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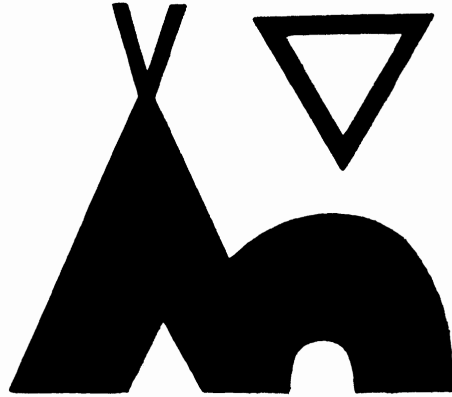

NUMÉRO SPÉCIAL/SPECIAL ISSUE

LES IMMIGRANTES AU TRAVAIL: RÉPERCUSSIONS DOMESTIQUES

FEMALE MIGRANTS AND THE WORK FORCE: DOMESTIC REPERCUSSIONS

Sous la direction de/Guest Edited by
LISA GILAD and DEIRDRE MEINTEL

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Susan H. Buchanan Stafford, Geneviève Turcotte

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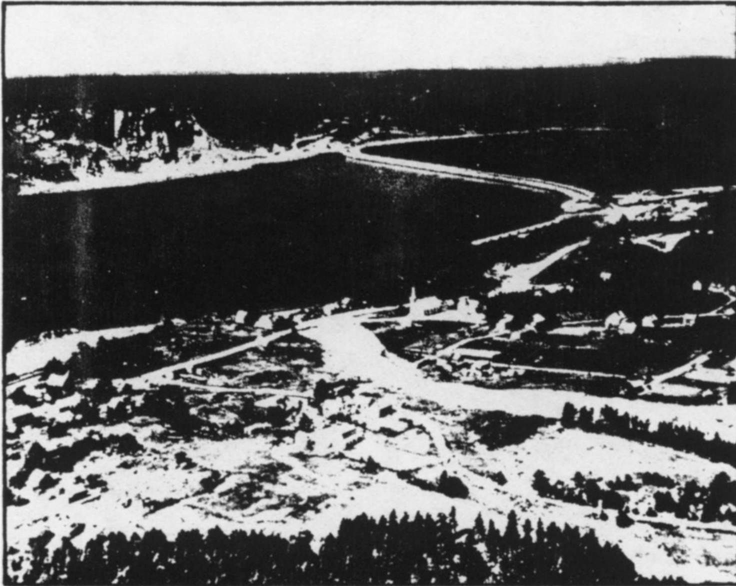

"ROCK IN A STREAM": LIVING WITH THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN CAPE BRETON

Constance P. deRoche and John E. deRoche, Editors

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FOREWORD

This, the seventh in ISER's Research and Policy Papers series, marks a departure from the earlier Papers in two ways. Unlike the earlier publications in the series which were single papers, this one contains a collection of three papers as well as an introduction. It is also different in being ISER's first publication on an Atlantic province other than Newfoundland, and thereby fulfills an ambition at the time of our reorganization in 1984 to extend our activities to other parts of the Atlantic region.

This collection also fills a void in the anthropological literature and in Canadian studies on the island of Cape Breton. Known mainly as a "depressed" region of Nova Scotia and Atlantic Canada, Cape Breton has a rich heritage and a unique culture within the Canadian mosaic. As these papers show, despite their difficulties, Cape Bretoners exhibit a spirit and a sense of humour about their lot, and a capacity to enjoy life that cannot be captured by national account statistics on income disparities.

ISER is fortunate in having been approached by four dedicated anthropologists who have made Cape Breton their main research focus for some years, Connie and John deRoche and Pieter and Georgina deVries, to see if we were interested in publishing their work. We are very pleased to do so, and are confident that Rock in a Stream: Living with the Political Economy of Underdevelopment in Cape Breton makes an important contribution to regional and development studies.

J.D. House
Research Director
St. John's, November 1987

The essays in this publication take off from the great Canadian tradition of political economy, which emphasizes the large-scale structural forces that shape people's fate in economically under-developed regions. But these articles tell the other side of the story. They reject the image of the hinterland poor as helpless victims or dupes of world capitalism. Instead, they reveal the constructive lives that people build for themselves amid the indignities of poverty and powerlessness.

Using indepth research techniques the authors document the active efforts made by Cape Bretoners in every-day living to turn their circumstances to best advantage.

An introductory essay reviews the relevant literature and sets the general perspective. The three studies present an analysis of the changing role of women in a small rural community; an examination of Acadian strategies for coping with regional poverty; and an interpretation of coal miners' efforts to control their day-to-day work.

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FEMALE MIGRANTS IN THE WORK FORCE: DOMESTIC REPERCUSSIONS

PREFACE

This special issue of *Anthropologica* originated in a symposium organized by Lisa Gilad for the XIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES) in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada in 1983. The title of the symposium was "Family Structures and Occupational Opportunities: Women Immigrants in an Urban Setting." The articles by Gilad, Meintel et al., and Stafford in this volume were initially prepared for the Congress. Janet Salaff also presented a paper on the Chinese in Singapore, but was unable to prepare it for inclusion here because of other commitments. We solicited both Esther Goody's introduction and Charlene Gannagé's article on immigrant women in a Toronto garment factory especially for this volume. Judith Nagata was a discussant for the Congress symposium and has appropriately provided concluding remarks. We are grateful to all of the authors for their contributions.

The two of us joined forces in preparing *Female Migrants in the Work Force* because we agreed that the lives of the women with whom we all worked were worth writing about, particularly since they did not fit preexisting theoretical frameworks. While each author (or set of authors) clearly has certain theoretical interests, a deliberate emphasis has been placed on ethnographic detail. We believe that this is important for refining the general statements which are often made in the study of women in industrial societies. Many women in today's large cities are immigrants from various cultural backgrounds who are changing not only themselves and their own lives, but also the societies they have entered. Thus, there is no monolithic way of writing about these women and their struggles both as women and as workers. We suggest that the interpretations proffered in the articles here tend to be rooted in, rather than imposed upon the data.

Finally, while we read and commented on all of the papers, we would like to thank Kathryn Molohon, Editor-in-Chief of *Anthropologica*, for her help and advice in preparing this volume. We are equally grateful to Max Hedley for his kind editorial help, and to the anonymous readers.

Lisa Gilad (Memorial University of Newfoundland)
Deirdre Meintel (Université de Montréal)

INTRODUCTION

Esther Goody
Cambridge University

The four papers in this collection provide a feast of rich ethnographies of immigrant working women. This in itself is extremely welcome, as in-depth studies on this subject are rare, and give special insight to the *process* of adaptation to new roles in a new culture. Beyond this, as a group these papers provide detailed material on immigrants from several different societies of origin. The material in this volume is of a quality that permits powerful systematic comparisons. Since some of the studies cover the same or related populations, there is also a particularly valuable element of replication. There are data on women from several Eastern European groups (Gannagé), on several Southern European groups (Gannagé; Meintel et al.), on Haitians and Colombians (Meintel et al.; Stafford), and on Jewish women from Eastern Europe (Gannagé) and in the Yemen (Gilad).

In this brief introduction, it is only possible to discuss a few of the many themes in the four studies which are potentially relevant to social policy and social theory. The quality and depth of the material in the four studies allows unusual cross-referencing among the several factors in the complex equation that expresses immigrant women's situation at home and at work. The complexity of the ultimate equation derives from its overlapping domains. The authors are concerned with the long unfolding of the immigration process; with the international labor market and the position of women within it; and with the dynamics of conjugal roles and the response of these dynamics to changing access to resources for both husbands and wives.

All of the authors explicitly or implicitly question why, when immigrant women contribute substantially to the support of the household through their wages, they do not have greater equality with their husbands. According to the "resources" theory of conjugal power, women who make substantial contributions to the resources needed to maintain domestic groups tend to have a greater say in decisions, and their husbands tend to share more in domestic tasks (Blood and Wolf 1965). The women described here work outside the home, but they also have major responsibilities for the daily functioning of their households and the care of their children. Yet their double contribution does not seem to change subordination to husbands in such key areas as freedom of movement outside the home, equal priority for educational or leisure needs on a par with those of their husbands, or the sharing of domestic tasks.

By looking specifically at immigrant women, the studies in this volume allow us to frame this important question in two significant ways: (a) in relation to models of conjugal roles in

the various societies of origin; and (b) in relation to change through time. These women share with Canadian and American women the experience of managing two jobs—a double working day. The constraints, and advantages (especially the advantage of an independent wage), of their two jobs are common to all working mothers. But immigrant women bring with them models of how men and women should manage their responsibilities and relationships. These models were generated in the cultures and ecological constraints of their home societies, and they differ accordingly from each other, and from models of male-female responsibilities and relationships in their new home. By comparing and contrasting the original models of their home countries, and how these are adapted, we can see how the models themselves give different meanings to a situation which is objectively the same for all of the women described. Furthermore, the elements common to these various models suggest underlying features which are not dependent on specific cultural or ecological constraints.

Importantly, the studies in this volume catch the moment in time when, as a result of immigration, old models are engaged in new situations. Where the lack of fit is extreme, as in the Yemeni case (Gilad), this throws into relief the relationship between the traditional model of male-female relationships and the enabling conditions in which the model functions or fails to function. But this is only for a moment, because the next generation will have its own models, blending those of the new country and the old. Understanding these models is yet another enterprise for which studies like these provide a necessary baseline.

The papers in this volume allow us to begin taking account of ethnic differences in adapting to the constraints of the following domains: immigration, the labor market, women's domestic roles, and access to resources. This raises the question of what is meant by "ethnic differences." We can see this by grouping immigrant communities by regional origin. The present collection provides sets for the Caribbean, for Southern Europe, for Eastern Europe (largely Catholic), and for the Yemeni Jews of Israel.

With this perspective, we can see certain common patterns in the traditional definitions of conjugal roles, as well as clear differences. The groups from the Caribbean area (Haitians and Colombians) are characterized by strong male dominance in husband/wife relations (Meintel et al.; Stafford), as are the Southern- and Eastern-European groups (Gannagé; Meintel et al.), and the traditional Yemeni Jews (Gilad). Interestingly, among both Haitians and Colombians, there is a marked reluctance by some men to commit themselves to the husband/father role. Although a husband expects to be recognized as head of the family, he may withdraw from the husband/father roles altogether if he feels threatened by the obligations they entail. Thus, both Meintel et al. and Stafford report that Caribbean women emigrate

to provide better for their dependents in the absence of male support. Meintel et al. (p. 29) cite the case of a Colombian woman whose husband left her after the birth of each of their three sons, the last time permanently.

In all of the societies of origin cited in this volume, the male roles of husband and father are identified with the responsibilities of provider and family head. These constitute core roles for men and are expected of men of a given age as a mark of adult status. They are especially valued by individuals, and serve as goals and measures of worth. Indeed, a distinguishing feature of core roles is that people care desperately about successfully filling them. For a given type of actor, core roles represent the most complete possible fulfillment of what they understand to be their potential and their rights. There is also a strong responsibility to fill a core role successfully. The sanctions supporting core roles are both internal and external, as well as subjective and objectified by the allocation of resources, respect, and other valued roles (see Note 1).

Despite the wide range of ethnic origins among the immigrant women described in these papers, all of the women share a deep commitment to the core role of mother. They describe their decisions to work (or to temporarily leave work), the organization of household tasks and their own leisure, the foregoing of educational opportunities, and their efforts to save for the future or to find a better job, in terms of their responsibilities as mothers. This is partly a matter of obligation to contribute to household subsistence—to feed and clothe their families (Gannagé; Gilad; Meintel et al.; Stafford). But in addition, the women's own aspirations are defined in terms of their children's eventual success, for which they consider themselves responsible.

The several populations described in this volume show much more variation in the core role of wife than in the core role of mother. This is clear in the data on marital status for the four populations studied by Meintel et al. Although nearly all of the women in the European groups in that study were currently in a conjugal union (83 percent), markedly fewer Haitian and Colombian women were living with a spouse. Clearly, women's roles cannot be understood apart from the main roles with which they mesh. Where men are reluctant to commit themselves to the family head/provider responsibilities of the husband and father roles, women must take these on. In the Caribbean, women tend to do this as mothers, and the matrifocal family is one expression of this (see R. T. Smith 1956; 1973). The "macho" male role is an alternative core role for men in the Caribbean. It is defined as predatory on other families' women (Stafford).

Immigrants carry with them from home the definitions of core roles through which they understand the world. These roles organize behavior by determining goals and priorities, and by setting

constraints to adaptive responses to problems of the immigrant situation. Where life in the new country no longer permits the traditional core male and female roles, major conflicts and re-definitions of roles are likely to occur. This is the situation described by Gilad for Yemeni men in Israel. Their old roles as family heads and providers, and as gatekeepers for women's access to the outside world, were impossible in Israel. There, the occupational structure did not permit men to support their families without their wives' assistance. The schools educated their children outside the sphere of paternal authority, and the army gave their daughters a freedom in late adolescence inconceivable in Yemen. The new authority of Yemeni women cannot be understood apart from Israeli society's simultaneous restriction on their husbands in successfully filling their traditional core roles. This is not a result of the immigration situation per se, nor strictly of male/female conjugal interaction. In this case, immigration provided very limited status and occupational options for men. This, in turn, created strong pressures towards women's participation in the labor force, in education, and in the army. An entirely new role has been created: that of adult, unmarried daughter (Gilad n.d.). This new role is a function of the internal dynamics of the Yemeni immigrant family interacting with the options provided by the political economy of Israel.

As core roles change, so does the balance between family members seeking to live these roles. However, at any given time, the definition of core roles structures the meanings attributed to what people do. With astonishing regularity across the wide socio-cultural span described in the papers in this volume, women's work outside the house is defined as "helping" the husband to support the family in his core role as "provider." A woman is not seen to have an occupational role in her own right. Alternatively, and often simultaneously, a woman's outside work is seen as an extension of her core roles as "wife" and "mother." Authors in this volume report that women are careful not to threaten their husband's sense of competence in the core "provider" role by seeming to assume this role themselves if the man is unemployed, or can only get poorly paid or irregular work. Instead, the wife asserts that she is only doing what is necessary to care for her family as a wife/mother should; that her paid work is really "just helping" her husband. Whatever the effects for women of increased resource control and increased total work load, paid work outside the home has not itself affected the definitions of core roles in these samples.

A classic discussion of the "helping syndrome" appears in Epstein's account of husband/wife law partnerships (1971). Epstein reports that professionally qualified women lawyers in joint practice with their husbands describe themselves as "helping" their husbands. She relates this pattern to three major dynamics:

1. The nature of the requirements for success in the legal profession, a particularly competitive orientation, and concern with avoiding conflicts caused by competition between husband and wife;

2. The women's priority concern for the welfare of their children, and also for their responsibilities as wives for their husbands' comfort;

3. The constraints of husbands' possible sexual jealousy of the wives' professional autonomy.

In these "purpose-built" professional partnerships, the wives gave priority to their roles as wives by avoiding competition with their husbands and by avoiding situations which might arouse sexual jealousy. In addition, they gave priority to their roles as mothers through strategies that allowed them to retain responsibility for early socialization. They were concerned about being "good mothers," and guilt about this even led one woman to curtail her legal work.

> Although many (lawyer-wives) had aspirations in law careers, they also aspired to become mothers and wives. Many would have completely forsaken their career ambitions to pursue the normal feminine roles if that had to be the choice. (Epstein 1971:559)

Significantly, although the husband/father in these law partnerships sometimes "helped" his wife with domestic tasks, "The wives assumed primary responsibility for management of the home and care of the children" (ibid.).

There are obvious differences between these highly qualified professional women who are acting in formal partnership with their husbands, and the immigrant women in these studies who work in menial or at best semiskilled jobs, separate from their husbands. Yet the "helping syndrome" appears in all these cases. The extreme instance is shown by Yemeni immigrant men, who plummeted from traditionally secure positions of religious and economic heads of households within which women were effectively secluded, to being marginalized in both work and domestic roles. Even there, wives reported that their often better-paid jobs were "helping" their husbands. Gilad's study in this volume notes that "mothering is the most valued of all their activities," and that "husbands continually reinforce this notion." Women in Gilad's study commented that whatever the actual authority situation within the home, ". . . men have to be humored because they naturally must feel superior." The same tendency to define the efforts of each spouse in relation to the core role of the other is reported in the study of Haitian immigrants in New York (Stafford), in the study of mainly Eastern and Southern European garment workers in Toronto (Gannagé), and in the study of women

from Eastern and Southern Europe and from the Caribbean area (Haiti and Colombia) working in Montréal (Meintel et al.).

Another indication of resistance to change on the part of core conjugal roles is their resilience in relation to the constraints of the developmental cycle. The papers here note cases where the husband was caring for the children or helping with household tasks while a child was ill, or when the children were young. Later, with the crisis past, the husband withdrew from these domestic tasks (Gannagé; Gilad; Meintel et al.; Stafford; see also Goody and Grootheus 1979). Indeed, Gannagé reports instances where men who normally helped their wives ceased a domestic task when another woman was present. Thus, even where men share in "women's tasks," it is on a highly *contingent* basis: during a crisis, to make it possible for their wives to continue with financially necessary jobs, or when not observed by women other than their wives.

There is, of course, a lack of symmetry in spousal "helping" in male and female core conjugal roles. For men, "helping" is potentially demeaning; for women it is a matter of increased self-respect as well as a source of income. Thus, there is a built-in tendency for men to withdraw from the sharing of tasks which fall within women's core roles. But there is also a tendency for women to continue helping with male "provider" roles despite the absence of reciprocal help with domestic tasks from their husbands. Indeed, the pattern of two jobs for women (wage-earning and domestic), which is repeatedly found in all of the studies reported here, precisely reflects this imbalance. All the *sets* of women described here have taken on an outside job (or even, as in the case of lawyers, a profession), yet continue to have primary responsibilities for their homes and children. Furthermore, the major commitment of these women is to the core roles of wife and mother. This may be a strategem for managing the conflicts which are inevitable when two jobs are carried simultaneously (see especially Gannagé; see also Note 2). If priorities between two jobs were not clear, each conflict between the demands of the jobs would create a decision-making problem, as well as problems in dealing with the demands themselves.

Role definitions are social products, not the creations of individual women. As the "helping" phenomenon shows, core roles are shaped by the role sets into which they lock. It is here that the four papers on *immigrant* women make a special contribution. By looking at the cultural and economic constraints on conjugal roles in the societies where these women originated, we can see how traditional definitions of core roles emerged in those societies. Women from Southern and Eastern Europe have descended mainly from peasant families in which the labor of both husband and wife is seen as interdependent. In those cases, the distinction between domestic and external economic domains (Fortes 1958; Rosaldo 1974; Sanday 1974) is probably not as helpful in provid-

ing an explanation of core roles as the power dimension, thoughtfully considered by Meintel et al., and by Gannagé. Women from Southern and Eastern Europe are central to subsistence production, a situation that transfers easily to factory work. However, these women take care not to challenge the authority of their husbands, even while privately considering their own contribution to the domestic economy as equal or greater. Rogers (1975) has suggested that this "myth of male dominance" may permit women in peasant societies to retain control at the level of household subsistence and management by supporting men's claims to political superiority in community affairs.

The Yemeni Jewish women described by Gilad had no specifically economic role in their traditional society, but were responsible for the management of the household and the care of children. They were effectively secluded, as were the Muslim women of the Yemen. The traditional role of Yemeni men was a relatively high-status combination of religious scholar and skilled craftsman. As a group, the men constituted the political and religious authority of their community. The subordination of women was reinforced by a strict pollution observance. Yemeni women were not educated, and were excluded from both the Jewish literate community and the wider world.

Finally, in the Caribbean area societies of origin (Haiti and Colombia) described in this volume, women were often either engaged in unstable conjugal (or quasi-conjugal) relationships, or were themselves supporting their children or younger siblings. Where both husband and wife were working, they tended to keep their money separate and to have different views of their responsibilities for family support. Men saw themselves as partially responsible for supporting children. Women saw themselves as bearing the ultimate responsibility for their own and their children's support, and perpetually struggled to secure some contribution from their children's fathers. In many cases, this was made more difficult by men's commitment to more than one household, and by their courting activities. Thus, the economic endeavors of these Colombian and Haitian spouses lacked a common objective. Their economic endeavors were not interdependent in the close-meshed manner of the ex-peasant couples from Europe, nor in the segregated and parallel fashion of the Yemeni families. Instead, the economic activities of Caribbean area couples were clearly segregated and independent, or even antagonistic in their goals.

These different sets of immigrants provide contrasting patterns of conjugal-role alteration in the immigration process. Originally, couples from Eastern and Southern Europe had closely interdependent economic roles, with a clear recognition (albeit myth) of male dominance. After immigration, the economic roles of these couples remained closely linked, and their pattern of male dominance did not seem to alter. Despite major contributions

which these immigrant women still make to their household economies, they remain strictly subordinate to their husbands.

In Yemen, spouses had quite separate and segregated economic roles. Men held relatively high status in the wider society and *vis-à-vis* their women. As immigrants to Israel, Yemeni women became economically active outside the home, while their husbands were marginalized, both economically and in terms of status in the community. In Israel, Yemeni husbands and wives continue to see the welfare of their family as a joint concern, but the authority of the husbands is severely curtailed. Instead of this leading to a redefinition of conjugal roles based on the sharing of domestic tasks and the "provider" role, both spouses continue to define the husband as "provider" and the wife as primarily a "wife" and "mother" (Gilad). Although the addition of wives' vital wages has changed the contribution of resources to their families, while at the same time husbands' loss of status in their new community has further undermined male domestic authority, this has not altered the definition of core conjugal roles.

The Haitian and Colombian couples described in this volume show a shift in conjugal power and authority after immigration which is exactly the opposite. In North America, the economic roles of Haitian and Colombian men and women seem to have become more interdependent than they were in the country of origin. If anything, men have moved up in status with the possibility of steady jobs at relatively substantial wages. There is some suggestion (Stafford) that Haitian men are better able to control the activities of their wives' outside work than they were in the home country. However, where male immigrants from Colombia and Haiti are unable to find work, their dependence on wives is experienced as threatening. Meanwhile, immigrant women in these groups continue to see their core roles as those of wife, and especially mother. They see their jobs as contributing to the responsibilities these roles entail. Where their own abilities to provide are insecure, the husbands resent their wives' jobs. This suggests that for husbands, the "provider" role remains central.

A schematic comparison of the different sets of immigrants described in this volume suggests that domestic authority is not directly affected by whether or not spousal economic roles are joint (in the sense of carrying out interdependent tasks in the same enterprise), parallel and segregated, or independent. In all of the cases described here, wives acknowledge the legitimacy, or at least the inevitability, of male dominance. On the other hand, effective male authority within the household appears to be related to the role of the male in external economic and status systems. Although the data presented here are not systematic on this point, there is evidence that where a man's external position is weak, his wife, children, and the man himself may question his authority. Only under these conditions is there a significant change in the task-sharing and decision-making

patterns of the conjugal dyad. Gilad notes that where Yemeni men have failed to obtain work that conveys a position of respect in the immigrant community, they lose authority within the family while their wives' contributions become a significant factor in domestic role dynamics. Haitian women who were originally responsible for bringing their men to New York continue to have a relatively dominant position in the relationship. Indeed, Stafford comments that this is a source of friction. Among the European immigrant couples studied by Meintel et al., task and decision sharing occurred only when a man had withdrawn entirely from the "provider" role through unemployment or incapacitation.

The studies in this volume suggest that the resources a wife brings into the household do not determine the balance of dominance between husband and wife (and indirectly, the pattern of task sharing and decision making). Rather, the determinant is the relative lack of resources provided by the husband when the core male roles are those of "provider" and household head. Nor is this a matter of weighing the contribution by each spouse. Only when the husband's contribution can no longer be defined as "providing" for his family, and as being responsible for the family's economic support and status in the community, is his position in relation to his wife and children substantially altered. This explains the caution wives show in insisting they are only "helping" their husbands to support the family.

Paradoxically, although their new life differs radically from the old, immigrant couples may have less flexibility to renegotiate conjugal tasks and decision making than second-generation and indigenous couples. This is because immigrant couples bring with them definitions of "mother," "wife," and "provider" which were forged in traditional societies and which stress the responsibilities and deference of young adults to the senior generation. These obligations tend to be framed in terms of the hallowed importance of traditional core roles. This is a social dynamic which is anchored in the senior generation's control of resources such as land, capital, and houses, and their need to retain access to the labor of young adults. In the New World, education and the vicissitudes of the labor market are the chief determinants of adult status. Here, resources tend to be built up anew by each generation through its own labor. This is evident in cases reported both in the Canadian samples and in the Yemen, where the children of immigrant parents employed in working-class jobs have moved into middle-class or professional occupations. Where this happens, there are new middle-class definitions of core roles to be assimilated, as well as those of the new society's culture. There is no doubt that the cultural forms of core roles, and probably also the pattern of interdependence, will change for this second generation. But it is not yet clear whether these changes will cause fundamental changes in the primacy given to wife/mother roles by women, and to provider/household-head roles by men. Such changes may (or may not) modify

the dynamics by which financial need propels women into jobs, which in turn further threatens the male provider role and leads men to avoid any basic redefinition of core roles that associates them with low-status women's tasks. Indeed, it was in the professional upper-middle class, in "partnerships" of married lawyers, that Epstein first described the "helping" syndrome and women's struggles with their two jobs (1971). Despite socio-economic and cultural variations, core conjugal roles appear highly resistant to change.

NOTES

1. Core roles are those which are especially valued in a society for people in a given position. Since the social construction of sex and reproduction are central in every society, core roles include conjugal roles. However, core roles are not restricted to sex and reproduction. For instance, in southern Africa, the Ngoni peoples allotted the warrior role to young men. For a young Ngoni man, the warrior role was an especially valued core role because through it, each individual male proved his virility and stated his claim to resources, cattle, and a wife. The core role of warrior also allowed a man access to adult roles such as household head and elder. In addition to being a formal requirement before a man could be a household head or elder, the role of warrior was a matter of pride which was basic to male identity. Thus, warrior was a core role because it was central to the role structure of Ngoni societies.

   The most powerful core roles are probably those which link sex and age capacities to socially-defined roles. For women, virtually every society defines sexuality and maternity as core roles—though the cultural form of these roles varies widely. Among the Kanuri of Bornu in northeastern Nigeria, there are the roles of wife/mother and of *zower*, a divorced woman. A wife/mother is chaste, secluded within the home, and devoted to rearing infants and children. By contrast, a *zower* is free to manage her own sexuality and to move about the city and countryside. Ronald Cohen has argued that the extremely high divorce rate among the Kanuri is partly a reaction to the contradiction between these two women's roles: men fear their wives' *zower*-like behavior, and women resent their husbands' insistence on the rigid seclusion that defines the "wife" role. Both core-role models are available to Kanuri women, and they seem to want elements of both (R. Cohen 1971). I suspect that this is because it is difficult for a *zower* to be a mother. Indeed, Abner Cohen reports that among the politically and culturally similar Ibadan Hausa, divorced women were not allowed to have children with them. In that culture, the role of a free, di-

vorced woman was defined as antithetical to that of a mother (A. Cohen 1969).

2. Such strategies are not necessarily conscious, or socially enforced. They may represent the best practical alternative to a problem which is repeatedly encountered by those in a given role (see E. N. Goody 1978).

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MIGRATION, WAGE LABOR, AND DOMESTIC RELATIONSHIPS:

IMMIGRANT WOMEN WORKERS IN MONTRÉAL

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Des femmes de quatre origines ethniques ont été interviewées dans le cadre d'une étude de l'insertion des immigrées ouvières au Québec. On trouve que l'immigration a permis à ces femmes d'augmenter leur contribution financière au ménage mais que la participation des hommes aux tâches domestiques reste, pour la plupart, limitée à la garde des enfants pendant que la femme travaille à l'extérieur. Quant au pouvoir décisionnel des femmes, les patterns budgétaires ont tendance à camoufler leurs contributions financières, tout en mini-misant ses effets sur les rapports de pouvoir entre les couples. Cependant, les femmes interviewées jugent leur nouveau pouvoir salarial un acquis positif, pour diverses raisons. *Grosso modo*, nos données confirment celles provenant de nombreuses autres études de populations non-immigrées en Amérique du Nord, à l'effet que le travail salarié des femmes ne mène pas forcément à des rapports domestiques égalitaires.

As part of the study on the economic and social insertion of immigrant women workers into Québec society, women of four ethnic origins were interviewed. It was found that while immigration had allowed women to make greater financial contributions to the household than before, men's participation in domestic tasks was mostly limited to child care when necessitated by women's outside work. Budgetary patterns tend to obscure the importance of women's financial contributions insofar as decision-making is concerned. Nonetheless, their new wage earning capacity is seen as positive by the women studied. Overall, our data tend to confirm the findings of numerous other studies of non-immigrant populations in North America to the effect that wage work by women does not necessarily lead to egalitarian domestic relationships.

In the words of one sociologist, "Power and the division of labor appear to be two of the most central concepts for describ-

ing familial behavior" (Bahr 1974:167). As the same author continues, these two issues affect emotional patterns as well as social interaction in the family (Bahr:ibid.). Moreover, we would add that they are of critical importance for evaluating women's status in industrial society. It is no longer possible to assume, as certain Marxists once did, that women's participation in so-called "social production" (referring to labor outside the home) is sufficient to guarantee sexual equality. Nor can it be assumed, as many sociologists have in the past, that female participation in the labor market is necessarily indicative of a shift to greater egalitarianism. The latter is often phrased in terms of "less traditionalism" or "greater modernity." A large body of feminist scholarship has developed around the problem of how women's domestic labor and their "subordination," as Young et al. (1981:ix) term it, in the household are interrelated with gender inequality in the labor market (see also Sokoloff 1980).

In this paper, we will describe certain changes in domestic relationships experienced by immigrant women of four ethnic origins in Montréal, Québec, Canada. The question that initially guided our examination of this topic was: "Do migration and the changes in remunerative work it entails for women have any effect on their position in the household?" Elsewhere, we discuss changes in women's remunerative work (Labelle et al. 1987), and in the structure of their workday since migration (Meintel et al. 1987) in some detail. Here, we concentrate on what, if any, changes occur in the sexual division of labor in the household and in domestic power relationships, especially as these are reflected in decision-making pertaining to the household and to women's work and leisure activities.

A number of North American studies demonstrate that women's employment is likely to have little effect on their husbands' participation in domestic tasks (for a useful discussion of this research to date, see Vandelac 1985). As Goode points out, although employed women are likely to spend less time on domestic tasks than non-employed women, husbands whose wives are employed devote only slightly more time to those tasks than men whose wives are not employed (1982:143). A few recent studies show increased domestic participation by husbands of employed wives (Epstein 1971; Pleck 1977; Scanzoni 1978), and Scanzoni's research shows increasing preference for sex role interchangeability on the part of women. Overall, however, it appears that housework and child care are still treated as women's responsibilities (Bird et al. 1984; Vandelac 1985).

In 1972, Scanzoni anticipated that "provider status interchangeability," whereby both partners are seen as responsible for supporting the household, would be associated with interchangeability of roles regarding other domestic duties such as repairs, child care, washing dishes, and food shopping. In 1975, Scanzoni found that women were moving much more into the traditional male

domains of co-providing and household repairs than men were moving into traditionally female domains. When male participation in traditional female domains increased, it was likely to take the form of child care (Scanzoni 1978:77). Since this is the area of domestic work most directly affected by a woman's employment outside the home, change in men's behavior may to some degree be obliged by the household's need for the women's wages.

