

TAKING WHAT'S OURS

everywoman's
guide to
welfare and
student aid



HANDBOOK

Copyright 1978 by Housewives' Initiative and Women's Action Group.

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CHILDREN

In 1975, the Toronto-based Mother-Led Union fought for parity with foster parents, on the grounds that natural mothers need as much money to raise their children as strangers. The government's lack of concern for our children begins with the low rates they give us and continues throughout the whole maze of Welfare and FBA regulations. One of the victories of the Mother-Led Union was a "back to school allowance" of \$25.00 for nine to twelve year olds, and \$50.00 for thirteen year olds and up.

Welfare for sixteen and seventeen year-olds was one of the biggest of recent cuts in social services. With that option closed, and high youth unemployment, many teens are forced to stay with their families when they would rather be on their own. If they leave school at sixteen, their mother's FBA cheque is cut, **plus** she loses another \$12.00 per month from her cheque because these teenagers are expected to pay that amount for board. The mother is put in the position of forcing her children to stay in school, or keeping them on less money. No wonder juvenile crime is on the increase!

"Last summer, I spent 12 days in the Don Jail for pulling a break and enter. Immediately the authorities thought I was a head case, that I needed a psychiatrist to straighten my life. They couldn't see the simple reality behind it all. I had no money. That's why I pulled the B and E."

**Bill Mullen, Regent Park Teen Association,
From a Toronto Sun interview, March 2, 1978.**

To make up for the poverty of Mother's Allowance, some youth in Regent Park, Toronto have begun to organize in their own right. They are publicizing the little-known "attendance bursary" available for high school students from the Toronto Board of Education. One student per low-income family is eligible for \$20.00 per month, while the other students in the family receive car-fare and school supplies. This campaign, organized by the Regent Park Teen Association and PayDay, has resulted in a 20% increase in applications for the bursary in that area, compared to last year. In their leaflet, the teens urge "This is your money! You've earned it! Go get it! Right on." For more information contact Regent Park Teens, c/o PAYDAY, Box 515, Station C, Toronto. (416) 366-5002.

You can no longer collect Family Benefits when your children have all finished school or left home, unless you are over 60. One option is to go back on the smaller cheque of Welfare. This is the thanks our older women get after a lifetime of work raising society's children.



Amer Mullen and Tany Langille speaking about wages for schoolwork at a public meeting held August 24, 1978, sponsored by Regent Park Teen Association and PayDay, Toronto.

WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME

In 1975, the Mother-Led Union led a protest against an Ontario government proposal to “assist able bodied” welfare mothers to “actively seek employment” in order to become “useful contributors of society”. Many spoke out about how they were already working and contributing to society by raising their children at home. They demanded the ‘choice’, along with “adequate subsidized daycare, job retraining and other support services,” for those mothers wishing to work outside the home.

Some of their demands were met. Several of the improved job rules listed below are a result of strong pressure initiated by the Mother-Led Union. Yet the government continues to want women to work on **its** terms — either at home for a low welfare wage, or in the paid labour force for peanuts. Recently one municipality has even denied Welfare to women who refuse to take part-time babysitting jobs!

The government makes it very hard for mothers on assistance to make any extra money working outside the home. You are only allowed to earn up to \$100.00 per month. You are allowed to earn another \$10.00 for yourself and \$5.00 for each child up to a maximum of \$25.00 to pay for **work expenses**. If you make more than this (\$100.00 plus \$25.00 maximum for expenses) 75% of your earnings are taken right

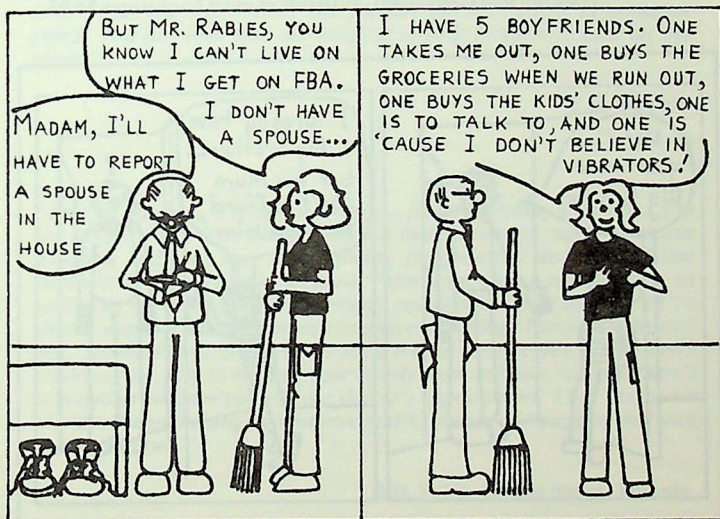
SPOUSE IN THE HOUSE

Only 5 years ago women in Peterborough were forced to sign a consent form to allow social workers to search their homes for signs of men living there. Without signing, they didn't get their cheque. Women have fought against that invasion of privacy, but the "spouse in the house" ruling is still one of the main ways women are hassled and cut off.

Many women have appealed and won. In several cases, the Court has maintained that there had to be evidence of support from the man through: joint accounts, sharing of bills, rent, etc. In other words, your sexual relationship isn't enough reason to cut you off.

With such a small cheque, we're forced to look for a paying boyfriend to survive. But his gifts are somehow **different** than anyone else's. The government expects us to be celibate or to get support from a 'man friend', even when he doesn't have the money or the children aren't his. This ruins any chance we have of a good relationship. To feed our kids, we sometimes end up with a man who abuses them.

It all boils down to the fact that the government does not respect the work we are doing in our homes, and denies us the privacy all other workers take for granted.



Getting Support

You cannot be transferred from Welfare to Mother's Allowance until you have taken "reasonable" steps to get support from your spouse or the father of your children. The new **Ontario Family Law Reform Act** makes it no longer necessary to fill out a "paternity affidavit". But they still expect you to go to Court for support.

Since any money you get from him goes directly to Welfare or Mother's Allowance, this doesn't benefit you. If you can prove that you're not able to because of a mental or physical hardship, violence or intimidation from him, or distance and expense, the government can take action directly.

Many women have avoided the hassle by denying they knew the identity of the father. Some have said that they were hookers. Others have said that they were 'gang-raped'. Thousands of American mothers have said that the father was Jimmy Carter.

"...we are not against men, we just don't care for the institution of marriage. Any other custom that took a young girl with a lot of life in her and turned her into a worn-out drudge by the time she was 25 would be called slavery".

from *Chiclet Gomez* by Dorothy O'Connell
(Deneau and Greenberg), available at most bookstores \$4.95.



THE VISIT

This section is lengthy because it's one of the most intimidating experiences for women on government assistance, especially for immigrant women.

Within the next year, the Welfare and Family Benefits visit will be much the same. A field worker will come to your home. They must call or try to contact you first to arrange a convenient time for an interview. It must be during the day. The Welfare workers visit about every two months. The FBA workers visit only once or twice a year.

For both FBA (Mother's Allowance) and Welfare, the worker has the right to enter your home only with your consent and to sit wherever you tell them. They will probably ask many questions, but they are only entitled to answers to the questions on Forms 1 + 1A. You have the right to change your worker if you are not getting along, but this may be difficult to arrange.

"I once followed a worker into a neighbour's house. The worker tried to tell her that she couldn't have anyone in there during the visit. She used the reasoning, 'Do you want this person to hear your private information?'" Can you believe that! Our files are the most public information going. You can even find our hospital records in garbage cans on the street!"

E.B. Toronto

"Day in, day out, 'I'm sorry, I can't... There's nothing available.' I'm the prophet of doom telling everyone that there's no support services available and that they don't qualify for financial assistance. These cutbacks have really hit us all hard. There's got to be a stop to them, as well as an increase in welfare payments and benefits. First of all, it isn't a decent wage. Who knows what tomorrow will bring? I may be there myself. Secondly it would make my job a lot more tolerable because then I could say yes. Yes to keeping your elderly mom at home, and yes there's a volunteer to drive you to your doctor's appointment. Then maybe we could talk about doing preventative health, instead of having to deal with crisis situations."

B.B. Public Health Nurse, Toronto

What If you're An Immigrant

Many immigrant women don't go on Welfare because of the humiliation of the visit. Instead we stay in the lowest paying jobs or in a marriage we cannot afford to leave. Many worry that if you don't understand a question, or you give a wrong answer, you could be cut off or even deported. **You cannot be deported for being on welfare.** But they will ask you a lot of questions about why your sponsorship has broken down, if you are a sponsored immigrant. Also everyone has the right to have a friend with them during the visit, and to ask for an interpreter if English is not your first language.

"As a single Black immigrant mother my problem in regard to getting adequate assistance is compounded...Immigrant mothers are in a peculiar situation, because unlike other Canadians they are not aware of agencies and programs that are available to them, because most often the countries they came from did not provide such services".

**Amory John, Director of Women's Affairs,
Student Union of Ryerson,
Women's Action Group Delegation to the Ontario Government,
June 1, 1978.**

"The evening we moved into a new house, I bent over to pick up some bottles and debris and came face to face with a strange woman. It was 9:30 at night and she was outside looking into my new kitchen. Once she realized I'd seen her she turned to run and fell over some blocks from the construction site next door.

"Three days later she came back. This time she introduced herself as a social worker come for a visit. As she was very demurely trying to hide her knees I reached over and flicked her skirt and saw that her knees were all bruised and scraped. At first she tried to deny that she'd been snooping in my window. She finally admitted that she'd been checking to see if there was a man in my house."

P.B. Peterborough

"Not all social workers are unsympathetic. Mine is always helpful. At her last visit, she apologized for having to come at all. Her supervisor had asked her to verify some dates from the beginning of my time on Mother's Allowance. She was also told to get a fourth letter from the father of my son explaining his inability to pay support. She was very upset about having to do it and told me to tell the father that it was an "invasion of privacy."

J.M. Toronto

Rent Supplement

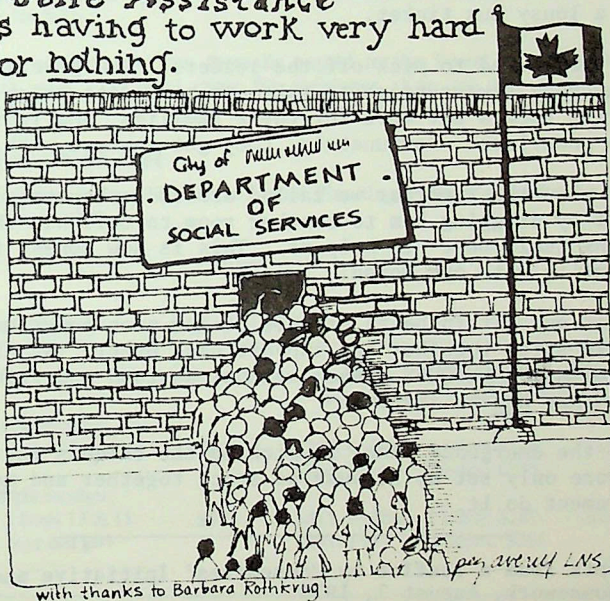
In Toronto you can also get a rent supplement. If you're on Welfare, it's included in your cheque. If you're on Mother's Allowance, it comes in a separate cheque on the first of each month. This amount is still way below your actual costs. They assume that rent is **only** \$75.00 for a single person and \$130.00 for two people! A mother with one child gets \$25.00 per month, as long as your rent is \$100.00 per month or more. A family of three or four gets \$30.00 per month as long as your monthly rent is \$105.00 or more.

Where You Can Cash Your Cheque

Many banks will not cash your cheque unless you have an account at their bank. Ask your worker where you can cash it if you don't have a bank account.

Most cheques come in the mail before they can be cashed. Some businesses will cash your cheque early, but expect them to charge you \$4.00 and more. Other stores like Loblaws expect you to spend up to 15% of the amount at their store in order to cash a cheque before the due date.

*Public Assistance
is having to work very hard
for nothing.*



Money for Mothers!

50 mothers from Regent Park staged a five-hour sit-in at the Eglinton Ave. Welfare office last week. We all went to pick up our cheques, which were late again, and to protest the government's indifference to our empty refrigerators.

When we got there, they blamed the postal worker's strike--- naturally. But they knew in advance that it was happening, plus the government has no right to expect the drivers to ride in unsafe vans to deliver the mail.

All fifty of us waited from 11am to 4pm. We had our hands full with the welfare staff who pulled every trick in the book. First, they tried to split us up into small groups and offer us \$5.00 vouchers to get us out of the office! Unfortunately, a few mothers, tired of the games, left only with a lousy bus ticket.

Next they tried to pick off the leaders. The government bureaucracy always tries to take our strongest women away by offering them a bit more for their families, and leaving the group powerless. Fortunately, they got nowhere with that.

Then, when the reporter we called arrived, they tried to rip us off by dragging him to another room to tell him they were "trying their best" to help us. This is how honest the government is with our women!

But let our sit-in be an example of how much power women have when we stick together and support each other. WE ALL WENT HOME WITH OUR CHEQUES. When we took a stand and refused to budge they had to listen.

Plus, the emergency plans to pick up the cheques the day after were only set up because we stuck together and made the government do it.

Excerpts from a leaflet by Housewives' Initiative and Wages for Housework, August 7, 1978.

What Information You Need

- Birth Certificates for you and your children
- Your social insurance number
- Your marriage certificate (if you were married)
- Your passport or immigration papers
- Your address and rent costs
- Your bank book and proof of assets (eg. house, bonds, etc.)
(It's best not to have a bank book.)

What Problems You May Have

There are several hassles they may give you. They could deny you any assistance or cut down the amount of your cheque if: you have a man living with you; you have not tried to get support from your spouse or sponsoring relative; you have more than the allowed amount of assets; your children have left home.

The Appeal

You can appeal if you're refused, or get your cheque cut. First call your worker to see if they can straighten it out. If they can't, call your worker's supervisor, or further up in the bureaucracy. You could also call your local M.P.P. or City Councillor for help.

If that goes nowhere you can formally appeal to the Social Assistance Review Board. Ask your local legal clinic for assistance. You are also entitled to an allowance while you are appealing.

How Much You Get

This information is from the Metro Social Planning Council's **Guides for Family Budgeting**, June 1978.

FAMILY	MONTHLY			
	What you need	How much you get	What you need for rent	What you get for rent
Single mother + 1 yr old	\$600.	\$309. welfare \$340. FBA	1 bdrm \$249. 2 bdrm \$285.	\$130.
Single mother, + 2 boys 13 & 15 + 9 yr old girl	\$975.	\$415. welfare \$457. FBA	1 bdrm \$249. 2 bdrm. \$285.	\$140.

Special Assistance

Many people don't know this exists, for it's seldom advertised by Welfare workers or in government information. It's a right for everyone on Welfare, but you have to ask for it on Mother's Allowance. If you have a low income, but you're not on either program, you are still entitled to this help. \$499 is the maximum for each item (listed below) per family per year, although this is not budgeted. Each year millions of this unspent money is returned to the provincial and federal governments, while we are told, "there is no money".

You can get: OHIP coverage, payment for a very limited number of "listed" drugs, Emergency dental and hearing services, eye glasses, surgical supplies, artificial limbs and hearing aids, blankets, furniture and moving expenses, funerals and burials, bus tickets for doctor or job interviews, vocational training, and spending money for people in nursing homes.

Many of these items are budgeted monthly, so it is best to ask early. For example, you should try to get blankets in the summer.

"I am an FBA mother in Peterborough. I was told I was not supposed to know about the \$499 per year per family. It was "none of my business". I had asked for help to buy a stove and refrigerator and was repeatedly denied assistance in getting them.

I cannot afford to buy these necessary items unless I take them out of our food money. They told me that the money's there, but that mine isn't a "special need". I didn't ask for brand new expensive appliances, just something to cook on and keep my food in. It's been 9 months now since I first asked for help."

P.B. Peterborough.

You can also get other things if the local Director of Welfare okays it. For example, in North Bay, an FBA mother of three who had just finished her BA, got special assistance for a live-in homemaker for her children while she attended a summer program in Sudbury.

"In Peterborough Welfare will pay a homemaker for a week or two if a psychiatrist says a mother needs a rest. We shouldn't have to see a psychiatrist. We know what our problem is! It's the lack of money for decent food and clothing that makes us so tired all the time."

P.B. Peterborough.

HOW TO GET WELFARE AND MOTHER'S ALLOWANCE

In Ontario, **General Welfare Assistance** or **Welfare** is run by each town or city, while **Family Benefits Allowance** (also called **Mother's Allowance**) is run by the province. Both get money from the federal and provincial governments. The rules and regulations for both differ from office to office and town to town. There are certain things which they are supposed to give everybody. They call this "mandatory". Other money and assistance comes only when mothers or their workers ask and fight for it. They call this "discretionary".

Welfare and Mother's Allowance differ in a number of ways. For one thing, you usually get more money on Mother's Allowance. You also usually get fewer home visits from social workers. You can get the other benefits called "special assistance" on both. But on Mother's Allowance, they are "discretionary", while on Welfare they are "mandatory".

Who Is Eligible

The 49,000 mothers with dependent children make up the biggest group on social assistance in Ontario. You may also be eligible if you are unemployed, over 60 or a single father. If you are sick, you may be able to get on the "Disability program" of FBA. (This will give you more money and benefits, but you must have a doctor's medical report saying you are severely disabled.)

"There's no reason why anyone on welfare who's sick shouldn't be put on a disability program. Anyone who's sick needs the money. But the term is enough to put anybody off. I'm not "disabled", I'm sick. I wasn't able to function. Instead of less money I should have been getting more. Why should I be penalized for being sick?"

...It took me two years after moving to Toronto to find a good doctor and get help. One day I had a tantrum in the Clinic. They told me I was a "head case". I told the doctor to "bloody well make a referral to a specialist". The nurse looked after making the referral. From that day on my medical health problems were assessed and diagnosed...I get \$60.00 a month more than on FBA, plus money for a special diet and transportation. But the money's still inadequate. When you're limited physically you can't do as much running around to make ends meet."

P.R. Toronto

You are expected to have no money or resources when you apply for emergency Welfare. However, some offices will allow you to have savings of \$200.00 to \$400.00.

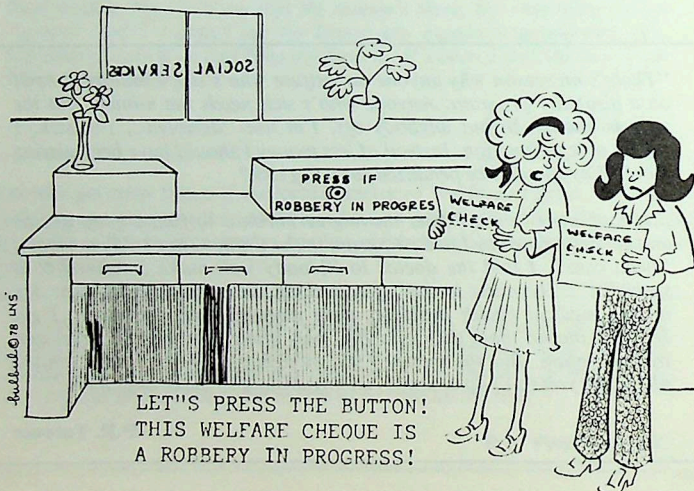
On Mother's Allowance you are allowed to have \$1500 as a single person, and up to \$2500 for two or more. If you are transferring from Welfare to Mother's Allowance, you should be allowed to keep that money. Don't let them tell you to spend it first.

How Do You Apply

Usually you go to the Welfare office early in the morning, and wait for an interview with a Welfare worker. This is changing as several towns are now hooking up to a central computer, which will link up with Mother's Allowance. In these towns, Halton, Sudbury, Simcoe County, Peterborough, Ottawa and Toronto, the Welfare worker will make a home visit.

Your Welfare worker should refer you automatically to Family Benefits or Mother's Allowance. If they don't, you can phone yourself, and they will visit your home. It usually takes three months to process your application, and often takes as long as a year.

Both the Welfare worker and the Mother's Allowance worker will ask you to fill out a FORM 1. This asks for: personal data about you, your spouse and your children, your job history, income, assets and living costs. Have a friend there with you, especially if English is not your first language. **Don't volunteer any extra information.**



taking on a lot of extra hard work. Add that to the cost of daycare, tuition, transportation and clothes, and it makes the Ontario government's pamphlet "It Pays To Work" seem like a sick joke.

Even those most determined to enter the "official" labour force end up in the lowest paid jobs. How can it be otherwise when our work in the home is so undervalued? Those looking to school and job training programs to get us into those higher paid jobs know damn well what a gamble we're taking. With unemployment so high among women, even professionals like teachers and nurses are getting it in the neck. Yet, post-secondary education has become a **necessity** to even get a shot at those jobs. Hardly the privilege for which government says we should be grateful.

This booklet is not intended as a comprehensive guide, but as a tool for sorting out the most common problems we ourselves have encountered. It was written to help women get through the welfare maze, and to spread the word about how some of us have been organizing. All of us who worked on it, wrote it for the mothers on government assistance fighting for more money and against the worst intrusions of the welfare bureaucracy. We also wrote it for the mothers fighting the tangle of rules and regulations that stop us getting off welfare. And it's for those returning to school to upgrade skills, who have to juggle grants, loans, course loads and unhappy kids at home.

Finally, we wrote this booklet for all the other women out there who are working in their homes for nothing. Not too many of us are left, anymore, who can afford **not** to know about our welfare rights. At least, not if we are for equality, choices and financial independence. And what woman isn't?

The Federal Advisory Council on the Status of Women recently produced a report called, *5 Million Women*. It's the first time ever that research has been done into the content and value of Canadian housework, and here is what the average mother of two children produces:

Functions	hr/wk	\$/wk
Food preparation	18.13	71.97
Cleaning	8.58	24.53
Clothing care	6.12	17.99
Repairs & maintenance	2.30	9.15
Marketing & household management	6.96	35.35
Physical child care	4.36	13.38
Tutorial child care	1.57	10.31
Other child care	0.98	4.64
Total	49.00	187.32
Annual Value	$\$187.32 \times 52 \text{ weeks} = \$9,742.64$	

“They give us this great program, Family Benefits. What benefits? The benefit to starve slowly, the benefit to be labelled poor, the benefit to be labelled lazy, the benefit to feel anxiety all the time.

Yes anxiety before cheque day, anxiety when the cheque doesn't come, anxiety when the cheque isn't enough to pay the rent and anxiety when Johnny breaks his leg and you don't have enough to pay a cab to go with him to the hospital.”

**Edie Beck, March 4, 1978, Toronto.
International Women's Day Speak-Out
Sponsored by:
the Wages for Housework Campaign
and Regent Park Teen Association.**

What follows is part of the historic resolution on welfare passed unanimously at the National Women's Conference in November 1977 in Houston, USA. The conference was funded by the US government and attended by 20,000 women, including international observers from Canada.

Houston Resolution on Welfare

“Just as other workers, homemakers receiving (welfare) payments should be afforded the dignity of having that payment called a wage, not welfare.”

“We oppose the Carter Administration proposal for welfare reform (HR 9030) which, among other things, eliminates food stamps, CETA training and CETA jobs paying more than minimum wage, adequate daycare, and introduces “workfare” where welfare mothers would be forced to “work off” their grants, which is work without a wage, without fringe benefits or bargaining rights, and without dignity.

HR9030 requires those individuals and families without income to wait weeks, or even months, before even the adequate grant is available. We strongly support a welfare reform program developed from ongoing consultation with persons who will be impacted.”

Reproduced courtesy of Black Women for Wages for Housework, USA.

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Introduction

“You’ve come a long way, Baby!” announces the cigarette commercial. But if you’re living a bare existence on Mother’s Allowance, you’re probably thinking, “is this what our women suffragettes fought for so long and hard for in the past?”

the poverty of Mother’s Allowance makes it hard to see how far we **have** come. Fifty years ago there was nothing for women who wanted to leave an intolerable home situation. We were expected to hang on and make do “for love”. Now millions of women in Canada and the US can count on that cheque, in our own name, to look after ourselves and our families.

The massive welfare rights movement of the ’60s, led by Black women in the US, presented government with the bill for all the unpaid work of raising our children, the future generation of workers. They **had** to pay up, and women everywhere gained unprecedented access to the money we have all earned ten times over.

Mother’s Allowance is **not** a charity as the government would like us to believe. It is the first wage that recognizes our work in the home. Without us, the whole economy would fall apart. When women in Iceland went on a 24-hour “general strike”, on October 24, 1975, they paralyzed the entire country. “When women stop, everything stops!” was their main slogan. Damn right.

Low as the rates are, that welfare cheque is every woman’s insurance policy in a time of complete crisis. When there’s nowhere else to turn, welfare is there for any woman who needs it. And today that is more and more women. “We are all a man or a job away from welfare” say women in the Wages for Housework Campaign. Welfare is **every** woman’s issue.

Yet the government and the media are constantly telling us that we are “ripping off” the working taxpayer. Whenever the economy gets shaky, newspaper headlines call on welfare mothers to stop being “parasites” and “go out to work” like everyone else. What they are really saying is “put them on triple time”. We are **already working** in our homes, and we put in double time just trying to survive on the starvation wages of Mother’s Allowance and cope with the government bureaucracy. How unfair can you get!

Meantime, the government continues to congratulate itself on its “progressive legislation for women” like the Ontario Family Law Reform. But mothers on Mother’s Allowance are still denied any right to a private sex life. Instead, they force us to prostitute ourselves by expecting us to get our men friends to pay support for us and our children. This pimping policy breaks up families and prevents new ones from forming.

When we do try to get off welfare, to escape all the hassles, we get **more** red tape thrown in our faces. Whether we’re returning to school or taking a paid job it means

'Demand what we have rightfully earned'

Many thanks to The Star for your article on the new women's coalition for welfare rights (Aug. 11).

Scores of women have called us and Housewives Initiative to say "right on" and "it's about time." Widows on meagre pensions, as well as disabled and elderly women, have called to ask why they were left out.

We were only too happy to assure them that all women are welcome to join our campaign to demand from the government what we have rightfully earned.

So many groups of women are

relegated to the bottom of the economic totem pole because society fails to recognize the worth of our work in the home. As our forces grow, thanks to coverage like yours, we will increasingly have the power to challenge this basic injustice which devalues the labor of all workers, female and male.

Why should we fight each other for the crumbs, when by supporting each others demands we can all win more of the wealth which only exists because we create it daily with our work?

JUDITH RAMIREZ
Wages for Housework
Campaign Toronto

Welfare criticism not relevant

The letters to the editor responding to the article "Welfare mothers organize to demand more cash" are all angry reactions to incidental features of the article and have little relevance to the questions it raises as to whether recipients can organize productively and whether benefits are indeed inadequate.

It is understandable that some people should react solely to the provocative features of the article. Few of us have had occasion to learn enough about our welfare system to know how much we may be going against our inherent humanity when we respond to it in terms of traditional attitudes.

WILLIAM WHITE
Family Services Association
of Metropolitan Toronto

These are two of a flood of letters — for and against raising welfare — received by *The Toronto Star* in August, 1978.

SEEK (Search for Education, Elevation & Knowledge) is a \$20 million aid program for Third World students in New York City. It provides 10,000 students with stipends of up to \$1,000 per year, as well as school supplies, and has been in effect for 10 years.

In the past year, the City of New York University announced it was "revamping" the program, i.e., cutting back funds. Black women at Queen's College formed the Women's Action Group and charged the administration with dismantling SEEK. They circulated a petition with the help of Black Women for Wages for Housework, which included the following demands:

1. *The SEEK stipend not be based on a national average but on the cost of living in N.Y. which is much higher, and that the stipend be increased with increases in the cost of living.*
 2. *No charges or prosecutions for fraud be made against students receiving SEEK stipends as well as welfare since both fundings together are not adequate for subsistence.*
 3. *A halt to the dismantling of the SEEK program which attacks everyone in the university, and first of all women: students, teachers, and other staff.*
 - *No proficiency exams which are designed to eliminate students.*
 - *No cutbacks in courses which limit students' access to future jobs.*
 - *No non-credit courses which increase the work and raise the cost of getting a degree.*
 4. *The Tuition Assistance Program (TAP) really meets the financial needs of all students:*
 - *That students not be required to pay any money in order to be eligible for TAP. (According to Gov. Carey's proposed budget, freshmen and sophomore students will be required to pay \$100 per year in order to receive TAP money.)*
 - *That there be no limit on the eligibility for TAP (Gov. Carey's new budget proposes a four semester limit on TAP for students in community colleges.)*
 - *That students with no dependents not be punished with a reduction in their TAP stipends.*
-

The Women's Action Group has won wide support on and off campus and has recently won a major victory: SEEK funds for textbooks were raised. Discussions are now underway to bring stipends in line with the cost of living in New York City. The women at Queen's College have led the way for women students everywhere.

“We’re here with both of your Ministries because neither of you is giving us what we deserve. You say the money’s not there. But we know that’s a lie. We know IBM, which is only one multi-national company, made 1.8 billion dollars profit last year. I just came from a job where my boss made \$40,000 profit. That’s sure not the peanuts they paid me!”

A lot of us are getting really frustrated. We’re also getting angry, and we’re not going to turn that anger in on ourselves any more. We’re going to turn it out to the government. Things will happen if we don’t get our money. We want those higher paid jobs for ourselves, and we don’t want to go through a whole lot of bullshit. We’re not going to take it any more. We want full grants for students so we can afford the training for those better jobs. And we want more money for welfare recipients to pay us for the work we do at home.”

**Florence Sims, Black Women for
Wages for Housework
Women’s Action Group Delegation, June 1978.**

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE

“The response we’ve received in the short time we’ve been organizing has been overwhelming and has indicated how angry many of us feel about our options as students and welfare mothers. Every time women heard of our organizing through media coverage or word-of-mouth, they contacted us with personal stories, complaints and feelings of outrage. We have included only some of them in this booklet.”

The provincial government recognized our importance by meeting with us four times since last Spring. We’ve made some victories and are continuing the fight for higher student grants and welfare benefits, and cuts in all the red tape.

We are planning to travel throughout Ontario with Housewives’ Initiative to distribute this booklet and spread the word about our organizing. We also hope to connect with similar efforts in the U.S. through our sister organization, the Women’s Action Group at Queen’s College in New York City. Women everywhere are standing up and we need each other in order to win.”

**Dorothy Kidd, Women’s Action Group
Toronto, November 1978.**



Welfare mothers organize to demand more cash

By LOUISE BROWN
Star staff writer

Florence Sims flies into a rage when three-year-old daughter Sojourner doesn't finish an apple.

It's not that Ms Sims is mean. It's just that, until recently, she and her daughter lived on a \$340 mothers' allowance cheque every month. On that budget, every bit counts.

Now on a summer church grant preparing a pamphlet about living on Family Benefits Allowance (FBA), the 29-year-old US-born single woman is angry that welfare assistance isn't higher.

"When I cashed my monthly cheque and paid bills and debts, I was lucky if there was \$40 left to spend," said Ms Sims, of Black Women for Wages for Housework and the Women's Action Group.

"My monthly rent in a one-bedroom subsidized apartment, was \$130, my phone bills to relatives back in the States are high, and after TTC tickets, babysitting and \$25 for shoes for my child, there was very little left."

It was normal to run out of money before the end of the month, but Ms Sims said it wasn't because she couldn't budget.

"I went for two weeks without eating solid food once, just so my child could eat. Even then, she didn't like what I could afford."

Now she can afford to cook something other than eggplant (it used to stretch into many meals) but Ms Sims still sews all her and Sojourner's clothes.

Quit job

Now a landed immigrant, she quit her job as a junior government clerk in Alberta when she got pregnant four years ago, and came to Toronto.

Then came some serious choices. She chose "not to be forced into a marriage that never would have worked," but she chose to have her child.

She chose not to get a "second job" outside the home — her first job, she says, is being a mother.

"I decided to go on mothers' allowance so I could stay home and raise my child during her early years. It was a difficult decision, but I thought it was better for me to be home with her," she said.

An articulate woman who feels welfare is a right — not a privilege — for women like herself who lose their earning power when they become pregnant, Ms Sims values family ties.

Her long distance phone calls to family, for instance, were a treat when she could afford them. "I'm close to my family. Letters are so cold."

It's hard being a single mother. It's hard to live on welfare. It's sometimes hard being a student.

Try all three at once and you end up "feeling like a trained flea," says one welfare mom who has gone back to school.



Nothing is your own — not your money, not your time — but to improve yourself you must get an education and then a good job. You hang in and carry on, say welfare mothers.

But you don't have to like it.

A newly-formed grass roots coalition of Metro women — many of them single mothers on welfare — are aggressively angry at the plight of women on welfare, especially those who want to go back to school

to eventually get off the public payroll.

And, as the saying goes, they aren't going to take it any more — at least not quietly.

The most vocal wing of the coalition is the year-old Housewives' Initiative, a Regent Park-based service group of about 12 women, including Ms Sims attached to the Wages for Housework campaigns.

• • • •



Getting a daycare subsidy is much like getting Welfare or FBA. You must first be registered with a centre or in-home sitter. They figure out the amount of your subsidy by weighing income against expenses. During the subsidy interview, you will be required to provide a very detailed breakdown of your financial situation. You are expected to take documents and receipts showing the following: the exact amount on incoming and outgoing money, including Welfare, FBA or child support. Include bills for rent, food, clothing, telephone, tv, laundry, etc. As with the welfare visit, it's good to have a friend with you, especially if English is not your first language.

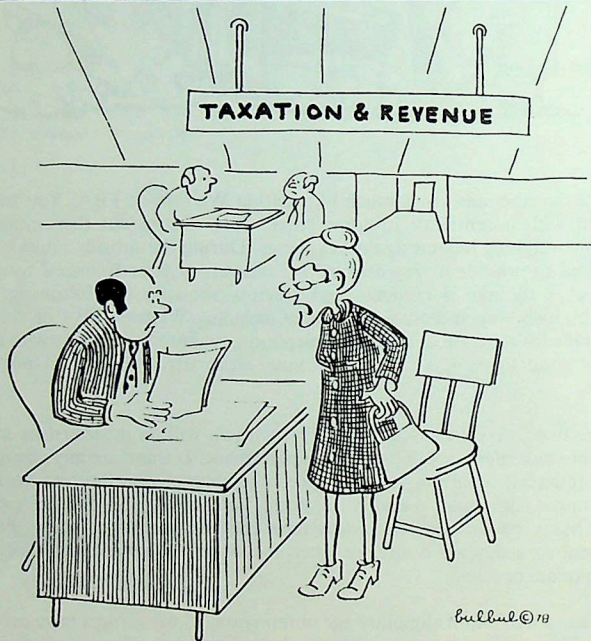
There are two interviews each year, of which you will be informed by mail. If the time is not convenient, set up another appointment. If there are any changes in your living or financial situation, you are expected to contact your daycare worker. If you want to move your child to another daycare, you should also contact your daycare worker. Many parents do this: when their children turn two, when they want to move them to a daycare centre, or when they want to move them closer to home, their workplace or school.

Subsidy has a maximum eligibility age of ten years. Many groups have protested this since it is illegal to leave a child under twelve unattended. This means that you must pay when your child(ren) reach ten. Try checking out after-four programs at your local school, YM/YWCA and church(es). Some schools now offer daycare programs for school age children before 9:00a.m., at lunch and after school.

Childcare and Students

Some cities like Toronto have recognized the employment problems of single mothers. In Toronto you continue to be eligible for subsidy for up to four months if you are actively looking for work. This new regulation means that students will no longer lose their space over the summer, or be forced to get a doctor's certificate to keep their children in daycare. If you take a summer job and are a student, make sure your income is averaged over the year so that your subsidy is not decreased very much. Student mothers in other centres like London and Guelph still have difficulty getting subsidy at all.

Part-time students are also eligible for subsidy if they have more than two courses. They use a formula that takes into consideration two hours of study time for every hour of lecture, plus transit time, and time spent in field work for your course. If this comes to 25 hours or more you are eligible for subsidy.



Bill Ball © 7/8

WHEN BALLARD PAYS HIS FAIR SHARE
--- I'LL PAY MINE!

the cost of tuition, books, transportation and is calculated down to the last cent. Tuition is usually paid directly to the institution.

There is up to \$499.00 in Category E of **Special Assistance**. This is usually available for courses not offered by Manpower like Mothercraft or Hairdressing. You don't have to be on a welfare program or a mother to qualify.

Note: If you are on Mother's Allowance and are considering going back to school, the Toronto group, **Opportunity for Advancement** provides a guidance service and is an excellent contact for obtaining money in these two ways.

Correspondence Courses

Secondary correspondence courses are provided by the provincial Ministry of Education at no cost, with the exception of Grade 13 texts. **Open College** on CJRT-FM in Toronto broadcasts a number of Ryerson credit and non-credit courses. Partial funding is available from them towards the cost of tuition.

Vocational Rehabilitation

Most people think this is just for "disabled" people. But you may be eligible if you have ever had a physical, mental or emotional disability which stops you from working. They will pay training fees, expenses and a higher maintenance allowance than Welfare. They'll also help place you in a job. Contact them at your local Family Benefits Office.

Department of Veterans Affairs

Children of deceased veterans who were in receipt of 50% disability pension can receive extensive educational coverage through Veteran's Affairs. There are also trust funds available for any child of a deceased veteran.

Private Bursaries

College calendars usually list private bursaries and awards. Ask the registrar or student awards office. Unfortunately the criteria for private bursaries are not adapted to the situation of single mothers. Most require full-time attendance and high marks. Others are for a specific program of study. Some are so restrictive that many bursaries aren't even claimed every year. **The Atkinson Foundation** is one private source that makes funds available at many institutions on the basis of merit and need.

Others

If you are lucky even to have a professor for a parent, you may be entitled to free tuition at that institution. In some situations, employers (for example, banks and the government) will provide assistance to employees taking courses. Ask your employer.

CHILDCARE

Since mothers are expected to look after children at home for free, good daycare is very difficult to find. This means that in Metro Toronto, over 40,000 preschoolers are left in unsupervised care, according to the Social Planning Council. Women's groups have been organizing for free universal daycare across Canada and internationally. In this section we'll mention some of the changes that have come from pressure by groups like the Daycare Reform Action Alliance and the Women's Action Group.

The daycare system is run in much the same way as Welfare and Family Benefits. The Ontario government licenses many in and out-of-home centres. They consider such things as staff-child ratios, staff training, and facilities. But specific rules for financial subsidy and the running of the centres is set by the local daycare services office. This is often in the Social Services or Welfare building. These rules may vary a lot, depending on the strength of the local daycare groups.

It takes a long time, sometimes up to a year, to get your child into a daycare centre. Single parents usually have first priority, followed by low-income families. There are six kinds of daycare available: municipally operated, co-operatives, privately owned, nursery schools, private homes, or your own home.

When looking for a daycare, there are several limitations in the system to consider. Most daycare centres only operate from 7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. Monday to Friday. This may be a problem if you have a late shift, or you're at school. There are very few centres for children under two. You may also have problems finding a centre if your child has any special medical or physical needs.

You may want to consider an in-home sitter who is more flexible about hours, age and the special needs of your child. Over 2,000 home daycares are now licensed and you can apply to get financial aid for many of them. However, you will only be covered for financial subsidy during the day Monday to Friday.

For more information about centres in the Toronto area, contact **Umbrella Daycare Services, 361 Danforth, Toronto. 461-7935.**

Subsidy

You can get financial subsidy to pay the daycare centre from your local daycare services office. Most single parents at school, or in a job outside the home, qualify for the minimum charge of \$.75 per day. Some low income families also qualify. If you have physical or emotional problems that make it difficult to be with your child, you may also qualify. (If this is the case, you need to get a medical or psychiatric report from your doctor. This has sometimes been used by the other parent, or a government agency to prove the mother unfit, so **be very careful.**)

university and to continue their studies. Other women students, or students-to-be already face high unemployment, and much lower earnings during the summer and on graduation. The restriction in grants will mean more economic dependence on spouses and parents. This program is a further attack on the gains women have made to be economically self-sufficient.

*We'd like to present you with our petition about the OSGP. It has four demands. The first is that **there be no limit for grant eligibility**. In these times of high unemployment, it's important for every program to be very flexible. Yet this provision cuts off graduate and professional students, part-time students and those who change their study programs to meet the rapid changes in the labour market. This cut off comes at a time when many women are attempting to get into graduate and professional courses. **We want access to those traditionally male higher paid jobs.***

We demand an end to the "dependent" category.** The new restrictions will force many women into economic dependence on parents and spouses. Others will be unable to attend school because their parents or spouses can't support them. We have taken on these programs to train us for the future job market. Many of us already work for free as part of our course work. As job competition and education cutbacks have increased, that work and our academic work have also increased. **We demand assistance in our own right.

***Grants should be substantially increased to reflect the cost of living and high unemployment rate. "Expected" savings should be similarly reduced.** Women on welfare still have money deducted from their grant. The amount for all welfare mothers is still so low that it only covers 60% of the necessary living costs, according to the Toronto Social Planning Council. All students have not had their grant increased in several years. In the meantime our standard of living has been eaten away by inflation in tuition, the cost of books and supplies, and food and housing.*

We demand a full grant covering all costs for all students, full- and part-time, which is a wage in recognition of the work involved in our training.** Many of us are doing two jobs when we go to school, housework and schoolwork, and paid only 65% of the **minimum wage!** For colleges and universities to be fully accessible to all, especially those on the bottom of the economic ladder, **we demand to be paid."

**Dorothy Kidd, Wages for Housework Campaign
Women's Action Group Delegation to the Ontario Government
April 4, 1978.**

J is a single woman without children. "Last year I started at a local college, but my grant took months to come through. I couldn't find a part-time job and I was soon broke. I went to Welfare but the woman who interviewed me told me it was against the rules to give Welfare to post-secondary students. I told her I'd have to quit school and go on Welfare anyway if I didn't get the money. She disappeared and then came back saying that someone would visit me at home the next day. The next week I got two cheques totalling \$150.00."

