

belongs perhaps in War section

If one were to read [redacted] both provincial and federal government documents of the World War II and immediate post-war period it would be easy to assume that women worked almost exclusively in industrial production. The reality of women's working lives was that the majority continued to work in and enter traditional secondary labour market jobs: public sector work, restaurant work and and service other caring professions.

pretty boring, move down or box

From October 1944 [redacted] to [redacted] January 1945 [redacted] the numbers of Canadian women in non-industrial [redacted] work rose. FOOTNOTE (There were 582/1000 women to workers in service work, [redacted] 555/1000 in communications, 539/1000 in finance, 439/1000 in trade and only 233/1000 in manufacturing). Both numbers of women and sex ratios fell to pre-war numbers. In some work areas, such as [redacted] the hotel and restaurant industry, the numbers of women employed rose, while the actual percentages of the female labour force in those areas fell. This is due to the opening of public sector, communications and sales work in the post-war period. FOOTNOTE (B.C.: 4974 women (16.2% of female labour force at outset of war) vs 3879 or [redacted] 15% in 1944).

could use this to open section

The wartime woman worker was torn from heroic pedestal. Instead of [redacted] providing self-less service for her country in its hour of need she was now occupying [redacted] someone else's job. [redacted] Many war industries shut down and there was an initial shortage of work for women and all wartime workers. The pressure was on women to [redacted] step aside and make room for industrial male workers and returned men. Jobs soon became available as the boom swung into place in resource-rich British Columbia, but the attitudes of employers, co-workers, community and women themselves were marred by the fear of depression and traditional notions of women's place. There was less of an anti-woman backlash in B.C. because of the relative strength of the unions, the continuity of wartime employment in the central wood industry and the [redacted] total shut-down of other war industries, which eliminated a fight for discriminatory lay-offs. Nonetheless there was a

a good opening

theme of \$:

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new hostility to women workers especially those in non-traditional jobs and much public discussion of women's right to be present in the labour force.

could add top \$ from p. 9 here.
The war period had produced a layer of women [redacted] for whom it was a ~~deeply~~ desired to remain in the labour force. They resisted, through union and other means, the pressure on them to leave the industrial workforce. Women militants stayed on in secondary labour market jobs; others left industry, only to return to work shortly after. The height of hotel and restaurant organization in D.C. was through this wartime transition period, attesting to the presence of women with a strong sense of their right to remain at work and to fight for better conditions, albeit in the traditionally female work sector.

This work identity was shaped by the contradictory nature of government wartime propaganda and by the experience of working in a time when women's labour was socially valued. Working women were accepted in the main mass media and other social institutions as a fact of life. Women's work identity was bolstered to undermine absenteeism and create an identification with production campaigns.

Women's workforce participation was often qualified by a reminder that they were [redacted] working for their country in crisis and that they would soon be able to return to normal, that is the home. The conditions which would allow for long term changes in attitude were not realized. The temporary nature of women's image helped to further reduce conflicts between industrial men and women: the latter ~~did~~ [redacted] The messages from the government during the war were [redacted] did not constitute permanent competition. [redacted] hazy enough that combined with women's new found self-respect and autonomy, [redacted]

[redacted] gained from wartime participation in [redacted] productive work, union organization and social activity, that many women did develop a belief that Women who had need to work to support themselves and their families continued to their post-war employment [redacted] was legitimate in society's eyes. Others did indeed accept their wartime work as temporary; some were relieved to return home after balancing domestic and workplace [redacted] responsibilities.

Some changes in work possibilities influenced the development of women's desire to remain in the work place. A greater variety of permanent work had become available

to working women. Aside from industrial jobs, there were openings in the public sector and in banks and other financial institutions. This eased competition between women [redacted] for work and facilitated improvements in the working environment.

them

Women could envision an escape from a seasonal, isolated and temporary relationship to the workplace. Initial hostility to women working had abated with the day to day experience of [redacted] men and women on the job and as social and union ties developed.

tricky - put this in War Period

stuff above

Women proved themselves to be competent workers. The division of the primary labour market into skilled, semi-skilled and [redacted] craft workers meant that women did not generally compete directly for work with men, and therefore social working [redacted] relationships could be built without men's livelihood being threatened. By 1943-44 women constituted some 20% of the workforce in war [redacted] industries.

BACKGROUND

For this section, these ideas are more important than the background.

