unaware of each other. When I used personal contacts to gain access to consultants, the details of the interviews, including times and payment, were kept confidential. Although I could have had access to more people from the same companies, I avoided this to get a wide range of job experiences.

Interview Results

All the interviews were successful. In one case, however, I was left with the impression that the consultant avoided answering my questions. Since I spent over two hours with this consultant this might be incorrect, but the information about her homeworking experiences is sketchy at

best. Although I am assuming she does engage in homework, I did not get concrete information concerning income or numbers of hours worked. This lack of disclosure could have been because she is on welfare and did not want to jeopardize her livelihood. She spent most of the interview expounding on previous work experiences and explaining her perspective on life.

An element I had been concerned with at the onset of the interview process was my understanding and perhaps my over-familiarity with the subject matter. However, other than shared gender with the consultants, I found I had little in common with the women I interviewed. My lifestyle as a student has coloured my understandings and perspectives concerning women's roles in our society. The answers that I received to the question concerning women's roles in our society surprised me. I was unprepared for some of the responses. My expectation was that women would see themselves as equal to men in society. I expected more flexibility from informants about gender roles. Most of the women I interviewed expressed a traditional expectation of gender roles. This traditional role consisted of the wife being in the home as homemaker and childcare giver and the husband maintaining a role outside the home primarily as breadwinner. These elements will be discussed in Chapter Four.

My Homeworking Experience

My intention was to engage in homework myself. I wanted to partake in homebased employment in order to "employ more than one measure or mode of observational method" (Pelto and Pelto 1970:69). There are various methods an investigator can use to get information but it had been my desire to use a variety of techniques, including open-ended interviews, historical data, statistical information and participation in homework to achieve a balanced and well rounded perspective. In this investigation, I am the primary "research tool" (Pelto and Pelto 1970:67) and the experiences of homeworking would add important insights concerning the employment situation and perceived domestic conflicts with homemaking and homeworking.

I was unsuccessful in gaining employment although I tried a number of ways of finding homework. Since I did not have personal contacts that would lead to employment, I searched in a variety of other ways for home-based employment. I relied upon the Winnipeg Free Press and a booklet entitled "Home Worker's Directory of Income Opportunities" (Home Employment National Inc. 1990). For each request of information I had to send at least \$2.00. After sending off 20 applications to the addresses in the booklet, I received three responses. I chose to respond to one of the offers for which I had to send a money order for

thirty-five American dollars to receive an instruction kit. After receiving this kit, I decided not to go any further with this method of homeworking, since it required more money on my part. I was supposed to complete the bead work enclosed in the kit, send \$10.00 more and the company would then let me know if my beading was acceptable. I would then be able to buy more kits to complete the beading and they would possibly buy the completed earrings from me, if they passed inspection. I also sent for information on home-based employment in the Winnipeg Free Press, through the business ads, each time at a cost of \$5.00. All I received in response were instructions on how to get \$5.00 from other people. I never responded to any of these methods of having access to funds but I received a total of thirty-six letters requesting \$5.00 each to get mailing lists of people who would send me \$5.00 for the information. Now that I have made contacts with women engaging in homeworking, I would probably be able to find a position homeworking. However, since my research period has come to a close, I will not be pursuing homework. Homeworking, as will become clear by my analysis, is an expensive undertaking and therefore is not my first choice for employment style. It has also become apparent through the interview process that most of the women who find homework do so by answering advertisements for full-time employment outside the home or through

personal contact with another women engaged in homework.

The goal of the methodology used in this thesis has not been simply to "get information" and then analyze it in a variety of ways. The goal of the methods used in this study was to gain a deeper understanding to be truly informed about nineteen lives -- nineteen women who share a pattern of work and, as will become apparent in the next chapters, a shared vulnerability.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Homeworkers

In this chapter I will supply a description of each of the nineteen consultants interviewed. The information I provide here is a synopsis of the answers I received in my interviews (see Appendix B). The questions were to allow the consultants to speak about themselves, their living arrangements, their households and their working lives. For a further understanding of their perspective on working from home, I asked a number of questions about what they see as their primary role, any job experience, educational background and general observations concerning homework they wanted to share with me. What follows is an edited version of interviews with each consultant.

Consultant One

One of the few employees of large corporations I interviewed, Consultant One is in her late thirties, pregnant and working from her home for a financial institution. She lives in a detached bungalow, with her second husband, a son from a previous marriage and a daughter from her second marriage. They are slowly making improvements to their house and property. Her husband has his own contracting business. She is a high school graduate and has taken courses given by her employer to augment her skill levels. I have classified her job as clerical. She

works compiling numerical information. Each day she receives lists of figures by courier, she then compiles the figures and calls the branches and head office. She has worked for the financial institution for over twenty years and this is the only company for which she has worked. The company actively recruited her when she graduated from high school.

She is the secondary breadwinner, married to a full-time worker. She also has access to child support for one of her three children. The \$325.00 per month she receives from the child's father pays for some of the child's expenses, including sports activities, but she is unable to save any of the money for future expenses, for instance, anticipated university tuition. Although her husband is the primary wage earner, the income she earns is important to the household to pay some of the utility bills and clothes for her and the children.

No one else in her family has done homeworking, but several conditions influenced her decision to engage in this workstyle. She went to the company to suggest she work from home when she found out she was pregnant for the third time. She had been reading in the company newsletter that employees were being encouraged to work from home. The cost of daycare for two pre-school children influenced her decision as did the residual feelings that she expressed of "guilt with going to work as a single mother". Although she does not think her son was hurt by the experience of being

in daycare "women are more suited to raising children, they think ahead and I want to be here for my girls". Her husband is helpful with the household duties; she estimated that he helps with about 20 to 50% of the daily duties. Her role as she sees it is primarily that of mother, then wife, and finally part-time worker. According to her estimates, she works an average of six hours per week. She works while her daughter is asleep for her nap and after her children are in bed for the night. She estimates naptimes to take up three to five hours a day, and at night she works after 9:00 until at least 10:30 each evening (the discrepancy in hours will be discussed in the Chapter Five).

She suggested working from her home to her employer in order to retain employment and maintain access to health and pension benefits. The advantages she sees in homework over outside employment are: she is home with her family; there are few interruptions; there is no special wardrobe to purchase; there is a greater comfort to the working conditions; there are no lunches to purchase and no parking spaces to worry about. However, she expressed frustration in the lack of reimbursement for equipment and supplies and the lack of breaks. She plans to look for outside employment as soon as her young children begin school because she misses the contact with other adults. She would like an occasional break from her family.

Consultant Two

Consultant Two is in her early forties, married with two school-age children. She lives in a detached two-story four-bedroom bungalow. Her husband is self-employed. She completed high school and three years of Bible college but found that her typing skills obtained in high school were the most useful in acquiring employment.

I have defined this consultant's job as an office clerk. Although she defines herself as self-employed she has worked transcribing records for over fifteen years. She got the job by applying at an office, passing an interview and a typing test. The transcriptions are brought to her home by courier; she types them into a computer and calls for a pick up when the transcription is complete. She also works on a contractual basis for a church. She types all of their office information, bulletins and correspondence.

Her salary constitutes approximately 50% of the household income. With this salary she pays for household expenditures, such as private school for the two children, taxes, dentist bills, her car expenses, (the household maintains two vehicles) and all personal needs such as clothes, vacations and toiletries. She is one of the two homeworkers I interviewed who reported placing some of her earnings in a Retirement Savings Plan. Other members of her family have worked from their homes, for example, her father

is a small home-based businessman.

For this consultant, homeworking was a family decision based on values she shares with her husband. Both partners wanted "a mom" in the house. Her religion is an important part of her identity and homeworking allows her to remain in the home while earning an income. Homework gives her freedom to work in clothes of her choice, to be home with the children and set her own hours. Because there is no accountability for changing hours, when needed she can work as late or start as early as she requires. She remarked that there are days when she works until late at night, meaning until 1:00 a.m. There is pressure to get the work done, since a courier picks the work up in the morning and delivers more. The equipment she uses is her own and she supplies all of her own office supplies. She has considered working outside the house but this conflicts with her personal beliefs. Her primary role is as mother, secondary role is as a wife and finally she considers herself a part-time worker.

Consultant Three

Consultant Three is in her early twenties with one child under a year old. She is married and both partners work for the same company. Her husband is employed as a salesperson for a car company. This woman and her family live in a new detached three-bedroom bungalow. She is a high

school graduate with vocational training. Her job experience has included working as a waitress at one restaurant until she worked her way to assistant manager, then for another company as an accountant.

This is one of the consultants I have defined as a teleworker (the majority of her worktime is spent on the telephone). Consultant Three's work as a teleworker is to do customer follow-ups by telephone. The purpose of her job is to supply feedback to the head office. The job was suggested to her by her husband's employer. After hearing the job description, she designed a form and set up the method of work. As far as she is aware, she is the only employee for this company engaged in this type of work from home.

She bases her hours of work on the naptimes of her infant son, however she neglects to report the one evening a week she works from 7:00 to 10:00 p.m. and the occasional Saturday mornings. Her work is result-based; she must contact and interview people before her job is complete and payment made.

Her income as reported to me "makes the difference between being able to afford our house and having to sell". Her husband had been through an unsuccessful business venture before taking his current job and her income is maintaining the family. She wanted a job that would allow her to remain in the home and live in a manner compatible with her religious beliefs. In the interview, she remarked

that she plans to take another part-time job in the evenings and weekends to "pay for weddings and other social events that will need to be paid for."

Two of her family members have been homeworkers; both her mother and brother have worked as teleworkers selling products via the telephone.

Her self-defined primary role is as a mother and secondly as a wife. Her work, although important, is not identified by her as essential; she says she started doing this work because she was bored being at home. She does not contemplate working outside the home again since her religious beliefs include the wife/mother remaining in the home.

Consultant Four

Consultant Four is a single woman in her early twenties. She does not have any children nor does she share her home with anyone. Currently she is living in her mother's detached bungalow. Her mother continues to pay the mortgage on the home. Consultant Four has a bachelor's degree. Her previous work experiences include work as a bank teller and a chambermaid.

She is currently employed as a teleworker. She started working for her employer as a casual replacement nurse. However, the company approached her to work from her home as a placement clerk. Her job is to answer calls - indicated by

a pager - and then using a list of personnel supplied to her, make alternate arrangements to fill the positions. She works in the evenings on the phone. However, during the day she contacts other employees to assess their availability "to remain on top of her job".

She expressed dissatisfaction with her income level from homeworking. Although she does not have a mortgage payment, she is responsible for the utility and tax bills on the property, food and all other expenses, including the running of a vehicle. She expressed a number of different opinions concerning her job and the position of women in the household. "Homeworking," she suggested "would be a good position for a woman who wants to stay at home with her children". For herself, she is unhappy with homeworking because of the limited contact with other people. She is currently looking for alternate employment because she would like to work as a nurse not as a placement agent for a nursing company. Her personal goals include nursing part-time and being a full-time mother and wife.

Consultant Five

Consultant Five is in her mid-twenties, unmarried and without children. She is living in a two bedroom apartment and uses public transportation. She shares the living expenses with a roommate. She is one of the two women I interviewed considered a visible minority. She is completing

her Master's degree. Her job experience was working in customer service. She applied for the homeworking job through the Winnipeg Press and was working for a research facility.

Consultant Five is engaged doing telephone surveys. The work consists of telephoning people to complete questionnaires on the telephone in the evenings. The average questionnaire takes one hour but the time varies. She is paid on the basis of completed questionnaires and therefore spends additional time trying to contact her informants and arranging times to complete the interviews.

She supports herself and covers all household bills with her salary. Homeworking has been a useful means of making money for her living expenses. She finds her employers to be inattentive to her concerning the success of the questionnaire. She remarked they were uninterested in her feedback about whether the questionnaire was meeting the agenda of the survey. During the interview, the equipment she uses consists of a telephone, the questionnaires and pencils. Once the interview is complete the results of the telephone work are entered into her computer. The only office supplies given to her by the employer were the questionnaires. No one else in her family has done homeworking and she finds it inconvenient. She thought her output was not as great as it would have been if she were working in a central location. She works on her bed because

it is a comfortable spot to sit for the hours needed to talk to her informants.