J.S. Toronto.

A Few Words About Manpower Retraining Courses

The best thing about Manpower Retraining is that you are paid a wage while you go to school, and it's higher than the welfare wage. You can also keep your **special assistance** benefits like your OHIP and drug card, if you are on FBA.

These courses are designed to give basic instruction in academic and job skills. Manpower determines what courses they will offer by a survey of shortages in the labour market. So you may not always be able to get the course that you want. The maximum time limit is 52 weeks, but if you take up to 52 weeks of upgrading before taking a specific skill program, you are entitled to twice that limit. To qualify for Manpower courses you must be a landed immigrant or Canadian citizen, seventeen years or older and a year out of school.

You can also get English language training, however, to qualify you must be a landed immigrant or a Canadian citizen, be registered at Manpower, and be able to show that you have a skill that **needs** English. For example, if you are a Portuguese woman who has worked as a domestic, you probably don't qualify because you aren't considered to be in need of English.

Many people have also complained that Manpower courses don't provide an adequate amount of training skills to get a job. Manpower has also recently cut back funds for its special Women's programs.

For more information, phone the Community Liaison at the local Canada Employment and Immigration Commission. Take an interpreter, if necessary, to any interview.

Other Money Available

If you cannot get any money to go to school from Manpower Retraining or OSAP, you may consider the following. **FBA** and **Welfare** both have funding for high school upgrading or post-secondary studies. Family Benefits has an educational fund and will consider mothers who have no other funding. The money is based on

Grants

Until this year, everyone had to take out a loan before getting a non-repayable grant. Now some students can get up to \$2,000 in grant before loan. If you are a sole-support mother, this should apply to you.

But this advance has not come without setbacks. There are now stricter eligibility criteria. There is now a four year limit on getting grants. If you have spent any previous time in college or university, with or without OSAP, they may subtract that time from the four year maximum.

Loans

If you don't qualify for a grant, you may be eligible for a loan from either the Ontario or Federal government. The loans are interest free until six months after you graduate.

You may also be eligible for **Loan Remission**. This means that the Ontario government will pay back some of the loan principal directly to your bank. The amount they will pay depends on how many students ask for this. It should be at least 40% of a loan over \$1,000.00. Those with loans this year should apply for this immediately.

OSAP and Welfare and Mother's Allowance

If you are a mother on Welfare or Mother's Allowance, you should continue receiving that cheque. OSAP will not pay you anything for board and lodging. You will only receive grant and loan for tuition, transportation, books and babysitting.

The government has always expected students to save money during the summer to pay for their education. Due to recent pressure from the Women's Action Group, this **summer savings** requirement was waived for single mothers on public assistance, which should mean a bigger grant and loan.

Part-Time Students

The majority of part-time students are women. This year, for the first time, they can get grants, too. The amount depends on the number of courses taken. Since many colleges and universities vary their definition of a **full-time course load**, you should check your entitlement very carefully with your school or with the Ministry of Colleges and Universities.

There is a **job savings requirement** for part-time students. You may be able to appeal this successfully by arguing that it is absolutely necessary to be with your child(ren) for your and their physical health.

The Special Bursary

The special bursary was set up in response to the demands of welfare mothers in the early 1970s. It is to assist low-income people to go back to school part-time. (This means less than 60% of a full-time load). This includes non-Manpower upgrading at a community college and post-secondary correspondence courses. You continue to receive your Welfare or FBA cheque plus up to \$1200.00 per academic year for tuition, books, equipment, transportation and babysitting. After two or three years, expect to be pushed onto another program, although there is officially no time limit.

Babysitting

This year for the first time, parents on OSAP will also receive up to \$200.00 per term for babysitting costs. Those on special bursary have always gotten this. The Women's Action Group demanded that they raise this totally inadequate amount, and we are still negotiating.

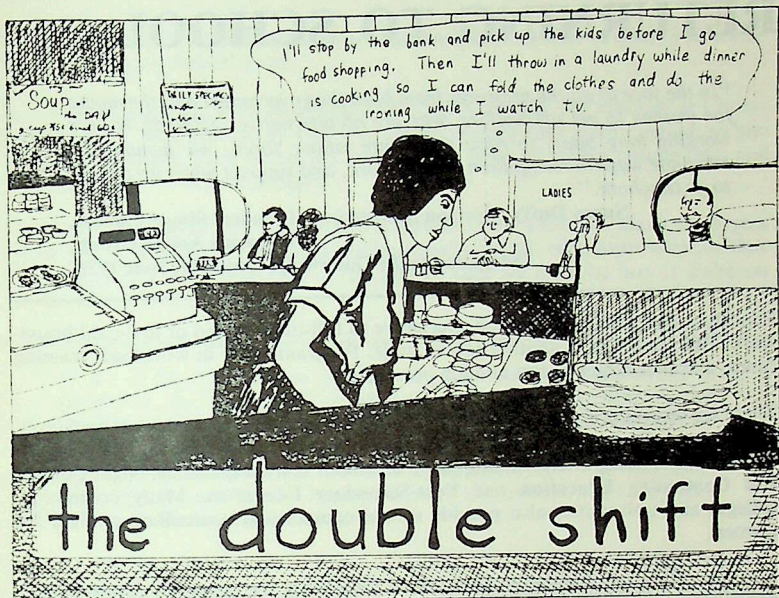
See the CHILDCARE section for more information.



"We are meeting with you today to express our concerns about the Ontario Study Grant Program (OSGP). The women here today have come from many different situations — Black and immigrant women, single mothers on welfare, single women, part-time and full-time college and university students, and past and future students. We come from among those groups who have traditionally not had access to post-secondary education.

We all know what ZBB means, from doing our own zero based budgeting for years. We have lived and fought the crisis in our budgets from cuts in daycare and other social services to the freeze in the Family Allowance and this government's welfare policy and regulations. We have fought to be recognized for the work all women do, in and outside the home, and to be paid for it like all other workers.

Each of us today will outline how the new OSGP, and the freeze in education budgets will have exactly the effect the Minister has spoken against. These cuts will make it harder for many welfare mothers, at the bottom of the economic pile, to get into a community college or



The following resolution was passed by the overwhelming majority of delegates — many of them welfare mothers — at the annual conference of the Ontario Anti-Poverty Organization, held in June, 1977 in Toronto.

“Whereas women consider raising children a job and welfare a recognition of that job, Be it resolved that the government end its harassment of welfare mothers and grant an immediate increase in benefits.”

RETURNING TO SCHOOL

"In the face of all the pressures from both the government and the media for women to get off welfare, why are no alternatives offered? We are working long hours to raise the future labour force. We demand an adequate wage in recognition of that work, and support when we choose to go to school."

Nancy Duffy, Ryerson Association of Student Single Parents,
Women's Action Group,
Delegation to the Ontario Government, June 1978.

Education and training offer one alternative to full-time unpaid or low-paid housework. But schooling is another job in itself. Programs vary in workload, training funds, entrance requirements and job prospects.

There are several programs available: **Academic Upgrading** to the high school level, **English as a Second Language** for immigrants, **Apprenticeship Training** for the skilled trades, **Manpower Training** based on labour market demands, **Night Courses and Continuing Education** and **Post-Secondary Education**. Many community colleges and universities also provide special courses and counselling services for women.

You can get more information about all of these from the counselling staff of each program or the **Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour, 400 University Ave. in Toronto.**

HOW TO GET STUDENT AID

If you are returning to a community college or university, you can apply for financial assistance from the Ontario Student Assistance Program (OSAP). This is the name for all the financial aid programs run by the Ontario Ministry of Colleges and Universities. It was set up in the middle 60's in an attempt to make post-secondary education more accessible to the majority of the population.

Many poorer people have benefited, especially women who would have otherwise lost out. Like welfare, this program is only supposed to **supplement** earnings from other sources, especially our families and jobs. It allows for a minimal standard of living, plus tuition and books.

The program is under constant change due to student and community pressure. This year OSAP has another new face. The Toronto-based Women's Action Group, along with other student groups, has mounted pressure to make OSAP more accessible to everyone, and to make it a living wage. Here are some of the more important things to consider.

out of your Mother's Allowance cheque. The maximum number of hours you are allowed to work per month is 120.

If you make more, or work longer hours for short periods, for example at Christmas, Harvest, etc., you can average that amount over a four month period, so you don't lose as much. They deduct the total amount from your FBA cheque first, and then add it back on in later cheques.

For most mothers, the first big problem is finding a part-time job. Many employers refuse to hire us. They say they can't be bothered with the extra paperwork; or that there are others more deserving of the job; or that we must be lazy if we're on government assistance.

"I am a Black American woman. As soon as I told Personnel at Simpson's that I had been on Mother's Allowance, she filed my job application and said there were no openings. Another time I walked into a temporary agency and the woman just looked at my face and asked for my landed status card. I'd been in Canada eight years and was really pissed off. I was just sorry I wasn't there to see her face when my friend walked in. She's a Black Canadian."

F.S. Toronto

Those of us who are immigrants find it even harder. We are denied the better jobs because of our lack of "Canadian experience", even when we've been doing the same job for years. We are expected instead to do the menial jobs that Canadians have refused. We are always the last hired and the first fired.

"Immigrant mothers find it extremely difficult to upgrade their skills — especially because they are the ones always discriminated against because they don't have Canadian experience. These are the women who get stuck working at nights cleaning offices which tends to disrupt their family life and gets their children tagged in school as "problem children". Black single mothers get stuck in factory and domestic jobs because there is no alternative. They accept these low-paying jobs and as a result they cannot afford decent housing".

**Amory John, Director of Women's Affairs,
Student Union, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute,
Women's Action Group Delegation to the Ontario Government,
June 1, 1978.**

Going Off

If you get a full-time job and want to go off, you are eligible for "phase-out". You must first write your worker and inform them. They have to recommend you for the program, it's **not** automatic. They will ask you to have your employer sign a form confirming your starting dates, to prove you haven't been overpaid! If you don't want your employer to know you've been on FBA, you can ask them to indicate your starting dates on a piece of their company letterhead.

You are then entitled to receive \$100.00 from Family Benefits for the first month you work, \$75.00 for the second month, and \$50.00 for the third. You also get OHIP, drug and dental benefits for the three months.

If, within a year, you want to go back on Family Benefits, and you still fit the criteria, your application should receive special attention and you'll get back on.

"I once got a job at a publishing house. This was before the days of phase-out. Once I told my worker about the job she came down and spent an hour talking to the boss. Well, after she left, my boss came over and told me they were changing over to a new system and they'd have to lay me off. I knew it was really because of my worker's visit. And they wonder why we are so reluctant to tell our employer we've been on Mother's Allowance."

E.B. Toronto

"I'm back at school full-time and get Mother's Allowance. I applied for a job in my field but was refused last summer. It would have helped me a great deal, with the extra money and job experience. I was refused because they said I already had a wage, Mother's Allowance. Why don't they increase it to a living wage then. According to the Social Planning Council, it only covers 60% of what I need."

N.D. Toronto



TO ORDER COPIES OF THIS BOOKLET, CONTACT:

In Toronto

Association of Student Single Parents,
Rm. 234, Innis College, University of Toronto

Association of Student Single Parents/ERA of Women
c/o SURPI, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, 50 Gould St., Toronto. (416) 597-0723
Employment Services for Immigrant Women
348 College St., Toronto. (416) 922-8017
Housewives' Initiative, 112 Spruce St., Toronto. (416) 921-9091
Immigrant Women's Centre, 348 College St., Toronto. (416) 924-7161
New Welfare Action, 2428 Islington Ave., Downsview. (416) 743-2900
Ontario Federation of Students. (416) 925-3825
Opportunity for Advancement, 111 Sunrow Dr., Weston. (416) 245-4241
Payday, Box 515, Station C, Toronto. (416) 366-5002
Regent Park Teens, c/o Payday, Box 515, Station C, Toronto. (416) 366-5002
SAC Women's Commission, University of Toronto,
12 Hart House Circle, Toronto. (416) 978-4911
Toronto Wages for Housework Committee,
Box 38, Station E, Toronto. (416) 921-9091
Women's Action Group, c/o 14 Howland St., Toronto. (416) 537-7029
Umbrella Central Daycare Services, 361 Danforth Ave., Toronto. . . (416) 461-7935

In Hamilton

Students' Union of McMaster University. (416) 528-9887

In London

Students' Council of University of Western Ontario. (519) 679-6411

In Ottawa

Ottawa Tenants' Council. (613) 232-2653
Students' Federation of University of Ottawa. (613) 231-4980

In Peterborough

Pauline O'Brien. (705) 745-3960

Gay women with problems related to child custody can call or write: LESBIAN MOTHER'S DEFENCE FUND, P.O. Box 38, Station E, Toronto M6G 4E1, (416) 921-9091.



“The idea of the women preparing a pamphlet for their own purposes is admirable”.

**John Bonner, Student Assistance Planner,
Ministry of Colleges and Universities, Ontario Government**

“Who knows, maybe these women will have a winner pamphlet on their hands.”

**Dave Rudan, Information Services,
Ministry of Community and Social Services, Ontario Government**

Value of housewives has been underrated

Star, Aug 6
79

WINDSOR (CP) — This is for every housewife who ever mumbled her occupation with humble apologies.

The Life Underwriters' Association of Canada says that if the average housewife has the misfortune to die in 1979, the husband with two children and a house in the suburbs left behind will fork out anywhere from \$6,000 to \$8,000 a year just to tidy up the home.

And if the housewife has a part-time job netting about \$100 a week, besides losing the income the husband is pushed into a higher tax bracket because he no longer has a wife as a deduction.

The conclusion, therefore, is that the

housewife's value has been underrated. But it hasn't been easy to convince women that their lives are worth insuring.

The Canadian Life Insurance Association in Toronto says the number of insurance policies purchased by women has increased by only 5 percentage points in the past few years — to 34 per cent of the total in 1977 from 29 per cent in 1970.

Olga Jackson, a statistics co-ordinator for the association, said the percentage should not be viewed as a disappointment — it's a big step from the 1950s when only wealthy women were insured, and generally on their spouses' corporate insurance.

"I think we're going to see a big trend

to insurance for women, and it's directly related to the fact there are more and more women working," Mrs. Jackson said.

"Single career women will find they have no choice. They need protection and security, and they can't rely on anyone else to give it."

John Kassa of Excelsior Life said housewives and married career women don't want to discuss insurance; it's one of the financial decisions they still leave to their husbands.

"I think it's very important that a husband and wife sit down and find out what her obligations are," he said. "A husband knows what financial responsibilities he has, but if the wife's job is taking care of the house and the children, what happens if she dies?"

"Can the family carry on the lifestyle it's accustomed to? Could the husband still carry on his full job load if he had a housekeeper and a baby-sitter? How much of a mental, physical and financial strain would it create?"

"Women tend to put all those questions out of their minds. They think their husbands are strong enough to handle it."

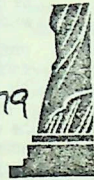
Jane Perron, a Windsor agent for Monarch Life Assurance Co., said most women without their own incomes consider it an imposition to ask for coverage.

"Women are still trained to think their husbands should make all the decisions," she said. "But I do find more and more working women saying, 'Hey — it's my money, I'll insure myself if I want.'"

The few statistics available from the insurance association indicate that the bulk of insurance is purchased by career women, and most are looking into disability benefits.

Women, Work and Welfare

Coyote Spring 79



"When government economists admit the value of housework in the U.S. alone is worth 350 billion dollars, and Sara Weddington talks publicly of formulating a system to pay housewives, then welfare has got to be viewed in an entirely different light," said Wilmette Brown, co-founder of Black Women for Wages for Housework, after she and other feminists met with the President's special assistant on women's affairs.

At the meeting, Weddington admitted that the issue of wages for housework is a bread and butter one, and indicated that there would be some action in that direction in the near future.

Wages for Housework, an international feminist organization, was the prime mover in the development of the resolution entitled "Women, Welfare and Poverty," that was passed at the National Women's Conference in Houston. The resolution called for increases across the board, including SSI, and demanded that welfare be viewed as a wage, not a charity. The Wages organization is the only formal feminist organization to make decriminalization of prostitution a major issue in their agenda.

Wilmette Brown pointed out, recently, that even Daniel Moynihan, in his book, Politics of the Guaranteed Annual Income, said that "when homemaking and child rearing are viewed as productive work, then welfare can no longer be viewed as dependency!"

Wife's monthly wages calculated at \$790

Aug 17 1973

BONN — The West German Savings Bank group has calculated that a husband would have to pay his wife the equivalent of \$790 a month if all the work she does around the house was paid at market rates. The three biggest items on the wage list, published in the Hamburg magazine Der Stern, are: cleaning; \$150, nursemaid; \$125, and teacher; \$125. The figures are calculated for a woman with two children, the magazine added.

Figure goes to 50 per cent using men's wages

Housewives' work estimated to be worth a third of Canada's gross national product

By JO CARSON
Globe and Mail Reporter

KINGSTON — Work done in the home by Canadian housewives is valued at a third of Canada's gross national product by economist Oli Hawrylyshyn, associate professor at Queen's University.

This comes to a whopping \$60-billion based on the August figures for the GNP at \$182.9-billion. The professor

said the amount was arrived at by comparing cost of comparable services in the marketplace paid to women employees. He estimated the weekly value of work performed at \$120.

"When men's wages are used as a base for this type of work, the figure rises to a little less than half of the GNP—supporting the findings that women are paid at a lower hourly wage rate," the professor said.

The assessment of the Canadian housewife's contribution to her country will be presented next month to Statistics Canada, which commissioned the study.

The economist said that he has walked a delicate balance between social and economic value in arriving at his conclusions.

"The dollar value that an economist might justifiably place on the contribution of a wife and mother to the household must be limited to the chores and tasks of household operation that the wealthy have usually purchased on the market," the professor said.

"Services to the spouse would include the meals and clean shirts but exclude personal affection and companionship. And I might as well respond immediately to the inevitable jokes about mar-

The professor said that it is "by no means impossible, nor even difficult to estimate the dollar value of such non-market activities as housekeeping."

Such a measure, he feels, would be recognition of the role of women "in the production activities of our economy—a role which has, of course, been understated in the past as a result of the market-criterion principle underlying GNP."

Prof. Hawrylyshyn said that too often in accident claims and property settlements there is a lot of argument and

Prof. Hawrylyshyn said that it is impossible to credit a housewife for value of double-time work.

"How does one tally the simultaneous performance of two or more duties? If over a period of two hours, a woman prepares and watches over the roast, loads, unloads and folds the wash, changes diapers, cleans Junior's shoes

and tries to explain to a 9-year-old what an election is and what a prime minister does—how is all this time to be allocated among the separate functions?"

The economist said it was necessary for him to set strict definitions to arrive at the

value of the household services.

This troubles him, he said, because it "is not fully satisfactory for the purpose of estimating the value of the work done in the household—for there is value in the spelling-lesson verification mother undertakes while stirring the stew."

He justifies this with the explanation that economics can be measured in dollars in only some areas. Other benefits

provided to a household or community are immeasurable.

Prof. Hawrylyshyn said that he was guided by "three characteristics of a family that very strongly affect the value of services performed: family size, wife's marketwork status and age of the youngest child."

He said that findings show that a husband's contribution to the household is very much the same whether the wife is employed or not. When a woman takes on an outside job, she adds it to her household work. A husband rarely takes on added duties, but older children help.

"This may be changing," Prof. Hawrylyshyn said. "Social attitudes could have an effect."

no accepted figures on which to base the claims.

He feels that the study he has compiled can be an official and accepted fact within the National Accounts and could "contribute in some measure even to juridical recognition of the woman's contribution—and hence rights—to the economic value of a family estate."

He has used a number of independent and accepted studies to assess the work carried on within a household.

He has also referred to the census figures to arrive at what can be accepted as an average Canadian household.

The dollar price tag, he feels, should be applied only to actual household work which is the value added by labor in the production of economic services within the household.

The economist said studies show that a third or more of the total time of housework is composed of the chores of cooking and cleaning. Shopping, repairs, sewing, gardening, maintenance and others take up another 20 per cent.

The rest of the time is given to the job of looking after the children.

Among the difficulties in arriving at a dollar-value of household services is the nature of the work.

ket replaceability of conjugal relations—let it be said that of course one can find a market-alternative price for sex in dollar terms but this has little relation to, and does not change the fact, that the price of love is — well—love."

976



Michele
Landsberg

TORONTO
STAR
6/23/78

Hey, housewife you're worth \$6,000 a year

LOOK up from that dishpan and smile, Canadian housewife. Today, the federal Advisory Council on the Status of Women announced that your work is worth at least \$26 billion a year to the economy, or \$6,000 for every household in the country.

It's the first time ever that thorough research has been done into the content and value of Canadian housework, and it's an eyeopener. The council's 90-page report, called Five Million Women, says that those 5 million are producing services equal to 27 per cent of the gross national product.

Something else emerges from the report. If "fear of flying" and "midlife crisis" were the trendy phrases of the mid-...70s, then we'd better quickly add "housewife ambivalence" to our vocabulary for the end of the decade. Not only are housewives ambivalent about their role, but the council itself can't make up its mind about the pros and cons of housework and how it should be rewarded.

Though the council pays tribute to the overwhelming dollar value of all this cooking, cleaning and child care, it also cautions women against the "psychological dependency" of unpaid housewifery, and warns young women against "shutting themselves into dead ends."

For all that, the council couldn't come up with any workable suggestions for paying housewives or even letting them in on the Canada Pension Plan (CPP). Universal pay for housewives would be staggeringly expensive; voluntary contributions to the CPP would exclude exactly the women who need pensions most, the ones who couldn't afford to contribute. So after all their charts, graphs and analysis, the council comes out plumping squarely for "a change in attitudes," that universal and meaningless panacea that is the last resort of every government commission I can remember.

The most interesting thing about the report is not its conclusions, though, but its glimpses into the housewives' state of mind. A majority of housewives, it says, are dissatisfied with housework. In an English study, cited in the council's report, 72 per cent of the housewives found their work monotonous, lonely, and fragmented.

I know. I know. A couple of years ago, I took a three-month leave of absence to steep myself in the remembered joys of "being at home with the kids." Nothing, I thought, could be quite as frenetic, as emotionally draining, as the constant rush between home and work.

I was right. Being at home is incredibly soothing to the frazzled nerves. . . in some ways. Each day dawned with a rosy prospect of unstructured hours softly spreading before me. What I'd forgotten was that little Catch 22 of housewifery: You shall have all the time in the world, at last, but it shall be divided into segments of no more than seven minutes each. You will never settle down with the morning paper without remembering at the last minute that it's garbage day. You shall never run out to pick up the groceries without having to drop in at the cleaners, tank up the car with gas, and spend 20 minutes comparing the merits of five different kinds of lettuce.

50 hours a week

I'd forgotten what it was like not having a bank account of my own. I'd forgotten how housework swells to fill every available crack of time, so that I was soon trying to make time to be with the children instead of luxuriating in hours of play-time.

The average Canadian housewife spends 50 hours a week doing housework, says the council's report. In tiny European villages where water is drawn from wells, a woman's hours of work are the same. And housewives are actually working more hours per week now, surrounded by their gleaming machinery, than they did 50 years ago.

I could have told the council that myself. How many hours did I spend cleaning that glurk out of washing machine agitators, or potting and repotting plants? How many frazzled hours were spent poking bent hangers up the clogged tubes of vacuum cleaners, or phoning servicemen who didn't show up?

It was all worth it, though. The chance to sit in the sunshine on the back porch steps to chat with a child who'd just arrived from school; the chance to dream up special recipes for someone home with a cold; the time to whomp up a giant batch of gooey playdough for a gang of neighborhood kids.

No wonder housewives are ambivalent. Just because you're the one who doesn't punch a timeclock, you have to shoulder uncomplainingly all the family joe jobs, the boring trivia and time-wasters. Just because your time is chopped up and frittered away in a dozen distractions per hour, it feels like it's never your own. Yet the rewards of caring for family can be so immense that millions of women choose to make full-time housework their career.

There isn't a working mother anywhere who doesn't secretly yearn, sometimes, to have some of the freedom of the house-bound wife. There probably isn't a housewife anywhere who hasn't at times longed for the independence and self-sufficiency of having a job outside the home.

Ambivalence? Don't ask. It's just part of being a woman in one of history's more chaotic transitional times. The pity is that women feel they have to square off and attack each other's choices instead of wryly admitting to each other that there are at least 15 sides to this home-or-job dilemma.

Meanwhile, we'll have to look to marriage law reform to protect the financial interests of housewives. It doesn't look as though the status of women council has escaped the dread hand of ambivalence.

Write me a letter

HOW DO YOU FEEL about the value of housewife's work? Can you put a dollar value on it at all? Should the government pay housewives the \$6,000 per family per year that the council says is the average value of housework? Do you suffer the heartbreak of ambivalence? Write to: Michele Landsberg, Toronto Star, Family Section, One Yonge St., Toronto M5E 1E6, and I'll print some of your letters.

WHAT'S A WOMAN WORTH?*

Job	Hours Value		Total
	Per Week	Per Hour	
Nursemaid	44.5	\$2.41 =	\$107.25
Cook	13.1	4.21 =	55.15
Housekeeper	17.5	2.41 =	42.18
Dishwasher	6.2	3.01 =	18.66
Laundress	5.9	3.01 =	17.70
Food Buyer	3.3	3.01 =	9.93
Dietitian	1.2	7.22 =	8.66
Chauffeur	2.0	3.01 =	6.02
Gardener	2.3	2.41 =	5.54
Handywoman	1.7	3.01 =	5.12
Seamstress	1.3	3.61 =	4.69
Practical Nurse	.6	4.21 =	2.53
Total Hours	99.6	Wk. \$283.49	

*Information courtesy of Prudential Life Insurance Co., based on a family with a full-time homemaker, husband and two children.

Include value of housewives' work in GNP figures, council report says

By PATRICIA BELL

Special to The Globe and Mail

OTTAWA — The federal Advisory Council on the Status of Women marked its fifth anniversary this week by publishing a study of the five million Canadians known as housewives.

"These are the women whose work is invisible, taken for granted and noticed only when it's not done," said Monique Proulx, family studies professor and researcher.

"Nobody thinks of the work involved in keeping food in the refrigerator, the house clean, the children well-behaved and in good health . . . this study may make people aware that their welfare depends on this work."

Although the 80-page report goes to great lengths to emphasize the hours worked and the value to the economy of the housewife, Miss Proulx said in an interview that she did not want to add to a growing thrust in Canadian society to steer women out of the work force and back into the home.

"The major purpose of this study was to reassure those women who are now working in the house that we are not neglecting them, that we haven't forgotten them. The Advisory Council gets many telephone calls from housewives who feel the women's movement is putting them down," she said.

"They call themselves home engineers and the queen of the house because they need to restore pride in their situation . . . when you live in a society that assesses everything in monetary terms, what does it mean to have a job with no pay? It means a sense of uselessness and feeling of guilt when you use your husband's money to buy something that's not strictly for the house or for your children."

Miss Proulx said that the value of housework to the Canadian economy has been estimated at approximately equal to one-third of the Gross National Product of the country since 1919 although it's never been included in the calculation of the GNP.

In spite of modern appliances, women still report spending between 20 and 60 hours each week on housework, depending on the number of young children in the house and whether or not they also have paid employment.

If this were added to the GNP, it would be only a symbolic gesture and cost the economy nothing, but it would show proof of women's role in the economy and

give further legal recognition to the right of women to an equal share in the family assets in case of marriage breakdown, Miss Proulx said.

She arrived at the figure of five million housewives by using Statistics Canada's classification of any woman 15 years of age and over who is not a student and is not in the labor market. To that figure she added the number of women currently unemployed.

Any legislative reforms to improve the housewife's condition must take into account the fact that many of the women who are housewives today had no choice to work outside the home and it may be impossible for them to enter the labor market,

she said.

"We need to say publicly that what they do in the home is of value — but young women today must look to their futures and a long-term career with housekeeping as only a small part of it," Miss Proulx said.

"As long as attitudes to 'a woman's place' remain unchanged, an excessively large share of the family responsibilities, both in education and housework, will continue to rest on her shoulders . . . if she goes to work outside the home, she must take on two roles. Too often she feels she must apologize to her children, her husband and sometimes even her fellow-workers for having a job," she said.

GLOBE Housework 4 July '78

In regard to the article on the value of housework (What Price Housework? \$80 Billion — June 27), Canada is only one of many countries which have begun the task of evaluating the enormous contribution of women's housework to the economy. The International Women's Year International Interdependency Task Force recently called on all governments throughout the world to include the value of housework in their Gross National Product.

Let's face it, without our work in the home society would collapse overnight. The women of Iceland proved it in 1975 when their general strike paralyzed the country for 24 hours.

Women are subsidizing the economy with millions of dollars of unpaid housework. And that's only the beginning of the story. We continue the subsidy with low wages in the paid labor force where we earn 50 per cent less than men, often for the same jobs. Not to mention the burden of the double workload. What an irony that we are the ones considered "dependent" when, in reality, the entire society depends on us for its survival!

Unpaid housework is an economic mechanism which devalues the labor time of all women. It is a convenience to industry and government which would otherwise have to pay more. Placing a dollar value on housework is the first step in recognizing housewives as the laborers

that we are, and the first step to increasing the leverage of all women workers to demand equal pay with men.

The much-scorned welfare mother is really a pioneer in women's rights. She has won the first wage for raising children, and although it is scandalously low like most women's wages, it is there for any of us who needs it. Welfare has given many women the choice of staying home with our children, leaving an unhappy marriage, or just being on our own. A liv-

ing wage for housework would give all mothers that same choice, and all women the choice of being mothers without being dependent on a man.

Judith Ramirez
Wages for Housework Committee
Toronto

WHAT'S A WIFE WORTH

JOB	HOURS PER WEEK	RATE PER HOUR	VALUE PER WEEK
Nursemaid	44.5	\$2.00	\$89.00
Housekeeper	17.5	3.25	56.88
Cook	13.1	3.25	42.58
Dishwasher	6.2	2.00	12.40
Laundress	5.9	2.50	14.75
Food buyer	3.3	3.50	11.55
Gardener	2.3	3.00	6.90
Chauffeur	2.0	3.25	6.50
Maintenance man	1.7	3.00	5.10
Seamstress	1.3	3.25	4.22
Dietician	1.2	4.50	5.40
Practical nurse	0.6	3.75	2.25
TOTAL	99.5		\$257.53

The following is a reply we received from the Public Relations Department of the Chase Manhattan Bank, concerning a survey conducted in June of 1970.

It should be pointed out that this survey was conducted with the families of Wall Street employees; which is to say that it is representative of the economic means of a minority of the American population.

Mothers of families with lower economic means would in most cases not have to concern themselves with the jobs of gardeners or chauffeurs (accounting for 4.3 hours per week of these women's time, according to the survey). On the other hand, without modern utilities to aid them with most of the other chores;

with a food budget that calls for much more careful (ie. time-consuming) food buying and lengthy preparation; a clothes budget that requires much more sewing and mending;

a standard of health and limited medical funds which require more nursing; and, above all, no means to pay for any form of child-care (who's caring for the Wall Street families' children the rest of the 123.5 hours per week?); mothers of less wealthy families obviously spend far more time at the same jobs.

This should be kept in mind while reviewing the following statistics. Just think of the "worth" of most American women!:

Thank you for your interest in the "What's a Wife Worth" exhibit prepared for Chase Manhattan several years ago. While we are pleased to provide the following information, we also feel it essential to caution against its presentation as a statistically authoritative source.

The information contained below was derived from an informal survey of Wall Street employees and their families which we believe demonstrates that maintaining a household often requires as many or more skills as required in jobs outside the home.

To give an idea of the monetary value, on a national scale, of all this unpaid labor, one need simply multiply these figures by the number of weeks in a year, and the number of housewives in the United States. Depending on the estimated number of housewives, one arrives at a figure between 500 and 650 billion dollars per year. This is over half the presently declared gross national product (approximately one trillion dollars). It is five to six times the military budget and twice the total government budget.

It is clear that this potential cost of housework is due to the incredibly inefficient organization of housework in 50 million isolated, identical (in terms of production) domestic factories. The same results could be produced at far less monetary cost (were it paid for) to the government and health and safety cost to women by the socialization and community control of this labor and the facilities for its performance.

WHAT'S A HOUSEWIFE'S \$ WORTH?

Exactly how much is a housewife worth? A country like Canada judges its economic health by the gross national product, a total of all the goods and services produced by all its citizens — except housewives. Economists say it's too difficult to place a market value on the myriad duties a housewife performs and so ignore this invaluable labor.

A study prepared for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women determined that the work of housewives amounted to eleven percent of the GNP. But similar studies in Europe and the United States have found this figure to be twenty-one percent, which many people feel is more realistic. Since Canada's 1971 GNP was stated at just over \$92 billion, housewives' work amounted to over \$10 billion. But more likely it was over \$19 billion.

Another method of measuring the housewife is by determining how much her various skills are worth on the open market. Even this is not a good determinant because her peripheral duties such as cleaning have traditionally been low-status, low-paying jobs, while there is no real indication of the value of child care.

With this in mind, it is still an interesting exercise to determine how much a housewife would make per week if all her skills were employed. Sharon Blacktop, an Ajax mother of two, Carol Franke, a Toronto mother of three, and Mary Belle Bird, a Toronto mother of four children who range in age from five to twelve were asked to break down their working day. An average number of hours for each chore was determined.

The hourly value placed on these jobs was largely determined by Canada Manpower officials, but some private agencies also gave advice. These were not averages but the going rate in large cities.

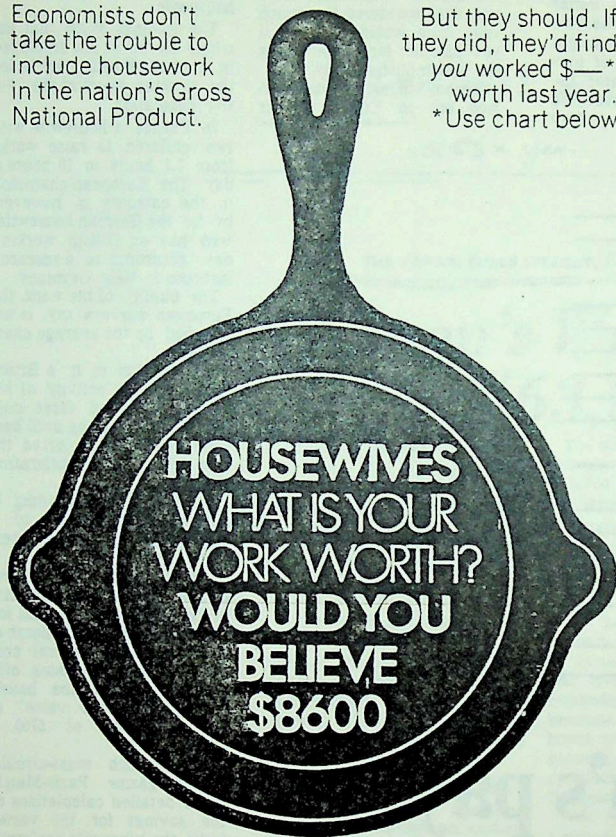
It's interesting to note that the average number of hours these housewives allot to their various duties is seventy-six and a half a week. Several studies, including one mentioned in the Status of Women report, found that a housewife with two or more children works on the average of eleven hours a day, seven days a week, or seventy-seven hours a week.

Heavy cleaning \$15.40 a week	A good cleaning lady who washes floors, windows, stoves and fridges can expect about \$2.20 an hour. Our housewives spent seven hours a week performing these chores.
Light cleaning \$24.50	A housekeeper whose main job is to dust, make beds, do dishes and vacuum, makes about \$1.75. Fourteen hours spread over seven days was the average for our participants.
Bookkeeper, home economist, shopper \$14	This category lumps together juggling family expenses, planning nutritious meals, finding recipes and shopping. Our housewives averaged four hours a week at this. A professional in any of these categories would be paid at the very least \$3.50 an hour.
Cook \$35	A cook in a medium-priced restaurant who manages short orders as well as more complicated meals can expect \$2.50 an hour. Our housewives cooked about fourteen hours a week, including the odd gourmet meal.
Laundry \$4.50	A skilled laundress makes about \$1.80 an hour. Our housewives say they spend two and a half hours sorting, washing, drying and ironing.
Baby-sitting \$12.10	This is the period when housewives do nothing else but communicate with their children. This is the most valuable aspect of homemaking, so the \$1.10 an hour charged by professional babysitters isn't very realistic. But unless the housewife has a diploma in child care there's no other way of measuring it. The average amount of time per week was eleven hours.
Handyman \$4.95	Our homemakers spend about three hours a week fixing the children's toys, putting out the garbage, repairing the eaves trough. The general handyman would get the minimum wage of \$1.65.
Chauffeur \$31.50	Taking Johnny to his hockey game or Mary to the dentist is one of the most time-consuming chores for the housewife. Economists tend to ignore this job but there are men who earn a good wage at it. In our urban society it's become a major chore. A part-time chauffeur makes about \$3.50. Our homemakers spent a minimum of nine hours a week as a taxi service.
Seamstress \$5.40	Most women perform simple seamstress chores such as replacing buttons or patching jeans. Other make their own and children's clothes, saving a great deal of money. Our ladies averaged three hours a week. \$1.80 is a fair wage for a working seamstress.
Painting and decorating \$8	Painting or wallpapering, antiquing or upholstering furniture is part of the work week for many housewives. Ours averaged two hours a week. A nonunion painter won't enter your house for less than \$4 a hour.
Groundkeeper \$15	This category includes gardening, snow shoveling, leaf-raking and keeping the bird feeder full. Our housewives say they spend an average of five hours a week as groundkeeper, especially in spring and summer. Average wage for this type of work (not a professional gardener) is \$3.
Hostess \$4.50	When a husband brings home business associates his wife acts as a hostess, serving drinks, cooking special meals. A hired maid makes about \$2.25 an hour. Our housewives said they worked two hours a week extra entertaining.
Total \$174.85	

Chatelaine Dec/73

Economists don't take the trouble to include housework in the nation's Gross National Product.

But they should. If they did, they'd find you worked \$—* worth last year.
*Use chart below



BY MOLLIE GILLEN

Every housewife knows what's involved in running a home. She has to be cook, cleaner, chauffeur, nurse, housemaid, hostess, decorator, accountant, gardener — all of them jobs that would be paid in cash if she did them outside the home. Yet because household work is unpaid work, it isn't counted into the annual grand total that's called the Gross National Product. In other words, because it's unpaid, it's regarded as having no dollar value, and the contribution of household work to Canada's prosperity is entirely ignored.

Women know very well the value of this unpaid work. Without it, the country's economy could collapse — millions of people would be unfed, unclothed and uncared-for. If all the housewives of Canada went on a sudden strike, the effect would show up with dramatic speed.

In March 1973, Cornell University professors Kathryn Walker and William Gauger published the re- *Continued on page 63*

sults of research into the dollar value of household work in United States society. The researchers found three important factors that influence the amount of time given to household work:

- The number of children in the family (the more there are, the more time spent).
- The age of the youngest child (the younger, the greater the amount of work for the family).
- The wife's employment status (if she's working outside the home, fewer hours go to unpaid household work).

The research study—based on a large sample of almost 1,400 families in upstate New York—estimated that a stay-at-home wife in a two-child family gives fifty-six hours weekly, her husband eleven hours. If the wife works outside the home, she still gives forty-two hours a week to unpaid household work. In a larger family, where the youngest of seven children is under a year old, each child between the ages of six and seventeen averages seven hours of unpaid work a week, Dad does fourteen hours, Mom does about eighty-four hours.

The figure the professors came up with for the average value contributed annually by a couple with two children, one aged five, the other not yet a year old, would be \$8,600.

At the going rate outside the home for all the jobs done in family situations, it's easy to see how much would be added to the Gross National Product if the dollar value for this work were recognized and added in. The researchers used this average rate (U.S. figures, of course) when they estimated the total family value of household work. In other words, if a cook could earn \$2.50 an hour in a restaurant, and the mother in the family spent fourteen hours a week at cooking, the dollar value of this work would be fourteen times \$2.50, a total of \$35 a week. This would mean that a wife's value as a cook, in the space of just one year, would be \$1,820.

But she's more than a cook. By the same calculations, she might be worth \$2,075 a year as a house-cleaner, \$235 a year as laundress, \$1,640 as chauffeur, and so on.

Here's how you can work out your own contribution to Canada's wealth. Take a sheet of paper and list down one side all the jobs you do in the home. Along the top of the sheet, list the days of the week, and rule a column for each; make another column at the right hand side for the week's final total accumulating from each of the jobs.

Then jot down the hours you spend on each job at the end of each day. Add them all up at the end of the week, and write the figures in on the chart on page 20 (our figures are based on the current average rate for paid work in each category). It will be easy then to see just how much your unpaid work has been worth in dollar values. If you want a family total, make out a sheet for your husband and each child as well.

Some of the jobs, like practical nurse and decorator, will occur less

frequently. Records kept over a month will be more realistic than a week, and over a full year more realistic still. But a week's listing of the more usual and regular jobs will probably come as quite a surprise to you.