Scanzoni's research focused primarily on women's normative perceptions (as in, "Whose duty is it to do . . . ?") rather than on reports of actual practice ("Who does . . . ?"). Berk and her associates used an admirably detailed list of household tasks (partially reproduced in Berk 1980:71) to discover who carried out which tasks and how often in a mostly upper-middle-class, suburban population in the United States. One of the major findings of the study was that "for neither husbands nor wives did employment have any real impact on the reduction of wive's household labor contributions or on an increase in husband's contributions" (1980:75). Berk also notes that the more detailed the questions posed, the less substantial men's contributions appeared to be (1980:72). Along the same line, Vandelac (1985: 353) points out that certain studies which affirm that the household division of labor by sex has changed use such minimal criteria for male participation that their results give a highly inflated impression of how much domestic responsibilities are shared across gender lines (1985:353).

Domestic power is a complex issue (a "swamp" in one sociologist's words), as McDonald (1980) makes clear in his review of recent sociological literature on the subject. Most studies of domestic power to date have emphasized decision outcomes rather than "power processes." Moreover, decision-making is only one aspect of control, and there is also the more subtle problem of "who controls the definition of the family situation which determines the possible range of relevant decisions" (McDonald 1980: 844). McDonald also notes that most studies of "family power" focus on the husband-wife dyad to the exclusion of children and other kin, relying for data on reports by women in their role as wives. Finally, we add that although sociological research in this area mainly deals with nuclear family households, any comprehensive approach should examine other domestic forms. In some cases, our own data suggest that kin living outside the household may have a considerable say in its affairs.

Numerous studies have focused on women's employment as an independent variable affecting the allocation of domestic power (e.g., Blood and Wolfe 1960; Pleck 1977; Scanzoni 1972, 1978). Overall, women's wage work seems to be associated with greater domestic power. However, Bahr qualifies this, citing studies which show that any increased power is directly related to a woman's provider status and mainly concerns "external" decisions, notably major purchases (1974:173-175). Another common finding is

that the greater the husband's earnings and occupational status relative to his wife's, the less her employment affects the distribution of power in the household (Bahr 1974; Blood and Wolfe 1960; Scanzoni 1972). Similarly, the degree of a woman's financial contribution is likely to affect her power in the household, such that women working full-time are more likely to acquire power than those working part-time (Bahr 1974:176).

Where immigrant households are concerned, women's wage labor may be only one of several influences affecting the domestic division of labor and power relationships. While few studies treat these issues in detail, existing data suggest that other relevant factors include immigration policy, the social and cultural characteristics of the receiving society, and changes in kin networks and household composition.

In a study of Pakistani women who maintain purdah (see Note 2) after migration to England, Saifullah-Khan (1976) finds that the absence of kin in England creates social isolation, but also allows closer relationships between spouses to develop, thus giving women greater control over housekeeping and children (in Pakistan this control rests largely with senior women in the household, especially the mother-in-law). At the same time, life in England forces women in purdah to make incursions into what were formerly male domains in Pakistan: using public transport, dealing with salesmen and repairmen, and handling larger sums of money. In England, household tasks and child care are more demanding than in Pakistan, but are carried out in greater isolation, without company or social support. Although such tasks remain women's obligations and responsibilities, Saifullah-Khan anticipates changes when these women begin to enter the work force—a trend which is already evident.

Foner's study of Jamaican women in London (1978) offers another slant on the loss of female kin networks through migration. While women feel the loss of moral support and sometimes have difficulty in arranging child care, men are also affected by the absence of their own female kin. Wives' threats to leave their husbands carry more weight, given that no one else will provide the domestic services that, in Jamaica, a man's mother or sister might assume. Moreover, women who are far away from their own families feel less social pressure to stay in unhappy marital relationships. Most enjoy greater financial autonomy than would be possible in Jamaica, and regard themselves as "more independent" than before. Their sphere of activities is enlarged by being able to drive, smoke, and frequent pubs, activities less permissible in Jamaica. However, it is clear that housework and child care are still women's responsibilities. Though some men alternate working hours with their wives and share in child minding, this is unlikely when an older child is available to baby-sit (Foner 1978:74).

Research on Greeks in Canada and the United States indicates that immigration results in husbands losing some of their patriarchal control of internal household affairs, including socialization (Papajohn and Spiegel 1974; see also Note 3). Gavaki (1979) and Constantinides (1983) report that Greek women in Québec often share the provider role with their husbands; yet, according to Constantinides (ibid.:161), even women who work full-time are still likely to carry total responsibility for domestic tasks as well as for daily child care. Moreover, even women who are employed outside the home are unlikely to have social outlets independent of their husbands (Gavaki 1979:12).

Constantinides mentions that over eighty-seven percent of the women he studied report that they "participate" in decisions in the home; however, he phrases this as "being able to put their word in" (1983:162). Gavaki adds an interesting element to the discussion of domestic power in remarking that children, being more proficient in French or English than their parents, often are able to manipulate the household's contacts with the wider society through their role as interpreters (1979:13).

In a study of Portuguese migrants in Paris and in Poitiers, France, Brettell and Callier-Boisvert (1977) find that the absence of kin networks, along with the fact that many couples leave children with the maternal grandparents in Portugal, make for greater sharing of roles between husband and wife. Where no children are present, wives often work longer hours than their husbands, with the result that men often take over many "feminine" responsibilities (laundry being the one exception). In couples with co-resident children, women are likely to work as concierges or do occasional cleaning: in these cases, husbands participate less in domestic chores, perhaps doing some shopping and cooking. Role sharing is greatest in young couples without children present. The fact that traditional public spaces are not available to the man (there being no Portuguese bars or cafes) is cited as one of the reasons couples spend leisure time together. Despite all this, considerable disparities of domestic power are found to exist; important budgetary decisions are still referred to the husband, and women avoid behaving in ways that their spouses would oppose, such as going out alone after dark.

As is the case with the above cited studies of Jamaicans and Portuguese, Ng and Ramirez' study of immigrant women of various origins in Toronto, Canada indicates that where older children are present, they, rather than husbands, are likely to increase domestic task participation when women are employed (1981:48). Whether or not they are employed, women often see family allowance checks as their only discretionary income (see Note 4); yet this, too, may be used for daily expenses (ibid.:42). While major budgetary decisions are referred to husbands, even minor ones for which wives are responsible are subject to husbands' criticisms. Ng and Ramirez point out that Canadian immigration policy

has tended to define married women as "housewives," regardless of their economic activities in their countries of origin, and to classify them as dependents of their husbands. This in fact enforces dependence, since these women are excluded from welfare, day-care subsidy, and other benefits. In practice, they are also largely excluded from government language programs and manpower training (Ng and Ramirez 1981:52-53).

THE STUDY

The data presented here are derived from an exploratory study of the social and economic position of immigrant women workers in Québec society (see Note 5). Four ethnic categories were included; namely, Portuguese, Greek, Haitian, and Colombian. The first two categories represent groups of longer residence, since Greek and Portuguese immigration to Canada peaked during the period 1956-1971. These migrations were preponderantly male, especially in their early stages, and men often preceded wives and children. In 1981, Québec had 21,595 Portuguese-born residents, 10,585 of whom were women (forty-nine percent of the total), and 28,635 Greek-born residents, 13,805 of whom were women (forty-eight percent of the total; Desrosiers 1985).

The Haitian and Colombian women are, on the whole, more recent arrivals and represent new patterns of immigration that have manifested themselves since 1970 in Canada, as is also the case in the United States (see Note 6). Later, America, Asia, and the Caribbean have superseded Europe as sources of migrants; the latter include a considerable number of illegals and political refugees, and are preponderantly female (see Note 7). Many women arrive alone, often sending for spouses and/or children to join them at a later date. In 1981, there were 25,775 Haitian-born and 1,805 Colombian-born people officially residing in Québec. Fifty-four percent (14,025) of the Haitians and fifty-three percent (950) of the Colombians were women (Desrosiers 1985).

All four groups are concentrated in the Montréal area of the province of Québec. Haitian migration to Canada is mostly oriented to Québec; the other three groups are more widely dispersed, the majority residing in the other provinces. As of 1981, there were 27,370 persons of Portuguese ethnic origin (including those born in Portugal) in Québec, while those of Greek origin numbered 49,420, and those of Haitian origin, 32,500 (Desrosiers 1985).

Altogether, seventy-six women were interviewed using a semi-structured format devised in consultation with research assistants who were themselves immigrant women students of the same mother tongue as those they interviewed. The interviews centered largely on women's domestic and market work, both in the country of origin and in Québec. Attention was also given to the process of migration, kin networks, and to household decision-making.

Research subjects were selected by a non-random quota sample wherein roughly equal representation was given to the industrial and service sectors of employment. In order to diversify the social networks represented in the study as much as possible, population references for potential subjects were obtained from diverse sources: community organizations serving immigrants, ethnic associations, and professionals working in the immigrant milieu.

The women interviewed were all of "popular" class origins and came from backgrounds such as peasants, craftswomen, industrial workers, or service employees. They had come to Canada primarily for economic reasons, as well as to join family members who might already be established here. We deliberately chose respondents who currently or in the recent past were employed in manufacture or service occupations in Québec. Most immigrant women are "economically active"; sixty-five percent of all Haitian-born women fifteen years of age and over, sixty-two percent of Colombian and Portuguese women, respectively, and fifty percent of Greek-born women were so classified by 1981 census figures for the province of Québec (see Note 8). Moreover, these percentages did not include the many immigrant women employed in the informal sector—e.g., as cleaning women in private homes or as home-based pieceworkers.

We also selected for respondents who had domestic responsibilities, including spouses, children, or other relatives. Most were between the ages of twenty-five and fifty. Of the seventy-six women interviewed, fifty-eight had children who in most cases co-resided with them. Eight of these fifty-eight women supported children living in their countries of origin.

Marital status varied: most of the Portuguese and Greek women were married, whereas over half of the Haitians were variously divorced, single, or separated. The Colombians also included a number of non-married women (widowed, divorced, or separated) at the time of the study.

METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE STUDY

Our study shares some of the same methodological drawbacks that are found in many of the sociological studies of domestic task-sharing and "family power." For example, we have relied on self-reporting by women rather than on observation or reporting by a number of family members. However, Berk finds that such reports are generally quite accurate when asking questions about actions rather than attitudes (1980:69). In some cases, our interviews did provide useful observations on the household context. Our questions pertained largely to "who decided" certain matters and "who did" certain tasks rather than in-depth details of the process of decision-making and implementing. Nevertheless,

many women added pertinent statements that gave some elucidation on this score, especially concerning the decision to emigrate.

Unlike most studies of domestic task and power sharing, our research did not focus exclusively on the marital dyad, nor was it restricted to women living in nuclear family households. As will be shown in a later section, many of the women interviewed resided at some point in households whose composition differed from the nuclear family model. In a number of cases, no spouse was present. This study, then, is more concerned with the division of labor between males and females (including children) than between husbands and wives. Also, in our investigation of kinship roles as a source of responsibilities and support, we found that nonresident kin often play a role in decisions and tasks that other studies have presented as affairs of the individual household.

Although we emphasize changes brought about by migration that seem to have a bearing on women's domestic roles, it should not be forgotten that other factors may be at work. Changes in what Fortes calls the "cycle" of the domestic group (1966), such as the appearance or departure of children, may influence task-sharing and decision-making. Blood presents data from the United States showing that over time, men tend to leave more and more daily household decisions to their wives (1972:428). What might be construed as an increase in wives' power may have less to do with women asserting themselves than with male withdrawal from domestic affairs. This last finding also suggests that participants' perceptions of how and why roles have changed should be taken into account. Though our interviews were not oriented to eliciting explanations of changes, these were often supplied spontaneously by the women themselves.

Finally, we cannot purport to offer conclusive confirmation or negation of hypotheses concerning the impact of wage labor on domestic relationships, in that we did not study a control group of immigrant women who were not engaged in wage work. Thus, we offer our comparisons with others' research findings in a tentative spirit. Our major aim, given the exploratory character of the study, is to depict as faithfully as possible the interweaving of many and various factors in our subjects' histories that appear to have a bearing on the issue.

MARKET WORK BEFORE MIGRATION

A number of writers have called attention to the fact that the productive roles of women in less developed nations are often underestimated or ignored by government planners and international development agencies (Arzipe 1977; Ferchiu 1983; Michel 1983; Rogers 1980). Often, female cultivators are defined as "wives of cultivators," and are not considered "economically active." At

the same time, urban women working in the "informal sector"—e.g., street vendors and home-based pieceworkers—are likely to be missing from official statistics. Thus, it seems all the more important to underscore the point that immigrant women workers often have some experience of income-producing labor before migration.

This is, in fact, the case for virtually all the women included in our study. Greek and Portuguese respondents were mostly of peasant background, and some were obliged to seek work as domestics or in industry in the city. Those who remained in rural villages after reaching adulthood had participated in a wide range of agricultural tasks on a daily basis (e.g., tending animals, cultivating kitchen gardens, gathering firewood), as well as lending a hand in the peak season. Such work was commonly described as "helping" husbands or fathers. Married women often took over the management of the peasant enterprise for long periods after their husbands emigrated to Canada. Typically, the married peasant woman supplements the household's cash income by crafts such as sewing, knitting, or embroidery, or by piecework done at home.

Most of the Colombian and Haitian women interviewed had spent the greater part of their lives in towns and cities. Some practiced the "feminine" crafts mentioned above, while others were active in small commercial endeavors. In the latter case, Haitian women usually worked alone (e.g., as street vendors), while the Colombians worked for a family enterprise (e.g., a shoe repair shop). Women who earned cash by work outside the home tended to see their income as a necessary contribution to household subsistence. They also tended to be women who were either single and childless, or separated mothers of children.

In a number of cases, income-producing work was carried out in the service of a family enterprise (whether peasant or commercial), and involved no remuneration. Those Portuguese and Haitian women who worked as live-in domestics received only a token wage above their keep and, in several Haitian cases, none at all. In all, about a fourth of the women had been employed in the formal sector at some point, mostly in textile manufacture, food processing, or service jobs, and this usually during young adulthood. After marriage, women who engaged in market labor usually worked in their homes producing crafts or piecework, or for the family enterprise.

Few of the women interviewed had more than a primary school education: four years or less for the Haitians and the Portuguese, and about seven years for the Colombians and the Greeks. Distance from schools, poverty, and negative parental attitudes concerning the education of daughters were frequently cited reasons for terminating studies. Most of the respondents received some training in sewing or related crafts, as these were usually

considered the most useful and appropriate skills for girls to acquire.

DOMESTIC RELATIONSHIPS AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Nuclear family households are the norm in the Greek and Portuguese accounts of life in the country of origin. In some cases, these households were truncated by the absence of a spouse who had already emigrated, but who was still regarded as head of the household. In both instances, collateral ties were of secondary importance for day-to-day mutual aid, a finding confirmed by ethnographic accounts (see Cutileiro 1977 on the Portuguese, and Campbell 1964 on Greek kinship patterns). However, mutual aid among adult siblings and between parents and adult children is often considerable, especially among the Portuguese. Though housekeeping tasks tended not to be shared, a mother, mother-in-law, or sister residing in proximity could usually be counted on for help with children. Since most of the Greek and Portuguese women who were married before emigrating based their remunerative activities in the home, the need for such help tended to be occasional. Men's participation in household and child-related tasks was minimal, and was usually limited to household repairs.

Although it is difficult to reconstruct decision-making patterns several years after the fact, it appears that Portuguese women, though often influential in decisions such as those pertaining to emigration or children's schooling, generally regarded the husband or father as head of the household. In a number of cases, the male head controlled all cash transactions and was given all wages earned by other members of the household. In several cases, the wages of young girls working as domestics were paid directly to their fathers. It was also common among the cases we studied for wives to take over responsibility for administering the budget while still leaving final say for any major expenditures to the husband. Unmarried women might save a portion for their trousseau and contribute the rest to the parental household. After marriage, earnings were likely to be small, and were usually absorbed in daily expenses for food and clothing.

In nearly all cases, Portuguese women consulted their husbands about any leisure activities outside the household. However, the presence of kin in the vicinity allowed many legitimate excursions to which husbands were unlikely to object. Unmarried women usually resided with parents, and although mothers sometimes colluded with daughters to facilitate outings without the father's knowledge, fathers were seen as holding ultimate authority over daughters' activities, including employment. Women whose husbands had emigrated took over responsibility for daily decisions without usually infringing on the husband's traditional power, as he was normally consulted on "important" matters (in-

cluding daughters' social activities, children's schooling, and major expenses). Several women mentioned the weight of community surveillance and criticism (*critica*), which seemed to have been as important as the husband's authority in limiting women's social activities to the sphere of church and family.

The picture emerging from the accounts of Greek women is roughly the same, although here the role of older brothers was apparently more prominent. In the past, elder brothers were partly responsible for assuring their sisters' dowries, and they continue to have considerable authority over, and responsibility for, the behavior of their sisters in public. This finding coincides with Campbell's ethnographic observations (1964:178-79; see also Papajohn and Spiegel 1974:180). Again, the husband/father is likely to have financial control over the household income (including the wages of co-resident adult sons and daughters), even though his wife may administer the budget.

Judging from our subjects' accounts, Berkowitz' assessment of women's domestic position in southern Italy seems to apply to rural Greece and Portugal as well: "Few sensitive ethnographers would deny that women actually exercise more power and influence in the household than the notion of patriarchy indicates" (1984: 87). Berkowitz also notes that although women often "hold the family purse strings" and "participate actively" in family discussions, they have "essentially a derivative or indirect power and influence . . ." (ibid.).

Haitian and Colombian women, speaking of their lives before migration, make it clear that housework, cooking, and children were almost exclusively women's work in their milieux of origin, and that men's contributions were confined, at most, to repairs. However, women's domestic work was much more likely to be shared on a daily basis, given the prevalence of households comprising several adult women. Browner's research (1983:501) among working-class women in Cali, Colombia, a city from which a number of our respondents originate, indicates that the arrival of children often precipitates abandonment by the husband (legal divorce is virtually non-existent in Colombia).

In extended-family households, housework and child care were usually shared among the women and girls. In addition, Haitian women often had live-in domestic help, made possible by the tradition of placing the destitute with marginally better off relatives, and by the extremely low cost of female labor (some of the Haitians interviewed had themselves been live-in domestics).

Nuclear households among the Colombians tended to follow the pattern described above for the Portuguese, whereby formal authority was vested in the husband/father, and a wife's power was based on her ability to influence decisions. However, when the husband/father figure was deceased or absent, decisions were

usually made jointly among adults, with a mother or an elder sibling often playing a paramount role. In Haitian matrifocal households, the senior woman usually acted as head and chief decision-maker, although males might exercise control to the extent that they made financial contributions (e.g., a nonresident father who was financing his child's education could decide where, and for how long, the child could go to school). Among our Haitian respondents, legal marriages had been more the exception than the rule in Haiti. Most of these respondents were themselves the offspring of temporary (and often, extra-residential) unions.

THE DECISION TO EMIGRATE

Besides revealing patterns of authority, control, and influence in the family, the way the decision to emigrate is made may set the stage for relationships for some time thereafter. Space does not permit a full discussion of the various ways that relatives already established in Québec, who usually have played an important role in the decision to come to Canada, assisted new migrants upon their arrival. Whether they were spouses, parents, adult siblings, sons, or daughters, these already established immigrants could lend or give money for the trip, offer food, clothing, and shelter, and assist in finding a job and in dealing with immigration officials and legal sponsors.

Most of the Portuguese women in our study had arrived with or after their husbands. In several cases, they had come to marry a man chosen, with their consent, by parents or emigrant brothers. Almost never was the decision to emigrate taken unilaterally by the husband. Most of the women had been eager to emigrate, and some had in fact persuaded husbands to do so (see Note 9). One woman recounts:

> I was working and my husband was working overtime, but often I was angry because he worked so much. Yet when we got to the end of the month with 500 *escudos* left over, it was because of his overtime. . . . It was I who insisted [on leaving]; I influenced him to come abroad. . . . He was a very hard worker, but from one end of the year to the other, he couldn't sleep late a single morning. That's what upset me . . . (Portuguese, thirty-seven years old, two children, home-based pieceworker, nine years residence in Québec).

It should be added that a number of those coming as married women had relatives of their own in Montréal whose encouragement and readiness to provide assistance influenced the couple's decision. Cutileiro (1977) notes a certain tendency to matrilocality in rural Portugal that our data suggests may be perpetuated, to some degree, in the migration to Québec.

The Greek women who participated in the study also came to Québec, for the most part, as wives or fiancées. In this respect, they seem to be following the long-established pattern of rural to urban migration in Greece, whereby women rarely left their natal villages except to join their husbands (Friedl 1976:372-373). Unlike their Portuguese counterparts, the Greek women arriving as spouses of immigrants seldom had close relatives of their own in Montréal. *Grosso modo*, the roles of husbands, fathers, or brothers in our Greek respondents' decisions to emigrate seem somewhat more preeminent than among the Portuguese.

Actually, in a number of cases, the decision to emigrate was not taken by the women themselves at all. Rather, they came against their will, as they see it, at the behest of the husband or under parental pressure to accept an arranged marriage with an emigrant living in Québec. "Irene," twenty-six years old and living in Montréal for two years, left her job in a textile factory in Greece in order to care for a sick brother living in Montréal:

> What made me come was my brother's situation, because of his bad health. . . . My parents sent me here with the plan that I should come and take him back to Greece. . . . He had fallen ill and after that, two years later, his wife left him and went away. . . . After that, my sister took him in for six months because he wasn't capable of taking care of himself . . . but she couldn't go on helping him that way . . . because she has her own family. . . . She has two children and he wants his quiet, he wants everything. He is like a little kid. . . . So I was obliged, since I didn't have any personal affair, I didn't have a family, in other words, I was independent . . . I came here. I talked to him about going back, but he didn't want to. . . . Because he's used to it here, his child is here . . . (twenty-six years old, single, two years residence in Québec).

Haitian women workers in Canada are part of a new, post-1970 type of migration where women predominate, as noted earlier. Also, most of our respondents, though of rural origin and keeping close ties in the countryside, have spent much of their lives in urban environments marked by a prevalence of matrifocal households and high conjugal instability. Given all of this, it is probably not surprising that senior women, i.e., mothers, aunts, and guardians-employers (*tutrices*), have played a decisive role in the emigration of a number of the Haitians interviewed. To give but one example, "Martine" arrived in Québec at the age of twenty-four. Most of her childhood was spent in the care of a paternal aunt because her widowed mother had remarried, and:

> . . . her new husband didn't like us [Martine and her two brothers] very much. So my aunt, who is also my godmother, took me in with her. Since I was a child, I knew affection only from my aunt, not from my mother (thirty-three years old, nine years residence in Québec).

Nonetheless, her mother sent regular financial support from her wages as a hotel chambermaid in Freeport in the Bahamas. Later, the aunt emigrated to the United States and, in consultation with Martine's mother, arranged for Martine and her sister to come to Montréal (entry into the United States was too difficult). Five years later, Martine and her Haitian-born husband, whom she met in Montréal, brought her mother to join them. She now lives with them and looks after their children while they work.

Less commonly, the woman's migration might be the result of the husband's decision. One of the most striking elements in the Haitians' accounts of the decision to emigrate is the fact that this decision is so rarely presented as one taken by the couple. Rather than constituting a couple project, emigration appears more often as women's response to male partners' economic unreliability and sexual infidelity (which usually means that his slender resources are spread among several households). In cases where women did come at the husband's behest, they did not see it as a matter of "choice." Significantly, of the four groups studied, Haitians most frequently mentioned hunger as a motive for migration.

For most, economic responsibility for children and/or other needy relatives was a major consideration:

> They [relatives in Haiti] were all glad I left. Because the first person to leave would help the others and so on down the line (Haitian, forty-three years old, thirteen years residence in Canada).

How Colombian women decide to emigrate seems to depend a great deal on their marital situation and household arrangements in Colombia, judging by our data. The minority who were married and left with (or to join) husbands saw emigration as the couple's decision, even though the husband seems to have played the major role in these cases:

> My husband had a sister here, arrived thirteen years before. She wrote to him saying there was lots of work here and that maybe it would be good if he came to work here for two or three years, and that he could save at least half the money to buy house in Bogotá. . . . My husband said sometimes he was going, sometimes that he wasn't. Finally he decided to come here. . . . He was

> four years alone here. Then he asked if we [the respondent and her three children] wanted to come, or if he should go back to Colombia. We told him to stay (eventually the family settled in Montréal; Colombian, forty years old, three years residence in Québec).

Most of the Colombians interviewed were single, separated, or widowed at the time of departure. In these cases, the nuclear family of origin was usually influential in the decision, and assisted financially and in other ways. One young woman, the second youngest of twelve children who lived with her parents in Colombia, explains:

> When my mother died there were three of us younger children still at home. One of my brothers had been living here for ten years. So he decided to take charge of us so that we could get out of the hole we were in. But especially because of my other brother who was, as they say, in an even deeper hole. . . . He needed us, the younger ones, and his papa [to go with him]. It wasn't really a decision. We couldn't refuse to go (the respondent's father came to Québec, but was unable to adapt, and so returned to Colombia; Colombian, twenty years old, one and one-half years residence in Québec).

The influence of the nuclear family of origin was evident even among married women. Norma (see Note 10), nineteen years old when she left Colombia, attributes the decision for her emigration to her mother, and to her brothers and sisters already in Montréal. Her mother, a widow, sold the family home to pay the airfare for herself, Norma, and Norma's fiancé. Another married Colombian, Eulalia, the mother of six children, came to Canada largely because of her sister's influence, but also for her husband's sake:

> It was my sister who took the initiative. Since she already here, and had married here, she wanted us to come and see the place for ourselves . . . (Colombian, forty-one years old, ten years residence in Québec).

Some of our Colombian respondents were themselves the initiators of a family chain of migration that later brought their siblings to Canada. Even when a Colombian woman comes alone, with no relatives already in Canada, the decision is likely to be a collective one. Alicia, thirty-five at the time, wanted to emigrate because, she recounts, her attempts to support her aged parents, four siblings, and son with a shoe repair shop inherited from her husband were "a failure." Loans from her mother and sister as well as the proceeds from the sale of a television set her brother won in a lottery paid her passage.

Finally, a few of the Colombians interviewed cite the influence of adult children already in Québec as the most important factor in their choice to migrate. Overall, the Colombians' accounts give a great deal of evidence for the involvement of adult members of the nuclear family in the decision to migrate and in the practical aspects of migration. In comparison to the other three groups, the roles of siblings are particularly pronounced, and many of our respondents appear to be links in a chain migration of brothers and sisters.

This review of how the women in our study decided to come to Québec, or had the move decided for them, has been presented in order to illustrate decision-making processes in the context of origin. At the risk of stating the obvious, it seems important to emphasize several points in light of the existing literature on family power and migrant women. First, very few of the women studied could have migrated without the accord and help of other family members—although which kin were usually most involved varied from one to another of the four groups. Second, even when women followed their husbands in the migration process, they did not usually see the couple's migration as the husband's decision alone (see Note 11), though they might portray their own role as one of agreeing with or influencing the husband's decision.

Haitians were more likely than women of the other three groups studied to speak of their emigration as the result of being "sent for" by other individuals, whether these were husbands, mothers, guardians, or employers. This may be related to the fact that the Haitians were by far the poorest of the four groups. The women who reported that they came to Québec because someone "sent for" them were usually already completely dependent on remittances from that individual. Laguerre notes that Haitians abroad tend to invest in helping relatives emigrate when possible rather than sending remittances (1978:422). This seems to us to be another indicator of the extent of economic need in the milieu of origin (see Note 12).

Finally, the decision to emigrate sometimes represents, for our respondents, a challenge to traditional paternal authority, or a solution to problems in couple relationships. Of course, this alternative may create problems of its own. A young Greek woman eager to join her older brothers in Québec now finds their tutelage more restrictive than her parents'. One of the Colombians, deserted by her husband for another woman, was persuaded to emigrate by her grown children in Canada. Yet the children objected when she chose to marry one of their friends, a man seventeen years younger than herself. Still another Colombian decided to break with her erstwhile husband and bring her three young sons to Montréal to be near her parents. In Montréal, she has quarreled with her father and hardly speaks to him. Now living with a new "fiancé," she says she must manage alone without the help of her family.

The next section of this paper will examine changes that occur after migration in women's domestic position regarding the division of household labor and women's participation in decision-making. As much as possible, our discussion will take into account the changed context of kinship and household created by emigration.

DOMESTIC TASK-SHARING IN QUÉBEC

As explained earlier, nearly all of the women we interviewed carried out some kind of income-producing work before emigrating to Canada. With immigration, the structure and context of such extra-domestic labor changed in several important ways. First, the distance between home and the locus of remunerative labor has increased for most of the married or cohabiting women (see Note 13). Second, both the workplace and the workday associated with it are likely to be more rigidly structured than was the case in the country of origin. For example, children cannot be attended to, nor can women leave during "working hours" to respond to domestic demands. Third, the pace of work is likely to be much faster and less amenable to determination by the worker, something noted even by women doing home-based piecework in both contexts. Fourth, in Québec, these women are likely to earn wages that represent a far greater proportion of household cash income than was the case in their countries of origin.

Before emigration, few women living with a spouse worked outside the home unless they worked in a nearby family enterprise. In Québec, women's earnings are often required for many reasons, including greater cash needs in the context of an advanced capitalist society, husbands' vulnerability to unemployment, debts incurred in the process of migration, and (especially for Haitians and Colombians) the obligation to support dependents in the country of origin or to help them emigrate. Nearly all of the married and cohabiting respondents in the study reported that their income went for the family's food and clothing needs—not "extras," as Whitehead found in a study of working-class English households (1981; see Note 14). It should also be added that nearly a third of those interviewed have no support from a male breadwinner, including those who are single, separated, divorced, or widowed; those whose spouses remained in the country of origin; and those whose husbands are ill or unemployed. Several of the women share expenses on an equal basis with siblings.

At the same time that wage work becomes more demanding of the female immigrant's time, energy, and physical presence, her traditional resources for coping with domestic demands are likely to diminish. Most had previously lived with or near a number of female relatives who could be counted on for help as needed. Now, these same women are likely to live in nuclear family households. Even when female relatives live nearby, they themselves are

likely to face similar constraints with respect to wage work and family responsibilities. As one woman described it:

> Of course things change a bit, because everyone is always busy; it's not the same anymore (Colombian, sixty years old, seven years residence in Québec).

A substantial minority, or about twenty percent of the women in our study, share the same roof with another adult woman, most often a mother or sister whose passage and living expenses have been paid by the respondent herself. Others, including most of the Haitian mothers and some of the Colombians, have left children with a mother or sister in the country of origin. Some Haitians have even sent infants born in Québec to Haiti. But most commonly, housework and child care become "nuclearized" affairs of the individual household, to be accomplished by the woman herself with or without the collaboration of other nuclear family members.

Our subjects' accounts show considerable variation in the organization of the sexual division of domestic labor in the Québec context. However, two general patterns emerge: (1) men and boys are likely to participate to some degree in tasks that were defined as "women's work" in the society of origin; (2) women, nonetheless, have much greater responsibility for these tasks.

Although it is unusual, some men participate in the full range of domestic tasks:

> When I worked in the steel plant, I got off at 4:30 p.m. and had time to get home and do everything. When my husband arrived, he found supper ready and he always helped me. . . .
>
> Now, when I come back from work I don't have problems either because he's out of work. He does everything and when I arrive, the meal is ready. . . . He takes care of our daughter during the day (Colombian, twenty-four years old, garment factory worker, five years residence in Québec).
>
> He does the food shopping, the vacuuming, washes the kitchen floor, and I do the rest. Sometimes on weekends I don't have the energy to clean house, so he does it all by himself. I do laundry, ironing, dishes, cooking. He takes care of the car (the respondent does not drive), does the repairs in the apartment . . . (Haitian, thirty-three years old, slaughterhouse worker, two children, nine years residence in Québec).