Her primary identification was first that of full-time student and then part-time worker.

Consultant Six

Consultant Six is in her early forties, a divorced mother of two children. She has sole guardianship of her two teenage children since their father lives in another city in Canada. She lives in a three bedroom townhouse for which she pays the mortgage. This consultant relies on public transportation. She has completed high school. Her working experience was minimal having only worked before her marriage as a sales clerk. She has been as a homemaker for five years.

This consultant is engaged in telework, soliciting goods for a charitable organization. She applied for the job after seeing an ad in the Winnipeg Free Press. She was actually applying for an office job when this job was offered to her. She works during the days and evenings. The method of payment is based on hours spent working on the phone with a bonus for calls that result in items being picked up. Much of her day is spent dialing the telephone and not connecting with potential clients. This time is not included in the hours form she submits to the employer. As well, she is not reimbursed for the time she spends going

into the main office once a week. Even so, she must take the route lists into the office if she wants to be paid.

Consultant Six provides primary financial support for herself and her children, although she receives child support which helps to pay some of her children's expenses. But as she observed, her ex-husband does not live in the same city and is not aware of the costs of maintaining two teenagers. Her income pays her mortgage, utilities, food and her personal health and clothing expenses.

She described the advantages of working from home as including no need for a specific wardrobe for work, the ability to stay inside in inclement weather, the leisure to take a minute out to do laundry or take a drink. She can also manage her schedule around that of her children. She has worked for this company for five years and feels that having the job has been great. It has allowed her a level of confidence, for instance, she was able to purchase her townhouse. She expressed mild frustration with a lack of health care programs and no other benefits, the lack of contact with other people and the inability to get out of the house. Her primary role is that of mother, secondary is that of housekeeper and finally that of part-time worker.

Consultant Seven

Consultant Seven is in her mid-forties, divorced, with two grown children who no longer reside with her. She occupies a two bedroom bungalow which she rents from her mother. This consultant is a high school graduate who has taken a variety of courses over the years including computer courses, managerial skill courses and assertiveness training. She has had varied job experiences from waitressing to working as a cashier.

This consultant is on social assistance and makes extra money through retail sales from her home. Her income derived from homeworking is strictly an estimate and I suspect she does not declare the income. The income from homeworking and social assistance pay for all her expenses. She also relies on public transportation. She found the homeworking employment through a friend who also sells a variety of products for a number of companies from her home. She was quite vague about the amount of money she is making and how she is making it.

For her there are disadvantages to working from her home; she finds it lonely and isolating. She is currently looking for other ways to make money from her home, hoping to perhaps make friends and make enough to stop reliance on social assistance.

Consultant Eight

Consultant Eight is in her mid-twenties, married with two children (one preschool). This family of four lives in a two-bedroom apartment. Her husband is a full-time student who works part-time. The consultant is a high school graduate with business college training. She has worked previously as an administrative assistant.

I have classified her as a clerk. She works for a company labeling and mailing flyers and has worked for this company for five years. The job consists of typing the labels, verifying them for accuracy, labeling the flyers and then taking the flyers to the post office. She started working for the company at the office but she suggested working from home when they needed her to work more hours. The constraint on her working hours was her limited access to childcare. Her husband is unable to spend very many hours looking after the children due to his dual roles as student and employee.

For this woman the advantages of working from home include the flexibility of making her own hours while still having contact with other people. This consultant works in the daytime, while her children are either at school or napping. She does not report hours to the employer that are spent fixing equipment, meeting clients and delivering items either to the client or the post office. The job requires her to take time to go into the office to get the flyers and

addresses. The equipment she uses is her own; the company has not offered to reimburse her for the usage of her own machinery, including an IBM Selectric typewriter and a car to pick up the flyers and deliver them to the post office.

Her income pays for approximately half of the household expenses. She tries to work as much as possible to keep her employer happy and therefore willing to give her work. Her sister has also worked from home selling artificial flowers.

Her primary role is mother. She suggests that it is the "women's obligation to take care of the family". Although she thinks women should be able to work if they want to, "they must first take care of their families".

Consultant Nine

Consultant Nine worked until last year for a governmental institution. She is in her mid-sixties, with five adult children and one grandchild who she takes care of during the day. She lives in a large bungalow with her husband and the occasional returning child. Her husband works as an independent contractor and cannot rely on a consistent income all year round. She has completed high school and two years towards a general degree. She worked briefly before her marriage as an office clerk.

She started working as a homemaker shortly after her husband's business failed approximately twenty years ago. She was looking around the City of Winnipeg for work, afraid

the family would lose the house, when a friend told her about working from home and suggested she apply to the government for a job.

Consultant Nine worked mostly during the daytime, depending on the interviewees' needs and the requirements of each survey. One of the components of her job was to train other interviewers. She did not accurately report the time she spent working or training because as she remarked "the girls often needed more than the allotted time". She also spent time driving to clients' homes to make initial contact. Even though she worked more hours, she did not report any time over her allotted twenty-five hours a week.

The advantage of working at home was the ability to work and take care of her grandchild while adding a much needed steady income to the household. She could judge her own hours, working more when needed. She could include household duties in her routine while she worked.

Although her earnings were integral to the household, she considers her husband the primary breadwinner. With the money she earns, she paid for her own clothes, medical supplies such as glasses, some furniture, taxes and all gifts. No one in her immediate family has ever worked doing homework, although her sister would have liked to work doing a similar job. She identified strongly with her role as a wage-earner and expresses this as her primary role in the

household even though she is no longer working. Consultant Nine is looking for employment.

Consultant Ten

Consultant Ten is in her early twenties, married with two boys of school age. She is married to a mechanic with his own business. She lives with her family in a mid-size bungalow. The family operates two vehicles, one of which belongs to her employer. The company pays the lease and employee pays maintenance, gas and insurance. She is the only consultant I interviewed who has not completed high school. Her only other experience in the job market was in a factory doing assembly work before her marriage. The income she earns from homeworking contributes to directly paying the family bills and vacations.

Consultant Ten is a retail sales manager. She has worked for this company for five years. She has a sales force of between eight to ten people; last year she had over twenty-five women in her sales force. Her job consists of selling household items and managing her sales force. This consultant works from home in the daytime and does not include any time for meetings away from her home in her estimate of time spent in homework. The meetings are at least twice a month and take approximately three hours each time. She also does not count any time spent picking-up and delivering items.

This consultant is very happy with homework, she describes this workstyle as ideal. The advantages to her are flexibility; she dresses for success and meets lots of people. She describes her employer as supportive, receptive to her suggestions and helpful with setting personal goals. The only equipment she uses other than her car are the telephone, pen, paper and date book.

Her primary role is as mother; her secondary role is as a worker. She does not view her current job as a career, however, she does not foresee doing anything else for a living. As she remarked "too many women are taking up too many jobs. Fewer women should be working because they are taking too many jobs away from men and causing men to have low self-esteem. Too many people are involved in the raising of children, the mothers should be doing it." This consultant states that her religious commitment and her belief in "Christian values" are influencing factors in her life.

Consultant Eleven

Consultant Eleven is in her early thirties and a single mother of an infant under the age of one year. She lives in a duplex from which she rents out the upstairs apartment in the house to other tenants to help pay the mortgage on the home. She occupies the main floor of the house which has two bedrooms; the basement is not usable as a living space. Her

work areas are scattered throughout the living space, particularly the living room. This homemaker is the sole breadwinner in her household.

This consultant works as a garment worker, designing and sewing costumes. She has a bachelor's degree. She has had varied working experiences including market research on the telephone, working at fishing lodges in the summer and teaching art classes. Working from home was her suggestion to her employer because she found working conditions at the central work place very poor and thought she would be more comfortable working from home. However, she found the work schedule to be difficult once she had her baby. She will be putting the baby in daycare to give her free time to work. She tries to work in the daytime whenever she can get a few minutes and reports spending many hours working at night while her baby sleeps. This consultant claims to work only twenty hours a week but this is not the case. She spends hours on weekly meetings, fittings, and long hours spent designing and working on costumes. She is not compensated for additional time spent on these activities or the additional time spent reworking designs and making alterations. She supplies her own equipment which includes a sewing machine and a drafting table.

Other members of her family are engaged in homework, including two sisters (one sister works for the media, calling in reports from home), and her mother who

occasionally sells food items from home with one of the sisters. She sees her primary role as a part-time worker. Her ideal working situation would be to work at home with the occasional work to do outside the home to meet people. Included in this ideal scenario are the services of a full-time nanny to help care for her child.

Consultant Twelve

Consultant Twelve is in her mid-thirties, divorced with two pre-school children. She is one of two consultants I interviewed who works outside the home full-time and engages in homework part-time. She rents a two-bedroom mobile home. She has a male friend who lives with her and pays some of the expenses. She is a high school graduate and has taken computer courses. She has worked in her outside employment for fourteen years and has worked for the homework employer for four years. She works as a contract specialist. Her previous working experience was as a clerk. She uses the money she earns from homework for fun money (which she describes as money for gifts and new clothes); her salary from her outside employment pays all the bills. However, she does not receive any child support because her ex-husband does not work. She bears the complete costs of maintaining her two children.

I have classified her homework as retail sales. She sells cosmetics and skincare items. She describes working

only two hours a week, however, this is a gross underestimate. In addition to her reported hours, she attends two different meetings a month. She also does not include any time spent picking-up and delivering products or contacting clients in her time estimate. Part of her job includes holding demonstration parties. A demonstration party involves setting the time up with the client and arranging products at the client's home. The demonstration takes approximately four hours, not including time spent in transit.

The advantages to homework as viewed by this consultant are the flexibility of the work and the nature of the products she sells. She describes the products as "good for the morale." She had always wanted to be a cosmetician.

She defines her primary role as a homemaker for this particular company, her secondary role is as an outside full-time worker and lastly a mother. If she could, she would work full-time for the homeworking company, but does not feel it would bring in enough money. "Women are born for the role of taking care of people and too many women ignore their natural instincts."

Consultant Thirteen

Consultant Thirteen is in her early fifties, married with three children who no longer live with her. She resides with her husband in a large new bungalow. Her husband is the

primary breadwinner. She has completed high school and business college. She worked before marriage as a sales clerk.

This consultant works as a sales manager with a sales force of more than twenty actively working women. She has worked for this homeworking company for eleven years. She was recruited for the company by a friend. She had completed business college and was looking for employment. This consultant invited me to her monthly staff meeting which I attended (see Appendix E). She is also one of the only two consultants who had a separate room for her working area. She used one of the upstairs bedrooms as her personal office.

Consultant Thirteen, much like Consultant Ten, works mainly in the daytime. However she does not include any meetings that she conducts or attends in her estimate of time spent on homework. These meetings are at least twice a month. As described in Appendix E, the meeting was three hours long, not including time spent preparing food items and tables to demonstrate products, or organising an agenda and a speaker.

Her homeworking income is used on car maintenance and personal items. The lease payments on the car are made by her employer. She does not pay any of the direct expenses in the maintenance of the household. She has made retirement plans and has co-purchased a piece of property to build a

retirement home with her husband. Her "income pays for all the extras that I want. I like to send money to my children and try to help them a little."

The advantages she enjoys from homeworking are setting her own goals and flexible hours. Her decision to start homeworking was based on "personal growth, the kids had left and I needed something to do." However, she also had some observations concerning the disadvantages of working from home. "You tend to put in more hours, tend to think too much about your job and your spouse doesn't believe you have a real job." She ranks her roles in the order of wife, then mother and finally homemaker. Nevertheless she perceives her working arrangement as ideal.

Consultant Fourteen

Consultant Fourteen is in her mid forties, married with three grown children who no longer live at home. She and her husband live in a rented two bedroom townhouse. She is the second of my consultants who can be considered a visible minority. This consultant is also a landed immigrant from Central America. She has a university degree in business administration. She reported having been a manager of a garment factory before immigrating to Canada.