"A dollar value for household work can give each of us a better sense of who we are," say the two professors. "For some of us it might even give an increased sense of personal worth . . . and a greater appreciation of the work performed in behalf of the family." **END**

HOW TO CALCULATE EACH JOB'S WORTH

Heavy cleaning	_____	hours at \$8.50 an hour = \$ _____
Light cleaning	_____	" 4.00 " = _____
Homemaking (shopping for provisions, budgeting, meal-planning)	_____	" 2.00 " = _____
Cooking	_____	" 3.00 " = _____
Laundry	_____	" 2.50 " = _____
Nanny (child care)	_____	" 2.70 " = _____
Baby-sitting	_____	" 1.50 " = _____
Chauffeur	_____	" 5.00 " = _____
Sewing, mending and alterations	_____	" 2.50 " = _____
Painting, decorating, paperhanging	_____	" 6.00 " = _____
Garden work	_____	" 3.25 " = _____
Hostess	_____	" 4.50 " = _____
Practical nurse	_____	" 2.80 " = _____
Shopping (household effects, furnishings, clothing)	_____	" 2.56 " = _____

The \$700 bargain

German housewives put in 11-hour day, French a little less, surveys say

By LEO RYAN
Special to The Globe and Mail

PARIS — Husbands: have you ever wondered how much your wife would cost you if you paid her for all the chores she accomplishes daily?

Recent investigations carried out in Europe on this

matter indicate that the monthly bill would be between \$700 and \$800 for an average housewife.

The findings show that the output by wives not employed in a paid job widely exceeded the working hours of the "active population".

In France, a housewife with two children to raise works from 7.7 hours to 10 hours a day. The European champion in the category is, however, by far the German housewife, who has an 11-hour working day, according to a research institute in West Germany.

The quality of the work, the European surveys say, is unmatched by the average charwoman.

For the fun of it, a Briton filmed all the activity of his wife, mother of three children, from morning until bedtime. Then he projected the film by slightly accelerating the speed.

The effect was astounding. It gave the impression of a nightmarish gymnastic exercise.

The "taboo" subject received considerable publicity in Germany during a trial following the accidental death of the mother of several children. A German bank officially estimated the housewife's "economic value" at the equivalent of \$700 a month.

The French mass-circulation magazine, Paris-Match, made detailed calculations on the savings for the varied tasks the housewife performs. The cooking, for instance, came to over \$240 (based on the calculation on 60 hours a month at \$4 an hour). The saving on ironing comes to about \$40 a month, managing the household budget to \$50 housecleaning to over \$100.

Oh, about that one special dinner with guests: If you wife serves at table, it represents a savings of \$40.

Mom's pay--

Toronto Star
July 25, 1979

\$35,000

NEW YORK (AP) — At current rates of pay, the North American mother is worth more than \$35,000 a year.

In its August issue, Parents magazine calls for "adequate financial payment for full-time homemakers," and says an average housewife does work worth about \$700 a week.

The magazine estimates that house care costs \$3 an hour, day care costs \$4, on-call care costs \$3, driving costs \$5, and managerial work costs \$4.50 an hour.

A mother with two preschool children spends 10 hours daily on child care and must be available for on-call care two hours each day and 12 hours each night. Total child care — 70 hours a week, or \$280. Add 98 hours of on-call time each week, or \$294.

Then there are the other duties: Four hours of clothes care, two hours on food shopping and 21 hours on food preparation, and five hours of house cleaning. Total housework: 32 hours, or \$96.

Add two hours of budgeting and planning, \$9, and four hours of driving, \$20.

Total salary: \$699 a week, before taxes.

Evelyn Kaye, author of the article, says she deliberately made her calculations as extreme as possible and that her fig-

ures add up to 206 hours a week, 58 hours more than a week contains.

She acknowledged that most North American breadwinners take home considerably less than \$42,000 a year and suggested the government could pay

the balance "because the United States is the wealthiest nation in the world."

"Women who are full-time homemakers are worth considerably more than men who are bus drivers."

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Yen .0053 per Cdn \$.

.0053 x yen.

Women's Work in House Worth ¥63,000 a Month

\$ 333.90

General housework performed by the average Japanese woman, such as cooking, cleaning, child rearing and shopping, is worth ¥63,000 a month, according to a report compiled by the Leisure Development Center.

\$ 90.00

The report, called the Leisure White Paper and released recently, estimated the average value of household activities undertaken by men — carpentry, gardening and repairs in the house — at ¥17,000 a month.

The total value of the nation's household labor, including productive leisure activities, amounted to ¥53.7 trillion in 1976 if calculated on the basis of 1976 wages, the report said. Of this total, about ¥44.7 trillion derived from household service activities.

The estimated total value of household labor was equivalent to 37.3 per cent of Japan's 1976 national income of ¥144.1 trillion.

The survey predicts that men will spend more time in doing household service in and around his house in the future.

The survey was conducted in February and covered a sample of 6,064 households throughout the nation. The estimated value of housework was calculated by multiplying the total hours of household activities on the basis of the average hourly wages in 1976.

Leisure Facilities

Public leisure facilities such as gymnasiums, tennis courts and civic centers need to be expanded several times by 1985 because the people's leisure hours are expected to increase greatly, according to a report released by the Economic Planning Agency recently.

The report, prepared by the Leisure Development Center for the agency, predicted that the nation's leisure hours in 1985 will be 15.7 per cent more than in 1974.

Leisure hours will account for 27.3 per cent of the average day in 1985, compared with 26.1 per cent in 1975, the report said.

The report also estimates how the leisure hours will be spent in 1985 and what facilities must be added to meet the increasing needs of the public.

As for the change of life styles in the future, the study predicts

that more people will spend their leisure hours on sports, watching shows, gambling or other hobbies. But little increase is expected in watching TV and resting, the report said.

The agency then calculated the number of public facilities needed to satisfy the increasing demand of the public for their leisure in 1985.

On the basis of the report, the total number of gymnasiums needs to be increased to 11,641, or 6.9 times more than that of 1974.

As for tennis courts, the total number must be increased to 109,854 in 1985 which is 6.5 times more than that of 1974. Other public facilities to be increased are civic halls, to 7,800, and indoor swimming pools, to 2,069.

The estimate was made on the assumption that the people work 40 hours a week with two days off and have four weeks of vacation a year, not including national holidays.

An official of the agency said that additional financial support would be needed to meet the increasing demand from the public for expansion of these public facilities.

Mates not sharing home tasks, some working wives exhausted

— ER 2/78

UNITED NATIONS (Reuter) — The health of many married women who also work outside the home is suffering because their husbands don't share household chores, the United Nations reports after conducting a world-wide survey.

Despite global socio-economic trends forcing women to take full-time jobs outside the home, the assumption among both men and women that a woman must be a full-time homemaker still persists.

Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim said in a report to the Commission on the Status of Women.

The woman with an outside job therefore has two full-time roles, each sufficient in itself to exhaust a person's energy. The combination is a physical drain, making it hard to perform either role optimally, Mr. Waldheim said.

France reported that women suffer from nervous strain because of their constant movement from home to work, school, shops and so on, he said, while West Germany also noted increased health problems in dual-role women.

The Secretary-General's report was drawn from information given to him by

UN member-governments.

"As reported in information received from Singapore, many women have either to get up much earlier than men or else stay up late so as to complete their work," the report stated. "This necessity makes it difficult for women to fulfil their dual role effectively and, in some cases, their strength is undermined by the attempt to do so."

Unless the husband pulls his weight in child-rearing, the health of young children of working mothers also might suffer, Mr. Waldheim said.

His report included a table supplied by the government of Finland showing the division of labor in typical households between man and woman as follows: preparing dinner, wife 85 per cent, husband 9 per cent; washing men's shirts and

socks, 80, 11; buying food, 74, 20; feeding children, 74, 20; daily cleaning, 73, 18; preparing breakfast, 72, 16; dressing children, 70, 24; washing dishes, 70, 20; making beds, 67, 25; putting children to bed, 54, 41; washing windows, 51, 32; paying bills, 32, 19; driving the car, 7, 21; fixing things around the house, 6, 7.

Most women are socialized to believe that household work is part of their femininity, he observed, citing a report that 75 per cent of women surveyed in Denmark, where men's share of household work was minimal, expressed satisfaction with their husbands' participation.

A slight majority of Finnish women also agreed with the idea that men should leave housework to women, he added.

Iran stated that obstacles to equitable sharing of house chores are the traditional attitudes of women and men to their roles and the fact that women believe they are solely responsible for household duties.

Mr. Waldheim said there seemed to be a correlation between educational standards and attitudes toward the division of labor.

"Where both husband and wife are educated, the need to share housework tends to be more readily accepted," he said. "On the other hand, however, it has been observed that professional men, politicians, executives and other white-collar working men find it difficult to share in household duties owing to what is considered the demanding nature of their work."

The Secretary-General concluded that the double burden on working women must be alleviated by international standards, national legislation, education and mass-media campaigns.

Society at large and governments should create conditions in which working women could be helped to combine their existing roles within a reasonable working day and without detriment to themselves or others.

GLOBE June 27, 1979

What price housework? \$80 billion

By WAYNE CHEVELDAYOFF
Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — If homemakers had been paid for their work, they would have earned between \$74-billion and \$84-billion last year, according to Statistics Canada.

The agency says in a special study that the value of unpaid household work done in Canada is between 35 and 40 per cent of the gross national product.

If that proportion is applied to last year's GNP of \$210-billion, it means the value of work done in the home, mostly by housewives, was worth between \$74-billion and \$84-billion, although Statistics Canada gave dollar figures for 1971 only.

However, housework is not currently included in the GNP estimate of the value of production of goods and services in the economy. Only paid housework done by people outside the family unit is counted in the GNP, and only then if it is reported to the tax department.

The estimates for 1971 show that the value of household work was between \$32-billion and \$38-billion, as compared to the GNP for that year of \$95-billion.

"Given about 6.5 million family units (including single-person units) in that year, this comes to approximately \$6,000 per family annually," the study says.

It says the value of household work done in Canada is between 35 and 40 per cent as large as the GNP, although it does not give dollar estimates for years other than 1971.

The study notes that housework seems to be a higher percentage of the GNP in Canada than in the United States where it is estimated at between 32 to 36 per cent.

The difference, it maintains, lies with the higher wage estimate used for Canada, the lower labor force participation rate of women in Canada and other reasons. It says women who hold jobs do less housework.

The Statistics Canada study, prepared by Queen's University professor Oli Hawnylyshyn, used three techniques to estimate the value of household work done in Canada.

For 1971, one method of calculation, which evaluates each separate task of household work at its market replacement cost, yielded a value of \$38-billion.

A second method estimating the cost of replacing such work by use of a single housekeeper arrived at a \$32-billion figure. And a third approach estimating the wages lost because people did household work instead of working at paying jobs pegged the value at \$37.5-billion.

In a Landmark Decision . . .

Court Rules a Housewife Is Worth \$634.90 a Month

What's a housewife worth? Exactly \$634.90 a month, according to a landmark decision by the Maryland Court of Appeals.

"We've managed, in one state at least, to put a value on a woman's housework," declared David J. Farber, a U.S. Labor Dept. economist who devised the formula for compensation.

Farber figured the value of a housewife at the minimum wage of \$2.30 an hour, for 12 hours a day, 30 days a month. This comes to \$828.

From that he subtracted \$193.10 — the estimated monthly cost of food, clothing, lodging and expenses — and reached the final figure of

\$634.90. The case involved Mrs. Dolores B. Holmes, who was slain in a 1972 street shooting. Her four children sought compensation under a Maryland law which provides state payments to the families of innocent crime victims.

But the Maryland State Board of Compensation for Criminal Injuries denied the request on the ground that the family was already receiving an "ample" \$817 a month from Mrs. Holmes' Social Security and insurance benefits.

Appealing the decision, the family argued that the board had made no provision for re-payment "for the loss of Mrs.

Holmes' homemaking abilities." And the family produced Farber as an expert witness.

The Court of Appeals agreed with Farber and held that "the economic position of the Holmes family was enhanced by the value" of Mrs. Holmes' services at home.

And the court ordered the compensation board to review the case. A board spokesman said the review wouldn't begin until next January.

"I hope this will be a precedent that lawyers around the country will cite in cases similar to this one," Farber told The ENQUIRER.

"The Maryland decision is the first step towards giving the role of wife and mother the dignity and value that it deserves."

— ARTHUR GOLDEN

A SEP 76 NATL ENQUIRER

Dead woman's value to family was \$95,135, B.C. court decides

VANCOUVER (CP) — The B.C. Supreme Court has decided that an Edmonton woman's value to her widower and their five children is \$95,135.69.

Because of shared liability in

the death of Anne Nellie Griffiths, 30, the family will receive only half the amount, plus \$8,750 for the husband's personal injuries.

The total award is \$56,317.85.

David Raymond Griffiths' wife was killed on Aug. 2, 1973, when his car collided with a CP Rail train at a level crossing near Hope, B.C.

In his suit against CP Rail, he claimed damages for his physical injuries and for the emotional trauma he suffered as a result of his wife's death.

Mr. Griffiths, now 39, a bricklayer's laborer, also sought damages to compensate him for the loss of his wife and his five children for the loss of their mother.

Mr. Justice A. A. Mackoff actually awarded a total of \$112,635.69 on Wednesday, but said the family will receive half because Mr. Griffiths admitted equal liability with CP Rail.

During the five-day trial, Mrs. Griffiths was described in glowing terms by all who knew her.

Vancouver lawyer John Laxton called evidence on her qualities as a wife, mother and homemaker, and the effect her death had on the lives of her husband and children.

"The children were well-behaved (before their mother's death) and seemed to enjoy

living and to enjoy themselves in everything they did," Mr. Justice Mackoff said.

After their mother's death, he continued, their school marks dropped and they will be lucky if any of them pass in the 1975-76 school term.

The judge also noted that one child is becoming delinquent, another is losing weight, one is missing school work and another has been picked up for shoplifting.

The judge disallowed Mr. Griffiths' claim for the emotional shock he received because of his wife's death.

The exact sums awarded in the suit, all of which will be halved, are:

Damages for Mr. Griffiths' personal injuries and loss of income: \$17,500. Special damages: \$4,635.69. Damages for loss of wife's domestic services: \$40,000. Damages for loss of wife's income: \$500. Damages for each of the five children: \$10,000.

Sun March 29/74

The worth of a wife

WASHINGTON (Special) — A jury has decided that the monetary value of a 27-year old woman who was killed in a traffic accident was \$905,000.

The jury found that Joyce Maloney, mother of three young boys, was worth \$570,000 as a mother and \$335,000 as a wife.

It based her worth as a mother on the current wage rates of domestics and on projections of their rates up to 1994, when her youngest son will be 18.

Career for a wife can be deadly work

TORONTO
STAR
JULY 29-76
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By SIDNEY KATZ
Star staff writer

They carry a double burden.

The working wife — and there are 2.5 million of them in Canada — too often may be working herself into a physical and mental breakdown, the result of trying to combine the roles of wife, mother, homemaker and earner with little or no help from her husband — or anyone else.

Doctors are reporting more women patients with physical illnesses related to stress; psychiatrists are dealing with more women pushed to the limits of their resources by the demands made upon them; social workers and marriage counsellors try to help pick up the pieces.

"The so-called revolution in marriage, wherein husband and wife abandon their stereotyped sex roles and share equally in all the family chores, must be the slowest revolution in the history of mankind," observes Marnie Clarke, director of the Women's Bureau of the Ontario Ministry of Labor.

"Many women," UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim noted, "have to get up much earlier than their husbands or stay up much later to complete their work. The double burden of working women must be alleviated."

Dr. Gail Robinson, a psychiatrist on the staff of the Toronto General Hospital, told The Star that many working wives "are driving themselves and those around them crazy" trying to simultaneously perform as career woman, housewife, mother, gourmet cook, housekeeper and hostess. "They do more than the average person," Dr. Robinson noted, "but because of the high standards they set for themselves, they sometimes suffer anxiety, depression and low self-esteem."

More and more career women are turning to psychiatrists for help, Toronto psychiatrist Margaret Whitfield recently wrote in the Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal. She called them victims of "role overload" — trying to do too many different jobs at the same time. The stress of taking on too much, she said, leads to "feelings of depression, loneliness, vulnerability and the inability to cope."

Battered wife

Dr. Doreen Schecter told a recent assembly of North American psychiatrists that the working wife is a modern-day version of the traditional battered wife.

"She's a psychologically battered woman, as well as a physically brutalized woman," Dr. Schecter said, "suffering from such symptoms as exhaustion, migraine, hypertension, peptic ulcer, spastic colon and ulcerative colitis."

"Husbands are not sharing the household tasks and, as a result, the health of many working married women is threatened," a United Nations survey noted earlier this year. "They now have two full-time jobs — each sufficient in itself to exhaust a person's energy."

Why then aren't the husbands pitching in?

When married women began joining the labor force in unprecedented numbers, many people predicted that the husband-wife roles would undergo a revolutionary change. Because the wife was now a major wage-earner, the husband — it was believed — would also change his traditional role and become an equal partner in raising the kids and performing the housework. But the New Woman and the New Man, working harmoniously within the framework of the New Marriage, still remain — with few exceptions — myth, rather than a reality.

Husbands do little

The reality is that, by and large, most husbands of working wives do very little housework. A study published by the authoritative U.S. medical journal Pediatrics noted that "working mothers perform 70 to 80 per cent of the housework in addition to their salaried work."

Another study — this one published in the Scientific American — pointed out that the household responsibility of most husbands is limited to "a few hours a week, and most of what they do is shopping."

Perhaps the most telling study was carried out by researchers at the University of Kentucky. A comparison was made between the number of hours contributed to domestic work by husbands before and after their wives took full-time jobs outside the home. They performed, on average, exactly six extra minutes of housework per day.

Most husbands, when interviewed, acknowledge the fairness of the argument that since their wives now contribute a significant part of the family income, they in turn should cheerfully scrub floors, wash dishes, take the kids to the doctor and buy their clothes.

"Many men can accept this proposition intellectually," said Dr. Robinson, "but they're still hung up over the traditional roles of husband and wife. When a husband helps with the housework, he still thinks he's being very, very nice. And his wife thinks that he's doing her a favor."

Money helps

Money helps, of course. Hiring household help, eating out, buying goods ready-made and hiring services such as painting and dry-cleaning . . . all these sound like a lot of help for the working wife.

PHOTO BY B. J. ...

there's a catch, and it's tant: The responsibility shifters. She's the one who copes when the cleaning lady quits, does the shopping, remembers the dry-cleaning.

Jobs, kids, husband, laundry, cooking, shopping, visits to the doctor and the dentist and the relatives — oh, yes, and social life: It's her job to juggle them all.

A successful woman scholar recalled: "Suddenly, in the middle of a lecture, I thought: 'My Lord, we have no toilet paper. I'd better pick some up on my way home.'" Another woman cut short an important business trip to take care of packing for her youngest child, who was going off to another town to visit his grandmother for two weeks.

No matter how well she organizes the home front, the working mother will never totally shed her guilt, says Edita Kowalski.

A career woman, Edita's two small children are cared for by a responsible, efficient full-time housekeeper. "The guilt is lying there, smouldering, and sometimes it's kindled by the innocent question of a child. Once, for instance, my 7-year-old daughter said, 'So-and-so's mother came to watch us skate after school. Why didn't you?'"

When Edita confesses to her husband, Adam, that such incidents are disturbing to her, he reassures her: "You're over-reacting. The kids are getting the very best care during the day and we're close to them in the evenings and weekends. In a few years, when they're grown up and independent, you'll be glad you stuck to your career."

Edita and Adam Kowalski jointly operate the Canadian Stress Institute and Modular Management Dynamics, a business consulting firm with a special interest in developing careers for women.

Children and friends put pressure on both husband and wife to fall into the traditional roles.

"When we run out of everything, the housekeeper tells me, not my husband," says Edita Kowalski. "When the kids have no clean underwear, I assume the responsibility."

"The kids don't say to Adam, 'Why don't you stay home more?' Daddy is supposed to work. When Daddy's working around the house and the kids are there with him, that's enough. But if I'm home they bug me for my undivided attention. It's not enough that I'm there."

Says Adam Kowalski: "To keep a dual-career marriage running smoothly there has to be a lot of communication between the two partners. Otherwise there can be friction and misunderstanding."

"I've never thought of myself as a neglected husband because of Edita's career," he adds.

Interviewees suggest that husbands tend to fall into one of three groups.

There's the "totally uninvolved," a minority who pursue a strict "hands off" policy as far as helping in the home is concerned.

An even smaller group are the "totally involved" — the living embodiment of the New Man functioning in the New Marriage.

Partly involved

The largest group — the "partly involved" — fall somewhere in between. By pre-arrangement or upon request, they will perform certain specific chores, such as vacuuming the rugs every Saturday or doing the grocery shopping on Friday night.

Irene B., 30, is a Metro nurse, highly regarded by her supervisor because of her thoroughness, energy and sense of responsibility. She continued working after her marriage to Phil eight years ago, and today, with two children, she's still working. Growing up as the only boy in a family of five children, Phil was constantly catered to by his mother and sisters. It was his unassailable belief that all household and child-rearing chores were "a woman's work."

After the arrival of the children, Irene felt she was overworked and repeatedly asked Phil for help. He politely refused, offering various alibis relating to his job. Not only did Irene perform the usual duties of mother and housewife, she tended the garden and cut the grass in summer and shovelled the snow in winter. At Irene's instigation, she and Phil recently separated.

The other side

At the other end of the spectrum is Ron Burke, 40, who teaches psychology at York University. His wife Patricia, 39, teaches English and German at community colleges. The Burkes have been married 14 years and have a son, 5, and two daughters, 9 and 13.

Ron told The Star: "I think Pat and I have achieved a 50-50 partnership in our marriage."

Two principles guide the Burke marriage partnership: You do the chores which your schedule allows you to do and, whenever possible, you do what you like to do.

Pat's schedule is rigid — she has to be out of the house at 8 a.m. and works until 4 p.m. — while Ron's is flexible. He can usually get to his office as late as 9.30 a.m. and his hours are variable. For this reason, he makes breakfast for the family in the morning and gets the children off to school. Pat, who gets home earlier, prepares the evening meal.

Sometimes, Ron says, a neighboring child will wander in and express surprise at seeing Ron down on the floor with a pail of hot water and a brush, scrubbing away.

"It doesn't bother me," he said.

Wants to update 1968 study

By KATHLEEN REX
Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — Kathryn Walker, who holds a doctorate in household economics and management, is hoping for money to bring up to date a study she did nine years ago which found that working women spend 66 to 75 hours a week on combined job and household duties.

Prof. Walker, who is with the Department of Consumer Economics and Public Policy at Cornell University, is among 1,000 delegates attending an international congress of home economists here. She said in an interview yesterday that despite all the push-button equipment in the kitchen, homemaking still takes time.

The 1968 study of 1,300 families of varying education and economic backgrounds in Syracuse, N.Y., disclosed "amazingly little change" in the hours spent on housework compared with 40 years ago. Prof. Walker believes there has been little change because modern women have different habits.

"With the automatic washers, one would assume we'd reduce the amount of clothing care," she said. "But nowa-

days we're changing our clothes more often, so there is more clothing to wash. And we are more affluent and have larger wardrobes."

While she doesn't think a new study will show any spectacular change, she expects to see a shift in the care of family members.

In the new study she wants to look at 3,000 households, including those where there are single parents and groups of young people living together, to determine what changes have taken place in the family since 1968.

In this study the homemaker will be the person with the primary responsibility, whether man or woman. Information also will be gathered on the amount of voluntary work individuals do, as well as hours of work in employment and around the house, plus whether the adults are in the education system.

"Our tendency to do more and more work seems to be related to the fact that families have many more goals than they used to," says Prof. Walker. "In today's affluent world, we have expanded our goals and our reasons for doing household work to encompass more and more that we want; more acquisitions to be cared for; more rooms to clean, and so on."

To Serve and Protest

On guard, upstairs; downstairs a rebellion is brewing

C-1

The Toronto Star
CANADIAN MAGAZINE SEPT 15, 16, 1979

BY ROSIE DIMANNO

Mirjana Tenebaum curls up in a corner of the faded velvet couch that dominates her narrow living room-dining room-office. Limp strands of copper hair fall across her pale face. When she speaks, it's with the stilted manner of an Anglicized immigrant; the words are English but the melody is Yugoslavian.

There is about her gently stooped shoulders a deceptive quality of resignation: Tenebaum doesn't look as if she would say boo to a mannequin. Yet this 26-year-old landed immigrant, along with her Toronto-born husband Alan, has stripped away much of the apathy that shrouds and protects Ontario's latter-day slave racket — The Hired Help Connection — while women in other provinces fight the same battle. Tenebaum is founder and president of the recently formed Labor Rights for Domestic Servants (LRDS). Alan, a third-year microbiology student at the University of Toronto and part-time jewelry salesman, is LRDS's secretary.

How did a placid, eager-to-work young woman become a committed activist, parading protest placards through the smugness of Toronto's Forest Hill? From the window of her modest highrise apartment on the periphery of this elite neighborhood, Tenebaum can look down on the opulence of her working environment where the mansions sprawl, overwhelming and gothic. She has an intimate knowledge of those mansions. She has cooked in their kitchens, served at their tables, dusted and vacuumed their many rooms. Upstairs, downstairs. She's still doing it, though now she works strictly as a cook.

During the five years she's been in Canada, Mirjana Tenebaum has seen and felt the injustices and indignities suffered by the cook, the charwoman, the maid and the nanny. This almost exclusively female sector of the labor market has been profoundly exploited, its plight either ignored or airily dismissed by politicians.

It's a sizeable sector; many thousands of women are working as domestics in Canada. The federal government does not keep precise tabs, clumping domestics in the "personal services" category along with theatre attendants, masseurs and tattoo artists. But its statistics show



Mirjana Tenebaum: indignities on the job created a committed activist

that in 1978 more than half a million Canadian households paid for domestic services of some kind. Ontario has more domestics than any other province. The Ontario Women's Bureau estimates it has 70,000-75,000 household workers (a figure which includes gardeners, chauffeurs and others).

It's also a sector that, until recently, has been largely denied any professional status or rights. Tenebaum is out to

change that. She's not alone.

There's a quiet rebellion brewing downstairs.

In the past year Mirjana Tenebaum has been fired from two jobs. The first time she stood up for another member of the household's domestic staff — the maid — who she felt was being abused. A slight girl, the maid was expected to lug an enormous industrial vacuum cleaner through the three-storey house three times a week. Tenebaum protested. Both she and the maid were dismissed.

The second time, Tenebaum was fired

for allegedly trying to change her job specifications. "I was hired as a cook," she says of her tenure in this 35-room mansion. "My boss said I was a lousy housekeeper, but that wasn't supposed to be my job."

Even so, Tenebaum has been lucky; at the most she has suffered festering neglect — witness the time boiling water scalded her feet and her employer considered his duties discharged after showing her feet into a bucket of water. She has not suffered physical abuse.

That's the reason Jean, a Guyanese domestic here on a temporary work permit, left her first job. "The children would kick me and their mother wouldn't say anything," she says, looking around the sunroom in her current employer's home. "This is a little better. If the kids hit me, their mother slaps them." But then the telephone rings, as it does frequently when Jean is alone in the house. It's her employer, checking to see that she is still there. "Just keeping tabs," says Jean, adding, "Does she think the house is going to run away?"

An educated, articulate woman, Jean is paid \$375 a month to live in as a housekeeper. She vacuums and dusts the five-bedroom house, does laundry for the family of five, babysits the youngest child, prepares meals and serves at dinner parties. There's also a yappy little dog she's expected to supervise full-time. Jean sends most of her salary home to her husband and two sons in Guyana. She would like to rejoin her family, but they need the money she provides and she can't bring them here. So she perseveres, playing down to the level of ignorance expected of her, playing invisible. "I stoop to conquer," she says. "But I don't know how much longer."

Jean has also been lucky. . . .

One Montreal domestic was denied sick leave although she had a doctor's note demanding three days' rest. Another, a housekeeper, often works 18-hour days and then, on her alternate weekends off, is asked to babysit if she stays home. To escape this, she and four other domestics have rented a small apartment where they can spend their free time.

Then there's sexual exploitation — everything from a pat or caress to

intercourse. An Ottawa housekeeper, told by her employer that he would have her deported if she resisted — an empty threat, as he well knew but she didn't — agreed to sleep with him, became pregnant, then had to arrange her own abortion. Threatened again with deportation if she reported the incident, she continued working in the same house.

Most domestics in Canada — whether citizens, landed immigrants or those working on temporary permits — have no protection under existing labor laws. Because they do traditional "women's work," their labor has generally been belittled as requiring minimal skill and being of minimal monetary value. Their problems have largely gone undocumented and unresolved. They are not legally entitled to overtime, a special burden for live-in domestics who are often on call almost 24 hours a day.

Employment standards in Canada are under provincial jurisdiction — and only Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Quebec include domestics in their standards' regulation. Elsewhere they are not even entitled to a minimum wage.

Conditions are particularly bad for those working on temporary permits — women trying to escape Third World

poverty or Europeans taking the first step toward landed immigrant status and eventual Canadian citizenship. They're particularly vulnerable, many living in constant fear of being sent home. Still, demand far outweighs supply, so Manpower and Immigration maintains an open-door policy for domestics on temporary permits. In 1974 there were only 91 such people in Canada, working in the following categories: full-time baby-

sitter, personal servant, maid, domestic, butler, companion, farm housekeeper, domestic couple. Four years later, in 1978, the numbers had jumped dramatically — 5,609 babysitters, 105 personal servants, 6,632 maids, eight butlers, 97 personal companions, 32 farm housekeepers and 37 general domestic couples.

When Alan and Mirjana Tenebaum created Labor Rights for Domestic Servants last January, they were its only members. Through Toronto's Immi-

grant Women's Centre, they attracted others; the group now has 112 paid-up (\$2 a year) members. LRDS's long-term plans are for a maximum 44-hour work week, a minimum wage of \$3 an hour and pay for overtime, public holidays and vacations. In the short term LRDS is content to raise a little hell, to make its campaign a public issue and to force politicians to pay attention. It's also kept busy enough organizing and educating

its own members. Too many are embarrassed about their profession or afraid of losing their jobs. "We want them to know they're not alone," says Mirjana.

And LRDS itself is not alone. A similar, more established group in Quebec — the five-year-old, 500-member Montreal Household Workers Association — has lobbied so successfully that the Quebec National Assembly had no choice but to introduce legislation covering domestics. It passed this June.

The new law faced fierce opposition



Domestics forming picket lines? No wonder Forest Hill was embarrassed

from the Quebec Council of Employers, which used the tired old rationale that Quebec's estimated 15,000 domestics would be pricing themselves out of jobs. The women in Montreal dismissed that argument as another example of the traditional feudal relationship between employer and serf. They believe the HWA's strength lies in one thing — solidarity. That is a new sensation for domestic workers, who usually feel quite isolated. Now employment standardization and a legally binding contract give them some leverage. If the working conditions are poor, they can report them to government officials or to the HWA, or quit. As long as all domestics hold out, they will have a seller's market. "Employees are going to refuse to work for less than they should," predicts Montreal organizer Adriana Volpato. "The workers are all in the same position, and they're going to stick together."

There are also smaller domestics' associations in Sherbrooke, Trois Rivieres and Ste.-Perpetue, and a group is currently being formed in British Columbia.

For Mirjana Tenebaum, all this is wonderful news. She began LRDS while still working for the employer who would eventually hand her the second pink slip of her career. When she was fired, she asked for one week's severance pay. The employer refused. Mirjana and other LRDS members picketed his mansion. Forest Hill residents were shocked and sharply indignant at this assault on their status, their superiority in the order of things. The Tenebaums received nasty, often threatening phone calls. Alan, curly-haired and bespectacled, was unperturbed. "If everything went smoothly," he says, "I'd wonder if anyone was paying attention. We've built a social conscience. Embarrassment hurts."

It also attracts attention. The LRDS has been endorsed by the Metro Labor Council, Toronto Mayor John Sewell and the Ontario Federation of Labor. It has even been given an office at Toronto City Hall. Bob McKenzie, MPP for Hamilton East and labor critic for the New Democratic Party, tabled a private member's bill during the last session calling for inclusion of domestic workers under the Employment Standards Act. The House recessed before its second reading and it's unlikely that the bill will succeed in its present form, but



Many employers threaten domestics with deportation if they complain

its supporters hope that Ontario's Conservative government will reintroduce something similar as their own.

But the women still have a heavy fight on their hands. For the present, the Ontario government continues its policy of indifference. The Employment Standards Act specifically excludes "domestic workers employed directly by the householder" from regulations governing minimum wage, hours, overtime pay, holidays and vacations. Ontario's Human Rights Code specifically excludes them from equal rights in employment and condones discriminatory advertising ("British nanny wanted," "Jamaican housekeeper available"). The Ontario Labor Relations Act specifically refuses domestics the certification that would give a union official recognition. And even if they were allowed to unionize, their specific exclusion from the Unfair Practices Section of the act effectively permits recriminatory action by an employer against a unionized maid or cook. Finally, domestics are excluded from Ontario's Workmen's Compensation Act. Similar discrimination against domestics can be found in most other provinces.

To compound their problems, Tenebaum and other organizers have to contend with the fact that many domestics on temporary permits are terrified by

"The children kicked me and their mother said nothing. I stoop to conquer"

talk of unionization. Under the Immigration Act, a temporary "work guest" can be deported if he or she is judged to be engaged in "subversive activities." But the phrase is never defined, and employers often use it as a weapon, suggesting that joining a domestics' association would be seen as subversive.

Fear holds domestics back in other ways. When a Canadian applies to bring in a domestic on a temporary permit he

or she signs a form guaranteeing an average of \$75 plus room and board for a 45-hour work week with two consecutive days off and two weeks annual holiday. But the contract has no legal clout; the employers usually set whatever standards they want. The "work guest" does have the right to inform Manpower and Immigration about the situation and ask for a position in another home, but turning to officials for help is a frightening prospect. Many employers — heady with their power over the fate of another

human being — threaten domestics with deportation if they complain to authorities. Thus two Filipino girls in Toronto, when their employer went south for two weeks, were ordered under threat of deportation not to leave his house for the entire period.

Organizers also have to deal with the "Auntie Tom Syndrome: domestics who put others' needs above their own and develop a dogged loyalty to their

employers' families, no matter what.

All these attitudes — inferiority, isolation, fear, misplaced loyalty — are almost as difficult to erase as the legal inequalities. And inequalities will remain until attitudes change. Although Quebec has its new legislation, HWA organizers in Montreal know that it won't bring about sweeping change until the domestics themselves work within its framework; they *must* not accept substandard conditions.

The HWA has already drawn up a


worker's contract, which employers are asked to sign and uphold. The contract defines the domestic's tasks and working hours, describes methods of payment and covers overtime, vacations, sick leave, maternity leave, social benefits, safety conditions, grievance procedures, probation periods and termination notice. But it too will be an instrument for change only if the women use it as such.

When Mirjana Tenebaum studies the HWA's achievements, she realizes how far her own group still has to go. But LRDS has already succeeded in coming to the rescue of at least some downtrodden domestics. There is, for example, the case of Susan Norvell, 26, an English nanny working in Canada on a temporary permit. After 10 months with a Toronto family, where she says she was receiving \$230 a month for between 60 and 80 hours a week, Susan was turned out of the house following an argument with her employer over a discrepancy in her paycheque. Susan said she was fired, which would entitle her to severance pay. Her employer said she quit, and refused to pay. LRDS took the case to the Metro Labor Council, and it ruled in Susan's favor.

There has also been some progress on the Ottawa front. The federal Advisory Council on the Status of Women has encouraged greater language education in French and English for domestics, so that they can become more aware of their rights. It has suggested standardized working conditions and a rewriting of that "subversive" passage in the Immigration Act to defuse it as an employer's weapon. Critics of the council label these recommendations modest in the extreme, but at least the problem has been acknowledged.

The colossal irony of the domestics' situation is that it has surfaced thanks largely to the re-entry of educated Canadian women into the work force. These women employ domestics to care for their homes, but they carry with them the ingrained belief that, because they weren't paid at all for their domestic efforts, the substitute homemakers shouldn't get much more.

"That's one of the arguments thrown at us all the time," says the HWA's Adriana Volpato. "It's a very sad argument." In fact, it's as if the women who make it are admitting that all they themselves were worth as homemakers was a lousy \$75 per week.

Sheila McLeod Arnopolous, a crusading Montreal journalist who prepared a scathing report on domestics' situations for the Status of Women council, feels that "the problem relates to the whole question of how we relate to domestics. Women in particular say this is crap work, and the government accepts that. It comes down to women exploiting other women." 

Today's 'slaves' -- immigrant women working as maids

TORONTO STAR
JANUARY 4, 1979

By Louise Brown Toronto Star

Hundreds of West Indian and Portuguese women are "modern-day slaves" working as maids in Metro homes — at \$50 a week for up to 80 hours of work, says a spokeswoman for Toronto's immigrant women.

Judy Ramirez, founder of the Immigrant Women's Centre of Toronto, lauded a report that recommended ways to improve the lot of immigrant women in domestic service and the textile industry — including recommending a minimum wage. The report is being studied by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

Often fed scraps

"It's so wonderful someone finally recommended domestics be paid at least minimum wage — and it's high time," she told The Star.

Ontario does not protect foreign-born domestics under its labor laws and Ms Ramirez said many Metro maids earn between \$50 and \$75 per week. The minimum wage in Ontario is \$3 per hour.

She says 80-hour weeks are common, with live-in domestics often fed scraps from the family's leftovers, and having to suffer physical and sexual abuse from the boss.

As adviser to the Employment Centre for Immigrant Women, Ms Ramirez is shocked by some requests for domestic help made to the office.

"You need only see some of the outrageous job orders that routinely come in — they tell the tale. For \$50 a week they want someone to do everything.

"Last week we sent one immigrant woman out as a cleaning woman, and her employer refused to give her any lunch or even let her stop for a half-hour for a break."

Duties included sex

Her stories match those collected by Montreal writer Sheila Arnpoulos, the report's author, who calls live-in maids "the most disadvantaged immigrant women in the Canadian labor market."

One Jamaican-born woman working for an Ottawa family was told her duties included having sex with "the man of the house" at his will, Mrs. Arnpoulos said.

The maid became pregnant as a result, obtained an abortion through an Ottawa women's group, and is still working for the same man, afraid to leave for fear of being deported.

Most domestics work long hours, says the report: "Often from 7 a.m. when they start breakfast, to 11 p.m. when they clean up snack dishes," with few weekends, vacations or sick leave.

When bringing a woman to Canada on a temporary work permit for domestic work, the federal government asks employers to sign forms saying they'll pay \$75 plus room and board for a 45-hour work week, with two consecutive days off and two weeks annual holiday.

But, according to the report, the federal government claims it is impossible to enforce these conditions because domestics aren't covered by provincial labor laws.



Ramirez: Change overdue

If a domestic herself complains, she is often threatened with deportation by her employer. Under the new Immigration Act, landed immigrants may be deported if it is suspected they might engage in "subversive" activities.

The act does not define "subversive," leaving much to the discretion of both the employer and the government.

Ms Ramirez called "fantastic" the report's suggestion this clause be wiped from the act, "so immigrants are not afraid to stand up for their rights on the labor market."

She also was delighted with Mrs. Arnpoulos' recommendation that the Employment and Immigration Commission "start a system of random spot checks through separate interviews of employer and employee, to see whether employers are meeting promised conditions."

To standardize working conditions, Mrs. Arnpoulos said the federal government should subsidize an independent network of non-profit agencies — such as the Montreal Household Workers' Association — to process all domestic workers' applications and employer orders.

"Unlike the very loose agreement employers now sign when they hire foreign domestics on permit, placements could be made through a worker/employer contract such as the one developed by the Montreal Association.

'Invisible to public'

"Among other things, it covers required tasks, hours of work, for each day of the week, regular pay, overtime, mode of payment, room and board, holidays, social benefits, safety conditions, holidays and probation."

But now, says Ms Ramirez: "Domestic work is invisible to the public eye so the employer

can make any kind of arbitrary demand he wants.

"There's a tremendous turnover, with these women casting about from job to job, looking for an employer who will treat them half-way decently, who won't pull stunts like cancelling days off at the drop of a hat because of some slight change in their plans."

Many immigrant women are trapped in this cycle, said the report.

"As the number of work permits increases, domestic work is gradually becoming the preserve of Third World women who will accept low pay and below-standard working conditions here simply because jobs are unavailable in their home countries.

"Virtually anything is allowed as long as the domestic worker accepts it," wrote Mrs. Arnpoulos.

Metro textile 'sweatshops'

Nearly anything goes, too, in the textile and garment industry, which the author criticized as another low-wage job ghetto for immigrant women.

She traces the annual industry turnover rate of 35 per cent to "low wages, uneven hours and poor working conditions that characterize most textile and garment industry sweatshops."

Again, Ms Ramirez echoes the report's concerns.

"I spent one winter trying to organize the Canadian Textile and Chemical Union in the textile sweatshops of north Metro — and believe me, they're sweatshops.

Filthy bathrooms, rats

"The women complained of rat-infested quarters, either no bathrooms at all, or bathrooms so small and filthy that they would rather become constipated than use them.

"Women regularly got sick from poor ventilation and the stale air."

Because few of the women speak English or know their rights, they are afraid to complain, so "abuses of labor in the industry abound," reported Mrs. Arnpoulos.

She called for better provincial inspections so the onus is not always on the worker to make a complaint, and urged higher fines for violations of Ontario's labor law.

The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women has set up a special committee to study Mrs. Arnpoulos' report and make recommendations to the federal government.

So far, the council has endorsed only one of the report's recommendations: To urge the federal government to make sure immigrant women get the chance to learn English or French, so they can learn their rights and improve their career expectations.

The council did lay responsibility for all standard job conditions in the lap of not only government and employers, but "all citizens who know about and profit by these conditions, as well as those who have not cared to inform themselves.

"They, too, are responsible for an exploitative situation which all Canadians should correct without further delay."



Welfare mothers organize to demand more cash

By LOUISE BROWN
Star staff writer

Florence Sims files into a rage when three-year-old daughter, Sojourner doesn't finish an apple.

It's not that Ms Sims is mean. It's just that, until recently, she and her daughter lived on a \$19 mothers' allowance cheque every month. On that budget, every bite is precious.

