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**WOMEN IN THE LABOR MARKET: A CRITIQUE OF
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIOLOGY,
MARKISM, AND FEMINISM**

by

NATALIE J. SOKOLOFF

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfill-
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1978

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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PREFACE

Recently there has been a great deal of discussion about women's position in the labor market. A wide variety of explanations exist which purport to explain women's disadvantaged market experiences. In this dissertation I propose a concept of "reciprocal reinforcement" in an effort to make sense of the dynamics which affect women's position in the American labor market today.

The relations of reciprocal reinforcement flow from at least three interconnections: between patriarchy and capitalism; between the home and the market; and mediating relations between patriarchy/capitalism writ large and the everyday sphere of home and market.

Only by viewing this context in its totality, I argue, can we begin to understand the complexity of women's labor market experience. "Work" within this perspective means both paid labor in the market and unpaid labor in the home.

In developing this analysis of women's work, I look first to theoretical frameworks in sociology which explain women's position in the labor market. I explore the underlying assumptions of these theories, evaluating their strengths and weaknesses.

From my perspective, the issue of work in American society has been studied by sociologists most clearly in the literature on social stratification. I explore the two major intellectual currents that underlie most of the theory and research in this sociological

specialty throughout its history. Although they are referred to in a variety of ways in the literature, I speak of these two schools of thought as "mainstream" and "critical" sociology.

The first is the most commonly used by American sociologists. It can be broken down further into two sub-specialties: structural functional and conflict theory (not to be confused with class conflict as understood outside the mainstream in critical sociology). Structural functional theory holds that "amorphous classes" emerge as a consequence of individual mobility where the "most fit" or the "best prepared" are the most highly rewarded. Social mobility through one's own achievement, rather than their ascribed statuses, in the existing occupational structure is viewed as both desirable and widespread. Conflict theory, on the other hand, suggests that conflict, not the stress toward order, is what organizes people's relationships with one another and toward the larger society. This conflict exists in numerous areas of life. Descriptions of institutional inequalities dominate. Any discussions of attempts to reduce these inequalities focus on reforms within the existing society. (Another commonly shared way of distinguishing these two groups in mainstream sociology is the "normative" versus the "structural" or "situational" approach.)

Critical theory, the second major tendency in stratification theory and research in sociology, is identified most of all with the work of Karl Marx. Here, the motive force in society is not simply conflict in the abstract, but class conflict between the owners of the means of production and the workers: at least potentially the two major classes in a society such as ours. Concentration is on class

conflict among key social forces, and on internal contradictions which inevitably produce change. Mobility in the current social system is rarely discussed. Since equality is not held possible under existing social arrangements in American society, new ones must emerge.

Within each of these intellectual currents I identify several currently influential theories dealing with women's labor force activity that I stress in this dissertation. In the mainstream literature I focus on two such theoretical perspectives: first Status Attainment theory (Chapter I), which emphasizes the equality between men and women's occupational achievements in American society; secondly, Sex Stratification theory, which emphasizes instead the inequality women are subjected to in the labor market today. This second theory, which I call here the Dual Labor Market theory (Chapter II), comes from the field of economics, but is currently being explored in sociology too.

In the critical literature, I identify three important theories relating to women in the labor force. In different ways, these three theories understand women to be severely disadvantaged in comparison to men, when they enter the labor market. First is the work of Marx himself and contemporary Marxist theorists of Monopoly Capital (Chapter III). Theirs provides the necessary tools with which to understand the nature of class conflict in a certain type of social and economic system: monopoly capitalism. Most important, I show how their analysis explains how the nature of work and the types of jobs created by twentieth century monopoly capitalism forcefully affect the ways in which women

have been incorporated into the labor market in severely disadvantaged occupational positions.

Two tendencies among Marxists who are also feminists focus not only on women's disadvantaged position in the market, but also on their disadvantaged position in the home and how the two are intimately interrelated. For all Marxist Feminists, both sex conflict and class conflict become overriding concerns. Making a key distinction between these two groups, I elaborate on the Early Marxist Feminists (Chapter IV) and the Dialectical Marxist Feminists (Chapter V), by exploring differences in their emphases on sex conflict and class conflict as causal in explaining women's severely disadvantaged position in the labor market.

In Chapter VI I summarize the contributions to my own analysis of each theoretical perspective and tendency outlined in the previous five chapters. My summary is oriented toward seeing certain building blocks each theoretical approach provides to help me to explain what happens to women in the contemporary American labor market. I conclude that it is not possible to understand what happens to women in the labor market only by analyzing what happens to them in that sphere of existence. Any attempt to understand a woman's position in the labor market must relate that to her position in the home. Such an analysis, moreover, requires an understanding of the social forces of class conflict and sex conflict as they relate to one another in both the home and the market. Hence, I stress the totality of women's experiences--in the home, in the market, in society in general--as created by the interacting forces of class conflict and sex conflict (or of capitalism

and patriarchy). This stress on totality, I hold throughout, is absolutely necessary if we are to understand women's position in the labor market today.

Finally, in Chapter VII I construct the concept of the relations of reciprocal reinforcement out of certain features of these different theoretical building blocks. I then use this analytic tool to help explain women's disadvantaged position in the labor market, taking into account women's steadily increasing participation in the 1970s.

From this analysis, new questions emerge. Through these emergent issues, I provide five examples of the kind of investigation this dissertation suggests is necessary to transcend currently available frameworks to gain a more complex view of women's work. One such commonly held idea, for instance, is that patriarchy is diminishing in the contemporary home. Within the perspective of the relations of reciprocal reinforcement, however, we must also investigate how these patriarchal relations have been transformed and intensified within the labor market.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is a product of individual life experience growing out of and contributing to a certain historical moment. After completing my master's degree in 1967, I did not return to graduate school for another seven years. The difference in feminist consciousness on university campuses between the mid-1960s and early 1970s was incredible. In the 1970s, not only was I able to pursue some coursework on women in American society, but I even was able to take courses from a few women professors. This had never happened to me in my earlier graduate (and undergraduate) education. Moreover, a whole body of feminist theory was beginning to develop which challenged many of the assumptions I, like my professors and colleagues earlier, had taken for granted. Most importantly for me, this was true within all varieties of sociological thought.

Without the women's movement, this dissertation would not have been written. I was fortunate enough to have been able to grow intellectually during this rich period of theoretical development, and most importantly, to be able to pursue a dissertation which has a great deal of meaning for myself and others.

There are many people to thank for this opportunity. But most important is my adviser, Dr. George Fischer. With his encouragement, support and challenge, I moved from doing a conventional dissertation to doing a new and challenging theoretical analysis and critique. He always knew just when to ease up or to urge me to develop an idea not

yet clarified or only "half-baked." His dedication to his graduate students and his willingness to struggle over ideas were invaluable for anyone working with him. For his ability and willingness to see the worth of much of what I was doing, sometimes before I did, I am deeply grateful. The other two members of my committee, Dr. Betty Yorburg and Dr. Stephen Steinberg, likewise were most supportive in my move to a more critical and theoretical perspective. They offered stimulating and valuable comments. To all three I am most appreciative for the challenge they allowed me to pursue.

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through these many years of graduate school, I am forever grateful.

This dissertation is dedicated to my father,
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CHAPTER I

STATUS ATTAINMENT THEORY

I. Introduction

An upsurge of concern in the 1970s about women's employment in the labor market is as prevalent in sociology as elsewhere in the society.

Until recently, however, sociology tended to segregate women off into the institution of the family, as did the rest of society. Women were all but forgotten in mainstream sociology--especially as active participants in occupational and organizational life.¹

As a rule, sociology is still broken down into specialty areas which represent the different institutions of society. An overriding goal of sociology is to then put these institutions all together again--to understand how they each influence one another. In practice, the sociology of the family is a specialty that is analyzed as an institution unto itself. So are the sociology of organizations, political sociology, race and ethnic relations, sociology of education, social stratification, and the sociology of work.

Unlike all the other institutions studied by sociologists, however, "no matter how central the family is considered to be--and

¹Acker (1973) and Hoffman (1972) document this for stratification and achievement research respectively, while Bart (1971) and Dorothy Smith (1975) do so for sociology in general. A recent collection of essays on feminist perspectives in the social sciences addresses the failure of sociology to adequately deal with the female half of the population in such specialties as social change, deviance, culture, medical and urban sociology, and so on (Millman and Kanter, eds., 1975).

family sociologists usually see it as the basic unit in society--, it is nonetheless marginal to society" (Glazer, 1975, p. 43). That is, it lies outside the social, political and economic networks that are considered to be the mainstream of life. It is outside the arenas of prestige, power, and decision-making control for the society. All the same, as noted, it is in this sphere that women are most likely to be studied.

The separation of family from work in our society is reflected in the separate specialties of family sociology and occupational sociology¹ too. The occupational literature until recently generally excluded women, assuming that their major adult responsibility lay with their families-- which it clearly was and is. Today, however, despite all earlier emphases in the mass media as well as professional sociology, major responsibilities for many women are both at home and at "work."

Under the influence of the women's movement in the 1960s, a range of feminist sociologists criticized mainstream sociology for its exclusion of women as subjects worthy of investigation, most particularly in the area of occupational status attainment.

Status Attainment research has been concerned particularly with studies of occupational choice and social mobility. In both cases, researchers attempt to look for the factors that influence people's occupational achievement. Researchers have moved away from the more static approach of studying occupational choice to a more process approach

¹The world of "work" has typically been studied by sociology in the specialties of occupations and professions, organizations, and social stratification.

in terms of how these occupational statuses were attained. Likewise, they have moved away from societal-level processes toward exploring more individual-level processes. Two of the most widely recognized models in Status Attainment research are those offered by Otis Dudley Duncan (1966) and Peter Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan (1967) and by William Sewell and Archibald Haller (1965, 1969, known as the "Wisconsin Model"). Thus, as one set of researchers conclude, "Status attainment research represents the search for intervening influence between the success of parents and their offspring" (Falk and Cosby, 1975, p. 308).

In short, the Status Attainment approach does not ask questions about the structure of occupations and the nature of work itself. Rather, it addresses itself to the questions of how people find their ways into the different occupations available at any one point in time (or over time in comparison to their fathers in particular), and what factors were most influential in this process. Moreover, this research was originated for and applied to male populations.

Recognition of more and more women in the labor force prompted investigations of women's participation in the labor market. I identify two very particular ways in which these studies have been carried out. On the one hand, studies which deal with the occupational status attainment process as experienced by women in the social mobility literature ignore or refer in passing to women's position in the home as a "problem" for such an analysis, but one that cannot be handled by the data. These studies investigate the intergenerational mobility of daughters with their parents (mainly fathers) and look primarily at women active in the labor market itself. In my discussion of the literature below, I shall focus particularly on this area of research.

On the other hand, feminist concern with the impact of women's "traditional home responsibilities" on their employment experiences has prompted a whole series of new investigations. The overriding goal here is to include variables that help explain women's labor market position through marital and fertility plans (Martin, 1971), career contingency plans (Almquist and Angrist, 1975), childbirth experiences and demographic trends (Presser, 1975), work histories in the labor market (Rosenfeld, 1976; Wolf, 1976), husbands' attitudes toward wife's employment (Weill, 1971), and role conflict engendered by women's dual commitments to home and market (Holmstrom, 1973; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971). A study of proximate and distal variables (current and earlier home influence variables) has also been done in England (Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971). These studies, and others like them, have provided a rich source of data and are numerous in the literature today.

Rachel Rosenfeld (1976) states the overriding position of many researchers in this second perspective.

Women and men differ in their patterns of work. Primarily because of their role as worker within the home, women are employed intermittently over their work lives, while men are generally continuously employed. Until the effect of this difference on rewards received in the occupational structure is taken into account, it will be very difficult to understand the occupational achievements of women as compared with men (pp. 5-6).

Most importantly from this feminist perspective within mainstream sociology, such models would allow for special contingencies related to women's occupational choices and status attainment, thereby making possible a more accurate picture of women's occupational achievements. As William Falk and Arthur Cosby (1975) state:

When we consider current attainment modeling, . . . it is apparent that few special considerations for women have been adequately dealt with. Although parsimony is theoretically desirable,

researchers interested in the status attainment process for women seem doomed to be frustrated by the failure to consider sex-related limitations. . . . This comment is not meant as just sage prophecy. Our whole thesis is that there are certain contingencies in choosing and attaining an occupation which are unique to females. In the status attainment literature, the validity of this position is just now being subjected to empirical testing (p. 311).

If women are hampered in their occupational careers by home responsibilities, so the argument goes, we must account for this by including relevant variables--or control for this by factoring out these relevant or "confounding" influences where necessary.

Investigating women's unique career histories is of no limited importance. Describing the reality of women's daily work commitments both inside and outside the home--a major contribution of recent researchers on Status Attainment--has already clarified many myths about women's aspirations and behaviors in our society. Future research will hopefully do even more to explain women's double burden as they increasingly work in both the home and the market.

However, most of the feminists within the Status Attainment school do not get at the underlying problems: the construction in the first place of women's responsibility for the devalued sphere of the home, and men's for the more highly valued social world outside the home. Moreover, they do not (and cannot, as I see it, in such a perspective) adequately take into account the continuing responsibility women have for their work in the home--even as more and more of them become active participants in the labor market. Typically, this is how one author tries to show that women must now be included in the Status Attainment research in their own right--not simply as an appendage of their husbands:

Previous research concentrated on the role of women as a housewife and mother. Therefore a woman's mobility was primarily determined by the man she would marry. Since it was assumed that a woman played the reactive role when it came to marriage (proposals, etc.) it appeared that women had little control over their future statuses.

These assumptions can no longer be accepted as applicable to the present generation of younger women; particularly to contemporary female adolescents.

The exclusion of females from studies of mobility which results from these past assumptions should no longer be tolerated in studies which offer to generalize about the social mobility of the population as a whole (Goodman, n.d., p. 6).

In the context of both standard and feminist approaches within Status Attainment theory, the remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. First, I will discuss relevant findings in the literature on Status Attainment, findings that describe women's position in the contemporary labor market. I will look at both the influence of fathers' and then mothers' occupations on those of their daughters. Second I will look at one of the important contributions of this school of thought: its focus on sex roles and the socialization process as it relates to women's experiences in the labor market. Finally, I present a critique of Status Attainment theory.

II. Relevant Findings in the Literature on Status Attainment

One of the main ways that Status Attainment theory looks at achievement in American society is to study intergenerational social mobility between parent and child. Social mobility is supposed to measure the extent to which the social system is open or rigid. Occupational mobility is most frequently studied, although education, income, general prestige, and socioeconomic status are also sometimes explored.

In whatever way one chooses to study social mobility, the history of males--of the father's influence on the son's status in the labor force--has been the most frequently and seriously investigated. Early studies (Sorokin, 1927; Glass, 1954; Rogoff (Ramsøy), 1953; Lipset and Bendix, 1959), pioneering methodological studies (Blau and Duncan, 1967), and the most recent studies (Duncan, Featherman and Duncan, 1972; Sewell and Hauser, 1972, 1975; Hauser and Featherman, 1973; Ornstein (1976) continue this trend. We find the most current journals of the 1970s filled with references to social mobility of males only, and with measures of parental origins (usually father's "social class" or "socioeconomic status") which totally eliminate mother's influence.

The main exception to such a pattern in mainstream sociology lies in small-scale studies using unsophisticated methods and limited samples where the influences of both mothers and fathers on son's mobility aspirations and behavior are investigated (Cohen, n.d.; Krauss, 1964; Guttmacher, 1971, n.d.; Zena Smith Blau, 1972; Komarovsky, 1967; McClelland, 1961).

The early landmark study in Status Attainment research, which assesses influences on son's status achievement, is by Blau and Duncan (1967; see also Duncan, 1966). More recent attempts at establishing a model to understand the status attainment process are provided by Sewell and Haller in what has come to be known the "Wisconsin Model" (Sewell, Haller, and Portes, 1969; Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf, 1970; Sewell and Hauser, 1972; Haller and Portes, 1973). Blau and Duncan were particularly interested in a model that could predict the relationship between son's occupational status and that of his father's. Thus,

for Blau and Duncan, father's occupational status is an ascribed status which became an "origin status" for his offspring. Using this reconceptualization, a model was created to move the researcher away from the traditional social mobility table and toward regression and eventually path analysis.

For Sewell and Haller, status attainment is treated in a three-phase causal model. Relatively fixed contextual variables, like parental socioeconomic status and intelligence, are said to exert influences on offspring's attainment. These influences are mediated by social psychological variables like academic performance, educational and occupational aspirations, and significant others. In short,

according to the status attainment approach it is not simply that parents' statuses are transmitted to their children but rather the transmission occurs because they influence their offspring to achieve higher levels of academic performance in school and experience more influence from significant others, which in turn operate to develop higher levels of educational and occupational attitudes which then directly affect attainment (Falk and Cosby, 1975, p. 308).

Recently, the approach of looking at the influence of male socioeconomic variables on occupational achievement has been extended from sons to daughters. Even though mother's employment status, occupation and related features have not yet been systematically included in these large scale studies, they are beginning to be seen as important.¹

These studies begin by looking only at father's social status influence on daughters; and then sometimes add some features of mother's influence. Moreover, they do not always look at the women's (i.e.,

¹Acker (1973) discusses problems of concept and method which arise in analyzing social stratification when women are assumed to be significant participants in society.

daughter's) own labor force and income attainment with regard to mobility. Thus, in the large scale studies which use sophisticated research techniques (in the tradition of the studies either copying men's mobility as above or comparing men and women in some form of national data), the first area of women's mobility to be studied was in terms of her marriage. That is, researchers looked at women's intergenerational mobility from their father's occupational status to that of their husband's (Zick Rubin, 1968; Elder, 1969; Glenn, et al., 1974; Chase, 1975).

Two of these studies (Glenn, et al., 1974; Chase, 1975) compare women's mobility through marriage with men's mobility through occupational attainment. They find that contrary to what has been believed, there is no pronounced tendency for women to "marry up" in our society. And women are no more likely to move into a higher social stratum through marriage than men are able to do through their occupational attainment. In fact, much downward mobility occurs for women: they are more likely to move downward (from a white collar father to a blue collar husband) across the white collar/blue collar line than are men (when father's and son's occupations are compared).

Only in the 1970s did it become generally acceptable to study women's own occupational mobility (DeJong, et al., 1971; Rogoff (Ramsóy), 1973; Havens and Tully, 1972; Tyree and Treas, 1974; Treiman and Terrell, 1975; McClendon, 1976; Featherman and Hauser, 1976).¹

¹It is true that the issue of female employment was recognized earlier, so that in 1957 two reports on this topic came out: National Manpower Council's Womanpower and Smuts' Women and Work in America. However, as Astin (1971) documents in her excellent annotated bibliography on women and work, of the 350 abstracts included, all but sixteen were

These studies are a real breakthrough for investigating the attainments of women--in addition to those of men.

These studies generally find, first, that while social class origins (mostly as measured by father's socioeconomic variables) do influence daughter's occupational attainment, a woman's socioeconomic origins are found to be less important than her own educational achievement. This is a similar process to the one that is said to occur for men. Secondly, they support the idea of equal rewards for equal input into the labor market through one's education. Thus, they conclude that men and women with the same educational requirements achieve the same occupational status in the labor market.

The earliest of these studies on women's occupational status attainment and the one generating the most methodological and theoretical work after it was done by Peter DeJong, et al., in 1970. It compares the occupational mobility of both men and women ever in the labor market.¹ The origin status of both males and females was said to be the occupational status of the respondent's father; the destination status of both males and females was said to be their own current or latest occupational status. This study found similar intergenerational

published after 1960 and 124 out of 350 were published in 1970-1971. (See Wartenberg, n.d., for updated analysis of married women in the labor force.) The greatest increase noted by Astin is in the category "Determinants of Women's Career Choice." Here, three times more studies were generated in 1967-1971 than had appeared in the preceding years.

¹National data comparing men and women were not available at the time of this study. Therefore, DeJong, et al., used the 1962 Occupational Changes in a Generation (OCG) data for males--from the study by Duncan and Blau on men; and six National Opinion Research Center (NORC) nationwide surveys conducted between 1955 and 1965 for the data on females. The studies of this sort, though utilizing a variety of different data, all attempt to use national data. Moreover, they all try to compare men and women in the same study.

mobility patterns existing for both males and females. Both sexes experienced considerable amounts of occupational inheritance, upward mobility and short distance mobility. "No major differences" were said to exist in "the patterns for males and females, and generalizations about occupational mobility which have been made for males" were said to "apply to females" (DeJong, et al., 1970, p. 1040).¹

In their study of men's and women's occupational status attainment, Donald Treiman and Kermit Terrell (1975)² concluded that "when it comes to occupational status, taken as an attribute sui generis, women fare about as well as men" (p. 182). Nor do women have to present higher qualifications for a job. In short, women secure jobs as prestigious as men, and on the same basis--superior educational qualifications. They do add, however, that women do not get the same wages for their occupational achievements.

McKee McClendon (1976) improved on the DeJong et al. study, by using more comparable data on men and women in the labor force. Not only was McClendon able to look at more recent data (General Social Survey studies of 1972, 1973, and 1974), but he was also able to

¹The only study since DeJong et al. to disagree with these findings is that of Tyree and Treas (1974). They utilized the same data as DeJong et al. They concluded that the occupational mobility of women is found to be less similar to mobility patterns of men than is women's marital mobility. Thus, similar patterns were found to govern movement of both men and women from their paternal occupational origins to the occupational status of the male head of their families of procreation (the men themselves or the husbands' of the female respondents).

²Treiman and Terrell compared single and married women, thirty to forty-four years old who were employed in 1967. They utilized the Parnes data for the women. For the men, they too used the Duncan and Blau, 1962 OCG data; but only the men aged thirty to forty-four years old. (For reference to the Parnes data, see Shea et al., 1970; for Duncan and Blau data, see Blau and Duncan, 1967.)

include both single and married respondents of both sexes. Again, his findings support those of DeJong et al. and Treiman and Terrell: Not only is the occupational status attainment of white males and females similar, but education is the most important factor for allocating men and women into their occupational status hierarchies. What McClendon adds, however, is that "the similar status hierarchies for men and women are built on quite dissimilar occupational structures." McClendon views this "awkward status parity" as an "integral part of a pervasive inequality of sex roles, albeit a highly paternalistic aspect" (p. 63). Thus, he says, women are found in the occupational structures of their status hierarchies because of society's protection of the "weaker sex" from "dirty" and strenuous male blue collar jobs. This paternalism, as the author calls it, increases the occupational status of women relative to men to allow them equal status in their occupational hierarchies. In short, it is in large part the fact that men and women are socialized differently--men for "dirty" hard labor in blue collar jobs and women for "clean," less strenuous white collar jobs--that is said to lead to such results.

Again, in a study of the occupational experiences of college graduates in 1968, Joe Spaeth (1975)¹ finds that there are no differences in occupational levels attained by sex. However, he does find differences in dispersions around the mean for occupational levels by sex. He interprets this to mean that the reason for the differences in dispersion is that women arrived at college with more restricted occupational aspirations. Therefore, sex role socialization and channeling earlier,

¹Spaeth's analysis utilized the National Opinion Research Center national sample of 1961 college graduates, reinterviewed several times between 1961 and 1968.

not sex discrimination while in college, determined the women's different specific occupational choices and experiences.

Finally, in 1976, David Featherman and Robert Hauser reported on the changes in educational and occupational opportunity for men and women "pre-" and "post-" women's movement. They studied a sample of married men and married women who were in the labor force through two separate Occupational Changes in a Generation studies: one in 1962 and one in 1973. Again, despite certain differences and changes over time, they concluded that in general, equality of educational and occupational opportunity existed in 1973 for men and women, as it did in 1962. Moreover, the process remains much the same: education is the most important criteria for occupational status attainment. They do however, report the dissimilarity in earnings between men and women is quite substantial. While 85 per cent of this discrepancy is said to be due to discrimination (p. 480), Featherman and Hauser end their analysis by concluding that the "nation is moving toward a meritocratic, 'post industrial' era (e.g. Bell, 1973) in which technical skills and formal education are prerequisite to advancement in the economic system."

Most important, they say, the increased socioeconomic returns to schooling for both men and women have accompanied decreases in the importance of socioeconomic origins "on occupational status and earnings, a pattern consistent with the notion that change is in the direction of the 'meritocracy.'" Moreover, they provisionally conclude--for men only, but not for women--that "the relative bearing of education versus family factors has shifted more toward 'universalism,' while the allocative processes themselves are, in the main, no more deterministic than in the last decade" (p. 481).

Moving from the influence of fathers on daughters to the influence of mothers on daughters' occupations in national surveys of the literature is even more limited. In the past, if mother was brought in to the picture at all, it was usually as part of the overall socioeconomic index, and in particular in terms of her education. This fits well with two beliefs: (a) that mother's place is in the home where critical early socialization experiences occur; and (b) that education is related to values; and mother's values are important in the socialization for achievement of her sons and daughters. The influence of mother's own occupational achievement has been a typically neglected area of research for both women and men in the past. Currently, though, this is an area of considerable investigation amongst feminists in the literature on Status Attainment.¹

I am aware of only two large-scale, national studies that evaluate the influence of mother's own occupational status on daughter's status attainment: one is an unpublished paper by Jessica Pearson (1976);² the other, by Rachel Rosenfeld³ was just published in 1978. Their analyses of black and white women both demonstrate that traditional measures of female social mobility (where father's occupation is used

¹The influence of mother's occupation on daughter's occupation is just now being investigated in large-scale studies. It is still not the pattern to deal with this in sophisticated methodological studies on men's occupations.

²Pearson's data on black and white men and women comes from a questionnaire administered by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights by the NORC in 1966 under Robert Crain. Data is on occupational status of respondent in 1966.

³Rosenfeld uses the Parnes data on black and white women, thirty to forty-four years old. Her sample comes from women from families with two parents (or stepparents) working outside the home when respondent was fifteen years old. Respondents were themselves in a civilian occupation at some time before being interviewed in 1967.

as the base comparison with daughter's occupation or that of her husband) "understates the degree of occupational inheritance and constraint experienced by the female population in the United States."

Pearson continues that when the occupational status of a woman is compared with that of her mother instead of her father,

the female mobility picture changes strikingly. For both races, mother's occupational status was clearly influential in the determination of her daughters' occupational destination. The influence of mothers on daughters is shown to generally exceed the influence of fathers on daughters and fathers on daughter's spouses; and in the case of blacks it is shown to exceed the influence of fathers on sons (p. 30).

In Rosenfeld's study, when mothers were full-time housewives, father's occupations contributed the most to explaining the distribution of daughters across occupational categories. But, when mothers held jobs outside the home, she found that the "distribution of these mothers over occupational categories contributes more to predicting the occupational distribution of the daughters than does the fathers' distributions" (p. 44). Further calculations suggested a somewhat greater inheritance of the daughter's occupation from the mother than from the father. This was especially true of clerical/sales and farm occupations. Moreover, there was a greater association between professional and clerical/sales occupations for mothers and daughters than for fathers and daughters.

The findings of stronger mother-daughter than father-daughter occupational inheritance patterns are explained by several possibilities by these two authors: labor force patterns, role model effects--including occupational knowledge--, and additional financial resources offered by the employed mother. In the first case, because most daughters tend to enter typically "female" occupations, Pearson suggests that daughters

who work tend to perpetuate the status attainments of their mothers rather than their fathers. These kinds of inheritance patterns would not necessarily be reflected in daughters' husbands' occupations or in the occupational mobility measures involving fathers' occupational statuses.

With regard to role modelling effects, "working mothers" have been found to transmit as positive an attitude toward working to their daughters as do fathers to sons. If this is the case, suggests Pearson, then the connections between daughter's occupational destination position and her origin position measured from her mother's occupation "should not be too surprising."

In contrast to the meager attention paid to mothers' own employment characteristics as they influence daughters' occupational attainments in national studies of intergenerational mobility, a large number of small studies¹ on unique samples of college-educated women see this as an important issue. This research emphasizes role modelling or reference group and socialization theory. How mothers' own careers and occupational experiences influence daughters' career versus homemaker orientation and "male" versus "female" occupational interests is very often part of the research. In fact, the issue of mother being employed or not became a popular topic in the 1960s. (Early bibliographies and reviews are those of Hoffman and Nye, 1963; Siegal and Curtis, 1963. An updated review of the literature can be found in Hoffman and Nye, 1974; and Hoffman, 1976.)

¹Numbers tend to range between fifty and 200 respondents.

One author, Constantina Saffilios-Rothschild (1970), suggests this popularity was due most especially to two factors in sociology. First, the fact that employment of married women generally and mothers of young children specifically became a "controversial" subject for traditional family sociology as well as a matter of personal relevance for female family sociologists. The former were concerned with disorganizing influences of wife's and mother's work on the family. The latter seemed motivated to disprove the existence of such disorganizing effects or to establish the neutral or beneficial effects of married women's labor force participation. Of course, this was the period of increasing female and maternal labor force demand. (See Chapter II.)

The second reason suggested by Saffilios-Rothschild is that Blood and Wolfe's (1960) influential "resources theory" of power structure made the employment of women a "sine qua non variable since it constitutes an important resource of the wife" (Saffilios-Rothschild, 1970, p. 681). Moreover, this research has led to an examination of women's employment status mostly in terms of (1) effect of wives' employment on relative decision-making power between husbands and wives; (2) role conflict engendered by women's dual roles of homemaker and market worker; (3) the division of labor in the home; and (4) degree of marital satisfaction. As Saffilios-Rothschild concludes: "Few studies have dealt with other influences of the wife's working status upon the husband-wife or the parent-child relationship."

What is so interesting is that despite the limited research on female employment in mainstream sociology, much of what was done in the past fifteen to twenty years or so has focussed on one question: what

effect will the employed woman have on her children and her husband? The controversy over the "working mother" and "role conflict" she experiences certainly has generated a considerable amount of research interest in contemporary sociology.

Since the 1960s most studies have found that mother's employment status (i.e., whether she was primarily a homemaker or employed) is related to the career orientation of college-educated daughters. The employed mother is more likely than the homemaker mother to have a daughter who plans to incorporate employment in her own adult life. The homemaker mother is more likely to have a daughter whose primary identification is likewise to be a homemaker. (See Siegal and Curtis, 1963; Cook, 1967; Lovett, 1969; Almquist and Angrist, 1971, 1975; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; Veres, 1974; Astin, 1971; Bernard, 1975; Angela Lane, 1974; Altman and Kaplan-Grossman, 1977.) Grace Baruch (1972), however, finds no such impact; likewise, Jean Lipman-Blumen and Patricia Thompson (1976).

The effect of having an employed or homemaker mother on daughter's choice of traditional or nontraditional occupation that is "male" or "female" dominated is less clear. A number of researchers find that maternal employment predisposes daughters toward higher status occupational choice (Almquist and Angrist, 1971; Tangri, 1972; Marsden, 1976; Astin, 1971 re psychologists). On the other hand, mother's employment status is not found to be related to daughter's choice of "male" or "female" occupations in an equally large number of studies (Levine, 1968; Trigg and Perlman, 1976; Tannis, 1972; Klecka and Hiller, 1975; Klemmack and Edwards, 1973; Veres, 1974).

Furthermore, the homogeneity of the samples usually precludes any conclusions about the influence of socioeconomic origins and other background factors influencing the relationship between mother's employment status and daughter's career and occupational choice. When socioeconomic origins are studied, results are conflicting (Lipman-Blumen and Thompson, 1976; Thompson, et al., 1976; Sokoloff, in progress; Tangri, 1971).

Finally, the consideration of whether mother's employment status is more or less important than her own educational and occupational achievements has produced a wide variety of results. For example, Elizabeth Almquist and Shirley Angrist (1971, 1975), as well as Jessie Bernard (1975) find that mother's employment or not is the only important background characteristic among many that differentiates "career salient" from homemaker-oriented daughters. On the other hand, Adele Levine (1968) finds that mother's education is more important than whether she works or not, as well as socioeconomic origin as measured by father's occupation. However, Levine also finds that mother's occupation is more important than whether mother was employed or not in daughter's decision to do graduate study in a male-dominated or female-dominated profession. Linda Trigg and Daniel Perlman (1976), on the other hand, suggest mother's attitude toward work is more important than her work status, and Lorna Marsden (1976) reports that mother's work status is more important than her occupation.

In short, the controversy continues unabated as to the relative impact of both mother's own achievements, her employment status and occupation on daughter's careers and occupations in these numerous

small-scale studies. Moreover, in these studies, the question of the influence of mothers' employment and homemaking experiences on daughters' careers never asks such questions as how this is related to the demands of the society for female employment. I will return to this issue in later chapters.

In concluding this section on the review of the mainstream literature, let me review the findings. First, a survey of all the main large-scale studies of occupational status attainment comparing men and women leads to virtually the same findings. Socioeconomic status of father does influence the occupational attainment of daughters, but less so than her own educational achievement. This process is virtually identical for men and women in the labor force. Secondly, when mother's influence is measured in relation to father's, in national intergenerational mobility studies, the results are dramatically altered. Not only is mother's occupational status clearly influential for daughter's occupational status; but the influence of mothers on daughters is shown to exceed the influence of fathers on daughters and even fathers on daughters' spouses. However, these results are based on only two studies. When one looks at the myriad of small-scale studies of the influence of mother's employment or homemaking and occupational status on daughter's career and occupations, results are "mixed" at best, and more frequently simply contradictory.

All the studies mentioned above focus on the factors that influence the process of intergenerational status attainment, not on the structure of the market or of occupations themselves. Nor do any of the national studies focus on the features other than occupational status--the major dependent variable. While a few studies report

differences between men and women on their incomes for the same occupational statuses that they are said to achieve, this is not the major emphasis of these studies.

III. Sex Roles and Socialization

An important feature of the Status Attainment school of thought, both in terms of its underlying assumptions and its major contributions, is the idea of sex role socialization. Thus, as almost all the Status Attainment research reviewed above points out, while men and women achieve similar occupational statuses, they do not work in the exact same jobs.

For example, McClendon suggested that since men and women are socialized differently, they will end up working in different occupations, although not necessarily occupations of different hierarchical prestige. The norms of what is acceptable work for women in the labor market are different than the norms of what is acceptable for men. Such assumptions are being made by most of the other researchers in this tradition also. Thus, characteristics related to sex roles--especially educational aspirations and achievements, but also occupational aspirations and attitudes, attitudes and behaviors toward childbearing and rearing, women's commitment to the labor force, and so on are understood as causal in explaining what happens to women in the market. In fact, to the degree that occupational inequality does exist between men and women, Featherman and Hauser (1976) claim that two-thirds of this discrepancy is due to women being socialized into being housewives and mothers.

Below I want to review briefly the history of sex role research in mainstream sociology as it relates to my topic.

The two most common explanations for sex roles may be classified as biological determinism or cultural determinism. A third explanation, which falls between these two--biosocial perspective--is also prevalent.¹ The one most commonly accepted amongst mainstream feminists in general has been cultural determinism. (See Rossi's comments here, 1977.)

Its overriding assumption is the plasticity of human beings and their responsiveness to normative pressures of their cultures. The reason that men and women act in sex role related ways is based on their different socialization, supported by the organizational structures of the society. This argument is supported particularly by cross-cultural

¹Biological determinism assumes that women must mother--i.e., that there is a biological predisposition for women to take care of children since they bear children and have breasts with which to feed them. The presumed "naturalness" of women's mothering is based on equating biological capacity to mother with social, emotional and physical tasks of childcare. (For an excellent critique of this perspective, see Plotnick, 1973-1974.)

A modification of this approach is the biosocial perspective. It "does not argue that there is a genetic determination of what men can do compared to women; rather it suggests that the biological contributions shape what is learned, and that there are differences in the ease with which the sexes can learn certain things" based on their historically evolved biologies (Rossi, 1977, p. 4). An added feature to this argument, with more apparent credulity, is the developmental needs of children (which Parsons clarified in 1955). According to Glazer, this feature in the biosocial approach sees children

as needing a one-to-one relationship and a small group within which to develop. Women lactate and are therefore the first person to whom children are attached, and the logical ones to stay in the home. This latter modification of the original assumptions about female characteristics is a necessity in the face of the irrelevance of musculature to task performance in an industrialized society, of sophisticated reproductive control and of bottle-feeding for infants (Glazer, 1975, p. 8).

The biosocial approach is, I believe, more common amongst the early mainstream theorists on the family, like Parsons (1949a), Blood and Wolfe (1968).

research which shows that men may be considered "maternal" in their personality and behavior in one society, and just the opposite in another (Mead, 1935). Or, that women may be the primary providers of food and subsistence--the family breadwinner so to speak--in some societies and just the opposite in other societies. (Evidence for this position abounds. For descriptions of such studies, see Blumberg, 1978; Yorburg, 1973; Beneria, 1978.) Research among those who see sex roles as learned through socialization and not innate has been extremely significant in demythologizing the potential and capacities of men and women.¹ I shall refer to several of such studies below. First, however, let me suggest why the earlier biosocial school of theory has been so important. I will look at the most famous proponent of this school, Talcott Parsons.

The notion of sex roles implies a culturally prescribed set of sex-linked traits which differentiate men and women in both personality and behavior. Frequently based on a biosocial idea of sex roles, male and female characteristics and capabilities are assumed to be "different but equal." Men and women are said to have specialized roles which are "complementary" to each other (see Winch, 1963; Parsons, 1949a; Barry, Bacon and Child, 1957), especially as this complementarity is directed toward their primary spheres of existence: men's in the world of "work," women in the home. A good deal of this kind of thinking is exemplified in the work of Talcott Parsons.

¹It is the case, however, that changes in sex role socialization are not sufficient by themselves to render men and women truly equal in society. This, however, is not typically understood by this school of thought. I will return to this point in Chapter VII.

Much of Parsons' (1949a, 1955) ideas about the sex division of labor between husbands and wives comes directly from Emile Durkheim, whose discussion of the origins of the division of labor (that between the sexes simply being one example) is considered by some to be more an ideology than a description of reality. (For a sociology of knowledge on Durkheim and Parsons on the family, see Nona Glazer (Malbin), 1975.)

Durkheim's (1893) analysis of social structure was elaborated by Parsons into a theory of social differentiation. He then applied this theory to family structure through the concept of role differentiation. Task specialization is seen as based on potent biosocial factors. The specialization of tasks between men and women in the family is articulated in the following way: the man is the instrumental-adaptive leader, the woman the expressive-integrative leader. Task specialization is necessary because the same person is said to be unable to fill these roles. It is assumed that instrumental-adaptive behavior generates hostility among group members and hostility is incompatible with expressive-integrative functions. Thus, according to Parsons, women must not work in the labor force or it will threaten their husband's position in the family--conflict would be generated.¹

¹This is even carried through in recent feminist scholarship, which describes the degree to which wife's employment threatens or does not threaten the husband in the family. An example here is the piece by Valerie Kincaide Oppenheimer (1977). Despite her pioneering work on the sex-segregated nature of the labor market which clearly is disadvantageous to women (see Chapter II below), Oppenheimer studies the degree to which women threaten husbands when they are employed and how status inconsistency matters in this situation. Although all the while testing hypotheses about the disruption of wife's employment for husbands, using Parsons' assumptions as the basis from which she tests her arguments, whether wives' occupational

The most recent translation of this approach is that if they are employed, women must work at jobs which will not threaten their husbands' stability and security.

To the degree that Parsons' observations capture the reality of what we expect from men and women--to that degree it is important to recognize the value of his analysis. Unfortunately, however, it has been used as the basis for further research--or a mechanism for interpreting family behavior--without clarifying in any way that sex roles, as defined by Parsons, is no more than an ideal of what is desirable in a particular type of society at a certain phase of development.

In contradistinction to Parsons, recent feminist scholarship of the 1970s has focussed on trying to elucidate the importance of sex role socialization for the development of women's and men's capabilities in carrying out the tasks of our society. They document a set of sex role stereotypes that people believe reflect male and female capabilities. Moreover, they identify the greater value attributed to male-identified characteristics in our society and the inferior value attributed to female-identified characteristics (Broverman, et al., 1972, see below; Hartnett, 1977; Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974).

As one such writer argues: a sex role system is a belief system whose main components comprise (1) assignment of personality traits on

behavior is disruptive or not (whether Parsons was right or not) is important re: demystification. However, I would rush to add, this is not the issue. The issue, instead, is to question the underlying reason why it should be tolerated that we consider wife's behavior as disruptive to husbands. Why is the question hardly ever asked in the opposite manner: how husband's employment is disruptive to women?

the basis of sex, (2) division of labor on the basis of sex, when sex per se has nothing to do with work requirements, and (3) the investing of the male with a higher value than the female (Hartnett, 1977).

Clearly, in our society, men and women are expected to think and act in ways that are substantially different from each other. Moreover, they show that pervasive and persistent sex role stereotypes are found to exist among people from a wide variety of backgrounds. This study has been replicated numerous times. Both men and women expect men to be more competent, instrumental, assertive, competitive, objective, and dominant. Women, on the other hand, are supposed to be more tender, expressive, emotional and gentle, as well as manipulative and noncompetent outside domestic and nurturant situations. This type of stereotypical belief system of sex roles is documented in a classic study by Inge Broverman, et al. (1972).

Whether because of culture or biology, women are expected to be better able to handle small children. Even among college men who want their future wives to be educated, competent and equal, they still expect their wives to do (or supervise) the early childcare (Yorburg and Arafat, n.d.). Even when women are employed outside the home, the number of hours of work men are expected to do in the home--and what they actually contribute--does not increase very much. Joseph Pleck (1977) and Joanne Vanek (1974) are only two of the numerous recent studies to document these phenomena.

More to the point with regard to work in the labor force per se, however, several studies on women in business enterprises show that women are perceived as inferior, less competent, less dependable than men (Phillip Goldberg, 1974; Oleary, 1974; Feldman-Summers and Kiesler, 1974),

and incapable of maintaining their authority in supervisory positions (Bass et al., 1971; Hunt, 1975). Thus, for example, Phillip Goldberg's classic study on perceptual bias indicates how the same intellectual material is perceived as less valued and less competent if done by a woman in comparison to when done by a man. Kay Deaux and Tim Emswiller (1974) demonstrate that successful males are perceived as skillful, but successful females as "lucky." And Janet Spence and Robert Helmreich's (1972) controlled video-tape study of "Who likes competent women?" demonstrates that men have great difficulty in acknowledging competence in women even when they see it.

All these stereotypes exist, despite the evidence to the contrary. For example, all the controlled studies just mentioned used men and women of equal competence, ability, and/or performance. This is confirmed by the work of Kanter (1975a), Hartnett (1977) and Poll (1978).

Thus, careful comparisons and reviews of long-standing beliefs about sex differences have not been taken as given by feminist scholars in mainstream sociology, but have been challenged on the basis of careful empirical investigation of actual sex differences. The empirical research invalidates much of what we believe to be "the facts."

This holds true especially when we look at the vast expanse of social psychological testing and research on ability, motivation and personality. In terms of the presumed basis for the capabilities of people acting in certain sex roles,¹ we find much more overlap than differences between men and women.

¹In addition to the previous references, a good example of similar capabilities which end up in different behaviors is seen in a

In one of the most complete reviews of the social and psychological literature on intellectual performance and social behaviors thought to be differentiated by sex--such as dominance and passivity--Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) summarize the findings of over two thousand articles and books. The bulk of the studies evaluated by them covered white middle class American children and young adults. However, when comparisons with cross-cultural materials are made (see Oakley, 1972; Blumberg, 1978), the variability in sex role behavior is heightened even further.

The findings from Maccoby and Jacklin are as follows: No reliable established differences were found between males and females in sociability or social orientation, suggestibility, self-esteem,¹ role-learning ability, cognitive and analytic ability, visual and auditory ability, or achievement motivation. This is counter to a widespread stereotype about women's greater susceptibility to social influence (or need for affiliation), greater irrationality, and lower motivation for achievement in comparison to men. In addition, sex

recent study by Newson, *et al.* (1977). Mothers report boys and girls equally as likely to be "good with their hands." Behaviorally, though, girls do not get into doing carpentry or metal work and boys do not get into sewing or needlework. See also Deckard reference to women who are "good with their hands" for sewing and sorting, but not "good with their hands" to be surgeons (1975).

¹Maccoby and Jacklin claim that girls do not have lower self esteem than boys. However, my reading of their evidence does not support such a conclusion. The findings are more ambiguous. It is true that the overall self esteem is the same for boys and girls--with girls rating themselves higher in social competence and boys on measures of strength, power, dominance and potency. However, in college, the few studies mentioned find men have a greater sense of control over their own fate than do women, and a greater confidence in probable performance on school-related activities. These differences show up in college, but the data is very limited.

differences in anxiety, level of activity, timidity, competitiveness, dominance, compliance and nurturance are unsubstantiated. The evidence is either too limited, or at best, ambiguous.

Only four differences between males and females are fairly well established according to Maccoby and Jacklin: on the average, girls are more likely to excel in verbal ability, boys are more likely to excel in visual spatial and math ability as well as to be more aggressive.¹ However, even these findings are conditional. Boys and girls are similar in verbal, visual spatial and math ability up until at least eleven years of age. Moreover, differences on these four measures were small in general.

In sum, an important contribution of mainstream sociology--and in particular, recent feminist research in this area--has dealt with sex role stereotyping and the potency of socializing children to accept certain sex role requirements despite the evidence that such requirements are not biologically or inherently necessary. Where equality has not already occurred, the Status Attainment literature sees this as the main realm in which change in the home and market is possible.

The mainstream notion of males and females playing different roles carries with it, however, several problematic assumptions:

First, even where differences do exist, mainstream sociologists tend to underemphasize the greater similarities than differences between men and women. Average differences, on which most measures of men and

¹The findings on aggression by Maccoby and Jacklin are also open to different interpretation than they suggest.

women are based, typically distort the wide range that exists for both men and women, and thus the incredible overlap in capabilities and performance between the two sexes on most traits.

Second, a whole range of human aspirations and behaviors that are statistically differentiated on tests of men and women are defined as phenomena related to sex roles. Moreover, social or cultural gender is frequently confused with biological sex. Finally, even where it might be appropriate to acknowledge gender-linked traits, little or no distinction is made with regard to the importance of different types of phenomena: the work women do and the ideology surrounding it are not differentiated from a series of other less central so-called sex-linked traits (clothing style, speech patterns, etc.). In short, "sex role" terminology is frequently used unreflectively. (See Lopata and Thorne, 1978 for a review of these and other criticisms.)

Third, much of the sex role literature is not only a description of existing roles for men and women, but frequently ends up being a prescription of how people should behave--even though sometimes quite unintentionally.

IV. A Critique of Status Attainment Theory

In this closing section of Chapter I, I shall question the underlying assumptions made by these researchers with regard to women's behavior in the labor market by asking the following question: how does Status Attainment theory explain women's participation in the labor force today?

Status Attainment theory depends on the Weberian concept of social status. This concept ranks all occupations in relation to one another on the basis of culturally valued criteria. It assumes that a single labor market exists in which men and women from the same and different backgrounds compete with one another for the available jobs. This competition grows out of the productivity characteristics people bring with them to the existing job structure, primarily their education, training, and sex role socialization. In economics, this approach is more commonly known as the "human capital" school.

The resulting sociological research in this area leads its proponents to conclude that society allocates men and women to the available occupational statuses in the same way, which is primarily through their own educational achievements. Education is more important than social class origins for both men and women. In this way, education is said to "equalize opportunity" for the masses of Americans. One consequence of this approach is that those who do not achieve highly within the confines of the readily available status hierarchies are said to be responsible for their own poor performance--a process now frequently called "blaming the victim."

Max Weber's discussion of class, status, and party has been a major source of reference for mainstream stratification theory.¹ Although Weber was very clear in his distinction between economic class and social status, and their interrelationship (to him, social

¹For a discussion of Weber, his American "followers," and distortions of his theory, see Pease, Form and Huber (Rytina) (1970); Montagna (1977), Chapter 1; and Anderson (1974).

status depended more on economic class than vice-versa), interpretations of his ideas by American sociologists do not share his clear distinction.

