

TRADE UNION CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG WHITE-COLLAR WOMEN: HOSPITAL WORKERS IN NOVA SCOTIA

ANTHONY THOMSON

1983

Presented at the 19th Annual Meeting of the Atlantic Association of Sociologists and Anthropologists, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 12 March, 1983.

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

The elevation of C.U.P.E.'s Shirley Carr to the head of the Canadian Labour Congress symbolized the numerical ascendancy of public sector unions in the Congress, as well as the increasing prominence of women trade unionists. These two developments were closely connected. The union movement has been faced with definite troubles, not the least of which is the threat of dwindling members. The unionization of government employees in the 1960s and 1970s had shored up sagging membership figures. Substantial numbers of the newly organized public sector workers were women, and the expansion of C.L.C. membership after 1960 increased the proportion of unionized working women in the country.

With the exception of the banks, in other employment areas there was no similar substantial trend towards collective bargaining for women (Wilson 1982). The majority of employed women still work in non-unionized sectors of the labour force. They constitute a potential area of union growth but, despite large gains over the last decade and a half, resulting in close to a million women organized, the unionization of women workers has still appeared to lag behind that of men (Adam, 1971; Morris, 1978). In the late 1970s, for example, women made up 41% of the labour force but only 27% were unionized compared with 43% of men (Silverman, 1981:4; White, 1980; Townson, 1975: 349).

Krahn and Lowe have argued that this imbalance should not be interpreted to mean that women, in general, are less committed to trade unionism or paid employment. In contrast, they have demonstrated, between 1962 and 1984 the proportion of women in the union movement jumped from 16.4 per cent to 38.5 per cent, and the rate of unionization was over three times greater for women than men. Women, then, "are not apathetic, passive, or basically disinterested in collective action" (Krahn and Lowe, 1988: 199).

It has been argued that women have a high potential for unionisation and once in unions have an enormous stake in collective bargaining. There is, first, the well established existence of a substantial differential between average earnings of men and women, a gap that had been growing rather than declining (Marchak, 1973; McDonald, 1975). Unionized women, however, receive higher pay than non-unionized women in the same occupation (White, 1980). Furthermore, most working women are either the head of their household or are married to low income men (Tarr-Whelan, 1978:14).

In addition, women tend to have lower promotion opportunities (Adam, 1973:4; Grimm 1978). They also have lower expectations of promotion, a view which is shared by management and used by them as a justification for policies which effectively block upward mobility for women (Marchak, 1973:137- 140). The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970) found that supervisors were disproportionately male and that women were routinely by-passed in favour of lesser

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

qualified males (:91-97). This discrepancy is less true in the civil service than in private employment, although the problem has been particularly serious in the higher levels to which few women are admitted (Judek, 1968:35). U.S. data indicates that between 1960 and 1974 women moved from 9% to 21% of the "manager group". Nevertheless, three-quarters of women were found in the bottom one-third of the occupational grades while only one per cent of the top three grades were occupied by women. So women have been moving into supervisory positions but only within a circumscribed subset of them. This finding must be understood in the context of the expansion of lower and middle management positions--the apparent up-grading of routine supervisory jobs--and the desire to create a significant group of non-unionized workers in the labour force.

Furthermore, women are more often in low job control occupations. Marchak argues that white-collar women are not in the same position as white-collar males who tend to identify with management, reject an identification with the manual worker and look for promotions. Rather, they are in what she terms "weak bargaining positions" which are theoretically conducive to organization (1973:135-136). As a result of these objective economic considerations, women are considered to have high union potential.

In addition to having the proverbial "objective interest" in unionization, gender has not been a consistent barrier to class consciousness. Despite considerable hostility from many male workers, women have had an early involvement with the trade union movement and with strikes (Rowbotham, 1975; Flexner, 1971). The lower unionization of women, however, suggests that some factors have so far intervened to prevent the full or proportionate actualization of this potential.

EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

This paper is concerned with "trade union consciousness", the extent to which individuals endorse the major tenants of the trade union movement, from some general agreement about the need for collective representation, to the right to strike and endorsement of affiliation with a labour central. By itself, the fact of a relatively lower rate of unionization among women in Canada would not necessarily suggest a significantly lower level of trade union consciousness, among women unionists than men. There have been many long and significant industrial actions among women which revealed a considerable development of class consciousness (Klein and Roberts, 1974; MacLeod, 1974).