She currently works as a garment worker on a sewing machine. She started with this company three years ago as a garment worker in the factory, but when the owners went

bankrupt they offered her a machine to buy and a position as a homemaker. The material she sews is flannelette and she is paid by the piece. She had never worked on a sewing machines until she came to Canada. She is the sole breadwinner in her household. With the money she earns as a homemaker, she pays all the expenses related to her household. She relies on public transportation. Her husband has been unable to find work in Canada.

This consultant reports working sixty hours a week. She does as much work as the company will give her. Her hours of work are from early in the morning until the work is complete, occasionally very late in the evening.

She finds her employer supportive "except when they want the work fast." She defines herself as a full-time worker but "I do not want other people to know what I do for a living."

Consultant Fifteen

Consultant Fifteen is in her early forties, remarried with two school age children from her first marriage. She lives in a small bungalow. She has a bachelors of music degree and worked as a waitress and a private music teacher before she started working for her present employer. She teaches music to clients in her home. She applied to her current employer when she heard from a friend they were hiring music teachers. She has worked for the company for

more than ten years.

Until she remarried two years ago, her income was the only income in the home. Now she relies on her husband's income as primary income. Although she has two children from a previous marriage, she does not receive child support. Even though her income is now secondary, she still pays many of the household bills.

For this homemaker the advantages of working from home were no daycare costs; she was there for the children and the hours were somewhat flexible. The company puts pressure on her to accept more students than she feels she can teach. The equipment she uses is hers and consists of musical instruments, telephone, and pen and paper. Consultant Fifteen reports as work only the hours she spends teaching and none of the hours spent preparing for and reporting on pupils. She is responsible for preparing and maintaining records for approximately twenty-six students.

She sees her primary role as part-time worker and mother. This consultant is still adjusting to her partner and hopes to eventually work outside the home as a music teacher.

Consultant Sixteen

Consultant Sixteen is in her early forties, and married with three school-age children. This family lives in a small bungalow. This consultant is a high school graduate and has

some computer courses. Her husband works as a salesperson.

This consultant's job is in sales. She sells household items and baking supplies from her home. She was referred to this job through a friend who also sells the same items she does. She is the secondary breadwinner in the household, Her income is used to pay the expenses on a second family vehicle, utilities, and expenses related to the children. She has working experience as a cook and cashier in restaurants and some clerical experience.

Working from home allows her to have flexible hours to be around the children. "Children need their mothers at home even when they are older." Homework, in sales allows her to make additional money when she needs it by putting in extra hours. "I also really support the product." Consultant Sixteen reported to me working ten hours a week. However, similar to the other sales people involved in this survey, she does not include hours spent in meetings, picking-up and delivering products or contacting her clientele in her estimate of time spent on work.

Her religion has influenced her decision to stay at home. "If women have children under eighteen they should be home." She defines her primary role as wife, mother and housekeeper.

Consultant Seventeen

Consultant Seventeen is in her early thirties and has one preschool child. She is married to a fulltime worker. She is one of two consultants I interviewed who earn two salaries, one from homeworking and one from an outside full-time occupation. Her husband is the primary breadwinner in the household. They live in a three bedroom house and maintain one vehicle. She is a high school graduate.

This consultant sells household items in her homeworking job and works as a clerk at her full-time occupation. She was introduced to homework by a friend who also sells the same product. The family uses the money she earns from homeworking to pay for "items there is never enough money for at the end of the month." These include insurance payments on the vehicle and gifts. Much like the other salespeople in this survey, this consultant neglects to report time spent attending meetings, picking-up and delivering items or giving a demonstration party when she counts time spent in work. She gives a demonstration party at least once a month.

In her judgement, the advantages to working from home are the flexibility in setting one's own hours and spending time with family while still working. Her eventual goal is to sell the product full-time and leave her outside employment. "I want to try this in the future and am trying to build up a good clientele." She believes "staying home

with my child and any future children would help to make a more relaxed life." Her brother and sister-in-law are involved in another sales company from their home. This woman sees her primary role as mother and then full-time worker.

Consultant Eighteen

Consultant Eighteen is married, in her early forties with two school-age children. She stayed home with the children for more than fifteen years before she found this job. Her husband is the primary breadwinner. The family lives in a three-bedroom home. She has a high school certificate and has worked in a teleworking position for two years.

Her job consists of working on the telephone, soliciting goods, such as used household items, from individuals to resell. For this employee, the advantages to working from home include not having to spend money on bus passes, extra clothes, makeup or hair; she can smoke; and she has the flexibility to change her working hours as needed. She had to purchase a headset to work on the telephone because she found that working for long hours on the regular headset of a telephone was very uncomfortable. She requested that the company reimburse her for the purchase but with no success.

Her income from homeworking is used to pay off a car loan and utility payments. Although her income is used to pay for the family vehicle, she relies on public transportation to submit her forms to the main office once a week. "Women should be home raising young kids. Kids always need mom to be at home for the first sixteen years; maybe after that I can get a part-time job." This consultant remarked, "I wear a lot of hats." But she also said that her most important role is that of mother, then housekeeper and finally part-time worker. The disadvantages to working at home are the interruptions and the lack of time to socialize. She commented "I wouldn't do this job as a volunteer."

Consultant Nineteen

Consultant Nineteen is in her late thirties, married with one pre-school child. She is the sole breadwinner in her household. Her husband was laid off and has been unable to find another job. Her income is supplemented with "help from the in-laws." However, she pays all household expenses, including the mortgage and the running costs of one vehicle. She lives with her husband and child in a three bedroom home. She is a high school graduate with some business courses. Before she went on maternity leave she held a job as a credit manager for over five years. She was hired after answering an advertisement in the Winnipeg Free Press.

This consultant sells toys. She works every morning from at least 8:00 a.m. to noon and every evening from 6:00 p.m. to 11 p.m., five days a week and most of the day on Saturday. Unlike some of the other salespeople I interviewed, this consultant does not have regular meetings to attend. However, she does not include time spent picking-up, packaging and delivering the items she sells when she estimates the time she spends on homework. This consultant relies on daycare to take care of her child in the mornings.

She had been working at the job for two years before her husband was laid off; she did not start this job to replace the husband's lost income. Her initial decision to start homework was due to boredom and her desire to speak to other adults. The advantage to working from home for her is the maintenance of the household. The disadvantages as she expresses them are the lost opportunities, not seeing other adults during the day, and the difficulty of separating home from work. She expressed a frustration with the "lack of respect" for her work. Her primary roles are of full-time worker and full-time mother.

In conclusion, these brief snapshots of the consultants' lives serve to illustrate some of the points that will be emphasized in the next chapter. For instance, the descriptions of hours, the self-perception of roles, and the reasons for engaging in homework will all be analyzed.

As has been shown these women are all different but as will be shown the experiences of homework sets them apart as a group.

CHAPTER FIVE

Economics - The Realities of Homework

This chapter will cover the analysis of the interviews. By using charts and descriptive details, the similarities and differences concerning the economic and personal details of my consultants' lives will become clear. However, the most important characteristic to be revealed in this analysis is the homeworkers' vulnerability. Economic vulnerability as a characteristic of homework was not an assumption when I started this project but, as the circumstances of their working lives were illuminated, it became clear to me that homeworkers are more exposed than outside workers to exploitation from their employers. Homeworkers supply most of their working supplies, work longer than reported hours and try to combine with varying success family and wage labour duties. My sample was purposely taken from a wide variety of job descriptions and therefore does not give a specific indication of trends within one particular occupation (see Table no. 1). But the following information demonstrates how similar to other women homeworkers are when compared to the general population of Winnipeg. I have selected some criteria to centre my discussion of these informants. I have also selected issues that have been the focus of other discussions concerning homeworking, for instance the

importance of caring for small children in the choice of workstyle.

Table no. 1
Homeworkers by Occupation Classification, Age and
Number of Children in Home
Winnipeg, 1995

Homeworker	Occupation	Age	Number of children in home
1	clerical	36-40	3 (2 preschool)
2	clerical	41-45	2
3	telework	21-25	1 (preschool)
4	telework	21-25	0
5	telework	21-25	0
6	telework	41-45	2
7	sales	46-50	2
8	clerical	21-25	2 (1 preschool)
9	telework	66-70	5 (1 grandchild/preschool)
10	sales	31-35	2
11	garment	31-35	1 (preschool)
12	sales	31-35	2 (preschool)
13	sales	51-55	3
14	garment	46-50	3
15	teaching	41-45	2
16	sales	41-45	3
17	sales	26-30	1 (preschool)
18	telework	41-45	2
19	sales	36-40	1 (preschool)

Homeworkers: Everywoman

This section will go over the specifics of my sample and draw comparisons between my consultants and the "average" woman represented by use of Canadian statistics. It will become clear that the homeworkers in my survey vary little from their counterparts working in the public labour force. In the previous chapter, I recounted a little about their jobs and their lives. The particulars of their economic circumstances will be covered in this portion of the thesis. What will become clear is that these homeworkers do not fill some unknown category in the world; they do not differ from other women in society. They work, live, marry, divorce and have children like other people in society, but somehow they have been unseen and uncounted due to their working life. They do not fall into some category of ethnic, poor or under-educated. Instead, the homeworkers I interviewed are "everywoman".

The elements I have established as average are based on categories of social experience for Winnipeg residents (see the Market Research Handbook 1992, Appendix F). My consultants for the most part live in nuclear family households (see Table no. 2). Fourteen of the nineteen households are headed by two parents, three of the households consist of women and their dependant children, and two are single persons. This profile is similar to most

of the families living in Winnipeg. As with many other families in Winnipeg, most of the consultants I interviewed live in single family households and in private dwelling structures. Like many other Winnipeggers, my consultants are paying mortgages on their homes; only two of my consultants rent property. Most of the homes I had the privilege of entering were small semi-detached bungalows (see Table no.3). I also did not visit any one particular area of the city. I went to many parts of the city, to the densely populated areas of Downtown and then to the suburbs, both the newer areas and the older areas. The homeworkers I interviewed did not display evidence to show that their lifestyle is not identical to that of their neighbour's.

The women I interviewed have a high level of education. Only one of my consultants has not completed high school, Consultant Ten. All of the other consultants have completed, at the minimum, high school (see Table no. 4). In fact, many of the homeworkers I interviewed have more than high school as an academic qualification and, in addition to their educational experience, they have practical working experience. My observations concerning the educational background of my consultants concur with Heck's (1987) study on homeworkers. Heck discovered in her profile of home-based workers that among the female sample of homeworkers there was a high rate of high-school graduates and a lack of young mothers as at-home workers. According to her investigation,

it is clear "those who have completed grades six through eight and those who completed high school and obtained some training are more prone to home-based work" (1987:18). Interestingly, Heck's sample includes many types of home-based workers, not just home-based employees.

The majority of my consultants are white and of Western-European ethnic experience. Of the nineteen women I interviewed, only two can be described as belonging to visible minority groups and only one of these women is currently of landed immigrant status. All the other women I interviewed are like the majority of Winnipeggers, white and not newly arrived immigrants.

It also does not appear that the women I interviewed are being hired predominantly by small local businesses. Unlike what Orser suggests about small business in Ontario where some homeworkers are hired in a "boosterism" of local business (Orser 1987:16), only three of the workers I interviewed were hired by local businesses. The elements of the advantages to employers in hiring homeworkers will be covered in a later section.