In the few cases where men participate in a wide range of domestic tasks, one of two factors is usually present: (1) the

woman has changed marital partners since arriving in Québec; or (2) her husband has been unemployed or out of the work force for some time due to disability. Most often, men limit themselves to caring for children while their wives are at work. Some couples alternate working hours to save on child care expenses.

Men's contributions in other areas are usually occasional and perfunctory:

> My husband helps with the cooking . . . if he has the time and patience . . . once in a while . . ." (Portuguese, forty years old, seamstress, two children, thirteen years residence in Québec).

With few exceptions, cooking, cleaning, and child care are still defined as "women's work." This is evidenced by the fact that women usually describe husbands' and children's contributions as "helping" her. These same women often describe their own wage work, even when it is full-time, as "helping" their husbands support the family. It is also telling that in all four of the ethnic categories studied, when more than one woman is present, men and boys rarely do *any* of the above-mentioned tasks. Furthermore, when the husband's income permits, women are likely to seek part-time work or piecework to do at home so that they may better adjust their schedules to household demands. Husbands of women who leave full-time jobs outside the home for one or the other of these alternatives are likely to reduce their domestic participation accordingly.

Moreover, many of the women who have taken on full-time jobs still do all cleaning and cooking by themselves, and possibly food shopping as well. As children grow older, men who have "helped" in the past may do less than before, as several women whose children are now in school report. This appears to be a widespread pattern in North America (Blood 1972). Once again, it also indicates the possible importance of this phase in the household life cycle as a factor in conditioning task-sharing arrangements.

DECISION-MAKING: CHANGES AND CONTINUITY

Some of our subjects' histories indicate that the migration process itself may affect household/family decision-making patterns, in that the individual who initiates a family chain may carry more weight than before, at least for some time. Several Colombians and Haitians, all single, mention an older sister not co-resident with them as the final arbiter of major decisions, such as costly purchases or a change of residence (see Note 15). Several of the Haitian respondents have themselves played such a role in relation to other family members, such as sisters or mothers who followed them to Québec.

We have already alluded to instances among the Greeks where migration has entailed the substitution of a brother's or husband's authority for that of the father. A few Portuguese and Greek women cite the husband's brother who received the couple initially as having decided, for example, where the woman would work or that she did not "need" language classes.

Among married women, the most marked changes in decision-making patterns (as well as task-sharing, discussed earlier) are usually found in cases where there has been a change of partner or where the male has lost his provider role. An example is Alicia, a thirty-six-year-old Colombian who comes from a family of eight children (five others died at birth) and has lived in Montréal since 1978. Though Alicia's father was given to spending his wages on drink and mistresses, and was uninvolved in the daily practical decisions of the household, he kept close watch over the comings and goings of his wife and daughters. Shortly after Alicia married at the age of seventeen ("the only way to get out of the house"), her husband took her to an ice cream parlor. Such excursions had been so stringently forbidden in her upbringing that "I wept for fear that my father might see me." Within two weeks of the wedding, her husband began to beat her. He began to spend money on drugs and other women.

> My role was to serve him . . . I couldn't say a word to him; there was no discussion . . . it was a terrible life . . . he was one hundred percent "machiste."

The birth of each of her three sons led to separations, the last of which was final.

Alicia came to Montréal in order to be closer to her parents and siblings who were already established here. Now, she lives with her fiancé, also Colombian, whom she describes as being as different from her ex-husband "as day from night." He shares in all the housework except for laundry, which her now teenaged sons do, and ironing. Decisions, including financial ones, are taken together by the couple in consultation with Alicia's sons.

> . . . I had that [first] experience when I was too young. But afterward, with all the time I was alone, I saw that not all couples are the same, not all men are the same. . . . I had all sorts of propositions, but me, I analyzed the person. . . . It only worked out with the one I'm with now. . . . You notice how a man treats others . . . because a "machiste," if he's going out or going to the swimming pool, he has to go alone . . . and when he gets home, you have to serve him and run after him. This one, he's very different. . . .

Forty-seven-year-old Stella came to Canada from a peasant village in Greece nineteen years ago. In Greece, she did all

housework and child care (she has two daughters) in addition to working as a seamstress to earn some cash, and helping her husband in the fields. In her words, "he decided everything," including whether or not she might leave the house and for whom she would vote.

Several years after the couple's arrival in Montréal, Stella's husband was injured in an accident on the job that left him unable to work ever since. Stella now supports the family by doing piecework at home, having found factory work too stressful. She is able to earn more than many pieceworkers because her husband does all her work-related errands, such as picking up materials and delivering finished work. Her husband also "helps" in various household tasks. Major financial decisions are taken by Stella, who has become, in her own eyes at least, "head of the household."

Several of the women whose married life began in Québec report decision-making and task-sharing arrangements that are remarkably egalitarian if compared to the typical patterns of their milieux of origin. This is not, however, to suggest that all first marriages contracted after immigration resemble those just described. In one Portuguese case of this type, the husband beats his wife frequently, spies on her at work (both hold jobs in the same hospital), and confiscates her salary.

When a marriage has been established in the country of origin and the husband's role as primary breadwinner has remained stable, we do not often find major changes in decision-making (see Note 16). Whenever a shift occurs, it is likely to be found in the economic domain; i.e., some wage-earning women take part in major financial decisions from which they were formerly excluded, and most now pay for and make small daily purchases for the household themselves. This seems to confirm Bahr's assertion, cited earlier, that any increased domestic power which is derived from women's wage-earning status will be located in what he calls the "external" domains which are linked directly to their "provider" status (1974:173-175).

The history of Magdalena, a Colombian woman who has lived in Québec for nearly ten years, illustrates our preceding remarks with particular clarity. Thus, we cite her account at some length:

> I had two sisters here and they invited him [her husband] to come. . . . He liked it a lot here, so after a year and a half, I came. . . .
>
> At that time [before her emigration], women didn't work in my country. . . . He kept all the money . . . except he gave me an order slip that allowed me to get what I needed at the store of the factory [where he worked].

> He would ask if I needed anything; if I said yes, he would give me an order slip.
>
> [After immigration] we lived close to a garment factory. I accompanied my husband one day when he was taking two Colombian women there because he spoke a bit of French. I told him I wanted to work . . . and the lady who was taking care of us understood and said to me, "You, too, do you want to work?" And I said, "Yes, yes". . . and my husband said, "No, she's not going to work yet, she doesn't feel well." She said, "She can try." I gave it a try and in the end I was the only one who stayed. . . . My husband would have preferred that I not work, but I did anyway. . . .
>
> I used to give the money [her salary] to my husband and he would take care of everything, because I had never worked before. He distributed it; he gave me a bit of money for my expenses because I wanted it. . . . Now he has his account and me, too, I have mine. . . . Each one takes care of his part of the budget. . . . Before I gave it all to him. Now, since the girls are older, they need a lot of little things, so I told myself, with my money I can buy food and with the rest I can get little things for the girls. . . . I do the food shopping because he says, "You know what has to be bought, so pay the food with your money and with what is left over, spend it on the girls and yourself." First I buy the meat, the most expensive thing, then during the next two weeks I get the other things. . . . For bigger things, we decide together . . . (forty-one years old, married, six children).

Magdalena's account is atypical of the study population in that married women's decisions concerning employment are usually taken in accord with the husband. For some of the married women, the husband's preferences were a determining factor:

> Well, he decided that I should stay at home to take care of my children, but I also think it's a good idea. . . . It doesn't mean that only he decides; I do too, but he said that it's better if I stay home, and I agree with him (Portuguese, currently unemployed, twenty-nine years old, mother of two children aged four years and two months, sixteen years residence in Québec).

Most of the married Portuguese and Greek women in the study pool their income with their husband's. Like Magdalena, Colombian women often have their own separate accounts. Haitian women living with a spouse are likely to keep separate accounts, and indeed may not know their husband's salary, nor he theirs (see

Note 17). Whatever the case, women's wages usually go toward food and clothing, with major purchases budgeted from the husband's earnings. With few exceptions, this means that husbands will have a greater say in those expenditures. One of the Portuguese women, who did a substantial amount of piecework at home and also managed the budget when she and her husband lived in Lisbon, makes the interesting observation that her husband now controls the budget because the couple has a much greater income than before.

Several women mention that they "consult" or "ask" their husbands before buying something for themselves, while others feel freer than before to make minor purchases for themselves and the household, and express satisfaction about participating in more important budgetary decisions.

> Before [in Colombia] my husband paid for everything. When we got here, it was very difficult and we could barely make it. After that, I began to work. . . . Now I have my own bank account. . . . My husband pays the rent and pays one food shopping trip a month . . . and I take care of the rest. . . . If I want to buy anything, whatever it may be, I do. . . . We buy everything together, I mean the big purchases (Colombian, forty years old, full-time assembly line worker and part-time office cleaner, three years residence in Québec).

No matter how great their say in financial matters, few of the married women ever leave the house without consulting or asking permission of the husband. A Portuguese woman describes the anxiety she felt when her employer asked her to work one evening:

> It was the first time. And I was afraid of my husband, that he'd yell at me because I was leaving at mealtime, at the time that he gets home and the children are there. . . . I never go out and I don't do anything on the sly. But I was a bit afraid . . . he was coming home and counting on me being there and I wasn't . . . but it went okay (office cleaner, forty-six years old, mother of six, three years residence in Québec).

Clearly, this was an exceptional event. Indeed, when asked whether they need the husband's permission to leave the home, a frequent response was, "Where would I go"? For many, their limited hours of leisure are taken up by the family. The woman just cited goes on to explain that her husband, for his part, never goes out without her and the children:

> There are men who like to go out alone, but not him. For him to be happy, he has to be with me and the children.

Though this is not the case for all Portuguese couples in our study, it is only among the Portuguese that we find the ideal of shared leisure clearly expressed by several respondents. Brettell and Callier-Boisvert (1977) found this to be the typical pattern of behavior among Portuguese immigrants in Paris (see Note 18).

Our data on practices and attitudes about fertility control (contraception, abortion, and the decision to have children) are rather sketchy. In most cases for which we have data, these are described either as decisions of the couple or, just as frequently, of the husband alone. Only rarely does the woman regard these as primarily her decisions. Contraceptive pills are rarely used, being seen as dangerous to health; rather, the method most often mentioned is sterilization of the woman, most often by hysterectomy and otherwise by tubal ligation. Indeed, the number of women who report hysterectomies performed in Québec as their "method of birth control" is disquieting, presuming that these are indeed hysterectomies and not tubal ligations. In no case was a vasectomy reported.

> I took contraceptive pills for a while [after the birth of her sixth child]. Then my husband told me that it was giving me headaches and that it would be better to have an operation. . . . Men are very selfish. . . . They can be operated on and yet it's us women who have to do it . . . (Magdalena, Colombian, cited earlier).

> It's him [the husband] who decides [on abortion] because a woman would never want to have an abortion. She would always want to keep her child. . . . The husband has the right to say that he doesn't want any more children . . . one is obliged then to have an abortion (Haitian, twenty-four years old, recently separated, one child, four years residence in Québec).

Many of the women whose first marriage has endured (the majority) see their husband's greater domestic power as normal and even desirable. For example, a forty-four-year-old Haitian woman confirms that her husband orders her about sometimes. "Well, he's a guy, you know."

> It's he who gives the orders, right? He decides. If I think I should give some advice, I do. . . . If I see that it [his decision] isn't a good one, but for him it's good, I agree . . . (Portuguese, forty years old, married, two children, thirteen years residence in Québec).

> The man directs, the woman follows (Greek, twenty-seven years old, married, two children, eight years residence in Québec).

Women who have divorced and remarried since they arrived in Québec contrast the relative egalitarianism of their present unions with their previous experience. Like Alicia, the Colombian woman cited earlier, several of the women in the study report that their present partner was chosen partly because of his more enlightened attitudes and behavior. One woman explains why she will not remarry:

> Oh, I've had plenty of chances here, and in Colombia. Yes, I know that some women marry to save a bit of money, but I don't need a man for that. Now I'm very independent. Having a man would just be a bother. Imagine—having to ask for money to eat and clothe yourself! (Colombian, fifty-six years old, separated, nine years residence in Québec).

Nonetheless, changes in gender relationships are not always experienced without ambivalence, particularly for those recently separated or those remaining in a relationship where such change has been accompanied by deterioration of the emotional bond between the spouses.

> If I were in Haiti I wouldn't have all these problems. . . . Man and woman go by man's law in Haiti. . . . For supporting the woman, he's the one who's supposed to provide everything. Once here [in Québec], he sees that women work, he pushes his wife to earn money like him. Then he doesn't take care of the family anymore. . . . The husband, when he needs money, might ask his wife for it and maybe she refuses. Sometimes he doesn't take care of his wife, doesn't help her in the house. . . . All these things cause problems in the home . . . (Haitian, twenty-four years old, recently separated, one child, five years residence in Québec).

Among the Haitians, we find a number of cases where domestic violence has increased since the couple has been living in Canada. Possibly husbands feel threatened by wives' greater financial autonomy, although this is a factor affecting all four of the groups studied. The Haitian male may experience a particular loss of status in that the wages he earns in Québec would allow him to have numerous mistresses if he were living in Haiti.

The loss of female domestic help from relatives and servants may provoke tensions between partners. Also, as Foner's study of Jamaicans in London suggests, it may leave husbands feeling more vulnerable than before since they may not have a network of female relatives present who will be ready to provide domestic services in the event of a separation (see Note 19).

Even women who are pleased with changes in the marital relationship may at the same time need to contend with a felt loss of power in another sphere—e.g., they may feel less able to control their children in the new environment, a preoccupation voiced by a number of mothers. Several women attribute this to "modernization" rather than immigration, pointing to difficulties which parents now experience in the home society. As we have pointed out elsewhere, immigrant women may feel a more generalized loss of control over their lives, owing to the more structured and pressured "double workday" in Québec (Meintel et al. 1987).

On the other hand, women whose wage labor in Québec has not led to greater egalitarianism or satisfaction in the marriage, may nonetheless focus on other rewards linked to wage work. Lucia, a thirty-four-year-old Portuguese woman, has a double workday that goes from 6:30 a.m. to 11:00 or 11:30 p.m. every weekday. She feels "more distant" from her husband, who does virtually no tasks around the house. Yet she declares, "I'm not a slave," because she manages to go to the country on weekends with her husband and to take a seaside vacation every summer. Another Portuguese woman sees her work in a garment factory as her only social outlet and her only respite from the surveillance of a jealous husband, who becomes angry if she so much as sings at a gathering of compatriots. "I'd work overtime if we didn't live so far away," she declares. Others among the Greek and Portuguese, as we have mentioned, derive pride from "helping" their husbands support the household.

Probably because of the high incidence of conjugal instability in their respective milieux of origin, Colombian and Haitian women are the most likely to express the value of employment opportunities gained by migration in terms of the greater autonomy they afford.

> Even if I spend it all [her salary], it's by my hand that it is spent (Haitian, thirty years old, cohabiting, two years residence in Québec).

> I feel more independent here. In Colombia I was always dependent on my brothers; besides that, I didn't help much [financially] at home. Here, one works, one manages better, one can make decisions. . . . I used to think of getting married so I could leave home, but now I don't think that way . . . (Colombian, single, twenty years old, residing with her mother and brother, two years residence in Québec).

The Colombians, in particular, were likely to comment on the "better" position of women in Québec society, as did a few of the others:

> Down there in my country, they [men] don't do a thing. They're always in the street. Not like here where the men are well-behaved. Here they change; in my country, no . . . (Colombian, thirty-one years old, single, six years residence in Québec).

> Men in Colombia, and I think in all of Latin America, don't help. You have to put the plate in their hands, give them their clothes all ready and do everything for them. . . . It's here in Canada that one can have a real husband. . . . The Colombian woman, even if she works, is completely repressed. . . . For the woman there is no cinema, no discotheque . . . no rest, not a flower. . . . Here it's totally different (Colombian, forty years old, married, six children, eleven years residence in Québec).

CONCLUSIONS

Probably the most important question emerging from our data is the same one that has preoccupied many researchers working among nonimmigrant populations: "Why is it that married women's financial contributions to the household do not result in greater change in task-sharing and decision-making patterns?" The expectation that women's wage labor should change their position in the domestic sphere largely rested on the supposition that decision-making power (including decisions about task-sharing) is based on the "resources" that each individual contributes to the household, and that women's wages as a new "resource" would foster greater egalitarianism between husband and wife (see, for example, Scanzoni 1978). Rubin has pointed out that this position rests on a devaluation of the contribution women have been making all along—i.e., their unpaid domestic labor (1976:175-176). Rubin's critique applies all the more to the women in our study, many of whom contributed as unpaid laborers to family subsistence in their countries of origin. Yet as Rubin observes, this devaluation is a pervasive one, often shared by women themselves, as in the phrase, "just a housewife." By the same token, holding a job and earning wages can make a woman *feel* more useful, and thus lead to greater independence (Rubin 1976:176).

Although a number of our respondents bear out this last assertion, there is also evidence in our study to suggest that women's contributions through wage work, like their domestic work, can be rendered less visible, and their importance minimized, such that their impact on domestic relationships is less than might be expected. For example, budgetary patterns are one mechanism whereby women's financial contributions may be largely "neutralized" insofar as their consequences for domestic power are concerned. The fact that both spouses *see* the woman's wages as going toward food and children's clothing is likely to limit

her influence over other, more substantial expenditures, even though these are made possible partly through her earnings. Also, this budgetary division reinforces the image of women's wage work as an extension of preexisting roles such as cooking and child care. Whitehead adds that the confounding of women's individual needs with those of the children in the household budget tends to encourage "maternal altruism," whereby mothers are likely to sacrifice themselves in order to better provide for their children (1981:107). Indeed, such "altruism" seems obligatory for those of our subjects who never purchase anything for themselves without first consulting their husbands. It would be worthwhile to investigate whether or not nonimmigrant households' budgetary patterns have a similar camouflaging effect on women's contributions and sacrifices.

Our data tend to confirm other studies which propose that when changes in task-sharing and decision-making occur in conjunction with women's wage earning, they are likely to be found in areas which are most directly affected by the women's employment; e.g., child care as opposed to housework, and financial decisions as opposed to those concerning freedom of movement or contraception. Also, many of our interviews give the impression that changes in actual behavior by either spouse may not have immediate effects on the normative level, insofar as they are conceived of in terms of one spouse "helping" the other (see Rubin 1976:228-229; see also Note 7). When seen as "helping" the wife, male participation in housework or child care takes on a provisional, *ad hoc* character. A similar situation applies to the wage labor of women who are defined as thus "helping" their husbands, no matter how necessary their financial contributions may be.

The status of immigrant women in the household may be affected by certain factors related to migration, including language. Nearly all the married and cohabiting women in our study assessed their spouse's linguistic abilities in French or English as superior to their own. It seems likely that this perception reflects reality insofar as this is typical of many immigrant populations (see Thorne and Henley 1975:276-279 for details on several studies that bear this out). A major reason for this difference between our own respondents and their spouses, besides the fact that many of the men have lived longer in Québec, is the much more restricted access which women are given to government-sponsored language programs. Either the women have entered Canada as "dependents" of their husbands, no matter how incongruent this categorization may be with their economic activities before and after migration, and are thus ineligible for such programs, or they have already found work and are thus deemed not to "need" language training. Still others in our study have been refused entry on various specious grounds (e.g., Magdalena, quoted earlier, was refused access to a Québec government-sponsored language program because she "could learn from the children"). In

addition, the fact that most of the married women in our study are still responsible for child care, at least during the hours they are not working outside of the house, and in a number of cases, husbands' objections to wives going out in the evening, may impede women from taking low-cost evening courses. Disparity of linguistic competence between husbands and wives adds new reinforcement to the husband's position as head of household. As Harris writes, "The authority located in a household head is not intrinsic to relations between household members, but must be sought in wider social structures" (1981:59).

Several researchers have noted that immigrant ghettos and kinship networks may encourage a certain rigidification of norms, thus making the immigrant milieu more resistant to change than the society of origin (Saifullah-Khan 1976:233; Taboada-Leonetti 1983:217). Our data do not permit a full investigation of the impact of kin networks in the Québec context on women's position in the household. However, we note interesting differences between the Portuguese and the Greek women in our study. Unlike the Haitians and Colombians, Portuguese and Greek women are likely to have been married when they arrived in Québec. While Portuguese women are more likely than Greek women to have relatives of their own in Montréal, they more frequently report continuity in patterns of task-sharing and decision-making. Also, a few of the Greek women, but none of the Portuguese, have been divorced since their arrival.

By continuing to take on the same domestic responsibilities ascribed to women in their countries of origin, and insofar as they accept the same domestic power arrangements, immigrant women may in a sense be acting as buffers for their families for the stress of change and the incursions on identity which emanate from their new context. This point is intimated in several of the interviews; e.g., the Colombian who refers to her husband's new domestic participation as reflecting his exceptional ability to "adapt." Meanwhile, another Colombian sympathetically recounts her husband's dismay at having to handle dirty laundry in his hotel job, considered by both as demeaning to his masculinity. Many women do their utmost to arrive home before their husbands and to have supper prepared for his arrival. A number of women lament that employment outside the home does not allow them to continue ethnic culinary habits during the week, and state that they try to compensate for this on weekends.

Finally, we should not forget the positive impact of women's wage-earning capacities which were remarked upon so vividly by widowed, single, separated, and divorced women. Now, these women have the choice of deferring or refusing marriage without the indignity and loss of autonomy of having to depend on others because they are able, however minimally, to support themselves. And, although married women do not enjoy the measure of increased decision-making power or relief from domestic responsibilities

that would seem warranted by their new financial contributions and obligations related to employment (e.g., the pressure of time constraints is often a hardship), they nonetheless value whatever autonomy and other satisfactions wage work allows. At the same time, however, their accounts by and large lead us to believe that the gender division of power and labor in the household finds its logic less in any calculation of the actual "contributions" made by each partner than in the different evaluations accorded their respective contributions. That is, women's new financial contributions can be obscured and devalued, just as their unpaid labor at the service of the household has been in the past. Under what circumstances this does or does not take place remains to be explored.

NOTES

1. We wish to mention the contribution of our research assistants, who carried out the interviews on which our study is largely based: Monique Dauphin, Nora di Negri, Rosemay Eustache, Irène Furnaris, Ilda Januario, Cecelia Millan, Maria Salvador, and Popi Solterun. Acknowledgments are also due to Andrée Demers, a sociologist who participated in the early phases of the study, and to Denise Desrosiers, who has provided us with useful demographic analyses.

2. "Purdah" refers to the extreme form of sex role differentiation and segregation of the sexes practiced in Pakistan. For a more complete description, see Saifullah-Khan (1976:224-230).

3. The authors' discussion focuses on families where the wife/mother remains in the home. Men's loss of control over internal affairs of the household in the American context is attributed to longer absences from home because of work and to the greater distance between home and the workplace (Papajohn and Spiegel 1974:189).

4. The same is observed by Brettell and Callier-Boisvert among Portuguese immigrants in France (1977:175).

5. The research was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Ottawa), the Conseil Québécois de la Recherche Sociale (Québec), the Formation de Chercheurs et d'Action Sociale (Québec), the Secretary of State for Multiculturalism (Montréal), and by the University of Québec at Montréal (institutional funds).

6. The higher proportion of females among immigrants in recent years may be partly accounted for by increasing demands in the service sector of the economies of receiving countries. See Portes and Walton (1981) and Mortimer and Bryce-Laporte

(1981) for discussions of recent trends in immigration to the United States.

7. Québec census figures for the period 1968-1980 show ninety-one males per hundred females for Haitians arriving in Québec, and only eighty-eight males per hundred females for Colombians.

8. In 1981, 49.8 percent of all immigrant women in Québec are categorized as "economically active" in the census. However, this does not include the many who work "under the table" as domestics and as pieceworkers at home.

9. We suggest, in other words, that the role of many Portuguese women in the decision for the husband or the couple to migrate is often an active one that goes beyond mere "acceptance" of the husband's decision, as Apalhão and da Rosa put it (1979:128).

10. All proper names of women interviewed are pseudonyms.

11. Those who did describe their migration as decided by the husband alone were usually divorced from him by the time of the study.

12. The Haitian women interviewed in our study seemed oriented to helping able-bodied close relatives to migrate, particularly mothers and sisters; however, they also sent considerable aid to such relatives, who were not always able to emigrate themselves, and lesser sums to a wide range of collaterals and fictive kin.

13. This is probably true for men as well (see Note 3).

14. The difference between the two cases seems more subjective and ideological than concrete. That is, the "extras" mentioned by Whitehead's subjects include holidays, consumer goods, and clothing. For her subjects, this meant that "if the wife's income disappears, then the family does not have a level of compulsory expenditures to keep up" (1981:106). Our subjects see their earnings as going for "necessities," but nonetheless tend to regard their income as an adjunct to the husband's.

15. Before migration, husbands and fathers determined such decisions in these cases. Even if a brother is also present in Montréal, the sister's authority may prevail if she has arrived earlier.

16. Brettell and Callier-Boisvert suggest that the same may be true among Portuguese couples in France (1977:175).

17. Foner found that among Jamaicans in London, typically neither spouse knew the other's salary and each kept a separate bank account (1978:67). Perhaps this is a Caribbean pattern which is linked to patterns of conjugal instability and women acting as breadwinners for themselves and their children.

18. They attribute this to a lack of the "males only" spaces for recreation available to men in Portugal—e.g., Portuguese bars and cafes (1977:166). This is less the case in Montréal, where there are a number of clubs, cafes, and bar-restaurants run by Portuguese, which may be part of the reason why only some of our subjects report all leisure activities as being shared by the couple. One of our Portuguese research assistants adds in a field note that some of the women she knows prefer to live in the suburbs instead of in the central city because this is likely to promote leisure activities by couples rather than by all-male groups.

19. In an essay on the adaptation of Haitian fathers in the United States, Laguerre asserts that their authority is "greatly weakened" because of factors such as "the liberal North American climate, the buying power of women, the environment of apartment life. . . ." Laguerre also mentions the absence of women other than the wife-mother to count on for child care, and the fact that many of the men have been able to immigrate because of their wives, who arrived first (1983:7).

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HAITIAN IMMIGRANT WOMEN: A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

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Quoique les femmes aient joué un rôle important dans les processus de migration et insertion dans la nouvelle société, ce rôle-là n'a pas été toujours reconnu ni étudié en profondeur.

Cet article examine le cas de Haïtiennes: leur rôle dans le processus d'immigration, leur intégration au marché du travail ainsi que les changements dans les modèles domestiques et sociaux qui s'observent dans la communauté Haïtienne à New York. L'article présente une approche culturelle à l'étude de l'expérience de migration, tout en mettant l'accent sur les perceptions et attitudes des Haïtiennes par rapport à cette expérience -là.

L'article propose qu'une analyse de la migration et l'adaptation des immigrés reste incomplète si elle n'englobe pas le rôle des femmes dans ce processus, ainsi que leurs perceptions de cette expérience.

Although women have always played an important role in the immigration and resettlement process, this role has not always been acknowledged or explored in great detail by scholars.

This article examines the case of Haitian women, focusing upon their role in the immigration process, integration into the labor force, and changes in domestic and social patterns within the Haitian community of New York City. It presents a cultural approach to the immigration experience, with an emphasis on Haitian women's perceptions and attitudes about that experience.

The article argues that an analysis of immigration and a population's subsequent adaptation is incomplete without an understanding of both the female role in the process and female perceptions of that experience.

INTRODUCTION

Caribbean immigration to the United States has been a migration of laborers, primarily; a migration of induced and *recruited* labor in which women—whether spouses, mothers, daughters, relatives, friends or neighbors—came as *workers* . . . Caribbean immigration

> to this country is old, continual and always included *working women*—as slaves; as house servants; seamstresses and factory workers; and as secretaries, saleswomen, nurses, and other professionals. (Mortimer and Bryce-Laporte, eds. 1981:xxvi-xxvii)

Despite women's importance in immigration, their role has often been overlooked or considered secondary in the scholarly exploration of immigration and resettlement. In particular, recent Caribbean immigration to the United States has been characterized by large numbers of female immigrants, who often initiate the move or who are the first to establish households in the new society. It can thus be argued that any analysis of immigration and subsequent adaptation is incomplete without an understanding of the female role in that process, and of female perceptions of the experience.

This paper explores the cultural meaning of immigration for one population of Afro-Caribbean women—those from the island of Haiti. Specifically, the paper focuses on the role of these women in the immigration process and their integration into a new labor force, as well as repercussions on domestic and social relationships within the Haitian community of New York City. Resettlement in the United States has generally improved Haitian women's opportunities to attain a higher standard of living for themselves and their families, but they view the experience with ambivalence, often lamenting that "lavi isit vin pi di pou nou" ("Life here has become more difficult for us"; see Note 1).

Although Haitian women per se were not the main subject of my research, their role in immigration and the consequences of their resettlement became more and more apparent as the research progressed.

During the course of my research, I met Haitian women and men from all socio-economic backgrounds. The majority of my contacts, however, came from the *petit bourgeoisie* or Haitian middle class. For the most part, the women came from large towns or from the capital, Port-au-Prince, had attended school through the primary grades, and in some cases had worked outside the home. The majority of these women entered the United States in the late sixties or early seventies.

Because my research focused on cultural patterns of ethnicity and collective behavior, this paper will stress basic patterns and themes that united the Haitian women I came to know in the mid to late 1970s. Before discussing these themes, I will briefly outline Haitian immigration to the United States, stressing Haitian women's participation and role in this movement.

HAITIAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Although Haitian immigration to the United States is generally thought to be a very recent phenomenon, it pre-dates the independence of both countries from their colonial masters.

In the late 1790s, French colonists and freed mulattoes, accompanied by their slaves, fled the revolutionary turmoil of Saint Domingue (Haiti's colonial name). They established colonies along the American seaboard in cities such as New Orleans, Louisiana, Charleston, South Carolina, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and New York. Notable Saint Dominguan émigrés included Jean-Baptiste Pointe du Sable, a trader credited with being the first permanent settler on the site of Chicago (Graham 1953:174; Spear 1967:5); John James Audubon, the naturalist, who arrived in 1803; and Marie Laveau, the "Voodoo Queen of New Orleans," born of Haitian émigré parents. Ottley and Weatherby (1967:47) note the female émigré presence in New York City in the late eighteenth century: "Creoles from Haiti flounced through the streets clad richly in West Indian materials; 'coal black negresses,' in flowing white dresses and colorful turbans made of mouchoir de madras strolled with white or mixed creoles. . . ."

During the early part of the twentieth century, Haitian immigration to the United States increased as Haiti suffered continuous political unrest. Reid's history of West-Indian emigration to the United States (1939:91) records the presence of approximately 500 Haitians in New York City in the 1920s. Most were males engaged in industry, trade, or white-collar professions. Many of these Haitians became active in the Marcus Garvey "Back to Africa" movement and other aspects of the Harlem Renaissance (Reid 1939:91).

After the American occupation of Haiti (1915-1934) ended, some American marines who had Haitian mistresses, wives, and children made special efforts to bring them to the United States. The Teachers College of Columbia University in New York City also recruited students through an educational and cultural exchange program. After World War II, Haitian women were attracted to New York, Washington, D.C., Chicago and Evanston, Illinois, and Los Angeles, California by opportunities to work as sleep-in domestics in American homes (Woldenmikael 1980, quoted in Laguerre 1984:169).