The difference in quantity, however, has given rise to two interpretations. According to one argument, the differential is caused by structural employment factors which have identical effects on male and female workers but affect each group differently in a proportionate sense: more men than women are employed in situations where the

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

development of trade union consciousness has a high probability. For example, trade unionism would be less probable among employees--male as well as female-- in work situations characterized by an over-supply of labour, in spatially dispersed industries and where gender divisions are reflected in sexist practices (Deckard, 1975: 104). The sex-segregated labour market is the key determinant of relatively lower degrees of unionization among women (Krahn and Lowe, 1988: 200).

Alternatively it is suggested that there may be factors which are specific to women which inhibit their organization in the existing trade unions. According to White (1980), such factors as "employee opposition, union weakness and worker insecurity", which are effective barriers for any group of employees, are particularly true in areas of women's employment, and are inimical to women organizing in labour unions (McFarland, 1980). In addition, more women than men have been said to manifest social attitudes which are inimical to organization. Women are allegedly different because they are less committed to work and therefore less concerned about unions. As Kocka puts it: "If a girl worked in a store or an office only before she married, she would not have the same stake in her occupation as if it were a lifetime commitment" (1980: 267).

Research on the question of whether structural factors in industry or work alone can account for differential attitudes has generally concluded in the negative. Other findings suggest that there is a factor specific to the relationship of women to the predominantly male trade union movement which has an independent effect on women's unionization (Baker and Robeson, 1981). For example, women are under-represented at the level of union executives (Berquist, 1974: 5; Hartman, 1976: 249), reproducing in the union the inegalitarian structure found on the job (see Shortridge, 1975). Many unions are conscious of this discrepancy and of the negative image it generates and have adopted measures that appear to create more equality. More women are serving on union executives. Equally significantly, women are making gains in contract language, for example, by including harassment clauses in their contracts (Anderson, 1982; List, 1983).

The participation of women is also increasing at the local union level, and the issue of gender equality has been given more prominence even among some blue-collar unions in which women do not predominate (Baker 1978). The crux of the matter, however, is that unions have been slow to make the issue of sexual inequality a priority in negotiations or education (Wilson 1982).

Furthermore, as Deckard has argued, even where women are militant and want stronger representation, unions are often seen as male clubs or insurance companies. In other words, present unions would be rejected by militant women and by militant men on the grounds that they are insufficiently strong and undemocratic. Unions fail to "challenge the division of labour...and do not demand much control over the job situation" (Rands 1972: 142). Paradoxically, then, unions may be regarded as too strong or too weak depending on the subjective understanding of the prospective member.

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

THE STUDY

This paper will review briefly some of the variations of trade union consciousness among men and women employed in the same industry and in the same institution who are equally unionized. Here the issue will not be the factors which influence or inhibit initial unionization among men and women, nor the effect of the sex-segregated labour market and different structural settings -- since these are held constant -- but whether attitude differences persist among employees in the same institutional setting on the basis of gender differentiation.

The primary aim of the study was to assess variations in trade union consciousness among white-collar occupational groups in the public sector in Nova Scotia. The Provincial Teaching Hospital was chosen as the site for this study because several occupational groupings within this institution had a history of mass resignations, making them the most militant in the civil service. Clearly the degree of trade union consciousness found among employees of this hospital could not be generalized to all provincial government workers in the province. The assumption, however, was that these workers would represent the maximum level of unionism within the civil service. Should union attitudes be relatively weak in this setting, it could be presumed that they would be somewhat lower elsewhere.

One hundred sixty employees were chosen in a stratified systematic sample so that four occupational groups would be represented, equally divided between men and women. The occupations chosen were maintenance and service, technical, clerical and middle management. The response rate was 66%. Only 10 of the 40 Maintenance and service workers approached agreed to be interviewed, so the response rates for the other three groups was greater. In addition to the maintenance and service group, the final response numbers included 37 middle managers, 33 technicians and 26 clerks, approximately equally divided between men and women.