In fact, the modification of Weber's ideas by mainstream stratification theorists has led to two overriding problems. (1) On the basis of Weber's theory they have claimed to separate out occupational hierarchies as the single most important measure of social class in contemporary American society. Weber himself did not do this. (2) In addition, mainstream stratification theorists have severed most of the connections Weber made between occupational strata and property classes.

This has had a dual effect. First, it has led to a shift in the focus of analysis from an understanding of property classes to a description of hierarchical strata. Second, it has altered the focus from an analysis of the system of production to a description of consumption patterns and life styles in the American stratification literature.

According to Weber (1947, 1968), the stratification of society was based on three factors: class, status, and power. However, he divided class into three types. Only one, property class, was said to be the core on which society was built. The three types of classes are (1) property classes, made up of the privileged (propertied) and the unprivileged (propertyless)--or "class" in the Marxian sense; (2) acquisition (or occupational) classes, made up again of the positively and negatively privileged, where mobility to other classes through one's occupation was possible; and (3) social classes, personal associations based on the material conditions of property classes.

Thus, the most important element for Weber in measuring class is property, followed by occupation (acquisition class) and only then by prestige (social status). Moreover, property, the economic component, underlies political power as well.

Social status, on the other hand, is of course a measure of prestige only, derived from one's occupation and "style of life." A social stratum is a group of people with the same level of prestige. Often, a property class provides the basis for a social stratum. According to Weber (1968), then,

With some over-simplification, one might say that classes are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas status groups are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special styles of life (p. 937).

Claiming to use Weber as their intellectual mentor (although, as we have seen, sometimes distorting him), a number of mainstream American sociologists have chosen to give Weber's three factors of class, status and party equal weight. In addition, they have given Weber's three types of classes equal weight. However, a distinction between theoretical and empirical analyses in the Weberian tradition must be made here. On the one hand, when class, status, and party are discussed and interrelated on a theoretical level, both property ownership and power relations are said to be important in understanding stratification theory--although not necessarily more important than education, occupational prestige, etc. On the other hand, operational definitions of social classes totally exclude both property ownership and power relations. Instead, hierarchical rankings of income (typically wages

or salaries), education, occupation, or some measure of socioeconomic status (based on income, education and occupation) are typically used. It is within the context of this tradition that occupational prestige measures have emerged during the twentieth century to be seen as definitive measures of both "social class" and "social status" (see Parsons, 1949b; Warner, 1949; Kahl and Davis, 1955; Barber, 1957; Centers, 1959).

The Status Attainment theory assumes a single hierarchy of occupational statuses exist, to be ranked according to their prestige in the community and larger society. Not only are occupations ranked on the basis of how people feel about them, as in the "reputational" method of the National Opinion Research Center scale of occupational ratings. They also can be ranked on the basis of certain attributes such as in the more "objective" method of Duncan's socioeconomic index which incorporates education and income.

From his analysis, Duncan, a pioneer in the development of the Status Attainment model, concluded (1) a high correlation exists between the amount of education and size of income of workers in an occupation with the NORC prestige rating of them; and (2) income and education and occupation are functionally related. This means that education is a cause of occupation while income is an effect of occupation (see Duncan in Reiss, et al., 1961, pp. 116-117). While most studies have dealt with male occupations¹ and continue to do so, recently, we

¹For a history and summary of the NORC study and related studies, see Reiss, et al. (1961). Also see Inkeles and Rossi (1956); Paul Siegal, et al., in progress, as reported in Bose (1973).

see the same approach applied to women (Bose, 1973; Featherman and Hauser, 1976).

In all these studies, socioeconomic origins are found to be less important than education in one's status attainment. This is analagous to the position of orthodox economists' ideas about human capital theory.¹ These findings exist for studies of men only (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Duncan, Featherman and Duncan, 1972; Sewell and Hauser, 1975; Spaeth, 1968, 1970;² Spaeth and Greeley, 1970; Ornstein, 1976), as well as in those where analysis is extended to include women (Featherman and Hauser, 1976; Treiman and Terrell, 1975; McClendon, 1976). Thus, not only is status attainment for men and women similar, but the actual process by which this occurs is said to be virtually the same for men and women.³ This research is summarized by McClendon who says: "first, that the white male and female occupational statuses are very much alike and second, that education is the most important factor for allocating both males and females to positions in the status hierarchies" (1976, p. 63).

Turning to general criticisms of Status Attainment theory, I find six major areas that fail to meet the theoretical needs of a study such as mine. In this context, each of the six areas calls for criticism.

¹See Gordon (1972) for a summary of this and other economic perspectives.

²Further, in 1975, Spaeth, who uses NORC college graduate data, does not explore class differences per se. However, he finds no differences in occupational levels (means) by sex for college graduates.

³This is true when only college graduates are used (Spaeth, 1975) or when the larger labor force is used irrespective of educational level (Treiman and Terrell, 1975).

First, I will raise a set of questions related to the problem that Status Attainment theory elevates occupational status to a special category of importance. After discussing the failure of mainstream stratification theory to distinguish between the concepts of social class and social status, I will specify certain problems inherent in segregating out and focusing on occupational prestige to the exclusion of other occupational features like labor markets and occupational rewards.

In mainstream stratification theory, classes and strata are frequently indistinguishable. They are indiscriminately said to be based on ranked characteristics: occupation, income, education and socioeconomic status being the most familiar. Social class, however, in the way I will use it, is a term that expresses an historical process of expanding capital and is developed from Karl Marx's¹ definition (1867, 1885, 1894).

According to Marx, one's position in the class system is determined by one's relationship to the means of production. On a theoretical level there are essentially two main overriding classes: those who own and control the means of production (the capitalist class or bourgeoisie) and those who are both available and forced to work for wages because they do not own any property--other than their own labor power (the working class or proletariat). On this basis, the interests of the capitalists are fundamentally opposed to the interests of the proletariat. Within each class, distinct strata stand out. This holds true for the occupational strata that Status

¹For an in-depth analysis of Marx's work, see Chapter III.

Attainment theorists overemphasize, as well as for income, education and socioeconomic strata that other mainstream stratification theorists tend to use. The point to be made here is that the understanding of social class in the analytical Marxist sense--in terms of the relationship to the means of production, the related class interests, and decision-making and power relationships--forces us to go beyond stratification as such. It leads us to look at how the stratification system itself fits into a larger, all-embracing class system.

Thus, in whatever way strata are defined, these categories must be viewed in light of the historical process of capitalist accumulation in the United States. The system between public production of goods and services and private profits intensifies over time. Class formation and class composition are not static concepts. According to Marx, they are always in flux. Capitalism continues to transform labor more and more into wage labor. (Today, 90 per cent of the American people are waged laborers. Fewer and fewer are independent artisans and professionals.) Marginal groups are less important in theoretical class analysis than the dominant forces.

What is important to remember is that social class is a process determined by one's relationship to the means of production as organized in the process of capital accumulation for private profits. It is true that formal education may determine in large part differences in occupational comparisons (e.g., between blue collar and white collar; between professional and nonprofessional), and income. However, neither the level of educational training, the occupational categories

themselves, nor the specific incomes by themselves are decisive class variables. Education, occupational and income stratification must be placed, at least on an explanatory level, within the larger perspective of property classes, or the relations to production per se.

What all this means is that mainstream stratification and its Status Attainment theory fail to ground its system of stratification in the historical development of modern capitalism and its class system.¹ This shapes the entire underlying set of assumptions that will be delineated below in my criticisms of Status Attainment theory's treatment of women employed in the contemporary American labor force.

Within the constraints specified above, the elevation of occupational prestige to a special position, as differentiated from all other socioeconomic bases of stratification, leads us to ask a series of questions. The most obvious question to ask within this context is: are occupations comparable just because they have the same prestige ratings? For example, secretaries and construction operatives can be equal on the NORC prestige hierarchy. But the former have "cleaner," "safer," more "mind-oriented" work while the latter have "dirtier," "manual" jobs but with higher pay. So what does it mean to say that they are equal in status?

Next, even among data analyzed by Status Attainment theorists, women do not fare well on the upper end of the prestige distribution

¹As an example, one Status Attainment theorist, in his discussion of "Inequality and the Process of Attainment," says: "No attempt will be made here to explain how the distribution of attainments comes into being. For the purposes of this paper, it is taken as given" (Sorenson, 1977, p. 967, footnote 2).

in comparison to men. The most coveted positions are clearly "for men only." Thus, Treiman and Terrell (1975) note, but only in a footnote, that whereas 5.2 per cent of all employed men have a prestige score of seventy or more; this applies to only 0.5 per cent of employed women (pp. 181-182).¹

In addition, far too much emphasis is put on the prestige of an occupation at the expense of other criteria by which occupations are measured: e.g., their economic remuneration. Thus, it is very clear to everyone concerned, including Status Attainment theorists themselves, that despite their conclusion that occupational status equality exists, women are seriously discriminated against in terms of the income paid for these similar statuses (Suter and Miller, 1973; Treiman and Terrell, 1975; Featherman and Hauser, 1976; Shanahan, November 29, 1976). Moreover, in what way is it meaningful to say that women get the same status jobs as men when they do not work in the exact same jobs and do not get paid the same as men when they do work in the same jobs?

Finally, Status Attainment theorists do not direct themselves to the power and control that comes from different jobs as well as their organization (e.g., unionization or lack thereof). Instead, focus is on life style (as revealed in values and consumption patterns) or individual orientations toward job satisfaction (see, e.g., Andrisani, 1978).

¹Note: scores range from zero to ninety-six.

The second major area of criticism generated by Status Attainment theory is that the following assumption must be seriously questioned: that what people bring with them to the labor market, most especially their education (which implies the best fit are the most educated and the best rewarded in terms of the jobs and their tangible and intangible remunerations) is what determines how they will fare in the labor market.

In this model, family socioeconomic origins is used to predict the educational attainment of sons and daughters; educational attainment, in turn, is used to predict occupational prestige; and socioeconomic origins is found to be less important than education. (For a summary of this position, see Almqvist, 1977a, pp. 848-849.)

For example, while college graduates are more likely than all others to enter into "higher level white collar jobs" irrespective of their social class origins (Eckland, 1965), a college-educated woman, on the average, is paid less than a high school educated man (Ehrlich, n.d.; Ehrlich, et al., 1975). Moreover, the fact that women are less likely than men to continue on in school at every step of the post high school educational process (Sewell, 1971), despite their superior demonstrated academic performance (Roby, 1973), means that they would be less likely to even compete in the job market based simply on institutionalized discrimination at each level of the educational system. This is true at all socioeconomic levels, but is even more severe for women in comparison to men the lower down the socioeconomic hierarchy one goes (Sewell, 1971). Thus, to say that men and women with the same education work at jobs with the same status

(but not the same jobs exactly and for much different pay) denies the entire process by which this "achievement" occurs, which in itself is highly discriminatory against women.

Using the traditional occupational categories within the white collar and blue collar job distinctions, we know that while more women have traditionally been considered to be professional than men, even with the same education women are more likely to be working in lower level professions and men in higher level professions (Theodore, 1971; Gross, 1971). Likewise, with blue collar work, education for women was found to be less important than for men. While increased education (i.e., graduating from high school as opposed to having only one to three years of high school) did not give women an increase in job position from operatives to craftworkers, it clearly did so for men (Bibb, n.d., Table 1).

In fact, when all of the characteristics of the worker is included in an analysis of occupational status attainment--including education, training, aspirations, number of hours worked, and so on--Elizabeth Almquist finds that the Status Attainment "model explains only about one-third of the variance in either men's or women's occupational prestige." She concludes that with such results, "we cannot even assume it [the model] has identified the most important elements" (1977b, p. 9).

And, when one looks at the connection between education and income, which is supposed to be the outcome of the kind of job one works at, the evidence is quite conclusive: no one compares favorably with white males. This is true for white women, nonwhite males, and nonwhite

females. At every educational level, women are paid less than men (and white women, black men and black women are paid less than white men). To be sure, higher educated women are typically better off than lower educated women. The relationship holds true for education and wages among men also. On the other hand, if one looks across all groups of workers, education does not appear to be the main criterion that explains income inequality. Sex and race are clearly more important (Ehrlich, n.d.; Ehrlich, et al., 1975).

A careful analysis of worker characteristics--in terms of education, training, number of hours worked, number of years worked--shows that as little as zero and only up to 44 per cent¹ of the income gap between men and women can be explained by the workers' own characteristics. Thus, not even one-half of the variance is thereby explained. This model hardly does what it says it can do!

According to Christopher Jencks, et al. (1972), in addition, three-fourths of all variations in income is unexplained by traditional measures of education, occupational training experiences and so forth. Instead, they speculate that variances in "luck" and "personality" may explain their findings. Even using these possible explanations,

¹The per cent of dollar gap left unexplained between men and women includes the following estimates: 100 per cent (Blinder, 1973); 84 to 85 per cent (Featherman and Hauser, 1976); 74 per cent (Oaxaca, 1973); 62 per cent (Suter and Miller, 1973); 56 per cent (Trieman and Terrell, 1976). For a discussion of these findings, see Almquist (1977a, 1977b). Oaxaca also estimated the impact of not only personal worker characteristics, but also occupation, industry and union membership. Using this "full equation," Oaxaca found that only 47 per cent of the income gap between men and women was explained. Thus, "occupational barriers" faced by women can be said to account for approximately 21 per cent of the disparity between women's and men's earnings, while 27 per cent is accounted for by personal characteristics. The remaining 53 per cent, however, is still "unexplained."

women are seriously disadvantaged. Thus, men are said to be more likely than women to have the proper personality type¹ for successful competition and achievement in employment, and to go to the "right" schools, concentrate in the "right" majors, and meet the "right" people for advancement. In short, it would seem that these two factors of "luck" and "personality" might help to further explain men's over women's greater economic rewards--but they are unrelated to "universalistic" criteria as assumed by human capital and Status Attainment theorists.

Moreover, a very small relationship between education and earnings was found in a national longitudinal study (replication of the Wisconsin student study) of high school students followed over time (Alexander, *et al.*, 1975). As one critic concludes, "This indicates that contrary to human capital theory, a person's capital (i.e., education) is not an important factor in determining his or her earnings" (Montagna, 1977, p. 422). In addition, the claim that I.Q. scores determine one's career rewards is simply not validated by much rigorous research (Jencks, *et al.*, 1972; Bowles and Gintis, 1973, 1976). Thus, for example, Bowles and Gintis show that among white males, class origins are more important than either education or I.Q. in determining one's earning power.

When human capital theory is tested with care, as done for example by Mary Stevenson (1975), it becomes very clear that men and women who

¹See studies above in section on Sex Roles and Socialization. See particularly references by Broverman *et al.* (1972), Hartnett (1977), Brannon (n.d.), and Kanter (1975a).

work in jobs requiring the same amount of education and training (conditions of human capital theory) (1) do not work in the same occupational group (but rather in another one which requires the same education and training of cognitive skills); (2) do not usually work in the same industry, and (3) do not get paid equally--women get paid less than men. The reason for this, according to Stevenson (p. 250), is that industries employing women tend to be less profitable and have less market power than those employing men--regardless of the individual's educational attainment.¹

Finally, it is necessary to question Status Attainment theory's uncritical acceptance of the existing occupational structures. By focussing on those mechanisms (like education) which try to get more women into higher status positions of the occupational status quo, as it exists in any particular time and place under investigation, this theory takes for granted, rather than challenges, existing social arrangements which lead to ever greater occupational stratification in the first place.

The third major problem with Status Attainment theory, as demonstrated by Stevenson's study, is the assumption of a single labor market where men and women not only compete for the same jobs, but are believed to end up in jobs with the same prestige. In

¹Note: Lesser average physical strength of women might explain their lower wages. In checking for this, Stevenson found that jobs requiring physical strength in our society are the lowest paying jobs, and are generally relegated to black men. So the differences in physical strength, just as in intelligence for high status jobs, cannot explain why men earn more than women (p. 249).

Chapter II below on Labor Market Segmentation, I will elaborate on this point. Suffice it to say here that an analysis of the data shows that men and women are segregated by industry as well as occupation. Thus, Stevenson concludes, it is this sex-segmentation that lowers women's wages by "crowding" them into a limited number of occupations.

Related to this problem is the fact that statistical aggregations of prestige scores in the Status Attainment literature obscure the real differences between men's and women's employment. This is recognized by one Status Attainment theorist (McClendon, 1976) when he says (1) women are concentrated in white collar jobs, and (2) most especially in lower status white collar and nonwhite collar jobs; and (3) women are more likely to be found in the lower status white collar clerical and service jobs which have lower pay and less power but higher prestige than the higher level blue collar jobs of men (craftworkers and foremen). Women's greater prestige in clerical work over blue collar work is based on jobs that are said to be more comfortable, safer, cleaner, and "thinking-oriented."¹ Thus, McClendon concludes: "The lower female status within categories counterbalances the tendency for women to have higher status due to their concentration in white collar category, and thus produces the status 'equality' of males and females" (p. 63). A further problem here is that within the very same occupational category, e.g., sales, women have lower status jobs.

¹Being a file clerk or typist in a secretarial pool of a large corporation is hardly prestigious "mental" work in the sense implied by prestige accorded to white collar work.

A fourth key problem stems from the assumptions of the Status Attainment theorists generally that a single labor market exists in which education is the main allocating mechanism to occupations. This leads to an explanation of income and other types of socioeconomic inequalities between the sexes in terms of the characteristics of women themselves (e.g., low aspirations, inadequate education or inappropriate training) which disadvantage them, rather than explores the causes of the sex inequality itself. Certain attempts are made to "partial out" the amount of "sex discrimination" in the income differentials (Fuchs, 1971; Featherman and Hauser, 1976). However, this type of approach all too often ends up "blaming the victims" rather than looking to the larger social, political, economic and sexual system of the society.

Thus, women's lower wages are said to be caused by their own personal behavior--e.g., the "choice" to have a child; the "decision" to leave the labor market either to maintain husband's prestige or bear and rear children; the alleged lack of labor force "commitment" generally; the "choice" of working part-time or more geographically convenient to be closer to home "for the children"; the possession of certain female personality traits which self-select women out of the higher status jobs;¹ the alleged higher turnover and absenteeism rates of women, and so forth.

¹This is compatible with a whole line of research that says women, as other lower status people, "drift" into their jobs rather than "plan rationally" for them. See readings in Pavalko, ed. (1972).

However, these so-called "causes" are either wrong, or more appropriately understood as ex-post facto descriptions of mechanisms that perpetuate and intensify sex inequalities in our society, not cause them.

The fact that women are socialized according to norms which stress women's primary interest to be in her own husband, children and home is not determined sui generis by the woman's personal desires, or simply by the fact that she was "brought up that way." Rather, it relates to the larger structures of the society. Sociologists from virtually every school of thought agree that the type of family and women's role in it is strongly dependent on the kind of economic organization of a society (Goode, 1963; Parsons, 1949a; Engels, 1884). The main difference between the schools is that some (mainstream) find contemporary western industrialized or "post-industrialized" society to be "liberating" for women, while others (radicals or Marxists) are much more critical of the impact of the contradictions in advanced capitalist economies on women's several roles.

"Role conflict" theory probably comes closest to not blaming women for their lesser position in the labor market when it is documented to occur. Women are said to experience role conflict between their homemaking and labor force responsibilities. However, the conceptualization of the problem as role conflict implies an acceptance of the underlying structures of society which make childcare women's responsibility and breadwinning men's responsibility--even when this is empirically not the case (see e.g., Rapoport, 1977).

This then leads me to the fifth key problem with Status Attainment theory: the tendency to analyze women's labor market activity as if it is separated from her non-market (or family) activity. Thus, as two sympathetic Status Attainment theorists conclude:

Our conventions lead us to ignore these roles [childrearing and homemaking] in our studies of socioeconomic stratification. Nevertheless, the institutionalization of child-rearing and homemaking as the dominant domains of women is one of the major bases of sexual inequality of socioeconomic opportunity.

In fact, they conclude, as much as two-thirds of the difference in occupational inequality between men and women is due to "this element of sex-role allocation" (Featherman and Hauser, 1976, pp. 462-463). I am suggesting it is no longer acceptable to ignore these roles in stratification theory.

I have previously argued that one cannot understand women's position in the economy of American society without looking at both her labor force and family roles (Sokoloff, 1977). Women's role in the isolated nuclear family intimately connects to her role in the labor force in a capitalist society. On a theoretical level, one cannot discuss one without the other. On an empirical level, the theory of Status Attainment cannot incorporate this relationship into its model.

The sixth and final problem I encounter in Status Attainment theory is as follows: this theory not only discusses women's occupational stratification as if it is segregated from the rest of women's lives, but it goes even one step further: it discusses both women's occupational and home experiences as if they are unrelated to the analytic concept of class. Thus, they ignore the fact that women's

dual roles in employment and the family are played out in the context of an advanced capitalist economy which colors any interpretation we might make about women's labor force activity. To my way of thinking, Status Attainment theory does not make these crucial connections.

In short, to use the theory of Status Attainment without focussing on the larger structures within which it is said to operate makes the theory only a very partial one. I believe such a limited approach--one that characterizes most of mainstream sociology today--leads to major misunderstandings about women's roles in the labor force and the tendency to "blame the victim" whenever convenient to do so, rather than to look more critically at the larger structures involved.

To conclude, mainstream sociology and its theory of Status Attainment provide a large and varied base of empirical data on the labor market and the home. Under the influence of feminists in sociology, an analysis of women in the labor market has become, more recently, an important area of investigation. Moreover, it provides us with the important concepts of "sex roles" and the socialization process. As used by this theory, these concepts help explain some of the processes that women go through in learning how to behave in this society--both at home and in the market.

However, what Status Attainment theory mainly does is to focus on social status and prestige, rather than to look at the lack of wealth, power and decision-making necessarily experienced by women (both in the home and in the market) in a society organized along the lines of monopoly capital and male domination. It takes for granted and hence fails to challenge the existing social arrangements that

lead in the first place to either (1) occupational stratification or (2) women's responsibility for childcare in the home.

By moving to other theoretical perspectives in this dissertation, I am able to clarify problems in understanding women's labor market activity, so that we can both make use of Status Attainment theory and research, and develop an alternative.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORY OF LABOR MARKET SEGMENTATION

I. Introduction

Two major tendencies in mainstream sociology that explain women's activity in the labor market are Status Attainment and Sex Stratification theories. In this chapter I will discuss this second approach. Unlike Status Attainment theory, Sex Stratification theory asserts that women are treated unequally in comparison to men in the labor market--both in terms of their statuses and wages. Although there is a recent attempt by sociologists to develop this perspective in the mainstream stratification literature (Montagna, 1977; Kanter, 1975a, 1977a; Theodore, 1971; Gross, 1971; Valerie Kincaide Oppenheimer, 1970, 1973a), this theory has primarily been developed by economists. Therefore, my major analysis in this chapter comes from a review and evaluation of the theory of Labor Market Segmentation as presented by economists. The major contribution of this theory to my own analysis is in terms of its understanding that men and women are recruited into different occupational structures which disadvantage women.

This chapter consists of four sections.

First, I will specify Labor Market Segmentation theory, especially as it has developed around the idea of the duality of the labor market.

Second, with the help of Labor Market Segmentation theory, I document the fact that men and women do usually work in different jobs, in different industries, and in different labor markets. I do this in order to understand women's disadvantaged position in both job experiences and rewards. Then I apply Labor Market Segmentation theory's Dual Labor Market approach to women's employment in general.

Third, I suggest that with some exceptions, it may be possible to extend Dual Labor Market analysis even to some of the features of semiprofessional jobs held by college-educated women.

Finally, I briefly address and criticize certain basic contextual problems that Labor Market Segmentation theory shares with that of Status Attainment, as well as certain problems of its own.

II. A Specification of Labor Market Segmentation and Its Dual Labor Market Theory

Despite certain contextual problems and criticisms (see Section V below), Labor Market Segmentation theory makes a definite contribution to our understanding of women's occupational experiences. The underlying assumptions of this theory allow us to understand that women and men do not work in the same jobs. Instead, our system employs people in sex-segregated occupations, industries, and labor markets.

This interpretation of the data invalidates the prevalent claim that men and women earn equal "status attainments" in an allegedly single labor market with uniform and universal criteria. Education does not "equalize" opportunity in this theory. In fact it is said to operate differently for those in "better" and "worse" labor markets.

Education, in fact, is not seen as the means by which one moves from "worse" to "better" job markets, but only as a partial explanation for job entry and mobility within parts of the more stable sectors of the economy. Other than for high status professionals and managers, one author argues that it is a myth that education and schooling develop the necessary skill traits in people that are required to allocate them in particular job categories (Piore, 1975). And, in the case of the high status jobs requiring much education, formal education is seen as a screening or rationing device for existing mobility patterns. This type of analysis, however, neither explains the origins nor questions the legitimacy of the existing social arrangements.

Mobility between the major sectors of the labor market is for all purposes nonexistent (Gordon, 1972). Instead of changing characteristics of disadvantaged individual workers (i.e., such as their education, their personality attributes, or their attitudes toward work), Labor Market Segmentation theory stresses the need to change institutional and labor market structures themselves. Most importantly, since women are more likely to be found in the "worse" labor markets, education may hold even less promise for women than men. As one author concludes,

Thus, from a policy point of view, it is not sufficient simply to advocate the integration of presently segregated occupational categories through altering the supply characteristics [like years of schooling or occupational aspirations] of female workers. The factors on the demand side which tend to segment the male and female labor forces among the dimensions of establishment of employment must be investigated and combatted (Francine Blau, 1975, p. 274).

In short, despite increasing education of the total population and its clear implications for women, even well-educated women do not reap the same rewards as men in terms of (a) types of jobs and (b) economic, social and political remunerations. In fact, as women's education has increased, their wage levels have decreased relative to men's. Thus, while increased education may help individual women to move up in the occupational world, it has not helped to change the position of women as a group vis-a-vis men as a group in the labor market.

Labor Market Segmentation theory has developed over the past decade as a way of organizing how experience operates in low income labor markets. (For summaries, see Gordon, 1972, Chapter 4; Montagna, 1977, Chapter 4.) It was in the context of trying to understand poverty, unemployment, and underemployment in urban "ghettoes" in the later 1960s that economists developed this paradigm depicting two separate work forces--the Primary and Secondary labor markets. Thus, the Dual Labor Market theory was introduced.

Initially, Dual Labor Market theory was used to explain racial discrimination in jobs and income. (For a history, see Piore, 1975. Also, see U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1972; Otero and Boggs, 1974.) It was extended to include discrimination by sex and age (Piore, 1975; Doeringer and Piore, 1970, 1971). However, applications of Dual Labor Market theory to the position of women specifically has been quite limited. As David Gordon (1972) says, "Dual Labor Market analysts refer to the employment problems of women

only implicitly" (p. 48). The response by feminists in the 1970s is just beginning to be felt in this theoretical framework too.¹

The general hypothesis of Dual Labor Market theory is that the labor market has been divided into two distinct types of segments over time, forging two separate labor markets--termed the Primary and Secondary sectors. The workers and employers in one sector operate by fundamentally different rules than the workers and employers in the other sector. The more disadvantaged members of any group being looked at--usually in terms of class, age, race or sex--are more likely to end up in the Secondary markets. The area of concern in my study is women and their placement in the labor market.

At one extreme, the Primary job market offers jobs with stability as well as clear and available career ladders. These two features have been specified by Michael Piore as being the most important characteristics of Primary market jobs.² They lead to jobs with relatively

¹See Blaxall and Reagan, eds. (1976). This entire issue of Signs was devoted to "Women and the Workplace: The Implications of Occupational Segregation." It is based on a Conference on Occupational Segregation held May 21-23, 1976. See especially the section in "Economic Dimensions of Occupational Segregation." An excellent summary of Dual Labor Market theory as it effects women is given by Francine Blau and Jusenius in this issue. Also, see articles by Kessler-Harris (1975), Stevenson (1975), Francine Blau (1975), and Davies (1974). See paper by Bibb, n.d. The review by Barron and Norris (1976), with particular reference to Great Britain, did not come to my attention until my own analysis was completed.

²Piore (1975) tries to deal with the fact that Professionals and Managers are more privileged than other Primary workers, by separating out two levels of Primary workers. Thus, there is (1) an upper tier (Professional/Technical/Manager/Administrator) and (2) a lower tier (Sales/Clerical/Skilled [Craftspeople]), in addition to the (3) Secondary jobs (Semi-skilled [Operatives, Transport Equipment Operators], Nonfarm Laborers [Unskilled], Service). These three groups are said to correspond to middle class, working class and lower

high wages, good working conditions, job security, opportunities for advancement, and administration of work rules on the basis of equity and due process. Job stability and career ladders (or mobility chains as defined by Piore) are mainly a function of the fact that the Primary sector is a highly structured Internal labor market. Internal labor markets are defined on the basis of two types of jobs: entry level and administered or Internal jobs.

Entry level jobs are restricted to a relatively few lower level jobs on the mobility chain. In place of the direct operation of market forces (be they in equilibrium or monopolized) as with entry jobs, an Internal market develops on the job. That is, an administrative apparatus develops which allocates labor and determines wage rates within the firm. No claim whatsoever to a "free market" is said to exist within the business enterprise itself. On-the-job training and enterprise-specific skills are not only available, but are required for advancement up the career ladders. Therefore, advancement opportunities open to workers within an enterprise are generally determined by organizational entry level jobs of the workers, and are restricted to those who are most stable in the firm. This is also called "balkanization" of the labor force.

Secondary sector jobs, by contrast, are characterized by their instability and short or nonexistent mobility chains. There may be numerous ports of entry in this relatively unstructured market, but more importantly is the fact that job stability is discouraged by low

class subcultures respectively. What unites the upper and lower Primary tiers is job stability and mobility chains.

wages, little advancement opportunity, the dead-end nature of jobs, poor work conditions, little job security. In addition, Secondary jobs have a more highly personalized relationship between workers and supervisors. This leaves wide latitude for favoritism and is conducive to harsh and capricious work discipline as well as arbitrary work rules in practice.

Instability of the work force is not only accepted but is encouraged by employers in the Secondary sector. Since Secondary jobs are isolated--not connected to significant job ladders--, workers may quit in hopes of finding better jobs. This leads to their job instability and high turnover rates.¹

Thus, the Secondary labor market fails to provide jobs with security, wages, and work conditions required to stabilize the work relationship. The employees' instability is an historical end product developed over time between employer demands and employee supply characteristics. The historical forces interact to sharpen the separation between the two markets--in the interest of employers in both markets.

Thus, Primary market employers' desire to retain certain stable employees is conducive to this continuing division between the two types of markets. These employers want to balkanize the labor market (i.e., create internal or administered markets), defining different clusters of jobs for which they establish different entry criteria (Gordon, 1972). Moreover, they stabilize their work force

¹However, they tend to end up in similar Secondary jobs, unemployed, underemployed, or lost from employment statistics. Piore (1975) notes the same rate of high turnover among high status Primary workers--but for advancement rather than unemployment!

by shifting costs to Secondary sector jobs. Two examples of institutional arrangements through which this transfer is accomplished are subcontracting and temporary help services. Another way is to maintain a Secondary sector within the Primary establishment itself. For example, there may be certain departments composed of low seniority workers in which employment fluctuations are concentrated (Piore, 1974). These procedures relate directly to women's employment. They include such examples as temporary office help and sorting and checking departments at the end of assembly lines in electronics and pharmaceutical industries (Winkler, n.d.).

The shift of costs from Primary to Secondary sector employees is done in conjunction with Secondary employers who purposely place new types of jobs or clusters (e.g., key punch operator) into the Secondary market. This is particularly relevant for employed women since it seems to be the case for numerous "service"-type jobs that have emerged since World War II as women's labor force participation has numerically increased (Gordon, 1972).

The basic problem for Secondary workers, according to this theory, is more due to the way work is structured in the Secondary market, rather than to particular characteristics of the worker (like their marginal productivity or occupational preferences). In fact, Dual Labor Market theory stresses that many job candidates excluded on such grounds in Primary sector employment do possess the requisite behavioral characteristics, training and attitudes. Thus, Secondary workers are generally barred from Primary jobs not because they lack certain "work skills," according to Piore, but because of their employment instability--they work unreliably or intermittently.

This problem is particularly applicable in the case of women and takes the form of what Piore has called "statistical discrimination," where decisions regarding individuals are based on group-derived probabilities. Thus, if employers believe women are less stable, and there is much evidence saying they are,¹ then individual women may be excluded from Primary-type employment on a probabilistic basis. As Francine Blau and Carol Jusenius (1976) point out, this is discriminatory to individual women even if average differences do exist.²

In addition, as Gordon (1972) says in an explanation of poverty and unemployment generally, "No matter how long an employee worked at these [Secondary jobs] or how clearly he [sic] demonstrated his diligence or skill, there seemed to be no fixed channels through which he could rise above his original job" (p. 45). Thus, he concludes: "Abstract, generalized individual abilities (like reasoning and reading abilities) become less and less important in determining or explaining variations in labor market status or income" (p. 79).

It is the notion of duality³ or multiplicity⁴ in Labor Market

¹This is equivalent to the self-fulfilling prophecy.

²Absenteeism and turnover rates are very similar for both sexes. This principle applies especially when one controls job status and income. Then, no sex differences occur in absenteeism and turnover for people in jobs with the same status and remuneration (U.S. Department of Labor, Wage and Labor Standards Administration, 1969).

³Duality of the labor market is expressed by different theorists in terms of Primary vs. Secondary, Internal vs. External, Structured vs. Unstructured, Core vs. Periphery, and Competitive vs. Monopoly capital labor markets.

⁴Valerie Kincaide Oppenheimer (1970) expands the idea of duality to that of multiplicity of the labor market. See quote below. She also talks about a variety of female labor markets based on skill and education/social status (p. 121).

Segmentation theory which I find useful in trying to explain women's labor force activity. Its most powerful observation is that men and women do not compete with one another in general in the labor market. Instead, they are paid to work in separate jobs, separate industries, and separate labor markets. In each case, women are paid less than men. This approach is best summarized by Valerie Kincaide Oppenheimer (1970):

In sum, instead of conceiving of the labor market and the demand for labor, a more realistic view is that of a multiplicity of labor markets--some may be only partially competitive with each other, and some wholly noncompetitive.

The relevance of this approach to the analysis of the demand for female labor is this: to the degree that men and women concentrate in different occupations and industries, they tend to be relatively noncompetitive with each other--that is, they are operating in different labor markets. In that case, it is meaningful to talk about a demand for female labor per se--if for no other reason than that there exists a demand for workers in labor markets where females predominate (p. 65).

III. Labor Market Segmentation and Dual Labor Markets: The Case of Women's Employment

In this section I document the contention that women generally are segregated by occupation, industry and labor market. I then try to show (in section IV) that despite certain problems, Dual Labor Market theory even has relevance for market experiences of highly educated women in the professions.

Occupational segmentation by sex has been recognized in sociology for some time now.¹ Documentation of continuous sex-

¹It is more commonly called sex-typing, where one sex dominates an occupation in numbers in addition to there being an expectation that this numerical dominance is the way it "should be" (see Epstein, 1971). In this way, sex-typing does not challenge the existing status quo. It is said to simply describe it.

segregation in the paid labor force throughout the twentieth century is quite substantial.¹ It is true that the increase in the numbers of women in the paid labor force has been dramatic over the twentieth century.²

Between 1900 and early 1975 women increased from 18 per cent to just under 40 per cent of the total labor force (Oppenheimer, 1970; Montagna, 1977; U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 1880, 1975). And by 1970 more than half of all women between eighteen and sixty-four years old were employed (in comparison to only 20 per cent in 1900) (Oppenheimer, 1973a). This increase began to accelerate in 1940 when 30 per cent of women age eighteen to sixty-four were employed. Most of the increase in women's labor force participation has been among older and married women; and in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly, among those married women with pre-school children (Oppenheimer, 1973a).

As Oppenheimer explains, the industrial and occupational shifts over the course of America's economic development led to a rise in the demand for female labor specifically, which demand was particularly marked since 1940. Demand has been the dominant factor in the situation and supply has adjusted itself to that demand.

¹The best single source of data is Oppenheimer (1970). Also see Gross (1971), Williams (1975), Theodore (1971), Knudsen (1969), Bernard (1971), Deckard (1975), Waldman (1970) Pinchbeck (1969) Glazer (Malbin) and Waehrer, eds. (1973), Kessler-Harris (1975), Stevenson (1975).

²Remember, however, what is remarkable about twentieth century industrial capitalism is the relegation of women to the home as a separate and private entity generally and the total responsibility for children's care.

Oppenheimer continues by explaining that it is easier to change norms about married women working when the number of young and single women declines. Until this happened, married women's employment was considered "unacceptable."

A combination of forces led to the decline in the supply of young single women: a decreased birthrate in the 1920s which affected the 1940s labor force; an increased likelihood for girls to stay on longer in school; and a decline in the age of marriage. Moreover, it is cheaper to employ women of all ages and marital statuses generally than to either employ men¹ or introduce machines.

However, a quantitative increase should not be confused with a qualitative change. As the number of paid women workers has increased since 1900, women have continued to be recruited into a relatively small number of low status, low-paying "female" jobs which lack access to resources, security and decision-making power. Thus, as one author has shown: "Historically, women have been concentrated in occupations not only where they are overrepresented² but where they are actually in the majority."³ Thus, by 1960, 81 per cent of all employed women

¹Oppenheimer points out that the supply of young single men who might be ready and willing to enter the labor force in poor jobs decreased along with the lowered birth rates in general.

²Occupations where women are overrepresented are those where the per cent of women in those occupations are greater than the per cent of women employed in the total labor force.

³Occupations where women are in the majority are those where women represent more than 50 per cent of the workers in those categories.

were in occupations where women were overrepresented and a full three out of every five employed women were in occupations where women constituted 70 per cent or more of the workers. Preliminary 1970 census occupational data showed: "If anything, the concentration may even be greater" (Oppenheimer, 1973a, p. 949).¹

The United States Bureau of the Census listed 250 different occupations in 1969, but half of all employed women were concentrated in only twenty-one of these (U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1969). By 1973, more than two-thirds of all women workers were employed in ten specific occupational categories,² in comparison to only 20 per cent of all men employed in the ten largest occupations for men (U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1975).

The concentration of women in a limited number of occupations can be expressed in terms of the Index of Dissimilarity. This index represents the amount of occupational sex-segregation. It may be interpreted as the per cent of women (or men) who would have to change jobs in order that the ratio of males to females in each occupation would match the ratio of male to female workers in the labor force as a

¹For example, Oppenheimer (1973a) reports the proportion of employed women who were clerical workers rose from 30 per cent in 1959 to 35 per cent in 1970; and women as a proportion of all clerical workers went up from 68 per cent to 74 per cent.

²The ten occupations are: registered nurse, elementary school teacher, secretary, retail trade salesworker, bookkeeper, sewer and stitcher, waitress, private household worker. Each occupation employed more than 800,000 women. Also, by 1973, about three-fourths of all employed women worked in 57 occupations in which at least 100,000 women worked. In 17 of these 57 occupations, women accounted for 90 per cent or more of all employees. In more than half (31/57), women made up 75 per cent or more of all employees (U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1975).

whole. According to Theodore Gross (1971), the Index of Dissimilarity unequivocally demonstrates that the degree of occupational sex-segregation has been high and constant (between 66 per cent and 69 per cent) since 1900. In 1960 it was 68 per cent. In fact, it is higher than the degree of occupational segregation by race (47 per cent in 1960 in comparison to 68 per cent for women). (For more recent data than Gross', see Williams, 1975; Szymanski, 1974.)

The degree of sex-segregation is true despite the fact that occupations have changed from being "male" to "female" and vice-versa over time. Gross finds only one previously sex-segregated occupation which has become integrated: elevator operator. The more usual course is for women to enter a previously male occupation in such large numbers that it becomes re-segregated as a "female" occupation, "much in the same way and for similar reasons that an all-white residential neighborhood changes to all black after the first few black families move in" (Stevenson, p. 247, footnote 19).

Even when using gross occupational categories, such as defined by the United States Bureau of the Census, it is possible to see the intense occupational segmentation by sex. Women are more likely than men to be employed in white collar and service work,¹ while a higher proportion of men than women are found in blue collar and farm work (see Table 2-1).

¹"Service" usually refers to unskilled, nonunionized "grey collar" and "pink collar" jobs, frequently paid below minimum wages (like waitress, beautician, nurses' aides, protective services, etc.). About half of these jobs are found in the food trades (Winkler, n.d.). It does not include higher status "service"-oriented work of professionals: doctors, lawyers, nurses, social workers, etc.

TABLE 2-1
 PER CENT OF UNITED STATES POPULATION EMPLOYED IN DIFFERENT
 OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, BY SEX, 1974^a

Occupational Category	Per Cent of Men Employed	Per Cent of Women Employed
<u>White Collar</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>62</u>
High Status (Professional/Technical/ Manager/Official/ Proprietor/Administrator)	28	20
Low Status (Clerical/Sales)	12	42
<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>16</u>
High Status (Craftsworker/Foreman)	21	2
Low Status (Operative/Non-Farm Laborer)	26	14
<u>Service</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>22</u>
<u>Farm</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Total</u>	100	101 ^b

^aAdapted from U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 1880 (1975), p. 7.

^bThe total is 101 per cent due to rounding errors.

However, within both blue collar and white collar jobs overall, men are much more likely than women to be found in the higher status occupational categories. For example, men are two to three times more likely to be found in high status (professional/technical/manager/proprietor) than low status (clerical/sales) white collar jobs; while just the reverse is true for women: they are twice as likely to be in low status than high status white collar jobs. A similar case exists when comparing high status (foremen/craftsmen) and low status (operative/laborer) blue collar categories. Service work, which is low in status and rewards generally (see footnote 1, page 64 above) is overwhelmingly "women's work."

Thus, women dominate in service, domestic household, and clerical jobs while men dominate in the following jobs: managers and proprietors; foremen and craftsmen; farmers and farm workers; and laborers (see Table 2-2). The remaining occupations of factory operatives, salespeople, and professional/technical workers are "mixed-sex" occupations: they contain a representative percentage of both men and women. In what follows, I will show how each of these "mixed-sex" occupational categories are sex-segregated by specialty, rank and/or industry. It will be helpful for the reader to refer to Table 2-2 for this discussion.

Among professionals, the first of these "mixed" occupations, women are elementary school teachers while men are college professors, nurses where men are physicians, and dental hygienists where men are dentists. In fact, almost three-fourths of all women professionals are either teachers or nurses and allied health workers (U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1975). However, even within these professional

TABLE 2-2
 CONCENTRATION OF MALE AND FEMALE TYPE JOBS
 IN THE UNITED STATES, 1970^a

Occupational Category	Women as Per Cent of Total in Occupation
<u>Mainly Male Occupations</u>	
Foremen	3 ^b
Laborers (Non-farm)	3
Farmers + Farm Workers	15
Managers + Proprietors	16
<u>Mixed-Sex Occupations^c</u>	
Factory (Men: Durable Goods; Women: Nondurable Goods)	31
Professional/Technical (Men: Physician/Lawyer, etc.; Women: Nurse/Teacher, etc.)	39
Salespeople (Men: Wholesale; Women: Retail)	42
<u>Mainly Female Occupations</u>	
Service (Non-domestic)	61
Clerical	75
Domestic	98
<u>Total</u>	40

^aAdapted from Deckard (1975), p. 317.

^bThis should be read as: women are 3 per cent of all foremen.

^cMixed-sex occupations refer to those occupations which include approximately a representative percentage of men and women in the labor force.

categories, when women enter more prestigious male professions it is at the lower levels. For example, in medicine women are more frequently found in pediatrics, psychiatry and anesthesiology; in law, in family law (White, 1971; Theodore, 1971).

On the other hand, men's entrance into primarily the higher level and decision-making positions in typically female professions continues unabated. Thus, in education men are more likely to be principals and supervisors (Howard, 1975; Bernard, 1971; Grimm and Stern, 1974). This phenomenon is reproduced also in nonprofessional categories. Recently a study of banking practices in eight urban areas revealed many more women were recruited into the banking industry than men--but mostly as lower status tellers and clerks (80 per cent to 90 per cent female). Men, on the other hand, recruited in smaller numbers into banking, were much more likely to be found in higher level and more highly rewarded decision-making jobs. In this case, male take-over of high level typically female jobs was found to be as true for blacks as whites (see Shanahan, December 13, 1976).

In short, men rank higher than women in both "men's" and "women's" jobs. Women's low professional status is recognized in sociology by the fact that their work is typically defined as "semi-professional" (see Etzioni, 1969). When professional jobs are classified as between "professional" (e.g., physician, lawyers, architect, accountant, judge) and "semiprofessional" (e.g., teacher, social worker, nurse, librarian), three-fourths of all semiprofessionals are women whereas this applies to only one out of every ten professionals (Theodore, 1971).

Among salesworkers, another "mixed-sex" occupational category, men are employed more in wholesale, women in retail sales (Deckard, 1975). In 1970, women were 42 per cent of all salesworkers, but 58 per cent of all retail salesworkers (Winkler, n.d.). However, even in retail sales, women are "countergirls" or "salesgirls" at salaried jobs, often at minimum wages. High commission saleswork, such as in appliances and automobiles (heavy items) or jewelry (valuable items) are reserved for men. Such sex-segregation in saleswork always works against women. It is amongst salesworkers that women are the most financially disadvantaged in comparison to men: on the average, in the United States in 1975, women were only paid fifty-nine cents for every dollar earned by a man. In saleswork this dropped to forty-two cents. And this figure reflects full-time, year-round workers only (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 1880, 1975).

Even when male and female salesclerks are doing the exact same work, for example, selling clothes, it has been argued by some companies that men "deserved more pay on the grounds that it's harder to sell to men than women." Another argument proposed is that it is allegedly "harder to fit garments on men than women."¹ This is supposed to justify differential wages.

¹These arguments were used by Loveman's Department store in Montgomery, Alabama as reported in the Guardian, November 21, 1973, p. 19. The court ruled against both of these arguments. However, the Third Circuit Court of Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania also ruled that the part-time (female) workers at Robert Hall did substantially different kind of work from full-time (male) employees and that the differences in pay rates was justifiable on this basis.

Theodore Caplow (1954) describes the way in which saleswork is said to be divided by sex:

The prevailing pattern is that salesmen serve male customers, and saleswomen serve female customers. Where the customers are mixed in gender, the sales force follows the majority. An exception is made for very heavy or very valuable commodities, which are commonly sold by men. A whole set of organized folkways is developed on the basis of these principles. Thus, in a normally organized department store, there will be men in the sportsgoods department, women to sell curtains and dishware, men to sell books, but men to sell wedding silver and furniture (p. 232). (*Italics mine.*)

In challenging the assumption that the above description of occupational sex-segmentation is either acceptable or inherently logical, Mary Stevenson (1975) goes on to point out the element of pure arbitrariness in sex divisions in the labor market.

A job that is clearly and exclusively women's work in one factory, town, or region may be just as clearly and exclusively men's work in another, factory, town, or region. According to the National Manpower Council, cornhusking is women's work and trimming is men's work in the Midwest, while just the opposite is true in the Far West. Caroline Bird says that "cornhusking was woman's job in Eureka, Illinois, but a man's job in Jackson, Wisconsin, while textile spinning was done by women in Chatanooga mills and by men in North Carolina" (p. 246; see footnotes 13 and 14 for references to National Manpower Council and Caroline Bird).

This brings us to industrial work done by female operatives and how it differs from that done by men. This is the third and final set of "mixed-sex" occupations to be discussed. The three areas of female factory work I mention include the garment, electronic, and pharmaceutical industries. By understanding how women are used in these industries we learn, in addition to the industrial segregation by sex, that women function in the Secondary type of labor market.

Women are employed in factories typically making products that formerly were produced at home before the industrial revolution:

textiles, food products, household supplies. These are nondurable goods industries. Men, on the other hand, dominate in more profitable durable goods industries such as automobiles and steel.

