Seven Kinds of Work - Only One Paid: Raced, Gendered and Restructured Work in Social Services

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on the literature as well as themes emerging from interview data collected as part of a multi-year, three-province (Alberta, Nova Scotia and British Columbia), qualitative study (eighty-three semi-structured interviews) of the restructured social services sector in Canada, this article explores discernible types of caring work delineating seven kinds, only one of which is paid. The social service workers' description of their changing worlds show not only extremely heavy workloads but also that their paid, volunteer, community, and union activist work involve many of the same skills, tasks and mind sets, thus blurring the lines between professional and non-professional identities as well as the lines between work and leisure. Moreover, this work was highly gendered and significantly racialized.

RÉSUMÉ

En se basant sur la littérature ainsi que sur les termes qui émergent des données recueillies d'entrevues, en tant qu'une partie d'une étude qualitative étalée sur plusieurs années, trois provinces (l'Alberta, la Nouvelle- Écosse, et la Colombie-britannique), quatre-vingt-trois entrevues semi- structurées du secteur des services sociaux restructurés au Canada, cet article explore les différents types perceptibles, de travail de soins qui délignent sept types, dont seulement un d'entre eux est rémunéré. La description de leur monde en changement que décrivent les travailleuses en services sociaux, démontre non seulement leur charge de travail extrêmement lourde mais aussi que leur travail rémunéré, bénévole, communautaire, et leur travail d'activisme syndical, demande le même genre de façon de penser, ce qui brouille les lignes entre l'identité professionnelle et non professionnelle, ainsi que les lignes entre le travail et les loisirs. De plus ce travail a été hautement divisé entre les sexes et les races.

INTRODUCTION

For at least the past fifteen years government monies have diminished in the social services sector concomitant to ongoing and often contradictory reorganization projects known as welfare state restructuring (Aronson and Sammon 2001; Clark and Newman 1997; Dominelli and Hoogvelt 1996; Fabricant and Burghardt 1992; Leonard 1997; Stephenson 2000). These projects include amalgamations, decentralizations, downsizing and funding cuts, as well as privatization and contracting out - in short, a general hollowing out of the state (Jessop 1990) and the contraction of public provision (Cohen 1997; Leonard 1997; Stanford 1998; Stephenson 2000; Teeple 1995). While feminist writers have asserted that it is women who have taken on the servicing and caregiving tasks previously provided by their paid counterparts within the human services (Armstrong 1984; Bakker 1998; Meyer and Storbakken 2000; Neysmith 2000; Swift and

Birmingham 2000), little is known about the changing kinds and conditions of paid and unpaid work performed in the social services sector. In addition to the off-loading of services through funding cuts and closures, new forms of organization within private, public and non-profit social services agencies have facilitated an increased use of unpaid labour within social service agencies and the wider community (Baines, accepted). Drawing on the literature as well as themes emerging from a larger pool of interview data collected as part of a multi-year, three-province qualitative study of restructuring in the social services, this article explores discernible types of caring work delineating seven kinds, only one of which is paid. Following a short discussion of the study's methodology, the seven kinds of caring work will be explored. Drawing on the intentionally diverse sample, the article also provides insights about the racialized character of this work which has long been seen as highly gendered and classed (Carniol 2000; Fook 1993; Mullaly 1997).[1, 2] The

article concludes with theoretical and policy implications. Findings were necessarily generalized across the three provinces studied although significant differences are presented as such.

THE STUDY

Exploring the experience of those working in the front-lines of the restructured social services sector, this study sought to provide knowledge for social service workers as well as about them (Smith 1990). The data analysed for this article included eighty-three semi-structured, audio taped interviews conducted in Alberta (26), British Columbia (29) and Nova Scotia (26). The research participants worked for an average of 8.5 years in positions including: social worker, community development worker, case assistant, therapist, counsellor, community worker, community organizer and case manager in union and non-union positions in the public or non-profit services sector. Their places of work included: hospitals (medical and mental health), child welfare, welfare, vocational rehabilitation, schools, community service centres, seniors programmes, grassroots groups, feminist services, lobby groups, policy analysis and research institutes. The sample was roughly 80% female and approximately half the sample had professional credentials. Using a purposive sample (Lincoln and Guba 1985), a small number of managers, supervisors, executive directors, policy analysts and advocates were also interviewed. Utilising open-ended questions, interviewees were asked to comment broadly on the changes they may have experienced in their paid and unpaid work in the last five years. The analysis in this article is part of a larger study exploring the many facets of restructuring within the social services. While anecdotal information confirms that most of these trends are also present in the for-profit social services sector, for the purposes of this study, only the non-profit and public sector were studied.