To summarize the findings, on the majority of indicators gender differences were not very large. Overall, differences were in the predicted direction, with women indicating lower degrees of agreement with union ideology. In cases of some particular indicators, particularly on-the-job action, preference for an advisory body rather than a union, and some specific issues surrounding the question of the strike, the differences were significant. There was a greater disparity among enterprise-level than society-level variables. In many cases, different structural settings produced similar results for diverse reasons. The greatest difference among occupational groups was in the middle management sample where women were more in favour of selective trade union principles than men.

FINDINGS

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

Among the sample of hospital employees, income differences within each occupational group were slight and had more to do with age and qualifications than with gender. With respect to their perception of promotion opportunities, males tended to believe that opportunities were slightly better within the hospital. They also tended to be more ambitious. 22% of women compared with 9% of the men wanted to stay in their present position rather than, for example, moving into a higher one. Approximately equal numbers of men and women were in supervisory positions. Equal numbers (25% and 20%) felt "still very much at the bottom".

Some of these differences may reflect the relationship between anticipated and actual career patterns. Although there was little difference found in promotion expectations within the hospital, women rated their wider promotion opportunities as worse than the men ($p = .05$)¹ while the men expressed the greatest discrepancy between promotion expectations and achievement ($p < .01$). More women than men (57% vs. 38%) said that they had received regular promotions. Another indication of relative dissatisfaction emerged from a comparison with the private sector which males more than females saw as offering significantly better wages and benefits than the public sector.²

Some of the most significant differences emerged from responses to job control questions. Women indicated a greater degree of alienation on these questions than men. Women were more likely than men to agree that the administration of the hospital was too tight ($p = .07$). Twenty seven per cent of women compared with nine per cent of men did not agree that, by in large, they were their "own bosses" at work ($p = .04$). More women than men thought that they had too little say in how their work was organized ($p = .03$). Some differences emerged within occupational categories. Among technicians there were few differences between men and women in their feelings of general autonomy at work, as determined by a small battery of questions. Among clerical workers, the difference between males and females was greater. Within this group there were major differences in the type of work done. Clerical work in general is a very heterogeneous category, and the women in the study were primarily typists and general office clerks experiencing very routine work under supervision, while the majority of male

¹ Probabilities are derived from an analysis of variance.

² Chi Sq. = .01. Unlike wages, working conditions were seen as essentially similar in the public and private sectors by both men and women. Slight differences were found in perceptions of labour-management relations and job security, with more ranking the private sector as superior to the public. The largest non-significant disparity between men and women was on the issue of promotion opportunities, which men saw as better than women in the private sector ($p = .14$).

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

clerks were stock room workers who identified more closely with the blue collar employees in the hospital. These feelings of greater alienation among female clerks at work, however, did not translate into a greater expression of trade union consciousness.

Female middle managers also reported a lower level of autonomy than their male counterparts. It was here that the major discrepancy occurred. Unlike clerical work, lower feelings of autonomy among female middle managers were associated with higher levels of trade union consciousness than their male counterparts, although the degree remained somewhat lower than other occupational groups in the study.

There were discrepancies, then, between some of the variables which have been associated with trade unionism. For men, grievances included a sense of having fewer promotion experiences than expected and believing that conditions were better in the private sector. Women, however, indicated a higher degree of alienation on job control issues. Gender differences in unionism, then, could be relatively slight, but for divergent reasons.

The largest number of issues in the study were designed to assess attitude differences with respect to trade unionism. The major conceptual difference in levels of trade union consciousness employed in the study was between unionization at the level of the employment setting or enterprise, and a wider identification of unionism to include other employees. Prandy, Stewart and Blackburn (1982) refer to these as "enterprise" and "society unionateness". Since unionism at the level of the enterprise may be associated with particularistic interests and not indicate any identification with the wider union movement or working class consciousness, it was assumed that, if one group exhibited a lower degree of trade union conscious than another, this would be indicated by a greater disparity on society-level than enterprise-level items since the former would represent a greater commitment to a wider trade union consciousness.

In the majority of cases tested, males tended to be somewhat more trade union conscious than females. For example, women were more likely to prefer not to have an employee organization at all (40% vs. 27%). Men were somewhat more likely to agree that binding arbitration was most beneficial for management (40% vs. 27%). Women were less likely to agree that people in their position needed to have the strike weapon (27% vs. 16%) and were less willing to extend the right to strike to all non-essential civil servants. These relationships were not statistically significant.

