

**WOMEN
UNITE!**





CANADIAN WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL PRESS
280 Bloor Street West, Suite 305, Toronto
(416) 962-3904

The Canadian Women's Educational Press is a group of women working together because of our concern for the appalling absence of available material written by or about Canadian women.

The press operates on a non-profit basis; proceeds from sales are channelled to further publications.

Initially, our aims are:

to solicit, publish and distribute material written by, of interest to or about Canadian women

to train ourselves and other women in publishing skills.

The press began in February, 1972 with its first books available in the spring of 1972.

**Up from the Kitchen
Up from the Bedroom
Up from Under**

WOMEN UNITE!

An Anthology of the Canadian Women's Movement

**Canadian Women's Educational Press
Toronto, Ontario, Canada**

Contents

Preface	7
Introduction	9
I. WOMEN IN CANADA	
Two Sisters in the Backwoods - <i>McEwan and McEwan</i>	16
The Women's Suffrage Movement in Canada and Saskatchewan - <i>Sally Mahood</i>	21
Sisters, Brothers, Lovers...Listen... - <i>Bernstein, Morton, Seese, Wood</i>	31
Pie in the Sky - <i>Pedestal</i>	40
Poem - <i>Anne McLean</i>	43
II. STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION	
Women's Work is Never Done - <i>Peggy Morton</i>	46
Red, White and Black (poem) - <i>Gwen Hauser</i>	69
Radical Feminism - <i>Bonnie Kreps</i>	71
My Frustration (poem) - <i>Lynn Lang</i>	76
A. Alternatives to the Family	
Sugar 'n' Spice - <i>Sarah Spinks</i>	77
Collective Child Care in a Class Society - <i>Pike and Cameron</i>	87
Children are Only Littler People - <i>Melody Killian</i>	90
Sussex Day Care - <i>John Foster</i>	99
Birth Control Handbook - <i>Cherniak and Feingold</i>	109
Impasse (poem) - <i>Adelyn Bowland</i>	113
Brief to the House of Commons - <i>Women's Liberation Movement</i>	114
Statement to the Abortion Caravan - <i>Doris Power</i>	121

B. Economics of Working Women

Poverty: Canada's Legacy to Women - <i>Alice James</i>	125
For a Sister (poem) - <i>Bronwen Wallace</i>	138
Fact Sheet on Working Women - <i>Women's Bureau, Province of Ontario</i>	139
Toward an Organization of Working Women - <i>Jean Rands</i>	141
Salt of the Earth - <i>Workers' Unity</i>	149
Women on Welfare - <i>Lynn Lang</i>	152
No Days Off (poem) - <i>Paulette Jiles</i>	157

C. Politics of Sex

Women and the Revolution - <i>Jane Likely</i>	158
He Beats Her Off with a Rake (poem) - <i>Paulette Jiles</i>	161
Sexual Myths - <i>Gill, Chastain, Carmen, Bolton, Robinson</i>	162
Poem in Two Voices - <i>Anne McLean</i>	170
Lesbians Belong in the Women's Movement - <i>Vancouver Women's Caucus</i>	171
On Being Pursued - <i>Robin Roger</i>	174
Women in the Martial Arts - <i>Bowland, Burnham, Egan</i>	177
Isn't It Fulfilling to be in Love (poem) - <i>Lynn Lang</i>	182

III. Bibliography of Writings By and About Canadian Women <i>FSW 200 Course, University of Toronto</i>	184
Footnotes	188
Illustrations	191

Preface

In November 1970, Discussion Collective No. 6 of the Toronto Women's Liberation Movement decided that it was time to publish some Canadian material on women and their oppression. Articles were solicited from women's groups across the country on the grounds that no internal editing would be done. After several months, the manuscript, *Women, Unite!* was ready to be printed. However, the publisher was a small, leftist organization which lacked the capital to print the book. It was then sent to several commercial publishers who would print the manuscript only on the condition that they have editing privileges. Collective No.6 did not agree to this and so the manuscript was shelved. The following is the original introduction:

Too often the left in Canada has been content to adopt the American left's analysis of and solution to social problems. The Canadian women's movement, along with the Canadian left, has been guilty of this tendency to accept the American viewpoint. It is in response to this tendency, and in assertion of the need to understand the unique experience of Canadian women, that we have undertaken the present anthology.

We first became aware of the lack of material about Canadian women when we were preparing for two educational programmes; one on historical feminism and the other on modern feminism. It seemed to us that the Canadian women's movement had been abdicating its responsibility to examine the nature of the role, the conditions of the oppression, and the possibilities for the liberation of Canadian women. After extensive discussions, we agreed to try to assemble an anthology of papers bearing on the history and current practice of the women's movement in Canada.

In deciding to publish this anthology, we did not wish to advocate a particular political view nor did we attempt to impose a consensus on our sisters' views of the proper strategies and goals for the movement. Women disagree about the priority of certain issues although few would dispute the importance of abortion, day care, equal pay for equal work. Therefore, the writings in this book are diverse, reflecting the diversity of women's struggles in this country.

We wrote, phoned, and cajoled in an effort to find papers representative of the ideas of women all across Canada. We have gratefully received these articles and have not edited them, again wishing not to impose our own biases on the material. With 2 or 3 exceptions, articles which have appeared in other publications have not been used in this book.

We have tried desperately to contact as many women's groups as possible. Beginning with only ten contacts, we wrote asking for a history of each group, an account of its present activities and interests, and any articles which should be included in an anthology of Canadian women's writings. Each time we begged for more addresses.

Sisters, we are a small group of women who first met in the summer of 1970. We formed a discussion collective to talk about "women's issues". The group includes a secretary, graphics designer, psychologist, nurse and two librarians. We undertook this project because we thought it was important for our movement to have such an anthology available. We have put this book together for all of you, with much love and with a feeling that by doing so we were doing something good for all women in Canada and with a knowledge that it is time—

WOMEN, UNITE!

Discussion Collective No. 6:

Bonnie Campbell
Vita Churchill
Susan Goddard
Dawn Haites
Ruth McEwan
Sherry Rochester

During the winter of 1971, several women who realized the urgent need to publish material by, for and about Canadian Women, decided to form the Canadian Women's Educational Press. Collective No. 6 gave us permission to re-work and edit *Women, Unite!*; this work was begun in February 1972 as our first project. Although many of the articles were dated, we felt that they should be included because of their historical significance. However, some articles were dropped and some new articles were added.

Our concern in publishing *Women Unite!* is to help the movement learn from its past, and on the basis of this new understanding, to work toward a strong socialist women's movement in Canada. ♀

Introduction

This anthology is made up of writings from women who have in some way participated in the women's liberation movement in Canada. The movement differs greatly from the middle class women's rights groups which consist mostly of professional and church women. Although the broad basis of both is the improvement of the quality of life for women in Canada, the philosophy of the women's rights groups is that civil liberty and equality can be achieved *within* the present system, while the underlying belief of women's liberation is that oppression can be overcome only through a radical and fundamental change in the structure of our society.

The development of theoretical and practical strategies for the achievement of this change differs greatly from rural areas to urban centres, from city to city, from group to group and even from woman to woman. Such variance in approach to the liberation of Canadian women has therefore produced a multi-dimensional movement which is in a continuing process of strategical development. *Women Unite!* has been published in an effort to provide a brief historical document which indicates the diversity of the Canadian women's liberation movement.

The article, "Sisters, Brothers, Lovers...Listen" written in 1967, outlines the initial formation of this movement by some women involved in the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) whose objectives and strategies were, for the most part, inherited from the American New Left. SUPA consisted mainly of middle class university students disillusioned with our society's failure to live up to its egalitarian ideals. Strategy, such as civil disobedience and direct action projects around issues, came out of a growing consciousness of the results of oppression in our class society. Their experience led the women of SUPA to the conclusion that they were oppressed as women within an organization that was attacking oppression.

In the winter of 1967 a group of these women began to meet periodically in Toronto. This group prepared a brief on abortion (Section IIA) which was personally presented to the House of Commons in December of that year. They continued to meet during the 1968-69 academic year. New groups formed. For example, in June of 1968, a women's liberation group emerged from the intense political activity at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver and by the fall this group was meeting regularly as the Vancouver Women's Caucus. With strategy borrowed from the New Left experience, the groups started with consciousness-raising on the assumption that once people understood the problems they would be dealt with.

Seeking their own strategy, some women turned to an examination of their heritage, in particular the early suffrage movement. They found that

the suffragists were mostly upper class women who shared many of the views of the present-day women's rights groups (see Mahood, Section I). Other sources of their thinking included the perspectives on women's liberation developing in the U.S. In 1969, women from Toronto and London attended a conference in Chicago where the possibility of a link between women's liberation and Marxism was first raised. An important distinction from their American sisters was that Canadian women more uniformly developed an analysis of their oppression based on a class notion of society. This was an important development not only because it is the first major divergence from the American movement but because the Marxist perspective has since been central to the development of the Canadian women's liberation movement. An overview of this development is found in Morton's article "A Woman's Work Is Never Done" (Section II).

From their origin in the university, groups now became involved in the community. In Vancouver, an office was opened downtown where regular weekly meetings were held; in Toronto, support was given to women on strike at Hanes Hosiery. However, the middle class bourgeois nature of the movement remained, as strategies left the structure of production, the source of the social situation of capitalism, largely untouched.

About this time, a crucial split occurred in the Toronto Women's Liberation group when several women rejected the view of a social and political revolution as a precondition for the liberation of women. They formed a new group called the New Feminists. This was the first indication of the emergence of the radical feminist position represented in the Kreps (Section II) and Likely (Section IIC) articles. Much of the American movement has developed along feminist lines, and this theory has been introduced into Canada by literature from the U.S. The major premise of radical feminism is that the origins of sexism are based on biological differences rather than economic or structural conditions. Therefore strategically the priority is to change women's consciousness of themselves, stimulating a consequent change in the attitudes of the sexes toward each other. The economic and political structures would then be altered to accommodate these changed attitudes.

In the spring and fall of 1969, two conferences, the Canadian Union of Students' Seminar in Sudbury and the Western Women's Liberation Conference in Vancouver drew together many women from across Canada and were followed by the emergence of new groups in Regina, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Kingston and Halifax. The major activities at this time were both political and service-oriented—campus politics, day-care centres and birth control counselling. The establishment of birth control centres was greatly aided by the *Birth Control Handbook* published initially at McGill University (Section IIA).

From their experience in birth control and abortion counselling, women concluded that a campaign for "Free Abortion on Demand" was necessary. In the spring of 1970, a major national action was undertaken. A cross-country Abortion Caravan started from Vancouver and travelled across the country, speaking and holding meetings with women in local centres. People converged upon Ottawa in early May for a protest, where Doris Power, a member of the Just Society Movement, a militant union of poor people in Toronto, delivered her statement (included in Section IIA). A group of women chained themselves to seats in the House of Commons and it was this action that brought the issue of abortion successfully to the attention of the country.

More new local movements came into existence after the Caravan. In Toronto and Vancouver, strategy discussions led to new splits within the next few months. An important split in Vancouver was the formation of the Vancouver Women's Liberation, a collective working toward the organization of young women. A parallel group in Toronto was the Leila Khaled Collective which, working in a group with men, was also concerned with the revolutionary organization of youth. A division in groups across the country concerned the rejection by many women of the strategy calling for the organization of a broad based movement around abortion or other single issues. The main criticism of this position is that it ignores the overall political aims of women's liberation. This culminated in the open split which occurred at a women's liberation conference in Saskatoon during the following November. Those women who felt the importance of moving into wider left politics adopted other strategies, including a trend away from service projects to organizing working women. Groups like Discussion Collective No. 6 of the Toronto Women's Liberation Movement saw the importance of developing strategy particular to the Canadian situation; they began, at this time, to compile the original manuscript of *Women Unite!*

However, the women's liberation movement in Canada generally continued to look to the writings of the American movement for the development of political analysis. In the spring of 1971, Toronto and Vancouver hosted, for the American women's movement, two conferences with Indochinese women which could not be held in the United States. Major decisions about the conferences were made by the American women, while the Canadians carried out the menial tasks and basic organization. Disagreement within the Canadian movement was intensified by the anger sparked in many women by the American chauvinism and internal factionalism. This disagreement erupted into major political differences after these conferences. Both in the east and the west, a basic dichotomy in views emerged: should women become involved in broader political activities or should women organize as women, that is, is there a

'women's politics'? Then followed the virtual disintegration of the Toronto and Vancouver groups. Some women directed their activities to workplace organizing (Jean Rands' article, Section IIB); others drifted, others turned to day care or work in groups like the Waffle.

Those concerned with a single-issue orientation began coalitions for a national movement for repeal of the abortion laws. This group has become synonymous with women's liberation for many sectors of the Canadian population. This is unfortunate as it demonstrates the failure of the Canadian movement to develop a comprehensive strategy. While the control of our bodies is fundamental to the liberation of women, taken in isolation and within the context of the existing political structure, the demand for repeal of abortion laws will do little to change the general situation of women.

In general, the Canadian women's movement could not be considered extreme; concerns have been directed toward many separate issues and actions. In this brief history we have attempted to indicate the divided nature of the women's movement in Canada. (1)

Because many Canadian women came to an understanding of their oppression through their involvement in New Left politics, very little was initially written or done from a feminist position. This is reflected in the contents of the book which lean most heavily toward a Marxist analysis. However, there is a growing interest in a radical feminist perspective. Many of the new women entering the movement have never before been politically active and therefore are attracted to this point of view.

The major portion of *Women Unite!*, "Strategies for Women's Liberation", has been compiled with these strategic and analytical divisions in mind. The issues raised in "Alternatives to the Family" are some of the structural underpinnings of our continuing struggle. Fundamental to both Marxist and radical feminist positions is the critique of the family; any strategy must begin with the reality of all women's dependence upon the family for economic maintenance. In the sections "Economics of Working Women" and "The Politics of Sex", basic questions of each position are raised.

Certain important issues have been omitted from our selection of articles, such as the problems faced by Indian women and women in old age. Such omissions are very much a statement of the political context of the Canadian women's movement; our predominant *loci* are the middle class and the university. The growth of the Quebec independence movement in recent years resulted in the refusal of Quebecois to contribute to this anthology; it is not their political priority at this time.

This book was written from varying perspectives on the women's movement in Canada. Some do not believe that their basic situation can be changed within the present political system, others feel their problems can

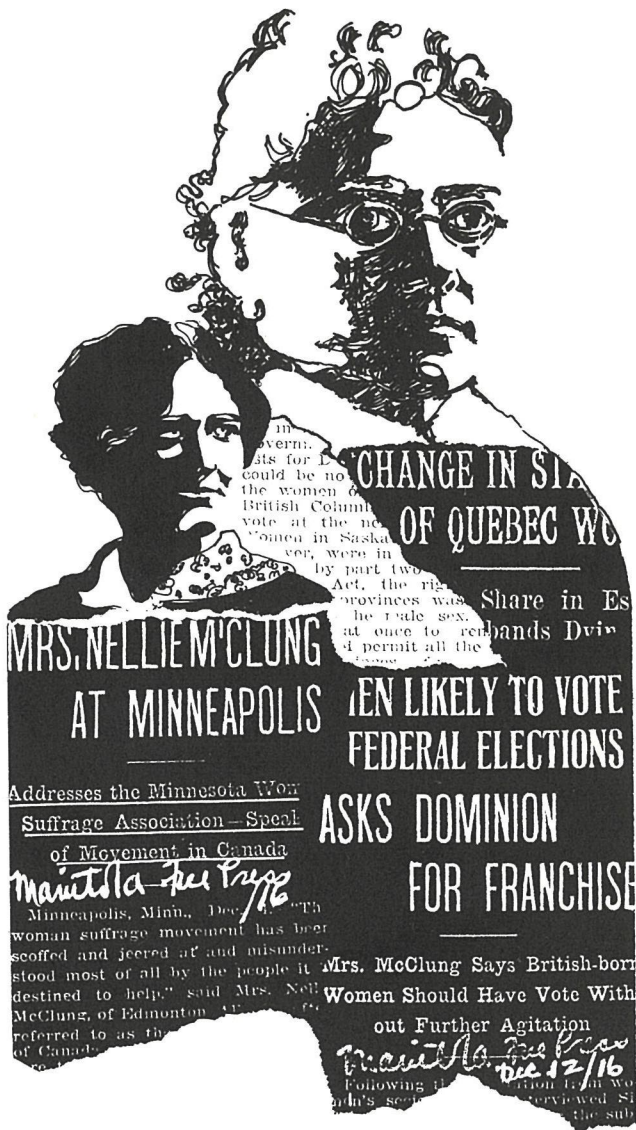
be resolved by working within it. There are those who see sexism as the basic enemy while others see the system of production as the major problem. But in spite of their differing views, all these women share an anger and frustration that cannot be ignored.

In publishing this anthology we hope to provide some basic resources for the future development of the Canadian women's liberation movement. Progress will come in some measure through our ability to synthesize the conflicting trends represented here. ●

Canadian Women's Educational Press:

Janice Acton
Dawn Aspinall
Deirdre Bekerman
Catherine Carroll
Vita Churchill
Carleen Dearness
Frumie Diamond
Rosemary Donegan
Sandra Foster
Julie Greco
Anna Ingre
Kathryn Jackson
Lynn Lang
Elizabeth Martin
Ruth McEwan
Catherine Macleod
Laurell Ritchie
Judy Skinner
Bonnie Ward

I. WOMEN IN CANADA



in
 govern.
 its for L
 could be no
 the women o
 British Colum
 vote at the no
 women in Saska
 ver, were in
 by part two
 Act, the rig
 provinces was
 he rule sex.
 at once to ren
 d permit all the

**MRS. NELLIE MCCLUNG
 AT MINNEAPOLIS**

**CHANGE IN STA
 OF QUEBEC WO**

**EN LIKELY TO VOTE
 FEDERAL ELECTIONS**

**ASKS DOMINION
 FOR FRANCHISE**

Addresses the Minnesota Women
 Suffrage Association - Speech
 of Movement in Canada

Mantle-Free Press
 Minneapolis, Minn., Dec. 11. "The
 woman suffrage movement has been
 scoffed and jeered at and misunder-
 stood most of all by the people it
 destined to help," said Mrs. Nellie
 McClung, of Edmonton, Alberta, who
 referred to as the "mother of the
 of Canada."

**Mrs. McClung Says British-born
 Women Should Have Vote With-
 out Further Agitation**

Mantle-Free Press
 Dec 12/16
 Following the
 tion that wo
 d's secret
 interviewed Si
 the sub

TWO SISTERS IN THE BACKWOODS

by Ruth McEwan and Gil McEwan
 Toronto, Ontario
 April, 1971

Introduction

Catharine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie were sisters, born and raised in England around the turn of the 19th century. Their father, a merchant of aristocratic background, believed that his daughters should learn more than dancing and embroidery. This was in direct contrast to the popular attitudes of the time. Four of the sisters, including Catharine and Susanna, became well-known authors in their later life. All four women wrote to survive as their class background did not prepare them for their life in Canada. To avoid starvation, they wrote of their life as genteel, well-educated, upper class immigrants from England living in the backwoods of Upper Canada during the early 1800's.

Migration to Canada

The dislocation of rural people in England in the early decades of the 19th century, combined with the release of many soldiers from the army in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, made emigration an attractive alternative to genteel poverty or starvation. Upper Canada at this time was receptive to increased immigration from England as an increased population was strategic to counterbalance U.S. expansionism.

With these factors in mind, the British Government set up a system of free land grants, made available upon emigration, to army officers who had been forced to retire on half-pay after the Napoleonic Wars.

Unable to live in England because they could not afford to raise a family on the half-pay they received from the army, the husbands of Catharine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie decided to leave England and attempt to make their fortune elsewhere. "In most instances, emigration is a matter of necessity, not of choice; and this is more especially true of the emigration of persons of respectable connections." (1) So the Traills and the Moodies left for Canada in 1832 and settled in the backwoods of Upper Canada near the town of Coburg.

Structure of the Family

In the upper class English family of the early 1800's, the man made all decisions and his wife and children were expected to obey without

question. In Canada, the potential for equality in decision-making between husband and wife existed since women had to do much of the manual labour required for the family to survive.

In spite of this potential neither Catharine nor Susanna questioned their husbands' authority. Neither wanted to go to Canada; nevertheless, they dutifully followed their husbands. Catherine was warned how she must act if she was to be a good wife in the backwoods by Mary Strickland, her sister-in-law, who had been born and raised in Canada:

Don't compare this life with life in England. Yours will be a colonial life, not a transplanted English one. Be prepared to work, to do without, and to do so cheerfully. Too many gentlemen are worn into failure by nagging miserable wives who constantly moan about what they had, or might have had, if they'd stayed out of the backwoods.(2)

Catharine and Susanna took this advice very much to heart.

Every woman was expected to bear a large family. Children were considered a great asset in the backwoods as it took a lot of labour power to run a backwoods farm successfully.

Childbirth was a hazardous ordeal. No woman approached it with any certainty, and a husband could offer a prayer of thanks every time his wife bore a live baby, and lived herself. In the backwoods...the doctor was rare and the only midwife was a neighbour woman.(3)

Women were almost solely responsible for the raising of children. Men were not expected to do the menial tasks involved in childrearing and they were certainly not expected to help with any household chores. However, in contrast, if a husband was ill, or if the family couldn't afford to hire any help, the wife worked in the fields. Children were also expected to do their share of the chores from a very young age. Older children also had the responsibility of looking after younger children. Every member of the family had to work hard.

Life in the Backwoods Farm

The extended family and the presence of good friends and neighbours were absolutely essential to the survival of a backwoods family. Starvation and disease were a constant threat. Of course, Susanna and Catharine both were able to obtain money from the sale of an article or book and thus keep their families from starving. Most women at that time didn't have such an option.

It was not unusual for a man to marry three or four times in a lifetime. Women often died at an early age because of the heavy manual labour they had to endure. Both Catharine and Susanna lived past the normal age span of that time.

To survive on a backwoods farm was a really difficult task. It took as long as three years to clear a sufficient amount of land to begin to produce. Most upper class immigrants could not stand such back-breaking toil so they had to have at least two servants, a woman in the house and a man to help work the land.

Women had to be ingenious to provide for their family. Even a woman with a houseservant had to work many long hours a day. Both Catharine and Susanna had to do work that was strenuous and certainly not fit for a 'lady'. All the clothes their family wore were hand made. If their sisters in England had not sent gifts of cloth every year they would have been unable to obtain enough material to clothe their large families. Both sisters had more than five children.

They had to raise all their own food, because of their poverty but also because of transportation problems. They lived miles from the nearest town.

All superfluities in the way of groceries were now given up, and we were compelled to rest satisfied upon the produce of the farm. Milk, bread and potatoes during the summer became our chief and often, for months, our only fare. As to tea and sugar, they were luxuries we would not think of, although I missed the tea very much; we rang at the changes upon peppermint and sage, taking the one herb at our breakfast, the other at our tea, until I found an excellent substitute for both in the root of the dandelion.(4)

Hunting and fishing were a supplement to farm produce, sometimes providing meat for several months. Raising livestock provided another supplement although, for the most part, this effort was unsuccessful. Water had to be carried from the lake and boiled until purified. It took many hours just to cook a meal; a woman had to bake all her bread, cure all her meat, can all her vegetables and preserves.

However hard life was for women in Upper Canada in the 1800's, Catharine and Susanna did seem to appreciate some of the freedom they had in Canada which they could not have enjoyed in England. As Catharine Parr Traill said to her husband:

...I never enjoyed the fetters of fashionable society, which wrap women in a tight cocoon in England. Here I'm not forced into the current vogue, but may dress in what becomes me or the weather. I can wear moccasins if they make walking easy, without suffering the sniffs of some brainless flipperty-gibbet who, for the sake of fashion, would totter about the woods on high shoes. If we can afford only salt pork and dandelion coffee, we are not sneered at by those who can buy better. We can, in sum, be ourselves.(5)

Attitudes Toward Life in Canada

People like the Traills and the Moodies looked down upon the Indians of Canada, working class immigrants from Europe and the United States and working class people born and raised in Canada.

Some of these attitudes are exhibited by Susanna Moodie in her book, *Roughing It In The Bush* which was written to discourage other genteel people from immigrating to the backwoods:

It was not long before we received visits from the Indians, a people whose beauty, talents, and good qualities have been somewhat overrated, and invested with a poetical interest which they scarcely deserve. Their honesty and love of truth are the finest traits in characters otherwise dark and unlovely. But these are two God-like attributes, and from them spring all that is generous and ennobling about them.(6)

As well as such racism, Susanna's thoughts concerning her fellow settlers reveal the chauvinism of her class:

All was new, strange and distasteful to us; we shrank from the rude, coarse familiarity of the uneducated people among whom we were thrown; and they in return viewed us as innovators, who wished to curtail their independence by expecting from them the kindly civilities and gentle courtesies of a more refined community. They considered us proud and shy, when we were only anxious not to give offence...

...The unnatural restraint which society imposes upon these people at home forces them to treat their more fortunate brethren with a servile deference which is repugnant to their feelings, and is thrust upon them by the dependent circumstances in which they are placed...But let them once emigrate, the clog which fettered them is suddenly removed; they are free; and the dearest privilege of this freedom is to wreak upon their superiors the long-locked-up hatred of their hearts. They think they can debase you to their level by disallowing all your claims to distinction, while they hope to exalt themselves and their fellows into ladies and gentlemen by sinking you back to the only title you received from Nature - plain 'man' and 'woman'. Oh, how much more honourable than their vulgar pretensions!

I never knew the real dignity of these simple epithets until they were insultingly thrust upon us by the working classes of Canada.(7)

Her ambivalent attitude toward native Canadians really comes through in her passages describing native-born Canadian women:

The Canadian women, while they retain the bloom and freshness of youth, are exceedingly pretty but these charms soon fade, owing, perhaps to the fierce extremes of their climate or the withering effect of the dry metallic air of stoves, and their going too early into company and being exposed, while yet children, to the noxious influence of late hours, and the sudden change from heated rooms to the cold, biting, bitter winter blast.

Though small in stature, they are generally well and symmetrically formed, and possess a graceful easy carriage...

They have excellent practical abilities, which, with a little mental culture, would render them intellectual and charming companions. At present, too many of these truly lovely girls remind one of choice flowers half-buried in weeds.(8)

Conclusion

Neither Catharine Parr Traill and her family nor Susanna Moodie and her family lasted in the backwoods for very long. After three or four years, they decided to move closer to civilization:

Many gentlemen who had settled in the bush were realizing that their dreams of being gentlemen farmers on flourishing acres were delusions. Men who would have worked for a landlord in England were often more successful than their old masters. They were tougher, rougher and better fitted to survive on pork and potatoes.(9)

Times were not as hard for both families after they quit the backwoods but they lost enough in their venture so that their lives were never easy. The work load of the women in their homes remained strenuous. The hardships and lack of return for their arduous labour often produced bitterness in women who had started life with much higher expectations. The attitude of many such women can be seen in the parting paragraph of *Roughing It In The Bush*:

If these sketches should prove the means of deterring one family from sinking their property, and shipwrecking all their hopes, by going to reside in the backwoods of Canada, I shall consider myself amply repaid for revealing the secrets of the prison-house, and feel that I have not toiled and suffered in the wilderness in vain.(10)

With all their apt descriptions of life in the backwoods, Catharine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie were revealing what was, for people of their class, a dead end. The backwoods gentleman farmer and his family were certainly not the spur to Canada's economic development. Capitalist agriculture and industry were the trends of the future. Backwoods farms were merely an outlet for population from the old country and as such were peripheral to further Canadian development. ●



THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN CANADA AND SASKATCHEWAN

by Sally Mahood
Women's Liberation Movement
Regina, Saskatchewan, Winter, 1971

In this paper, I intend to outline the women's suffrage movement in Canada generally and deal in some detail with the movement as it developed in Saskatchewan. Information about the Canadian suffrage movement is scarce and there is some disagreement as to the nature of late 19th and early 20th century feminism.

It was not the libertarian thing it is cracked up to be and the highly-touted progressive ladies of that period were in reality narrow-minded bitches with the morality of Lucretia Borgia and the class of Tugboat Annie.(1)

The impression of the women's suffrage movement remains one of a collection of batty, prudish old maids whose politics have nothing to offer. It must be remembered that in their day, the status of women was that of a chattel. "In 1870, a woman slipped and fell on the ice, breaking her leg. She was unable to get medical compensation but her husband was awarded \$500. for the loss of her labour."(2) The women's suffrage movement, despite its limitations, did secure many basic human rights for women!

The women's suffrage movement in Canada has a somewhat shorter and less glorious history than the equivalent movements in Britain and the United States. It constituted only a small minority of Canadian women, most frequently professional and independently wealthy middle and upper class women. The major problem encountered by the movement was the apathy of women themselves. There was a Women's Association Opposed to Women's Suffrage in existence at one point. There is also no doubt that the male legislators of Canada armed themselves in opposition, their reactions always cloaked in sickly-sweet concepts of chivalry and romantic love.

The women were told that they were physiologically too weak to cope with the trials and tribulations of elections, that votes for women were unnatural and contrary to biblical teachings, and that such electoral involvement would degrade women and destroy domestic harmony. I do not do the arguments justice by paraphrasing. They are so 'eloquent'.

The true woman who would make the most of her every God-given attribute asks not for the ballot, but for love and home, where the carols of babyhood are sung to the sweetest of babies, where home is heaven, and where the weary husband may find rest and aching hearts sympathy.(3)

Women are the point of connection between earth and Heaven. They assume something of the angels...Let us leave them their moral purity, their bashfulness, their sweetness, which gave them in our minds so much charm.(4)

In general the true path of progress is this: to render the feminine life more and more domestic and to release it more and more from all outside occupation, the better to insure the accomplishment of its end: mating.(5)

Women did not need the vote. 'Loving persuasion', it was maintained, could accomplish more than any ballot.

The suffragists replied with arguments almost equally as mystifying. They contended that the government of the nation, just as the home, required women's 'softening' influence in order that it be humane and balanced.

This was the level on which the fight for the vote for women was waged in the east. Thus it was no accident or coincidence that suffrage workers were initially apprentices in the field of temperance and that a close working alliance existed between prohibition and suffrage forces at all stages of the campaign. Here, Canadian women first acquired political experience and developed the methods they were to use throughout their campaign: petition and agitation to educate the public. Involvement in the temperance movement is understandable. Alcoholism was a social problem. A woman with an alcoholic husband had no legal, economic or social protection for herself and her children. Her only alternative was to 'Banish the Bar' and, in the United States, the liquor industry was one of the best organized forces against women's suffrage. But just as American women first involved themselves in the abolitionist movement, there is something logical in the fact that women should first have banded together for 'worthy' causes not directly their own. It fulfils the 'service ethic' in which they had been indoctrinated.

The movement itself was pioneered by women in Ontario. There is evidence that women from Canada participated as delegates in women's rights conventions in the United States as early as 1852,(6) but the first Canadian organization did not come into being until 1876 under the innocent guise of the Toronto Women's Literary Club. The club was founded by Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, the first of a series of professional women who were involved in the movement. Dr. Stowe was a graduate of the New York Medical College, Canadian universities and colleges not yet being open to women. * The literary club functioned as an internal discussion and educational organization until 1883 when it bravely removed the guise and

* In 1886, the University of Toronto opened its doors to women. In the United States, educational institutions admitted women largely out of their own economic necessity as a result of the decline of male enrolment during

changed its name to the Toronto Women's Suffrage Association, concentrating its energies on obtaining the municipal franchise for women.

In 1889, the Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association was formed and the next decade was spent in continuous petitioning (and continuous failure) to the provincial legislature. In 1896, the women staged a Mock Parliament in which men's and women's roles were reversed but this was its last effort. Between the years 1896 and 1910 the movement slumped, partially as a result of a general trend toward prosperity and also in keeping with a similar slump in the United States. During those years, no American state gave women the vote and the Canadian movement was very much affected by what was happening in the United States.

Around 1910, suffrage activity in Ontario was reactivated using the same methods of petitions and delegations. Some victories were won in the field of municipal franchise and school board elections. When concessions were made to the women, privileges for single women always preceded those for married women, these being judged less destructive of domestic harmony. The advent of the First World War stifled suffrage activity *per se* and it was in recognition of women's work during the war and in response to victories in the west that Ontario women won provincial franchise rights in 1917.

The case of the Maritimes followed closely the pattern of Ontario. The movement there was, however, much more sporadic and almost entirely a by-product of Women's Christian Temperance Union activity around prohibition. No indigenous suffrage movement developed, no government was plagued by delegations and petitions and when the women of the Maritimes were enfranchised (Nova Scotia—1918; New Brunswick—1919; Prince Edward Island—1918; and Newfoundland—1925) it was again largely because of their war contribution and in response to trends elsewhere in the country.

In British Columbia, the movement was again initiated by the Women's Christian Temperance Union who saw suffrage as a lever in obtaining prohibition reform. In British Columbia, however, there were splits within the women's movement. In each provincial legislature, there were one or more male members on whom the suffrage forces could rely for support. These were men who, session after session, introduced suffrage bills only to be defeated time and again. In British Columbia, this role was played by Hawthornwaite and later Place, both of them socialist members.

the Civil War. One wonders whether the opening of Canadian schools cannot also be explained by the downward slide of the Canadian economy around 1883. It must also be remembered that women had to be conceded a better education, if only so that they could teach children. In Toronto in 1892, 400 out of the 500 teachers were women.

Women were gradually emerging from their homes into industry, usually as a result of economic necessity. The female labour force was growing at a faster rate than the female population.(7) British Columbia socialists recognized the need for protective labour legislation for women workers and on this basis supported women's suffrage. The *B.C. Federationist* carried on a staunch campaign for women's suffrage. At the same time, women were being used as a cheap reserve labour force and the trade union movement in British Columbia clearly perceived what this would mean for general wage levels. They too supported women's suffrage on this basis and a women's suffrage movement developed within the ranks of the trade union movement. This was led by Helena Gutteridge of the Garment Workers' Union, who was also secretary of the Vancouver Trades and Labour Congress. As one can imagine, Socialist Party and trade union support for women's suffrage was somewhat distasteful to the ladies of the W.C.T.U. and the two groups developed and worked entirely autonomously.

The women's suffrage movement in Manitoba began early in the 1890's when a group of Icelandic women founded the pioneer suffrage organization. They were followed by the Women's Christian Temperance Union which organized its first suffrage department in 1893. One year later, the Manitoba Equal Franchise Club was established, a united front of independent suffrage organizations. Men were welcomed as members of the group but women were chosen as its officers. The Manitoba group initiated its educational campaign with a Mock Parliament, a standard suffrage tactic. The group's leader, Mrs. Nellie McClung, was cast as the premier. Her speech was a clever paraphrase of the response the women had received shortly before from the premier's office.

We wish to compliment this delegation on their splendid gentlemanly appearance. If, without exercising the vote, such splendid specimens of manhood can be produced, such a system of affairs should not be interfered with. Any system of civilization which can produce such splendid specimens is good enough for me...It has been charged that politics is corrupt. I don't know how this report got out but I do most emphatically deny it...and you may be sure that if anything of that kind had been going on I should have been in on it.(8)

Although the Manitoba Suffrage League never affiliated with any similar group outside the province, they did hire a paid travelling organizer and they received support from the Trades and Labour Council of Winnipeg. Just as in Alberta, where the women's suffrage movement was inaugurated by the W.C.T.U. and had received support from the United Farmers of Alberta, the Manitoba Grain Growers supported the women's movement, at least verbally.

The vote was won in 1916 in both provinces. It appears that the Manitoba franchise club disbanded in 1917 as did suffrage organizations in Alberta.

Quebec held out the longest. A combination of the Roman Catholic Church, backward rural Quebec and splits among the suffrage forces were chiefly responsible.

The first organizations to raise the question of women's suffrage were the W.C.T.U. and the Montreal Local Council of Women—both of whom were English-Canadian dominated. These organizations concentrated their efforts on distributing information on women's disabilities under Quebec's archaic legal system. In 1919, they were instrumental in the passage of a minimum wage law for women. However, that same year they disbanded, apparently because they felt that a fight for provincial franchise rights would necessitate an organization of French-Canadian women. In 1921, the *Federation Nationale Saint Jean Baptiste* took up the fight but almost immediately another split occurred in the newly formed Provincial Franchise Committee. One faction, under the leadership of Iola St. Jean formed *L'Alliance Canadienne pour le Vote des Femmes*. The English front was composed of the Association of Women Property Owners and the Montreal Business and Professional Club. The content of the split is not exactly clear but it seems that *L'Alliance* was strictly French-Canadian in membership, somewhat more militant, and enjoyed a larger working class base. Both movements, however, were essentially urban and confined almost exclusively to Montreal. In the rural areas, the church and its opposition to women's suffrage carried a lot of weight. The Federation of Catholic Workers also put up an open campaign against votes for women and enfranchisement was successfully blocked until 1938.

The case of Saskatchewan, and to some extent the other prairie provinces, is somewhat unique. The history of the struggle for women's suffrage in this province is equally short - 1911 to 1916 - and equally lacking in militancy and drama. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that, unlike elsewhere in Canada, it was not primarily an urban movement but was carried on essentially by rural farm women. Its program, unlike elsewhere, went far beyond the single issue of women's suffrage. When the vote was won in Saskatchewan, the major suffrage organization continued under another name seeking other social reform.

From the beginning, the women of Saskatchewan did not encounter the legislative hostility that existed elsewhere. The first debate on women's suffrage in the Saskatchewan legislature took place in 1912 and the members approved the vote for women in principle. They maintained, however, that there was no demand on the part of women for such change and that such legislation would be premature.

In that same year, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association publicly declared itself in favour of women's suffrage. As early as 1909, the *Grain Growers Guide* had carried on an editorial campaign in favour of

votes for women. The *Guide* also reprinted a speech made in Winnipeg by Emmaline Pankhurst, the militant English suffragette. In 1910, under the auspices of the Extension Department of the University of Saskatchewan, Homemakers Clubs were established in small communities across the province. These were later to become hives of suffrage activity. But the real force behind the suffrage movement in Saskatchewan remained the powerful farmers' organization, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers, and its women's auxiliary which was formally founded in 1914.

The Women's Grain Growers Association, under the presidency of Mrs. Violet McNaughton, proceeded to organize in the rural areas for women's suffrage. Within a year, there were 62 locals operating in the province and these were undoubtedly the suffrage societies of Saskatchewan. At the same time, independent Political Equality Leagues were founded in the small towns, the first being Moosomin, followed by North Battleford and Prince Albert.

Within a year, the need was felt for consolidation and in 1915, the Provincial Equal Franchise Board of Saskatchewan was established. Up until this time, interest in the urban areas, Saskatoon and Regina, had been minimal. The Board, however, was an alliance between the rural W.G.G.A. locals and the urban Women's Christian Temperance Union, with representation for any independent suffrage organization. By 1914, the 'Banish the Bar' movement began to spread to the prairies. Temperance organizations were already functioning and saw the potential that women's suffrage held for prohibition. They called for women to be allowed to vote in an upcoming provincial referendum on the open bar. In this way, they became indirectly and somewhat reluctantly, involved in the suffrage movement and raised the issue in the urban centres of the province. This may account for the willingness of the W.C.T.U. to cooperate in the establishment of the Provincial Equal Franchise Board.

The purpose of the Board was seen initially as educational. On the issue of suffrage it was responsible for the thousands and thousands of petitions which poured into Premier Scott's office. Beyond the suffrage question, the Equal Franchise Board adopted a very extensive program of reform.

The women involved in the suffrage movement in Saskatchewan all believed in the 'reforming influence' that the women's vote would have. It is evident that the franchise was not an end in itself, but rather a prerequisite to the achievement of other reforms.

In Saskatchewan, fathers alone were the legal guardians of children. Widows were not guaranteed the right to jointly accumulated property. Legally, a male homesteader could sell the homestead even if it would leave the family homeless. One can understand why homestead rights for women, the passage of a dower law, and prohibition were the reforms most stressed by women in Saskatchewan.

It is interesting to note the wide range of subjects included in the personal papers of Violet McNaughton, president of the W.G.G.A. and Mrs. Haight, vice-president, available at the provincial archives. They range from articles on birth control, infant mortality, educational reform, old-age pensions to pacifist literature. Mrs. McNaughton's file contains copies of *Industrial Workers of the World* publications, *One Big Union Bulletin*, *Western Labour News*, *Western Clarion* (the organ of the Socialist Party of Canada), and literature from the Winnipeg General Strike Committee. Mrs. McNaughton's file also includes proposed resolutions for a minimum wage law for girls and women, proposed changes in the naturalization law whereby women of foreign birth could seek naturalization on their own account under the same regulations as men and provisions whereby women of British birth would not lose citizenship upon marriage except by their own choice. Much of this occurred after the vote had been won, but if Mrs. McNaughton is at all representative, it would appear that the women's movement in Saskatchewan saw the oppression of women in a much broader context than it was seen elsewhere in Canada.

The women's suffrage movement in the west received staunch support from certain elements of the press—the *Grain Growers Guide* and the *Manitoba Free Press*. In 1912, Francis Beynon, a militant feminist, was appointed women's editor of the *Grain Growers Guide*. The women's section of the paper quickly became a forum for debate on women's issues. Just as the *Guide* had functioned as a trade journal for western farmers, Francis Beynon's homemaker's page carried advice on washing sweaters, baking Christmas puddings, decorating farmhouses, standardizing poultry eggs, and painless childbirth, etc. At the same time, suffrage and other political issues relevant to women were hotly debated. Whereas in the east women's groups accepted the righteousness of disenfranchising aliens during the war, the *Guide* and Beynon carried on a campaign against this point of view criticizing Nellie McClung for requesting the federal franchise for all British and Canadian women, excluding foreign born women. The *Guide's* women's section carried articles calling for equal pay for equal work, challenging the assumption that women have natural abilities in raising children, criticizing the concept of women as property, calling for district nurses and government provision of medical care in rural areas, an end to military training in the schools, etc. There are, of course, debates within the paper, many women responding hostilely to such positions, but in general, the level of consciousness on women's and other issues is quite amazing.