The greatest out-migration from Haiti began in the late 1950s, when François Duvalier assumed power. Duvalier instituted a regime of terror that stripped citizens of their rights and forced political opponents, intellectuals, and professionals to seek a safe haven abroad. The first waves of political refugees emigrated to francophone Africa, Canada, France, Latin America, and nearby Caribbean countries. As these countries closed their

doors during the 1960s, the United States also became a haven for expatriates, mainly from the Haitian upper classes.

By the mid-1960s, as the economy of Haiti continued to fail and political terrorism worsened, Haitians from the less privileged sectors of society joined urban middle-class and elite émigrés. Over half of the legal resident immigrants from Haiti who are presently in the United States entered since 1968. Their entry was largely a response to a backlog in processing their applications, which in turn resulted from changes in immigration law introduced by the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act. Another effect of the 1965 Act was that "illegal" entry became more feasible and faster than legal entry, which often took (and still may take) up to two years to effect. Thus, during the 1970s, Haitians from the poorest stratum clamored for tourist visas. Once in the United States, they merely "overstayed" their visit, joining the country's growing "undocumented" population. The most recent influx of Haitians occurred between 1978 and 1981, when over 40,000 people risked their lives to make the 800 mile ocean voyage to the United States, or fled the Bahamas, which threatened to deport Haitian workers.

DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF THE HAITIAN POPULATION

Since the United States Census does not list Haitians as a separate ethnic/racial category, statistics on the Haitian population in the United States are sparse. There are also a large number of undocumented aliens. Nevertheless, data from the United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service offer statistical clues to the demographic composition of Haitians.

Between 1953 and 1979, 50,002 Haitian women and 44,157 Haitian men were admitted as immigrants to the United States (United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service Reports 1953 through 1979, Table 9: Immigrants Admitted by Country or Region of Birth, Sex, and Age; see Note 2). This population tended to be young. The largest clusterings of arrivals between 1953 and 1979 were in the age ranges of ten to nineteen years (11,732 women, 10,603 men); twenty to twenty-nine years (12,285 women, 10,594 men); and thirty to thirty-nine years (9,054 women, 10,026 men).

Among the 40,000 so-called Haitian "boat people" who arrived *en masse* between 1978 and 1981 and were recorded by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, approximately thirty percent were women. This was also a young population, with the majority of female arrivals falling in the twenty to twenty-nine year old age range (United States Department of State, Cuban Haitian Task Force 1981).

United States Immigration and Naturalization Service tables showing the major occupational groups of Haitian immigrants indicate only one category in which women are clearly distinguished: "Housewives, children and others with no occupation" (United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1953 through 1979, Table 8: Immigrants Admitted by Country or Region of Birth and Major Occupation Group). The number of women in this category is consistently high, often comprising over fifty percent of the total annual number of Haitians entering the United States with legal resident status. These figures indicate that: (1) many Haitian women list themselves as housewives or as unemployed; or (2) these women are finally joining earlier emigrants who sponsored their entry (Dominguez 1975:13). The majority of women among the "boat people" classified themselves occupationally as vendors, agriculturalists, or domestics (United States Department of State, Cuban Haitian Task Force 1981), a reflection of their urban working-class or rural backgrounds.

MOTIVATION FOR MIGRATION

In Haiti, migration is a positively-sanctioned strategy for both men and women to achieve employment and upward mobility. Within Haiti, migration from rural areas to larger towns for the purpose of education or employment is common. Over the past ten years, Port-au-Prince, the nation's capital, has doubled in size and served as a major "commercial" center for travel agents whose business is emigration. Both internal and international out-migration are part of the Haitian socio-cultural and economic environment. Out-migration is an alternative employment strategy for people in an impoverished country with a chronically high unemployment rate, a subsistence economy, and little opportunity for its small educated class. Furthermore, the United States beckons as a land of unbounded opportunity for those willing to work. It has also served as a safe haven for political opponents of the Duvalier regime (François Duvalier or "Papa Doc," and his son, Jean Claude Duvalier or "Baby Doc"), as well as for those whose livelihood and security were threatened by the arbitrary law enforcement of the Tonton Macoutes, the para-military militia operating at the local level with total impunity to enforce the views of the dictatorship. The term, Tonton Macoute, refers to a bogey man in Haitian lore.

While recognizing that the political economy of Haiti is complex and that the movement of Haitian workers is part of an international circulation of labor, individual perceptions of the reasons for migration are important. Both the men and women I interviewed stated that major motivating factors were lack of employment *and* lack of opportunity for upward social and economic mobility. These factors tended to cut across class lines. Haitians from all classes view Haiti as a closed society, except

for those with political connections or who are elite by virtue of family background or wealth. As Haitians express it, "Ou pa kapab fè mouvman an Ayiti" ("You cannot move up in Haiti"); or, "Ou pa kapab fè lavi an Ayiti" ("You cannot make a living in Haiti"). These statements usually carry the implication that the reason for Haiti's plight is an historically unresponsive government that pays little attention to the well-being of its citizenry.

In the early years of the post-1950s out-migration from Haiti, upper- and middle-class Haitians fleeing the Duvalier regime could afford (or were forced) to emigrate as family units. Today, few families have sufficient funds to leave Haiti together. The average payment to a travel agent to arrange for the necessary papers, which are often false, is $1,500-2,000.00 U.S. currency. Even Haitians who have entered by boat have often paid similar prices, depending on whether their mode of entry is a small sailing craft, a commercial trawler, etc. Families select one member who seems most likely to obtain the necessary documents from Haitian and American immigration authorities. Women, particularly if they are single, are considered likely candidates, as they are thought to be less likely to permanently leave their families in Haiti. Also, once in the United States, women are able to find work as domestics, an avenue of employment which is generally not open to men.

Haitian migration to the United States has thus been primarily a chain migration (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964), where one or two individuals established a household in the host society and began to recruit relatives and friends to join them. Few Haitians now enter the United States without an established network of kin and friends who can offer initial assistance with housing, daily expenses, and employment. Although women have often been viewed merely as "secondary" migrants, following their partners once a household has been formed, many Haitian women have been either the first arrivals or the focal point of the recruitment process.

The case of Junie is a classic example. A nurse who had studied in the United States, Junie received an offer of employment from a physician in Pennsylvania. She worked for the physician for two years, during which time she saved her money and achieved resident status. Upon completing her "contract" with the physician, she returned to Haiti and married Gerald, who entered the United States on a tourist visa and simply overstayed the designated time limit. Junie and Gerald eventually achieved citizenship status.

Clérismé (1975) cites an example from his study of a cluster of Haitian immigrants in Brooklyn, New York who were from Bassin-Bleu, a town in northwestern Haiti. The immigration of one young woman in 1966 resulted in the development of a cluster of thirty-

six Bassin-Bleuans in Brooklyn, all of whom were related by blood or fictive kinship ties. Laguerre (1984:68-70) presents the case of Josephine, who arrived one year after her husband in 1960 and continued to recruit family members until 1972. She brought over a total of three goddaughters, three sisters, a nephew, two cousins, and her brother-in-law, all following her husband's death.

Through this process of chain migration, a number of Haitian communities have developed throughout the United States. The largest concentration of Haitians is in the nation's immigration capital, New York City. Numbering an estimated 250,000 to 300,000, the Haitian population of New York City has developed enclaves throughout the city. The majority reside in low-income neighborhoods in Brooklyn and Manhattan, which they share with other Caribbean immigrants and with Black Americans. A growing, wealthier minority of Haitians now reside in middle-income areas of Queens and Brooklyn.

The Haitian presence in these New York City neighborhoods is marked by Haitian Creole or French masses at Catholic churches; store-front Haitian Protestant churches; bilingual education programs at local schools; transfer companies sending remittances back to Haiti; restaurants that serve *griot* (fried pork cubes) and *diri ak poua* (rice and beans); music stores advertising the popular Haitian "mini-jazz" bands; and Haitian community centers that focus on delivery of social services, education, and legal assistance.

The majority of Haitians, especially new arrivals, work at unskilled or semi-skilled jobs in factories, service industries, and in domestic service. A small, but growing percentage of earlier immigrants hold professional, technical, or managerial positions or own small businesses. For the most part, Haitians are a phenotypically black population and a minority within a minority, distinguished from other black immigrants and from Black Americans by culture and language. Lack of documentation gives many Haitians a vulnerable and ambiguous legal status, and precludes return visits to Haiti. As this undocumented flow of immigrants from Haiti continues, many Haitians are attempting to regularize their status. A minority of immigrants have converted their resident status to that of citizen.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF HAITIAN WOMEN

In Haiti, women form an integral part of the subsistence-economy work force, particularly in their roles as cultivators and market women. Most factory employees in the industrial area around the capital city of Port-au-Prince are urban, working-class women whose deftness and willingness to work hard make them desirable employees. Although women from the elite sector of

Haitian society are often not employed outside the home, educated middle-class women often hold positions as secretaries, clerks, teachers, nurses, and doctors, as well as supervisory or managerial business positions. Thus, working outside the home is an acceptable and often required role for women in Haiti. It is part of their domestic role as mothers and wives who are responsible for the well-being of the household members, particularly their children.

For these reasons, many Haitian women arrive in New York with the intention of working, and with some work experience, albeit often unsuited to the new work situation. Haitian women use all resources at hand to achieve their goal of finding a job: kinship and friendship networks, Haitian community centers, employment agencies, social-service organizations, churches, and Haitian and American newspapers. Sometimes a friend will take a woman directly to a factory and train her on the job. At first, most Haitian women will accept any job to meet rapidly accumulating daily expenses, repay debts to relatives and friends who may have financed their entry, and accumulate savings for the expenses of future immigrants. They may also support family members who remain in Haiti.

The United States Census offers no general data on Haitian occupational distribution, much less specific information on Haitian women. However, the major avenues of employment for Haitian women immigrants can be defined as: factory work, with some concentration in the garment industry; service industries, particularly hotels and restaurants; domestic service, including house cleaning, care of children and the elderly, and office cleaning; and self-employment. If undocumented, these female workers are vulnerable to exploitation by employers who pay less than the minimum wage, offer no health benefits, pensions, or job security, and use the threat of the Immigration and Naturalization Service as a means of control in the workplace. Because of their double-minority status as blacks and women, their lack of skills relevant to an industrialized society, lack of fluency in English, and (for some) the legal issue, these women face many difficulties, both in their employment search and on the job. Like many women in Haiti, they are sometimes underemployed, working in seasonal, temporary, or part-time employment, or they are unemployed because their occupations are subject to lay-offs and slow-downs.

Despite the concentration of Haitian immigrant women in unskilled, menial jobs, a minority of educated Haitian women have obtained white-collar, technical, or professional positions. Wilda, a woman from the Haitian middle class in her late thirties, began work at I.B.M. as a keypunch operator. Although she was not fluent in English, she rapidly learned the language and her duties. Her skills, intelligence, and ambition impressed

her supervisor, who encouraged her to enroll in a programming course. Today, she works as a computer programmer for I.B.M.

Haitian women who have managed to master both English and a skill can be found in such occupations as doctors, nurses, accountants, teachers, insurance agents, laboratory technicians, and so on. The health field attracts many ambitious Haitian women, not only because it is traditionally acceptable and prestigious, but also because it allows flexible working hours and pays high salaries. Many Haitian women with minimal education aspire to become nurses' aides, and thus leave factory or domestic work.

Some immigrant Haitian women participate in the so-called underground economy, either as their main source of income or for supplemental income. For example, women skilled in dressmaking and embroidery work as seamstresses at home. Other women bake and cater baptisms, marriages, and other special occasions. Some sell Tupperware (plastic kitchen utensils), cosmetics, jewelry, or products purchased from their place of employment (such as handbags) to friends, relatives, and co-workers. Temporarily unemployed women, or those who cannot work full-time (mainly older women), open "day-care centers" in their homes, providing employed women with child-care services. Other women prepare meals for single men who prefer not to prepare their own or eat in restaurants. Haitian women who have amassed enough capital have opened boutiques, beauty salons, restaurants, and other small business ventures. Such entrepreneurial activity is consistent with economic strategies in Haiti, where the majority of the urban population does not have steady, full-time employment or income. Haitian women are renowned for their entrepreneurial skills, particularly rural market women who circulate most of the goods on the local level.

PERCEPTIONS OF WORK

Although many immigrant women formerly worked outside the home in Haiti, employment in the United States differs significantly from the Haitian experience. For rural women, subsistence cultivation involves the entire household, and thus remains essentially a domestic activity. Marketing requires women to travel long distances, often on foot, as they circulate through local and regional markets. However, children are cared for by older siblings or the older generation of women in the household. Women in urban areas in Haiti usually have a *bonn* (maid) or *domestik* (domestic)—often a young rural relative who has been sent to the city by her parents—who tends children and maintains the household. Even relatively poor Haitian women can usually afford this kind of service. Middle-class and elite women have several *bonns* and *gasons* (houseboys) who perform household chores, watch children, and handle daily affairs.

Work in the United States entails less integration of the work and domestic spheres than in Haiti, as well as daily travel by public or private transportation and considerably more complex child-care arrangements. Relatives who rendered services in Haiti are not always available, nor can many women afford household help. In addition, women in the United States have little control over their work hours and often have trouble adapting to an eight-hour work day and strict rules about absences.

Despite these complications, Haitian women generally take pride and dignity in having a job, although few of them express intrinsic satisfaction with the work itself. This dissatisfaction arises partly from the monotonous and menial nature of the jobs many of them perform, and partly from the realization that their wages, which seemed so enormous at first, barely cover their expenses. Moreover, racism and exploitation in the workplace detract from the positive aspects of work.

Paula's situation reflects the dilemma of many Haitian immigrant women:

> When I first came here, my cousin took me to an agency where I had to pay thirty dollars for placement. Although I only knew a few words of English, I speak French, so they placed me with an invalid French woman. I was supposed to take care of her during the day—give her medicine, make her meals, and just make certain she was alright. I worked eight hours a day for sixty dollars per week and paid for my own transportation.
>
> This woman treated me as though I were a slave. She expected me to clean the house and to run errands in addition to my assigned duties. She mocked my accent, called me a "Negress" and always told me that the "Negroes" had ruined Haiti by throwing out the French. I put up with that abuse because I had no choice. Without an alien card, it is hard to find a good job. I also needed the money to send to my mother in Haiti for her and my two children.

Women who held professional or white-collar positions in Haiti, or who did not work outside the home, initially suffer considerable downward occupational, economic, and social mobility in North America. Nicole, a former teacher in Haiti, has worked in a leather-goods factory for five years. She finds her job of placing linings and snipping loose strings from suitcases degrading and humiliating. As she says:

> The job I do is for an animal. It's the same day after day. No matter how fast I work, my boss complains about my slowness. He speaks to me disrespectfully because I am black and do not understand English very well. He

> knows I don't have an alien card and won't argue with him. He might report me to Immigration or fire me.
>
> Before I even get here, I am tired from pushing and shoving on the train. We only have a half-hour for lunch so I'm rushed then, too. When it's cold or raining, I don't feel like coming at all, especially because we often have no heat and I freeze all day. I used to be a school teacher in Haiti. Now, I'm doing a job that doesn't even require me to think.

For women such as Nicole, the work experience initially meant a significant loss of social status. Being a teacher in Haiti accorded one a certain prestige, but Nicole's social characteristics—her knowledge of French, educational background, and middle-class status—count for little in an English-speaking society where her skills are not immediately transferable to the work sector. In addition, she and others suffer from both categorization as second-class citizens because of their phenotype (including skin color), and lack of legal status in the country. Being an "illegal alien" consigns one to a nether-world of fear of discovery and carries a stigma of undesirability.

On the other hand, a major satisfaction with work lies not with the nature of the work itself, but with the opportunity to work coupled with the possibility of economic and social advancement. Increased earning capacity also means greater economic independence and the ability to accumulate savings to invest in one's future or that of one's children. This is especially true for women who did not work in Haiti, or whose incomes only supplemented those of their husbands. The work experience reduces women's dependence upon men and brings them new feelings of self-confidence and self-worth. As Nicole says:

> Here, I earn enough money to support myself if I have to do so. I know if something happens between me and my husband, I can feed and clothe my children. I don't have to wait for my husband to give me money for major expenses, and I can send money to my family in Haiti without checking with him. I am responsible for myself, and I like that.

For the most part, working in the United States enables Haitian women to provide their families both there and in Haiti with a higher standard of living. Thus, they more effectively fulfill their highly-valued roles as mothers. While working in Haiti is equated mainly with the daily struggle for existence and few opportunities for upward mobility, working in the United States means a solid opportunity for a better future and personal advancement.

OBSTACLES TO WORK AND ADVANCEMENT

Like Haitian men, Haitian women encounter many impediments to working which arise from linguistic and cultural differences with the dominant American culture. However, unlike men, women find their upward economic and social mobility further hindered by domestic and family demands. These responsibilities may prevent them from assuming full-time positions or accepting a better job, or may block their plans for continued education. Marie, a young woman of twenty-seven, is a case in point:

> Before the birth of my twins, I was able to attend evening classes at a local high school. I learned enough to get by, but I need to know more. Now, I am working. I have too many responsibilities to continue studying. I get up at five a.m. to prepare my children for the baby-sitter, begin to cook dinner for the evening, and get my husband ready to go to work. Then, I take the kids upstairs and catch the train and a bus to the factory in New Jersey where I do piecework sewing all day long. By the time I get home, it's too late to go to school. Anyway, I'm too tired to go to class and I still have lots of housework to do. I know I must go back, but when do I have the time?

Women's careers are also interrupted by pregnancies. This factor particularly affects women without alien cards who work at unskilled jobs where they can easily be replaced. Sometimes a pregnant woman loses her job unless she finds friends to fill in during her absence. Most women do not have the option of remaining at home with their children. They return to work shortly after giving birth because they cannot afford to be unemployed. Marie expresses the opinion of many young Haitian women on the subject of children:

> Most women I know here only want to have two children, if they have none. Some, like myself, want to have an operation so they won't have any more. I have three children in Haiti to support plus my twins here. It's too expensive, it's hard to find baby-sitters, and I want to be able to go to school again. It's just impossible with too many children.

Haitian men are also wary of the increased economic independence a job affords women (see below), and of the expanded social contacts (especially with other men) provided by work. As a result, it is often the male partner who poses the initial obstacle to the woman's entry into the labor market. As a woman seeks and obtains employment, her spouse becomes concerned about both the welfare of his children and his role as the family's principal provider. But eventually, the realities of economic life in the United States, coupled with the necessity for two

incomes to maintain a household and to meet the requirements of relatives in Haiti, override these objections.

CHANGES IN DOMESTIC RELATIONSHIPS

Resettlement in New York City, and especially Haitian women's new economic gains, have affected their relationships with their partners and children. Although behavioral changes have occurred, from the Haitian woman's perspective, cultural definitions and expectations of sexual roles have changed less rapidly.

Despite the full- or part-time employment of immigrant Haitian women and the additional burden that work entails, a sexual division of labor continues to be the major method for allocating household tasks. Thus, most Haitian women still bear the major responsibilities for housekeeping, cooking, and child care. Those women who had domestic servants in Haiti find themselves overwhelmed by these chores; some must even learn domestic skills. A verse from a song titled "Fanm d'Ayiti," pointedly summarized the plight of Haitian women:

> Fanm d'Ayiti Nouyòk
> Ponntché kou gason
> 8 è d-tan pa jou
> Fo l-fè siplemantè
> Pou kouvé mouchè
> Sa sé trop atò
> Bos apè di-l "faster"
> Mari di-l fè vit
> Se 2 faktori
>
> Haitian women in New York
> Punch in at work just like men
> Eight hours of work each day
> Then she does overtime caring
> For her husband
> It's just too much
> The boss yells, "Faster!"
> Her husband says, "Hurry up!"
> She works in two factories (see Note 3).

Sometimes, an older female relative is recruited from Haiti to care for the children and help with housework. Rarely do Haitian families in New York have a maid to perform these tasks, as they did in Haiti.

In some households, men have begun to lend a hand with marketing, cleaning, baby-sitting, and even cooking. These are chores they would not have performed in Haiti, and which are still culturally defined by both men and women as part of the

female domain of activity. Men who assist with these duties often do so reluctantly and/or only in the absence of a woman to perform them. For example, few men like to remain home with children and will either arrange for a baby-sitter or drop children off with relatives rather than have their freedom curtailed. Most Haitian women whom I met regard a man who willingly and equally shares the burden of domestic tasks as exceptional—an ideal to be attained.

Haitian couples who arrive in the United States together or within a short period of each other are thought to have a better chance of remaining together because they can simultaneously adapt to their new surroundings. When one partner initially settles in New York City alone, the partner who follows sometimes finds that his or her mate has a different set of expectations and no longer wishes to maintain the same kind of relationship they had in Haiti. This is particularly true when a woman emigrates first, and no longer wishes to be the subordinate partner in the marriage. In addition, her husband initially depends on her for money, socialization into American society, employment, and—assuming she has residency—for her signature on his residency papers. He may find this newly asymmetrical relationship intolerable.

Among the numerous factors that exacerbate antagonism between the sexes is women's greater financial independence. Haitian men grumble that women in the United States act like *gran moun* (adults) rather than *ti moun* (children), are not as submissive as in Haiti, and are more demanding. They reason that "Nouyòk gaté anpil fiy paskè yo vin konprann pouvoua lajan" ("New York spoils a lot of women because they learn the power of money"). Women also realize that their increased earning capacity, regular jobs, and the centrality of their income to the household give them more leverage and power with respect to their husbands. However, as a Haitian nun pointed out, women are sometimes afraid to exercise that power:

> The majority of Haitian women are still afraid to stand up for their rights in marriage. They still believe that the man should have the authority and that they should be subordinate to him. This mentality is deeply ingrained in both men and women, and it will change only slowly. Those women who do challenge their husbands by insisting upon more equality and personal liberty encounter a lot of opposition. Haitian men don't want to give women their freedom or give up their own privileges.

From the Haitian perspective, New York also spoils many relationships by creating new problems and exacerbating old ones.

According to many of my informants, "Haitian women are more mothers than wives." That is, their roles as mothers overshadow those of wives. Haitian women feel that fulfilling their responsibilities for their children's upbringing and moral education is exceedingly difficult in the United States. Their work schedules and lack of readily-available relatives to assist them require them to leave children in day-care centers or with a series of baby-sitters. Since they usually cannot be home when their children arrive from school, they may exercise little control over their children's after-school activities. They are also disturbed by the growing linguistic and cultural gaps between themselves and their children. The latter rapidly adopt English as a primary language and absorb American values and manners from television, school, and other children. While essential for integration of the children into American society and culture, these same factors undermine the moral authority of their mothers and frustrate efforts to instill Haitian values and mores.

Some families seek a solution to this problem by sending their children back to Haiti during their formative years. They prefer the Haitian educational system and can be assured that the children will receive a good, strict upbringing from their grandmothers. Women in New York whose children reside in Haiti fret about their welfare and lack of motherly attention and love, even though the children live with trusted relatives. However, it is not unusual for a grandmother or older female relative to raise the children of her daughter or niece. This strategy is both culturally acceptable and adaptive.

ACTIVITIES BEYOND THE DOMESTIC AND WORK SPHERES

Resettlement in New York City has not generally resulted in an expansion of Haitian women's activities beyond the realms of work and home. Once again, pragmatic and cultural constraints confine women to their traditional domains, while public activities remain the province of men. The triple burdens of work, children, and the household leave women little free time to devote to additional domestic or personal activities. The demands of the household and children are expected to take precedence over outside activities. For these reasons, Haitian women generally perceive that they have less personal freedom, mobility, and leisure time than Haitian men.

As in Haiti, both men and women still define the *foyé* (home) as the appropriate domain of women and locate women's primary responsibilities there. Beyond work and household-centered activities, women must often justify the time they spend outside the house to men. Although men are free to come and go at will, women must also often account for their whereabouts. Those women who participate in other activities must carefully balance their participation against real or perceived responsibilities at home.

Whereas the *foyé* is defined as the women's realm, *lari*—the street or any place beyond the home—is the male preserve. It is "dangerous" for women because "on the street" men test their sexual prowess. Consequently, Haitian women usually travel in someone's company if possible.

Despite these restrictions on their mobility, Haitian women maintain and renew friendship and kinship networks, primarily on the telephone and at family parties, visits, baptisms, marriages, and other major social events. Couples have some joint activities, but many women still complain that they are stranded at home while their mates go out with male friends or girlfriends.

Both men and women consider the church an appropriate and safe domain for women. Thus, Catholic and Protestant church services, associations, and activities provide many women, especially if they are unmarried, with a culturally-endorsed way to spend their free time. These church activities also provide a much-needed outlet for women's frustrations and sufferings.

Some women, particularly if they are educated, participate actively in Haitian cultural, social, community, and political organizations. Although there are a few exclusively female associations—such as the Girl Scouts, dance troupes, and women's soccer teams—many activities of these associations are directed toward young girls or young women.

Some educated, politically-aware Haitian women have attempted to mobilize others around feminist issues, either in general or within the context of expatriate opposition to the Duvalier regime. However, most Haitian women display a marked indifference to politics, a domain traditionally relegated to and dominated by men.

CONCLUSIONS

Through an analysis of the role of Haitian women in the immigration process and their integration into the urban, industrialized labor market of New York City, we see that their resettlement in New York has both improved and worsened their lives. Haitian women in New York benefit from increased earning capacity, a greater feeling of independence, and improved living standards, as well as from their perceived opportunity to work and achieve upward mobility. These positive factors are offset by increased domestic responsibilities engendered by work outside the home, the disruption of kinship support systems, loss of domestic help, and the needs of relatives in Haiti. Although Haitian women's greater economic independence in New York has somewhat improved their status within the family, there have been no drastic redefinitions of sexually-defined roles and attitudes on either an individual or collective basis. From the viewpoint

of the Haitian women described here, cultural definitions of sex roles and their accompanying behavior remain basically unchanged, and women still bear the brunt of child-care and household responsibilities. These women also face additional problems and abuses that often accompany their status as blacks in a predominantly white society. Moreover, many Haitians are undocumented aliens who work in menial, exploitive jobs. Thus, it is understandable that Haitian women in New York express considerable ambivalence about their lives, and perceive that in many respects, life has become more difficult.

Haitian women share many problems with other Afro-Caribbean female immigrants to the United States. However, their case is complicated by the fact that they do not enter with the advantage of speaking either English or Spanish, nor do they find a large indigenous population with whom they share cultural or linguistic affinities. Political conditions and poverty in Haiti make the possibility of return emigration less likely and less attractive for Haitians than for others from the Caribbean. Thus, Haitians must cope with a different set of adjustments and problems in adapting to their new milieu.

More detailed studies of female immigrants to the United States and throughout the world indicate that women play important roles in the emigration and resettlement process that, until recently, have been obscured. Female immigrants are significant links in the chain migration process, not just as followers of male "pioneers," but as individuals motivated to improve their own socio-economic status as well as that of their families. Once resettled, Haitian women play significant roles in the formation and maintenance of social networks which bind ethnic communities together. They also facilitate the entry, adjustment, and adaptation of later immigrants. The motivations of these women for coming, and the larger macrostructural forces operating to push them from their own country into more developed locations, are important areas of study. However, an emphasis on macrostructure tends to obscure the real and painful problems of women, men, and children whose very survival and futures are at stake. The perceptions of these immigrants and their understanding of their situations in their new countries of residence, as well as the influence of their cultures and historical backgrounds on coping strategies and adaptations to their new environments, are equally important subjects for consideration.

NOTES

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1. All quotations are presented in Haitian Creole. The paper is written in the ethnographic present.

2. United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service tables on sex, marital status, occupation, and country of last residence are unavailable for 1980 and 1981. In 1982, 8,779 Haitians were admitted to the United States as immigrants, including 4,113 women, 4,346 men, and 320 people listed as "unknown." In 1983, 8,424 Haitian immigrants entered the United States, including 3,878 women, 4,152 men, and 394 "unknowns" (United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1982 and 1983, Statistical Yearbook, Table IMM 4.3: Immigrants Admitted by Country or Region of Birth, Sex and Age).

3. This song comes from the record album, *Peyi-An Mouen* by Soley Levé, a musical group known for its politically-conscious lyrics.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CONJUGAL POWER BASE: YEMENI JEWISH COUPLES IN AN ISRAELI TOWN

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Cette dissertation analyse les changements dans les relations conjugales des immigrés juifs yéménites depuis leur émigration du Yémen pré-industrialisé jusqu'à leur enracinement dans l'Israël contemporain. Les écrivaines féministes prétendent souvent que, sous le capitalisme industrialisé, "le foyer" devient un domaine "privé" et l'empire des femmes, tandis que le domaine "politico-juridique" devient "publique" et exclut les femmes. Cette dissertation montre que c'est plutôt le contraire qui est arrivé aux femmes qui ont fait l'objet de nos recherches. C'est en Israël où les femmes ont réussi à s'imposer dans la vie publique—sur le marché du travail, dans les activités communautaires, dans l'éducation permanente, etc.—et leur participation dans des activités en dehors du foyer leur a permis de gagner plus de pouvoir et d'autorité à la maison que ce qui a été le cas des femmes au Yémen. Je soutiens également qu'il est impossible d'analyser la place des femmes immigrées dans la société israélienne sans comprendre les expériences de leur époux dans le domaine économique de la société intégrale.

This essay analyzes changes in the conjugal relationships of Yemeni Jewish immigrants from the time of their migration from pre-industrial Yemen to their entrenchment in contemporary Israel. Feminist writers often contend that under industrialized capitalism, the "domestic" domain becomes both "private" and the dominion of women, while the "politico-jural" domain becomes "public" and excludes women. The opposite happens to women in this study. In Israel, Yemeni Jewish women have achieved a public life for themselves in many areas, including paid labor, community activities, adult education, and so on. Their participation in extra-domestic activities has enabled them to gain more power and authority in the home than was experienced by women in Yemen. It is also argued that the place of immigrant women in Israeli society cannot be analyzed without understanding the experiences of their spouses in the economic domain of the wider society.

The Jews of Yemen are one of the immigrant groups in the mosaic of contemporary Israel. To some extent, all 75,000 Yemeni

Jewish immigrants to Israel have endured radical changes as a result of experiences in Israeli society. For example, among Jewish women in Yemen, women's status as integral members of natal, conjugal, and extended families is the primary determinant of women's activities. In Israeli society, women's position is also determined by activities in other spheres such as the workplace, working and religious women's associations, and adult education courses. The Israeli world of women is considerably more complex than the life-style of women in Yemen.

This essay analyzes the restructuring of conjugal relations among Yemeni Jews in an Israeli town. It focuses on how wives' participation in extra-domestic activities, particularly in paid employment, have helped to precipitate considerable changes in relationships with their husbands. The ethnography begins in Yemen, where all husbands and wives in this study lived from five to thirty years before immigration to Israel between 1948-1951. I will then describe the early marriage careers of these couples, why women entered the paid labor force in Israel, and how the experiences of spouses in Israeli society have helped to transform the conjugal power base.

To analyze institutional shifts in wives' and husbands' activities, I have juxtaposed life in Yemen and Israel through the distinction between domestic and public. Since this analytical device has become the source of considerable debate in recent years, I will clarify my use of the concepts domestic and public incorporating Yemeni Jewish definitions (see Bujra 1982; Imray and Middleton 1983; Reiter 1975; Rosaldo 1974, 1980; Sacks 1975; Sciama 1981).