SEVEN KINDS OF WORK:
ONLY ONE PAID

The findings in this study indicate that paid and unpaid work within the changing worlds of the public sector and non-profit social services worker have expanded significantly and include paid employment, volunteer assignments, community work, union activism, informal care for relatives and neighbours, as well as service and policy development. Most of this work involved many of the same skills, tasks and mind sets thus blurring the lines between professional and non-professional identities and between work and leisure. All but one of these kinds of work were unpaid. Most workers in the study reported performing at least three kinds of unpaid work including familial work, unpaid overtime and at least one type of formal, informal or unpaid union work. This calls into question depictions of women's work as a double day - it is at least a triple or, in some cases, a septuple day.

There were two small groups of front-line workers in this study who performed notably smaller amounts of unpaid labour. The first were multiple job holders, many of whom were workers of colour or young workers. These workers were employed simultaneously in as many as four or five part-time jobs. Travel time between jobs was high, work schedules started early and ended late, and work often involved all-night shifts. In short, the normal paid work week expanded to the point that multiple job holders had very little "free time." This free time tended to be devoted to their children and domestic responsibilities. A second group of mostly older workers claimed that they could not "take it anymore," they were experiencing "burn-out" and hence consciously avoided involvement in volunteer work (Interview A-18, B-12).

Paid Social Service Work

Practices and themes of caring shape a variety of female professions, para-professions, volunteer endeavours, community involvement and the home sphere (Aronson and Neysmith 1996; Baines, Evans and Neysmith 1998; Leira 1994; Meyer and Storbakken 2000; Prentice and Ferguson 2000). Social services work is one of these caring professions. Although increasingly located in the private market, most social services workers continue to be nestled within the public and non-profit sectors. Social services work operates from within a set of contradictory assumptions and practices about social caring including whether caring should be largely provided by the rich through charities, by all citizens though the government or by politicized and equity-directed

citizens seeking social justice through a complete restructuring of society (Hick 2002).

In his 1974 classic, Harry Braverman argued that under capitalism, all work, by which he meant paid work, is subject to degradation (deskilling, fragmentation, intensification, loss of worker control and satisfaction). Although Braverman has been criticized for ignoring gender, race, resistance and other forces that shape the labour process (Armstrong and Armstrong 1990; Beechey 1982; Heron and Storey 1986), the concept of the degradation of work illuminates many of the processes occurring within the restructured social services. Paid employment in the social services has been leaned out so that fewer workers do more work with fewer resources. This is facilitated by a process in which work is broken down into small component pieces and standardized so that wasted movement and activities can be eliminated and work processes can be completed quickly with little deviation or error.

Across all agencies in the social services sector, an increase in paperwork has increased work load and standardized the way that workers can assess, act on, and ultimately, think about social problems and the clients impacted by these problems. Rather than participating in a longer term, interactive set of assessing and planning discussions, many social service workers are now required to complete standardized check box forms for intake meetings, assessments, case planning and case termination. Even where spaces still exist in which workers are not immediately required to complete standardized documentation, the content and understanding of work tasks and content has been so influenced by standardization that workers report a general narrowing of their work and the removal of their professional discretion. Across the sector, workers reported that standardization has removed the worker's capacity to make judgements concerning the types of tasks to be completed, the order and pace of task completion and the use of alternative or politicized services and intervention plans. Standardized work was often compared to assembly line work by the interviewees who disliked their loss of discretionary power and control:

> There's no latitude to do anything creative or new. None. We just do what the form

says. I've been in this job a long time. I know what would be really helpful to the client but we're not allowed to do it. We just follow the form and the clients don't get help and we might as well all just work in a widget factory specializing in how to make society worse. It really stinks.
> (Interview C- 4)

Staff cuts coupled with standardization produced a work speed-up and placed restrictions on the types of skills, tasks and relationships that workers could form with clients and supervisors (Aronson and Sammon 2001; Gilroy 2000). Lean staffing meant that the volume and pace of the work increased to the point where workers did not have time to get to know or relate to clients beyond standardized formats. Many workers observed that "minus a helping relationship" (Interview B-23), the services they provided seemed to do very little to enact meaningful change in the lives of clients and increased their sense of alienation. In many agencies, case load sizes have escalated as cases have become more intense in content. Workers noted that years of cuts to social service funding has produced an overall intensification of social services work in which every case demands immediate and aggressive interventions.