Table no. 2
 Age and Marital Status of Homeworkers
 Winnipeg, 1995

Homeworker	Age	Marital Status
1	36-40	re-married
2	41-45	married
3	21-25	married
4	21-25	single
5	21-25	single
6	41-45	divorced
7	46-50	divorced
8	21-25	married
9	66-70	married
10	31-35	married
11	31-35	single
12	31-35	divorced
13	51-55	married
14	46-50	married
15	41-45	re-married
16	41-45	married
17	26-30	married
18	41-45	married
19	36-40	married

Table no. 3
 Number in Household and Living Arrangements of Homeworkers
 Winnipeg, 1995

Homeworker	Number in Household	Living Arrangements
1	5	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing
2	4	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing
3	3	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing
4	1	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing
5	1	1-2 bedroom apartment with roommate, rental
6	3	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing
7	1	1-2 bedroom, rental
8	4	apartment, 1-2 bedroom, rental
9	7	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing
10	4	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing
11	2	1-2 bedroom, mortgage owing
12	4	1-2 bedroom, mortgage owing
13	2	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing
14	2	1-2 bedroom, rental
15	4	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing
16	5	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing
17	3	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing
18	4	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing
19	3	3-4 bedroom, mortgage owing

Table no. 4
 Highest Educational Levels Attained by Homeworkers
 Winnipeg, 1995

Homeworker	Highest Educational Levels
1	High school graduate, courses through the company
2	High school graduate, 3 years Bible College
3	High school graduate
4	Bachelors
5	Masters
6	High school graduate
7	High school graduate, independent computer courses
8	High school graduate, business courses
9	High school graduate, 2 years University -arts
10	Grade Ten
11	Bachelors
12	High School graduate, courses through other job
13	High school graduate, business courses
14	Bachelors, english courses
15	Bachelors
16	High school graduate, computer courses
17	High school graduate
18	High school graduate
19	High school graduate

The Jobs

Unfortunately, women's early labour force participation is difficult to assess since women's occupations were not counted in Canada until 1891. However, in this first census (1891) when women were counted as members of society, it was

noted that women consistently fell into certain job categories. "In 1891 the ten leading female occupations were: servant, dressmaker, teacher, farmer, seamstress, tailoress, saleswomen, housekeeper, laundress and milliner" (Dept. of Labour of Canada 1964:1). A gradual urbanization of the population in Canada took place from 1896 to 1921 when needlework became an alternative to domestic service. Commenting on this early time period, Wilson stresses, "employment statistics do not include the thousands of women who did day work in other women's homes or who worked in their own homes at jobs such as piece-work for the garment trade" (1986:80). The Canadian economy underwent changes with further urbanization and increased garment importation changing the jobs held by women. The female enclave jobs grew to include nursing, teaching, sales and office work as well as garment work. In the 1991 census, it became clear that women are continuing to fill these same job categories. Even in my small sampling, women continue to occupy the same job categories as their counterparts working outside the home. According to Manitoba statistics, in 1991, women worked in the following job categories: health and social services; commercial services; goods producing industries; retail trade; education. My consultants worked in commercial services (teleworking and clerical); goods producing industries (garment); retail trade; education and health and social services (nursing) (see Table no. 1). These realities

give support to the argument by Orser and Foster that common categories of home-occupations are included in "traditional" home industries such as "day-care, music lessons, crafts, sewing and domestic cleaning services." This can be because these are seen as extensions or part of the "traditional household activity" (1992:23).

In discussing job descriptions with my consultants it became obvious that they work longer hours than they report, giving evidence to the argument that they are consistently underpaid for their work. The workers I interviewed tend to occupy a low-skill level of employment, with long hours and no benefits. The previous working experience of the consultants show the same trends of working areas. These consultants consistently work within female enclaves particularly the service industries and clerical work (see Table no. 5). The impact of the hours worked will be discussed separately.

Even though there has not been an extensive examination of this form of labour by other researchers there are, it seems, consistencies among homeworkers. After interviewing nineteen women, common elements become obvious. In the following discussion I will go over a description of the work. As will become evident by the amount of training the homeworkers received, homeworking for the most part does not require specialised skills. Indeed, the jobs are monotonous with little chance of advancement.

Table no. 5
 Previous and Current Working Experience of Homeworkers
 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Homeworker	Previous and Current Working Experience
1	twenty years with current company
2	fifteen years with current companies
3	two years waitress, three years office work
4	2 years chambermaid, four years office work
5	waitress, telework
6	salesclerk before marriage
7	waitress work, clerical work, varied positions, never held a job for more then a couple of years
8	ten years with current company
9	before marriage clerical work then later seventeen years with current company
10	before marriage factory work, current company for five years
11	telework, summers camps, teaching, current company for five years
12	worked for other company for fourteen years, current company for 4 years
13	worked before marriage as salesclerk, current company for eleven years
14	manager in previous country, current company for three years
15	before first marriage waitress, worked for current company for eleven years
16	before marriage worked as cook/cashier, office clerk, current company for two years
17	worked for other company for eleven years, has worked concurrently with company for five years
18	current company for two years
19	manager for six years

Children in the Home

One of the objectives of this thesis is to gain an understanding of the women who homework. Therefore I have tried to gather information concerning how they live, who they live with, and whether having children in the home will influence the way they work and the desire to work from home (see Table no. 1). Of the nineteen women I interviewed, eight have preschool children. Of these eight women, four rely on daycare to care for their pre-school children. Christensen (1988b:5) also found in her survey of homeworkers in the United States that "one half of the professional and clerical women with young children rely on paid or unpaid child care to get their work done". Two of these four women also work full-time outside the home for wages. The other two women work from their homes as their only form of wage earning. These latter two women generally expressed a frustration with the difficulty of working while tending to children. In particular, consultant eleven finds working from home difficult when also tending for a small infant. This consultant does not have a helpmate and her working conditions do not lend themselves well to having a small child. Most of the women who have preschool children work around their children's hours, for instance while the children are sleeping.

Of the other eleven women, two have no children as yet, five have school age children and four have adult children who no longer live at home. The women who have either older children or no children seem to find the fewest impediments to their work from home. The school age children have regular school hours and the homeworkers can schedule blocks of time to engage in their work. However, most of these homeworkers are required to take time at night to complete their duties as homeworkers. In some cases the work is done with children in the house occupied by television, school work and or generally amusing themselves. For instance, most of Consultant Sixteen's (music teacher) working hours are after school and in the early evening hours; only recently did she have a helpmate caring for her children while she works.

Most of the women I interviewed expressed the view that being a mother is of paramount importance to their self-view. However, working from home while looking after children, especially pre-school children, seems to be difficult. Pre-school children, according to the women in this sample, need immediate and focused attention that can be frustrating to the working parent. More complete studies concerning this element of homeworking should be undertaken to observe whether the satisfaction level with remaining at home balances the frustration expressed by women with pre-school children in the home.

Educational Levels

One of the elements I found surprising is the high level of education among my sample (see Table no. 4). I did not actively search women with a certain level of education, but my sample is self-selected. My sample indicates homeworkers in general to be quite well educated. Only one of the women in my sample has not completed high school and six have completed at least one degree at the post-secondary level.

However, the work these women are doing does not reflect this high level of education. In all cases, the work is fairly simplistic and, once learned, does not offer steps of increasing difficulty. Even with women who have reached the management level in retail sales, the amount of autonomy and self-direction is focused on the amount of sales, not an increased *savoir-faire* in clientele or products. The only changing factor in the worklife of these women is the new product lines, with which they are supposed to be familiar. Most of the work is directly related to easily learned skills, such as telephone skills, sales, garment work and clerical work. The women who used computers for their work used them for data processing and spread-sheet calculations. However these skills were learned outside the homeworking experience and were not required by the employer and therefore the employees were not reimbursed for their skill

levels. The only job that seemed to require the level of education attained by the homemaker was the job of music instructor.

The educational level of the homeworkers in this study is comparable to the general population. Perhaps the level of education is more indicative of the high level of education in the general populace of Canadian society rather than a level of education searched out by homeworking employers.

Levels of Income

One of the fundamental questions of the thesis is how important homeworking is to the survival of the household. A purpose of the interview was to estimate the levels of income earned by homeworking. Interview data demonstrates homeworking to be an important source of earning for these households. The consultants' economic contributions are integral to the functioning of their households. Without the incomes from homeworking these households could not maintain their current standard of living.

Six of the nineteen women I interviewed depend on homework as the primary source of household income (see Table no. 6). These six consultants depend upon the income they earn by homeworking to pay for necessities for their households, including utilities, mortgages and food (see Table no. 7). These six consultants share living arrangement

characteristics. Two of the consultants are single women living on their own (Consultants Four and Five). The other three consultants, include two married women (Consultants Eleven and Nineteen) whose husbands are unable to earn a living. In one case the husband was recently laid off, due to cutbacks in middle-management in his company. The other husband has been unable to find employment since arriving in this country. These two households are particularly vulnerable to conditions of employment because of their dependence upon homeworking wages. Although the particular circumstances of their jobs are different for each case the outcome is similar. If these women do not work, the family will not maintain its current standard of living.

The other thirteen women are secondary breadwinners, relying on a male partner for the primary source of household income. The people I have identified as earners are household members over the age of eighteen engaged in some form of wage labour who are contributing to the household. None of my consultants rely on wage earners under the age of eighteen, although at least three consultants (numbers One, Six, Seven) rely on additional income from outside sources, in these cases, child support. Table no. 5 displays the total amounts of household income, including the pay earned by the homeworkers as reported by them. The women who rely on a partner for a wage vary in their level of dependence. For some of the women, the partner earns the

bulk of the household earnings, while for others, their wages make up almost half of the household income. Therefore, the level of vulnerability of these households and the dependence on the homeworking wage must be examined in greater detail.

Table no. 6
 Description of Household Income by Number of Earners,
 Wages from Homework, Outside Earnings by Homemaker,
 Other Sources of Income, Earnings by Other Members
 and Total Household Income
 Winnipeg, 1995

Homeworker	Number of Earners per Household	Wages from Homework (in \$)	Outside Earnings by Homemaker (in \$)	Other Sources of Income e.g. Child Support (in \$)	Earnings by Other Members of Household (in \$)	Total Household Income (in \$)
1	2	5,000.00		3,900.00	31,100.00	40,000.00
2	2	28,000.00			32,000.00	60,000.00
3	2	6,500.00			35,500.00	42,000.00
4	1	18,000.00				18,000.00
5	1	10,000.00				10,000.00
6	1	13,000.00		4,800.00		17,800.00
7	1	3,000.00		5,580.00		8,580.00
8	2	13,000.00			13,000.00	26,000.00
9	2	18,000.00			22,000.00	40,000.00
10	2	16,000.00			34,000.00	50,000.00
11	1	13,000.00				13,000.00
12	2	4,000.00	23,000.00		28,000.00	55,000.00
13	2	20,000.00			80,000.00	100,000.00
14	1	15,000.00				15,000.00
15	2	13,000.00			27,000.00	40,000.00
16	2	8,000.00			27,000.00	35,000.00
17	2	4,000.00	24,000.00		42,000.00	70,000.00
18	2	13,000.00			27,000.00	40,000.00
19	1	10,000.00				10,000.00

Table no. 7
 Reported Use of Moneys Earned by Homeworking
 Winnipeg, 1995

Homeworker	Reported Use of Moneys Earned By Homeworking
1	some utilities, clothes for family
2	household expenses including private school for the two children, dental bills, utilities including the tax bill, car expenses, personal expenses, RRSP
3	food and utilities
4	all living expenses
5	all living expenses
6	all living expenses, except medical bills for two children and some children's clothing
7	additional income, probably used to enhance household income
8	one half all living expenses
9	own clothes, own medical supplies, some furniture, tax bill, all gifts, additional utilities when needed
10	utilities, car insurance, tax bill, own clothes, family vacation
11	all living expenses
12	additional income, additional bills, gifts
13	car payments, car insurance, RRSP, own clothes, help the children, half of purchase of retirement property
14	all living expenses
15	previously all living expenses, now tax bill, car payments, car insurance, clothes
16	some utilities, tax bill, own clothes, RRSP
17	gas money, gifts
18	loan, some utilities, whatever is needed
19	all living expenses

Uses of Homeworking Income

Allen found in her survey of homeworkers that "homeworking pay is used predominantly for essential budgetary items such as food, heating and lighting" (1983:657). This is also true for my consultants (see Table no. 7). All the consultants contributed to paying part or all the utility bills. These bills (telephone, heating, gas, electricity, etc.) must be paid for the functioning of an effective household. As already remarked, six of the consultants pay all the household expenses. However, what I found interesting is the amount of money the other consultants are adding to their households by paying expenses considered necessary to the effective functioning of their households. For instance, Consultant One pays for some of the utilities and clothes for the family. Her income has become part of the monthly budget used to keep the household viable. None of the consultants are saving the majority of their earnings to be used for another time. It would seem a reasonable expectation to anticipate that most of the income would be saved since it is not considered important to the maintenance of the household. The two consultants, who put money aside for their retirement and future plans also use some of their income to pay household bills. Consultant Two pays for her children's private school, dentist bills (one of her children requires braces)

and some utilities. Consultants Two, Nine, Fifteen, Sixteen all pay at least part of the property tax bill. Consultants Ten, Thirteen and Fifteen contribute to the operation and maintenance of a second family vehicle which they need for their employment. All the consultants are adding to the maintenance of their households in such a way that enhances or supports the lifestyle of the household members.