Domestic (*bayti*) refers to the residential unit, to almost all activities that take place in the home, including food processing, child rearing, and housework, as well as to kin-based relationships which are usually located outside of the household or kin group (see Note 1). Public (*tzibori*) refers to activities and social relationships that are usually located outside of the household or kin group. Thus, work in paid employment belongs to the public domain, as do activities in the synagogue, adult education, and local politics. In some instances, domestic and public are not characterized by spatial references. For example, Yemenis consider marketing for household goods as a domestic activity, but when information not pertaining to household maintenance is exchanged with the merchant, marketing is a public activity. When a political meeting takes place in the household, the residential unit is no longer solely domestic, but concurrently a public place. Thus, the terms domestic and public refer not only to the residential unit and what lies outside of it, but to any activity or social relationship, regardless of the usual definition of the space in which they occur. Bujra (1982:22) states that if locating gender-based activities in domestic and public realms is to have any explanatory value, "what must be

investigated is the *relationship*, the character of articulation, between domestic and nondomestic spheres of action." I agree with Bujra, and will attempt such an analysis in this paper.

My data challenge some aspects of the domestic/public distinction that feminist debate has proposed for analyzing the lives of women in capitalist societies. One aspect of the debate claims that women are almost universally confined to domestic spheres, while the public domain belongs to men (Imray and Middleton 1983; Reiter 1975:281; Sciama 1981:90). Another aspect of the debate states that the privatization of domestic labor in capitalist societies physically isolates housewives from each other, thus encouraging women's alienation and inability to organize themselves (Bujra 1982:25). As will be illustrated, Yemeni Jewish wives in contemporary Israel are not confined to domestic spheres. In fact, the opposite has occurred. The women in this study appreciated the privatization of domestic labor as a significant improvement over entrenchment in the mother-in-law-dominated households which they endured in Yemen. Too often, feminist interpretation claims to speak for all women in all capitalist societies. Thus, the ideological underpinnings of feminist interpretation often preclude cross-cultural variation.

In macro-economic terms, women's subordination and exploitation in industrial production may be universal. Nevertheless, no matter how limited their power in the industrial arena, women in many developing and industrial societies who work in paid employment have great power and authority in the domestic domain (Cohen 1961:52-54; Lewenhak 1980:244; Makhlouf and Obermeyer 1978:339; Salaff 1981; Salaff and Wong 1982; Tilly and Scott 1978:116; Touba 1980:59). Moreover, women's participation in production is not simply a reflection of their domestic roles, as some writers have suggested (Wajcman 1981:15). A major conclusion of a recent Wenner-Gren conference on the sexual division of labor was summed up by Kelly (1981:272):

> The discussion . . . during the conference led to the conclusion that the division of labor by gender had different meanings depending on its cultural and social contexts. In addition, the activities that women perform are variously defined in terms of the content and the social values attached to them. It cannot be said that women's labor is intrinsically inferior to that of men or that it is universally judged to be so. What confers a differential value upon gender specific labor is the socially sanctioned rewards bestowed on or denied to groups of men and women.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Although accounts of the origin of Jewish settlement in Yemen on the southern tip of Saudi Arabia vary considerably, all historians agree that it is of some antiquity. By the fifth century, Jews were an established segment of the Himyar Kingdom of Southern Arabia. With the victory of Islam in this area (*circa* 628 C.E.), the Jews became a subjugated people and later a persecuted minority under the legal status of *d'himmi* (protected foreigner). Although other Jewish communities in the Arabian peninsula disappeared, the Yemeni diaspora population was distinguished by its tenacious existence in spite of the impact of plagues, economic adversity, persecution, and forced conversions to Islam until its return to Israel *en masse* in 1948 (Ahroni 1986). Under these circumstances, combined with a constant vision of return from exile to the Land of Israel, it is not surprising that when the opportunity to migrate became more feasible, Yemeni Jews did so in great numbers.

The immigration of Yemeni Jews to Israel began as early as 1882. Most of the original Yemeni Jewish population (50,000 people) arrived in Israel between 1948-1951, when the ruler of Yemen, Imam Achmed, granted permission for Jews to emigrate from Yemen. Today, Yemeni Jews comprise approximately four percent of the Jewish population in Israel (164,000 out of a population of about 3,700,000 people). Yemeni Jews live in largely homogeneous settlements such as *moshavim* (co-operative farms), and in the new towns and neighborhoods of large urban centers dispersed throughout the country. Jewish men in both pre-industrial and contemporary Yemen were and still are merchants, artisans, and craftsmen such as goldsmiths, weavers, tailors, and carpenters. Since there was no need for these occupations in the "modern" technological society of post-independence Israel, Yemeni Jewish men usually entered labor positions, particularly in construction, road building and maintenance, and gardening (see Note 2). The first generation of Western-educated, Israeli-born males now works largely in skilled labor and in professions such as law, accounting, and teaching. Middle-aged and older immigrant women often work as domestics and child minders (see Note 3). Younger, educated women work primarily in service occupations such as teaching and office work. Yemeni Jews of the immigrant generation are now an established segment of Israel's working class, and are lauded for their industrious attitudes. Although they are not politically organized on the basis of ethnic identity, they maintain cultural associations and often marry among themselves.

This study is based on extensive research in primary and secondary source materials. It focuses on information gathered from formal interviews of thirty-five women, aged thirty-five to fifty-five, and their husbands. Twenty of these women were the subject of intensive case studies. The women live in Gadot, a successful, new, "working class" town in the metropolitan Tel

Aviv area (see Note 4), where Jews of Yemeni origin or descent represent the second-largest ethnic category after Turks. In 1981, at the time of the research, there were 1,500 Yemenis out of a total of 12,000 residents in Gadot. The Yemenis are not residentially segregated, but are mixed with Jews from seventy countries of origin. Yemenis in Gadot differ significantly from those in homogeneous settlements in that they have non-Yemeni friends and neighbors. Thus, they have greater opportunities to incorporate or discard alien cultural attributes and norms.

CONJUGAL ROLES IN YEMEN

Yanagisako (1979:193) suggests: "One way to move towards a more refined analysis of change in family and kinship is to examine the relationships between change in ideology of family and kinship and change in actual institutional arrangements." Since this study revealed inconsistencies between formally-expressed ideologies and the actual institutional arrangements of Jewish couples in Yemen, I have followed Yanagisako's suggestion (1979). Thus, data collected during 1980-1981 must be placed in historical perspective. Although the oral histories that I collected often had inconsistencies, they presented a relatively consistent picture of conjugal roles (cf. Katzir 1976:40-61).

I will begin with an analysis of institutional dimensions of domestic and public domains in Yemen. Note that in Yemen, Jews lived in patrilocal, multiple-family residences. The following chart illustrates their gender-related activities (see Note 5):

THE DOMESTIC DOMAIN IN YEMEN

Women	**Men**
Socialization of Children	
Women were responsible for the primary socialization of girls until they married, and of boys until the age of three when they went to school and spent more time with their fathers.	Men did not participate in basic child rearing, although they had ultimate authority over their children. They were the primary teachers of their sons in matters of ritual and occupation.
Household Chores	
Women were responsible for all domestic labor.	Men did not participate in food processing or housekeeping.

Economic Roles (see Note 6)

Women were active in some food production, including limited agricultural production outside of the household. They were responsible for the care of the family livestock which were tended solely for domestic use.	Men did not participate in food production, except for the ritual slaughterer. They did not participate in agriculture or animal husbandry.
Women engaged in craft production when time permitted. Income from this labor was controlled by men.	Craft workshops were usually located in the household.

Leisure

Leisure time was spent with other women in the household or in ritual baths where women congregated.	Leisure time was spent with other men either in the household or in coffee houses.

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN IN YEMEN

Women	**Men**
Economic Roles	
Women had no public economic roles.	Some men were merchants or long-distance traders.
Women were forbidden to go to the market.	Men engaged in the marketing and trading of goods.
Religious Roles	
Women were denied participation in organized prayer, but attended the synagogue on the Sabbath and on holidays.	Men attended the synagogue three times daily for prayer.
Political Roles	
Women were excluded from representation in courts and	Men represented the family and the patronymic group in courts

could not enter government offices.	and government offices. Inter-family disputes were settled in the household.
	The Jewish code of practice provided the primary jural norms governing Jewish relations. Contact with non-Jews was controlled by Muslim governors or *shaykhs*. The state defined the mobility of Jews and the spatial dimensions of their communities.

This classification suggests that Yemeni Jewish women and men were identified with, and participated in, largely separate social worlds. Several men were responsible for the economic maintenance of the multiple-family household, while women managed these households and produced some foodstuffs. Older informants reported that women spent their days in the company of other women. A woman in an unhappy marriage could easily divorce (or be divorced) and return to her natal family. Under these conditions, the conjugal relationship did not have the exclusivity that it now has in Israel.

While reminiscing about the ideological position of women, several men in my research set said that in Yemen, a woman was respected as a precious candle that was the light of the home. Women were secluded in the home because like precious candles, they had to be protected. Jewish religious texts provided the basis for the separation of female and male activities. In Yemen, only men were literate. Thus, they could relegate women solely to the domestic domain on the pretext that only men knew and could interpret religious law. This gender dichotomy was also found in the wider Muslim society.

In Israel, women regard their past in Yemen with ambivalence. Although they lament the lack of simplicity in their present life-style in Israel, they also believe that in Yemen they were "slaves" and lacked "cultured" learning.

In Yemen, Jewish women had more informal power than the picture of female servitude generally assumes, as demonstrated in many studies of Middle Eastern women (Dwyer 1978; Fernea 1969, 1976; Katzir 1976; Lancaster 1981; Maher 1974; Makhlouf 1979; Mernissi 1975; Nelson 1974; Wikan 1980). However, I agree with Palgi's (1975:2) conclusions:

> To sum up the situation, her correct sexual behaviour was controlled through family structure, sanctified by religious legal code and reinforced by fear of super-

natural powers, such as evil spirits, ghosts, and the evil eye. In Yemen there was no difficulty in perpetuating this family structure and rigid relationships. While the Jews suffered serious disabilities as a minority group, in this area there was complete harmony between them and the ruling community.

CONJUGAL RELATIONS IN ISRAEL

The Early Years of Marriage

Yemeni Jewish women's memories of their early years of marriage will now be described so that the eventual restructuring of their roles and self-images in Israeli society will be put into perspective. For many of the women with whom I worked, the road to self-esteem and contentment was marked by pitfalls and setbacks. As immigrants in Israel, they had few ways of coping with the expectations and responsibilities of what they term "modern" marriages. In Yemen, the most common complaints about marriage involved domineering mothers- and sisters-in-law in the patrilocal households into which young brides moved. In contemporary Israel, the mother-in-law has lost her power and ability to torment. Instead, the young bride must build a life alone with her husband. There are several definitive criteria of "modern" marriages: they are contracted by "free choice," and the emphasis on the conjugal bond is strong. The conjugal unit becomes the residential and economic unit, with wives having crucial economic roles outside the household. In Israel, there is also less adherence to rules of sexual and reproductive purity.

Five of the thirty-five women in this study underwent arranged marriages in Yemen between the ages of seven and fifteen according to traditional Yemeni Jewish practice. The remainder of the women married in Israel between 1948 and 1962 by "free choice" with one exception—the local rabbi's wife who married through the negotiation of a hired matchmaker. Nine of the "free choice" women married close relatives, while the other twenty married nonrelatives who were all Yemeni by origin. Women of the "free choice" generation adhered to the rule of ethnic endogamy and felt that they had contracted "modern" marriages.

Once she was of age, a Yemeni woman in Israel searched for a spouse whenever possible, particularly at weddings or parties. She was often prepared to marry the first man who seemed appropriate. Marriage was the only honorable way to leave the parental home, and many women expressed the desire to escape the control of their father and brothers. Many women claimed that they were "subordinated" (their term) by their natal families. They resented the pressure on them to work during or after elementary or secondary school, rather than continuing to study. If they

worked, they felt that they might as well have been working to educate their own children, rather than contributing their hard-earned wages to their brothers' educations. The early "emancipation" of women, indicated by their movement into the Israeli labor market, was really exploitation by the traditional family structure. This structure denied women further education by putting them to work as wage earners for their brothers' educations.

Courtship seems to have been brief, and "love" seems to have been based on physical attraction rather than a deeper assessment of personality or common interests. Several women blamed their subsequent marital difficulties on such attitudes. One woman in a particularly strained marriage said that she and her husband curse the distant town where they met. She believed that an evil spirit must have entered her head, making her blind to the animal behind her husband's handsome face. A minority of seven women expressed concern that a prospective spouse should come from a respected family. Although these women all enjoy good marriages, they stress that if they had not been physically attracted to their husbands, they would not have married merely because of family background.

New wives generally face a difficult period of adaptation to marriage. The women in this study confronted circumstances quite different from those their mothers faced in Yemen. These changes are evidenced by the songs and stories comprising an important element in the *ḥinna* (henna) ceremony. This is the lengthy ritual that, in Yemen, marked the separation of the bride from her natal family. In *ḥinna* songs and stories, the values and expected behavior of the young bride are presented in dramatic form (see Note 7). Although in Yemen these tales seem to reflect the most important areas of female concern, the songs and tales of the *ḥinna* have lost their significance in Israel.

In Yemen, women typically moved into the house of their husbands' extended families upon marriage. During the *ḥinna*, a bride was instructed primarily in how to cooperate with her mother-in-law, who was expected to exercise authority over her during her married life. Young brides, typically between the ages of seven and fifteen, only gradually took on the domestic responsibility of household chores. In Yemen, most homes were detached houses onto which rooms could be added. After immigration to Israel, most of the women in this study moved directly to Gadot or other urban areas. There, available housing was in apartment buildings and not in detached houses onto which rooms could be added. Immediately upon immigration, the multiple-family residential group broke up and was replaced by the nuclear-family household. Families who moved into detached housing units after immigration often had to plant vegetable gardens in their yards to supplement household incomes. Since parents did not have money to build on extra rooms for married children and their potential

families, newly-married couples were forced to find their own lodgings. Most new couples set up housekeeping in one-room flats, and brides were expected to manage their households. Even if new couples wished to settle near relatives, the choice of housing depended on the availability and location of cheap flats or proximity to employment. Contrary to most norms of "modern" marriage, separation from families was remembered as a great hardship (see Note 8). However, once women became experienced housekeepers, they realized how fortunate they were in not having to cope with mothers- or sisters-in-law, as was the case in Yemen.

During the *ḥinna*, the bride was instructed primarily about relationships with her husband's female relatives rather than with her husband. However, in Israel, a woman's relationship with her husband is much more important than affinal ties with women. Upon setting up independent households in Israel, sons stopped contributing to their fathers' household incomes because they needed all their earnings to support their own families. Women said that their fathers-in-law were not upset at losing their sons' incomes because they understood that new couples must be self-supporting. However, sons are still expected to support parents in their old age.

In the *ḥinna*, the bride was instructed that housework, procreation, and child rearing were women's primary duties. By contrast, in Israel, wives must take on women's "double burden" by working in paid employment to help support their families in addition to doing most of the housework. Women in this research set worked for wages until the birth of their first child and returned to work after the child was weaned. A similar pattern was followed for all children. In most cases, mothers or mothers-in-law who had not entered the Israeli labor force looked after small children while younger married women worked. By 1952, some day-care facilities were available in Gadot and were used whenever possible (see Note 9). Young women's wages were often equal or superior to those of their husbands. Many women say that this caused their husbands considerable embarrassment, but the second income was too important to permit women to stop working. Ideologically, the wife's income was regarded as supplementary. The implications of women's work are discussed in detail below.

During the week of the *ḥinna*, the new bride was also instructed in family purity rituals during and immediately following menstruation. These rituals require husband and wife to be separated for fifteen days. They must not sleep together, the wife must not feed her husband, and she may not wash his clothes until she is purified in the ritual baths. Although these rules were strictly followed in Yemen, they are often considered inconvenient and time-consuming in Israel. Since an older, more religious woman is not on the scene to enforce these rules, they are not as strictly followed in Israel.

Not surprisingly, many older Yemeni women remember their early years of marriage as a period of great suffering. On the other hand, women who were married in Yemen recalled fewer difficulties in Israel because they were already adjusted to life with a spouse and had experience in housekeeping. These women were thankful to be free of their mothers-in-law and, after initial adjustments, enjoyed their new-found independence in Israel. In spite of apparently insurmountable obstacles—particularly poverty—in creating a secure family life, women's contributions to the ability of their families to function through entry into the labor force gave them more domestic power than their mothers had enjoyed in Yemen. Increased power and autonomy was also related to such factors as residential isolation of the conjugal pair. However, although women's self-esteem increased, their husbands lost status and prestige after immigration to Israel.

REPERCUSSIONS OF MOVING TO ISRAEL: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CONJUGAL POWER BASE

In Yemen, Jewish men provided economic maintenance for the household and women were mostly engaged in consumption and domestic labor. However, defining all tasks performed by women as domestic is an ideological statement about gender assignments. Women simply were not seen to have any economic function. For example, when women contributed to the family income by working in craft production during their spare time, husbands marketed these goods and controlled the disposal of all income. A man's greatest shame was having his wife work for others for wages. Older informants remember that many families would suffer extreme poverty rather than allow women to work for pay.

As previously indicated, in Yemen most Jewish men worked in household and kin-based craft production and artisan enterprises. Despite the low legal status of Jews in Yemen, their economic functions were keenly appreciated by the Muslim majority, which was composed almost entirely of farmers, soldiers, rulers, and spiritual leaders. Some occupations held by Jews, such as goldsmithery, silversmithery, and money lending, were considered acts of usury and forbidden under Islam. Thus, the Muslims relied heavily on the Jews, who occupied the entire artisan class and most of the merchant classes. When the vast majority of Jews left Yemen between 1948-1951, the country suffered serious economic setbacks. In fact, the few thousand Jews who remained in North Yemen were reportedly forced to do so by the state because their economic services were deemed irreplaceable.

In Israel, there was little need for the "backward" technology employed by craftspeople. Only a small portion of Yemeni immigrants, most of them jewelsmiths, were able to continue their traditional occupations. A national oversupply of rabbis and

teachers meant that there was only a limited need for these occupations as well in Israel. The Yemenis were at a further disadvantage because of pronounced differences between the religious educational system in Yemen and the secular and religious educational system in Israel. Although Jewish men in the Muslim community in Yemen had enjoyed high prestige for achieving basic literacy, in Israel they were illiterate in modern Hebrew and had virtually no knowledge of how to compete in a modern capitalist economy. They were thus compelled to enter the unskilled labor market and help fill the new state's needs for manual labor. As Yemeni men lost control over the power of their labor, their self-esteem was radically altered by having to sell their labor in the marketplace. Initially, their roles in construction and road building were greatly appreciated by the wider society. However, soon after the formation of the state of Israel, the crystallization of classes and the re-emergence of bourgeois attitudes meant that physical "nation-building" lost much of its original prestige. Thus, Yemeni men no longer enjoyed their former high status.

In Gadot, there are notable exceptions to this pattern. After immigration to Israel, some older Yemeni men attended high school or university and subsequently became skilled laborers or managers, particularly in banking and administration. Several important public officials in Gadot are Yemeni, including the heads of the religion and workers' councils, and the mayor, who has held office since 1951.

More typically, just as Yemeni men found their occupational status altered in Israel, they also found that their position within the family had changed. In Israel, men no longer controlled the productive labor of their sons, who entered the labor market as independent agents. Thus, an important aspect of patriarchal authority was undermined. Evidence suggests that loss of authority and other changes had a profound and lasting effect on many men of the immigrant generation. The prevalence of pathological responses to resettlement in Israel—such as alcoholism, extreme apathy, depression, and crime—has been associated predominantly with Middle-Eastern Jewish men (Amir 1973; Miller 1971; Shoham 1970, 1971, 1973, 1976). Although Israeli popular opinion states that the industrious Yemenis are exempt from difficult adjustments to Israeli society, some of my observations indicated the opposite. At least six of the middle-aged fathers with whom I worked are alcoholics, and many more are extremely apathetic about family functioning. This may be related to the alienation of their labor and their loss of patriarchal authority.

After moving to Israel, Yemeni women also began to enter the labor force (see Note 10). Daughters, who were often as young as ten years old, were initially sent to work to help support the family. Women recall that their fathers were ashamed to send

their daughters out to work because this confirmed that their own incomes were insufficient for their families' needs. At the same time, family prestige was associated with the formal education of sons, as in Yemen. In Israel, many years of formal, Western-style education were (and are) necessary for entering upwardly-mobile occupations. Thus, sons reared in Israel would not repeat their fathers' life careers. Once sons were successful, their fathers' prestige would be redeemed to a certain extent. With some bitterness, the women in this research set remember that their contributions to their brothers' achievements were not appreciated, and that fathers and brothers would not provide them with economic aid upon their marriages or throughout their married lives. In all, twenty-nine of the thirty-five women in this study worked in paid employment as domestics, agricultural laborers, and factory workers before their marriages (see Note 11). All of these women handed their incomes over to the heads of their households, whether these were fathers or brothers, and had no control over their earnings.

Most of these same women insisted on continuing to work after marriage because of stringent economic circumstances. Moreover, they wanted to ensure a good education for their daughters and sons. In addition to helping provide basic household items, women remained in the labor force because their husbands' earnings could not provide for their children's education (until 1978, Israeli parents had to pay high school tuition). The major source of prestige in traditional Yemeni Jewish culture is formal education. In Israel, education was accessible to women and these women valued it tremendously. Through their children's successes, they would achieve high social status.

Since the women in this study are illiterate, or at best poorly-educated, they find jobs in the ever-growing market for domestics, child minders, and office cleaners. Although on a bourgeois scale of measurement the status of these working women is low, the women themselves usually do not regard the low status of their work as important. On the other hand, many of their husbands felt that being relegated to unskilled or semi-skilled labor indicated their inferiority to more educated sections of the country. The women, however, viewed entering the labor market as a rise in status and individual freedom compared to their seclusion in the domestic realm in Yemen where they had lived, in their words, as "ignorant slaves." They feel that they are "liberated" (their term) compared to many other Middle-Eastern Jewish and non-Jewish women in Israel who do not work for pay.

Although women's earnings are vital to their families' well-being, women in this study do not view themselves as primary economic supporters of their households. They work to help their husbands provide. As one woman told me, "I work because it helps him, and if I help him, he will help me. I do not work because I

enjoy it." There is an expressed ambivalence in their attitudes towards work. In an ideal world, they would prefer to be full-time housewives and have their husbands support them, as in Yemen, because they dislike the drudgery which their work entails. However, they do not want the whole Yemeni package because they want formal education and freedom to leave the house, and they certainly do not wish to return to a pre-industrial technology. They also do not want their daughters to repeat their own life careers. Virtually all the women want their daughters to be well-educated and have short careers, but they hope that once the daughters marry, they will not have to earn money and can concentrate on their duties as mothers and housewives (see Note 12). In fact, on an ideological level these women view domestic activities such as mothering and housekeeping as the most valued female activities. If they withdrew from paid employment, an important aspect of good mothering—providing their children with secondary and post-secondary education—would be undermined.

Only four women in the research set view themselves as primary supporters of their families. All of the women are in different circumstances. One woman, a secretary in the local high school, has a chronically unemployed husband. The second is a very successful cosmetician whose husband works as a poorly-paid bellboy in the local hotel. The third woman holds down two cleaning jobs to finance her daughters' university fees; she would prefer that her husband "moonlight," but says he is too lazy. The fourth woman wanted to be a full-time housewife, but her husband simply did not earn enough money in road maintenance to enable her to stop working. She owns and manages a restaurant which provides a good income. Six months after I left the field her husband died; when I went to visit her, she told me that she thanked God she had always been self-reliant.

Husbands' attitudes towards their wives working in paid employment are also ambivalent. Although almost all husbands are ashamed that they are unable to provide a "middle-class" standard of living on their incomes alone, they appreciate their wives' economic contributions and their double burden of working inside and outside of the home. Women usually recognize their husbands' feelings of inadequacy, and as a result, often try to play down their financial contributions to the household. They also do not push husbands to help more in the house because they do not wish to threaten their feelings of masculinity. Several women said that when a wife complains about having to work, she sticks a knife into her husband's back and reinforces his feelings of inferiority. This encourages him to drink and become an alcoholic. Only in strained marriages did I hear wives complain about working outside of the home. Most women complain about their general state of exhaustion, but not about their double work day.

In many cases, women's relationships with their husbands and children in Israel have taken on a new structure unknown to women in Yemen. For example, at least twenty of the thirty-five men in the research set who had not been able to earn decent wages disliked their jobs and had not achieved positions of prestige in local religious or political spheres. These men eventually lose interest in trying to exert authority over their children, and both unmarried and married children often disrespect their wishes. When husbands can no longer successfully discipline their children and wives, this causes women to define their husbands as dismal failures. In that case, women often become the sole true authority over their children. Thus, women's new position in the family, and their power in the conjugal relationship, is partly the result of their husbands' failures to achieve respect or economic success in the wider Israeli society.

Another important aspect of women's increasing power in the family is their economic contribution to the maintenance and upward mobility of their families. Most women in the research set are no longer dependent on their husbands' incomes for household maintenance costs, as they would have been in Yemen. Most of these women do not hand over their incomes to their husbands. Instead, they bank the money, either individually or in joint bank accounts, and then spend it through individual or joint decisions made with their husbands. After leaving home to work and being influenced by "independent" Ashkenazi (Euro-American) female employers, many women have become more assertive about their personal needs than they remember was characteristic of their mothers. While women believe that they "help" their husbands because they work in wage labor, they are also aware that their ability to control and contribute income has enabled them to achieve more power in their homes than was the case in Yemen.

At the same time, women regard mothering as the most valued of all female activities, and husbands continually reinforce this notion. Though I often heard men praise their wives for being wonderful mothers, women were rarely praised for being wonderful workers. However, this praise may be due to women working in paid employment as well as in the home. Both husbands and wives regard the idea of mothers finding equal satisfaction in work and in family roles as extremely strange and unwomanly. Women do not want to be *feministi* in this way; nor do their husbands want them to be. These attitudes are reflected in the division of labor in the home. Women feel that they are responsible for household chores and child rearing, and they look to their adolescent daughters for help. Husbands of the immigrant generation helped with such tasks only when children were small. Men help to a limited extent in heavy chores and in marketing (shopping), which was a traditional male activity in Yemen. Thus, although women in this study work in paid employment to help their husbands and children, the side effects of greater mobility and independence for women were largely unanticipated (cf. Boone 1980).

Yemeni Jews, like most Israelis, view the concept of role (*tafkid*) in terms of broad distinctions between men's and women's responsibilities. Role also refers to more narrowly-defined prescriptions of who should do what in the domestic domain. When questioned about the division of roles in the home, twenty-one of the thirty-five wives responded that there was no division of roles by gender. Seventeen of these twenty-one women work outside of the home and eighteen enjoy relatively good relationships with their husbands. My observations of these couples indicated a marked correspondence between gender and roles, with husbands performing few household chores. Clearly, there is a positive correlation between outside employment and the belief that either husbands participate in housework or that both parties make equal contributions to family functioning.

Thus, my data suggest that women in the labor force who enjoy a relatively compatible relationship with their husbands deny a division of roles in the home. It is difficult to reconcile this denial with the fact that their husbands are not expected to perform household chores. These women apparently have begun to formulate an ideology of mutual help between spouses which has minimal institutional support. The following discussion with a husband and wife illustrates this point:

L. G. (to the wife): How do you see the role of women in Judaism?

Wife: There are many differences between men and women—the Bible will tell you why. The woman is the woman and she cannot change her role. But if the husband and wife are compatible, one helps the other and so there is mutual understanding. . . .

L. G. (to the husband): Do you help your wife with the housework?

Husband: Why not, why not? I try to help as much as I can. There are couples where the wife is subordinated. But in our family, thank God, all is common between us. What she says is holy and what I say is holy. Why wouldn't I help her? I am considerate of her. She works harder than a man. If she did not work outside the house maybe I would not help her, but we both work outside. If a child needs changing or washing or something to drink, I help him. What, not watch over one's family? I wish that all Jews would do what I do.

The wife did not disagree with her husband's statement. Whenever I visited this family, the husband was always working in the yard, and I saw him several times on the bus with parcels from the Tel Aviv market. However, he thought that in an ideal world, it would not be his role to help his wife, anymore than it would be her role to work for income. Since this couple cannot afford to have the wife stop working, she works outside the home and her husband helps with household chores.

This ideology of mutual help is indicated in women's responses to an interview question about their feelings of "equality" in the division of roles between husband and wife. Twenty-eight, or eighty percent of the thirty-five women in the research set, replied that husbands and wives made equal contributions to household functioning. Seven of the eight housewives in the study claimed that they made equal contributions to family functioning through housework and child-rearing activities. By contrast, six women reported that they contributed *more* than their husbands to family functioning because of their work in paid employment. These six women clearly felt that they carried too many burdens. However, their responses were in the minority since most women believed there was equality in the division of roles.

Women's general feeling of equality is reinforced by their belief that husbands and wives share most aspects of decision making. Half of the families surveyed reported that the couple decided together on all issues. Five women reported that they knew how to manipulate their husbands during the decision-making process. These wives put on a guise of deference to husbands, even though in effect, wives made the decisions. In interviews and informal discussions, many women claimed that men must be humored because they must feel superior. However, this does not mean that men *are* superior in the women's eyes. Hence, wives can feel equality in the division of roles whether or not their husbands do.

During informal discussions, a minority of seven women reported that in situations of conflict, they must compromise and give in to their husbands (see Note 13). These women feel that this is part of their inferior status as women. They feel that if they do not compromise, their husbands might refuse to do the marketing, spread rumors about them, or abuse the children. Rarely are women prepared to engage in similar strategies of punishment because most believe that if they attempted to do so, the whole family would suffer. Thus, men seem to have more leverage in arguments, while women have a powerful voice in running the daily affairs of the household.

Finally, husbands do not necessarily view their wives as equals. The men with whom I worked often expressed the following opinions and demonstrated these opinions by their behavior: that their wives are meant to serve them; that the husband should curb his wife's mobility outside of the home; that men are clearly superior to women in matters of religion and ritual; and that *as males* they are inevitably more intelligent than females. However, most wives will tell their husbands to serve themselves if they are tired. They also invariably engage in outside public activities whenever they wish, and view themselves as equally intelligent as men. Most women are prepared to defer to their husbands' authority only in matters of religion and ritual, and such deference is seen as divinely inspired. Thus, husbands seem to

rely on a Yemeni model of conjugal relations, while wives enjoy their Israeli reality.

DOMESTIC AND PUBLIC DOMAINS IN GADOT, ISRAEL

The current domestic and public activities of Yemeni Jewish men and women in the research set depart from the contention that, in a capitalist society, the domestic domain is primarily delegated to women while the public domain becomes exclusively male. This departure is illustrated below.

THE DOMESTIC DOMAIN IN GADOT, ISRAEL

Women	Men
Socialization of Children	
Women are responsible for most child rearing.	When children are small and wives are in the labor force, husbands help with child rearing.
Women are authority figures for their children.	Men who have achieved prestigious economic, political, or religious roles are authority figures for their children, while men who have lost their self-esteem usually fail to be authority figures.
Household Chores	
Women are responsible for general housework.	Men are responsible for heavy household tasks such as painting and moving furniture.
Leisure	
Leisure time is often spent with other women and men in the household, but primarily with women.	Leisure time is often spent with other men and women in the household, but primarily with other men.
Women do homework for adult education courses in the home.	Men study religious texts in the home.

