

chief concern is to illustrate the double message that Protestant ideology offered women. She examines the way in which the new high status that Protestantism gave to marriage both benefited women (by granting that ordinary lives could have spiritual value), and hurt them (by its insistence on the subordination of wives to husbands). She also discusses the fact that while the Protestant emphasis on the spiritual equality of the sexes marked a gain for women, the Puritan attitude towards sexuality represented a deficit. Taken as a whole, this chapter on Protestantism and patriarchal ideology is excellent, providing the reader with a comprehensive and intelligent introduction to the subject.

The Liberation of Women: A Study of Patriarchy and Capitalism, while not entirely successful in fulfilling the objectives of the author, has many strengths. In itself, the book provides a valuable introduction, both to the ongoing debate among Marxists about feminism, and to the history of women in the seventeenth century. It is an admirable first book from a feminist scholar from whom I hope we will soon hear more.

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Last Hired, First Fired, Women and the Canadian Work Force.

PATRICIA CONNELLY, Toronto: The Woman's Press, 1978, Pp. 122

The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work. PAT and HUGH ARMSTRONG, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978, Pp. 199

Some people argue that since we all know women are discriminated against, there's no point to writing 'yet another book' about it. The 'so what' reception to new studies on women's status can easily lull some into thinking that all is well, or being taken care of or that there's no point. But, there is a point. Until such time as the inequalities experienced by women are made so visible that they cannot be dismissed, they must be exposed to public view.

While it is true that women have always worked, and that they have earned less than men, the nature of this inequality has not always been visible. We have not always known which groups or classes of women worked, where they worked, what the conditions of their employment were, how their patterns of work changed and why, nor have we understood why women's participation in the paid labour force do not mirror that of men's. Research published in

the past decade, used in conjunction with the limited number of earlier studies, have provided some answers to these questions.

Two recent studies, which make a significant contribution to the analysis and debate of those issues surrounding women's economic status are, The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work by Pat and Hugh Armstrong, and Last Hired First Fired: Women and the Canadian Work Force, by Patricia Connelly. Both books are written from an economic perspective, however they address themselves to different concerns, and therefore complement each other.

The Double Ghetto begins with an analysis of women's work in the paid labour force, followed by a chapter which describes the economic role of work done in the home. In the paid work force, women can be found in those sectors of the economy which are low-paid, which require little skill and which are labour intensive. Since the turn of the century the composition of the male labour force has changed very little in contrast to the dramatic changes in the female labour force. As the economy expanded and became more industrialized, women workers moved into clerical and service jobs, largely from the home and from domestic service positions, and have stayed in those job ghettos. On the home front, the research evidence showed that women are primarily

responsible for all the housework even when both spouses work, and that the amount of housework increases directly with the number of children. Armstrong's study defines and describes four aspects of the housewife's role: housework, reproduction and child care, tension management and sexual relations.

Explanations for the 'ghettoization' of women's work are offered in the second half of the book. Many of the theories and research studies which offer some insight into women's status are grouped into three broad categories. First to be considered and dismissed, are the biological determinists. After surveying the research, The Double Ghetto found that biological explanations did not provide satisfactory answers for all the 'deviant' situations that did not neatly fall into the 'biology is destiny' framework.

In examining theories that rely upon socialization, psychology and attitudes--the idealist approach--the Armstrongs present a critique of two major Canadian studies--Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, (1970) and Opportunity for Choice, Gail Cook, ed., (1976) which are identified as studies based in an idealist framework. These studies are criticised, because, like all other idealist approaches, they do not explain why ideas exist, why they change or what interests they serve. Accepting an idealist approach would mean

agreeing that women have a choice, that women have wrong attitudes, and that once correct choices are made and attitudes are changed, women's power, status and salaries would increase.

The third set of explanations are those which look to economic factors to explain the division of labour, and the relation of ideas (consciousness) to the productive mode. The economic necessity for women to be responsible for the home, and the limitation which this places upon their ability to participate in the work force, combined with the limited occupations available to women is one dynamic described. This relation between the home and the work force is seen to encourage the sexual division of labour as well as gender-specific attitudes and behaviour.

While these three general groups of explanations are useful for delineating the approaches, patterns and similarities between explanations, one has to remember that there are overlaps. For example, the materialist approach involves a consideration of ideology and consciousness (ideas) but its starting point is with economics.

The discussion of the importance of economic structures leads one to ask whether ideas will change once economic forces change? Will the full participation of women in all sectors of the economy reduce their familial responsibilities? Will it eliminate

men's responsibility for children? If women's dependence upon men and the state is a consequence of her work segregation and low wages, the implications of her equality are many.

While The Double Ghetto offers a full range of theories and explanations, Last Hired First Fired provides an exhaustive analysis of one general theory. Connelly applies Marx's concept of a reserve army of labour to women workers. The first part of this study examines the characteristics of a reserve army of labour and shows how women workers in Canada meet the conditions of a reserve army. The last section of this book demonstrates how women came to function as a reserve army. In order to do this she describes the long term occupational and industrial patterns, and points out the changes in the demand and supply of labour.

A reserve army of labour helps to ensure the accumulation of capital, the development of a surplus and the continued expansion of capital. The characteristics of a reserve army include the availability of labour, its cheapness and the presence of competition with other workers. Connelly offers an analysis of how women meet these conditions, and in so doing their economic role is "permanent and integral. . . to the capitalist production process by virtue of their status as employed or active-inactive reserve labour." She goes on to say that ". . . (this concept) indicates that a

supply of female labour is always available to be drawn on when the conditions of the capitalist economy dictate, and it differs from the traditional economic view that considers married women (as well as other people who are not defined officially as being in the labour force) as outside the process of production." (p. 47)

While women workers satisfy the conditions of availability and cheapness, the criterion of competition is problematic given the sex-segregated nature of the work force. But Connelly notes that this is only a problem if one accepts the one labour market approach. She argues that there are two labour markets in which male and female workers are segregated from each other. Women compete with other women; and while women do not directly compete with men's jobs, the female labour market has an impact on the male labour market and on the entire labour force.

Connelly also discusses active-inactive reserve labour which includes hidden categories of people not usually considered by employment statistics. Including these groups of workers strengthens the reserve army approach. The study also notes that, "The movement of women between the active and inactive reserves and into employment depends on the development of capital which on the one hand creates a demand for female labour to fill 'female' occupations and on the other hand

generates a supply of female labour by creating a need for married women to work for a wage." (p. 49)

Neither of these studies provide solutions, but they provide compelling arguments for examining the economic forces which foster different psychologies for men and women and the segregation of the workplace. Moreover, they firmly locate women's labour force participation as a permanent and integral component of the labour force. Both studies underline the importance of continuing activities that will increase the status of women.

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