Women are 80 per cent of the workers in the garment industry (see Quick, 1972; Kihss, May 9, 1977). The fixed capital level in this industry is low, leaving only small margins of profits for owners, and thus low and inadequate wages for workers. There is very little automation principally because styles change too frequently. There is little formal training and the prospects for promotion are practically nonexistent. In addition, the industry is highly susceptible to foreign competition from countries with even lower wage rates. As Paddy Quick (1972) concludes: "It is not coincidental that women do this kind of work" (p. 17).

Unlike the garment industry, electronics and pharmaceuticals are located in the more stable durable goods sector of the economy. The major recent growth spurt for women factory workers has been particularly in the electrical industries, with an 82 per cent increase in the number of women employed between 1950 and 1967 (Winkler, n.d.). However, it has the lowest average wage of any durable goods industry, which one author attributes to (a) the large number of women who have been hired to displace more highly paid male workers, as well as (b) the fact that three separate unions represent electrical workers.

However, despite women's significant numbers in the electronics workforce, they work only in low level, unstable, low paying jobs with little or no mobility or seniority. While only 1 per cent of all employed women in the United States are assemblers, two-thirds (67 per

cent) of all electronic assemblers are women.¹ Compare this to automobile assemblers who are predominantly men (84 per cent) in monopoly capital markets with more job stability, union protection, higher pay, advancement opportunities, etc. In the electronics industry, women are not found in production per se but on the assembly line where technology is especially spotty. Here they check and recheck finished products: automation is limited and human hand-eye coordination is preferred. Women are said to be especially suited for this intricate and delicate work. To quote Quick again, "It is not coincidental that women do this kind of work":

In comparison to garment and textile industries, the pharmaceutical industry uses modern technology in abundance and its profits were the highest in the United States for ten years in a row (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1971). However, advanced technology stops at the doors of "women's departments": women's work involves packing, stamping, labelling, checking and rechecking. In short, even if women work in profitable, typically male-concentrated industries, they do so on the basis that they are recruited from "female" labor pools to work in "female" jobs at "female" wages.

To quote Stevenson (1975) in her study which concludes that women's inferior economic position results from a highly segregated occupational structure:

¹Four-fifths of all female assemblers are in industries where 60 per cent or more of the assemblers are women (Oppenheimer, 1973a).

A third hypothesis was that men and women within an occupation group were segregated, not only by occupation, but also by industry. For this hypothesis, I used multiple regression analysis on a number of industry variables, such as profitability and market power. In fact, not only are women segregated into different industries than men, but women's industries tend to be less profitable and have less market power than men's. For a semiskilled occupational requirement group, about one-third of the difference in wages was attributable to the fact that men are in the more profitable and powerful industries. The labor market assigns women to those industries which are not capable of paying higher wages because of the economic environment in which they operate (Stevenson, p. 250). (Italics mine.)

In short, Dual Labor Market theory explains women's disadvantaged market position and remunerations in terms of the following: (a) women are recruited into a relatively small number of jobs; and (b) these jobs are located in industries and markets with low capitalization, small profits, low wages, poor organization among workers, limited or nonexistent job mobility or advancement, job instability and high turnover rates.

In Dual Labor Market theory, occupational sex-segregation in disadvantaged sectors of the economy typically is seen as the cause of women's inferior position--socially, economically, politically--in the labor market. It is most commonly expressed as the "crowding hypothesis": women are crowded into only a limited number of jobs, thus increasing their supply and decreasing what employers have to pay them.

This can be seen in the following two tables (Tables 2-3 and 2-4). In Table 2-3, Representation of Women in Ten Highest-Paid and Ten Lowest-Paid Occupations, we learn that women are the overwhelming majority in the lowest paid occupations in the labor market. Crowding of women into certain jobs is said to cause low wages. On the other hand, they

TABLE 2-3
 REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN TEN HIGHEST-PAID
 AND TEN LOWEST-PAID OCCUPATIONS^a

Occupation	1970
<u>Ten Highest Paid:</u>	
Stock and bond sales agents	8.6%
Managers and administrators, n.e.c.	11.6
Bank officials and financial managers	17.4
Sales representatives, manufacturing	8.5
Real estate appraisers	4.1
Designers	23.5
Personnel and labor relations workers	31.2
Sales representatives, wholesale	6.4
Computer programmers	22.7
Mechanical engineering technicians	2.9
<u>Ten Lowest Paid:</u>	
Practical nurses	96.3
Hairdressers and cosmetologists	90.4
Cooks, except private household	62.8
Health aides, except nursing	83.9
Nurses aides	84.6
Sewers and stitchers	93.8
Farm laborers	13.2
Dressmakers and seamstresses	95.7
School monitors	91.2
Childcare workers, except private household	93.2
All Study Occupations	35.9
All Occupations	37.7

^aSources: U.S. Department of Labor; as reproduced in Eisen (January 19, 1977), p. 9.

are simultaneously a minority in the highest paid jobs. Moreover, Table 2-4, Educational Attainment and Earnings, Predominantly Male and Predominantly Female Occupations, shows us that the highest paid worker in the typical women's occupation earns much less than her counterpart in the typical men's occupation--even though she has more education.

In fact, it has generally been the case that as women have gained more education over the past quarter century, the earnings gap between the wages of men and women has increased. In 1955, full-time year-round employed women made sixty-four cents for every dollar earned by a full-time year-round employed man. By 1974, this dropped to fifty-seven cents--despite women's increased educational attainment, thirteen years since passage of a federal equal pay act, and twelve years after the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was enacted. As one analyst concluded, "When the effects of inflation were taken into account, the gap between the purchasing power of men's earnings and women's earnings increased by 79 per cent over the period from 1955 to 1976" (Shanahan, November 29, 1976, p. 18). This gap in wages correlates with the increased demand for women in the labor market, and their recruitment into a limited number of occupational categories in certain types of markets.

Now that I have used Dual Labor Market theory to establish that women do not operate in the same markets as men or compete against men on the job, let me ask still more specifically what are the overall figures for women's Secondary labor market participation?

TABLE 2-4

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND EARNINGS,
 PREDOMINANTLY MALE AND PREDOMINANTLY
 FEMALE OCCUPATIONS^a

Occupation	Median Years of Schooling Completed in 1970	Median Earnings of Full-Year Workers ^b
<u>Occupations Employing Largest Number of Males:</u>		
Auto mechanics	10.5	\$ 9,070
Carpenters	9.7	9,720
Deliverymen	11.7	9,060
Farm owners and tenants	10.5	7,780
Foremen	12.7	12,320
Heavy equipment mechanics	11.1	10,300
Managers and administrators, n.e.c.	13.8	16,770
Salesclerks, retail trade ^c	12.7	6,470
Sales representatives, wholesale	13.8	13,690
Truck drivers	9.0	9,640
<u>Occupations Employing Largest Number of Females:</u>		
Bookkeepers	13.7	6,530
Cooks	9.1	5,470
Hairdressers and cosmetologists	13.0	5,770
Nurses aides	11.8	4,890
Practical nurses	13.2	5,870
Salesclerks, retail trade ^c	12.7	6,470
Secretaries	13.9	6,860
Sewers and stitchers	8.5	4,880
Registered nurses	14.2	8,090
Typists	13.7	6,070
All U.S. Occupations	12.4	9,945

^aSources: U.S. Department of Labor; as reproduced in Eisen (January 19, 1977), p. 9.

^bIn 1973 dollars.

^cThis occupation is listed in both groups since it provides employment to large numbers of both men and women.

According to one Labor Market Segmentation theorist in sociology (Montagna, 1977), seven out of ten employed women in the 1970 American labor force work in the Secondary labor market. For blacks and Latinas this figure increases to eight out of ten women. Thus, on the one hand, it is true that our economy has become a "service"-oriented economy. On the other hand, contrary to claims made by many sociologists, it is not true that increases in higher status white collar as opposed to lower status blue collar jobs has been in stable, lucrative jobs offering job security and upward mobility.

As Paul Montagna shows (in his Table 3.5, not reproduced here), an increasing number of Secondary jobs are in the service-producing sector of the economy (i.e., "nonindustrial industries" as he calls them). Thus, he documents that four out of every five clerical workers and one out of every two unskilled workers are found in the Secondary labor force. As he says,

This puts an entirely different light on what is happening in the postindustrial or service society. According to dual labor market analysis, if we are to be a service-producing society, we are also to be a society of mostly secondary jobs (p. 71).

And as numerous writers have shown (e.g., Oppenheimer, 1970; Mills, 1956), the increase in female employment since World War II has been primarily in the service industries.

In a comparison of the percentage of men and women in white collar versus Primary labor market categories for 1970, Montagna makes this point quite clearly. From Table 2-5 we learn that the per cent of white women in white collar jobs is large (65 per cent), but is much smaller for black (36 per cent) and Latin (48 per cent) women. However,

TABLE 2-5

PER CENT OF LABOR FORCE IN WHITE COLLAR AND PRIMARY^a
LABOR MARKET CATEGORIES, BY RACE AND SEX, 1970^b

	Men			Women		
	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latina
<u>White collar</u>						
(Professional, Managerial, Sales, Clerical)	42	19	28	65	36	48
<u>Primary labor market</u>						
(Professional, Managerial, Sales, Craftworkers, Transport Equipment Operatives)	62	36	50	30	17	20

^aPrimary labor markets are characterized by relatively high wages, job stability, good working conditions, job security, favorable mobility conditions, heavy capitalization, and so on.

^bSource: Montagna (1977), Table 6.6, page 139.

when we look at Primary versus Secondary (instead of white collar versus blue collar) categories, far fewer women are found in Primary than white collar jobs. The per cent of women in Primary jobs is less than one-half of the per cent of women in white collar jobs. For whites, blacks and Latinas, the figures are 30 per cent, 17 per cent, and 20 per cent respectively.

And even more dramatically, according to Montagna,

Comparing men to women, one sees an almost complete reversal in proportions. The men's white-collar category is smaller than the women's. But the percentage of men found in primary occupations is larger than their percentage in white-collar occupations and twice the size of women in primary occupations (1977, p. 136). (Italics mine.)

In short, while women are more often found in white collar and service jobs than men, they are twice as likely as men to be found in the more disadvantaged Secondary labor markets. This appears to be a more accurate explanation of women's labor force participation than Status Attainment theory. Moreover, it helps account for the alleged discrepancy between status and income with which that theory left us.

IV. The Special Case of College-Educated Women and Dual Labor Market Theory

While Dual Labor Market theory advances our understanding of women's disadvantaged market position generally, the question of how useful it is for analyzing employment experiences of college-educated women, who presumably are employed in professional jobs in the Primary labor market arises.¹ It is to this point that Blau and Jusenius (1976)

¹Eighty per cent of all college-educated women work in professional jobs, mostly as school teachers, in 1970 (Oppenheimer, 1973a). This is equally true for black and white women

are speaking when they say,

In contrast to our formulation, it [i.e., Dual Labor Market theory] is not helpful in elucidating the differential treatment accorded to women and men within the primary sector, that is, within reasonably highly developed internal labor markets (p. 197).

On the other hand, despite the placement of professional jobs in the Primary labor market, each of the main Labor Market Segmentation theorists (Piore, 1974; Gordon, 1972; Montagna, 1977) makes reference to the fact that women generally, as well as women in the professions, are often in the Secondary labor market. The main reason for this seems to be based on the fact that women's primary responsibility is said to be to their individual families. Therefore, women are said to not have a major commitment to market activity, thus leading to job instability in the form of high turnover rates.¹

From my own analysis, I find that an application of the Secondary market characteristics to women's professional jobs is possible, with some important exceptions. First and most importantly, Dual Labor Market theory was developed in an attempt to understand operating experiences in low income markets. Professional women clearly fall into this category.²

(Teresa Sullivan, as referred in Almquist, 1977a; also see Kilson, 1977; Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1974).

¹In citing this view, it in no way suggests that it is correct. To my knowledge, no evidence exists to support the idea that, other things being equal, women have higher rates of turnover and/or absenteeism than men. In fact, they are the same and sometimes lower. (See Blau and Jusenius, 1976, p. 194, footnote 33.) For further evidence, see above, p. 59 footnote 2.

²This is not to say that professional women are as disadvantaged as nonprofessional women (or many nonprofessional men). It is to say, however, that well-educated women are closer in income to the traditionally

Nationally, female professionals make sixty-seven cents for every dollar that male professionals earn (Ehrlich, et al., 1975). Not only do women in typically women's professional job categories (like teaching and nursing) make less money than men in typically male categories (like doctors and lawyers), but women make less money than men even when both sexes work in women's professions. Again, teaching and nursing are examples (Deckard, 1975).

It goes without saying, that women also make less money than men when they work in typically male professions. This is reflected in the fact that while 20 per cent of male professional and technical workers make over \$15,000 annually, this applies to only 1 per cent of all full-time year-round employed women in professional and technical jobs (Deckard, 1975; Keyserling, 1972).

Second, the distinction between professional and semiprofessional job categories further helps differentiate high from low income well-educated men and women. Most women classified as "professional" by the Bureau of the Census are really "semiprofessionals" in the "helping" industries of education and health (see p.66 above). Very few women actually work in typically male, high status, high paying, decision-making professions. As noted earlier, whereas 75 per cent of all semiprofessionals are women (school teachers, nurses, social workers and librarians), this is true for only 10 per cent of all so-called professions (physicians, lawyers, architects, accountants, college professors, scientists, etc.) (Theodore, 1971).

low income worker in the United States than to their highly educated male counterparts. One need only compare average incomes of female professionals and male professionals; female professionals, especially semiprofessionals and male nonprofessionals; and female semi- and nonprofessionals to see this.

Sociologists distinguish professionals from other job holders on the basis of their specialized knowledge and its connection to exclusive control over their professions (Freidson, 1973; Pavalko, ed., 1972; Bloom, 1971). Semiprofessions, on the other hand, are said to apply knowledge derived from a profession instead of creating knowledge (Simpson and Simpson, 1969). Therefore, semiprofessional workers lack exclusive control and autonomy over their own work. In fact, the tasks performed by semiprofessionals have a direct and dependent relationship on a profession. This is seen in nursing which is regulated by physicians. In the health care industry in general, physicians control numerous other semiprofessions, almost all of which are overwhelmingly female; and many are newly created as women have increased their labor force participation in the past thirty years. In Carol Brown's (1974) analysis of women workers, who comprise 80 per cent of the health care industry, she states:

The top male occupation, physician, controls the female occupations, not only on the job but in the educational programs. The American Medical Association and its affiliate medical societies have the right to set the curriculum, direct the training programs, control professional certification, and sit on the state licensing boards of (at last count [1974]) sixteen other occupations (p. 7).

Semiprofessions act in the service of the professions. The fact that it is women "serving" men is of crucial importance to understanding (a) why women work in these areas and (b) why male professionals have accepted large-scale female employment in these areas. According to Amitai Etzioni (1969), if men occupied the semiprofessions currently occupied by women, many of the relations between professionals and semiprofessionals would certainly not be possible. As he says,

It is difficult to believe that many of the arrangements we found in the relations between doctors and nurses, social workers and their supervisors, teachers and principals, would work out if, let us say, 90 per cent of the nurses and of the supervised social workers were male, especially lower middle class, as are so many of the females employed in these positions (p. viii).

Thirdly, semiprofessionals work in bureaucratic settings where they are held accountable for their performance by administrative superiors. Professionals, on the other hand, are accountable to no higher authority within their field of expertise.¹ The fact that semiprofessionals work in highly bureaucratized administrative structures makes them eligible for inclusion in the Primary labor market. However, the question arises as to whether appropriate career ladders really exist for semiprofessionals to be able to reach positions of authority and control in the field. While this area has been inadequately investigated, scattered evidence suggests that only short or limited career ladders exist. As one author suggests, bureaucracies in the semiprofessions may be only rudimentary in nature (Bidwell, 1965). On this basis, semiprofessionals may actually fit some of the requirements of Secondary labor markets--especially for women.

First, many of the jobs in the nursing industry are not connected to the existing nursing career ladders. Moreover, nursing itself is not appropriate training for the high level medical positions which

¹Instead, they are said to be governed by an internalized code of behavior and thus not requiring administrative procedures and rules to tell them how to behave. Even within the bureaucratic setting, such as the hospital, doctors are considered to be indispensable and therefore autonomous. Medical peer review systems are said to operate where necessary, but usually do not operate in practice for physicians (Freidson, 1973). In theory, professionals have more control than semiprofessionals, even though in practice this is hardly absolute or as great as it sometimes appears on the surface.

are the basis of power and decision-making in the health care system. Thus, the nursing career ladder that does exist is "caught in the middle" and often goes nowhere.

Next are issues that emerge once one is in the semiprofessional career ladder. The higher up the career hierarchy one goes in the semiprofessions, the more administrative the jobs become. Thus, people are rewarded more for their administrative tasks than for their major work tasks, which do not provide the necessary training to be administrators (Etzioni, 1969). Just the opposite is true for professionals: it is performance of their main tasks and not organizational position that brings the highest rewards (Montagna, 1977).¹

The question of whether administrators are typically recruited from the ranks of the semiprofessionals or are specifically trained as administrators in the semiprofessions is not adequately investigated. According to one set of authors (Grimm and Stern, 1974), men are more likely to be recruited into administration in the semiprofessions and generally at a faster rate than women. However, men are beginning to increase in numbers in the semiprofessions too. In part, this is the result of active recruitment of men in an attempt to "professionalize" the semiprofessions (Wilensky, 1964; Gross, 1971). However, continue James Grimm and Robert Stern (1974):

Further research is necessary on the manner in which people enter administrative sectors of these fields. Are men promoted from "the inside" at the expense of equally qualified women? Are male "outsiders" with little or no formal training or experience in the

¹In a sense, you could say that it is recognized professionals who become eligible to be elite administrators; but in the semiprofessions, administration is what gives you the recognition.

"female" semi-professions enticed to become administrators?¹ A significant contribution to our understanding of why men do dominate the higher echelons of the semi-professions will come when systematic empirical studies are conducted to determine how available administrative positions in these fields are filled (p. 703). (*Italics mine.*)

If men are actively or subtly recruited for administrative posts, do the types of mobility chains as specified by Piore, exist for women in the predominantly female semiprofessions? Or are there relatively short mobility chains, which really do not allow for the kind of career movement which is a distinguishing characteristic of Primary markets?

While evidence is limited, what does exist tends to support the idea of differential recruitment into teaching and administration by sex. For example, Gross and Trask found that 34 per cent of their male principals never taught in an elementary school, while this did not apply to any but 3 per cent of the women (as reported in Howard, 1975, p. 10). Moreover, men who are school teachers advance faster and with less experience than women in elementary school administration "simply because they are men" (Howard, 1975).

In fact, Robert Dreeban (1970) suggests that while the literature portrays the image that a career ladder exists in elementary education,

¹In the early 1970s, male police officers were actively recruited to become nursing administrators when they finished their police service and were training for "second" careers. Advertisements to recruit these officers were often geared toward promising them administrative positions in a field trying to become higher in status and pay--both requirements of which are encouraged by recruiting male administrators. In the Grimm and Stern (1974) data, although very few men are in nursing, about 2 per cent, half of all male nurses, are administrators. For an opposing position, which says administrators in the semiprofessions are recruited from within the appropriate ranks, see Etzioni (1969), Introduction.

in reality it does not. Teaching is a completely different job than administration; and administrators are recruited on the basis of different criteria. Essentially, women are blocked as semiprofessionals, trapped in dead-end jobs.¹

In teaching, the only vertical mobility available to most teachers is in the form of a limited number of principalships and superintendent posts. They are almost exclusively male (Howard, 1975). This fosters a great deal of dissatisfaction and high turnover. This is the fourth feature of women's semiprofessional activity that is essentially secondary in nature.

High turnover rates exhibited by women generally, is said to be characteristic of women semiprofessionals too (Etzioni, 1969). This high turnover must be understood as a function of several phenomena, not the least of which is the dead-end nature of the job women work in as well as the total responsibility for childcare that is assumed by

¹Poll (1978) investigated mechanisms by which men and women in New York City public schools earn administrative positions. Her evidence indicates women are discouraged from taking the first step, which is necessary to enter into the administrative hierarchies. Thus, career ladders for women elementary school teachers in New York City are quite attenuated and separated from the decision-making positions. Men, on the other hand, are recruited in a different way into the administrative hierarchies. This is supported by Howard (1975) in her analysis of public school teachers. As she says:

Climbing the career ladder in education means getting out of the classroom. Teachers who wish to advance in education must leave teaching and move into administration. Out of class assignments (e.g., assistant to an administrator, grade advisor, hall patrol) often give a teacher status, a title, and a much lighter teaching load. Most of these positions are held by men and are the first step in getting jobs with real power and authority (41:1-3). Despite the fact that women far outnumber men in the teaching profession, few advance into administrative positions and their number has been steadily declining (p. 5).

Further light will be shed on this process as we study women's career paths within firms and factories. Heidi Hartmann is currently engaged

women. Thus, for example, the nature of the job for women in teaching is often instrumental in fostering dissatisfaction with their work. The routine jobs in teaching provide little recognition or rewards for competence, excessive workloads, punitive and close supervision. It is the nature of this work that drives many women out of these jobs. Thus, Elizabeth Cohen (1975) states:

For women who have no wish to leave the classroom, but who are professionally oriented, there is a lack of reward and reinforcement for merit. There are many women in this sample who could be described as "ambitious" in an absolute sense, by our attitude indices; they are highly dissatisfied with teaching. The structure of elementary school teaching may well drive some of these women out of the profession (pp. 242-243).

Different studies in teacher turnover rates range from about 11 per cent to 17 per cent for school systems, with higher turnovers within individual schools. However, turnover rates are about the same for men and women in teaching--but for different reasons: men leave the school to change jobs or leave teaching for administrative posts; women to find more comfortable or safer teaching positions (Becker, 1952) or to stop work (Simpson and Simpson, 1969). Annual personnel losses in libraries and social work agencies are as high or higher in comparison to losses in schools (Simpson and Simpson, 1969). The same similarity in turnover rates for men and women exists here too, with men again leaving for professional advancement and women for family reasons.¹

in a long-term study of career mobility in industrial organizations for the Department of Human Rights, Civil Rights Commission, Washington, D.C.

¹Turnover is highest among the youngest men and women--the women beginning families, the men beginning career mobility! It is even suggested that many men may leave for better jobs that have been

Moreover, an unpublished study by Eileen Applebaum and Ross Koppel (1976) show quite conclusively that the fact that women get lower wages than men is not based on their lack of commitment to the labor market. In their analysis of the Parnes data, Applebaum and Koppel found that (1) more committed women (i.e., those more committed to remaining in the labor market) have lower initial wages than so-called uncommitted women! (2) Committed women earn less money than uncommitted women in their early careers as well as less money than men with similar background skills. (3) Although committed women increase their incomes in comparison to uncommitted women over time, their wages never reach that of men with comparable skill and experience. In short, the issue of labor market commitment does not determine wages. Sex discrimination still exists with committed women in comparison to men.

Also, with respect to teachers, Oppenheimer (1970) finds that male teachers are not much more committed to teaching than female teachers. In fact, one could argue that women's commitment is greater than men's to the teaching profession.

Further, the idea that women's attitudes limit their performance and/or rewards in the market is addressed by Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1975a). Her comparison of male and female administrators in a large business enterprise showed that people in less favorable positions in the administrative power structure both felt and acted like the

vacated by women interrupting their careers (Simpson and Simpson, 1969). Furthermore, the idea that men "interrupt" their careers is hardly confined to the white collar professional. Thus, Kanter (1975a) reports on those studies which show that blue collar men leave organizations to start small businesses and then return when (as is statistically likely) the business fails (p. 8).

stereotypical "female boss." Thus, instead of concluding that sex role attitudes and behaviors limit women's possibilities in promotions and careers, she suggests that sex role attitudes and behavior may be a function of disadvantaged placement in the job itself. Men disadvantageously placed are just as likely to have the same attitudes and behaviors as women disadvantageously placed: limited aspirations, low work commitment, dream of escape, and so on. Thus, it is location in the job structure, not sex, that determines job commitment and other worker attitudes and behaviors.

In short, the notion that women are irregular workers, with little career commitment and deserving of lesser responsibilities and rewards than men appears to me to be highly exaggerated at best. Although women move in and out of the labor force more than men, it is not true that on the average women quit their jobs any more often than men do. The returns on company or agency investment in a worker are not necessarily greater for men than for women.¹

While it is true that men and women classified as "professional" by the United States Bureau of the Census stay on at a particular job or in a particular institution longer than lower status workers (Oppenheimer, 1970; Montagna, 1977), it is also true that the reason for turnover is always more acceptable for men than for women. The reality, though, is that their behavior is not very different. Thus, despite the similarity in relatively high turnover rates for men and

¹See Oppenheimer (1970, pp. 111, 114) for a discussion of the difference in job leaving which involves moving from one company to the next versus job changing (including advancement) within a particular company.

women in the semiprofessions, it is the imputed motivation for job change that is seen as more acceptable for men than for women in these fields.¹ Thus, the issue of job stability is much more complicated than most discussions seem to indicate.

According to Rose Coser and Gerald Rokoff (1971), the idea that semiprofessions must adjust to women's high turnover by making jobs easily replaceable and without a high degree of responsibility stems from the fact that it is women who are in these jobs.²

The difference between occupations in which women are well represented and those in which their participation is conspicuously rare seems to be that irrespective of . . . requirements of schedule, women are in occupations in which each individual worker is "replaceable or defined as replaceable," and are not in occupations that are seen as demanding full commitment allegedly based on individual judgment and decision making.

What is important here is not so much the technical nature of the task as the sociological fact of normative requirements. High-status positions are said to require the commitments necessary for exercising individual judgment. In these positions, people allegedly control their own work; they are said to be in charge of defining its nature so that hardly anyone can do it for them. . . . It is not that women are not expected to work; it is only that they are not expected to be committed to their work through their individual control over it; if they did, they would tend to subvert the cultural mandate, thereby allegedly causing disruption in the family system, and would risk disrupting the occupational systems as well (p. 544). (Italics mine.)

The fact that women are seen as easily replaceable where men are not is institutionalized in the public schools with "substitute"

¹This even applies to high status male professions. In the American Council on Education study (1968-1972) of college faculty, men were more likely to take more than one year off from teaching than women for "personal" reasons: family and military. Whereas this applied to 25 per cent of the men, it included only 20 per cent of the women (Maeroff, August 26, 1973).

²Also see Barron and Norris (1976) who emphasize disposability as well as replaceability. I only found this article after I did my own evaluation of women as Secondary workers.

teachers, and in the hospitals with "floater" nurses. On the face of it, a grade school teacher is as much in control of her/his class as a college teacher, and therefore should be as "irreplaceable" as the latter. However, when a teacher is absent from grade school, "her" class is taken over by a "sub"; when the college instructor is absent, "he" can select someone to fill in for him or "his" class is cancelled since it is believed that no one can fill in for him. (Other issues are obviously involved, such as babysitting functions of elementary school, which are not needed in college.) Thus, women as teachers in elementary school are easily replaceable; men, as college teachers, are not (Coser and Rokoff, 1971).

The irreplaceability of the male physician is seen in turn, in the medical establishment. As far as the work on a hospital service is concerned, interns and residents could replace one another because they usually know one another's patients and have the necessary training and skills. However, the house staff is supposed to learn the importance of individual responsibility for control over individual patients during training. Thus, absences due to anything other than serious illness or death in the immediate family would not be tolerated. The young intern or resident is not considered replaceable. The nurse who "floats" from one floor to another in the hospital, though, is a regular substitute for any nurses or any service that happens to need a substitute for the day (Coser and Rokoff, 1971).

In short, predominantly female semiprofessions are bureaucratized supposedly organized along clear and rational principles, carried out in an organized and noncapricious manner. These jobs are stratified

by rank, supposedly indicating a long career ladder to be climbed by those who perform their jobs well, and encouraging job stability. These types of features should qualify the semiprofessions for inclusion in the Primary sector of the labor market.¹ However, there are numerous features of the semiprofessions that lead me to question whether highly educated women do in fact fall into the Primary sector of employment. I do not mean to imply, by this, that the issue is resolved. Only that the issue is much more complicated than advocating that women semiprofessionals be included in either the Primary or Secondary sector of the labor market without further clarification and analysis.

On the basis of the following characteristics of the semiprofessions, usually reserved for the college-educated female, I believe these jobs fulfill some of the criteria of jobs in the Secondary labor market. They are relatively low income (especially in comparison to their educational input); they are lower status in their respective institutions (nurses as opposed to doctors; teachers as opposed to principals and superintendents); they sometimes exist in "rudimentary" bureaucracies; they have high turnover rates as well as short or limited "mobility chains." And it is questionable whether recruitment into the higher level administrative positions is not somehow separated off from achievement in the job performance of a semiprofessional. Moreover, they are usually nonunionized and not well organized to protect their members.

¹The issue that many semiprofessionals are employed by the government (thus providing greater stability and tenure) and not by private profit-making companies has not been dealt with here. This is clearly an important issue. It is only in the Monopoly Capital theory (Chapter III) that this issue becomes clarified in certain respects.

V. Criticisms of Labor Market Segmentation and Its Dual Labor Market Theory

At this point it is important to briefly clarify what this theoretical approach does not do.

First, although Labor Market Segmentation theory acts as a critique of the idea of equality existing between men and women in jobs and wages, the discussion remains basically descriptive. It does not explain how labor markets came to be structured in the first place to segregate women from men. Instead, it simply assumes this happens and describes the existing structure.

Second, although Labor Market Segmentation theory clearly recognizes that it operates within the context of an advanced capitalist society, this theory neither explains how capital continually benefits from these arrangements nor does it necessarily question the legitimacy of the existing social arrangements. Furthermore, like Status Attainment theory, Labor Market Segmentation theory focusses only on those who work in the labor market per se. This approach provides no direct connection to those who "pay the workers" (i.e., the capitalist class in Marxist terms). In short, this approach is severely limited on the basis that the totality of forces affecting one's relations in the market are not clearly understood, creating inadequate frameworks by which to interpret women's activity in the labor force. Moreover, like Status Attainment theory, it fails to deal with the issues of property ownership and power (or lack thereof) for the workers themselves.

Third, the tendency to polarize workers into Primary and Secondary categories in the Dual Labor Market approach often is too rigid. For

example, the difficulties in explaining the experiences of highly educated women in the labor market still requires greater clarification. A better understanding of the processes of class and stratification in the labor market are needed to deal with women's experiences there, rather than the descriptive and sometimes too simplified dichotomization of Primary and Secondary markets.

Fourth, the distinction between Primary and Secondary markets helps to clarify some of the ideological components of such classification systems as white collar and blue collar jobs. Clearly, the fact that women are in white collar jobs, which are Secondary and therefore more disadvantaged in nature, is important in challenging those researchers who claim that women are benefiting from being able to work in more prestigious white collar as opposed to blue collar work. On the other hand, one must question the meaning of combining high level professional jobs, such as physicians, lawyers, and accountants, with factory workers in stable jobs, as is done in the Primary sector. Is this not a blurring of lines between traditional working class and other relatively more elite and privileged sectors of the society? Does this not have ideological components to its analysis also? Moreover, how does such blurring of distinctions between certain occupational groups differ for men and women?

Fifth, like Status Attainment theory, I criticize Labor Market Segmentation theory for failing to integrate women's roles in the home with their labor market participation in general. This is at least in part a function of the fact that this theory comes out of economic theory which focusses on "economic institutions" as if they could be studied separately from other institutions in society.

On the other hand, Labor Market Segmentation theorists do sometimes mention different subcultural environments where varying worker traits are encouraged in response to segmented labor market demands (e.g., Piore, 1974). But little more than gross generalizations or "ideal type" pictures of lower class, working class, and middle class family and community life are offered as explanations for segmented worker behavior. Thus, as two critics of this theory suggest, labor market divisions become "anchored in" (Piore's words) differences in "individual characteristics, although the characteristics are themselves rooted in class 'subcultures.' What is itself an outcome of the production process (class 'subcultures') is used to explain labor market activity" (Steinberg and Beneria, 1978, p. 4).

Although this theory is being developed by economists primarily, I have suggested throughout this chapter that it is akin to some of the literature in sociology focussing on sex stratification and sex-typing of occupations. In this branch of sociology, recognition is given to needing changes in women's roles at home as well as in the segmented labor market (e.g., Weill, 1971; Theodore, 1971; Kanter, 1977b; Erickson, 1977; Pleck, 1977; Hunt and Hunt, 1977; and Vanek, 1977). But this understanding is generally quite unconnected to the larger political economy.

Discussion often revolves around the "equalization" of men's and women's roles in the family and in the labor force--especially for professional women.¹ But there is little understanding of its

¹It is in part due to the fact that women's occupational activity is not connected to the political economy, I believe, that occupational sex stratification literature in sociology does not deal effectively and

organization in relation to the system of capital, and therefore to the larger structural changes required to allow for "equalizing" men's and women's tasks and rewards in both the family and the labor market.

These major weaknesses notwithstanding, this theoretical framework does provide an important critique of human capital theory and a set of concepts for understanding one aspect of women's lives: their secondary status and rewards in the labor market in comparison to men within an advanced capitalist society.

To the degree that this theory fails to understand women's dual roles as homemaker and employee, and the relationship of both to the system of production, Dual Labor Market theory is only a partial explanation of women's market activity. It is to critical theory that I turn in order to understand those larger connections which are pre-eminent in explaining women's home and market activity in a male dominated and monopoly capitalist society.

most often stays away from analyzing the dual roles of poorer as well as nonprofessional women.

CHAPTER III

MARKISM ON THE LABOR MARKET: MARX AND MONOPOLY

CAPITAL THEORISTS

I. Introduction

Both Status Attainment and Labor Market Segmentation theories derive from mainstream sociology. One stresses the equality of women in the labor market, while the other focusses on women's systematically disadvantaged position in a sex-segmented labor market. This is the first of three chapters which look to a critical analysis¹ to understand women's position in American society. All groups within this critical framework understand that the social arrangements in our society severely disadvantage women in the labor market.

This chapter shows how Marx and one group of contemporary followers of his--twentieth century theorists of monopoly capital-- understand women's disadvantaged position in modern capitalist society.

To understand both occupational stratification and sex stratification, a necessary first step is to ground these issues in the historical development of modern capitalism itself. To look only at the interconnected systems of occupational and sex stratification in the labor market--whether defined as just or unjust--is to look at

¹Critical social science, broadly speaking, is understood here as an approach which focusses on the idea of class conflict as the motivating force in society. It includes, but is in no way limited to, the Frankfurt school of critical theory.

the surface manifestations of underlying processes in the production and reproduction of society. One goal of a critical social science is to analyze the factors which underlie phenomena experienced and observed in the market.

As one analyst of the critical method suggests,

Sex differentiation and sex stratification as levels of analysis deal only with the level of "visible" or "conscious" relationships: i.e., relations of which men and women are aware in terms of specific activities and "sexual bargaining," or power confrontations with other individuals within and outside the family.

From a Marxist perspective, the key to understanding these processes of structural and functional differentiation, and their specific effects on the position of women through sex differentiation and stratification, is to be found in levels of social reality which are not readily available to consciousness but which can only be discovered through scientific analysis. According to Marx, ". . . all science would be superfluous if the outward appearance and the essence of things directly coincided." This key principle of Marxism has been reformulated as follows: ". . . a structure is part of social reality but not of visible relationships" (Gimenez, 1978, pp. 63-64).

Thus, while mainstream social science systematizes and explains the experiences of sexism in terms of general social processes, innate sex differences, or their mutual interaction, Marxists argue that both "common sense" and mainstream social science understanding take for granted precisely that which has to be explained: capitalism and its associated form of sexism.

In this chapter, first, I will discuss the general contributions of critical theory to the study of women's life experiences--particularly their labor market and home activities, as well as their specific occupations in the market. I suggest that there are basic assumptions made by Marx himself, and elaborated on by certain groups of present-day Marxist theorists, which provide a context and totality in which to understand women's position in contemporary American society.

Secondly, in order to understand women's disadvantaged labor market conditions specifically, one must look to three different building blocks for a theory that can adequately explain women's work in contemporary American society. These are:

- (1) Marx: the classical writings of Karl Marx, most especially the Labor Theory of Value;
- (2) Monopoly Capitalism: large-scale theoretical works that have developed in the mid-twentieth century to help explain the system of advanced monopoly capitalism;
- (3) Marxist Feminism: recent writings of feminists within critical theory, particularly the intimate relationship between patriarchy and capitalism as they influence women's lives.

This chapter will deal specifically with Marx and mid-twentieth century Monopoly Capital theorists and how they help us to explain what has happened to women in the labor market in twentieth century America.

In the next two chapters I will look at Marxism in the home, and how the relationship between home and market in monopoly capitalist society influences women's disadvantaged position in the labor market.

II. The Overarching Contribution of Marx's General Assumptions

Critical theory is of course associated with Karl Marx. Marx's underlying assumptions about capitalist society are essential for explaining the disadvantaged position of women in American society. However, the women's movement must be credited with the recent efforts

by Marxist Feminists to develop "the woman question" beyond its earlier generalizations and potential.

Marx's contributions to a theory of women in the labor market include the following: First, he provides a much needed context and totality to the analysis of women's position in American society that is missing from the other two theories I have already mentioned. Secondly, he stresses the importance of a materialist methodology that is both historical and dialectical to examine contemporary relations among groups of people in capitalist society. It should be understood that Marx himself does not focus his attention on "the woman question" and does not direct himself to an intricate analysis of women's labor market activity. However, an application of insights from Marxist methodology to an understanding of women in contemporary American society creates the conditions for moving to a new level of analysis not available in Marx's time.

Marx was specifically interested in explaining how class inequality arises and changes in an historically evolving capitalist system. With regard to his methodology, we can say that Marx's theory of class is more an analytical tool than a description of existing stratificational arrangements, although he certainly did deal with empirical descriptions of class stratification in several places.¹

Grounding women's position in the historical material relations of production in society forces us to go beyond the allegedly unbiased

¹See, for example, his discussion in Capital, Volume III (1894) and The Eighteenth Brumaire (1852), as well as The Communist Manifesto (1848). For an excellent application of Marx's theory of classes and their component strata in contemporary society, see Judah Hill (1975).

theorizing of mainstream social science.¹ Moreover, understanding the dynamics of class conflict in capitalist society leads to an analysis of power relationships, as well as the potential for (revolutionary) change. While Marx applied his theory to class relations, it is now being used, with certain modifications, to understand the development of relations between the sexes in a class society.

The dialectical method stresses the movement that comes out of contradiction. According to Marx, the moving force of capitalist society is class conflict. Class conflict emerges out of the fundamental contradiction between wage labor and capitalist appropriation of profits--profits which are generated by the wage laborers themselves in production organized in the social arena, but which becomes the "private property" of the capitalist class. Therefore, the essence of class conflict is the struggle between capitalists and wage laborers over the expropriation of surplus value. However, at the same time that the capitalist class amasses wealth, it produces "the seeds of its own destruction," i.e., the working class. This is a most potent example of the meaning of dialectic theory: an approach to problems that visualizes the world as an interconnected totality undergoing a variety of changes due to internal conflicts of opposing forces with opposing interests.

Another important example of dialectical thinking is the relationship between "existence" and "essence." As one writer says, "What is crucial for the application of Marx to the 'woman question'

¹A sociology of knowledge of mainstream and Marxist theory can be seen in Gouldner (1970), Blumberg (1978), and Glazer (Malbin) (1975).

is this way of thinking which does not limit people's capacities to what society may form them to be." That is, while workers may be cut off from their creative abilities in a capitalist society, they are still creative beings in terms of their potential.

What you can be is not necessarily what you are. . . . This contradiction of existence and essence lies, therefore, at the base of the revolutionary proletariat, as well as the revolutionary woman. One's class position defines consciousness for Marx, but, if we utilize the revolutionary ontological method, it need not be limited to this (Eisenstein, 1977, pp. 4-5).

Within this framework, the following strengths of Marxist theory provide the context and totality needed for my topic.

First, Marx's classical theory stresses that the mode of production¹ is the basic organization of society within which the various social relations of society operate. This has a double consequence in the analysis of women's market position within the context of capitalism.

Anyone who does not own the means of production and works for those who do can be said to be included in the capitalist labor force. It follows that women as well as men's occupational behavior can be explained by this theory. Moreover, the occupational stratification that emerges within the context of a capitalist society does not cause capitalism, women's inequality, or change within the system, but rather is a reflection of its operations. Thus, while Marxist theory would understand the occupational stratification within the context of a

¹The mode of production refers to how a society's production is realized and organized. The two broad principal components of the mode of production are the social relations of production and the forces of production.

class analysis, its major focus would be on the relationship to the means of production that the members of the occupational groups have and the contradictions inherent in such a system. Occupational stratification must first be anchored in the political economy.

The Marxist method changes one's focus from asking questions about occupational mobility within existing structures to asking how occupational stratification is connected to the political economy in the first place.

The fact that the various social relations of a society are influenced by the mode of production also explains the need to look not only at the labor market, but also at the family for understanding women's market position. Both the family and the labor market are determined by the mode of production. (These ideas were developed by both Marx and Engels.) Thus, while patriarchy--a system of male dominance--probably existed before capitalism,¹ it is nevertheless true that the type of family and women's position in it--the isolated form of the patriarchal, monogamous nuclear family, where mothering is a full-time responsibility for women--is associated with certain stages in the capitalist mode of production in society.

The second crucial contribution of Marx's theory to women's labor suggests the absolute necessity to integrate into a totality the

¹Engels (1884) stressed the importance of matriarchy prior to class society. While his analysis of the origins of patriarchy in class society do not appear to be correct, his main assumption that women's position varies from society to society according to the prevailing political economy leads him to legitimately conclude that women need not always be subordinate to men. See Chapters IV and V for further elaboration on the work on the family by Marx and Engels and contemporary Marxist Feminists.

relationships between seemingly different parts of a society--primarily the institutions of the family and the occupational systems in our case. Thus, it is impossible to understand the working of the labor market itself and women's occupational position without looking at its relationship to the family within the system of capitalism. What this means, at the very least, is that asking questions about women's position in the labor market, without likewise asking questions about women's home activities as both of these are constructed by capitalist social relations, will only lead to a distorted view of women in the labor market.

Marx's focus is on the social order as a whole rather than on its separate parts particularly. He tries to explain the broader picture of how capitalist societies work and where they are going. In so doing he adopts the Hegelian idea: "The truth is the whole."

Too often critics, as well as some followers, misunderstand Marx to say that the economic relations of society are its only determining force. On the contrary, Marx was not an "economic determinist" as so narrowly conceived by those who do not understand his concepts as well as his goals--to analyze as well as to change. Marx was not only interested in quantitative exchange ratios, but also in the social relations which underlie and are masked by market phenomena. Understanding the mode of production is crucial to understanding the seemingly segregated institutions in any society.

Thus, for example, Marx's larger conception of economy, as specified in the "Preface of the Critique of Political Economy" (1859), defines the "economic structure" as the "real foundation of society."

In so doing, he wrote that the economic structure was the "total ensemble of social relations entered into in the social production of existence." Thus, it has been argued, that in the broadest Marxist sense, this conception of the economic structure includes sex, reproduction and the family, just like food and shelter, since they are all forms of material necessity or part of the "total ensemble of social relations entered into in the social production of existence" (see Zaretsky, 1976, pp. 25-26).

A third and final contribution of Marx to an understanding of women in the labor market is this: critical theory is a theory about people as social and creative beings, rather than a more simplified notion of people as role players. Marx asserts that the elements of reality are determined in relations with each other. As in grammar where the influence of words in a sentence is reciprocal--each helps determine the meanings of the others, while it is itself determined by those others--, so in social relations, the influence of individuals and society are reciprocal. Thus, Marx emphasizes the relational aspects of society and human potential.

The first premise of society in this framework is that people produce their means of existence. Neither history nor society are abstractions apart from people--both are products of human actions. For Marx, one can understand the individual only in a social context, arguing that human needs appear only in relation to a product and the way that product was produced. Human needs in general are generated by the products of others.

Production not only supplies the want with a material, but supplies the material with a want. . . . The object of art, as well as any other product, creates an artistic public, appreciative of beauty. Production thus produces not only an object for the subject, but also a subject for the object (Marx, 1858, p. 24; as quoted in Rubinstein, 1977, p. 103).

What this means, of course, is that the system of production--social, cultural, as well as economic--is important in determining human needs themselves. Thus greed or desire for profits is not inherent in human beings, but is associated with the capitalist mode of production. The culture and values of the capitalist system of production are not produced sui generis by themselves, but in relation to human beings in a class society.

In short, Marx was interested in the total process of social production and the development of creative and social human beings. However, his theory of what I call people as social and creative beings in large part really focusses on the laborer in relation to the direct creation of surplus value in the market place. Thus, classical Marxism excludes much of women's labor outside the production of surplus value directly.

A theory of women as social and creative beings was not adequately developed by Marx himself. It has been up to the Feminists in the Marxist tradition to develop this aspect of Marxist theory.

III. A Specification of Marx's Theory as It Applies to Women's Labor Force Participation: Marx's Labor Theory of Value

How does one apply the Marxist method of analysis to understand women's position in the labor market today?

In classical Marxist theory, the Labor Theory of Value and the continually polarizing two-class system of workers (proletariat) and capitalists (bourgeoisie) leads to an interpretation of women as "workers." That is, women who work in the paid labor force are producers of surplus value in a manner similar to men. Marx's categories are, so to speak, sex-blind here.

The main difference is that women are "superexploited" in comparison to men. Women are a cheap source of labor, according to Marx, thereby allowing them to be used in the lowest paying jobs as well as acting as part of the reserve army of labor.

The starting point in Marx's analysis of society and social relations is the recognition of the centrality of human beings in material production--as the producers of their own material existence. In any system of production there is both (1) a labor process--nature is appropriated by human beings, and there is a production and reproduction of products--and (2) the social conditions of labor--through the social relations between people which are set up in the production process. These relations of production refer to both who controls the product (the appropriation of the surplus) and who controls the immediate process of production itself. As Steinberg and Beneria (1978) suggest:

In any case, the process of production can only be adequately understood as the unity of these two processes: the production and reproduction of products, resulting in the appropriation of nature, and the production and reproduction of a system of social relations, resulting in the appropriation of surplus labor (p. 7).

Thus, production is neither an eternal category, nor can it be analyzed without reference to social relations. In general, according to Marx, capitalism is a system of production where the private

accumulation of capital (for profit by a few) is dependent on the collective (as opposed to privatized) production of waged laborers, which is controlled by the capitalists. This is the underlying essence of class conflict.

What Marx called the Labor Theory of Value is most important in understanding men's and women's labor market activity as carried out in a capitalist society. According to this theory, human labor is ultimately the source of all value.

According to Marx, capitalism had the salutary effect of "freeing" serfs from their feudal lords--i.e., workers were free to sell their labor in the market to a capitalist.¹ However, under these conditions, workers have only their labor power to sell, since they own no private property; they own no means of production--other than their own labor. Once they sell their labor, they increasingly lose control over it, the conditions of their work and the products they produce.

Being paid a wage, however, does not insure the worker of being paid a sum commensurate with the total value of what the worker has produced. In fact, Marx points out, the worker is really paid according to the amount of time required to ensure his/her return to the job the next day.²

¹While Marx's analysis has been criticized by feminists in this area, suffice it to say here that capitalism did not "free" all individuals in the same way. It really "freed" primarily male individuals. However, it is important to note that to the degree women enter waged labor, they too become "freed" from pre-capitalist forms of production in Marx's terms (I will return to this issue in Chapters IV and V).