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN IN GADOT, ISRAEL

Women	Men
Economic Roles	
Most women work in paid employment, usually in domestic labor, child-minding, and factory work.	Men work in unskilled, semi-skilled, or skilled labor.
Women purchase goods in the market; a minority trade eggs from chickens raised in the yard.	Men purchase goods in the market.
Women usually attend to their own bank accounts, and in some cases tend the family's bank account.	Men attend to their own, and in some cases, to the family's bank account.
Community Activities	
Women attend parents' meetings at school, and the Parent-Teachers' Association (PTA).	Men attend parents' meetings at school, but less so than women.
Women are involved in the working women's association, the religious women's movement, adult education, psychology lectures, exercise classes, sewing and ceramics courses, choir, and other activities.	A minority of men attend adult education classes.
Religious Roles	
Women attend the synagogue on holidays and for major rites of passage, but do not lead in formal prayer. Most women attend a lecture on the Portion of the Week led by the rabbi's wife.	Men go to the synagogue several times a week, and some attend daily. Men are also involved in religious study groups after work.

Political Roles

Women vote, and have a variety of jural rights in the state. They often attend political meetings, and some even go on the campaign trail.	Men vote and have a variety of jural rights in the state. Some men are active in political parties and in workers' committees.

As indicated earlier, women in Yemen did not go to the market. They also did not work in paid employment, and although they may have supplemented family incomes through craft production, they did not control their earnings. They also had no political rights and were not formally educated. Ideologically, women's activities were viewed as belonging exclusively to the domestic realm. By contrast, women of the immigrant generation in Israel, and even more so their daughters (see Gilad 1982, 1983) are not exclusively relegated to the domestic domain. On the contrary, women in Israel are quite active outside of their homes. Some of their activities are shared with husbands, while others are not.

CONCLUSIONS

The immigrant women in this study in the particular capitalist society of Israel have not been relegated primarily to the domestic domain. At the same time, these women view the domestic world as integral to their responsibilities as mothers and wives. In Yemen, where the population in this study originated, mothers-in-law exercised authority over the women in their households and husbands had ultimate authority over children. Yemeni women who have moved to Gadot in Israel maintain an interdependent relationship with their husbands and, in most cases, have more authority over children than their husbands. During their early years of marriage, new wives in Gadot often suffered from a lack of practical instruction on housekeeping. Eventually, their experience in privatized domestic labor in Israel was seen as an improvement over subservience to mothers-in-law and senior sisters-in-law in Yemen.

Life in a nuclear household does not mean separation from other women. The women in this study spend much of their spare time with female friends—not only in drinking coffee, but in formal associations and classes oriented to their specific needs and preferences.

The women in this study are involved in labor outside of their homes that is similar to the labor they perform inside their homes. Because they are also primarily responsible for housework and child care, they carry women's "double burden." Although feminists might argue that this is not liberation,

Yemeni Jewish women believe that they are liberated from their immediate pasts, and do not hesitate to say so. Most older women are now literate, and are active in community activities and organizations. There are even some Yemeni women politicians and entertainers elsewhere in Israel. One of these, Shoshana Damari, is a national symbol of the successful immigrant. Thus, Yemeni women in Israel have a public role outside of their homes, and through these activities participate in a world they define as their own. Among themselves, they compete for power and prestige. Furthermore, they explicitly do not wish to engage in formal town politics because this domain is viewed as both "corrupt" and as a male world in which they feel they have no place and want no part. However, they are active in expressing their opinions about political parties, school levies, and the provision of day-care centers.

Compared to life in Yemen, the women in this study enjoy a great deal of freedom. They accept the technological innovations of modernization as miraculous and helpful. Although they lament the loss of collective responsibility that was characteristic of life in Yemen, they have no desire to return there. For them, Yemen is remembered as a world of female servitude and seclusion in the domestic domain, and as a place of Jewish suffering in a Muslim nation.

Only Yemeni men of low status in Israel sometimes remark that they would like to return to Yemen, even though they appreciate their freedom as Jews in Israel compared to the restrictions on Jews in Yemen. While ultimately subjected to Muslim control, Jewish men in Yemen had considerable power to direct their extended families and engage in meaningful work. In reality, the separation of production from the domestic domain in the capitalist society of Israel has inevitably meant the alienation of these men from their labor, with considerable repercussions for many of them. Whereas some contemporary feminists claim that the privatization of domestic life in capitalist society is detrimental to women (Reiter 1975:281; Wajcman 1981), in this situation it has been more detrimental to *men*. Since moving to Israel, Yemeni women have gained in wealth, power, and privileges both inside and outside of their homes.

It is impossible to discuss the status of immigrant women in this study in both their families and their community without analyzing what has happened to their husbands as immigrants to Israel. Yemeni Jewish couples in this study have undergone a transformation of the conjugal power base through a combination of lower status for husbands in Israeli society, the ability of wives to make economic contributions to their households and to control their own incomes, and an increase in women's self-esteem as a result of extensive participation in public life outside of their homes.

NOTES

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1. Conventional anthropology states that the domestic domain encompasses two sets of functional activities: (a) food production and consumption; and (b) sexual reproduction and child rearing. The politico-jural (public) domain encompasses sets of activities where jural norms are guaranteed by "external" and "public" sanctions which may also entail force (Yanagisako 1979:166).

2. Of the thirty-five husbands in the research set, twenty worked in unskilled labor (construction, maintenance, security guard, gardening, factory work, trucking, bell-boy, and house painting); eight worked in skilled labor (electrician, mechanic, welder, carpenter, and butcher); and five worked in white-collar jobs (civil service, construction foreman, rabbi, and teacher). One man was unemployed, and another died during the course of research.

3. Of the thirty-five wives in the research set, twenty-one worked in unskilled labor (domestic labor, child minding, factory work, maintenance, and waitressing); two worked in skilled labor (hairdressing, cosmetician); three in white-collar jobs (teacher, secretary, and public health counselor); one owned a restaurant; and eight were housewives. Several of the housewives cared for grandchildren, and all had worked in unskilled labor at some point during their marriage careers.

4. Gadot is a pseudonym. Field research also included interviews with fifty younger couples, aged twenty to thirty-five, who had been born in Israel to Yemeni parents, as well as case studies of thirty-three unmarried women, aged eighteen to thirty-two, who were born in Israel. In most cases, the unmarried women are the daughters of women discussed in this essay.

5. I write about Jewish life in Yemen in the past tense because I am concerned with my informants' memories of Yemen. It

should be noted that a Jewish community of approximately 5,000 persons remains in North Yemen.

6. Economic activities are included in the domestic sphere because in Yemen, Jews considered household-based production to be a domestic activity. Exceptions to this were occupations which took men out of the home, such as merchants and long-distance traders. By contrast, all economic activity in Israel is considered to belong to the public domain because production is located outside of the household. The implications of this change are discussed in this essay.

7. See Spector (1960:255-289) on the bridal songs.

8. Married children of these older women also feel that they have "modern" marriages. However, whenever possible they build homes in the backyards or on plots adjoining those of parents with detached houses. This provides companionship and access to grandmothers, who act as child minders. It is also more prestigious to live in a detached house. In some cases, two or three related families living side-by-side form a domestic group which shares all domestic labor and meals, but maintains separate bank accounts. Thus, when parents and their children are financially able to do so in Israel, they tend to rebuild some attributes of the multiple-family household that were characteristic of Jewish life in Yemen.

9. Day care is now available to all who need it. This is part of the reason why seventy percent of all married women in Gadot work in paid employment. Many women turn to mothers and mothers-in-law for the care of young children while working, and some grandmothers leave the labor force to look after grandchildren. While they enjoy child minding, these women also hope that their children will look after them in old age.

10. Between 1882 and 1948, immigrant Yemeni Jewish women entered the labor force in large numbers, particularly as domestic laborers for European women who worked outside their homes. Women's economic contributions helped consolidate the pre-state Yemeni community in Israel, which eventually aided immigrants during the 1948-1951 migration by finding them homes and jobs upon their arrival. New immigrants, including those with whom I worked, learned from more experienced cousins who had arrived much earlier that women could leave their homes to work without causing disintegration of their families.

11. Six of these twenty-nine women received no formal schooling, nineteen had attended elementary school for eight years or

less, and four women began but did not complete secondary school. The majority now attend adult education courses.

12. Most of these women's daughters completed either high school or university. Of the fifty younger married women, aged twenty to thirty-four, who were interviewed (and whose mothers were about the same age as the older women discussed in this paper), twenty-three were in the labor force because their income was necessary for upward mobility. The majority saw outside work as intrinsically valuable. Most of the housewives in this study looked forward to entering the labor force as soon as their children were all in day care or elementary school.

13. None of the fifty younger married women who were interviewed said that they had to compromise their own wishes when making decisions with their husbands.

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HAVEN OR HEARTACHE?

IMMIGRANT WOMEN AND THE HOUSEHOLD

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Au point de vue théorique cet article procure une importante rectification à la fausse polarité des deux positions suivantes: soit que la position de la femme au foyer est à la base de son oppression sexuelle, ou soit que la famille est essentielle à la survie et à la solidarité de la classe ouvrière. En se basant sur d'intenses entrevues avec des ouvrières immigrantes d'une manufacture de Toronto, cet article se concentre sur les aspects complexes et contradictoires de leurs expériences familiales. Il examine en détail la double journée de travail et démontre les façons dont les immigrantes sont à la fois dépendantes de la famille mais oppressées par leur position dans la famille.

At the theoretical level, this paper provides an important corrective to the false polarity of two positions: (a) that women's position in the household is the locus of their gender oppression; and (b) that the family is essential to working-class survival and solidarity. Drawing on in-depth interviews with immigrant women workers in a Toronto garment factory, the paper focuses on the complex and contradictory aspects of their family experiences. It examines women's double day of labor in detail, and demonstrates the ways in which immigrant women are both reliant on and oppressed by their position within the household.

Certain debates concerning the gender division of labor have focused on women's role in the household in order to understand women's oppression (Benston 1969; Fox, ed. 1980; Luxton 1980; Mitchell 1971; Morton 1972; Seccombe 1974). Most of the theoretical literature has emphasized the political economy of domestic labor, especially women's unpaid labor, in reproducing labor power. Given the decrease, in recent years, in the number of women who are full-time housewives, a major criticism of the domestic labor debate has been its failure to examine the double day of labor for women who work outside the home (Coulson, Magas, and Wainwright 1975; Rowntree and Rowntree 1970). On the other hand, several social historians have argued that the family has been necessary to working-class survival and solidarity, especially during the transition to industrial capitalism (Curtis 1980; Humphries 1977). Recently, black feminists have claimed that black women's family experiences provide a cultural haven

against racism, thereby functioning very differently from white women's experiences of the family (Caulfield 1984). This paper argues that such a polarity of positions is false. The article focuses on the complex and contradictory aspects of immigrant women's family experiences, both in providing important material resources to ease their wage labor, and as the locus of their gender oppression. It examines women's double day of labor in depth and shows how immigrant women both rely on and are oppressed by their position within the household (see Note 1).

To capture the rich texture of the lives of women workers, especially the complexity of their social relationships, this paper draws on in-depth interviews of women workers in a garment shop. While survey techniques represent one research option, the case study method facilitates an understanding of working-class life from the perspective of an "insider." Wax (1971) emphasizes the social aspect of the insider's view based on shared meanings. By studying one workplace, I was able to obtain intricately detailed "inside information." In addition, by focusing on the totality of women's experiences, in-depth interviews helped clarify the variety of ways women factory workers manage their double workday.

The use of human biography has become an increasingly widespread technique in the social sciences. For C. Wright Mills (1969), the cornerstone of sociology is the intersection of biography, history, and social structure. Sheridan and Salaff describe the life history tradition as a method that "blends history and biography in order to explore the effects of social structures on people and to portray the ways in which people themselves create culture" (1984:1). Certain social psychologists refer to "the science of human biography" as a framework for understanding the development of personality (Seve 1975). Recently, feminist historical researchers have emphasized oral traditions in an attempt to explore dimensions of women's lives that are obscured or hidden by traditional archival methods (Bornat 1978; McCrindle and Rowbotham, eds. 1979).

The use of in-depth interviews helps to document the finely-meshed reality of everyday life, including the contradictions, changes, and elements of struggle involved in the intersection of human biography with social structure. It portrays women as subjects whose real, practical activity is devoted to finding ways to cope with everyday life. For these reasons, the presentation of data in this paper emphasizes the content of what is expressed, rather than how many times it is said or how many people have said it.

This paper is based on research conducted from January 1980 to January 1982. The subject is a unionized cloak shop, Edna Manufacturing, located in the Toronto garment district. It is a conventional shop where skilled tailors, who are primarily male,

make the whole garment. The shop has been in continuous operation since the late 1930s. At the time of this study, Edna Manufacturing employed less than fifty workers, a third of whom were women. These women were primarily segregated in the lower-skilled and/or lower-paid sectors of the factory as finishers and non-craft workers.

Unlike the male operators in the shop, who were mostly Polish Jews, the women were ethnically heterogeneous. Some were Jewish women from Eastern Europe who came to Canada around 1930. Others were Eastern-European women who immigrated immediately after World War II. The rest of the women at Edna Manufacturing came to Canada between the late 1950s and early 1960s, including women from Greece, the Ukraine, several Italians, and a few women of British descent. Only two of the women interviewed were Canadian-born.

I interviewed both women who were working in the shop and women who had retired. Two women retired during the course of this two-year research project. Tremendous variation existed in the ages of the women in the study. The youngest was forty-one years old, and the oldest was seventy-five. Because of the demographic characteristics of the employees of Edna Manufacturing, and also because I was collecting oral histories, I was able to document the entire range of the women's life experiences.

Interviews were conducted in homes and were tape recorded (see Note 2). To ensure confidentiality, all names, including the name of the shop, have been fictionalized. Verbatim accounts are used to present the material. English was the second language of the majority of my subjects. I have tried to convey their authentic life experiences with only minor editorial corrections in grammar and syntax, and I have not attempted to unravel stated contradictions in their perceptions (see Note 3).

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

Initially, questions concerning migrant labor were not central to my research. As the research proceeded, it became clear that these questions were important considerations that needed to be taken into account to provide a holistic picture of the women's lives.

Some women in the study immigrated to Canada to escape harsh economic climates in their home countries. Sheila Glaber was twenty-five years old and single when she immigrated from Austria in 1930. Her father was a financier and land owner who faced a bleak future following the decline in his investments after World War I:

Sheila Glaber: We were at that time . . . well off. Because we had money in the bank, we had land. . . . we were [lending] money . . . My father gave money for interest. But then we had nothing. We were left with just a piece of land.

Underdeveloped and war-ravaged Austria offered little opportunity for employment:

Sheila Glaber: There was no work. We lived in the suburbs of the city. The city had no factories, and the country just had a little land that we worked on. We didn't actually work it, but the farmers worked and they gave us half of the corn or whatever there was. Times were very bad. . . . There was no way to make a cent or a dollar. The situation was very poor.

Canada offered the possibility of a better life:

Sheila Glaber: I knew that it was a different country, and sooner or later I would get ahead better than there.

When Sheila Glaber settled in Winnipeg, she found herself in the beginnings of a depression which was to last until World War II. Desperate and lonely, she looked for work:

Sheila Glaber: When I came to Winnipeg, I didn't have anybody. I just came and I rented a room. I had a few dollars and looked for a job, and everybody was pitying me. "You need a job? You are a lonely girl? You have no one?" And they took me in and kept me for a week or two. They didn't have any work. Not because they didn't want me, but there was no work until 1939.

Ruth Domanski worked in Russia as a bookkeeper and planned to become a judge. After several unsuccessful attempts to find honest work, she finally landed a job when she agreed to fiddle the books for the manager of a cooperative farm. She fled the country in fear of future reprisals under Stalin. Following the tragic death of her husband and a lucky escape from the ship *Exodus*, she arrived in Canada, a single mother who proudly refused to go on welfare. She didn't want to be a burden on her relatives who were also struggling to make ends meet:

Ruth Domanski: When I came over here I didn't have money. I didn't want to be a burden on my sister because they couldn't make a living themselves. It was still too hard. I didn't know the language and I had a baby on my arms. My husband was killed in Germany when the baby was born. I had to think fast to make a living on my own. I went into the needle trade. I was stuck with it. I couldn't go to school. It's not that I'm pleased with the needle trade. It's not what I'm raised and educated for. But I have no choice. I'm still with it, and I'm here now.

With the financial help of the Landsmen Society, to which Ruth's sister's husband belonged, her sister sponsored Ruth's immigration to Canada. The Landsmen Society was instrumental in helping Ruth to make contact with the union and eventually get a job. Family and ethnic ties provided the support system and the social network necessary for many new immigrants to link up with the union movement, to find employment, and to make friends and share in cultural activities. For Jewish immigrants, the Landsmen Society met this same need:

Ruth Domanski: They were born there in Poland, but after the war they came over here. They kept together and they worked together. They entertained together. They eat together. They were company.

Some women found companionship and support by participating in union activities and politics. During the thirties in Winnipeg, Sheila Glaber was an executive member of the union and sympathetic toward members of the Communist party:

Sheila Glaber: They were smart people. Some of them were educated people. They knew the history of Russia. They knew what socialism was and what Russia was before. Sometimes I sympathized with them. Because I was also a poor girl. I was starving for a day's work. I was in that atmosphere. The atmosphere was working-class. So how could I think of anything else? All workers were like that.

When Sheila moved to Toronto, she found that the union office was located in the same neighborhood where the majority of garment workers lived. The workers lived close to the factories and walked to work. Community relationships outside the factory helped strengthen the cultural bonds between workers:

Sheila Glaber: A lot of Jewish people live in that area. People were poor. They didn't drive cars. They had more limited life in every respect. At that time, you went out in the street, you met somebody. You invited them in for tea or you had a walk with them. You went to have a coffee somewheres, so that was a treat already. It was all together.

Friendship networks extended beyond the factory walls to encompass the whole industry. Besides living in the same communities, groups of Jewish workers knew each other in the old country. Their common past provided them with the support they needed to feel at home in a new country.

After World War II, Canada took in displaced persons from Europe. Because of their life experience, many were anti-Communists. Some worked in the needle trade alongside old-timers who were sympathetic to socialism and communism during the 1930s.

Donna Jakubenaite explained the circumstances that led to her emigration from Eastern Europe:

Donna Jakubenaite: It was very bad. So many people was killed by Russia. So many was in the jails. The war started. I left the country [in Eastern Europe] and I came to Germany. And then, I came to Canada. Because we got nowhere to turn, we were scared of Russia very much. We can't go nowhere because the Balkan countries were occupied by Russia.

Donna was single and thirty-three years old when she was sponsored by her employer to come to Canada as a domestic. Her first job left her close to nervous collapse:

Donna Jakubenaite: I got very sick because I'm not used to work as a domestic. I was always scared I'm not doing right because I don't know the English language. I was always scared, would I wake up in time. I run myself down so much. I lost so much weight. The doctor said, "Then you can't work as a domestic because you [will] collapse completely."

When Donna was younger, her sister had taught her how to sew. She looked for work in the Winnipeg garment industry:

Donna Jakubenaite: I know sewing a little bit from my home. From my older sister. [She] was a tailor. She was sewing ladies' dresses, and I used to work [a] little bit with her.

To her pleasure, Donna discovered a large Lithuanian community on a visit to Toronto. She decided to leave Winnipeg and gave notice to her employer:

Donna Jakubenaite: I decided to come to Toronto. I went to the lady who was looking after us and I gave her notice because I wanted to leave Winnipeg. Oh, she was crying. She say, "Never get such a worker, [as] good [as] you are." I was very fast, and she tried to talk me out of going. But just her family [spoke my language]. Almost all my people were here. My friends were here. That's why I decided to come to Toronto.

In a Toronto garment factory, Donna experienced discrimination because of her status as a displaced person. The foreman returned her work and asked her to do it over again:

Donna Jakubenaite: One old man, the foreman, was on our section. He was very old and was very nasty. He was hating D.P.'s. He was hating newcomers. He had lots of problems. I wanted to quit there because it was too much. Oh my nerves! He give back [my] linings. He say it was not right.

Donna complained to her employer when the same foreman continued to give her small amounts of work compared to the huge

bundles given to old-timers. After work, she socialized with friends in her language community, met a man who owned a factory, and went to work for him. Shortly thereafter, she married him.

Single immigrant women were anxious to marry and settle down in their adopted country.

Sheila Glaber: I was anxious to get married. Girls are smarter now. But at that time you didn't want to stay alone and I wasn't young anymore.

Sheila married a man who had previously been married at least three times. He was cruel to her and she had to support him financially. Two years later, she divorced him.

SETTLING DOWN AND LOOKING FOR A COMMUNITY

Many women who immigrated to Toronto in the late fifties and early sixties moved with their husbands and children. Their motivation stemmed from a hope for a better life for their children. Theresa Green moved from one English-speaking country to another in search of better opportunities:

Theresa Green: I felt I was looking for something better for my children—more opportunities for them.

Like so many other immigrant women, Theresa found life in a new country alienating. Even though she could speak English, the workplace culture was far from friendly:

Theresa Green: This is something strange for me because I can honestly say I don't like working in Canada. I know I have to work, and I make the best of it. But in my home country, and even in other countries where I have lived, I worked with Australians, and Jewish people and Polish people. But we seemed to be more friendly, somehow. Actually, at home we would save a little bit off our pay and go out to dinner and the theater. But here, I feel that there is nobody I can really talk to. It's not right, somehow.

A workmate who immigrated from England was equally disappointed. She attributed her alienation to the poor working conditions and fly-by-night operations characteristic of the Canadian garment industry. Unable to settle down, she returned to England, where workers were in demand, and were treated better:

Carol Lenski: I got sort of disgusted with the employment. Everyplace you worked in, the place would close down. Either the employer couldn't get a loan, or else he was old. So I went back to England. Because working conditions were better even though the wages were not. You had cafeterias, the places were more

organized, cleaner. I think that they needed workers so badly that they tried to tempt you to come and work in the place. And they would give you free tea at break. It wasn't too long after the war so they really needed workers.

Most of the Italian women immigrants were sponsored by extended families already settled in Toronto. Isolated by their inability to speak English, they found job hunting an excruciating task, as Maria Lebella explained. She relied on her older son to help navigate the unfamiliar streets:

Maria Lebella: I don't know where to go. I look in the newspaper. I say to my oldest son, "You come with me. I don't know whether to take a streetcar. [I don't know] where is that place."

Most of the women interviewed did not have previous experience working in factories, although they sewed clothes in their homes for their families. Maria Lebella's mother first taught her how to sew:

Maria Lebella: I learn by my mother. Not because she do it for business, but for her own family. She teach me.

Maria had worked for wages as a finisher in her home in northern Italy. She preferred factory work because at the factory, she was free of family responsibilities. At home, she often had to work late into the night because household duties interrupted her wage work during the day:

Maria Lebella: I think it is better in the shop. You are free. You don't have to do [housework]. [At home, you] have to prepare [the kids] to go to school. [In the factory], you go and you are free from the family. [At home], have to stop the work to prepare [the meals]. And go with the kids to school. You can't leave little kids alone in the streets. I was working more in the night than the day. Because you lose a lot of time.

In Italy, Rosa Lorenzo had worked as an operator in her husband's custom-tailoring shop. She used a machine, sewing men's pants. When she came to Canada, she could not find work as an operator because most employers insisted on "Canadian experience." As a woman, she found it impossible to hold a job that was traditionally defined as men's work. Instead, she worked as a button sewer, earning less than $4,000.00 a year:

Rosa Lorenzo: I like to [be] operator, but I tell you when you go to another shop, everybody wants experience. Nobody wants to give time to learn.

Grace Campisi was born in Sicily, where women did not work outside the home. Unaccustomed to factory work, she moved from factory to factory looking for suitable conditions for a working

mother. The most difficult problem she faced was the guilt of leaving her children every morning:

Grace Campisi: Change a lot of factory because before I don't like very good to work. I tell you the truth, because I never work before I come here. When I come here, everything so changed. I don't like leaving my kids. I don't know how much I cry. I never leave my kids before.

Women's work in the shop was poorly paid, involved longer lay-offs, was repetitious, and required less creativity compared to the craftsmanship which characterized the men's work. Although the women's work was less individualized and more interdependent, language barriers between groups of women made it difficult for them to develop a common, collective sense of working conditions. For the men and some of the Jewish women, union and work-related activities were synonymous with their ethnic network. Other women were isolated from each other because they did not have a common language. As outsiders in the world of work, most of the women sought meaningful relationships in their families and through ethnic-related activities outside of work. In the factory, some women gravitated toward workers in their own language groups. For example, Donna Jakubenaite formed a friendship with a Lithuanian worker in her husband's factory:

Donna Jakubenaite: Yes, I got one friend. We was working together. But she lives now in Vancouver. She is my very close friend and we was just at her daughter's wedding a couple of weeks ago. . . . When we got our own factory . . . she was working with us. . . . I got mostly my friends from the time I come to Canada. I got a few of his [her husband's] friends from the old country too. But most is from . . . when I came to Canada in 1948. I got a couple of friends from the old country here.

Friendships grew from common experiences as new immigrants. Ruth Domanski, who came to Canada from Russia, still keeps in touch with the workers she met in her first factory job:

Ruth Domanski: Everybody has their own crowd. When I first started working, it was my first job, my first friends, my first acquaintances. We got together with each other or we're having company. Mind you, we're still seeing each other. People I worked with thirty-one years ago. If I have a party, let's say my daughter got married and I had a shower for her, I invited all the girls I worked with. They married off their children, they invited me to their wedding. With the old-timers, I'm in touch.

Sometimes ethnic ties, family ties, and workplace experiences intersected. Grace Campisi shares confidences with her daughter's mother-in-law, who helped find her a new job:

Grace Campisi: Sometimes, you want to spend the time, you talk about the family. Sometimes you got a problem, you talk. Feel little bit bad. When you talk, you feel a little bit better.

The family provided a haven for these women to maintain their cultural identity during the transition from their countries of origin to Canada. The family was the one place they could use their own language. A feeling of solidarity with others who shared a common language was important, as Evelyn Thompson, an immigrant and a former staff member of the union, explained:

Evelyn Thompson: I think immediately there's a sense of more intimate feeling because you both came from the same background. The women can relate to you in the language, particularly on sensitive and personal topics as sexuality or their family life.

Jointly preparing recipes learned in their home countries afforded the opportunity to escape the silence and talk freely:

Grace Campisi: Talk, make coffee, eat, cook together.

While the weekends were saved for domestic chores, they were also occasions for family get-togethers. Preparing big meals was both an act of love and a way of maintaining ethnic traditions:

Donna Jakubenaite: They like my food. They like my cabbage rolls. They like my perogies. They right away phone, "Grandma when you make cabbage and perogie? We want it" (she laughs). It makes me happy.

Family celebrations, especially weddings, were a focal point. The women showed me albums of their children's weddings. Though finances were a problem, and despite the fact that this was traditionally the responsibility of the bride's mother, Maria Lebella made an effort to provide a wedding celebration for her son:

Maria Lebella: He finish [college] in May. He get married in June. That's it. He was not with a job. I say "Wait to get married. Find a job before." She finished with college. They decided to get married. I say I am not going to make a party. I haven't got money. And both say, "We don't need a party. We don't want a party." After they can't change their mind [about marrying], I make a party. There was a hundred people, but I pay for all the party.

The freedom to learn English was a luxury. Most women were hamstrung by inadequate child-care facilities, a double day of labor, and lack of economic resources. Ruth Domanski describes the intolerable double bind she faced when she tried to break out of her isolation:

Ruth Domanski: I went three hours to night school. I sneaked out. My landlady screamed at me. She said that if I'll do it again, she'll take the children away from me. She'll call the welfare, because I've neglected them. She didn't want to look after them. . . . So I stopped going to school. I didn't know [that] you had to have a baby-sitter and pay. That's to me something new. . . . I couldn't understand it. To me, it was the way I was raised. . . . In other words, help others. I'd been a landlady. I had women and children in my house. [If] she wanted to go out, I'll look after the children, I didn't have any pay. Go ahead, by all means, I don't mind. [Canada] is a country, everything you have to pay. I didn't know that.

THE STRUGGLE TO MAKE ENDS MEET

Although they came to Canada in search of a better life, the women in this study sought jobs outside the household because they faced economic hardships. Shortly after arriving in Canada, Ruth Domanski married and lived on a farm. She moved in with her husband and her husband's brother. When the latter began to make sexual advances toward her, she left the farm. To keep peace between the two brothers, she never told her husband. She never remarried, and as a single parent, she eventually took a second job in a bakery to supplement her low wages as a finisher:

Ruth Domanski: This was after I came back from the farm. And I couldn't support two of them. So I left one with my sister. The oldest and the little one, I took to nursery school. And I managed. Mind you, I did odd jobs. I cleaned flats and I cleaned toilets to make an extra fifty cents or a dollar. It was hard on me. But we survived. . . . When my daughter wanted to come back, I had to do something about it. I had to look for another job. I didn't want to go to the government for help. The baby was only two years old. My daughter was nine years old. I was a citizen already. Everybody used to say "Why don't you go on welfare, they will help you." I said, "No. I'm strong. I have two hands. I'll manage. It's not forever. We'll go down for help." That's why I look for another job. I started working on two jobs.

Carol Lenski moved to Canada from Calcutta, where she had married an American serviceman. After settling in the United States for a short time, she left him. She needed a job, and a friend who lived in the same rooming house told her about a job sewing buttons in a clothing factory:

Carol Lenski: I had to work. It was a necessity because once I left my husband, I had to support myself. One of the immediate problems was to get a job as fast as I could. It didn't really matter what kind of a job as long as I could have enough money to support myself.

Carol looked upon her first job in the needle trade as temporary. Like so many young women, she expected to remarry and leave her job. Thirty years later, she still found herself in the same industry:

Carol Lenski: I just thought it would be temporary. As most people always think, if you've been married once, you'll remarry. I often thought about going to school at night, but because of being physically tired when you come home, you just didn't have that ambition or energy to go to school. I would have liked to [have] gone to university. I [have] always been very interested in anthropology and zoology.

Sheila Glaber did not have children. She worked prior to her second marriage, and wanted to continue working. Her husband also worked in the needle trade as an operator. The combination of her husband's poor health and the pressures of the piecework system made it difficult for the couple to live solely on her husband's salary:

Sheila Glaber: I told him, what am I going to do at home? Waste time. I'm used to work. I was well. I was strong. What will I do—watch the house? I have no family. He thought that we have something to live on, I shouldn't work anymore. But I wanted to work. I could make money. We could retire—the two of us. I saw that he wasn't too well of a man.

Maria Lebella went out to work because she was having difficulty making ends meet on her husband's take-home pay of seventy dollars a week while he was taking English lessons:

Maria Lebella: I say to my husband, "I want to buy a house. I don't want to live like that seventy dollars a week." The husband [does] not see what's the problem in the house. He not go shopping, he not look [to see that] the kids need the shoes.

Women workers at Edna Manufacturing were pioneers compared to an earlier generation of women who did not work outside the household. Their own mothers had worked full-time at home, raising children and maintaining the household:

Sheila Glaber: . . . we had a lot of kids. There was too much work for a woman at home [to work outside of the home]. With me, I came here, I encountered a different style of life. I lived like they were living here. . . . Sure it was easier, because I had right away a sink with water, a gas stove. Now, I have an electric stove. They had a wooden stove. They had to carry in the wood. Make the fire. Bake the bread. They had a lot of work, and they had a lot of children.

Ruth Domanski: My mother was a homemaker. Period. I wasn't. That's a different life. My mother had a good life. My father

gave her a good living. Raised us very nicely. There were six children. That's what she was trained for, and involved in. My generation was a little different. My children are still different. They have more education than I do. They have university. I don't.

Theresa Green reported that when she entered the labor force, her work load increased. In addition to her domestic labor, she put in a full workday at the factory (see Note 4):

Theresa Green: You weren't just sitting home and taking care of your children, and planning your meals. You were going out to work, and taking care of the children and tending to meals. I think a woman has two jobs, always. A job outside and a job at home. Women are having it a little bit easier now . . . women who had families. I think their husbands help them more. But at the same time, it was a done thing. You didn't think about it. I was tired. You knew these things had to be done, and you took it into your [stride].