Hours of Work

It became apparent to me that when I discussed the hours and times they worked, my consultants did not accurately report their hours. I think this is due to a number of factors. Homework seems to be embedded within the structure of the employees' lifestyle and is not easily identifiable. This has also been noted by Hope, Kennedy and De Winter (1976) in their discussion of homeworkers. The amount of time homeworkers estimate they spend working is undervalued by these authors' estimation and my own. In my judgement, the justification for the differences between my calculations and those of homeworkers has much to do with their reasons for engaging in homework. These reasons will be discussed later in this chapter. The workday becomes part of the homeworkers overall household duties. For instance, Consultant Ten reported working an average of twenty to twenty-five hours a week. The hours she works are from 10:00

to noon and 1:00 to 3:00; two evenings a week for two to three hours each time; Saturday mornings for three hours; and she attends a rally once a week from 8:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. When I added these hours it became obvious she is working at least twenty-nine hours a week. This is also true for others in my survey. Much like the teleworkers I interviewed, the hours worked per day are at the homeworkers' discretion. But despite the assertion that they can work when they want to, they all described specific hours in the day set aside for working. The hours teleworkers work is dependent upon the successfulness of their telephone calls. For instance, if there is no answer, an attempt is made later to reach the same number. Since there are areas of the city where many household members work outside the home, it can be difficult to reach a contact. For Consultants Six and Eighteen, one of the conditions of the work is that no messages may be left on answering machines, nor are the workers permitted to talk to men. They must speak to the "woman of the house". Since their pay is also scaled to their success rate, unreported hours are spent making contacts and confirming positive responses.

As well, the women I surveyed do not consider transportation time or time spent at meetings as part of the work week even though these meetings are an integral part of their jobs. The meetings for retail personnel are when they

are introduced to new products, get support and ideas for selling techniques, and submit their orders to get paid.

I also suspect much of the time homeworkers report to me as socialising is spent with clients or potential clients, and this time is not included in reported hours. For instance, while I was in many of my consultants' homes, they received phone calls that sounded personal yet were professional. None of these phone calls were considered by the consultants to be worktime. For these reasons I have allocated more hours and reworked my consultants' expressed hours to give a better idea of how many hours per week they are working (see Table no. 8).

Table no. 8
Hours Reported, Income Reported and Rate of Pay per hour
Compared to Rates Based on Actual Hours Worked per Homemaker
Winnipeg, 1995

Home- worker	Hours Reported (hrs/week) (1)	Income reported (\$/week) (2)	Rate per Hour (in \$) (2)÷(1)	*Actual Hours Worked (hrs/week) (3)	Rate per Actual Hours (in \$) (3)÷(1)
1	6	60.00	10.00	16	3.75
2	40	538.00	13.50	50	10.75
3	15	125.00	8.30	19	6.50
4	20	300.00	15.00	30	10.00
5	20	200.00	10.00	25	8.00
6	25	187.50	7.50	30	6.25
7	4 to 6	40.00	10.00	**	
8	25	250.00	10.00	35	7.15
9	25	350.00	14.00	30	11.50
10	20	300.00	15.00	25	12.00
11	20	240.00	12.00	30	8.00
12	2	37.50	18.75	7	5.35
13	25	350.00	14.00	35	10.00
14	60	250.00	4.00	**	
15	25	250.00	10.00	35	7.15
16	10	100.00	10.00	20	5.00
17	2	50.00	25.00	7	7.15
18	20	103.00	5.15	25	4.12
19	35	192.00	5.50	45	4.25

*These hours were based on the times each woman actually worked compared to the hours they reported. These hours were calculated from a description of each consultant's day and working week.

**These cells are empty due to a lack of information from Consultant Seven and for Consultant Fourteen the high number of hours estimated are probably correct.

Rate of Pay

The examination of the hours consultants work also led me to adjust the rate of pay of homeworkers. Like other authors, Hope, Kennedy and De Winter (1976), have suggested it is difficult to ascertain accurate wage rates per hour in the discussion of homework. The schedule and quality of the work becomes embedded within the functioning of the household; the work is done in segments becoming an integral part of household operation. However, I have tried to achieve a representation of amounts while noting the contradiction between hours and rates reported by the workers and the hours I calculate (adjusted hours).

As shown in Table no. 8, the income earned by the homeworkers I interviewed ranged from \$4.00 to \$25.00 per hour. The figures are based on the gross amounts the women make per week and in all cases were estimated by the women themselves. The rate paid per hour is quite high considering the minimum wage in Manitoba was \$5.00 per hour (prior to July 1, 1995). Although the calculated wages of homeworkers interviewed may seem to be well above the minimum wage, there are several factors that should also be considered. The homeworkers I interviewed are not accurately recording their hours, as is demonstrated in Table no. 12. Once the recalculations are taken into account, the adjusted amount the employees make per hour is lowered. The number of employees making less than minimum wage rises from

one employee to four employees. As will be shown the amount of capital investment made by the employees should also be considered in the net rate of pay. Employees furnish working supplies and working areas without calculating these costs into their "real" wage.

After reviewing the information presented in this investigation, similarities in the consultants' working circumstances become clear. Table no. 9 shows that levels of income of my study group are below reported amounts by Statistics Canada. The average income for dual-earner families was \$61,079.00 in 1992 (Statistics Canada, Cat. Number 13-215,1992:20). However my dual income families earned only \$49,830.00 on average. The average household income would have been much lower had there not been the additional income from the homeworkers. The single income earners also earned below the national average. My single income households earned an average of \$13,197.00 compared to the national average of \$26,842.00 in 1994 (Canada Year Book 1994). This demonstrates my claim that the income earned by homeworking is necessary to these households.

Table no. 9
 Comparison of Average Income Levels for Homeworkers in Sample
 with Statistics Canada for both Single Income and Dual Income
 Families
 Winnipeg, 1995

Single Earner Families		Dual Earner Families	
Homeworkers in Sample	Canada*	Homeworkers in Sample	Canada**
\$ 13,197.00	\$ 26,842.00	\$ 49,830.00	\$ 61,079.00

*Canada Year Book 1994

**Statistics Canada Cat. Number 13-215, 1992

Externalized Costs

Montonen notes "for companies employing at-home clerical workers, the practice has been to exert more control over the at-home employees and at the same time externalise many costs" (1991:47). In order to evaluate the conditions of employment experienced by my sample group, I have analyzed the specifics of both their benefits and their working conditions. The conditions of employment have been covered in four ways, allowing for the widest portrayal of the homeworkers' circumstances. First I estimate overhead, the costs incurred by the employee to work from their home. This is based on information gained through Revenue Canada. Next, I give examples of the working areas and the general physical working conditions experienced by the homeworkers. Then, I compare the supplies furnished by the employer with

those supplied by the employee. Finally, I examine briefly the benefits afforded the employee working from home. A series of tables to help describe these conditions. These tables, together with description, demonstrate that the employees cover the cost of their employment.

Furthermore, the expenses generally incurred by employers include wages, payments to Canadian Pension Plan (CPP), Unemployment Insurance (UI) and Workmen's Compensation (WC). The rates of each of these plans are: CPP 2.7%; UI 3% and WC 3% of the total gross employee salary. As well, each employer pays a payroll tax that represents 1% of the total wage paid to each employee. Besides these costs of employing a work force, there are the costs of the premises, including operating expenses that consist of, but are not confined to, heating, water, lighting, telephone services and rent. These expenses are exclusive of any supplies for products being manufactured or services being sold. In the case of homeworkers, these costs have been passed onto the employee. It is the employee who covers the costs of operating the business and in most cases is not eligible for UI, CPP or WC due to the part-time, casual definition of their work.

Overhead Costs

Had I realized the relevance overhead costs would have had for my argument, I would have requested more specific information from my consultants concerning their household costs. Since I am unable to establish these costs for each consultant, I estimated costs based on my experiences for readers who would like an example of costs (see Appendix F).

Montonen has made some interesting observations concerning how companies have transferred the costs of employment to the employed home-based worker. For instance in one example in South Carolina the company "transferred telephone, electricity and maintenance costs to the women who worked at home, and in addition charged them rent on necessary equipment" (1991:47). These costs when taken into consideration with the total income earned from homework are substantial. The homeworkers I consulted are not reimbursed for this amount and bear the burden of maintaining their working areas.

Working Conditions

Because they work from home, my consultants underwrite all the costs incurred in the maintenance of their working areas. They pay for the work area and, no matter what kind of home they have or how little space they have for this work, similar traits were noted in all the working areas -

notably, a lack of adequate lighting, chairs and ventilation (see Table no. 10). All the working areas were cluttered. There was an obvious shortage of physical space and the working areas appeared to be poorly organised. In my judgement, none of the women I interviewed have the proper facilities to accommodate the work they are undertaking. The desks I observed were piled high with work in progress, files, pens, papers and forms. None of the workers appeared to have adequate storage facilities for their work documents. Only three of the consultants (numbers Two, Nine and Thirteen) have access to filing cabinets. Even in these three cases, the women appear to have too many papers to be housed completely in the filing cabinets (see Table no. 11).

Similarities between my informants and women interviewed by Mitter (1986) become obvious in the descriptions of their working areas. "Her double day consists of working for the employer as well as for the family. She does not have the freedom of going out to work, she does not have a room set aside for her work. Often she works in the corner of her living-room or in the kitchen" (1986:63). Even though Consultants One, Two, Three, Thirteen, Fourteen, and Nineteen have separate working areas from the rest of their home, these spaces are not comfortable working areas. For instance, only one of the women has a large room to adequately accommodate the supplies she has (Consultant Thirteen). Most of the women

make use of communal family areas, like the living room, the dining room or the kitchen to do their work. As stated by the consultants, the lack of separate working areas encourages a high level of interruption and reinforces the casual attitude expressed concerning this style of work. Many of the teleworkers find the only comfortable place to sit for an extended period of time is in the living room. They set up forms on their laps or on coffee tables. Consultant Nine finds the top of the dishwasher in her kitchen the most comfortable place to work. The dishwasher is next to the telephone and has a writing surface at a comfortable height.

Consultants Eleven and Fourteen are two very different types of garment workers, but neither work in circumstances safe nor healthy. Consultant Fourteen works in a dark and unventilated walk-in closet in the master bedroom. She keeps the door closed while she sews on an industrial sewing machine because the material she works with causes extra dust in the house. She takes no precautions against inhaling dust, nor does she wear protective headgear to prevent ear damage. Consultant Fourteen also works on a sewing machine for some of her employed hours. Her sewing machine is in the living room, allowing for some ventilation and lighting. However, she has an infant in the same room while she works and she takes no additional safety precautions to keep the child separate from her work area.

None of the consultants who work in family areas have the use of orthopaedic seating, nor do they have additional lighting. All the consultants use diffuse overhead lighting without specific attention to appropriate lighting for the tasks they perform. Only one of the workers (Consultant Eighteen) has a handsfree earpiece designed for working on the telephone. She complained of sore ears due to long hours on the telephone each day -- up to five straight hours. She bought a handsfree earpiece to allow for personal comfort and safety. Even though her employer knew of her concerns, no attempt was made to rectify the matter or reimburse her for the purchase. Hence, not only are these employees bearing the costs of employment; they are also susceptible to unsafe working conditions in some cases.