It was [redacted] with these experiences and expectation that women moved into the massive lay-offs within wartime production. After V.E. Day the downturn in women's employment which began in the last year of the war, increased dramatically. In B.C. women lost industrial jobs as part of the shut-down of the [redacted] (aircraft) industries and as workers with less accrued seniority in industries [redacted] continued to produce but were decimated. (shipyards). [redacted]

By 1946 B.C. shipyards employed only .2% of the female labour force, and exclusively [redacted] By 1945 there was a 7.5% fall in employment, this was in reality a 13.5% drop in as clerical workers. women's employment and ^{only} 5.3% drop in men's. 281

The specific jobs [redacted] which women had entered to full disappeared. In the shipyards women went with the men as their skills were [redacted] no longer needed. Women were basically in the same position as men, fighting to keep a job, but also hampered by lower seniority, [redacted]

[redacted]

4. Spell out first time its used in this section

In the meantime, N.S.S. regulations governing the labour market were lifted to recreate a "free" labour environment.²⁴¹ Price controls, rationing, rent controls and war labour regulations were also lifted, although wage controls remained in place until labour militancy forced their removal.²⁴¹ Subsidies for Wartime day care in Quebec and Ontario were cut. in 1945.²⁴² A confusing revision of the income tax

law occurred in January, 1947 which ~~was~~ ^{limited} a married man's exemption for a working wife to \$25.00; earnings of women above this sum were taxable.

what did this mean?

Many couples believed that all earnings above \$25.00 to a couple were now ~~taxable~~ taxable and women fled the labour market. By this time demand for women in the service sector was up and employers protested the loss of cheap female labour.²⁴⁴ An embarrassed federal government sought to explain its new rules in this light.

The government had created a Committee on the Post-War Problems of women as a sub-committee of the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction. This committee believed that women's future happiness ^{Theme?} depended on full employment, which in turn depended on the conversion of war industries to consumer production.

Women, they felt, had proved themselves through the war and established a permanent place in engineering, technical shopwork and personnel management. Some 4,700,000 ~~men~~ ^{male} would need post-war jobs. To achieve full employment some half of married

women working in 1944 would need to return home. ~~Based on a~~ Based on a survey by Mrs. Ethel Colwell, some 180,000 women would need new work opportunities in addition to 38,000 Canadian Armed Forced veterans.

In analyzing this situation one woman writer argued that employers would not lay off women because they depended on their skills. A quansry existed: wartime women workers were resitant to returning to temporary and poorly paid domestic and agricultural labour, yet ~~the~~ employment of women in these jobs was essential if the goal of full employment was to be realized. The souldtion which women advisors developed was the upgrading od these work areas ~~and~~ including inclusion in labour standards and new socila respect for the work. A similarity bewteeb the former low status of women's professions such as teaching and hursing was drawn/

important, but not in the right place here

go "back to the land".²⁷⁵

A dominant view of government and critics was that if women were to work after the war it must be in traditional job areas. Even in industry, women were to return to a more feminine niche. Without any discussion with womenworkers, government literature assumes that women would prefer this appropriation of their hard-won gains:

Women workers as a rule, do not consider rivetting and welding the glamour occupation of peapetime. The type of production jobs they like are the type women have long filled-assembling, testing, inspection and machine operating (other than sewingmachines). These are the factory jobs in which most women excel-Women war workers excel in peactime-They prefer metal work to garments or textile factories..... Women like such work because it gives them the opportunity to use their finger dexterity, exercise responsibility and pay attention to minute details.²⁴⁰

The United Canadian Veterans Trainingprogramme limited its offerings to female occupations: domestic and restaurant work, dressmaking, nursing and commercial (clerical) courses. The Women's Division placed great emphasis on making domestic work attractive to wartime women workers. Employment officers were forced to admit that women did not want to re-enter these jobs. A "reversal" in women's wartime employment was apparently hampered"only by the sharp resistance of mobilized personnel to downgrading." (CLG 1946) Employers and government continued to chastise women for not accepting low-paid jobs, through out the 1940s. A 1949 survey of restaurant workers echoes earlier reticence of women to enter domestic jobs: hours of work, the loss of social prestige, poor working conditions, heavy work, the lack of opportunities for advancement, combined to make these jobs unattractive. (CLG 1949)

While the federal government set employment policy the B.C. government expressed confusion in its attitude to wartime women workers. While outlining the lay-offs displacing women at Boeings the government also stated that women in coveralls had become a familiar sight; they had established their mechanical abilities and would perhaps continue in the light, repetitive work of consumer production. The province

recognized the diversity of opinion [redacted] on women's right to a job, rather than set independent policy it would wait and see if [redacted] "a wholesale exodus would occur" /237

The responsibility seems to rest [redacted] again on women to resolve their employment situation. The province's [redacted] Dept. of Labour Women's Division did pledge its help in assisting women to make the transition in the workplace. The Division recognized that some women had always worked outside the home and that now more would need to in order to compensate for wartime [redacted] casualties and support their families. The Women's [redacted] Division argued that the province's department of labour must be concerned for all women no matter what their marital status or race.