Some women attributed their double day of labor to the peculiarities of their European background. The fact that their husbands did not help with the housework or child care was a tradition handed down for generations:

Grace Campisi: My people don't like to do like this because my people used to something different. I used to do the same in Italy. The lady stay home, clean the house, and make everything so good at home. When the husband come, she got everything ready to eat, he eat. Maybe he dress nice and go some place. And the lady stay [home] to clean, to look at the kids. That's it. I can't say anything because this is the style . . . my style, anyway (she laughs). I cannot say, "You wash the dishes." No. He doesn't know [how to] cook, he never cook. When I come home, I cook, he eat.

Sheila Glaber: I did [the housework], mainly. He didn't like it too much. Sometimes, I was angry. But men are not [supposed to do housework], especially European men. Canadian [men] are more modern, they help out their wives, I think. He used to help me. Sure, he used to go down, fix things on the machine. Like on Sunday—fix for me . . . sew up things. He used to do the driving. He was a good man. Some men dry the dishes. I didn't want him to dry. I didn't want him around—the kitchen is too small. And cleaning, I used to do mostly myself . . . weekends. I got up Sunday morning. Laundry, I did Friday night once in two weeks.

These women did not realize that their workmates from both Canada and Great Britain also performed a double work load:

Jane Mathewson: When he used to get home, I never talked to him. You know what I mean? He had his own troubles. [I did] not [want] to have an argument. He'd take the paper and he'd read it, and he'd put on the football or the baseball. That was his job, and I went ahead and done my work.

Theresa Green: There was a time when a man would come home from work and sit . . . and put his feet up, and that was him. A woman would come home from work, and she would have to start all over again. Getting this and that done, and plan for the next day, and plan for the week.

THE MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIP

Unlike the marginal nature of their work in the factory, in the private sphere of the household women workers exercised their creativity and, in a limited sense, power over their immediate surroundings. As we will see, these women reported that they regulated the pace of their domestic labor. While I was in their homes, they proudly shared their meals with me; told me about the successes of their children and/or grandchildren; showed me the layout and design of their homes, their needlework, and the beauty of their gardens; and, as already mentioned, showed me their children's wedding albums. However, the power they exercised in the household was curtailed by the complex interplay of economic hardship and the authoritarian relationships that they had learned within their family settings.

Grace Campisi's marriage was an economic relationship which gave her hope that she could escape the poverty of her father's household. She was one of eight daughters in a family where her widowed father was the sole breadwinner. She married at the age of fifteen, knowing full well that her father could not provide her with the traditional dowry to start married life. For her, marriage was an economic necessity:

Grace Campisi: I didn't have a mother. My father couldn't look after all the kids. . . . I said my father can't give me anything. I don't have nothing when I married. . . . Nobody make me nothing. My mother died. My father got to work for all the kids. Got to give all the money just to eat. I say OK, I take my husband, marriage, that's it. . . . That's why I marry very young.

For a number of women who immigrated from Europe, patriarchal customs dominated matrimonial traditions. Women reported that their marriages were arranged by either a professional matchmaker, or by male relatives who brought prospective husbands to the parents' home for approval. The father of Mary Kastanys altered her birth certificate, hoping that a younger age would make her more appealing to the man he would eventually approve.

Courtship or dating were unheard of prior to marriage, and once married, a woman learned to love her husband "a little bit everyday" (Mary Kastanys). Economic necessity and traditional marriage customs left these women with few romantic choices. I asked Grace Campisi whether she like her husband when she was first married:

Grace Campisi: First time, no. But after I see [him] everyday. I didn't know my husband before. When I see the first time, I don't like very much; but after, everything change.

This is not to say that companionship, love, and respect were not important aspects in the marriages of women at Edna Manufacturing. What was striking about the women I interviewed was their strong sense of solidarity and loyalty toward their husbands:

Sheila Glaber: I repeated it a dozen times already. That was my happiest time of my life. Getting up in the morning. Having breakfast together. Drive to work. Park the car there. He used to go to his factory, and I go to my factory. And then I used to come out and wait for him, or he wait for me near the car. And we went home, and we had supper, and we shared, and that was my happiest life. Not now. Now I am alone and lonely, and I don't feel too good. And I think what I am to do today and tomorrow, to fill up my day. [This] age is not nice. It's the poorest part of your life. If you are together, and you feel well, perhaps it's good. But if you are alone, it's a very pitiful life.

For Emma Ross, this solidarity was based on a feeling of a common past, the memory of the European life.

Emma Ross: Oh, ya. . . . From the same country. We talk a lot about the past which we don't have now . . . about European time. We are from the same part of the country. We was married there, so we liked everything there. So everything [is] in our memory.

However, companionship was not confined to the marriage relationship. Some women preferred the companionship of other women:

Carol Lenski: You're just as happy to get that companionship from women, because there's no sexual need at all.

Some women, such as Theresa Green and Carol Lenski, did not subscribe to traditional notions of women's economic and emotional dependence. They found it difficult to fight against an ideology that defined women's proper place as an extension of a man. As women who insisted on being considered equal partners, they were not readily accepted:

Theresa Green: They've told me I'm independent. I said, "Isn't that good?" They said, "No, it can become a fault," and this makes sense in a way. I never saw it as a fault, but I've been told that. I guess the people who have told me [this] are the type that think you should cling to a man and depend on him. I feel it's no good living alone. Everybody needs somebody. That I agree with, but at the same time, I've been fending for myself and my family for [so many] years now, that I think it would be very difficult to knuckle down. . . . not too many people would put up with my [way of life]. You get used to your own way of life. I've been going with somebody for a couple of years, and I find myself taking over responsibilities. This person saw that I was capable, and let me take over. I resented this.

Carol Lenski: Mostly, when people see you alone and you're a woman, they always think that you hate men. You get this all the time. They think that you don't like men because you're on your own, you're not married, and you haven't got a steady boyfriend. Mostly it's men who think like this. It's not true at all. It's because men are so egotistical that they can't accept it, that you don't want to go with them, so that they say there's something wrong with you. If you're intelligent, they don't want to go with you because you're a threat. It's all the way things have worked out over the centuries where men have been led to believe this, and it will take a long time to change their attitude. Even women think like that . . . that's the man's place, that he's got more intelligence.

Wages in the garment industry made it difficult for the majority of women to be economically independent. For this reason, marriages were affected by economic considerations.

Carol Lenski: . . . most of the jobs . . . allocated to women in the past in this industry, you could not make enough money to support yourself. That's why women who were married or new immigrants who were living at home with their parents were coming into it.

The inability of single women to support themselves financially made them more anxious to marry. In some cases, when their choice of a husband did not work out, they decided to leave. According to both Carol Lenski and Ruth Domanski, this decision was financially hard:

Carol Lenski: Many a time I thought I really would have been better off staying with him materially, because we were going to build a home. He was a man who worked hard and was very good to me. So materially, I would have been better off than I am now.

Ruth Domanski: I didn't have enough money. I wasn't enough with the children, which I give my life for them. I love them dearly. I neglected my own [life] because of them. . . . I didn't

have a social life. To support the children, no one gave me any help. I did it all [on] my own. Hard work.

Even after Jane Mathewson married, the decision to not have children was not completely within her control. This decision was dominated by economic questions, the inability to combine family responsibilities with work, and her husband's disinterest in children.

Jane Mathewson: We didn't have time. A job meant more to me than anything else, because if you didn't work, you didn't have a meal. Then it was too late. I never thought about it. I was going on thirty then. . . . we were still working when I got home, and do the work and go to bed, and get up and go in the morning. That's all we thought of.

Although it is difficult to say which of these factors was primary in her decision not to have children, Jane missed the caring and nurturing aspect of motherhood. She cared for twelve cats and a dog. On her bedroom dresser sat a life-sized doll dressed in children's clothing.

Many women told me that they rarely left the house without being accompanied by their husbands. A night out with women friends, or leisure activity independent of their husbands, was unheard of:

Sheila Glaber: I hardly know anybody because I had no time. I always run to work and come back. I had to do my work and look after the house.

Donna Jakubenaite: Now, the young women when they are married are going by themselves to cocktail bars. They're meeting girls and go somewhere else. We never used to do that. If we go, we go with our husbands. I never go to dance by myself. If my husband can't go, I can't go. But now, it's completely different. That's why it cause so many divorces, and cause so many arguments. Women don't have any responsibilities. That's very bad. And they don't have any respect for each other now.

Women's isolation in the home and reliance on their husbands was an extension of their lack of economic resources. Some women who did not drive or who could not afford cars depended on their husbands for rides. Unlike in the 1930s, when workers lived in the same neighborhood as the factories and their union offices, today's workers live in suburbs far from the city center, and must travel long distances to work.

To arrive home at a reasonable hour by catching a connecting bus to the suburb of Mississauga, Rosa Lorenzo left work immediately at four o'clock. Mary Kastanys commuted daily with her husband from their home near Lake Simcoe, about eighty kilometers

north of Toronto. Lack of mobility prevented women from holding union positions, attending meetings, or enjoying leisure activities outside their homes. Staying after work for union meetings or coming back downtown for evening meetings were not realistic possibilities. Also, the ever-present fear of being out alone at night reinforced women's isolation in the home.

THE DOUBLE DAY

Women's work in the household was different from their work in the factory. For the most part, their labor in the home was not directly supervised, but was self-regulated activity that could be carried out at a pace determined by the individual. Carol Lenski provided insights into this aspect of domestic labor:

Carol Lenski: There's a big difference [between] sewing in your home and sewing in the shop, . . . as far as the method. When you're at home, you do things slowly. You take your time. When I'm at home and I sew in a zipper in a skirt, I baste it first into the garment, whereas in the shop you haven't got time to do that. So it does require a different technique.

After a particularly hard day in the factory, some women reported that they let their housework "slide" one day, only to catch up the next day:

Rosa Lorenzo: I feel tired. Too much work sometime. If I can't do everything today, do it tomorrow, a little bit. When do I relax? At night when I am sleeping.

Carol Lenski: . . . I let things slide. . . . You're too tired when you come home to really do anything. Besides, you really need the rest, apart from anything else.

Jane Mathewson worked late into the night and on weekends doing chores. Grace Campisi tried to get as much housework as possible done on the weekends so that she was prepared for the following week when she returned to work. Many women that I interviewed sacrificed their leisure time on weekends and evenings to maintain their households:

Grace Campisi: I spend my weekend a little bit to clean, to wash, to press everything, to clean the backyard, the front. Somebody tell me, "You want to come to the cottage this weekend?" I say, "No." She say, "Why?" I say, "Because I am so busy [at] home." I want to make everything so clean [at] home. Saturday, my daughter, she come. She got a small baby she leave at my house on Saturday. She's a hairdresser. She work Saturday, so I do everything when the baby come home. She make me so busy. I cook. Sometime she bring the baby Friday night. . . . Come the night, I

am so tired—my legs—I can't work anymore because I work all the day. Sunday the same. I want to provide everything because Monday, start again to go to work. I don't want to leave everything. I want to fix everything. I kill myself sometimes. When come night, I go to sleep. Maybe when I die, I relax. When I die, I finish everything.

Maria Lebella's household routine was scheduled around the needs of her husband, who worked the midnight shift at a bakery. He was on a different "time clock" from the rest of the household. He ate meals and slept at different times, and was not available for child care because of his work schedule. His shift work created a double routine for Maria, cooking and washing up for both her children's and her husband's meals.

Maria Lebella: Yeah, it's very hard. I think it's more hard for him. No eat. Can't sleep, he's too nervous. It is not a normal thing. Eat different time. In the day, the phone ring. Some people knock on the door. Kids on the street [make] too much [noise]. Can't sleep [in the] daytime.

Shift work was disruptive to family life. Maria's brother-in-law never saw his children because he worked the four o'clock-to-midnight shift. His children were growing up without him:

Maria Lebella: . . . my brother-in-law, he work in the same place and he start four o'clock in the evening. He say it's hard, too, because he can't see the kids in the evening. And all week he not see the kids because when he came, the kids asleep. And when the kids [are] home, he sleep.

Ruth Domanski explained her daily and weekly schedule in caring for her children and reproducing her own labor power. She was very dependent on the labor of her children, who shared the burden of domestic responsibilities:

Ruth Domanski: I used to take off a couple of hours to do shopping. Washing was done on Sunday. Saturday, I worked only ten hours. Sundays, I worked twelve hours. The rest of the week was sixteen hours. In those different hours, I did everything. Put the menu on. Bought the food. I did the washing. The children did the ironing. And the cleaning. . . . All at night. All on two days of the week, Saturdays and Sundays. That's why I say I give up my own life—my social life. All was in that time. Saturdays and Sundays, those couple of hours for the whole week, even if I worked sixteen hours a day. My daughter helped me a lot. Everyday work, she did after school. She came home, she saw dinner is prepared. We had wieners and beans, and hamburgers and potatoes. I always prepared food the night before, and I leave a note, what's for supper. She used to come home and do it.

Volunteer work was another aspect of women's work that I encountered. Sheila Glaber, who did not have children, contributed a great deal of money and labor to Pioneer Women, a volunteer organization devoted to raising funds for the state of Israel. After World War II, Sheila sponsored several refugees to Canada. They lived in her home as boarders. Their rent supplemented her family income. Sheila's home became an economic resource which eventually paid for itself:

Sheila Glaber: Now, can't get a house because you can't pay it. That time, low interest, low down payment. You took a chance. You worked on the house yourself. But now, you have no chance. You buy a house, it's 100,000 dollars. You have to pay a high interest. You can't keep the house. And there isn't a style of renting out. . . . You live alone, which wasn't [the style] years ago. I lived in one room and I rented the rest of the rooms in order to pay [for] the house. Otherwise, I couldn't get ahead. [This] generation doesn't know that.

The labor of taking on boarders was primarily Sheila's responsibility. She performed an additional set of domestic responsibilities to her double day of labor:

Sheila Glaber: I had to clean the steps and the toilet, and around the house and the grass. Look after the lawn, look after the snow in the wintertime. Looked that the kitchen should be cleaned. If you neglect a house, the roomers don't respect the house, but if they see it's clean, they respect it more.

Ruth Domanski also took on boarders, but when her child grew into an attractive woman, she decided that strange and sometimes alcoholic men in her home posed a threat to her daughter's well-being.

CHILD CARE

Domestic labor not only involved daily maintenance of the household—that is, cooking, cleaning, shopping, laundry, gardening, sewing, painting—but also included reproduction of the next generation of workers. Women at Edna Manufacturing not only left their jobs to have children; they were also, for the most part, responsible for their children's care after they were born:

Donna Jakubenaite: Most[ly] I was [rearing the children] . . . because I know my husband was busy with the business. I didn't want to put [child care] on his shoulders. I never complain. Weeknights when [my son] was sick, I always was with him. 'Cause my husband got lots of responsibility. Designing is not an easy job. I didn't want to disturb him. House bills, mortgages . . . everything was my responsibility.

Theresa Green: I was responsible for the children. Every which way, I always was. Financially, when he was working and we were both together, he was good that way. But as regards anything else, he wasn't a responsible man. He left everything to me. I was used to it. It was good training for me when I was left on my own.

Aside from the financial burden, the care of children made a difference in terms of the way women structured their day. Women with children reported that they had to systematize their routine to meet the needs of their family:

Theresa Green: I think it's just the usual when any mother works. You get up and you have your breakfast together. And you're rushing out to work and the children go to school. And you come back, and you're cooking supper and tidying up, and maybe preparing something for the following night. Doing your laundry at night. With a family, you have to do it. It's not like being on my own and working, and I can wash when I feel like it. You have to have a routine. It's just the usual.

Donna Jakubenaite: You must have schedule. When to feed baby. When to put [the baby] to nap. When to wash the diapers. It was different from before—you make yourself schedule. When to make the formula.

Women with children stretched their day, getting up earlier in the morning and working late into the night to make preparations for taking their children to the baby-sitter. Child care was not simply a matter of dropping off their children at the baby-sitter's on the way to work. Mothers prepared their children by feeding them, bathing them, dressing them, and bundling them up before transporting them to a pre-arranged child-care facility. They prepared the food or formula [breast feeding was difficult], washed the diapers, provided clean clothes, and often provided a change of clothes so that the child's needs were met while the mother was working at the factory. Rosa Lorenzo reluctantly recalled the arduous daily routine of taking care of her baby:

Rosa Lorenzo: It makes me sick because too much work when you got a baby. I was up at five o'clock. Shower the baby, bring it to the baby-sitter. I don't want to remember . . . after I go to work at the night he want to come back. I go to pick up, make supper, wash the clothes for him.

Donna Jakubenaite was fortunate because her baby slept through the night after his eleven o'clock feeding. Interrupted sleep and sleepless nights to feed babies created a very tired worker in the morning.

Donna Jakubenaite: I wake up six o'clock. Formula, I always make in the evening and put in bottles in the fridge. And when I wake up six o'clock, wash myself and make coffee . . . for husband. . . . Then baby wakes up. Wash him with wet cloth. Change him. Put everything in a carriage and I take to my girlfriend's house. Then we go to . . . work. [Her] mother looks after the two babies. I make formula. I give everything, food, diapers, everything what [she] needs 'til I come home. On the way back home, I pick up my baby. Make supper . . . my husband helps lots in the kitchen. He loves cooking. . . . I feed the baby, and after that, we play little bit with the baby. And then I give him [a] bath. Prepare him for bed. After that, wash diapers. Ironing. I put him seven o'clock or six o'clock in bed. He wakes up eleven o'clock. I give him last feeding, and he sleeps 'til next morning.

Troubles did not end at the baby-sitter's doorstep. The greatest hardship for these working mothers was leaving their children in the morning. While working, their thoughts were continually focused on their children's welfare (see Note 5):

Donna Jakubenaite: It is hard when women got baby. It is hard to go to work and look after baby. Because you're always worrying. You're working, but you're worrying about your baby. You're never relaxed. Always, you're thinking how he is, and is he OK. . . .

Grace Campisi: You don't know how much I cry when I leave my daughter. Especially this one, because she grew up very skinny. Too skinny. She don't want to eat nothing. She give me so many troubles. . . . When she was a baby, she cry. I don't know [why]. She don't feel sick. I'm so scared to leave with somebody else. But have to go to work. I cry . . . all the day. I never leave my kids before I come to Canada—never. So not too easy for [me]. When I go to take a bus, my daughter come to me. She cry. I cry. My sister-in-law come too, she take my daughter. I go, I cry so much.

Rosa Lorenzo: I worry [when] I leave the baby. I can't explain, because you don't [trust] . . . the lady. You worry because the baby can't talk. I think you feel better when you leave [with] the family. You trust better.

The worry increased when the children became ill. Usually, it was the mother who left work to care for the children.

Donna Jakubenaite: Oh God. I sit there the whole time, sit in hospital. I didn't go [to] work. I was sitting right at [his] bedside. Just at nights, they throw me out. . . . I nearly die myself. It was so bad. I was crazy, I was crying all days. Listen, if I lose him, I go too.

Theresa Green: I had been up all night with him. It wasn't anything serious, but we did think at the time it was appendi-

citis. They took him into the hospital in the early morning, and they only took him in a day. I wasn't able to go to work. So I just phoned and explained to them. When he was home, I stayed home a day or two just to make sure he was alright. When I'm working, I'm conscientious. I like to do a good job and all that, but when it comes to a family crisis, I don't think about work. My family comes first.

The fact that women left work when their children were ill was not simply an indication of domination by their husbands. As Joan Merton, a union organizer pointed out, a woman's decision to stay home may involve economic considerations stemming from her lower wages:

Joan Merton: Why would a family that is struggling to survive at their combined income level, have a husband stay at home and lose twice as much money as she would, staying home?

Making arrangements for child care was the mother's responsibility. She usually found another woman—a member of her immediate or extended family, a neighbor, or a friend—to look after her children. If they could afford it, women hired baby-sitters. Ruth Domanski was one of the few women who placed her child in nursery school. Ruth could not leave work early enough to pick up her baby before the child-care facility closed. She relied on the maintenance workers to watch her child after closing time:

Ruth Domanski: They were very good about it. They kept the children even [when] they closed up already. The women who used to clean . . . used to wait for mothers to come to pick up the children.

If they were unable to afford full-time baby-sitters, some mothers asked neighbors to be watchful in case of emergencies.

Ruth's daughter looked after her younger brother (see Note 6). Ruth took the time to discipline her children, and to teach her daughter how to look after herself and her brother.

Ruth Domanski: They both helped. The little one just followed orders. You tell him, he does it. The older one, just see that everything should be in order, I shouldn't be upset. My concern was how they do at school, and not to get into trouble. Have their meals on time, and go to bed on time. Everything went smoothly. . . . They didn't sit in the house if I wasn't there. They went playing before bedtime. I constantly remind them to behave, they shouldn't get into a fight. Do your homework. Have your meals. Go out for a little bit outside. Play. When the time comes, go to bed.

Because some women relied on other women to care for their children, the bonds that arose between them, especially mothers and daughters, were very strong. Many women lived close to their mothers and/or had daily or weekly contact by telephone and in person. Donna Jakubenaite described her relationship with her stepdaughter:

Donna Jakubenaite: 'Til now, we are very close. Anything she needs or something bothers her, she always calls me. Nobody else, just me. We used to be very, very happy. Go [to] picnics and we have so much fun. I teach her to speak my language so nice, nobody thinks she born here.

Mary Kastanys simply did not have the resources to hire a baby-sitter or to leave her children with her family. She was very poor when she and her husband immigrated to Canada from Greece. Her husband found a job at a car wash, and she stayed home to look after her newborn son and young daughter. After four years of living in poverty, she had to take a job. She bought a television and told her son to watch it, and not to leave the house. Her daughter came home at lunchtime to feed her brother and cared for him after school. But Mary's son was not completely alone, because she asked the elderly woman living upstairs to rescue her son if she ever saw a fire. Mary was filled with grief at having to leave her son:

Mary Kastanys: I am very, very poor. No money, no nothing, because I come to Canada and [it costs] $350.00. I work at Mr. Jacob's. Every day, cry. I do not say nothing to my husband, because maybe my husband say to me, stop the job. . . . I know I don't have money. Not enough when my husband working because [he] cleans truck for car wash. I say I'm all right, OK. I don't say nothing because I cry every day.

Even if their children were in school, mothers reported that they were available for emergencies. On professional development days, when her nine-year-old son did not attend school because teachers were in training sessions, Rosa Lorenzo brought her son to the factory:

Rosa Lorenzo: I don't feel good 'cause I don't like to leave him alone. You never know [when] something wrong with these kids. Some days, I take him to the shop with me. The boss says it's OK. Here, [give] him some paper [for drawing].

Her son didn't like this arrangement because he quickly grew bored and lonely without his friends. Rosa said that she would like the union to help her and other mothers to get day-care facilities, but that it had never occurred to her that the union could help in this matter.

Why did women at Edna Manufacturing endure the hardships of a double day? In most cases, economic necessity drove them into the work world. For those with children, the possibility of educating their children so that they would have better lives than their parents was the heart and soul of their struggle.

Emma Ross: I cannot give them money. That's all I was dreaming in my life. I dream to have educated children because I don't have [a] chance.

Anna Martino: Want him to do something really good, something really important. Don't want him to go to work in the shops, like I do, or his father. Very hard work in the shops. Always, you see bosses around you. I would like he go to school, even university, or college. To be something better than me and my husband, 'cause we come from Italy, we have got no school. You got to go in the shop, but the children grow here. They have more chance to go to school, to learn whatever they like. I don't force him to [be] what he have to be, but I force him to go to school. To be better in the future.

Martha Newmann: I just explained to you that the Italian people, they're hard workers. They didn't want their children should go to the shop. Why should I want my child should go to the shop, and I came in 1930? And I went through [endured] the shop while she had the opportunity to be educated and to be somebody. That's why I worked (see Note 7).

Here, the children have a chance to have education without paying. In Europe poor children couldn't go higher than public school. If they wanted to go to high school, you had to be rich. So why would I want my child to go to the factory if she was born here, and she had a chance to be educated?

NO TIME FOR LEISURE

Some women coped with their double day of labor by giving up most of their leisure time to maintain a household (see Note 8). Rosa Lorenzo said that she relaxed at the end of the day when she was sleeping, and Grace Campisi suggested that she would relax in her grave. Donna Jakubenaite spent her spare time driving her son to hockey games. Her leisure time involved family entertainment, not time away from the family:

Donna Jakubenaite: We often go out. We go to picnics. Take a few holidays. We go to Wasaga Beach. And we start to enjoy [my son's] running, his talking.

When he was seven years, after his sickness, he started playing hockey, and I took him to every lesson, to every hockey, 'til he was sixteen years old. I took him. Even when I had guests [at]

home, I excuse myself. I said, "My boy must have game and I must take him there." I enjoy watching. Mostly the people say, "That's your boy, [that] was goalie that stops all the pucks?" I said, "Yes, that's my boy."

Ruth Domanski explained how she had to sacrifice her social life to work two shifts and provide for her family. This left her no time for personal enjoyment:

Ruth Domanski: I haven't got time to think about myself. Don't forget, seven years of my time went to work two shifts. That's when I was younger. When I got older, I didn't care about company. All I know, I have my children. They come here every Saturday for supper. Occasionally, we would talk on the phone. My granddaughter gets on the phone very often. Talks to me. I go to my sister. I am away from the social life. I just adjusted my life, and I am content the way I adjusted it. I get up at five o'clock in the morning. Quarter to six, I leave the house. I get home around five o'clock, I have my supper. I clean up. I rest. I have to get up at five o'clock in the morning again. So, there is no time to run around and come [home at] eleven, twelve o'clock, and go to bed. Then, I am fully awake; I don't want to sleep. If you had to get up in the morning and go back to work . . . in the middle of the week, forget about it. I can't have company.

RELIGION AND THE GENDER DIVISION OF LABOR

Varying forms of religious sentiments existed in the factory. Anna Martino opened her interview by summing up her life as "my job, my family, and my religion." Grace Campisi lamented that she did not have time to go to church on Sundays because she had so much work to do at home. Sheila Glaber said she was not orthodox because she had to go out on Saturdays to perform domestic chores. Although she was at one time sympathetic to members of the Communist party, she now found comfort in Zionism. Ruth Domanski observed the Jewish holy days out of respect for her parents, but not because she really "believed in it." Emma Ross went to church every Sunday during the winter, but in the summer, she lapsed. Toward the end of her interview, she talked at great length about her admiration for John F. Kennedy and the fact that he understood Europeans and stood up to the Russians in the Cuban missile crisis. Most importantly, he was a Catholic like herself. Theresa Green was a practicing Catholic, but later distanced herself from the Catholic Church's views on birth control, which she said were not practical. Carol Lenski had renounced her Catholicism as too "far-fetched," in favor of a belief in reincarnation. Rosa Lorenzo looked forward to going to church on Sundays because this made her feel good.

For some women, religion played a significant role in determining a morality about the gender division of labor, especially

in prescribing the nature of women's relationships to their families:

Anna Martino: [Religion] means a lot to me. I can go every day to church, but you don't have the chance if you work. On Sunday, I like to go to church. If you go to church . . . such beautiful words about God and Christ. . . . To be a good person. To stay more close with relatives and friends.

Donna Jakubenaite: I am person who believes in a God, and don't do bad things. I believe [there is] something more in the world than money. That's what religion means to me . . . not just money can make you happy. I am happy when I go to the church. I talk with the church. Like teach the children, [don't] do something bad, or steal, or rob somebody. I believe in my husband. I believe in my children. That [is] what I think is my religion.

Maria Lebella offered a more critical perspective on religion, which she compared to a business enterprise:

Maria Lebella: I not go to church every Sunday. That got nothing to do . . . [with what] I . . . believe in. Religion is business. Because one push the other. Say, "mine the best," and hate the other. Why, for one God, [are there] so many religions? And even the priest hate the other. If it [is] the same God, why [not have] just one religion? The other [religions are] almost the same, [except for] little things. One is against the other. Because [the church] wants more people to [go to] war, and [the church] got business.

THE PERSONAL IS POLITICAL

How did these women fight back? For the most part, women at Edna Manufacturing tended to develop personal solutions to counter the ideology of the gender division of labor that existed in their households. Theresa Green divorced her husband because he didn't take his "responsibilities" seriously. Carol Lenski developed a personal life-style suited to being single:

Carol Lenski: I don't think I'm the marrying kind. . . . there are certain women who are not domesticated. I hate housework. I don't like cooking. I don't like any of the things associated with women who want to get married. I just wanted my freedom to do what I wanted. I come and go as I please. Eat when I want, sleep when I want. Go out when I want. In a marriage, you can't do that. You have to think of the welfare of the person you're married to. Maybe that even goes back to my childhood in a boarding school, where you were so confined and restricted.

Although they did not define themselves as feminists, both Theresa Green and Carol Lenski were conscious of women's issues

and their rights as women workers. However, they did not have a collective strategy for fighting for their rights in the workplace. Ruth Domanski and Martha Newmann were old-time trade-union activists. Their collective experiences were mediated by alliances with male workers, and sometimes with their employer. They rejected any possibility of women combining to fight for their rights. They did not consider women to have needs that were different from the needs of male workers.

Grace Campisi's life was characterized by quiet fatalism. She did not see the possibility of challenging the gender division of labor in the household:

Grace Campisi: You think I like doing everything? I am so tired. I feel real terrible. What am I supposed to do? I got to work, that's all.

Maria Lebella stood out as woman worker who demonstrated genuine leadership potential. Born in southern Italy and married to a trade-union militant, she moved with her husband to a northern industrial city where left-wing politics were widespread. Her concept of an alternative society stemmed from her experience in Italy, where her consciousness was first strengthened through her opposition to rich land owners and fascism. She developed a sense of dignity from earning a wage:

Maria Lebella: I am a worker. I'm not the boss. I am not with Davis [the Conservative party premier of the province of Ontario]. In Italy, the rich stay with the rich and the poor stay with the poor. I remember before the war, my God, I want to kill all the rich. Sorry, I say like that. Because at that time, they want to kill you. It's terrible. I remember the rich people get all the land. That's why the South, it's very, very [backward]. Even [when] Mussolini was alive. And you ask me why I am with the worker. I remember how it was. After that, people run away [to] Canada, America. Everybody was living a terrible life. I have to work all year to give to [the land owners]. If I not produce how much he say, next year he going to charge [me]. The people run away if they can, and nobody work anymore that land.

She keeps in touch with current events in her home country, and remains open-minded by reading books:

Maria Lebella: I read a lot of books. What happened before the war. What happened after the war. If you, day by day, know what's going on, you read, your mind change. I read the newspaper. I listen to the news from Italy.

More importantly, she is one of the few women in the factory who has made friends with women from other ethnic backgrounds. Her friendships are not confined solely to her own language group.

Maria Lebella: Where I was working, we was real friends. We understand each other. We are close friends because we like each other. One is Greek, the other is Italian. We have something in common. We work[ed] at the same table. We are five girls. And we still phone each other, and talk and meet.

Maria Lebella was successful in winning her husband's approval of her right to work. As a result, she now has a different relationship to the economy of her household because she is no longer dependent on her husband's wage. A new interdependence characterizes her relationship with her husband:

Maria Lebella: My husband say, "You never work before. We can live." I say, "What do you mean"? He make just a little. We going to live OK, yeah, for food but we need other things, clothes, and this and that. I say, "I don't want to stay home. I want to go look for job."