Table no. 10
 Description of Homeworker's Working Area
 Winnipeg, 1995

Homeworker	Description of Working Area
1	worked in unfinished basement, on desk with one light and computer, kitchen chair
2	worked in spare bedroom, on desk with overhead lighting and computer, steno chair
3	worked in finished basement, on desk, diffuse lighting, kitchen chair
4	worked in living room, seated on sofa, diffuse lighting
5	worked in bedroom, seated on bed, diffuse lighting
6	worked at kitchen table, diffuse lighting
7	worked at kitchen table, diffuse lighting
8	worked at kitchen table, diffuse lighting
9	worked on top of dishwasher in kitchen, diffuse lighting, sometimes worked at dining room table
10	worked at kitchen table, diffuse lighting
11	worked in living room, diffuse lighting, sewing machine and drafting table set up in living room
12	worked at kitchen table, diffuse lighting
13	worked in spare bedroom, on desk with overhead lighting and computer, steno chair
14	worked in walk-in closet, unventilated, light from sewing machine, kitchen chair, assemblage done on kitchen table
15	working in living room, diffuse lighting
16	worked in kitchen table, diffuse lighting
17	worked at kitchen table, diffuse lighting
18	worked in living room, seated on sofa, diffuse lighting
19	worked in unfinished basement on table, kitchen chair, diffuse lighting

Table no. 11
 Working Supplies Furnished by Homeworker and Furnished by
 Employer
 Winnipeg, 1995

Homeworker	Homeworker Supplied	Employer Supplied
1	work area, telephone, computer, office supplies	forms, information list, courier
2	work area, telephone, computer, office supplies, headphones, dictaphone, filing cabinet	tapes, courier
3	work area, telephone, office supplies, transportation,	forms, client list
4	work area, telephone, office supplies	employee lists, pager, courier
5	work area, telephone, office supplies	survey lists
6	work area, telephone including second line, some office supplies transportation	client list, forms, some office supplies
7	work area, telephone, office supplies, transportation, clientele,	order forms, product lists
8	work area, telephone, office supplies, label machine, transportation	clientele, objects to be labeled
9	work area, telephone, transportation	forms, filing cabinet, office supplies, gas money
10	work area, telephone including second line, answering machine, office supplies, clientele, transportation, demo kit	some training, meetings, products lists, order forms
11	work area, drafting board, sewing machine	supplies, eg. material, thread, paper, specifications
12	work area, telephone, answering machine, transportation, office supplies, some demo items, clientele	support office, order forms, some training, demo kit, product lists
13	work area, telephone including second line, answering machine, computer, transportation, office supplies, filing cabinet, clientele	support office, order forms, product lists, demo kit, some training, monthly meetings
14	work area, sewing machine, thread	objects to be sewn
15	work area, piano, office supplies	clientele, forms
16	work area, answering machine, transportation, office supplies, clientele	order forms, product lists
17	work area, telephone, answering machine, office supplies, demo kit, transportation, clientele	order forms, product lists, incentive items
18	work area, telephone including second line, headset, transportation, office supplies	clientele, forms, some office supplies
19	work area, transportation, telephone including second line, office supplies, clientele	product lists, order forms

Working Supplies

For my consultants, the cost of working from home is not confined to the cost of maintaining a working space. For instance, in no cases where a computer is necessary for the completion of work did the employer supply the equipment. The cost of the computer, including software, was the obligation of the worker.

Additionally, the costs of office supplies are borne by the homeworker (see Table no. 11). In the cases of Consultants One, Three, Six, Nine and Eighteen, the companies do supply some of the materials needed. If the consultant is not comfortable with any supplies, she bears the cost of alternative supplies.

Consultants Ten, Seventeen, and Nineteen are expected to buy demonstration kits for use at parties. The demonstration parties are an integral part of the sales process. As new products are introduced by the company, employees are expected to update their kits and keep current with the availability of products and product lines. Two consultants (Twelve and Thirteen) who work for a sales company were supplied with demonstration kits when they started. However, they are expected to update their kits with any new products and to discard obsolete products.

Most of the consultants are expected to supply some form of transportation. Eleven of the homeworkers must

supply transportation to fulfil their job requirements. The salespeople are expected to pick up and deliver products to their clientele. In addition, they are responsible for transportation to demonstration parties and meetings. Among the teleworkers I interviewed, one of the companies expects the workers to report to the head office once a week. None of the costs of transportation, including time spent in transit or at the office in meetings, is reimbursed to the workers. Even though two consultants (Two and Nine) worked for government bodies, none of the nineteen consultants has ever been visited by employers to inspect working conditions. This is in conflict with the health and safety laws in the province of Manitoba. According to provincial health and safety laws (Manitoba Regulation 108/88R, 1993), employees should be monitored and have some way of contacting the employer in the case of emergency. This is particularly relevant when the employees are delivering items for the company. The company is legally responsible for the safety of the employee if the employee is at risk of being a victim to crime. For instance, salespersons delivering items are vulnerable to theft and under the regulations are eligible to be protected or at least monitored for this possibility. Allen also found in her study that "the regulations on health and safety at work fail in practice to cover the domestic production" (1983:651).

Benefits

There are options open to employers to ameliorate their employees' working conditions by providing additional benefit packages. For the purposes of this discussion, I define the expression of no benefits as the absence of additional benefits other than those covered under public medical insurance (see Table no. 12). These additional benefits include dental coverage, additional medical coverage, subsidies for prescriptions or eyewear and life insurance. Most of the consultants I interviewed are part-time and are not eligible for employment benefits in the Province of Manitoba. However, all the employees who work in the capacity as clerks or teleworkers do have vacation pay taken off their pay check and are eligible for vacations at the required legal lengths. The salespersons are not eligible for such benefits as they work on straight commission and are not eligible for vacation pay. Moreover, the issue of overtime was not relevant for the consultants I interviewed. None of the consultants report overtime to their employers and therefore cannot expect payment for it. Finally, none of the consultants I interviewed had ever tried to collect sick leave or disability while working from their homes, so I am unable to comment on the availability of such benefits.

Consultant One was the only consultant insured by her employer. The corporation she works for allows her to

maintain her benefits package while working from her home. These benefits include medical coverage, dental coverage and life insurance. Her husband is an independent contractor covered under her benefits package.

Consultant Two is covered under her husband's Blue Cross Plan. Her husband is an independent contractor and they took out a comprehensive health plan with Blue Cross twelve years ago when he went into business.

Consultants Three, Ten, Thirteen, Fifteen, Sixteen, and Eighteen are under their husbands' health plan through his employment. This allows access to additional medical coverage other than public coverage.

Consultant Six has no benefits and is not covered under any additional health care program. However, her two children are covered under their father's health care program and receive benefits under this plan.

Consultants Four, Five, Seven, Eight, Nine, Eleven, Fourteen and Nineteen have no benefits and are not covered under any additional health care program. The family members in these households have no additional health care coverage.

Consultants Twelve and Seventeen are covered under a health plan through their jobs at their outside full-time employment. Consultant Twelve is married with one child. Both her husband and child are covered under her husband's plan. Consultant Seventeen is not married. Both of her children are covered under her health plan.

Table no. 12
 Description of Occupation and Employment Benefits by
 Homeworker
 Winnipeg, 1995

Homeworker	Occupation	Employment Benefits
1	clerical work	full benefits, husband covered under consultant's plan
2	clerical work	no benefits, covered under husband's Blue Cross
3	telework	no benefits, covered under husband's health plan at outside employment
4	telework	no benefits, has no additional health coverage
5	telework	no benefits, has no additional health coverage
6	telework	no benefits, children are covered under father's health plan, consultant has no additional health coverage
7	sales	no benefits, no additional health coverage
8	clerical work	no benefits, no additional health coverage
9	telework	no benefits, no additional health coverage
10	sales	no benefits, covered under husband's health plan at outside employment
11	garment work	no benefits, no additional health coverage
12	sales	no benefits, covered under own plan at outside employment
13	sales	no benefits, covered under husband's health plan at outside employment
14	garment work	no benefits, no additional health coverage
15	teacher	no benefits, before marriage no additional health coverage - now covered under husband's health plan at outside employment
16	sales	no benefits, covered under husband's health plan at outside employment
17	sales	no benefits, covered under own plan at outside employment
18	telework	no benefits, covered under husband's health plan at outside employment
19	sales	no benefits, no additional health coverage

Understanding the Choice of Homework

Wages are low, benefits few, and the costs to working at home are high. Why are homeworkers maintaining their positions and perhaps growing in numbers? One of the questions I asked my consultants was the reason they continued to work from their homes. The results of this question can be seen in Table no. 13. From their responses it is clear that my consultants do not see the value of their economic input. The answers indicate a reinforcement of ideas and values concerning women's place in the household. "We must account for the intimacy of the power over women and the fact that oppression seems so near the female construct of identity and self" (Liu 1994:180). Nine of the consultants professed to be working for economic reasons. However, this is contradicted by their responses to the question of how they identify their primary role within the household. Ten of the women working from their homes see their primary role in the households as mother (see Table no. 14). This suggests homeworkers do not appreciate their own worth concerning the necessity of their role as breadwinner. Proulx writes, "the sociology of the family, largely dependent on functionalist theory, has given women an important place, but only in her role as wife and mother and to the exclusion of her role as a worker within the household" (1978:4). The women I spoke with were comfortable discussing their role as mother and wife but discounted the

value of their work. For instance, Consultant Six works long hours and is the sole breadwinner in the household, nevertheless, she perceives her primary role as mother.

Interestingly, seven of the nineteen consultants professed a belief in Christianity. None of these consultants know each other or are members of the same congregations but come from different sects of Christianity. They described how homework helps to reinforce their position in the home. According to these women, the correct place for mothers and wives is to be in the house as support for the other household members, particularly their husbands. Their primary role is fundamental to their identity as women. The preservation of family structure was expressed as important by five of the consultants. It is necessary for these women to remain in the household fulfilling the role of homemaker even if this restriction requires they take jobs as homeworkers. In the past and in the present, promotion of home labour has been directed at women, especially those with children. The promotion of homework is popular in our society where women are consistently paid less than men, their work is not valued as highly, and they are still primarily responsible for child care and housework. "Women, however, could become wage earners in order to supplement the family income because their work roles were less central to the social identity of the household" (Liu 1995:190).

Although this sample cannot be considered statistically valid, about one-third of the women in my sample who professed a reinforcement of values through their practice of Christianity. This adherence to a particular belief system can be interpreted variously. Christianity can be seen as a reinforcement of many of the values and ideals encouraged in capitalism. Women remain in the home, serving a domestic function while men fulfil the role of primary breadwinner by working outside the home. Or perhaps, the women who offered to share their experiences with me were driven by the altruism preached in Christianity. Unfortunately until more work is done with greater numbers of women, little can be confirmed.