Political events began to move very quickly in 1916. Manitoba had passed a provincial franchise act and it appeared that the Alberta legislature was about to pass a similar bill. The Saskatchewan legislature could stall no longer. Sensitive to Saskatchewan's reputation of being progressive and not wanting to lag behind, the Liberal government in-

roduced its own legislation. The bill was passed. Mrs. Lawton, President of the Equal Franchise Board was heard to utter, "Oh! Mr. Premier, this is so sudden," and everyone joined in a chorus of "For They are Jolly Good Fellows."

The bill was obviously introduced as a political manoeuvre as evidenced by a pamphlet published by the Saskatchewan Liberal Party entitled *How Saskatchewan Women Got the Vote*. It appears that a competition developed between the Conservative and Liberal Parties as to whom had granted the women of Saskatchewan this privilege. It seems ironic to see these same people who had stalled for so long, assuming all the credit for their 'noble' act. Thus, the three prairie provinces acted almost simultaneously in enfranchising women. They were to provide a strong western block which hastened the coming of the dominion franchise for women.

After the passage of the suffrage legislation, the Provincial Equal Franchise Board of Saskatchewan became the Citizen's Educational Board in 1918. Its platform resembled that of the Equal Franchise Board's but was much broader. Number one on the list was, of course, the securing of the federal franchise. In its demand for the abolition of party politics, one can see very clearly its roots in the western farmers' movement. In the area of social reform, the Board aimed at the co-guardianship of children; equal property rights for husband and wife; equal pay for equal work; minimum wage laws for women; minimum hours of labour per week for women; mothers' pensions; maternity allowances; municipal and district nurses; the "protection of persons of young womanhood to age twenty-one, making life at least as valuable as property"; a prohibition of the manufacture, import or sale of intoxicants; certification of health before marriage; and equal homestead rights for men and women.

In the areas of prison reform and the criminal code, the women demanded the abolition of the death penalty and the provision of wages to state prison convicts, part of which would go to the support of their families.

In the area of education reform, the women suggested a uniform system of government schools, curriculum which would provide for "practical education according to endowments, irrespective of sex," and sex education which they labeled "the teaching of parenthood." The women also demanded the institution of the recall system, nationalization of public utilities and nationalization of natural resources, and in international relations, a council of arbitration composed of men and women to ensure permanent peace among nations. This proposed platform was adopted in 1918 and many of its proposals are at least as progressive as the latest *Commission on the Status of Women Report*.

It seems that the Educational Board did disband in the 1920's but it

is also evident that many of the women involved in the initial suffrage struggle in Saskatchewan went on to become involved in other cooperative and farmers' political movements in the province.

At the dominion level, the debate over women's suffrage centred around provincial versus federal franchise control. In 1884, Sir John A. MacDonald had passed a bill establishing a uniform dominion franchise. The Liberals opposed it on the basis that franchise ought to be exclusively a provincial matter, suspicious that the Conservative move was an attempt to enfranchise a new and powerful conservative element—women. In power, Laurier's first move was the restoration to the provinces of control over the dominion franchise—the Franchise Act of 1898. In some ways, this explains the non-existence of a nation-wide suffrage association: the movement's needs were regional, the blocking step being the provincial legislatures.

The provincial-federal debate went on endlessly and it was not until 1917 that any change occurred. A new note was added to the parliamentary debates—eloquent tributes to Canadian womanhood's contribution to the war effort. In addition, it appeared that the next federal election would hinge exclusively on the issue of conscription. The federal government was faced with a hostile block of three prairie provinces, all of whom had enfranchised women provincially and also opposed conscription. Looking to secure a carefully selected electorate, they introduced the Wartimes Election Act which enfranchised the immediate female relatives of men in military service and disenfranchised 'aliens'. This became one of the great debates in the women's suffrage movement (second only to the question of whether female forms in catalogues were obscene) and it is interesting to see who stood where on the issue. Two years later, 1919, the women of Canada won a dominion franchise.

When the dominion franchise was won, women were occasionally elected to the Canadian Parliament. Two of the more notable of these women were Agnes McPhail, a United Farmers of Ontario candidate in 1919 and Mrs. Dorise Nielson, a Unity candidate in North Battleford in 1940. Both of the women were leftists. It is interesting that neither of them were involved at any time in the women's suffrage movement.

Agnes McPhail was the first woman member of Parliament. She became a member of the Ginger group and later participated in the founding of the CCF. Dorise Nielson, an English school teacher who married a Canadian farmer had been a member of the CCF (Meadow Lake constituency) in the 1930's. She and a group of her supporters were expelled from the CCF as a result of disagreeing on election strategies. Mrs. Nielson declared for a Unity platform and was elected in her constituency. During her CCF days, she was an organizer of women's groups for the CCF. By this time, however, women's groups had ceased to involve themselves in active politics independent of men's organizations, and had become

merely auxiliaries. The only available information on Dorise Nielson is a *Canadian Tribune* pamphlet, and one therefore assumes that she did, at one point, join the ranks of the Communist Party.

It is interesting that none of the women who came to the fore in radical politics in Canada had previous involvement in the suffrage movement. This seems to have been the case for women involved in the labour movement as well. This is partially explained by the traditionalist attitude toward women existing in labour and radical organizations. They had, at best, only a minimal commitment to the question of women. Also, and quite legitimately, many undoubtedly felt that the job ahead was one of organizing rather than chasing after the vote.

The final action on the part of Canadian suffrage forces was the famous 'persons case' in which Judge Emily Murphy and four other Alberta women took to the Supreme Court of Canada the question of whether or not women were 'persons' under the British North America Act and therefore entitled to be summoned to the Canadian Senate. Their case was lost in the Supreme Court of Canada and in 1920, they appealed to His Majesty's Privy Council in Britain and won. The members of the Council were true liberals and decided in their favour, ruling that women were in fact 'persons'.

In conclusion, I would distinguish between the suffrage movement as it developed in the west as compared to the rest of Canada. Whereas the bulk of the women's movement zeroed in on the issue of the vote at the expense of others, women in Saskatchewan continued for some time, to take a broader view. The measuring rod of the educated and professional women who led the movement elsewhere in Canada was equality with men. They increasingly justified their demand for the vote in terms of its utilitarian value for improving society. Thus, the stress on 'female virtues' and the benefit of their 'unique skills'. They demanded the vote for the sake of 'better homes and families'. To be sure, both groups failed to develop a radical analysis of the overall oppression of women and its relationship to basic economic and social institutions. The movement in the prairies, however, did mobilize large numbers of rural and small town women and did make an effort to go beyond the single issue of the franchise or, for that matter, prohibition. It should also be remembered that the women's movement was not alone in its failure to develop such an analysis and act upon it. This failure characterized many Canadian social movements. ☹

SISTERS, BROTHERS, LOVERS ...LISTEN...

by Judy Bernstein, Peggy Morton, Linda Seese,
Myrna Wood
Fall, 1967

The authors are movement women who were active at the time of writing this paper in the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), then Canada's leading New Left organization. The paper was written for a SUPA membership conference, and was part of the organizing of the first women's liberation group in Canada (in Toronto). This article was originally reprinted by New England Free Press.

This paper is intended to provoke thought and discussion. We hope that it will not be taken as vindictive but that certain directions may come from this discussion. Believing as Marx did that social progress can be measured by the social position of the female sex, we will attempt to describe the human condition in New Left terms as it exists today. We will also explore the position and role of women within this human condition. We will trace the history of the role of women in the New Left in Canada and show that this role is determined by the values of the dominant society. We will point out directions, methods for change and concrete suggestions for change both within and without the movement.

We trust that you will consider this paper with the seriousness with which it was written.

Human Condition

Embodied in all the things we stand for, are concerned with, and work for, as the New Left, is this concept we talk about as the *liberation* of human beings, a liberation that would enable us to develop the full potential that human kind may have. It is the concept behind our rhetoric on the black people of the U.S., the Vietnamese, the Canadian Indians, the developing Third World and the poor and middle classes.

Unlike lower forms of life, human beings are capable of becoming—becoming more than a living entity that is enslaved to the creation and maintenance of the species. The potential we human beings share is to develop our own creativity and make valid our humanism. We need not be caught up in the animalistic biological concept of physical survival of the fittest. Our level of survival and creativity is intricately bound up with the

spiritual, social and economic level of society. Our level of survival and creativity is dependent upon our consciousness and the type of social relationships that allow the expansion of the consciousness.

We say that an acquisitive, frightened elite in society keeps all those who are dispossessed from growing in those areas which raise man to greater heights of creativeness, self-understanding, happiness than the more primitive past we come from. Liberation is to move freely through a lifetime's experience, learning from all, and regardless of one's supposed 'place', expressing oneself in ways that have rarely been possible in our conformist society. We live in a time when this seems possible to us, within our reach; we have some knowledge, means of communication, aids like drugs for self-awareness and awareness of others, but are limited in our freedom to use them. Hence we develop underground methods of circumventing these restrictions put on us, whether cultural or revolutionary. However since we hope for an extensive change in society we constantly attempt to bring our way of living and thinking to the surface to start the change occurring.

However, so often it means that instead of understanding that concept we espouse, we use it mainly as rhetoric, as a shallow political explanation for our dissent. That is not to say that liberation should or could come before we can politically use the concept, but certainly among ourselves being and using should be simultaneous. We must learn by doing how people who have no power can liberate themselves.

The Human Condition as Reflected in the Position of Women

The direct, natural, necessary relation of human creatures is the relation of man to woman...The nature of this relation delimits to what point man himself is to be considered as a **generic being**. As mankind, the relation of man to woman is the most natural relation of human being to human being. By it is shown, therefore, to what point the **natural** behaviour of man has become **human**, or to what point the **human** being has become his **natural** being, to what point his human nature has become his **nature**.

Simone de Beauvoir has said in response to the above statement by Marx:

The case could not be better stated. It is for man to establish the reign of liberty in the midst of the world of the given. To gain the supreme victory, it is necessary for one thing. That by and through their natural differentiation men and women unequivocally affirm their brotherhood.

We believe they both state the case very well. We also see the human condition of this society as one of loneliness, alienation and fear. We all look for support against this. Men attempt to alleviate this fear by having someone—a woman—whom he can depend upon and dominate. He must see her as an inferior in order to strengthen his identity which is constantly threatened by an inhuman society. This leaves the woman with only one

role with which to eliminate her similar fears. She must gain her identity through that domination. The woman begins to tie the man to her through his need for her. He is dependent on her playing the role of being his helpmate and being dependent on him for providing and protecting. The man's function is creation and procreation; the woman's is maintenance. This role chafes her. She realizes in her subconscious what Marcuse says: "Free election of masters does not abolish the masters or the slaves." The woman becomes possessive in retaliation for her forced role. She cannot allow him to be free because she is not free. Marcuse says, "In a society based on exploitation both the slave and the slaveholder are unfree...and this mutual dependence is...a vicious circle which encloses both the Master and the Servant." The human quality of love is destroyed. And we are the children of such relationships.

As Marian Ramelson writes: "Not only (will) men have to re-estimate women's place in the home and society, but women will have to re-estimate themselves, giving their work and potentialities a far higher value than they've been accustomed to do." Yes, the 'woman problem' is a human 'problem' but we women are beginning to understand the necessity of re-estimating ourselves. We are learning what Marcuse knew: "The range of choice open to the individual is not the decisive factor in determining the degree of human freedom, but what *can* be chosen and what *is* chosen by the individual."

Perhaps the position of women in the sexual act, most often lying underneath the man, illustrates the social and economic position of women in society. Women feel they are still on the bottom, in all respects. The notion of human liberation is in direct opposition to the notions of efficiency, profit, accumulation of possessions. The separation of man from woman contributes to the maintenance of such a society.

Historical Basis of the Position of Women

Juliet Mitchell, in an article on the position of women, "The Longest March," *New Left Review*, has set our four categories which she sees as operating dialectically to create and reinforce a subservient position for women in society: production, reproduction, sexuality and socialization. Her categories will be used to develop an outline on the historical basis of women's enslavement.

Production

Socialist writers have traditionally linked the origins and continuation of women's domination with the physical superiority of men and their consequent ability to perform work. This results in a division of tasks: men are creators and conquerors while women act as preservers and maintainers.

Historically, this is not true. While it is true that man's physical strength has given him a capacity for violence in war and conquest, and thus *political* control, the role of women in production has been a varied one. For example, in many agricultural societies, women have performed the bulk of work in the fields. In Britain during the period of early industrialization, women and children provided the bulk of the cheap labour force in the textile factories and the mines. In addition, women have, of course, performed socially necessary work, such as housework which falls outside the market economy. These examples show that coercion has and will be used to force women to engage in productive labour when the economic system demands it, or when men have decided that women will perform certain kinds of work.

In societies where women have not played a major role in the labour force, they are generally accorded the role of stabilizers of the social order. This occurs in the following way: work is an alienating experience because men have no control over either the process or the products of their labour. An escape must be provided. The institution of the family has provided such an escape. Women have the job of maintaining a retreat from the alienating society. Without this release people in society might become alienated to the point of rebellion against the social order. In the same way that poor whites have been controlled by teaching them superiority to black people, men have been controlled by giving them a role superior to that of women.

It is obvious that the granting to women of equal rights to work and to be creative within the present society cannot be considered liberation, since work in a capitalist society is unfulfilling and alienating. The question of the role of women in production cannot be divorced from that of the necessity of a transition from capitalism to socialism, but the demand of rights in this area for women will be one step in breaking down the social order.

Reproduction

The problems of production and reproduction are closely linked. The inability, until recently, of women to control their own reproductive capacities has made it convenient to accord to women their present position. As long as women have no control over the number of children they wish to bear or when they wish to have them, they are easier to control, being more in need of protection and less useful as members of the labour force. 'The pill' has the potential for making women free agents in this matter. The most optimistic thing about contraception is that once childbearing becomes one option among many, and women have some power to control their destinies, they may well be less ready to accept subservience as an inevitable part of their condition.

It is important to remember, however, that the questions of production and reproduction must be seen as social rather than strictly biological. Since the continuation of the race depends on reproduction, an economic system based on human needs rather than profit would see that women who are pregnant or who have young children should be provided for economically, especially if this removes them for a time from other productive labour. Capitalism, of course, makes no such social judgments.

Sexuality

The submissive role of women in the sexual act is inseparable from the values taught to people about how to treat one another and about the possibility or impossibility of a human relationship between men and women. Woman is the object; man is the subject. Women are screwed; men do the screwing. Men see sex as conquest; women see it as surrender. Such a value system in the most personal and potentially meaningful act of communication between men and women cannot but result in the inability of both the one who conquers and the one who surrenders to have genuine love and understanding between them.

The question of sexual liberation for both men and women is fundamental to both the liberation of women and to the development of human relationships between people, since the capacity for meaningful sexual experience is both an indication and an actualization of the capacity for love which this society stifles so successfully.

As 'modern' women begin to recognize their own sexual potential and to demand sexual fulfilment, women begin to treat men as the object, so that we have two people, each treating the other as the object. This is natural, given that people are taught, in order to keep themselves alienated from one another, to treat other people, not as human beings but as the object of their wants and needs. The partial liberation that has taken place and is taking place for women in the sexual sphere does, however, hold out the possibility of more real human relationships between men and women. Both become equal and active participants: the potential for a mutual experience is greatly increased.

This kind of sexual liberation creates the possibility for people to unlearn those social roles which act to preserve an alienating society. Men can no longer act as conquerors, nor can women act as the dominated and conquered; this will in turn have its effect on the social roles that they must play.

Socialization of children

Women are taught to be parasites—as Emma Goldman says—to live off men as dependent creatures. It is hardly surprising that since women are also the major socializers of children, children grow up not learning to be independent of others and able to make independent judgments about their own lives and the values of the society.

There is no particular biological reason, apart from early feeding, that women should act as the socializers of children. Indeed, the separate functions given to men and women in teaching children behaviour and in developing personality structure are in themselves evidence of the unintegrated personality structure that results from the roles of men and women in the society: the mother is the unconditional love symbol, the father that of authority. We see this also in the personality characteristics which men and women are taught—men are intellectual, strong, aggressive; women are passive, emotional, tender and so on. Such a division, biologically speaking, is of course so much nonsense.

The nuclear family, with the love symbol and the authority figure, also provides social stability in that it provides a structure in which frustration transference takes place. The man returns from work where he is unable to take out his frustrations in the appropriate place and transfers the hostility to wife and children. The mother allows this by accepting this as the male role: "Just wait until your father gets home and hears what you did—you're going to get it then." It also provides a way of socializing children that will teach them to obey authority by providing, in the early years, a complete authority system of adults which they must submit to.

In all of the areas mentioned above, biological necessity cannot explain the roles accorded to men and women. Biology is a useful excuse, since for the sake of efficiency many differentiations in social roles are made most easily in this way. However, maintenance of the social structure can also be seen as a primary cause for the division of roles between men and women that has taken place. Thus the liberation of women is a revolutionary demand in all its aspects, for it demands the most complete restructuring of the social order. The realization of this would mean, in fact, human liberation.

Cultural Determination of the Role of Women

The role of woman as the centre of the family—childraiser, cook and housekeeper—and that of the man as the provider of the family has been assumed as natural. The nature of woman and of man has also been assumed. We contend that, in fact, culture could determine the exact opposite. There is no natural inborn instinct for certain roles and personality traits.

Margaret Mead says this in her books *Sex and Temperament* and *Male and Female*. Let us review her findings. The Zuni, Arapesh, and Samoan tribes consist of men and women with the characteristics we attribute to women in our society. The women also actively enjoy sex while the men do not (Jung is turning over in his grave). The Mumudugumor tribe is the opposite—both men and women have the masculine characteristics of our

society. The women, by the way, detest childbearing and childrearing (there goes the myth of maternal instinct). They are also the providers for the family. The Tchambuli and Zuni have their men raise the children. The former tribe finds men adorned with lovely ornaments, and long curls, while the women are unadorned and have shaved heads. The men spend their time with the children, doing the shopping and gossiping. The women work in the fields and forests to provide food and shelter for the family.

The other outstanding example of deviance from the norms of western society is the position of men and women in lower class Negro society in the U.S. Because of the old slave system, where the white women were allowed no freedom and black women were used by white men, black women have had a special role and a degree of freedom. There is an old Southern saying that the only free people in the South are white men and black women. A rueful addition by the white women in SNCC was, "So now we're fighting for the freedom of Negro men. When is it our turn?"

The lower class Negro women are the ones who can get the jobs. There are very few jobs for the men. Welfare reinforces this since women can receive welfare only when they prove they are not living with a man. Negro women are breadwinners. They are the rulers of the roost. They are assertive, active in politics within the confines of their caste society and the dominant force in their society. It is the women who are free to partake in affairs with men of other classes and colours. Men, if they remain in the family, are submissive, fearful and definitely the less favoured half of the relationship. They are also often forced to raise children.

The bulk of the membership and leadership of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union and the Poor People's Corporation (the only truly grass roots organizations in the South) were and are women. We mourn the loss of manhood of Negro men. It is easy to see that they have been deprived of their full humanity by the culture in which they live. Very few people mourn the loss of humanity of the exploited half of the human species—the women. Negro men are asserting their manhood in the ghettos of the U.S. Perhaps the women of the world will be asserting their womanhood soon.

Women in the New Left

We have mentioned the human condition and how we of the New Left deplore exploitation of all kinds. At the same time we realize that the revolution in this country will be a long hard pull. In order to keep the revolutionary movement alive it will be necessary that we attempt the most humane interaction. We must act as though the revolution had occurred by our relationships with one another.

We assert that SUPA people have the same hangups, frustrations and neuroses as the rest of society. One attempted solution to our lack of real ego identity was finding it within SUPA. We all know that this failed. We

tried to identify with this group as if it were our family, our peer group and our society. We created father figures or allowed them to be created. While this proved harmful to all concerned, we hope that it was an experience from which we can learn. As a result of this kind of psychological seeking we never gained the principles of participatory democracy. A few people were allowed to lead. Many people were excluded from leadership. The largest excluded group was women. SUPA, in respect to women, totally accepted the mores of the dominant society.

Stokely Carmichael once said, "The only position for a woman in SNCC is prone." We cannot imagine any of the fine SUPA men uttering such a statement, but we can imagine many of them thinking it. In fact they put women in SUPA in two categories or roles—the workers and the wives.

One role for women is that of catering to the organization's men. These women maintain the stable, homey atmosphere which the radical man needs to survive. They raise the future radicals of Canada. They earn the money in the mundane jobs that our society pays people to do so the radical men can be political, creative and so forth. Of course, these relationships are ones of 'freedom'. But it is, in fact, a one-sided freedom and we all know which side is 'free'. This, we feel, is a situation not unlike that of the dominant society—"behind every successful man is a successful woman." While their real women are being women by earning money, cooking and housecleaning, their radical partners can be political and creative, write, think and ooze charisma.

But in order to do this, these men need followers and maintainers. Women in SUPA do this work. They are the typists, fundraisers and community organizers. The vast majority of community organizers were women and we must ask why. Community organizing was considered tedious. It required patience, sensitivity, understanding and more patience. It is a sad commentary that so few men felt they could do this kind of work.

Every so often one of these workers would try, through her efforts and work, to attain a position of leadership. As we all know too well, they were labeled 'castrating females' and not 'real women'. In other words, they were no longer 'good niggers'. These women were forced out of the organization by various unconscious means, or accepted their subservient roles. The work of these women has been used to build a myth for SUPA but they must not try to gain recognition for this.

The myth of participatory democracy is just that, if one looks at the participation of women in SUPA. Old Leftists who agree totally with the aims and goals of SUPA are astounded that we permit the degree of male chauvinism that abounds in it. One sometimes gets the feeling that we are like a civil rights organization with a leadership of southern racists. This is disastrous for an organization. An organization that permits half its membership to be kept from using their talents and energies is in sad shape.

Because of the attitude within the movement in the minds of both sexes, women are not free to think and act outside the limited role given to them in the broader society. We are allowed to speak but our thoughts are not given serious attention until expressed by a male. We are allowed sexual freedom but are still faced with a loss of respect on the part of many males if we take advantage of that freedom, or still expected to designate our 'man' as our first priority. How many times have you heard a man express the sentiment that a woman in the movement is taking a particular position because that is what her 'man thinks'?

As some of us women have become more aware of our intellectual and political powers we experience a loss of emotional identity in our personal lives. Men seem to find it difficult to relate to a person who combines both roles, i.e. 'masculine intellectualism' and 'feminine emotionalism'. They insist we be one or the other.

If we refuse to be relegated to a womanly, wifely, emotional role and insist on being accepted as equally intelligent beings and capable of theoretical, strategic, and analytical work, most men will eventually accept us. But this acceptance will be on a tenuous basis while waiting for our first big slip. However, we find *then* that we are no longer 'feminine' to them and must look for emotional involvements outside the left environment.

Some women react to this by reverting to the physically feminine and intellectually passive role. Hardly aware of it, they opt for the easier way to have their emotional and sexual needs fulfilled by men they respect at the expense of their chance for intellectual development.

It is our contention that until the male chauvinists of the movement understand the concept of liberation in relation to women, the most exploited members of *any* society, they will be voicing political lies.

Some movement women are ready for revolution. We have rejected many of the traditional leaders as irrelevant. We are thinking for ourselves. We are doing the necessary reading, writing, and conversing to find the analysis and theory for the task. We have the background of experience to do this. We have the frustration of being excluded to force us to do this. We are realizing that we have brains, that we can be political. It is the liberating feeling that black people have when they discover that being black is beautiful and therefore they are beautiful. It is a feeling of beauty and power. We are getting these kinds of feelings.

We are going to be the typers of letters and distributors of leaflets (hewers of wood and drawers of water) *no longer*. We are recognizing our own existential position and know the exploitations that affect us. At some time the men of the movement will have to understand our position. We are going to fight to change the atmosphere that forbids participation. We hope that those men who are excluded will join us in the fight. ●

PIE IN THE SKY ...royal commission recipe

Reprinted from the January, 1971
issue of the *Pedestal*

"Paid vacations for housewives!" So the *Vancouver Sun* announced the release of the report of the three million dollar, three year old Royal Commission on the Status of Women. Many of us read with some surprise the recommendations of the Commission: maternity leave with pay, free abortion on demand, a national day-care program, equal job and promotion opportunity, pensions and paid vacations for housewives, guaranteed annual income for all one parent families, an end to sex-typing in the classroom, liberalization of divorce laws, etc., etc.

For two days the papers gloated over the promised liberation of women. Those of us who have been fighting so hard for many of these very demands could hardly help but be impressed.

And yet an actual reading of the report gives less reason for optimism. It is hardly surprising that the demands in many ways echo our own. Some of us made submissions to Commission hearings. The commissioners themselves have spent many months listening to accounts of the oppression of women in Canada, from sophisticated professional women in Montreal and Toronto to angry Indian women in the Yukon. The only surprising thing about the recommendations is that it should have taken three years to document our obvious needs.

In fact, given three years and three million dollars collected in taxes from 2.3 million underpaid working women, the recommendations of the Royal Commission are remarkably short-sighted. While the commissioners were shocked into recognizing that women are oppressed, they failed somehow to understand the root causes of our oppression. For example, they recommend equal job opportunities and lament the ineffectiveness of the existing legislation which is supposed to guarantee women's right to equal pay for equal work. They argue that women should be admitted to the boards of directors of the major corporations, federal boards, task forces and the Senate. It is hard to believe that they can be so naive. When the recommendations of the Commission were made public, the response of business to the recommended provisions for working women was made quite plain by the president of the Employers' Council of B.C. He promised that the companies would simply stop hiring women. This is no empty threat, as B.C. women laid off in the forest industry after fighting for equal pay can testify.

The federal government itself has been notoriously lax in its hiring and wage policies vis-a-vis women. The question to be asked is why a government closely inter-linked with business and industry would effect laws which will cut off a cheap pool of labour? Why equal pay? Why equal job opportunity? Big business is concerned about profit, not human equality. As women we are oppressed by the kind of society we live in—an economic system based on the exploitation of many by a few powerful owners and a social system dependent on racial, national and sexual chauvinism. A few token women or even a significant minority of women sitting in corporation board rooms will not and cannot liberate women whose exploitation is the key to profits in quite a few industries.

The discussion of the recommendation for a national day-care program also suffers from a similar misunderstanding of the sources of women's oppression. Most women need to be liberated from their almost total and overwhelming responsibility for the socialization of their children. But most parents also love their children and take this responsibility very seriously. They will not happily turn their kids over to public institutions if those institutions are to be just one more of those 'public' services over which they have no real control. Who will run them? What values will be reflected in their programs? Will parents be able to control them, to share ideas with other adults, to see them realized in the day to day functioning of these centres? The care of children has been a haphazard individualized affair for so long that social responsibility for child care will require a lot of thinking, talking and experimenting. Most public institutions are neither flexible nor democratic.

The media coverage of the Commission's report has given a lot of basic demands a wide hearing. As these demands gain wider and wider support it is important to investigate and make clear those basic changes which will be necessary to make the liberation of women a real possibility. We should not be fooled into thinking we have won any major victory in the mere publication of the recommendations of the Commission. We have already seen how limited even legislative reforms can be with the B.C. Human Rights Act (see "Equal Rights", *Pedestal*, November 1970), the abortion laws and the Ontario Equal Opportunity Act. Given the usual plight of the recommendations of Royal Commissions, there is reason for a certain cynicism about the likely destiny of this report. Traditionally these studies seem to serve to fire the enthusiasm of groups on the move and to keep them quiescent during the following years when the promised changes are supposed to be imminent. All too often, despite the intentions of the liberals who serve on them, these studies end up as mere political ploys to win votes. The pitiful changes wrought by the much touted Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission should serve as a warning to us not to be fooled by mere words.

The liberation of women will take more than a few legislative reforms. Our oppression is basic to the smooth functioning of our society as presently organized. Only an organized and determined women's movement can understand what is necessary and desirable and make it possible. We may gain a few minor improvements in our general condition through the efforts of the Commission, but for the most part it is likely to turn out to be just pie in the sky to assure the ladies that if they'll just be patient they'll all be free by and by. ♀



Dimming after
noon grey and aging
sunbeard

Civilization stacked
like these stone
tenements
against us

Writing to women I mistreated
or hid from

I have strands
of an idea
it's music and dance
at God's
gravebottom

Eyes among the stones
looked up saw
embryos forming overhead

Thought I better tell you
all:

no gas, no bullet
can kill
what these faces
reflect

what this soft

flesh

projects /today jan. 28 here

Anne McLean

Montreal, Quebec

II STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION



WOMEN'S WORK IS NEVER DONE...or the production, maintenance and reproduction of labour power

by Peggy Morton
Toronto, Ontario
January, 1970

A socialist who is not a feminist lacks breadth. A feminist who is not a socialist lacks strategy. (Quoted in *Radical America*, "Women in the Socialist Party")

There has been a great deal of debate in women's liberation over the past few years about the function of the family in capitalist society. Discussion has generally focused on the role of the family as the primary unit of socialization: the family is the basic unit in which authoritarian personality structures are formed, particularly the development of authoritarian relationships between parents and children and between men and women; the family is necessary to the maintenance of sexual repression in that sexuality is allowed legitimate expression only within the confines of the marriage institution; through the family men can give vent to the feelings of frustration, anger and resentment that are the products of alienated labour, and can act out the powerlessness which they experience in work by dominating the other members of the family; and within the family little girls learn what is expected of them and how they should act.⁽¹⁾

This theoretical work has provided important insights and understanding of the ways in which the family oppresses women, and the functions of the family in alleviating tensions created within the society. It has also forced the English-Canadian new left to deal with the questions of cultural, sexual and psychological oppression. But we have neglected to deal with the family as an economic unit, and as a result the question of women and the family has been divorced from our understanding of advanced capitalism, and has failed to develop an understanding of the dialectic between the economic and psychological functions of the family. Women's Liberation becomes an after thought; women are viewed as one more minority group along with black people, Indians and perhaps students who are recognized as oppressed. Women are not, however, a minority group; they are one half of the human race. This repressive tolerance toward the question of women only further retards real analysis. Until this liberalism is smashed the pre-conditions for socialist men and women making alliances or working together in the development of a class analysis cannot exist, nor will the women's liberation movement succeed in developing revolutionary strategy.

Women themselves have been guilty of this 'minority group' approach. The analogy between the oppression of black people and the oppression of women is common in women's liberation groups, and does serve as a way of forcing men to take seriously both the psychological and the economic oppression of women, and to expose the ways in which the culture does not recognize, in very fundamental ways, the existence of women.⁽²⁾ But too often analogy passes for analysis, and when you try to build strategy out of analogy you are in trouble. These analogies often contain an inherent chauvinism both toward black people and toward women. Marlene Dixon states in her article "Why Women's Liberation?":

In fact, women are as trapped in their false consciousness as were the mass of black people twenty years ago, and for much the same reason.

She goes on to say:

Yet the greatest obstacle facing those who would organize women remains women's belief in their own inferiority. Just as all subject populations are controlled by their acceptance of the rightness of their own status, so women remain subject because they believe in the rightness of their own oppression. ⁽³⁾

It is true, as Dixon points out, that one way the ruling class tries to control people is to mutilate their identities. But our task as organizers is not to tell women that they are oppressed but first to understand the ways in which people rebel every day against their oppression, to understand the mechanism by which this rebellion is co-opted and contained, how people are kept separate so that they see their oppression as individual and not sex and class oppression, and to provide revolutionary theory and practice which can give rise to new forms of struggle against that oppression. The greatest obstacle is not 'false consciousness' but not knowing how to fight the family system, as for blacks the greatest obstacle was not knowing how to fight the racist system. Revolutionary movements are born out of the consciousness that people already have of their oppression and the transformation of individual understanding through collective action which produces a higher level of consciousness. It is our own chauvinism toward other women that keeps us from understanding how much women already understand about their own oppression.

A second problem with much of both the psychological and economic analysis of women's oppression is that it often has been developed out of the need to *justify* the importance of women's liberation rather than as a serious attempt to lay the basis for an understanding of the relationship of women to the capitalist system and a basis for strategy. Dixon mentions the "invisible participants" (movement men) in her article in *Radical America*, and she is right, but the problem goes even deeper. Even socialist women in women's liberation do not yet see analysis as a tool for the development of *strategy*, but only as a tool for increasing our individual

and collective *understanding* of our oppression. This encourages a real liberalism among us about the way we look at the oppression of women, because lack of strategy means we don't have to act and so 'analysis' serves instead to focus on our individual lives and the hope of changing them.

Most of the writing on the economics of women's liberation and the family have fallen into this trap. 'Consumerism' has been such a bugaboo. Take, for example, this passage on women as consumers:

The \$16 billion a year advertising industry has swollen since the end of World War Two, paralleling women's mass exodus from productive labour to the home or the bottom rung of the labour force. The frustrating, boring, essentially passive and self-denying aspects of females' present roles probably make them "natural" consumers and suckers for ads. Yet, the advertising industry consciously and purposefully plants the idea in women that the road to fulfillment, to happiness, to overcoming obstacles to catching and keeping a man lies in greater and greater consumption. After all, the business of advertising is to sell and females make up to 75 per cent of all consumer decisions. More important, it is women who consume most of the "wasteful" products of an over-productive economy—with the exception of military waste—the ever-changing cosmetics, the latest in patterned, scented fancy paper products, decorator extension phones, lovely flowered plastic boxes of margerine, the final word in any of the fifty brands of soap powder. (4)

In this analysis the growth of the advertising industry is tied to the 'mass exodus' of women from the labour market to the home—while in fact, 42 per cent of women over 14 were in the labour force in the U.S. and 32 per cent in Canada in 1968. Women are portrayed as rather stupid, malleable creatures easily manipulated by the big, bad advertising man. But the writers of the paper have themselves fallen prey to the myths of the advertising men—the myth, for example, that women make all the decisions about buying in the family, the myth that there is real choice in the market place (the 50 brands of soap are made by a few large companies), and the myth that women's work—buying and preparing food for their families, buying clothing and making the purchases that sustain their families from day-to-day is somehow pleasurable consumption and not work or production. And the whole picture is based on an incredible ignorance of the lives of working class women and a false picture of North American affluence. Wasteful consumption by the middle class is only one way in which surplus is disposed of. Working class families spend most of their income on essentials—food, shelter, transportation, clothing, medical care, insurance and taxes.

Waste in capitalist society is related not just to consumption, or even primarily to consumption, but to the structure of production. The system is not going to collapse if we stop buying genital deodorants and lipsticks. Moreover, the basis of wasteful consumption under capitalism rests in the fact that people have very little choice about how they spend their money,

and this cannot be explained by a neo-Freudian emphasis on psychic manipulation. Ellen Willis, in an excellent paper on consumerism has noted:

The locus of the oppression resides in the **production** function: people have no control over what commodities are produced (or services performed), in what amounts, under what conditions, or how they are distributed. Corporations make these decisions solely for their own profit. It is more profitable to provide luxuries for the affluent (or, for that matter for the poor, on exploitative installment plans) than to produce and make available food, housing, medical care, education, recreational and cultural facilities according to the needs and desires of the people. We can accept the goods offered to us or reject them, but we cannot determine their quality or change system's priorities. In a truly human society, in which all people have personal autonomy, control over the means of production and equal access to goods and services, consumption will be all the more enjoyable because we will not have to ensure shoddy goods at exploitative prices by means of dishonest advertising.

As it is, the profusion of commodities is a genuine and powerful compensation for oppression. It is a bribe, but like all bribes, it offers concrete benefits; in the average American's case, a degree of physical comfort unparalleled in history. Under present conditions, people are pre-occupied with consumer goods not because they are brainwashed but because buying is the one pleasurable activity not only permitted but actively encouraged by the power structure. The pleasure of eating an ice-cream cone may be small compared to the pleasure of meaningful autonomous work, but the former is easily available and the latter is not. A poor family would undoubtedly rather have a decent apartment than a new TV, but since they are unlikely to get the apartment, what is to be gained by not getting the TV?(5)

Willis also points out the 'consumerism' syndrome is symptomatic of an elitist and individualistic approach to the oppression of women. The only strategy that can come from this analysis is an individualist response—moral exhortation not to buy products, and not to objectify oneself. This serves to reinforce the feelings of superiority that middle class radicals too often have toward working class people with their 'plastic' existence and their 'materialist values', and suggests that we who do not wear bras and buy genital deodorants are morally superior to other women who do.

It would be more useful to look at advertising as a form of social control, as capitalist art, to understand the ways in which advertisers turn revolt against the system into propaganda for the system, than to look at it in what are essentially bourgeois psychological terms. This would allow us to look at the problem of consciousness dialectically. In other words, we would come to understand more clearly the anger and anxieties that women feel which all mechanisms of social control, including advertising, work to transform from dissent into assent. For example, the 'revolution' in women's underwear—a new bra which looks like 'no-bra' costs even more than the old kind.

What Defines Women? or Does Lady Astor Oppress her Garbageman?

Maggie Benston's paper "What Defines Women?" (published in *Monthly Review* as "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation") is very

important as one of the first arguments that we must analyse the role of women in the family from the point of view of production rather than consumption. Benston argues that because the work of women in the home is based not on commodity production, which in capitalist society is the only kind of production considered to be real work, but on the production of use-values without exchange values*, that the work that women perform is not considered to be real and valid work, and that therefore women are defined as inferior to men.

*The material basis for the inferior status of women is to be found in just this definition of work. In a society where money determines value, women are a group who work outside the money economy. Their work is not worth money, is therefore valueless, 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.(6)

Benston thus sees the family, and women's production role within the family, as the material basis for the oppression of women. This argument is significant not only in that it rejects the idea that the family is primarily a unit of consumption, but because it challenges the view that the only *economic* basis to the oppression of women is the super-exploitation of women in the labour market. Those who argue that the economic oppression of women exists only within the workplace, conclude that therefore women need not organize either separately or differently from men, and that there is no need for an autonomous women's movement. And even Marxist women's liberationists often envisage organizing working women in the same terms as if they were organizing men, using the same analysis and the same strategy.

In this view, male supremacy is seen primarily as an attitude, (male chauvinism) an attitude conveniently used by the capitalists to further exploit women. If male supremacy is primarily an attitude, then the problem of male supremacy is one that can and will be dealt with after the seizure of state power. In its grossest form this analysis implies that women cannot be liberated until after the revolution, and that the abolition of wage slavery will also abolish the oppression of women, with cultural hangovers that will be dealt with by the 'cultural revolution'.

*By 'use-value', we mean things produced which people find a use for; by 'exchange-value', we mean things that have a value in the market-place. A commodity must have both use-value and exchange-value. If it is exchanged for other commodities or for money, it has exchange value. If it has no use, people will not buy it. Things that have use-value but not exchange-value are usually things produced for consumption by the producer (and family) directly.

If male supremacy is not attitudinal but structural, then no understanding of the economic base is possible without understanding male supremacy and how it maintains the hegemony of the ruling class. Only when we understand the actual divisions within the working class which exist on the basis of sex, race, nationality, status, skill level, etc., not as attitudes which people can be exhorted to change but manifestations of contradictions, can we begin to understand the potential basis for unity of the working class.

Benston correctly situates the oppression of women as stemming from their role in the family and correctly argues that real contradictions exist for women as women, and not only on the basis of their class position. Because of this, many of us have accepted her arguments with a certain sense of relief that we have 'solved' the problem of this class position of women. Clearly her paper was not meant to provide a complete analysis and should not be faulted for failing to solve questions it did not set out to solve. But there are very serious problems within the structure of Benston's argument.

The chief problem is that it does not provide any basis on which strategy for a women's movement can be based. What does it mean to say that women have a unique relationship to the means of production and are therefore a class? We know that despite this common relationship to production in the home women are nevertheless objectively, socially, culturally and economically defined, and subjectively define themselves, through the class position of their husband or their family and or the class position derived from work outside the home. We know that upper class women gain very real privileges from their class position which over-ride the oppression which they experience as women. Although it is not Benston's intent to say that a bourgeois woman has more in common with her maid than with her husband, that conclusion could be drawn from the argument as it stands.

Secondly, to define women through their work as unpaid household labourers does not help us to understand how to organize women. The logical conclusion would be that women should be organized around their relationship to production, i.e. organized around their work in the home. Yet the isolation of housewives, which is an important aspect of their oppression, is also a great barrier to their organization. Historically, women have begun to organize not when they were tied to the home, but when they entered the labour market.

There are some areas where this analysis does bear fruit. The demand to socialize the care of children through day-care centres must clearly be part of our strategy. Another possibility is the demand for housing which

does not isolate people in family units but provides space for people to live in other arrangements. With facilities for day-care, areas for children to play, common areas for women who are forced to live a prison-like existence in the privacy of their own home, and communal eating facilities to relieve women of the task of preparing food daily for their families. But within a capitalist society, unless these demands are tied in with an attack on the private ownership of the means of production, the logical solution would be the capitalization, not the socialization of household labour. And probably women would be hired at low wages to perform these services. We need to integrate the demand for the socialization of household labour with the demand for the socialization of labour outside the home.