²In Marx's language, this is equivalent to the worker's necessary labor. In general, workers sell their labor power to the capitalist for

Thus, the capitalist pays the laborer wages sufficient to permit the worker to continue to work and live at the prevailing level of subsistence--as a given time and place treats it. Contrary to his critics, Marx took cultural and historical phenomena into account in his discussion of wages (1867, p. 171). Not only must the worker be paid enough to keep him/her alive for the next day's work, but the wage given the worker is supposed to ensure that the worker's family is capable of reproducing and becoming the next generation of workers.¹

In short, the Labor Theory of Value holds that the only agency capable of creating more value than it represents (i.e., surplus value) is labor, or more accurately, human labor power. Labor power refers to just the time needed to perform the labor which under capitalism is bought and sold as a commodity. The capitalist system of production consists of the efforts by the capitalist class to expropriate ever greater quantities of surplus value. This process is in constant flux.

which they are paid a wage. The worker's labor is made up of two parts: necessary labor and surplus labor. Surplus labor is the amount of time laborers work beyond the time they need to reproduce themselves. As they are paid only enough to reproduce themselves, the extra is appropriated by the capitalists. Socially necessary labor is an aggregate of all the labor power in society--an average of labor time spent in self-reproduction. Thus, the capitalist pays wages to workers that is equivalent to their necessary labor. The capitalists then use the workers' surplus labor to make profits and maintain control over the labor process itself. This was one of Marx's major contributions: human labor power is the only commodity that is worth more after it is bought than before. According to Marx, though, workers should have full disposal and control of what they have produced together.

¹However, it was not until the late 1800s that the "family wage" as we understand it came into existence under capitalism. Prior to that time, it was expected that working class (and elite) married women would support themselves. I will elaborate on this more fully in Chapter V. Look specifically at the work of Hartmann (1974, 1976) and Hartmann and Bridges (1977).

As the mass of surplus value increases, with the help of machinery (past, congealed, or "dead" labor), so does surplus population. Here Marx brings out a basic contradiction in advanced capitalism: the simultaneous increase in productivity brings with it a decrease in the need for human labor power. More and more profits are able to be made while using less and less necessary labor. On the other hand, productive capacity is so great that more and more people must earn a wage so they can spend it in order to consume the products. Without such ever greater consumerism, the capitalist is unable to realize and raise his profits.

Within this context, women act as a cheap source of labor for an expanding capitalist system. Marxist theory provides us with two basic explanations for this. First, with the introduction of machinery, Marx asserted, capitalists could use physically weaker segments of the labor force--women and children in place of men (1867, p. 396). In addition to women's and children's cheaper labor due to alleged physical weakness, capitalists were eager to employ them because they were more docile and lacked a tradition of craft organization (see Lazonick, 1977, p. 114, footnote 6).

A second plausible explanation of women's cheaper labor is based on the idea that it is cheaper to reproduce women's daily existence than men's. Thus, women were considered to require lower wages because, for example, they ate less and were expected to have fewer luxuries than men. (This, of course, reflects women's lower social status, not their nutritional or other "natural" requirements.)

To summarize, Marx's Labor Theory of Value refers to women as well as to men when women enter the paid labor force. As waged labor they are exploited directly by capital. In the most general sense, women's market activity is similar to men's because (1) they sell their labor power on the market for a wage; (2) their wages reflect necessary labor--i.e., they are supposed to be paid enough to reproduce themselves; (3) the value of their surplus labor also goes into the product; and (4) capital sells the products for full value and realizes profit from the workers' surplus labor.¹

Unlike men, however, women act as a cheap source of labor within the context of the theory of surplus value because they are said to be not as strong as men, more docile, less organized, and the reproduction of their labor power costs less. Thus, women are said to be worth less, but able to work machines. In these ways, capitalists can make more surplus value from their labor than from men's. Finally, it is important to add, that as a cheap supply of labor with little organization, entering the lowest skill and pay rungs of waged labor, women are an important part of the reserve army of labor. Women's participation as

¹The value of one's labor is based on the cost of production and reproduction of labor power, not the specific products created by one's labor. What is important to the system of capitalism is the social form of labor--that one's labor power is sold to the capitalist who sells the resulting commodity on the commodity market, thereby creating a profit for the capitalist. Therefore, whatever surplus is created, either directly or indirectly (in terms of women working in areas that absorb surplus value) is expropriated by the capitalist class, not the worker herself.

There is much debate about the "productive" or "unproductive" nature of women's work--in the labor market as well as in the home. For reference to these debates, see Braverman (1974), Martin Oppenheimer (n.d.), and Fee (1976). I will not deal with these debates, except as they become directly relevant for my analysis.

a cheap source and reserve army of labor acts to decrease wages generally as well as to keep all workers "in line," with the fear that others (i.e., women) could be substituted to take over their (i.e., men's) jobs if they become unruly or too demanding.

In short, so long as their labor power creates profits for the capitalist, women's labor market activity is directly explainable by the Labor Theory of Value.

IV. Monopoly Capitalism and Its Impact on Women's Employment

Marx's own writings have led to a series of critical questions asked by a variety of writers using Marx's method of analysis. Of the numerous kinds of neo-Marxist tendencies that have emerged over the years, two developments of the past dozen years are important for my topic. These are Monopoly Capitalism and Marxist Feminism. While certain themes unite each, neither should be thought of as unified or solidified wholes. Quite the contrary. Rather, each is made up of a new set of debates that are in the process of being created, modified, and understood.

Monopoly Capitalism develops from classical Marxist theory and deals with women in the labor force as part of all paid workers. This perspective stresses the nature of the labor market and the types of jobs created by monopoly capitalism. Within this context we can explain the process of female incorporation into certain sectors of twentieth century wage labor, most particularly the most disadvantaged sectors. Marxist Feminism reflects more specifically feminist concerns.

It directs itself more to the relationship between women's non-market (home) activity and her market activity, as both are grounded in the historical development of capitalism. The remainder of this chapter deals with Monopoly Capitalism. (As already noted, the following two chapters will deal with Marxist Feminism.)

The Monopoly Capitalist tendency focusses on advanced or later capitalism of the mid-twentieth century. In terms of women, this theory extends Marx's analysis that women are workers (waged laborers) in the system of creating and realizing surplus value for the capitalists. Its focus, however, is on the ever more integrated and exclusionary system of production, the increasing roles of the state and consumerism. Women's unpaid non-market (primarily home) labor is usually acknowledged, but not analyzed. Certainly its connections to male dominated and sexist practices and beliefs are not adequately questioned.

Despite these weaknesses, the main contribution of contemporary Marxists' understanding of monopoly capitalism for women's labor resides in (1) the overall context of monopoly capitalism in understanding women's labor and (2) the understanding that the nature of the labor market and the types of jobs that are created by monopoly capitalism recruit women into certain positions which automatically disadvantage them in comparison to men. It is monopoly capitalism that created the secretary, salesworker, financial clerk and elementary school teacher as we know them today. That women are employed in these jobs in a sex-segmented labor market is described by Labor Market Segmentation theorists (Chapter II). Why it is women who are employed in these jobs is explained at least in part by the Monopoly Capital theorists.

Some of the major and best of these works include: Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy (1966); Harry Braverman (1974); Judah Hill (1975); Charles Anderson (1974); Stanley Aronowitz (1973); Martin Oppenheimer (n.d.); Francesca Freedman (1975); Katherine Stone (1974); and Margery Davies (1974).

It has been accepted by both mainstream¹ and Marxist social scientists for some time that the atomized and competitive model of capitalism prevalent in the nineteenth century no longer exists. The individual owners of capital (be it a family or small group of partners) and the capitalist firm used to be thought of as identical. A substantially different structure has emerged in the era of monopoly capital, with new and different types of workers. Marx anticipated this development in part with the idea of "joint-stock" companies²-- a forerunner of what we now call advanced or corporate or monopoly capitalism--in place of family or individual capitalism. Baran and Sweezy (1966) elaborate on this new stage of development in their pioneering Monopoly Capital. Although they do not address the issue of women in their book, Baran and Sweezy were instrumental in clarifying certain basic ideas in the development of monopoly capitalism

¹See, for example, Parsons' article on social stratification (1949b).

²The nature of corporate capitalism is described as follows: The producers on a large scale in a particular branch of industry in a particular country unite in a trust, a union for the purpose of regulating production. They determine the total amount to be produced, parcel it out among themselves, and thus enforce the selling price fixed beforehand. The whole of the particular industry is turned into one gigantic joint-stock company; internal competition gives place to the internal monopoly of this one company (Engels, 1880, pp. 143-144).

essential to an understanding of what happens to women in today's labor market.

In the United States, industrialization has been marked by two phases: from about 1820-1890 we experienced an economy of essentially small competitive units (competitive capitalism). From approximately 1890 to the present has been a period of centralization and concentration, as Marx anticipated, to large monopolistic units with national and international effects (monopoly capitalism). During this period, suggest Baran and Sweezy, "big business" dominates the market in the interest of maximizing profits. Small corporations exist, but always in the shadow of the giants who organize the relations of production.

In the United States, the top corporations represent less than one-half of 1 per cent of all corporations; yet they control 72 per cent of all profits (Anderson, 1974). Thus, while a very small number of capitalists control a very large share of the market, they dominate profits, but they do not take them over completely. For an analysis of this process, see O'Connor (1973) below.¹

¹In a capitalist society, people own no property but their own labor power, which they must sell in order to survive. In the United States today, almost nine out of ten employed people are wage or salary earners. Only one in ten are self-employed. And only a small percentage of these self-employed people employ large numbers of personnel (see Anderson, 1974; Freedman, 1975; Braverman, 1974). Although waged labor was known in antiquity, a substantial class of waged laborers did not begin to form until the fourteenth century, and did not become numerically significant until the rise of industrial capitalism in the early eighteenth century. But it has been the numerically dominant form of labor for little more than a century, and only in a few countries at that. Thus, in the early 1800s in the United States, four-fifths of the population was self-employed. By 1870 it dropped to one-third; by 1940 to one-fifth; and by 1970 to one-tenth (Braverman, 1974, p. 52).

The long corporate time horizon and rationalization of management are two features of monopoly capitalism, which, according to Baran and Sweezy, generate much greater security for the corporation. They promote a "live and let live" attitude--but only toward other members of the big business corporate world. What this means is that monopoly capital uses all available methods--organizational and technological--to carefully evaluate their moves, thereby decreasing their risks and losses. By controlling prices among the few major corporations in a field, the giant companies are all able to maximize their profits.¹ Of course, under these conditions, many more decisions about production and sale of commodities are under monopoly control too--prices, type, quantity and quality of products; managerial forms of organization over the work process itself; and so on. Further, profits are increasingly higher.

One of the consequences of this type of monopolistic control is the production of tremendous amounts of surplus value, from which we have learned profits are expropriated. Thus, it is Baran and Sweezy's (1968) argument "that under monopoly capitalism, owing to the nature of the price and cost policies of the giant corporations, there is a strong and systematic tendency for surplus to rise, both absolutely and as a share of total output" (p. 79). They then become concerned with how that surplus is used, or "absorbed" in monopoly capitalism.

¹See where the Popular Economics Press (1977) reports that the top four companies in each industry control 75 per cent of the market in automobiles, oil, tobacco, etc.

Baran and Sweezy point to the development of completely new industries in the twentieth century--like advertising and sales efforts; finance and real estate; as well as the growth of the state--in both its welfare and warfare aspects, in the absorption of surplus value. They argue that much of the surplus was drained off into branches of labor such as these, which were nonproductive in the classical Marxist sense--i.e., did not produce surplus value directly, but were essential for the realization of profits.¹ Thus, the production and absorption of ever greater surpluses is an ever spiraling condition in monopoly capitalism.

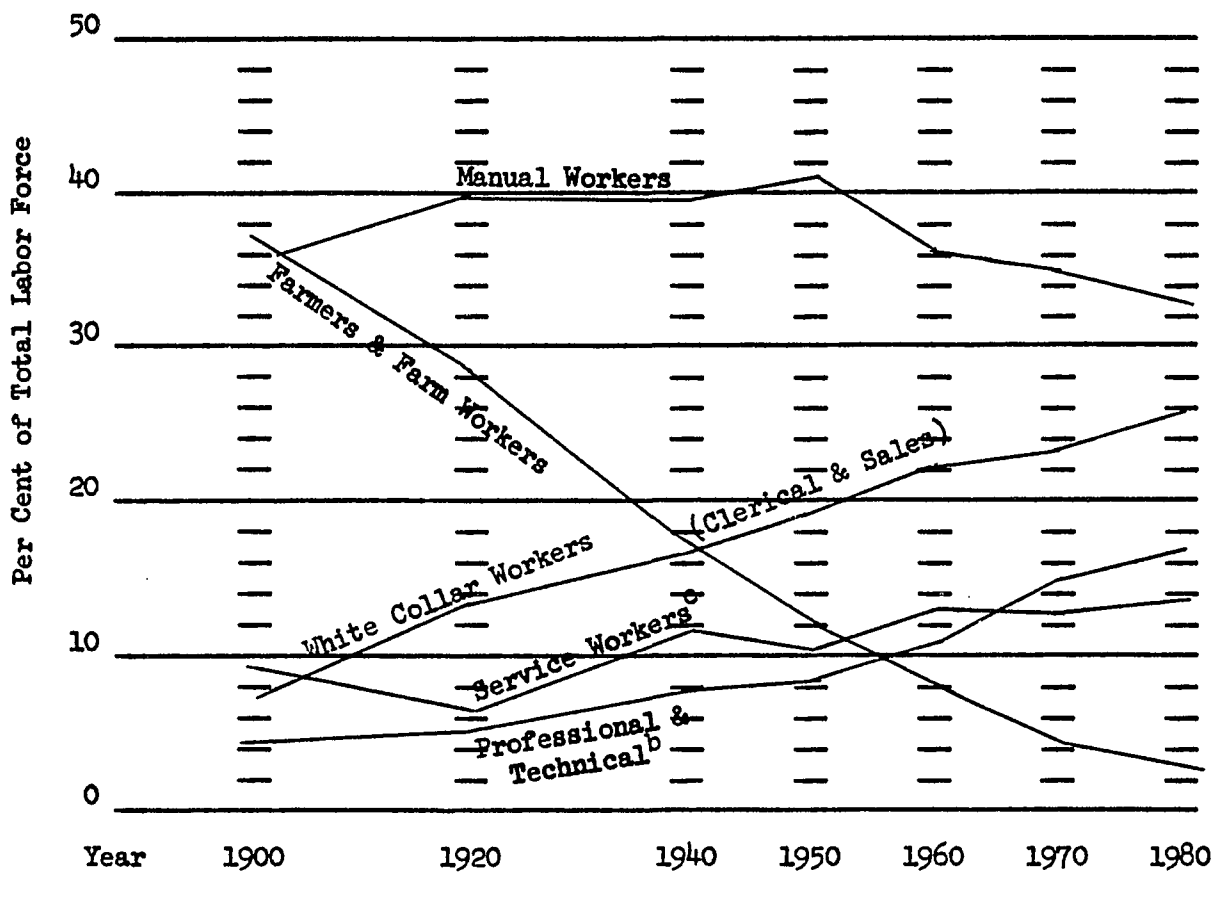
Corporate monopoly capitalism, present day Marxists stress, faces a constant crisis of overproduction. Mechanization decreases the numbers of workers needed in certain parts of the labor force. However, it simultaneously creates demands for workers in new and existing production branches as well as a vast army of unemployed (Marx, 1867, pp. 592-593; as referenced in Braverman, 1974, pp. 253-254). Thus, for example, as twentieth century monopoly capitalism developed in America, fewer workers were needed primarily in the farm² and later in the manufacturing sectors (Chart 3-1). On the other hand, more and more workers became employed in what is known as the "services": clerical

¹Realization refers to the transformation of commodity values into money form. Only in this way are profits possible.

²Farm production dropped from 50 per cent of the working population in 1880 to 4 per cent in 1970. In nonfarm industries devoted to production of goods, a drop began in the 1920s from its traditional 45-50 per cent of urban employment to 33 per cent in 1970.

An example of this is dramatized in a recent article (King, April 15, 1977). The steady decline of the farm population is shown as productivity and farm land under cultivation climb higher and higher under modern agribusiness.

CHART 3-1

TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES LABOR FORCE COMPOSITION^a

^aAdapted from Freedman (1975), p. 55.

^bIncludes self employed.

^c"Service" workers in this chart only includes low level service workers, such as beauticians, bartenders, waitresses, nurses' aides, etc.

and sales; professional and technical workers; and low-skill "service" or maintenance jobs. However, not only did "newly formed branches of production" materialize (e.g., plastics industry), but also, as Baran and Sweezy had suggested, so did new branches of nonproduction-- "entire industries and large sectors of existing industries whose only function is the struggle over the allocation of the social surplus among the various sectors of the capitalist class and its dependents." This creates a "new distribution of labor [and] has created a social life vastly different from that of only seventy or eighty years ago" (Braverman, 1974, p. 255).

Hence, I want to argue, it is precisely the nature of these new areas of employment that begin to explain the incorporation of women into paid labor during the twentieth century (as described in part in Chapter II above) as well as their low wages.

While Baran and Sweezy studied the creation and absorption of value and surplus value in monopoly capitalism, it became the task of others to study the surplus of labor itself and where it was directed. One of the most important and best known of works in this vein is that of Harry Braverman's Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century (1974).

According to Braverman, twentieth century modern American capitalism is characterized most specifically by mass production, scientific management, and increasing specialization and subdivision of tasks in the labor process. He shows how these features of the monopoly era affected the nature of work itself, while creating a new type of working class.

Traditionally, mainstream analyses of the division of labor (see Durkheim, 1893) argue that technology has advanced so much that it is necessary to specialize--if only to deal with the volume and complexity of knowledge. Braverman, on the other hand, shows that this so-called specialization in the labor process is simultaneously a "degradation" of labor: a breaking down and simplification of a task in such a way as to allow the use of less skilled labor in one or more subportions of the task as well as to wrest more and more control out of the hands of the laborer.¹ This leads to increased production, cheapening of the cost of labor power and thereby increased profits, as well as increased control by capital and its representatives (management) over the labor process.

In fact, the assembly line production and the organization of the large-scale, formal bureaucratic enterprise of the monopoly capital era at the turn of the century were organized specifically for these purposes: increased control and profits for capital. Under the rubric of "scientific management" it is described as a process that systematically applies the scientific principles of management--efficiency, rationality, and specialization--to the running of large-scale bureaucratic organizations. It began to emerge as a dominant organizational form between 1890 and 1910, the emerging period of monopoly capitalism.

¹Moreover, Marglin (1974) suggests that the concentration of workers in factories was an outgrowth of the putting out system "whose success had little or nothing to do with the technological superiority of large-scale machinery." The key to success and the inspiration of the factory organization of work was the "substitution of capitalists' for workers' control of the production process; discipline and supervision could and did reduce costs without being being technologically superior" (p. 84). This capitalist division of labor is intensified in its own special way in monopoly capitalism. See discussion on Frederick W. Taylor below.

Frederich W. Taylor, an engineer, was the creator of the idea of "scientific management," which is alternatively called "Taylorism" by many in the field. He was one of the first theorists to discuss the importance of taking mental skills away from the worker. He insisted that employers must gain absolute control over the worker's knowledge. "All possible brain work should be removed from the shop and centered in the planning or laying-out department" (Taylor, 1911; as referenced in Katherine Stone, 1974, p. 142, footnote 75).

In short, Taylor (1911) separated the technical ability to perform a limited task from the cognitive ability to abstract, plan, and logically understand the whole process. The former made the worker a cog in the machine--limited in knowledge and skill, uninformed of the totality of the process, and unable to exert control over it. The latter was the special ability assigned to management. While management became the representative of the capitalist, the only ones knowledgeable about the totality of the production process, foremen became the disciplinarians on the shop floor. Within management, then, the discipline function became divided from the task of directing, planning and coordinating the work. "This is the basis for today's distinction between 'staff' and 'line' supervision" (Katherine Stone, 1974, p. 151).

The application of the principles of scientific management should be understood as part of the class struggle: Taylor's ideas influenced and supported professional management precisely at a time when unions were gaining strength and employers waged militant anti-union campaigns (Cochran, 1957; as reported in Kanter, 1975b, p. 44).

This is documented specifically for the steel industry by Katherine Stone (1974) in her analysis of the deskilling of the steel workers, and the increasing decision-making control and technical knowledge of the professional managerial sector.

Moreover, emphasizes Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977a), managers sought legitimation of their new roles in the increasing professionalization which

gave ideological coherence to the control of a relatively small and exclusive group of men over a large group of workers, and that also differentiated the viewpoint of managers from that of owner-entrepreneurs [the earlier capitalists]. The managerial viewpoint stressed rationality and efficiency as the *raison d'etre* for managerial control. Without the power of property to back them, the new managers created and relied instead on a claim of "efficiency," in order to justify the unilateral exercise of power by management (p. 20).

Thus, organizing the assembly line along Taylor's principles of scientific management does two things at the same time: First, it takes decision-making control out of the hands of the workers themselves and puts it in the hands of management. Second, and most importantly for capitalism, it also allows the production process to become more efficient--simultaneously replacing the workers with cheaper labor.

Contrary to the idea that specialization increases the skills needed by each worker so they may be more knowledgeable and in greater control of the production process, Charles Babbage shows that in a society based on the purchase and sale of labor power, dividing the craft actually cheapens its individual parts (as reported in Braverman, 1974, p. 80).

The rationalization of labor, the separation between planning and organizing, the separation between conception and execution, the continual breaking down of the labor process into more simplified parts has helped to create the volume of jobs in industry. However, as some workers are laid off, they may become incorporated into the more simplified jobs in industry. New entrants to the labor market are also employed in these "deskilled" jobs. Moreover, new forms of labor in other areas emerge too. In short, workers are increasingly incorporated into more simplified tasks that are cheaper to reproduce in their more broken-down forms,¹ and into new labor areas which are not mechanized, but rather are labor intensive requiring the numerous workers to compete with each other, further decreasing the wages needed to staff these jobs.²

An example of this degradation process is shown for clerical work--as women became employed in the labor market. Not only are women employed in large numbers as the demands of capital change--i.e., the need for clerical support services are obvious in the newly created bureaucratic organization of the monopoly era--, but also the need for a large pool of educated and cheap labor is clarified: literate people are needed for clerical and secretarial skills and cheap labor is needed for degraded tasks.

¹Money is put into machines instead. See examples of recent changeovers in the production process of The New York Times newspaper (Browne, July 3, 1978; Winfrey, July 3, 1978); and retooling of automobile plants (Stuart, November 27, 1977). In both cases, lay-offs of workers, or "attrition" as they call it, are tremendous, while new technology is exorbitantly costly.

²Over time, these labor intensive jobs likewise undergo the process of "bureaucratic organization" and "deskilling." See Greenbaum and Cummings (1978); and Braverman (1974).

In fact, the entire nature of clerical work changed with the development of the monopoly capital enterprise. It is to the work of both Braverman (1974) and Margery Davies (1974) that I turn to understand what has happened to a large segment of women workers in the United States.

Clerical work has become one of the largest categories of employment during the twentieth century, but particularly so for women. In 1870, only one-sixth of 1 per cent of gainfully employed workers were clerical workers according to the United States Bureau of the Census; and in 1900 only 3 per cent. But by 1970, 18 per cent of the employed population were clerical workers. However, when the clerical labor force was small, virtually all the workers were male. In 1870, 97.5 per cent of all clerical workers were men. Today, with almost one-fifth of the labor force working in clerical jobs, almost four-fifths are women (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 1880, 1975). Moreover, the largest single category of employment for women in the United States is clerical work--and comprises one-third of all female employment. Today, this continues to be an expanding occupation for women.

In the nineteenth century, during the period of competitive capitalism, when offices were almost exclusively staffed by men, they were very small and personal. Prior to the Civil War most offices usually contained two or three clerks in addition to the owner. The small size meant the relationship between employer and employee was a very personalized one. Moreover, the nature of work in the clerical stratum during this period was likened to a craft. It represented

a "total occupation," as Braverman (1974) calls it, "the object of which was to keep current the records of the financial and operating condition of the enterprise, as well as its relations with the external world." Moreover, as he continues, clerical jobs were avenues of mobility and prestige.

Master craftsmen, such as bookkeepers or chief clerks, maintained control over the process in its totality, and apprentices or journeymen craftsmen--ordinary clerks, copying clerks, office boys--learned their crafts in office apprenticeships, and in the ordinary course of events advanced through the levels by promotion (p. 299).

However, with the expansion of large corporations beginning in the last decade or so of the nineteenth century, business operations became more complex, and were met by a large increase in office size, correspondence, record-keeping, and office work in general. Signalled by developments in banks, insurance companies and public utilities, these changes spread to manufacturing enterprises by the turn of the century. To fill the ever increasing need for clerical workers, employers turned to the large pool of educated women. To quote Davies (1974):

Women were originally employed in offices because they were cheaper than the available male labor force. As corporations expanded at the end of the nineteenth century, they were forced to draw on the pool of educated females to meet their rapidly increasing demand for clerical workers. But the expansion of capitalist firms did not entail a simple proliferation of small, "nineteenth century" offices. Instead it meant a greatly-expanded office structure, with large numbers of people working in a single office. The situation was no longer that of the nineteenth-century office, where some of the clerks were in effect apprenticing managers. The expanded office structure, on the contrary, brought with it a rapid growth of low-level, dead-end jobs.

It was largely women who filled those low-level jobs. By 1920, for instance, women made up over 90 percent of the typists and stenographers in the United States (p. 20).

The office became stratified: the lower-paid clerical and secretarial functions were increasingly held by women; and the better-paid accountant and semi-managerial jobs (to say nothing of professional managers themselves) were held by men, many of whom had been clerks earlier. Compulsory education made room for women in teaching (so that they came to replace men), but not in the professions. Thus, it simultaneously created a large pool of literate women ready to enter the expanding office work force.

Along with the change in the sex of the clerical worker was a change in the nature of the work itself. No longer were clerical workers the small and privileged stratum of the past. Monopoly capitalism changed all that. Clerical jobs became dead-end, with a high degree of replaceability, virtually no career ladder to prestigious and managerial jobs. Work became routinized, repetitive, boring, with little independent judgment left to the clerk. Pay was low and the work was degraded: tasks were subdivided and simplified, and the labor process was cheapened, and clerical workers had little or no control over their work. (See also Mills, 1956, here.)

The cheapening of labor power can be seen in the difference in pay given to clerical workers at the beginning of the century and today. In 1899, the average clerical pay was double that of production and transportation workers' average pay. By 1971, the median weekly wage for full-time clerical workers was lower than that in every type of blue collar work (Braverman, 1974, p. 297).

This same process of the lowering of the wage for the second major area of occupational growth in twentieth century monopoly

capitalism can be seen in the wage rates of service workers today. The service sector has become typically female work (see Chapter II). Mainstream social scientists frequently applaud the growing importance of service industries in "western industrialized" societies as a sign of their progress.

In fact, if all occupations considered to be services are included, approximately 60 per cent of the employed labor force today can be said to work in the service sector. According to a major mainstream economist, Victor Fuchs (1968), these jobs include: wholesale trade, retail trade, finance and insurance, real estate, and housing and institutional employment, professional, personal, business and repair services, and general government including the armed forces (as reported in Braverman, 1974, p. 394). This is in contrast to the industry sector--including mining, constructing, manufacturing, transportation, communications and public utilities and government enterprises--and the agriculture sector, both of which have been stagnating or declining. The service sector, in contrast (as defined by Fuchs), grew from approximately 40 per cent of total employment in 1929 to over 55 per cent in 1967. (For more recent figures, see Montagna, 1977, and Chapter II above.)

However, Fuchs' most striking finding is the growing gap between the pay levels in the industry sector and those in the service sector.

As Braverman reports it:

With remarkable consistency, the average rates of pay in the Service sector each year slipped further behind the average rates of pay in the Industry sector, so that by 1959 Industry rates were on the average 17 percent higher, and thereafter the gap continues to widen (p. 395).

The cheapening of labor power in the service sector in comparison to the other sectors of the economy is clearly evident. As one analyst suggests,

The growth of the services sector . . . with its apparently insatiable demand for lower-level office skills, by now sex stereotyped, explains the large number of women office workers--together, of course, with their availability through public education (Martin Oppenheimer, n.d., p. 5).¹

The increase in service work, and thus of low-wage industries and occupations is part of the "service economy." Moreover, as Montagna (1977) argued in Chapter II, an increase in a service-oriented society is an increase in Secondary, not Primary, types of jobs. Furthermore, it is important to recognize that

the levels of pay in the low wage industries and occupations are below the subsistence level; that is to say, unlike the scales of the highest paid occupational groups, they do not approach the income required to support a family at the levels of spending necessary in modern society. But because these industries and occupations are also the most rapidly growing ones, an ever larger mass of workers has become dependent upon them as the sole source of support for their families (Braverman, 1974, pp. 395-396).

In sum, the era of monopoly capitalism has ushered in a new type of working class population in general. The nature of work itself has changed. This changing nature of work, I have argued, has been a large part of the reason why women have been increasingly incorporated

¹A further investigation of these data shows that about half of the gap is explained by "the well known fact that blacks, women and young workers, etc. receive less pay." However, as Braverman (1974) points out:

This proves to be only part of the explanation: the differing compositions of the two sectors of employment "explain" only about one-half the great and growing spread in pay. This means that while the Service sector contains a disproportionate share of those who, throughout the whole economy, get lower pay, and this pulls down the average for the sector, at the same time all kinds

into wage labor--as they have been--during the twentieth century. The demand for a large supply of cheap literate labor was made available in large part through the use of women.

The change in the nature of work from an industrial to a service economy is based, according to Braverman, on the development of the "universal market." In its attempt to expand its markets, monopoly capitalism first conquered goods production by the commodity form, and then by increasing services and their conversion into commodities so as to allow capitalists direct access to profits from services typically performed in the home. Finally, there is a "product cycle," which invents new products and services, some of which become indispensable as the conditions of modern life change to destroy alternatives. Thus, the development of commodity goods and commodity services from which there is little possibility of escape in a society such as ours is reinforced from the other side by an analogous development in worker's work: "the atrophy of competence," the deskilling of labor.

It is in this regard I quote Braverman's conclusion at length.

It is characteristic of most of the jobs created in this "service sector" that, by the nature of the labor processes they incorporate, they are less susceptible to technological change than the processes of most goods-producing industries. Thus, while labor tends to stagnate or shrink in the manufacturing sector, it piles up in these services and meets a renewal of the traditional forms of pre-monopoly competition among the many firms that proliferate in fields with lower capital-entry requirements. Largely nonunion and drawing on the pool of pauperized labor at the bottom of the working-class population, these industries create new low-wage sectors of the working class, more intensely exploited and oppressed than those in the mechanized fields of production.

This is the field of employment, along with clerical work, into which women in large numbers are drawn out of the household. According to the statistical conventions of economics, the conversion

of workers in the Service sector, no matter what their age, color, or sex, receive on the average lower rates of pay (p. 395).

of much household labor into labor in factories, offices, hospitals, canneries, laundries, clothing shops, retail stores, restaurants, and so forth, represents a vast enlargement of the national product. The goods and services produced by unpaid labor in the home are not reckoned at all, but when the same goods and services are produced by paid labor outside the home they are counted. From a capitalist point of view, which is the only viewpoint recognized for national accounting purposes, such reckoning makes sense. The work of the housewife, though it has the same material or service effect as that of the chambermaid, restaurant worker, cleaner, porter, or laundry worker, is outside the purview of capital; but when she takes one of these jobs outside the home she becomes a productive worker. Her labor now enriches capital and thus deserves a place in the national product. This is the logic of the universal market (pp. 282-283).

In short, the theory of Monopoly Capital helps us to explain the incorporation of women into certain low-waged and deskilled jobs in the labor market. Above has included an analysis of clerical and low level "service" jobs. Below I shall attempt to analyze the position of the higher level "service"-oriented jobs provided by college-educated women in today's labor market.

V. The Role of the State and Female Employment--with Special Emphasis on Explaining College-Educated Women's Position in the Labor Market

The study of monopoly capitalism as a system has the added advantage of being able to understand the role of the state and the relation of its heavily female (and non-white) employees in the absorption, indirect accumulation, and legitimation of surplus value. And, it is in the monopoly capitalist era that the idea of a reserve army of labor is expanded to include a myriad of employed, underemployed, unemployed, and unpaid home laborers (i.e., housewives). This has direct implications for women's labor market activity.

In my analysis of college-educated women, I will make use of the tripartite model of the economy developed by James O'Connor in The Fiscal Crisis of the State (1973). Although O'Connor himself does not deal with the issue of women in the labor market in any detail, his model helps me show where and how women are employed in monopoly capitalism, especially women in so-called professional and semiprofessional jobs.

O'Connor starts by analyzing the fiscal crisis of the state (i.e., the tendency for government expenditures to outrace revenues). This is caused in large part by the increased "socialization"¹ of the costs of production along with the maintenance of private profits. This leads him to suggest that there are primarily three areas to the economy in monopoly capitalism: monopoly, competitive, and public ("state" or government) sectors. (For definitions and descriptions of these three sectors, see pp. 135-138. Also, see Table 3-1, next page.)

Women are underrepresented in the most profitable sector (monopoly), overrepresented in the least profitable (competitive), as well as in the government (state) sectors. This last sector, however, does not create surplus value directly, but rather absorbs it or accumulates it in the interest of private property. The most educated women, i.e.,

¹Of course Marxists use the term "socialization" differently than mainstream sociology. In mainstream sociology, socialization refers to the inculcation of attitudes, values, beliefs, ideals, behaviors and so on in the process of training people to become members of groups and society. In Marxist terms, socialization refers to collective, public responsibility for activities that were formerly the responsibility of individuals or corporations. For example, schools now assume much of the burden of labor training costs which save corporations tremendous amounts of money.

TABLE 3-1

CHARACTERISTICS OF PRODUCTION AND LABOR FORCE IN EACH SECTOR OF THE UNITED STATES ECONOMY^{a,b}

Characteristics of Sectors	Monopoly Capital Sector	State Sector ^c		Competitive Capital Sector
		(A) Contractual	(B) Service	
Characteristics of Production	Primarily Manufacturing Economic Concentration Highly Monopolistic Vertical + Horizontal Integration (Conglomerates) National + International	Primarily Services Economic Deconcentration Monopolistic Vertical + Sectorial Federal, State, Local		Primarily Trade + Service Economic Deconcentration Competitive Vertical + Sectorial Regional + Local
Social Make-up	Corp. Owners + Controllers + Professional (Technocracy) + Blue Collar-Industrial Working Class-Unionized + White Collar-Technical + Administration			Small Business Executives (Industry + Local Services) + Small Per Cent Blue Collar + Small Per Cent White Collar + Large Per Cent Service + Auxiliary + Ancillary Workers Weak Labor Force: Low Unioni- zation
Characteristics of Labor Force	Predominantly Male Nonwhites: Underrepresented Unionized Salaries: Relatively High	Predominantly Female ^d Nonwhites: Proportion- ally Represented Nonunionized Salaries: Medium		Predominantly Female ^d Nonwhites: Overrepresented Nonunionized Salaries: Low

^aAdapted from O'Connor (1973).

^bEach of the three sectors of the economy accounts for about one-third of the labor force.

^cWithin the State sector: Contractual (17 per cent) and Service (4 per cent Federal and 12 per cent State and Local) each accounts for about one-half of the labor force of the State sector.

^dMen still dominate decision-making positions here.

those identified as professional and technical workers by the United States Bureau of the Census, are employed most frequently in this last sector.

Several general principles of the system of monopoly capital require presentation before we look explicitly at the role of women in each of the three sectors. First, O'Connor suggests that each of these sectors are interdependent. The monopoly sector, which dominates the economy, generates technical innovation and growth--but under state stimulation. This in turn pushes certain workers out of the monopoly sector and makes them available for the other two sectors: competitive and state.

Second, O'Connor shows that monopoly growth is created by state-financed technological developments (through tax reductions, direct outlays in the form of contracts or public services paid from "working class" taxes, etc.), not through expanded employment. Although the state acts in the interest of the dominant class in any society, its role is greatly expanded in monopoly capitalism. Weber, as well as Marx, stressed this. This does not mean, however, that the state is a conspiratorial monolith or a puppet. Rather, it is a complex structure of authority relations with many of its own internal contradictions. The state needs to legitimate as well as enrich the monopoly sector. The complicated interrelationships between monopoly and competitive sectors (for examples, see below) imposes a number of contradictory requirements on the state. "Fundamentally, the state must both sustain profits and hold the society together" (San Francisco Bay Area Kapitalstate Group, 1975, p. 150).

Third, O'Connor emphasizes the monopoly sector does not drive out the less profitable competitive sector, but actually regenerates it. Thus the competitive sector employs a large population of "under-employed" workers who would otherwise comprise a surplus population of crisis proportions. As the Labor Market Segmentation theorists described it, a structured relationship of underemployed workers is built into monopoly capitalism via the Secondary or competitive capital labor force.

Moreover, this is precisely what Braverman (1974) has suggested when he says that monopoly capitalism has completed the "conquest of all goods production by the commodity form" along with the displacement of labor from these industries, and "brings into existence the labor force required by capitalism in its new incarnations." Monopoly capital, in other words, renews "the traditional forms of pre-monopoly competition among the many firms that proliferate in the fields with lower capital-entry requirements" (pp. 281-282).

Fourth, the problems of monopoly capitalism are shifted continuously to the competitive and state sectors. For example, the competitive sector not only employs monopoly workers as a "hidden" reserve army of labor, it also provides a market of "secondary" or "used" goods and services for those who cannot afford the continual high-priced markets of technologically advanced monopoly sector. (See O'Connor's examples on second-hand car dealers needed and small independent gas stations.)

The state does pretty much the same. First, it absorbs the surplus population (through welfare as well as through government employment) and surplus goods (through warfare, as well as buying

goods and services from private industry to supply government bureaucracies). Secondly, it also provides direct subsistence and direct contracting to private monopoly interests and takes over private failures when they are no longer sufficiently profitable for the capitalists. Thus, for example, New York State bought two unprofitable electrical plants from Con Edison and then rented them back to Con Edison at reduced rates (Newfield, November 3, 1975).

The intensification of government sector is evident in the following account of who it employs. According to one author's estimates:

Government has become the single most important generator of employment, directly or indirectly accounting for one-quarter of existing jobs. . . . Adding together the unemployed, the military-employed or -dependent, and the government-employed, we are talking about thirty-four million people, 40 per cent of the officially defined labor force. Take these jobs away and the Depression of the 1930s would perhaps seem like a mere recession (Anderson, 1974, p. 153).

Clearly, the boom in the American economy since World War II (until the mid-1960s), the era of strengthening monopoly capitalism, has in large part been caused by an increase in government spending and employment, not the independent expansion of private industry.

O'Connor specifies the properties of the three economic sectors and who each employs as follows. Each sector employs about one-third of the labor force. Monopoly capital sector is characterized by large-scale production, fueled by government-supported technical innovations, located in national and international markets (oil, steel, automobiles, etc.). Large amounts of fixed capital and administered or controlled prices ensure a high level of profits and thus allow workers better wages--although wages increase only enough so the workers can buy the

monopoly priced goods. The job stability, unionization of labor, and internal markets of the Primary markets characterize the monopoly sector. It employs predominantly white males, appropriately for each of the hierarchical levels of employment (e.g., management and blue collar workers). Labor in this sector has dominated the development of American trade unions. While it has won certain advantages for its workers, it also acts to keep them in line. Women are sorely underrepresented in this relatively high paying and stable economic sector.

The competitive sector, on the other hand, consists of small-scale production located in regional and/or local markets (such as small businesses, grocery stores, service stations, restaurants, clothing stores). Competitive sector profits are made through the process of absolute surplus value production. It can increase profits only by paying low wages, maintaining poor working conditions, keeping long hours. New firms enter more easily the competitive than the monopoly sector, limiting any firms' ability to expand the scale of production. However, they are almost as likely to fold. Thus, 75-80 per cent of all small businesses close within three years. But they keep entering. In fact, this is where women are most likely to enter the business world when they enter (Bender, April 25, 1976).

For workers in this sector, wages are low; employment is commonly casual, temporary or seasonal. Workers are weakly organized, with minimal unionization. Workers usually wanting but unable to find full-time, year-round well-paid work in the monopolistic sector accept employment here on almost any terms. This sector employs women (and non-whites) in proportions much greater than their representation in

the labor force. Despite the huge increase in female employment in the United States, only 42 per cent of all employed women work in jobs that are both full-time and year round. (Women's rate is 67 per cent that of men's in this case.) Many married women work only part-time. This is encouraged by employers in the competitive sector because fringe benefits and overhead costs are much lower for these workers. Full-time, year-round female employment is more likely to exist in monopoly sector clerical work as well as state sector clerical and professional/technical work.

The state or government sector is seen as an integral part of the employers of labor power and cannot be excluded as Dual Labor Market theory does.¹ The state sector is primarily service-oriented in its employment. It operates on federal, state, and local levels. Part of the state activity is at least indirectly productive for capital (such as in roads, state-financed industrial parks, manpower development programs, public schooling, social security, medicare, workmen's compensation); while some of it is not even indirectly productive (--this includes expenditures for internal and external social control). Like competitive capital, this sector is heavily female, although men, of course, dominate decision-making positions.

It is precisely in this sector (government) of the economy that women with college educations have been employed primarily. Men are more likely to be employed by the federal government, primarily in

¹A distinction should be made between Primary and Secondary markets of Dual Labor Market theory and tripartite model of O'Connor which includes also the state sector in addition to monopoly (akin to Primary) and competitive (akin to Secondary) capital sectors in general.

the civilian establishment for administering the military. Women are more likely to be employed by local and state government, concentrated in education.

Although professional women have not increased at the same rate as clerical and low level service workers during the twentieth century in the United States, there has been an increase from 8 per cent to 15 per cent between 1900 and 1970. However, this increase has occurred in the government and not the private sector. Thus, according to a recent national survey (utilizing the Parnes data), the overall figure obscures the fact that only 8 per cent of all white women employed in private industry were professional and technical workers, while a full 43 per cent of the white women in government were so classified. The figures for black women are similar: 2 per cent in private industry and 34 per cent in the government sector (Shea, et al., 1970, p. 107).

The activities in which we find educated women in the government sector--such as public schooling and health care--service the system of production as a whole, and in so doing reduce labor costs (the costs of reproducing the labor force) for private capital. Thus, many tasks previously performed in the home have become socialized and performed by women semiprofessionals primarily in the labor force at the expense of public taxes. Private corporations, of course, reap the benefits from the adequately trained, socialized, and cared-for population who produce surplus value for them.

Traditionally, such professionals are described as part of the petty-bourgeoisie along with other male professionals. However, as Judah Hill (1975) indicates, many of the so-called professional and

technical jobs of educated women (mostly semiprofessions as discussed in Chapter II above) "in the past would have been considered petit-bourgeois, but the march of monopoly capitalism has forced these occupations downward in a trend of proletarianization" (p. 48).

Contrary to the widely held belief that both the capitalist and working classes are dissolving into a single amorphous "middle class" in affluent American society (an idea held by many mainstream stratification theorists, e.g., Centers, 1949; Mayer, 1956, 1963), some of the neo-Marxist theorists assert that in advanced capitalism, educated workers are becoming proletarianized in their relations to the productive process.

Rising levels of income and the proliferation of new and different forms of wage labor thus reflect not the growth of a diffuse middle class but the stratification and diversification of a working class which has expanded in recent years to include technical and supervisory workers in addition to the classic industrial proletariat (David Smith, 1974, p. 173).

This is the thesis of the "new working class."

The "new working class" theory states that technological advances have transformed the nature of production so that an increasing amount of educated (especially college trained), technical, and scientific requirements and workers have become aligned with the traditional proletariat. The working class has expanded to include the more highly educated worker through the alienation and exploitation of their labor, similar to that of the industrial proletariat.

This educated, technical and professional strata is not representative of a new bourgeoisie or a new middle class replacing the free professional and small businessperson of the petty bourgeoisie.

Instead, the degradation of labor; the intense breakdown and specialization of tasks and knowledge; the routinization, mechanization, and standardization of a great deal of work; the factory-like conditions under which labor performs and is supervised; the powerlessness and loss of authority and decision-making control; and the lack of control over one's labor power, the tools, the process and goods produced--these all create a proletarianized educated new working class. Along with this has occurred a rising educational level in the traditional working class.

In sum, we might say, instead of an "embourgeoisment" of the blue collar worker or the traditional working class, as suggested by most mainstream stratification research, a "proletarianization" of the educated worker has been evolving in modern capitalism. This helps to explain, in part, the nature of work among highly educated female technical and professional workers.

Finally, it is important to remember that the increase in the state sector is neither stable nor permanent. It expands in times of boom (as in the 1960s' "war on poverty") and contracts in times of recession (as in the 1970s). One of the greatest upheavals over cutbacks in the past five years has been in public employment--visualize the crisis of the state in New York and California as primary examples. This unemployment affects women more than men. It seriously calls into question the belief that if only women were adequately educated, they would be eligible to compete for the best jobs in the country. Thus, for example, the overall unemployment rate for new Ph.D.s mid-1975 was up to 20.5 per cent. However, for women it was over

one-quarter (26.2 per cent) of all new Ph.D.s despite all the equal opportunity legislation since the 1960s (Jones, April 24, 1977).

VI. The Importance of Women as A Reserve Army of Labor in Monopoly Capitalism

The issue of women acting as a reserve army of labor is central to an understanding of the workings of monopoly capitalism both in its beginning stages as well as today. It was Marx's assumption that women were a cheap source of readily available labor based particularly on their limited strength and lack of organization. Thus, the introduction of machinery allowed employers to invest more in technology and less in human labor power by employing women in certain sectors of the market. While it is debatable that women's limited strength¹ was the cause of their lower paid market labor in capitalism, it is probably true that women's lack of organization and cheap labor keeps them particularly vulnerable to being pulled in and pushed out of jobs according to the needs of capital. Hence, it is important for us to understand women's functions not only as employed members of the market, but as a reserve of labor also.

In the remainder of this chapter I will document the ways in which women have served as cheap reserves of labor. Hence, I will look at women in their positions as low wage full-time employees

¹Hartmann (1976) reports that although men and women worked at different jobs in waged labor in seventeenth and eighteenth century England, their jobs required the same strength and similar skills very often. It was their wages that were less. Also, it should not be forgotten that after a century of differential socialization aimed at making women less capable than men and building machines to conform to this ideology, women's strength is still measured today at 65 per cent that of men's (Gubbels, 1970).

(especially amongst the vast number of competitive workers who act as a "hidden" reserve to the monopoly capital sector--see page 134 above); part-time and underemployed workers; discouraged and unemployed workers. Most importantly, it is my key hypothesis that women's role as "housewife" makes them a "reserve" to the reserve army of labor as it is traditionally understood. The housewife is a key, yet "hidden," back-up force for monopoly capital. In what follows I will describe how women in these various positions fit into a picture of the reserve army of labor in contemporary monopoly capitalism. This description makes clear just how Monopoly Capital theorists have failed to analyze directly the implications for a reserve army of labor of (a) some of women's market labor in terms of its relation to the reserve army, but (b) much more importantly, women's unpaid labor in the home. I believe these are crucial to an understanding of women's position in the labor force today.

The functions of a reserve army of labor are (1) to keep down wages and demands of the currently employed with the threat of job loss or reprisal; and (2) to provide capitalists with the ability to manipulate the system of production and output according to their own interest in profits.¹ This assumes that the reserve army is both cheap and available in numbers. Women fit these descriptions well.

While the proportion of women in the labor force has increased to over half of all adult women (eighteen to sixty-five years old) in

¹Today, factories are operating at about 80 per cent capacity or less.¹ Today² the Women's Work Study Group, 1975).

the 1970s, it should be clear that the way in which women have been employed in this society has still been to act as a reserve army of cheap and available labor. However, as Braverman (1974) makes very clear, the employed and unemployed are united in the accumulation of capital.

Thus the mass of employment cannot be separated from its associated mass of unemployment. Under conditions of capitalism, unemployment is not an aberration but a necessary part of the working mechanism of the capitalist mode of production. It is continuously produced and absorbed by the energy of the accumulation process itself. And unemployment is only the officially counted part of the relative surplus of working population which is necessary for the accumulation of capital and which is itself produced by it. This relative surplus population, the industrial reserve army, takes a variety of forms in modern society, including the unemployed; the sporadically employed; the part-time employed; the mass of women who, as houseworkers, forms a reserve for the "female occupations"; the armies of migrant labor, both agricultural and industrial; the black population with its extraordinarily high rates of unemployment; and the foreign reserves of labor (Braverman, 1974, p. 386).