Now on a summer child grant preparing a pamphlet about living on Family Benefits Allowance (FBA), the 29-year-old U.S.-born single woman is angry that welfare assistance isn't higher.

"When I cashed my monthly cheque and paid bills and debts, I was lucky if there was \$40 left to spend," said Ms Sims, of Black Women for Wages for Housework and the Women's Action Group.

"My monthly rent in a one-bedroom subsidised apartment was \$130, my phone bills are high, and after TTC tickets, babysitting and \$25 for shoes for my child, there was very little left."

It was normal to run out of money before the end of the month, but Ms Sims said it wasn't because she couldn't budget.

"I went for two weeks without eating solid food once, but so my child could eat. Even then, she didn't like what I could afford."

Now she can afford to cook something other than spaghetti (it used to stretch into many meals) but Ms Sims still sews all her and Sojourner's clothes.

Quit job

Now a landed immigrant, she quit her job as a junior government clerk in Alberta when she got pregnant four years ago, and came to Toronto.

Then came some serious choices. She chose "not to be forced into a marriage that never would have worked," but she chose to have her child.

She chose not to get a "second bid" outside the home — her first job, she says, is being a mother. "I decided to go on mothers' allowance so I could stay home and raise my child during her early years. It was a difficult decision, but I thought it was better for me to be home with her," she said.

An articulate woman who feels welfare is a right — not a privilege — for women like herself who lose their earning power when they become pregnant, Ms Sims values family life.

Her long distance phone calls to family, for instance, were a treat when she could afford them. "I'm close to my family. Letters are so cold."

It's hard being a single mother. It's hard to live on welfare. It's sometimes hard being a student. Try all three at once and you end up "feeling like a trained fish," says

one welfare mom who has gone back to school.

Nothing is your own — not your money, not your time — but to improve yourself you must get an education and then a good job. You hang in and carry on, say welfare mothers.

But you don't have to like it.

A newly-formed grass roots coalition of Metro women — many of them single mothers on welfare — are aggressively angry at the plight of women on welfare, especially those who want to go back to school to eventually get off the public payroll.

And, as the saying goes, they aren't going to take it any more — at least not quietly.

The most vocal wing of the coalition is the year-old Housewives' Initiative, a Regent Park-based service group of about 12 women, including Ms Sims attached to the Wages for Housework camps group.

Craft lessons

Sure, the group offers craft lessons for women on mothers' allowance given through Ontario's Family Benefits Allowance, or FBA.

But the women are also trying to charge the provincial government with child abuse for paying them too little to feed their families properly.

Their leader is 37-year-old Edie Beck, a Regent Park mother of four living on mothers' allowance and also studying community work at George Brown College. She is president of an October march of FBA mothers on Queen's Park to demand more money.

She gives the morale-boosting battle cry every Tuesday night when the dozen or so women meet in a small room in Regent Park. "These women have had it. They can't manage their government cheques each month because there's no money to manage," said Mrs. Beck.

"We see the cigarette ads saying 'You've come a long way, baby.' Welfare women haven't. We're living on a pittance."

On and off FBA herself for the past 18 years, she's decided to "spend the rest of my life helping other women get their heads together and realize they aren't crazy — they're just broke."

On average a woman with one child on mothers' allowance receives \$37 per month.

In 1976, the Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto found that mothers' allowance gives a mother with one child only 82 per cent of the money it takes for her to live "on a minimum adequate standard."

That "adequate" standard is "not a comfortable standard of living, but one that doesn't make you a so-



FLORENCE SIMS FOUND MAKING ENDS MEET TOUGH ON FAMILY BENEFITS ALLOWANCE

cial outcast," said Jeffrey Patterson, the council's research director.

Minor adjustments in mothers' allowance have not kept up with inflation and that same single mother with one child probably today receives only 57 per cent of what she needs to live "adequately," Patterson said.

"We live on FBA; we're wondering what to say. To make the government pay," are lyrics of Mrs. Beck's song, "We Won't Go It Alone," which Housewives' Initiative members and supporters plan to chant at the October Queen's Park rally.

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whereas her brochure will be in clear, earthy street talk.

Dave Rudan, a ministry information spokesman, said the ministry tried to use vernacular when the handbook was written, through meetings with various welfare grass roots groups at the time.

"But times change and so does vernacular. Who knows, maybe these women will have a winner pamphlet on their hands," Rudan said.

With sex a recurring topic and cartoons sprinkled throughout, the Housewives' Initiative pamphlet promises to be a good read.

One chapter, to be called "A spouse in the House?" says single

women on mothers' allowance are deprived of their sex lives.

"If a social worker sees your son's boots in the doorway, they suspect a man's living there. They automatically assume any man who's around is contributing to your bank account," which is forbidden on FBA.

Smith said social or "field" workers do check to make sure FBA mothers are, as the law stipulates, "living as a single person." Fraud charges are laid when this law is broken.

"You've got to be careful when you're talking about \$32 million of taxpayers' money every month especially when some members of the public want us to crack down even harder on welfare recipients," Smith said.

But every FBA recipient has the right of appeal against such a charge, he added.

"I think we're pretty generous. I can't comment on the amount of mothers' allowance — that's a political issue," but remember, recipients get free health and dental care, eyeglasses, and many prescription drugs.

Nevertheless, money is a primary issue with the Housewives' Initiative along with others demanding more money for FBA women.

The Women's Action Group, many of whose members are involved with Wages for Housework — has met three times with provincial and municipal officials since April to ask for better welfare benefits.

They too are preparing a pamphlet, this one to help untangle the

red tape facing FBA mothers who go back to school.

"It's very confusing, besides being downright hard trying to raise a family on welfare and go to school to better yourself at the same time," said group-member Nancy Duffy, 34, an FBA mother of one and nutrition student at Ryerson.

"You're dealing with two different ministries — one for your student loan and one for FBA. And then you deal with Metro for your daycare."

On \$265 a month from FBA, Ms Duffy must pay \$212 for rent, at least \$40 a month for TTC, \$8 for the phone, \$3 for day care, leaving about \$50 left for food.

"We don't eat meat on that budget and there's nothing left for cable TV or long distance phone calls or new clothes. I have to use some of my student loan for household expenses now and then."

There's a real "guilt trip" spending the day at school away from her son, even though he loves daycare, because "I just get home and it's time to put him to bed and start studying."

Besides wanting more funds from government, these women want the rules made clearer, something they feel they've helped begin to improve.

One "victory" was a change in Metro daycare rules that will allow FBA mothers to take fewer courses and get daycare subsidy.

Before, a student qualified for subsidized daycare if he or she had at least 25 in-class hours of coursework a week.

Now, when calculating that 25-hour minimum for FBA mothers, any volunteer course-related field work will also be counted, said Ray Tomlinson, director of Metro Social Services.

Since a FBA mother loses a part-time summer job her daycare fee doesn't automatically jump to \$7 or \$8 per day from 75 cents per day as it often did in the past.

Raised points

"I'm not convinced these are changes in the rules so much as clarification of the rules," Tomlinson said.

"But the women's coalition raised certain points about what is available under the rules and are publicizing throughout our own staff."

Some women also prompted a change in Ontario Student Assistance Program (OSAP) rules so that students can stay home for the summer with her child instead of working and not lose her student loan.

John Bonner, student planner with the ministry of colleges and universities, said student single parents can't get a job during the summer holidays by providing letters of rejection from employers as well.

Now that he's been waiting for single parents on FBA, Bonner said.

"It's not recognized that we don't give ourselves enough time during the school year, and that our kids deserve more time during the summer," said Jill Leach of the Women's Action Group, an FBA mother and one-line university student who hopes to go back.

This is the kind of student-related problem for FBA mothers that will be dealt with in the Women's Action Group's pamphlet, to be released this fall.

It's funded by PLURA, a national interchurch association that promotes "social justice" through "last-resort funding" of grass-roots groups (PLURA stands for Protestant, Lutheran, United, Roman Catholic, and Anglican).

Bonner said the Acta of the women preparing a pamphlet for their own purposes is admirable. Her ministry is discussing adding a new section in our brochure to be directed at the single parent.

For information on either the Women's Action Group or Housewives' Initiative, call 921-5081.



RAY TOMLINSON
"Women raised points"

TORONTO STAR

AUG 22 '78

'Demand what we have rightfully earned'

Many thanks to The Star for your article on the new women's coalition for welfare rights (Aug. 11).

Scores of women have called us and Housewives Initiative to say "right on" and "it's about time." Widows on meagre pensions, as well as disabled and elderly women, have called to ask why they were left out.

We were only too happy to assure them that all women are welcome to join our campaign to demand from the government what we have rightfully earned.

So many groups of women are

relegated to the bottom of the economic totem pole because society fails to recognize the worth of our work in the home. As our forces grow, thanks to coverage like yours, we will increasingly have the power to challenge this basic injustice which devalues the labor of all workers, female and male.

Why should we fight each other for the crumbs, when by supporting each others demands we can all win more of the wealth which only exists because we create it daily with our work?

JUDITH RAMIREZ
Wages for Housework
Campaign Toronto

Housework: For Love or Money?

Judith Ramirez

Les femmes qui travaillent à l'extérieur du foyer forment une armée de main-d'oeuvre à bon marché. La valeur de leur temps est déterminée par rapport au travail ménager que la majorité des femmes font gratuitement. La lutte pour gagner un salaire aux ménagères sera une des épreuves les plus importantes dans la lutte pour la libération des femmes.

'Look up from that dishpan and smile, Canadian housewife. Today, the federal Advisory Council on the Status of Women announced that your work is worth at least \$26 billion a year to the economy, or \$6,000 for every household in the country.'

So began a recent article in the Toronto *Star* marking the publication of *Five Million Women*, the first comprehensive report on the value of housework in Canada. It is part of a mushrooming trend to assign a monetary value to women's work in the home, a trend that is worldwide and which recently saw the United Nations call on all governments to include housework in the Gross National Products of their countries. For women everywhere, these events mean more power to challenge the pervasive myth that *housework is an expression of the female nature*. From childhood we are all taught to nurture others and to cultivate personality traits—patience, subservience, and self-sacrifice—suited to such activity. We are socialized to serve the needs of others as the fulfillment of our feminine nature. What is commonly called sex-role stereotyping is, in reality, on-the-job training.

This cultural conditioning which makes housework appear as a 'private' activity outside the marketplace is, in fact, economically motivated. Its aim is to produce an army of unpaid workers on whose free labour the whole economic edifice rests. In Canada, the single largest occupational group is full-time housewives, who number five million and who produce the equivalent of twenty-seven per cent of the GNP.

As to what is produced in the homes of the nation, the answer is by now well known: goods and services that maintain the present labour force (our husbands) and create the future labour force (our children). A typical estimate of a housewife's services can be seen in the Prudential Life Insurance Company's study:¹

Job	Hrs per week	Value per hr	Total
Nursemaid	44.5	\$2.41	\$107.25
Cook	13.1	4.21	55.15
Housekeeper	17.5	2.41	42.13
Dishwasher	6.2	3.01	18.66
Laundress	5.9	3.01	17.76
Food Buyer	3.3	3.01	9.93
Dietician	1.2	7.22	8.66
Chauffeur	2.0	3.01	6.02
Gardener	2.3	2.41	5.54
Handywoman	1.7	3.01	5.12
Seamstress	1.3	3.61	4.69
Practical Nurse	.6	4.21	2.53
TOTAL HRS	99.6		Wk \$283.44

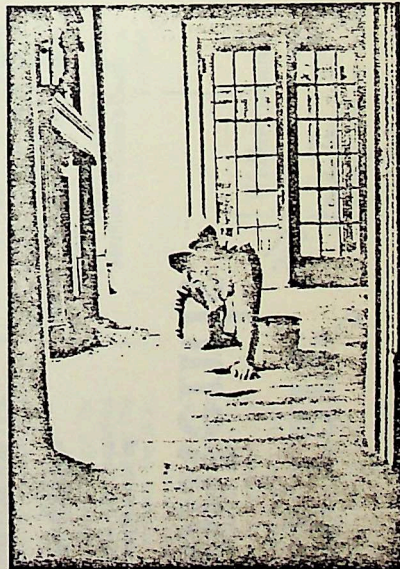
The fact that industry and government cannot function without this work was dramatically demonstrated by Iceland's General Strike of Women, in 1975. For twenty-four hours the entire country was paralyzed by a work stoppage led by the nation's housewives! In a society where women's

nature is equated with unpaid housework, *no woman can escape this identity entirely*. Whatever else we do, we are also expected to make the coffee, keep things tidy, and be supportive to those around us. Ask any secretary. To grasp how pervasive this association between women and housework really is, we need only look at the jobs we are offered in the paid labour force: nursing, teaching, service work, etc., in a word, collectivized housework.

Again, this association has an economic end. Women in the paid labour force in Canada earn *half* as much as what our male counterparts earn. We form an army of cheap labour whose time is valued in relation to that of the majority of women who work for nothing in the home. The fact that housework is valued at \$0.00 guarantees that women's work outside the home will be valued very low. The two are inescapably linked. In a society where work is synonymous with a paycheque (do you work or are you a housewife?), perpetuating a female identity synonymous with unpaid work in the home, and therefore low-paid work outside, is the height of injustice.

Has society the right to extract from women a double subsidy to the economy by robbing us of our right to equal recognition of our work and the dignity that goes with it?

The growing debate on the value of housework is one index of the power that women have built to challenge this fundamental economic injustice. Winning wages for housework will be *the* test for women's liberation if we are to free ourselves from poverty and second class status.



FOOTNOTE

¹ Information courtesy of Prudential Life Insurance Co. based on a family with a full-time homemaker, husband, and two children. Reprinted from *Family Circle* magazine, 26 July, 1977.

'Welfare abuse is very rare' she contends

*Star August 31,
1978*

I am amazed at the outpouring of protest against welfare mother Florence Sims.

The truth is that welfare abuse is very rare.

I do wish people would protest as loudly to their MP about the ripoff prices in the supermarkets, the seventh increase for Bell Telephone, the unrealistic prices of houses, the huge tax exemptions that are given to foreign companies, etc.

These are the true abuses → literally billions of dollars ripped off the Canadian taxpayer every day.

KATHLEEN MATTHEWS
Scarborough

I'm glad my taxes can help, she says

Regarding the case of welfare mother Florence Sims, it was with astonishment and great sadness that through reading the letters to the editor I have found out our lovely city and its environs harbor such a number of smug and selfish people.

The plight of Ms Sims and other welfare mothers who are trying to raise children and better their lots through additional schooling and skill training appears, for some weird reason, to bring out an appallingly poisonous reaction from so many self-styled "hard-working taxpayers."

How these people can look at their own overstuffed offspring sitting on overstuffed furniture in front of color TV sets and wish hunger and deprivation on the children of women less fortunate than themselves is certainly beyond me.

I, too, like some of those writers was once a single mother and worked very long hard hours at ill-paying tiresome jobs. But that's where the comparison ends.

To be honest, the only reason that I didn't end up on welfare was through sheer luck and the help and

encouragement of some truly kind people. Now, years later, I am fortunate enough to be happily married and I "choose" to stay home with my current toddler, although I'm sure that I could go back to work to help pay off the mortgage, car, or whatever and then pat myself on the back about it and tell everyone about what a sacrifice I'm making.

I am glad that my taxes can help people so that they can keep from starving and have at least halfway respectable lodgings, and I wouldn't wish my experiences of hardship on anybody.

Desperation spawns crime and if all those fine, upstanding, super-citizens have escaped being robbed or worse, so far, it is because these welfare mothers are struggling to create a better atmosphere for their children so that they won't be tempted to turn to the streets and a potential life of crime.

Welfare is a right to these people and it is my privilege to have a miniscule amount of my tax money go toward the aid of those who need it.

I wish that more taxes went in that direction instead of subsidizing phony committees such as grocery-price inquiries, do-nothing environmental studies and supporting the very marketing boards that keep eggs, milk, poultry, pork, etc., artificially high — for our own good, of course.

How tiring it is to pay the wages of these high-priced public servants who are never satisfied and call mail and transportation strikes, and how disgusting it is to be the means of sending a load of politicians on expensive vacations outside of Canada.

Mrs. R. MAGERA
Toronto

*Star
SEPT 4/78*



Welfare mothers work equally hard

I was struck by two recent articles in The Star.

I was delighted to see that an architect's wife was awarded \$774,000 in a divorce on the grounds that throughout the marriage she had borne the major responsibility of doing the housework and bringing up the children. About time women's work was recognized in cash!

But three days later in the same paper I found a lecture to welfare mothers about how they should count their meagre blessings and be quiet.

Yet welfare mothers do the same caring, the same cooking, cleaning, nursing, comforting as the architect's wife — only more of it.

Do they deserve less because they do it alone instead of for a wealthy husband?

ESTHER HOLTZBERG
Toronto

Poor do not have effective lobby

Hell hath no fury like taxpayers scorned. And welfare mother Florence Sims appears to have scorned a number of them, judging by the letters The Star has received.

Ms Sims is a likely target for their wrath because she is a perfect package of scapegoat qualities: She is black, she is a woman, she is an immigrant, and she is poor.

Why aren't these readers concerned about billion-dollar grants to corporations, millions spent on nebulous services by foreign sales agents, and the many other ways their hard-earned tax dollars are mis-spent?

Are food, clothing, shelter and medical care really that wasteful?

Or is it that the poor do not have an effective lobby in Ottawa and are therefore unheard, a situation Sims and others are trying to correct?

LEIRA FAY
Toronto

Welfare mothers 'courageous'

Matrimonial slavery and matrimonial prisons are being rejected by liberated women and men — even those on welfare. Instead Toronto is overly pre-occupied with prostitution.

Your readers' opposition to welfare implies that some women should engage in it; nevertheless, as opposed to public support that is more visible.

It is regrettable that so many women have seen marriage as a sham, at the same time — merely a means of providing bed and board to non-propertied defenceless citizens.

We would prefer a more equitable sharing of Canadian goods and services that offers everyone a fair choice and some of us are prepared to fight for this basic human right.

We want rights offered equally, without social penalty of class placement that offers discrimination and injustice.

I offer personal encouragement and moral support to courageous women who are to be congratulated, as Canadians within a welfare system, who have chosen struggle over apathy.

PEGGY REINHARDT
Member, Women's Coalition
Toronto

Welfare mother 'showed courage'

It was with regret that I read all those vicious and callous letters against welfare mother Florence Sims.

Ms Sims has shown great courage in trying to better her lot for the sake of the child.

We are all the keepers of our

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brothers and sisters and responsible for them.

It is only by organizing themselves that these people will be accorded respect and toleration they richly deserve.

The entire resources of this nation should stand behind all men, women and children in this land guaranteeing them against hunger and want.

MATT WHELAN
Scarborough

Welfare mothers deserve recognition

As community employment counsellors who have worked extensively with sole-support mothers for the past three years, we are appalled by the comments made in reaction to the article "Welfare mothers organize to demand more cash."

Uniformly these letters presuppose that employment opportunities exist in the paid labor market. Given the current economic recession with an existing 10 per cent unemployment statistic for women, job opportunities, particularly for sole-support mothers, are few and far between. As well, day care provisions are painfully lacking and usually costly.

Many women simply cannot afford to go "out" to work.

It is clearly evident, from our experience, that the jobs available for women in the paid labor market are for the most part low-paying, and usually an extension of the work they already perform in the

home — day care, domestic, waitressing, clerical, nursing, etc.

Domestic workers receive a wage for their labor.

Welfare mothers deserve the same recognition for their "domestic" labor.

LESLEY FRIESON
BARBARA COLLINS-WILLIAMS
Toronto

Welfare recipients have right to protest

I am appalled at those who have been so abusively critical of Florence Sims who merely suggested that welfare mothers organize to demand more money.

The fact that some of your letter writers can recall hard times when payments were slimmer does not, and should not, lead one to the conclusion that each and every welfare mother receives an adequate allowance today; failure to protest now could conceivably lead to a reduction in payments in future when the rising cost of living would make life much more uncomfortable for the needy.

Welfare recipients are not getting something to which they are not entitled; they do have the right to protest if they cannot make both ends meet on their pittance.

The fact is that these persons are on welfare because they cannot find the jobs for which their education or experience qualifies them; the quest for work being unavailing, they must subsist on welfare as the alternative to a hopeless or sordid existence.

HENRIETTA ROSE
Toronto

W.I. women learning 'bad habits' from American blacks

By Oswald Coombs

NEW YORK:

WEST INDIAN WOMEN living in the United States have been accused of trying to dominate their husbands or boyfriends, and of trying to take over the traditional male role of Heads of Household, even when their husbands or boyfriends live in the same house.

Their accusers -- some West Indian men -- claim that their West Indian spouses are learning these "bad habits" from American women, especially the American blacks.

The men claim that back home in the West Indies their wives or girlfriends were quite content with being homemakers for their men, doing the usual domestic chores of cooking, cleaning, washing and raising the children.

But this situation changed, they claim, as soon as the West Indian women arrived in the United States, and came face to face with the more liberated views of their American counterparts.

Now the West Indian women living in the United States are holding jobs, paying their own way, supporting themselves, and, the men claim, showing a "new independence from their men", something they never showed before.

Nash Herbert, a Jamaican journalist now a businessman in New York City, said that stories of West Indian women trying to dominate their men is the "commonest thing" in New York.

He does not think that the Women's Liberation Movement in the United States is playing a significant role in bringing about this change in the West Indian women.

"I don't think that is the main reason", he said, "the main reason is that you have removed her from a subservient economic position in the Caribbean, to some kind of position here where she is dominant, in that for the most part she gets a job much quicker than her man, and sometimes she gets more pay, and right away the woman that was in her comes out. Before that she was a child".

But Mrs. Mary Harden

Umolu, Treasurer of the National Association of Media Women, a predominantly black women's organisation, believes that the feeling of liberation the West Indian women are experiencing started before they left their home countries.

"My feeling is that the liberation is happening right in the islands, with all these American films, it happens long before she gets here.

I have a feeling a lot of this happens now with urbanization, even before the person leaves home. Its there, I have a feeling that once the person gets here and begins to work, and becomes a breadwinner, then it comes out". Mrs. Umolu said.

According to Mrs. Umolu, those American-made movies and American television programmes being shown in the West Indian countries are partly responsible for the feeling of liberation by West Indian women.

Cultural imperialism

She said this heavy diet of American movies and American TV programmes has brought about a sort of cultural imperialism, which is affecting not just the adults but the children in these West Indian islands.

"You find in places like Jamaica, and some of the islands, the children are getting a good diet of Sesame Street, these programmes are

transmitting values.

Those children are now behaving like American children, so before they reach these shores they have had it, they are ready", she said.

Ralston Powell, Jamaican-born Wall Street businessman, looks at the situation in a different light.

He said it is not just West Indian women who are trying to dominate their men, this is a problem affecting nearly every black family in the United States today.

Mr. Powell said the American society, which he described as a matriarchal society, has led the black women to believe that they no longer need their husbands, and that the woman is the head of the home.

He saw it as a plot by the white establishment to destroy the black male, and therefore weaken the power of the black race.

Mr. Herbert said that in many instances West Indian couples who come to the United States do not live the same way here as they did back in the West Indies.

He said they are at odds with each other, and at times this has led to physical changes in the living conditions at home, they live apart from each other in the same house.

"Sometimes you go to look for them and you find the man has his own room, it's as if he is locked off from the rest of the house.

For the most part the women do not take too kindly to their husbands or boyfriends inviting another West Indian man to her house, because she is afraid that he is going to tell the visitor what is happening", he said.

According to Mr. Herbert the West Indian man who is being dominated by his wife or girlfriend will find it very difficult to re-assert himself.

He said that some of the men who found themselves in this situation have actually gone back to the West Indies.

Dr. Ina Martin Stewart, a Jamaican, who is Chairman of the Department of Food Science and Management at Pratt Institute in New York City, does not believe that Jamaican women in the United States are copying the practices of American women who dominate their husbands or boyfriends.

She said that "in any kind of society a woman will dominate a man who is weak, it doesn't take an American woman to do it".

Dr. Stewart, wife of Eldon Stewart, former Director of the Jamaica Military Band, and herself a former staff member at the Ministry of

Trade and Industry, believes that the women who came here from the West Indies are still maintaining the same values they had back home.

She said that "a well bred woman doesn't change that easily, it takes a lot more for her to give up what are now seeming virtues".

Influence

"If they are married to the right kind of West Indian man, that doesn't happen", Dr. Stewart said, "a woman with her kind of upbringing in the West Indies doesn't change her ways that fast. I don't think there is enough of that kind of influence in her life".

As for the question of women's liberation and its effect on the Jamaican women living in the United States, Dr. Stewart said she did not think they were being affected by it.

"Perhaps I have not seen too many of the people who have been affected by the grand change from living in Jamaica to living in America. Most of the West Indian women with whom I associate still have the same old ways.

If the younger generation is exhibiting those things, I have not been in touch with them to observe that", Dr. Stewart added.

Farm machinery reducing the role of women in developing countries

By KATHLEEN REX

Giant tractors and other agricultural equipment may be making it possible for the developing countries of Africa to sell their produce on world markets, but they are also decreasing the role of women in these countries.

This is the view of Zene Tadesse of Ethiopia, who last night addressed the opening session of Match, an organization aimed at linking the needs and resources of the women of Canada with women of the Third World.

Miss Tadesse said in an interview yesterday that women generally have been the farmers in the African countries, working the small plots which have produced the food for the entire family. But now the holdings have to yield crops for cash to maintain the new machinery. Since women don't get any agricultural training, they don't know how to improve production and consequently poverty in rural areas is on the increase.

Miss Tadesse said a general lack of training for those living in rural areas has increased women's work.

"They have to travel long distances for water," she

said. "The schools are far between and there are so few of them. In a family where they have to make choices, it's always the boys who will be chosen to attend school."

Miss Tadesse said women are the homemakers and yet they don't have the proper tools to make even the simplest meal. "This usually is neglected since women's work is considered unimportant."

She blamed the increase in malnutrition in the Third

World on the fact that with the new machinery, more of the land now is being turned over to producing cash crops (groundnuts in West Africa, coffee and tea in East Africa, tobacco in South Africa) which must pay for the upkeep of the new equipment.

This leaves women, most of whom are untrained and

illiterate, facing the prospect of feeding their children with food raised on the bit of farmland they have left.

Miss Tadesse, who is working toward a doctoral degree in sociology at New York State University, has worked in a rural development program in Africa.



—Globe and Mail

Zena Tadesse

Young women hardest hit by crisis situation — says Bureau director

JAMAICA GREENER SEPT 3/78

The Director of the Women's Bureau, Mrs. Hazel Blake-Nelson, said on Wednesday, that young women, and particularly those in the rural area, were the hardest hit in the crisis situation obtaining in Jamaica.

Mrs. Blake-Nelson told a luncheon of the Kingston Lions and Lionesses Club at the Jamaica Pegasus Hotel,

New Kingston, that 64 per cent of young women between the ages of 14 and 24 were unemployed. She said that women comprised 51 per cent of the islands population and 45 per cent of the labour force, or 400,000, were women.

The figures which resulted from a Women's Bureau survey, also revealed that some 140,000 women, or 36 per cent of the labour force, were unemployed as against 70,000 men. Mrs. Blake-Nelson said that a third of Jamaican households were headed by women and another third which were characterised by common-law unions, significantly depended on the income of women.

Integration

The Bureau, she said, was charged with the responsibility of full integration of women in national development. It was taking this role very seriously. The Bureau had to improve the possibilities for women, especially those who need it most, she said.

The present programmes and strategies took into consideration, the crisis situation in which the women have to earn a living. The focus was on integrating women in the rural economy. The Bureau's staff has been expanded since March, this year and regional officers

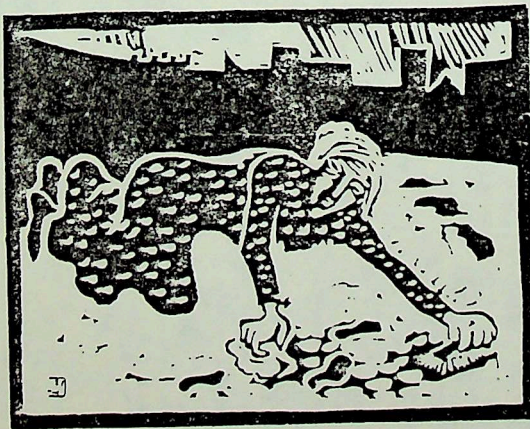
are now working with the Bureau. Mrs. Blake-Nelson said.

The rural programmes are aimed at income-generation and the Bureau acts as a catalyst, working with government, non-government and international agencies to achieve its goals. Most women have no marketable skills and education was therefore one of the most important areas of emphasis, she said.

Capable

Women, according to the Bureau's Chief, have been proven capable of working in non-traditional areas such as in the manufacture of toys, office and household furniture. The Bureau now sponsors a pilot project in Kingston where 37 women are involved in these areas. She mentioned the Women Centre which is one area of the Bureau's programmes aimed at allowing girls who dropped out of school because of pregnancy, to continue their education.

A fund-raising drive is now on to raise money to finance a residential home for girls in Montego Bay to care for girls who have no where to live and no one to care for them. She appealed to the Club to consider giving assistance to this vital organisation. There was need for more expertise, staff was small and "we have only just begun to scratch the surface," Mrs. Blake-Nelson said.



JAMAICA

LIFE'S LIKE THAT

Says Ken Jones

A PIECE OF CHEEK!

IF WE ARE to judge by their early efforts, those people behind the new Consumer Education programme have a strange idea of what is needed to get this country back on its feet. They know what they want, but I doubt very much that they know what the country needs.

It is clear that the campaign they are mounting is designed, not so much to help us to lift ourselves by ambition and courageous action but rather to make us satisfied with the mess in which we have been placed.

Forty years ago the words of Garvey, Bustamante and Norman Manley told us to exert ourselves; to use our energies and our brains to strive for a standard of living comparable to that of the citizens of the countries of our colonial masters.

Turn back to 'scrapes'

We were taught to be dissatisfied with rags and 'hand-me-downs'. We were urged to walk tall and told that we could only be proud if we were engaged in a struggle to rise above bare-footedness, flour bag suits and 'tun cornmeal'. Today, in 1978 the voices of progress are telling us to turn back to 'scrapes'; to 'tun you han mek fashin'.

What a piece of cheek! Of course we have to find substitutes. We must do so or starve and go naked. However, the over-riding concern at this time is not how to meekly fit into a bad situation, but how to get out of it.

Listen to the advertisement they put out: "... so you can't get this and you can't get that, and it's true that it's hard to make ends meet, but does it make sense to sit down and complain? We must make do with what we have." Damned nonsense, I say. What this country needs is to get up and demand to know why we have been led into this wilderness, not to take up the attitude of 'can't be better' or to lean on any advice from the very people who told us last December that we were top-ranking and moving ahead.

Taking up a hobby

The advice we were getting is not going to solve any problems, immediate or otherwise. Look what they do in the first advertisement. They hold up as an example, a garage owner who makes flowers and other decorative ornaments from scrap metal taken from old cars. If you look into the situation you will see that a businessman has been driven to taking up a hobby. Instead of earning a living at the trade he knows and for which he received training, the garage owner is perhaps idled by the fact that he can get no parts to do repair work. Full marks for his ingenuity; but why are we glorifying the man's reversal?

And what, may I ask, is this lush tropical country doing with metal flowers? That is for some industrialised country. What we need is to give some encouragement to the horticultural industry which has struggled to establish itself all these years; and which could become a major export business, if only the government would stop talking old politics and get on with the job they were elected to do.

An insult

I don't know if the people behind this campaign are old enough or sufficiently informed to know where we are coming from. I don't know if they have working class elders who could advise them about the hard times that the people of this country have endured to reach where we are. If they did, they might not be so glib in telling us to turn back proudly to the days of substitutes.

We can expect that the political committees of women will be ready either to back this campaign or to remain silent in the face of what amounts to an insult to the truly liberated women of this country. The truly liberated women of this country want floor polishers because they and their mothers and fathers struggled to overcome the era of the coconut brush substitute. They want electric blenders because their forebears worked hard to rise above the age of the substitute grater which took the skins off their fingers. They don't want scrubbing boards any more. They don't want coal stoves and bottle lamps. They want real progress; and this is what liberation is all about.

So let them try to educate you with talk about substitutes. Let them inform you with ways and means to 'tun you han mek fashin'. But as they do, please remember that they are the very ones who said they knew where they were going. Then ask them. Is this it?

Family Court clients increasing

JAMAICA GLEANER

JAMAICA GLEANER JAN 24-79

KINGSTON, Jan. 24:

Large numbers of daily clients at the Family Court have resulted in most individuals having to wait long periods before being seen by officials.

According to a senior official, an average of 60 new clients are seen daily, not including repeats.

"A point was reached in 1977," said the official, "when a decision was taken to limit the number of clients seen in one day. On our busiest days which are Monday and Tuesday, those in excess of 45 are given appointments for later in the week, although 'crisis' cases are usually always seen."

Established in December, 1975 under the responsibility of the Justice Ministry to deal with family matters previously heard in the normal civil courts, the Family Court serves only Kingston and St. Andrew and recently, Hanover and St. James. Persons from the rural areas are reported to be now taking advantage of the system by giving Corporate Area addresses, which usually belong to either friends or family.

All clients are first interviewed by an intake counsellor, a social worker, who does a screening interview to determine which section the client should be referred. These sections are Probation Office, Child's Office, Public

Assistance (a branch of the Ministry of Social Services), Nurse, Family and marriage Counsellors, Judicial Section, Collecting Officer or Coordinators, who are responsible for the general administration of legal and social sections. The Court deals with all Family Law matters except divorce, and a large portion of the cases are for child maintenance.

"Up to 1975," said the official, "the maximum award for maintenance was \$8 per child each week in the case of children born in wedlock, and \$4 weekly for those out of wedlock or in affiliation. Now there is no limit set on either, the figure set reflecting both the child's needs and what the Father can afford. People from all classes of society come here, and we also deal with juvenile cases of all sorts."

An Attendance Centre at 99 East Street for juveniles between age 14-17 who have been through the Court, was started by the Family Court's Caution Committee as a voluntary project in February 1978, and was taken over by the government shortly afterwards. About 40 children are presently enrolled, and are helped to either re-enter the school system or gain employment. Several have been recently placed in secondary schools.

Recent staff additions have brought the total to 36, not including support services, i.e. social workers, nurse, etc., and present staffing is said to be "not enough" to deal with the work load. The budget for 1978-79 is \$232,340 for Kingston and St. Andrew.

Household Budget Oct 19/78

JAMAICA GLEANER
By Connie Consumer

The scene was grim last week. Hordes of consumers were storming storeroom doors and angrily demanding scarce items ... and then they were locked outside and forced to wait in lines. Small shopkeepers were left out in the cold. And so were despairing customers who were going the rounds, trekking from shop to shop looking for the scarce items. No bread, no flour, no rice, no cooking oil, no detergent.

But some were lucky and the search was rewarding. And some who habitually hoard were busy selling on the streetside and asking for small fortunes ... and making them too with their unholy, illegal "marriages". But some people actually saved money last week with so many items missing from the week's shopping list.

Perhaps we could learn a little from the experience and voluntarily give up (at least some of the time) some of the things that we did without last week. For we did survive, didn't we? For there were some things available. Chicken, eggs, yams, potatoes, among them. There was brown sugar, and sardines were not scarce. There were other things too, but many of them out of reach of most customers.

Fresh vegetables (even stale vegetables) and the fruit that there was was very costly. Ripe bananas were plentiful and highly priced and even the immature grapefruit and oranges were fetching high prices. Six tomatoes for \$2.50! Why?

We shop on the weekend for three main reasons - that's when we get paid, that's when we have the time to do it, and because usually that's when the shops are stocked. But these days when the shops aren't likely to be better stocked on Friday than on Monday or Tuesday.

If those of us who have flexible time schedules and who do not depend on the weekly pay packet that comes on Friday evenings were to shop on the slow days - on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday - when there is just as good a chance of getting something to buy (and less chance of being trampled on or locked out of a supermarket) things may go more smoothly. That alone should make a good case for shopping on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday! And you may even get some surprises. The goodies that everybody seeks may well be about on those days.

And here's another idea that might just work for you. Some people have tried it, and they say that it works. Shop one day later each week for five weeks. This week you shop on Monday, next week on Tuesday, the week following on Wednesday, and so on. By the sixth week you will have saved up one week's housekeeping money.

The rules of the game (and you can make it into a game) are that you do not go shopping during the week in between designated shopping days to pick up anything you may have missed on your shopping day, or anything that you may run out of in the course of the week. You should also spend only your budgeted allotment of money, and no more.

It is not that you are saving up the housekeeping money and depriving the family of the things they need, it is rather that you are stretching yourself and your budget to the limit. You will be using your creativity and your imagination more. On that extra day each week you are going to put together two or three extra meals using all of your ingenuity, and the motivation is that you want to save some

money.

You literally scrape the barrel clean. Everything left over goes into the pot for stew or soup ... or you drink lemonade and eat crackers. You learn that stale bread makes tasty bread pudding and that porridge is as good for lunch as it is for breakfast. You will learn that dish washing liquid and many other cleaning products can be watered down and are still effective; that scouring powder sprinkled on the cloth, not on the bath, goes further and that you can take the cloth to the basin next. You will also learn that a "rinsed out" detergent box can wash the socks and the underwear.

All are lessons well learnt and if you put them into practice all week and not just on that extra day the money you spend will go further.

The results are rewarding of course - a whole week's budget to spend on something besides the weekly shopping every six weeks! That money can go into the bank, or take the children to the dentist or can be used to throw a small party! But it is the discipline that counts after all, and that is what we all need.

Nov 16/78

Household budget JAMAICA CLEANER

By Connie Consumer

The household budget involves more than just money. Budgeting your time is nearly as important as budgeting the money, especially these days when many of us are as hard pressed for time as we are for money. And the busier we are, the more important the time budget.

Many of the once simple activities involved in running a household — especially if you have both bread-winning and home-making responsibilities — nowadays take up a good deal of time. Often one sets out on an errand which turns out to be an unproductive waste of time. The weekly shopping expedition is very often one of these unproductive exercises.

The number of woman-hours wasted running around from week to week going from shop to shop and sidewalk to sidewalk looking for basic items of food must be quite extraordinary. Gone are the days when you could spend no more than a half an hour in the supermarket picking up the week's grocery. Usually it was clearly visible on the shelves, but if the items you sought were not on the shelves you could be certain there was none in stock and so arrange your business accordingly and look for substitutes.

Now it has become quite the usual thing to go to two or three supermarkets with a grocery shop or two thrown in looking for items that the family needs. Some items never get to the shelves, despite pointers above the shelves which read "Flour", "Rice", "Cooking Oil", "Detergent", etc. Sometimes in fact there are none of these items in stock, but their absence on the shelves is no indication of this. Because you can see people — lucky people? well-

informed people? specially favoured people? — people, anyway, trekking from the backroom door with the items that you are searching for while the shelves remain empty of them.

When the whole exercise is not a complete waste of time it is an expensive way to use time, and more bus fares, more gas for the car is in the bargain. There is also the fruitless waste of energy and the frayed nerves. All the difficulties militate against setting rigid plans and tight schedules and properly budgeting time....there may be no eggs in the supermarket on Saturday, so you have to go back on Monday.

But we must still try to budget our time. It will help to prevent us wasting all of it. A loose time plan offers a framework in which we can more easily function. It allows us to deal with whatever unexpected opportunities, crises, interruptions or distractions may come our way.

The telephone would be a good and reliable means of sparing you wasted hour and a gallon of gas but unfortunately this itself is sometimes a waste of time. It often happens that when you do get through on the telephone to ask about the availability of a particular item at the supermarket, hardware store, or wherever, some well-meaning but ill-advised public relations-inclined person at the other end may tell you that your item is in stock but when you get there you find out to the contrary. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to phone before you make a trip.

Use co-operative arrangements with friends to do some of the routine chores when possible — chores like picking

up the children at school or going to the post office and the cleaners. And always carry a book or some small project like crochet or knitting, or some paperwork to do in the car or the waiting room when you are kept waiting for an appointment. At least you can be doing something productive while you wait.

And there is another good side to the running around: It is possible now to become good friends with fellow shoppers. You spend a lot of time with them on week-ends for you are always running into the same people as you go the rounds from shop to shop in search of the same items. "I found some liquid detergent over there", she may tell you. And you, catching the spirit, may confide that when last you passed the frozen food section there were only a half a dozen pounds of butter left. She dashes off hoping there will be one for her. Soon you will be friendly enough and you can ask her who her hairdresser is.

Continued page

WOMEN & SOCIAL ASSISTANCE POLICY:
A SHORT HISTORY OF THE MOTHERS' ALLOWANCE PROGRAMME
By Ellen Murray, Barrister

Women as a group are poor. In Canada their incomes are only about 50% of men's, and the gap is widening. One important reason for women's poverty is the burden put on them by the unpaid work which most of them do -- housework and child care. The responsibilities of a housewife and mother often mean that she doesn't have the time or energy to compete effectively with men in training for, getting or holding down a job.

Many poor women are sole-support mothers. Although families headed by women make up only about 7% of all Canadian families, they represent over 20% of all Canadian families below the poverty level. Many sole-support mothers choose to stay at home and work as housewives and mothers full-time, or, even if they want to secure a job outside the home, are not able to support their families on what they can earn. For these women and their families, Canadian society offers only one choice -- welfare.

Until 1920, Ontario had no real public assistance programmes for the poor. Private charities, with government grants, distributed food, fuel and clothing on a piecemeal basis. Poor families unlucky enough not to receive this type of "relief" were compelled to live in workhouses, or were sometimes even committed to prison.