Other married women in the factory struggled against their husbands' attitudes, whether they were challenging traditional notions of their children's sexuality or encouraging their sons to "help" their wives with housework. In their struggle for economic independence and the right to work, these women waged a battle that was shared with all other women in the factory. Rosa Lorenzo explained the economic considerations that drove her out to work, and her husband's attitudes that attempted to hold her back:

Rosa Lorenzo: Because when the men come, he wants everything so nice at home. When the wife is working, he waits for the supper. He wait for the clean. That's why he not so happy. He say "I need a little money, but I don't like you go to work" I say, "I make more money if I go to work." I won because we need.

Sheila Glaber valued her life as a worker, despite its so-called marginality and unimportance, and the effort it required in balancing her double day:

Sheila Glaber: I did enjoy my work. I like to go in. And to be busy. And produce. And to make money. And be free with my dollar. I come home, and I attended whatever I had. I was well. I was strong. I was younger. I like it. I made a living. I liked the people. I liked the place. What would I do at home? It's nice to stay [at home] a day or two; then you get restless.

The women at Edna Manufacturing shared a sense of self-respect and identity, linked to their work and control of their wages. Donna Jakubenaite explains:

Donna Jakubenaite: I like work. Somehow, I feel useful. I enjoy working. When you are sick, I missed work. My husband used to come home and find me crying. He say, "Why you crying"? I say, "I

want to go to work." I miss the people. If you missed your pay or something, you feel something is short, is not right. You have your own [money], you enjoy that, and you enjoy helping your husband. You feel you belong to the world. You work, you make progress.

FACING RETIREMENT

After the children had grown and immediate family responsibilities had ended, grandmothers eased the burden of their daughter's and/or daughter-in-law's double day; a luxury that, as migrant workers, they had not enjoyed because necessity forced them to leave their own mothers in their home country.

Ruth Domanski was always available as a baby-sitter for her grandchildren. In turn, her daughter sat by her bedside when Ruth was ill:

Ruth Domanski: We talk about it a lot of times. She says, "Ma, I don't want to impose on you. You raised your family, and now it's my turn." I said, "No. Give me my pleasure. Whenever you need me, call me for help. You're sick, I'll be right there—a built-in baby-sitter. Time, I'll make for you." She deserves it. I'll never forget what she's done. She needs help, I [am] right there. Even now, I was sick, she was sitting right there. She was everyday in the hospital.

Donna Jakubenaite looked forward to retiring from the factory after thirty years in the garment industry. As soon as she retired, her daughter-in-law, who lived next door, went out to work and Donna took over the household tasks in her daughter-in-law's house as well as in her own.

Donna Jakubenaite: They [were] even struggling with the mortgages, with the taxes, but I let her go to work. I watch baby without a cent. Baby was looked [after], and fed. I even looked after her house, washed her clothes when she started work.

Forty-nine-year-old Maria Lebella planned to retire early (i.e., within the next year) to care for her grandchild while her daughter-in-law continued to work. Mary Kastanys suggested to her son that he have five children so that she could look after them.

Taking care of grandchildren was truly a "labor of love" that the older women looked forward to in their retirement, because they didn't have the time to enjoy their own children when they were working. Donna Jakubenaite explained:

Donna Jakubenaite: I have no time to enjoy with my own child. Always busy. Always rushing. (Pointing to her grandson) I enjoy [being] with him. I love him. It was hard to go [to work]. I was

brokenhearted to leave [my son] with somebody. You can't enjoy. When you come after work, you make supper, rushing. Then you bathe him. Time to put to bed. You've got no time to enjoy with your own children. But with grandchildren—everything!

Grace Campisi could not retire early. She needed to work to support the remaining family in the household. She had a nine-year-old daughter at home, and was unable to quit work to care for her older daughter's child:

Grace Campisi: I don't feel very good when she go to work, and she leave the baby. I don't like very much, but what can I say? She say, "You stay home, you can watch my daughter." I can't stay home. I need the money, too.

In the factory, male workers brought gifts to the bookkeeper to thank her for special favors in connection with the wage payment system. Gifts consisted of produce from summer gardens and baked goods made by their wives in the winter. While certain women workers received favors from the employer, such as purchasing cloth at a cheaper price, the majority of women workers did not receive the same generous favors as the men received. This may be symptomatic of their low status in the factory. Among co-workers, reciprocity involved taking the role of the other. Within the family, women showed their appreciation in the exchange of kindnesses and not in the exchange of gifts or money (e.g., Ruth Domanski offered to babysit for her daughter because the latter was so helpful in helping to raise her brother while Ruth held down two jobs. In addition, Jane Mathewson took care of her dying husband because she did not want to put him in a home for the aged. She felt that he would have done the same thing for her if she had been in a similar situation. Now a widow, Jane continues to live in the house she and her husband shared for so many years).

Whether in the workplace or in the family, gestures of solidarity are common, and are different from the exchange of gifts. The exchange of gifts is reserved for special occasions like birthdays and holidays. On the other hand, the exchange of money on special occasions is considered to be an exchange between relatives who are not close. In the case of boarders, money might change hands for rent. If boarders were not able to pay in money, they would perform some service for the household based on their skills.

Reciprocity not only involves empathy and putting oneself in the place of the other, but also a hierarchy of levels of exchange based on the nature of the relationship, abilities, and needs. The nature of reciprocity changed as workers migrated to the new world and adapted to a new way of life. In this way, old forms of reciprocal exchanges were combined with new styles (e.g., Ruth Domanski's description of her relationship with her

landlady was a lesson in New World customs, where money is exchanged for babysitting, a practice unfamiliar to her Old World thinking). Clearly, lack of familiarity with patterns of reciprocity in the New World can add to the culture shock of migrant workers.

Caring for the elderly and dying was a common experience for older women in the factory. Jane Mathewson nursed her sick and aging husband. She described her daily routine, which centered around the care of her husband before and after she worked in the factory all day:

Jane Mathewson: Double the work. I had to nurse him but I didn't mind. I was used to it. Take him to the washroom half the time. Get his breakfast. Almost feed him. Wash his clothes. Sometimes, he'd dirty his clothes and I'd just keep on washing. That is one thing I never refused, because if I were sick, he'd look after me. I was only sick once, when I had the operation on my ear. Then he didn't stay home. I say, "You go to work, forget about me. I'll look after myself." I used to prepare his meals and have everything ready. I'd give him his breakfast because he couldn't do much. He'd sleep all day, nearly. Then, by the time I got home, I was ready to look after him again. See, a lot of people won't do that. They'd put him in a nursing home. I wouldn't do it, because if he could look after me, I could look after him. I can do two jobs at that time. I was younger and I was stronger.

The isolation of caring for her sick husband was a hardship for Donna Jakubenaite. When I first met her, she had just retired from the factory and was very excited about spending her retirement with her husband and family. Shortly thereafter, her husband had a stroke which left him speechless and partially paralyzed. I visited her during this bleak period of her life:

Donna Jakubenaite: Very hard the last five months, the worst in my whole life. I must do everything. He's wetting bed at night. And when he make his movements, I must clean him. He don't let me move nowhere. Nobody can help you. I got some help for a few weeks from [a] homemaker—used to come for half a day. Let me go shopping, help with the housework. Now, it's over. I'm on my own. It's very hard for me. Everybody working. Everybody got their own troubles. Like my daughter is very sick with cancer. She can't move. My son working all the time. My daughter-in-law working. Then, she got her sister who's sick very much with kidney disease. No, everybody got troubles.

Donna was not able to escape even for a few hours of relaxation. The shock of seeing her once strong and vital husband helpless and dependent drove her further into depression:

Donna Jakubenaite: I must do everything by myself. That's why my nerves are so bad. Why I'm crying so much. Because I am like

slavery now. I don't have one hour by myself to go somewhere to meet my friends. These last five months, I am completely isolated from everybody. I'm happy someone comes here a couple of hours. I enjoy the company, little bit talk. Something different. But to see him every day, like that. Your heart is broken. The man is completely different. You remember him before you see now. He was strong. He was happy. He was everything. Now he's unhappy, and I'm unhappy. At least if he could talk, you can talk. But now he can't talk. You're sitting all day and all night, not even one word said.

Ruth Domanski, on the other hand, had been very lucky. She decided to retire following a successful cancer operation and filled her days by reading books, sewing costumes for her grandchildren, playing rummage with her neighbors, and participating in the activities of both her neighborhood retirement club and the union retirees' club. Since her one hundred-dollar monthly pension from her union did not cover her expenses, she sold her house and lived in an apartment. I asked her how she was enjoying her retirement:

Ruth Domanski: Very pleasant. I don't miss the factory. Because I worked very hard for thirty-one years. I haven't even got time to think that I'm retired. My time flies so fast. My time is fulfilled, and I feel very good about it. I hope I'll go on that way.

Sheila Glaber, who had immigrated to Canada from Austria, was having trouble making ends meet with her various pensions. She received a government pension of around four hundred dollars per month, a meager widow's pension of twenty dollars a month from her husband's union, and another pension of one hundred dollars a month from her own union's pension fund:

Sheila Glaber: I can't live on that. I'll tell you why . . . to keep an apartment. To drive a car. To give a lot to charity. I give all over. . . . And to help my sister in Israel, I need a lot of money. Not that I eat a lot or buy a lot of clothes for myself. I'm not a youngster, I'm a woman. What I need is clean and decent. So I need a lot of money. I had my teeth fixed—cost me a fortune.

CONCLUSIONS

Even though women's position in the family mediates their wage labor, immigrant women are closer to the family because of the material and social resources that the family provides as a social institution. For example, a number of women reported that they were first taught to sew by other family members. Most women I interviewed continued to sew clothing for their children and themselves in the household, even though they spent their whole

day sewing in the factory. Extended-family networks were helpful in sponsoring families for immigration to Canada. Once they immigrated, women relied on these same networks, as well as on ethnic networks, to find jobs. One woman was actually employed in her husband's shop. Grandmothers and older daughters took on the additional responsibility of child care. The sick and elderly were often cared for by family members. Clearly, women in a family provided valuable services, both for each other and for other household members, where the state and the society at large did not provide these services.

In addition to spending what would normally be considered a full day at the factory, women at Edna Manufacturing also worked in their households—that is, they worked a double day. The working day was not divided into eight hours of work, followed by eight hours of leisure and eight hours of sleep. This latter division of time is a sex-blind conception of the "average" working day because, as we have seen, "women's work is never done." My study points to the need to view domestic labor as a continuous process that operates *alongside* women's working day in the formal work force (in this case, a factory); *and not* as a discrete labor process that follows time spent in the formal work force. In this study, women's domestic labor operated intermittently with their work outside the home—whether this meant shopping during lunch hours, arranging child care on the way to and from work, answering the telephone if an emergency arose at school, or leaving work early to care for sick children. The women reported that they were always worried about their children while they were working. There was no question of going to work and turning one's mind away from family responsibilities. While they performed tedious, boring, and sometimes mindless tasks at work, their minds were constantly in touch with the needs of their families. They planned their next meals, amended family budgets in anticipation of lay-offs, and discussed family concerns with other women workers. Because their working days never ended, domestic and factory experiences were dialectically intertwined. As this paper has shown, if the women's liberation movement is to have an impact on the everyday life of immigrant women workers, the profound complexities and contradictory aspects of their double day of labor must be properly addressed.

NOTES

1. This paper is based on research for my doctoral dissertation at the University of Toronto in Toronto, Canada, titled, "Dividing Women and Men: The Role of the Company, the Union and the Family in the Canadian Garment Factory." I am grateful to the following people for their critical comments on earlier versions of this paper: Lisa Gilad, Chris Huxley, Deirdre Meintel, Kathryn Molohon, Cheryl Mounsey, Miguel Murmis, Janet Salaff, Jim Turk, and the Labour Studies

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2. I am grateful to Richard Lochead of the Public Archives of Canada, and to Barry Wellman of the Sociology Research Committee of the University of Toronto for providing me with tapes for this study.

3. Interviews for this paper were conducted on the following dates: Grace Campisi, July 8, 1980; July 4, 1981. Ruth Domanski, July 2, 1980; October 21, 1981. Sheila Glaber, November 4, 1980; October 25, 1981. Theresa Green, December 14, 1981. Donna Jakubenaite, August 4, 1980; November 27, 1981. Mary Kastanys, December 10, 1981. Maria Lebella, July 20, 1980. Carol Lenski, July 30, 1980; November 11, 1981. Rosa Lorenzo, July 21, 1980; October 21, 1981. Anna Martino, July 3, 1980. Jane Mathewson, October 30, 1980; November 6, 1981. Joan Merton, January 4, 1982. Martha Newmann, August 11, 1980. Emma Ross, July 16, 1980. Evelyn Thompson, November 17, 1981.

4. Meissner et al.'s (1975) time-budget study in the Vancouver, British Columbia area corroborates the findings of my study. The Vancouver researchers found that women sought their own solutions to their double work load by working both part-time and less overtime. Thus, they worked an average of more than one hour per day less than their husbands. They also reduced their domestic workday to half that of housewives without employment, while intensifying their domestic labor at other times and on weekends. When these women entered the work force, their total weekly work load increased by eighteen hours compared to the work load of their husbands. Husbands' weekly work loads increased by six minutes in couples with no child under ten years of age, and by one hour in couples with a child under ten.

5. Harris (1983) argues that the guilt women felt about having their children at home while they worked made it difficult for them to participate in campaigns for child-care facilities; these struggles at the workplace reminded them of the so-called "neglect" of their children.

6. This arrangement seemed to be more prevalent if the oldest child was a daughter. Women whose oldest child was a son tended to make other arrangements.

7. Martha Newmann is Jewish. In this quote, she is comparing her life-style to that of more recent Italian immigrants.

8. Meissner found that compared to women, men's work and leisure time remained unaffected by mounting household

requirements: "In an estimate for an entire week the overall effect of being a woman is a loss of three and one half hours of leisure time, when controlling for the effects of wife's employment and child under ten. The effects of the wife's job (when controlling for the influence of the young child) are a reduction of thirteen and one half hours in women's leisure time, and no change at all in their husbands'. After controlling for the effects of the wife's job, men's reduction in leisure hours due to a child under ten is nearly half that of their wives' loss of six hours." (1977:170)

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CONCLUSIONS

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INTRODUCTION

Although all the ethnographies in this volume were researched and reported independently, and cover women and their partners from more than half a dozen different cultural backgrounds in three new host countries, the convergence of topics and themes is striking. All of the ethnographies are concerned with immigrants, and many similar problems attendant on the migration process arise in each case. Among these, the problems of accommodation to the host society and culture loom large, ranging from the demands and customs of employment to family and kinship behavior. In all of the essays, the relationship receiving the most attention is that of spouse (or other partner), invariably in the context of economic and employment opportunities and constraints.

These studies appear to proceed from an assumption that most conjugal problems—e.g., balance of domestic power and authority, personal conflict in managing these roles, and relations to other kin—stem directly from an economic base. All the accounts, however, make possible a deeper and more subtle analysis beyond this. Even more basic may be certain cultural norms and perceptions regarding (ideal) conjugal role behavior. To some extent, these cultural norms and perceptions change independently of (or at a different rate from) economic behavior. One of the most valuable collective contributions of this material is the light it sheds on the often subtle relationship, and even disjunction, between culturally-defined conjugal role behavior and economic behavior.

PERCEPTIONS AND CONCEPTIONS

The wedding of Marxist ideas with anthropology has led to many (unresolved) debates as to how far concepts developed in one setting may be generalized to totally different societies and populations (cf. Terray 1969). Some of the fiercest debates surrounding Marxist analysis have been waged over the universality of the "class" label, particularly in highly-structured and hierarchical kinship systems characterized by strong economic power and seemingly autocratic control (usually by older males). If we construe this as an incipient form of class dominance and exploitation, does this add to our understanding of the system, or bring us closer to the reality and sentiment of the people involved? In recognizing the objective inequality between different family roles and members, Godelier's position (1978) is that the most important aspect of a relationship lies in its

personal meaning for the kin involved (e.g., "I support my husband *because* he is my husband, not because I am coerced into a role of support for what is then labelled a 'husband' role"). In the emic view, the symbolic, personal, and nurturant elements generated by participation in kin groups largely override the divisive effects of unequal access to resources, power, or authority. Kinship functions simultaneously as infrastructure and superstructure; it both structures and provides meaning to the relations of production. Even under an unequal division of labor, and even at the risk of a certain loss of individualism, commitment to the ethos of family unity and solidarity is a reward in itself.

We can now focus on male-female inequalities, and pose similar questions concerning the actors' perceptions of these on a scale of exploitation and alienation. Despite empirical evidence of men's domination over women, and male control of labor power and resources, the women described in this volume do not necessarily see this as their reality. Whether or not this is an example of false consciousness, the parallel with the class argument is striking.

The question of consciousness, false or otherwise, is central to the issue of gender relations. This emerges clearly from all the contributions and from Goody's introduction. Goody makes a crucial point in discussing the importance of the symbolic meanings attached to "core" roles in any society. She argues that symbolic meanings can resist substantial rearrangement in both content and balance of the elements of power and authority, and still retain their original meaning—even at the expense of apparent inconsistency. Most examples in this volume strongly support this assertion. The immigrant families described here provide ample evidence that women's increased access to material resources and economic control does not automatically redefine their roles *vis-à-vis* husbands/males. The ideals of the core roles prove remarkably immune to such changes, allowing old fictions and myths to be maintained intact. Thus the Yemeni, Portuguese, and other Southern European women who have gained in economic status seem reluctant to claim any special considerations, or even control over their own wages. Rather, they continue paying lip service to the superiority of their menfolk, and to the latter's rights to the traditional male prerogatives of decision making, control of finances, and special recreational "needs." In their publicly-displayed consciousness, the women acquiesce in their continued acceptance of male dominance where this was part of the traditional conjugal role relationship. Thus, the anthropologist's quest for evidence that participants perceive control or exploitation by one sex over another as a form of "class" conflict often proves frustratingly inconclusive or contradictory.

All accounts in this volume indicate that most of the immigrant couples described here are at a turning point in their lives and relationships. For many, this represents a break with the old, without a clear path charted for the future. The observer may expect that eventually new ideals will crystallize and gradually move closer to the realities of the new situation. This was found, for example, in the growing class consciousness among some Turkish women workers in West Germany (Kosack 1976). However, not all women moving from more to less traditional societies will necessarily embrace the blatant forms of feminism held by some Western females. Indeed, some Yemeni women explicitly reject the prospect of such involvement.

PUBLIC AND DOMESTIC DOMAINS

To their credit, the contributors to this volume (especially Gilad) have not belabored the old (and not particularly productive) opposition between "public" and "domestic" domains. In fact, these essays reveal the extent to which these two domains constantly overlap. Many circumstances arising out of the "public" sector—such as conditions of employment (the Toronto garment workers), and the input of the state in redefining gender roles (Yemeni male religious dominance)—continually impinge upon the private or domestic scene, creating new forms for old relationships. Far from encapsulating women in the domestic domain or marginalizing them, increasing participation in the international, capitalist economic order blurs that boundary. In the process, considerable conflict can be generated in domestic relations. Such conflicts are not confined to the domestic dwelling, any more than "public" activities—such as union or religious meetings—are excluded from the household.

Further limitations of the public-domestic distinction are exposed by examining the issue of child care. Frequently, the circumstances of migration, and the increasing involvement of many women in work outside the home, push other women (including female kin and affines) into complementary roles of child minding. For this, they are usually remunerated in cash. While these duties are normally performed in a domestic environment, they only exist as a consequence of other women's employment in an "outside" market. Thus, the baby-sitters are drawn into the capitalist economic orbit by the cash or commodity value placed on their labor.

In none of the above situations can women be relegated to a position of "supplementary" or marginal wage earners. Economically, they are essential to the reproduction of a segment of the labor force and, at the same time, to the continuity of the family. Women are central to both, and one could not survive without the other because the family is dependent upon external wages and children are the future workers. This again obscures

the boundary between the public and domestic domains. Finally, no participation in the labor force would be possible without the support of the "free" domestic labor performed by women. This "free" labor liberates men to concentrate on wage employment and provides the "infrastructure" for women's own wage labor, albeit at the cost of a double workload, as so many anecdotes poignantly illustrate.

CONJUGAL ROLES AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

The studies in this volume cast some fresh light on the relationship between conjugal roles and the wider social network. The mechanistic conjugal response to structural changes in the wider social network or to mobility which was originally postulated by Bott (1968), does not occur in every case described here. In the situations portrayed in this volume, the involved variables may be more numerous and complex than Bott allowed for. A key variable discussed here, but which received little attention in Bott's scheme, is the cultural definition of husband-wife roles.

In Bott's original material, there is also a problem of clarification. Her precise concept of the "joint" conjugal role was never very explicit. This becomes apparent in analyzing the examples of Yemeni and Portuguese husbands "helping" their wives by performing "female" domestic tasks in the home (including baby-sitting), but usually only under duress or in emergencies. These could be construed as formal examples of "joint" roles, although the partners involved would not regard them as natural and desirable. Rather, these examples represent last-resort solutions to exceptional and undesirable conditions. Moreover, the "joint" label often obscures the complexity of the full conjugal role set. This role set encompasses not only the allocation of household tasks between male and female partners, but also the exercise of authority over children, economic decisions, and so on. Thus, Yemeni husbands and wives may engage in more "mutual help," but the husbands still retain power by disciplining the children or threatening to withhold their income. The wives cannot bring themselves to do this.

Of all the contributions, Gilad's is the most sensitive and explicit on the question of conjugal roles in connection with a wider network, although the character of that network is not always clear. What does emerge, however, is that most of the couples in these studies came originally from societies where the segregation of conjugal roles in the household was the norm. In fact, the Israelis have a cultural concept, *tafkid*, emphasizing an elemental feature of these segregated core roles. However, the size and composition of the networks encompassing core conjugal roles varies considerably from case to case throughout the studies presented here. The population with probably the smallest

networks in the pre-immigrant situation was from Haiti. There, as in other Caribbean societies, a traditional premium on female initiative and independence was associated with cooperation with other female kin, and a brittleness in husband-wife relationships. Conjugal role segregation was particularly pronounced in most of the other countries of origin described here. Especially after marriage, few women in these studies engaged in paid employment outside the home. Where they had employment, it usually permitted flexibility of time and location, and was often irregular, resulting in less household disruption, reorganization, or role conflict.

The character of the conjugal relationship changes in several critical ways for working immigrant wives in Canada, the United States, or Israel. Now that women are working both inside and outside the household, their roles are in a sense *doubly* segregated from those of their husbands. Husbands and wives go about their respective tasks, both public and domestic, largely unaided by the other. Typically, as all accounts in this volume make clear, the women now labor in two segregated sectors ("she works in two factories," as one New York Haitian woman described by Stafford pungently puts it), whereas men remain committed to a single, external work role. Even this external work role may be weakened or undermined in the immigrant situation—as the ritual and economic demotion of Yemeni males, and the relative advantages enjoyed by some New York Haitian females in matters of employment and sponsorship, demonstrate. Generally, as accounts from European immigrants in Toronto and Montréal attest, where males are forced to provide support by sharing in domestic tasks in the home, they do so only under duress and where such support is indispensable to the economic viability of the combined household.

This segregation of husbands and wives can be stretched even further under conditions of migration. It may occur when women migrate first, as do some New York Haitians described by Stafford, so that they are forced into positions requiring independence, decision making, and initiative. This situation may permanently alter the tenor of the relationship with male partners upon their subsequent reunion, particularly if a woman is also a man's sponsor. Thereafter, many Haitian women resolve to retain enough financial independence to support their children and dependent kin back home in Haiti. Thus, the position of the male is even further marginalized, segregation is enhanced, and a form of matrifocality may even set in. To a limited extent, the Colombian women in Montréal described by Meintel et al. develop this kind of independence, which is reinforced by the high incidence of divorce and separation in that community.

Finally, children may play an important role which is largely unacknowledged in the present set of studies. Where children are absent, pressures on the wife are lower, and greater

jointness may occur (Meintel et al.). Where children are present, particularly if they are older and more fluent in the host society's language, they may take over some tasks in dealing with external agencies that are normally the responsibility of parents. The presence of children may also enhance the commitment of both parents to the conjugal household as a unit, independent of their formal participation in household tasks or in joint domestic roles (cf. Münscher 1984).

Few of the working immigrant couples described in this volume appear significantly to increase task sharing or jointness of domestic roles in the new environment. Nonetheless, some of the couples claim to engage in joint recreational activities (the Portuguese in Montréal, some Haitians in New York, and the Yemeni couples in Israel). However, the extent to which joint visiting of relatives or attendance at church by spouses truly represents "jointness" in the sense intended by Bott is debatable. During such visits, men and women usually sit and converse separately rather than as couples or as a group, and females customarily wait on the men. On religious and ritual occasions, women also perform their "appropriate" (segregated) roles in rites of passage and so on.

The above accounts indicate that jointness in decision making may precede jointness in the realm of actual task sharing or recreational interaction, as Meintel et al. note. Within the confines of the household, some women (e.g., the Yemenis) have gained considerable leverage in matters relating to finances and children's education. Here, the women can exercise some influence over their husbands.

In Bott's original hypothesis (1968), the structure of the network—that is, its loose- or close-knittedness—had a direct bearing on conjugal role playing. Spouses who tend to continue this dependence remain socially embedded in pre-marriage networks with a strong dependence on other kin and friends, usually of the same gender. In the domestic domain, this manifests itself in the form of role segregation following marriage. Bott suggests that joint roles are more common following geographic or upward social mobility, or both, when the network is often dislocated. Obviously, the networks of the couples discussed in this volume have been subject to the vagaries and hazards of migration. Some immigrants, such as the Toronto garment workers and some New York Haitians, have few kin to fall back on. Other immigrants, such as the Israeli Yemenis and the Portuguese in Montréal, have virtually reconstituted whole segments of an ethnic community through chain migration. The Montréal Portuguese represent the most classic case of the situation portrayed by Bott. In it, there is a high correlation between segregated conjugal roles and fairly strong, close-knit kinship networks, now reassembled in Canada. By a form of "community surveillance," such kinship networks also

help maintain conformity to traditional standards of behavior by working women.

All cases where immigrant working wives are regularly assisted with child care and related tasks by other female kin, such as the Yemeni mothers-in-law and some Montréal women, provide examples of Bott's principle. In it, close-knit kin relationships perpetuate the segregation of husband-wife roles, and slow down any trend towards jointness.

On their own, however, neither the formal structure of the network, the mobility of the migrants, nor the convergence of male and female employment in the "public" sector, are sufficient to predict the degree of role jointness or segregation. Nor do these variables appear to be directly involved in changing the "balance of power" and authority between spouses, or the fiction of male superiority and dominance. The missing factor may be the intangible, culturally-defined domain of attitudes and norms, carried over from the pre-migration society, where perceptions play a determining role. However, no reference appears in the above accounts to the relationship between joint conjugal roles and social mobility. Given the recency of the migration in most cases, such developments will probably only appear in future, longitudinal studies.

In measuring the content and effectiveness of the immigrant couples' networks, the nuclearization of the family following migration and urbanization may have been overestimated in the past. As both Gilad and Meintel et al. observe, despite separate residences (or census nuclearity), close kin living in separate households in the vicinity may fulfill supportive functions as if they occupied the same residence. Thus, the assumption that joint conjugal roles should develop following migration and the "break-up" of extended families, seen here as a loosening of the social network, may have been exaggerated. By this token, the "freedom" from mother-in-law interference claimed for the Yemeni women in Israel may not be so complete after all.

PERCEPTIONS AND POWER

As Bott noted long ago (1968:88; see also Note 1), considerable divergence can occur between women's objective condition and their perceptions thereof. This is borne out by most of the above studies, and Gilad and Meintel et al. comment explicitly on it. The reality of working women's power and economic autonomy *vis-à-vis* their menfolk is frequently out of kilter with the symbolic representations or rationalizations of the husband-wife relationship. Some of this "false consciousness" is created by the disruptive effects of the migration process and may or may not eventually undergo self-correction. The above accounts show a lack of synchronization in a number of ways. In the most blatant

examples, as recorded by Gilad and by Meintel et al., the Yemeni and Portuguese women are "proud" to help their husbands. They dutifully hand over their unopened wage packets, justifying the husband's control on the basis of inherent or natural male superiority. They add that men need extra material indulgences to maintain their status and image in male company. Thus, the traditional ideology of male prerogative is not seriously challenged, even though economic and personal necessity point in the opposite direction. By a more subtle twist, however, statements from some Yemeni women suggest that this apparently compliant behavior may not be totally naïve. Women with strong, close relationships with their husbands verbally maintain the myth of female subordination and docility. This strategy of supporting their husbands' sagging morale in the new Israeli environment includes false claims of joint roles. On the other hand, wives who need a weapon in marital conflict do not hesitate to point out the husband's lack of domestic cooperation, the latter's claims notwithstanding. In other words, role "perceptions" may not represent uncomprehending and naïve traditionalism. Instead, they may be partly a creative attempt to accommodate unprecedented conditions over which there is little control.

WOMEN AND PROPERTY

Surprisingly, one area that is consistently ignored in all of the above studies, aside from wages, is control over property. Without further information, the reader might assume that houses, chattels, and other material resources are under male control. But this may not be plausible, given the relatively high separation and divorce rates among Montréal Colombians and Haitians. The whole institution of dowry is never mentioned in these studies. For most Southern Europeans at least, dowries are an important question in arranging and sustaining marriages (cf. Friedl 1971). Can Greek and Portuguese immigrant women contract a marriage without a dowry in Canada (cf. Piña-Cabral 1984)? In the Montréal sample of Greeks, Meintel et al. mention the role of fathers and brothers in the disposition of female kin in marriage, both in the homeland and in Canada, but actual property settlements receive little attention. During my own research among Greeks in Toronto in the late 1960s (Nagata 1969), I discovered that in their own view of things, the women's labor could be an acceptable equivalent of the dowry or *priká*. Croll (1984) also reports that in post-revolutionary China, recognition of women's labor contributions has led to an increase in the value of the customary betrothal gift, and labor is accorded a measurable material value. Whether comparable mental calculations occur on a significant scale in other cultural groups remains a tantalizingly open question.

We might also ask whether women are being increasingly commoditized under immigration, urbanization, and capitalism.

Once again, we need to examine the superstructure. All of the contributors to this volume would probably agree that most partners in the domestic relationships they describe retain their integrity as spouses and as parents with common interests. The tone and character of the family may appear to be primarily that of an economic enterprise. However, this should not be construed as an end in itself. Instead, following Godelier (1978), it should be construed as a means to an end, with a meaning and momentum of its own. As long as women retain an identity within the family unit, however unequal their position may appear on the surface, they can hardly be relegated to the level of commodity (cf. Hirschon, ed. 1984; Strathern 1984).

CONCLUSION

Any conclusions proposed here must be as tentative as the data base from which they are drawn. In the absence of strong quantitative material, clear directions or dominant trends are hard to discern with any confidence or credibility, and speculations must often suffice. This does not detract from the value of the studies. In the best anthropological tradition, the studies in this volume provide a revealing and realistic sense of the subtlety, richness, and (often contradictory) complexity of life in these immigrant communities, of a kind and sensitivity that is usually missed by mere statistical surveys. While anthropologists must acknowledge their limitations, they can also confidently draw attention to their very real contributions. In this vein, the papers in this volume, without exception, add to the rich and growing annals of immigrant family life, gender relations, and cultural adaptation in three important countries of the modern world.

NOTES

1. Even in her later "Reconsiderations" (1971:264), Bott still seems convinced that the ideology and structure of a role set must be congruent. There, her example was a "reverse" case of middle-class West African couples attempting to emulate their European peers by cultivating joint conjugal roles. The couples were unable to sustain the ideal because of network obligations arising from lineage membership. Thus, although the ideology changed, it proved unable to transcend structural limitations.

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