In all cases, women are prime candidates for the reserve army of labor, although they fit certain instances better than others.

Women's inclusion in the labor market has always depended on the fact that they were a cheap supply of readily available labor in both competitive and monopoly stages of American capitalism. This is documented by Valerie Kincaide Oppenheimer (1970) and Harry Braverman (1974).

Oppenheimer (1970) analyzes the sex-segregated occupational structure in America between 1900 and 1960, the active period of monopoly capital in the United States. She stresses the fact that the inclusion of women into waged labor was based on two factors: first, women were a cheap source of available labor, especially when there were (male) labor shortages. And second, this inexpensive labor

had the added attraction of being skilled (like a seamstress) or endowed with special advantages--such as a relatively high level of education, like teachers and clerical workers (pp. 98-99). Thus, women were more likely to come to the job already trained, so that the capitalist did not have to invest in their training (p. 104). One example to show the difference between men's and women's labor even today is seen in the use and care of the typewriter: women enter a typing job already having learned how to use this machine. Men, on the other hand, who repair the typewriter are trained on the job, at the expense of the company.

In addition, as we saw in the discussion on the degradation of clerical work, changes in the job structure itself occurred which reduced its attractiveness to men. Here the labor process was divided and machines were introduced to (1) raise out-put, (2) cheapen production, and (3) increase management's control over the process. This led to an increase in the number of jobs for relatively educated women. At the same time, the relative privileges of pre-monopoly clerical work which was male-dominated were eliminated: with expansion, the jobs became dead-end. They became too low-paying for men. As Pamela Roby (1972) describes the pattern of female employment in primary education too, the shift from male to female employment in the mid-1800s was to characterize American labor force practices: "women were hired to fill a new job [or newly structured job] when men were not available, and the job soon became too low-paying even for men who needed work to be able to take it" (p. 122).

Women's constant availability as a cheap supply of labor is related to their availability as a reserve army of labor. The most commonly documented use of women as a reserve army occurs in times of war. Stories are legion about the inclusion and later expulsion of women in paid employment beginning with the Civil War (see Quick, 1972). The most famous stories are those of "Rosie the Riveter" during World War II (Tobias, 1973; Trey, 1972). When women were pushed out of high-paying "war-related" jobs, they were often employed in low-paying, low status "female" work, mostly in competitive capital industries. Or they were sent back home to become "housewives." In both instances, women function as a reserve of labor.

Roby also documents that women are not only more likely to be employed in the labor force, but they are also more likely to pick up "economic slack" in schools of higher education by becoming students when men enter the armed forces. In fact, the only time women have outnumbered men in college, according to Roby's (1972) data, was during World War II (p. 129). In addition, in the current recession, it has been reported that an equal number, or sometimes more women than men, are enrolled in college. This again, during a fiscal crisis (Roark, February 7, 1977). However, an educated female population does not ensure women either permanent jobs or respectable pay (when jobs are available) after they have "consumed" these educations.

The formal and informal methods used by employers (private and government alike) to convince women to give up their jobs once men returned from overseas after World War II are much less well documented. However, the recent historical analyses by concerned feminists are

beginning to bring these practices to light (see Quick, 1972; Trey, 1972; Milkman, 1976).

It has been suggested by one Marxist that the principle of women acting as a reserve army of labor is no longer applicable today, since women are approximately 40 per cent of the labor force in America (Szymanski, 1976, p. 43). It is his argument that married women "have been freed from the requirements of housework by the mechanization and socialization of housework and by the reduction in the socially necessary time for child care." Their labor is increasingly profitable for advanced capitalism by having them work as "regular" rather than "marginal" workers in the paid labor force.

While Szymanski is correct that women have expanded in their paid employment, women's value as a reserve army must not be overlooked today. There are a variety of ways in which women act as a reserve army of labor. (One could say there are a variety of female reserves of labor in monopoly capitalism.)

First, after World War II, while there was wholesale elimination of women from men's factory and administrative jobs, there was an increasing trend of female employment in "female" jobs. Why did this kind of female expansion occur at this time? On the one hand, recruiting women into low level, easily replaceable "female" jobs--particularly in the competitive sector, keeps women as a reserve to the monopoly sector, especially in times of disaster--such as war. On the other hand, as one group of writers suggests, there was an increased demand for workers due to the conversion of markets from war goods to consumer goods, the savings of American workers due to food and goods rationing

in the war, and the opening up of foreign markets. This pushed up wages. To keep wages down, capitalism encouraged women's working. This has seesawed back and forth according to the economy's demands (Women's Work Study Group, 1975). Thus, in the 1970s, we see a sharp increase in overall unemployment; and women's unemployment remains higher than men's. (See data in Szymanski, 1976.)

Second, as pointed out in our discussion of O'Connor, women generally and educated women especially are heavily employed in government jobs today. However, the current fiscal crisis of the state has led to an increased instability and impermanence in these jobs. Thus, jobs which are disproportionately female (and non-white) are more likely to be cut back during economic crises than jobs in the more stable monopoly capital sectors.

Public services are often seen as luxuries. Cutbacks in these goods and services mean lost jobs for government employees, who typically are not even covered by unemployment compensation. Special legislation must be passed and renewed each time state, local and federal employees are covered by unemployment compensation. This includes teachers, social workers and nurses¹ among the female dominated services² which are subject to heavy cutbacks today. In male dominated

¹It was recently reported in The Nation's Health (1977), an American Public Health Association publication, that "By far the largest casualty in the FY 78 budget recommendations is the nursing program. Of the \$139 million decrease Carter recommends for health training, \$100 million comes out of nursing, an 80 per cent cut in funding. Carter documents say, 'the supply of nurses is adequate'" (p. 5).

²Both Valerie Kincaide Oppenheimer (1973a) and Rossi (1973) voice fears about the increasing employment of women, but in lower status jobs primarily. Moreover, the Ph.D. unemployment rate is increasing, and is significantly worse for women.

public service jobs this includes such jobs as police work, where women were just beginning to make a small dent under affirmative action laws of the 1960s boom period. However, in the recent fiscal crisis, women were laid off in accordance with the principle "last hired, first fired" (see Kempton, 1975).

None of this is to deny that male workers' jobs in the monopoly sector are not hit--visualize the automobile industry. However, it is important to remember that these industries often are heavily unionized--auto workers were paid 95 per cent when they were out of work.

Third, as was indicated in the section on Dual Labor Market theory (Chapter II), women and men tend not to compete with one another for the same jobs generally. Therefore, they require separate reserve armies if capital is to have an effective weapon against workers. Despite this need of capitalism's for separate gender-related reserves of labor, the threat of changing gender categories is used against men to discipline them. In this sense, women are always potentially a reserve for men.

As Marx noted, to maintain capitalism, there must be competition among the workers for jobs. The more competition, the lower the wages and the higher the potential profits. The sex-segregation of labor markets protects certain men's jobs from competition by women workers. Because competition from those jobs is artificially reduced, pay is higher. How is this possible in an economy geared toward profit for the capitalist class only?

It is possible primarily in the monopoly sector of employment.¹ Again, as O'Connor (1973) explains, the increases paid to workers in the monopoly sector (which is primarily unionized white workers in national and multinational conglomerates) are based, since World War II, on a cost of living contract clause which does two things: it allows monopoly workers to be able to buy these higher cost goods, but it raises the prices of the commodities for everyone. The prices, remember, are "fixed" or "administered" in this sector. Therefore, it is the buying public who pays for cost of living increases, not the capitalist through his profits.

Thus, workers in all sectors of the economy (monopoly, competitive, government) must now pay the increased prices, even though they have not all obtained the relative increase in wages. This means that women and minorities, more likely to be employed in non-monopoly jobs (government and competitive sectors) are paid lower wages, but must still pay higher prices which support monopoly capital and monopoly sector workers. This helps maintain sex-segregation in the labor market itself.²

Fourth, it is certainly true that women are essential to the operation of the labor market today, not just as a reserve of labor. However, if women were paid wages equal with men, it is my hypothesis

¹N.B. This means that men, like women, in competitive and government sectors do not experience the same benefits as men in monopoly sector.

²When agreements with monopoly sector workers are not profitable to capital, even these concessions are lost by the workers. Also, this is a complicated process. O'Connor explains how monopoly sector worker's taxes pay for welfare. Thus, each sector is used against the other as a measure to "divide and conquer."

that a significantly large number would lose their jobs and become part of the unemployed reserve of labor. The women could be replaced by machines, by lower status and thus upwardly mobile men; or their work might be exported to cheaper labor in different parts of this country as well as to other countries all together. In all these cases, women would be an active reserve army of labor.

Fifth, I want to argue, the inclusion of women as "part-time" workers which has burgeoned since World War II has been done in large part to cut costs, to maintain women at miserably low wages, and to incorporate women as a readily available reserve of labor. This, I would argue, is true whether women are "voluntarily" socialized or "involuntarily" forced into taking part-time work in the labor market.

In the past decade, fully half of the seven million women entering the labor force did so as part-time workers. More to the point, among the major group of employed adult women in the United States today, women aged twenty-five to fifty-four years old outnumber men seven to one in part-time jobs (Flint, April 12, 1977). In addition to part-time work is the temporary help sector.¹ Here most of the jobs (70 per cent) are clerical,² and the vast majority of temporary workers are women, particularly housewives (Samuelson, May 22, 1977).

¹The temporary help industry was miniscule in size until after World War II. It grew in large part because of the tight labor markets after World War II and the growth of the part-time labor force in general. "Hence, the temporary help industry does not represent secular growth but rather, a response of business firms to a service and marketing strategy that would help to make their work force problems more manageable and less costly" (Gannon, 1974, p. 44). The two major goals of capital identified earlier--profits and control over labor power--are precisely those identified by Gannon.

²While 70 per cent of the temporary jobs are clerical, 28 per cent

Finally, it is important to remember that there is a very large number of women who work full-time, but not year-round. (Only 42 per cent of all employed women work both full-time and year-round.) Many cannot find jobs year-round and settle for those jobs where they can at least take home a weekly paycheck. However, it is not infrequent that these women will be laid off for certain periods of time (and even get their jobs back later), yet are not counted as permanent employees, and thus are not eligible for employee benefits and higher wages and power.

Despite the obstacles facing women in the labor market, employers frequently argue that women will work only certain hours due to child-care needs, and thus it is women's "fault" for not working more "steadily" in the market. A recent analysis of part-time labor in particular, by Jerry Flint (April 12, 1977), makes it clear that the needs of the labor market often encourage such attitudes to the degree that they exist.

Thus, "part timers, for example, provide a low paid but eager work force, which delights employers. They are hard to organize, which disgruntles unions." Moreover, "they are easy to fire." However, instead of being integrated by unions they are usually excluded from equal benefits. Companies use all this to their advantage. As one manager of a Detroit area department store said: even though the company is not firing full-time workers, "rather we are hiring part-time people to replace those full-timers we lose through attrition." Since

are in the industrial sector, and 2 per cent are in professional-technical sector (Gannon, 1974, p. 45).

fringe benefits account for approximately 35 per cent of labor costs, this obviously cuts down on the companies' costs. In the case of the above example of the Detroit department store, "the part-time force is already 65 percent of the total and growing." A book bindery factory in St. Paul, Minnesota claims to be a totally part-time facility. In the long run this affects all workers.

The issue of part-time worker's instability disappears when it is economically worthwhile to the company. Thus, according to the vice-president of personnel of the Prudential Insurance Company, which employs about 1,000 part-timers working out of its Newark headquarters:

The thing I've always liked about them [part-timers] is their stability and conscientiousness toward the work. They really make an effort. The housewives appreciate our efforts to tailor work to their schedules. The advantage is that they are on call, in and out. It is a very good substitute for costly overtime (as quoted in Flint, April 12, 1977, p. 55).

Finally, it should not be forgotten that low wages for women drag down the wages of all workers to some degree in the long run-- because employers can always threaten to replace their traditional male labor force with women. The resistance to implementing affirmative action can be understood in this context. The cries of "reverse discrimination" (Morris Stone, June 11, 1978; Roberts, November 23, 1977), especially in academia (see the recent Bakkee decision) and unions' chauvinist interest in favoring male over female workers feeds directly into this situation. In the short run, it may be solidifying to male workers; but in the long run it is a typical "divide-and-conquer" tactic which benefits capitalists, not workers. For example, none of the estimated \$63-109 billion that women would have gotten if they had been paid wages equal to men in the same occupational categories

went to individual male workers (Blakkan, March 12, 1972). They went instead, to the capitalist class. Keeping women's wages down acts, on some levels, as a buttress against men's wages too.

In summary, these arguments should help to convince skeptics that women act as a viable reserve army of labor in a variety of ways. Further, women in the home--as homemakers--act as a "hidden" reserve source of labor--as a "reserve" to the reserve army of labor. Most importantly, women who become unemployed are presumed capable of being reabsorbed into the home without including them in unemployment statistics. Only 44 per cent of all homemakers with husbands present at home are currently employed in the United States. A majority of married women (56 per cent) still do not work for wages. This effectively acts to suppress wages in the market and encourage worker conformity.

Finally, it is important to remember here that since women are paid so much less than men on the average, it is still more "reasonable" for a woman to do childcare and housework than her husband who is more likely to be better paid¹ and thus better able to "support" the family. Since the daily care of children is still "women's work" (as is domestic maintenance generally), and since childcare centers are hardly adequate to demand, it is unlikely in the foreseeable future that women will not act as a "hidden" reserve to the reserve army of labor under capitalism.

¹An analysis of women's wages in the family in comparison to their husbands' is found in the United States Department of Labor, Wage and Labor Standards Administration (1968) and Hayghe (1976).

The separation of the family (which was women's sphere) from remunerated labor (which was men's sphere), and the creation of the "housewife," was to help guarantee the ready availability of women as a constant source of cheap labor who could be "attracted and repelled" without much protest, according to the needs of capital. This is specific to the period of industrialized capitalism and has been felt most acutely in its monopolistic phase in the United States.

In the next chapter I will show how women's unpaid home labor becomes a primary explanation for women's disadvantaged labor force position in contemporary monopoly capitalism--as either low paid full-time or part-time workers. This is a key point which Marxist and Monopoly Capital theorists have failed to adequately incorporate into their analysis of today's labor market. It has been the Marxist Feminists who have best attempted to understand this process. It is to these theorists I now turn.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY MARXIST FEMINISM: WOMEN AS A GROUP IN THE HOME AND THEIR ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS UNDER CAPITALISM

I. Introduction

In the 1960s, feminist consciousness reasserted itself among women in the left as it did among other women.¹ Within the Marxist framework a variety of tendencies of feminist thought began to emerge. I will deal with two of these basic tendencies: Early Marxist Feminists and Dialectical Marxist Feminists. The former will be the subject of the current chapter, the latter of Chapter V.

The Early Marxist Feminist writers see women's problems as constructed specifically by capitalism. They contribute to our understanding two basic ideas: (1) women as a group in the home have a definite relation to capital itself; and (2) as such, women's home labor has economic importance for capital, thus allowing for the development of profits in a capitalist society.

Traditionally, the economic aspect of women's labor in the home has been "mystified" or hidden, for Marxists as well as for non-Marxists, since a woman's home labor was said to be outside social

¹In terms of key writings, the contemporary mainstream feminist movement begins with the publication of Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique in 1963, while the Marxist Feminist community takes as its starting point "Women: The Longest Revolution" by Juliet Mitchell (1966).

production (i.e., outside the direct exchange of labor power for wages). Marxist analysis stressed her ideological, biological and social reproduction of labor power but not her economic contributions to capital. The Early Marxist Feminists challenged this view.

Most important, I believe, this school leads to a basic building block in our analysis of women's labor market activity: an understanding of the influence of women's home labor, as constructed by capitalism, on her market labor is absolutely necessary if we wish to comprehend women's disadvantaged position in the labor market.

This chapter is organized in the following way:

First, I will discuss the variety of approaches and features of Early Marxist Feminist thought.

Secondly, I focus on Marx's heritage to the Early Marxist Feminists, specifically on issues of importance to feminists, either erroneous or slighted by Marx. The Early Marxist Feminist critique is able to build on and go beyond Marx's analysis of women's position in the home under capitalism.

Third, I show the major contribution of Early Marxist Feminism to an analysis of women's home labor in contemporary American society under four headings:

- (1) The economic contribution of women's domestic labor, under the dual nature of capitalist production;
- (2) Women's domination under capitalism;
- (3) Women's home labor as a hidden source of labor for capitalism;
- (4) How housework is crucial to understanding women's place in the labor market.

II. Varieties and Features of Early Marxist Feminist Thought

The Early Marxist Feminist analysis includes both (1) those whose analysis is a direct extension of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and revolves around the fact that women's home labor is outside market production directly--even though it produces use values for consumption in the home; as well as (2) those who reject the idea that women's work is unproductive of surplus value (profits) and instead stress a broader conception of "production," which includes both public and private domains.

The first group I call the Orthodox Marxist Feminists. Best represented by the work of Margaret Benston (1969), this group further includes such analysts as Juliet Mitchell (1966, 1971), Peggy Morton (1971), Terry Fee (1976), Martha Gimenez (1978), Wally Secombe (1973, 1975), Ira Gerstein (1973), Lise Vogel (1973, 1977), Elizabeth Wilson and Angela Weir (1973), Eleanor Leacock (1977a, 1977b), Karen Sacks (1975), Renate Bridenthal (1976, 1977), and Charnie Guettell (1974). They call for the socialization (collective social production) of housework and childcare tasks along with the elimination of private property and the inclusion of women into the newly constituted labor market. Thus, women's domestic labor must become socialized, women must participate in wage labor--at the point of surplus value production directly--and they must identify and unite with men in the development of a working class consciousness.

The second group of Early Marxist Feminists I call the Housework Marxist Feminists. They are more commonly known as those seeking

"wages for housework" as the solution to women's problems in capitalism, and are best represented by Mariarosa Dalla Costa (1972). This group includes such writers as Selma James (1972), Isabel Larguia and John Doumolin (1972), Mary Inman (1973), Beatrice Ferneyhough (1974), Sylvia Federici (1975) and Eli Zaretsky (1976).¹ This group asserts, often in opposition to Orthodox Marxist thinking, that women's work in the home is itself directly "productive" of surplus value,² and is alleged to be the key to the reproduction of capital. This tendency suggests that since all women are defined by their reproductive and homemaking functions in capitalism, one must in some way organize housewives to assert themselves against capitalist oppression.

Although the debates engendered by these two Early Marxist Feminist groups cover much of this literature and deserve careful consideration, I will only refer to them separately as they help to inform us on our topic at hand: an explanation of women's position in the capitalist labor market. In general, these two groups appear to be more united than in opposition to one another--they each assume that the position of women in the home is determined by their relation to capital. (Excellent summaries of these and other Marxist Feminist

¹Zaretsky does not suggest the solution to women's problems in capitalism are "wages for housework." Yet he does see women's labor as "productive" as part of a larger notion of production which is part of this group's distinguishing characteristic. The same goes for other writers, too. See, for example, Fishman's paper (1975).

²In contrast to writers who see women's home labor as "productive" as the Housework Marxist Feminists do, the Orthodox Marxist Feminists include those who see women's labor as unproductive, nonproductive, or outside of these Marxist defined economic categories--even though it is important economic behavior.

positions may be found in Guettel, 1974; Malos, 1978; Hartmann and Bridges, 1977; and Eisenstein, n.d., 1977.)

Before continuing, I would like to mention that because of the newness of the debates that have emerged among these Marxist Feminists, much of the writing is both scattered and unfinished. Most of it comes out of a movement committed not only to change, but also to organizing to make these changes. Debates are grounded in the Marxist sense of using theory as a tool for action. This may mean that any attempt to systematically analyze a specific topic--e.g., in my case women's labor market activity in contemporary American society--may not be clearly dealt with by one or all of the groups mentioned. For example, one of the greatest problems that I have found with the Early Marxist Feminist literature is that so much discussion has focussed around the debate over the productive or unproductive nature of women's home activity as affected by early industrial capitalism that relatively little attention has been paid specifically to women's home and especially market positions in contemporary mid- to late twentieth century advanced monopoly capitalist America. While the latter builds on the former, they are clearly not identical.

However, it should be understood that the Early Marxist Feminists were grappling with a serious issue which had previously been left unanalyzed: how to understand the long-forgotten and misunderstood economic contribution of women at home in addition to their ideological and biological contributions to capitalism.

Finally, it is important to remember that it is often difficult to categorize a writer in the variety of Marxist Feminist tendencies that are emerging, even those specified here. Much of this is due to the fact that the work of later, current Marxist Feminists often is an extension of or arises out of the Early Marxist Feminist thought--be it Orthodox, Housework, or some other variation. To make matters even more complicated, some of the same people can be classified within more than one variety, depending upon what stage of development their analysis and the whole movement of thought is at. Clearly, then, much overlap exists among the groups or schools of thought.

III. Marx's Heritage to the Early Marxist Feminists

In this section I deal with certain ideas of Marx's, which constitute the heritage with which the Early Marxist Feminists began in trying to clarify women's specific relation in the home to capitalism. It is important to remember that Marx's own work focusses around a critique of the social division of labor, not the sexual division of production and reproduction.

In fact, Marx himself did not deal with the position of women per se in any great detail. When he did, it was primarily in terms of their relation to production. According to Marx, as later elaborated in Engels, the historic exclusion of women from the social production process gave rise to both the specific oppression of women by men, and their superexploitation when part of production.

From Marx himself, specifically, the feminist analysis of the 1960s inherited a tradition that revolved around the following major

points:

- (1) The exclusion of women from the social production process led to both the special oppression of women by men, as well as women's superexploitation once in market production.
- (2) In capitalism, women are the private property of men. In any society, the social relations between the sexes is grounded within the system of production. Thus, the capitalist mode of production includes both the home and the market. In other words, both sex inequality and class inequality are traced to property relations. Whereas capital is the property of the ruling class, women are the property of men in the home.
- (3) Patriarchy develops as a consequence of the institutionalization of private property. However, as capitalism matures, fewer people have private property, which becomes more concentrated in the hands of the ruling class. This is claimed specifically for the changes in industrial and monopoly capitalism (see Chapter III above) when more and more women of the working class enter waged labor. This, Marx felt, eroded patriarchy's control in the home.
- (4) Every system of production contains a system of reproduction, of reproducing itself. In capitalism, not only must the working class create surplus value, but it must replenish itself, its own labor power. The way the worker maintains himself on the job is to consume off the job that which is needed to replenish him to come back to work the next day: Thus, wages, "the capital given in exchange for labour-power is converted into

necessaries [the means of subsistence] by the consumption of which the muscles, nerves, bones, and brains of existing labourers are reproduced, and new labourers are begotten" (Marx, 1867, p. 572). Although Marx does not talk about women at home doing the consuming side by side with and for the individual male worker outside the market, this is clearly what his analysis comes to mean in the context of "the maintenance and reproduction of the working class . . . as a necessary condition to the reproduction of capital" (1867, p. 572). It is the daily consumption of the housewife of the individual male breadwinner's wages that allows for the reproduction of the working class as a whole. For Marx, this is important primarily as it relates to the reproduction of capital itself.

Based on these assumptions, the liberation of women in capitalist society requires both (1) the abolition of private property--or the call for a "socialist revolution" and (2) the full-scale entrance of women into the labor force. In the first instance, women's position as private property of men (patriarchy) would have to be eliminated along with the demise of capital's control over surplus value (profits for the ruling class). In the second case, women's entrance into the labor force would, among other things, eliminate her economic dependence on men, as well as her primary role as consumer in capitalism. This, in brief, was the socialist or Marxist position inherited by Early Marxist Feminists of the 1960s.

A. Women's Exclusion from Social Production

The critical assumption of the sex division of labor in the family for Marx is that it is "natural" or biologically based. The first division of labor is the "natural" division of labor in the family through the sex act, a division of labor which "develops spontaneously or 'naturally' by virtue of natural predisposition (e.g., physical strength), needs, accidents, etc."

In Marx's early writings, this division of labor in the family extends outward to structure the society and the total social division of labor. But this link is soon dropped from his analysis (see Eisenstein, n.d., p. 11). Although it does give us an inkling that Marx understood that male dominance goes more deeply into man's past than capitalism, the state, or even private property, this is never clarified. Draper's (1972) interpretation of this suggests that perhaps the social attitudes which result from the division of labor between the sexes "will be most resistant to uprooting"; and if capitalism came after sex dominance then perhaps eliminating capitalism is a precondition for eliminating sexism--the typical Marxist argument.

It is not, according to Marx and Engels, until the later stage of social development and the development of classes that we see the division of labor in the family become determined by the economic structure which defines and surrounds it (as in The German Ideology, 1845; The Communist Manifesto, 1848; and The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, 1884). In The German Ideology, a materialist conception of history is well developed, and along with it the idea that the family is an historically changing product of the

changing material conditions of society. This is reflected later in Engels' The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, based on his collaboration with Marx. According to Engels, the determining factor in a materialist conception of history is "the production and reproduction of immediate life." This includes (1) the production of the means of subsistence, of food, clothing, and shelter and the tools necessary for that production; as well as (2) the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species.

The social organization under which the people of a particular historical epoch and a particular country live are conditioned by both kinds of production: by the stage of development of labor on the one hand and of the family on the other (Engels, 1884, pp. 71-72).

Although acknowledging the productive quality of both the means of subsistence as well as human beings, Engels goes on to say that the sex division of labor "dominates" communal societies with "less developed labor": here, public and private domains are not separated. In such a society, though, the productivity of labor increases so that new social elements can emerge. In societies with "more developed labor," the sex division of labor no longer determines society, but society determines the sex division of labor. These are societies where public and private spheres are increasingly separated from each other. The historic exclusion of women from social production occurs, subordinating women to men. Thus, he continues,

the old society based on sex groups bursts asunder in the collision of the newly-developed social classes; in its place a new society appears, constituted in a state, the lower units of which are no longer sex groups but territorial groups, a society in which the family system is entirely dominated by the property system [*italics mine*] and in which the class antagonisms and class struggles, which make up the content of all hitherto written history now freely develop (pp. 25-26).

B. Women as Private Property

A couple of years after The German Ideology (1845), marriage has become an economic relationship to Marx and Engels, most often an exploitative arrangement, as stated in The Communist Manifesto (1848). This economic relationship establishes women's dependence on man, not her economic contribution to capitalist society.

In his early writings, Marx (1843a, 1843b) stresses the theory that "species" life implies the possibility for marriage between men and women to be an equal and non-exploitative relationship in non-capitalist society. However, a description of the actual bourgeois family,¹ which later was to define the working class family in twentieth century America (see Kelly (Gadol), 1976), makes it clear that the nature of the society's mode of production (i.e., private property) has reduced the woman in the family to private property of man and a "mere instrument of production" to him. Woman's labor power is not her own to sell, as is man's in capitalism.

She is first and foremost an "instrument of production." The relations of private property are the mode of exchange. The family relationships are transformed by the system of capital. Private property and possession become the most pervasive concerns of man-woman relations. "The species-relations itself, the relation between man and woman, etc., becomes an object of commerce. The woman is bought and sold" (Marx, 1843b, p. 246).

¹In this regard, Marx and Engels focus in their writing on the bourgeois family, not the working class family. For them, since working class men do not own private property other than their own labor power, it is believed that there is much greater equality within the working class family itself.

C. The Development of Patriarchy

If, as Marx suggests, women's problems are due to their ownership by men and as mere instruments of production for men, the solution to women's problem is to be found in the destruction of private property, and therefore, simultaneously, of woman's relation to man. According to The Communist Manifesto (1848), "The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course" with the disappearance of capitalism. (The more modern day interpretation of this is that socialism must come first, as a necessary but not necessarily sufficient condition for women's liberation. See, here, Draper, 1972, p. 91.) Private property in the hands of men and the accumulation of capital is said to have led to the emergence of patriarchy, and along with it, "the world historic defeat of women."

In this analysis, class relations and the institution of private property¹ are the cause of patriarchy, monogamy and the nuclear family form. Together with class division, private property, and the state emerges monogamy--a system organized to pass on this individually owned heritable wealth to male offspring. Women provided male heirs so their husbands could pass on their individual family wealth. Children, like women and other property, no longer belong to the community at large, as in societies where production and reproduction of goods, services, and human beings are all done in the public domain. Thus,

¹Here ownership of the means of production "happens" to be in the form of cattle, and later slaves, which "happen" to be in men's control, leading to sufficient surplus which could be accumulated and appropriated as wealth.

in this analysis, if you eliminate private property, you eliminate patriarchy simultaneously. (See Draper, 1972, for his interpretation about monogamy.)

While Marx and Engels have been criticized for their anthropology (Anne Lane, 1976; Gough, 1973; Grabiner and Cooper, 1973) and understanding of the rise of patriarchy (especially as a defeat of matriarchy), the fact that family structure, sexuality, and gender obligations vary in conjunction with variations in the material base of society has never been disputed. Most importantly, their work establishes the importance of women's oppression as a problem of history, in relation to the material conditions of production, rather than of biology, philosophy or religion.

D. The Relationship between Production and Reproduction

Production and reproduction as defined by Marx do not refer to a split between social (production) and biological (reproduction) forces, but rather, every system of production has its own form of reproduction. In his major work, Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Marx was concerned with the production and reproduction of capital itself. He saw production and reproduction as interdependent parts of an integrated whole. Thus, when viewed "as a connected whole, and in the constant flux of its incessant renewal, every social process of production is at the same time a process of reproduction" (1867, p. 566).

In his discussion of "simple reproduction," Marx was clearly talking about the reproduction of the wage labor-capitalist relationship.

The production of surplus value, out of which profits were accumulated by the capitalist class, depended on the reproduction of the entire mode of production as well as its constituent parts.

Capitalist production, therefore, under its aspect of a continuous connected process, of a process of reproduction, produces not only commodities, not only surplus value, but it also produces and reproduces the capitalist relation; on the one hand the capitalist, on the other the wage-labourer (1867, p. 578).

It is up to the worker to maintain and reproduce himself as well as the surplus to be appropriated by the capitalist. Marx talks about this reproduction of the worker on the job in terms of the "necessary labor" expended by the worker as well as the variable capital (wages) "which the labourer requires for the maintenance of himself and family, and which, whatever be the system of social production, he must himself produce and reproduce" (1867, p. 568). It is in this sense that Marx refers to the maintenance and reproduction of labor power at the expense of the working class, not capital. In Volume II of Capital (1885), Marx talks about two departments in social production-- both of them in the labor market. Thus, capitalist production has a capitalist form of reproduction in the market. But Marx himself does not talk about the form of reproduction outside the market--i.e., he leaves it to the working class.

In short, the Labor Theory of Value (see above Chapter III) tells us that both necessary and surplus value were created by wage laborers in the market-- i.e., to Marx in "social production." Thus, when Marx talks about the production and reproduction of capital, he is talking about how both occur in the labor market itself.¹

¹N.B. This does not mean he excludes reproduction outside of the

When Marx says "If production be capitalist in form, so, too, will be reproduction" (1867, p. 566), surely he does not mean that children are reproduced capitalistically. In fact, Marx says that the reproduction of the species is left to the worker himself and is outside social production (1867, pp. 572-573). Thus, for Marx,

Variable capital [wages] is therefore only a particular historical form of appearance of the fund for providing the necessaries of life, or the labour-fund, which the labourer requires for the maintenance of himself and family, and which, whatever be the system of social production, he must himself produce and reproduce (1867, p. 713).

However, while Marx is clear about his discussion of production and reproduction occurring in the market in capitalism, he does not carry this "connected whole" over into the production and reproduction in the home. Rather, he talks about the "individual consumption" of the worker--as that part of the worker's activity outside the market which is needed in the maintenance and reproduction of labor power. This is what Marx means when he talks about reproduction outside social production.

Thus, in Capital, Marx himself does not talk about the work of women as a group in the production and reproduction of capital itself. To the degree that he talks about women's labor in the home and how it is conceived in relation to wages, he focusses on the "individual consumption" of the wage earner. According to Marx, "The labourer turns the money paid to him for his labour-power, into means of subsistence: this is his individual consumption." It is primarily the

labor market itself. See below. But he focusses on the primacy of capital in market reproduction.

tasks of his wife, in the process of consumption, that turns the money paid to the worker into the means of subsistence. In this case, says Marx, the worker "performs his necessary vital functions outside the process of production [i.e., outside surplus value production]" (1867, p. 571). The reproduction of the wife's labor power, it is suggested, is included in the worker's wage, even though it requires additional labor of the wife to transform that wage into a meaningful package of goods and services for "individual consumption."

Despite his understanding that necessary labor is performed outside the social production process in capitalism, Marx never acknowledges in his section on "simple reproduction" (Capital, Volumes I and II) that the conversion of the worker's wages into "individual consumption" in the maintenance and reproduction of the working class is mainly done by women--whether their husbands or they themselves are the wage earners. This is because Marx takes as a given women's role in the daily and intergenerational reproduction of the working class outside social production--in the home. As he says:

The capital given in exchange for labour-power is converted into necessaries, by the consumption of which the muscles, nerves, bones and brains of existing labourers are reproduced, and new labourers are begotten. Within the limits of what is strictly necessary, the individual consumption of the working class is, therefore, the reconversion of the means of subsistence given by capital in exchange for labour-power, into fresh labour-power at the disposal of capital for exploitation. It is the production and reproduction of that means of production so indispensable to the capitalist: the labourer himself. The individual consumption of the labourer, whether it proceed within the workshop or outside it, whether it be part of the process of production or not, forms therefore a factor of the production and reproduction of capital; just as the cleaning of machinery does, . . . The maintenance and reproduction of the working-class is and must ever be, a necessary

condition to the reproduction of capital. But the capitalist may safely leave its fulfillment to the labourer's instincts of self-preservation and propagation. All the capitalist cares for is to reduce the labourer's individual consumption as far as possible to what is strictly necessary . . . (1867, p. 572).

Therefore, Marx's discussion of reproduction focusses on the production and reproduction of capital itself, although it assumes the absolute necessity of the maintenance and reproduction of the working class through the family and women's work in the family. As Lise Vogel (1973) concludes: "Marx rarely acknowledged that individual consumption is a social process operating through a relatively stable social form, the family" (p. 31).. His failure to focus on the work of women in the home in the production and reproduction of labor power has been the focus of much Marxist Feminist debate over the past decade or so.

Thus, the tradition that Early Marxist Feminists inherited was a situation where any demands for women required a clear class content, rather than one related to their oppression as women specifically. Until the work of the Early Marxist Feminists, the unique situation of women to production was ignored by Marx and his followers in favor of the general class perspective.

So, although Marx (and Engels) provided the Early Marxist Feminists with a certain heritage, they also slighted certain issues. These include:

- (1) the relation of women in the home as a group to the system of social production in capitalism;
- (2) the sex division of labor itself--it is never challenged;
- (3) why it was women in the first place who became responsible for childcare and housework in a capitalist society (unless

we revert back to Marx's early idea of women's greater weakness, which was refuted later by Engels when he showed women did harder labor than men in many societies);¹

(4) the unstated assumption that women's labor in the home is simply part of "individual consumption" of the worker-- most specifically the male breadwinner's individual consumption; and

(5) how to desegregate the sex-stratified nature of the labor market and jobs that might well emerge if children were reared collectively and household tasks were socialized.

In short, one might say, Marx's work contains a critique of the social division of labor, not the sexual division of production and reproduction.

As Ellen Malos (1978) suggests, since the late 1920s, the typical Marxist approach in western societies has been to avoid asking questions about the relationship between sex and class. This was possible through a definition of the task for Marxists as that of reaching and mobilizing only women of the industrial working class. With the decline of working class living standards during the Depression, Communist parties focussed on defending the working class itself-- i.e., primarily organizing women in and around trade unions on economic issues. This meant that despite their belief in the importance of the entry of women into industry and their struggle for equality in the workplace, major emphasis was placed on defending the working

¹For discussion of this issue, see Draper (1972), p. 85.

class family, "in which, inevitably, the stress lay on the man's role as breadwinner and the woman's as housewife." This actually led to a swing back and forth between the demands for "socializing housework" and the need to build "labor saving houses for women" as the answer to the question of housework, "because no leading Marxist theoretician had yet [by the early 1970s] questioned the domestic division of labor" (Malos, 1978, p. 49).

Likewise, much of the twentieth century socialist literature has either neglected women's home labor in industrial capitalism or has equated women's sex-assigned domestic labor with the biological, social, and ideological reproduction/consumption of the working class without acknowledging its productive nature--as Engels clearly did. Instead of dealing with the production and reproduction of both the family and capital, Marxist literature has erroneously tended to link "labor and men to the production, and women and family to the reproduction, of the essentials of life," narrowing both concepts and detaching them from each other (Kelly (Gadol), 1975-1976, p. 471). In such an analysis, women and their domestic tasks are seen as outside production (i.e., surplus value production) and therefore in need of being incorporated on a large scale into social or market production in order to free them from capitalist oppression. After many examples of modern mid-twentieth century incorporation of women into paid labor--in both capitalist and socialist societies, the sexual division of labor steadfastly persists.

It is to the work of the Early Marxist Feminists we now turn in an attempt to deal with the issues slighted by Marx, now requiring unmasking and analysis.

IV. The Early Marxist Feminists

The Early Marxist Feminist analysis takes as its starting point where Marx and his traditional followers leave off. The goal of the Early Marxist Feminists is twofold: first, to change the terms on which women's home labor is analyzed; and second, to "bring women in" to the analysis of capital.

First and most important was to show the vital economic contribution women in the home made to capitalism. Thus, the issue of the "dual" nature of production under capitalism emerged. Early Marxist Feminists focussed this key issue on the market production of exchange values and the domestic production of use values.

Within this context it became possible to understand women's unique and definite relation to capital as a group, in their role in the home, which defines initially the responsibility of all women--as women--in capitalism. The particular situation of women, within the general class perspective, is thereby addressed. Moreover, this analysis provided the necessary link to understanding that women in the home were economically as well as ideologically integral to the production of capital, not outside it. The acceptance of the idea that women in the home are marginal or unconnected to social production attests to the hidden "mystified" nature of women's economically essential and necessary work in the home.

This leads us to the second basic issue developed by the Early Marxist Feminists: without women's home labor as constructed by capitalism, profits could not possibly be made as they currently are by the capitalist class. Thus, instead of simply doing "individual

consumption" work for the individual man in the family, women in the home are doing economically essential work for capitalism itself. Just as Marx spoke of machines, women's home labor is "congealed" in the labor that men and women bring with them to the labor market, which is exchanged for wages with the capitalist.

Thirdly, and most crucially for my purposes, I believe that the analysis of the Early Marxist Feminists leads to the conclusion that women's hidden, mystified, devalued, and unwaged labor in the home, as constructed by capitalism, is crucial to an understanding of women's disadvantaged place in the labor market today. The two are intimately connected.

A. The Dual Nature of Capitalist Production and the Economic Contribution of Women's Domestic Labor

Margaret Benston's "Political Economy of Women" (1969) is an early attempt at dealing with many of the problems confronting the Early Marxist Feminists. Her analysis of the family's relation to production is a culmination of Marx's¹ own position with regard to women's position in the family being outside social production (waged labor). Simultaneously, it is the beginning of the reconceptualization offered by the Early Marxist Feminists which says that women's home labor is an important economic contribution to the production of surplus value, and thus not outside the development of capital as a process.

¹For followers of his tradition and what each adds--Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, Goldman--see the excellent analysis by Eisenstein (n.d.).

Benston argues that capitalism contains within it two modes of production: commodity and domestic; waged and unwaged; or more specifically, use value and exchange value. She moved the discussion of women's labor in the home from that of consumption/reproduction of the male breadwinner to the production of "housework and childcare." In so doing she goes beyond the earlier work of Marx by showing that even though women's home labor may not be exchanged against the variable capital (wages) of the market, it nonetheless is useful, essential, and economically necessary for the creation of profits in social production.

Benston's analysis was important for articulating that women were neither economic parasites nor marginal--i.e., less important workers in comparison to men. Furthermore, she specifically asked the question: what is women's relation to the means of production in society?

She shows in her analysis that "women as a group" have a definite relation to the means of production. Women's special relation to production is that they produce use values. That is, the work of women in the home--buying food, preparing meals, cleaning clothes, taking children to school, picking up after husband and children, sustaining them emotionally, etc.--is not bought by anyone. Rather it is produced and consumed in the home--it is production for consumption, or "useful" but not "profitable." Thus, as Benston says:

In arguing that the roots of the secondary status of women are in fact economic, it can be shown that women as a group do indeed have a definite relation to the means of production and that this is different from that of men. . . . If this special relation of women to production is accepted, the analysis of the situation

of women fits naturally into a class analysis of society (as excerpted in Glazer (Malbin) and Waehrer, eds., 1972, p. 119).

The difference between men and women in capitalist society is defined in terms of their relation to production: women are defined as "that group of people who are responsible for the production of simple use-values in those activities associated with the home and the family." She continues, "Since men carry no responsibility for such production, the difference between the two groups lies here." Further, she says,

Notice that women are not excluded from commodity production. Their participation in wage labor occurs but, as a group, they have no structural responsibility in this area and such participation is ordinarily regarded as transient. Men, on the other hand, are responsible for commodity production; they are not, in principle, given any role in household labor (as excerpted in Glazer (Malbin) and Waehrer, eds., 1972, p. 121).

Thus, the material basis of women's inferior status is due to the fact that in a society in which money determines value, "women are a group who work outside the money economy."

While Benston looks at the special position of women in the role of housework as it relates to social production, she also analyses women's material basis for exploitation in capitalism in terms of the fact that they are outside the process of exchange value, but not outside of capitalist production, which is dual in nature. The private character of women's domestic labor and the capacity to produce only use values is therefore defined as the basis of women's inferior position in capitalist society.

To summarize Benston here, the roots of women's secondary status are economic--not biological, cultural or ideological. Secondly, women's home labor is a material necessity for capital. And finally,

women in the home are not "marginal" to the production of surplus value, but rather have a definite relation to the means of production, even though they are outside wage labor itself.

B. Domination under Capitalism: The Primacy of Capital over Patriarchy

Early Marxist Feminists look to the system of capital and the material basis of women's domestic labor to locate women's disadvantaged position in American society. I extend this analysis to apply specifically to women's labor market activity. However, as a group, the Early Marxist Feminists do not typically talk about women's relation to men within the home in the terms used by Marx--i.e., that women are the property of men and under male domination. According to the Early Marxist Feminist position, women are dominated first and foremost by capital; only secondarily by men.

This appears to be a consequence of two assumptions: First, that capitalism creates patriarchy and women's disadvantaged position within it--so focus should be on primary rather than secondary contradictions. In other words, on the capital-wage labor relations rather than the relations between men and women. In this way, men are seen to be the victims of capitalism almost as much as, if not equal to, women.

As one author says, "Capitalism constructed the female roles, and has made the man in the family the instrument of this specific exploitation which is the exploitation of women" (Dalla Costa, 1972, p. 29). The husband is the "first foreman," the immediate controller of her labor, behavior which is concealed by the figure of the boss.

"However," she continues, "the woman is the slave of a wage slave, and her slavery ensures the slavery of her man. Like the trade union, the family protects the workers, but also ensures that he and she will never be anything but workers" (Dalla Costa, 1972, p. 39).

If sex were the primary contradiction, and not class, argues a second Early Marxist Feminist, all men would own the means of production and all women would work for them. "But," she continues, "almost all males and females under capitalism work for some males, not by virtue of the latter's maleness, but because they own property" (Guettel, 1974, p. 49).

Thus, the transformation of women's economic, personal, political and sexual life, although under the domination of men is caused by capital, not patriarchy, in this analysis.

The second assumption which tends to preclude an adequate analysis of women's domination by men under capitalism by this group of Marxist Feminists is that as capitalism advances, patriarchy becomes undermined in the home. After the early development of intense patriarchal control over women in the development of private property and the state, the bases of patriarchy are eroded with the increasing control of capital. As capitalism matures, fewer people have private property. Today, for example, 85 to 90 per cent of the American public is engaged in waged labor. More and more women--married and single--of the working and "middle" classes enter waged labor too. Thus, the underlying assumption of Marx' (and Engels')¹ writing was the

¹In addition to Capital, Volumes I (1867), II (1885), and III (1894), see The Condition of the English Working Class in 1844 (1845), and The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State (1884).

breakdown of the traditional sexual division of labor in the working class as married women entered into paid labor in "public industry." This is reflected in the writings of a variety of Early Marxist Feminists (Zaretsky, 1976; Rowbotham, 1973; Dalla Costa, 1972; Bridenthal, 1976, 1977).

However, the Early Marxist Feminists do take as their underlying assumption that under capitalism, women are the property of men, and in this position they are economically dependent on men.. Only with socialism, a redistribution of wealth, can private property-- and thus women's economic dependence on men--be eliminated.

In short, it was capital that arranged women's economic dependence on men as it isolated domestic from industrial labor. Women's oppression as a sex is rooted in their economic position-- the material base of their labor is mystified, while they remain wageless, or paid lower wages once in the market, and dependent on men.

C. Women's Home Labor as a Hidden Source of Economically Important Labor for Capitalism

Up to this point I have explored two interpretations of women's domestic labor. First was Marx's idea that women are consumers of their husband's wages in the reproduction/consumption of labor power which is essential for capitalism. Second was Benston's idea--representative of the Orthodox Marxist Feminists--that women in the home have a special relation to capitalism defined by their production of use values, which are outside the exchange of wages for labor even though they are economically integral to the creation of surplus value.

A third position is that of Mariarosa Dalla Costa (1972)-- representative of the Housework Marxist Feminists--who defines women's work in the home not only as economic, but suggests that domestic labor produces more than use values: it produces surplus value itself.¹ Unlike Orthodox Marxist Feminists who define housework as use value and therefore outside the direct relation to exchange value, Housework Marxist Feminists define women's home labor as central to capitalist production. In this way housewives are also central to the class struggle. This position is more commonly known by its demand of "wages for housework." It is the goal of this group that women may refuse to enter waged labor, but instead be paid the value of their labor already done in the home.

Dalla Costa suggests that the question "What is the housewife's relation to the means of production?" should be answered specifically in class terms. Housewives constitute a class, in this position, since housework is an economic relation to the capitalist class. Dalla Costa argues that it is women's work in the family which produces the commodity labor power. She quotes Marx's statement that "The value of labor power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labour-time necessary for the production, and consequently also the reproduction, of this special article" (Marx, Capital, Volume I, p. 170). Without the production and reproduction of the

¹In an early version of her work she says it is "an essential function in the production of surplus value." Only later does domestic labor itself become productive of surplus value. See Malos (1978) and Silveira (1975) for discussion of these changes in Dalla Costa's analysis.

saleable work ability in human labor power in husbands and children (future workers)¹ there would be nothing for the capitalist to buy or to exploit. Since labor power is a commodity, produced in the home by women, housewives produce not only use values, but exchange values, or surplus value--the all-important criteria for being included in social production. In this way, Dalla Costa argues, housewives are direct members of the working class, and thus have revolutionary potential, based on their own work, not that of their husbands.

The most obvious criticisms of this approach are (1) that the housewife does not rent her labor power directly to the capitalist for wages--in her work in the home; (2) nor does she sell her products (husband's and children's labor power) to the capitalist for profits. Since she does neither, housework in strict Marxist terminology, is not directly productive of surplus value.

On the other hand, this attempt to understand better the commodity labor power is crucial, since women's main task in the home in capitalism is the production and reproduction of labor power, which is in fact the source of capitalist profits. Moreover, the fact that housework and childcare have been understood as work--i.e., women's first job--has helped to legitimate women's home labor as "real work" and to enlarge the idea or meaning of "production."

This group of Early Marxist Feminists moves us one step further in our understanding of the importance of women's home labor for market

¹Dalla Costa says she is only dealing with the underlying role of women, but all women, in capitalism--that of housewife. "We assume that all women are housewives and even those who work outside the home continue to be housewives" (p. 19). But women who work outside the home are not included as such in her analysis (p. 20).

production by focussing on the hidden source of women's labor to the capitalist, which is congealed in the commodity labor power which reaches the market. Moreover, they suggest, this home labor is reproduced below its cost, not totally provided for out of the breadwinner's wages. I will expand on this below.