In 1920, Ontario inaugurated its first provincial welfare programme, Mothers' Allowance. Mothers' Allowances were initially paid only to widows or wives with completely incapacitated husbands who had at least two children and weren't able to support their families.

The programme was introduced by Ontario's short-lived progressive Farmer/Labour government shortly after women received the vote, and were considered a potentially powerful political constituency worthy of wooing. Although eligibility for Mothers' Allowance was based on need, the government did not present it as a welfare programme but as a system under which women were "employees" of the State paid to "raise future citizens." Participants in the programme who also worked outside the home did not have their earnings deducted from their Mothers' Allowance payments, as women on welfare do today.

The thinking used to justify the programme's introduction had some points in common with contemporary analyses of women's situation which justify the demand for "wages for housework". However, that same ideology was used to justify a rigid control system of recipients of Mothers' Allowance. Recipients were frequently inspected by government social workers who had the power to cut them off the programme if they weren't performing their job in a proper and moral fashion. For example, recipients were terminated for slovenly housekeeping, for keeping male boarders, or for going to taverns.

In the late '20's and '30's eligibility for Mothers' Allowance widened gradually; only one child was necessary to qualify, and deserted wives and mothers of children born out of wedlock were admitted. The bureaucratized general welfare system we know today also developed in the '30's, and the Mothers' Allowance programme, although it retained a separate administration for a while, was characterized and treated like other welfare -- and not employment -- programmes.

In 1937 the Mothers' Allowance legislation was amended to remove the obligation of the Mothers' Allowance Commission to provide a definite allowance to mothers, giving social workers instead the discretion to dole out any amount up to a specified maximum. At the same time, the Commission began to deduct some or all of the

earnings of mothers in the programme from their allowance cheques.

In 1957 the 'pre-added budget' was introduced into the Mothers' Allowance scheme. Regulations determined the amount which a mother with a specified number of children needed -- and this amount was almost always less than what she really needed to provide a decent standard of living. The allowance was then set at the amount of the pre-added budget minus the mother's income from other sources. Before '57 a mother might have been able to convince a sympathetic social worker to provide an allowance which came near to meeting her family's actual financial need; after the "pre-added budget" came in, this descretion was not possible, except for special payments allowed for a few "special" items, like glasses.

No substantial changes have taken place in the Mothers' Allowance system since the late '50's. In 1966 the programme was incorporated into more general welfare legislation -- the Family Benefits Act -- which deals with welfare for other long term casualties of our society such as the permanently disabled or the aged. But all the important aspects of the programme remained the same:

* Mothers on Family Benefits still receive grossly inadequate incomes. For example, a mother with a 6 year old child on F.B.A. receives about \$365 monthly (of which about \$140 is earmarked for the child). With two children, she would receive a little under \$400 monthly.

The Children's Aid Society in Toronto pays persons who care for their wards about \$240 per child monthly -- plus extra amounts for items like school supplies, children's allowances and sports equipment. Children in homes supported on F.B.A. payments would be treated better by our society if they were in foster homes, rather than in their own homes.

The amount received by mothers on F.B.A. in Toronto is generally only about one-half the amount the Social Planning Aouncil estimates is necessary to provide a decent standard of living.

* F.B.A. payments are not geared to inflation, and there is not even any regular mechanism to insure some sort of yearly increase. The recent 6% increase in payments was the first in over three years -- a time of rapid inflation.

* Snooping for a "man in the house" of an F.B.A. mother continues, although more discreet means than formerly are used. An F.B.A. mother can find herself cut off if her welfare worker believes she's living with or has a man regularly at her house -- even if he's not contributing anything to her or her children's support.

* The Director of Family Benefits still has the power to cut off any mother whom he believes could find and support her family through "suitable employment." This regulation is not now often used, but it was employed during the manpower shortage of the Second World War to force mothers to work outside the home. Some are afraid that the province's recently announced programme of "incentives" for mothers on welfare to join the workforce is a signal that pressure will begin again to force mothers on F.B.A. into the minimum-waged, insecure jobs which employers have difficulty filling.

The Federal government has not made much use of the opportunities it has to deal more justly with sole-support mothers. Ottawa, under the Canada Assistance Plan, picks up a large part of the bill for provincial social assistance programmes, and has the leverage to force changes in these programmes. The only major changes it has required in welfare programmes is that residency requirements be abolished and that appeal systems be introduced. It has not required, for example, that a province provide a level of payment to recipients in need which represents enough to provide a decent standard of living as a condition of receiving Federal contributions.

Although Ottawa could take direct action through the taxation system to provide sole-support mothers with an adequate income, it has not done so. In 1970, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women recommended that the Federal government provide all mothers (whether with a male a male partner or not) with a substantial cash payment for each child, a payment which would allow the woman to remain at home with her children if she wished, or to work outside the home and pay others to perform some or all of her work in caring for the child.

These remarks were made by Ellen Murray, a panelist in the February 14, 1979 forum "I Haven't Worked a Day Since I Got Married", at the St. Lawrence Centre in Toronto.

Wages for Housework Campaign Bulletin



Toronto, Canada

vol.4 no.1 Summer/Fall 1979

Housework makes headlines!

by Judith Ramirez
MICHELLE TRIOLA MARVIN

From 1966 to 1970 Michelle cooked, cleaned, soothed, and gave up a singing career for actor Lee Marvin. Though they never married, she had her name legally changed to his. When it was all over the question became: how much was all her work worth? Nothing said Lee. 1.8 million dollars said Michelle in a lawsuit.

In 1976, the California Supreme Court made the historic MARVIN decision which established that a vow to share property between unmarried partners may be just as binding as that between spouses.

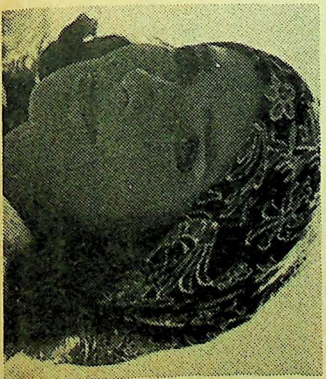
When Michelle was finally awarded \$104,000 last April, after seven years of litigation, she called it "a victory for all women." It comes, after all, to \$17,350 for each year of hidden unpaid work while with Marvin. And that's \$17,350 more than he was intending to pay her!

status of the housewife in today's society. "There should absolutely be some financial consideration, other than her husband's," said Betty. "He may take off and marry a young chick. It happens." she added. Asked about a study by the Social Security Office of Research and Statistics which placed a housewives average monetary worth at about \$6,000 per year, Betty replied that a more accurate estimate would be "at least \$30,000 per year!"

"We wanted women on welfare to stand up and claim what's theirs. We're tired of being considered 'charity cases', we work like everybody else", says Florence, an activist with Black Women for Wages for Housework.

She took issue with the women's liberation movement for demeaning the role of the mother: "They downgrade the work that women are doing in the home," said Margaret. "Many housewives also hold down paying jobs to earn extra money for the family, but are still expected to do all the traditional female chores," she noted. "They end up doing twice the work". concluded Margaret to prolonged applause.

Statistcs Canada has since released a study on housework which estimated that every woman over the age of 16 in Canada performs approximately \$120 worth of housework per week!



FLORENCE SIMS

One of three co-ordinators of Ontario's popular welfare guide *Taking What's Ours*, Florence Sims considers welfare a right, not a privilege, "because it's money that mothers earn by raising society's children". Recently she told the Toronto Star, "I decided to go on Mothers' Allowance so I could stay home and raise my child during her early years. It was a difficult decision, but I thought it was better for me to be home with her."

Funded by P-UR.A, a coalition of churches, *Taking What's Ours* is full of helpful hints on how to collect everything you're entitled to.

HERTA TUTTLE

A Philadelphia housewife, Herta Tuttle, is fighting a Family Court order which requires her to seek employment in order to "contribute equally" to the support of her two children, ages nine and ten.

Deserted by her policeman husband two years ago, Mrs. Tuttle receives \$1,000 weekly from him in child support, or \$5,200 of his \$22,000 yearly salary. She is demanding that the court recognize the dollar value of her work in the home and claims that unless it does it is impossible to "equally divide" the responsibility of support between the two spouses, as the court has tried to do, citing the state's Equal Rights Amendment.

"I want my work valued and put in dollars and cents," just like his support is put in dollars and cents," Mrs. Tuttle told an interviewer recently.

Says Mary Hawryshkiw, of the Philadelphia Wages for Housework Campaign, which is organizing public support for the case, "We feel Mrs. Tuttle's case bridges the gap between the Lee Marvin case and the fights of welfare mothers. What all these women are fighting for is recognition — and compensation — for their housework". Herta Tuttle plans to take her fight to the state Supreme Court if necessary.

MAGGIE TRUDEAU

Representing Canada at a seminar of Commonwealth leaders wives in Jamaica, in 1975, Margaret Trudeau brought the audience to its feet when she issued "a universal plea for the housewife".



BETTY FORD

While the ever-popular Betty Ford was still in the White House, she was asked by *Good Housekeeping* what could be done to upgrade the

Winnipeg Women for Welfare

A new welfare group in Winnipeg has made national news with two important victories for women across the country. Led by a large number of Indian women, Women for Welfare was formed in February of this year to fight for immediate increases in welfare benefits and an end to harassment of welfare mothers. They halted their birth as "the first time in Manitoba, Indian women, white women, welfare mothers, social workers and single women have come together."

Their first move was to demand that the province and other agencies keep their hands off the Child Tax Credit. (The new tax refund of \$200.00 maximum per child for parents with combined incomes of less than \$18,000.00.) The local Housing Authority had already tried to seize this money from mothers in rent arrears.

Other government authorities had not yet decided whether they would follow suit and deduct the amount of the tax credit from welfare payments. Within less than a week the group's protest was taken up in Ottawa, by no less than Federal Minister of Welfare, Monique Bégin. Mme. Bégin came out strongly against the Housing Authority's plan, echoing Women for Welfare that it was "a form of blackmail" and "illegal".

The group had won the first round in keeping the tax credit in mothers' hands, as one of the only universal wages for raising children.

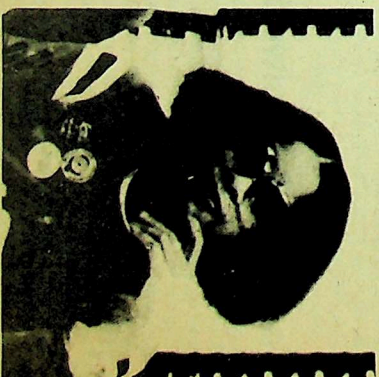
By the middle of March, within one month of their birth, the group had won commitments from both the City of Winnipeg and the Province of Manitoba to exclude the child tax credit as income in calculating social assistance benefits.

The other provinces have also done the same. Women for Welfare had given notice that women will not allow the government to undervalue our work, and will fight for all the money owing us for that work.

— Dorothy Kidd

Contact:
Winnipeg Women for Welfare
c/o The Women's Building
730 Alexander Street
Winnipeg Manitoba R3E 1H9

Return to: WFH
Box 38, Stn. E.,
Toronto, Ont. M6H 4E1



Francie Wyland

Francie Wyland

MARGARET PRESCOD-ROBERTS

Margaret Prescott-Roberts of Black Women for Wages for Housework (USA), recently told a Toronto audience of a meeting with Sarah Weddington. President Carter's special assistant on women's affairs. On the agenda for discussion were government estimates on the value of housework and increases in welfare payments.

Weddington agreed that the issue of wages for housework is a bread and butter one and indicated that she is studying various approaches to the problem. Margaret described the meeting as "very productive" and added that, "When government economists admit the value of housework in the US is worth 350 billion dollars and Sarah Weddington talks publicly of formulating a system to pay housewives, then welfare has got to be viewed in an entirely different light."

Margaret was a delegate from New York to the National Women's Conference, in Houston, Texas. She led the large Wages for Housework delegation which helped re-formulate the official resolution on welfare calling on the Carter Administration to recognize welfare "as a wage and not a charity".

AS THE WORLD TURNS...

Women are not for burning

INDIA — Women in India are taking to the streets again. The last time was to help bring down Indira Gandhi's regime that was forcing women and men with more than two children to be sterilized or face up to two years' imprisonment.

Now they are fighting against the new government's lack of enforcement of the Anti-Dowry Law. The law states that it is illegal for a man and his family to demand a dowry from his future wife, but imposes only a small fine and sentence as punishment. The protesters say that the law is so weak, that *hundreds* of women are murdered each year by their husbands or husbands' families when they aren't satisfied with what the wife has to offer.

A woman who was burned to death recently in such an incident told police shortly before she died that her family had already given a dowry worth thousands, and more was being demanded.

The government says it has been "considering" making the penalty for breaking the law tougher, but with women once again in the streets, and memories of Gandhi's downfall fresh in their minds, they will doubtless have to move more quickly to abolish this modern-day slave trade.



HOUSEWIVES PROTEST, April 17, 1979. Some 800 New Delhi housewives, including slum dwellers and spouses of two cabinet ministers, got together to stage a street protest of a proposed national budget which would raise taxes on such household staples as soap, processed food, cooking gas, and kerosene. Many of the women carried signs. Other flourished their rolling pins.

AP Laserphoto

Up against the veil

Thousands of women took part in demonstrations organized by Wages, supporting prostitutes and asking for money for themselves. Future demonstrations are planned to support abortions for poor women, and to protest the actions of the Pope, who has been guilt-tripping Catholic doctors into refusing to perform the newly legalized procedure. As a result of papal pressure, Catholic doctors have been refusing to perform abortions in hospitals, where they are legal and relatively inexpensive, and performing them illegally in their private practice for inflated prices.

Excerpts from Coyote Howls, Vol. 6 No. 1

Salario al lavoro domestico

ITALY — The Wages for Housework campaign has become very popular in Italy, where it is known as *Salario Al Lavoro Domestico*. Italy has the worst economy in Western Europe, and women have little choice but to get married in order to survive. Only one in five women (nineteen per cent) are in the regular work force, and one in fifteen (about seven per cent) work as prostitutes. Italy has neither unemployment insurance nor welfare, a contributing factor in the high percentage of women involved in prostitution.

For more information contact:
Comitato per il salario al lavoro domestico
c/o Centro delle Donne
Piazza Eremiani, 26
Padova 35100, Italy

Wages for Schoolwork

To make up for the poverty of Mother's Allowance, some youth in Regent Park, Toronto, have begun to organize in their own right. They are publicizing the little-known "attendance bursary," available for high school students from the Toronto Board of Education. One student per low-income family is eligible for \$20 per month, while the other students in the family receive car fare and school supplies. In their leaflet, the teens urge, "This is your money! You've earned it! Go get it! Right on!"

The Regent Park Teens Association has been circulating a petition in several inner-city schools in Toronto. Among the demands are that:

1. The bursary be raised to \$50 per month. It's been fixed at \$20 a month since 1958, while the cost of living has risen about 150%.
2. The bursary not be restricted to one student per family because this creates divisions between brothers and sisters.
3. All students in Toronto high schools should be eligible.

Using the incomes of parents as a guideline means that students are not independent. Also, a recent study by the Board of Education reported that 51% of students in inner-city schools are living below the poverty line.

Cash in the streets

TORONTO — Remember BEAVER, the women's group lobbying for the decriminalization of prostitution? We still exist but our name has changed to the Committee Against Street Harassment, or CASH.

Late '77 and '78 were prime times for prostitute news and discussions. Emmanuel Jacques was murdered, body rub parlors were closed, Reform Metro was giving Toronto a facelift. The Supreme Court of Canada defined soliciting as a specific action: pressing and persistent importuning. For the first time the street hookers had a guideline: "You can ask once; better yet let him approach you."

Unfortunately, if the man does his approaching in Toronto he may find himself in the arms of a policewoman. The Ontario Supreme Court ruled that the client may be guilty of soliciting by pressing his money on a disinterested woman. (If the government would commit this crime, fewer women would need to prostitute themselves!). The high court in British Columbia came to the opposite conclusion: they defined the solicitor as the one who receives the money.

The use of undercover policewomen to entrap men sears away the joints, and pushes the scene into seedier neighbourhoods. It doesn't protect the average woman, as only the police lay charges, and only when money has been offered. Because they spend so much time on the street, prostitutes need protection from male harassment even more than other women. Legislation should be aimed at the real public nuisance: pests, who can't take 'no' for an answer.

At their annual meeting last March, the National Action Committee on the status of women (NAC) endorsed decriminalization and the need for special legislation to protect all women from male harassment.

Currently, in Toronto, loitering is a popular but vague charge. The circumstantial evidence makes the case: unescorted, unemployed and unwilling to move along? CASH would like to see a hundred women stage a loiter-in one evening on Yonge Street. How about Labour Day weekend? If you are interested in this event or in the decriminalization of prostitution, call the CASH hotline, 823-0740. We offer legal and crisis counselling and friendship.

— Babba Yaga

Speech by Amer Mullen, Regent Park Teens Association, at a meeting to launch the publication of Taking What's Ours, held at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in December, 1978.

"First, I'd like to tell everyone that I have been working with students from Contact High School and other areas to help them get their \$20 a month education fee for low-income students. We went through a great difficulty organizing students and teens as to their rights in obtaining this fee. After a long struggle, I am happy to announce that because of my hard work and the support of Housewives Initiative and Payday, there were 20% more students this year than last year, who applied for the attendance bursary. (Applause) In England, students receive a wage to attend school, and 81,000 students are on strike in Quebec, striking for a living wage. (Applause)

Because I am from a low-income family and have ambition and drive, I feel that I should have as much right as anyone to a decent education, and not treated like a second class citizen. (Applause)"

For more information contact Regent Park Teens, c/o PAYDAY, Box 515, Station C, Toronto M6J 3P6 (366-5002 evenings).

Welfare demonstrations

TORONTO — With songs, skirts, speeches and placards, a lively crowd of 150 welfare mothers and supporters demonstrated in front of Queen's Park in Toronto in June. They met to demand a 36% increase for mothers on Family Benefits, more support for those returning to school or for school, and other changes. Marchers came from as far away as Montreal and Kingston.

The protest was organized by the Family Benefits Work Group, a coalition of Family Benefits mothers, social service workers and supporters to strengthen their recent meetings with the Ontario government.

The most important victory was a commitment by the government to allow mothers who are not legally separated to get Family Benefits. Previously, they were only eligible for the smaller welfare assistance. The Work Group is continuing to pressure for immediate increases in all welfare payments.

For more information, call Pat Davies at 537-1196 or Brenda Parris at 924-4646.

— Dorothy Kidd

OTTAWA — Community and Social Services Minister Keith Norton tried to sneak in through the back door to a banquet he was attending in order to avoid the demonstration organized in support of the FBWG by the Ottawa Tenants Council in May. The demonstrators succeeded in catching him, and presented him with the same demands as those in Toronto.

France Sauve, Vice-President of the OTC told him, "Women on government support have always been low-rated and told that the job we do is useless. We do not agree. We do an important job, for we are raising tomorrow's adults, besides providing work for all the services which depend on our existence. We are not abusers of the system, but a vital part of it."

Contact the Ottawa Tenants Council at 346 Frank Street, Ottawa K2P 0Y1 232-2677.

Kiss and tell

USA — Kiss and tell. That's the new name of "the game", according to the National Task Force on Prostitution. According to Margie Str. James, the Task Force is asking all prostitutes to expose the names of any politicians who leave a prostitute's bed to go to the legislature to vote against decriminalization of prostitution, the Equal Rights Amendment, and other laws of importance to women.

BRITAIN — Using the threat of "Kissing and Telling", prostitutes wrote a new page in women's history in March when the Protection of Prostitutes Bill passed First Reading in Parliament by 130 to 50 votes.

The Bill would abolish jail terms and fines for soliciting as well as the term "common prostitute", which police have used indiscriminately to charge women with soliciting.

The evening before the Bill was passed, the English Collective of Prostitutes, Prostitutes Laws are Nonsense (PLAN), and Black Women For Wages for Housework (USA) representing the San Francisco-based COYOTE, held a meeting in none other than the House of Commons! They spoke to a packed hall about how prostitution "is the welfare the State does not provide, which is why so many single mothers are forced to go on the game." At the same time as prostitutes are under the gun for being paid for sex, they said, welfare women suspected of having a man around the house are being cut off because the State expects their boyfriends to pay for "services rendered".

Read Zara Silverwoman's "Helpful notes on prostitution for the worker" and the "wanderer". Available at the Toronto Women's Bookstore and Androgyny Bookstore in Montreal.



The Painter Ladies Theatre Group performed at the opening of the 1st National Women's Building in Winnipeg, Feb. 21, 1979. The play was also a smash hit at the Bi-National Lesbian Conference in Toronto in June.

Maid on the march

Ontario's first domestic rights group has been set up and is already marching in the streets. Mirfiana Tenebaum, founder of Labour Rights for Domestic Servants, marched with co-workers and many supporters, including the Wages for Housework Campaign, outside the home of her former Roseale employer to protest her firing. The demonstrators called for a \$3.00 minimum wage, a 44-hour work week, overtime and vacation pay, and pay for statutory holidays.

Domestic work is not covered by provincial labour standards legislation, and only Newfoundland includes domestics in its minimum wage legislation. Montreal's Household Workers Association, the first organization for domestics in Canada or Quebec, says that current rates of pay average about \$50 a week plus room and board for 60 hours work.

The federal government asks employers of women coming from other countries to sign forms saying they will pay \$75 plus room and board for a 45 hour week. However, this "contract" is not legally enforceable, and the only recourse a woman has is to quit, then face deportation.

According to a report released recently by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, the Employment and Immigration Commission has changed their policy over the last 5 years to meet the demand for live-in domestics. An increasing number of Third World women are being allowed into Canada to work temporarily as domestics. The women are given specific work permits which do not allow them to change their type of employment. In fact, they cannot even switch jobs without government permission, and can never become permanent residents. Therefore they are not eligible for U.I.C. or welfare.

Speaking for immigrant women in Toronto, Judith Ramirez recently told the Toronto Star, "Immigration domestics are modern day slaves. . . They have no protection under the law. . . (and) because domestic work is invisible to the public eye the employer can make any kind of arbitrary demands he wants."

Sheila Arnapoulos, author of *Problems of Immigrant Women in the Canadian Labour Force*, told a CBC interviewer, "The pay for domestics is so low because housework is a low-status job in our society. There are millions of housewives doing it for nothing, so the women who do it for pay get practically nothing for it."

Labour Rights for Domestic Servants is circulating a petition among immigrants, women's and labour groups calling for the inclusion of domestic work in minimum wage law.

More demonstrations are planned in the future and the organization is eager to hear from other domestics, to give or receive support. To contact them, phone 961-0386 (evenings) or Anna Menozzi, Employment Services for Immigrant Women at 922-8017 (days).

—Paula Fainstar
FLASH! The Household Workers' Association just announced that the Quebec government has passed legislation establishing a minimum wage for domestics, as well as working hours, statutory holidays, and vacations. A major victory!



Judith Ramirez, Toronto Wages for Housework Committee, on Parliament Hill.

Maggie Trudeau: Housewife of the Year

The following is the Press Release sent out by the Toronto Wages for Housework Committee in March that released a storm of media coverage from across North America to as far away as Australia!

When Mrs. Margaret Trudeau left 24 Sussex Drive with the words, "I don't want to be a rose in my husband's lapel", millions of housewives throughout the country silently applauded her courage.

"Spoiled brat", "neurotic", "selfish", were only some of the labels the public conferred on Margaret for standing up and saying that women want independence, respect, and lives of our own.

The ultimate blackmail of "unfit mother" was not spared her either. No woman should have to suffer the agony of choosing between herself and her children. But as long as our work in the home is considered worthless, many mothers will be thrown into that crisis.

With the publication of her book *Beyond Reason*, a new storm of criticism has erupted around Margaret. But we women are always being told that our expectations and demands are

Psst! Here's facts on welfare

If you were applying for welfare, would you know enough to hit the office early in the morning?

Would you be ready to wait three months to a year before seeing any money, whether from municipal welfare or provincial family benefits?

Are you aware of your right to privacy when fielding questions from the welfare or social worker?

Would you know most supermarkets will cash your welfare cheque before the due date — if you agree to spend 15 per cent there?

Would you know enough to ask for winter blankets (available under special circumstances) during the summer, to beat the winter rush?

These are facts of life about the welfare system, included in a new 36-page handbook released yesterday by a grassroots coalition of Toronto women's groups.

There are tips for the welfare mother who wants to upgrade her marketability by going back to school but can't cut through the red tape of applying for a student loan.

"The handbook is a collection of information you wouldn't normally find in one place," said one of the handbook co-ordinators, Dorothy Kidd.

—By Louise Brown
Toronto Star, Dec. 8, 1978

TAKING WHAT'S OURS everywoman's guide to welfare and student aid

"Thanks. The booklet has really been well written and put together." — M. B., Scarborough.

"We thought your pamphlet was fantastic!" — B. E., New York

"It is most informative, and interesting, bringing to light many of the many very important unknown facts. It is easy to read and understand, no matter what your educational background!" — J. N., Toronto

"May you continue until you are no longer needed, and that day will come!" — P. B., Don Mills

Published by:
Housewives' Initiative & Women's Action Group
Box 38, Station E
Toronto, Ontario M6H 4E1
(\$1 each. Orders of 5 or more .75 cents each)

Beyond Reason

BOOK REVIEW

"Frankly, I just wasn't interested in dental hospitals, or zoos, or centres for adult education. They bored me almost to tears. They bored all the other wives too. I cannot see a picture of a prime minister's wife opening a new hospital or civic centre today without conjuring up for myself the murderous thoughts that must be going through her head under the wide-brimmed hat."

In 1975, a group of Canadian diplomats' wives held a meeting in Ottawa to discuss their demand for a wage from the Canadian government for all the responsibilities they were expected to take on in the line of (their husbands') duty. Moving every year or two, entertaining continually, being expected to put aside all their own interests for the sake of their husbands' careers. . . .

Many women across Canada may have wondered how those women could find cause for complaint. After all, weren't they married to important men? Didn't they have lots of money, and get the chance to travel all over the world, and never have to touch a dirty dish? Anybody with such questions should read Margaret Trudeau's autobiography *Beyond Reason*.

It is obvious from her book that Margaret was certainly not your average housewife. No woman with eight servants and a charge account at Creed's could be called "average". But she was a housewife nonetheless. Not only to Pierre, but even more so to Canada.

The amount of work involved in being wife to the state is mindboggling to read about. It was an ivory tower that wasn't an ivory tower at all. . . . just an awful load of responsibilities. . . . First, there was all the protocol to be learned which, according to the Governor-General's wife who tried to teach her. . . . is learning all the things that you have to do, however much you find them unnatural and trying."



Robin Tyler in concert.

Gay moms' update

★Winnipeg-born Robin Tyler, favourite comic of women across Canada and the USA, gave a fantastic benefit performance for the Lesbian Mothers' Defence Fund and the Winnipeg Women's Building on May 18th in Toronto! As she wove her deep concern for gay pride and custody rights for lesbian mothers into her act, the audience of 250 understood why Robin Tyler has become a leading spokeswoman for the gay movement and the ERA in the US. Her new solo album "Always a Bridesmaid, Never a Groom" (Olivia Records) is now available at most women's bookstores.

★The LMDF turned out in force for the May 18-21 National Lesbian Conference, organized by the Lesbian Organization of Toronto. Women there rallied around our request for more space in *The Body Politic* for lesbians. On the final day of the conference TBP responded by offering to give women the entire October issue, in celebration of the 50th anniversary of women in Canada being declared "persons". A Special Issue Committee is collecting articles, poems, graphics and news before the August 15th final deadline. Please send your contributions on any subject — sports, health, jobs, etc. — to the LMDF or to the Special Issue Committee, c/o The Body Politic, P.O. Box 7289, Station A, Toronto M5W 1X9.

★Francie Wyland, LMDF co-ordinator, addressed this year's conference of the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights in Canada on June 30th. She was part of a panel made up of spokespeople from all the gay defence committees now active in the country, and was later interviewed by the *Ottawa Citizen*. And on July 8th, Francie was the featured speaker at a public meeting in Boston sponsored by the Gay Parents Project there. The visibility of lesbian mothers is growing every day! Write to us for copies of our new newsletter "The Grapevine" at LMDF, P.O. Box 38, Station E, Toronto, Ontario M6H 4E1.

Then the state visits and receptions for important people, with no help from the Prime Minister's Office who thought of her as a pretty fixture and never bothered to brief her before official events. Not to mention the constant police protection (which Margaret called "surveillance"), so that the minute she walked out of her bedroom she literally could not be alone.

And then there was Pierre, who Margaret found increasingly distant. Queen Alia of Jordan graciously gave Margaret her recipe for saving a marriage. "Don't overload him, try to control yourself and when he is away, rage, break, scream and cry and get everything out."

But the most striking aspect of the book, and one which almost every housewife can identify with at one time or another, is the sense of imprisonment.

"The moment I became Mrs. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, a glass panel was gently lowered into place around me, like a pattern in a mental hospital who is no longer considered able to make decisions and who cannot be exposed to harsh light. For five years I lived in cotton wool, struggling to grow up, to shape my own life, uncertain about whom exactly I was fighting against, but increasingly convinced that this artificial life was slowly crushing me to death. With so much civility around, whom to attack? With so much comfort, how dare I complain?"

Margaret eventually did dare to complain, and made a break to regain her independence. She is only one of thousands of women who have done that. The difference is that she was living in a fishbowl. And perhaps the only way to get out of one is to shatter the glass.

—Frances Gregory

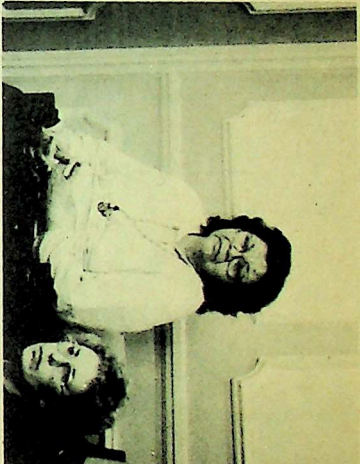
"Let them eat cake!"

The limits to sisterhood were clearly spelled out at the National Action Committee (NAC) annual conference in Ottawa last month when some 20 representatives of lower income women's groups were prevented from registering as observers. The objective was to exclude them from the entire proceedings and the message came wrapped in a not unfamiliar package of tokenism and elitism. The difference was that this time it wasn't men doing it to women but women doing it to women.

At the NAC conference the main target of NAC's displeasure was a Toronto group known as Wages for Housework composed mainly of single mothers on welfare. The other groups seem to have got caught in the cross-fire but this didn't seem to have bothered NAC. Some of the reasons for NAC's aversion to this group were explained to the Ottawa Tenants' Council and to members of the Ottawa Women's Lobby (OWL) before the conference. These were that Wages for Housework women were being manipulated by international left-wing elements, that their objective of ensuring an income for women who stay at home was contrary to NAC policy, and that they could not be relied on to behave with the decorum usually observed at NAC meetings and might disrupt the proceedings.

The main questions that all this seems to raise are whether NAC has the moral right to say it represents several million Canadian women and be so exclusive; whether it can say that there is only one true feminist political philosophy and that it has been carved in stone and is called The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (an admirable document in its time, but the women's movement has developed and changed a great deal in the past 10 years since that report was written.); whether NAC can exclude women on the basis that they use non-hadylke tactics (would they have admitted Nellie McClung or the Pankhursts?); whether they are not seeking to impose rigid middle-class values and behaviours on an organization which at this time seems to have the potential for acting as a catalyst which could unify all Canadian women in a widespread movement for social change.

Wages for Housework will speak for itself but we should be aware that it is part of a developing cross-Canada network of lower income women's groups. Consequently, the Ottawa Tenants Council, also part of that network, were not very



Sharon Barkley (l.) with fellow Winnipegger Anne Marie Gray, said: "Everywhere we go, Indian women have to bang the door down."

impressed with NAC's arguments. Neither for that matter were some members of OWL nor the representatives of the Immigrant Women's Centre from Toronto nor the representatives of Women Against Violence from Winnipeg. All of these NAC suddenly found they could not accommodate or register as observers on the Friday morning preceding the conference.

Louis the XVI and Marie Antoinette confronted by the mob were not more indignant than the NAC executive when these women had the sheer effrontery to turn up at the opening session the following day.

The lower income women's groups, however, had a few good reasons for being there and for thinking that the NAC conference had something to offer them and vice-versa. They pointed out that the worsening economic situation has hit them more severely than anyone else and that many low income women and their children are now having to do without food and that they are desperate to make their plight known.

Besides, Judith Ramirez, the president of Wages for Housework, had been invited to be a resource person repre-

The Grassroots at NAC: "You can't mow us down!"



Sharon Barkley

Preparing the welfare resolution. From l. to r.: Claire Beland, Dorothy O'Connell, Lynn Markle of Ottawa Tenants Council; Renate Fior, Centro Donne — Mil.; Judith Ramirez, WFH — Tor.

"We call on NAC to make it a priority to pressure all levels of government for improvements in the welfare system by major increases in welfare payments, and quarterly raises indexed to the cost of living, bringing payments at least to the level of the poverty line as determined by the Senate Committee on poverty."

The above resolution was passed unanimously by the several hundred delegates to the annual conference of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, after the NAC executive put every possible obstacle in the path of the grass-roots women who came to promote it (see "Let Them Eat Cake").

The welfare-identified groups, brought together through their networking with the Wages for Housework Campaign, included the Ottawa Tenants Council, the Employment Services for Immigrant Women (Toronto), the Lesbian Mothers' Defence Fund (Toronto), the Committee Against Violence Towards Women (Winn.), The Immigrant Women's Centre (Tor.), Winnipeg Women for Welfare, and Centro Donne (Montreal).

Angry with the constant glorification of work outside the home, these groups were determined to put NAC, as the only national women's organization, on record as supporting an immediate substantial increase in the pay welfare mothers receive for raising their families. The official resolution calls for an increase of \$5,000 per year for a mother with

three children — from the present \$6,789 to the Senate Committee's figure of \$12,000. This is a real victory for all the women and children whose survival depends on welfare, and for the growing number of women who are "only a man or a job from welfare". It strengthens local campaigns to raise welfare rates and gives the grass-roots another tool with which to confront government.

Following Ottawa Mayor Marion Dewar's plea for sisterhood at the opening plenary, the "income maintenance" workshop was opened to all the grass-roots women who had not been allowed to register. It was known by then that the Mayor had offered us City Hall as alternative meeting space and that our main interest in this conference on "economic realities for women" was not verbal battles on wages for housework (contrary to the NAC executive's hysteria) but the passage of a strong resolution for higher welfare.

Judith Ramirez was on the "income maintenance" panel, speaking about immigrant women and poverty, and she put forward the case for welfare as "the only economic insurance policy for all women". In the debate that followed, the resolution was re-worked several times. At one point, Dorothy O'Connell, from the Ottawa Tenants Council, prevented a watered down version, which tied welfare increases to the much lower Statistics Canada figures, from passing. However, two additional clauses which called for an end to the harassment of Indian women in welfare offices, and the recognition of welfare as a wage and not a charity, were ruled "out of order" by the chair.

In her speech at the opening plenary, Dorothy O'Connell had put her finger on the underlying political tension which riddled the entire conference:

"It is really too bad that all women don't share a common philosophy. There are very few feminists among poor women, and the reason for that is that is the feminist movement, by playing up the right to work, and the right to leave the home, have downgraded even more those who don't choose to work or who can't, and the contempt for women in the home has grown, even among other women. Poor women have always had to work, but it

is not a choice. The kinds of jobs they get are strictly no-status jobs, with long hours, low pay, and terrible working conditions...

And what about those women who stay at home on welfare? Living in the lap of luxury on someone else's money... The assumption is that the woman on welfare is getting "something for nothing".

Prior to the conference, the NAC executive had adamantly refused membership status to Wages for Housework on the grounds that it is "contrary to stated NAC policy" to promote payment for housework. When pressed about which policy, in a two-hour meeting, the NAC executive had no clear-cut answer. Since the conference, they have issued a statement on wages for housework which is a classic of the "something for nothing" prejudice against "feminist" organizations cut off from the grass-roots.

NAC's actions, before, during, and after the conference, have prompted many letters of protest from feminist lawyers, women in government, and community activists who feel strongly that NAC's role, as the only national women's organization in Canada, is to be a vehicle for all groups promoting women's rights, not a tribunal deciding who is "in" and who is "out". *UPSTREAM*, Canada's national women's magazine, has come out editorially against NAC and called for a "discussion on the direction of the women's movement in Canada" in its pages.

It is a sad commentary on NAC that it should go to such lengths to block discussion on wages for housework at the very moment that it is becoming a key issue for the courts, government economists, and women's groups, internationally. In the past year alone, the United Nations has called on all countries to include housework in their Gross National Products, the Federal Advisory Council on the Status of Women has issued Canada's first comprehensive report on the value of housework, and welfare mothers across the country have stepped up their demands to be recognized as legitimate workers.

And what an irony, that NAC has become a focal point for the very discussion it wants to prevent!

EDITORIAL

(Reproduced in abridged form, from *Upstream*, May 1979)

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SPECIAL
ISSUE
ON DOMESTICS

Agges for Housework Campaign Bulletin ♀

Toronto, Canada

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THE NUMBERS MAZE

Gwen Morgan, University of Toronto
 Student

Isolated in private homes, hidden from the public view, domestic workers are the phantom of the Canadian workforce. We felt it was important to pull this skeleton from the closet. Just how many women choose, or are forced to choose, domestic work to make a living? This relatively straight-forward question became more and more complicated as we dove deeper through the levels of bureaucracy searching for the relevant statistics. As is often the case with bureaucracies, we met with a stone wall. The statistics for domestics are not compiled because the recent census tracts are taken from only a sample of the population and therefore do not reflect such details with accuracy.

Failing there, we turned to another area. Many domestics come into Canada on work permits, so we tried to find out exactly how many women are on work permits for domestic work. Of course -- you may well guess -- these statistics are not available either. Freely given are statistics on the number of landed immigrants, the number of foreign students, the number of visitors. But the number of work permits is not available to the public.

Despite these obstacles, we did manage to find out a few interesting facts. Since 1975, when the work permit system was first instituted, while immigration has been consistently falling, the number of work permits issued has remained at a fairly high level. Immigration dropped from 184,200 in 1974 to 114,914 in 1977 and to 72,475 in 1978. The number of work permits, on the other hand, was 87,353 in 1974 and 88,696 in 1977 and 83,497 in 1978. Of this number, 14,370 permits in 1977 were given to those classified as "servants". More than half of these "servants" came to Ontario: 8,279 in total. Imagine! Over eight thousand women in Ontario not even afforded the minimal protection of the Employment Standards Act.

These statistics are not official, but in a recent Canadian magazine article by Rosie Dirmanno, "To Serve & Protest", the author says there were 12,520 domestics in Ontario in 1978. Given the tendency for the number of work permits issued to increase, Dirmanno's statistics lend credibility to the stats we obtained unofficially. These statistics suggest that the work permit system is being substituted for landed immigration. It would seem that Canada is on the way to creating a ghetto of marginalized, super-exploited labour. Of course this is only a hypothesis. But the veil of secrecy surrounding the statistics on work permits and on domestics can only make one wonder: they Ottawa, what skeleton lies in your closet!

Introduction IMMIGRANT DOMESTICS: MODERN-DAY SLAVES

by Judith Ramirez

Unpaid housework is the single largest industry in Canada. An army of five million women work as full-time housewives in the nation's homes for no pay, no benefits, no holidays, and no pensions. Most housewives never retire, they just tire.

Calculated in economic terms, all the free housework Canadian women perform equals roughly 1/3 of the Gross National Product. The failure to recognize this work is every woman's handicap. Riveted to bedpans, mops, and menus, we earn only 60¢ for every dollar a man earns. The "female job ghettoes" are the all-too-natural offspring of the free work we do in the home.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the case of immigrant women who work as live-in domestic servants. With no legal protection whatsoever in Ontario, each woman is at the mercy of the employer whose toilet she cleans, 60 to 80 hour work-weeks are rampant in this "ghetto within a ghetto", and the recommended pay of \$275/month (plus room and board) amounts to the miserable sum of \$1.00 an hour, or one third of the minimum wage.

Fueled by recent changes in Canada's immigration policy, this slave-like exploitation of immigrant women is on

the increase. Under the present system of "temporary work permits", women are imported from the Third World for up to three years to work solely as live-in domestics. They cannot change to higher paying jobs. They cannot apply for permanent residence. They cannot bring their children to Canada.

On October 11, the Davis government blocked a bill that would have covered domestic workers under the province's minimum wage law. The following week, one of his cabinet ministers was publicly denounced by an illegal Jamaican immigrant who had worked in his home for fourteen hours a day, at less than the minimum wage!

Because the same men who write the laws write the paycheques, only the strongest public protest can end the discrimination against immigrant domestics. This special issue of the Campaign Bulletin, prepared jointly with the Employment Services for Immigrant Women, was written not only by immigrant domestics themselves, but also by grass-roots organizers, full-time housewives, researchers, and students, who see in the fight of the immigrant domestics their own fight for more money and more freedom of choice.



Why Do Women Come?

Lois de Shield, West Indian
Community Worker, E.S.I.W.

Many West Indian women come to Canada as domestic workers because the unemployment rate in the Caribbean is very bad. It's about 40%, and the women don't have the opportunity to find jobs. They come to Canada because they have been told by friends and immigration officers that it is a land of milk and honey.

I first became involved with domestic workers in the 1950's. At that time, there was not a supply, but a demand for domestic workers. The Canadian government didn't have a quota with the Caribbean governments to bring in West Indian immigrants, and a decision was made to bring the women in as domestics. There were large Canadian interests in Jamaica -- in bauxite (Alcan), and the banks. Until very recently these companies paid little tax, and nearly all profits were returned to Canada.