Paid social services work was significantly racialized as workers of colour had only recently gained access to the better jobs (Bernard, Lucas-White and Moore 1993). Ironically, downsizing has diminished the number of workers of colour in many of these hard-won jobs while standardization has decreased the satisfaction once gained from this type of employment. As one worker of colour noted, "We got access to these jobs just in time for the jobs to turn ugly and lay us off" (Interview A-11).

Unpaid Overtime Work

Most workers, including multiple job holders, reported a number of unpaid overtime activities including: working through lunch hours, coffee breaks, into the evening and on weekends; making work-related phone calls from cars; and finishing case notes at night. Some even felt compelled to call or come in on their holidays to check on clients or difficult situations. For most

social service workers, their unpaid overtime social services work was entirely unreported, unauthorized, unrecognized and unpaid. Participants in this study were motivated to take on unpaid overtime out of a sense of moral outrage, "It's people's right to have this service even if the government seems to have forgotten that" (Interview A-13). Many felt compelled to stretch an uncaring system in order to ease suffering, "People are desperate and need that cheque. They can't wait until tomorrow or the end of the weekend" (Interview A-22). Other workers compared their privilege to the suffering of their clients and found that they had to take action, "I can't sit in my comfortable home if I know that all hell is breaking loose on one of my cases. I have to at least patch it up to last until the office opens" (Interview B-23). In each of these quotes there is a sense of social responsibility and caring about people that was stronger than the workers' needs to take a lunch break or time off on the weekend. It was largely this sense of moral outrage and social caring that differentiates the overtime work undertaken by social service workers from that performed by private sector professionals. While private sector professionals often perform large amounts of overtime, it generally occurs within the context of generous salaries and benefits, as well as a desire to further their careers and expand their personal financial picture.[3] In the case of social services, despite the overtime, workers remain low status, poorly paid professionals who attempt, through their unpaid overtime, to add "some decency" (Interview A-22) to an inflexible and restrictive service system.

Part-time and multiple job holders, many of whom were workers of colour, were especially vulnerable to the culture of unpaid overtime. One woman of colour, who received pay for twenty hours per week, reported working at least forty hours per week with management's explicit support (Interview C-19). In this case, the agency received full-time work from someone that they paid only part-time, which is in some ways a wage cut of 50%. As the social services system continues to be downsized and full-time jobs are restructured into part-time and temporary employment, the extraction of large quantities of unpaid labour from precarious workers is likely to increase.

A survey undertaken by the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE1999) revealed that only 34% of social services workers receive pay or time off for overtime, leaving 66% with no provision for recognition of or reimbursement for unpaid overtime. The same CUPE study (1999), found that 70% of the social service work force have major responsibilities for child- and elder-care resulting in major difficulties balancing work and home demands. The time crunch in the lives of social service workers meant that the decision to perform unpaid overtime was compelled by forces that were stronger than the love bonds and demands of home life. While unpaid overtime can certainly be a form of social caring, it is also a way that workers are participating in their own exploitation. The participants in this study subsidized the social services system by performing unpaid overtime within their own workplaces.

The motivation to perform unpaid overtime did not come exclusively from workers' desires to extend an uncaring social system. The managers interviewed for this study confirmed that they knew that workers performed unpaid overtime. They viewed it as necessary given the heavy case loads. Moreover, they were aware that the agency would be in serious difficulty if the workers refused to keep up with case loads that some managers and the majority of workers regarded as "impossible to stay on top of" (Interview C-12). While some of the managers displayed concern over the heavy workloads carried by their staff, none of the managers proposed that this excess work be paid, decreased, or formally recognized. In most social service workplaces, management had no process for documenting or providing compensation for this labour. The undocumented nature of this work meant that while this unpaid work was critical to the ongoing operation of the "leaned" out social services system, it was structured by management to remain unpaid as well as "officially" invisible.