A third problem with Benston's analysis is that it is static not dialectic, and does not provide the framework for understanding the changing nature of the family as an economic institution. As John and Mickey Rowntree point out,(7) women do not play a peripheral role in the labour force, and the numbers of women working outside the home are growing very significantly. The sense in which women's role in the labour force is peripheral is that women's position in the family is used to facilitate the use of women as a reserve army of labour, to pay women half what men are paid, but women's work in the labour force is peripheral neither to the women's lives nor to the capitalist class. In Canada, the percentage of all women 14 years of age and over in the labour force has risen from 23.4 per cent in 1953 to 34.5 per cent in 1968, while the percentage of men has declined from 82.9 per cent to 77 per cent (8)(because of earlier retirement and longer periods of schooling). At the same time, more women are also attending school.

One, Two, Three Many Contradictions

We need an analysis of the family will help us understand how and why these changes are taking place. I have been arguing that very little of the analysis of women's oppression that we have done in women's liberation has been strategic analysis, and that the way we look at women's oppression reflects both the inner-directedness of the women's movement and our desire to prove to ourselves and to men that we are Marxists, that we have an economic analysis, and so on. We must now begin to examine the specific material and historical conditions out of which the present women's liberation movement has arisen, and the contradictions which women experience that are increasing women's consciousness. Strategy is a question of the correct handling of contradictions. We must understand both the contradictions between women's role in the family and their role in the labour force, and the contradictions that exist within the family in the various roles which the family is expected to perform under capitalism.

The essence of the position I want to argue in this paper is as follows: (a) as Benston argues, the primary material basis of women's oppression lies in the family system; (b) that particular structural changes are taking place in capitalism that affect and change the role of the family, are causing a crisis in the family system, and are raising the consciousness of women about their oppression; (c) that the key to understanding these changes is to see the family as a unit whose function is the *maintenance of and reproduction of labour power*, i.e. that the structure of the family is determined by the needs of the economic system, at any given time, for a certain kind of labour power; (d) that this conception of the family allows us to look at women's public (work in the labour force) and private (work in the family) roles in an integrated way. The position of women in the labour force will be determined by (i) the needs of the family system, i.e. what the family needs to do in order to carry out the functions required of it, and (ii) by the general needs of the economy for specific kinds of labour power; (e) strategy must be based on an understanding of the contradictions within the family, contradictions which are created by the needs that the family has to fulfill, of the contradictions within the work-force (contradictions between the social nature of production and the capitalist organization of work), and the contradictions created by the dual roles of women—work in the home and work in capitalist production. This paper will try to deal with the contradictions within the family, and the contradictions between public and private roles.

We are taught to view the family as a sacrosanct institution, as the foundation-stone of society and as constant and never-changing. As Juliet Mitchell says:

Like woman herself, the family appears as a natural object, but it is actually a cultural creation. There is nothing inevitable about the form or role of the family any more than there is about the character or role of women. It is the function of ideology to present these given social types as aspects of nature herself.(9)

Particularly in times of social upheaval, the family is extolled as the 'greatest good', whether it be the *Kinder, Kirche, Kuche* of the Nazis or the togetherness preached in Amerika. Because the family is so clearly important in maintaining social stability, many women's liberationists see the family as the 'lynch-pin' of the capitalist system, and see their major task as the destruction of the family. The problem with this view is that it tends to become totally idealist—a declaration of war on the *ideology* of the family system and not its substance. Instead our task is to formulate strategy from an understanding of the contradictions in the family system. To do this we must understand how the family has developed in different stages of capitalism as the requirements for the maintenance and reproduction of labour power change. When Benston analyzes the oppression of women in terms of their productive role being that of unpaid household labourers,

she is analyzing only one part of the maintenance and reproduction of labour power. Through this definition we can examine the size of families encouraged, the socialization of children in the home and in educational institutions, the working place of women in or out of the home and the role of the wife in giving psychological support and playing a 'tension-management' role for her husband. In short, we can study the economic, social, ideological and psychological functions of the family in an integrated way.

By "reproduction of labour power"* we mean simply that the task of the family is to maintain the present work force and provide the next generation of workers, fitted with the requisite skills and values necessary for them to be productive members of the work force. When we talk about the evolution of the family under capitalism, we have to understand both the changes in the family among the proletariat, and the changes that come from the increasing proletarianization of the labour force engaged in agriculture, and the consequent urbanization of the society.

The pre-capitalist family functioned (as does the farm family in capitalist society) as an integrated economic unit; men, women and children took part in production: work in the fields, the cottage industry, and production for the use of the family. There was a division of labour between men and women, but in essence all production took place within the family. We should not idealize the pre-capitalist family, for there was much brutality in the old system—the oppression of women, harsh ideas about the raising of children, and a culture that reflected the limitations of peasant life. But the family also served as a structure for the expression and fulfilment of simple human emotional needs.

The Family in the First Stages of Capitalism

For those who became the urban proletariat, this was ruthlessly swept away with the coming of industry. The function of the family in the reproduction of labour power was reduced to the most primitive level. Instead of skilled artisans, the factories required only a steady flow of workers who required little or no training, learned what they needed on the job, and who were easily replaceable. Numbers were of primary importance, and the conditions under which people lived were irrelevant to the needs of capital. The labour of women and children took on a new importance.

**Labour power is a term used by Marxists to describe the commodity that the worker sells to the capitalist. Labour power in other words is the ability to do work. The worker, having no other commodity to exchange but his labour power, sells this commodity to the capitalist who appropriates the value produced by the worker's labour during the working day.*

In so far as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing labourers of slight muscular strength and those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all the more supple...The labour of women and children was therefore the first thing sought by the capitalists who used machinery. That mighty substitute for labour and labourers was forthwith changed into a means for increasing the number of wage-labourers, by enrolling under the direct sway of capital every member of the workman's family, without distinction of age or sex. Compulsory work for the capitalist usurped the place, not only of children's play, but also of free labour in the home within moderate limits, for the support of the family...The value of labour power was determined not only by the labour time necessary to maintain the individual adult labourer, but also by that necessary to maintain his family. Machinery, by throwing every member of that family onto the labour market depreciates the power of the man...In order that the family may live, four people must now, **not only labour, but expend surplus labour for the capitalist.**(10)

The consequence was a drastic increase in the exploitation of child labour in Britain in the period 1780-1840. Even small children worked 12-18 hour days, death from over-work was common, and despite a series of Factory Acts which made provisions for the education of child labourers, the education was almost always mythical. When teachers were provided, they were themselves often illiterate. The report on Public Health, London, 1864, documents that in industrial districts infant mortality was as high as one death in four in the first year of life, as compared to one in ten in non-industrial districts. As many as half the children died in the first five years of life in the industrial slums—not because of a lack of medical knowledge, but because of the conditions under which the urban proletariat were forced to live. Girls who had worked in the mills since early childhood had a characteristic deformation of the pelvic bones which made for difficult births; women worked until the last week of pregnancy and would return to the mills soon after giving birth for fear of losing their jobs; children were left with those too young or too old to work, were given opiates to quiet them, and often died from malnutrition resulting from the absence of the mother and the lack of suitable food.(11)

In other words, in the stage of primitive accumulation of capital, the need of capitalism for a steady flow of cheap and unskilled labour primarily determines the structure of the family. In contrast, the prevailing ideology of the middle classes continued to idealize the family, and this ideology was used in turn to prepare the working class for the new drudgery. The repressive Victorian morality, brought to the working class through the Wesleyan sects, clamped down harder on the freedom of women, and perpetrated the ideology of hard work and discipline. The Victorian concept of the family was both a reflection of the bourgeois family, based on private property, and an ideal representing a status to which the proletariat would like to rise. Marx retorted:

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, or private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this

state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution...The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed correlation of parent and child, become all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour.

But you communists would introduce community of women, scream the whole bourgeois chorus.

The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the woman.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.(12)

A similar pattern emerges for groups within advanced capitalism who serve as a reserve army of unskilled labour. During slavery, the black family was systematically broken up and destroyed, and in many ways has never been reinstated. Because black people have been used as a reserve army of unskilled labour, there has been no need for a family structure that would ensure that the children received education and skills. And direct oppression and repression (racism) eliminated the need for more subtle social control through the socialization process in the family. Often the women were the breadwinners because they were the only ones who could find jobs, and when there were no jobs the welfare system further discouraged the maintenance of the family by making it more difficult to get welfare if the man was around.

In North America, conditions were initially the same as in pre-capitalist Europe. The settling of the continent required the family structure, initially in an even stronger form than in Europe, given the absence of other developed institutions to meet social and psychological needs. Industrial workers did experience conditions similar to those of Europe in the early stages of capitalist development. But, in Europe and in North America, the evolution of capitalism called for a restructuring of the family.

The constant need of each capitalist to increase the productivity of his enterprise in order to remain competitive was secured both by increasing the level of exploitation of the workers, and by the continual introduction of new, more complex and more efficient productive apparatus (machinery). Thus a new kind of worker was required as the production process became more complex—workers who could read instructions and blueprints, equipped with skills that required considerable training. As the need for skilled labour increases the labour of women and children tends to be replaced by that of men. Workers involve a capital investment and therefore it makes more sense to employ those who can work steadily throughout their lives.

At the same time, the growth of trade unions and the increasing revolutionary consciousness of the working class forced the ruling class to meet some of their demands or face full-scale revolt. The rise in material standards of living accommodated both the need to restrain militancy, to provide a standard of living that would allow for the education of children as skilled workers, and the need for consumers to provide new markets for the goods produced. The abolition of child labour and the introduction of compulsory education were required by the need for a skilled labour force.

Reproduction of Labour Power in Advanced Capitalism

Marx noted in a discussion of the way in which the value of labour power is determined, that it was determined by the costs of "the working time necessary for its production," and also by the costs of those necessities

required by future (substitute) power, i.e. the labourers' children. Likewise included in the sum total are the costs necessitated by learning the skill and dexterity required for a given branch of labour - cost which, however, are insignificant in so far as ordinary labour power is concerned.(13)

The transformation in the costs of educating and training the new generation of workers is fundamental to the changes that have taken place and are still taking place in the family structure. A fundamental law of capitalism is the need for constant expansion. Automation is required for the survival of the system. Workers are needed who are not only highly skilled but who have been trained to learn new skills. Profits depend more and more on the efficient organization of work and on the self-discipline of the workers rather than simply on speed-ups and other direct forms of increasing the exploitation of the workers. The family is therefore important both to shoulder the burden of the costs of education, and to carry out the repressive socialization of children. The family must raise children who have internalized hierarchical social relations, who will discipline themselves and work efficiently without constant supervision. The family also serves to repress the natural sexuality of its members. This is an essential process if people are to work at jobs which turn them into machines for eight or more hours a day. Women are responsible for implementing most of this socialization.

The pressure to stay in school and the growth in post-secondary education, which serves both to train skilled workers and managers and to absorb surplus manpower that cannot be employed, means that the earnings of married women begin to replace the earnings of unmarried children. In 1951, married women were only 8.9 per cent of the labour force; by 1965, 18.5 per cent of all workers were married women. In contrast, there has been a decline in the number of unmarried children in the labour

force—from 20.7 per cent of the labour force in 1951, to 17.2 per cent in 1965. As young people tend more to move away from home when they start to earn money, fewer families have the income of older children to help make ends meet. And besides not having these extra wages, the family must often pay for tuition for the children's education.

The second paycheck often makes the difference between poverty and keeping your head above water. A study of data from the 1961 census found that only 43 per cent of non-farm families had only one wage-earner. In 37 per cent of all non-farm families, the wives had earned income, and in 20 per cent income had been contributed by unmarried children. As the percentage of working women has risen from 28.7 per cent in 1961 to 34.4 per cent in 1968, the percentage of families having income from wives would now be still larger. In 1965, the average income for families with one paycheck coming in was \$5,626, for families with two wage earners it was \$6,784, and for families where three or more people were working, \$9,166. (14) Obviously much of the 'affluence' of working class, and even many 'middle class' families depends on the wages of women.

In this situation, the mother is at one and the same time indispensable to the family (as an economic structure) and totally purposeless at the same time. Women are indispensable to the maintenance of the family where the children are coerced into remaining at school, supported by their parents or prone to unemployment if they have left school at an early age. They are superfluous because the children who they are supposed to mother are old enough to take care of themselves, resentful of parental authority and rebelling against the system's enforcement of control over their lives. The institution of the family makes a lot more sense when the job of the mother entails the care of children who really do need care.

The family group then consists of a woman forty-five wiping the noses of her graduate school children. Of course this stereotype applies directly only to the upper class and middle classes, but it is the world view of the ruling class which has hegemony over the media of mass communications and hence form the ideal types.(15)

The pressure to finish high school and the growth of community colleges for the children of the working class makes this picture more real for the working class as well. The mother role must be maintained because her work is necessary to the family unit and because the family unit itself is economically essential.

The schizophrenia of living through other people becomes even more pronounced as those who one is supposed to live through rebel and demand their autonomy. It is little wonder that the largest group of 'speed freaks' are women in their forties and fifties, or that one half of the hospital beds were taken up by victims of mental-emotional disease, many of these middle aged women. The majority of these suffer from schizophrenia, a disease of advanced capitalism which is rooted in the nuclear family.(16)

Such a breakdown in normal social relations indicates the stress brought to bear on the so-called private sector. To put this another way, it shows the extent to which the social, psychic, and economic costs of maintaining the labour force are exacted from people through the family.(17)

The changes in the kind of labour needed are also reflected in the decline in the size of families. For a rural family, large numbers of children are taken for granted—lots of children mean more hands to do chores as well as more mouths to feed, and since food and housing are not such a major cost on a farm as in the city, large families are not a liability but are valued for the sense of security and companionship they provide. In the early stages of capitalism, large numbers of workers were needed and so large families were not discouraged. Even though large families meant hardships for working class urban families, the old social patterns were slow to change.

The high cost of housing, food, clothing, education and the easier access to birth control have all produced a tendency toward smaller families. And because urbanization is a quite recent phenomenon, the gap between cultural values and economic necessity means that the trend to smaller families is more recent still.

Only 40 per cent of the Canadian population was living in towns and cities in 1911; in 1961 almost 70 per cent of the population was urban, with only 10 per cent of the labour force engaged in agricultural production. Much of this change has taken place quite recently. The rate of urbanization since World War II has been higher than that between the First and Second World Wars.(18) And the mechanization of agriculture and the transfer from family farms to agri-business is still being completed in many parts of the country.

The demands that women are now making for birth control and abortion will eventually be met because they do not threaten the basic needs of the system. But we should see this as our first victory, not as proof that these demands are 'reformist' and that we should not organize around them. And the general reluctance of the ruling class to grant these demands should also make us aware of their double-edged nature. On the one hand, the family itself could function better if birth control and abortion on demand were readily available to all classes. On the other hand, the existence of the family itself is threatened by the introduction of measures which will further legitimize and make possible sex outside the institution of marriage. As women have fewer children, to define themselves primarily as mothers will make less and less sense, and a whole Pandora's box is opened. Also, part of the rationale for the exclusion of women from so many jobs requiring training disappears when women are capable of determining when they wish to have children.

The trend to smaller families is both a reflection of the family's need for the wages of women, and a further cause of the increases in the

numbers of working women. A study of the family in Chicago in 1927 showed that in those families studied, the average period when one or more children were under the age of 16 was 23 years, and the average period when one or more children was under 7 was 14 years. Smaller families make it more possible for women to remain out of the labour market while the children are small and return when they are in school.(19) This is precisely the pattern that is developing.

For young people themselves, the changes in the kind of labour power required also have an effect on the formation of families, how soon those who marry have children and whether the young wives work. Prolonged schooling has reduced the percentage of men 14 and over in the labour force from 82.9 per cent in 1953 to 77 per cent in 1968. In 1953, 51.7 per cent of males 14-19 were in the labour force, in 1968, only 39.1 per cent. Similarly, only 84.3 per cent of males 20-24 were in the labour force in 1968 as compared to 92.9 per cent in 1953.(20)

For those who quit school, the picture is often bleak. Men 14-19 experience unemployment rates double the average unemployment for all men, and men 20-24 are also much more likely to be unemployed than older workers. With unemployment now at the level of 6.5 per cent in Canada and still growing, unemployment for males 14-19 is probably now running close to 15 per cent. (The unemployment rates for women are considerably lower than those for men, but this has more to do with biased collection of statistics than with actual unemployment.) And even university graduates are finding jobs hard to get, and often when they do get jobs, particularly women, they are not doing the work they were trained to do. For those who are working, there is an increasing gap between the wages paid to young workers and older workers. Young workers, male and female, are more concentrated in two sectors. The first area is the one in which employment is declining, especially primary industry where their unskilled labour is being supplanted by increased automation, and in the construction industry, where pre-fab and new methods mean less labour is required. The second area of concentration is in low paid sectors like retail sales and clerical work.

Compare this situation with that after World War II which produced the baby boom. The baby boom was caused by a rise in the proportion of married women, not by women having larger numbers of children. It has been estimated that in Canada 90 per cent of the increase was due to increases in the numbers of married women, and about 10 per cent to higher fertility rates in individual women.(21)

One reason for the increases in the numbers of married women was that women were thrown out of the jobs that had fallen to them during the war in sectors that were usually reserved for men. Just as important were

the 'opportunities' for young male workers. Low birth rates during the depression meant that young workers were in short supply. The economy was in a period of boom and expansion of imperialism. Jobs were in good supply in heavy industry, and the average earnings for young workers were quite close to those of older workers. The demand for labour encouraged immigration on a large scale and brought many rural youth to the cities. Many young people were alone in the city, uprooted from their communities and families. In the absence of the kind of youth culture that now provides some alternatives to marriage, there were natural reasons why young people married and started their own families.

The 70's, in contrast, will see a period of rising unemployment, wage freezes, coercion of youth to stay in school and increasing distance between the wages of younger and older workers. In 1961 constant dollars*, the average wages of a male wage earner 35-44 rose \$1481 between 1951 and 1961, while those of men 20-24 rose only \$520 and those 14-19 rose only \$20.(22) So not only the cultural but the economic situation makes the stable family of the 50's an unlikely model for the 70's. Young people who do marry find that they desperately need the wages of the wife—58 per cent of women 20-24 were working in 1968, a rise of 10 per cent from 1960. If there is a male in the family he is considered the head whether or not he supports the family. In those cases where the 'family head' was under 25, women contributed about one quarter of the total income for those families in 1965. Given the low wages paid to women, this indicates a high number of young working wives.

The trend to early marriage has abated and fertility rates have hit an all-time low. More sexual freedom outside marriage, the availability of birth control and the economic situation will probably mean that the trend to low birth rates that has been going on since 1959 will continue. Birth control pills clearly had an effect here. Births went down 2.7 per cent in 1964, 7.6 per cent in 1965 and 7.7 per cent in 1966, the years when pills first began to be widely available.(23)

Women as Producers

It is clear that the way in which the family is evolving creates new contradictions that produce a higher level of consciousness of their oppression among women. But we cannot understand the contradictions within the family system unless we understand more clearly the other half of the coin, the situation of women in the labour force. For the same

* Constant dollars purport to measure the real purchasing power of the dollar; in fact, inflation has made wage gains much less than statistics indicate.

structural changes in capitalism which affect the family also affect women in their role as wage labourers, and the contradictions between these two roles are an important source of the new consciousness.

Therefore we need to be more precise about 'super-exploitation' of women workers. Women's liberationists have argued correctly that women are overly exploited both in the sense that women who have jobs outside the home work not eight but sixteen hours a day for the capitalist, both to maintain and reproduce the working class and also to be members of the labour force. In addition, women are paid only about half the wages that a man would receive. But we have treated this moralistically, to prove that women are more oppressed than men, rather than to analyze the structure of women's employment. A vulgar Marxist analysis of the 'super-exploitation' of women is often put forward: because of the system of male supremacy the bosses are able to squeeze more profits out of their workers by employing women at low wages. And we are not clear about the implications of this analysis for strategy. Some women will argue that women's liberation should see its task as organizing women into unions to demand higher wages and better working conditions. Others will argue that imperialism allows the ruling class to 'buy off' the workers in the developed nations with higher wages, that the workers in the highly developed nations live 'off the backs of the Third World' and that wage demands are only demands for a bigger slice of the imperialist pie and have no revolutionary potential.

Questions about the importance of wage demands cannot be argued in the abstract. On the one hand, any demand short of the overthrow of capitalism is a 'reformist' demand, on the other hand, we know that the present trade union movement bargains only over the price at which workers will sell their labour power and not about the system of wage-slavery itself. Do we want to organize women into the present male-dominated, sell-out unions, and in Canada into American controlled unions? Yet we know that no organizing in the workplace can neglect the real needs of the people, which means, especially for women, the fact that meagre paychecks cannot provide the essentials of life. And the possibility of economic independence is a precondition for women conceiving of their own autonomy and independence.

But we must also understand the specifics of the importance of women in the labour force if we are to be clearer about the importance of unions and wage demands. In those sectors of industry at the highest stage of capitalist development (a very high degree of monopolitization and automation, huge investments in plant and equipment, etc.) the investment in variable capital (chiefly labour power) as opposed to constant capital (plants, machinery, raw materials, repayment of loans) is very small.(24) The need to control wages is not an absolute. For example, in

Sarnia, Ontario, which has the highest average wages of any city in Canada, one of the largest corporations, Imperial Oil, which is non-unionized, pays very high wages and sets the standard for union contracts in other plants. Clearly, Imperial Oil sees its interest, not just in keeping wages down, but in keeping the unions out and therefore maintaining stability, avoiding strikes and so on. In addition, in the highly monopolized industries in the goods-producing sectors, higher wages are passed on to the consumer in the form of higher prices and do not affect profits. Even here, there are conditions when higher wages will be fought most bitterly—for example, at the present moment, the government is insistent on keeping wages down to check inflation (though it is doubtful whether wage freezes have the intended effect). But generally, in these industries, wage demands do not pose a very serious threat to the interests of the capitalist class.

In contrast, the type of industry where women are concentrated tends to be labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive, and wages form a relatively higher percentage of total costs. In manufacturing firms employing more than 20 people (which make up 91 per cent of all manufacturing firms) 24.2 per cent of the workers are women. But women constitute 75 per cent of all clothing workers, 65 per cent of workers in knitting mills, and 51 per cent in leather products.(25) (About 70 per cent of all women workers are in the textile, clothing and related industries, in food and beverages, or in electrical apparatus and supplies.) Average weekly wages and salaries for clothing and related industries were, for September 1969, \$78 in clothing and knitting mills, and \$81 in leather products, as compared to \$139 in chemicals, and \$133 in non-metallic metal products, where women were 22 per cent and 11 per cent of the total workers respectively. (These figures are calculated before deductions, include overtime, bonuses, and the salaries of managerial personnel and are therefore much higher than real wages in these sectors). These are also the industries with the lowest rate of automation. One measure of the degree of automotation is to compare figures for the 'total value added per worker' from raw material to finished product, since a worker who uses mainly his own labour will be much less 'productive' than one who works at a job which utilizes a lot of machinery.

Clothing, textile and related industries realize only about half the overall average in total value added per worker and less than a third of that of the highest—the coal, petroleum and chemical industries. (26) The low wages of women in these sectors (and thus the lower wages of male workers as well) are not simply a matter of the capitalist making higher profits from employing women at low wages. Equal wages in this sector would not just mean less profit for the capitalist, but a transformation of the industry. (In textiles, it might force automation, or it might mean that the industry would not survive in competition with textile industry in the Third World.)

Moreover, within industries employing many women where average wages are high (like electrical products, where women are 31 per cent of all workers, and average wages and salaries are \$132 a week), women generally work at labour-intensive jobs like assembling and packaging where low wages are important in keeping costs down and profits up.

Most women are not employed in manufacturing, but in the service or non-goods producing sector. The employment of large numbers of women in the industrialized service sector is part of a general tendency for employment to grow fastest in this sector. In Canada, as early as 1961, the percentage of trade and service workers in the labour force (40.6 per cent) equalled that in direct production of goods (manufacturing 23.4 per cent, construction 7.3 per cent and agriculture 10.1 per cent). The Economic Council of Canada states:

Average employment for Canada's goods producing industries - that is - combined employment in manufacturing, construction, utilities, forestry, fishing and mining - was actually no higher in 1968 than it was in 1966. All of the growth in employment took place in the service industries. Thus, there was a significant further shift in the employment structure towards increasingly service-oriented economic activities. **In particular, two thirds of the net increase in jobs in 1967 was in the non-commercial service sector of the economy** (mainly education, health and public administration). We expect that employment will continue to rise more rapidly in services than in other sectors of the economy.(27)(emphasis mine)

These figures are all the more amazing given the very high growth rate of the Canadian labour force, which is growing faster than that of any western nation, by about 250,000 a year (total labour force just under 8 million). Of projected growth to 1980, over 40 per cent of the net increase is expected to be women, and in fact the female labour force has been growing faster than projected.(28) It seems that even given this high growth in the number of women workers, more women are looking for work than can find jobs. The growth would be even higher if more jobs were available.

The growth in employment in the services and the lack of this growth in the goods-producing sector does not mean, as we have said before, that productivity is not increasing in the goods-producing sector. On the contrary, because constant investment in new machinery raises the productivity of each worker, growth in employment is slow. Automation is taking place in some service industries, like banks and insurance companies, but generally, automation cannot produce the same increases in productivity as in the goods-producing sector, and many jobs simply cannot be automated.

Not only is the service sector growing, but the jobs within it are becoming more industrialized and thus more amenable to organization. Growth in this sector means both the creation of (a) more 'professional and technical' or 'new working class' jobs, which are reasonably well-paid, and potentially creative; which require a considerable degree of training and

education (such as teachers, technicians, nurses, engineers); and some of which are proletarian in character, and (b) a whole sector of jobs which are badly paid, in which the work is uncreative and unrewarding (although sometimes potentially creative) and where working conditions are very bad—store clerks, hospital workers, waitresses, clerks in government bureaucracies, etc; and which require little training.

A growing number of these jobs are in the state service sector. The growth of the state sector is one way in which the capitalist class acts to control the market for goods and thus guarantee its investment—a necessity when investment in plant and equipment is so large. State spending on military, space and other such programmes helps provide such a guaranteed market. In addition, the corporations increasingly expect the state to subsidize both the building of the infrastructure needed for industrial expansion (roads, railways, hydro-power, etc.) and the indirect costs of production (education, social welfare, research and development, social management). Often the state is expected to provide the initial investment for the development of new industry. Thus more and more jobs depend on government employment, either directly, or indirectly, through government contracts to industry. The demands on the state are creating a crisis of major proportions in state finance, both in Canada and the U.S.

...Once this tendency toward the socialization of indirect costs of production gets underway, it is obvious that the corporations will not accept large increases in taxation to finance it. If they were to pay the taxes needed to cover all these costs, there would in fact be no 'socialization'. They would continue to pay for them privately but instead of doing so directly, they would do so indirectly through their taxes, (and pay for the administration of these payments too). Instead of lessening the burden such a solution would in fact increase it. So there is an inevitable institutionalized resistance of the corporations and the capitalist class to increasing taxes up to the point where they would make possible a functional public service capable of satisfying the needs of the entire population. For this reason, it is probable that the gap between the wages of public employees and that of private workers in the United States (and Canada) will remain, and that the trend toward radicalization of public employees—both increase unionization and even possible political radicalization—will continue.(29)

The expansion of state employment also heightens the tendency to permanent inflation (large numbers of workers who are not producing goods for consumption by other wage-earners means that there is more purchasing power than goods available). The state is forced to freeze wages and cut back on employment in periods when inflation 'gets out of hand' (The first thing that happened in the Canadian government's anti-inflation campaign was the lay-off of civil servants).

Large numbers of women work as public employees. When we say that women are used as a reserve army of labour (as, for example, black people in the U.S. are used as a reserve army of labour) we are not talking about a group of workers that are peripheral to the economy, but a group which is central to the maintenance of labour-intensive manufacturing, and service

and state sectors where low wages are a priority. A few simple wage comparisons will indicate clearly the importance of wage differentials on the basis of sex.

AVERAGE EARNINGS FOR FULL-YEAR WORKERS, 1961, DBS (categories where few or no women workers have been excluded)		
	MALE	FEMALE
managerial	\$7920.	\$3351.
professional & technical	\$7602.	\$4226.
clerical	\$4713.	\$3263.
sales	\$5287.	\$2077.
service	\$4120.	\$2099.
production workers	\$5290.	\$2756.

Even in the professional and technical sphere, where wages are highest for women, the average wages are over \$1,000 a year less than those of male production workers and only in the service sector, a field where many women are employed, do men make less than the average for women in the highest field.

The unionization of women workers, which is already beginning to take place in previously unionized sectors will clearly be a blow to the stability of the capitalist system. The vast majority of women workers have jobs which are, by any sensible definition, 'working-class'. Only about 15 per cent of all women workers are professionals, and about 85 per cent of these are found in those professions already beginning to unionize—nurses and teachers. Very few women have managerial jobs, and the vast majority are wage-earners.⁽³⁰⁾

Sisters, Let's Get It Together

Clearly women workers are in a strategic position: the emphasis on exclusion of women from jobs rather than the development of a strategy to organize working women has held back the women's movement. But we should not conclude that we can 'bring down the system' by making wage demands and working for the unionization of women workers. Our revolutionary potential lies in the fact that most working women are both oppressed as women and exploited as workers; our strategy must reflect this duality. The demands of women strike both at an institution which is central to the system—the family, and at sectors of the economy which are ill-provided to meet even traditional demands of the labour movement. Because organizers in the past have refused to organize women as women, women have been viewed as 'unorganizable' because they have little time,

work in sectors that are hard to organize, and they move in and out of the labour force. For example, all the structural reasons that make the textile industry the most exploitative, also make it harder to organize there—the workers can easily be replaced, the low investment in plant and equipment mean that management can hold out longer against strikes, the plants are small, and so on. Similarly, many women in the service sector are hard to organize in the traditional way because they work in such small establishments—waitresses, store clerks, etc. A strategy of work place organizing alone cannot overcome these problems, but as we develop an analysis of the oppression of women, we can turn these same factors into a basis for organizing and an integral part of our strategy.

I have argued that the importance of the family as an economic unit, the importance of the cheap labour supply that women provide means that the system must act to retain the family system. The breakdown of the family, besides meaning that women will demand jobs that don't exist, will make the struggle for equal access to jobs, equal pay, day care, maternity leave, job security, etc., the object of even more militant struggles. At the present time, one family in ten has a woman as its sole supporter. Neither the state, nor the sectors where women work will easily be able to meet the needs of women who must support themselves and often their children.

Yet most people, especially the working class, will continue to hold onto the family as the only place where basic emotional needs for love, support and companionship can be met at all, and because there are no alternatives, as things stand, most women can't, and don't want to go it alone. If our cry is 'destroy the family', the women's movement will be contained within a small sector of professional and younger women without families. The masses of women will not relate to women's liberation because it is not relating to their needs. What we must do instead, is to begin to organize around demands which provide the precondition for autonomy for women—economic independence. This struggle will, in fact, heighten the contradictions within the family system.

At the same time, we must not fall prey to the chauvinism and arrogance that assumes that working class women are capable of being organized around only economic issues, and that they have no consciousness of their oppression as women and no yearnings for freedom and independence. Issues like birth control both meet direct needs that women have and allow us to talk about repressive sexuality and its functions in capitalist society. Day care strikes at the privatization of the individual within the family and provides an exemplary form of communal care of children and other communal forms, while meeting a direct need that women have. Material demands raise the possibility of economic independence. The clear male domination of the present unions makes it that

much easier to talk about rank and file caucuses (women's caucuses) or new unions to replace those controlled by male, sell-out leadership. Laws against abortion, and the oppressive treatment of women in hospitals, and the high cost of medical care even under medicare allow us to talk about socialized medicine, and to raise demands for community controlled clinics. Many women work not only for money but to escape the isolation of their homes, and because they want to have an identity based upon what they do. Thus the lack of creative work is a real and bitter disappointment when they do take a job. In work place organizing we can respond to this consciousness by talking about the potential of creative work in a society not directed to profit-making and by raising demands for workers' control.

The issues which we have talked about for a long time must now be raised as public demands by the women's movement, and we must think strategically about how they should be posed. For example, many women's liberation groups have organized day-care centres, which have helped us to develop theory and practice in anti-authoritarian child raising, and are therefore important, but have served the needs of only a few women. We must begin a public campaign about day care, but we must think through, in a concrete way, how our demands can best serve women and how they can be posed to raise consciousness. Do we want, for example, to demand care for children at the mother's work place? This would make the point that child care should be a responsibility of the society, and not of individual parents (provided it were free), and these demands would also raise new demands about control over work and the work process. On the other hand, day care in the work place would reinforce the idea that it is the mother, not both parents, who share responsibility to care for children, and it would mean that mothers would have to take their children with them to work, without even a few moments to themselves.(31)

These questions are academic until the women's movement begins to take seriously the fact that it is a product of objective conditions that are moving all women to greater consciousness of their oppression, and begins seriously to organize among the masses of women. The point to be made is not that we should have all the answers before we begin, but that only if we analyze women's situations a whole, if we formulate strategy based on the real needs of women and the real contradictions that exist, can we hope to build a revolutionary movement of women. Do it! ♣

RED WHITE AND BLACK (A Poem for the People)

this is the music of the people

through the brick and masonry and paper walls
through the muddy sidewalks and grey cement
through the streets of a ghetto in mid-July
through the falling plaster and peeling walls
through the dirt and filth and garbage cans
up from the hiding and running of rats
from the clanking and scraping of bones underground

this is the music of the people
if you listen carefully you will hear it

through the belching and sweating of the man beside you
through the man beside you on the welfare bench
complaining he can't eat because of his teeth
through the drunk retching on the corner of the street

this is the music of the people
if you listen very carefully you will hear it

a woman is screaming on an abortion table
"just a tiny scratch inside darling's tummy"
the fat greasy doctor's rationalization.
then they're scraping her out inside with knives
No anaesthetics. Not even a pill.
Her boyfriend is playing a record in the next room.
(Beethoven's Ninth, probably)
so that he won't have to hear her scream
(No one is ever supposed to hear her scream)

this is the music of the people
if you listen very-carefully you will hear it

coat-hangers, coke-bottles, poly-ethylene bags,
lye-soap, dettol, hickory-wood and quinine

"The womb itself is said to tear up surrounding organs
and indeed to abort itself
in order to be free of the foreign body"

They say the body is beautiful.
 But only because it is informed by the mind.
 But black people, women and children have no mind.
 Yet the language of the body is somehow powerful

 this is the music of the people
 if you listen very carefully you will hear it

“Julie has a pad in this building
 A tenement building for \$90 a month
 Indians just come into town live there.
 Of course the walls in the place are paper-thin.
 So we can hear them fighting till one in the morning
 And when I plays my record or blows my horn
 the Indian kid in the room next door
 taps in time to the music on the wall.”

“When the cops tries to beat up this cat in the street,
 we have two crowds of people on either side.
 They looks up and slowly fades away.”

 this is the music of the people
 if you listen very carefully you will hear it

“Every day I try so hard to know what’s on your mind.
 Every day I try so hard to... to find you.”

And “You make me mad. You’re just using me.”
 Orange voices and black-clad heroes in a commune.
 Andy Warhol and all his cowboys.
 & Yes we’re all in the movies now.
 Trying to find a solution and some form of compassion.
 Which is not the same as liberalism.
 (Which is in fact the antithesis of liberalism)
 Ideas from the head are not enough.
 A movement without compassion is not the left.

 this is the music of the people
 if you listen very carefully you will hear it

Gwen Hauser
 Vancouver, B.C.
 Winter, 1970

RADICAL FEMINISM 1

by Bonnie Kreps
 Toronto, Ontario

Bonnie Kreps is a founder of the radical feminist movement in Canada. She has been involved in feminism for the past five years, having followed the historic pattern of the movement by starting in the New Left, becoming disaffected with the role of women in the Left, and subsequently leaving in order to start a purely feminist movement. This article is based on a brief presented to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in June, 1968.

Put very bluntly, the traditional view of woman can be summed up in the words of Aristotle, “The female is a female by virtue of a certain *lack* of qualities; we should regard the female nature as afflicted with a natural defectiveness.” This may be a rather crass overstatement of the male chauvinist attitude, but the philosophical assumption exhibited here lies at the crux of the problem at hand: that is, man has consistently defined woman not in terms of herself but in relation to him. She is not regarded as an autonomous being; rather, he is the Subject, he is Absolute — she is the Other. Simone de Beauvoir has argued convincingly that, throughout history, no group has ever set itself up as the One without at once setting up in opposition the Other, which then tends to become an object. Otherness, she argues, is a fundamental category of human thought. Thus, good-evil, right-wrong, nationalism, racism, anti-Semitism, and male chauvinism.

In accepting the traditional view of herself as secondary and inferior, woman has provided justification for the charge of inferiority. We are all familiar with the contention that women are different *in their nature* from men. Biological differences which no one can deny are used with great enthusiasm by those who wish to justify the status quo *vis-a-vis* women, by those to whom freedom for women seems a profound threat to something deep in themselves.

Whatever biology may determine for us all — and the question certainly is debatable — I think it is an obvious truth that one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman or a man. One is born a female or male child with certain given characteristics and certain potentials which are hereditarily and environmentally determined and must, therefore, be viewed developmentally. To understand woman’s so-called ‘nature’, we must, therefore, examine her situation: her history, the myths about her, her

social environment, her education, and so forth. A look at history and mythology, for instance, will show that women have been written out of history and represented from a male point of view in mythology. The great figures of history and mythology are always male; as de Beauvoir says, "Representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with absolute truth."

Woman's immediate social environment puts enormous pressure on her to submit to male dominance. She is exhorted to play out the role of Cinderella, expecting fortune and happiness from some Prince Charming rather than to venture out by herself. Be pretty, be pleasant, use mouth-wash and deodorant, never have an intellectual thought, and Prince Charming will sweep you off to his castle, where you will live happily ever after. Such is the carrot, and behind it is the stick: 'Men don't make passes at girls who wear glasses,' 'wall flower,' 'spinster,' 'old maid,' 'loose woman'...the list goes on, and its message is: to have caught a man is proof of a woman's desirability as a human being; to be without a man is a social and moral disgrace.

The economic discrimination against the working woman is highly conducive to her seeing marriage as a liberation from ill-paid drudgery. She usually faces the prospect of being an underpaid worker in society's lowest echelons. She faces a discrimination based on sex which racial groups no longer tolerate. So it is little wonder that her desire to find a husband is reinforced.

Society's most potent tool for making female human beings into dependent adults is the socialization process. We have a society which is based on arbitrary and strictly enforced sex roles. We may see a loosening of this condition with the next generation, but it is still unhappily true that a certain role is now ascribed purely on the basis of sex. And what does this mean for the female sex? It means that the essential characteristic of the so-called 'feminine' character is passivity. Through her upbringing and education, from girlhood up, a girl's sense of self is progressively crushed. Whereas boys get experimental, control-oriented toys, girls get role-playing toys. Boys get tractors, rockets, microscopes, etc.; girls get dolls and vacuum cleaners. Whereas boys are dressed practically and are expected to get dirty, little girls are all too often dressed to be 'lady-like' — in other words, they are dressed to be pretty objects, like dolls. Whereas boys are encouraged to be rough, tough and aggressive, girls are trained to become timid and docile (put euphemistically: good listeners, feminine, real helpmates, etc.) Whereas boys prepare themselves to become creators of their own future, girls are trained to relate through others and taught that to please they must try to please and therefore renounce their autonomy.

To please is to abdicate. That is the lesson the young girl learns. It is the lesson which finds its apotheosis in a recent bestseller by the American movie star, Arlene Dahl — its commercial success is redoubtable, its title totally indicative of its message: *Always Ask a Man*.

As long as marriage and motherhood are conceived of as a woman's entire destiny and the fulfillment of her 'nature', her lot will involve the acceptance of a situation imposed from the outside rather than a free choice according to her individuality. As long as woman accepts this situation, she will endanger her individuality and possibility for growth as a human being. She will, in short, be abdicating the potential of her nature by giving in to the demands of her situation.

We all know about the alcohol and pill consumption of women, the large influx of female psychiatric patients with unspecified ailments and the myriad of symptoms which suggest that something is troubling a great many women. When we add to that the enormous success of feminist books like *The Second Sex* and *The Feminine Mystique*, and the rising waves of new feminists in Europe and America, I think it becomes apparent to all but the most pig-headed that the picture of the happy housewife, the fulfilled woman who has bought all the garbage of the 'feminine mystique', that this picture is a gross distortion. The true picture spells out in large letters: FRUSTRATION.

For those many women who have acknowledged their sense of emptiness, their frustration, there has often followed a feeling of guilt. They feel that there must be something peculiarly wrong with them and that they should be able somehow to cope with their frustration. We are still the beneficiaries of Freud's claim that neurosis is a sign of sickness.

There has emerged recently, however, a new school of psychology with a new definition of sickness and health. Called, loosely, "The Third Force," it contrasts sharply with Freud and the behaviourists. Some of its major tenets are these. Each of us has an essential core, a potential and personality, which tends strongly to persist. One might liken it to the body's drive for health. If this psychological drive for health is frustrated or stunted, sickness results. No psychological health is possible unless this essential core of the person is fundamentally accepted, loved and respected by others and by himself. And, they add, "adjustment is, very definitely, *not* necessarily synonymous with psychological health."

On this basis, it would seem that woman's present situation is not consonant with her optimal growth; further, that the frustrations engendered by attempting to force these disparities into consonance are a sign, not of mental sickness, but of mental health.