Many West Indian women feel that they have a right to be here, and a right to a better life. One of the few ways they could get here, then and now, was to come in as domestics. Unlike today, when they first arrived years ago there was no representation at all -- no agencies or social services -- to help them when difficulties arose.

I remember my first involvement with a domestic worker. I was on a bus going from Hamilton to Toronto and met a woman who was a domestic from Grenada. She began to talk about the bad treatment she was getting. At the time I had a lot of friends who were hiring domestics, and consequently a small group of interested people was formed to investigate some of the complaints made by these women. The success of our efforts became very well known in the West Indian and Black Canadian community.

Pamela Hantze

Instead of making the working conditions more attractive, the government chose to "lock" women into their jobs. No only are domestics on work permits denied the opportunity to seek different kinds of work, but they are not entitled to any social security benefits, even though they are required by law to pay Canada Pension and Unemployment Insurance premiums.

Immigration tries to cover itself by saying that a domestic has the right to change employers if she is being underpaid and overworked. Put as long as the contract signed between immigration and the employer is not legally enforceable (see the Minimum Wage vs. Manpower Domestic Contract) a change of employer doesn't guarantee a better working situation. That, plus the fear of deportation, keeps many women on work permits from speaking out against employer abuse.

As Arnpoulos says, domestic work is becoming "the preserve of Third World women who will accept low pay and below-standard working conditions here simply because jobs are unavailable in their home countries."



Maria, Portuguese, 21 Year Old Domestic Worker



Maria Feliciano

How long have you been in Canada? Since 1975. I came with my sister. How my whole family is here.

Do you have any children? I have a boy 10 months old.

How did you get into domestic work? Why not factory work or in a restaurant?

Because everywhere you go you have to have experience. At the time I needed a job, so I had to take it.

When you apply for domestic work, do they ask for experience?

Well, they do ask. I have experience because I have a husband and a son. And since I was small, I was cleaning my mother's house.

When you go to a job, do you tell them how much you charge, or do you have to take what they offer?

I have to take what they offer. They never ask what I charge. Some will pay car fare, and some don't.

So do they say, "I'll give you \$3.50 an hour for six hours, and in that time I expect you to clean the whole house?"

Yes, they say, "I want this done. I want that done and that done." A big long list.

And they can ask you to do any kind of work?

Yes. My head is stuck for hours inside dirty ovens. And they don't give me gloves. I always have to buy my own. Sometimes 5 or 6 pairs a week. I got a bad rash because of the detergents and had to go to the doctor. Nobody gave me the money for that.

One time a lady gave me just steel wool to clean a filthy oven. How did she expect me to clean that filth with no oven cleaner? I did the best I could, but she made me do it over. I finally told her if she wanted it cleaner, she'd have to do it herself. They make me wash walls. And those huge windows. I have to climb up on a big ladder, and I'm scared of falling. No Workmen's Compensation, but they don't care.

And washing floors. But they don't give you a mop. So you're on your hands and knees the whole time. Even for very big floors, they just give me some SOS pads. Sometimes when I stand up, my knees are so sore that I can barely stand. And then you have the lady watching, so she comes and says, "Maria, see over here, see over there." But they give me so much to do, I have to work fast. You're supposed to do the basement, first, second and third floor in six hours, and everything has to be perfect.

What happens if you don't have it all done in six hours?

They say, "What happened? The other girl that I had used to do everything." So I say, "If you want the other girl, you can have her back." After all, I'm not a horse.

Do they always give you your lunch?

Sometimes. Sometimes they go out and tell me to take something out of the fridge. But I don't like to touch their food, because maybe it's something special and I don't want to have problems. Sometimes I go the whole day without food. I just drink lots of cold water. For me to work hard all day, I really need to eat.

Can you collect Unemployment Insurance?

No. So if I have to take time off, I don't get any money. No money for holidays. They'll phone me up and say, "Sorry Maria, don't come today, I have an appointment." So no money that day. Some weeks I make \$60, some weeks \$80. Sometimes they say to come once a week. Then when I've got everything all clean, they tell me to come once a month.

Have you ever worked for a Domestic Employment Agency?

Yes. I couldn't get enough work on my own so I went to one. They told me they would pay \$4 an hour. I was supposed to clean two houses in six hours -- three hours for each house. I would make \$44 -- \$22 for them, \$22 for me. Plus I had to pay my own car fares and lunch. They'd take off in my cheque it was nothing.

I'd go to the agency at 7.30 a.m. and get the schedule for the houses I had to clean. Then I had to travel to the first house, clean it (big houses too) in three hours, travel to the next house and clean it in three hours. I thought they were going to pay me by the hour, not by the day.

The first house I went to through the agency, I didn't know how it worked. So whatever the lady told me to do, I had to do it. I started cleaning the walls of mirrors, washing the walls, the lights, cleaning out the cupboards, the oven. She never gave me lunch. When she saw me sweating so much she gave me a Coke. I started at 1.00 p.m., and by 8.00 still had not finished everything. I didn't know you were only supposed to work for three hours. She had a letter from the agency telling her how long I was supposed to work, but I didn't know. She kept giving me more and more work. I finally I phoned home to find out how my baby was, because he'd been sick that day, and there was no answer. I got so scared I said I had to go. She told me to just finish the carpet and then I could go. I finished at 10.00. They gave me a cheque for \$22 -- so for 9 hours work I got \$11!! And a glass of coke.

It was better when the women weren't home. When they were, they always wanted something extra, like silver if I took more than three hours. Even if I took 9 or 10 hours. I finally quit. It drove me nuts.

What is the most you've ever made on a job?

Once a woman told me she'd pay me \$27 for six hours, but she never let me go home after six hours. She'd always ask me to just polish this or that. If I finished on time I was working too fast. Otherwise I was too slow. I couldn't understand her. Four floors in six hours.

One day she told me to clean the piano. Whenever I touched the keys she'd run in and say, "Maria, are you playing or working? Don't play it, just clean it." Finally she complained so much that one day after she'd put foam cleaner all over the stairs for me to vacuum I just got dressed to leave. She asked me where I was going, that there was still work to be done. I said, "Thank you very much, but do it yourself. It's time you know what it's like cleaning. Bye bye." I was upset because I'd spent two TTC tickets and had lost the job. But you work so hard, and then to get all those complaints.

When I couldn't understand English it was all right, they could insult me all they wanted. But now that I understand, they can't do it.

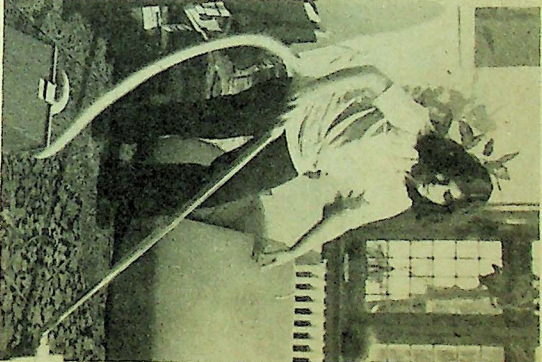
What are the advantages of domestic work?

Sometimes, when I'm in a nice place, I feel like I am home. Some people I feel very comfortable working for. They give me their key, and they trust me. That makes me feel good. And if my baby's sick I can phone them and say that I can't come but I'll come another day instead. Most people I'm working for now understand. It's not like a factory or office where you have to be right on time every day or lose your job.

Do you think domestic work should be

covered by labour legislation? Oh yes. Now when they go on holiday, I get a holiday too -- unpaid. If you lose your job you can't get UIC. Now we just get the money for cleaning houses and that's all. And the pay is so low for no benefits.

So many times I hurt myself on the job, but with no Workmen's Compensation, I just have to keep on working. And then go to the doctor on my own time and pay everything out of my own money. And the money I make just isn't enough. I get paid \$20 a day,



and go to the grocery store and spend \$25. You can wear whatever clothes you own, or wash the same thing every night, but food -- you have to eat.

Why do you think domestic work is paid so low?

Because cleaning is considered so low status, and everybody thinks you don't have the experience to do anything else.

Do you think it could also be that women usually do it in their own homes for free?

Oh yes. Women stay at home and do it for nothing, so they don't think it's worth much for someone else to do it.

What do you do after work?

I'm very tired after work. I go pick up my baby from the baby/sitter, take cleaning, shopping, look after my baby and my husband. I never go out, dancing or anything like that. I don't think I enjoy much. All I do is work.

Joyce, Aged 43, Caribbean Domestic on a Work Permit

Why did you decide to leave your home to come to Canada? Because I wanted to work, and there is no work at home.

Was it easy to get a work permit to come?

Some people that I knew sponsored me to come to Canada as a domestic worker in their home. Canadian Immigration wrote to tell me to come in for an interview. I went, took the medical, and got the documents to come.

Do you have children back home?

I do -- seven.

When the Immigration Department gave you the documents to come, did they tell you what your wages would be, and the hours you would be working?

When I arrived in Canada, they gave me a contract that my employer had signed -- my wages, the hours, the kind of work I would be doing.

Do you remember what it said? \$225/month for 40 hours a week, taking care of two children and light housekeeping. But you see, I found all that out later. When I left the Immigration office at the airport, my employers took the contract. They told me they would keep it. I trusted them, because it was the first time I'd travelled, and they were the only people I knew. They didn't give me a chance to read it before they took it away from me. When I got off the plane I was in a different world -- I was looking around trying to take in everything. I didn't have time to read it.

So what in fact did your job involve? Everything: I had to take care of the children, clean the house, do the cooking. I even had to mow the lawn. When they came home from work, they would only eat and watch TV till bedtime till my bedtime, except Sunday.

And how much did you get paid?

Only \$100 a month. A week after I started working, the missus said that she would give me \$125 a month, and out of that she'd take off \$25 for my plane fare. I agreed because back home, that's a lot of money.

What did you do on your day off?

I went to church. I found a church that wasn't very far, and the people were very nice. They started picking me up every Sunday to take me to Church. When the people where I was

IMMIGRANT DOMESTICS SPEAK OUT

by Frances Gregory

Marietta, Aged 59, Italian, Domestic Worker for 23 Years



Marietta Simonetti

Living realized that I was going out with them every Sunday, they weren't happy at all.

Why not?

I don't know, but they started finding different faults. The grass was too long, things like that. Then they decided to send me back home. They told me on a Saturday, and said the church minister that I was leaving, but he said my employer didn't have the right to send me back -- my work permit still had six months on it, and I had the right to stay. So he cancelled the flight and went to Immigration with me and got me another work permit.

Why do you think your employer treated you like that?

I feel he thought he was doing me a favour by bringing me up here. He gave me my documents back when I left, and then I saw how much I was supposed to have been paid all along.

So what happened then?

A man in the Church agreed to employ me. But it only lasted a few months, because they had already sent for someone else, so when she came, I had to leave.

What about your next job?

The people I was living with thought I was lonely and needed a man. They invited the man's brother over all the time. Once he invited me out and I said no. The people asked me why I wouldn't go -- they said, after all, you can't make babies anymore! So then I realized what they really wanted, which was for me to move in with him, and come in the day to clean for them! I told them I couldn't do that because I go to church, and back home that would be considered adultery.

Then they told me he'd done some big favour for them, so they owed him one. They fired me. The official reason they gave was that they needed the room I was sleeping in for the baby. But I know that was a way of sending me away because I didn't agree to go out with the brother. Then I got another job.

What was it like?

The family wasn't very nice. But I had to bear it, because knowing the conditions back home, I didn't have a choice if I wanted to have a better living for me and my family. But it started getting worse. They were supposed to pay me \$250 a month, plus OHIP, but they took the OHIP from my pay. They also took out Unemployment Insurance and Canada Pension (UITC and CPP are deducted on any wage higher than \$21 a week). I don't know if they were really paying it for me. But I had to agree because I wanted the job.

I worked 16 hours a day, and the food was very bad. Often I was alone in the house for dinner, but they never gave me anything to cook. Sometimes they would bring a hamburger for me, and sometimes I never saw them until bedtime, so I would eat some bread. I wasn't allowed to take anything from the freezer. They were really strict people.

Did they expect you to go out and buy your own groceries?

Maybe. But the contract said they were to give me my meals. One day I told the woman what the contract said, and if I don't have one good meal a day I'm afraid I will get sick. She told me I couldn't tell her what the contract said. I talked to her on the Sunday morning. She never gave me a reply, so I went to church. When I got back at 9 p.m. from the day with my church friends, the husband told me that when he got home from work on Monday he didn't want to see me there. I called the people in the church, and they took me home for a week until I got the job I have now.

How is it going?

Well, not bad, but I have to work more than 40 hours a week, because the people both have part-time jobs as well as full-time ones. Like tomorrow is Sunday, which is supposed to be my day off, but she told me to-day I have to stay home because they couldn't have my Saturday off. I don't get paid anything extra for that. It really upsets me, but I can't say anything, because I want my job. They can just come and go as they please, because they know I'm always there.

So you have the feeling now that you can't ever say anything for fear that you're going to lose your job?

Well, I learned that from experience. Have you ever gotten sick?

Once I had to stay in bed for two days. But they were Christian people I was working for then, and they didn't mind. But now I'm scared to get sick. I don't think they would keep me anymore.

Do you get time off to go to the doctor?

I've had to miss two appointments. I tell the woman I have an appointment and she says she'll come home, and when the time comes for me to leave and she's not there, so I have to cancel it. After I had to cancel this week, she told me she'd try to give me time to go next week.

So your health isn't of very great importance to them.

Oh, they don't care about me. They don't care about me at all!

Do you have time off in the afternoon? Not in this job. I stay in the house like a mother. The man told me to do in the house like I would do in my own house. But he meant cleaning, not relaxing.

Can't you take the children out of the house, go for walks?

No I can't. I'm not allowed to take them further than the backyard. I don't know why they don't trust me. I have enough experience, with seven of my own. I feel bad about that.

Do the people check your cleaning like they do with day workers?

No. Well, maybe they do. But I've never had any complaints. I'm a very hard worker. They don't have any complaints, but the minute I complain I'm out.

How much do you get paid now?

\$70 a week, for about 80 hours work. But it's still better than the other jobs.

In the evenings when your work is done, can you watch TV or play records?

I'm not allowed to use the record as they're not watching it.

Have any of your employers mentioned to you the possibility of sponsoring you for landed immigrant status?

No, I didn't know they could do that until you told me.

Would you like to stay in Canada?

Oh yes. As long as Immigration allows me. But I don't know if they will keep renewing my work permit.

If you went to Immigration and told them your employer was violating the contract he signed with Immigration, do you think they would do anything about it?

I don't know. But I would never do it. I don't like to cause trouble.

How do you get treated when you go to Immigration?

Immigrants they're alright. But one time I moved, and I went to Immigration two days later to tell them and they were really mad. They said I had to report my change of address the same day. On the work permit it says to report it right away, but I didn't realize it meant the same day. I was really scared they were going to send me back for that.

Have you had a chance to make many friends?

The people in the church are really good friends. Without them I wouldn't know my way around the subway, how to get to Immigration, any of those things. And Employment Services for Immigrant Women has really done a lot for me.

Do you think domestic workers are exploited?

Oh yes. We're really powerless.

Is there anything else you'd like to say?

Well, I really love Canada. I would like my teenage daughter to see it -- not to stay or work, but just to see it, because it's a different world.

you feel. That way, they'd pay me more.

I always worked very hard. I made the houses look like my own. One house I went to was so dirty, I didn't know where to begin. I went every day for three hours, and in two months I had it clean. The lady had five kids, and I said to her that when I came back the next day I didn't want to see anything dirtied up.

That's probably why I didn't have such a bad time housecleaning. I would just tell them that once I cleaned something, it had to stay that way.

When I worked in the bank cleaning, all the other cleaners did the same thing -- clean offices at night and do domestic work during the day.

Have you ever seen Canadian women do domestic work?

No. Canadians don't seem to be interested in paying mortgages and putting money in the bank. They want a good time. Like my daughter now. When immigrants come to Canada, they want the best.

What are the advantages of doing domestic work?

You see the results of your work. Something is dirty, you clean it, and you can see it. I went one time to a woman's house that was so clean it made me nervous. After I dusted, she wanted to see the dirty rag -- but there was no dirt. What could I do? I just left.

If one of your children was sick, could you phone up and tell the lady that you couldn't come? I never once did that. If one of my children was sick, the other ones would have to look after him or her. Even when I was sick, I never missed a day of work -- no matter how sick I was.

Why not?

Six children and a mortgage. . . . what more do I have to say? I wanted my children to go to school in the worst way. When I got on the bus and saw students with their books, I was so jealous. I wanted my children to be able to go. And now they've had the chance.

When you came home from work, you must have had a lot of your own housework to do with so many children.

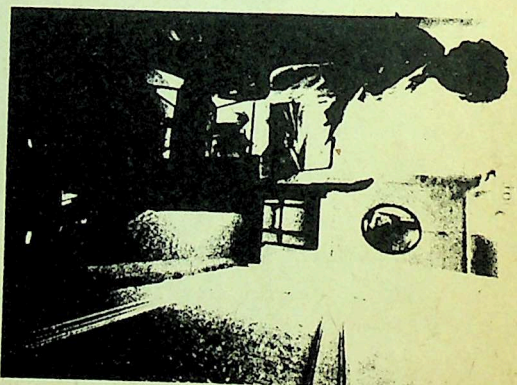
Well, I had my daughters who did all the housework. They did the grocery shopping, and even paid the bills.

Nowadays, housecleaning isn't so bad because of all the machines they have. But I have permanent marks on my legs from scrubbing so many floors on my hands and knees. I wish I'd known about factory work a long time ago, because it's so much easier. But for 20 years I was working so hard I didn't have the time to talk to people to find these things out!

When I came to Canada, I didn't know anything, and nobody told me, about the laws or whatever rights I had.

If you knew 24 years ago the things you know now, what would be different?

Oh boy! I would have found a nice job in a factory, and made a regular wage. I'd be able to come home at night, and look after my children.



I worked very hard for years, but now I own two houses, all paid for, and I have money in the bank. People ask me how I have done so well, with six children and all, and I say, "Easy . . . lots of hard work!"

I don't have to work anymore. I work because I enjoy it -- as a cleaner in a textile factory. Now nobody can push me around. If I don't feel like going in one day I just don't go.

Why did you stop cleaning houses?

Because sometimes people were too pushy. Do this, do that. The owner really controls you. Sometimes you go and you don't feel well, but you same, or else she'll tell you you should have stayed at home. But when you stay at home, you don't get paid. In a factory, you just have your work to do, and you do it. Nobody really bothers you.

How much did you get paid for cleaning houses?

When I started, \$5 a day. When I finished, \$25 a day for about 8 hours work. When they asked me how much I charged I'd say, as much as



Pay for Housework

By Maria Barraco, University of Toronto Student

Domestic workers are badly treated, because housework isn't supposed to be work -- neither it is done by a woman in her own house or, by extension, in someone else's.

-- Lots De Shield, ESIM

Why does a domestic worker get paid such low wages when she goes to work in someone else's home? Why, when she goes home, does she get paid nothing for doing the same work for her own family? The first question can't be answered without answering the second.

As long as women aren't paid for their labour in their own home, their labour will be undervalued in the paid labour force. Traditionally, women have been a labour force in reserve -- brought out of their homes (or brought to Canada) when the need arises. But there are so many housewives, and as the cost of living

rises, more and more are competing for the same jobs. So before a woman bargains for a higher wage, she remembers there are a hundred women willing to take the job at whatever wage. Her only alternative is working full-time in the home for free. If women got wages for housework, they would have the power to refuse those jobs at the minimum wage or less, and force wages and working conditions to improve.

Pressure from women across the country has forced the government to study the question of wages for housework more seriously. Statistics Canada has estimated the value of housework to be \$6,000 per year for every Canadian household, or 35-40% of the Gross National Product. And the following, more recent table, prepared by the Advisory Council on the Status of Women, estimates the value at close to \$10,000 per year.

APPROXIMATE VALUE OF THE HOUSEWORK OF THE MOTHER OF A FAMILY OF TWO CHILDREN, THE YOUNGER OF WHOM IS BETWEEN 7 AND 12 YEARS OF AGE.

Functions	\$/hr	hr/wk	\$/wk
Cleaning preparation	3.97	18.13	71.97
Flooding	2.86	8.58	24.53
Clothing care	2.94	6.12	17.99
Repairs & maintenance	3.98	2.30	9.15
Marketing & household management	5.08	6.96	35.35
Physical child care	3.07	4.36	13.38
Tutorial child care	6.57	1.57	10.31
Other child care	4.74	.98	4.64
		<u>49.00</u>	<u>187.32</u>
Annual value	\$187.32 x 52 wks	=	\$9,742.64
Average hourly value	<u>\$9,742.64</u>	=	<u>\$9,742.64</u>
	<u>49 hrs x 52 wks</u>	=	<u>2548 hrs</u>
		=	\$3.82

The Minimum Wage vs the Manpower Domestic Contract

Most domestics are in Canada on work permits issued by the Canada Employment and Immigration Centre (CEIC). CEIC has a form titled, "Offer of Employment", which lists the details of the employment offered (ie, number of hours duties, pay rate etc.) This form is signed only by the employer and the immigration officer. As such it is called a "pseudo-legal" document by CEIC, since to be "legal" it would have to be signed by the employer and the prospective employee. Often the domestic mistakenly thinks she is covered by a legal contract, only to discover that she is at the mercy of her employer.

A comparison between the average wage received by a domestic worker in Ontario as suggested by CEIC, and the wage she is entitled to under the Employment Standards Act demonstrates the super-exploitation of domestic workers. In the CEIC contract a domestic worker is paid an average of \$270 per month for a total of 192 hours of work. That is 8 hours a day, 6 days a week. This includes room and board. Under the Employment Standards Act a worker is entitled to a minimum of \$3,000 an hour. The working week is presently 44 hours up to a maximum of

48 hours, but those 4 extra hours must be paid time and a half. No such time and a half exists in the Manpower contract for domestics.

If, then, an individual works 8 hours a day, 6 days a week his/her monthly wage would be \$624.00. The Employment Standards Act also allows a maximum rate for room and board of \$35.00/week for a monthly total of \$140.00. If the room and board were subtracted from the monthly rate of \$624.00, the total monthly rate for a domestic, if included under the Employment Standards Act, would be \$484.00.

In comparing the wage of a domestic worker to that of a worker covered by the Employment Standards Act there is a difference of \$214.00. This is a difference practically equal to the monthly wage itself! It is incredible that the Employment and Immigration Centre would encourage employers to pay a wage so far below the standards of ESA. It is even more incredible that they would deceive immigrant women workers by using this "pseudo-legal" contract. Since the contract is not binding, an employer is free to pay even less -- and usually does.

Employment Standards Act	Monthly Wage	Net Wages	Difference
- minimum wage	+ Room & Board	per Month	in
CEIC 'pseudo-legal' contract	\$624.00	\$484.00	\$214.00
	\$410.00	\$270.00	
	(\$270 + \$140 for room and board)		

A Word From Bob Mackenzie, MPP

What is the government doing about the domestic labour problem? A concerned MPP, Mr. Bob Mackenzie for Hamilton East is doing all he can as the Labour Critic for his NDP party. Mr. Mackenzie admits that new issues move slowly in the House, especially if it is not considered an important one. To make the government and the public aware of the problem is the first step which must be taken. He is very much aware and concerned with the problem which he believes thousands share in Ontario alone.

"Domestics are in an unenviable position as they are usually not Canadian citizens, but immigrants not visas and are dependent totally on the fam-

ily they're living with. As immigrants, the lowest on scale of labour, they tend to have no political clout."

Mr. Brian Charlton, an NDP minister for Hamilton Mountain introduced a Private Member's Bill on the 11th of October. It was not passed, domestics were not put under the Employment Standards Act which would have entitled them to minimum labour rights. Mr. Mackenzie's greatest concern now is to make the public and government aware of the existing problems which domestic labourers share and to continue to work inside the Legislature in order to include the domestic under the Employment Standards Act as soon as possible.



Mariana Tenenbaum, founder of Ontario's Labour Rights for Domestic Servants, leads demonstration in front of the home of her former Forest Hill employer. The group is circulating a petition demanding that domestics be covered by the Ontario Employment Standards Act. For more information, contact Labour Rights for Domestic Servants, 82 Warren Road, Apt. 704, Toronto M4V 2R7. Telephone (416) 961-0386.

YOUR SUPPORT SAVES E.S.I.W.

By Anna Menozzi, co-ordinator of Employment Services for Immigrant Women

Employment Services for Immigrant Women is a non-profit organization designed to meet the needs of immigrant women of the Chinese, Italian, Spanish, and West Indian origins in the Canadian job market.

We offer the following services on an individual basis: job placement and referral, job orientation counselling, job search counselling and referral services. We also provide information and translation, escorting, advocacy, and interpreter services connected with employment, UIC and Welfare matters.

We opened our doors in Feb. 1978 with a federal grant from Canada Works which was renewed after our first year of operation.

Last July, however, ESIM faced a major funding crisis: we were scheduled to close down at the end of the month if no new grant came through. We had appealed to over 20 public and private funding agencies with no success. We were left with no choice but to appeal directly to the community, politicians and the media for support. And the support came! We received dozens of letters; many community leaders lobbied Ottawa on our behalf, and the Toronto Star came out editorially for our survival. After three weeks we received interim funding from the "grant to Voluntary Organization Program, Employment and Immigration, Canada. This funding will last until the end of March 1980, but we have more good news!

On Friday September 28th, we met with the Minister Ron Atkey to discuss permanent funding by the Outreach program of Employment and Immigration, Canada. The Minister congratulated us on the efficiency of our service saying that he had heard many good reports on ESIM. He acknowledged that we fit the Outreach criteria and that is the logical source of funding for us. He assured us he personally will do everything in his power to see that permanent funding is arranged for us. We consider the meeting with Ron Atkey very productive, and a product of the enormous public support we received last summer.

A heartfelt thank you to all those who supported us! With your continued backing we are certain that we will remain open to serve immigrant women in Toronto.

For further information call (416) 922-8017.

CAMPAIGN ADDRESSES

In Canada

Toronto: WFH Committee
P.O. Box 38, Stn. E
M6H 4E1

Lesbian Mothers' Defence Fund (same)

Minneapolis: WFH Committee
c/o Women's Building
730 Alexander Avenue
R3E 1H9

Montreal:
c/o Patricia Simister-Degardcaas
4171 Laval Avenue
H2M 2J4

In the USA

New York:
Black Women for WFH
P.O. Box 830
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201

Philadelphia: WFH Action Group
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Philadelphia, Pa. 19143

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WOMEN AND WORK

FIVE MILLION WOMEN

A study of the Canadian housewife

BY

Monique Proulx

JUNE 1978



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on the Status of Women**

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OF THREE STUDIES
ON WOMEN AND WORK.

WOMEN AND WORK

Five Million Women

A study of the Canadian housewife

This document expresses the views of
its author and does not necessarily
represent the official policy of
the ACSW.

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I - INTRODUCTION

Work in the home has long been surrounded by a rather nebulous halo that has completely hidden its true nature. Analysis of the feminine condition and increased awareness of it have made it possible to describe the housewife's situation as the "problem that has no name."¹

The purpose of this study is to examine the social and economic status of women who, through choice or necessity, work within the home and assume a very large share of the family responsibilities. We shall attempt to pierce the veil which has kept housework invisible and perpetuated the economic dependence and insecurity of the women who perform this work.

After reviewing the major studies which show the amount of time spent on housework, we shall discuss attempts that have been made to place an economic value on this work. Proposals aimed at recognizing the social and economic value of housework will then be examined in the light of their potential for increasing women's freedom of choice and economic security, particularly in the case of mothers.

1. Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, New York, Dell, 1963.

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II - A DEVALUED OCCUPATION

The society in which we live has a tendency to assign values to individuals, not on the basis of their personal qualities, but rather on the basis of the position they occupy in the working world and by the size of salary this position commands. It is not very surprising that in such a society housewives feel devalued.

The question, "What do you do for a living?" has become so familiar that we hardly pay it any attention any more, except in noting the obvious embarrassment of the housewife when called upon to answer. Let us look at some of the more frequent answers housewives give: "What do I do? Oh, I don't work, I'm only a housewife." or another, "Me? I'm queen of the house." or even, "Me? I'm a domestic engineer." These euphemistic terms for the housewife's occupation speak volumes: they illustrate the feeling of many women at home who feel a need to apologize for being "just a housewife" or to make their situation seem more important and thus restore their pride. This problem of the occupation's title is a symptom of a deeper malaise and as such, merits our thoughtful consideration.

1. The invisibility of housework

The presence of women on the labour market and the role of women as wives and mothers have been themes of interest to sociologists for many years. This is not so true for women in their role as workers in the home.

Ann Oakley's book, The Sociology of Housework, is one of the rare studies of the subject. In her study of London housewives, Oakley denounces the discrimination practised against women by those studying the sociology of the family and the sociology of work. She is particularly critical of the lack of recognition given to housework as work and the way sociological studies of women have been limited to woman's role as wife and mother.²

The Captive Housewife by Hannah Gavron offers an example of the lack of attention given to housework in sociological studies of women. Gavron, while she points out this lack herself, fails to analyse housewives' attitudes and perceptions of their work.³

Oakley associates this tendency in sociology with the functionalist approach, which she criticizes for its concept of a division of labour according to sex. This theory, of course, places man in the instrumental role, while woman takes on the affective role. In other words, man performs external activities and sees to the financial support of the family, while the woman provides emotional support to the family members and sees to internal family relationships. Here we can recognize the stereotyped roles based on the classic functionalist dichotomy: woman-affective-home/man-instrumental-work. The sociology of the family, largely dependent on functionalist theory, has given woman 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.

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2. Ann Oakley, The Sociology of Housework, Pantheon Books, 1974, pp. 3-4.
 3. Hannah Gavron, The Captive Housewife, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966, p. 131.

One poorly-understood aspect of the housewife's role is her relationship to the economy. Housewives are not considered to be part of the productive labour force. The fact that their work is not included in the national accounts is a clear indication of this. Nevertheless, their invisible and unpaid work ensures the maintenance and renewal of the current labour force at the same time that it produces the next generation of workers. John Kenneth Galbraith, the noted economist, states that if the housewives who have become "servant-wives" were paid for their work, they would constitute the largest group in the labour force.⁴

Continuing his analysis of the housewife's role as crypto-servant of the economic system, Galbraith lists the many administrative tasks involved in this role: maintenance and repair of the house, household equipment and automobile; purchase and preparation of food; supervision of the young consumers; and organization of the family's social life. He also points out how advertising conditions women to believe that happiness is proportional to the quantity of goods and services consumed. The conclusion is easily drawn: women, in their role as crypto-servants of the economy, make possible an indefinitely increasing consumption.⁵

In a recent article on women outside the labour market, Ann Duffy also mentions the capital importance of the housewife's role in maintaining the economic system. Nevertheless, she refutes the accusations of

4. J.K. Galbraith, Economics and the Public Purpose, A Signet Book, New American Library of Canada Limited, 1975, p. 33.

5. Ibid. p. 36-37.

unthinking complicity in the capitalist system that are sometimes brought against women:

It is important to recognize woman's role as consumer and the ties between that role and the economic order. However, it would seem more reasonable and valuable to understand woman's participation in consumption, not so much as (and certainly not solely as) a psychological insufficiency, but rather, as an increasingly demanding component of her job responsibilities as a housewife.⁶

Duffy explains that, contrary to the contentions of some,⁷ the success of the cosmetics and interior decoration industries cannot be attributed to the personal needs of housewives but rather to the fact that women are fulfilling the requirements of their role: the need to maintain their own attractiveness and that of their home are constraints of the wifely role in our society. Further, the housewife, at least the middle-class housewife, is responsible for creating her husband's image of success.⁸

Here too, homemakers are the victims of society's ambivalent attitudes toward them; blamed on one hand for their propensity to consume and encouraged on the other to create a successful image around their husbands, they have, in the end, very little freedom within their so-called realm.

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6. Ann Duffy, "Women and Work: Women Outside the Labour Force," Occasional Papers of the McMaster University Sociology of Women Programme, No. 1, Spring 1977, p. 205.
 7. On this topic, it would be interesting to review the chapter entitled "The Sexual Sell," in Betty Friedan, op. cit., pp. 197-223.
 8. Ann Duffy, op. cit., pp. 205-207.

In a study of the effects of participation in the women's liberation movement on a group of housewives in a university community in Western Canada, Marylee Stephenson examines the definition of the housewife's role according to the familiar stereotype - a service role. She does not deny that satisfaction may be derived from it, but emphasizes the extent to which the attitudes and activities prescribed by this role revolve around the creation, education and support of all members of the family, with the exception of the housewife herself. Stephenson adds that unless prodigious efforts are made to change the attitudes and activities of all involved, the housewife will continue to be "only a housewife", not because "it may seem to be a low-skill, no-pay, thankless job, but ... because she does not have the time or energy to do anything else."⁹

These studies represent a remarkable point of departure for sociological research on housewives. In part, we owe this departure to Betty Friedan who was the first to dare debunk the mystique of housewifery. Such promising beginnings make it possible to hope for rapid progress in this field of research in future. They have broken the silence and insularity surrounding the housewife, and none too soon.

2. The housewife's lack of social status

Married women, it is generally agreed, still enjoy the social prestige of their husband's occupation. With very few exceptions, the occupation of housewife has not been included in the occupational prestige rankings used widely in social science research to assess

9. Marylee Stephenson, "Housewives in Women's Liberation Movement," Women in Canada, Marylee Stephenson, Ed., New Press, Toronto, 1973, p. 248.

the socio-economic status of subjects. The family is the unit of social stratification despite criticism - recent, of course - by feminists who find it repugnant to define a woman's social status by that of her husband.

An attempt to correct this situation has been made very recently by Margrit Eichler in her study "The Prestige of the Occupation Housewife."¹⁰ Eichler wanted to find out if it were possible to measure empirically the prestige of the occupation housewife and discover to what extent the social status of housewives is affected by their "employer's" social status (that is, the husband's occupation). She also compared the prestige of housewives with that of people in other occupational roles and examined the role played by sex by assigning a prestige ranking to occupations in general, then by specifying the sex for each occupation.

The subjects were asked to rank 93 occupations according to their own personal evaluation of the social standing of each of these occupations; they were asked to give each occupational title a score ranging from 1 to 9, with 1 indicating lowest social standing of an occupation, and 9 indicating highest social standing.

The data from Eichler's research are of considerable importance for the purposes of the present study. They indicate that the occupation housewife ranks 52nd in a total of 93 occupations. Physician

10. Margrit Eichler, "The Prestige of the Occupation Housewife," The Working Sexes, Patricia Marchak, Ed., The Institute of Industrial Relations, University of British Columbia, June 1977, pp. 152-171.

ranked at the top of the scale (93). Thus, there are 51 occupations out of 93 which have less prestige than the occupation housewife when the ranking is neutral, that is, when the sex of the incumbent is unspecified. However, when the incumbent is male, the prestige of the occupation housewife drops to the eighth lowest rank, but when the incumbent is specified as female, it remains at 52.

In comparing the prestige of the occupation housewife with that of the ten occupations which account for the greatest number of women in Canada, Eichler found that the occupation secretary/stenographer - which incidentally has the greatest number of female incumbents and accounted for the greatest percentage of the female labour force - was only slightly higher than that of the occupation housewife (54.6/53.9).

The same study also indicates that when the husband's occupational status is higher than that of the occupation housewife (53.9), the wife's prestige rises. Thus, physician scored 92.7 on the scale and physician's wife, 81.5, which places her nearly equal in rank to female university professor (82.9) and not far from female physician (86.3). On the other hand, if the husband's social status is lower than that of housewife, the wife loses prestige. An elevator operator scores 25.4 on the scale, while his wife scores 37.1, which means that she has dropped 16.8 points.¹¹

11. Margrit Eichler, "The Prestige of the Occupation Housewife," p. 165.

Eichler's study suggests that the habit of evaluating a family's social status by using that of the father no longer corresponds with reality. It also points out that role stereotypes are still strong, and suggests that the day is still a long way off when men may aspire to the role of "househusband" ... unless there are changes in certain aspects of the social structure.

3. Triumphs and tears of housework

Housework is a difficult theme to tackle with impartiality and objectivity. No one is indifferent to it and it generally provokes reactions ranging from enthusiasm to total aversion. The extremes of this continuum are well-rooted in thoroughly opposite conceptions of housework.

The first statement to sing the praises of housework comes straight out of the Old Testament: the virtuous woman whose "price is far above rubies" and who "worketh willingly with her hands" in creating a happy household and in so doing, finding her own happiness.¹²

This model was particularly appropriate to the pre-industrial era when the family was both the unit of production and unit of consumption. There was no separation between the workplace and the living place and the activities of the woman mingled naturally with those of her husband in the family business. The woman's

12. Proverbs 31: 10-31.

"realm" was widespread; she was truly "queen of hearth and home" and she had the opportunity to exercise her many talents. Her role contained an element of the sacred and by performing it gracefully, she acquired a halo of virtue.

After the Industrial Revolution, the factory replaced the family home as the workplace. It was then that the wives and children of the poor left their homes and went to work. The distinction between the working woman and the housewife made its first appearance.

The second model for housewives dates from the industrial era which modified social relationships and favoured the birth of a new ethic in which men (and women, too) tended to define themselves with respect to work - meaning, paid work. In such a society "the common standard for recognition of work done is a wage... The more money one earns, the more highly regarded is that labor and that person."¹³

From this point of view, housework is sometimes seen as a situation resembling slavery, since in some cases all a woman receives in exchange for her work is food and lodging. These conditions, along with the absence of freedom of choice, bring certain feminists to describe the housewife's situation as true slavery:

13. Lisa Leghorn, "Women's Work. The Price Women Pay for the High Cost of Housework," Houseworker's Handbook, Cambridge, Mass., 1st ed., 1974, pp. 11-16.

Housework (like other slave labor ...) is a function that certain people are slated for from birth, because they possess certain physical characteristics. This is one of the factors that has made it easier to oppress both women and blacks.¹⁴

Between these two extremes, a wide and varied range of positions has been expressed, some of which lean both ways. John Kenneth Galbraith, denounces the tendency in today's society to confuse convenience with virtue. He has invented the term "convenient social virtue" to denounce the attitude of the industrial society which glorifies the unpleasant tasks it requires some people to perform in order that the convenience and well-being of the most powerful members of the community may be served. According to Galbraith "the ultimate success of the convenient social virtue has been in converting women to menial personal services."¹⁵ Moral approval by those who benefit from housework must take the place of wages for the women who perform it.

Several years ago, without meaning to do so, a British judge helped to expose the unattractive nature of household work. The incident was reported by Robert Lekachman.

In January 1973 a British magistrate sentenced a certain Peter Giles to clean an old-age pensioner's flat as punishment for a minor misdemeanor. His colleagues on the bench rapidly emulated his tactic. On this practice a female reporter on the London Evening Standard commented with these winged words:

14. Betsy Warrior, "Slavery or a Labor of Love?" Houseworker's Handbook, Woman's Centre, Cambridge, Mass., p. 72 (undated document, perhaps 1975).
15. J.K. Galbraith, Economics and the Public Purpose.

It may come as a surprise to the magistrate that thousands of women in this country are interned for varying periods of time, week in and week out, performing the new ultimate deterrent known as "housework." Many are finding it increasingly difficult to remember what offense they committed in the first place.¹⁶

Women have known for a long time that these domestic tasks are not in themselves particularly enjoyable. It seems that men are now beginning to learn this as well, especially young married men whose wives work outside the home and are not willing to come home and wait on them, as did the housewife in earlier times. A recent study from the University of Toronto reveals that household tasks are the major source of disputes between newlyweds.¹⁷

The unpleasant nature of some aspects of housework has also been demonstrated in Ann Oakley's study of a group of London housewives concerning the "work" aspect of their overall role. The results of this study indicate a feeling of dissatisfaction as the dominant emotion; seventy-two per cent of the housewives interviewed expressed dissatisfaction; three-quarters of them found their work monotonous and fragmented. Most of them also complained of

16. Robert Lekachman, Economists at Bay: Why the Experts Will Never Solve Your Problems, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1976, p. 117.

17. The study entitled "Do Pre-Marriage Programs Really Help?" was carried out by Gisèle Microys and Ed Bader of the Department of Family and Community Medicine, University of Toronto, and reported in The Toronto Star of November 12, 1977.

loneliness and the lack of opportunity for social interaction. The lack of social standing of their occupation and the excessively long working week were two other aspects associated with their dissatisfaction.¹⁸

In contrast with this view of the housewife dissatisfied with her work in the home, a study by Helena Lopata found the housewife's outstanding characteristics to be creativity and innovation.¹⁹ A closer comparison between these two studies enables us to explain part of these differences: while Lopata looked at the total role of housewife, Oakley limited her study to the housework aspect of this role. While it may be theoretically possible to separate one from the other, in practice it is still difficult to take on one without the other, particularly in households with a modest income.

4. The economic dependence of the housewife

The problem of the economic dependence of the housewife does not constitute a new topic of debate. Several generations of women have denounced the numerous disadvantages which result from unpaid housework. In 1929, Hildegard Kneeland, an American family economist, described the situation of the housewife as follows:

18. Oakley, op. cit. p. 182-184.

19. Lopata, Occupation Housewife, Oxford University Press, Oxford, London, New York, p. 362.

More important than either of these disadvantages under which the housewife labors is her lack of economic independence. This is, of course, an old and familiar grievance; in voicing it today it seems, to "date," to belong to an earlier and less fortunate period in woman's economic life. The entrance of women into industry and the professions has given us a false sense of having solved this problem.²⁰

A number of women could write the same article in 1978. Should it be concluded therefore that nothing has changed since the beginning of the century? On the contrary, we know that everything, or almost everything, has changed except perhaps the economic position of housewives. The physical and social context in which the housewife performs her activities is totally different, but basically she has no more autonomy than her predecessors since she must depend on her spouse's income for her subsistence.