Formal Volunteer Work

Reflecting the racialized and gendered character of unpaid social services work, the workers of colour who participated in this study tended to have more volunteer jobs (up to nine), while white women had fewer (two to four), and men had one or none. Women of colour worked mainly within ethno-racial organizations or within ethno-racial committees housed in larger service

bureaucracies, while white women worked at agencies thought to be racially-neutral which mostly served clients. All the female interviewees lamented that they "really should do more" (exact wording in Interview B-24, B-3, A-11, A-24, C-2, C-5, C-28).

The use of volunteers in social service agencies was prolific in Alberta, where funding cuts have been the deepest (Stanford 1998) and integration of neoliberal, public sector management strategies is quite advanced (Baines 2004). One supervisor noted that her entire department was composed of volunteers and a second claimed that for every paid worker in her agency there were two to three volunteers (Interview C-18, C-23). Social service workers interviewed for this study claimed that many or most of the volunteers working in their agencies were social service workers from their own or other agencies. In other words the volunteers are colleagues who are qualified to perform the work in a paid capacity, although they work for free. This was confirmed by a supervisor who speculated that at least 50% of her volunteers were social service workers (Interview C-19). These volunteers were not merely enhancing the work of the agency as was the norm in the past. In some cases, volunteers were replacing paid social service workers as providers of core, professional services. A startling number of workers volunteered in the agencies in which they were employed, in the jobs they did for pay. This offered obvious benefits for management in terms of a highly skilled, dependable, accessible, volunteer work force who could be subject to workplace discipline processes should volunteer work go awry.

Policy and Service Building Work

Women of colour were highly involved in lobbying for and writing new racial/ethnic-sensitive policies for agencies and institutions, as well as service building such as starting new services or expanding existing ones. This type of unpaid work shared some similarities with unpaid, informal community care (Type 5) and formal social services volunteer work (Type 3), as it was usually informal, that is, not housed within a formal social service agency or institution, used professional social service skills for a short term project, and was entered into reluctantly by overextended women. In large part because of its uniquely racialized character, unpaid policy and service building work

is discussed as a separate kind of unpaid work.

It was the impression of the women of colour who were interviewed for this study that downsizing and leaning out within the social services had generated greater need within racialized communities and made unpaid policy and service building work much more time consuming and intense. Before the cuts, when monies were more available in the public and non-profit sector, corporations and agencies often spent tens of thousands of dollars on consultants for the kind of multicultural/anti-racist organizational change work these women were doing for free.

Mid- or senior-career women of colour reported that they were sometimes able to parlay their unpaid policy development work into their paid work. That is, they could convince their employer that the voluntary work they were doing was consistent with the goals of the employer and that the employer was likely to derive benefit from the worker's volunteer involvement. By agreeing that projects initiated in the voluntary sector could be integrated into paid workloads, employers were formally recognizing the importance of unpaid social services work as well as the extreme permeability of paid and unpaid work in this sector. However, shifting unpaid work to paid work did not reduce the volume of work because employers simply added the new assignment to existing workloads, rather than replacing one assignment with another.

Informal, Unpaid Social Service Work

Workers reported participation in a relatively new area of work, namely the provision of unpaid, informal social service care to neighbours, members of extended families, and even far-flung and little known contacts. Informal, unpaid social service work generally started when the participants in this study would be made aware of a neighbour or relative who needed someone "to check in on them" (Interview B-5). Generally somewhat reluctantly, the interviewees reported that they would make an initial visit to this person and "before you know it" (Interview B-5) they would be working on the situation in much the same way as if it had been a case assignment at their place of employment. After conducting an initial assessment they would agree to make a referral or two to help the person out and

promise to "check back soon" (Interview A-3). When services were not forthcoming or proved inadequate, workers would become involved in advocacy, locating new services, negotiating bureaucracies and building support networks around the individual in need. They would also counsel, advise and intervene in crisis situations as well as educate individuals and families about their rights, their options and ways to resist oppressive conditions and situations. In short, the workers often made use of many of the skills and values they felt they had lost within their paid social service work.

In addition, workers reported that they were called upon to provide professional-like services within their formal volunteer roles, even when those roles had no direct connection to social service care. For example, one Girl Guide leader was called upon more than once to "just talk with" an unhappy child who ended up requiring major familial and personal care as well as follow-up with a public system that was very difficult to access (Interview C-8). Hence, even where their volunteer assignments were not located within the social services, by virtue of their skill and sense of professional and community responsibility, some workers found themselves using their social work skills to find and retain appropriate assistance for people in need. Interviewees commented that this type of work felt good to them but they wondered whether they were "helping the system stay afloat" when they should be "helping to bring it down" (Interview B-5).