The most reasonable conclusion reached from the above arguments is therefore, I would think, that the traditional view of woman and its at-

tendant 'feminine mystique' are a fraud. While they are to men's advantage in many (though ultimately not all) respects, they mean loss of growth, of full humanness, to the woman who submits to their edicts. Such a woman will risk a loss of identity, she will risk becoming a thing.

Modern woman is in the grip of a vicious circle and in urgent need of liberation. The more she resigns herself to the demands of her situation, the more she will stunt her human growth, and the more she will thus be unable to escape from her situation. The ultimate success of the slave system was, after all, that it ultimately convinced the slaves themselves that they were fit for nothing else but being slaves and that being a slave wasn't all that bad. We women can learn a lot from the emergence of black people who are fighting for black dignity. The question for women is, what are the mechanics of our particular kind of oppression and how do we best fight it?

First of all, we must recognize that the liberation of women must be collective, it must be aimed at freedom for all women. Our goal must be that any and all women who want to escape from the sex role foisted upon them will have the freedom to do so. Therefore, no 'token integration', no relieving of symptoms without getting at the causes. Secondly, we must get full economic rights for women, because only economic liberty can guarantee women that their theoretic civil liberties will provide them with liberty in practice. We must do away with the woman-as-economic-parasite notion. Thirdly, women must be freed from their present partial or complete slavery to the species. They must have the right to decide over their own bodies. Fourthly, and most generally, girls and women must be encouraged to seek self-fulfilment as human beings rather than merely as females.

The statement that girls should seek fulfilment as human beings rather than as females has enormous implications. It is the starting point for the very large philosophical and political area known as radical feminism.

To explain somewhat further: the women's liberation movement is a generic term covering a large spectrum of positions. Broadly speaking, the movement can be divided into three areas: 1) the largely economically oriented (usually Marxist) segment which sees liberation for women as part of a socialist revolution; 2) liberal groups like the National Organization of Women started by Betty Friedan in the United States. This segment is analogous to the NAACP in the black struggle; it is working for some kind of integration of women into the main fabric of society; and 3) radical feminism, which chooses to concentrate exclusively on the oppression of women as *women* and not as workers, students, etc. This segment therefore concentrates its analysis on institutions like love, marriage, sex, masculinity and femininity. It would be opposed specifically and centrally to sexism, rather than capitalism (thus differing from the Marxists), and would not be

particularly concerned with 'equal rights', 'equal pay for equal work' and other major concerns of the NOW segment.

The point I would like to make is that all three broad segments have their own validity, all three are important. One belongs in one segment rather than another because of personal affinity with the aims being striven for. Personally, I find radical feminism most congenial, because it seems to me to get at the fundamentals of the sexual oppression which is so prevalent in today's society. Most of the really important books which recently have come out on the subject are written by radical feminists: Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics*, Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex*, and the *Notes From the Second Year*.

In short, radical feminism is concerned with the analysis of the oppression of women as *women*. Its basic aim could fairly be stated as, "There shall be no characteristics, behaviour, or roles ascribed to any human being on the basis of sex." In other words, we must fight the myth of the so-called 'female' character (men should fight the myth of the 'male'); we must fight the corrupt notion we now call 'love', which is based on control of another rather than on love for the growth of another; we must fight the institutionalization of the oppression of women — especially the institution of marriage.

Radical feminism is called 'radical' because it is struggling to bring about really fundamental changes in our society. We, in this segment of the movement, do not believe that the oppression of women will be ended by giving them a bigger piece of the pie, as Betty Friedan would have it. We believe that the pie itself is rotten. We do not believe that women should be integrated into the male world so that they can be 'just as good as men'. We believe that the male world as it now exists is based on the corrupt notion of 'maleness vs. femaleness', that the oppression of women is based on this very notion and its attendant institutions. 'Separate but equal' will get us nowhere; we must eradicate the sexual division on which our society is based. Only then do men and women have a hope of living together as human beings. ♀

MY FRUSTRATION

I am not in this world to live down to your expectations
your flirtations

your imitations—

to abide by your decisions
to accept your derision

of my decisions

to believe your accusation
of castration

to deny my frustration

to condone your endless evasion

to believe your protestation

that your intention

isn't circumvention

it's not why I'm here

it's not

it's not

it's not

Lynn Lang
Toronto, Ontario
March, 1971.

A. Alternatives to the Family

SUGAR 'N' SPICE

... the socialization of girl children

by Sarah Spinks
Toronto, Ontario

A little girl learns to be attractive and gentle. "Isn't Stephanie pretty? Say 'pretty' pretty Stephanie." And we lead her off to look in the mirror to see for herself how pretty she is. The girlish tricks of lowering her eyes and sighing and whining when she wants something.

Coquetry not sexuality is what we encourage. We mystify a small girl's experience of her body by telling her that her sexual organs are for having babies or that babies grow in mummy's tummy, not in her uterus. With most of her sexual organs hidden her sexuality is diffused and mysterious. But we diffuse it even more by talking about her as a mother and not as a woman. When asked what sex means we say, "Sex is about mummies and daddies and having babies."

The little girl follows us around the kitchen, helping to stir a cake, setting the table, or helping with the baby when her mum is busy. Even at this age, the girls are expected to be better helpers, more natural substitutes for the parents than the boys.

The toys help this too. Mothers all do the same thing; fathers do many things. Sitting in a corner of the kitchen, the little girl bakes her cake in her easy-bake oven, puts on a little eye-shadow from her miniature cosmetic set or puts one of her countless dolls to bed. Maybe, since it's 1969, she's a modern kid who plays with a Barbie doll and she puts her in a four-poster bed in a diaphanous yellow nightgown.

Her brothers, on the other hand, are expected to be 'men'. They play with GI Joes and building sets. Instead of ovens and dolls they have trains and chemistry sets. Their toys orient them up and out. They are moving toys, loud toys, and they take the boys outside the house for action and adventure.

Books contain the message too—books like *I Want To Be A Dentist* by C. Greene:

"I think I will be a dentist when I grow up," said Johnny.

Johnny liked to work with his hands. He carved animals out of soap. He made things out of clay. He puts together a space-ship model.

Betsy couldn't read, so Johnny made some signs for her with pictures on them.

Then one day, Johnny had an idea. He said to Betsy, "You can be a dentist's nurse."
"I'd like that," said Betsy.(1)

or this one, entitled *Whom Shall I Marry?*:

Primrose was playing house. Just as she finished pouring tea for her dolls she began to think. She thought and thought and she thought some more, "Whom shall I marry?"

"Whomever shall I marry?"

"I think I shall marry a mailman. Then I could go to everybody's house and give them their mail."

"Or I might marry a policeman. I could help him take the children across the street."

"But if I marry a fireman it will be exciting. I'll ring the bell real loud and everybody will get out of the way. Maybe though I ought to marry a doctor. I would be his nurse and we would help people be strong and healthy."

"Or perhaps a man who owns a bookstore. Then I could find the most wonderful books for my friends to read."

"A gardener is somebody I'd like to marry. I could help him plant flowers—the big ones and the tiny ones. And everybody would smell so sweet!"

"And suppose I marry a boat captain! I would steer the boat and we would sail right over the biggest waves."

"Oh, but wouldn't I like to marry a farmer! We'd have ducks and chickens and cherries and peaches and a cow and a horse and a tiny squealing pig."

"Or a zookeeper! He would feed the big animals, but I would feed the baby ones."

"Or I could marry the ice-cream man. I'd say very fast, 'Vanilla-cherry-chocolate-strawberry. You'd like butterscotch. Here it is!'"

"Say wouldn't it be fun to marry the Merry-Go-Round man! Or the balloon man! Or a clown!"

"But now that I think it over, maybe I'll just marry somebody I love."(2)

Perhaps her bedtime story may be more subtle and full of fantasy. Instead of a dentist's nurse or an ice-cream man's helper, she can be a beautiful maiden or an ugly witch. She can be Rapunzel, Snow White or Sleeping Beauty. She can be a witch wreaking havoc all over the forest or a stepmother who sets traps for people by poisoning apples. But most of all, she is the one who is given life by a man. Sleeping Beauty and Snow White, of course, are actually brought back to life by the kiss of a princely adventurer.

Many children don't read much anymore. They are television watchers. They understand the life of Betty and Fred Flintstone as well as we knew about Nancy Drew and Ned, her boyfriend, who drove a roadster. But besides Betty Flintstone and Lucy of the "I Love Lucy" show, there is "Bewitched" and "The Flying Nun." These women have new powers which are at once anti-scientific, anti-technical; a part of their own history, as witches and fairies. The men on television are private eyes and space adventurers, who are doing the killing. The women, however, must leave the house more surreptitiously; they don't go out after the dishes are done; they make them disappear.

If I was a witch

I would turn the princess into a giant...

Then I would make her tear down

The whole world.

I would rule the land.

Everyone would come to me

I would cut off their heads

Or turn them into fruits

For the giant to eat them...

When everybody is dead

I will turn into the Princess

And do what I want...

—Cathy Biso, 11 years of age.

The toys and the books and television programs say to a little girl: you have no worth in yourself. A girl-child exists in relation to a boy or a man. She is a dentist's nurse, an ice-cream man's helper, or the woman who gives sleep-head Flintstone a hand with his shave in the morning.

Now, people aren't born with egos. They get their sense of themselves through analyzing and feeling an experience and trying to imagine and feel another person's experience of the same situation. If we are sensed by others as inessential, as existing only in relation to another, then we do not exist otherwise. We are genuinely unreal. Alone, even fleetingly, we fantasize that we are persons above ourselves, looking down upon us, watching us move mechanically. We become schizophrenic.

On the surface, schools don't seem to teach girls that they're different. But they do. They do it overtly by giving them different subjects like home economics and shop and by dividing them into different classes for gym and health education. But it is the complicated web of many subtler things that is more important; mother is the shopper in arithmetic problems, the cozy town family in the Dick and Jane Readers, the cozy inner-city family of the Bank Street Readers, the encouragement of 'feminine' qualities of neatness and docility. The point of feminine dependence is made indirectly. As Friedenbergs says in *This Magazine Is About Schools*:

In the schools, more than in most of the other mass media, it is indeed true that the medium is the message, which is one reason that I haven't said a word about curriculum. What is taught isn't as important as learning how you have to act in society, how other people will treat you, how they will respond to you, what the limits of respect that will be accorded to you really are.(3)

The message of the school never seriously questions the sanctity and necessity of the nuclear family; nor the 'natural' role of a woman as eternal mother and housewife.

The little girl reacts very sanely to this situation. She begins at the age of 10 or 11 to look for a man. She perceives very clearly that this is what she is supposed to do and she goes ahead.

She begins to be very attentive to her clothes and hair styles. She begins to fantasize about movie stars, about Pierre Trudeau, and about her future husband. But she's rather dismayed, having made her hair shiny with Londonberry Hair Shiner, to go to the school dance and find that the boys are not the slightest bit interested in dancing with her. The boys are off in a corner, fooling with donuts and orange drinks. They're boisterous as they run up and down the stairs of the school. They're not very aware of what the girls are up to. "The boys," say the girls to each other, "are so immature." They just act stupid; they're not interested, you know, "cause they're a couple of years behind us." She internalizes a definition of maturity which is the early acceptance of quietness, obedience, and poise. Because these are character traits instilled in her from the time she is one, and because they correspond to the demands of the school system, she often does better at school. Which is why she's called more mature. She also accepts and feels her social position earlier than boys for they will be most seriously oppressed as a producer, and the full force of that oppression hits the boys later.

But to return to the kids at the dance. There is a subtle game going on which builds on the sexual quality of the little girls as witches and princesses. The game has many names. It is called "You have the control" or "Let's just be friends." On the one hand, the girls are temptresses—they push to have the boys dance with them. On the other hand, they are the princesses, white and pure; they are counselled not to kiss a boy on the first date. Boys are portrayed as sexual and lustful. Girls are the ones that react with reason and logic. When, later on, they are asked to make love, they answer in societal terms, "I can't sleep with you, because we're not married." And the more mystified version, "I'm only going to sleep with the man I love and he'll probably be the man I marry."

Of course, children are becoming freer about sex. The girls are losing their repression, but not their sexual oppression. The sexual hierarchy within the hippie and rock communities is still strong. The language is indicative. People 'ball'. Girls are 'balled'. The supreme compliment for a girl is, "She has balls."

Balling is a game, like dating. It is a status game with the target being to ball the man with the most status, usually a musician. If you ball Country Joe then you're a 'chick' with status. If you ball a little fish then you're a little fish yourself. There are many gradations of this chick status, but it doesn't look much different from the phenomenon of the gang girls who wear "I am Buster's" on their black leather jackets. The hippie girls, at their most sophisticated, those from Los Angeles, New York and San Francisco call themselves groupies, which means that they hang around the rock groups like the Jefferson Airplane, the Grateful Dead or The Doors. The groupie girls are supposed to keep hip. A girl in these circles should know

the difference between the bass and lead guitar. She should know the music, but she should know better how to be an outrageously good screw. This way she can get to the top. In *Rolling Stone*, a well-written folk-rock magazine, a groupie named Henri says,

Musicians should pay a lot more attention to the good thing they have going for them—groupies, I mean. After all, a groupie is a non-profit call girl. Like a Japanese Geisha in many ways, and a friend and a housekeeper and pretty much whatever the musician needs.(4)

or Anna:

It's nice when people come into the store and mention so-and-so is coming into town and you can just drop a bomb on them, you know. Like you say I'm going to ball so-and-so. And later on, that person comes to town and they go back-stage and there you are. It's kind of fun. It's like I told you so. There are games. They are beautiful, beautiful fun games...Some of the limelight is on you, too. You're in the room. You're involved...Spending three or four days with one person, you, uh,... under those circumstances meals are served on carts and photographs are being constantly taken and you can leach off the feeling and it's a gas.(5)

As Dr. David Smith, head of the Haight Ashbury Medical Clinic, says in the same article:

Within a certain subculture in San Francisco, rock is the basic art form... It's the same as straight culture in a way where bankers are attractive to young girls. They've got the money and power. In this community rock musicians occupy that role.(6)

Now it is doubtful that many young girls are turned on to bankers. Bankers lack 'cool'—they have no element of risk about them, they have no style. In a straight community, a girl is more likely to be turned on to a lawyer who takes on some civil rights cases, one who appears to be beating the system with the system's own tools. But the point that Smith makes about the hierarchy is valid. The high priestess, someone like Janis Joplin, is a lone woman amongst the priests: the Grateful Dead, the Mothers of Invention, the Rolling Stones, and Country Joe and the Fish. The models of the rock community are male.

But the girl in the hip community does experience a sense of liberation in the fact that she cannot only consummate her sexual relationships but she can also initiate them. The dating gamesmanship goes. In this way, the hippy culture is less repressive. The ideology of the community does not accept competitive ethics either in work or in play. It is unfortunate that the kids must sell their dope at a high profit to stay alive.

The culture of the rock community is based in sensuality and passivity. It is a culture of music and drugs. Girls can get stoned. They can roll their own joints. They participate in a grand dressing-up, a costuming that blurs sexual differences. The costumes are part of the theatre of the absurd. The kind of extravaganza that the Rochdale-Yorkville kids wear has a duality. It protects them from unreality. It reminds them that they exist. In a visual culture, they are what they dress up as. The young girl in a mountie hat, a

studded vest and psychedelic bell-bottoms is responding to and generating a media image.

But, despite her feeling of being plastic and consumptive she is also giving a repressive culture a good kick in the face. She outrages the authorities who try to control the length of her skirt and the length of her hair and the neighbours who despise her messiness. Although she assumes her traditional role by dressing up, her new front is a serious affront to the established order.

But, to get back to the schools and the straighter kids...We have recently witnessed in Ontario a resurgence of sex-segregated classes. The reasons for dividing up the boys and girls vary in the minds of the administrators and teachers. The two that I hear most are these. Firstly, since most elementary school teachers are women, the Canadian boy is getting 'a prissy grade school education'. Secondly, the girls mature faster than the boys so they have to split them up. This distortion of the meaning of maturity I've already dealt with. As for the 'prissy education' the boys are supposed to be getting—the fact is, though the women are teachers, the men are principals and the authority patterns are quite clear to the children. If the kids are going to be emasculated, then that will happen because the school sees its duty as being to quantify and package. Its predisposition to neatness and its destruction of the boy's mind is the enemy, not the female teacher. And the boys will be made impotent when they realize that the promise of a creative human future is a lie.

But the girls aren't even labouring under the liberal illusion that the society has a place for them apart from their role as a man's wife or a child's mother. They don't get the chance of being undercut for they start out by having their minds colonized.

In terms of the black struggle, the problem looks like this: it is accepted by many that part of the reason why black children can't be educated is because they have few successful models with whom to identify. Further, their models of success are white men and they can strive to be like the white man, but they never lose their black skin. In a racist society, that means they can never be successful; in an individualist society, it means they blame their lack of success on themselves. In the same way, women cannot be successful because we live in a society that sees women as being inessential to production.

Now our oppression is more comfortable. We are allowed more than watermelon and rhythm. We are allowed houses and gadgetry and many of us, physical comfort. But our minds have been colonized in much the same way. We cannot conceive of ourselves as childless. The thought of being single at the age of 30 horrifies us. We cannot conceive of ourselves with a project of a future which is important for itself. Most girls when faced with

the possibility of pursuing difficult studies and jobs, back down like the girl that Betty Friedan interviewed:

I loved it. I got so excited about my work. I could sometimes go into the library at eight in the morning and not come out until ten at night. I even thought I might want to go to graduate school or Law School and really use my mind. Suddenly, I was afraid of what would happen. I wanted to lead a rich, full life. I want to marry, have children, have a nice house. Suddenly, I felt, what am I beating my brains out for? So this year I'm trying to lead a well-rounded life. I take the courses, but I don't read eight books and still feel like reading the ninth. I stop and go to the movies. The other way was harder and more exciting. I don't know why I stopped. Maybe I just lost courage...(7)

It is the feeling that many young girls experience—that to be excited about their work is to forfeit their femininity. Despite a real passion to learn and to act, there is always the lingering doubt, this implicit disbelief in their own abilities, that makes them drop their commitments when they find a man. They say, like the college girl quoted above, "Well, I guess I just lost courage."

It is pretty hard to maintain your courage when you are constantly faced with comments like, "Well you know so-and-so, she's a very castrating woman." When girls start to get stronger, they get written off by therapists as neurotic, too demanding and dominating of the men around them. People say "Be tough, but don't lose your femininity."

The comments about castration are a popularized form of Freudianism. Various child psychologists like Edgar Friedenberg, Paul Goodman, and most psychiatrists in America today are Freudian-based. I have two reactions to Freudian psychology. One is anger over his theories on femininity; the other is more complex. It is a feeling that this is the very time in history that we need a psychology which places its emphasis on *the structure of society* rather than on the individual apart from that structure. Right now, numerous people in America—students, workers, and professional people, feel that there is no place for them in the society. If they work at factory or secretarial jobs, they simply work to live. They earn money and have no time to enjoy the things they spend it on. And no sense of purpose or creativity about their jobs. And, if they are mothers, their satisfaction lies in the vicarious status they get from their kids' marks at school or their child's possibility of a good job.

What I am arguing is that we must go much beyond Freud; indeed we have to change our emphasis. The potential of the technology of the late 1960's, the potential of American capitalism to determine our environment and our responses to it makes a different approach to psychology mandatory.

But let's get back to exactly what Freud said, particularly about little girls. He seems to base his theories about human identity on a person's

inborn and innate characteristics, his primal estrangements and inner dynamic. A child is born with an individual historical sense of primal man, original sin and the Eden of the womb. The nature of man, his rationality, his emotions and sexuality, is largely determined by childhood experience, particularly sexual experience. For little girls, the central childhood experience involves the castration complex or penis envy:

The castration complex of girls is also started by the genitals of the other sex. They at once notice the difference, and it must be admitted, its significance too. They feel seriously wronged, often declare that they want 'to have something like it too' and fall a victim to 'envy for the penis', which will leave **ineradicable** traces on their development...(8) (emphasis mine)

Later on, Freud repeats, this wish for a penis is sublimated into trying to achieve like a man by pursuing a career, deciding not to have children:

The wish for longed-for penis, eventually, in spite of everything, may contribute to motives that drive a mature woman to analysis and what she may reasonably expect from analysis — a capacity, for instance, to carry on an intellectual profession — may often be recognized as a sublimated modification of this repressed wish.(9)

According to Freud, when little girls discover their castration, they are lifted out of their closeness to their mother whom they blame for their lack of a penis. They also renounce clitoral masturbation in envy of the 'boy's superior equipment' and turn to their father as love object. They see their mother as also castrated and start to fantasize about having their father's baby. The wish for the baby begins to replace the wish for the penis which they hope to possess vicariously by having a boy. The girl enters the Oedipal stage. Her true rivalry with her mother, hidden when she was younger, is intensified. But, unlike the boy who transcends or sublimates his libidinous feelings for his mother, the girl, Freud believes, remains in a romance and dependence on her father. The boy must abandon the Oedipal situation for fear that his mother will castrate him. In transcending and repressing this complex, the boy develops a super-ego which pushes him outward upon the world. The same super-ego does not exist in the girl and for this reason she finds it difficult to play other than a passive or immanent role.

How is one to question this? It seems like such a neat and tidy explanation of feminine passivity. But where the fallacy lies in both the Freudian approach and in the work of behaviourists is that little girls, as I have tried to show in the rest of this paper, learn their roles very young. And there is a reason that they are trained into this role. If a child is brought up to believe that she can be nothing more than a wife and mother, then her admiration may well go to a boy who she perceives to have a more challenging life. If she sees that other people expect more of boys, allow them to be more violent and sloppy and selfish, then boys are treated with envy. If, in fact, childbearing had the same importance in our society as production, then we might well experience the opposite of penis envy.

Boys would envy their sisters who could produce the coveted child. Unfortunately, despite the mystification of childbearing and motherhood, having babies does not compare in status to having a job. And despite efforts of women's rights groups, if the economy of a country cannot operate with more than a certain percentage of its labour force employed, then there is a structural reason that the popular psychology of women's magazines places women in the home.

So when we're trying to discover our identities, we must look primarily at our relation to the rest of society; to production and not search so hard for our 'inner selves'.

We also have to look closely at the function of the family. There is a rather subtle mechanism by which mothers absorb the personality of their children. The child is all the mother has and she is around most of the time. What happens is that she destroys the child's autonomy by pre-empting his natural curiosity. She seeks to explain things to him before he has experienced them. She shows the child that combs are for running through one's hair, not for dragging along the edge of a table and making a funny noise. Everything that the child does is turned into a 'learning experience'. The mother in fact becomes a professional mother. She begins to use the withdrawal of her affection, *in a benevolent way*, to make the child conform to her wishes. She acts *always in the best interests of the child*. And if the child protests that what she does is not in his interest, he is likely to be termed deviant or 'going through a stage'. These are ways of invalidating children. Look at this dialogue between mother and daughter:

Mother: Well, that's how it appeared to us—that you were selfish.

Mary: How was I selfish?

Mother: Well I can't remember now, but I do know that...

Mary: No, you won't tell me now, so I don't know how—so if I get better again I won't know if I'm right or wrong or when I'm going to crack up again, or what I'm going to do.

Mother: Now that's what I call selfishness, thrusting your opinions on me and not listening to mine.

Mary: Well, you were thrusting your opinion on me and not listening to **mine**. You see it works both ways.

Mother: I know.

Mary: But I always have to take it when I'm at home from you because **you're my mother. See — I can't be selfish — but if you're selfish, that's not wrong. You're not ill because you're selfish, you're just my mother and it's all right if you can do it.**(10)

Education reformers like Paul Goodman perpetuate a basically Freudian view of girlhood. Goodman is the most blatant. In the introduction to *Growing Up Absurd* he states:

I say 'the young men and boys' rather than the 'young people' because the problem I want to discuss in this book belongs primarily in our society to the boys: how to be useful and make something of oneself. A girl does not 'have' to, she is not expected to 'make something' of herself. Her career does not have to be self-justifying, like any other natural or creative act.

With this background it is less important, for instance, what job an average young woman works at 'till she is married .

The mistake Goodman makes is first of all assuming that all women are going to have children and second of all, assuming that it is a natural act which is self-justifying. In fact, there are few natural acts which are not now perverted. Sexuality is exploited to make us consume more. Our children grow up in an isolated family unit which is oppressive to its members. As to the self-justifying nature of procreation, the large numbers of women that are meeting across this country are not doing so because they find their 'woman's lot' self-justifying.

Friedenberg, at least, is more self-conscious of the problem. Berated by Bettelheim for ignoring the plight of girls in his book the *Vanishing Adolescent*, he attempts to talk about girls in a later essay. But in the end, Friedenberg is in love with the adolescent boys, "the hot-blooded minority," the Finny's and Holden Caulfields. And as a man with profound respect for a Freudian like Erik Erikson, he ends up wanting to protect gentlemanly virtues. He wants to protect the autonomy of individuals. He wants private and aristocratic men with a fine sense of irony. This view is naive and hurtful. Not only because Finny and Holden don't articulate a *feminine* sense of outrage, but because the call for autonomy and privacy, the civil libertarian stance, is an immoral and impossible wish on a continent dissolving before our eyes.

The insanity that is distant, cool and apart is far worse than the madness that makes us act with passion. It is the first insanity that the society applauds. It is the coolness of the Trudeau's. Instead of wishing for privacy and autonomy, we must be public people acting in the world. The more we act politically, the more we will be defined as deviant and neurotic. Bettelheim recently said that the student rebels were acting out of "intense guilt feelings." People look for lesbians in the women's liberation groups. But we can reject those definitions. We can stop looking inside ourselves, for ourselves. We should accept that fact that we are becoming 'the people our parents warned us against.' ●



COLLECTIVE CHILD CARE IN A CLASS SOCIETY

by Barb Cameron and Cathy Pike
Toronto, Ontario, September 1971

Socialists have seen the isolation of women in the home and their exclusion from production as the source of women's specific oppression under capitalism. In pre-capitalist agricultural societies, the family was the basic unit of production and consumption and the domestic labour of women was essential to the survival of the family. With the development of production for the market, much of the formerly domestic labour was performed outside the home in exchange for wages. The industrial revolution furthered the removal of labour from the confines of individual families, drastically changing the nature and function of the family. Some of the traditional women's tasks, however, were not socialized and remained private functions of the family. As unpaid labour, this 'women's work' came to be seen as inferior in a society which judged worth by economic return. Today, even the education of children after the age of five is carried out in large institutions and the one socially necessary task that remains in the home is the care of pre-school children. Socialists see the conditions for the equality of women as full participation of women in the labour force and the socialization of domestic labour, particularly the care of young children.

Unlike other socialist groups, women's liberation has not been willing to wait for the revolution to bring about the equality of women. Instead, we see the fight against the oppression of women as an important part of a socialist revolution. Women socialists have come to recognize that women workers cannot be organized in the same way as men. We see that women's role in production (in sex-typed jobs, as cheap labour, as a reserve labour pool) is directly related to our role in the family. Any attempts to organize women against exploitation in the labour force can only succeed if they also involve attacks on women's role in the family. The demand for child care is central to an attack on the dual role of women at work and at home.

The damage done to both mothers and children by the modern family has been a constant theme of the literature of the women's liberation movement over the past few years. We have emphasized parent controlled, cooperative day care as a liberating alternative to the present authoritarian family and school system. Movement women helped build the Sussex Street Day Care Centre in Toronto as a model of communal child care and parents involved in Sussex Street have been interested in helping other

communities set up similar day-care centres. Unfortunately, a strategy directed toward building a number of model day-care centres has serious limitations. The biggest failure in the women's liberation day-care strategy has been our inability to organize around the desperate need for child care of many thousands of Canadian working women.

Leisure time in a class society is a class privilege. Parent controlled cooperative day care grew up after the Second World War in middle class neighbourhoods, with the initiators of such centres emphasizing the quality of a child's educational experience and making careful distinctions between their nursery schools and the day-care centres for 'underprivileged' children of mothers forced to work. Although no such snobbery is involved in our efforts, it is significant that the Sussex Street Day Care Centre is close to the University of Toronto campus and many of the parents are students, faculty members or on the staff of the student organizations. The simple fact is that most working parents do not have the time needed to participate in any real way in parent controlled day care.

Advocating parent control of day care in a capitalist society has been confused with the socialist position that the raising of children is a social rather than an individual responsibility. The socialist view is that the wealth of society is collectively produced and that the production of each worker benefits all of society. The care and education of children is therefore of concern to all of society and should be financed out of the collectively controlled wealth. Under capitalism, however, the collectively produced wealth is concentrated in the hands of a small minority and is unavailable to meet the needs of the people who produced it. We are made to feel that children are the private responsibility of husband and wife and must be supported out of their meager wages. The danger of parent control is that it reinforces the capitalist view that children are the responsibility of their parents, even if these parents are working with others to raise their children cooperatively. Our task must be to promote child care as a social responsibility to be financed out of the collective wealth of society.

Government financing is a key demand in the fight for the recognition society's responsibility for the care of children. Yet many people fear that such a demand invites the extension of the authoritarian education of the present school system. We agree that the institutions of capitalist society require and produce mutilated human beings and that the state will not encourage independent, creative children. But the demand for liberated child care presupposes a freedom and resources that working parents in a capitalist society will never have. Only the very wealthy in our society have the time or money to make child raising a creative experience for mother or child. In addition, over half (51 per cent) of the 34.2 per cent of women who work are mothers of children under six. The vast majority, at least 97 per cent, of these children are cared for by poorly educated

babysitters or unpaid relatives. Government run child-care centres would be a great improvement on the care most young children now receive.

One of the dangers of demanding mass child-care facilities is that the government will establish them to meet the needs of employers rather than of women. Workplace day care under capitalism could easily be used to attract women to low paying, menial labour and to reinforce the existing sex-typing of jobs. Day care provided by the employer would increase the dependence of women on a particular place of work. During a strike, for example, the employer would undoubtedly close down the day-care facilities. It is also very likely that employers would persuade the government to give them tax exemptions for establishing such day care. Child-care facilities, except in special situations, should therefore be located in the community rather than in the workplace. Another danger is that private enterprise will step in to set up day-care facilities for the government. In the United States, corporations have developed a profitable scheme of franchised day-care centres on the model of Chicken Delight or Becker's Milk.

We must be clear in our demands that private enterprise is to have no part in government financed child care.

Our demand should be for high quality community child care available free to all women. Ideally, child-care facilities should be open 24 hours a day. In the present society, where the few day-care centres that now exist are designed for office rather than factory workers, we will be forced to fight just to have centres open at hours that suit women doing shift work. Even though the government will be reluctant to finance child care for non-working mothers, we must continue to fight for child care as a right for all women, perhaps as part of the school system. Such a program will cost money and implies higher taxes for the Canadian working class. In our campaign for child care we must demand that corporations who take the wealth of the people should be taxed to pay for these facilities.

Our proposal of a government financed community child-care system is not meant to undermine the criticisms of the authoritarian education of children that have been raised by the women's liberation movement. We believe that the movement will continue to play an extremely important political role in criticizing the present education system and in suggesting alternatives to it. But we do fear that a strategy of parent controlled cooperative day care is utopian in its inability to provide child care for the many thousands of Canadian women and children who so desperately need it. Our feeling is that the kind of liberating child care we want is not possible on a mass scale under capitalism. Large scale, government financed child care is a first step in freeing both women and children from the structure and ideology of the family. But above all, it is only with mass child care that women will be free to struggle to build a socialist society in which the liberating care of all children will be possible. ☘

CHILDREN ARE ONLY LITTLER PEOPLE

...or the
louis riel university family co-op

by Melody Killian
Vancouver, B.C.
1969

The mystique of motherhood must be one of the strongest values in our culture. It is very difficult for any mother to admit to anyone her resentment of her own child. She cannot express to others her powerful feelings of rejection and even hatred at times of her own baby.

I am convinced that such feelings are common to almost every mother in this society. The sanctions against their public expression are so strong that almost all women keep them inside themselves coupled with guilt and shame. The feelings are vented on themselves or on the babies secretly in the private prison-like apartments and houses in which women are locked up all day.

The fact is that babies do trap people in this society. During the last stages of pregnancy women usually lose their jobs. Even if they can return to work the cost of babysitting wipes out their paychecks. Even harder to surmount is the guilt that is poured onto working mothers, and the resulting anxiety that perhaps the babysitter is not good, or that something might be going wrong. All of the media, and even one's fellow female workers tell women that their place is in the home with their children. With the birth of babies women become financially dependent on men, and men become entrapped by women, enslaved to jobs and inhuman routines in order to support them.

Most working girls happily assume that they will work only until their first baby arrives. Often I see pregnant girls at work whose expectations are so high and so happy. The other girls give the young mother a baby shower, the beginning of her consumer role. When she finally leaves they send cards. She might visit her old work place once or twice to show off her baby. At first it feels good to be away from a job that was probably poorly paid and dreary. But then, somehow, everybody forgets about her. Very soon she finds herself cut off from the outside world. Lonely and bored in her apartment with her baby, she senses that the rest of the world is going on without her. She begins to wonder why it is that she is not happy. Something is wrong, but she is not sure what it is. Isn't it true that having a

baby is the most fulfilling event in a woman's life? Didn't everything her mother and the magazines told her all her life lead up to this? The clothes and dates and proms in high school, the wedding, the love between herself and her husband—didn't all of these culminate in the birth of her baby?

Why then does she feel these vague doubts about her own child? Why is she so irritable and resentful of her husband? She never wanted to be a nag and a bitch. She wants to be like the pretty and loving young mothers pictured in the women's magazines. Her confusion is increased by the fact that at times it *is* like the magazines. In spite of her fears it really was exciting to feel her baby move inside her. She is beginning to forget the fear and pain of the birth and the treatment she got in the hospital. She really did feel proud and happy when she saw her little baby for the first time.

Sometimes she stands beside the crib and watches her sleeping baby and is overcome by love for him or her. She would not give up her baby for anything. But why then is the love clouded by doubt and guilt? Why does she also spend so much time standing at the window? What is wrong with her that she sometimes secretly wishes she had never had the baby? Perhaps she is not maternal enough. Maybe she is sick because she doesn't love her own baby. She knows she has been acting crazy enough lately, crying so much for no reason and screaming at her husband. The doctor might prescribe some tranquilizers. Her husband is beginning to stay at the beer parlour to keep away from her and the baby.

They never thought it would be like this. They used to dream about having a family together, and neither of them thought it would be this way. Their love hasn't lasted. Perhaps she isn't pretty enough anymore, or their apartment isn't nice enough. If only her husband made more money so that they could buy the things that would make both her and the apartment more like the pictures in the magazines, they would be in love again.

And so it goes, the syndrome of the fragmented and consumer unit family, recent product of industrialization and based on the economic dependence of the woman. In each of those homes the people think that their problems and unhappiness are personal, unique and in some way their own fault. Unable to see the structures and economic forces at work on their lives, people experience guilt and illness, and love is made impossible.

The media tells us that battered children and post-partum depression are psychological aberrations of individual women. Whenever I read of someone beating her children, I feel very sympathetic. The area of most frequent violence in our society must be the millions of homes where women daily visit mental and physical violence on babies, and afterwards on themselves in the terrible guilt that ensues.

It is a delusion to believe that the best environment for children is being locked in a small area with a person who is sacrificing her own

growth, becoming ill for lack of stimulation and frustration, who sees no way out of her entrapment. I do not believe that any woman, no matter how educated or creative, can cope lovingly with a small child when she is isolated and dependent. Only those women wealthy enough to afford household help and babysitters have been able to truly appreciate their children.

Who among us has not had an ambivalent mother? So stunted as whole people are women that they must find their identities through their children and their husbands. Consequently, the growth of those children and their eventual independence is extremely threatening. Out of this situation emerges the fight waged by teenagers to get away from their mothers, mothers who, after the 15 or 20 years when their children leave, find themselves in a vacuum. Love must be releasing and freeing. Appreciation of another depends upon separateness and relatedness to him or her, not on dependency and merging with each other.

Erich Fromm has voiced similar ideas about mother love without ever seeing the economic structures that prevent women from being able to lovingly release their children. As long as women's sole justification for being supported by husbands is their role as mother, they will have to be grasping and smothering to their children, purveyors of neurosis and dependency in the new generations. In the same way, mountains of articles have been written on adolescent rebellion and on generation gaps as if all these symptoms are the kids' fault or as if they are the result of a huge misunderstanding or lack of communication between parents and children, with no analysis of women's economic position in this society.

People will continue to be driven to violence until women have complete occupational equality, complete control over their own bodies, day care of a cooperative and communal nature available to them at their places of work and income attached to children. These reforms cannot be made under capitalism, cannot be granted by a system that is based on exploitation.

Our analysis of women's role in capitalism enables us to know that women's liberation will release men and children as well. We know that these problems are the result of women's economic dependence and exploitation. This understanding has led most of us to reject marriage and the traditional role of mother for ourselves. We have discussed alternative ways of relating to men, and we should discuss tentative new ways of relating to children.

In our discussion in Women's Caucus at Simon Fraser University we should be aware of the fact that one of our central tasks must be to find ways of bearing and loving children. Partly because we are university students and few of us have had children, we have never discussed this

question. Perhaps our silence is imposed also by the fact that so many of us have resolved quietly never to have a baby. We talk a lot about the need for women to be free to choose *not* to have babies, and we have done good work in the areas of birth control and the movement for legalized abortion. But our work for control of our own bodies does not bring us to a discussion of the forces acting on us that cause us not to want even one child for ourselves.

It seems to me that our problem in Women's Caucus is not only how to prevent unwanted children but also how to create the possibility of wanted children for ourselves. How can we have babies in a society that makes babies burdens to everyone, particularly to women, and at the same time not lose our ability to work effectively to destroy this inhumane system?

If we do not come to grips with this question now, we will either spend childless lives or suddenly find ourselves entrapped by motherhood and depoliticized as a result.

We should try to understand the pain caused us by the alternatives we face, and then try to open ourselves to sharing in order to find other alternatives for those of us who want them, for our own lives, and for a future society.

There are several reasons why movement people should spend time on such alternative life-style proposals:

1. The liberation of some women to become financially autonomous and to do more effective *political* work.
2. The integration of men into the child-rearing process. Men are traditionally cut off from their children, able to interact with them only at routinized times. When the movement as a whole takes responsibility for raising children, those people who are free to be with them at various times share in their upbringing.
3. The growth of anti-authoritarian people for a future free society. Anti-authoritarian socialization of a new generation is important.
4. The possibility of having children for movement people, without depoliticization. It is clear that many radicals in recent years have gone into the system, been forced to take establishment jobs, and have been unable to break out of their occupational roles precisely because of the family entrapment they have fallen into. The ever-looming fear of selling out, the example of many who cannot act when the chips are down, is often based on the dependencies resulting from the lack of autonomy of women and children. The real significance of the women's movement may well be that this generation of radicals won't sell out in the end because we will have developed a life-style that will enable us to avoid the family role traps that deactivated a lot of those who have gone before us.

The women's liberation movement in North America and in Europe has repeatedly asserted that women's liberation cannot wait for the revolution, but must proceed now as we try to discover together new ways of relating to one another.

Some women's liberation members are actually discussing celibacy, lesbianism and test tube babies as solutions to our problems. Our group, however, understands that there is a special commitment of women to destroy a system that makes us hate our own young; it lies in our desire to make a world in which we can love men and each other and into which we can bear our babies. I hope that we can affirm this commitment before we become so alienated from our own bodies and selves, so hopeless and hating of our sex, that we think that test tube babies are what we want for our future.

This paper is an attempt to describe the present structure of child-bearing in this society that has made us reject it, and a proposal for an alternative for the movement drawn out of experiences in the Simon Fraser Family Co-operative.

Operation of the Family

The SFU Co-op Family grew out of the Board of Governor's meeting room sit-in in the spring of 1968. The Board Room was occupied by students during the CAUT censure crisis.⁽¹⁾ They decided to use the space to fill a student need. Some students and faculty who agreed with the sit-in brought their children there for a number of days. When the sit-in ended the nursery also ended, but the idea of an on-campus nursery was born.

A member of the Students' Council, which at that time consisted of a majority of Students for a Democratic University, took on the responsibility of looking into the establishment of a day nursery on campus. She put up posters calling a meeting early in May of mothers interested in discussing the idea. The Council thought that a group could be formed which would negotiate with the Administration for the eventual building of a licensed day-care centre on campus.

But at that first meeting, the mothers themselves decided to take over an area of the student lounge on the following Monday morning without permission of the Administration. The mothers realized how long it would take to get a nursery if we waited for committees to meet and briefs to be written. Our collective need was urgent enough that we decided to act on our own. At that first meeting we worked out a tentative schedule for watching each other's children over the coming week and agreed to bring some toys to school on that Monday. And on the following Monday morning the Family began. Some students needed to leave a child in the Family room only for a few hours per week; others needed child care nearly full time. Some students had two children, some only one. No one could predict his or her schedule rigidly.

Therefore we decided that each parent should give one half-day of cooperation in the Family. We divided the five day week into 10 half-days. We decided that we needed two parents in the Family room at all times. Therefore the co-op runs ideally with 20 parents. In return for his or her half-day of cooperation, each parent may leave his or her children in the Family as much or as little as he or she needs to.

No one realized at first how radically different this system is from almost every other system by which people exchange labour and services in this society. One usually gets only what one *pays* for. The Family really does take from each according to his or her ability and give to each according to his or her needs.

We found that we had all sorts of bourgeois hang-ups about 'fairness' and 'taking advantage'. It really seemed at first as if some shouldn't leave their kids longer or leave more kids than others. Almost harder than learning to give was learning to take; people felt guilty about having others spend time with their children for no pay. They tended to hang around or felt that they should be doing something 'constructive' like actually studying all the time their kids were in the Family. The money we had given former babysitters had freed us to do whatever we wished with the time, but it took us a while to realize that the time and care we gave each other also freed us. We began to learn to use the time to drink coffee, or to talk, and to accept from others the gift of co-operation.