As B.C. women moved out of industry factory regulations to protect" women were brought into provincial law. A thirty-five [redacted] pound lifting limit was introduced for [redacted] women and women were required to be seated during factory [redacted] production. Both of these regulations would in future, be used to exclude women from industrial work. By 1947, the province's [redacted] recognition of [redacted] women's wartime contribution [redacted] and the needs of the female war workers had become: "satisfaction [redacted] of knowing that they had performed an excellent job."245

Women faced not only government ambivalence and hostility but shifts in employer, union and public attitudes as well.

One of the most hurtful aspects of the change in women's status was the growing hostility of other women to those who ~~were~~ worked. Women who had not contributed to wartime production may have been jealous of the missed opportunity, as some women workers suggest.¹²⁴ Married women feared that women who worked were depressing their husbands' wages or even denying them a job. There was a tremendous experiential gap between women who had worked ~~or~~ or been in the CAF, and those women who stayed at home.

Upper class women were some of the ~~xx~~ strongest opponents ~~of~~ of women's right

Sometimes these sections of reported opinion are sufficiently sticky in some "she said" etc. do prevent this long we forget it's not the author (you) speaking

to a job. Annabelle Maud Hill, a B.C. woman writer [redacted] attacked working women [redacted] in a speech at the Women's Institute. She feared both massive unemployment and the weakening of the family ~~and~~ if women insisted on remaining on the job. War contracts had terminated, international production was uncertain, reconversion [redacted] plans unclear. Canada's foremost responsibility was to veterans who needed ~~more~~ jobs [redacted] and immigrants [redacted] from the war-torn countries of Europe. [redacted] Returned men had to adjust to family life, war-destroyed expectations, apathy [redacted] in the context of a lack of leadership at home. Women had, on the other hand, developed a new-found economic status with a commensurate independent attitude, self-confidence from training, self-validation and freedom from domestic expectations. Hill believed that such women must be [redacted] convinced to return home, [redacted] either ~~as~~ as wives, parents or domestic servants. [redacted] For this to happen they must be convinced of the [redacted] social importance of childrearing [redacted] and [redacted] homemaking. The stigma must be removed from domestic work.

Hill continues with a denunciation of wartime domestic workers, ^{she said,} who were responsible for the many latchkey children and juvenile delinquency. She ends with a recognition that women could not be "shooed" back to the home. [redacted] At least 50% of women wanted to keep their jobs, most ly because their families required their incomes. For the [redacted] others, social security measures were [redacted] necessary. Women should be encouraged to work for wages or a volunteers for hospitals, as homeworkers, cooks, educators and for the [redacted] Church. Women who had given their talents to the war could now turn them to bettering their communities. 283

Other women added their voices to the [redacted] Back to [redacted] the home movement." Tilly Rolsten, Vancouver Point Grey Coalitionist MLA, stated in 1944 that, "women with children under 16 should keep their [redacted] homes together and raise their families". Divorces, she [redacted] believed were the fault of working wives and "absentee mothers", who also caused juvenile crime. 284

If women remained on the job they would only clog the labour market. Women workers who dealt with the public describe harassment by married women + other members of the public. Some critics [redacted] combined their belief that women should not work with arguments

against equal pay for women. They believed that of ~~many~~ women received ~~such~~ equal pay they would ultimately desert their families and remain in the workforce. Women would only choose homemaking if their "dazzling careers" outside the home was made as unattractive as possible. The family, the backbone of a civilized world, would crack under the impact of women working. ~~and~~ juvenile delinquency, so prevalent during the war, would intensify, *should keep pointing out* ~~many~~ It was men's role to support women and children, they should receive higher wages and women should remain at home: "Equal pay for equal work means the dissolution of the marriage system."²⁸² ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

~~Slum~~ Slum conditions were preferable to equal pay.