Ironically, standardization and loss of control were not present in unpaid, policy and service development work, or unpaid, informal, community work as these sectors were less integrated into new models of public administration and lean work organization, and thus beyond their alienating structures and the much despised "assembly line approach" (Interview C-4). Indeed, unpaid, informal community care and unpaid policy and service development work utilized more of the workers' professional, interactive caring skills than did their increasingly standardized paid work.

Union Activist Work

As though replicating their invisibility within most scholarly work on the welfare state, the research participants did not speak about either domestic labour or union involvement as work unless directly prompted. Somehow, the topics of domestic labour and union involvement were too personal, or too political, and in the case of unions, too self- rather than other-directed to be raised in the context of a discussion about funding cuts, desperate clients, crumbling communities and overworked care providers. Taking on pivotal roles such as union president or picket captain, most of the women in British Columbia, and significantly less in Alberta and Nova Scotia, were or had been intensely involved in their unions. Wages were not the exclusive issue in union struggles with employers. Instead, struggles were about keeping client-worker ratio low or how to maintain work quality and relationships.

Many women saw union work as a way to "take better care of everyone" in the sector - clients, communities and workers (Interview B-7) (Baines 1999). However, they were very aware of public discourses that position unions as "greedy," self-interested and "bullying" (Interview B-10). Within the context of the interview, most workers seemed unsure how to meld the female spheres of caregiving and professionalism with the more male spheres of union activism. They downplayed the work they performed for their unions. In some cases, after the tape recorder was turned off the tone of the storytelling changed to what I call the more typical "boy-talk," pissing-contest of union storytelling and bragging. It was as if we moved from a female space of caring to a more male space of exaggeration and absolute certainty. We became tomboys in a male space and could fight the bosses as well as the next guy (gal) and if caring had something to do with it, well, that was something one should shrug off modestly rather than contemplate carefully as we had during most of the interview. As occurred with all other types of unpaid labour, the interviewees reported that they "really should do more (sigh)..." (Interview B-7).

Unpaid Work in the Family

While unpaid work was a major question in the study, most interviewees spoke extensively about the forms of unpaid social services work discussed above, and not about unpaid work in the home. Only with prompting would they expand on unpaid family caregiving. It was as if the private realm of family was separate in their minds from

forms of unpaid social services work that more closely resembled their paid work. Family work, in contrast, was naturalized as "just something us mothers have to do" (Interview A-9) rather than understood as a form of work that has been impacted by restructuring (Luxton 1997). Careful probing and follow-up questions showed that the research participants were experiencing an increase in the amount and intensity of unpaid, hands-on caring in the family ranging from child-care to elder-care to care of distant relatives. Luxton (1997 & 1980) has noted that an intensification of domestic work occurs during economic down swings as women attempt to subsidize and extend family budgets through the use of their unpaid labour. Intensification of child-care work among the research participants reflected cuts to services for children as well as a growing shift of responsibility from schools to parents in relation to responsibility for educating and engaging children. Many workers responded to these changes by taking on shift work so that either they or their co-parent could be available to care for children around the clock.

While a small number of the participants lived with and cared for elderly relatives, many more of those interviewed for this study provided concrete support to elders living independently, including: dressing changes, bathing, cooking, cleaning, grocery shopping, yard work and a myriad of other tasks focussed on emotional well-being or "lifting their spirits" (Interview C-5). Research participants spoke of the expansion of unpaid family caregiving in terms of emotional rather than moral compulsion. They reported that they could not bear to have their loved ones suffer or that their children needed them and "so, what can you do?" (Interview B-20). In other words, this work was as freely chosen as is any other aspect of the highly emotionally, ideologically and socially charged realm of parental and familial relations.

DISCUSSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The absolute volume of paid and unpaid caring work performed by the women in this study is stunning. As exemplified in the stories of workers who are burnt out and no longer participate in volunteer work, it is questionable how long this level of unpaid social services work can be provided

by an overworked and discouraged work force. The vast amounts of unpaid work shaped and limited the amount of time and energy they had for other forms of resistance, political action or leisure. The term resistance is used deliberately here to emphasize the dailies and incrementalism of the resistance displayed by these women within the distinctly gendered terrain of the social services, community and home (Aptheker 1989). Bettina Aptheker notes that for many women resistance pivots from the conditions and spaces available to them and that their political contributions must be judged from within the context of women's lives and work as caregivers and sustainers of life (180 & 173). The resistance strategies used by the women in this study were contradictory. While some of their unpaid work certainly subsidized and legitimized an under-resourced system, it simultaneously provided a sense of social solidarity and resistance to the callousness of an atomized, uncaring, neoliberal social system.