Women, however, expressed a significantly greater preference for an organization which would advise and consult with management and not engage in collective bargaining ($p = .04$) and preferred a labour management committee to a trade union ($p = .05$). Men were more likely to wish for a more militant union ($p = .03$). This

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

disparity did not so much concern the issue of the strike as on-the-job actions. While walking a picket line may be intimidating, there may appear to be the option of not participating. However, job action short of the strike may be more visible and directly confrontational. While women and men did not rank the strike weapon differently, more men expressed a need for an organization which was prepared to take action short of the strike ($p. = .04$).³

³ This value is a Chi Sq.

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

Respondents were given a list of service occupations and asked whether they endorsed the right to strike for workers in these industries. Women consistently opposed the right to strike more than men, although the difference was only significant in the case of collecting garbage: more women than men opposed the right to strike for these workers ($p = .02$)⁴ The next largest difference was on strikes among school employees. These findings may reflect women's greater responsibility for household maintenance and child care.

To test this relationship between gender and unionism further, an enterprise-level unionism Guttman scale was constructed with five items ranging from a general acceptance of the need for some kind of collective representation to acceptance of the need for the right to strike. On this composite score, the results obtained from the other measures reported above were duplicated: men were somewhat more likely to endorse the more militant options than women (39% vs. 28%). However, at the other end of the scale, men were also slightly more likely to endorse only the least unionist position on the scale (16% vs. 8%). This group, who went the shortest distance along the Guttman scale, was composed entirely of middle management personnel and almost exclusively of men. Among the middle management group the feeling is considerably stronger among women than men that there is a need for some form of organized collective bargaining.

Other questions related to trade unionism were designed to broaden the issues beyond the immediate employment setting. Generally speaking, the male/female differences were not greater on these society unionateness issues. Women were more likely to agree that their union should restrict its jurisdiction to only civil servants and not allow trade union groups into the union. Only 11% of women compared with 30% of the men agreed with the wider jurisdiction. With respect to the scope of the organization--basically how wide the jurisdiction should be--the greatest gender difference was found among clerical workers with the females being considerably more conservative: 77% of the females compared with 31% of the males voiced a preference for a restricted jurisdiction. This probably reflected the differences in work and class identification. However, among managers, women were more liberal than men (58% vs. 72%) choosing narrow jurisdictions.

Gender differences were also found on the issue of the type of collective

⁴ Chi Sq. = .02. There was an almost equal (and negative) expression rejecting the right to strike for postal workers. Men were somewhat more liberal on the other services: medical, firefighting, telephone workers, and airlines. In addition to garbage collection, the second widest (if non-significant) disparity concerned education workers ($p = .12$). These two services may be crucial for the day-to-day operation of a household.

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

representation sought. Males were more likely to endorse C.L.C. affiliation, by a 31% to 12% margin. Women were less likely to desire the policy of bringing the civil service under the trade union act ($p. = .05$). 40% of the men compared with only 14% of the women agreed to this change. On most society-level indicators, women did not score significantly lower than men. Even the issue of the Trade Union Act is subject to interpretation since the main difference between the Act and the existing civil service collective bargaining legislation concerned the right to strike which is an enterprise unionism issue. On wider questions concerning the right to strike, women were slightly more conservative than men.

One of the consistent findings is that the middle management grouping appears to be the most anomalous category. They do not exhibit the greatest level of trade unionism--here the technicians, both men and women, rank highest--but within their occupation occur the widest gender differences. Here, relevant factors include feelings among the women that further promotion opportunities are lower and feelings of lower autonomy. The women middle managers tended to be somewhat less formally qualified than the men. Among managers, women reported that they experienced lower degrees of independence in their work and this was associated with their relatively greater expression of trade unionism, although there was little endorsement of militancy.