Even if one argues, in strict Marxist terms, that productive labor is that labor which is exchanged directly with capital, women's labor must be seen, according to Housework Marxist Feminists, as productive of surplus value. Part of the labor power which is exchanged with capital is women's domestic labor, a congealed mass of past labor embodied in the wage earner's labor power. Not only does the separation of waged and unwaged labor in industrial capital mystify this process, but Housework Marxist Feminists argue that the value of women's labor is not fully reimbursed through the husband's wage.¹

That is, the housewife produces far more than what she receives as her subsistence through her husband's wages from the capitalist. The costs of the reproduction of labor power are hardly equivalent to the portion of the wage that is allocated to women for their labor in the home. Several independent estimates between 1918 and 1968 agree that if women were to be paid the value of their services as housewives, they would earn about one-fourth of the gross national product (Kreps, 1971, pp. 67-68). However, this would require a massive

¹This is in contrast to the Orthodox Marxist Feminists who argue that while women's domestic labor is mystified by men being paid a wage which includes women's labor, the women's domestic labor is fully paid back, at least enough to reproduce herself or itself. See Bridenthal (1977) for discussion of the difference between Orthodox and Housework Marxist Feminist ideas on this point.

redistribution of profits, which capital would not and could not allow under present circumstances.

As Dalla Costa (1972) states in her discussion of women as consumers, "Thus unless women make demands, the family is functional to capital in an additional sense . . . : it can absorb the fall in the price of labor power. This therefore is the most ongoing material way in which women can defend the living standards of the class" (p. 43; see also, p. 32).

In short, women's domestic labor should be understood as survival below the level of historically determined subsistence, for which the capitalist does not sufficiently compensate through his wages to the housewife's husband. This is seen most easily in times of crisis, when women take up the economic "slack" in the home by performing more and more tasks and services that get cut back in the market (like education, care of the sick, elderly, types of food preparation, etc.). However, this should not detract from the point that the production of domestic labor below subsistence is generally operative in capitalism--whether in times of crisis or not.

Understanding that women's home labor is a congealed mass of past labor embodied in the commodity labor power of husbands and children for which she is not fully reimbursed is important for understanding the hidden source of women's "free" labor to capital. However, it does not require a definition of women's home labor as productive of surplus value.

Thus, an important contribution of this second group of Early Marxist Feminists is that when a "breadwinner" goes into the market,

he is "free" to sell his labor power, not only because a woman takes care of certain tasks at home for him, but also because it is labor power which includes his and her labor! This wage is given to him to reproduce his own labor power at work, but only part of hers. Women do much more productive and reproductive work in the home than for which they are paid by the capitalists. Moreover, this assumes that the husband, who has control over the distribution of the wage, gives his wife a "fair share" in the first place, for the reproduction of her own labor power. However, this is not necessarily so. Wives in the working class often do not know how much their husbands earn. This is increasingly so for women whose husbands are "professionals" also. (For a discussion of this issue, see Milkman, 1976; Oren, 1973.)

In short, the Early Marxist Feminists generally agree that it is women's relation to capital in the home that is the basis for understanding her secondary position in American society. Therefore, the Early Marxist Feminists focus most of their analysis on women's home labor, not her market position. It is "the other half of capitalist organization, the other area of hidden capitalist exploitation, the other, hidden, source of surplus labour" (James, 1972, p. 7). They reconceptualize women's home labor in terms of the economically essential unwaged domestic labor done by women in terms required for the maintenance and reproduction of labor power for capitalism, which is done at the expense of working class women, not simply the "working class"--i.e., waged labor.

Capital institutionalized women's economic dependence on men as it isolated domestic from industrial labor. Whether women in the

home are considered outside commodity market production (as in Orthodox Marxist Feminism) or central to the production of the commodity labor power, and therefore surplus value (as in Housework Marxist Feminism), the problems faced by women as a group are those caused almost exclusively by capital. This is the basis of the productive-unproductive labor debates. Men are seen as the passive "instruments" of capitalist domination. While patriarchy, or a sex division of labor of male dominance is sometimes acknowledged to have existed before capitalism, capitalism is said to forge its own particular brand of sex discrimination. Women's oppression as a sex is rooted therefore in their economic position--they are wageless and dependent on men.

Despite the difference among the Early Marxist Feminists, they would all assert that the solution to the problems faced by women as a group in the home can be dealt with in part by making them less economically dependent on men. This is equally true for Benston as for Dalla Costa. However, the method of solution is radically different for each of them.

For Benston, the way to decrease women's dependence on men is through market employment along with the socialization of household and childcare labor. With socialism, women would be "free" to work just like men--for wages in collective production. While this certainly does not solve all of women's problems (in fact, it simply makes women equal to "exploited" men), it is the necessary groundwork, according to this group, in order for further changes to occur. For Dalla Costa, though, the solution is to pay women wages for labor already done in the home--the production and reproduction of the commodity labor power.

This would allow women the ability to refuse to participate in the labor market, which would only constitute a second job. Women must "refuse the myth of liberation through work" (p. 47). Their aim must be to get rid of the first boss. "Wages for housework" would in turn free women to collectively organize household tasks under the control of women--for pay and not in isolation.

In short, both groups of Early Marxist Feminists want women to be given monies (in their discussions in the form of wages)¹ (1) to recognize the value of their work and (2) to free them from economic dependence on men.²

Criticisms about both of these solutions are numerous and can be found in the debates on productive-unproductive labor. What is important to remember here, though, is that both groups of Early Marxist Feminists agree that women's hidden labor must be remunerated so that they are not dependent on men in the family. They must be economically rewarded for their economically necessary labor in the home.

D. Housework Is Crucial to Understanding Women's Place in the Labor Market

The thrust of the arguments made by the Early Marxist Feminists leads to the conclusion that women's home labor as constructed by

¹For a discussion of the issue of different forms of monies being demanded for women and their implications to a Marxist Feminist analysis, see Malos (1978).

²The larger issue of course is that of changing the relations of production, not the male-female relations, which derive from the former and require change in primary contradictions before secondary contradictions. I.e., this whole analysis is always considered in the context of the capital-wage labor relation.

industrial capitalism is intimately connected with her devalued position in the wage labor market. This connection is rarely acknowledged as a direct link, however.

The fact that women's economically essential labor in the home is unwaged has, I believe, certain significant consequences for her position once she enters the labor market. In this regard, she is a cheap source of wage labor for the capitalist precisely because she is not adequately remunerated for her labor in the home.¹

In short, I am asserting that women's economically and ideologically valuable unpaid labor in the home actually lowers her value in the capitalist labor market when she tries to enter into an exchange relationship there. Her social and work force status, job definitions, work conditions, wages and benefits--or lack thereof--are all largely determined by her domestic status as organized by capitalism.²

It is in large part on this basis that I want to argue women can be understood as a cheap source of readily available labor which can be unemployed or underemployed according to the needs of capital in

¹In capitalism, no one is paid the total value of what they produce. I.e., wage laborers are only paid for the reproduction of their labor power--their necessary labor, not for the production of commodities which beget surplus value. In the home, however, women are not even paid the total value of the reproduction of their own labor power, according to the analysis by most Early Marxist Feminists.

²It is in response to this situation that Morton (1971) explains women do not play a peripheral role in the labor force. Rather, she says,

The sense in which women's role in the labor force is peripheral is that women's position in the family is used to facilitate the use of women as a reserve army of labor, to pay women half what men are paid, but women's work in the labor force is peripheral neither to the women's lives nor to the capitalist (p. 214). Her devalued position once she enters the labor market due to her domestic status as organized by capital is clearly understood here.

low wage full-time or part-time jobs, or can be reabsorbed by nonpaying institutions (e.g., homemaking and childcare, tending aged relatives, volunteer work, etc.) when not needed by the labor force.

It is on this basis I argue that women's work in the home is understandable in terms of its ability to be used by capital to disadvantage women in the labor market--both in terms of the types of jobs they will enter (lower status "female" jobs) as well as the wages they will get (approximately half that of men). The full-time employed women in mid-twentieth century America continue to make three-fifths to one-half of what their male counterparts make in the paid labor force. In 1975, women employed full-time, year-round made fifty-nine cents for every dollar earned by a man (see Chapters II and III above).

This makes clear, I believe, that those unemployed and underemployed women who are "ready, willing and able" to work for wages in the paid labor force act as a reserve army of labor to capital. Furthermore, I would argue, a far less recognized problem is that those women who are not even considered part of the labor force--housewives--act as a reserve to the reserve army of labor: they are the back-up forces who can be incorporated into the labor market when necessary and excluded according to the needs of capital (as in World War II). Moreover, they can substitute or intensify their own labor power in the home for purchaseable commodities in times of economic hardship (as in the Great Depression). The degree to which each method is used depends on the nature of the economic circumstances in the broader society (see Milkman, 1976, p. 85).

Whatever the circumstance, I would argue, women as a group are a cheap source of labor for capital precisely because they are not paid the value of their labor in the home.

There are at least four ways in which a woman's unpaid labor in the home is used against her when she enters waged labor. These emerge directly from the Early Marxist Feminist analysis and, I would argue, provide a major contribution to the understanding of women's disadvantaged occupational and wage experience in the labor market.

First, the value of her labor is lowered by the fact that her time, energy, and labor are already spoken for by her husband and children. Thus, women's useful labor at home is both demanding, time-consuming, and unpaid, therefore "worthless" in the exchange market. To quote Juliet Mitchell (1973):

Under a system whose defining characteristic is that it reduces the majority of the population to have nothing to sell but their labour-power--hers, to a large extent, is already spoken for. Women have little labour time to sell and consequently get a bad bargain even if they put in 42 hours a week at a factory. Given the degree of exhaustion produced by two jobs, it cannot be as productive a time, as employers are quick to point out. The women's labour is, for this reason alone, less valuable and must be sold cheap. . . .

The socially useful work of women in the family thus lessens the value of her labour-time in the exchange-value capitalist mode of production. She is thus a constant source of cheap and sporadic labour (p. 29).

Second, the fact that women's primary responsibility is supposed to be to their families, rather than their jobs, is used against them as they are falsely claimed to be more likely to be tardy, absent, leave jobs, or generally be unreliable because of "family obligations." It is true that women have more "family responsibilities" than men. However, turnover rates, absenteeism, job leaving, etc. are

amazingly similar for men and women (see Chapter II). Each of these variables, on the other hand, is inversely related to occupational status. That is, the higher the occupational status, the lower the turnover, absenteeism, job leaving, etc. Women, though, are more likely to be employed in lower status occupations, and therefore more likely to be in jobs conducive to tardiness, job instability, etc. This is because of their low status, not their sex. In fact, men in low status jobs are equally as likely as women in those positions to experience high turnover rates and the like (Kanter, 1977a).

Third, the fact that women's work is an extension of the work in the home is used against her in the labor market: she is employed as a "woman" rather than as a "worker," in professional as well as nonprofessional jobs (Epstein, 1971; Theodore, 1971; U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 1977, 1977). In the former, her tasks require nurturing, helping, and inculcating the necessary skills, values, and beliefs of the society; while in the latter they consist of cooking, cleaning, sewing--tiring and dirty tasks with little status or pay. Today, women do "reproductive" services, (i.e., reproduction and maintenance of labor power) in the market that they themselves previously did in the home (see Bridenthal, 1976).

Thus, with industrial capitalism in nineteenth and early twentieth century America, many of the goods that had previously been produced in the home by women (e.g., soap, candles, bread, pants, dresses, cooking utensils, etc.) were now made in the factories (increasingly under male control), for which they had to pay. While

production of material goods became more public or social, reproduction (social and biological) and the family became more privatized and individualized.¹ As the mode of production developed further, it became more capital-intensive and less labor-intensive. The distribution and service sectors employed more and more people, while the industrial sector stabilized and even shrank in some places. The emergence of women in the public sector was increasingly in terms of "the maintenance and reproduction of labor power" rather than production of goods. Moreover, much of it has been done in the employ of the state rather than private industry itself.

With the development of the "human services industries" (teaching, nursing, social work, psychotherapy, etc.) in advanced capitalism, many of these services, like goods production earlier, are transferred from the home to the market. These are the jobs that mid-twentieth century American women have increasingly been going into in massive numbers. Now women must work in the paid labor force to be able to afford to buy these services for their families and themselves--which were previously part of their useful production in the home--and for which they must now pay! The overlap of these jobs in the home and the market is seen specifically in times of economic hardship, when public funding for services declines. At such times these tasks are pushed back into the home on women's shoulders--intensifying their "double burden"--of homemaker and employee. As Batya Weinbaum and Amy Bridges (1976) comment, in times

¹This interpretation is suggested in these terms by Bridenthal (1976), whose article represents an Orthodox Marxist Feminist view.

of recession:

day care centers close; schools go to double sessions (making it harder to coordinate children's school hours with parents' work hours); Mayor Daley even encourages neighborhood vegetable gardens! Since women are usually both the consumption workers and the wage laborers in the distribution of goods and services, it is especially clear that capital shifts between paying and not paying for the same work (p. 95).

Fourth and finally, the rationalization that women need not be given stable jobs as well as not be paid the same wages as men, since men are the "breadwinners" in the family, has a double effect: it cements her economic dependence on her husband, while simultaneously forcing her to take jobs that pay far lower wages. These are the only jobs available to her in large numbers in such a system (see Chapter II). Moreover, it creates the illusion that women are "marginal" to the economy.

In summary, the Early Marxist Feminist analysis makes clear that to interpret women's market activity, one must look at both home and labor force as constructed by capitalism and how the former interconnects with the latter. Nothing less will do as a first step.

CHAPTER V

DIALECTICAL MARXIST FEMINISM: THE INTERRELATION BETWEEN PATRIARCHY AND CAPITALISM IN THE HOME AND IN THE MARKET

I. Introduction

In this chapter I lay the basis for the argument that it is capitalism in combination with patriarchy that together make home labor a sex-assigned category in contemporary monopoly capitalist societies like the United States. As such, home labor is not only sex specific, but economically and emotionally disadvantageous to women.¹ This, in turn, is used against women in the market today. Moreover, I argue that it is capitalism in combination with patriarchy again that together make for the sex-segregated nature of the labor market itself. This disadvantages women in the labor market and in turn is used to justify their position in the home. Thus, the "viscious cycle" between home and market labor is established for women.

In short, as I assert in this and the next chapter, any attempt to understand women's labor market activity in contemporary American society must explore not only the dynamic relationship between the home and the market, but also the influence of both patriarchy and

¹That this assigned labor is not biologically based in contemporary society, but culturally determined has now been amply demonstrated by Judith Brown (1977), Liebowitz (1975), Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974), Mead (1935), Rapp (Reiter) (1975). See Stephen Goldberg's (1973) objection to this position.

capitalism--as they collaborate and conflict with one another--in each of these spheres of daily living.

This provides us with two more basic building blocks in the analysis of women's labor market activity.

First, what happens to women in the labor market depends not only on capital's construction of women's economically mystified domestic labor (see Chapter IV above) but on a collaboration between patriarchy and capital in this process. This means that both men as a group (including working class men) and capitalists as a group (i.e., capitalist men) benefit in certain ways--materially or economically as well as ideologically--from women's home labor.

Second, patriarchy and capitalism operate not only in the construction of women's home labor, but likewise collaborate when possible in creating women's disadvantaged market labor. Again, both men as a group and capitalists as a group tend to benefit in economic and emotional terms from the sex-segregated job and wage structure in the labor market. It should be clear that this does not mean that working class men "have it good": in relation to ruling class men they are clearly exploited. Relative to working class women, however, working class men are materially and emotionally advantaged. I do not mean to imply, however, that the benefits to both capital and patriarchy are based on some theory of conspiracy. As this chapter shows, I have in mind quite the contrary of any such theory.

These building blocks are an outgrowth of what I find to be important in the most recent thought of Dialectical Marxist Feminists.

It is best exemplified by the work of Heidi Hartmann (1976), and includes several other very recent works: Heidi Hartmann and Amy Bridges (1977), Amy Bridges and Batya Weinbaum (1976), Zillah Eisenstein (1977, 1978c), Joan Kelly (Gadol) (1977), Peggy Somers (1975), Roslyn Petchesky (1978), Carol Brown (1975a, 1975b, 1977), Viana Muller (1977), Rayna Rapp (Reiter) (1975, 1976, 1978), Roslyn Baxendall, Elizabeth Ewen, and Linda Gordon (1976), Anne Flitcraft and Evan Stark (n.d.), the Red Apple Collective (1978), Gayle Rubin (1975), and Jeanette Silveira (1975).

It is important to understand here the newness and incompleteness of this method of analysis which is very much in the process of developing. Most of the published materials have appeared only since the mid-1970s; and many of the articles reported on in this chapter are in unpublished manuscript form. In fact, as I was writing this chapter, several of the unpublished pieces on which my analysis is based were published in the first full-length book on Dialectical Marxist Feminism: Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism (1978c), edited by Zillah Eisenstein.¹

¹As the title of Eisenstein's book indicates, this group is most commonly referred to in the literature as Socialist Feminists. Socialist Feminism sometimes includes all Marxist Feminists, i.e., those in the Early as well as the Dialectical groups. However, as reflected in Eisenstein's book, Socialist Feminism is more recently said to refer particularly to those who see both patriarchy and capital as autonomous and interacting influences in society. Moreover, racism, imperialism and the state are all seen as independent and interacting influences that must be understood if we are to deal with "the woman question" (see, e.g., Carol Brown, 1975b; Eisenstein, 1978b; Red Apple Collective, 1978). I will deal only with patriarchy and capitalism as autonomous and interacting influences in women's labor market activity in my own discussion of Dialectical Marxist Feminism.

Dialectical Marxist Feminism is itself a second major tendency which has been developing in the 1970s among Marxist Feminist thinkers. This tendency suggests that the Early Marxist Feminists (see Chapter IV) are too limited in focussing solely on the Marxist assumption that women's subordinate position in American and other European societies reflects simply capitalist arrangements. In addition to capitalist arrangements, say the Dialectical Marxist Feminists, one must understand the role of patriarchy as it interrelates with capitalism in the analysis of women's home and market labor.

However, Marxist theory in general does not systematically deal with patriarchal structure and ideology as influential in their own right. Therefore, Dialectical Marxist Feminists have had to incorporate thinking from both Marxist Feminists (whether Orthodox or Housework or other tendencies) and from a further school of thought that of Radical Feminists. Radical Feminists (such as Shulamith Firestone, 1970; Kate Millett, 1970; Adrienne Rich, 1976; Dorothy Dinnerstein, 1976; Mary Daley, 1973) generally assume that the patriarchal organization of male-female relations are the primary determinants of women's inferior position in all societies, not economic relations as defined by Marx.

It is the Dialectical Marxist Feminists alone, however, who suggest how one might link up Radical Feminist thought with Marxism. Dialectical Marxist Feminists do so when they try to show that it is the material and ideological bases of capitalism and patriarchy and their mutually reinforcing and dialectical relationship that provides the greatest understanding of women's inferior position. Not only is

women's home activity economically useful to capitalism (as suggested by the Early Marxist Feminists), but women's activity in both the home and the labor market is economically important for patriarchy too.

Capitalism operates through a certain kind of male dominated sex division of labor. As one Dialectical Marxist Feminist puts it, the sexual division of labor as we understand it can itself be seen as a synthesis of patriarchal and capitalist forms of domination (Eisenstein, n.d., p. 44). This is as true for the labor market as for the home.

Thus, the fact that it is women who are responsible for the home in our society, in devalued positions--materially and ideologically--is not simply a function of capitalism, but of patriarchal capitalism--the interconnection between patriarchy and capitalism as they are formed in a specific historical context. The same can be said with regard to the sex-segregated nature of the labor market itself. The fact that it is women who are recruited into low status, low waged, female-dominated occupations in industries with low capital, poor job mobility, limited job security, and little decision-making power is intimately connected to patriarchal capitalism, not capital alone.

In short, it is my reading of the Marxist Feminist literature that the earlier group see the home as constructed by capital, and the sex division of labor in the home as causal of women's problems in the labor market. The later group, on the other hand, sees the sex division of labor, as constructed by patriarchy in collaboration

with capital in both the home and the market, as essential in understanding problems in each sphere of living. Only by better understanding this two-way relationship, I would argue, can we begin to evaluate more clearly women's activity in the labor market of contemporary American society.

Dialectical Marxist Feminists are indebted to earlier groups of thinkers--especially Marx and Engels, writers in the Monopoly Capital tendency, Early Marxist Feminists and Radical Feminists for clarifying certain issues. Without the questions asked by these groups, I do not believe the Dialectical Marxist Feminists could have so carefully begun to explore the interacting effects of patriarchy and capitalism not only on women's home labor, but on their market labor too. However, they do not simply add together the findings of all these different tendencies of thought. Rather, they reformulate questions and thereby bring the analysis of women in patriarchal capitalism to a new level of analysis.

The multiple, interrelated solutions to women's problems suggested by Dialectical Marxist Feminists revolve around the development of both feminist and class consciousness. They treat as essential for the liberation of women changes in the material and ideological bases of both patriarchy and capitalism--and in both the home (and community) and market. This leads to a call for the elimination not only of the division of production between home and market or the division of labor within the market, but of the sexual division of labor as a whole.

The remainder of this chapter is organized in the following way:

First, I specify several key ideas of Marx's that Dialectical Marxist Feminists deal with and criticize. Then I show the major contributions of Dialectical Marxist Feminism to my topic under the following four headings:

(1) The interaction of home and market: the impact of sex-assigned labor in capitalism.

(2) Women's domination under patriarchal capitalism: the autonomous influences of both patriarchy and capital.

(3) Women's economic contribution to patriarchal capitalism: patriarchy is as much an economic phenomenon as is capitalism. Furthermore, patriarchy could be said to consist of a material base and its ideological supports.

And (4) the dialectical relationship between patriarchy and capitalism is crucial to understanding women's position in both the home and the market.

II. The Heritage of Marx and the Early Marxist Feminists to the Dialectical Marxist Feminists

In Chapter IV I concluded that Marx's work contains a critique of the social division of labor itself, not the sexual division of home and market production per se. I further suggested that the Early Marxist Feminists dealt with several issues slighted by Marx and Engels.

Several underlying assumptions by Marx and Engels, however, are neither challenged nor clearly specified by the Early Marxist Feminists. These include the following two questions:

(1) Why was it women in the first place who became responsible for childcare and housework in a capitalist society? That is,

the sex division of labor itself is never questioned but is taken as a given.

(2) How can we desegregate the sex-stratified nature of the labor market and jobs that might well emerge if children were reared collectively and household tasks were socialized?

Thus, the sex division of production within the labor market is never really questioned either. In short, the sex division of labor in the home, in the market, and in the society at large is taken as given. It is precisely this problem that the Dialectical Marxist Feminists deal with.

Here, briefly, are each of the key assumptions the Dialectical Marxist Feminists inherited from Marx and that they now challenge.

A. Patriarchy is a Function of Capitalism

According to Marxist theory, private property in the hands of men at a particular period in historical development and the accumulation of capital leads to patriarchy--and thus, the "world historic defeat of women." In particular, capitalism arranges women's economic dependence on men as it isolates domestic from industrial labor in modern capitalist development. Thus, capital almost exclusively causes the problems faced by women as a group. Women's oppression is but another consequence of the class division of labor: the "wage labor slave" and the "domestic slave." On this basis, according to Marx and Engels, the exploitation of men and women derives from the same source and hence is understood in the same structural terms.

Marx and Engels understand patriarchy as dependent on the rise of private property, the state and class relations. They did not understand that male domination had an autonomous influence on the lives of women. The overthrow of capitalism, so they argued, would lead to the elimination of the family and women's role in it along with the relation between wage labor and capital.

B. The Sex Division of Labor is "Natural"

While sharply opposing sex inequality up to a point, Marx and Engels at the same time treat the sexual division of labor as "natural." To them, it flows from the sex act itself. In pre-class society, they see this division of labor "imposed by the family" as "natural" and extending outward to organize the rest of society. But only the development of class society transforms the family and the sex division of labor into an economic unit which itself reflects a new economic order that defines and surrounds it. This two-way dynamic (between the family and the larger society, and between the economic order and the family) is never developed in the Marxist analysis of "the woman question." In an excellent analysis of this problem, Zillah Eisenstein concludes (n.d., p. 13):

It appears contradictory that Engels acknowledged male/female relations within the family as defining the division of labor in society and yet completely subsumes them under categories of analysis related to production. He offers no explanation that could dissolve this dilemma because it stands outside the terms of his analysis.

We need, continues Eisenstein, to understand the sex division of labor as a feature of patriarchy. In turn, that allows women's oppression

to be "understood as similar although distinct from the 'general' oppression of the proletariat" (p. 9).

It is important to note here that one must understand the sex division of labor not in biological terms alone, but socially and historically, within the context of certain social constraints. This can lead to a truly dialectical Marxist Feminist theory of the interconnection between family and society. The point is not to deny the importance of material relations in understanding the position of women (as stressed by the Early Marxist Feminists), but to realize that the opposite likewise holds true: just as class creates kin, family, and the sex division of labor, the family and the sex division of labor creates class. One without the other would make capitalism and the position of women in it impossible.

C. Women are Inherently Physically Weaker than Men

Marx's assumption about the sex division of labor was based in large part on the ascription of the supposedly inherent physical weakness of women in early society (Marx and Engels, 1846) as well as in capitalist society (Marx, 1867). Although this idea was later rejected by Engels, it is clear that Marx did not have available contemporary studies of women's greater strength and stamina in many societies. (See Stephen Goldberg, 1973, a traditional functionalist who even agrees with this. He says that it is inherent male superiority--aggressiveness--that gets women to do the heavy work--when that is the case.)

True, Marx pointed out that in industrial capitalism women's labor was cheaper not only because of their greater physical weakness. It also cost less because they did not have a tradition of craft organization as the men did as well as because they were said to be more "docile" (1867, p. 402).

All the same, Marx's argument that machines allowed the weaker labor of women and children to be utilized rests on his notions about women's inherent physical weakness and is basic to his argument.

As he says:

In so far as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing labourers of slight muscular strength, and those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all the more supple. The labour of women and children was, therefore, the first thing sought for by capitalists who used machinery (1867, p. 394).

D. Patriarchy is Weakened in Advanced Capitalism

Classical Marxist theory asserts that the traditional sex division of labor would be eliminated in the main with advanced capitalism. The causes are multiple. I only mention two here.

First, Marx argued that sex and age differences within the working class would be eliminated in advanced capitalism, where a basic requirement of the labor force would be as much homogeneity as possible.

The greatest profit is possible by creating simplified tasks with little decision-making power, where workers are readily substitutable for each other. This does not mean that the workers are unskilled. To the contrary, the logic of Marxist theory is that the

types of laborers to be required for the changing needs of monopoly capitalism would be for more skilled blue collar, white collar and professional workers--with fewer agricultural, unskilled blue collar and traditional service workers and domestics. The homogeneity of the labor force that is anticipated by Marx and Engels with modern industry is addressed in several places. I quote two. First,

The less the skill and exertion of strength implied in manual labour, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labour of men superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labour, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex. . . .

The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinction of labour [i.e., sex and age here], and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level (Marx and Engels, 1848, pp. 19-21).

And next:

That mighty substitute for labour and labourers, [i.e., machines], was forthwith changed into a means for increasing the number of wage-labourers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the workman's family, without distinction of age or sex. Compulsory work for the capitalist usurped the place, not only of the children's play, but also of free labour at home within moderate limits for the support of the family (Marx, 1867, pp. 394-395).

In this way, Marx believed the increasingly homogeneous working class would be able to achieve a greater class consciousness, leading to an understanding that the hope for a humane and decent society lies in struggling against capitalism, not men.

Secondly, Marx believed that the traditional sex division of labor was being broken down in the working class family as more and more married women entered waged labor. While this made women less totally economically dependent on their husbands, Marx did not

understand that even if women enter waged labor--even in a socialist society--they continue to be materially and psychologically exploited as women.

Two problems emerge in Marx's understanding of the diminishing importance of patriarchy in capitalism. I will simply mention them below:

On the one hand, Marx (and Engels) lament the passing of the working class family as capital expands its influence and brings women and children into waged labor. For them, since there was little or no private property in working class families to begin with, there was believed to be little if any inequality between husbands and wives. Male advantage and domination was not seen as an integral part of this analysis. Moreover, as fewer and fewer people held private property in a society dominated by wage labor, they believed, the decline in patriarchy in the working class family was seen as most probable.

On the other hand, it was mainly in the bourgeois family, where women were used as "instruments" owned by or at least controlled by men to reproduce the heirs who would inherit wealth, where sex inequality was believed to exist. However, as the twentieth century advanced, the extension of the bourgeois ideal to the working class occurred--while wage labor was simultaneously extended. While Marx believed that patriarchy would diminish--almost to the point of vanishing--the Dialectical Marxist Feminists show that although patriarchy has certainly been transformed since Marx's time, it is alive and more or less well--in the family and outside it.

A second problem exists in Marx's thinking of which he is never aware. This problem, too, points to the need to understand patriarchy and capitalism working together.

Marx asserts that women do not have control over their bodies and their labor power under capitalism. This is a consequence of the fact that in capitalism, women are the private property of men. The social relations between the sexes is grounded within the system of production. Thus, when a woman enters wage labor, according to Marx, she is owned and controlled by her husband as he exchanges her labor power with the capitalist. To quote Marx himself:

Taking the exchange of commodities as our basis, our first assumption was the capitalist and labourer met as free persons, as independent owners of commodities; the one possessing money and means of production, the other labour-power. But now the capitalist buys children and young persons under age. Previously, the workman sold his own labour-power, which he disposed of nominally as a free agent. Now he sells wife and child. He has become a slave-dealer (1867, p. 396).

So contrary to Marx's general assumption that capitalism "frees" the worker (see Chapter III above, and the Labor Theory of Value), when a woman enters the labor market, she is not "free" to sell her own labor power in the same way as a man is because it is owned by her husband, not herself.

The fact that men are freed by capital to sell their labor to the capitalist is much more complicated for women. Even Marx recognizes this, but glosses over it in his analysis and does not deal with the problems inherent in this analysis. Only by applying the Dialectical Marxist Feminist approach, I believe, can we deal with such problems.

E. Women and Men Will Each Reproduce Their Own Labor Power

In capital's quest for expansion, all spheres of activity are affected--including the home. As just noted, Marx held that the goal of reducing all people to the status of paid workers in a homogeneous labor force leads to the treatment of men and women as equals in this regard.

Marx and Engels believed that the working class population would become wage laborers where everyone would be exploited individually as wage laborers reproducing their labor power through their own individual means of consumption/reproduction. With the introduction of women and children into the labor force, they thus believed that each person would reproduce their own labor power on the job, and that the individual male breadwinner's consumption through his wife at home would no longer be the primary means of replenishing labor power for capital. In this way, the whole family would be brought into the labor market under the control of the male head--i.e., under patriarchal control. This would permit cheaper labor (women and children) to be brought under the direct control of capital, paying them less so that the more skilled laborer--presumably the adult male family head--would not spend so much time on lesser tasks.

As Marx says:

The value of labour-power was determined, not only by the labour-time necessary to maintain the individual adult labourer, but also by that necessary to maintain his family. Machinery, by throwing every member of that family on to the labour-market, spreads the value of the man's labour-power over his whole family. It thus depreciates his labour-power. To purchase the labour-power of a family of four workers may, perhaps, cost more than it formerly did to purchase the labour-power of the head of the

family, but in return, four days' labour takes the place of one, and their price falls in proportion to the excess of the surplus-labour of four over the surplus-labour of one. In order that the family may live, four people must now, not only labour, but expend surplus-labour for the capitalist. Thus, we see that machinery, while augmenting the human material that forms the principal object of capital's exploiting power, at the same time raises the degree of exploitation (1867, p. 395).

Thus, each member of the family works directly for capital, which obtains profits from their surplus labor. Simultaneously, the labor power of all family members--irrespective of age or sex--is reproduced at a cheaper cost to the capitalist.

The logic of this analysis--if carried to its extreme--would lead to the meeting of all human needs through the wage labor-capital relation, and thus eliminate both women's role and the family in their separate economic and psychological functions for capitalism. This is what Marx actually feared--as did capital.

But the family was not destroyed and the role of women in the family has not been eliminated. A hundred years later we can now see why not. The Dialectical Marxist Feminists do just that by stressing what takes place between patriarchy and capitalism in our own time and place. We turn to them now.

The rest of this chapter focusses on the dialectical relationships revealed by Marxist Feminist theory between the major building blocks of patriarchal capitalism as they relate to women's work.

III. The Dialectical Relationship between Home and Market

The Dialectical Marxist Feminists challenge the sex division of labor between home and market taken for granted by the Early Marxist Feminists, along with Marx and Engels.

Dialectical Marxist Feminists look at the sex division of production itself (see Somers, 1975; New American Movement Political Perspective, 1972) in explaining the two-way relationship between home and market responsibilities of women and men. Analyzing the organization of society in this way makes clear that capitalism operates through a sex division of labor. The sex division of production occurs between the home and the market, whereas the sex division of labor occurs within both home and market. The two are so inextricably interconnected that they are oftentimes experienced as one and the same. Thus, "A housewife is a woman: a housewife does housework. A housewife is a woman who manages or directs the affairs of her household; the wife of a householder. . . . A man cannot be a housewife. A man who says he is a housewife is an anomaly." In fact, a man may do housework, but he is never considered a housewife (Oakley, 1974, p. 1).

Another way for the Dialectical Marxist Feminists of understanding the sex division of production is as follows: the industrial phase of capitalism is clearly responsible for the division of the home and the market into two spheres as we have come to experience and understand them. However, it was not capitalism that put women in the home and men in the labor market as their primary responsibilities. Rather, it was patriarchy, the product of alliances and struggles between ruling class and working class men which in turn affects the lives of the vast majority of women. By the same token, patriarchy made the home "woman's place." Thus, Engels' characteristic workers--the proletariat and the housewife--have as their underlying social

relations the sex division of production as organized by patriarchy within a specific historical period of capitalist development.

To say that the home and market are sex-assigned spheres of responsibility with serious disadvantages to women is not to deny that men and women are found in those spheres where the other sex holds prime responsibility.¹

Thus, for example, as industrialization was emerging in the mid-nineteenth century United States, women and children were prominent among the first factory workers, especially in the New England clothing mills (see Pinchbeck, 1969; Baxandall, *et al.*, 1976). As the factory system was developing, men were still mainly involved in agricultural production. However, as wage labor became more important in the period of developing capitalism (late nineteenth and early twentieth century), the transition of female to male wage labor on the whole is documented (Hartmann, 1976). This is explained by one Marxist Feminist in the following way: women are allowed more control or responsibility in those areas of lesser importance (Carol Brown, personal communication, 1978).

Moreover, it should be clear that men and women have always had certain tasks and responsibilities in each other's spheres. That is, while the home and market are predominantly sex-assigned areas of social relations, within each sphere the sex-segregation of labor

¹Nor, by the way, is it to say that women are only negatively affected by such a set of circumstances. Glazer (Malbin) and Waehrer, eds. (1973) make it clear in their introductory comments that we must not eliminate the dialectical nature of women's home labor itself in our zeal to set the record straight about patriarchy. Also, see here Zaretsky (1976).

maintains itself in very clear terms. That is, sex roles exist within each sphere of the home and the market. Thus, not only had women been, and still are, assigned certain jobs and payments on the basis of their sex in waged labor before industrial capitalism (e.g., the byre system or in agriculture) (see Pinchbeck, 1969; Bridenthal and Koonz, eds., 1977), but men were also allocated certain sex-assigned tasks in the home. In her manuscript, Carol Lopate, n.d., suggests the importance of fathers as disciplinarians; they had legal responsibility for their children (see also Aries, 1962).

With the expansion of markets and the introduction of increasingly larger numbers of women into waged labor and men in doing certain limited household tasks in the twentieth century,¹ two features have become increasingly clear: women are found in the male world of work; and men are found in the female world of the home and family.² This holds true despite the fact that the vast majority of employed women are likewise homemakers and mothers and thus experience the "double day." Further, men who engage in domestic labor are likewise heads of households and considered the major or primary family

¹See Pleck (1977), Blood and Wolfe (1960), Barry, Bacon and Child (1957), Vanek (1974, 1977), Carnegie Commission on the Family, as referenced in Hollie (September 12, 1977). This is not to say that men in any way share tasks equally with women in the home comparable to women sharing the labor market tasks with men. In fact, the data are quite clear that (1) women work a "double day" when they enter waged labor--beneficial to both capitalist men and the individual working class man alike--and (2) men typically "help" women in their domestic labor when they are employed. It is still "women's" work. However, men are engaged in certain childcare, household, and self reproduction tasks at home also.

²I will not address myself to men's home and market activity in any great detail. I believe both are essential in understanding what happens to women and must be further explored in a Marxist Feminist analysis.

breadwinner. Men do not experience the "double day" as women do.

In sum, it is important to state that despite these features of contemporary society, where women and men are found in each others' spheres, the sex-assigned nature of domestic and market labor makes women's primary responsibility the home--even when she is in the market. The reverse is not true for men. What is important to study here, according to the Dialectical Marxist Feminist analysis, is both (1) the sex division of production between the home and market as well as (2) how the two spheres interact,¹ all the time understanding full well the sex-assigned labor that likewise occurs within each sphere of daily living too.

To conclude, the relationship between the home and market must be understood as dynamically interdependent or two-way. We must understand not only how the home influences women's experiences in the market, but also how the market influences women's experiences in the home. To do this, we must learn more about the nature and influence of patriarchy in modern capitalist society. We turn to this in the next section.

IV. The Autonomous Influence of Patriarchy: Domination of Women Under Patriarchal Capitalism

Even if one argues that patriarchy is a function of class relations, say the Dialectical Marxist Feminists, once it is clearly

¹Recall that the Early Marxist Feminists only dealt with the relationship between home and market in one direction: how the home influenced the market position of women. Dialectical Marxist Feminists now suggest that we must look at both directions: in addition to the home affecting the market; the market affects the home and on and on.

established, patriarchy takes on a life of its own. The institutions of patriarchy have real consequences--not just ideological, but material too--for women's lives. In relation to present-day capitalism, in no way should we treat it simply as an epiphenomenon or as superstructure. Patriarchy must be analyzed as a force in its own right.

Early Marxist Feminists made clear that women in the home provided economically essential labor for capital. The Dialectical Marxist Feminists have spent much time in making understandable the material as well as the ideological forms of patriarchy. They show that women provide economically important labor for patriarchy as well as certain emotional, psychological and sexual services and support for men.

Patriarchy is a set of social relations of power which enables men to control women; which power is grounded in the hierarchical relations between men, who are aware of and act on the material and ideological privileges accruing to them through the exploitation of women's labor.¹

¹My definition of patriarchy is partially derived from that of Hartmann (1976, p. 138). She says that patriarchy is a "set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men, and solidarity among men, which enable men to control women." For Hartmann, what is crucial is that the relation of men's interdependence to their domination of women be examined in historical societies. In capitalist societies in particular, "we must discover those same bonds between men which both bourgeois and marxist social scientists claim no longer exist or at the most are unimportant left-overs" (Hartmann and Bridges, 1977, pp. 15-16). Hartmann provides us with a richer, more meaningful understanding of patriarchy than the unspecified notion of male dominance, as well as the way it is worked out in industrial capitalism in the "family wage." This latter notion I shall talk about in the following section on the material benefits of patriarchy to men.

This definition includes the idea that patriarchy is a system of hierarchy, order and control both (1) among men and (2) of men over women. By referring to both economic and cultural components of these relationships, it allows us to understand such hierarchy and control in the family, in the polity, in the economy, and so forth.

Men as a group share not only the material benefits from the exploitation and control of women's labor, but also share a "gender interest" in maintaining their position of dominance. This aspect is usually referred to as "sexism" or "male chauvinism."

Thus patriarchy is more than hierarchy.¹ Just as Marx's categories of class is more than hierarchy, and refers more appropriately to class conflict (including a material base and class consciousness), so too patriarchy is more than hierarchy. It could be said to refer to "gender conflict," including a material base of women's labor and gender consciousness. In this way we can understand contemporary and historical patriarchal societies to consist of a system of relations establishing interdependence and solidarity among men which enables, and even requires, them to dominate women.

Several cautionary notes are important here. First, patriarchy-- as an institutionalized form of material and ideological male benefit and dominance, whereby men are hierarchically related and thereby given control over women--is not a simple idea. Some men clearly have more benefits accruing from women's labor than other men. Thus, the

¹Bridges and Hartmann (1977) clarify this in another way. "Patriarchy is not simply hierarchical organization, but hierarchy in which particular people fill particular places" (p. 24). That is, men are higher and women are lower in the hierarchy.

benefits a man gets from patriarchy varies by his class position. But within the different social classes and strata, all men have privileges over women. While only some men (those of the ruling class) are granted privileges over all women, all men (men from all classes and strata) have privileges over some women. As Carol Brown (1977) says:

The higher a man is in the class structure the greater his benefit from other men's production and from the reproductive services of his wife, his servants, his female employees and all the pretty girls whose job it is to please businessmen. The lower a man is in the class structure, the less his direct benefit from production and the fewer women's services he can command. [But benefit from women's services he does do] (p. 4).

Secondly, male "gender interest" shared by men throughout the hierarchy should not lead to the conclusion of "conspiracy." Just as we understand that the ruling class maintains itself through the system of capital and not through conspiracy, so too it should be clear that the male gender interest maintains itself through the socially institutionalized system of patriarchy--as a part of the normal functioning of the system of patriarchy itself--and not through a plot or set of plots.

Thirdly, patriarchy cannot be understood as an ahistorical, generalized universal phenomenon unto itself. Rather, just as we must understand the class struggle in different historical periods--feudalism, capitalism, socialism--and how this influences women's lives, we must likewise understand patriarchy in different historical periods--and how it varies over time. Contemporary monopoly capitalist relations of patriarchy developed from industrial capitalist as well as precapitalist forms of patriarchy. We must understand how the forms

arising from each are maintained and transformed within our own historical period.

A. Radical Feminists on Patriarchy

Dialectical Marxist Feminism has taken from Radical Feminism the idea that patriarchy has real and important consequences for women's lives in capitalism.

The autonomous contribution of patriarchy to women's position in western society was not part of the Marxist framework. It was the Radical Feminist community, clearly anti-capitalist but not Marxist in its thinking, who, early on in the contemporary women's movement, suggested that the way to end economic class exploitation is to eliminate what it calls the "first class exploitation" on which capital rests. By this they mean the biological mother-child relationship, the biological family, the biological male-female distinctions which determine social functions as well as power in society--in short, the system of patriarchy itself. Thus, as Adrienne Rich (1976) concludes in her analysis of motherhood as the essential patriarchal institution in society: "The repossession of women of our bodies will bring far more essential change to human society than the seizing of the means of production by workers" (p. 285).

One of the earliest and major treatments of patriarchy by the Radical Feminists was that of Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1970). In her "Notes toward a Theory of Patriarchy" (Chapter 2), Millett argued that men dominated women both as individuals and as a group.

Thus,

the fact [of patriarchy] is evident at once if one recalls that the military, industry, technology, universities, science, political office, and finance--in short, every avenue of power within society, including the coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands. As the essence of politics is power, such realization cannot fail to carry impact (p. 25).

This made it clear that for women, "the personal is political."

Among other things, this means that the social relations between women and men, although they may be due to larger social and economic forces beyond individual control, are played out at the level of the individual. Women's discontent is not "just in their minds," but is oppression felt at a personal level due to the patriarchal attitudes and structures of our society.

Millett further understands the principles of patriarchy as twofold: (1) "that male shall dominate female" and (2) "elder male shall dominate younger" (p. 25). Prior to the Radical Feminist reintroduction of the term patriarchy, the contemporary relations between the sexes were treated by mainstream social science as simply sex (biological) or gender (social) differences--not necessarily sex or gender differences that implied hierarchical relations among men along with hierarchical relations of men over women.

A second major early figure in Radical Feminist theory was Shulamith Firestone (1970). According to her, patriarchy is a biologically rooted power structure of men over women, which is translated into gender identities. The reason that women end up doing childcare and housework in our society, according to Firestone, is because of their biological reproductive function--i.e., because of motherhood.

Moreover, she highlighted the relationship between biological maternity, "mothering," and the socially developed gender differences based on it. Her attempt was to get at the underlying material base of patriarchy itself.

Thus, according to Firestone, instead of the underclass (proletariat) seizing the means of production to end economic classes, what is necessary for the

elimination of sexual classes requires the revolt of the underclass (women) and the seizure of control of reproduction: not only the full restoration to women of ownership of their bodies, but also their (temporary) seizure of control of human fertility--the new population biology as well as the social institutions of childbearing and childrearing (pp. 10-11).

In this way, she continues, "not just the elimination of male privilege but of the sex distinction itself [would occur]: genital differences between human beings would no longer matter culturally." The solution is possible through a technology which would no longer require women to reproduce babies by means of their own bodies--"since this is the basis of patriarchal power for men."

Firestone's analysis revolves around the idea that it is genital and reproductive differences between men and women which cause women's subordination to men in all societies. These biological "differences" are based on inherent female biological inferiority, according to Firestone. She argues that historically, pregnancy made women weaker, leading to male dominance. Thus, it was not male strength, but the weakening factors of female pregnancy that led to women's domination by men.

The major criticisms of Firestone's analysis are: (1) while more than biology is used to oppress women, Firestone sees woman's

biology as inherently oppressive rather than defined as such by the socially constructed world around her. Thus, while Firestone tries to establish women's sexuality and biological maternity as the material base to patriarchy, a perspective long avoided by orthodox Marxism, she fails to understand the importance of the society's evaluation of that biology--which varies in time, space and historical period.

(2) While her analysis zeroes in on women's oppression as a product of female sexuality, it does not view such oppression as a dimension of a complex social oppression. Not only does she fail to deal with the context in which women operate; but, as one commentator suggests, "The thrust of Firestone's analysis is to isolate sex oppression from the economic organization of society" (Eisenstein, n.d., p. 33). Further, she says, Firestone's "insistence on seeing women as either sexual beings or economic beings moves her away from dealing with the complex mix of woman's existence" (Eisenstein, n.d., p. 29). Instead, what is needed is a dialectical relationship between sexual and economic oppressions experienced by women.

In general, however, Radical Feminism fails to see that capitalism has its own autonomous roots and oppression, just as patriarchy does. The class oppression and exploitation of capitalism is not a mere evolutionary offshoot of sexism. It has its own independent historical causes.¹

¹For an excellent analysis of another Radical Feminist, Robin Morgan (1977), in the terms just discussed, see Judy Gumbo Clavir (1978).

In sum, what the Radical Feminists did, I believe, for Marxist Feminists trying to understand the basis of women's position in contemporary society was to raise the issue of the importance of patriarchy as a system which must be contended with in its own right to understand women's position in capitalism. They saw the importance of trying to understand the relation of the family itself to the economy, as well as the importance of gender socialization to culture and the maintenance of a conservative society. It is Dialectical Marxist Feminists, however, who have raised the issue of how the institution of patriarchy varies with the slave, feudal, capitalist, socialist stages of society, as well as the legacy that is left in moving from one stage of organization to another. (See Bridenthal and Koonz, eds., 1977, for one set of readings on this subject.)

Furthermore, the Radical Feminists provided a materialist context or conception of sexuality in which it was said to be important to explore the social relations of reproduction--that is, to understand that the material base of patriarchy is the work women do in reproduction. Finally, it has been the Radical Feminists who have eloquently explained what it feels like to be oppressed as a woman in contemporary society. Thus, the recent work of Dorothy Dinnerstein (1976) and Adrienne Rich (1976), as well as parts of Firestone (1970), describe the intensity and power with which love, motherhood, and sexuality are internalized within our psyches to reproduce the very system of female oppression that feminists so ardently oppose. (It is here that the references to Freud have become so abundant in much of the Radical Feminist analysis.)