Employers also made it ~~clear~~ clear to women that they were ~~not~~ longer welcome on the ~~job~~ job. Women who had worked in shipyards asked to train for full trade

programmes after the war. They were told that the war would be ~~ending~~ ending and that ~~there~~ there soon would be no more work for women. ALICE KRUZIC 122 One employer was quoted in the Province as believing that the displacement of women was "The best news in 5 years", although others said that they would miss women workers. ²⁸⁷

Hostility to women working was expressed by veterans ~~re~~ rejoining the wartime workforce or post-war workforce. Unlike their male counterparts who had stayed in ~~Canada~~ Canada, they had no experience ~~with~~ of the tremendous wartime contribution which women had made. Rather they saw women as undermining their legitimate dominance in the work force. Some men refused to return to occupations where women were employed. ¹²⁵

The media played an important role in demobilizing women. The Province enthusiastically predicted the "speedy exodus of women from war plants where they were frozen" ~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~government~~ ~~relaxed~~ ~~wartime~~ ~~re-~~ ~~gulations~~. The idea that women were choosing to leave industry was stresses again and ~~again~~ again. The paper stated that "skilled" jobs for women in waitressing, hotel service and office work ~~is~~ awaited former war workers. ²⁸⁶ No mention of woman's

concern and anger ~~at~~ at job loss and downgrading is made. Majority Sentiment divided between sending women ~~back~~ back to the home or simply to their appropriate location in the labour market.

The Campaign Against Working Women

Three Currents battled for the hearts and minds of Canadians as we experienced workplace the dramatic shift in expectations at the end of the war.

Conservative forces, psychologists, veterans and some branches of government argued for the total removal of women from the industrial workforce and, to some extent, from the workforce in general. Others, particularly, government agencies dealing with women's return to a post-war role, argued that women could remain in the labour force, but within traditional job sectors - opportunities and training must be opened in these areas. Others, yet, women themselves, unions and radical groups, argued that women had proven themselves during the war and had the right to employment in any job that they chose.

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Shouldn't this be back before p. 6? Name for p. 10.

Government interest in the issue was premised on the need to manipulate the labour supply through the post-war return of soldiers and the reestablishment of a peacetime economy. The government was caught between pressures from opponents and supporters of women's right to work. Both sides looked to government for clarification of women's peacetime role. Anxieties about the future crescendoed in 1945-6 as women were pushed out of industry.

Both federal and provincial governments followed pragmatic policies.

In 1944-5, faced with a continued demand for wartime supplies and a drought of desperately needed labour in the service sector, wartime women's employment counsellors continued to urge women into the labour force. ²³² In 1944 all 20-24 year olds were registered with

the N.S.S. and permission required to leave a job in industry, Women continued with ²³³ to pour into the workforce, reaching 41 % of the industrial labour force.

Simultaneously, the major lay-offs in industry began. Approximately 60,000 women lost their jobs between 1943-44 in the industrial sector. ²³³ A lay-off

priority was established by the government in which placed married women whose husbands were considered able to support them well up on the list. This policy encouraged means

tests and more subtle forms of harassment. ²³⁴ At the same time, the federal government

[Redacted]

rather glibly stated that "In every such case (of lay-off) arrangements have been made to offer them all available [redacted] opportunities of suitable employment." 234

This statement is ambiguous at best, [redacted] who made the arrangements, what was in fact available, and what was considered suitable and by whom, employers or women, were not resolved issues!

Despite many surveys [redacted] by the N.S.S. which showed an unqualified desire on the part of the majority of women asked to remain on the job, there was no coherent government plan for the post-war employment of [redacted] women. Employers consulted by the N.S.S., with operations in steel, iron manufacture, animal, vegetable and textile products, all intended to reduce women's employment to pre-war levels, In some instances this meant the elimination of female labour, in others it meant a return to unskilled, ill-paid work. Firms asked stated that they would employ 17% fewer women [redacted] by one year after

the war's end. *Rather than challenge these returns, the government predicted the re-establishment of pre-war sex ratios: if more [redacted] than before worked it would be*

The government promised certain post-war reforms which could rebound onto women's ⁱⁿ work opportunities. These included public development, housing, social security, ^{Trades' service.}

employment insurance, health care, family allowances and old age protection.

Social protection would stabilize consumer spending and create private sector jobs.

Full employment would result from high [redacted] productivity and increased services.

Women looked to such programmes as a promise of jobs [redacted] for themselves in a post-war economy,

The reality of lay-off continued however. As women lost their jobs, the Labour Gazette [redacted] noted that employers were hiring [redacted] men to replace women with the result [redacted] that women were being forced into trade and service jobs.

Women already in trades and finances were being displaced by female war workers. 238

Women were also withdrawing from the labour market. In the government's opinion this was because, "a considerable number of those released from munitions plants were married women and they did not become an employment problem because of a preference to devote all their time to homemaking." 239 [redacted]