We did not know each other when we began, and not one of us came into the Family with a theory of anti-authoritarian or communal socialization of children. We began to act together in the way that seemed simplest and most human and then began to be committed to that way of acting and to articulate its meaning. The theory really did grow out of the action. Marx wrote that "the production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness is directly interwoven with the material activity and the material relationships of men and women." The truth of this statement has been demonstrated in the evolution of the consciousness of the members of the Family.

At first, we still had the old way of thinking, and felt that we 'owed' people in the Family for taking care of our children. But with time, our sense of score-keeping diminished and was replaced by a sense of true sharing. People began to realize that people have different needs, but that everybody's needs could be met as long as we all did our part. Some people got sick, or had troubles that made them use more time than others or miss their cooperation time, but the principle of reciprocity began to be learned, and the concept of 'paying back' vanished. It was realized that some people would take from the system more than others, but that that would not cause the breakdown of the Family.

Reciprocity seems to involve two things. First, one needs the ability to be open in the expression of one's needs, to be able to say, for example, "I am feeling bad today and won't be able to cope very well with the children." Secondly, it is necessary to be responsible for each other, in the sense of really being able to *respond* to those needs, not to miss one's co-op time, to find a substitute for someone who is ill, to confront members of the Family who fail us. All of this is so simple and really involves only being human in a fuller way, and yet it has been surprising and discouraging to realize how hard it has been for us to learn these ways of interacting. Inhumanity and institutional ways of relating have obviously been very strongly socialized into us.

The commitment to the formation of a real family grew out of the objective needs of the members. Many of us are single parents, struggling under very isolated conditions to raise children alone. Few of us have other family members near by. We really need close friendship and help with our children.

We began the Family without a real leader or executive or steering committee or supervisor. We soon realized that not only did we not need one, but that the election or appointment of one would destroy something about what we are trying to do.

The fact that we have no supervisor or coordinator—no person, in fact, who has any role different from that of any other parent—has meant that there is no one authority figure for the children to become dependent upon. We began to see the Family as an experiment in the formation of a new type of extended or communal Family wherein a number of parents take real responsibility for each other's children. If we pooled money together to buy a substitute mother or parent, we would be negating the concept of collective responsibility for each other and for each other's children. We realized that if we each paid a fee to hire someone we would no longer be a Family but only some individual women and men sharing the cost of a babysitter.

At first we thought that the children might be insecure or confused by having 20 different parents during the week, plus numerous other students who come in to play. The parents change in the middle of the day. The group of children changes as parents leave them and pick them up. All of our children had been raised in nuclear family homes with one or two parents or partly by paid substitutes, or in day nurseries with the same teacher each day. This isolation had created dependencies in both parents and children. Children were afraid of people other than their biological parents. Parents worried about their children but derived ego satisfaction from having their children cry for them. People were able to relate only to those they were biologically related to.

They very soon began to develop a sense of their security being vested in *themselves*, and in very many others around them. In fact, one could say that the children developed autonomy more quickly than did many adults who had trouble learning not to worry.

Each child in the Family now regularly sees at least 50 other people each week—20 parents and about 25 other children and various student friends. His or her universe is tremendously expanded, in fact, exploded, compared to a nuclear home. Yet all of the children who have been in the Family for at least one semester (we are now half way through our fourth semester) are secure in a way few pre-school children are.

They do not look to any one adult for direction or protection. They have very strong friendships among themselves and with students and they all have good friends that their biological parents may not even know. They do not view people other than their own parents as enemies or threats, but rather they tend to view others as real parts of their world. And the world seems in general to be a friendly place.

They have a sense of themselves as autonomous people, with separate selves and confidence in their ability to do things and make decisions. It is difficult now for an authoritarian person to 'control' the Family's children with order or with threats. The children also respond to each other's and to the adults' needs in a more independent way than most, because of the lack of an authority figure. They take responsibility for comforting each other or enforcing sharing of equipment because they do not automatically look to the parent in the room to do so. Recently one little boy had an eye operation that made him uncomfortable. Everybody knew about it and all of the children cooperated in comforting him although no adult asked them to.

All of this makes clear the principle that it is not the *ideology* that is spoken but the structure of institutions that matters. No amount of liberal 'free school' theory will develop autonomous people with the ability to resist authoritarianism confidently as long as the nursery or school itself has an authoritarian structure. Autonomy cannot be achieved when dependency is transferred from biological parent to teacher. It is achieved when one's self is reflected in and reinforced by many others. When dependency is spread among a larger group it turns into autonomy.

Our experiences in trying to keep the Family non-hierarchical has taught many of us more about the authoritarian nature of this society. Internally, it has been surprisingly easy to maintain the structure. We communicate via a bulletin board and telephone calls. The only person with any specialized job is the mother who collects \$1. per week for juice, crackers and supplies, and this has not become an important difference. There is no division of labour at all. Everyone does every sort of job, from repairing play equipment to drying tears. People do the work for which they are best suited.

Besides our struggle against the outside world there is our daily internal educational struggle. New people come who do not yet understand; we have unsatisfactory meetings; people doubt their ability to be with the children or even doubt the daily reality of the Family and want to hire a supervisor; people don't plan anything for their cooperation time; they once more become afraid. These people freak out and make some rules on their own about dismissing people who miss their co-op time, forgetting that no one can be dismissed from a Family, but only confronted, related to and taught again the principles of cooperation and reciprocity.

There is also a daily teaching and learning struggle. Those who know more teach those who know less, but no one is left behind or abandoned. Our struggles with the outside world have taught us the difficulty of maintaining community struggles in a hierarchical society. It is clear that any communal effort must struggle for its survival. We are going against the grain of every tendency in this society which is daily becoming more dehumanized, compartmentalized and regimented.

In order to operate legally we must become licensed as a day care centre under the B.C. law. This requires that we hire a licensed supervisor. We don't want to do that. We must also incorporate as a legal society. In order to do that we must elect officers, write a constitution and set rules. We do not want to do this, so we have negotiated with the government licensing agent for 10 months and hope to become licensed as we are, as an experimental project.

The university administrators are afraid to bother us because motherhood is popular and the Family has huge support among the students. Many students are part of the Family and it fills a real need in their lives, particularly in the affection that can be given freely to and received freely from the children. But the administrators are unhappy with our lack of legal status and want us to incorporate and become an ancillary service of the university, under their hegemony. They do not want us to use their name (SFU) until we do this. However, we do not need to use their name and do not wish to conform to their requests. We are still negotiating on this.

The B.C. Welfare offers us \$1. per day per child if we will hire a licensed supervisor. No one will give us money without officers responsible for it, although we did get \$500. for toys from Students' Council as a club. We would rather do without money than change our structure. If we suddenly had money to spend, some people would have to decide how to spend it, would have to sign cheques, and our roles would have to become more specialized. The Students' Council money was spent after decisions made general at a meeting and some mothers assumed responsibility for ordering necessary equipment. But any permanent amount of income to

the Family would distort our working together. We have brought many toys from home and others have been loaned by the education department of the university. Each child, in fact, has the use of many more things than he would have had in a nuclear family, especially those from single parent homes where there is not much money. The children use the equipment without feeling that it does not belong to them. Recently a friend of the Family came in and asked the children who a tricycle belonged to. Several children answered at once that it belonged to everybody. People have long since forgotten which things used to be 'theirs'. This is very different from learning to share one's own toys at a playground but taking one's own toys home at the end of the day.

It would of course be momentarily easier to hire a supervisor and to relate to each other through money and rules. It would be what we have all learned so well all our lives; to be fragmented from each other, to shirk responsibility for others, to succumb to institutions and to retreat again into individualism.

Out of this and other community structures will be produced more and more people who have the self confidence to be critical of this society and the commitment necessary to change it. ♀

SUSSEX DAY CARE

by John Foster
Toronto, Ontario
September, 1971

Constituency—Need

Your interest in day care probably springs from a direct need, but you'll probably have to establish the extent to which others in your community share that need, what they can afford, what hours they need it, how far they want to travel, what sort of centre they want for their children.

Our centre grew out of concern with the situation of working women with children and with the socialization of children. In the spring of 1969 a group of women in Women's Liberation Movement in Toronto decided to get these concerns down to earth by investigating needs for day care. We made preparatory surveys which revealed the particular lack of care for children under two years of age. Good day-care facilities existed in Toronto only for the wealthy. We found there were only two day-care centres for children under two...both with long waiting lists, and both costing approximately \$100 a month.

As a result of these surveys, we found that need and interest focused around the university community. Discussion was opened up to people who had or were expecting children, and by pressing fathers and interested men to attend, an action group was formed. With the onset of the university term, the pressing need of parents for full day care resulted in a frantic search for a 'home' for the centre.

Location—Facilities

Whether it's in-home family care or something larger, a place that's not only suitable but somewhat exciting, where the children are going to live for a good portion of their waking week, is a real spur to your progress if you've got it, and one hell of a stumbling block if you haven't.

Accepting the university, its students, support staff and faculty, its neighbourhood, as our focus, we tramped the pavement looking for reasonable accommodation. Churches, houses, countless possibilities fell through. The university owns a lot of property and from time to time leaves empty houses standing. Our intelligence agents filtered out retrieving lists of university owned houses and we put several under surveillance. When we found one occupied only by crashers we simply moved in letting negotiations, which had been fruitless before our action, continue.

It was direct action. The bureaucracy we faced had been slow but not too repressive, and there we were painting, collecting cribs, highchairs, toys, hauling in an old fridge and getting excited.

In comparison with a dark church basement, or nothing, this old house, 12 Sussex, was pretty heavenly for the kids. It has a back yard with high hedges, lots of little rooms for sleeping, changing rooms and is located close to the university. We knew there would have to be improvements but we didn't really know what lay ahead of us.

Standards—Finance

You really need to be prepared for a long haul in starting a centre; your building can be very important to your progress and your financial resources will probably be constantly strained.

Our centre started out with the idea that day care should be made available to those who need it, particularly single parents and young student parents. Our fees were \$30. a month, unheard of for under twos in Toronto, but some families were accepted without fee.

Perhaps it's because we were so conscious of the need for day care, because we struggled so hard to keep fees low, because most of our labour was contributed by interested, motivated people and our staff worked at bare-bones wages, that we found the whole process of 'meeting standards' so hard. Perhaps we should have occupied a new split-level in downtown Toronto, or Lord Lansdowne school, because we quickly found out that our homey old house wasn't what inspectors had in mind for day care.

Some friends at another centre had told us that the provincial Day Nurseries Branch, which supervises licensing of centres, would give us time to make improvements. So we awaited fire, health and day nurseries inspectors. First the floor plans...back and forth the envelopes and emissaries went: proper scale please, India ink please, proper labelling please. Then similar games with fire and health. It just took a long time. We decided in long community meetings to go through with the whole 'official' process. We agreed fire and safety were important. In addition, many of the families applying for day care needed welfare subsidies and we couldn't help them unless we had a licence. We had to be patient and endure a good deal of insecurity, at any time the provincial or university wolves might come to our door. Luckily the time also helped us to gain confidence in ourselves as a group, to learn some ways of getting answers from bureaucracies, to gain confidence with the children and to establish a warm, trusting atmosphere in the centre.

Sifting through the reports and advice, it turned out that we needed a new three-basin sink, did not need 'boys' and 'girls' toilets and that fire doors, fire escapes and a warning system were 'musts'. Two thousand dollars was the estimate for that, and we began negotiating again with the university. We were asking for improvements or alternate accommodation, but what we were really suggesting was that the university had a responsibility for day care for its students and employees. We'd raised some money from those students and employees but with no provincial funds available, capital expenditures on fire equipment were just beyond our reach. So we continued having long negotiations with the administration.

Frustration focused in a spring march to Simcoe Hall, the administration building, to present our case to the president. Some of us in the carpeted office... "Aren't these fire doors as important as the subsidy to the Graduate Students' Bar?" "Will you come out and talk with the parents Mr. Bissell?" The answer being no, the parents, students, and various political allies moved into the Senate Chamber, and waited until the president came a day and night later, to tell them O.K. It was kind of hard to fight motherhood.

We got our improvements, but they cost \$12,000, not \$2,000. Not every building chosen for day care needs this much work but a lot of them do. The province says, be sure and inspect the building prior to choice, which is fine, if you have some choice. But the only alternatives they gave us were older houses, halls and churches. The province has nothing to offer you, except standards, no capital grants, no guaranteed loans. We were damned lucky to have been able to force the university to listen to our demands. And so, about a year after we opened, we were finally physically acceptable in the sight of Queen's Park.

Organizing Work—Staff

All the pamphlets and the government's regulations put a heavy emphasis on staffing. They're right, full-time paid personnel are very important to your centre, but more important is the question of what kind of centre you as parent or participant desire. No staff person can or should remove that responsibility from you.

We began as a cooperative in 1969 and we're still a cooperative. We saw ourselves as sharing the day-to-day work at the centre; we declined to set up a board, or advisory committee, or executive. We divided the daily shifts into two halves, and asked parents to volunteer a half day a week if possible. Different people took responsibility for after school clean-up, weekend clean-up, shopping, taking care of the garbage and banking. We got help from interested students and people in the surrounding residential community. We decided to look for two full-time people to coordinate these efforts and tie them together. Our standards were very simple: some experience with young children, ability to work in a cooperative of adults, 'good vibrations' in terms of a person who loved, was interested in and free with children. We also thought that some specialized training in early childhood development might be helpful.

We hired two people who were motivated and so anxious to become involved that they accepted salaries not far above subsistence level and we started off. But we found ourselves in disagreement with the one staff member who did have prior training. She was worried by different things than we were; she was moving toward the role of 'director', and we were moving more and more into shared responsibility. So we parted, and a new coordinator came out of the ranks of the volunteers at the centre.

It's continued in this way. The renewal of full-time staff has come from the ranks of those working in the centre as volunteers, although we've advertised generally from time to time and consulted the Day Nurseries Branch about possible applicants.

How do you choose staff in any case? Do you go by written references and course records? How far can interviews take you? Don't you have to test relationships on the job, in interaction with children and adults?

The needs of the surrounding community have to be considered when hiring staff members. As our group has grown together and evolved, we've almost always had our share of Canada's six per cent unemployed. In addition, people volunteering at the centre often find their career priorities challenged by the opportunity of being with children in the sort of atmosphere we've created. This has affected men as well as women. So the cooperative has developed a hiring pattern that is organic, one which comes from the community itself.

Choice of staff is also inevitably affected by what is available, and in the under two age group, approved training in Canada has only recently been established. When the Ontario Day Nurseries Branch began to face this need, their prime reference was to an established, interested group called Canadian Mothercraft. But who was to say that their standards were the only, or even the most desirable, in this newly developing child-care age group.

Our cooperative didn't want a 'director' or someone trained to be one. And as we developed we were increasingly conscious of the fact that our approach differed from the approved training course at Mothercraft. We placed social relationships among children, and children and adults, ahead of cognitive learning and single child-adult pairs. Community responsibility was placed ahead of hierarchical staff-volunteer roles. Response to individual children and their needs was considered more important than regularity and scheduling. The need for the full involvement of men with the children and the centre was given a higher priority than the need for highly trained professionals of either sex.

So we've said to the government that parent controlled centres should have the final say over the staff they employ and over their internal organization and emphasis.

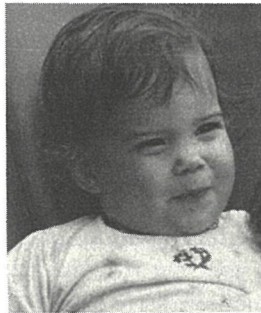
We recognize that not every group of parents might be able to or desire to spend as much time at their centre as most of our community do. However, we'd still come down strongly for parent control and responsibility for the nature of the centre instead of reliance on a board of directors or staff.

The government's response to us has been that our centre is too casually run, and that this problem results from "well meaning but incompetent staff." They feel that schedules are necessary for the efficient running of the centre.

Licensing—Appeal

If you have more than five unrelated children together you come under the Ontario Day Nurseries Act and must apply for a licence or be fined. You are only eligible for "purchased service" or subsidized day care for financially needy parents if you are licensed. Licencing involves meeting fire, health, safety standards and the regulations and discretionary standards administered by the Day Nurseries Branch staff of inspectors who visit your centre.

If the province refuses to license you, you can appeal to a board set up under the Day Nurseries Act. After a year and a half of improvements and negotiations, the branch told us "no licence." So we appealed last spring. Half way through the branch's testimony before the board, a compromise developed. The hearing was adjourned, we appointed an 'advisory board' of



professional people acceptable to the branch, we promised to consult about future staff and we waited for our licence or a provisional licence. More inspections ensued and then our lawyers were informed: no licences, hearing commenced again, closure imminent.

The fall of 1971 has been a struggle. We've been very lucky. We've had a law professor and several hard-working enthusiastic students from the new Parkdale Community Legal Services Storefront acting for us free of charge. Sixty former parents, volunteers, parents and coordinators were interviewed, and of these more than 20 gave evidence at the lengthy fall hearings of the board. We had to engage in a continual dialogue to and through the press and community organizations. We're still waiting for the judgment; the board is reading 2000 pages of testimony.

All this drains vital energy from the centre. While it's true that it builds a certain unity and strength, we'd prefer to build that strength by acting positively for the extension of day care and meeting the needs of those on our waiting list, rather than having to defend our one centre.

Cooperatives — Community

Whether you place a high priority on parent participation, or are simply a parent controlled but largely staff run centre, the potential for a centre for growth and support not only for children but for parents, is one of the most fantastic aspects of initiating day care.

The community of our day-care centre probably includes upward of 100 people: parents, volunteers, children and some former participants or advisors who continue to support the work.

How does a cooperative operate effectively? Only with a great deal of work. We've stayed away from written structures and bylaws although there are certain standards accepted by the group.

Most important was some effective decision-making method and our approach was to put this to a basic community forum at a general meeting. These meetings are held every two weeks or so and everyone is welcome. After two years experience we've developed a standard of attendance; miss three meetings in a row and you're out. We also check up on each other frequently concerning the jobs we're doing or supposed to do. This is the only real demand put upon people at the centre and shows our priorities. Decisions simply can't be made unless the community is involved. Our consciousness can't develop unless we all contribute. The day-to-day physical maintenance of a cooperative cannot be sustained unless people consult each other about needed changes, criticize and suggest, find ways of distributing work.

So the centre demands a certain level of commitment. There's always the danger that it will be shared only by a few, or that what you decided in an enthusiastic meeting may be way beyond your everyday ability to fulfil.

Community Life

You never stand still, the group always changes, the children present new challenges, and the curious come to have a look.

The question of commitment to the centre comes up when you talk to prospective parents. You have to keep in mind the needs of the co-op as a whole but you also have to respond to the often urgent need of parents. And it's really hard to test commitment until you've worked with people for a month. The difficulty for parents is that they've been used to 'transactional day care'; you pay your money and leave your child at the door. It's difficult to take on the job of assuming responsibility about your child's life at the centre and to think of the centre as a community which relies on you. But many people applying to the centre have such definitive reactions to former day-care arrangements, often haphazard ones, that they are really ready to get involved.

Then there's the question I'd call 'education and intimacy' in the group. Because we try to privatize both our marriages and our relationships with our children we become pretty defensive when we're questioned. When you've started raising your children together, and day care really is a bit of that, you have to deal with those defences and inhibitions. Creating an atmosphere where you can trust volunteers who often know more about your child's changing personality than you do, where you can give and take criticism and suggestion with other parents and coordinators, is difficult but rewarding.

Our community meetings often spend much time talking about individual children or social interaction among them. We found that wasn't enough. Besides the daily discussions informally around the centre and bi-weekly general meetings, we had to design a time for focusing on the questions of how we raise children in our society right now. First we tried small group meetings, reading and discussing individual questions and thoughts, but they were hard to get off the ground. Lately we've begun general 'educational's. Our aims are to discuss home environment, special problems with children, general societal pressures on children and on us and broad political questions. We also intend to invite some specific input from outside people. For instance we've had one session and plan another with the doctor from the Toronto Free Youth Clinic about health in the centre and at home. We're now in a series which is examining sexuality and sex-typing of children in an attempt to liberate our approach to the children's development.

It's my private 'thing' that a relatively small day-care centre, like Sussex Ave., is as important for parents as it is for children. It's important educationally in supporting singles and couples in the sometimes frightening or lonely business of raising tiny people in an often over-powering environment. It's important as a centre in which the freedom and

warmth that children have pulls people together to open up with each other. There are a lot of myths about education and about community control or people power, but it seems to me that when you're developing a cooperative parent controlled centre, you're very close to education by *praxis*, that is, education which *changes* human lives as distinct from education by 'banking' which fills them up with concepts and frustrations.

As a community you also have a protective and evangelistic function. It is protective in the sense of meeting the pressures which could shove you into meeting standards not your own, into 'speeding' your children into achievement models to meet your own frustrations, or to fit you into someone's *system*. There are innumerable people who may be curious, and that's often good, but how do you react when people approach you to experiment with your children, test or measure them? We've had long meetings in our community over such requests and our answers have often been simply, kindly *no*.

If you've begun a centre, you will probably soon have a waiting list. You have to face the question of how you reach out beyond yourself. Can you spare and share some energy in organizing a new group? Can you participate in general pressure on municipalities and the province to organize more centres? We've said to inspectors who spent hours taking down our phone lists, "Do you ever *organize* new centres?"

Law—Regulations—Servants of the Law

We don't operate in a vacuum, there is a legislation regarding day care in Ontario, there are provisions for assisting municipalities with funds, there are provincial staff people and there is and should be change.

As is evident from the story above, the relations between the 12 Sussex Ave. Centre and the provincial government have not been the best. Some provincial inspectors were very helpful, others offered suggestions and the branch as a whole moved very slowly. This fact, among other things, gave us time to develop and improve our work. On the other hand, the longer we negotiated with them, the clearer it became that even in the relatively newly developing area of under two care, the branch had a pretty definite model in mind and it wasn't us.

There was little understanding or flexibility in dealing with cooperative organization. The branch found it hard to conceive of our responsibility as a community, and preferred to see a single 'director' in charge.

This raises questions as to whether there should not be in legislation or regulations special provision for cooperative centres and their stimulation.

There was little interest in or priority on the values and problems of parent involvement and parent control.

If the national Day Care Conference held in June, 1971 chose to place a high priority on parent involvement, should the province not give priority and assistance to its development?

While there was a great emphasis placed on regulations and standards, no reference was made to finance. Cooperatives are defined as private day care and there is no provincial capital or loan assistance available to them. They must bring themselves up to standard by whatever means they can command.

Is there not an urgent place then, as the Ontario Welfare Council and other groups have suggested, for making provincial funds available to cooperative and other non-profit community groups? This would provide initial capital expenditures to create liveable, safe and exciting places for children.

There is little legislation aimed at the under two age group or at the need for developing centres for this group. The present direction of the department is toward one model of training and approach—Mothercraft—and the effect is to stultify what should be an exciting area of experimentation.

Where day care is not thought of as an emergency welfare necessity, the alternative is often thought of as an extension of the institutional educational system to a lower age group. The paradox in this thinking at a time when the institutional schools are under increasing criticism for cost, inflexibility and lack of community control and involvement, is apparent. It would seem, therefore, that in addition to attempting to stimulate municipal initiative in day care, the government should be seeking and supporting materially those community groups and parent groups who are willing to initiate new forms of collective child care. Unfortunately, our experience, and that of several other groups, has been that the government by style and by policy, is just not equipped or interested.

Day care is newly present in the public mind. It's been on a lot of mothers' and fathers' minds for a long time. There is a place for governmental supervision, for professional insight, interest and experience in the development of day care in our society. In Ontario, thus far, there is little place for the initiative, ideas and priorities of young parents and their friends who have the most interest in this field. We don't have a critical evaluative parent-representative and controlled advisory or review board on day care. We don't have nearly as many centres as we need, or a wide enough variety of centres for our children. We need these things. 🌱

This article first appeared as "Space and Money" in Volume I, Number 2 of PRAXIS NOTES, available from Praxis, 96 Gerrard St. E., 22nd Floor, Toronto.

BIRTH CONTROL HANDBOOK

by Donna Cherniak and Allan Feingold
Montreal, Quebec, 1971

The Birth Control Handbook was the first Canadian publication which dealt specifically with birth control. This book has had wide distribution throughout Canada in the past three years and has been important in educating women about their bodies. These handbooks can be ordered from P.O. Box 1000, Station "G", Montreal 130.

The following is a letter about the history of the Handbook from Donna Cherniak and Allan Feingold, the co-editors-in-chief of the Birth Control Handbook.

The *Birth Control Handbook* was first conceived of, so to speak, in early 1968 by the external vice president of the McGill Students' Society. It was felt that the Students' Society should take some action in the face of the increasing number of illegal abortions and that their serious consequences should be reported among McGill women students. It was decided that a publication for mass distribution be prepared. In the summer we began the research necessary for the production of this publication. The first edition was published in October 1968, in defiance of the then existing Canadian law which listed birth control information with pornography and made it an offence to distribute it or give it away in any manner. Besides McGill, it was also distributed on two other English language Quebec campuses - Bishops College in Lennoxville and Sir George Williams University in Montreal. Several other schools in Canada heard about the publication and ordered copies. By the summer of 1969 we had distributed close to 50,000 copies.

We then decided to revise the publication completely and redefine our goals. We spent the summer studying obstetrics, gynaecology and contraception. We then rewrote most of the *Handbook*. We also struggled with the political purpose of the publication: some people in Montreal felt that we were doing reformist work and that the real struggle lay elsewhere. Our position was that grass roots organization was not being done and where it was being done it was not succeeding because many self-styled middle class radicals did not know how to respond to basic human needs. This position was not popular in 1969 which was a period of large scale demonstrations in Montreal and elsewhere. Also, the women's movement had not really started to be active in Quebec at the time. We were in many

ways alone, although we did receive support from some women who were eventually to become the initiators of the women's movement in Montreal. The women's movement got off to a very late start in Montreal and so another problem was not being adequately dealt with, and that was abortion.

By September 1969, we were doing a considerable amount of abortion counselling after having established excellent liaisons with highly dependable doctors. During the academic year 1969-70 we spent most of our time doing abortion counselling since the load was very heavy - the Toronto hospitals had not really opened up and New York clinics were not yet functional. We were handling women from Toronto, Boston and certain other centres. During that year 1969-70 we sold an additional quarter million copies of the *Birth Control Handbook* and in January 1970 we published the first edition of *Pour un Controle des Naissances*. The French translation became a quick success and 50,000 copies of PCN were distributed in 1970.

In the summer of 1970 we again decided to revise the *Handbook* and to re-define our political position. We spent a good deal of time studying and again rewrote most of the publication. Between 1968 and 1970 a great deal of literature on oral contraception was produced and it took a long time to consider and analyse properly. Also, in the United States the Zero Population Group (ZPG) was rising to become a significant political force. The 1970 edition contained a serious attack against ZPG which we linked politically to U.S. monopoly capital. The introduction also contained a consideration of the women's movement and discussed the need women have to control their own bodies as a first step in controlling their own lives. The introduction was extremely unpopular among bureaucrats and government officials who do a lot of the buying of the *Handbook*; however the publication itself was very successful. In the academic year 1970-71 we sold close to two million copies which must be the largest annual sale of any Canadian publication in history. During the same academic year the English Language Montreal Women's Liberation was initiated and with financial support from the *Birth Control Handbook*, opened its own centre. The *Birth Control Handbook* moved into the Women's Center on St. Famille Street as did the abortion counselling service which, until September 1970, had been run from our apartment. We stopped doing abortion counselling as we no longer had the time to devote to proper counselling. We trained bilingual abortion counsellors who took over the job. By September 1970 we were seeing more than 20 women a day for abortion counselling. By January 1971 the abortion counselling was directed mostly to Quebecois women since most Canadians and English-speaking women were going to liberal hospitals or to New York. The *Front de Liberation des Femmes* then took over the abortion counselling, revised the *Handbook*, and the

new edition was published in July. Since July 1971 we have been selling about 100,000 copies a month (20,000-25,000 a week). In July we moved to Hamilton where we are both studying medicine. The administration of the *Handbook* is being done in Montreal by Shirley Gardiner and several other part time workers.

Originally the handbook was published by the Students' Society of McGill University. As that organization became progressively more conservative, we went to the Arts and Science Undergraduate Society which became our new publisher. Finally in 1970-71 we became autonomous and we are presently waiting our incorporation under Quebec Law.

The *Handbook* is sold at cost price to organizations who agree to distribute the individual copies free of charge. In 1968 the cost of 1,000 copies was \$45. In 1969, because of increasing press runs the price went down to \$35 per thousand; since then, even though our press runs are very large, costs have been climbing steadily, especially the cost of newsprint; so we are back up to \$45 per thousand—not a bad price. Individual copies are sent through the mail for 25 cents for the first copy and 10 cents for each additional copy. The difference of 4.5 cents goes to mailing and handling costs. Since we sell the copies at an extremely low profit margin (a fraction of a cent per copy) we are always perilously close to the red line and are always in search of donations.

Most of the more than three million copies which have by now been distributed have gone to student organizations at universities and junior colleges. Family planning clinics, hospitals, government agencies, etc. also distribute the copies. Not many have gone to the high schools where they are most needed. This is for two reasons: the reactionary nature of most high school administrators and the lack of funds which hampers high school student associations. We have often suggested to university student councils that they participate financially and in other ways in the distribution among high school students, but to date participation has been spotty.

Although the introduction of the English *Birth Control Handbook* deals this year only with Zero Population Growth and the significance of population control for the Third World, the introduction of *Pour un Controle des Naissances* deals principally with the long history of oppression suffered by Quebecois women at the hands of the church and as a result of the rigid concept of the family. The Quebec edition suggests that Quebecois women have only those children that they want and that they raise them strong, healthy and willing to participate in the liberation of Quebec. The French edition of the *Handbook* has been well accepted in Quebec and to date about 200,000 copies have been distributed, which is very high for a Quebec publication.

One of the basic issues that we have struggled with over the years is the need to be both radical and expert. This is a problem that has plagued the North American movement for some time now. About a year ago it was widely realized and accepted that grass roots organizing is a must and that the time of large scale, exciting student power type demonstrations was over.

Many hundreds of movement people decided to use their middle class privilege (which they had acquired by birth or education) to enroll in medical schools, law schools and to some extent engineering and other skilled professional training schools. The idea is to *serve the people* upon graduation, and we feel that this move is an excellent one. Free clinics have sprung up throughout North America, as have free legal aid storefronts. The people are finally being served by the movement instead of being no more than the centre of the movement's romanticism. Of course there are several dangers in the shift toward the acquisition of basic technical skills and their delivery to the people. One of these dangers is the development of a contempt for extensive expertise, because until now the only real experts have been the reactionaries. Medical students often decide not to specialize, because they feel specialization does not serve the people. Worse yet, half trained medical students are presently serving in youth clinics and free clinics; such brothers and sisters argue that the people are presently receiving no medicine at all and that they have acquired sufficient skills to enable them to provide certain health needs. Our position is to oppose such feelings. We believe that expertise must be twisted from the hands of the self-interested bourgeoisie and that any care we provide to the people must be superior, not inferior to the care they receive presently in the hands of establishment medicine. We must know medicine better than our enemies. One of the most important reasons behind the success of the *Birth Control Handbook* is our degree of expertise. It has been said that the *Birth Control Handbook* is the best publication on contraception presently available. Dr. Alan Guttmacher, president of the International Planned Parenthood Federation told me that ours was the best non-professional publication he had seen. We attribute our success to the level of expertise we have acquired and we attribute that expertise to our primary goal, to serve the people and thus to organize for progress. We have been able to maintain this goal before us only as a result of the support, criticism and contributions of our comrades in Montreal, most of whom have been members of the *Front de Liberation des Femmes* or the Montreal women's liberation group.

Some people have misunderstood our liaison with the Montreal Women's Liberation Movement (WLM). The *Handbook* is not published by WLM, nor was it inspired by that group. As can be seen from the above history the *Handbook* was more important in the original initiation of

Montreal WLM than the other way around. Nevertheless, the *Handbook's* ties with the women's movement in Quebec, Canada and internationally are close and affectionate ones. We see ourselves in many ways serving the women's movement and providing an organizational tool. Some sisters have objected to the fact that a man has played such an instrumental role in this publication; we feel that such criticisms are understandable but in this case not really justified. Of course we feel that women and men must organize separately, but often it is best to work together. In this case it worked out well; in other cases such a contribution from a man would be incorrect.

We anticipate several new projects. We hope to have a video tape produced on venereal disease before the end of the summer, as well as a publication entitled *V.D. Handbook*. We also want to produce publications on cigarette smoking and nutrition as well as a slide tape show on contraception.

All power to the people !



IMPASSE

Our separation is imminent—
And how I try to change you
In my mind
From present to past.

But it is just as
Painfully simple
To continue on your terms
As to let you go on mine.

Adelyn Bowland
Toronto, Ontario

BRIEF TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS HEALTH AND WELFARE COMMITTEE ON ABORTION LAW REFORM

Women's Liberation Movement Spring, 1970

Women have historically been accorded a role inferior to that played by men in society. In the workplace, in politics and government they have been second class citizens. Only 50 years have passed since women were given the vote. A major factor that kept women in this secondary role was the fact that women had no control over their own bodies. They were tied to the vagaries of nature.

Many people now accept that the birth control and abortion laws, passed in 1892 when women could not vote, are in need of reform. But among those men who favour a mild reform of the laws there is an assumption behind their timid recommendations—that the function of women in society is to bear children and that only in extreme cases where great social evil of one kind or another will occur if a woman bears a child, can society decide to allow her to halt the pregnancy.

We say on the contrary that the function of women is not simply to bear and raise children. The ability of a woman to control her own reproductive processes is a necessary precondition if women are to throw off the bonds that have for so many centuries stifled their full potential as human beings. The bonds have kept them tied to menial household chores, whatever their capacities and interests, because they could not plan their families.

Women must be allowed to choose for themselves, when they wish to bear children and when they do not.

WE SUGGEST: a national referendum be held in which only the female citizens of Canada could vote, on the proposition that: "An abortion should be performed for any woman who requests one from a licensed doctor or hospital, subject only to her decision and state of health."

A. Only women should vote because it is their right to make such decisions about their bodies. Women must control their own biological existence before they will be free to choose their own roles in society.

If a woman is fortunate enough to have the type of viable and lasting relationship with the father of the potential child, in which he wishes to help her make the decision and accept the responsibility for it, then they can mutually agree as to whether to stop the development of the pregnancy or not. However, to insure that she would not be legally controlled by a

man's possible irresponsibility, the ultimate decision should be hers. Therefore, let us at last officially put the responsibility where it has always been.

Although we recognize that there are many men who both love and accept the responsibility for their children, even in the case of marriage breakdown, we are also very aware of most women's inability to demand the support of a man who really wishes to avoid it. We also hold that it is immoral for a society, by its inaction, to condemn any child to be raised, and its mind and emotions warped, by a mother or father who does not want or love it.

B. It has always been said that women must bear the responsibility for their actions, thereby becoming our brothers' moral keepers. Men have had their law for 75 years, we will now have ours. The present anti-conception-control laws were made at a time when women were not allowed to vote. These laws were, and are even today, an expression of a male chauvinist concept that equal human beings, that is women and children, can be owned by men. It was felt that without such laws, society would fall into chaos and morals would degenerate; even worse, a man would not be sure of the legitimacy of the heir to his home and property.

Most of our laws are written to insure property rights. The laws pertaining to women's sexual freedom, and therefore, indirectly pertaining to their very lives, follow this pattern. We demand that the women of this country be allowed the opportunity to express their preference for laws insuring their freedom from an oppressive system; their preference for laws which consider the well-being of human beings (both women and their potential off-spring who should not be subject to being born unwanted) rather than 'legitimate' property; and freedom from being forced to risk their lives in the hands of illegal abortionists.

C. Our political system effectively excludes and denies women political representation and participation. This Committee of the House of Commons, mandated to make recommendations on legislation of vital importance to women with only token representation, is another example of the workings of that predominantly male political system. It follows that the medical and legal review boards for abortions, suggested by some here, are not only another type of structure in which male decision-making would predominate, but also are completely impractical for women's needs; and of most consequence here today, would *still* not put an end to the illegal and amateur butchery that women are subjected to now.

We would like to discuss in detail two of these points:

1. If we consider the criteria that have been suggested to be used by these review boards, we find three major factors that might be recognized as sufficient reason for allowing a woman an abortion.

a) The physical health of either the mother or child being in jeopardy (e.g. thalidomide drug cases, Rubella cases, a heart condition or an inheritable disease, etc.)

b) The mental health of the mother being in jeopardy (e.g. the mother being seriously mentally ill, or liable to become so during or after the birth of the child).

c) In the case of rape or incest.

Let us examine these criteria:

a) What would this review board do if they could not determine whether or not a potential fetus would be deformed, although they knew the mother had taken thalidomide, or contracted Rubella? If they began to receive frequent cases of women alleging they had taken thalidomide, would they presume these women were attempting to get abortions illegally and then begin to refuse on those grounds?

b) What would the review board do in the case that they received conflicting diagnoses from psychologists as to the mother's mental health, as so often happens in legal cases in our courts today? Given our experience with this type of conflict between psychiatrists and psychologists, how would the review board predict whether or not labour, delivery and the more traumatic experience of accepting the responsibility to meet the constant needs of a newborn child, would derange a woman's mind?

c) Where will such a review board get an official decision as to whether or not an alleged rape was a rape? From court proceedings which may take months? Frequently, there are legal cases where the verdict accepts a reasonable doubt that rape occurred as when it is alleged or proven that the woman has willingly had intercourse with other men. Will this review board then assume that because she agreed to intercourse once, she has *never* said no? Will this review board be tinged by that often-found belief in our society — "There can be no such thing as rape," most often said with a sneer of lust?

In instances of incest, if a young girl is being opportuned by her father, or an uncle, or brother, does this committee really expect her to have the courage to brave her family's wrath and shame and to approach a review board with the truth? Would she even approach her respectable family doctor, if she has one?

We ask you, gentlemen, where will all these 'if' cases go, when turned down?

d) When one considers the usual bureaucracy of such a system as this one being proposed, the time factor of abortion becomes most important. It very frequently happens that a woman will miss one, or even two, menstrual periods, from either tension, emotional crises, physical illness, or as a side effect of birth control pills. If a woman suspects that any of these

might be the reason she has missed a period, she usually waits until she misses the second to go to a doctor. By this time she may be two months pregnant and will have only one month to: get a test completed; apply to the review board, go through its red tape; wait for a decision if there is any controversy or need for additional hearings, find witnesses, experts, etc.; acquire a bed in a hospital; and finally have the abortion performed before the end of the third month which is highly recommended by all doctors as the safest limit.

The bureaucracy and controversy present in this type of system has proven the method to be extremely unsatisfactory in Sweden. Illegal abortions are still performed there for women whom the board rejects. Because of the proceedings she has gone through, the abortion is often obtained late, frequently in the fourth and fifth month.

It is worthwhile for this Committee to also investigate the recent reform in Britain. Although the new British law is much freer in that it includes consideration on social grounds for abortion, it still has its limitations. On October 27 a *Toronto Globe and Mail* editorial supporting the British reform, inadvertently pointed out the major contradiction:

Some doctors opposed this clause on the ground that it would require them to make judgements in sociological fields in which they were not expert. But, as the reformers pointed out, this was untrue. **The beauty of the legislation is that it compels nobody to do anything.**

Very true. No one has to recognize a woman's decision. The doctors can still decide the course of a woman's life on their criteria.

However, if the decision was left to the woman alone, as soon as she suspected she was pregnant she could go to her doctor. If he diagnosed a pregnancy and ascertained that she could withstand an abortion, he could either do it immediately in his office, which doctors claim is possible if it is an early pregnancy with no complications, or he could immediately apply for a bed in the hospital, on a time priority, and undoubtedly the abortion could be completed within a week. Or a woman could go directly to a specially-designed abortion clinic, in the hospital, where tests could be done on the spot, and arrangements made for the abortion immediately.

We have noticed, in opinions expressed in briefs presented to this Committee by politicians and concerned reformists who advocate this type of review board, an attitude expressive of an affluent middle-class situation in life, where it is easy and effective to ask a doctor for help and then pay for his services. And if the abortion is for 'mental health' reasons, it will be the affluent middle-class women who know about and have access to a sympathetic psychologist. What help will such a law be for the women who are intimidated or refused by doctors and psychologists because they cannot pay? Even now with the repressive laws in existence, middle-class women have access to doctors who do abortions secretly, or approved abortions for medical reasons. This popular abortion-law-with-strings will

only legalize what is already being done for women with money and influence. It will not stop homemade or quack abortions for those who are ignorant, poor and without 'connections'.

2. Let us go on to the second point that we would like to discuss at length—to us by far the most important. That is, that such limited grounds for abortion law reform as the three points discussed above are totally inadequate, unrealistic, and unacceptable. They totally sidestep the major causes for abortion today, the social causes—the economic reasons and family welfare, or the unmarried state of the woman. The reality of our society, as the majority of we women know, is that these are the reasons that most women are driven in desperation to 'home remedies' or to quacks and incompetent exploiters—causing illness, mental trauma, sterility, and death.