B. Origins, Development, and Historical Change of Patriarchy

Several Dialectical Marxist Feminists have found it necessary to expand on the concept of patriarchy: from that of male power over females (especially in its social as well as its biological constructs) to a more historically differentiated understanding of relations both among men and between men and women and the interrelationship between these two features of hierarchy and domination. The movement and relationship of patriarchy between public and private hierarchies in specific historical periods is also an important aspect of their analysis that I single out.

Juliet Mitchell (1966, 1971) was the first of the Marxist Feminist community to bring to light the autonomous influence of sex/gender systems and the family in capitalist society. Mitchell is not a Dialectical Marxist Feminist as defined in this work.¹ She has nonetheless helped guide the work of many Dialectical Marxist Feminists by suggesting that Marxist Feminists must take into account

¹For Mitchell, women's powerlessness is rooted in four specific structures, all of which must be transformed if women are to be liberated: (1) production, (2) reproduction, (3) sex and (4) socialization of children. The first structure refers to social production and the last three to the reproduction of labor power in the home.

However, Mitchell does little more than describe the four ways of looking at women and the family. The thrust of her work more accurately identifies her with the Orthodox group of the Early Marxist Feminists (see Chapter IV above). She ends up by suggesting that the problem for women is their separation off from social production. As with the Orthodox Marxist Feminists, the solution to women's problems is they must enter waged labor to be liberated. For Mitchell, the mechanisms of such change is the educational system and the way children are socialized into their gender identities (see Malos here, 1978).

In her later work, Psychoanalysis and Feminism (1974), Mitchell presents patriarchy as an important and basic ideological structure. Thus, while patriarchy is independently influential for Mitchell, only the economic structure of society has the fundamental material base of society to it--not the patriarchal structure too.

the independent contributions of women's sexuality, the family and kinship--i.e., contemporary patriarchal structures and relations-- in any analysis of women's position in capitalist society.

This became further clarified in work by Gayle Rubin (1975). Her analysis of the political economy of the sex/gender system led to the following two conclusions: First, sexuality, gender and family systems "are themselves social products" with their own historically determined relationships in which both material production, wealth, exchange, power and dominance exist, as well as thoughts, feelings and sensibilities. And secondly, "Not only do reproduction and kinship, or the family, have their own, historically determined products, material techniques, modes of organization, and power relationships, but reproduction and kinship are themselves integrally related to the social relations of production and the state; and they reshape those relations all the time" (quoted from Petchesky, 1978, p. 377, in her comments on Rubin).

Amongst the Dialectical Marxist Feminists at least two major groups have begun to emerge around the question of the origins of patriarchal forms of sex/gender systems. The two groups split from each other on the issue of the timing and dynamics of the origins of patriarchy.

One believes that pre-class, pre-state societies were differentiated on the basis of sex and age, but were nonetheless marked by a primitive form of communism in which egalitarian economic, social and sexual organization existed. It is only when a single hierarchical system emerges between the sexes that the one becomes "male" dominant.

Women and men both engage in productive and reproductive relations. The entire group share decision-making and responsibility for food, shelter, and children (see here Reich, 1966; Leacock, 1977b; Sacks, 1975; Muller, 1977). In the few cases that hierarchies have been said to exist within each gender group, they were parallel, not female subordinate.

The other group argues that even in pre-state, pre-class societies, women do not have control over their own labor power or their bodies. Men give and take women as gifts. A woman is the conduit of a relationship between men, the link, but not a partner to it. Thus, it is the men who have power over the women. Kinship and marriage are organization, and organization gives power. Women are the property of men and thereby subordinate to them--even before the development and institutionalization of private property and capitalism (see Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974; Ortner, n.d.; Gayle Rubin, 1975; Hartmann and Bridges, 1977).

However, these debates about the origins of patriarchy are less important than the main point on which the two groups agree as Dialectical Marxist Feminists: whatever the specific origins of patriarchy in general, one must analyze the particular patriarchal relations that exist within each historical period within society.

What is in fact known about the origins of male dominated sexual hierarchies is analyzed by Rayna Rapp (Reiter) (1976, 1977), as she looks at the suggested effects of (1) capitalism, (2) the pristine state and (3) the qualities of life in original primitive society.

She concludes that the research is in a state of emergence, and we do not know the answers yet. However, several tentative conclusions are possible with current knowledge, especially learned in the past decade or so with active feminist questions and concerns being investigated. Her review focusses mainly on the work done by anthropology.

First, prior to modern political economic hierarchies of capitalism, which oppress women, there exist more ancient layers of gender differentiation and discrimination. However, we have a long way to go before we know when, under what conditions, and in whose specific interest, the sexual division of labor in pre-class societies is a relation of male domination and when it is simply a division.

Second, the devaluation of the roles, activities, and ideologies associated with women is part and parcel of the process of the destruction of kin-based organization and the origin of the state as a major solidification of class and gender differentiation in which virtually all forms of kingdom and empire have ultimately been founded. As she says, although anthropologists disagree on the degree of women's autonomy in precapitalist society, all agree "with the rise of civilization and the state, women as a social category were increasingly subjugated to the male heads of their households. That is, civilizations are properly described as patriarchal" (1977, pp. 7-8).

Thirdly, while studies of primates, archeological materials, and contemporary foraging populations do not eliminate the issue of male dominance in primitive society, they certainly do suggest that a great deal more flexibility in gender roles exists than we formerly believed.

Various attempts have been made to better understand the development of patriarchy in different historical periods. Here I look at several of these. Specifically, I have chosen to look at the work by Sherry Ortner (n.d.), Roslyn Petchesky (1978), Heidi Hartmann and Amy Bridges (1977), Heidi Hartmann (1976), Carol Brown (1975a, 1975b, 1977), and Jeannette Silveira (1975).

According to Sherry Ortner (n.d.),¹ even in the most primitive known societies, some sort of asymmetry between the sexes existed, giving men some edge of authority or charisma or status. While women may have their sacred ceremonies (in slightly more complex band societies) from which men are excluded, the male ceremonies are considered to be for the group welfare, the women's specific to welfare of women. The diffuse authority of charisma is transformed into the beginnings of real power and control through male control of the marriage system, in the exchange of women and goods, in the most complex known band societies. In such societies, male/female relations remain within the range of band societies: from relatively mutualistic and balanced, to extreme cases of real sex antagonism--with male self-segregation, and strong expressions of fear of women as dangerous. In this case, women are excluded rather than systematically dominated

¹Ortner defines patriarchy as a system of absolute authority of senior males over all others. This includes notions of institutionalized fatherhood of "old testament patriarchs of pastoral, nomadic societies--like Abraham" as well as that of male wardship over females (see Gayle Rubin here also, 1975). In the latter case, Viana Muller (1977) defines patriarchy as a social system in which the status of women is defined primarily as wards of their husbands, fathers, and brothers. The parameters of wardship are conceptualized as (1) exploitation of women's labor; (2) their differential access to basic resources; (3) restriction of their decision-making powers; (4) absence of jural responsibility for their acts.

and controlled--according to Ortner--allowing them considerable autonomy and parallel social power.

Power of males in these groups is founded on the basis of their collective adult maleness--embodied in secret cults, men's houses, warfare, exchange networks, ritual knowledge, initiation procedures, etc.--not individual male control over an individual woman.

With the rise of the state the domestication of both men and women began to occur in the form of the patriarchal extended family. Here, instead of collective male advantage is begun to be practiced individual male control within the extended family. Thus, Ortner suggests, the beginnings of the domestication of men--as husband/fathers and sons--is part of a larger pattern of systematization of hierarchy and control in the evolution of state structures themselves. This, in turn, is the foundation of the "domestication of women, . . . wherein women, like plants and animals, were brought under control in the service of the race" (p. 12).

Ortner continues:

What I think was at issue was the gradual deepening of involvement of individual males in responsibility as husbands/fathers, for their specific family units, not just economic responsibility, for that was always accepted, but also what might be called political accountability. The family became in a sense an administrative unit, the base unit in the political economic structure of the state. The husband/father was no longer simply responsible to his family, but also for his family vis a vis the larger system. It became the base, and often the only base of his jural status (pp.16-17).¹

¹Ortner's work is substantiated in Viana Muller's (1977) analysis of the development of patriarchy with the emergence of the state as Anglo-Saxon and Welsh tribal customs were undermined.

Moreover, concludes Ortner, the idea that males were to be legally and politically as well as economically responsible for the proper functioning of the family unit--seen as a unit--appears to have been part of the "systematic extension of principles of hierarchy, domination and order in the evolution of states as a whole. Responsible husbands/fathers are better subordinated in the system." (Italics mine.) Likewise, patriarchal husband/fathers, are then responsible for keeping those under their jurisdiction in line (p. 17).

Thus, patriarchy refers to a system of control by elder males over younger males--who if they are kept in line until their own maturity, will work their way into the rewards of the patriarchal system--and all women. This occurs within the context of the development of the individual family (extended or nuclear) along with the separation of public (social) and private (domestic) spheres, increasing surpluses, and the emergence of the state--its hierarchy, order and control. With the virtual disappearance of male initiation rites in state society, suggests Ortner, marriage itself typically becomes the rite of passage. Manhood becomes equated with responsibility for wife and children. In our own society, manhood is associated with being the family breadwinner, womanhood with being a mother. (See Pleck, 1976, for a modern-day interpretation of this.)

Finally, Ortner tells us, the crystallization of patriarchal family corporations was a precipitate of larger political and economic processes. Once patriarchy "got going, it became a social form in its own right, affecting not only the further evolution of sex role relations, but the economic and political evolution of the larger system itself" (p. 19).

As Roslyn Petchesky (1978) also suggests, just as the state upholds the man as the head of the household, so too patriarchy in the home underwrites an emergent state power. It is a two-way relationship. Once more, as capitalism takes shape, a patriarchal family system moulds it as much as capitalism changes that family.

Here we must consider not only the material importance but also the ideological power of male dominance. In the course of western state development, it appears that anti-women ideologies and the material exploitation of women attempt to resolve disorders arising from severe class division and social instability, or heightened militarism and warfare, and in which the state develops as a general antidote to social disorder. The method of resolution of the disorder amongst men is "by unifying groups of men across class lines around the abstract notion of 'citizenship'" (p. 384). Hence, the state is based on both class and sexual footholds.

Petchesky suggests this was true in fifth century Athens as well as in the rise of the modern bourgeois state. She quotes Christopher Hill (1967) and Eli Zaretsky (1976) to show that the commonwealth emerging from the English civil wars represented a victory for male heads of households, all the while "obscuring both the exclusion of the majority of men from liberty as well as the economic and social contradictions within the citizen body itself." By the eighteenth century, the definition of citizen was solidly male--with a silent partner who is female--dependent, docile and domesticated. As Petchesky concludes:

I am suggesting that misogynistic ideology and institutions help to legitimate the bourgeois political ideology of "liberty and equality" for all males, serving thus to secure national (male) unity, loyalty, and military service, among other things. The ideology of legitimate and illegitimate birth itself not only functions as one prop or patriarchal control over the means of reproduction, discussed above; it also helps to elevate and mystify the very notion of citizen (p. 385).

As a third example of Dialectical Marxist Feminist thought on the historically specific development of patriarchy, I cite Heidi Hartmann and Amy Bridges (1977). They give two examples which illustrate the development of systems of dependence and hierarchy with a material base among men and the importance of these relationships in vastly different societies in helping men to dominate women. It is their desire to develop a meaningful historical analysis of specific forms of patriarchy.

First, they analyze the work of Claude Meillassoux (1973) on primitive agricultural societies in West Africa. Second, through the work of Christopher Hill (1967), they illustrate a patriarchal form of society in Puritan England. My own interest in their work focusses around the particular ways in which they show emergent industrial capitalism utilizes or organizes the hierarchical relations among men in the process of male domination over women, as well as how this intensifies in the monopoly capital era.

Hartmann's particular task has been to understand how the hierarchical division of labor among men and between men and women has been extended to wage labor in the modern period. She moves forward our understanding of the meaning of patriarchy by showing how the sex-divided nature of the labor force, as well as the sex-assigned nature

of the home in industrial capitalism, is as much a function of patriarchy as capitalism.

It is her basic argument that patriarchy existed long before capitalism. Thus, capital inherited a patriarchal system in which men controlled women and children's labor in the family (Hartmann, 1976). In the family, then, men learned the techniques of hierarchical organization and control which they then applied more and more to a separate public realm--the state, an increasingly centralized economic order, and wage labor--that in time turned into capitalism.

With the advent of public-private separations--such as those created by emerging state apparatus and economic systems of wider exchange and larger production units--men's problems became one of maintaining their control over the labor power of women. Individual control by men in the home had to be translated into social control of men over women in the world outside the home, mediated by society-wide institutions. The mechanisms available to men were (1) the traditional division of labor between the sexes and (2) techniques of hierarchical organization and control. Hartmann argues these mechanisms were crucial in the second process: the extension of a sex-ordered division of labor to the wage-labor system itself, during the period of emergence of capitalism in Western Europe and the United States.

What is particularly important to Hartmann is to show that the average male worker has been influential in maintaining the sexual divisions in the labor process, and benefits materially from the forms patriarchy takes in contemporary American society. As she says,

"Marxist economists tend to attribute job segregation to capitalists, ignoring the part played by male workers and the effect of patriarchal social relations. In this paper I hope to redress the balance" (1976, p. 140).

As my last examples of Dialectical Marxist Feminist concern with the development and change of patriarchy, I turn to the recent work of Carol Brown (1975a, 1975b, 1977) and a slightly earlier piece by Jeanette Silveira (1975). They emphasize that the extension of the sex-ordered division of labor to the labor market--the wage labor process--is not only in the interest of individual men (in the home and in the market) but also in the interest of male capitalists and the male state in contemporary monopoly capitalist society.

To Brown and Silveira, a class society based on patriarchy is essentially a society whose class relations are relations among classes of men. "Since the major Marxist classes are predominantly male, sex is already in the economic base" (Silveira, 1975, p. 12).

For Brown, what is important to understand is that in modern capitalism, patriarchy refers to much more than the individual male-headed family unit in relation to the state. It is true that the form of the feudal patriarchal family is inherited by the emergent capitalist system. The patriarchal family laws which are made by men for men in the economic, political, religious and other sectors of the larger society give each individual man the right to power over an individual woman in the home. Today, however, struggles over private patriarchal control of women within the family continually erupt with the increasing consolidation of power, control, and benefits

of the public male hierarchies headed by an elite class of men who control business, government, education and social services in advanced capitalism.

Hence Brown suggests, "Patriarchal controls over women's labor occurs less through the husband in the family and more by ruling class men, to the benefit of themselves and all other men" (1975b, p. 3). Thus, the increasing contradiction between men as men versus men as members of different social classes becomes important in an analysis of women's lives.

Further, Brown asserts, we must recognize that "patriarchy also includes the collective exploitation of the female sex by the male sex, and the exploitation of the female sex by ruling class men for the ruling class's economic and social benefit" (1975b, p. 1).

It is her goal to be able to understand the increase in female-headed families in the United States today, as well as the increase in married women employed in waged labor. As she says:

Beginning in the twentieth century, and developed now to the point where the trend is clear, a major transformation took place in the structure of patriarchal capitalism. [We find more employed women, women marrying less, and increased female-headed households.] These women [i.e., women who are heads of households] are not working for, or under their male relatives. Although the growth of female-headed families through the voluntary departure of men might appear to be the result of a decline of patriarchy, we will show that it is in fact merely the transformation of the dialectic of sex within patriarchal capitalism from family-centered exploitation of women to industrial-centered exploitation of women. The benefits continue to flow both to individual men, who obtain the benefit of the cheap services of women, and to capitalist men who obtain both the surplus value and the services (Carol Brown, 1975b, p. 2). (Italics mine.)

In short, patriarchy is far from "outmoded." For Brown, it is transformed from a private to a public form--which continues to benefit

most men--even as individual men may lose control over individual women in the household.

In closing, I would suggest that an analysis of patriarchy in advanced capitalism clearly calls for this kind of historical differentiation from previous forms of patriarchy that Dialectical Marxist Feminists have recently begun to explore.

Today, in a period of developed monopoly capitalism, we find patriarchy of two kinds and on two planes operative. On the one hand we find (1) collective forms of male domination in the larger, public society in addition to (2) private forms of individual male control over women within the family. Further, we find that collective male domination operates not only to the benefit of the male ruling class and the male dominated state, but also to the benefit of men workers as a group over women workers as a group in the labor market.

At different points in time, the features of patriarchy may come into conflict with each other. We need to evaluate more closely, for instance, the conditions under which male dominance in the home and male dominance in the larger society are antagonistic or supportive. I do this in a limited way in the next section and in Chapter VII. This is clearly an important area for future investigation.

V. Women's Economic Contribution to Patriarchy

Just as the Early Marxist Feminists understood the material or economic contribution of domestic work by women for capital, so too the Dialectical Marxist Feminists make clear the material or economic contribution of women's labor--both domestic and market--to patriarchy

in a capitalist society. They treat patriarchy as much an economic phenomenon as they do capital.

Thus, women in the home do unwaged necessary labor for their individual husbands as well as for the benefit of capitalist men. And women in the labor market work in sex-assigned tasks at lower wages than men, thereby not competing with male workers for their sex-related, more powerful and higher paying jobs, and simultaneously providing cheap labor power for capitalist men. Women's work serves the dual purpose of perpetuating both male domination and capitalist production.

In what follows I shall present the argument that the social relations of patriarchy powerfully determine the position of men and women--both inside the family and in the labor market--at the point of capitalist industrialization in both England and the United States. I shall focus primarily on the development of the following three social phenomena during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as patriarchal methods of subordinating women to men in the family and the labor market:

- (1) the "family wage,"
- (2) protective legislation, and
- (3) the sex-segregated nature of the labor market.

A. The Development of the "Family Wage": Women's Labor Is Part of the Man's Standard of Living

Marx's analysis of women in industrializing England was filled with certain problematic assumptions and understandings about the

nature of women in relation to patriarchy in a capitalist society. On the basis of several of his underlying assumptions, which are at times contradictory in their implications, the Dialectical Marxist Feminists have sought to understand the material benefits of patriarchy: for men only. In this context specifically, we can question his underlying assumptions about the family wage and the role of women in the home in the reproduction of labor power.

On the one hand, Marx feared the breakup of the working class family itself under the pressures of increasing industrialization in capitalist England. This was based on his understanding that the whole of the working class--men, women, and children--was being forced into waged labor. This meant that each person would become exploited individually as wage laborers, responsible for reproducing her/his own individual means of consumption/reproduction. What he did not foresee was the development of the family wage as a remedy to this situation.

On the other hand, Marx intimates some sort of understanding of the development of the family wage. He did so by assuming that a housewife is part of the standard of living belonging to the male head of the household, in the industrial phase of capitalist development in England.

Prior to the industrial revolution, women were expected to support themselves and their children economically.¹ In eighteenth

¹Between fifteenth and eighteenth centuries in England this was accomplished through bye work, the domestic putting-out system, tending of small plots, gardens, orchards, and dairies, spinning and weaving, tenant farming, wage earning on larger farms, family industry

century England, working class married women typically contributed either earnings or produce to the family budget. In fact, for men engaged in wage labor, "public opinion expected women and children to earn at least sufficiently for their own maintenance, and men's wages were based on the assumption that they did so" (Pinchbeck, as quoted in Oren, 1973, p. 108).

The family wage was supposed to change all that. It was supposed to provide a man with "a wage sufficient to allow the woman to stay home, raise children and maintain the family, rather than having all members of the family out at work" (Zaretsky, 1978, p. 211).

Hence it was only with the development of the family wage that it was possible for men to be paid a wage that was supposed to be sufficient to reproduce their labor power through the consumption/reproduction work of their wives. It was the industrial phase of capitalism that created a separation of families and market activities never before so totally experienced. Thus, as Hartmann (1976) and Hartmann and Bridges (1977) claim, the family wage is "the cornerstone of the present sexual division of labor . . . and thus allows the existence of the family as we know it" (Hartmann and Bridges, 1977, p. 24). It was the collaboration between patriarchy and capitalism through the family wage that can be said to have cemented the identity of women and nature and her "natural" role in the family.

Concretely, much of the work performed by women in the home was taken out of the home and produced primarily by men, and secondarily

and guild work in towns and cities as well as taking in boarders or lodgers (see Pinchbeck, 1969; Hartmann, 1974, 1976).

by unmarried women. Men were paid wages, the means of subsistence in a capitalist society. Women were dependent on men for wages with which to then go to the market and buy these goods. Once purchased, women had to convert and maintain these goods and services into useable items by their families.

Initially, the industrial revolution caused the employment of male and female workers, adults and children. However, as the industrial revolution progressed, male workers viewed the large-scale entry of children and women into the labor force as an economic threat. This they clearly were, since an increased supply of workers lowered men's wages. Thus, it was patriarchy operating in the context of capitalist development that relegated women to the full-time responsibility of caring for children, as if this were a "natural" condition.

As male factory workers called for limiting the hours of employment for older children and forbidding the employment of younger children, difficulties in training and supervising children emerged outside the realm of paid labor. To remedy this, male workers as well as higher class men and women all began to recommend women's removal from factories to the home. Women in the home would inculcate the necessary discipline and ideology required of children by the new hierarchical social relations developing in a society organized for mass production and consumption.

Thus the role of women in the patriarchal capitalist family became to produce and reproduce labor power. In so doing, women would act as consumption and maintenance workers. They would act as well to produce and reproduce the social relations of production and the social relations of patriarchy.

Marx, however, never clearly recognized the inclusion of women's labor as a right to male breadwinners--through the family wage--in his analysis of the wage. Instead, it appears Marx assumes that the wage is determined in accordance with the acceptable standard of living at the time--subsistence as a given time and place treats it. This is what he calls the "historical and moral element" in the determination of the value of labor power (Marx, 1867, p. 171). What he does not take into consideration, however, is that a wife is considered to be part of the acceptable standard of living for a wage earner in industrial capitalism--but only for a male wage earner. As Gayle Rubin (1975) says, "It is precisely this 'historical and moral element' which determines that a 'wife' is among the necessities of a worker, that women rather than men do housework" (p. 164). In short, the material base of patriarchy Marx takes for granted is the work women do in the home for men.

A careful reading of Marx clarifies that he never analyzes the reproduction of labor power per se or the definition of the value of labor power itself. One Dialectical Marxist Feminist suggests that the labor theory of value in Marx's terms would lead to the argument that the wage--represented by the necessary labor of the worker--is meant to equal the value of the commodities consumed by the workers' family necessary to reproduce his labor power. It does not include the value of domestic labor. Therefore, the overall standard of living is determined not by wage labor-capital relations alone--as Marx says--, but also requires the contribution of domestic labor. In this way, Dialectical Marxist Feminists argue, domestic labor's contribution

to surplus value is to keep wages--or necessary labor--at "a level that is lower than the actual subsistence level of the working class" (Gardiner, 1978, p. 183). (*Italics mine.*)

This idea is further supported by the work of Silveira (1975) and Oren (1973). In her analysis of the exploitation of the housewife, Silveira argues that the housewife is doubly exploited because she is paid (1) neither the full value of the work she does for others, nor (2) the value of the work she does reproducing herself.¹ Moreover, the wage is for necessary labor only, and the housewife reproduces leisure labor of the worker also.

This problem of the double exploitation of the housewife as specified by Silveira is clarified best when we see that the same problem exists for wage earning women too. Thus, employed women have to do the labor involved in their own maintenance and daily reproduction. They do not earn enough money to obtain a housewife to reproduce their own labor power--as men do, because it is assumed that they themselves will do such reproduction work: they need no housewife to do it.

The reason they must do their own reproduction work is that their wages are so low.² And their low wages are due to the problems associated with the family wage: women are paid such low wages on the

¹Chodorow (1978) captures this problem when she says, in a footnote, "Hidden in most socialist feminist accounts is the fact that women also reproduce themselves, physically and psychically, daily and generationally" (p. 106, footnote 43).

²I do not mean to underestimate the poor jobs, wages and living conditions of men in many families--in earlier times as well as today. I only wish to clarify the greater hardships experienced by women because of patriarchal benefits they lack.

belief that they are the second wage earners, and their husbands are the primary "breadwinners," that the women do not need as much money. However, this leaves them totally unable to buy the services of a "housewife" on the market. As Silveira (1975) concludes: "To own labor power is to be paid enough to obtain a housewife whom one can then exploit" (p. 90). The impress of patriarchy is clear here.

What Silveira does not understand, I believe, is how women's double exploitation is particularly a function of the family wage in industrial capitalism--rather than a universal condition of all women. In this regard, Oren's (1973) analysis of the distribution of the wage within the household economy amongst male breadwinner laboring families in industrializing nineteenth century England is illuminating. Her analysis makes clear that working class women--in families where only husbands were allowed waged jobs or women's wages were so low they could not support themselves, let alone their children--received a disproportionately small share of the household's material benefits: food (especially meat), medical care, leisure goods and time, and so on.

For example, the elastic item in the family budget was food--but it was women's (and children's) food allotments that suffered in most of the poor and working class families, not the husbands'.¹ Oren cites an author writing in the 1800s who found that as family size

¹This statement should not be misconstrued to mean that the husbands were fed well. They were not. As Oren states, "It is difficult to assess the significance of these sexual inequalities in diet. The families discussed in this essay were inadequately fed in general" (p. 111). Many families lived from "hand to mouth." But it was also clear that the women suffered much more than the men within these often miserable conditions.

increased, the added requirements for the baby's needs came out of the mother's standard of living, not the father's. Thus, as more and more children are born, "the unvarying amount paid for the breadwinner's necessary daily food becomes a greater proportion of the food bill, and leaves all the increasing deficit to be met out of the food of the mother and children" (p. 112). Moreover, it is important to point out that this problem of women reproducing their own labor power at a cost lower than what they got from the breadwinner's wage continues in the twentieth century.

In an analysis of the household budgets between 1850 and 1950, Oren (1973) finds the family wage has typically been divided between "housekeeping allowance" or "wages for the missus" and "pocketmoney" for the male breadwinner. However, she claims, women today, like their mothers and grandmothers before them, frequently did not know how much their husbands actually earned.

As earlier, husbands gave up some of their pocket money to the needs of a growing family, although their share of the family income did not fall in proportion to the cost of maintaining the extra children. [Young an author of the earlier period in the 1850s] remarked that the financial burden of an extra child fell especially upon the mother and other children. Some husbands, in fact, "behaved like employers. They did not increase their wives' wages as the size of the family increased."

However, she continues, while the men were slow to adjust pocketmoney for themselves downward in time of need,

twentieth century working class men seemed quick to augment it when times were flush. Higher wages apparently allowed the breadwinner to devote a larger proportion of them to his personal use. Wages for the missus, in fact, generally lagged behind any advances in men's earnings . . . [And] higher wages and greater prosperity in this century, then, did not eliminate the uneven distribution of income between husbands and wives. On the contrary, . . . the disparity was at least equivalent, if not greater (p. 117).

While the standard of living may have gotten better in the twentieth century, it rises for men much more than for women--and in the very same household. Material benefits, while they may increase for all members of the family, increase more so for men. This represents an essential set of material benefits for patriarchy.

In short, the lower standard of living for women (and children) established earlier on, becomes part of the patriarchal base that follows women into modern industrial labor. It is not based on their lesser nutritional needs, but on patriarchy giving priority to providing "able-bodied" male workers for capital.

B. The Material Benefits of the Family Wage to Men in Capitalist Society

It is Hartmann (1976) who documents the process of the development of the family wage in England and the United States. (See also Zaretsky, 1978, for information specific to the United States.) She emphasizes the role of male workers and their unions, along with the male capitalist class, in the development of the family wage and women's position in the home. She argues that while working class men and ruling class men are antagonistic toward one another with regard to the wage labor-capital relation, they act cooperatively with regard to maintaining their privileged position over women in capitalist society.

In the first instance, the capitalist men--as capitalists--would prefer there to be an abundance of women and children as cheap labor in the labor market, interchangeable with men's labor, thereby lowering everyone's wages. This is obviously not to the advantage of

working class men, who viewed the employment of women and children as a threat to their jobs, as well as a threat to patriarchal family life.¹

Looking at men as men, however, in the second instance, the cooperation of ruling class men and working class men leads to the continued subordination of women in the individual family. This is materially beneficial to both groups of men. It provides the individual working class male with an inexpensive servant who artfully stretches the budget, and typically lives at a lower standard of living than her husband. She not only cares for his needs, but also relieves him of caring for his children's needs. He need not do unwaged and devalued reproduction of labor power. Moreover, her economic dependence gives him greater power in their relations. It is not an equal exchange between them. Finally, without her, he cannot sell his labor power to the capitalist. But part of his labor power includes her labor power too.

Capitalist men in addition benefit from the use and exploitation of their own wives as reproducers and maintainers of their own and their children's labor power and family wealth. They are free to

¹It has been argued by some Marxist Feminists (see Humphries, 1978) that the family wage was a demand of the working class family--both men and women--as a basic form of resistance by the working class "which recognized in the erosion of traditional family structures a threat to its standard of living and position from which it engages in class struggle" (p. 27). While I would not disagree with this argument, it fails to account for the patriarchal base of the family wage; and that it is male workers who benefit materially from such a set of social relations. If it were not in the material and emotional interest of working class men--as men--to struggle for the family wage, then it should not matter if men were in the home or women were the breadwinners. Clearly, this is not the case.

exploit the surplus value of male workers without having to pay fully for their reproduction and maintenance--since this is done through the hidden work of their wives. Furthermore, since the family wage was never really sufficient for poorer women, capitalist men benefit from the exploitation of the labor of working class women as low-paid factory workers, servants, prostitutes, secretaries, etc.

Finally, the family wage, given to men only, is based on the idea that the wage should be sufficient to support the man and his family. This is true even if a man does not have a family. Thus, while women rarely ever receive a family wage--even if they are the heads of their household, men invariably do--even if they do not have a family to support. On this basis, men receive the benefit of women's domestic labor either through the direct labor of their wives, or by being able to buy the cheap labor of women in the labor market whose services substitute, at least in part, for the labor that would be done by wives if they had them. This obviously includes the cheap labor of women restaurant workers, garment workers, launderers, hospital workers, prostitutes and girlfriends, etc. (Carol Brown, 1975b).

Women, on the other hand, rarely if ever receive wages substantial enough to buy these same services for themselves. In essence, one could say, women are always responsible for reproducing themselves-- whether they are full-time homemakers or waged laborers too. Men, on the other hand, are supposedly paid enough wages to reproduce themselves through the labor of their wives. In short, the material base of patriarchy benefits the working class man--in the home and outside today--as well as the capitalist man. This is patriarchy at its finest.

C. The Sex-Segmented Labor Market and Its Material Benefits to Men

Analyzing the development of the family wage and protective legislation leads to the conclusion that job segregation by sex was the primary mechanism that allowed the maintenance in capitalist society of the inherited superior position of men over women. The English historical literature strongly suggests that "job segregation by sex is patriarchal in origin, rather longstanding, and difficult to eradicate"¹ (Hartmann, 1976, p. 159). Men's ability to organize in labor unions, she suggests, perhaps stems from greater knowledge of the technique of hierarchical organization in precapitalist state and family forms. This ability of men to organize, as manifested in labor unions "appears to be key in their ability to maintain job segregation and the domestic division of labor" (Hartmann, 1976, p. 159).

I see no reason to disagree with Hartmann's basic analysis. However, it seems important to me to emphasize that the ability of working class men to secure greater benefits for themselves through the sex-segmentation of the labor market would probably not have been possible without the mutual benefit that such an arrangement simultaneously served for the capitalist class of men.

Thus, the early exclusion with industrialization of women from paid labor as their primary responsibility is counterbalanced by the

¹It is here Hartmann (1976) documents the struggle of male unions in calling for protective legislation "for women only." This protective legislation restricted women's activity when in the labor market and supported "the gradual withdrawal of all females from the factories" because "home, its cares, its employments, is woman's true sphere" (p. 155). The Webb-Rathbone-Fawcett-Edgeworth debates in the Economic Journal, outlined in Hartmann's analysis, supports the argument that job segregation was detrimental to women and tended to reinforce it (p. 156).

increasing demand for women's skilled and educated labor in certain "female" sectors of the economy as twentieth century monopoly capitalism has progressed.

What is the connection between the sex-segmentation of the labor force and the development of the family wage? What thereby shapes women's position in the home as full-time wife and mother?

Job segregation by sex, argues Hartmann, maintains male superiority in capitalism because it enforces lower wages for women in the labor market. Not only are the jobs different, they are generally in cheaper markets. Thus, women are paid only half of what a man is paid.¹ These low wages keep women dependent on men by encouraging them to marry, and thereby be supported by their husband's "family wage." Since married women must perform domestic chores for their husbands and their husbands' children, "men benefit, then, from both higher wages and the domestic division of labor. This division of labor, in turn, acts to weaken women's position in the labor market" (Hartmann, 1976, p. 139). In short, the material base of patriarchy in the labor market is the incredibly low waged market work women do. This keeps women from competing with men for their sex-assigned jobs and allows men higher waged and more powerful jobs, which at the same time ensures women's position in the home.

Hartmann is suggesting that (1) patriarchy is a major feature of the capitalist labor market and (2) the sex-segregation of the labor market is both cause and effect of women's problems in the

¹In 1975, a full-time, year-round employed woman earned 57 per cent of a comparably employed man (see Chapter II above).

market. Any study that attempts to understand how women operate in the labor market, must consider the role of its sex-segmented nature, which encourages women to become married, and in turn punishes them economically when they later enter into the market as waged workers.

Hartmann concludes:

Thus, the hierarchical domestic division of labor is perpetuated by the labor market, and vice versa. This process is the present outcome of the continuing interaction of two interlocking systems, capitalism and patriarchy. Patriarchy, far from being vanquished by capitalism, is still very virile; it shapes the form modern capitalism takes, just as the development of capitalism has transformed patriarchal institutions. The resulting mutual accommodation between patriarchy and capitalism has created a vicious circle for women (p. 139).

D. The United States Experience with Protective Legislation

In the United States, the institutionalization of the family wage developed at the same time as the era of "protective legislation." In the early part of the twentieth century, the struggle for the family wage and protective legislation were intertwined. (In addition to Hartmann, 1976, see Zaretsky, 1978.)

In addition to the features unique to the United States--especially those regarding the sex-segmentation of the labor market (Hartmann, 1976, pp. 159-160), Hartmann documents the critical importance of the male working class and their unions in restricting the jobs women do in the labor market and forcing women into the home. In her examples of the cigar and printing unions, she makes clear that much of the fear of the male workers was based on a fear of the skilled workers for the unskilled, who could undercut their jobs and wages.¹

¹It is important for us to explore the practices of a variety of unions--both historically and today--to see how well their patterns

Yet, male unions denied women skills which they offered to young boys. Both women and young boys, however, were unskilled workers in the trade. Patriarchy, not simply the desire to protect their jobs from the unskilled, was clearly a motivating force here.

In short, "unions did not support protective legislation for men, although they continued to do so for women. Protective legislation, rather than organization [i.e., organizing women into unions], was the preferred strategy only for women" (Hartmann, 1976, p. 165).

An analysis of the typographical union in the mid-nineteenth century showed that the union backed equal pay for equal work as a way to protect the men's wage scale, not to encourage women (Abbott, 1969). This was based on the fact that women had fewer skills, and did not have equal jobs, thereby making it impossible for them to demand or expect equal wages. What is so striking about this feature of earlier protective legislation is that it is remarkably contemporary: the Equal Pay Act of 1963 was backed by those who wanted to keep women's wages down and men's up. Thus, testimony on the Equal Pay Act in 1963 was about evenly divided between those emphasizing women's needs, and those emphasizing the protection of men (Baker, 1964, p. 419, as cited in Hartmann, 1976, p. 164).¹

The establishment of the family wage in the United States was clearly a function of the partnership between patriarchy and capitalism. However, in addition to working class men who wanted "their women" out

fit those described by Hartmann in her selection of unions that she analyzed.

¹For such problems today, see Kleiman (September 4, 1977).

of the factories, so too did middle class reformers and capitalist men. "A chorus of concern arose from reformers, ministers, conservative feminists, doctors and other representatives of bourgeois morality, all bent as well on 'preserving' the family" (Zaretsky, 1978, p. 211). Not only male factory workers, but the "concerned public" called for forbidding the employment of young children. When this caused parents difficulty in training and supervising children, male workers and middle and upper classes began to recommend that women too be removed from factories to remedy this.

By the end of the Progressive era (1900-1917), the twin pillars of state policy toward the family were very clear: (1) the idea of a family wage, so that a husband could support a family, and (2) the idea of the full-time mother within the home. Both compulsory education (more as norm than reality) and the abolition of child labor were important in establishing the family as the central focus of child development--not only for the infant, but also for the older child and adolescent. As Zaretsky (1978) concludes:

It is important to remember that these policies not only reflected the outlook of the bourgeoisie but also the aspirations of both men and women within the working class. The idea that such a family would be maintained privately and voluntarily conformed to the desire of the working class to keep the state out of traditional family functions, and to preserve the voluntary, kinship-based character of the care of the sick, the aged, the unemployed and, with the exception of education, children (p. 212). (*Italics mine.*)

Moreover, as Jane Humphries argues, we need to remember that protective legislation and the development of the family wage represent resistance by the working class. Workers recognized,

in attempts at the erosion of traditional family structures, a threat to their standard of living and position from which they engaged in class struggle. As she says,

In certain periods of capitalist development labour's defence of the family, a defence motivated by the family's role in the determination of the standard of living, the development of class cohesion and the waging of class struggle, was an important reason for its [the traditional family's] survival (Humphries, 1977, p. 25).

It is no less important to understand, I believe, that this element of the class struggle is at the expense of women. By struggling for the family wage by means of protective legislation, men got what they wanted: to keep the price of their labor higher and to control women--both in the home and the market--and the family too.

VI. The Interaction of Patriarchy and Capitalism Are Crucial to Understanding Women's Position in Both the Home and the Market

The Early Marxist Feminists left us with a crucial understanding about the connection between women's home and market labor. Their analysis led me to argue that women's devalued, unwaged and economically mystified home labor, as constructed by industrial capitalism, is the cause of their low waged and less powerful position in the labor market. To this, the Dialectical Feminists add two essential points without which we cannot fully appreciate the position of women in the labor market.

First, it is not capital that constructed women's home labor, but patriarchy in collaboration with capitalism. This in turn causes women to be severely disadvantaged in the labor market when they enter, as they have increasingly done during the twentieth century.

Secondly, struggles and alliances between patriarchy and capitalism in the labor market as well made it possible for them to mould women's wage labor in large part as they did. This is experienced through the sex-segmented nature of the labor market and the sex-determined nature of wages.

In a word, the Dialectical Marxist Feminist analysis leads us to conclude that we must understand not only the dialectical nature between the home and market in American society, but the dialectical relationship between patriarchy and capitalism in both the home and the market as well. Only in this way, as I shall emphasize from now on, can we hope to understand and change women's disadvantaged position in the labor market.

Today, we find more and more women in the home and the labor market. While the vast majority of women in our country marry, and therefore have primary responsibility for reproducing themselves, their husbands, and their children, these women are likewise employed in the labor force. Approximately 60 per cent of the women employed in the labor force are married with husbands present, another 20 to 25 per cent are either separated, widowed or divorced.¹

As more and more women are living in "men's world of employment" as well as in "women's world of the family"--as more and more women experience the "double day," it becomes increasingly clear that the social relations of class and sex (and race) structure our experience

¹However, it should be noted that over one-half of all married women are not currently employed in the labor force. For data, see Chapters II and III above.

in all spheres of life. In each case, the material and ideological conditions shape our social relationships.

Hence, we increasingly experience women's place, not as a separate sphere, but as an oppressed position within the society at large--in the family and in the larger society; in reproduction and in production; in waged labor and in the home.¹ Men and women both experience each of these sets of social relations, but differently. Moreover, there is a mutual interaction among these social relations: thus, sex-segregation as well as other forms of male interest in the labor market influences women in the home in addition to the fact that what happens to women in the home influences sex-segmentation and wages in the labor market.

This means that not only is women's unwaged domestic labor used against her in patriarchal capitalism when she enters into market relations, but her market labor is also used against her in patriarchal capitalism to force her into sex-assigned role in the home. The basis of such a "vicious cycle" comes back once more to my main point here: the inextricably intertwined relationship between patriarchy and capitalism in each sphere of living.

The pioneering work of the Early Marxist Feminists left us with a split vision between the world of work and the world of the home. The analytical insight of the Dialectical Marxist Feminists has been to show us that

¹I am indebted to Joan Kelly (Gadol) (1977) for clarifying this position in her recent lectures. This material will be forthcoming in an article for Feminist Studies.

"production" and "reproduction," work and the family, far from being separate territories like the moon and the sun or the kitchen and the shop, are really intimately related modes that reverberate upon one another and frequently occur in the same social, physical and even psychic spaces. This point bears emphasizing, since many of us are still stuck in the model of "separate spheres." . . . We are now learning that this model of separate spheres distorts reality, that it is every bit as much an ideological construct as are the notions of "male" and "female" themselves. . . . One implication of this theoretical breakthrough (and I don't think that's too grandiose a term) is that the two tasks of analyzing patriarchy and analyzing the political economy--whether capitalist, precapitalist, or socialist--cannot be separated. The very process of developing a Marxist-feminist mode of analysis will necessarily deepen the Marxist dialectic and enrich its ways of seeing and reflecting the world (Petchesky, 1978, p. 377).

Overcoming the split vision of sex-assigned spheres of labor--even while understanding their historical reality, we can look at all of women's work. This is what Joan Kelly (Gadol) (1977) calls the world of the "double vision": while each sphere of labor (domestic and market) was understood as sex-assigned at one phase of capitalist development in conjunction with the socially acceptable sex division of production, such neat distinctions no longer fit social reality. Today we must look at women in both spheres.

Through one eye we can see women's labor in the home, and through the other eye we see her labor in the market. It is only by trying to interrelate what we see with both eyes simultaneously--a newer, more integrated vision--that we can hope to understand the dialectical relationship between women's home and market labor and how they relate to men's home and market labor too. Thus, in any particular experience we are shaped by our relations of class, sex, and race--whether at home or in the market.

The goal of Dialectical Marxist Feminists, a dialectical as opposed to a dual understanding of human social relationships,

has lead one Dialectical Marxist Feminist to summarize the problem in the following way:

One studies either the social relations of production or the social relations of reproduction, domestic or wage labor, the private or public realms, the family or the economy, ideology or material conditions, the sexual division of labor or capitalist class relations, as oppressive. Even though almost all women are implicated in both sides of these activities, "woman" is dealt with as though she were not. Such a conceptual picture of woman hampers one's understanding of the complexity of her oppression. Dichotomy wins out over reality. . . . [Instead, we must] replace this dichotomous thinking with a dialectical approach (Eisenstein, 1977, p. 3).

In this way, Dialectical Marxist Feminist analysis leads us two steps forward:

First, it helps us to understand the predominantly sex-assigned nature of tasks in the sex division of production. At a certain phase of industrial capitalism in nineteenth-twentieth century America, woman's place was in the home. Unlike the Early Marxist Feminists, though, they do not understand this as defined solely by capital. Rather it is understood in terms of the dialectical relationship that emerges between capital and male dominated sex/gender systems.

Second, this leads us to understand that the underlying social relations of the sexes occurs in both spheres of home and work as does the social relations of class. Their interconnections become basic to the analysis. Hence, more important than analyzing "separate spheres" today is (a) how each sphere is intimately connected with the other and (b) how each set of social relations--of class and sex in our case--interrelates within and between each sphere. Only in this way, I assert, can we analyze what women do in the labor market.

We saw in this chapter that labor market segmentation by sex, the family wage, and protective legislation can all be seen as products of the dynamic relationship between patriarchy and capitalism: what might better be called now "patriarchal capitalism." The material benefits accruing to patriarchal capitalism is the work women do in both the home and the market. Thus, the division of labor based on sex--both between home and market and within the market itself--allows for the perpetuation and transformation of material and ideological benefits to both men and to capital. This is, of course, not a static but a dynamic and changing relationship. How it relates to women's market labor in the 1970s raises a new set of questions just beginning to be asked by feminists. To these issues I return in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND REVIEW: HOW FIVE THEORIES EXPLAIN WOMEN IN THE LABOR MARKET

The thrust of this dissertation has been to understand that any attempt to analyze women in the contemporary American labor market must relate the position of women in the market to the position of women in the home. Moreover, such an analysis requires us to become familiar with the social forces of both patriarchy and capitalism as they relate to one another in both the home and market.

In what follows I propose to review the major theoretical contributions to my analysis of each school and tendency outlined in Chapters I through V. In this summary, I focus on the most crucial explanatory variables in each theoretical perspective which help me explain what happens to women in the contemporary American labor market.

The five variables which emerge as important in these theoretical perspectives I see as follows:

Sex Roles--the ways in which men and women are socialized to assume different attitudes and behaviors in our society, especially with regard to the home and market.

Labor Market Structure--the institutionally organized ways in which the jobs, industries, and markets operate in our society.

Capitalism--a system of production of goods, services (and labor power), where a small number of owners and managers of the means of production make profits from the labor of a very large number of workers.

Homemaking Structure--the way in which the institution of housewife and motherhood are organized in our society.

Patriarchy--a set of social relations of power enabling men to control women. It is grounded in hierarchical relations among men who accrue material and ideological privileges through the exploitation of women's labor.

For each of the theoretical perspectives presented in this dissertation, a set of causal variables can be suggested for determining women's activity in the labor market. In Table 6-1 below I show the Explanatory Variables Stressed by Each Theoretical Perspective to analyze women in the American labor market. The numerals in parentheses in the discussion that follows refer to the chapters in the dissertation related to specific theoretical perspectives: (I) Status Attainment; (II) Dual Labor Market (or Labor Market Segmentation); (III) Marxism on the Labor Market (or Marx and theorists of Monopoly Capital); (IV) Early Marxist Feminism; and (V) Dialectical Marxist Feminism.

All perspectives but one, Status Attainment, conclude that women are disadvantaged in the labor market, but not necessarily for the same reasons. Three theories, Status Attainment, Dual Labor Market, and Marxism on the Labor Market, were developed on a male model. The degree that women have been included in them has depended

TABLE 6-1

EXPLANATORY VARIABLES STRESSED BY EACH THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Explanatory Variables Underlying Analysis of Women in American Labor Market	Status Attainment (Ch. I)	Dual Labor Market (Ch. II)	Marxism on Labor Market ^a (Ch. III)	Early Marxist Feminism (Ch. IV)	Dialectical Marxist Feminism (Ch. V)
Sex Roles	●				
Labor Market Structure		●	X		X
Capitalism			●	●	●
Homemaking Structure				X	X
Patriarchy					●

^aChapter III deals with both classical capitalism and monopoly capitalism.

● = refers to most important causal variable in this theoretical perspective explaining women's participation in the labor market.

X = refers to explanatory variables deriving from the most important causal variable in this theoretical perspective. These derivative variables are particularly emphasized in this theoretical approach.

primarily on feminists in each of these perspectives who have argued for an expansion of the existing theories to incorporate the experiences of women too. Both Early Marxist Feminism and Dialectical Marxist Feminism were explicitly developed within a feminist rather than male model.

Status Attainment theory (Chapter I) has been the most commonly used intellectual current underlying most of American sociology, stratification theory, and, in particular, studies on occupational prestige. In trying to explain women's participation in the contemporary labor market, this perspective assumes that what women bring with them to the labor market is the major determinant of their position in the American occupational structure.

Accordingly, this school of thought argues that we should look at changing women's individual attributes, or the cultural attributes of women as a group--the "supply" characteristics of Human Capital theory, if we hope to improve or equalize all women's opportunities in the labor market today. Thus, characteristics related to sex roles--educational aspirations and achievement, occupational aspirations and attitudes, attitudes and behaviors toward childbearing and rearing, women's commitment to the labor force, and so on--are understood as the causal variables in explaining what happens to women in the labor market.