Theoretical conceptualizations of the private versus public, market versus home, or work versus leisure fail to capture the non-market, caring relations and logics operating in the still largely non-profit and public sector of the Canadian social services. The seven kinds of work performed by social service workers highlight the ways that social service work is a series of blended tasks and processes operating in a number of realms, rather than distinctively separate activities operating in distinctively separate spheres. Given this continuum, a concept such as work lives which stresses the continuity and unendingness of caregiving as well as the similarity of instrumental and affective task more accurately reflects the realities of the predominantly female realm of caring work in all its forms than do the dichotomous categories listed above.

The data discussed above reveals the unevenness, arbitrariness and classed nature of many forms of unpaid social service work. It is middle-class, white people who are more likely to have neighbours and community members who are trained social service workers. This means middle-class, white people have greater access to informal care and advocacy, and therefore increased access to services within the formal system. Individuals who are poorer and less well-connected must negotiate an under-resourced and uncaring

system alone, or simply fall through the cracks. The distinctly anti-racist content and larger workload of unpaid work performed by workers of colour also shows the racialization of social services work while the predominance of women and themes of caring reveals its gendered character.

Stories such as those told by the workers in this study need to be brought into the public realm and counted within national and international valuation schemes as such as those articulated by Bakker (1998), Waring (1999) and Drescher (1999). A full economic valuation of this work will reveal the gross underestimation of the economic costs of caring, as well as the need for policy development and funding levels that reflect the enormous care deficit. Waring (1999) notes that justice and democracy are necessary in order to realize positive outcomes from a full evaluation of women's work. Otherwise, counting schemes can inadvertently bring women's unpaid work into the market and under the control of profit-driven market relations. It is quite possible that some of the unpaid work discussed above could be marketized, with private brokers hiring themselves out to those who can afford to pay for someone to negotiate the social services system for them. Hence, any struggle for the economic valuation of women's unpaid work must go hand-in-hand with a larger struggle for democracy and social justice in which the reasons for women's daily resistance can be redressed concomitant with a reduction in their larger-than-life, everyday workload of care.

ENDNOTES

1. Racialized and gendered are used in this article not as a categories but as sets of social relations or processes in which various groups of people are differentiated and continually remade as subordinate - marginalized, denigrated and exploited - or as dominant - valorized, culturally affirmed and better positioned *vis-à-vis* labour markets and production of wealth (Ng 2000). The racial and gender segmentation of labour markets, unequal and oppressive human services and education systems, degrading media representation and so forth are examples of these processes of subordination and domination.

2. Researchers were hired from racialized communities in each province to modify the interview guide as deemed appropriate, build the snowball sample, conduct the interviews, distribute a two-page summary and solicit feedback. The interview guide was changed only once although probes, adjunct questions and follow-ups differed greatly across the interviews. White researchers or myself, a white woman, undertook the interviews with white people. In each province, the sample was roughly one-half white and one-half drawn from subordinated cultures (Aboriginal, African Canadian, Chinese, Indo-Asian and Latina in British Columbia; Aboriginal, African Nova Scotians in Nova Scotia; and whites and Aboriginal, Indo-Asian, and Chinese in Alberta). This methodology provided very robust data as intersubjectivity, the goal of qualitative interviewing (Rineharz 1992), is much more likely to occur with members of the same oppressed and resisting communities than in interviews conducted by members of the dominant culture.

3. In their study of homemakers, Aronson and Neysmith (1996) noted that the workers felt morally compelled to perform unpaid overtime or were in too weak a position to refuse clients and families. The data in this study also suggests that workers felt a strong moral compulsion which stemmed, in part, from their professional ethics which assert that social justice is the bedrock upon which professional practice is built. Unlike the para-professional homemakers in Aronson and Neysmith's study, the workers in this study were much more powerfully positioned than most of their clients. None cited client or family requests as the reason why they took on unpaid overtime.

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