It has been estimated by the Humanist Federation of Montreal that 800 women died in Canada last year because we hypocritically refuse to recognize this fact of life. The deaths of 800 women are on your hands and on the hands of all the men in our government who have been too cowardly to face the controversy over this kind of reform. Such controversy is generally between male church leaders, male doctors, male lawyers and male politicians. Their deaths are also on the hands of all citizens who have not demanded that such buck-passing be halted.

a) Any married woman should be allowed to do the planning of her family and life today. She is the one who has to take on the responsibility for that extra child that the family cannot afford. She is the one who must find the money in her budget for food, clothes, medicine and rent. She is the one who may spend literally 24 hours a day attempting to provide all those things without enough wages coming into the home. She is the one who worries about her children getting as much education as possible and about what necessities this new child might be taking away from the others. She is the one who worries about her son going out on the streets with a gang that steals things their families cannot afford; who worries about her daughter who starts to go out every night at the age of 14 because the cramped house is too full of fighting smaller children and parents who are always tired. If that daughter finds excitement or love, she too may need an abortion.

What do you gentlemen know about what it is like to be a woman, a mother of eight children, without \$2.50 to buy pills when needed because her husband's pay cheque was garnished by the finance company and she got only \$32 for two week's pay (and milk for her family costs \$8.40 a week)? Do you think you can imagine her feelings when her husband, so worried by these troubles, turns to her for affection? She gives it and she needs it. Do you think you can imagine her desperation two months later

when she knows she will be bringing another helpless child into that family?

We do not think you can understand this because you are not women and you are not poor. We think that every woman has every right to decide to get an abortion and every right to get it done by a reputable doctor in a decent hospital.

b) You may ask, why doesn't a woman take birth control pills and then there will be no need for abortions? First, she had eight children because the pill has been available only a few years. Second, since it is illegal to disseminate information on, or make available, methods of birth control, research and development of better drugs and methods by the pharmaceutical companies has been very slow. If such activity were not illegal, women as consumers would have the power to demand better methods and information. Many of the pills produce unpleasant side effects and many doctors are hesitant to prescribe them or are confused and contradictory in their attitudes toward use, thereby causing fear among many women about their future health and ability to conceive. This is compounded by a) a lack of information about the pill, how to obtain it, how to use it; b) embarrassment and outright intimidation received from many doctors and druggists when a woman does ask; and c) the fact that many men feel that the pill threatens the proof of their potency. Middle-class girls are often ignorant of birth control, venereal disease and abortion because it is assumed that they will not need this information, since they are 'nice' girls. Working-class or poor girls are not usually ignorant from such false nicety but from lack of scientific knowledge and lack of money to obtain such information through a doctor's services. Fear and old-wives tales are passed on from generation to generation.

One cause of women's ignorance is the Criminal Code which was written in 1892. We were astounded to find that in the same clause that makes disseminating birth control information or methods illegal, it is also made illegal to disseminate information or methods to cure venereal disease or any diseases of the generative organs (which includes cancer of the cervix). The brutality of holding the fear of such dire things as venereal disease and unwanted pregnancy over the heads of women to force them not to indulge in sex is clearly blatant prejudice.

WE STRONGLY RECOMMEND: that information about and methods of birth control and how to avoid venereal disease should be widely disseminated, free of charge, by the Federal Health Department to any woman, from the age of puberty.

Because of (1) ignorance, (2) fear of untested drugs, (3) accident, (4) the fact that many women will never wish to use such medication (and that this should be their right), and (5) it is prohibited by law, there is still a need for abortions. But women are still being forced to go to untrained people or quacks. Doctors are still more afraid of the law than they are willing to save

women risking their lives because of society's 'moral' standards or because of poverty, and therefore, there is still a need for abortion law reform.

c) Women in situations such as the one we described above often use 'home remedies' for an abortion, such as knitting needles or ammonia, because they cannot afford an illegal abortionist. But if they can borrow the money they can go to one of these people, who may not know for sure what are the dimensions of a uterus, who never heard of sterilizing his kitchen knife, who may be drunk, who may double his price or demand sexual acts from her. She might be lucky enough to find a trained doctor in Toronto or Montreal, who will charge her \$400. to \$500. if she can borrow it, which is extremely unlikely.

She certainly will not know how to get the services of a psychiatrist who can convince a hospital that she needs an abortion for mental health reasons. Nor could she afford his fee, or even bring herself to enter his plush waiting room, if she did know about this loophole in the law. And why *should* she go through the intimidating experience of answering his disapproving question, "Why do you keep getting pregnant," implying that the poor, or women should do without sexual activity if they cannot afford it.

Let us examine the case of unmarried women who find themselves pregnant. In Canada it is almost impossible for a single woman to keep her child because women rarely earn the same wages as men and because of the lack of adequate and inexpensive day-care facilities for toddlers from three to six years of age and no facilities for infants under three. In addition, many women find the alternative of welfare shameful and repugnant, for the welfare system neither allows women adequate money to raise children decently nor allows them to retain their dignity.

She might try to get the man to marry her, but under those conditions the marriage would undoubtedly be a very unhappy one, perhaps producing a neurotic child or leading to a divorce, *if* she can get one. Or, she too can take the risk of going to that backstreet abortionist. All of those consequences are open to her for committing the natural, human act of expressing herself through sexual activity.

If the single woman chooses neither of these alternatives she must then decide to place her child for adoption with the knowledge that the lack of available homes for adoptive children may mean that her child never has a real home. The number of children shunted from one institution to another, from foster home to foster home will increase unless we can insure that no woman need bear an unwanted child, by changing our laws on abortion and birth control.

The human reproductive system may leave the woman with 'proof' of their sexual experiences—pregnancy. Society as well perpetuates a double standard that puts the duty of abstention on the woman. It is

therefore obvious that these anti-conception-control laws are flagrant and unacceptable in their prejudice against women.

It is also quite obvious that the underlying objection to real reform by some in the House of Commons and by many in Canada, is in fact, an objection to the idea that women should have equal sexual freedom.

Note: We support the brief by the Humanist Federation of Montreal, the only other group to our knowledge that has had the integrity to recommend acknowledgement of a woman's reality in society. ♀

STATEMENT TO THE ABORTION CARAVAN

by Doris Power
Just Society Movement
Toronto, Ontario
May, 1970

We live in a bureaucratic, impersonal society. While everyone in this society experiences at some time or other the underlying authoritarianism which is present in most bureaucratic institutions, I feel that I, as a poor person, experience this kind of control over my life in a more openly oppressive way. I cannot consider the question of control of my body and the very personal decision of whether or not to have an abortion without considering the fact that I have little control over *any* part of my life.

Let's get one thing straight. We live in a man-made environment and it is in this context that I look at abortion. When society was primarily agricultural, the natural law was the ruling one. But now we have cities and huge bureaucracies that make crucial decisions about how people in those cities are going to use their time and their space; we have people such as developers and slum landlords who make decisions about *where* I'm going to live and *how* I'm going to eat; we have corporate executives who decide how clean the air I breathe will be; and we have unresponsive politicians who decide how many cars will speed past my window in the ghetto as I look up at the expressway which public monies have paid for. All this while I go without dentures, bedding, eyeglasses and prescription drugs, because inflation is here and someone up there has decided that an unemployment rate of 10 per cent is acceptable and they have to spread the crumbs a little thinner. It is within this context that I look at abortion.

I look at a medical profession that reflects that same man-made environment, that can keep people alive who are human vegetables by

In 1966 in Montreal, a three-year old child fell to his death through a faulty balcony and his unwed mother took legal action against the landlord. She fought this through the Appeal Court and lost the case at the end of last year. They based their findings on the fact that the Supreme Court of Canada has "consistently held that the natural parent has no right to claim damages arising out of the death of an illegitimate child". Are we all equal in the sight of the law? By even this one case we see that in Canada a child born out of wedlock is a non-person and does not exist in the eyes of the law. Who are the *real* bastards? I say they are the people who draft these laws, pass them and enforce them.

We have people who oppose abortion on the grounds that a human life exists from the time of conception. Under Ontario's welfare legislation a child does not exist until he or she is over three months old. The double standard which permeates the morality of our society cannot remain. One of the most painful results of that double standard is the isolation women feel in the face of what is called an illegitimate pregnancy. Women alone are blamed for their pregnancies but men control the circumstances under which they can be terminated.

In the situation of poor families, women are expected to make do with hopelessly inadequate wages of assistance budgets and then are blamed for their poverty. Who can blame a woman for seeking an abortion under these circumstances? We grind out a subsistence existence and society condones it. We, the poor of Canada, are the dirt shoved under the rug of a vicious economy. In obtaining abortions, we pay a price second to none, *our lives*. We can't afford to fly off to England for a safe, legal abortion. We have to seek out the back street butchers.

It's about time those men in Ottawa who are making \$12,000. per year and \$6,000. more tax free for their expenses, showed a remote sign of concern for us. Their so-called liberalized abortion laws have only succeeded in creating a lot of red tape and a series of painful experiences for those of us who have to pass through committees which make crucial decisions over our lives. The new laws have also succeeded in tightening up the illegal services so that it is more and more difficult to obtain any type of abortion. The Just Society Movement demands that all laws pertaining to abortion be repealed. Every pregnant woman, married or single, should be able to obtain an abortion on demand without being compelled to give any reason for her decision. What control can we have over our lives if we have no control over our own bodies?

Many people feel that feminists are man-haters and have a lot of other equally silly notions about the Abortion Caravan. The Just Society Movement of Toronto recognizes that the liberation of women means the liberation of men—the *liberation of our society*. ●

B. Economics of Working Women

POVERTY: CANADA'S LEGACY TO WOMEN

by Alice James

Vancouver, B.C., 1968

The Canadian social system is built on the expectations that people have of one another. Membership in this system tends to assign Canadians a place or an occupation. There is also a widely held belief that any person can improve his or her status by achievement and that he or she will be rewarded accordingly by money, power and/or prestige. In Canada these two aspects of culture conflict because the places assigned to women now yield few rewards. Women have the unsatisfactory choice of accepting a degrading, long term and uncertain dependence on a husband, or of taking one of the menial or low paid jobs which our society offers women. Either choice may lead to poverty especially if the woman has children or others as dependents.

Historical Role of Women in Canada

The type of work which women do has changed greatly over the last hundred years. In 1871 four out of every five Canadians lived on farms that were basically self-sufficient production centres. The women were active participants in this production. They made clothing, quilts, soap, candles and grew and preserved food. The creamery and the henhouse were a woman's domain and she kept the butter and egg money for her own use. Today nearly all production is carried on away from the home, even for the quarter of the population that still lives on farms in Canada. This means that a housewife's work now consists almost entirely of service to her family for which she is not rewarded in either money, power or prestige.

The decrease in infant mortality rates now means that living children tend to be closer together in age. The shift to urban living has meant that a woman with a young family to care for is no longer helped by members of her extended family, and she often feels inadequate when coping with the continual demands made upon her. The physical isolation from other adults which she must endure, she regards as a jail sentence which she must serve for the sin of having children.

The facts that families are completed earlier and that women now live longer mean that there are 20 or 30 years when a woman's family responsibilities are less demanding and she is again able to consider the types of paid work which are available to a woman.

Changing Labour Force Participation

The changes in the role of housewife cause more women to join the labour force each year. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics has published the following estimates:

YEAR	MALE PARTICIPATION RATE	FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATE
1901	87.8	16.1
1911	90.6	18.6
1921	89.8	19.9
1931	87.2	21.8
1941	85.6	22.9
1951	84.4	24.4
1961	81.1	29.3
1967	77.5	33.8

The increase in the rate of participation in the labour force by married women is especially striking. In 1951 it was 9.6 per cent, in 1961 it was 18.5 per cent and in 1967 it was 28.3 per cent. The rate of participation in the labour force for widowed and divorced women has increased slightly. The rate of participation for single women, like the rate of participation for men, declined slightly indicating that a larger number of young people are staying in school longer and that with the lengthening of life and earlier retirement there are greater numbers of retired people.

Education and the Availability of Suitable Work

Labour force participation rates of women vary with the number of years of schooling.

EDUCATION	PARTICIPATION RATE (by percentage)
Less than 5 years - Elementary	14.3
5 years or more - Elementary	23.1
1-3 years - Secondary	31.0
4-5 years - Secondary	40.6
Some University	47.3
University Degree	47.9

It is very apparent that education is a major influence on whether a woman will work. In their study of high school students, Raymond Breton and John C. McDonald found that "The high school leavers tend to be low status girls regardless of their level of mental ability, and low status boys in the lower percentiles of mental ability." Clearly, education of girls is less valued in low status families.

Place of residence is also an important determinant in whether a woman will work. Sylvia Ostry states:

Labour force participation was much higher for urban women, at every age of the working life cycle, than for women living in rural areas. The jobs which opened up in numbers for women (the white collar, trade and service jobs) were concentrated in urban centres while employment opportunities remained limited on the farms or in small villages in rural non-farm areas. A marked difference in the extent and nature of job opportunities was probably the chief factor accounting for the urban-rural difference in levels of participation of women. However, other considerations which probably affected the participation of married women should be mentioned. These would include differences in social attitudes to women working for gain—people living in rural areas are probably still more conservative in this respect than city-dwellers; the higher birth rate in rural areas, which increases the burden of household duties; and the lack, in rural areas, of many household conveniences which also increases the workload of women in the home and discourages married women from seeking outside jobs.

Presence of Children

Labour force participation is strongly affected by the presence of children as demonstrated in the following chart from *Changing Patterns in Women's Employment*, published by the Women's Bureau, Canada Department of Labour in 1966.

FAMILY TYPE	EDUCATION		
	Elementary	Secondary	University
One or more children under 6	9.7	12.8	15.3
Some children, none under 6	20.8	29.8	33.3
No children	26.1	44.0	51.1

This chart indicates the very strong social pressures on the mothers of pre-school age children to care for these children themselves at all times. There is also considerable pressure on the mother of the school age child, and no one else, to care for that child when the school does not care for the child. The theory behind this seems to be that only a mother can love and care for a child. This hostile environment produces an overdependence on the mother which inhibits the establishment of good day care or nursery school which would benefit many children whether their mothers worked or not. It also inhibits the extension of the use of school facilities for the care of school age children at lunch time and after school and the training and availability of people to care for children. Probably the present attitudes in regard to child care are the cause of the rapidly decreasing birth rate in Canada which in 1921 was 29.3 per thousand and in 1967 was at the all time low of 18.2 per thousand.

Status and Attitude of the Husband

The status of the husband as measured by his income has a great effect on his wife's participation in the labour force as shown by the chart on page 129.

In the lower income brackets the financial need for women to work makes it more acceptable even if they have small children. In 1958, a Department of Labour survey found that three-quarters of the women stressed economic reasons for working, a further 10 per cent put equal stress on economic reasons and other reasons, and 15 per cent stressed other motives, such as the need to get away from the household, the need to find companionship or interest in the work or working organization. In 1966 the United Church of Canada survey found that nearly as many women stressed the use of training as against financial needs, and that boredom and frustration at home and enjoyment of work were given as a reason for working by 20 per cent of these women.

EDUCATION OF WIFE & FAMILY TYPE	HUSBAND'S INCOME				
	Under 3000	3000-4999	5000-6999	7000-9999	10,000 & over
ONE OR MORE CHILDREN UNDER 6					
Elementary or less	12.0	9.7	6.2	5.2	6.2
High School	19.0	15.3	10.0	5.2	4.5
University	36.2	24.5	15.7	8.8	6.6
SOME CHILDREN, NONE UNDER 6					
Elementary or less	23.5	21.8	17.1	12.4	10.6
High School	38.6	36.4	28.7	18.1	9.7
University	56.1	53.7	44.2	29.0	11.4
NO CHILDREN					
Elementary or less	28.1	27.0	21.3	14.2	15.6
High School	46.9	49.9	42.4	27.9	14.1
University	60.2	63.0	57.3	40.6	20.5

It is obvious that financial need is not the only reason for women to work, and since men's incomes have not fallen, this reason cannot account for most of the increase in the number of married women workers unless the mass media have managed to greatly increase women's ideas of what constitutes financial need.

A more likely explanation of the great difference of labour force participation between, for example, a woman with a university education and with school age children whose husband earns less than \$7,000 a year and the same type of woman whose husband earns over \$10,000 a year can be found in the attitude of the husband. Patricia Cockburn and Yvonne Raymond in their study of women university graduates found that of those married women who were working, 57 per cent had husbands who were enthusiastic about their working and only 5 per cent had husbands who were disapproving of their working. Amongst those who were not working, however, only 14 per cent had husbands who would be enthusiastic about their working while 31 per cent had husbands who would disapprove of their working.

Psychologist Sylvia Hartman suggests that men do not like their wives to work because they do not wish to look after children or do any housework. Not only is this type of work boring but also it is not valued by

society. Men leave themselves free to do socially valued work according to Dr. Hartman "by continually reinforcing the notion that women are sick for wanting what they themselves value so highly."

Income Tax and Other Costs of Working

In their survey of university graduates in Canada, Patricia Cockburn and Yvonne Raymond found that 24 per cent of the graduates who were not working were deterred from joining the labour force by the present income tax structure. This inequitable situation arises because wages paid for domestic help or child care cannot be deducted from income before calculating income tax. If a woman has a low margin of profit after paying for these services, income tax frequently exceeds the profits. If industry were subjected to a similar restriction, that is, if it were not allowed to deduct wages paid to employees before calculating income tax, there would be few employees and the entire economic structure would collapse. In effect this means that married women with children are not allowed to participate in the present economy on equal terms.

The terms of the Income Tax Act also discourage women from seeking the necessary education to obtain jobs. Tuition fees are deductible only by the student rather than by the person who pays them. Girls can seldom earn sufficient money in the summer holidays to enable them to claim this expense themselves. Married women are in even a worse position as they cannot even earn their tuition fees if these are over \$250, without their husband's taxes being increased.

If a woman's margin of profit from working is very low, even such small expenses as transportation and suitable clothing will make working unprofitable.

Earnings and Education

There is a strong positive correlation between a good education and high earning capacity, yet J. R. Podoluk states that "educational differences are not a factor in accounting for lower female earnings." This conclusion is reached from the following tabulation of earnings accorded to sex and schooling of the non-farm labour force for 1961.

LEVEL OF SCHOOLING	AVERAGE MALE EARNINGS	AVERAGE FEMALE EARNINGS	PER CENT RATIO OF FEMALE TO MALE EARNINGS
Elementary	\$3,345	\$1,537	46
Secondary	\$4,813	\$2,438	51
University	\$8,866	\$4,067	46

Further examination of the statistics shows that "for equivalent occupations in the same labour market women invariably are paid at lower rates than men in the same occupation" and "for all levels of schooling the female labour force shows a greater concentration of employment in particular occupational categories."

Occupations of Women in Canada

In 1961 six out of every ten gainfully employed women in Canada were engaged in ten occupations. The following table will also show that most of these occupations were held almost exclusively by women.

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	PER CENT	WOMEN AS PER CENT OF ALL WORKERS
steno, typist	209,410	11.9	96.8
clerical	165,613	9.4	51.2
sales clerks	133,234	7.6	58.0
maid, service workers	120,161	6.8	88.1
teachers	118,594	6.7	70.7
bookkeepers, cashiers	98,663	5.6	62.6
nurses	81,868	4.6	96.8
farm labourers	66,081	3.7	29.7
waitresses	61,802	3.5	78.6
sewers	50,592	2.9	90.5
Total of 10 Occupations	1,106,018	62.7	66.3
Total Female Labour	1,763,862	100.0	27.3

In most of these occupations where substantial numbers of both men and women work, farm labourers, clerical, bookkeepers, cashiers, there is still a definite difference in the work performed. School teaching is the only occupation in which substantial numbers of both men and women are doing the same job. This traditional job for women, which, because of its increasing value to society now commands a higher rate of pay, is attracting more men to the occupation. A strong teachers' union has insisted on equal pay for both male and female teachers but there is a strong preference given to men in supervisory positions. The female principal or

vice-principal is rapidly vanishing and the position of department head in high schools is rapidly becoming a male prerogative. In one Vancouver high school the last two appointments to the position of department head have been less qualified young men who have been promoted in each case in preference to at least two more fully qualified, more experienced female teachers who were seeking the post. If the new idea of team teaching or other cooperative teaching techniques becomes widespread there is a distinct likelihood of establishing a pattern of male master teachers and female helpers which would take no account of either teaching or academic ability.

The Tradition of Men's Work and Women's Work

Dr. Oswald Hall states that:

the division of labour, according to gender, is rooted in part in the conventions of our culture, in part in the social psychological process involved in becoming a person in society, and in part in the interdependence of social institutions, the kind of interdependence that limits the degree to which one can vary any one feature of a society.

There is a widespread belief that conventions rooted in our particular culture concerning the division of labour according to sex results from something inherent in the sex of the person. A study of different cultures reveals great variations in the type of work men and women do. In some cultures women do all the manufacturing and trading, whereas in others this is done by men. In some cultures both men and women engage in warfare. In some cultures men raise the children and even the process of childbirth can be both masculine and feminine as represented by the practice of *couvade*, where the father is made to share the inabilities of his wife during the confinement period. This variability between cultures indicates no inherent biological basis for specific division of labour between the sexes.

Dr. Claude Levi-Strauss states that "the principle of sexual division of labour establishes a mutual dependency between the sexes, compelling them thereby to perpetuate themselves and to found a family." This division of labour is accomplished in primitive groups by a prohibition of tasks. These prohibitions can range from mild ridicule such as calling a girl a tomboy, to death as in the case of Joan of Arc. These taboos are rooted in beliefs about the innate characteristics of men and women. In our society women are believed to be stupid, weak, impractical, emotional and unimportant. Despite strong evidence to the contrary these beliefs still allow men to treat women as subhumans who must be constantly ordered about. These differences in status can cause problems in modern work situations which require a system of authority in order to get done in a

coordinated manner. Authority is based on ability but if the person of ability happens to be a woman, her authority is nullified by being a woman. The difference in status between men and women makes it highly acceptable for a man to be in authority over a woman, but most unacceptable for a woman to be in authority over a man.

Choosing a Career

Raymond Breton and John McDonald in their study of how young people in Canada choose their occupations found that students observed the prestige and standards of living enjoyed by people with different occupations in their community, then appraised their chances of realizing the alternatives. Young girls must choose an occupation at a time when they are establishing social relationships with the opposite sex; thus there are strong pressures on them to choose a feminine occupation. The above study also found that of the girls in the last two years of high school, 52.1 per cent would prefer to work in the professional and technical field, that 42.8 per cent expected to do so but, of the female labour force with four or more years of secondary education, only 36.8 per cent were employed in this category. Contrasted to this only 14 per cent preferred to work in clerical and sales occupations, yet 44.5 per cent of the female labour force, with four or more years of secondary education do work in these occupations. This study also states that "girls are less likely to show a preference for teaching than the actual representation of women in this professional field" (nearly a 2 per cent difference). The reverse is the case for science and engineering but with a much smaller difference (a little over 5 per cent).

Women in the Professions

In 1961, 11.3 per cent of male high school graduates went on to university and 4.6 per cent of women graduates. In commenting upon this situation John Porter says:

If the less able of those going on to university were replaced by the more able it would result in a change in the sex ratio in the universities, a condition which could bring about a change in adult sex roles. If the prevailing attitudes about how men and women should fit into the occupational world act to exclude women from higher education, or to send them into one channel rather than another, a considerable amount of intellectual capacity is being irrationally allocated. Many women have shown that it is possible to combine professional roles with family roles, although family life assumes a different form when the mother is working. Women are permitted, married or not, to work in the sub-professions and in lower status occupations. It is their traditional exclusion from the higher professions which is the measure of society's intellectual wastage.

In 1961 only one-quarter of one per cent of the engineers in Canada were women, only 2.64 per cent of the lawyers in Canada were women, only 4.49 per cent of the dentists in Canada were women, only 7.33 per cent

of the doctors in Canada were women. According to O. Crompton, enrolment in the University of Moscow in medicine is 70-80 per cent women and in dentistry over 90 per cent women. He also states:

There are still few women in fields which are generally considered to be those of a man—the sciences, engineering, agriculture, law, medicine, commerce—at the present time opportunities in this man's world are somewhat theoretical. In practice women graduates run into a bit of a barbed wire fence when they attempt to break into a man's field. Also in few fields is the remuneration equal for men and women doing the same job.

In B.C., this barbed wire fence can only be seen by looking at individual cases. Of two women engineers I was able to find, one married when she was unable to find work and has no plans for further work when her family is grown, another had to move to the United States where she obtained employment as a librarian in a large aircraft plant. A discussion on this subject brought out the following:

A few years ago when there was a shortage of engineers, women were turned down, because people were wanted who could be placed in management jobs later. How much of the resistance to women in the professions that are traditionally masculine can be laid to a closed entrenched professional trade unionism? Is it a question of a traditionally entrenched group being threatened?

Why does the Engineer's Club in Vancouver not permit women who are engineers to become members?

Of the four women lawyers I was able to locate, three are single and one is married. Only one of those who is single is still a practising lawyer and she says quite openly that not only does a female lawyer have to be twice as good as a male lawyer but also she has to work twice as hard for the same rewards. The other three are now teachers.

A group of eight out of nine women graduates in one University of British Columbia commerce class found employment with the federal government. A similar number of men from the same class were also employed but at a much higher rate of pay. In the first few months this was justified as the women did less demanding work, but very soon they were doing the same work with no increase in pay. With each promotion without pay, more of this group of women became discouraged and resigned. Finally two and a half years later the last two were doing the same work as men paid three times as much. One man saw these women as a threat to his job so he falsified their work. The women judged that there was no possibility of proving this or of vindicating themselves so they too resigned.

The head of dentistry at UBC appealed for girls to study dentistry. However, when one bright teenage girl asked her dentist what was involved in becoming a dentist, he told her that she didn't want to be a dentist, and told her, in detail, how to become a dental assistant.

Even those professions such as social work, who do employ women, do not consider women for administrative jobs. On October 23, 1968, an advertisement for an executive director of the Children's Aid Society ap-

peared in the Vancouver Province newspaper in which they described in detail the *man*, not the person, they wanted for the job.

In their study of university graduates Patricia Cockburn and Yvonne Raymond found that the only professions in which women, trained for these professions, worked in any substantial numbers were those of physicians and surgeons, librarians, nurses, pharmacists and teachers. The long training period and costs of becoming a doctor, a librarian or a pharmacist exclude all women except the daughters of high status families from entering these professions. However, once having achieved this education, the rewards are sufficient to offset the social disapproval for most women and thus the social disapproval of women in these professions is diminishing.

Women in Clerical Work

Raymond Breton and John McDonald's study indicates that few female students wish to work in clerical occupations in comparison to the number who actually do. The main reason for the increased choice of clerical work is the increase in demand for clerical workers which was well over half a million persons between 1931 and 1961. This was more than balanced by the increased female participation in the labour force and this had a tendency to drive down the wages paid in comparison with the wages paid in other occupations. Since clerical work was less well paid and boys had better choices available to them, most of the increase in clerical workers was female. Education is also a factor in the number of women going into clerical fields. The increased availability of free secondary education meant that more girls could avoid the extremely low paid service occupations by spending a few more years in school. Also, it is possible for high schools to train clerical workers easily and inexpensively. Employers also prefer hiring women they feel justified in assuming are only temporary workers, thus they need not consider pension plans and other fringe benefits. The high turnover of employees also enables employers to increase or decrease their staff fairly easily. The short term nature of women's work inhibits the formation of unions and thus women do not benefit from the higher wages achieved by unions to the same degree that men do.

Discontinuity and Mobility

Employers hesitate to employ or train women for higher paid positions because they feel that a woman is not likely to be a permanent employee and will not be able to accept promotions that mean moving to another city. There is an assumption on the part of society that:

The household follows the man to his place of work. Where the wife has no job it is expected that she follow her husband wherever his job takes him. If we assume a situation in which both husband and wife have comparable offers of jobs it is clear that the location of the household is a crucial matter. If the man moves away to a job, it is expected that she and the household follow him. On the other hand if she were to move away from the household to a job, she would be considered to have deserted her family and could be charged with desertion.

In effect this means that a man can take the best job available for him anywhere but a woman can take only the best job available to her near her husband's place of work.

Part-time Employment

In 1967, 33 per cent of women worked less than 35 hours a week as compared with 15 per cent of men who worked less than 35 hours a week. This represents a considerable increase in part-time jobs. In 1962, 29 per cent of women and 14 per cent of men worked less than 35 hours a week. Most of the increase in the female working force comes from married women who, because our culture demands it, must still carry the major responsibility for running the home and caring for children. These priority demands make it impossible for many to work full time, so they seek part-time employment. The shorter number of hours worked in gainful employment is certainly a factor in the lower income of women. Sylvia Ostry notes that in studying male and female wage differentials "the sex ratio based on annual earnings of all wage earners in 1961 was 54.2 per cent but based on earnings of full-time, full-year workers only, was 59.3 per cent". It is thus apparent that a shorter work week accounts for only a small portion of the differential in pay between men and women.

The increase in the number of women seeking part-time jobs has exceeded the number of part-time jobs available. Thus, according to the laws of supply and demand, this tends to produce lower wages. One Vancouver store prefers to hire part-time workers because these workers do not have to be given the usual fringe benefits, pensions, etc., and can be paid lower hourly wages.

Part-time work has advantages and disadvantages for both employers and employees, but in more responsible jobs part-time employees are looked down on by full-time employees as it is usually not possible for part-time employees to take the same degree of responsibility and be as well informed of new developments on the job.

Re-entering the Labour Market

In recent years labour force participation rates have shown marked increases for women over 35 years of age. Little attention has been given to

the problems of these women who are re-entering the labour market. These women find that their education is out-dated, their experience as homemakers discounted, and retraining facilities which are suitable to their needs, almost non-existent. A study group found that the older female worker showed less absenteeism, less illness, few industrial accidents, more accuracy in learning the details of a job and a high degree of reliability and efficiency.

Employers say that the older woman is uncertain of her qualifications and does not want responsibility or promotion. In view of the limited educational facilities available to these women and the discounting of their previous experience this is not surprising. These women generally work in low paid service and clerical jobs.

Poverty of Women

In 1961 there were 272,215 female heads of family in Canada. Of these, 87,776 had one child, 47,700 had two children, 37,028 had three or four children and 13,756 had five or more children. One out of every 20 women workers is a family head and these women had average earnings of \$2,128 in 1961. This means that the low wages paid to women are a direct cause of poverty for a large segment of the population.

Average earnings of all females in Canada in 1961 was \$2,051 as compared to average earnings of \$4,178 for males. Only 7.7 per cent of the women who were working in Canada earned as much as the average earnings of men that year. Earnings of women at average rates do not enable them to contribute to pension plans or to save in order to avoid poverty associated with sickness or old age. Most non-working women are also in the position of being unable to prevent the onset of poverty.

Political and Legal Consequences of Poverty of Women

Women in Canada are without power even to control their own lives because they are poor. They have been humiliated and degraded so much that they are afraid to succeed and they are denied the joy of doing socially valued work. Women are effectively excluded from those occupations which seem to be prerequisites for political activity. Thus, they are unable to participate in the making and changing of laws. Because there are few women lawyers or judges, women seldom find justice in their dealings with the law. In January 1968, an Ontario judge was able to ignore overwhelming evidence concerning the equal work of policemen and policewomen and ruled that a policewoman should not expect to receive equal pay.

Because She was a Woman

The Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, passed unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly on November 7, 1967, states that "Discrimination against women, denying or limiting as it does their equality of rights with men, is fundamentally unjust and constitutes an offense against human dignity." In Canada we are still a long way from according human dignity to women. ♀

FOR A SISTER

Finally the dishes are done,

Floor swept

Children bathed and put to bed.

At last there is time for coffee, cigarettes

And quiet talk between us.

('Woman stuff' — the men would say).

Tonight you tell me how it was when you

were young and single (as the saying goes)

Describing parties, dances, love affairs

Your face alive and laughing

With memories of what seems far away—

Until you rise, your body heavy with another child,

And I remember:

You are not yet twenty.

Bronwen Wallace
Windsor, Ontario

FACT SHEET ON WORKING WOMEN

Women's Bureau, Province of Ontario

In 1970, there were 2,690,000 women in the labour force (i.e. employed and unemployed) in Canada. They made up 32 per cent of the total labour force and 36 per cent of the female population aged 14 or over.

In 1950 women made up 22 per cent of the labour force in Canada (i.e. increase from 22 to 32 per cent).

In 1951 only 24 per cent of women over 14 in Canada were in the labour force (i.e. increase from 24 to 36 per cent).

There have been marked increases in the labour force participation of *older* women. In 1951, women between the ages of 35 and 64 years made up 34 per cent of the female labour force in Canada. In 1970 they made up 46 per cent of the female labour force.

There has also been an increase in the labour force participation of *married* women. In Canada in 1951 only 11 per cent of all married women were in the labour force, in 1970, 32 per cent of all married women were in the labour force.

Marital Status of Employed Women in Canada (percentages) 1970

Married	58
Single	33
Other	9
Total	100 per cent

In 1960, 46 per cent of employed women in Canada were married (i.e. increase from 46 to 58 per cent).

Occupations

In 1970 over half of all employed women were concentrated into just two occupational groups—clerical, service and recreation (55 per cent).

Occupational group Percentage of employed women in each occupation. Canada 1970

managerial	3.9
professional & technical	17.5
clerical	32.2
sales	8.3
service & recreation	22.6
communications	1.6
farming	2.5
craftsmen & related	10.5
labourers, unskilled	0.9
Total	100.0 per cent

The occupational distribution of women has not changed very significantly since the last census in 1961.

The jobs which most women do are also primarily 'female' jobs, i.e. 71 per cent of all clerical workers are women and 60 per cent of all service and recreation workers are women.

Income

In 1965, in Canada, the average annual income (i.e. income from all sources, not just employment) of men was \$4551; for women it was \$1867, or 41 percent of the male average income.

In 1967, the average annual income of men was \$5331, and for women it was \$2303, or 43 per cent of the male average.

This suggests that the income gap between men and women is closing slightly. However, total income statistics are a rather crude measure of the income difference between men and women because:

a) they include people who aren't in the labour force, and fewer women are in the labour force;

b) they do not allow for the fact that more women than men work part-time or part-year. (In 1970, 35 per cent of employed women and 16 per cent of employed men worked part-time in Canada.)

In 1961, in Canada, the average wages and salaries of full-time, full-year workers were: men—\$4446; women—\$2620. Here, women's earnings were 59 per cent of men's earnings.

The main reason for women's lower earnings is the fact that they are concentrated into low-status, low-paying jobs. ♀

TOWARD AN ORGANIZATION OF WORKING WOMEN

by Jean Rands
Vancouver, B.C.
Winter, 1972

Most working women are not in unions. About 200,000 working women in British Columbia have no union protection, no organization to protect them against the arbitrary power of their employers. Eighty per cent of the women who work are outrageously underpaid and powerless to do anything about it.

Women Underpaid

The wages we get have nothing to do with the job we do. At the last job I had, the woman at the next desk, who was doing the same job as mine and had been there a year and a half longer, was making \$100 a month less than I was.

This is one of the reasons that so many women workers are forbidden to talk about their wages. It is a neat trick that employers use to good effect. If everyone keeps their pay cheque a secret, we are all encouraged to believe that we have a special, individual, personal relationship with the boss or head office. We are jealous and suspicious of each other, always wondering and suspecting what other people earn. So long as we can't even talk about wages, we're not likely to do anything about the fact that we're underpaid.

Powerlessness

We are subject to the whims of our bosses. Whether we are hired or fired has little to do with our qualifications. Our skills are taken for granted, and the qualifications required often have nothing to do with the job. For office workers, this can mean that you have to have shorthand and good typing for a job that requires no shorthand and little typing. If you stick with the job, you end up losing your skills.

We have no control of our skills. And our jobs are incredibly boring, mostly because we have no say over what we do. Typists have no control over what they type, filing clerks have no say in setting up the filing system. Waitresses have no control over the food they serve, though they often take abuse because of it. We don't even get to decide what we wear to work. Whether we are allowed to wear pants, short skirts, long skirts, hot pants, etc., depends entirely on the boss.

Socialization

Our powerlessness is reinforced by our socialization as women. Women are supposed to be beautiful on the job—part of the decor. A compliment from the boss is the reward for unpaid overtime, or a substitute for a raise. We are supposed to be quiet and passive; to compete with each other for the favours of men. Organizing and standing up for one's rights are things that men do, not women. We are supposed to see our working days as a short period from which we will be rescued by some handsome husband, and live happily ever after. Our ideal should be to become a full-time wife and mother; and any woman who isn't is considered a failure. Men should be the breadwinners, and women should not only accept lower wages for the same work, but should defend it as the natural order of things.

But women accept lousy pay, and the office rules about clothes, and a compliment instead of a raise, not because we are stupid, but because we are powerless, and because we see our failure as individual. Women I worked with, for instance, would refuse to talk about their pay cheques because their lousy wages made them ashamed, devalued them in their own eyes, rather than making them angry. So long as you can't see any possibility of changing the situation, you try to pretend you like it the way it is, or hide your failure.

It is hard for most working women to see the possibility of changing their situation because most of us work in industries which are almost totally non-unionized. We have had no experience of collective action at all. The industries where women are concentrated—banks, insurance, retail stores, privately-owned service industries—depend on a passive, reliable supply of cheap female labour for their profits. The women who work for these corporations have seen few victories.

Trade Unions: Advantages and Problems

The trade union movement does not even appear as an alternative to most working women, although it is clear we would be much better off as union members. Although unions today do not challenge the division of labour which makes most of our jobs so boring and do not demand much control over the job situation, they do give more control, and more security, than exists for unorganized workers. The fact that union members get paid according to their job classifications, that pay rates are standardized, and that there is at least the constant potential of collective action (though that's generally only realized in infrequent strikes) are all important advantages.

So why have the present unions failed so miserably to organize women?

To some extent, women workers are the victims of a general problem in the labour movement. The original industrial organizations projected the



long term goal of a new society of equality and freedom, where the wealth would belong to those who produced—the working people—collectively. But unions have become more and more conservative and less and less concerned with the problems of unorganized workers of either sex—or even members of other unions. Each union fights only for the immediate economic needs of its own members. The ideal of the early union organizers, of solidarity of all working people, has been forgotten.

And indeed, how can one seriously talk of the unity of working people so long as women are one-third of the work force and only 17 per cent of union membership? The fragmentation and stratification of the unions, which leads to craft consciousness or industry consciousness rather than general working class consciousness, can only be overcome by raising the most oppressed workers to the level of those who have been most successful. Only the struggle of working women can make it possible for the working class to be united, and to deal with general social problems beyond the limitations on present union bargaining.

Most of the full-time organizers and representatives of unions, even where the membership is mostly women, are still men. Worse, they are men whose daily work and life style resembles that of our bosses more than ours. Union offices look much like any other office in this society, with men giving orders and women typing, filing and making coffee. Any woman who gets to the point of approaching a union to organize her workplace is likely to get depressed and overwhelmed.

The unions have accepted the myths that hold women back even while more and more women are beginning to challenge them. The attitude of union representatives to working women is the same as the attitude of the boss. When I talked to union reps about organizing where I was working, I was patted on the bum, taken out to lunch, and told how pretty I was. What is even more amazing is that they act the same to women who are on strike. Women who have put their jobs on the line, who are active and militant, are still treated like dolls or children by their union representatives.

It is no wonder that most union leaders think women are impossible to organize. If we were the brainless sex objects they imagine, that would indeed be true.

But perhaps the most important reason for the failure of unions to organize working women is that it would be much more of a fight than the present unions are willing to undertake. The second class status of women is not an accidental hangover from a previous historical period. It is essential to profit-making right here and now. The industries where women are concentrated are those least affected by mechanization and automation, where wages are therefore a large part of the corporate budget, and cheap labour is essential to profits. Banks, insurance com-

panies and department stores are not going to give up their profits without a struggle, and the existing unions are not likely to lead such a struggle.

Lack of Working Class Orientation

Working women cannot look to the existing unions for leadership, but they have not been able to identify with the women's liberation movement either.

The major weakness of the women's liberation movement has been that it is usually campus oriented. Even in Vancouver, where working women have been meeting as part of women's liberation for a couple of years, the representatives of the movement are mostly students, ex-students or professional women. One of the problems we face, for example, is the complete lack of women's liberation literature for working women. This is partly because working women have little time or energy to write and partly because those who do write don't write for or about working women.

From Betty Friedan to Kate Millett to Germaine Greer, the books that represent women's liberation to many women, all add working women as an afterthought. And the perspective given on the problems of working women is upside down. Just like the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada Report, these women's liberation books say women shouldn't be confined to boring, poorly-paid jobs like typing. Nobody asks why typing should be low-paid, why women office workers who operate machines, type and take shorthand are considered unskilled. Nobody says that boring jobs could be made less boring by challenging the division of labour where typists have no say in what they type, filing clerks have no voice in determining the filing system.

The solutions that have been suggested to working women are individual solutions—more women managers, more women professionals, etc.—solutions that could not affect more than a tiny minority of working women.

The approach that women's liberation appears to take to working women is in contradiction to our ideals of sisterhood, solidarity and collective action by women to solve our problems. We have to understand that each strike of working women, no matter what their union is or how limited their demands are, is a powerful example of the ideals of women's liberation. Each strike demonstrates the strength and fighting power of working women, and a very real solidarity. Each woman striker must see her individual interest as identical to the interests of her fellow workers. Each striker puts her job on the line for the sake of the common struggle. Solidarity and sisterly support will then develop more than it ever can in women's liberation groups which are merely discussion groups or political action groups.