The comments on gender which were elicited during the interviews tended to reflect the expectation that women were less committed to their jobs, and to the union, than men. According to one male clerk: "The guys here are all pretty union-minded. You get some married women who are happy with two per cent and who work because they're bored at home and don't need the money." According to this perspective, women's primary orientation is to the home. Only one woman actually endorsed this sentiment, stating that she had "no interest in the union. My interests are my home and family." Only three of the women and none of the men planned to leave their jobs to do housework. 77% of the women, compared with 90% of the men disagreed with the statement that their family life interfered with their jobs ($p. = .11$). Only one woman explicitly complained that she had to work when she preferred to stay home. On the whole, there is no evidence that these women were less committed than the men to their work. Many men had other reasons for lacking commitment to their specific work and union, including retirement and other job opportunities. There were a few sentiments expressed, however, which would have the effect of selectively reinforcing male prejudices.

Finally, some inconsistencies appear in respondent's evaluation of their union. Equal numbers of men and women believed that the union had been successful in carrying out its duties on their behalf, with one-third critical and one-third supportive. More men than women felt that their future depended on the union (46% vs. 38%). Women, however,

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

expressed more confidence in their union executive (37% vs. 27%). None of these relationships was significant. Women, however, reported considerably less involvement in the union. 53% of the men compared with only 17% of the women reported being active. 83% of the women seldom or never took part in union business.

DISCUSSION

These findings should be understood in the context of general hospital employment. Below the level of administration and the medical staff, where males predominate, the hospital is largely a female working place. With the exception of maintenance personnel, a majority of women were employed in all occupations. Within civil service classifications, however, there are major differences. Women predominate in the technical categories and in this sphere perform work which is relatively close to their male counterparts. This was associated with a general absence of attitude differences on most union questions. Many female middle managers and supervisors were employed in the technical departments. Most had received promotion on the job rather than being recruited directly to the Civil Service at their present level. The sentiment among some of the female middle managers was that the civil service was superior to the private sector because it was more of an equal opportunity employer. They did not rate their chances outside the hospital as highly as the men and were less likely than the men to perceive a gap between their expectations and experience of promotions.

The clerical component was the most diverse in the study. Small numbers here among the various sub-occupations made it difficult to determine whether variations in attitude could be generalized beyond the sample. Although the majority of clerks were women, men predominated in certain spheres. Most of the store room clerks were men. This work involved a considerable physical component and was performed by younger males "promoted" from service or blue-collar work, or older males similarly promoted later in life or retired from the armed forces. The second major concentration of male clerks was found in the accounting office. These were either young, upwardly mobile males or, again, older ex-services personnel building a second pension. Workers in these categories exhibited a relatively low degree of trade union involvement and consciousness, although for diverse reasons. Most female clerical workers were working as secretaries, ward clerks or filing clerks. Although their market conditions were generally poor, their work settings meant that they were spread about the hospital in all departments. Only the store room and accounting clerks were concentrated in any fashion in the hospital. This relative isolation in the institution would also, theoretically, be associated with lower trade union consciousness.

In a study which is concerned with gender differences, the greater absence of apparent union interest on some indices among women cannot be interpreted apart from

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

the question of women's objective double (or triple) burden (Stromberg and Harkess, 1978) and their structured perceptions of unionism. To the extent that unions fail to address seriously issues which are specific to women, there is a probability of lower involvement. It is not simply that women's interests are fundamentally outside the employment relationship. The trade union structure inhibits participation by membership generally and this holds particularly for women.

CONCLUSION

With the generally small differences found, it cannot be claimed that female employees in the four occupations in the hospital have considerably lower levels of trade union consciousness than their male colleagues. Given roughly equivalent employment settings, occupations, classifications and unionization, the findings from this study indicate that differences between men and women with respect to union attitudes were not large.

These findings cannot be generalized to women as a category. However, they lend indirect support to the structuralist argument that the primary variables are occupation and work characteristics, in addition to the contradictions between the social roles assigned to women and the practices of contemporary trade unionism. In contrast to the general measures of unionism, among middle managers, women exhibited considerably more trade unionism than their male colleagues. Even within a single institutional setting, and similar occupational titles, there are characteristics of a dual labour market for men and women.

Part of the absence of difference can be attributed to the ambiguous relationship with some of the factors which have been associated with unionism, such as discrepancies in feelings of autonomy at work and in promotion expectations. Males tended to express more feelings of alienation than females on some dimensions (with the exception of the middle management grouping) which have been consistently linked with trade unionism, while women scored higher than men on others. The indication of less autonomy and job control among women indicated a degree of union potential which was not being fully or consistently tapped.