Table no. 13
 Reported Reason for Engaging in Homework by Homeworker
 Winnipeg, 1995

Homeworker	Reported Reason for Engaging in Homework
1	wanted to maintain benefits, keep level of involvement
2	suits family lifestyle
3	boredom
4	economic
5	economic
6	economic
7	to meet people
8	flexibility, suits family lifestyle, economic
9	economic
10	suits desired lifestyle
11	economic
12	suits family lifestyle, economic
13	personal growth, discounts on products
14	economic
15	economic
16	suits family lifestyle
17	suits family lifestyle
18	economic
19	economic

Table no. 14
 Role Identification - Hierarchy (Primary, Secondary and
 Tertiary Roles) as reported by Homeworker
 Winnipeg, 1995

Home- worker	Primary Role	Secondary Role	Tertiary Role
1	mother	wife	part-time worker
2	mother	wife	worker
3	mother	wife	part-time worker
4	full-time worker		
5	student	part-time worker	
6	mother/housekeeper	part-time worker	
7	part-time worker??		
8	mother		
9	worker		
10	mother	worker	
11	part-time worker		
12	worker	mother	
13	wife	mother	worker
14	worker		
15	part-time worker	mother	
16	wife	housekeeper	mother
17	mother	full-time worker	
18	mother	housekeeper	part-time worker
19	full-time worker	full-time mother	

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

In this part of the thesis I will focus on the omissions in existing literature and areas where more research should be undertaken. As well, I will offer some suggestions concerning what can be done by policy makers to make working practices equitable, and actions homeworkers can take to protect themselves. The circumstances of Winnipeg homeworkers require more research. My consultants are among a group of women unseen and uncounted and therefore vulnerable to abuses and exploitative practices by employers. Further investigation on the numbers and identities of homeworkers will help officials make employment regulations that will protect these workers as outside the home workers are protected. There is adequate evidence to demonstrate that homeworkers are more numerous than thought. The homeworkers I investigated work as employees of others and share the similarity of neither owning the means of production nor the profits of their labours. Homework has existed before the industrial revolution and before the entrenchment of capitalism throughout the global economy. Like their historical counterparts, contemporary homeworkers do not own the products of their labours. The contemporary homeworker's existence reflects many of the same features of historical homeworkers. Women who homework in the past provided much of

the household income, helping to maintain their households. Just like the women I interviewed, they also combined the role of homemaking and worker, reproducing the children while producing goods for the marketplace.

Furthermore, the existence of homeworkers and their lack of visibility demonstrates that most analytical models used to discuss homework are weak. Models used to analyze women's work often use the distinction between the public and private domain. Homeworkers, as already mentioned, fall outside of these strict categories and therefore are not "seen." Theories concerning economic development in Europe have often been used to explain similar trends in Canada; however, this is an inaccurate method of explaining the consistency of women's work. The Canadian economy did not evolve gradually but sprang up as a fully developed society replete with the fragmented nature of industrialized work combined with agricultural modes of production. Women have been involved in petty commodity production and have added income to the household. Because of the unique nature of women's labour in Canada, distinctions such as public and private domains have not been adequate in describing the income generated by women to support their households.

The current models of globalization and surplus labour also do not work effectively to explain the nature of homework. Globalization theories suggest a connection between the types of labour done here in Canada with those

done in other parts of the world. The conclusions of this form of analysis would suggest a higher degree of skill among homeworkers here as compared to other parts of the world. However, the skill level of the jobs among my sampled group is low despite the high level of education and the potential of the employees. The women in my study group do not rely on skills either gained at school or through employment in other sectors for their home-based employment. Instead, they work at tedious jobs with no hope for advancement or improvement of working conditions. From their descriptions, it is evident that little skill is required and the work is tedious. There are few chances to advance even though the women are equipped to handle challenges by virtue of their relatively high educational levels (see Tables no. 2 and 7).

The women I interviewed are like many other women in Canadian society; they do not fulfil the stereotypical picture of the newly arrived, poorly educated, disenfranchised homemaker. Homeworkers are embedded within the structure of many households. Because of the ordinariness of homeworkers, an examination concerning the history of homeworking in Canada would probably show that many women have engaged in homework and they continue to use this workstyle as a method of maintaining their households.

The contributions made by homeworkers are basic to the effective functioning of the households. The homeworking

wages are necessary to the household, especially in the case of the six homeworkers in my sample who are the sole breadwinners in their households. They are supporting these households while maintaining their domestic roles. Even for the women who are secondary earners, the homeworking income is used to pay bills and mortgages. Without the homeworking income these households would be much more vulnerable. The difficulty in assessing the number of hours spent homeworking demonstrates the embedded nature of homework and the lack of distinction made by women in differentiating their roles as homemaker and homemaker. The work has become embedded in household duties and part of the everyday duties of the women.

Perhaps because of economic vulnerability, the working conditions these workers are willing to accept and the costs they underwrite in order to continue work is substantial. The women I interviewed justify their working circumstances not on economic need but rather because of their living arrangements. The need to fulfil the dual role of homemaker and homemaker even when the day is difficult and the worker is susceptible to questionable working conditions is fundamental to these women.

The amount of money the consultants are earning is not being accurately estimated. The consultants consistently under-report the number of hours they work. The benefits afforded the employees are few, indeed only one of the women

has access to additional benefits. Moreover, the women I interviewed seem oblivious to the levels of investment they are making in their worklife. The true income of these consultants is less than the amount they estimate. Ultimately, these women are adding much needed dollars to their households. As described in the Statistics Canada report Characteristics of Dual Earner Families the "earnings of wives helped a number of dual-earner families to stay above the low income cut-off" (1992:10).

Because they are working in the home, outside of the public domain, homeworkers are susceptible to the same vulnerabilities as housewives. The parallels between homemakers and homeworkers become very clear as noted by Proulx (1978),

To those who envy housewives because they do not have to fill in an attendance sheet and because they can begin, interrupt and finish their work at their convenience; we would like to point out that the absence of an attendance sheet is also accompanied by the lack of sick leave, compensation for overtime, paid vacations and all the fringe benefits associated with work (1978:34).

The homeworkers I investigated are average members of our society. Overwhelmingly, the women I interviewed are white and well-educated, living in nuclear family structures much like the rest of "average" Canadian society. Unlike assumptions in the popular media, the homeworkers I interviewed are not part of the newly arrived immigrants.

They are not women who are unaware of their "rights" but rather they choose because of circumstances to engage in homework for the functioning of their households. Homework is not a mitigating measure to alleviate a temporary economic crisis but is a workstyle maintaining households.

In retrospect I would make several suggestions considering methodology to improve the process. I would have liked to engage in a more comprehensive survey since there are many women who have not been interviewed because of my limited budget and time. I can assume there are many more women engaging in homeworking here in Winnipeg. Other elements worthy of exploration would include discussions with employers. Although this was not my focus, I would suggest that another perspective of working conditions could be made by interviewing personnel managers. I do not think this would endanger any of the women working for these companies. Many of the companies are open about hiring women to work from their homes. One of the editors with whom I spoke suggested contacting public health care facilities since many immigrant women take in outpatients for a fee. This again was not the aim of my study but the idea might aid another investigator. As well, my questionnaire could be improved for use in another more comprehensive study of this type. For instance, I added questions concerning employers visiting employees' homes to investigate working conditions. I should have also included more questions concerning

training. Some companies offer comprehensive training, some companies offer training for a fee and still other companies offer no training. The discussion with consultants concerning training conveyed the different approaches by companies. Different investment levels of the employers is also made clear by the numbers of supplies they furnish their employees.

Finally, I will make some suggestions concerning the practices of homework. Homework is currently being encouraged by the Steering Group on Prosperity (1992). There are improvements that should be considered by officials considering existing laws (see A Guide to Manitoba Labour Employment Standards 1994, Manitoba Regulation 108/88R 1993, Manitoba Regulation 105/88R 1988). Currently these laws are not being upheld by employers. For the protection of the in-home workers, companies should be required to guarantee minimum working conditions for all their employees; piece work, commission or otherwise. Companies should not only be expected to review working areas but help make these working areas more comfortable and safe. At the minimum, teleworkers who spend many hours on the phone daily should be supplied with handsfree devices. Lighting, ventilation and proper seating should be required in all work sites, be they in the home or in the office. The investment that these minimum improvements would cost would still do little to offset the employees' input and therefore should not be considered too

expensive by the employers. The actual worksite is not covered by the employer and for the sake of the women involved in working, I would not suggest such measures. My aim is to protect the worker without making the employer question their investment in homeworkers. After all, the women who choose this work style are working within their expectations of roles and their needs must be met.

One article that examines this role in-depth was written by Arizpe and Aranda (1981:453). Arizpe and Aranda discuss the precarious position in which women in Mexico find themselves when involved in the strawberry agribusiness. The women in this article are among the most vulnerable global workers, because they have few choices and they work in situations which lead to personal danger. However, their situation serves as an example to policy makers and well meaning citizens everywhere. To complain and organize these women makes them vulnerable to a loss of employment, therefore endangering their livelihood. The marginalization of women's employment everywhere has to be met with caution.

In the following sections, I have made an attempt at some suggestions for policy makers and homeworkers. These policy ideas are suggestions that keep with current employment regulations and make use of laws already in existence. The goal is not to alienate workers from employers but to ensure that both the employer and the

homeworker are protected. Homeworkers have been largely ignored in much of the existing literature. However as governments and employers look for ways to "downsize" and "offload" costs, encouraging homework is one way to achieve this agenda. Therefore it is probable that homeworking will continue and perhaps homeworkers will grow in numbers, making the following suggestions timely.

For Policy Makers

1) There are laws in place that protect workers no matter where they work; they should be used. Employers are required to make sure their employees have safe working conditions. Employers should be required to show they have visited work sites and are aware of any problems at the work sites, adequate lighting, ventilation, proper seating, etc.

2) Piece work should not be legal. It is an inaccurate way of paying. Employees should insist on hourly wages. This is a fairer way to pay employees.

3) Make daycare accessible to people who work from their homes; subsidies should be available to women who work from their homes as well as those who work outside. An accurate measure of family income will allow subsidies to go to families who need them.

4) There is a need to make sure that people are protected by Employment Insurance even if they work part-time. These factors should be considered in establishing a minimum living wage.

5) Statistics Canada should be creating questionnaires that are specific. An example would be: a breakdown of the daily and weekly activities would be one way of finding home workers.

6) Women's groups need to make sure that women are aware of their rights as employees, no matter where they work. They also must allow for a diversity of opinions in what women need. There remain women in our society who prioritize their lifestyle according to traditional family ideals.

The following guidelines are written for homeworkers. This guide is to help prevent homeworkers from making errors in judgement that will cost them in time and money further in their homeworking career. It is my goal to circulate these suggestions to labour organizations and women's groups to help homeworkers be aware of the pitfalls of working from home while still respecting their decision.

Guidelines for Homeworkers

1) Do not accept piece-work, it is not a fair way to be paid. Insist on hourly wages.

2) Keep a detailed record of your hours. Make sure that you are meticulous in marking every time you take a break or any interruption and all of the hours you work. Do not estimate. In my experience, estimations are inaccurate and invariably under-record the amount of time spent working.

3) Record time spent in transit, delivering items and going to meetings. This is work time.

4) Set aside hours in the day and let people know not to call or come over; you are at work.

5) Make sure your employer is aware of any problems you are experiencing. If you do not have a light that is adequate or your ears bother you on the phone, let your employer know; the employer can rectify these problems.

6)) Request that your employer visit your home and see your work area. Make sure they are aware of your work needs. Do not pay for improvements. You are paying for the space, the heating, etc. Remember, you are saving your employer money

by using your home as your workplace.

In conclusion, while keeping these observations in mind, the last words go to Sheila Allen. Allen reminds us that women homeworkers have been unseen and we must develop an adequate analysis of women's work and home roles so they will no longer be ignored by officialdom.

While it is important to recognize the ideological constraints placed on women by the men with whom they live, together with their children of all ages, it is perhaps more important to appreciate the impact of powerful state and voluntary bodies who are prepared to marginalize their work and the conditions under which they enter paid work (Allen 1983:662).

Appendix A
Consent Form

Study of Homeworking

Deborah Woodman
Masters Student
Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba

Consent Form

The purpose of this research survey is to investigate the situation of homeworkers in the city of Winnipeg. The results of the survey will be used for a masters thesis in the Department of Anthropology. All of the results of the investigation will be held in the strictest of confidence and all efforts will be made to protect the identity of consultants. You will be asked to answer some questions presented in an informal manner at your convenience. The length of time for each interview will be approximately one to two hours. Even though you are being asked for information concerning the terms and conditions of your employment, your employer will not be informed either directly or indirectly of your involvement in this survey. Therefore, you will not be in any danger of disturbing your employment or potential employment. Random numbers will be used for names of consultants.

I _____ consent to be involved in the above survey. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and that any and all information that I provide the interviewer will be held in the strictest confidence.

Appendix B

Interview Topics For Consultants

Topic A - Homeworking Information

What type of work are you engaged in - specifically what forms of homework do you do?

How many hours do you estimate that you work weekly?:

Can you describe the number of hours of work - the times in the day that you spend working :

Estimated weekly salary from your homework?:

How did you find the job that you are presently doing?