So long as this solidarity is only among workers at one workplace, so long as women strikers don't see their struggle in terms of a larger struggle to organize all working women, the solidarity dissipates after the strike is over. It is up to women's liberationists to begin to tie these struggles together, to publicize each strike so that more and more working women will be conscious of other women acting together. In a small way, we can begin to develop the solidarity that will be so essential in the future.

The movement of working women will need a whole new approach to unionism. It will demand a rebirth of the militancy and social consciousness that characterized the early industrial organizations.

The potential power of working women is enormous. Working women have the power to force the changes that women's liberation fights for. We have the power to shut down the governments, banks, telephones, retail trade, that are so important to this system.

The organization of working women will be comparable in scope to the organization of industrial workers which led to the formation of the CIO and a shake-up of the whole union structure of North America.

Working women will need to organize as women, to challenge the roles that keep us passive and divided, to fight for our needs even when that goes beyond normal union bargaining. We need child care. We need an end to the division of labour into shitwork jobs and decision-making jobs—the division of labour that makes our jobs boring and justifies our lousy pay. We need union hiring to end the victimization of women who work at part-time and temporary jobs; to end the arbitrary power of the employer to hire on any basis he pleases.

Because working women are both exploited as workers and oppressed as women, our struggle must shake this society to its very roots. Over half of all women who work are married. For them particularly, the contradiction between the role of women as cheap labour in the work force, and the role of unpaid labour in the home, is a daily reality.

When women challenge the sex roles of this society, we will not merely ask for more women managers, more women principals, more women doctors. We will fight the fundamental division of labour between nurse and doctor, teacher and principal, secretary and boss. And hospital workers will challenge the way the hospital system dehumanizes women as patients, as well as women workers.

To succeed, we will need a movement which extends beyond the individual workplace. For instance, to organize department stores which depend almost entirely on part-time workers, we need the support of thousands of housewives who are part of that work force whether or not they are working at the given moment.

Working women must confront the corporations who benefit from our exploitation. We have the power to do that. And, if we don't hold back, the

changes we require to meet our needs are so thorough that our struggle cannot stop short of a new society and the liberation of all women—and, of course, men.

All of this is in the future, and only a potential. But what we do now—all of us, as women's liberationists—can contribute to its realization.

Working Women's Association

The Working Women's Association is a small group, and we are often overwhelmed by the problems of the present. We have few resources. At this point, only a small number of working women know of our existence. We are attempting to encourage working women to organize wherever they are, whether through existing unions or independently, and to support and publicize the actions of women who do.

We are still working on gaining public support for the women who are on strike at Sandringham Private Hospital in Victoria. This strike* is a good example of the potential and the problems involved in the attempts of working women to organize now.

Twenty-eight nurses' aides have been on strike at Sandringham for well over a year. They are not giving up. They are still strong in their fight for the elementary right to have a union contract and the job security that goes with that. But throughout their strike, the hospital has functioned with scab labour, and it is still functioning. The length of the Sandringham strike shows the weakness of the unions as they are now. The strikers are members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the second biggest union in Canada.

The main issue in the strike is not wages; the strikers are only asking for two dollars an hour after two years work. The main issue is whether women who work in private hospitals will be organized at all, will have certain basic rights—the right to job security, the right to refuse to work overtime, etc.

The strikers have protested not only their own exploitation, but the whole racket of private hospitals. Conditions for the patients at Sandringham are so bad that nurses' aides used to buy supplies out of their own pockets so that patients wouldn't go without. The strikers have pointed out that it's outrageous that anyone should profit from the misfortune of the ill and elderly.

* *The Sandringham Strike. Sandringham Private Hospital workers have been on strike since November 1970 to obtain a first contract with their union, CUPE (Canadian Union of Public Employees). On February 22, 1972, the B.C. Labour Relations Board declared that the Hospital was not bargaining collectively with CUPE. The owner of Sandringham is appealing the decision. There is a petition campaign in support of the strikers.*

The Sandringham strike could still be a breakthrough for thousands of women who work in private hospitals for only the minimum wage. But the strikers desperately need our support. The petition campaign which was initiated by the Voice of Women in Victoria will hopefully force the government to intervene in this strike. At the same time, it can bring the strike to the attention of women workers, students and housewives who would otherwise be unaware of the example of the Sandringham strikers' determination and the importance of their struggle.

In terms of strike support, the most significant action carried out by the working women's group occurred while we were a part of Women's Caucus. The Cunningham boycott*, in support of the women who struck at C.H. Hosken, was full of lessons for us.

Once again, the women workers were determined to stick out the struggle to the end—about a year and a half. Their union failed to mobilize significant support on their behalf and it became evident that a small group of women, supporting the strike, could take effective action. The boycott did more to encourage support for the strike and to put pressure on the company, than anything the union did, as far as we could tell. The British Columbia Federation of Labour came in on the boycott only after it was initiated by Women's Caucus.

As well as strike support, and encouraging organizing, the Working Women's Association is attempting to develop educational activities around the situation of women workers and the importance, and necessity of organizing. We are going to begin to fill the gap in literature by publishing a series of booklets ourselves.

Our goal must be to convince more and more working women of the possibility and necessity of struggle, and of basic women's liberation ideas, and to convince women's liberationists of the necessity of union organizing — not as an end in itself, but as an essential defense against the arbitrary power of the employer, and as the beginning of collective action in the area where we as women have our real collective strength — at work.



* *The Cunningham Boycott. March 1970. Women's Caucus organized a boycott of Cunningham's drug store chain in support of strikers' fight for a union contract with Hosken (a Cunningham subsidiary).*

SALT OF THE EARTH ...two for the price of one

from *Workers' Unity*, Voice of the UAW Rank and File,
Windsor, Ontario
June, 1971

Very few of us think of work that is done in the home as work for the company. It is hard to believe that preparing meals, washing and mending clothes, or mopping floors has anything to do with auto production. Yet, in a very real way, the work that is done by housewives is essential to every corporation in this society. Perhaps we can best understand this if we look at the work done inside the plant in the area of maintenance. First of all, there are various types of repairmen whose job it is to keep the machines in working order; then there are janitors who keep the plants clean. None of these men are directly involved in the actual production of cars, but without them, the plants would soon cease operation.

Just as the company cannot get along without its internal maintenance, so it cannot get along without its *external* maintenance—housewives who work in the home. In each working family, the woman has the job of maintaining the workers so that they can go on working—and making more profits for the company. We are responsible for preparing meals, washing clothes, and keeping the house clean and livable. We do not mind doing these jobs for our families, but we do resent the fact that our labour allows the company to exploit our men even more. Without our services, the work force would not be able to carry on. That is one of the reasons why every corporation prefers to hire married men. Every time we load those dirty, oily work clothes into the washer, for example, we should remember that the basic reason why the company does not provide and maintain protective clothing for its workers because we women do that—for nothing! And not only do we keep the present work force going; we also feed, care for, and educate our children who are the workers of the future.

As women, we know how important our work in the home is, but in a very real way our labour is not considered 'real work' at all. We've all had the experience of having our husbands come home, sit down to dinner in a nice clean kitchen, and say "Now, dear, what did you do all day?" Of course, this attitude is not his fault; our last article talked about the way in which men are so cut off from the lives of their families that they do not know what goes on all day. In another way, though, such a comment reveals a great deal about what is regarded as 'real work' in this society. Our

economic system considers that the only 'real work' involves the production of things to be sold.

Because housewives do not *produce* anything, their labour has no 'exchange value' (an economist's term for labour which produces goods to be sold) and, in the eyes of this system, it is not 'real work'.

This may seem like a silly word game until we look at what it means for us in our everyday lives. It is estimated that a woman with one or more children works at least 60-80 hours per week at housework and child care. At the same time her husband works about 40 hours a week in auto production and receives about \$4 per hour. Yet, in paying the man's wage, the company actually buys the labour of two people—it gets 100 hours (40 plus 60) for the price of 40. And if the man is killed or seriously injured on the job, the woman is left with nothing beyond a meagre pension, or, more often, the humiliating hand-outs of the welfare system. Her labour is vitally necessary to the society, but under the present economic system, she has no assurance of secure financial support.

Even if all goes well and the man is able to keep his job, it is very difficult to make ends meet. More and more families are finding it necessary to have a second wage—the woman's—so that they can afford the things they need. Yet even on the labour market, a woman is not treated fairly. Usually her place of work is not unionized and her wages are 1/3 - 1/2 that of men doing similar work. If she is in a union—like UAW—her needs as a woman are overlooked by the union bureaucracy. The union seldom, if ever, demands that the company provide some sort of care for her children, for example, so that the woman must pay for a babysitter out of her wages. As well, she is now expected to hold down two jobs, since working in the factory does not mean that she can forget about the work at home. If anything, her work in the factory is considered secondary to her primary job of housewife and mother, even though she may have to work because her husband does not make enough to support the family! Very few women take jobs in a factory because they *like* it!

We recognize, of course, that the work women do, at home or outside, is done because we love our families and want to provide the best we can for them. This does not mean, however, that women should accept silently the treatment we receive. We can find solutions to the problems we face by first understanding clearly where the cause of those problems lie, and then by working together to solve them. At the most basic level, the fault lies with the corporations who control our lives and not the individual husband. This paper is the beginning of an attempt to understand that control and to find an alternative to it. When we talk about Workers' Unity, then, we must talk about the unity of men *and* women, whether they work in the factory or at home. ♀



In the mid 1960's, women workers led the way in militant action. At Kenkurt, they physically rejected the honeyed words of conservative union leaders.

The attempt to gain more democracy & control within the unions was also occurring.

The Internationals were & are American-dominated, & labor leaders cared little for Canadian workers once their dues were collected. And so, the Canadian labor movement was revitalized. But the simple fact of being Canadian was no guarantee against the development of entrenched bureaucracies. The rank & file has had to struggle in order to work toward the democracy they envisioned when they broke away from the Internationals.



WOMEN ON WELFARE

by Lynn Lang
Toronto, Ontario
May, 1971

The basic relationship between women and work in the home determines women's status as second class workers and second class citizens in the society at large. In poor families, where the male relates to the broader society as low-paid worker or as laid-off worker, the women's role is to hold the family together and to give her husband support. In fact, women and children are treated as part of, and in this case, a major part of a man's property. In a society where ownership and not work gives decision-making power, women and children easily fit into a hierarchical notion of an ideal family unit. (1)

It is within this context that we can examine the welfare system and how women must relate to it. The generally punitive attitude toward welfare recipients is especially felt by men, who in their role as provider have failed. However, the major part of the welfare roles are filled by women, many of whom are deserted wives. Of 14,921 applications approved for provincial welfare in Ontario, 10,510 were female. (2) Here is the breakdown of their marital status:

widowed.....	2,390
divorced.....	367
deserted.....	3,068
married.....	1,680
separated.....	526
single.....	2,479

Of the total cases receiving assistance (59,032) almost half (20,428) were mothers with dependent children. In Toronto, 43.7 per cent of recipients of municipal welfare were female and 62.1 per cent of them were classified as unemployable. Here in percentages, is a breakdown of their marital status:

single.....	22
married.....	7.3
widowed.....	14.2
deserted.....	18.6
separated.....	33.6
divorced.....	4.3

Deserted wives account for a large number of women on welfare but single girls who are on welfare while pregnant with an illegitimate child can also be considered deserted women. Given that women are socialized from an early age to plan careers in the home as wives and mothers and that they are excluded from higher paying positions in industry, it is not surprising that many women, faced with the role of provider as well as their own role in the family, are relieved to find a welfare system. The amount they receive in welfare payments is not greatly exceeded by the amount they can earn. Women with four children receive around \$300 a month, depending on the age of the children; whereas if they were working at \$2.00 an hour they would receive \$360 a month, less the cost of a babysitter and less taxes.

The welfare system thus becomes the new provider for the welfare mother so that she can continue her role in the family unit. Carol Glassman describes this new substitute in her article, *Women and the Welfare System*:

Domination by a husband was replaced with control over every aspect of a woman's life by the welfare agency. Strangers could knock at any hour to pass judgment on her performance as mother, housekeeper, and cook—as well as her fidelity to the welfare board...Throughout the welfare department one finds the combined view that poverty is due to individual **fault** and that **something is wrong with women who don't have men**. (3)

The deserted wife especially is the object of a great deal of scorn and punitive thinking in exactly this way. How many women, tired and irritated at the physical and emotional strains placed on them by the welfare system have been abused by comments such as, "No wonder he left her, how could anyone stay with a hag like that!" Such statements assume that the poverty and problems of the deserted wife are caused by her, when in reality, she is a victim.

At the same time, the welfare mother is expected to continue performing her duties as before without many of the rewards she formerly received. She no longer has the companionship of a man, nor does she see herself sacrificing to help her man struggle through life. The status of her family is lowered and in some neighbourhoods, she is forced into feeling shameful and parasitic. I know of one case where social relations were cut off immediately when neighbours discovered that a woman and her children were on welfare. Such personal degradation is reinforced by welfare bureaucrats. For example, a woman applied for emergency welfare in a depressed and anxious state of mind after she left an alcoholic husband who had physically threatened her. She was met with a long, unnecessary wait. When the administrator came to speak to her, he taunted her and shouted, "What do you want here?" He proceeded to tell her how useless she was, asked her why she left her husband, said she couldn't get a job, told her she was going to be a burden on the welfare system, etc. The ex-

perience was devastating. It was as if she were being punished for taking a stand and trying to make it on her own.

Not only is a woman on welfare a second class citizen in her status as unpaid worker and welfare recipient, but she is also viewed as a threat by other women in the community since she has no man of her own.

The mother alone is responsible for her own behavior and for that of her children. The mothers themselves say it this way:

We feel that mothers alone take an awful lot of punishment that shouldn't have been dished out to them in the first place. In lots of instances things will happen where the kids in another family will get into trouble but it will always be blamed onto the woman alone—I know this has happened in lots of different cases. And then we talked about children who go into a store and they'll see something and they just can't seem to understand why if every other kid in the neighbourhood can have this why can't they have it. So the next thing you know, they steal it, so then, of course, you're into problems again. In this instance, the laws were made for the rich people not for the poor. Even if the child does go out and steal it, the mother may be the best mother in the world, but the kid could steal it if he wants it bad enough—and the mothers always get the blame for it—not the child—it's always the mother who gets the blame. The poor mothers are trying their darndest to get along and look after a bunch of kids and yet it's always them that get the blame—they say, well, they're not a good mother—but this isn't always the case.

This blame begins to define the mother as a failure. If she is deserted, she is viewed and probably views herself as a failure in the one thing women must succeed at—wifhood. She is even accused of gross negligence when she cannot make ends meet with her skimpy budget. Perhaps the worst aspect is the very real isolation in which she lives. She cannot afford to go out, is ashamed to invite people in when she can't afford to entertain them and is confined to her house 24 hours a day. Her children become a terrible burden and she has increasingly ambivalent feelings toward them. Slowly, she begins to understand that the paths out of her misery are few and difficult: to abandon her children and set out on her own; to find another man, which is often a ticket to respectability if but nothing else; or to go crazy. This latter alternative at least offers the protection of three meals a day and a clean bed in a hospital if you are lucky enough to be committed. Many women who approach a doctor at this point end up with nothing but a prescription for tranquilizers.

Many women who end up in psychiatric units of a hospital have a good rest in order to build up the energy to go back 'out there'. What happens when it's time to get out? Take the example of one woman, whose four children had been placed with Children's Aid at the time of her entrance into hospital. When she was ready to leave, she wanted to have her children back. Children's Aid told her this wasn't possible until she had a suitable place for them to stay. So she went to provincial welfare to get some money to take an apartment. They told her that without her children she was no longer eligible for Family Benefits. Not until she got her children back, could she again get mother's allowance.

In the meantime, it was necessary to apply for municipal welfare. At the municipal welfare office, she was informed that she was eligible only for benefits as a single person. This meant she received about \$40 per month for rent. Now, this was \$15 per month more than she had been receiving for rent *before* she entered the hospital, but it was certainly not enough to establish herself in a place suitable for reclaiming her children. What was the woman to do? Her chances of ending up back in that psychiatric unit in a short space of time were very high. Yet her fears of landlords and welfare workers were considered paranoid.

The punitive nature of attitudes toward welfare recipients is expressed in the all-too-common stereotype of the lazy alcoholic drinking beer in front of the T.V. set. The irony is that workers who pay taxes are set against workers without jobs. A divorcee who had worked for many years at two jobs to care for her family, developed a heart condition. She didn't want to "degrade herself by going on welfare". She did not understand that welfare is her right within an economic system which has an unemployment rate of up to 10 per cent. Most recipients have no other option but welfare when unemployment insurance runs out. Unfortunately most working people don't understand this.

The added burden for a woman is that her labour is not perceived as productive. "Men work for money; women work for love." This basic assumption undercuts the productive value of women's work in the home and in the work force. If women were paid for the work they do in the home, it has been estimated that our Gross National Product would be increased by at least one-third. What rewards do women receive for their unpaid labour? The traditional response is that women feel pride in their families, joy in their husbands' and children's accomplishments, pride in their success at creating a 'home', as defined by advertisers via *Chatelaine*, etc., and most of all, that they enjoy the 'love' they receive in exchange for their pains. These are the highest rewards that can be offered for tedious, monotonous, isolating labour and many women think they deserve nothing more. But the labour that women do is not perceived as labour, even by themselves. Child rearing and housekeeping are seen as duties or as 'joys' for a wife and mother.

That it is not work for a woman to care for her own children is a statement poured out of every magazine and ad that depicts mothers and children. How many mothers are pictured with their one or two children cuddling around them, all persons involved with the neatest, cleanest clothes, the brightest smiles, the latest hairstyles, and the most relaxed and leisurely freshness! What a contrast to the reality of managing a household: sewing, ironing, washing, settling fights, etc., etc., etc! The welfare system perpetuates this myth in assuming that child care is work for a foster mother but duty for a natural mother. A foster mother will receive more

than twice the amount a natural mother on welfare receives to care for the same child. In Ontario for example, a foster mother receives \$75.60 to care for a child eight years of age plus subsidization of clothing, car mileage for agency or medical visits, school fees, school supplies, school transport, medical supplies and medication. This is a minimum budget. However, a natural mother on welfare receives a total of \$81 per month to care for *both* herself and an eight year old child. She receives no fringe benefits. This discrepancy is even greater for children placed in a correction agency. A woman whose child was in court and was sentenced to a reform school was told that it would cost \$12.50 a day to care for her son. She looked at the judge and said, "That's what I had to care for nine children...if I had a fraction of that money, we wouldn't be here now." The judge replied, "But you must understand that that money goes to pay staff, and other expenses." She answered, "I was the only staff around my house."

Evidence of the fact that a woman's work is so poorly valued is demonstrated by the fact that their market value is so low. This keeps them tied to the family structure. When some women take a Manpower training course, they end up getting paid more for taking the course, where payment is according to need and number of children, than they are able to earn after they have completed it. A woman with four children was paid \$75 a week, non-deductible, by Canada Manpower to train for the job of clerk-typist for which she received a starting salary of \$62.50 minus deductions per week. Even when their benefits are more than they would get on welfare, the cost they pay for day care and transportation eats up any extra amount very quickly.

Policy makers and agency workers recognize the role of the family in keeping this society the way it is:

One crucial area where we feel rehabilitation is needed toward self-fulfilment and self-sustenance is the family. In our work with people in poverty, we have witnessed a marked deterioration of the authority of parents; children sense and see a lack of ability to cope with society; their attitudes toward their parents are conditioned by this knowledge and feeling. These children develop deep fears and hostility toward, and chronic contempt for their parents as authority figures—and hence, for the authority of society. (5)

That policy does not encourage employment rehabilitation is evidenced by the regulations concerning added income for welfare recipients. There are limits on the extra amounts to be earned and these are low. Of any extra cash earned more than the quota, the recipient can only keep about 25 cents out of the dollar. This hardly makes working worthwhile.

Welfare policy is determined by the needs of the economy not by the needs of the recipients. In the light of recent high unemployment, the municipal department which makes policy in Toronto decided to cut services to recipients rather than expand their budget. It is cheaper and easier for the society if natural mothers keep their children and stay on

welfare rather than having their children in the custody of Children's Aid. Many mothers feel torn at the thought that by keeping their children they may be doing them more harm than good.

The welfare system is a more controlling provider than a man. After a few years of mapped-out budgets and paternalistic welfare workers, a woman soon loses a sense of her own capabilities. She is fearful of jeopardizing her sole support. This is especially true if she is living in public housing.

The punitive nature of the welfare system, the isolation of mothers on welfare, the dependency-reinforcement of the welfare policies, the personal degradation recipients feel, the lack of alternatives in the job market all combine to push women on welfare into a traditional role. They become agents of control and stabilizers of the social, political and economic system. They are immobilized by the structural dependencies imposed on them.

Perhaps the first step women on welfare must take in organizing themselves is to become conscious of their role in the family and of the social nature of their labour. This is where the power of mothers on welfare lies. All persons have a right to fully participate in this society and to have their participation acknowledged. No mother should have to be isolated in her work in the home. No woman should be a second class citizen just because she is a woman. 🌍

Material from page 157
removed at
author's request

C. Politics of Sex

WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTION

by Jane Likely
Fredericton, N.B.

A great controversy has recently grown up about the place of women in the coming revolution. The left in all its shades and doctrines has begun to realize that an enormous revolutionary potential is to be found in the women's liberation movement. These are angry, fighting women, demanding radical changes in society; they can be used. Their anger can hasten the revolution. "They must be made to understand the wider issues", one group maintains. "They must realize that their only hope of success lies in coming to us and letting us tell them what to do", says another. We, whose class distinction has always hinged upon that of our husbands and fathers, are considered incapable of understanding the problems of all our sisters.

Women must realize that their needs have always been a revolutionary footnote: "Oh yes, the women — well, things will be better for them, too." And, in some ways, they might be. It makes revolutionary sense that, if women are to be trained, the drain on educational facilities that this would incur must be repaid to 'the people' and that women must somehow be released from domesticity so that they might use these skills. To release them, other women will be commandeered to take the burdens of home and family off their shoulders, but the responsibility for those tasks which cannot be taken off the shoulders of the working women will remain with them.

If the post-revolution husband and wife are both doing research at home, and baby cries, the wife will still rise to feed and change it. If there is an important conference, and the child has measles, the wife will remain at home — even if her work requires that she go — and everyone will understand. When she does not progress well in her work, all will reiterate the intrinsic inferiority of women. There will be a gradual movement to keep women from responsible positions and we will be back where we started again.

And so women's liberation demands that liberation pre-empt revolution. First let us understand how we got where we are; let us train

ourselves and teach men that being the person primarily responsible for home and children is not good for us, our society, our men, or our children; let us find other ways to manage these responsibilities. Then, we will start to consider the economic or political bases of our society, the injustices of these institutions and work to change them. But perhaps by then it will be time to write another revolutionary credo and develop another theory that includes both men and women.

Consider the revolutionary: a hard, implacable, dedicated machine that fights and kills and dies for the cause. Do we bear children for political ends, to win the battle of the cradle for Reich or anti-Reich? Are the characteristics 'cold, dedicated, implacable' the ones we consider most valuable in human relationships? I don't think so. And I think, if we adopt them, we begin to deny, not the basic 'femininity' which detractors of women's liberation are so fearful that we might lose, but our basic humanity.

Injustice does exist and the systems that all people live under today are cruel. Women do not form a part of the development and high-level administration of these systems, and thus become the repository of the human virtues in society. A man can only fight ruthlessly in the world because there is warmth in his home: he can tolerate the brutal pecking order in his relationships because within his home he is the monarch. Women have always known this; during the Depression our mothers realized that a man would crumble under the strain of being treated as an inferior and worthless commodity if he were not somehow compensated, and they tendered him compensation. Men could go into war because they knew that security and monarchy waited at home.

And yet wars and depressions continue because women sustain the combatants. When the mess is over, no woman has the time or the strength to protest, to say: "I cannot have children to serve as fodder for these unrealistic and inhuman follies, you must stop making these messes, you must behave." I use childish terms because our men are childish. They have not had the opportunity to be otherwise. They have not had to search for manly virtues because they exist readymade in the traditional perception of the male and female roles. Men have not learned to treat women, or each other, as human beings because nothing in their role demands humanity.

The world is not real to them. Like children, they believe that food magically appears on tables, that houses resolve themselves into order and that clothing appears on shelves and disappears for a time after it has been worn. They do not meaningfully interact with their children who are the future citizens in society. Any woman will say that she began to learn what a human was all about when she began to observe creatively her child's

activities and learning processes. Don't men need this vital training as well? Playing with baby, who is clean and tired, before bedtime, is no way for a man to observe the titanic flux of primitive emotions that rule an infant. We understand the force of greed, of hate, of love and the incredible desire to learn and know, when we observe an angry, hungry, attention-demanding infant. And yet, men are shielded from this because they must have time to dream and spin their theories about the meaning of Man. This is mad and illogical; it hurts us all.

Now, if men walk about in the world failing to perceive these basic realities, how can they be realistic about their ordering of our society? To say that men must begin to function domestically is not only to make the ultra-feminist demand that they "take part of the responsibility for the shit they create"; it is to say that if they are not taught the consequences of the most basic actions they perform or the simple ordering of their environments, they will never learn to function realistically in the world. They will continue to dream and plan and kill and die.

Reality pre-empts romance; liberation pre-empts revolution! ♣



Material from page 161
removed at
author's request

SEXUAL MYTHS

by Judy Gill, Diana Chastain, Linda Carmen, Mary Bolton, Jenny Robinson
Women's Liberation Movement
Toronto, Ontario, September, 1970

The following was an educational program presented to the Women's Liberation Movement.

Introduction

When Kinsey laid to rest the part of the double standard that maintained women got no pleasure at all from sex, every one cried out that a sexual revolution was afoot. But such talk, as usual, was deceptive. Morality outside the marriage bed, remained the same, and children were socialized as though Kinsey had never described what they would be like when they grew up. Boys were taught that they should get their sex where they could find it, 'go as far' as they could. On the old assumption that women were asexual creatures, girls were taught that since they needed sex less than boys did, it was up to them to impose sexual restraints. In whatever sex education adolescents did manage to receive, they were told that men had penises and women vaginas; the existence of the clitoris was not mentioned and pleasure in sex was never discussed at all. Adolescent boys growing up begging for sexual crumbs from girls frightened for their 'reputation' - a situation that remains unchanged to this day - hardly constitutes the vanguard of a sexual revolution. (1)

We are led to believe that a woman's main concern is to bear children and little girls are taught that their genitals are constructed solely for this purpose. One of the most disastrous effects of this kind of thinking is that it produces a state of ignorance in the female regarding her own sexual needs and her levels of arousal. Women frequently are ignorant about what specific areas of her body are sensitive to stimulation and how she feels about different sorts of stimulation.

Two aspects of sexual orgasm we wish to consider are the physiological and the psychological. We use the word 'sexual' orgasm. To describe the female orgasm as either 'clitoral' or 'vaginal' is incorrect. We want to discuss what women can achieve in the sexual act as a result of the infinite variety of female sexual responses that constitute the nature of female sexuality.

We are working on the assumption that sexual repression of the female as it exists today is essentially *our problem*. Sex can only be exploitative in so far as we allow it to be. By unconsciously accepting myths about female sexuality and absorbing them into our behaviour we further our own sexual repression. *We help ourselves to be exploited*. This state of affairs won't

change until we women change it. A male cannot help us in this. The male has been socialized to see *us* in certain ways. The male has been taught to exploit us because the sort of behaviour traditionally exhibited by us has reinforced the notion that, in a way, we want to be exploited or mastered. Our aim, then, is to expose these myths so that we can change our own attitudes toward sex and our own behaviour in sexual relationships. For as Masters and Johnson have said, freedom from sexual repression means that women, at long last, will be allowed to take the first step toward their own emancipation and enjoy the forms of their own sexuality.

The Myth of Feminine Evil

The feeling that women's sexual functions are *impure* is both world wide and persistent. One sees evidence of it everywhere in literature and myth in primitive and civilized life. It is striking how the notion persists today. For example, there were menstrual taboos in primitive cultures where women weren't allowed to touch ritual objects of war and religion. The female body was thought to be an evil, dirty thing and this poisoned the female's own sense of physical self.

One leading myth of western culture is the classical tale of the biblical story of *the Fall*. The ethic that we have inherited tends to lump the female and sex together as if the whole burden of the onus and stigma it attaches to sex were the fault of the female *alone*. Therefore sex which is known to be unclean, sinful and debilitating, pertains to the female; the male identity is perceived as a human one rather than a sexual one.

As Kate Millett states:

In the Myth, sexuality is clearly involved, though the fable insists that it is only tangential to a higher prohibition against disobeying orders in the matter of another and less controversial appetite - one for food (note: Hebrew verb for 'eat' also means 'coitus').

...in (Eve's) inferiority and vulnerability the woman takes and eats, simple carnal thing that she is, affected by flattery even in a reptile. Only after this does the male fall and with him humanity. For the fable has made him a **social** type, whereas **Eve is a mere sexual type** and according to tradition either expendable or replaceable. And as the myth records the original sexual adventure, Adam was seduced by woman who was seduced by a penis. "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the fruit and I did eat" is the first man's defense. Seduced by the phallic snake, Eve is convicted for Adam's participation in sex.

Adam's curse is to toil in the sweat of his brow; namely, the labour the male associates with civilization. Eden was a fantasy world without either effort or activity which the entrance of the female and her sexuality has destroyed. Eve's sentence is far more political in nature and a 'brilliant explanation' of her inferior status. "In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children. And thy desire shall be to thy husband. And he shall rule over thee".

Note how prevalent these myths are in our society. Woman is the evil seductress and man the guiltless partner. Woman is defined not as a human but as a sexual being (e.g. what she needs is a good screw). Note the hard line taken against birth control and abortion. And note the stigma placed upon illegitimate children because their birth is not sanctioned by a legal father. Consider prostitution and the hypocrisy of the practice. A prostitute

is arrested because of her occupation but a male who seeks her out is not implicated. Consider the hard and difficult fight for women to control their own bodies.

Myth of Female Virginity vs. Female Looseness

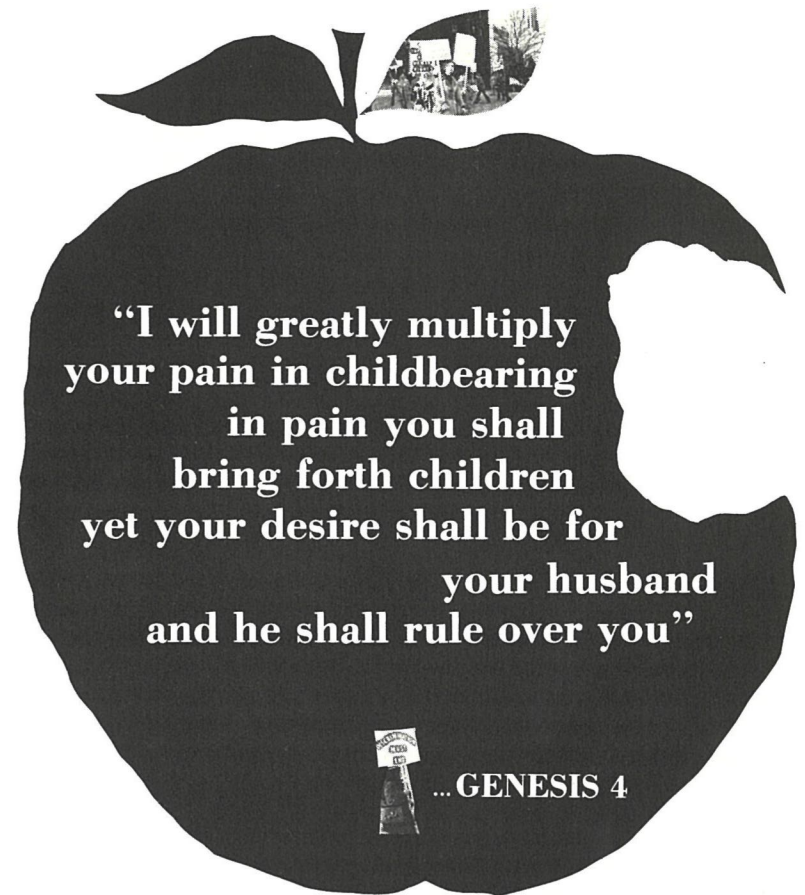
At a young age, a girl is faced with the following dilemma. Either she is 'virgin-good' and lives in fear that someone might violate her virginity or she is 'loose-bad' and chooses to sleep around, giving up her 'good' reputation.

What lies behind the view that virginity is good, sex outside marriage is bad? Men and women have been taught to 'use sex'. Woman's body is used as a commodity or medium of exchange. And the exchange value of virginity is a sign of the goods received intact, unused, new and 'hard to get'. On the other hand, non-virginity represents an 'easy to get' commodity. It is something that has been used. As the Rolling Stones say, "Who wants yesterday's paper, who wants yesterday's girl?" The use of the female body as a commodity of exchange enables the man to feel more 'masculine' and define himself by his superiority to his mate. But it also serves a need in the woman in that she is able to trade her so-called 'fragility' and her sex to receive all the goodies she has been taught to value and want.

We have accepted the judgment of the male, used his terminology despite the fact that it is not to our own advantage. Some of the disadvantages are:

1. We are dependent upon the judgment of the male where sex is concerned. We have to be vigilant about our looks, forever concerned with our sexual appearance.
2. We exist in a state of insecurity and fear about how the male will judge us. If we screw, what will *he* say to the others? And what does *he* think of our performance in bed? And does *he* like the size of our boobs? But we don't think about what we think.
3. In order to get a man and keep him, we compete with each other. The effect of this is insecurity about our own appeal and our position regarding the man. In the *Hooker*, Ellen Steen notes the lively antagonism that exists between *whore and respectable woman*. And we do act on these principles. We feel superior to other females who are prostitutes, who have 'no taste' or who are 'cheap', etc. Kate Millett points out how the man at the office plays his wife against his secretary and at home, his secretary against his wife. This constant threat keeps women in a state of sexual insecurity.

The doubts that women have about their own capacities, about what they are supposed to be able to achieve, are easily substantiated when a female who, having unconsciously absorbed the myth, has had no experience in sex prior to her screwing with an experienced male. For as Masters and Johnson point out, there is such a thing as "impotency of



inexperience". The techniques they use to develop a female's arousal level show that once a female experiences orgasm and once she knows all the various ways in which to achieve sexual satisfaction, her adequacy in terms of achieving orgasm increases with repeated experiences. Inexperience and feelings of inadequacy are natural correlatives.

Women as Sex Objects

"An immature person has no eyes: they use other people's eyes to see with. They see the world and they see themselves through other people's eyes. They see *indirectly*." (2) Women, it seems, are such persons. We are dependent upon male eyes to see ourselves. We use men's eyes and other women's eyes to see with. We use men's eyes to see ourselves as sexual beings.

A male is continually aroused by pictures, movies, ads, billboards, etc., of women which allow the exposure of the body. We identify with these pictures of women, seeing ourselves as agencies for male arousal. As we identify with the body on the screen or in the ad, we are in fact seeing ourselves involved with the male as arouser. And this serves as our form of titillation. What is wrong with this is that we are not aroused directly. We get our titillation indirectly by viewing sex through the male eyes and seeing ourselves or feeling ourselves to be objects for arousal. Every form of titillation and arousal is aimed at the male directly and we receive it indirectly. There are no pictures of the male body in the movies and ads, to serve for direct arousal of the female. The world outside the marriage bed is, for a woman, totally devoid of any sexual stimulus especially in comparison with that available to the male.

As girl children, we are taught to think about how other people see us. We are taught to think of our appearance. And as teenagers our 'looks' become primary; it sparks the interest of the male. Our appearance is how we define our being. As adults, when we step out into the street or walk into a room of people, we watch ourselves performing these acts, and appraise ourselves through others' appraisal of us as sexual beings. We are seen as sexual objects and therefore we see ourselves as sex objects, and define our relations with men in this light. But the problem is that we are not sex objects - we see *ourselves* as sex objects. No woman can be a sex object. By definition an object is something that is seen or touched or picked up. It does not itself see or feel or act. It cannot because it is inanimate.

What happens when we, as sex objects, screw (we might call it indirect screwing) is that we see our body in so far as it arouses the male. We are disintegrated in the sex act: our feelings are alienated from our bodies. We may worry that our breasts are too big or too small, our legs too skinny or too fat or we may be thinking what wonderfully arousing creatures we are. We see our bodies as objects for arousal and feel them only in so far as they

affect our aroused partner. Masters and Johnson point out that observing oneself during intercourse (assuming a spectator role) leads to frigidity in the female and impotency in the male. It is no wonder that women have sexual hang-ups. Playing the role of woman as sex object inhibits woman's capacity to achieve sexual satisfaction.

The Myth of No Sex Without Love

If we accept the fact that the myth of woman being evil or sex being evil still pervades our present attitudes, it is understandable how some women feel they cannot have sex without love. For those women who still attach a stigma of some kind to sex, love could provide their justification for participating, thus adding a high and moral quality to one's act. If she indulges in sex not merely as sex but as an act of love, she eases the guilt that she might otherwise have if she partook merely of sexual pleasure. Why do so many women feel guilty about receiving and enjoying sexual pleasure as just that—sexual pleasure?

Contributing to a woman's belief in the 'sex only with love' principle are social stigmas attached to sex participation, her fears of being labelled 'easy to get', her need for security, and her total social conditioning in regard to love and marriage as the one ideal to strive for. The woman's insistence that love must be a condition of sex fits neatly into the marriage package deal, whereby one woman commits herself to belonging to one man permanently, thus guaranteeing the security of the family as an institution.

Furthermore just as the man demands that his possession belongs to him and him only (in marriage, the culmination of love in our society) so the female has come to believe that her destiny lies in being possessed by the male, thus contributing to her own subjugation. Marriage on one level can even be seen as a sort of trade or bartering. If a man will say he loves a woman, the woman commits herself to him physically, exchanging her body, in a sense, for the security of love and marriage. An unequal union like that could not be fulfilling. What is beautiful is one nonexploitative union of two people sharing and participating in an equally pleasurable experience together.

There is what you might call a 'partial virginity syndrome' that seems pretty common. Though these mores say it's alright to have sex before marriage, it isn't alright unless, for example: 1) you love the man; 2) he's the right kind of person; 3) you're going to marry him, etc. In some way, then, sex is viewed as a commitment of a sort that goes beyond mere pleasure seeking. It seems pretty clear that this idea of commitment before sex is directly related to the older notion that sex for a woman is only for marriage and children.

The result of this need for a commitment before sex is to make a woman hold back instead of being free. We used to talk of 'setting the pace' - it is the job of the woman to consciously deliberate about sex, to decide if it is appropriate, to make sure she is not 'being taken advantage of'. This is a notion that wouldn't exist if women were able to look at sex as something for their own pleasure instead of symbolic of some other type of commitment.

This brings up one question of women's sexual desires. Women, like men, do have natural sexual needs. Few of us would disagree that a woman can be fulfilled sexually without a deep emotional attachment, i.e. love. Masters and Johnson among others have explored this. Also consider women who, when dissatisfied with their sex life with a person they are emotionally committed to, seek sexual relationships outside to satisfy their physical needs. Often sexual problems arise because of a failure to accept and understand the nature of a woman's sexuality. Sexuality within the context of love is one part, one very important part, but it is not the only part or the total picture and when all aspects are not allowed for, frustrations and problems inevitably occur.

The Myth of Pleasure

Actually, it is the myth of 'no pleasure' - a woman supposedly does not care about sexual pleasure for herself. She is satisfied merely by the social act of having or keeping a man and demands little sexually. She is just not a sexual being. In reality, the facts are very different. Masters and Johnson have pointed out that women are very sexual beings. Unlike men, for example, most women seem capable of multiple orgasms. But society has conditioned women to be pleasure givers rather than pleasure seekers or receivers.

Passivity in a female produces in her the feeling that she is giving her body to the male and that she is prostrating herself in a sacrificial act of submission. The extreme picture of passivity is one of the female lying prostrate, breathless, waiting for her body to be violated, to be intruded upon, to be pierced. Passivity breeds the attitude that we merely have to wait for things to happen to us. Our pleasures are supposed to just occur, especially if we're sexy and really 'feminine'. And if they don't come, we immediately conclude that therefore we're innately asexual or we feel that there must be something inherently wrong with us. We do not realize that passivity does not lead to sexual satisfaction and that in order to realize our sexual desires we have to make things happen. We have to actively participate. We have to participate in the whole experience and be as excited about what we can make happen as the male. Unfortunately, we are socialized not to want to make things happen because this isn't romantic. It's too matter of fact. It's not 'feminine'.

Sexually, a woman is taught that it is her responsibility to have an orgasm simultaneously with a man, while they are having intercourse, whether or not she is able to have what used to be called a 'vaginal orgasm'. She is made to feel inadequate if she does not have an orgasm this way. Freud says she is 'immature'. These feelings of inadequacy reinforce her reluctance to ask a man to satisfy her in whatever way is pleasurable to her.

In the end a woman becomes a spectator. She never lets herself go completely, is afraid to make demands that might enable her to be satisfied, in some cases is ignorant that there are ways she can be satisfied.