Activists in the contemporary women's movement make the same observations; militants in various groups have many times associated the problem of women's inferior status with economic factors. Margaret Benson states:

In a society in which money determines value, women are a group who work outside the money economy. Their work is not worth money, is therefore not even real work. And women themselves, who do this valueless work, can hardly be expected to be worth as much as men, who work for money.²¹

20. Hildegard Kneeland, "Women's Economic Contribution in the Home," American Annals of Political and Social Science, May 1929, p. 34.

21. Margaret Benson, quoted by Joan MacFarland, "Economics and Women: A Critique of the Scope of Traditional Analysis and Research," Atlantis - A Review of Studies on Women, Vol. 1, No. 2, Spring 1976, p. 36.

The same opinion was expressed by June Menzies in an article in which she denounces the inability of social policy-makers to recognize the contribution of housewives to the general economy:

Women cannot attain economic equality as long as the major economic role they perform is outside the economy and is disregarded in policy formulation. As long as we exclude the household and the labour performed within it from the legitimate economic framework of our society, women cannot attain equality and they will not be able to share in the benefits of society proportionately to the contribution they make of it.²²

Hilda Kahne and Andrew I. Kowen have also revealed the necessity of attributing greater importance to the status of women in economic research oriented toward the formulation of social policies. After reviewing the economic literature relating to the feminine condition, they point out the existence of a constant incongruity between the new lifestyle of women and the way in which they are perceived from the legislative and economic points of view:

A large element of discrimination continues to exist in the income rewards of women for the economic contributions they make. Although their economic role within the family is often important and sometimes critical, this is not always acknowledged.²³

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22. June Menzies, "The Uncounted Hours: The Perception of Women in Policy Formulation," McGill Law Journal, Vol. 21, No. 4, 1975, p. 630.
 23. Hilda Kahne and Andrew I. Kowen, "Role of Women in the American Economy," Journal of Economic Literature, December 1975, pp. 1249-1922.

The same authors deplore the fact that questions relating to the role of women in the economy are primarily of peripheral interest to economists whereas they constitute a matter of livelihood or development of a positive self-image for the women who are seeking an equitable share for their activities. They also argue in favour of reinforcing research policies that recognize women as a relatively disadvantaged group, with a view to making the opportunities for women and the wages of women comparable to those enjoyed by men. Kahne and Kowen even view the discrimination against women as a source of unfavourable social consequences such as poverty among families headed by women and the difficulty of maintaining full employment and stability of prices.²⁴

The economic subjection of women is often accompanied by psychological dependence. A French film "La femme de Jean" clearly illustrates the syndrome of the lack of personal identity and the tendency to live by proxy. Even more familiar is the old custom which dictates that when all the Jane X's marry, they become Mrs. John Z's, a custom which is dying out but which is still far from dead.

Margrit Eichler discusses personal dependence, an attribute which women, especially housewives, share with children and slaves and which creates an economic, social and/or legal bond between the woman and another person who has authority over her.²⁵ Although such dependence is not exclusive to the housewife, she runs a much greater risk of being its victim.

24. Kahne and Kowen, *op. cit.*, p. 1279.

25. Margrit Eichler, "Women as Personal Dependents," *Women in Canada*, by Marylee Stephenson, Ed., New Press, Toronto, 1973, p. 52.

The necessity of living by proxy is sometimes camouflaged by overactivity: artistic, cultural and social activities are added to the women's family responsibilities as educator, housekeeper, chauffeur, nurse and so on but without allowing her to develop.²⁶

A similar condition is described by Colette Carisse in commenting on the identity crisis that women will from now on have to confront:

Traditionally oriented toward the service of another, she is lacking in the preparation she needs to be creative or to express herself... To find herself, she needs time even if it interferes with that which is devoted to the service of others. The question of whether this is justified is raised by the woman herself, who is accustomed to finding self-fulfilment in the service of someone or something but never of herself.²⁷

The preceding pages have provided some insight into the persistent malaise surrounding the status of the housewife through the different points of view on the problem which are voiced in the contemporary women's movement. We have noted that the roots of the problem are interrelated and that they are more or less the result of economic factors. We must now take a closer look at the reality of the unpaid work done by the housewife.

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26. Catherine Texier and Odile Vézina, "Un portrait-robot de la femme de banlieue," Châtelaine, April 1978, pp. 89-90.
27. Colette Carisse and Joffre Dumazedier, Les femmes innovatrices, Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1975, p. 53.

III - "WHAT DO THEY DO ALL DAY LONG?"

To those who might apply this question to the housewife, the criticism of the Quebec monologist Yvon Deschamps provides a remarkably appropriate reply, "Ma mère ne travaille pas, elle a trop d'ouvrage" (My mother has not got a job; she has too much work). This quip illustrates how our vocabulary reflects our rather bizarre concepts of the human activity called "work." Working has become synonymous with exercising a paid occupation outside the home. Belonging to the labour force, according to the definition of Statistics Canada, means to be employed or to be seeking employment.

If we are to avoid viewing these expressions as an explicit attempt to exclude the activity of housewives from productive effort, we must examine the nature of housework as well as the amount of time that it requires.

1. Definition of housework

In order to avoid any ambiguity concerning the meaning of "housework" in this study, we must define this term.

The main time-budget studies on housework usually include both the activities relating to the physical and educational care of children and those involving housework proper.

Walker and her colleagues at Cornell University (Ithaca, N.Y.), whose research has contributed to

methodological development in this field, have defined housework as the sum of all useful activities performed in the home with a view to providing the goods and services which enable the family to function as a family. The categories of activities used in her study were the following:

- (a) food preparation: regular meals, special meals, freezing and other such activities, after-meal cleanup;
- (b) care of family members: children, persons who are ill, handicapped or elderly;
- (c) regular and seasonal maintenance of the house, yard and car;
- (d) care of clothing: washing, ironing, cleaning, sewing and mending;
- (e) shopping, household management and maintenance of accounts.²⁸

The major Canadian studies on housework were undertaken by Statistics Canada and carried out by Oli Hawrylyshyn of Queen's University (Kingston, Ontario) and Hans Adler of Statistics Canada. These researchers explored the different theoretical, methodological and empirical aspects of the evaluation of production activities outside the market, the largest segment of which is housework.

Their definition of housework, which distinguishes between economic and non-economic activities, is based on the "third-person criterion." According to this criterion, the economic activity of a person is that which could be done by a third person (usually hired at the prevailing rate) without reducing the utility that the

28. Kathryn E. Walker and Margaret E. Woods, Time Use: A Measure of Household Production of Family Goods and Services, Centre for the Family of the American Home Economics Association, Washington, D.C., 1976, p. 283.

individual derives from it. For example, the satisfaction that a person gets from a clean floor is not lessened by the fact that the work was done by another person; the same cannot be said, however, of attending a symphony concert, as an individual can derive pleasure or utility from it only by going to hear it in person.²⁹

Housework to which a dollar value may be attached includes an activity which may be performed by another person hired and paid for this purpose without reducing the utility value for the family. This definition makes it possible to include the production of services which may have commercial substitutes such as the washing of floors and dishes but not the expression of affection and transmission of values to children nor leisure activities such as attending a symphony concert or a hockey game.³⁰

Family activities included in the Statistics Canada studies are the same as those in Walker's works although their classification is somewhat different. We will return later to the difficulties of identifying these activities.

2. A few time and space comparisons

The data on time use in the home which are available today are based on the patient research of several generations of scholars, who had to confront numerous methodological problems.

29. Hans J. Adler and Oli Hawrylyshyn, Estimates of the Value of Household Work, Canada, 1961 and 1971, 1977, p. 5.

30. O. Hawrylyshyn, Estimating the Value of Household Work, Canada, 1971, document prepared for Statistics Canada, 1977, pp. 9-14.

The Cornell team, of which Walker is internationally the best-known representative, developed a method for measuring the work contributed by the different family members based on the amount of time necessary to do this work.

Recent research done by Walker and her colleagues in New York State demonstrates the principal factors that cause the amount of time devoted to housework to vary. They are, in order of importance, the number of children in the family, the age of the youngest child and the mother's work status outside the home.³¹

Walker is currently continuing her research with a view to perfecting the methodology so that a data bank on time use within the home can soon be established. The ultimate objective of this research is to test different methods for assigning dollar values to productive household activities.

Walker's studies on the time used for housework indicates that American housewives who do not have outside employment spend eight hours a day on the average in performing domestic tasks. The time varies with the number of children; thus, the woman without any children spends 5.7 hours on the average whereas the woman who has seven or more children spends 9.4 hours performing these tasks.

Women who work outside the home spend between 3.7 and 5.3 hours depending on the number of children they have. The activity which requires the most time

31. Walker and Woods, op. cit., pp. 259-260.

is unquestionably the preparation of meals: women who are not employed devote 2.0 to 2.6 hours to this activity, or an average of 2.3 hours, whereas women who work outside the home spend only 1.3 to 1.9 hours, or an average of 1.7. (For further details, see Appendix 1, Table 1).

Studies on the time spent on housework have also been conducted in Europe for a number of years, particularly in Sweden in 1946 and 1964 and in Europe in 1958. The most important research on the use of time, however, is still a multinational study, sponsored by UNESCO, which was carried out in 1964 by Szalai. This study reveals that the introduction of electric appliances into the home does not appreciably reduce the number of hours spent on housework. For example, in the city of Olamouc in Czechoslovakia where running water is still not available, the women spent only 0.2 hours more than the women of Jackson, Michigan. Szalai explains, and other researchers in the field agree with him, that if technology has not succeeded in decreasing the amount of time used for housework, it is probably because the requirements with respect to the quality and quantity of household services have increased as this technology has developed and as the standards of living have increased.³²

The same tendency has been observed in the United States by Walker who compared the time used by housewives with and without outside employment at different periods. Walker reports that the average

32. Alexander Szalai, "Women's Time," *Futures*, October 1975, Vol. 7, No. 5, p. 392. (For detailed information on time-budgets, see Appendix 1, Table 2).

number of hours devoted to housework by housewives without any other employment increased from 6.1 hours in 1926-27 to 6.2 hours in 1967-68. Women who combined housework with outside employment spent 3.8 hours in performing these household tasks in 1952 and 4.5 hours in 1967-68.³³

On the basis of several time-budget studies conducted in various countries at different periods, Szalai also concludes that the division of housework is still traditional. In other words, it is still the wife who performs most of the main household duties while the husband occasionally lends her a hand with the cleaning or the shopping.³⁴

The analysis of time-budgets led Szalai to interpret the use of free time by family members - either real use or planned use if more free time was available. He maintains that housewives tend to select leisure activities that are centred around family or home, such as parties for relatives or friends, embroidery, knitting and needlework. He deplores the fact that women who work outside have too little time at their disposal to participate in public life and to continue their professional training. This situation has serious implications for the social advancement and careers of women.

33. Kathryn E. Walker, "Homemaking Still Takes Time," Journal of Home Economics, Vol. 61, No. 8, October 1969.

34. Szalai, op. cit., pp. 394-395.

3. And Canadian Women?

(a) Popular evaluation

Do Canadian women feel that they are favoured more than their sisters in other parts of the world with respect to the amount of housework they do? We probably do not need unwieldy scientific methods to determine that many Canadian women work long hours at home and that many put in these hours before and after their workday outside the home. It is only necessary for us to open our eyes - or to close them perhaps - in order to visualize a mother, a sister or a neighbour and realize how women here use their time. Below is the way one woman, selected from among many, describes her day:

Do you want to know how I spend my day? Well, my day as a "domestic engineer" usually starts when I am awakened about 6:50 a.m. by the alarm clock or sometimes a little earlier by the babbling and laughter of Louise, our ten-month-old daughter. After changing Louise's diaper and dressing her, I prepare her breakfast and Guy's lunch while he gets ready to go to work and has his breakfast. After Guy leaves, I sit down and eat my breakfast while Louise finishes hers.

Then I do the dishes and the usual domestic tasks, namely, making the beds, vacuuming, doing the washing and ironing and so forth. Accomplishing these tasks is really a feat of strength since I must divide my attention between my work and my daughter. Then comes the preparation of Louise's lunch, which is usually interrupted by a much-appreciated telephone call from Guy who wants to know how "his ladies" are doing. After lunch, Louise takes a nap for about an hour and a half. I take this time out for myself, using it to read quietly, watch a television program, wash my hair or simply relax.

When Louise wakes up, we go for a walk outside if the weather is nice. Otherwise, we take the car to go shopping. When we return, I must start preparing dinner in anticipation of Guy's return. For Louise, the arrival of her father is an exciting moment... After dinner, we play with Louise and then, it is time for her bath. After Louise has been rocked until she is sleepy, it is finally time to put her to bed and especially to enjoy the silence!!! Then we wash the dishes and sit down to spend a quiet evening.

I am not bored doing these tasks because I like to look after my daughter very much. There are times, however, when I find it less pleasant. Like yesterday for example, when I went to see the doctor and I had to fill out a form. Occupation: I did not want to write in "housewife" but what could I put down? Then, on returning to the house, I felt that I was late in preparing dinner. I asked Guy, "How could I ever manage if I worked outside?" He replied, "Do you know what you want? The other day, you said that you wanted to go back to work." Deep inside, I am afraid of becoming a boring, bored housewife. I lack intellectual stimulation. The fact that I do not receive a cheque every two weeks makes me feel that I am doing nothing.³⁵

(b) Systematic measures

With reference to Canada, the study done by Adler and Hawrylyshyn at the request of Statistics Canada (to which we referred above) contains the most relevant and the most complete data on housework. Because of the importance of their work and its

35. Michèle, age twenty-five, university graduate and former teacher.

national scope, we will quote it frequently in the rest of this chapter as well as in Chapter III. The expression "Statistics Canada study" will be used to refer to this work.

i) A few methodological notes

The dollar valuation of housework is based on data relating to the use of time by family members as studies conducted in several other countries revealed that this was the proper starting point for such an undertaking.³⁶

From these studies, Hawrylyshyn formulated a number of postulates on which he based his research. Some of them are as follows:

1. Housework must be clearly defined.
2. The number of hours spent on household work appears to be a fundamental indicator of household work.
3. In defining a methodology, it is important to take three variables into account: number of children, age of the youngest child and labour force participation (or non-participation) of the mother.
4. Contributions to housework by husbands are substantial and should not be ignored.³⁷

The data on families, their size and composition, are taken from the 1961 and 1971 censuses of Canada. For

36. For a general overview of these different studies, see Oli Hawrylyshyn, "The Value of Household Services: A Survey of Empirical Estimates," The Review of Income and Wealth, Series 22, Vol. 2, June 1976.

37. Oli Hawrylyshyn, Estimating the Value of Household Work, Canada 1971, p. 6.

the Statistics Canada study, the definition of "labour force" has been changed slightly in order to determine (a) which women were in the labour force and (b) which women were at home. The first category includes women who worked outside the home for twenty or more hours per week. The second includes women who worked less than twenty hours per week and women who did not have any regular paid employment or who were unemployed.³⁸

The data on time use in two-parent families come from two surveys, one conducted in Toronto³⁹ and the other in Halifax.⁴⁰

With respect to other family categories, estimates were made, based either on a study of single-parent families headed by women which was conducted at Cornell University⁴¹ or on available data relating to families in a comparable situation.

38. Adler and Hawrylyshyn, op. cit., p. 14.

39. W. Michelson and P. Reed, "The Time Budget," W. Michelson, ed., Social Research Methods in Environmental Design, Dowden, Hutchinson and Ross, 1974.

40. D.H. Elliot, A.S. Harvey and D. Procos, An Overview of the Halifax Time-Budget Study, report prepared for the second annual symposium of the study group on time-budgets and social activities, Berlin, published by the Regional and Urban Studies Centre Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S.

41. Bonnie K. Lyerly, Time-Use for Work in Female Headed Single Parent Families, Master's thesis, Cornell University, 1969. (Quoted by Adler and Hawrylyshyn, op. cit., p. 15).

Table 1 provides us with some information relating to the participation of mothers in the labour force. It reveals that the rate of mothers' participation in the labour force increases appreciably with time and the increase is more marked among mothers with preschool children than among mothers with older children.

Table 1 Labour force participation rates of mothers in two-parent families, by age and number of children at home

Number of children at home by age of the youngest child	1961	1971
	% of total	% of total
No children at home	15.1	34.4
Youngest child 6 years old or less		
1 child	12.8	25.9
2-3 children	7.5	16.1
4 children or more	4.7	10.5
Youngest child 7 to 12 years old		
1 child	24.8	35.3
2-3 children	14.6	22.0
4 children or more	6.9	11.0
Youngest child 13 to 18 years old		
1 child	19.5	20.4
2-3 children	11.7	12.3
4 children or more	4.2	4.7

Source: Table 8, Adler and Hawrylyshyn, op. cit., p. 36.

Slightly more recent information seems to confirm this tendency. It indicates that, in Canada, the average rate of participation of mothers was thirty-five per cent in October 1973. The lowest rate of participation in all regions of Canada at the same period was among women who had both school-age and preschool children.⁴²

Despite the increase in the rate of participation of married women in the labour force, an increase which has become more marked during the last decade, a large number of women are not in the labour force. According to the estimates published by Statistics Canada for 1977, there were approximately 4,745,000 women fifteen years of age and over in Canada who were not included in the labour force. If the 380,000 women who were unemployed during the same period are added to this number, it is certainly not exaggerating to say that there are five million women who currently cannot count on receiving monetary remuneration in exchange for their work.⁴³

42. M. Boyd, M. Eichler and J.R. Hofley, "Family: Functions, Formation, and Fertility" in Opportunity for Choice: A Goal for Women in Canada, Gail C. Cook, Ed., Statistics Canada and the C.D. Howe Research Institute, 1976, p. 32.

43. Statistics Canada, Historical labour force statistics - actual data, seasonal factors, seasonally adjusted data, January 1978, (catalogue 71-201 Annual) - p. 23 and p. 57.

ii) Work hours of housewives

To evaluate the time spent in Canadian homes to perform domestic tasks, Hawrylyshyn classified the families according to the number and age of the children, family status and the woman's market status, as suggested by previous studies.⁴⁴ These family characteristics are the factors which have the greatest influence on the amount of time spent doing housework. Since this study is based on housewives, we will pay particular attention to evaluating their share of the housework. Nevertheless, we must not minimize the part performed by other family members, which represents about thirty-six per cent of the total.⁴⁵

Table 2 allows us to compare women's hours of work according to the characteristics of the family. It indicates the number of hours that women having two jobs - one in the home and the other outside the home - spend in performing domestic tasks. Time-budget studies, particularly those by Walker, have revealed that the husband does not increase his contribution to household work appreciably when the wife works outside the home.⁴⁶

We note that the mothers who have the largest number of young children and who remain in the home spend the greatest number of hours doing housework. It is difficult to state, however, that it is these women who have the longest work week because the women included in the category of women having a job work at least twenty hours per week.⁴⁷

44. Hawrylyshyn, Estimating the Value of Household Work, Canada, 1971, p. 18.

45. Hawrylyshyn, "The Value of Household Services," p. 116.

46. Kathryn E. Walker, "Time Spent by Husbands in Household Work," Family Economics Review ARS, June 1970, pp. 8-11.

47. Adler and Hawrylyshyn, op. cit., p. 14.

Table 2 Number of hours of housework done by the mother, by family status, number of children at home and the age of the youngest child, 1972

Number of children at home, by the age of the youngest child	Two-parent family		Single-parent family headed by a woman	
	Unemployed mother	Employed mother	Unemployed mother	Employed mother
No children at home	35	19	19	19
Youngest child 6 years old or less				
1 child	52	32	19	19
2-3 children	57	35	49	31
4 children or more	61	37	53	27
Youngest child 7 to 12 years old				
1 child	45	28	37	24
2-3 children	49	28	41	24
4 children	61	31	51	27
Youngest child 13 to 18 years old				
1 child	41	27	32	21
2-3 children	55	28	32	21
4 children	28	28	20	22

Source: Appendix 1, Table 1, Adler and Hawrylyshyn, op. cit., p. 41.

This means that there are a number of women who add a minimum of twenty-one hours of housework to their thirty-five to forty hours of outside work. This puts them in a situation almost equal to that of the women who are at home full-time with several young children.

Using these studies, we can answer those who ask whether, with the advent of technological changes which make the mechanization of household tasks possible, there is still enough work to keep a housewife busy. The data gathered provide a useful fund of information for mothers who are thinking of getting an outside job. From an economic and social point of view, these studies are an indispensable prerequisite to imputing a value to the contribution that housewives make to the general well-being of the population.

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. Should we be surprised therefore that, in the face of an unending chain of household activities without the economic compensation usually associated with work, many housewives experience feelings of insecurity and frustration?

IV - THE PRICING OF THEIR LABOUR

1. Problems concerning adequate measurements

The need to attribute economic worth to household work is neither the exclusive concern of the women's movement nor a new subject of interest.

As early as the end of the nineteenth century, classical economists explored the possibility of defining an aggregate measurement of a country's economic activity and its rate of growth. What must one include in the national accounts in order to give as accurate an estimate as possible of a country's well-being? Does the gross national product as presently defined enable one to make valid comparisons between standards of living at the international level? Is one justified in excluding from the gross national product non-market production, of which household work constitutes the greater part? These are some of the questions that the economists of yesteryear, like those of today, have tried to answer.

Some very incisive opinions have been voiced about the value of non-market economic activities. In 1898, Marshall stated that "A woman who makes her own clothes, or a man who digs his own garden or repairs his own house, is earning income just as would the dressmaker, gardener, or carpenter who might be hired to do the work."⁴⁸ A few years later, Irving Fisher maintained that income is derived from the flow of benefits provided by goods and services" ... whether these benefits happen to be in the form of money payments or not (when) a wife does housework,

48. Alfred Marshall, Principles of Economics, 1898, p. 149.

her work is an item of the family's income...."⁴⁹

2. Some measuring techniques

Despite these statements of principle, the economists of the succeeding generations continued to maintain apologetically that housework could not be included in national accounts, their reason being that domestic activities were too difficult to measure.⁵⁰ This difficulty provides governments that are confronted with the wages-for-housework question with a convenient excuse, as is proven by a statement made by one federal minister to the effect that the wages-for-housework concept is romantic and thought-provoking but that it is impossible to apply an accounting system to housework.⁵¹

Nevertheless, several attempts have been made to impute a monetary value to housework. Despite the sincere efforts made by researchers concerned with this question, it remains difficult to estimate the exact value of this work. According to some researchers, none of the methods used to date has been found to be completely satisfactory.⁵² Hawrylyshyn analysed in detail these methods and the studies undertaken on this subject since 1919.⁵³ In his analysis, he pointed out the methodological and practical problems associated with each method. We shall simply enumerate the main methods and give a brief description of each one.

49. Irving Fisher, Elementary Principles of Economics, 1911, p. 60.

50. Kathryn E. Walker, Valuing of Non-Market Household Production, unpublished document prepared for a round table conference on the economy and sociology of the family, held in Royaumont, France in January 1977.

51. Cited in Agenda 1978, Notes sur l'histoire des femmes au Québec, Éditions du Remue-Ménage.

52. O. Hawrylyshyn, The Value of Household Services, pp. 112-115.

53. Idem., pp. 101-131.

The first method is based on the potential salary of the individual who carries out the housework. This method assumes that the value of housework is equal to the salary that the individual who carries out the work could earn were she in the labour market.

The second method uses the cost of employing one domestic to carry out all the housework.

The third method is based on the replacement cost of each separate function of housework. The time family members spend in carrying out each of these functions, such as meal preparation, laundry, child-care, shopping and so on is assessed on the basis of the market wage paid for each of these functions. This method was used in the well-known works of Sirageldin⁵⁴ and of Walker and Gauger.⁵⁵ After comparing the results obtained with each of these three methods, Adler and Hawrylyshyn express a certain preference for the third, which appears to them to have a sounder theoretical basis.⁵⁶

One of the difficulties that this method presents is that of identifying the functions and their market equivalents in order to assign them a monetary value. For example, when a mother prepares a roast while she keeps an eye on the baby playing in the corner and goes over a spelling lesson with one of her school-age children, is her function that of a cook, a baby-sitter or a teacher?

54. I.A.H. Sirageldin, Non-Market Components of National Income, Survey Research Centre, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1973.

55. K.E. Walker and W.G. Gauger, "Time and Its Dollar Value in Household Work," Family Economics Review, Fall 1973, pp. 8-13.

56. Adler and Hawrylyshyn, op. cit., p. 28.

Walker recognized this difficulty and tried to resolve it by making a distinction between primary and secondary activities. In calculating working time, she chose to include only primary activities, that is, those which require most, if not all, of the worker's attention. Secondary activities, or those which require the worker's attention to a lesser degree, were not included.⁵⁷

The problem of determining what wages to attribute to the function performed is equally difficult. Does meal preparation require the wages of a chef or of a short-order cook?

After giving these problems serious consideration, the authors of the Statistics Canada study tried numerous procedures to reduce the possible sources of error and arrive at as accurate an estimate as possible. These procedures are too technical to describe here; we shall simply mention, with reference to wages, that the hourly rate applied to each function was the average wage paid in equivalent occupations, according to the official statistics for the period studied; for each function, an attempt was made to include at least two or three occupations requiring degrees of skills that ranged from very high to very low.⁵⁸

3. The total bill

a) Value of housework in relation to the GNP

The methods mentioned above have been used mainly to

57. Walker and Woods, op. cit., p. 281.

58. Adler and Hawrylyshyn, op. cit., p. 25.

obtain a global assessment of household work for inclusion in the national accounts. Hawrylyshyn summarized the major studies that used one or another of these methods; these were studies conducted mainly in Europe and the United States. In order to facilitate comparison, he expressed their results as percentages of gross national product.⁵⁹

Table 3, which presents a summary of these comparisons, shows the relative value observed in each study and the average value for each method used. If the value calculated by the opportunity cost method is excluded, the average value is seen as approximately one third of the gross national product. The studies used in these comparisons cover the period from 1919 to 1973.

59. Walker and Woods, op. cit., p. 281.

Table 3 Value of household work as a percentage of GNP,
by method of assessment

<u>Opportunity Cost</u>		<u>Housekeeper Cost</u>	<u>Individual Function Cost</u>
Gross of Tax	Net of Tax	Gross of Tax	Gross of Tax
%	%	%	%
40	32	32	-
42	34	35	-
45	36	36	28
49	39	37	31
Average 44	35	35	29.5

Source: Hawrylyshyn, "The Value of Household Work," Table 2, p. 114.

The results of the Statistics Canada study are quite similar to, though slightly higher than, the American average. The value of household work for Canadian families as a whole represents between 35 and 40 per cent of the gross national product. According to the authors of that assessment, it is conceivable that the Canadian data are relatively higher than the American ones; since the rate of female participation in the labour force is lower in Canada than in the United States, a greater proportion of Canadian women have more time to allot to housework than their American sisters.

Non-academic studies such as those conducted by the Chase-Manhattan Bank⁶⁰ and the Ottawa Journal⁶¹ were excluded from the summary because there was too great a margin between their results and those of the more systematic studies. Hawrylyshyn explains that these differences arise in part from the very high number of working hours included in the assessment; it appears that many hours that were spent with children, during which no functions were actually performed, were included in the calculations. Another major source of deviation lies in the generally high wages allocated to functions and the particularly high wages allocated to specialized functions, for example, six dollars per hour to perform a dietitian's function. According to these studies, the value of household work amounts to between 62 and 71 per cent of the gross national product. Such figures naturally raise questions among economists who have studied these problems. Several popular magazines have published articles on the value of the housewife, and these studies served as the basis for the articles. While some women have felt flattered to know that their work could have an annual value of \$13,364 (in terms of 1970 wages), others are not eager to support those who claim they can evaluate a housewife in monetary terms.

We should perhaps point out here that the present study is not concerned with evaluating the individual who carries out the housework but is aimed at finding ways to impute a value to this work by assigning to it a dollar value. The same holds true for the studies summarized here.

60. Chase-Manhattan Bank, "What is a Wife Worth?" New York, 1965.

61. The Ottawa Journal, "The Value of a Housewife," January 25, 1966, p. 7.

b) Total dollar value

With further reference to the Statistics Canada study, the value of household work for Canadian families as a whole was between \$32 billion and \$38 billion in 1971. Distributed among the 6.5 million households in Canada, including single-person households, this gives an average value of \$6,000 per family per year.⁶²

Table 4 shows what the differences were according to the period and the method of calculation used.⁶³

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62. O. Hawrylyshyn, Estimating the Value of Household Work, Canada, 1971, p. 74.
63. The housekeeper cost method was omitted from these comparisons because of the absence of data on the wages of domestics for the year 1961.

Table 4 Value of household work (HW)
Canada 1961 and 1971

	1961		1971	
	\$Million	%	\$Million	%
GNP	39,646	(100.0)	94,115	(100.0)
HW-HFC METHOD (Individual Function Cost)				
Females	10,537	(26.6)	26,102	(27.7)
Males	5,124	(12.9)	12,656	(13.5)
	15,661	(39.5)	38,758	(41.1)
HW-HOC METHOD (Opportunity Cost)				
Females	11,551	(29.1)	25,644	(27.2)
Males	5,759	(14.5)	11,989	(12.8)
	17,310	(43.6)	37,633	(40.0)

Source: Adler and Hawrylyshyn, Estimates of the Value of Household Work, p. 20.

If the salaries paid to women were to become equal to those paid to men, the value of household work could rise to as high as 53 per cent of the GNP provided all other factors remain approximately the same. However, male and female wage equality would lead to a considerable rise in female participation in the labour force and thus to an increase in the GNP and a decrease in the number of hours of household work. After calculating the effects of such changes, Hawrylyshyn concluded that on the whole,

these changes would neutralize each other and the HW/GNP ratio would remain unchanged.⁶⁴

The data examined in the preceding paragraphs are aggregate and show that household work carried out by women amounts to more than one-third of the national product. This is a substantial contribution, and it is to be hoped that we are finally approaching the day when we will no longer merely state this fact but will find the means to recognize it in a tangible way.

c) Approximate dollar value per household
(an example)

Still using as our frame of reference the data contained in the Statistics Canada study, we would like to point out that it is possible for every woman to calculate the approximate value of her household work. Let us take as a hypothetical example a Montreal woman whose husband is present in the household and who has two children, the younger of whom is eight years old; this woman stays at home full-time.

It is important to point out that the persons who made these calculations took into account that the wages paid to women differ from those paid to men for the same functions. Table 5 shows the differences that existed in 1971 with respect to the wages paid for jobs equivalent to domestic functions.

64. O. Hawrylyshyn, Estimating the Value of Household Work, pp. 48-52.

Table 5 Hourly wage rates for specified categories of housework, by sex, 1971

Household Work Category	Male	Female
Food preparation	\$3.43	\$2.47
Cleaning	2.86	1.78
Clothing care	2.98	1.83
Repairs & maintenance	3.52	2.48
Marketing & household management	4.56	3.16
Physical child care	2.77	1.91
Tutorial child care	4.66	4.09
Other child care	3.56	2.95

Source: Appendix Table 5 in Adler and Hawrylyshyn, op. cit., p. 45.

On an hourly basis, the wages paid to women for these functions equalled approximately 70 per cent of the wages paid to men. It is often stated that female wages amount to 60 per cent of male wages. The difference observed here (70-60) is explained firstly by the fact that the highly-paid occupations generally held by men are not represented in the categories of housework; further, this relationship is based on wages as a whole, including those of part-time workers, the majority of whom are women.

Table 3 (page 40) shows that mothers of this category of families do an average of 49 hours of household work per week. Those hours are divided among the various functions in the manner described in Table 6.

Table 6 Weekly distribution of household work time, by function

Function	Percentage of Total	Time Hours
Food preparation	37.0	18.13
Cleaning	17.5	8.58
Clothing care	12.5	6.13
Repairs and maintenance	4.7	2.30
Marketing & household management	14.2	6.96
Physical child care	8.9	4.36
Tutorial child care	3.2	1.57
Other child care	2.0	0.98
Total	100.0	49.00

Source: Table 11 in O. Hawrylyshyn, Estimating the Value of Household Work, 1977, p. 50.

If we index the wages suggested by the Statistics Canada study, we can perform the calculations using the following scale:

Table 7 Estimates of hourly wages for each household function

	1971 Wage	1977 Wage*
Food preparation	\$2.47	\$3.97
Cleaning	1.78	2.86
Clothing care	1.83	2.94
Repairs & maintenance	2.48	3.98
Marketing & household management	3.16	5.08
Physical child care	1.91	3.07
Tutorial child care	4.09	6.57
Other child care	2.95	4.74

*The hourly rates were indexed by using the Consumer Price Index for the year 1977. In order to perform more accurate calculations, it would probably have been preferable to use a different index for each function. However, since these functions are complex and have, strictly speaking, no exact equivalent on the labour market, such indices are not available. Following consultation, it appears that the procedure used is reasonable and that it gives acceptable estimates.

Table 8 proposes a method of calculating the dollar value of housework.

Table 8 Approximate value of the housework of the mother of a family of two children, the younger of whom is between 7 and 12 years of age

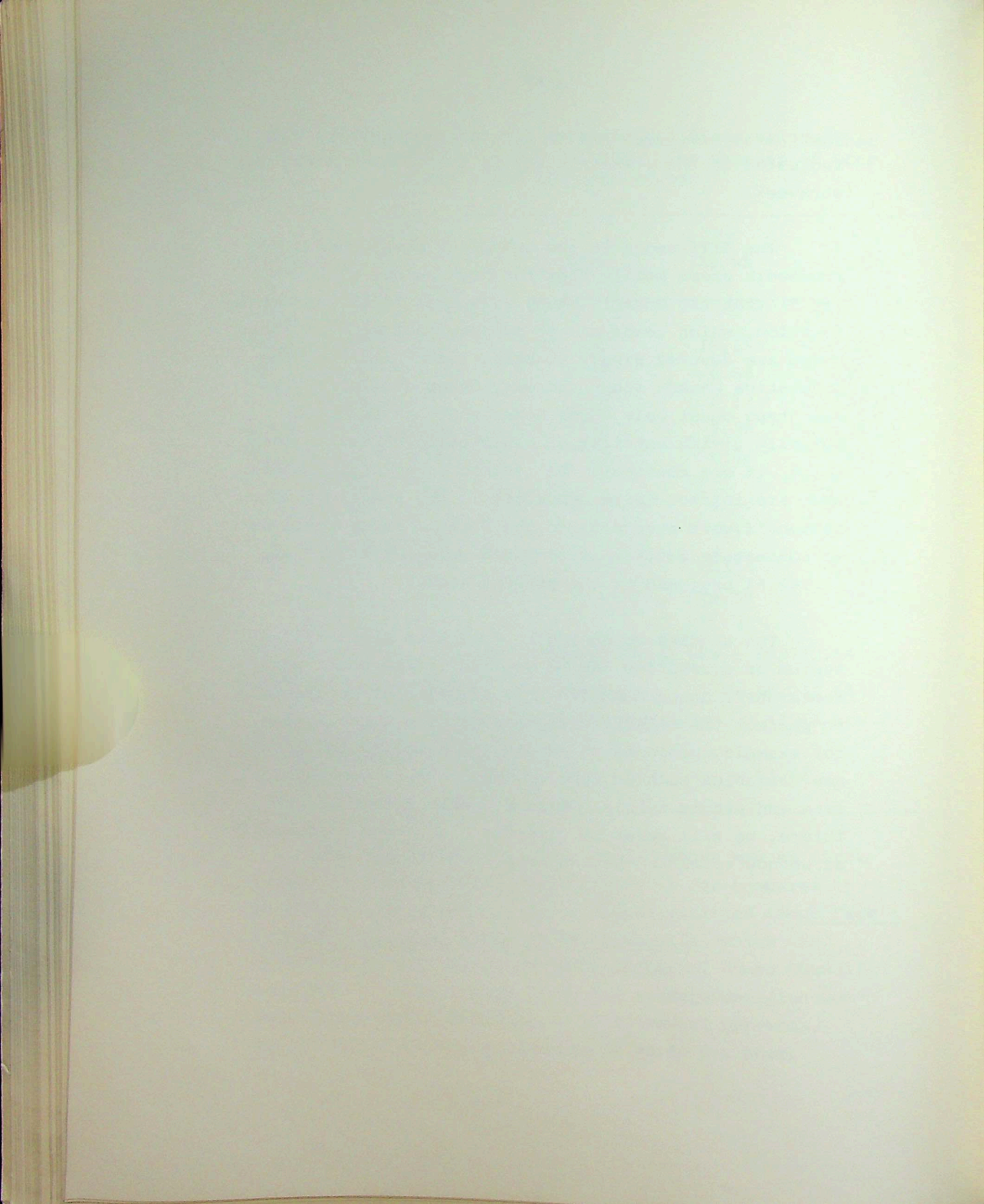
Functions	\$/hr	hr/wk	\$/wk
Food preparation	3.97	18.13	71.97
Cleaning	2.86	8.58	24.53
Clothing care	2.94	6.12	17.99
Repairs & maintenance	3.98	2.30	9.15
Marketing & household management	5.08	6.96	35.35
Physical child care	3.07	4.36	13.38
Tutorial child care	6.57	1.57	10.31
Other child care	4.74	<u>0.98</u>	<u>4.64</u>
Total		49.00	187.32
Annual value	\$187.32 x 52 wks = \$9,742.64		
Average hourly value	$\frac{\$9,742.64}{49 \text{ hrs} \times 52 \text{ wks}} = \frac{\$9,742.64}{2548 \text{ hrs}}$		
	= \$3.82		

The average hourly value of housework may at first glance seem quite high, particularly if one compares it to the figures quoted in the brochure entitled About Face - towards a positive image of the housewife, which was published in 1977 by the Ontario Status of Women Council. According to that publication, the average Canadian woman does approximately 99.6 hours of housework per week, valued at \$204.25 or an average of \$2.05 per hour.

There is ample compensation for the high hourly rate suggested in the present study in the form of a shorter workweek.

The difference in the number of weekly hours of housework stems mainly from the high number of hours (44.5) that the Ontario study allocates to the nursemaid function, which leads one to suppose that many of these hours are devoted simply to being with children. The Statistics Canada study and many other studies of the same type count only those hours that are spent in actually giving physical or other child care. On the whole, if one considers the results on an annual basis, they are in fact quite comparable: the annual value of household work according to the Ontario study would be approximately \$10,621 as compared with the figure of \$9,742.64 proposed in the present study.

The studies conducted to date have shown that a system of accounting can be applied to household work. Researchers concerned with this question are continuing to perfect the measuring techniques; the Cornell team, for example, proposes to expand its sampling to include new variables such as type of family unit, geographical area and ethnic origin. Walker predicts that in the future, we will refer to time-use accounting as commonly as we now refer to the Consumer Price Index.



V - SOME OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Having demonstrated that the housewife's activity constitutes real work and that this work has an economic value which can be determined, we must examine some of the options open to society in order to give proper recognition to the contribution made by housewives to the well-being of the population.

1. The inclusion of housework in the gross national product

Recent criticism of the use of the gross national product (GNP) as a measure of the "quality of life" have led economists to re-examine the problem of including household activities in the national accounts. Hawrylyshyn has weighed the economic and social reasons for imputing housework to the GNP. Among these reasons, he points out that such an imputation "should be included in GNP as a measure of welfare because very substantial services are provided by this non-market activity."⁶⁷ He states that, besides the economic reasons, there is a very important social reason for deriving a good estimate of the absolute value of these household services:

This measure would be a solid piece of quantitative evidence of the role of females in the production activities of our economy, a role which has, of course, been understated in the past as a result of the "market-criterion" principle underlying GNP. It is not too far-fetched, in the opinion of this writer, that formalization of such estimates in the National Accounts might contribute in some measure even to juridical recognition of the woman's contribution - and hence rights - to the economic value of a family estate.⁶⁸

67. O. Hawrylyshyn, A Review of Recent Proposals for Modifying and Extending the Measure of GNP, Statistics Canada, Occasional Document, Catalogue no. 13-558, Ottawa 1974, p. 32.

68. O. Hawrylyshyn, op. cit., p. 33.

Gauger of Cornell University noted several disadvantages of excluding the economic value of housework from the GNP. He points out two important effects, among others, relating to the general measure of economic well-being: (1) comparison of the standards of living between different countries is of rather doubtful value because of the differences which exist in the home and as a result, in the number of goods and services produced there; (2) the increase in the GNP owing to the transfer of tasks previously performed in the home to the labour market represents an artificial increase in well-being.

From the point of view of women themselves, Gauger insists that such an omission devalues the work of the people who are burdened with the largest share of housework, namely, the work performed by a large part of the female population. He also deplors the fact that the lack of recognition of housework penalizes women who work outside the home because it conceals the fact that these women have two occupations, considering the unequal division of household duties within the home.⁶⁹

In an extensive study undertaken jointly by Statistics Canada and the C.D. Howe Research Institute with a view to improving the understanding of woman's role in the Canadian economy, Gail Cook and Mary Eberts discussed the disadvantages of excluding from the GNP the numerous services performed in the home mainly by

69. W.H. Gauger, The Potential Contribution to the GNP of Valuing Household Work, paper prepared for Family Economics - Home Management Section of the American Home Economics Association meeting in Atlantic City, N.J., June 26, 1973, p. 19.

women.⁷⁰ In order to emphasize the importance of improving the methods of measuring economic activity so as to provide a better basis of analysis, they feel that the GNP must be revised, taking into account the symbolic value which would be associated with the inclusion of the woman's economic contribution. They consider this step as "the prerequisite or important determinant in recognizing women's household contributions for the purpose, for example, of matrimonial property settlements."⁷¹

Cook and Eberts warn us, however, about the limitations of GNP as a means of measuring certain conditions and social values. "Inclusion of housewives' services in GNP may thus draw from some observers the charge that it represents the wife and mother's value as only that of cook, cleaner and baby-sitter."⁷²

Even if most analysts interested in this problem agree that there is justification for including housework in the GNP, they make it clear that the direct effects of such an inclusion are mainly symbolic and that other means of providing more tangible recognition of these contributions should be studied.