Are you currently looking for other employment?

What sort of employment?

What other jobs would you consider doing?

Would you describe the types of jobs you have had before?:

What do you think the advantages of working at home are?:

Why do you think you are doing homework?:

Was your decision based on economic need?

Or was your decision based on household need such as childcare or some other need to remain in the home?

What is your training History, including technical training and other skills?:

Have you taken any courses lately?

What kind of equipment do you have at your disposal?
i.e. computer?

Do you find your employer supportive of your work?

Do you think you miss out on opportunities for promotion by
working at home?

Topic B - Consultant Information

How old are you?:

Do you have any children?: Ages:

Are your children at home during the day?:

Marital Status (flexible):

Living Arrangements - who lives in your household?:
Boarders etc.:

Are there any other incomes important to the household?:

What is your salary from homeworking used for i.e.: rent?;
food?; clothes etc.?

Has anyone else in your family done or is doing homework?

Topic C - General Information

Do you think women should be in the household? What role do
you think women do fulfil and should fulfil in our society?

Who does the tending of children, housekeeping and other
household duties in your household?

Can you describe the amounts of time you spend doing household duties and the amounts of time others in your household spend and the types of duties that they do?

Do you see your primary role as mother, full-time worker, part-time worker, housekeeper etc.? In other words, how do you describe yourself when asked?

What would you perceive to be the ideal working situation?

What are the disadvantages of working from your home?

What would you perceive to be the ideal living situation?

Observations of the consultant concerning working conditions:

Appendix C

Ethical Guidelines

This statement is in answer to the requirements of the Department of Anthropology in preparation for research into my thesis topic. - **Homeworkers in Winnipeg**

1.- 4. My research project does include human subjects, but does not involve artifacts or remains.

Definition of "Consultant"

5. In my thesis the term "consultant" signifies any person who is a source of raw or unformulated data and who is not acting as, or assisting, myself, the researcher.

Rights of the Individual

6. The rights of individuals involved in my study will be maintained. These include: the right to know the precise nature and purpose of the research which is to investigate the conditions and reasons for engaging in homework for the purposes of my masters thesis in Anthropology. The risks and benefits for the consultants have been considered and have been outlined in the "consent form" (Appendix B). The right to assurance that privacy will not be invaded and that information disclosed will remain confidential and the ways which this will be achieved are more fully discussed in section 22 of this document. As I am not focusing on any one cultural group concerning their heritage or customs this need not be a concern. However, all use of the information given me by consultants on their lives and aspirations will be used in such a manner as to assure privacy and confidentiality.

Employers will not be informed of the study but any information given to the researcher concerning employers will be held in the strictest of confidence and any information derived from this study will not be used in this thesis in any other report, presentation or paper. This study is to investigate the homeworkers and not their employers. As far as possible nothing will be withheld from the participants that will cause the consultants to make an accurate analysis of their involvement.

Informed Consent

7. The participants in my study will appraised of their right to withdraw from the study at any time with no

recourse on my part. They will also be informed of my involvement in the Department of Anthropology and supplied with any information that they may wish to contact personnel from that Department.

8. There will no coercion, constraint or undue inducement used. The people involved in this study are not a captive population. Participation in this study is purely voluntary.

9. The information that will be requested will at all times respect the conditions of the participants and participants will not be required to disclose any information that they feel is an infringement on their privacy or confidentiality. The consultants may withdraw from the study at any time during the study with no recourse.

10. There will be no children directly involved in the study. No children will be interviewed in this study.

11. Participants will be informed that this study will be held in the strictest of confidence so that their positions will not at present or in the future be in jeopardy. For these reasons, no particular employer will be interviewed or identified in any manner.

12. Although informed consent will be obtained in writing, every effort will be made to communicate the goals and risks of the study verbally. In some cases, this will become imperative since it is conceivable that some of the women involved in the study will not speak English as their first language. In the case where participants cannot express their wishes effectively in English, they will be excluded from the study.

13. A sample of the written consent form has been enclosed. Please see appendix C.

14. The form will also be read out to all participants to assure their complete understanding of the form and purpose of the study.

Deception

15. No form of deception will be used in this study.

16./17. It is my opinion, given the exploratory nature of the study, no other form of investigation would adequately achieve the same anticipated results. The interview method is more effective than a survey due to the unknown numbers of people engaged in homework. The interview method also

supplies information not attainable in a survey; information which should indicate motives of consultants. To date no statistical survey has been made to identify the quantities of people involved in homework. The researcher will be engaged in homeworking to gauge the time and commitment required to be employed in this form of labour.

Risk and Benefit

18./19. There will be anticipated risks to the researcher and as far as possible the risks to the participants have been safeguarded by confidentiality. There will be no therapeutic research or long-term changes attempted by the researcher. This is not a part of my study.

20./21. Any risks that could be incurred by employers will be safeguarded by confidentiality. As well any risks of employment or future employment to the participants and their children will be safeguarded in the same manner. Confidentiality and privacy of third parties (such as consultant's children) will be preserved in the same manner as confidentiality and privacy of direct consultants.

Privacy

22./23./24. Personality traits will not be the focus of my study however, I will be requesting private details concerning living arrangements and economic means. This information is necessary for the purposes of the study and will be reflected in my analysis of the results. However, confidentiality of consultants will be maintained by numbering the consultants. No use of names or aliases which could indicate background or personality will be used. No personally identifying material will be used in the thesis or in any other reports arising from this research. For instance, numbers taken at random will be used for each consultant. The only records of the correspondence to people with numbers will be held by myself and by my adviser. Neither of us will be using these for any purpose other than to verify the veracity of my research. The concepts of privacy that will be maintained will be in accordance to those understood by our society since the research will be taking place only in Winnipeg.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

25.- 30. Anonymity and confidentiality will be guaranteed to all possible extents. The information that will be supplied by consultants will be divulged for the purposes of this thesis and conceivable papers, presentations and reports that will come from this research. However, at no

time will the consultants be referred to in any way except by number. The numbers will in no way give an indication of the order in which the interviews will be taken. My obligation to the employers identity will be protected in the same way as the consultants. All institutional records including the Winnipeg Area Study, both provincial and national government records and statistics will respect their copyright regulations.

Research on Captive and Dependent Populations

31./32./33. The research will not be done on captive or dependent populations. No coercion will be used in the interview process. All information will be given voluntarily by the consultants.

Research on Children

34./35. No direct research will be done on children. Any and all questions pertaining to children and childcare will be directed to the parents or guardians involved with the children. No child will be directly interviewed.

Library and Archival Research

36./37./38. All research done in the libraries and archives will respect the copyright laws and all work will be referenced in accordance to University guide-lines. No photographs or documents will be used without the written permission of the owners.

Acquisition and Use of Cultural Properties

39.- 48. This section need not be addressed due to the type of research that I am conducting in this study.

Research on Other Cultures, Countries and Ethnic Groups

49. Remuneration may be given in some cases where consultants make the request. The amount of remuneration will be \$10.00 per hour. This is to reciprocate the participants for time and inconvenience. It is anticipated that interviews will take place in the consultants' homes and therefore transportation costs will only be incurred by the researcher. If however transportation will become a factor, the costs of transportation will be remunerated to the consultant.

50.-52. I will be conducting research in my own society and do not anticipate encountering problems concerning ceremonies or other private occasions. These are not the focus of my research and will not be included in any presentation of the material derived from this study.

Appendix D
Sample of Advertisement

Research Project

If you sell, do clerical work, telephone, sew, assemble or work from your home and are not the owner of the business, I would like to interview you for a research project. Small payment for interview. All information confidential. Call 783-8418, please leave message.

Appendix E

A Sales Meeting Given by One of My Consultants

Winnipeg, 1995

Through one of my consultants, I was invited to and attended a monthly meeting for a cosmetics company. The meeting was led by a manager (my consultant) for the company and involved nine of her active sales people, all women and one invited guest (other than me). I was invited to observe the meeting and discuss casually with the women their experiences of homeworking. The meeting was held in the manager's home, in a refinished basement. The purpose of the meeting was to go over the month's sales, to keep the staff participating as a group and to motivate the workers. A guest speaker had been invited, an ex-president of the company. Unfortunately, I did not get to interview her as she was in poor health and left shortly after her speech.

The meeting started at 7:00 sharp and finished at 9:30 p.m. The manager started with a summary of the last month's sales and forecasts. The guest speaker spoke for approximately twenty minutes. She expounded on the company and how women can do anything they choose to and finally how working for this company will allow for an improved lifestyle. After she spoke there was a break, at which time I spoke to the women on an informal, individual basis. I

asked general questions for instance, did they worked for the company full-time? Did they have children? Did the company support their efforts and lifestyle choices? Of the nine women I spoke with, all worked for another company full-time and all had school-age or older children. They have worked for the cosmetics company from two months to twelve years. Two of the women expressed the desire to work from their homes full-time selling cosmetics, but neither were making enough money from their sales to justify giving up their full-time jobs. Both of these women had worked for the company for over ten years. None of the women were reimbursed for the time spent at the meeting by the company and I did not pay any of these women at this occasion for their interviews. The only consultant from this group that I have included in my nineteen consultants is the manager. I met her through another of my consultants. She is not a personal acquaintance. I was not actively recruited to become a salesperson, although it was mentioned casually.

I also took a few minutes to speak to the guest. The guest is a friend of one of the women and currently sells a different type of product from her home. She works full-time but is not married and does not have any children. Her impression of the meeting was very positive. The company that she works for does not have the same support set up for its members and because of this meeting she is considering

selling cosmetics for this particular company.

My impression of the experience of the meeting was that it served to create a cohesiveness among the women. They shared their accomplishments in their personal lives and working lives, expressing frustrations and goals. The manager spent most of the meeting reinforcing the value of the sales people, both individually and as a group and referred often to the upcoming annual general meeting that will be held in Toronto. Three of the women at the meeting including the manager will be going to the meeting, which involves presentations of awards and extravagant banquets and parties. "Everyone dresses up like beauty-queens," described the manager. Many of the events and ceremonies were described for my benefit. The women have to pay their transportation, hotel and other costs, but they all expressed a desire to go and be seen. This year there will be women coming from all over the world, including Australia and England, and Germany, places where these cosmetics are sold by women in the same manner that they are sold here.

The meeting seemed to be a very important part of keeping the sales force selling at a high level. The manager's income is partly based on the success of her sales force. Inclusion of active members not able to attend the meeting was emphasised. For instance, one of the members not at the meeting has recently had physical problems and it was

suggested by the manager that everyone pray for her. Three of the women were very expressive about their religious convictions. One of the women is the wife of a minister and actively involved in bible study and counseling groups. Two of the other women expressed in passing their strong reliance on religious support from their churches. None of these women participated in the same churches or church groups.

Appendix F

Information Gathered from Market Research Handbook

Information gathered from the Market Research Handbook(1992) identifies common characteristics of Winnipeggers. These observations make the basis of my assertion that consultants are much like other Winnipeg women. All of the information quoted below is taken from the Market Research Handbook.

Family Structure

The total number of families in Winnipeg is 164,850 of which 86% is headed by two parents and 11.8% is headed by one parent.

Living Arrangements

Of the total of one family households, 46% of are in the process of purchasing private dwelling structures.

Educational Levels

In Winnipeg, among the population older than fifteen years of age, 154,460 have high school diplomas and 108,515 have vocational training.

Appendix G
Estimated Costs to Maintain Working Space
Winnipeg, 1995

(These figures are based on estimated costs of maintaining my own workspace and are not meant to reflect absolute costs for anyone else.)

This information is based on the Revenue Canada Employment Expenses T4044 (1994)

Item	Annual amount	Total applicable
Rent (900 square ft)	\$ 6300.00/annual	\$ 630.00
electricity	\$ 324.00/annual	\$ 32.40
insurance	\$ 300.00/annual	\$ 30.00
water	\$ 360.00/annual	\$ 36.00
telephone		\$ 168.00
transportation		\$ 140.40
Total		\$ 1038.80

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