Final Remark

We feel that until women themselves determine their own code of sexuality based not, as in the past, upon the code of males or society, our myths will not be exposed and our fears will not be eradicated. We must know for ourselves what needs we have and what our capabilities are. We must help one another as sisters because our future as equal human beings lies in our solidarity. ♀



POEM

I sometimes wish anyway
 SMALL HAWKEYES RUN LONGSIDE BIGDOMINANT
 AS HE WALK SOMEWAY
 you would treat me different
 EYES METAMORPHOSIRIS BLUE TO GREEN,
 SHARP RECOIL OF YOUR LOVE
 or smile on me and risk yourself
 LA LA-LA THE ROAM OF THE PLANET,
 THE BLACK SPELL OF SENSE, OUR MEAGRE NOTHING
 and listen as if what I tell contained
 a fleck of the truth
 MIRRORIVER MOUTH, O SMOOTH
 BODIVORY KISS
 and not demand your word be made my flesh
 AWAITING FREUDLIKE THE UNWOMANLY
 VAGINAL SPASM NEVERWILL & NEVERHAS
 and not feel robbed that you aren't master.
 SINGING ALL IN ALL
 AND THE CROWN REST IN COMMON
 that night I felt like a train
 flying off the rails
 SOMEWHERE ON THE MINDLOOM'S
 CRISS CROSS POWER CIRCUITRY
 when down rain twigs
 of trees bending in our window
 RAINDOWN THAT UNWRENCHED CRY WHEREVER IT FLY FROM.

Anne McLean
 Montreal, Quebec

LESBIANS BELONG IN THE WOMEN'S
MOVEMENT

Vancouver Women's Caucus
 Vancouver, B.C.
 1972

There are a lot of lesbians in women's liberation in Vancouver and other cities in Canada. There are a lot more lesbians (thousands more) who are not a part of the movement, some who have never been in contact with women's liberation, others who have chosen not to come to the movement because "they will give it a bad name", or will not be accepted. That's right!

Anyone in women's liberation has faced lesbian-baiting on some level from "you're a bunch of lesbians"—"what you need is a good fuck" to "women's liberation loosens women up for men". It is important for all women's liberationists to think about those attacks, how often we have been intimidated or defensive when we hear them, or remember when we first heard them. We have to think about that and realize that when we legitimize women's liberation through our relationships to men we're saying to lesbians that they *do* give women's liberation a bad name.

What the hell is that—a bad name? What is lesbianism? It's love between women, one form of the sisterhood most of us have discovered to be so powerful. It is loving women without putting any limitations on that love.

As lesbians, we have understood our sexuality in a way that is despised, feared and ridiculed by this society. And not just by some abstract society but by the people we grew up with. Most heavily by our families. People we work with, friends and even, it must painfully be admitted, sometimes by ourselves.

For without the personal support and the social and political understanding of the women's movement, many lesbians accept society's definition of themselves as 'different', 'sinful', 'sick' or 'perverted'—to be 'saved', 'cured' or made 'normal'.

Most are alone and isolated, having made an individual rebellion which puts them in for all kinds of shit. Psychological and social guilt which male dominated religions heap on lesbians, and which gets us even if we're not believers. And fear. Fear of losing jobs, fear of being found out by family, not just because of rejection but because parents agonize and mutilate themselves trying to find out where they failed. Because even if we don't feel guilt, they do.

And friends. The experience of being cut off from them. Friendship turned to pity and fear. The assumption that because you are a lesbian you are going to exploit other women sexually. That, of course, comes from straight women's experience that sexuality usually means exploitation. But that assumption lays a male role on lesbians, denying us our humanity.

To the degree that the fucked-up roles of 'butch' and 'femme' really exist among lesbians, it is because the only models of sexual relationships lesbians see are the dominant-submissive, aggressive-passive, dick-jane ones that stifle all women's, and for that matter all men's, human growth. A growing number of lesbians both in and out of the movement are struggling with and are rejecting those sex roles. We are building relationships in which those polarities, those limitations are broken.

Feminism has much to give us as lesbians, as we have much to give our sisters in the women's movement.

Because lesbian relationships have almost no validity 'in the world' and no institutional reinforcements, lesbians have had to spend a lot of time trying to understand what female sexuality and what personal relationships are all about—and what they can be.

It seems absurd to have to say this, but it is important to realize that there have always been lesbians. Heterosexual male supremacy has always had to defend itself against the women who chose other women. And that has been done by systematic overt repression against lesbianism, and by the more general denial of any sexual self-definition to all women.

And it is only in the past few years, since birth control and abortion, that heterosexual women have been able to develop any clear sense of their sexuality without the connection to having children. As we all know, the first impact of the so-called 'sexual revolution' of the 60's was to increase the sexual demands men made of women, which on one level, at least, actually increases women's sense of oppression. The women's movement in part grew in response to that oppression, and with it grew recognition that the sexuality that is so 'free' is in fact a male sexual power trip. And on a gut level lesbians have always known that—but only as individuals.

There is no lesbian community. The gay bars are almost the only place where lesbians meet each other as a group and they are painfully alienating places.

As lesbians, we have to begin to find alternatives to the bar, and to build a common understanding of our lives and our oppression. For women to love other women is a powerful, personal, political rebellion. It is an assertion that we can change our lives to meet our needs, our survival.

With the rise of the feminist movement, many women are changing, rebelling in many different ways. Leaving marriages that have been stifling. Young women choosing not to marry. Refusing to wear makeup, clothes to

attract men. Raising children communally. Demanding jobs in 'male fields'. Deciding to live alone.

Each area of rebellion puts us in for shit but it also makes us stronger and more integrated as people. The 'spinster' or 'old maid', like the dyke, suffers the insecurity, the disapproval, the pity of a society in which women's existence is validated through men.

Lesbians belong in the women's movement. Lesbians have to understand their oppression as women as well as lesbians in order to unite with other women to challenge male supremacy in all its forms.

As lesbians in the movement, we have to stop denying that aspect of our lives. We must make clear that the possibility of sharing sensual love with other women is part of our feminism. In doing that, we confront the lesbian in all other women that they often don't want to or don't know how to or can't face. And so it's a hard thing to do. But we have to find ways of doing it.

Asserting our lesbianism doesn't mean that women who are in relationships with men are not really committed to the feminist struggle or that lesbians are the vanguard of the women's movement. As the experience of the male left should make clear, for any one person or any small group of people to claim to be leading the Canadian revolution is arrogant, self-destructive and absurd.

Women's liberation has to include all women. Male supremacy affects all of us in different ways. It is the sharing of those differences that can help us all to survive and struggle. ♀

I have known that I am a lesbian for about two and a half years and have been pretty open about that in the women's movement. For me, relating to another woman sexually was really liberation and for a long time I didn't see how it could be part of my oppression, though I understood that other lesbians were oppressed.

I have chosen not to sign this article. To be a lesbian is sexual, social and political, and on each of those levels the shit that would come down on me is not worth it. The pressures that being a 'public lesbian' would put on my emotional-sexual relationships. The people in my family, from my childhood who couldn't handle it. The objectification of being a spokeswoman. And politically, at this point in Vancouver, there is no organized group of lesbians, though there are a number of rap groups, projects in the movement which are totally woman-oriented. And what develops in Vancouver and other cities has to grow organically from our needs. For me to sign this article might even hamper this growth.

ON BEING PURSUED

...an essay combined with a true-life adventure

by Robin Roger
Toronto, Ontario, 1971

At the time this article was written, Robin was a grade 13 student at a middle class, suburban, liberal high school in Toronto. This article was written for a class on women during the spring of 1971.

It is absolutely imperative that I catch myself a man. I have a couple of unavoidable social engagements in the next two months for which escorts will be required.

As it happens, however, I have been seeing someone for the past year on an occasional basis. I can't ask him to escort me though, because: 1) he would probably refuse to do it; 2) I like him too much to expose him to the torture of being put on display as Robin's boyfriend.

And so, after voluntarily removing myself from circulation for a little over a year, I am forced back into the hustling bin. This is not very remarkable. For the high school and university woman, hustling is a way of life. More accurately, it is a means of survival - one hustles or one is socially dead. However, the experience has taken on a new and different meaning for me because of my lengthy absence from the arena. During my sabbatical, my attitudes changed. Though the change was gradual the difference between my former and present attitudes is radical. My comeback performance with my new intended at a party last week forced realization of my changed consciousness upon me just like a slap in the face.

The Situation

I met the potential Mr. Right through my girlfriend. He is my girlfriend's boyfriend's brother. Because I spend a fair amount of time at my girlfriend's boyfriend's house, I have known him by sight for at least two months now. We have been eyeing each other sometimes shyly, sometimes blatantly, since February.

Friday night my girlfriend called to tell me that she was at a party and He (henceforth referred to as Steven) had asked her to call me. This must have been a gift from the good hustling fairy. A more perfect situation could not fall into my lap. I did not even have to force my way into his presence. I had been summoned.

The Action

Everybody was quite relaxed by the time I arrived. Steven was sitting on a couch crowded with other happy people who all knew each other. This did not concern me too much because I knew what I had come for and my main problem was moving in and getting it. I was confident because I knew that Steven had specifically asked for me. But I had to pretend I didn't know that. The unwritten rule in successful hustling is that no matter who makes the moves, the male has to look like the aggressor in the outcome. Not illogically, therefore, I expected that Steven, in his own way, would claim his property (namely me). I waited for him to talk to me or look at me or to do anything.

But I had miscalculated. Steven seemed quite contented just as he was in his corner of the couch. He was surrounded by his friends and very comfortable. While I was willing to woo Steven I just couldn't bring myself to hustle his entire clique. I wanted to get through to Steven but I couldn't do very much about it so I sat back in my chair and enjoyed the music.

The point is that society has perverted the structure of our leisure lives to such an extent that two people cannot look straight at each other and admit that they're slightly curious. We behave in the manner of undercover agents and quick-change artists so as to camouflage our intentions. We camouflage our intentions so that we can preserve our images. And we must preserve those facades so carefully because they are so fragile and false that the slightest inspection or challenge will shatter them.

And So On

At one in the morning I left the party in front of a late night movie and went downstairs to make a phone call. Everybody was tired but complacent as people are at the end of any successful revel. Nobody made any move to detain me or ask me where I was going, least of all Steven who was totally engrossed in the action on the screen.

It was pleasant to descend to the solitary freedom of the cool, empty and quiet basement. For a little while the party politics on the couch upstairs ceased to exist and while I waited for the operator to put through my call I relaxed into my real self. It just wasn't important that I lost out on Steven. The whole episode concerned me no longer... until my girlfriend appeared at the door a few minutes later. She obviously had news. In hushed tones she reported conditions on the battlefield. The conditions were: after I retreated from the room Steven took my girlfriend aside to ask her opinion. He wanted to know if she thought I liked him.

I prove my point again. Steven made it almost impossible for me to penetrate his aloofness. He talked little, and even then not to me. The one time we had a conversation of any length, was when he ordered me to find his cigarettes. And the whole time he wanted me to like him. What is

wrong with this situation? I felt bad for Steven. For once my ego seemed to be in better shape than someone else's.

The challenge then, was just beginning. Steven was still interested after all. I was still being pursued. It was at this point in the evening that the absurdity and futility of the entire affair struck me. Because I was a female in need of an escort I had to go back upstairs and pursue Steven while appearing to be pursued. I had to be aggressive while still appearing to be passive. At all costs I had to preserve that boy's ego. I had to be cat and mouse at one time. In actual fact I am neither.

Conclusion

The evening was a stalemate. After I came back upstairs, Steven gave me a piece of his pizza and I made sure that I was super-attentive. Only the future knows whether I will ever see Steven again.

Simone deBeauvoir wrote in *The Second Sex* : "she is taught that to please she must try to please, she must make herself object." I realized her point that evening. I was supposed to mold myself into an object that Steven would want for his very own. Not only that; I had to allow Steven to obtain that object in his own way, at his own sweet leisure. A year ago, before I gave up the game, I did not realize what a stupid destructive goal I was trying to achieve. Perhaps if I had persisted for that extra year I would have turned myself into such an appealing object that popularity would have been mine and I would never have known that I was sacrificing my individuality.

At the time that I dropped out of the social contest I did not realize just what was going on. I merely dropped out to save my ego. But a social season away from it all, filled with reading, thinking and exposure to new ideas has turned me back into a person. I doubt that I will ever be a successful object again. ♣



WOMEN IN THE MARTIAL ARTS

by Adelyn Bowland, Mary Burnham, and Carolyn Egan
Toronto, Ontario
March, 1971

For the past six months, we have been studying TaeKwon-Do at the Park Jong Soo Institute in Toronto. TaeKwon-Do is one of the oriental martial arts, somewhat similar to karate, but the Korean version.

Most women would benefit enormously by taking TaeKwon-Do. Needless to say, we're now in excellent condition and have discovered that physical fitness makes you feel good, happy and bursting with vitality. The balance between the physical and the mental introduced by this discipline has caused us to be more positively oriented toward life and toward ourselves. Emerging from this we have experienced a broader and stronger image of ourselves as being able to affect our environment. Traditionally, women have had to garner satisfaction primarily from the emotional aspect of themselves, and more recently, the intellectual. The additional source of fulfillment in physical discipline of this sort, which is both defensive and aggressive but an art with patterns and beauty, has been a surprise even to the more athletic of us.

Certainly, our society does not encourage women to participate in sports; even if a woman wants to develop her body she is channeled toward the less strenuous disciplines. TaeKwon-Do is hard work but women must not allow themselves to be brainwashed into thinking that they can't do arduous physical activities. With proper training, there is nothing in the martial arts a man can do that a woman can't. On a very basic level, our society sees women as victims, not people. A woman in public without a male escort is fair game for any man. Overtures are not usually physical, but bounds are overstepped often enough that a woman must always be watchful and fearful. Studying a martial art helps tremendously in reducing this fear. If women were able to defend themselves physically, this, combined with other changes in attitudes toward sex and roles, might possibly end the role of woman as victim.

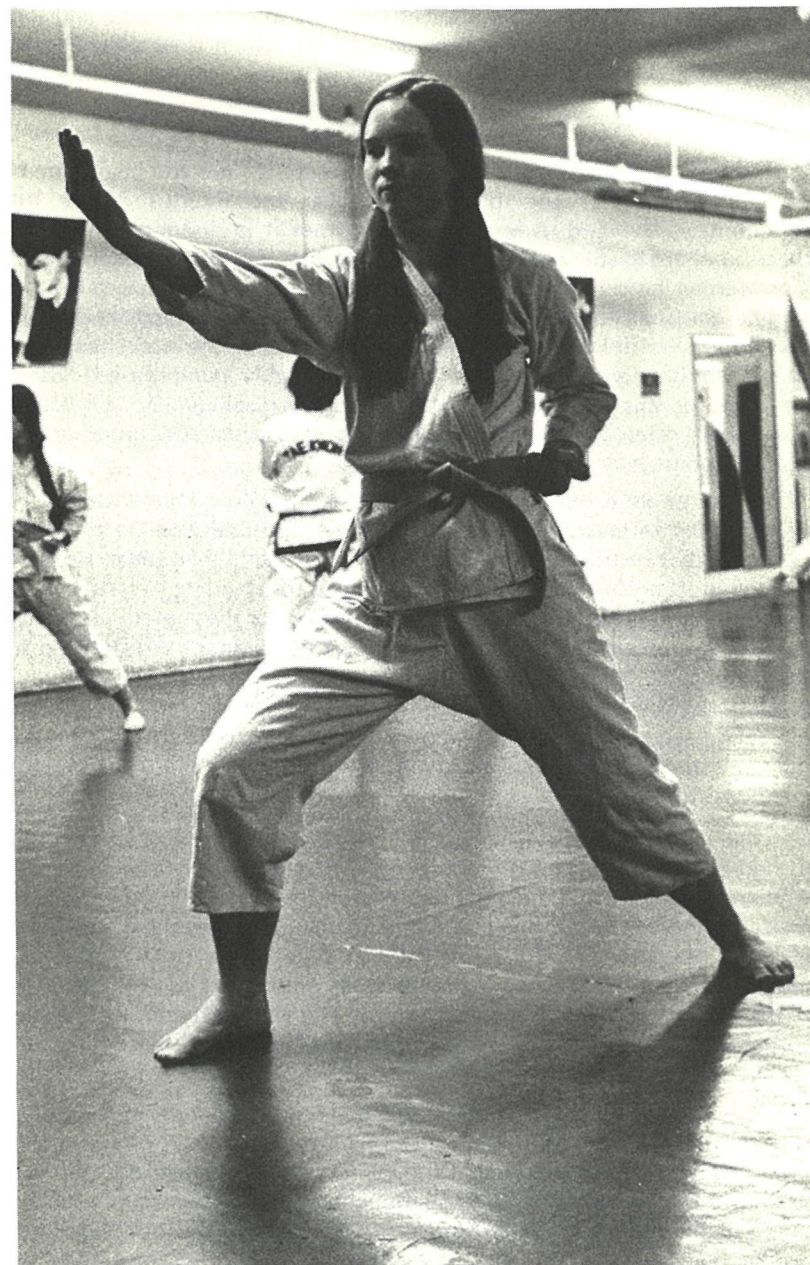
Our TaeKwon-Do classes have the following format. First we have regular exercises, then we do fundamental exercises which consist of different stances done with either a block, a punch or a kick. The aim here is perfection of form. Next, some patterns are executed. Each pattern is a combination of 10 or 12 of the fundamental exercises. These help the

student to learn to move from one position to another easily and quickly. Next, stylized (one step, two step or three step) sparring with a partner is done. Again, good form and speed are the goals. Finally, for advanced belts, there is a free sparring period. Here one uses any techniques in any order to get through the guard of one's partner while still protecting oneself. The object is not to strike actual blows; it is to get through the other's guard and show that a blow could have been delivered. The session ends with a few standard exercises. There are two rest periods in a one and a half hour class.

And if we are so keen on the martial arts, and keen on learning to defend ourselves, why have a special class for women? We do want to be treated the same as men, don't we? Superficially, it is easy to say that anyone who is highly motivated will succeed, no matter what. However, even within a segregated women's class, the drop-out rate is equal to the drop-out rate for men, indicating that motivation could not be the determining factor in the martial arts. It is true that men are generally stronger and more athletic than women, and that women conceive of themselves as the 'weaker sex'. Further, TaeKwon-Do was not created with the female body in mind. We are actually aware of the fact that it is not feminine to study TaeKwon-Do. Men in the club who don't know us, along with visitors, still watch our class with vague amusement, even though we are now at an advanced belt level.

We don't give each other blatant pep talks, but there is a sense of mutual support and understanding among us that isn't experienced in watching or taking part in the regular classes. Our master instructor recognizes that until women are more advanced, we require special attention and a slower 'breaking in' period. Most of us weren't very well coordinated or used to taking physical instruction, and since the class has always been small compared to the regular class, we have learned to perform the exercises with more care and accuracy. Our master instructor has never treated us in any other way than to help us believe that we can get our black belts if we want to. No 'female push-ups', no condescension, no 'me male you female' act. It has always been instructor-to-pupil, and actually our classes are much less formal than the regular classes. He expects us to try just as hard and take TaeKwon-Do just as seriously as the men, but he knows that at first we aren't capable of it. Because he takes us seriously, we have tried to live up to his expectations.

Male chauvinism was no shock. With the exception of our master instructor, the rest of our male instructors tend to have very traditional views of a woman's role which does not include studying TaeKwon-Do. However, we have been pleased to find that we are not generally discriminated against while being taught. We believe we belong to an unusually open-minded club in this respect. Some clubs will not admit



women at all, some insist that they attend only women's classes, and some do not allow women to participate in sparring which means that women cannot go beyond a certain belt level. Acceptance of women as students in our club has partially been generated by the number of female students; there are about 20 interested women attending at this time.

Some men have treated us as fellow students from the beginning but some have had to get to know us over the months before their discrimination toward us lessened. Sometimes it is disappointingly clear that the chauvinistic attitude remains, but that we are considered to be 'non-women' because they know us. An incident actually occurred in which a male classmate failed to recognize one of us even though he had just taken a class with her. The comment was made after she had changed out of her uniform and was on her way out; roughly paraphrased, "Say, if chickies like this are going to get interested in TaeKwon-Do, I'll have to come more often." He became very embarrassed when she turned around, but the point was made.

Unfortunately, our sex seems to some of our fellow male students to be an invitation to give unsolicited instruction. The TaeKwon-Do rules state explicitly that instruction is the prerogative of the higher ranks. However, men of equal or lower belt levels can't seem to resist giving 'helpful hints' to a woman working out by herself. No doubt many of these men just want to strike up a conversation with us because we are women. We still find this approach quite annoying, particularly so as our self-appointed instructors often do not know the techniques as well as we do. As yet, no unknown male has tried to strike up a conversation by asking us to instruct him. This does not apply to the men we know, however; they help us if they can when we ask, and vice versa.

The problem of our own female 'role-playing' was one which most of us had not consciously dealt with before. It is an easy refuge for women who are physically and mentally unprepared for physical competition with men. Oftentimes women will respond to the more involved aspects by giggling, pretending that it is too hard to even try, or drawing upon the female-male role so that the instructor does not expect what is demanded of the male students. It seems too that on the whole women have a more casual attitude toward exercise and practice and during the class do not always give the close attention which the instructor warrants.

Another manifestation of this 'role-playing' is apparent in the phrase, "I'm only taking it for the exercise." This relieves women of the responsibility of correctly performing the patterns and the various forms of sparring, in addition to removing all thoughts of taking the examinations. If they fail or find TaeKwon-Do too difficult, it's an easy out. Since it is usually these women who do not attend classes regularly—and when they

do they are naturally somewhat behind the rest—this attitude can also handicap those of us who are more seriously interested.

The fact that we were engaging in a sport rigidly defined as male, made us very self-conscious. Even the most liberated woman, emotionally and intellectually, would be surprised at the awkwardness you can feel in this situation. Lots of exercises and many of the stances are not feminine and pointed toes can end up being broken ones.

In free sparring, the most creative part of TaeKwon-Do, where techniques are spontaneously combined, we came up against our tendency to take the defence and back away. As our confidence has increased, along with practice, we have begun to be more aggressive and definitive in our techniques and much less afraid of being hit or hurt. We have even become quite proud of our bruises!

Most women need to be in a segregated class until they reach an advanced belt level. This takes about six months if one attends classes two or three times a week. Going less than twice a week is worthless. Taking a week or two off will probably set you back double the amount of time taken off. Classes at our club are arranged every day, with women's classes twice a week, which makes it easier to plan other activities.

To be judged and judge our sisters by standards outside of the traditional context has helped us to see ourselves more as individuals...to realize respect for ourselves through the development of qualities we never considered within our realm. We feel better prepared to meet a greater variety of situations. TaeKwon-Do represents an extension of independence which arises out of the desire to choose on whom we are dependent rather than having dependencies ascribed to us by virtue of our sex. ♣

ISN'T IT FULFILLING TO BE IN LOVE?

She: I think he loves me.
Do you love me?

He: Yes, I love you.
You are beautiful.

She: I feel so good. He loves me.
I am worth something.
I feel so good,
I love him.

He: I love you but I have important things to do.

She: Talk to me, because I love you.

He: You are a good listener, but I have to read the newspaper.

She: (The newspaper is more important than I am.)

He: Your liberation is impossible without my liberation.

She: So what is important is I should strive for your liberation.

He: You're always trying to prove you're equal.

She: No, I'm always trying to remind you I'm equal
You seem to forget.

He: You're very bright. How amusing!

She: You're very bright. I am impressed.

He: Does that mean you love me?

She: Sometimes I think I hate you.

He: You're castrating.

She: My psychiatrist calls it penis envy.

He: What's the matter with you?

She: I'm not sure. I'm always dissatisfied.

He: What do you want anyway?

She: A friend. Some intellectual stimulation.

He: I can give you stimulation.

She: I am not a sex object.

He: You can't take a joke.

She: You are a joke.

He: You're very hostile.
Your problems are of their own making.

She: What's the matter with me?

He: Let me tell you...

She: You always want to be on top.

He: That's where I belong.

She: Because you love me.

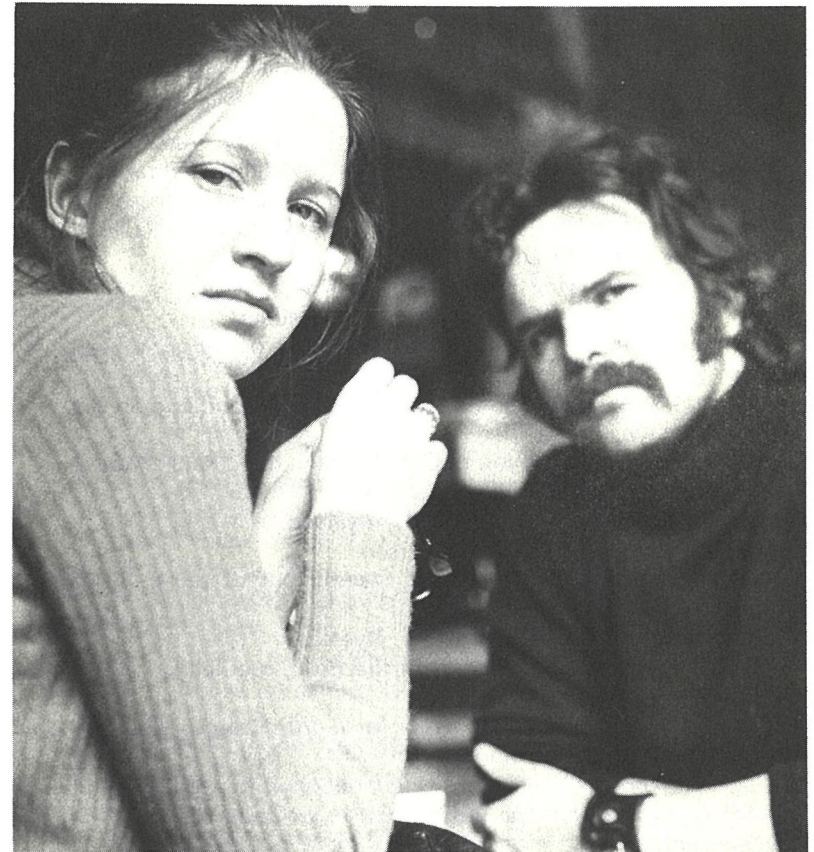
He: That's right.

She: But I'm despicable. What's the matter with you?

He: I like you in spite of yourself.

She: Thank you, thank you very much. I love you.
You're so kind.
(Somehow, I'm not sure).

Lynn Lang
Toronto, Ontario



III.

Bibliography of Writings By and About Canadian Women

FSW 200 Course
University of Toronto
Toronto, 1971

Women in Canadian Literature

- Atwood, Margaret. *The Journals of Susanna Moodie*, Oxford University Press.
- Power Politics*, Anansi.
- The Edible Woman*, Oxford University Press.
- Baird, Irene. *Waste Heritage*, out of print; available in libraries.
- Blais, Marie Claire. *Seasons in the Life of Emmanuel*, Grosset.
- Brooke, Frances. *The History of Emily Montague*, McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library.
- Carr, Emily. *Growing Pains*, Clarke Irwin.
- Clarke, Austin. *The Meeting Point*, MacMillan.
- Crawford, Isabella Valancy. *Collected Poems*, out of print; available in libraries.
- Duncan, Sara Jeanette. *The Imperialist*, McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library.
- Lawrence, Margaret. *A Jest of God*, Bantam, titled *Rachel, Rachel*.
- The Fire-Dwellers*, Bantam.
- Livesay, Dorothy. *Documentaries*, Ryerson.
- The Unquiet Bed*, Ryerson.
- Marriott, Anne. *The Wind Our Enemy*, out of print; available in libraries.
- Martin, Claire. *In an Iron Glove*, Ryerson.
- Moodie, Susanna. *Roughing it in the Bush*, McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library.
- Moore, Brian. *The Lonely Passion of Judith Hearne*, McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library.
- Page, P. K. *Poems New and Selected*, out of print; available in libraries.
- Ross, Sinclair. *As For Me And My House*, McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library.

- Roy, Gabrielle. *The Tin Flute*, McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library.
- Street of Riches*, McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library.
- Rule, Jane. *The Desert of the Heart*, out of print; available in libraries.
- Waddington, Miriam. *The Glass Trumpet*, out of print, available in libraries.
- Watson, Sheilah. *The Double Hook*, McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library.
- Wilson, Ethel. *Swamp Angel*, McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library.

Other good women poets to investigate are Anne Wilkinson, Margaret Avison, Gwendolyn MacEwan, Paulette Jiles, Elizabeth Brewster, Dorothy Roberts, Joan Finnegan

Non-Fiction

- Anderson, William Ashley. *Angel of Hudson Bay; The True Story of Maud Watt*, Clarke Irwin & Co., Toronto, 1961.
- Benston, Maggie. "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation", Hogtown Press, Toronto, 1969 (pamphlet).
- Blackburn, John H. *Land of Promise*, MacMillan of Canada, Toronto, 1970.
- Brid, Isabella Lucy. *The Englishwoman in America*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1966.
- Brett, K. B. *Women's Costume in Ontario (1867-1907)*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1966.
- Canadian Assn. for Adult Education. *What's In It?* (summary of Royal Commission on Status of Women), *Citizenship Branch, Dept. of Secretary of State, Ottawa, 1971*.
- C.B.C. National Forum. *The Position of Women in Canada*, December 11, 1938, Canadian Pamphlet Collection (No. 1004), Parliamentary Library, Ottawa.
- Canadian Suffrage Association. *Report*, 1912.

Clarkson, Adrienne. *True to You in My Fashion: A Woman Talks to Men About Marriage*, New Press, Toronto, 1971.

Cleverdon, Catherine Lyle. *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1950.

Department of National Health and Welfare. *The Canadian Mother and Child*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1967.

Douville, Raymond & Jacques-Donat Casanova. *Daily Life in Early Canada: From Champlain to Montcalm*, The MacMillan Co., New York, 1968.

Glass, Robert & Kase, Nathan. *Woman's Choice: A Guide to Contraception, Fertility, Abortion and Menopause*, Signet Books, Winnipeg, 1970.

Grain Grower's Guide, 1909-1916. This publication contains articles on the feminist and suffrage movement.

Gray, James H. *Red Lights on the Prairies*, MacMillan of Canada, Toronto, 1971.

Innis, Mary Quayle. *The Clear Spirit: 20 Canadian Women and Their Times*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1967.

Langton, H.H. *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada: The Journals of Anne Langton*, Clarke Irwin & Co., Toronto, 1950.

MacDonald, Christine. "How Saskatchewan Women Got The Vote", *Saskatchewan History*, vol. 1, no. 3, October, 1948.

Marshall, Joyce. *Word From New France: The Selected Letters of Marie de L'Incarnation*, Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1967.

Martin, Claire. *In An Iron Glove*, The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1968.

McDonald, Flora. *Women's Suffrage in Canada*, Toronto 1912.

Moodie, Susanna. *Roughing It In The Bush*, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1962 (originally published in mid-1800's).

Morton, W.L. "The Extension of the Franchise in Canada: A Study in Democratic Nationalism", *Canadian Historical Assn. Report*, Toronto, 1943.

McClung, Nellie. *Clearing in the West: My Own Story*, Thomas Allen, Toronto, 1935.

-----*In Times Like These*, McLeod & Allen, Toronto, 1915.

-----*The Stream Runs Fast: My Own Story*, Thomas Allen, Toronto, 1945.

Pelrine, Eleanor Wright. *Abortion in Canada*, New Press, Toronto, 1971.

Rowntree, Mickey & John. "More on the Political Economy of Women's Liberation", Hogtown Press, Toronto, 1970 (pamphlet).

Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, The Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1970 (you can also get nine studies that were not printed in the report itself).

Ryerson, Stanley B. *Unequal Union*, Progress Books, Toronto, 1968.

-----*The Founding of Canada: Beginnings to 1815*, Progress Books, Toronto, 1963.

Sewall, Mary Wright (ed.). *The World's Congress of Representative Women*, Rand, McNally & Co., New York, 1894.

Spence, Ruth. *Prohibition in Canada*, Ontario Branch of the Dominion Alliance, Toronto, 1919.

Sussex Day Care Centre. "Day Care Handbook" and "Brief to the Day Nurseries Branch", Hogtown Press, Toronto, 1970 (pamphlet).

Traill, Catherine Parr. *The Backwoods of Canada*, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1966.

-----*The Canadian Settler's Guide*, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1969 (originally published in 1855).

Ward & Spafford. *Politics in Saskatchewan*, Longmans Canada Ltd., Toronto, 1969 (June Menzies, "Votes for Saskatchewan Women").

Zuker, Marvin A. & June Callwood. *Canadian Women and the Law*, Copp, Clark Publishing Co., Toronto, 1971.

Footnotes

INTRODUCTION

1. The histories of groups which were submitted for the original manuscript form the basis for this account of the development of the women's liberation movement in Canada.

TWO SISTERS IN THE BACKWOODS

1. Moodie, Susanna, **Roughing It In The Bush**, McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., Toronto Montreal, 1962, p.xv, Introduction.
2. Eaton, Sara, **Lady of the Backwoods: Biography of Catharine Parr Trill**, McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., Toronto—Montreal, 1969, p. 64.
3. **Ibid.**, p. 65.
4. **Op. cit.**, Moodie, p. 168.
5. **Op. cit.**, Eaton, p. 90.
6. **Op.cit.**, Moodie, p. 155.
7. **Ibid.**, pp. 139-140.
8. **Ibid.**, pp. 142-143.
9. **Op. cit.**, Eaton, p. 105.
10. **Op. cit.**, Moodie, p. 237.

THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN CANADA AND SASKATCHEWAN

1. Warren and Marianne Hinckle, **Ramparts**, February, 1968.
2. Eleanor Flexner, **Century of Struggle**, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1966, p.239.
3. Editorial, **Daily Times**, February, 1891.
4. Speech made by Gudiame Amyst, Quebec member of the Canadian Parliament.
5. Speech made by Jean Joseph Denis, Quebec member of the Canadian Parliament.
6. Catherine Cleverdon, **The Women's Suffrage Movement in Canada**, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1950, p.16.
7. **Women at Work in Canada**, Department of Labour, 1964. The year 1891 provides the first statistics on women in the labour force. One out of eight paid workers was a woman. They were concentrated in ten main occupations; servant, dressmaker, teacher, farmer, seamstress, tailor, saleswoman, housekeeper, laundress, milliner.
8. **Op. cit.**, Cleverdon, p. 59.

WOMEN'S WORK IS NEVER DONE

1. For example, see Limpus, **Sexual Repression and the Family** (reprinted by NEFP), R.D. Laing, **The Politics of the Family**, and **The Self and Others**, and Wilhelm Reich, **The Function of the Orgasm, The Sexual Revolution**, etc. (most of Reich's best work has been suppressed and never been translated into English) and the use of Talcott Parson's work on the family. Several papers on the psychological aspects of the family are in preparation by women in Toronto.
2. I wonder how long we will have to read articles by 'revolutionaries' who assume that all readers and all movement people are white, male and middle class. Cf. articles in a recent **Ramparts** by Jerry Rubin on the Conspiracy and the article on Chuck Berry: I have never had a crew-cut nor do I 'ball chicks'.
3. Marlene Dixon, "Why Women's Liberation?", **Ramparts**, Dec. 1969.
4. "A Woman is a Sometimes Thing", by Evie Goldfield, Sue Munaker and Naomi Weisstein, reprint in **The New Left**, Pricilla Long, ed.
5. Ellen Willis, **Consumerism**.
6. Margaret Benston, "The Political Economy of Women", **Monthly Review**, Sept. 1969.
7. Mickey and John Rowntree, "More on the Political Economy of Women", **Monthly Review**, Jan. 1970.
8. All statistics on labour force participation etc. are from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.
9. Juliet Mitchell, "The Longest Revolution", **New Left Review**, no. 40, Nov. and Dec. 1966, also available as a REP reprint.
10. Marx, **Das Capital**, Part LV, Ch. 15, Section 3, Machinery and Modern Industry.
11. See E.P. Thompson, **The Making of the English Working Class** for a great deal of useful material on the family in the industrial revolution in Britain.
12. Marx and Engles, **The Communist Manifesto**.
13. Marx, "The Buying and Selling of Labour Power," **Das Capital**, Vol. I, Ch. 6.
14. Jenny Podoluk, **Incomes of Canadians**, DBS 1968.
15. Heather Jon Maroney and Peggy Morton, **Women's Liberation, An Introductory Paper**.
16. See the work of R.D. Laing.
17. Heather Jon Maroney and Peggy Morton, **op. cit.**
18. Jenny Podoluk, **op. cit.**
19. **Annals of the American Political Science Association**, 1927, (a useful anthology of articles on women).
20. Dominion Bureau of Statistics.
21. Jenny Podoluk, **op. cit.**
22. Wolfgang Illing, **Population, Family, Household and Labour Force Growth to 1980**, Economic Council of Canada, Sept. 1967.
23. Illing, **op. cit.**
24. Dick Howard, French New Working Class Theories, **Radical America**, April, 1969, (available from Hogtown Press in Canada).
25. **Employment and Average Weekly Wages and Salaries**, DBS, Sept. 1969.
26. **Survey of Manufacturers**, Canada (annual survey).
27. Economic Council of Canada, **Sixth Annual Report**, 1968.
28. Illing, **op. cit.**
29. Ernest Mandel, "Where is America Going?", **New Left Review**, No. 54, March and April 1969, also reprinted in **Leviathan**.
30. See Helge Sanders, "Red Kindergartens", **Radical America**, Feb. 1970.
31. Dick Howard, **op. cit.**

Addenda: Since this paper was written I have discovered **Women in the Industrial Revolution**, by Ivy Pinchbeck which should be invaluable for historical analysis of women and also for its methodology.

would recommend Mickey and John Rowntree, **Youth as a Class** (available from REP) and Howard's piece on **French New Working Class Theories** as particularly helpful in developing methodology for looking at the question of class and understanding how to look at the 'working class' in a creative way.


CHILDREN ARE ONLY LITTLER PEOPLE

1. The CAUT (Canadian Association of University Teachers) censured the administration and Board of Governors of Simon Fraser University in the Spring of 1968 for 'maladministration' and interference into academic affairs. CAUT censure has the power of blacklisting the university—making it very difficult to obtain teaching staff and calling its degrees into question if the situation is allowed to continue. The censure at Simon Fraser came as the result of a long series of conflicts over hiring, firing, and tenure and the lack of any clear-cut procedure for tenure throughout the university's previous history. (SFU opened in the Fall of 1965.)

WOMEN ON WELFARE

1. See Hannah Gavron, **The Captive Wife**, Penguin Books, 1968, p. 21. "At the same time the concept of 'marital unity' meant that the wife had no legal personality independent from that of her husband. This became more sinister for women, when they found themselves economically utterly dependent on their husbands. Apart from demonstrating the wealth of her husband by her endless leisure, the role of woman was conceived to be one of subservience to her husband, the master and ruler of the family...the essential 'femaleness' of the female revealed how deeply ideas of her inferiority were taken as part of the natural order of things."
2. 38th Annual Report, Department of Social and Family Services, Government of Ontario, 1968-69 fiscal year, p. 35 and 77.
3. In **Sisterhood is Powerful**, ed. Robin Morgan, p. 102, 104.
4. From Workshop Reports of Poor People's Conference, held in January, 1971, in Toronto (unpublished).
5. Proceedings of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, The Senate of Canada, No. 3, Wednesday, October 21, 1970, p. 114.

SEXUAL MYTHS

1. Susan Lydon, "Politics of Orgasm", in **Sisterhood is Powerful**, p. 202.
2. Fritz, Pearls, **Gestalt Psychology Verbatim**. 

Illustrations

Acknowledgement is due to the following for the illustrations:

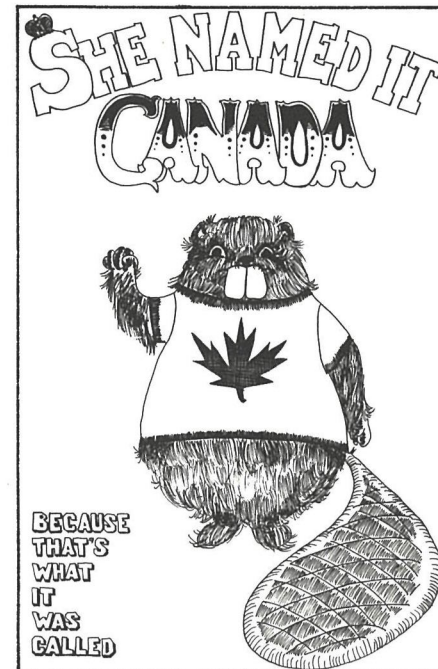
Pages 20,42,86,151, 160, 176:

Courtesy of

The Corrective Collective

421 East 48th Ave., Vancouver, B.C.

authors of



Page 15: Vita Churchill

Page 45: Laurell Ritchie and Liz Martin


Page 104: Laurell Ritchie and Liz Martin

Page 143: Courtesy of Canadian Textile and Chemical Union

Page 165: Vita Churchill

Page 179: Laura Jones, Baldwin Street Gallery of Photography

Page 183: Laurell Ritchie

Cover design by Vita Churchill 

**WOMEN UNITE!
RECEIVES CRITICAL ACCLAIM!
Good gracious me! (Queen Victoria)**

In 1920 Nellie McClung, Emily Murphy, Irene Parlby, Louise McKinney and Henrietta Muir Edwards petitioned the Supreme Court of Canada as to whether women were, in fact, "persons".

In 1970 women chained themselves to their seats in the Gallery of the House of Commons to protest repressive abortion legislation.

Women's liberation is a revolution of attitudes ideas and economics - it is not a fad.

WOMEN UNITE! is the first major documentation of the experiences and thoughts of Canadian women.

WOMEN UNITE! was written by women who are working, writing and fighting for their rights and dignity.

To all Canadian women - - - this book is dedicated

Up from the kitchen
Up from the bedroom
Up from under

WOMEN UNITE!

PRICE \$3.00