70. Gail C.A. Cook and Mary Eberts, "Policies Affecting Work" in Opportunity for Choice: A Goal for Women in Canada, Statistics Canada in co-operation with the C.D. Howe Research Institute, pp. 146-148.

71. Ibid., p. 147.

72. Ibid., p. 148.

2. A salary for housework

At the present time, the question of a salary for housework is the subject of debate in several countries. The claims of groups which promote programs to provide a salary for housework revolve around two main arguments: (1) the economic dependence and insecurity of women because they are not paid for doing housework and the absence of a labour market providing satisfying, well-paid jobs for women and (2) the responsibility of society to maintain the current labour force (working adults) and to ensure its renewal in the future (children).

Various proposals developed to promote the implementation of such programs will be examined and the pros and cons associated with each option will be pointed out.

- a) A salary paid by the government to all housewives regardless of their personal or family income

This option is chiefly supported by activists in the international Wages for Housework movement who see it as a way of eliminating the economic dependence and insecurity among housewives; these women also view the proposal of a salary for housework as a means by which the society could acknowledge the social contribution made by housewives through their work in the home in order to maintain the current labour force and to insure its renewal in the future.⁷³

73. Betsy Warrior and Lisa Leghorn, Houseworker's Handbook, Woman's Center, Cambridge, Mass., 1975.

Such a program would represent gigantic costs to the taxpayers, and it seems unthinkable that a government would be willing to support the implementation of this kind of program. In Australia, Elizabeth Windschuttle has stressed this major disadvantage; according to her estimations of such costs, a benefit of \$20 per week would cost \$1.2 billion per year, that is nearly half of her country's total welfare and social security budget in 1973.⁷⁴

Because of the high costs of a universal program, payments to the individual would necessarily be small, a characteristic that has limited potential towards upgrading housework. In this regard, Windschuttle expressed the opinion that a salary for mothers is not only useless for women but that in fact it is contrary to their interests and needs. In her view, such a payment would not be considered a decent salary or fair compensation for a necessary social function. She stated that it would tend instead to "strengthen even further the view that most women accept: their work, and thus their personal value, deserve a low rating."⁷⁵

Another objection often raised against a salary for housework is that it might prove an incentive for women to retire from the labour force. In this respect, the removal from outside employment is considered as a possibility for a woman to lose her professional skills and to jeopardize her chances for promotion.

74. Elizabeth Windschuttle, "Should the Government Pay a Mother's Wage?" Refractory Girl, no. 5.

75. Ibid.

Moreover, women who work outside their home and perform household tasks in the evening might rightly consider this kind of program as unfair to them. Why should they not have the same right to these payments since they perform the same family tasks, but on a different schedule?

b) A salary to all women in the home paid by employers

According to its advocates, this proposal is a means to give recognition to the homemakers' contribution to the business output. As Cook and Eberts have mentioned, the supporters of such a plan argue that the housework and child care performed by women are a prerequisite to most men's working the hours they do in the paid economy. They claim that employers are, as a consequence, purchasing the work of both the husband and the wife for the salary of the husband and should support financial recognition of the wife's contribution.⁷⁶

Other groups see this type of program as a potential source of job discrimination against workers who have families, because it would be less expensive to have employees who are single.

c) The compulsory sharing of family income

In this option, the employed spouse would be required by law to share his (or her) income with the spouse in the home. Cook and Eberts view this method as a way of eliminating the psychological dependence

76. Gail Cook, ed., p. 166.

among wives which is attributed to economic dependence, as well as a means of assisting those wives who feel guilty about spending their husband's income.⁷⁷

On the other hand, some would object to that proposal on the grounds that it is an undue government intervention in financial arrangements between members of a family. In the end, this policy would fail to change the situation of low wage earners who, in any case, spend all that they earn in order to survive (because zero divided by two equals zero).

d) A salary to mothers in the home

Various methods to apply this policy have been put forward, with variations depending on the ages of children in the home. Some supporters of this proposal would be in favor of granting a salary only to mothers with pre-school children. They claim that it would be a way to recognize the societal service done by mothers who stay at home to take care of their young children, and also to place a high value on the mother's role. This option is obviously less expensive than the proposal to give a salary to all housewives, regardless of presence of children in the home. The problem of being an incentive to retire from the labour force would be less important than in the first option because it would involve a smaller number of beneficiaries.

77. Idem.

However, a salary-for-mothers-at-home plan presumes that family child care - each mother giving full-time care to her child or children in her home - is necessarily more desirable than other forms of child care, an assumption that has to be demonstrated. In addition, some people consider this form of subsidy as an incentive to have children, while the trend, in lieu of a population policy, seems to go in the opposite direction in most industrialized countries.

- e) A salary to all mothers whether they are working inside or outside the home

According to Eichler, this solution would leave mothers free to decide whether or not to participate in the labour force.⁷⁸ Eichler's argument is based on the idea that the costs of raising children is society's responsibility. The mother who would receive the allowance would be able to use it to pay for her child care costs if she so desires.

In this plan, the payments would be paid to the mother rather than to the couple; one might question whether this would strengthen the stereotype in which the mother must take prime responsibility for the children.

A modified version of this proposal was suggested by Francine Lepage within a broad study on the economic condition of women in Quebec. Lepage's plan would take the form of a personalized cash transfer and would consequently replace existing measures such as the

78. Margrit Eichler, "The Unpaid Work of Homemakers," Speech presented at Carleton University, March 1978.

exemption of married persons, deduction of child care expenses and financial assistance for child care. Lepage describes the provisions of this measure as follows:

This transfer would therefore be allocated to each of the parents who devotes time or money to child care without regard to sex, place of work (home or the labour market), individual income or income of the couple. It would be paid only in cases involving young children (for example, preschool children) and would be equivalent approximately to the cost of having these children cared for by persons paid to do so (day care centre or babysitter in the home, for example).⁷⁹

The major difference between this proposal and that of Eichler is that the transfer is payable to one or the other parent regardless of sex; Eichler favours payment to the mother. Considered from the perspective of eliminating the sexual division between housework and outside work, the policy of paying one or the other parent seems more advantageous. It would be more likely to encourage greater participation by fathers in family responsibilities.

The greatest disadvantage of this plan is that a large share of the funds allocated to such a plan would likely be paid to people who have no need for them at the expense of more deprived groups. This is a disadvantage of any of the options that provide payments regardless of family or personal income.

79. Francine Lepage, in Etude sur la condition économique des femmes au Québec, Laboratoire sur la répartition et la sécurité du revenu et Conseil du status de la femme, UQUAM, 1978, (LABREV), vol. 2, p. 304.

Although sympathizing with the supporters of the idea of a salary for household work, the National Council of Women in the United Kingdom has stated a position against such a program:

...we do not seek wages for housework (we realise that there is no one to pay wages to the homemaker except the family itself) but recognition in practical terms of the value of the work to the community by granting social benefits to homemakers in their own right is not only possible but would correct a social injustice.... We have highlighted the economic value of homemaking but the social value is inestimable.⁸⁰

The study of the principal methods of paying a salary for housework clearly indicates that consensus does not exist on this matter. Opinions vary with respect to the merits of such a measure, the criteria for admission to the program and the means of financing it. It will be necessary to undertake subsequent studies with a view to accumulating more data on the subject.

3. Women's participation in the Canada Pension Plan

In order to situate the following discussion more clearly, it would probably be useful to recall the principle that led the Royal Commission on the Status of Women to state, "Housewives should be entitled to pensions in their own right under the Canada Pension Plan or the Quebec Pension Plan." The Commission emphasized the importance of the activities of housewives and mothers in the following words:

80. Betty Young, "What is the Homemaker Worth?" Women Speaking, January-March 1977, pp. 14-15.

The housewife who remains at home is just as much a producer of goods and services as the paid worker, and in our view she should also have the opportunity to provide for a more financially-secure future. Canada has given some of its workers an opportunity to do this through the Canada and the Quebec Pension Plans. To neglect to do the same for some three and one-half million other workers in the home is to ignore the essential nature of their work.⁸³

To this end, the Commission made the following recommendation:

We recommend that (a) both the Canada and the Quebec Pension Plans be amended so that the spouse who remains at home can participate in the Plan, and (b) the feasibility be explored of: (i) crediting to the spouse remaining at home a portion of the contributions of the employed spouse and those contributions made by the employer on the employed spouse's behalf, and (ii) on an optional basis, permitting the spouse at home to contribute as a self-employed worker.⁸⁴

Since the appearance of this report, the question of including housewives in the CPP or QPP has been discussed many times. We shall examine the major proposals which have been put forward regarding implementation of the Commission's recommendation.

- a) The proposal to credit the spouse at home with part of the contributions made by the gainfully-employed spouse

This proposal emphasizes the dependence of the housewife. A housewife would be entitled to such

83. Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1970, p. 38.

84. Ibid., p. 395.

protection by virtue of her status as the wife of a contributor and not as a person performing a productive activity. Such a measure does not intrinsically make any allowance for single people with dependents, either children or elderly parents whom they care for at home.

In his report entitled Women and Pensions for the Canadian Council on Social Development, Kevin Collins raises two objections to this proposal: (1) Does the government have the right to intervene in the financial arrangements between members of a family in this way? (2) Is it equitable that one member of the labour force is asked to share pension credits with a spouse when another is not?⁸⁵

b) The proposal for general splitting of pension credits

Under this option, the splitting of credits between husband and wife would be automatic and instantaneous: fifty per cent of any married person's (CPP) contributions would be attributed to his or her spouse. It would apply reciprocally when both spouses were in the labour force. This measure respects the principle of equality between the spouses, their interdependence and their equal responsibilities in the partnership of marriage. It takes the work of the spouse at home into account.

While this proposal would provide for married women, it avoids dealing with the situation of single people who remain at home to care for children or elderly or disabled parents and who cannot contribute to the plan in their own right.

85. Kevin Collins, Women and Pensions, Canadian Council on Social Development, Ottawa, 1978.

c) The proposal to permit the spouse at home to contribute as a self-employed worker

This is a voluntary system through which the spouse at home would earn pension benefits in his or her own right with contributions being based on an imputed salary.

When the Advisory Council on the Status of Women appeared before the Royal Commission on the State of Pensions in Ontario, it presented its reasons for not supporting such a proposal in these words:

- (1) The difficulty in determining an income base for voluntary contributions.

For example, would the wife receive a cash income from her husband for her work in the home? If so, how would the value of this cash income be calculated? Would it be the same for all housewives or would it have a relationship to the income of the working spouse? In any event, the Council would question the fairness of the spouse in the paid labour force paying his spouse at home an income when the work in the home not only benefits him but society at large.

Assuming an income base could be determined for voluntary contributions, would the contributions be matched by an equal "employer" contribution and if so, who would be responsible for payment of the "employer's" share.

If a housewife had earnings from part-time employment, would these be taken into account in determining an income base and would the employer of a part-time worker match the portion of the housewives' voluntary contributions allocated from her part-time earnings?

Would voluntary contributions entitle the housewife to death and disability benefits?

(2) A voluntary contribution would tend to favour financially-informed or well-off women.

(3) A voluntary contribution would not necessarily bring all non-working spouses into the CPP/QPP.⁸⁶

Collins' position with respect to voluntary contributions is similar to that of the ACSW: he agrees that such a measure would result in those with the greatest need being the least likely to participate because of their limited resources.⁸⁷

Francine Lepage, in her analysis of income security policies at retirement age and in case of disability or death, makes the following suggestion for improving the system:

The Quebec Pension Plan could enable any person whose income is low or non-existent (including, among others, women working in the home or family business, women without a recognized job and female part-time employees) to accumulate pension credits subject to the payment in her name of a contribution based on an imputed wage.⁸⁸

According to Lepage, the contributions would be paid by the contributor who performs paid work. As for the objection that only the more privileged women would benefit, Lepage does not seem to consider it to be impossible to overcome: she foresees that the retirement savings thus made by family units having sufficient income to do so could make resources from other income support programs (such as the guaranteed income supplement) available for people who have not been able to accumulate adequate pensions and thus ensure greater security for them.

d) Recent amendments to the CPP/QPP

Just as a reminder, we shall mention the two recent amendments which would include housewives in the CPP/QPP: splitting of pension credits on dissolution of marriage

86. Submission to the Royal Commission on the Status of Pensions in Ontario presented by the Advisory Council on the Status of Women, March 1978, p. 4.

87. K. Collins, op. cit., pp. 207-208.

88. F. Lepage, in LABREV, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 187.

and the possibility of excluding from pension calculations the period a contributor has spent at home taking care of children under the age of seven.

i) Splitting of pension credits on dissolution of marriage

With reservations, the Advisory Council has accepted this amendment which would permit equal splitting of pension credits earned by both spouses during marriage - as well as splitting of credits between the spouses on dissolution of marriage by divorce or annulment - but prefers general splitting, whether or not the marriage is dissolved. The Council sees this amendment as a necessary response to injustice rather than a solution, in as much as this provision protects the housewife in the event of final marriage breakdown, but it does not bring her into the pension system and does not alter the situation of the woman who remains married.

The Council is of the opinion that the "divorce and divide" clause is based on the concept of dependence and need and, not on the concept of partnership and interdependent rights within the marriage. For this reason, the Council would have preferred the general splitting of credits mentioned previously.

ii) The amendment relating to the exclusion of time spent at home

This provision would enable mothers (and fathers) who leave the labour force in order to take care of children under the age of seven to exclude this period from the calculation of their pensions. The Advisory

Council has given its support to this amendment for the following reasons:

- The special child-rearing "drop-out" provision recognizes the work pattern of women in the paid labour force who leave to bring up children. Women (or men) who leave the paid labour force to bring up children are performing work of a social value and at a cost to themselves of lost salary, lost promotion and job opportunities, etc.
- The element of cross subsidy considered to be involved is not new to the Plan. For example, cross subsidies are involved in the benefits for contributors retiring in the early years following implementation of the Plan. They receive a greater benefit than their contributions "earned." Also the "pay-as-you-go" funding of the Plan involves substantial cross subsidies between one generation of contributors and another.
- The estimated cost to the Plan of the special child-rearing "drop-out" provision, one-third of one per cent increase in the contribution rate in the year 2025, makes it by comparison a minor cross subsidy.⁸⁹

Although these two amendments have the approval of the federal and Quebec governments', the second cannot be put into effect except in the province of Quebec, since Ontario has refused to approve this amendment. It will be remembered that such amendments must be approved by two-thirds of the provinces having two-thirds of the population and since Ontario has one-third of the Canadian population outside Quebec, this entitles it to a veto. It is urgent that much pressure now be put on Ontario in order to get it to withdraw its objection.

89. Submission to the Royal Commission..., p. 3.

However, we must not lose sight of the fact that, despite the significant benefits of this measure for mothers (or fathers) who temporarily retire from the labour force, it does not enable housewives who have never been gainfully employed to contribute to the Canada Pension Plan.

Pension policies have repercussions on changes in marital asset rights. Collins states an important principle in this regard when he writes:

...pensions are property, so that property reform aimed at sharing on the basis of the equal value of contributions by each spouse - whether in the home or outside the home - should include pensions along with other marital assets.⁹⁰

This principle is particularly relevant to the theme of the present study and reinforces the underlying hypothesis of our argument, that is, that the contribution of the spouse at home is equal in value to that of the spouse in the labour force, because of the human and social values associated with the education of children in addition to the economic value of housework.

The scope of this report does not allow for a detailed examination of the legislative reform now under way in property and material support matters. These questions have been dealt with elsewhere. Nevertheless, we must reaffirm that recognition of the economic value of housework requires our taking into consideration the principle that work in the home and outside the home are of equal value when formulating proposals relating

90. K. Collins, op. cit., p. 239.

to property rights. The right to an equitable sharing of marital assets constitutes one of the most important elements of all the measures intended to ensure economic security of housewives.

4. Some new approaches to social security

Tish Sommers, national co-ordinator of the NOW task force on older women in the U.S., has compared the social security system in her country to an old patchwork quilt which has completely lost its pattern because of the many pieces that have been added without care for the overall design.⁹¹ This striking image suggests at least two attitudes that should be developed in dealing with social security: first, new measures intended to correct one injustice must avoid creating another injustice; secondly, the time has come to think about revising the entire social security system.

While we must remain realistic in the conviction that a transition period requires us to continue "patching up the old blanket" - that is, adopting now the measures which will correct social inequalities - there is no restriction on seeking new approaches. From this perspective, we shall examine some proposals which take a more global approach to the problem of creating a "just society" where everyone - men and women, the young and the old - would have an equitable share of resources.

a) A guaranteed family income security program

The idea of a guaranteed family income is not new

91. Tish Sommers, "The Social Security Blanket: Patching Up the Old While Reweaving the New," Prime Time, vol. 4, no. 2, March 1976.

in Canada, since some plans were drawn up in the early seventies for a program that would provide an acceptable minimum income for all Canadians. Basically, a program of this kind would provide a living wage to everyone outside the labour market and a supplement to the working poor.

Federal-provincial negotiations to establish such a program began in 1973 but broke down in 1977 because not enough provinces were willing to participate. While federal government spokesmen (including Ministers Monique Bégin and Marc Lalonde) have spoken of the possibility of income supplementation for the working poor being provided by way of a refundable tax credit administered through the federal income tax system, the prospects for a guaranteed income are not very bright given the current economic and political climate.

b) The inclusion of housewives in general social insurance programs

Some suggestions to this effect have been studied by the Council of Europe. This organization has urged its member nations to offer housewives the same protection against risks as is offered persons working in other occupations. This protection would include benefits related to sickness, maternity, disability, old age and the temporary or permanent loss of support arising from the death of the breadwinner.⁹²

In the United Kingdom, as a result of pressure from the National Council of Women, the 1968 Westminster Conference organized by the U.K. Committee for Human Rights included in its final declaration the recommendation

92. Betty Young, op. cit., p. 16.

that homemakers be recognized as a distinct insurance classification for social security purposes.⁹³

There are other approaches but it is not possible to discuss them here because they require in-depth study. However, we would like to make a brief reference to the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) studies on the economic role of women in society which seem to lead into new definitions of the social security concept. Its preliminary reports stress the need to restructure social security systems in view of the economic problems peculiar to women in the home. In these reports, one can discover a relation between social insurance plans and the issue of time management on a life-long basis, with discussion of alternatives to men's and women's traditional patterns of participation in the labour force.⁹⁴ It might prove of interest to follow these developments.

93. Idem., p. 15.

94. Gösta Rehn, Vers une société de libre choix, OECD working paper, MS/S74.4, Paris, 1974.

VI - ORGANIZATIONS FOR HOUSEWIVES

The emphasis throughout this report has been on government measures aimed at improving conditions for housewives. We would be minimizing the value of human resources of this group of women if we considered only solutions that come from other people. The wealth of vitality and experience represented by these women can be increased tenfold when they pool their strength to help one another cope with their present and future situation.

Groups of this kind exist in Canada and in a number of other countries, in diverse forms; their aim is to help housewives strengthen their personal identity and overcome the "nothing-but-a-housewife" syndrome. A few of these groups are described below as examples:

1. Two organizations established in rural areas

a) L'Association des Cercles de Fermières du Québec

Founded sixty years ago, L'Association des Cercles de Fermières du Québec (farm women) recruits its members mainly among homemakers. In January 1977, this organization had a membership of 61,000 women in 822 clubs united in 23 federations throughout the province of Quebec. It promotes co-operation among members and exchange of information on topics related to cultural interests, consumer issues, agriculture and handicrafts.

During the year 1976, the Association conducted among its members, a survey on the family and published a report of which the chief recommendation pertains to the development of a general family policy.⁹⁵

b) L'Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale (AFEAS)

As its name indicates, AFEAS is a women's group concerned with education and social action. Most of its members are housewives in Quebec; in 1976, its 38,000 members met in 600 chapters organized in 13 federations.

The AFEAS's purpose is to make its members aware of their family and social responsibilities through education and thus bring about social action for the betterment of women and society.

To mention only one of its important achievements, the AFEAS has conducted research on women who work with their husbands in a family business.⁹⁶ This study was initiated during International Women's Year and is an original contribution to knowledge about the status of women. This report has become an important working tool whose conclusions have a direct bearing on many housewives.

2. The "Nouveau Départ" program

The Nouveau Départ program originated in Montreal and is the outgrowth of a series of programs begun in

95. La Revue des Fermières, December 1976/January 1977, pp. 30-31.

96. L'Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale, La femme collaboratrice du mari dans une entreprise à but lucratif, Montreal, 1976.

1966 by the YWCA for English-speaking women in the Montreal area (called Reassessing Tomorrow - Vista for Women). It is a guidance program rather than a training program. Its purpose is twofold:

- a) Assist participants in finding the course of action most appropriate to their needs and aspirations as well as their capabilities, taking into account their personal limitations and family situations.
- b) Provide them with direction, support and relevant information in order to achieve the desired goal: preparing a personal development plan and having the courage and tenacity needed to carry it through.⁹⁷

With the help of resource persons, the participants are led to discover their potential, to clarify their goals and reassess their role as housewives. The aim of the program is not to have all women opt for work outside the home but rather to make an enlightened choice among work in the home, unpaid voluntary work and work outside the home, or some combination of the three.

A program of this kind provides for counselling and information services leading to further guidance for those participants who may need it.

3. The Canadian Housewives Register

The Canadian Housewives Register is an organization which wants to make women aware that they do have needs as individuals - needs they have overlooked in the past. Through the group's informal meetings and activities, the women gain pride in their role in the home while being reintroduced to the world beyond it.

97. Monica Matte, Genèse du Programme Nouveau Départ, Montreal, March 1977.

This organization originated in England in 1960 and was introduced to Canada in 1967 by an English housewife who moved to the Montreal area. Chapters now exist in twenty countries: Canada has fifty-five, including twenty-five in the Toronto area.

All the groups are autonomous. The president of a Toronto group explained, "Each group decides what it wants to do, and it can be anything the women want it to be - educational or fun or both." Groups discuss "anything but domestic problems." For many women, CHR provides an opportunity to develop new attitudes that assist them in building self-confidence and help them cope better with day-to-day problems.⁹⁸

4. Alliance for Displaced Homemakers

This association was founded in the United States for the purpose of helping middle-aged women who find themselves alone as a result of a death, divorce or separation. One of the group's objectives is to obtain nation-wide legislation enabling the creation and operation of self-help centres for displaced homemakers.

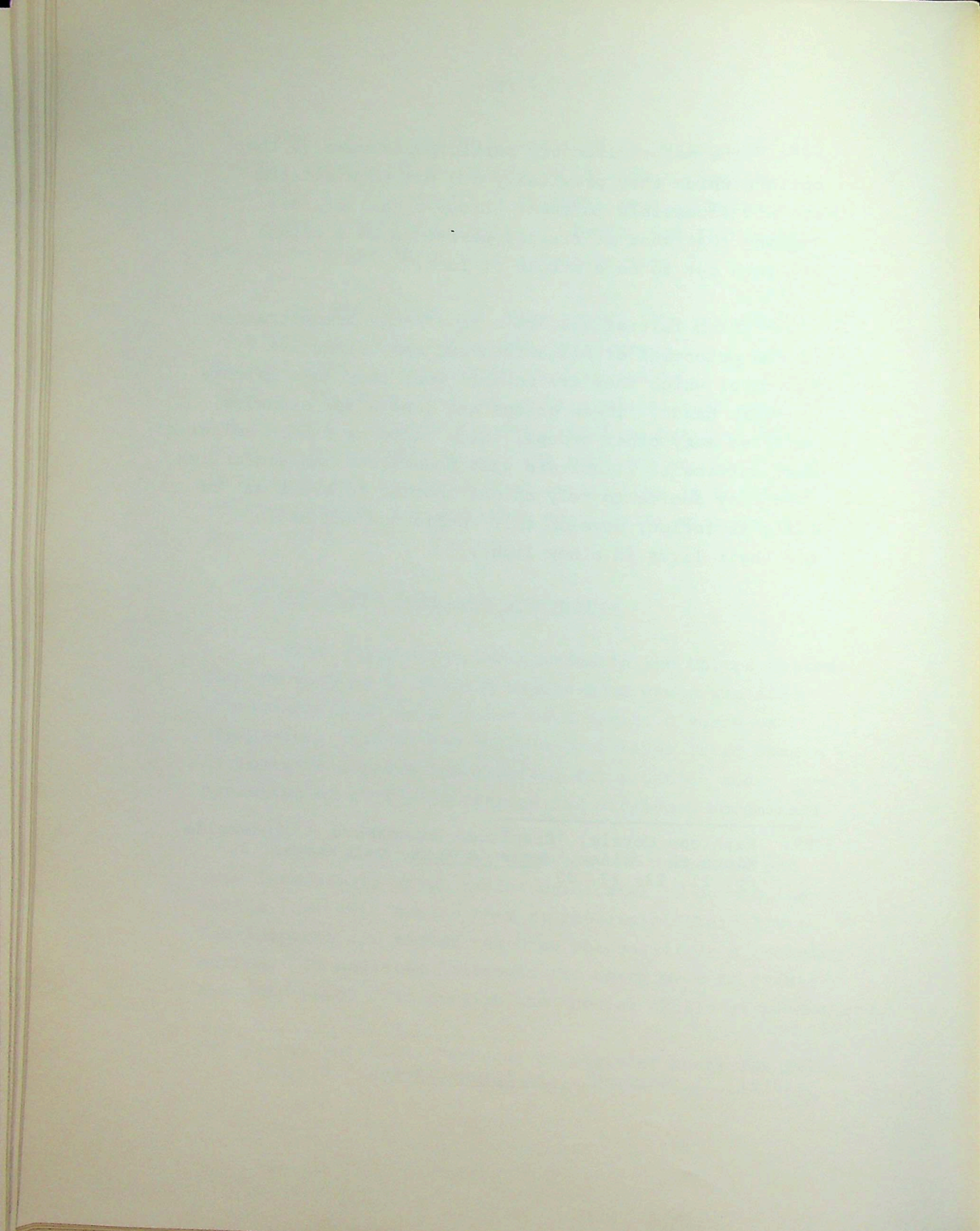
These centres offer a variety of workshops and even internships which assist candidates in developing skills that will enable them to reorganize their lives. Participants can become resource persons after a training period. In addition, attempts are being made to create new jobs which will utilize the special skills of homemakers.

98. Peggy McCallum, "Housewives Register Route for Self-Respect," The Globe and Mail, December 21, 1976.

The major discovery participants make is that options which they previously did not know existed are now accessible to them. Group organizers are finding that what at first appeared to be a crisis can turn out to be a stroke of luck.⁹⁹

Such initiatives are a remarkable demonstration of the potential of housewives and the collective action of which they are capable when they take matters in their hands. These groups are just a few examples, among so many other groups, which could have been selected; they suffice to illustrate what housewives can accomplish when they decide to rely on one another to break out of their isolation, develop self-confidence and begin to see their lives in a new light.

99. Kathleen Currie, "Displaced Homemakers - Cinderella Minus the Prince," Women's Work, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 21, 22, 27, 33.



VII - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study of housewives has been to shed some light on the problems of economic and psychological dependence associated with performing an unpaid and undervalued occupation.

Although generally ignored by sociologists, housework has been the subject of a few studies; these have shown that the majority of housewives are dissatisfied with household work; they find their work monotonous and fragmented and complain of loneliness, the lack of social interaction, the excessively long working day and their occupation's lack of prestige.

The contemporary women's movement is directing its attack toward the causes of the housewife's inferior status: it emphasizes her inevitable economic dependence arising from her situation as an unpaid worker. This economic dependence - a hardship in a society where money determines worth - is often accompanied by psychological dependence. The modern tendency to define oneself in terms of one's occupation leads the housewife to seek her identity through her husband and children.

Sometimes lauded, sometimes censured by public opinion, the housewife is also the victim of society's ambivalence toward her. In the end, she feels alienated, incapable of responding to contradictory social imperatives. Assailed by slogans about freedom, commitment, self-expression, she may feel she is becoming enmeshed in a new feminine mystique, without having freed herself from the traditional one.

From our review of time-use studies, a good many conclusions can be drawn, of which the following are the most important:

- The popular belief that modern household appliances have contributed to a great decrease in the working hours of housewives has no basis in fact.
- The division of labour within the home remains largely traditional: women still have the primary responsibility for household and family activities.
- The number of hours spent on housework varies with the number of children in the home, the age of the youngest child still at home and the woman's participation (or non-participation) in the labour force.
- Husbands' contributions to housework are considerable but do not increase appreciably when the wives are in the labour force.
- In Canada the average housewife performs fifty hours of housework per week.

Although economists have been considering the merits of including housework in the national accounts since the turn of the century, this important part of productive activity is not yet included in the gross national product. Various attempts have been made throughout industrialized countries to impute an economic value to housework.

In Canada, research on this topic is still in its infancy. Studies by Statistics Canada on the value of housework are part of the government's program to implement the Royal Commission on the Status of Women's

recommendations concerning housewives. The results of this research provide an important data base for evaluating the various solutions for improving the housewife's lot which have been considered.

Briefly, the Statistics Canada studies on the value of household work show that:

- The value of housework as a percentage of GNP is relatively constant; calculated by the opportunity cost method, it would have been approximately 39.5 per cent in 1961 and 41.1 per cent in 1971.
- The percentage of that value attributed to women and to men would also remain relatively constant; women's share was 26.6 per cent of GNP in 1961 and 27.7 per cent in 1971; for men it was 12.9 per cent in 1961 and 13.5 per cent in 1971.
- It is possible to include the value of housework; doing so would constitute quantitative proof of women's role in the economy; it could further legal recognition of the contribution made by women and thus women's entitlement to an equitable share in the family assets.

Various proposals aimed at the improvement of the economic situation of women have been studied. Although it seems feasible to include the value of housework in the GNP, it is nevertheless a symbolic gesture and more concrete measures are necessary. The solutions proposed for recognizing contributions made by housewives to the general well-being involve compensation for the costs associated with the raising of children, either in the form of social salaries or special provisions within the Canada Pension Plan.

With regard to different alternatives relating

to the payment of a salary to housewives, it is obvious that opinions vary a great deal and an in-depth study is necessary. The study of various solutions calling for such payments suggests that the methods selected should distinguish between homemakers who have children at home and those who do not, between women who have incomes and those who do not. It does not seem proper to promote universal plans because of their excessive costs and their likelihood of subsidizing people who have no need for government money.

In continuing a thorough study of the issue, it would be necessary to ponder the impact of a salary-to-housewives plan on women's work patterns, tax policies and population policies. It would also be helpful to obtain more information on housewives themselves, their desires and aspirations; for instance, what percentage of women stay at home because of the absence of services which act as substitutes for family activities, such as day care services and after-school care services.

With respect to the inclusion of housewives in the Canada Pension Plan, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women stated that housewives should be entitled to pensions in their own right under this Plan.

Among the options considered for implementing this recommendation, there are none that are simple, realistic and easy to apply. One proposal consists in permitting the spouse at home to contribute to the Plan as a self-employed worker; the most serious obstacle is the inability of women with no income or very little income to contribute to the Plan;

such a measure would have the result that the women who need it most would be the least financially able to join. As far as the clause excluding years spent in the home to care of young children is concerned, it must first become law. Such a provision, though, offers no protection to women who have never worked outside the home and who do not find it possible to enter the labour force. Special provision should be made for this category of women.

Finally, pensions policies should take into account the principle that pensions are assets and as such should be included in the splitting of marital assets, based on the equal contribution of each spouse, regardless of whether their place of work is in the home or outside the home.

Most of the options considered have interesting aspects, but none could be considered as the only change that has to be made in social organization to improve the status of housewives. They are all only partial solutions and should be weighed with respect to the overall situation as much as possible, without forgetting the reforms now being made in legislation governing income tax, matrimonial property regimes and alimony/maintenance.

One aspect which must be borne in mind when proposing legislative reform to improve the housewife's condition is that the first reforms sought must take into account the present situation, the several generations of women for whom it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to re-enter the labour market. Long-term policies should be developed which take into account the new social situation and men's and women's new work patterns.

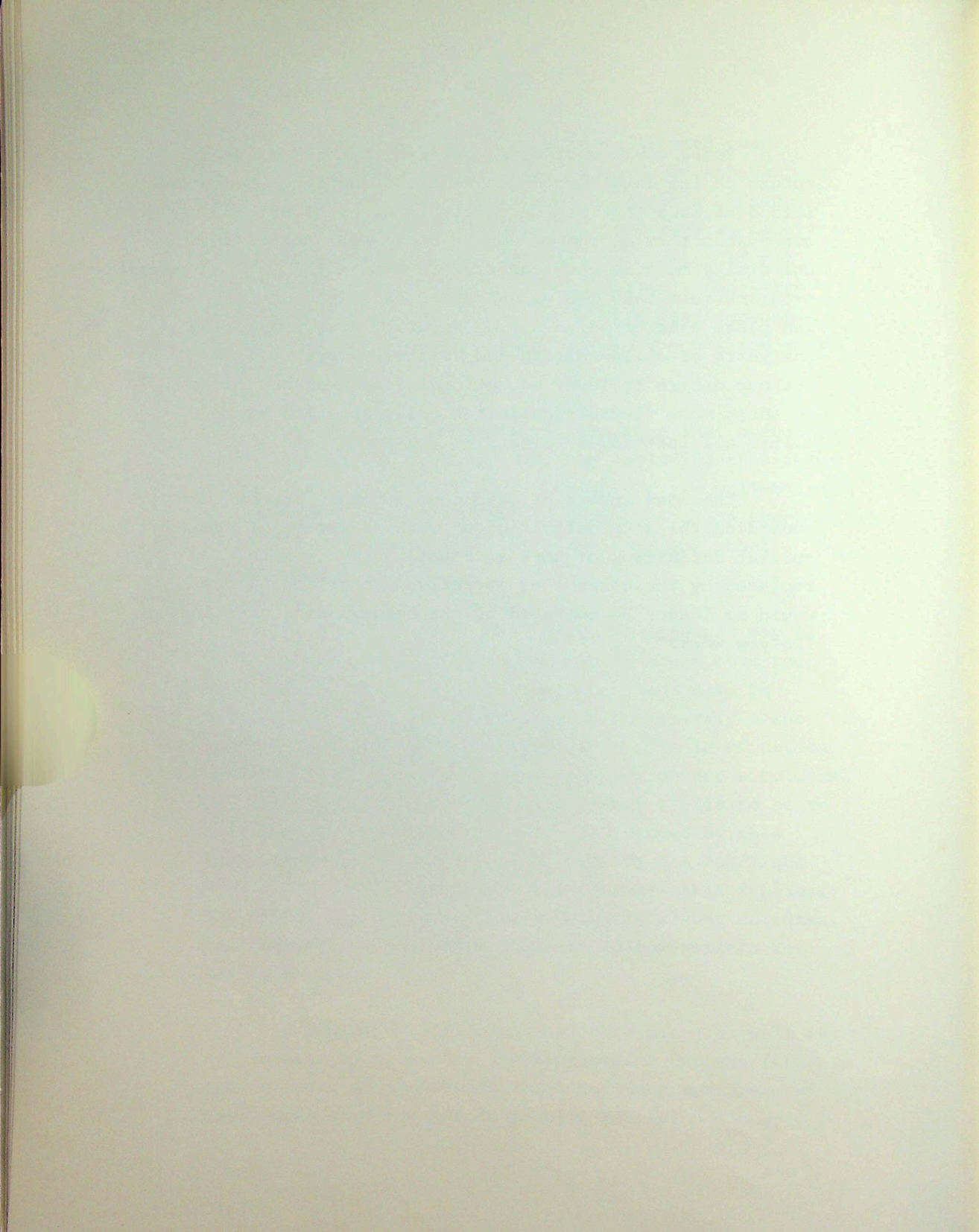
The government must also recognize that housework has a significant economic value by including this value in the national accounts as a measure of the well-being of the population; by accepting housework as an acceptable classification for social insurance like any other occupation.

As indispensable as legislative measures may be, such measures alone will not be enough to improve the housewife's condition. As long as attitudes to "a woman's place" remain unchanged, an excessively large share of the family responsibilities, both in education and in housework, will continue to rest on her shoulders. Her opportunities for updating her work skills so as to participate in the labour force are reduced by this very fact. If she goes to work outside the home, she must take on two roles, with the overwork this implies. Too often, she feels she must apologize to her children, her husband and sometimes even her fellow-workers for having a job.

A change in attitudes must take place as well in our concept of education and preparation for the future. The educational and occupational guidance systems must make ample room for the continuing education concept.

Young women must be encouraged to think of their future in the long term and thus avoid shutting themselves into dead ends that may be costly in time, effort and money when they decide to pursue a career. Access to university must be made easier for women. The programs must take individual experience into account and place greater value on the maturity acquired during the years of child-raising and voluntary work. It is not our desire to lower educational standards but rather to adopt more flexible admission policies which would permit all individual talents to blossom.

The most important change of attitude may be that regarding the very definition of work. Perhaps if the current definition of work as a paid activity were replaced by the concept of an active occupation, women would no longer be bothered by the embarrassing question, "Do you work?"



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Appendix 1 - Table 1

NEW YORK STATE COLLEGE OF HUMAN ECOLOGY
 A Statutory College of the State University
 at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York
 Department of Consumer Economics and Public Policy

Table 3. Average hours per day used by homemakers and by all workers in various household activities related to number of children and employment of homemaker

Households with:	Number	Food Related Activities		House Care		Care of Clothing		Family Care		Marketing and Management		All Household Work		All Work
		Home-makers	All Workers	Home-makers	All Workers	Home-makers	All Workers	Home-makers	All Workers	Home-makers	All Workers	Home-makers	All Workers	
No children	97	2.0	2.3	1.5	2.2	1.1	1.2	0.1	0.2	0.9	1.4	5.7	7.2	6.6
Nonempl. homemaker	71	1.3	1.5	0.9	1.4	0.6	0.7	0.1	0.3	0.8	1.2	3.7	5.0	9.4
Empl. homemaker														
1 child	149	2.1	2.3	1.5	2.3	1.1	1.2	1.8	2.4	1.0	1.5	7.4	9.7	8.0
Nonempl. homemaker	61	1.6	2.0	1.3	2.0	0.8	0.9	0.7	1.5	0.7	1.3	5.1	7.7	9.6
Empl. homemaker														
2 children	295	2.3	2.6	1.7	2.5	1.4	1.4	2.1	2.8	0.9	1.6	8.4	11.1	9.1
Nonempl. homemaker	83	1.8	2.4	1.1	2.4	0.9	1.1	1.1	2.2	0.9	1.7	5.9	9.8	10.1
Empl. homemaker														
3 children	233	2.3	2.9	1.7	2.9	1.3	1.4	1.8	2.5	1.1	1.9	8.1	11.6	8.9
Nonempl. homemaker	61	1.8	2.8	1.4	3.2	1.1	1.3	0.9	1.8	0.8	1.7	6.0	10.8	10.8
Empl. homemaker														
4-6 children	186	2.4	3.1	1.7	3.1	1.4	1.6	2.2	3.2	1.0	1.9	8.7	12.8	9.3
Nonempl. homemaker	39	1.9	3.1	1.2	2.8	1.2	1.5	1.1	2.2	0.9	1.8	6.3	11.3	10.3
Empl. homemaker														
7-9 children	19	2.6	4.7	1.5	4.2	1.6	1.8	2.7	4.5	1.1	2.2	9.4	17.4	9.9
Nonempl. homemaker	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Empl. homemaker														

* = less than 3 cases

1 N = 1296 Syracuse area 1967-68

Source: K.E. Walker, Effect of Family Characteristics on Time Contributed for Household Work by Various Members, exposé présenté à l'American Home Economics Association, 64th Annual Meeting, juin 1973.

Appendix 1 - Table 2

AVERAGE DAILY TIME BUDGET OF EMPLOYED MEN, EMPLOYED WOMEN,
AND HOUSEWIVES IN 12 COUNTRIES (in hours) *

<u>Activities</u>	<u>Employed men</u>	<u>Employed women</u>	<u>Housewives</u>
On workdays (employed people) and weekdays (housewives)			
A. Paid work and ancillary tasks (work brought home, journey to work, workplace chores, etc.)	9.4	7.9	0.2
B. Housework and household obligations (not including child care)	1.0	3.3	7.6
C. Child care	0.2	0.4	1.1
D. Sleep, meals, personal hygiene and other personal needs	9.9	9.9	11.4
E. Free time (i.e. remaining disposable time)	3.5	2.5	4.0
TOTAL (of which A-C subtotal)	24.0 (10.6)	24.0 (11.6)	24.0 (8.8)
On days off (employed people) and Sundays (housewives)			
A. Paid work and ancillary tasks (work brought home, journey to work, workplace chores, etc.)	0.9	0.4	0.1
B. Housework and household obligations (not including child care)	2.3	5.1	5.2
C. Child care	0.3	0.6	0.7
D. Sleep, meals, personal hygiene and other personal needs	12.2	11.9	11.7
E. Free time (i.e. remaining disposable time)	8.3	6.0	6.3
TOTAL (of which A-C subtotal)	24.0 (3.5)	24.0 (6.1)	24.0 (6.0)

* This table is based on the findings of the Multinational Comparative Time-Budget Research Project which has been carried out recently under the aegis of the UNESCO-sponsored European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences.

Source: Szalai, Alexander, "Women's Time: Women in the Light of Contemporary Time - Budget Research", Futures, octobre 1975, vol. 7, no 5, pp. 385-399.