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

REFERENCES

Adam, C.

1971 "Why women aren't socialists", *New Statesman*, 9 July.

Adam, Judith

1973 "Toronto gets into the ACTE", *Canadian Labour*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (March): 3-5.

Anderson, Doris

1982 "How employers can thwart sexual harassment", *Financial Post*, (2 January): 8.

Baker, Maureen and Mary-Anne Robeson

1981 "Trade union reactions to women workers and their concerns, *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (Winter): 19-31.

Baker, Sally Hillsman

1978 "Women in Blue-Collar and Service Occupations", pp. 339-376 in A. H. Stromberg and S. Harkess (eds.) *Women Working*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield.

Berquist, Virginia A.

1974 "Women's participation in labour organizations", *Monthly Labor Review*, (October).

Canada, Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada

1970 *Report*, Ottawa: Information Canada.

Deckard, Barbara

1975 *The Women's Movement: Political, Socioeconomic, and Psychological Issues*. New York: Harper and Row.

Flexner, Eleanor

1971 *Century of Struggle*. New York: Atheneum.

Grimm, James W.

1978 "Women in female dominated professions", pp. 293-315 in A. H. Stromberg and S. Harkess (eds.) *Women Working*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield.

Hartman, Grace

1976 "Women and the unions", in Gwen Matheson (ed.) *Women in the Canadian*

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

Mosaic. Toronto: Peter Martin.

Judek, J.

1968 *Women in the Public Service*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Klein, Alice and Wayne Roberts

1974 "Besieged innocence: The 'problem' and problems of working women-Toronto, 1896-1914", pp. 211-260 in Janice Acton, Penny Goldsmith and Bonnie Shepard (eds.), *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930*. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press.

Kocka, Jurgen

1980 *White Collar Workers in America*. New York: Sage.

Krahn, Harvey and Graham S. Lowe,

1988 *Work, Industry and Canadian Society*, Scarborough: Nelson.

List, Wilfred

1983 "Fight for Women's equality gains momentum in unions", *Globe and Mail*, 5 December.

MacLeod, Catherine

1974 "Women in production: The Toronto Dressmakers' Strike of 1931", pp. 309-330 in J. Acton, P. Goldsmith and B. Shepard (eds.), *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930*. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press.

Marchak, Patricia

1973 "Women workers and white collar unions", *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. X No. 2: 134-147.

McDonald, Lynn

1975 "The wages of work: A widening gap between men and women", *Canadian Forum*, (May).

McFarland, Joan

1980 "Changing modes of social control in a New Brunswick Fishing Packing Town", *Studies in Political Economy*, No. 4 (Autumn): 99-113.

Morris, Monica B.

1978 "Inequalities in the labour force: Three sociological explanations", pp.

Trade Union Consciousness Among NS Women Hospital Workers

162-175 in A. H. Stromberg and S. Harkess (eds), *Women Working*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield.

Prandy, K., A. Stewart and R. M. Blackburn,
1982 *White-Collar Work*, London: Macmillan.

Rands, Jean

1972 "Towards an organization of working women", pp. 141- 148 in *Women Unite!*, ed. by Discussion Collective No. 6. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press.

Rowbotham, Sheila

1974 *Women, Resistance and Revolution*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.

Shortridge, Kathleen

1975 "Working poor women", pp. 242-253 in J. Freeman (ed.) *Women: A Feminist Perspective*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield.

Silverman, Peter

1981 "Women on the front line in union battlegrounds", *Financial Post*, Vol. LXXV, No. 4 (3 January).

Stromberg, A. H. and S. Harkess

1978 "Introduction" to A. Stromberg and S. Harkess (eds.) *Women Working*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield.

Tarr-Whelan, Linda

1978 "Women workers and organized labour", *Social Policy*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (May-June): 13-17.

Townson, Monica

1975 "Organizing women workers", Labour Gazette, Vol. LXXV: 349-353.

White, Julie

1980 Women and Unions. Ottawa: Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

Wilson, S. J.

1982 *Women, the Family and the Economy*. Toronto: McGraw- Hill Ryerson.