Both the labor market structure and the homemaking structure are taken as given by these theorists: i.e., neither occupational stratification nor women's responsibility for childcare in the home are challenged. This holds true even when proponents of this school of

thought recognize that women's responsibility for childcare and homemaking are "one of the major bases of sexual inequality of socio-economic opportunity" (Featherman and Hauser, 1976, p. 463). Even then, such considerations are not included in the actual empirical analysis of behavior in the occupational structure of society--most importantly because there have been few ways of including such a variable in occupational status attainment.¹

On the other hand, neither capitalism nor patriarchy are even discussed in this theoretical perspective in any serious way. Typically, they are neither taken as given nor analyzed as part of the explanation for women's position in the labor market.

While I generally find this perspective not helpful in explaining women's position in the labor market, I still find several of its contributions useful to my own analysis. First and most important, this school of thought often provides a vast resource of rich descriptive materials about women in the home and in the market at different points in time.² While empirical data is always bound by the underlying construction of that data, it is possible to reinterpret much of the descriptive materials within contexts more meaningful to critical analysis. Secondly, the concern of Status Attainment theorists and mainstream sociology in general with sex roles is extremely valuable

¹Bose (1973) has incorporated "homemaker" in the classical "occupational prestige" studies of Inkeles and Rossi (1956). However, this ranks the homemaker as one particular occupation, it does not incorporate the work of the homemaker into an analysis of other occupational categories, the basis of the occupational hierarchy itself.

²All too often, however, this material is used as prescriptive or explanatory in mainstream sociology rather than as what it is: description.

for an alternative critical perspective when put into what I believe to be a meaningful context. (I shall elaborate on both these issues in Chapter VII.)

Labor Market Segmentation theory (Chapter II) argues that men and women are recruited into different labor markets which are structurally organized to be disadvantageous to women. In this case, even if individual women's human capital characteristics were to be altered, Labor Market Segmentation theory argues, little would change for women in the labor market unless the structure of the market itself were reorganized. (Thus, sex roles are taken as given or not analyzed by this theory.) The causal variable in this analysis is the sex-segmented or dual structure of the labor market--with women being more likely than men to be crowded into a small number of jobs in industries with low capitalization, small profits, low wages, poor organization among workers, limited or nonexistent job mobility or advancement and high turnover rates.

While this theory often acknowledges that a specific phase of capitalism is correlated with this type of market structure, it focusses on changing the structure of the labor market itself, not capitalism, to better the position of disadvantaged groups in the market. Thus, it takes as given monopoly capitalism. Likewise, it takes as given the homemaking structure which makes women responsible for children and home care, without incorporating its importances in relation to what goes on in the labor market. Finally, Labor Market Segmentation theory does not deal directly with the issue of patriarchy. Rather, it assumes the sex-segmentation as disadvantageous to women. It is in

this form that sex discrimination in the labor market may be said to operate and can be said to be taken as a given.

Marxism on the Labor Market (Chapter III) includes the work of Karl Marx and mid-twentieth century Marxist theorists of Monopoly Capital who focus particularly on the development of modern capitalism and its impact on the labor market. The causal variable explaining the position of women in the modern labor market amongst these theorists is capitalism and its specific monopoly form in twentieth century America.

For Marx himself, both social and occupational stratification and labor market segmentation by sex must be understood in terms of the class relationships that exist in a capitalist society. For him, the moving force of capitalism is class conflict. Class conflict emerges out of the fundamental contradiction between wage labor and capital appropriation of profits--profits that are generated by the workers themselves but which become the "private property" of the capitalists. Whether it is men or women who work in the market for wages from the capitalists in exchange for their labor power, the Labor Theory of Value is said to apply. The only agency capable of creating more value than it represents (i.e., surplus labor which leads to profit) is human labor power. It follows then that women's as well as men's occupational and economic behavior can be explained by this theory. What determines the structure of the labor market, the relationship between workers and owners of the means of production, and among the workers themselves is capitalism. Likewise, the hypotheses about the reserve armies of labor and the surplus population apply equally

as well to women as to men--although not necessarily in exactly the same way.

Whereas the Labor Market Segmentation theorists primarily describe the sex-segmented or dual labor market and presumably see it as the cause of women's problems, the Monopoly Capital Marxists of mid-twentieth century United States see instead the structure of the monopoly phase of capitalism as explanatory of women's disadvantaged position in the labor force today. Understanding the development of monopoly capitalism leads to analysis of why certain jobs and sectors of the economy emerge and open up; how women are primarily incorporated into certain newly developing sectors of the economy; and how the nature of the labor process itself is changed, demanding the inclusion of more and cheaper labor power (at the same time that people are thrown out of work and unemployment and underemployment increase).

Thus, in a society based on the purchase and sale of labor power, dividing the craft cheapens its individual parts and increases productivity, both of which increase profits for the capitalists, and increases management control over the labor power itself. Women are used in certain ways in the labor market in this effort to ensure profits and control by capitalists. Thus, while capitalism is seen as causal, the structure of the monopoly capital phase of the labor market is also analyzed in great detail by this set of writers. There is little or no discussion of sex roles and the institution of homemaking and motherhood. These are instead taken as given and not analyzed. Patriarchy is not discussed, but is assumed to be a function of capitalism, based on the work of Marx and Engels in particular.

This particular aspect of Marxism, its view of patriarchy, is discussed in Chapter IV.

Early Marxist Feminism (Chapter IV) takes as its starting point the idea presented by Marx and Engels that the mode of production in any society includes the production and reproduction of both (1) the means of subsistence and tools necessary for that production and (2) human beings. Thus, the capitalist mode of production is the basic organization of society which determines the social relations of both the labor market and the family. Early Marxist Feminists argue that capital has a dual mode of production: wage labor and domestic. This dual mode of production--derivative of capital--becomes, for Early Marxist Feminists, the major explanatory variable in understanding women's disadvantaged position in American society in general and in the labor market in particular.

Furthermore, they accept the Marxist argument that patriarchy is a function of class relations, and in particular of capitalist-wage labor relations in a capitalist society. Very little further mention is made of patriarchy in this perspective. It is assumed that women are dominated first and foremost by capital--as are men; and only secondarily by men, if at all.

Thus, Early Marxist Feminists conclude: the basis for changing women's exploited and oppressed position in the labor market today ultimately revolves around changing her capitalistically constructed position in the home. The two most common solutions suggested by the Early Marxist Feminists are the "socialization," "collectivization" or transference of women's domestic tasks to the labor force and having

women enter waged labor, or the more controversial idea of paying women wages for their housework. This suggests that women's disadvantaged position in capitalist society is grounded in the economic or material conditions of women in the home, not her biology, upbringing, culture, and so forth.

While it is clear that capitalism is causal of both women's position in the home and of patriarchy for the Early Marxist Feminists, they go beyond Marx in the following ways: (1) theirs is a major attempt to change the terms on which women's home labor is analyzed; and (2) they try to "bring women in" to the analysis of capital.

In the first case, they focus on the role for industrial capital of women as a group in the home as the major cause of women's problems in contemporary society. That is to say, it is women's position in the home--women as housewives, not simply as members of the working class as traditionally defined by Marx--that is the basis for understanding women's secondary position in capitalist society. In contradistinction to traditional Marxist theory, Early Marxist Feminists insist this relation is economic or material at its core--not superstructural or only ideological in form.

The Early Marxist Feminist emphasis is on the industrial capitalist construction of the full-time homemaker as the material basis of women's disadvantaged position in American society. I argue that this analysis, although not an explicit part of the Early Marxist Feminist thought, points to the important conclusion that women's devalued and unwaged but economically essential labor, constructed by industrial capitalism and placed by it outside of waged labor directly,

was the cause of women's low waged and less powerful position in the labor market.

For this early group of Marxist Feminists, this disadvantaged position in the labor market is based on the all-important mystification of women's labor in the home. Women's disadvantaged position is not only economically determined, but is also economically essential work women do for capital in the home. Profits made by the capitalist class in the market are impossible without women's home labor as congealed in the labor power of husbands (children and the women themselves) that enters into the wage relationship in the market. This is rarely acknowledged even by Marxists. To the degree Marx himself discusses women's work in the home for the reproduction of labor power for capital, it is in terms of the "individual consumption" of the (presumably) male head of the household. It is presumed that the wage given the family breadwinner covers the necessary labor of the housewife too. However, add the Early Marxist Feminists, it is only given for a portion of her necessary labor, not all of it. In short, women and their home labor are integral to market profits, they are not marginal to it.

The fact that women's unwaged, devalued and cheap labor is hidden in that of men's, children's and their own when they enter the market in turn cheapens the value of women's labor when women enter the labor market. Women become a cheap source of readily available labor which can be unemployed or underemployed according to the needs of capital in low-wage full-time or part-time jobs, or can be reabsorbed by nonpaying institutions when not needed in the labor force.

Moreover, I conclude from the Early Marxist Feminist approach, this allows not only for the fact that women act as a reserve army of labor, but also that the homemaker is the reserve to the reserve army of labor--providing necessary back-up forces for modern-day monopoly capitalism. Further, when their labor cannot be paid for in the market, women substitute or intensify their own labor power in the home for purchaseable commodities especially in times of economic hardship.

In short, the material role of women in the home as a group of women in relation to industrial capital is crucial for understanding the disadvantaged position of women in the labor market today. It is taken as a given by the Early Marxist Feminists that women socialize children to the appropriate sex roles in the home. Just like the homemaking structure, the labor market structure and patriarchy are all understood as a function of capitalist development.

Dialectical Marxist Feminism (Chapter V) assumes, like Marx and the Early Marxist Feminists, that capitalism and the industrial capitalist construction of women's position in the home are major causes of the problems faced by women in the labor market. However, unlike their predecessors, the Dialectical Marxist Feminists further assert that an analysis of women's problems in modern capitalist society demands we look at the independent and interacting effect of the system of patriarchy as well. In short, the sex division of labor--in the home, in the market, and in the society at large--is understood by Dialectical Marxist Feminists as a synthesis of patriarchy and capitalism.

Rather than taking this sex division of labor as given, they assert that it is precisely this problem with which they must deal to understand what happens to women in patriarchal capitalist society. Their solution is to transform or eliminate the sex division of labor itself along with the elimination of classes in order to ensure the liberation of women.

It is useful to compare Marx, the Early Marxist Feminists and the Dialectical Marxist Feminists on the position they take with regard to the sex division of labor. Patriarchy is essential only to the last group. For Marx, the sex division of labor--or more specifically woman's place in the domestic sphere--was taken as a given: he did not question it. He assumed that women were always disadvantaged by their lesser strength, more limited organization and social position ensuing from the sex act.

Early Marxist Feminists did not take as a given women's place in the home, but analyzed it in terms of its derivation from capitalism, and showed how capital benefitted materially from this set of social relations. However, they fail to give recognition to the fact that an essential basis of the split between home and market in industrial capitalism was the sex-assigned nature of work for men and women in their primary responsibilities. Not only is this work sex-assigned, but it is simultaneously devalued in both material and ideological ways for only one of the two sexes. In addition, the Early Marxist Feminists fail to analyze seriously the impact of women's disadvantaged market position on the construction of their place in the home, as it then acts back on the position of women in the labor market. In other words,

they take as given the sex division of the labor market itself and women's exploited position there.

Dialectical Marxist Feminists do not accept as givens, either the sex division of production--women's place in the home--or the sex division of labor within the labor market itself--the sex-segregated dual labor market. Rather, they assert (1) the sex division of production between home and market and (2) the sex division of work within the labor market must both be understood as the results of a synthesis of patriarchy and capitalism as organized in a certain period. They attempt to demonstrate that the reason women were assigned to the devalued and unwaged home and to the systematically disadvantaged positions in the labor force was as much a product of patriarchy as of capitalism.

In short, the causal variables for Dialectical Marxist Feminists in understanding women's position in the labor market are both patriarchy and capitalism. Together they construct both the labor market and the home, as well as men's and women's positions within each. That is, the structure of the labor market and the homemaking structure, both seriously disadvantageous to women, are in turn created by the interacting forces of patriarchy and capitalism. Women in the home and the sex-segregated nature of the labor market are a function not of capitalism as such--as suggested by Marx and the Early Marxist Feminists--, but of patriarchal capitalism.

Sex roles are not typically discussed by this group of theorists. But we should understand that they see sex roles as mechanisms perpetuating both patriarchy and capitalism, not as causes of either.

In addition to these contributions, Dialectical Marxist Feminists have made several further steps forward which are important to my analysis. First, their analysis leads me to conclude that a dialectical, rather than a dual relationship between home and market exists. For the Early Marxist Feminists, two forms of production--a duality--exist in a capitalist society: wage labor and domestic labor. It was the capitalist construction of the home and women's place in it that determined women's disadvantaged position in the labor market. For the Dialectical Marxist Feminists both the home and the market were constructed by capitalism in conjunction with patriarchy.

They stress the dialectical relation between patriarchy and capital in both the home and market as explaining women's disadvantaged position in patriarchal capitalist societies like the United States. Women's place is increasingly experienced not as a separate sphere, but as an oppressed position within the society at large--in both the home and the market. This is because women are increasingly found in both "men's world of employment" and "women's world of the family": what Kelly (Gadol) (1977) has called the "double vision."

I propose to further extend the work of Dialectical Marxist Feminists by stressing the fact that a reciprocal relationship exists between the home and the market themselves, in addition to the dialectical relationship which exists between patriarchy and capitalism in both the home and the market. This I shall call a relationship of "reciprocal reinforcement" (see Chapter VII, section I).

Thus, not only is women's unwaged domestic labor used against them in patriarchal capitalism when they enter into market relations;

but sex-segregation as well as other forms of male benefit in the labor market also influence women in the home in addition to the fact that what happens to women in the home determines their recruitment into sex-segmented jobs and wages in the labor market. Likewise, Dialectical Marxist Feminist analysis leads me to conclude, women's market labor is used against them in patriarchal capitalism to force them into their sex-assigned role in the home--or at least to assume those home tasks as women's primary responsibility even if they are employed simultaneously. This vicious cycle is the product of the intertwining relations of patriarchy and capitalism.

Finally, it is important to add that Dialectical Marxist Feminists make clear the material or economic contribution of women's labor--both domestic and market--to patriarchy in a capitalist society. This is in contrast to the Early Marxist Feminists who previously demonstrated the material importance of women's home labor to capital but not to patriarchy.

Thus, women in the home do unwaged necessary labor for their individual husbands as well as for the benefit of capitalist men. And women in the labor market work in sex-assigned tasks at lower status and wages than men. Thereby women hardly compete with male workers for their hierarchically sex-related, more powerful and higher paying jobs. At the same time, women provide cheap labor power for capitalist men.

Today, with the steady increase of women employed in the paid labor market in sex-segregated jobs, men's higher wages allows them the greater probability of being able to purchase women's cheap labor in

the market if they cannot get it at home (especially if the men are single, separated, or divorced). The men can buy from poorly paid women cooking, cleaning, sexual, and other domestic services which substitute at least in part for the labor that would be done by wives if they had them. In this way, men receive the benefit of women's domestic labor either through the direct labor of their wives or by being able to buy the cheap labor of women in the market. Women, on the other hand, because of their low waged jobs, cannot afford such costs nearly as well as the men can. Women must still largely reproduce their own labor power--even when they are employed.

In short, women's work--in both the home and the market--serves the dual purpose of perpetuating both male domination and capitalist production. Capitalist men benefit the most, but men in each class and stratum--including the working class--also benefit from women's work both materially and ideologically. Only by examining these relations is it possible to meaningfully evaluate and change women's disadvantaged position in the labor market today.

CHAPTER VII

"RECIPROCAL REINFORCEMENT": EMERGENT ISSUES

ON WOMEN IN THE LABOR MARKET

I. Introduction: The Relations of "Reciprocal Reinforcement"

As I have asserted earlier, we must now understand how home and market continually interact within the context of the dynamic relationship between patriarchy and capitalism. Nothing less will do.

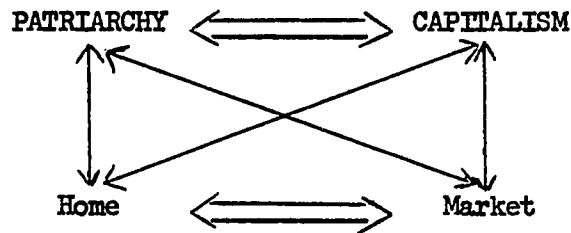
In this chapter I propose to use and move beyond contributions provided by the five main theoretical perspectives analyzed earlier by raising five issues, or questions for future work by myself and others.

My goal is to show how what I take from each building block in the different theoretical perspectives, with the help of a concept I add here--"reciprocal reinforcement"--helps me now to transcend each particular building block and perceive a larger pattern. The concept of "reciprocal reinforcement" describes three interconnections on different levels of analysis and reality which flow together to strengthen or reinforce each other (see Diagram 7-1). These three reciprocal reinforcements, as I stress them throughout this concluding chapter, are:

- (1) a dialectical relationship between patriarchy and capital,
- (2) the similar, yet analytically distinct, reciprocal relationship

DIAGRAM 7-1

THE RELATIONS OF RECIPROCAL REINFORCEMENT



==== Main Relations

_____ Mediating Relations

Another way of conceptualizing this process is as follows:

	<u>PATRIARCHY</u>	<u>CAPITALISM</u>
Home	(1)	(2)
Market	(3)	(4)

Typically, Marxists understand class relations as they operate in the market (4); while patriarchy is thought of in terms of its operations in the home (1). The relations of reciprocal reinforcement allow us to further ask about class in the home (2) and patriarchy in the market (3).

between the home and market themselves, and (3) mediating relations, but crucial all the same, between patriarchy/capital writ large and the everyday spheres of home and market. Thus, while patriarchy and capital organize the home and the market, the fact that there is a home and market, in turn, is essential to the existence of both patriarchy and capital.

From this analysis it becomes abundantly clear that women's careers include both homemaking and positions in the labor market. Any attempt to analyze women's "occupational attainment" without considering her familial tasks in a patriarchal capitalist society will be analyzing less than half the picture. This would completely distort the meaning of the approach I develop throughout this study.

For this approach, the frame of reference of Dialectical Marxist Feminism is the most powerful and inclusive. That analysis has enabled me to establish the multiple relations of "reciprocal reinforcement." In what follows, I hope to show how the approach of Dialectical Marxist Feminists, as sharpened or carried further, by my own concept of "reciprocal reinforcement," opens up new questions, newly emerging issues.

The five issues or questions for future work that I single out here are:

- (1) Sex roles: what is their meaning and effect?
- (2) The political economy of motherhood: what is its impact on women in the labor market?

(3) The role of women in the home: how does the construction of class (and sex) take place?

(4) The weakening of the "family wage" and the increased but less than total attachment of women to the labor market: what are the implications for patriarchy as well as for capitalism?

(5) How is patriarchy in the labor market growing rather than diminishing now?

The first three emergent issues do not deal directly with the labor market itself, but rather with the position of women in the home. A major point of reciprocal reinforcement, to repeat, is that the two--home and market--are intimately intertwined. Consideration of one automatically leads to a better understanding of the other and how the two are interconnected. The last two questions for future exploration deal specifically with women in the labor market itself. However, they too depend for this analysis on my concept of reciprocal reinforcement: the intimate relationship between patriarchy and capitalism as well as between home and market--and how these two interconnections are, in turn, dynamically interrelated.

II. Sex Roles: What Is Their Meaning and Effect?

By using the approach suggested by Dialectical Marxist Feminism, I am able to make use of and go beyond the traditional and sometimes limiting notions of sex roles used in mainstream sociology.

Here I hypothesize that patriarchy in American capitalism today takes the material form of sex roles themselves--the work women

do both at home and in the labor market: cooking, cleaning, shopping, ego building, nurturing and so forth in the home; and sewing, cleaning, typing, making the coffee, protecting bosses, nursing, teaching and so forth in waged labor. Values of male domination, sex role stereotypes and corresponding sexist myths are the culture or ideological reality that defines, supports and distorts what women actually can and do do.

While Dialectical Marxist Feminists rarely discuss in any detail either sex roles,¹ the socialization process itself, or sex role ideology,² mainstream sociology, on the other hand, has focussed on studying the form and content of sex roles (see Chapter I).³ Keeping in mind the Marxist Feminist attention to the concrete material and ideological forms of sex roles which reveal woman's special position in society, let us turn to the mainstream literature for clarification through sex role research.

In our society, men and women are expected to think and act in ways that are substantially different from each other. This is supposed to be reflected in sex-typed personalities, temperaments, and behaviors.

¹I will use the term "sex roles" since this is the way it is most commonly referred to in the mainstream literature. However, the more appropriate term is probably gender or sex/gender roles. See Lopata and Thorne (1978) for a discussion of this issue.

²What does exist has only recently been emerging among Dialectical Marxist Feminists who use a psychoanalytic model to understand the dynamics, strength and perpetuation of sex/gender and political economic systems. See Nancy Chodorow (1978a), Gayle Rubin (1975). For an approach closer to symbolic interaction, see Stockard, et al. (1975).

³In my comments in this chapter, most of the references to mainstream sociology refer to the work done by those I have included in Chapter I, although not exclusively so.

Despite the findings which indicate few differences in ability and temperament (see Chapter I), when we explore the behavior and experience of men and women in the adult world we find very large differences between the sexes in what people actually do. Whatever their I.Q., academic training, religion, race, socioeconomic strata or personality, it is women, not men, who are typically found in the home doing household, husband, self and childcare maintenance (Lopata, 1971). An incredible variety of women both do housework and identify as homemakers.

Regardless of temperament, physical stamina or intellectual capacity, comparatively few women hold positions of influence, decision-making and authority. In the labor market, women work in different jobs than men--especially doing the "female" tasks--which are not only different, but lower status, less stable, less powerful and lower paid. When men and women work in the same fields, the higher up the hierarchy one looks, the smaller the proportion of women one finds. This is true whether we look at fields that are occupied predominantly by men (medicine, factory workers) or fields where women predominate (education, social work, office work).

The differences in actual behavior of men and women contrast sharply with the relatively few differences in intellectual and social ability described in mainstream research. What is so striking is that the behaviors of men and women reflect the cultural sexual stereotypes about men and women, not actual biological sex differences.

Pervasive and persistent sex role stereotypes have been found to exist among people from many different backgrounds. The power of sex

role stereotypes is to obliterate or distort the reality of people's capabilities by channeling them into behaviors and experiences which fit the stereotype. What is important for us to understand here is that the actual behaviors of women--in terms of the actual work they do--fits the sex role stereotypes remarkably well. Women may not be less intelligent or less capable for the job, but they are not found in the better jobs. Women may not be more nurturing or better able to do childcare, yet they are the ones responsible for and who provide greater nurturance and childcare than men.

Sex role stereotypes mean much more than just what we expect from people. They make up the core of an ideology of male domination which defines, supports and reinforces the devalued but critical and essential work women do--both in the home and outside it.

One problem with role theory for my analysis is that it assumes a certain kind of voluntarism on the part of the role players. Men and women are assumed to play their roles--to be sure differently--but to be able to enter and leave them at will. Or if not at will, then "under certain conditions." This kind of approach ignores the power differential between actors in such roles as student and teacher, doctor and patient, father and son. Much more is at stake in the definition of these roles than simply acting in a certain way--certain people benefit from who plays what kind of roles--especially, in our case, those defined as masculine and feminine roles.

The notion of sex roles, furthermore, implies an objective and impartial listing of sex-linked differences. Frequently based on a bio-social idea of sex roles, male and female characteristics are assumed

to be "different but equal." That is, men and women are assumed to have specialized roles, which are complementary to each other, especially as society has organized men and women with primary responsibility into different spheres of existence: men in the world of work, women in the home.

It is on this basis that mainstream research has described women's employment as disruptive to her family. But such an analysis implicitly accepts the underlying premise that women's place and primary responsibility is and should be as wife, mother and homemaker. Certainly, it does not challenge this underlying premise in the first place. Only by not challenging such premises could one even ask the question about the wife's disrupting the family stability by being employed--which, I do not doubt, she often does in our society.

Today, more and more feminists are beginning to see through the earlier arguments of complementarity in sex role relations. At the same time, the sex role stereotyping literature is now documenting the greater value of male-identified characteristics in our society and the inferior value of female-identified characteristics. It should be apparent by now that the sex role system is much more than a belief system. A whole social structure is organized in the work women do for men and for capital.

Traditional sex role theory assumes change is possible through changing our socialization patterns and processes. Changing the way boys and girls are treated at home and in the schools is the most frequently mentioned solution to sexism in the social sciences. The goal, at best, is to make men and women have the "best" of each other's

characteristics: women should be more assertive and more self confident, men should be more nurturant and emotional.

Such an approach, however, ignores the political economy of sex, class and race within which socialization occurs. It is not possible to change the socialization process by itself. It must be changed along with the patriarchal, capitalist and racist ordering of society if in fact we are to have true equality--even if one suggests that men should take over equal responsibility for childcare.

This cannot happen without dramatic changes occurring in the labor force, the wage system, the family system, the system of benefits and privilege to men, capitalists, and the white population. It is not simply the fact that women mother that is the problem. Women have always "mothered." The main problem is the form and nature of mothering that we are dealing with in our society: it is grounded in the struggles and alliances created by patriarchy and capitalism--not only in the home, but in the market, the state, the church, and so forth.

Instead, we must refocus our attention, as Dialectical Marxist Feminism (Chapter V) suggests, on the construction of women's roles by and for men and capital. We must look at the work women do in production, reproduction and consumption of goods, services and people to understand sex roles and their meaning, their material and ideological grounding in our society.

Let us examine, first, how women's work benefits both men and capital. Women work for men and their children in maintaining their individual families; they simultaneously serve capitalism as consumption

or maintenance workers. They reproduce labor power--both waged and unwaged--at the expense of the working class, not capital; they simultaneously provide capital with a labor force, a reserve army of laborers, and themselves: the hidden laborers whose work makes possible surplus value and male domination, their work in the home, and their potential and actual work in the labor market. In the home their labor power is controlled by their husbands at the same time as it serves as a reserve to the reserve army of labor for capital; and in the market, their labor is purchased cheaply by and for capital. This is the role assigned to women: the ones who provide men and capital with children who are future heirs¹ and future waged and unwaged laborers and taxpayers. Further, they provide men and children with emotional support, comfort, sexuality, companionship as well as a place to let off steam and release their daily tensions.

The fact that the home is a refuge for men from the alienated world of work hardly makes it the same kind of place for women. The fact that women (and children) are battered by men, that marriage provides more benefits to men's than women's physical and mental health (see Gove and Tudor, 1973; Bernard, 1972), that women more than men are more commonly "unmothered" and unnurtured in marriage (see Rich, 1976), all attest to the less adequate role of home as a refuge for women. Moreover, by providing men this arena in which to

¹Future heirs are obviously the concern of the ruling class more than the working class. Earlier on, when working class children did economic work for their families, they legally belonged to their fathers. As children became an economic burden, however, it became women's "natural" right to be responsible for them. I am grateful to Carol Brown (1978) for pointing this out to me.

assert their privilege--material and psychological--capital siphons off worker discontent and ensures worker stability.

Hence, if one understands sex roles as grounded in the work women do--both emotional and physical--we can argue that sex roles are an important part of the social relations of patriarchy and capitalism. The sex role ideology surrounding the work women do is not simply a set of cultural beliefs attuned to the biological or social needs of men and women. Rather it is an ideology, a whole culture or justificatory world view for patriarchal capitalism.

The ways in which we expect men to behave in our society--competitive, rationalistic, individualistic, dominant, aggressive, decisive, independent, and in the interest of the private profit-making enterprise--are very much a description of the dominant values in a capitalist society.

Capital, however, is unable to meet certain social needs--both individual and collective--through private, individual, competitive profit-making mechanisms which separate people from each other. It depends upon so-called women's characteristics to fill in the gaps. Women's non-aggressiveness, nurturance, supportiveness, emotional sensitivity serve social needs well. Thus, women's labor provides an undergridding to the capitalist system which supports social connections outside of private profit-making enterprises, in the home and through government services (paid for by taxpayer's money). It was the Early Marxist Feminists (Chapter IV) who clarified the mystification and reality of women's home labor in monopoly capitalism: women's "hidden"

labor in the home is economically essential to capitalist profits and to men's better position in the labor market.¹

Likewise, much of women's wage labor can be understood as an economic undergridding of capital. Women are hired in the labor market as women in their nurturant, supportive and maintenance (or domestic type) services. As Monopoly Capital theorists (Chapter III) make clear to us, much of women's work in health, as welfare workers, in education and government bureaucracies is paid for out of the taxes of men and women employees--the costs are socialized at the expense of the working class--but to the benefit of capital. Women do women's work--nurturance, caring, ego building, childcare, taking orders from male bosses, cleaning, cooking, and so on.

While it is clear that women's sex stereotyped characteristics of passivity, dependence, and emotionality are devalued in our society, nurturance, warmth, and supportiveness are seen as the positive aspects of femininity. However, because "men denigrate women's work," even the nurturing roles women occupy are devalued (compare a nurse to a physician, a social worker to a psychiatrist). Moreover, the fact that these needs cannot be adequately provided for by private enterprise or personal independence, but must rely on collectively provided public social services, means that these nurturant tasks can be denigrated in part because women perform them and in part because they do not fit

¹Although we now recognize that women's physical tasks of housekeeping and family care were invisible due to the fact that they occurred within the individual family--and for no pay--, women's nurturance work remains invisible because it is viewed as emotional and passive, not politically and economically valuable.

the capitalist model of independence and private profit. (See Hartmann and Bridges, 1977, for further comments on this issue.)

In short, if one understands sex roles as the emotional and physical work women do, and the ideology which surrounds it, it seems possible to argue that sex roles are vital to the social relations of patriarchal capitalism.

III. The Political Economy of Motherhood: What Is Its Impact on Women in the Labor Market?

It is not enough to look at the increasing participation of women in the labor market as do theorists of Status Attainment (Chapter I) and Dual Labor Market (Chapter II). We must rather look at the dual jobs women perform when they do join the labor market. It is possible to argue that patriarchal capitalism has made home work women's work whatever their employment status. Unlike the focus of mainstream social science on women's "role conflict" when they enter the labor market, Dialectical Marxist Feminism makes it clear that it is women's continuing responsibility for domestic labor that is at issue, not simply the degree to which they are able to solve their "role conflict."¹

In this section, I raise, as a second emergent issue, a particular aspect of women's sex roles in our society: that of being mothers and how this influences their position in the labor market. I shall focus on the institution of motherhood and the political, economic and sexual organization of this institution. In my analysis I make use

¹Those women who are capable of hiring "household help" are still responsible for the organizing of the family members' affairs. And it is still women--in low waged and devalued, sex-typed employment--who perform these tasks.

of information from both Chapters IV (Early Marxist Feminism) and V (Dialectical Marxist Feminism) with particular emphasis on the contribution of the non-Marxist, Radical Feminists (discussed in Chapter V). Once more, I make use of the Dialectical Marxist Feminist method of analysis in this section but then go beyond it. The issue of "reciprocal reinforcement" is sharpened as we see how a woman's role as mother in the home moulds how she is treated as a mother in the labor market, too.

It has been not the Marxist but the Radical Feminists who have focussed on women's specific role as mothers in analyzing women's exploitation.

The material and ideological supports of women's oppression takes the form of the work they do with and through their bodies and their labor--bearing and rearing children in society. Radical Feminists, unlike mainstream social scientists, understand motherhood as an institutionally organized experience. Hence, we should note, it is neither the bearing nor the rearing of children that is oppressive; it is the institution of motherhood as organized by and for patriarchy that makes women into mothers as we know them. It is therefore not contradictory when many women say that they want to be or like being mothers, but that they vehemently dislike the institution of motherhood as it is organized in our society.

Although there are clear limitations to the Radical Feminist analysis, they do lead us to ask questions about the organization of the institution of motherhood in our own history and about what is needed to change it. This is very different from saying that the

institution of motherhood causes discrimination against women in the labor force and to leave it at that, as do mainstream theorists. The Radical Feminist analysis, moreover, directs our thinking to ask questions about the nature of the reproduction of motherhood itself.

The responsibility of women as full-time wives/mothers/homemakers is a uniquely twentieth century idea in America for the masses of women. We have seen how the interests of both patriarchy and capital allied to make women's responsibilities the unwaged sphere of the home through such mechanisms as the sex-segregated labor force, the family wage, protective legislation, and child labor laws.

It was, of course, the definition by patriarchy and capitalism of women's arena as the personal world of the home and men's as the social, powerful world outside the home that allowed for the construction of the institution of motherhood as we understand it today. The ideological underpinning for this belief system was cemented by the identity of women with their "natural" role in the family. Most of all, it was a woman's role as childrearer that put her and kept her in the home. This new ideology emphasized her biological features (womb and breasts) and allegedly innate maternal instinct in the social role of mothering.

Changes in the role of women as full-time mothers occurred "under the guise of a policy toward children" (Zaretsky, 1978, p. 211). Culminating in the progressive era (1900-1917) and the Doctrine of the Tender Years (in the 1920s), the full-time work of motherhood and home-making was assigned to women in America.

Children, no longer productive members of their families (as they were in agricultural times or in the very early industrial labor

market), had become an economic burden to their parents. Someone had to take care of them. Both men and capital chose women to do it.

Making motherhood, domesticity, and subservience to men acceptable to women has been understood as a major task of the nineteenth century (Easton, 1976). Women did not simply give up their direct productive functions of domestic goods. They had to be convinced first of the importance of their new role devoted to the production of use-values, not exchange values (the mark of worth in capitalism). The elements of this new ideology that had to be asserted as a "natural" fact were: (1) children required full-time, undivided adult attention; (2) women were specially endowed to provide this care, along with the homes their husbands needed to ensure the reproduction of their labor power; and (3) domesticity would not only shield women from the evils of the outside world (they hoped that women would simply become larger versions of children--see Rowbotham, 1973), but would also bring them certain rewards of status which would be mediated through their families.

This all depended on a new conception of human nature: where Puritan parents were previously told that their children were fundamentally sinful, nineteenth century philosophy told mothers that their babies were innocent and pure. They had to be shielded from the corrupting influences of the outside world. As a palliative, women were told that they could exert a powerful influence over society through their sons without ever leaving home. Through this new role, which nature allegedly equipped only them to handle, women could reform the whole of society. Thus, the idea that children were innocent and

malleable helped to explain and justify women's confinement to the home (Easton, 1976).

In addition, women's relegation to the home in industrial capitalism was also supposed to lead to an elevation of maternal qualities as they served as nurturant supporters and moral models for both their children and husbands (Chodorow, 1978b).

The ideal of full-time motherhood was clearly class and strata based. At the turn of the twentieth century, the ideal woman's role became exemplified by the wives and daughters of entrepreneurs and merchant capitalists of the northeastern United States. In fact, the cult of womanhood--idleness, leisure, frailty, conspicuous and preferably wasteful consumption--depended on the hard labor of many immigrant and slave women who staffed households, acted as wet nurses and nannies for children of the rich, and were personal maids of these ladies of leisure. Moreover, this cult of womanhood not only depended on the by work and factory work of certain miserably poor women who helped produce the goods bought for these fashionable homes. This cult was also in total contradiction to the way poor working women were treated by the factory owners: their female biology--menstruation, childbirth, and nursing--were totally ignored by the factory owners. If attended to by the women, they were fired for such needs (Enrenreich and English, 1973).

Over the course of the twentieth century, however, for wives not to work for wages became the mark of class superiority for men of all levels of the working class. (This ideology should be separated from the fact that poor women have always had to work for wages.) The

books that began to appear espousing these new values of "scientific motherhood" and "domestic science" were geared especially for the emerging "middling classes" of mass production monopoly capitalism (Ehrenreich and English, 1975).

At the same time that this twentieth century ideology of individual and isolated "motherhood" was spreading, bolstered by the "science" of mothering developing in schools and literature, we see the reality of an ever-increasing employment of women in the labor market.¹ The need for continually increasing consumption by the working class "i.e., ordinary people," became essential with mass production of the monopoly capitalist era (Vogel, 1978). By the 1920s, with the introduction of mass advertising, mass consumption was absolutely essential to the development of capitalism. So too was the need for women to do this consuming.

During the 1930s and after World War II intensification of specialization and sex division of labor reinforced attempts to keep women out of the labor force. In the late 1940s, the ideology of the "isolated nuclear family" served to stunt the social import of a rapidly increasing participation of women, especially married women, in the labor force. Despite the fact that women were working in

¹A series of inconsistencies emerge as we understand the demand of full-time mothering responsibility for women in our society. As noted above, women were becoming increasingly employed as full-time motherhood became the ideal. Secondly, women were being relegated to the home as their primary responsibility, just as technology made possible modern birth control and bottle feeding. Third, while women are increasingly convinced of their "maternal instincts" and the "naturalness" of their role as mothers, they are told by a whole movement of male experts how to be good mothers. Fourth, as middle class women are more effectively able to control their family size with modern contraception, they are spending more and more time with children. The expansion of children's individual needs takes over and controls more of women's time and energy. They become specialists par excellence in mothering (see here Chodorow, 1978b).

increasing numbers, we were supposed to believe our real identity lay in family duties. Even during the war, with massive influx of women into factories and war-work, women's wage work was projected as an extension of their family duties, to be revoked when the war was over. This ideology was supported with contracts and agreements for the women to give up their jobs--to their husbands and to their male neighbors--when the men returned from overseas.

Although, in the 1960s and 1970s, as more and more women have entered the labor force and it is no longer desirable to deny their presence, women are still employed as women, and particularly as mothers. In fact, extensive research about working women in terms of "role conflict" or "working mothers" in mainstream family sociology today should alert us to the crucial importance of women treated as "mothers" in the labor force. Whether they are single or married, whether they are the mothers of younger or older children, women are always mothers: potentially, actually, or in the past. It is in this capacity that women have been treated in the labor force.

The tasks of women in the home are numerous, and the boundaries between them, often vague. Mainstream and Marxist social scientists alike agree that the tasks of women in the home include the physical care and reproduction of children, husband and home--daily and inter-generationally. This is usually referred to as housework, consumption work or maintenance work by Marxist Feminists. In addition to the physical labor involved in work done in the home, there is the emotional or personal care of children and husband. This is variously referred to as mothering, nurturing, or caring, as well as the inculcation of

ideological premises and values. Together, the physical and emotional work of women in the home has been called "motherwork."

"Motherwork" can be said to consist of several different and interconnected features.¹ Specifically, these are: (1) mothering-- which consists of the emotional and physical care of infants and children: touching, rocking, smiling, feeding, teaching, diaper-changing, playing, disciplining, etc.; and (2) added housework caused by infants and children. This includes the extra cooking, cleaning, laundering, shopping, sewing, driving, waiting, etc. necessitated by caring for children.²

Neither the "mothering" nor the "added housework" components are simple phenomenon. The "mothering" component of motherwork is not limited to infants and small children. As Jessie Bernard (1974) suggests, "The stroking, support, loving care and healing which women supplied to all family members in the home according to the Victorian model remains; it is still written into the role script of all women workers no less than mothers" (p. 116). With regard to the "added housework" component, Bernard suggests that with small children the physical work involved in motherwork requires an enormous amount of housework. When the children are older, however, it may involve part-time, outside jobs to finance their education. Thus, among older mothers, "labor force participation is mainly a different kind of

¹See Bernard (1974). It was Bernard who coined the term "motherwork."

²It has been estimated that housework with no children at home consists of 1000 hours per year. With children over the age of six, this figures doubles to 2000 hours per year. But with children under six, the numbers of hours increase dramatically. See Bernard (1974).

motherwork, it provides college for grown sons and daughters and even help in establishing themselves" (p. 130).

All of these activities can be understood as part of the work women do as mothers in the home. They must enter the labor market to buy goods and services they need in their role as mothers. In sum, as women enter into waged labor, we can speculate, they do so as mothers. Let me elaborate this point.

In the earlier industrial phase of capitalist development, it was the production of goods that was pushed out of the home into the market. More recently, as monopoly capitalism advanced, it was services that were pushed out of the home. If women enter the labor market today, one key reason is their role as mothers. They need jobs to pay for services as well as goods for their children which had previously been provided at home: education, health, nursing, psychotherapy, babysitting, buying prepared foods, shoes for the children, a washing machine to handle the many loads of active children's wear. In monopoly capitalism, in sum, not only are goods and services increasingly found only in the market, but it also becomes cheaper to produce certain of them in mass production--for example clothing, on which we then become dependent.

It is thus in capital's interest to have women who work in the home be able to work in the market too. Women become not only "finely tuned customers," but also "workers in the home, ready for integration outside the home" (Baxandall, et al., 1976, p. 8). This is not to say that there are not tasks left in the home. Hardly. Hence, keeping women in the role of mother and employing them as such

in the market is a reasonable solution to capital. As pointed out earlier, this also lowers women's wages in the market and segregates them so they do not compete with men there either.

In this section, I have argued that as women have increasingly entered wage labor in the twentieth century, it can be understood as an extension of their roles as housewives and mothers. In other words, I see this added wage labor as part of their "motherwork." Nonetheless, whenever women are employed for wages in the labor market, they always have two jobs: one at home and another in the market. Both can be said to represent "motherwork." The intimate connection between home and market labor, a basic premise of the relations of reciprocal reinforcement, is strikingly demonstrated here.

IV. The Role of Women in the Home: How Does the Construction of Class (and Sex) Take Place?

Instead of seeing the home as women's sphere and the market as men's sphere (as in Chapter IV), it becomes necessary to understand that both the home and market are mutually interdependent and are organized by the dialectical relationship between patriarchy and capitalism. Patriarchy and capitalism operate simultaneously in each sphere of living; each strengthens the other through reciprocal reinforcement.

Two features of patriarchal capitalism that the analysis of Dialectical Marxist Feminists underplays so far are the development of class in the home, and, the same question in reverse: how

patriarchy is played out in the labor market. While we typically understand the operation of class relations in the market and patriarchy in the home, I will draw on my concept of reciprocal reinforcement to ask questions about patriarchy in the labor market and class in the home. (It may be helpful to refer back to Diagram 7-1, above, on page 275.)

The relationship between sex/gender and class systems, in other words, is a dialectical process experienced in the home as well as the market. Hence, in this section I want to hypothesize (1) that women's daily work in the family reproduces social classes-- class relations do not operate only at the point of contact between wage earner and employer; and (2) that the particular form of the family as we experience it today reinforces and legitimates the relations between waged workers and capitalists. Finally, I argue that Marxist Feminist analyses (Chapters IV and V) must incorporate more clearly an understanding of the sex/gender social relations produced and reproduced in the family.

Thus, the family and women's role in it is not only organized by patriarchy and capitalism, but reproduces within itself both patriarchal and class relations. This is a two-way process: the work that women do in the family produces both sexed (or, more appropriately, gendered)¹ and classed workers, just as the labor market does. This is a core dynamic of our contemporary social order, and a key issue I raise in my dissertation as a whole.

¹See again Lopata and Thorne (1978) for a critique of sex and gender terminologies in sociology.

To understand how women reproduce class in the home we must first understand how the underlying activities in the home and market are not isolated from one another, how they are intimately interconnected. The physical isolation of women from the labor market in their roles as mothers/homemakers has led sociologists to see men as the only point of articulation between the family and the larger society.

Thus, the social stratification literature (Chapter I) traditionally sees men as linking women and children to the larger socioeconomic organization of society through men's waged labor. However, even feminists doing research in social stratification--who argue that women's increased employment requires us to re-evaluate the articulation of the family to the socioeconomic system--are missing an important point: women as wives, mothers, homemakers--in their work in the home, in their daily activities--play an essential role in articulating the family to the larger society. This is equally true whether they work for a wage or not.

Thus, my second point is that women work assiduously at linking their family members to the larger society. They do this in both obvious and subtle ways. In the former case, they establish networks for their children and husbands in the community. In the latter, they pick up slack in periods of economic crises. So they tighten up the household budget; and they care for a vast array of people formerly supported by state mechanisms. For example, women care for elderly family members released from hospitals and nursing homes; children unable to attend day care centers or sent home from schools unable to remain open for lack of tax monies; teenagers and young adults unable

to afford the costs of rising college tuitions, and unemployed partners and family members. These examples attest to a more hidden form of linkage that women make between their families and the larger society that typically goes unrecognized.

Hence, the seemingly private relationship between husband and wife and the personal sphere of the home mystifies the role that women as wives and mothers actually play in the total process of social production and reproduction. In fact, one can argue, without women's work in the family as constructed by patriarchy and capitalism today, neither male wage labor, surplus value for the capitalist, nor social classes would be possible.

This is exemplified most clearly in an analysis of family budgets (Chapter V). Such a study illuminates how the wage, through the wife's work in the home, gets transformed into unequal shares of food, health, leisure goods and time. More to the point here, it further dramatizes how "the particular family form created by capitalism--woman, confined to monogamy, housework, economic dependence, man defined as breadwinner--itself helps to legitimate and stabilize the wage labor-capital relations" (Petchesky, 1978, p. 379). (Italics mine.)

A third point demonstrating how class structure itself is affected by kinship and family relations can be seen in historically specific patterns of marriages across lines of class or stratum. For example, marriage patterns themselves affected the identity and solidification of the upper class in eighteenth century France and England (see Petchesky, 1978). Between male members of high commercial

and finance capital and the more enterprising elements of the aristocracy, the exchange of daughters of the nobility and gentry was a primary agent during the preindustrial capital accumulation in cementing a new ruling class. Thus, patterns of endogamy and exogamy tell us much about the process of class formation and the nature of class consciousness. In our time, too, the "exchange of women" between men can be studied to learn more about class formation and solidification.

A fourth point is that women reproduce social classes through their daily work of discerning patterns of consumption. Lifestyles, we should be clear here, are not simply a function of people's attitudes or values. Rather, only certain "life styles" are possible within the wages and property relations available to people in our society. All this means women must maintain family living spaces with the appropriate stratification symbols and life styles; arranging friendships for their children, husbands and themselves, as well as social life; articulating the family to the bureaucratic, educational, professional and retailing organizations (e.g., welfare, school, dentist, supermarket), thereby completing the cycle from production to subsistence. (All this in addition to the traditional notion that women reproduce class in the home through socializing children and husbands with the appropriate culture, ideologies, attitudes and habits. See below.)

In short, mothers are not only supposed to produce workers, but certain kinds of workers: workers who will discipline themselves on the job, who will work efficiently without constant supervision, who are submissive to organized authority--state, employers,

supervisors. However, such workers will vary by class and strata. For example, authority structures may be internalized in "highly motivated" workers of the so-called middle classes or may be external in the form of work rules and supervision on assembly lines among so-called working class people. (A large literature in mainstream sociology exists in this area.)

Moreover, it is most important to recognize here that the organization of women's jobs in the family is mediated by their own particular relationship to the mode of production. The values, skills, and socialization functions of different strata within working and ruling classes as Marx sees them is a product of the differences in their relation to the capitalist enterprise itself. In mainstream sociology, this tends to be dramatized by the voluminous research in socialization and social class differences primarily between "working" and "middle" class or "blue" and "white" collar groups. Excellent descriptions of personality types and work attitudes and habits among these groups have been documented. However, these descriptions do not connect the people in these groups to the political economy.¹ It is mainly in the work of certain Marxist Feminists, I believe, that we can see these connections.²

¹Rather, they focus on the socialization of attitudes, values, skills--and see these as causal--similar to the cultural determinists of mainstream socialization theory, who suggest that if we change sex role socialization we can change women's problems in society. Changing the socialization process by itself cannot change the larger society. For example, if we socialize all working class children to have the same attitudes and skills as ruling class children, there would not be sufficient place for them amongst the ruling class in a capitalist society.

²Although Chapter V contains many references to different Dialectical Marxist Feminists, the two important sociologists who discuss

They argue that the values, skills, socialization functions and tasks of families, and particularly mothers, vary by class and strata. They also stress that this is a product of the difference in their relation to the capitalist enterprise itself.

The relations of reciprocal reinforcement make it clear that we must ask here not only about the reproduction of "classed" workers in the home, but also the reproduction of "sexed/gendered" workers. Very few Marxists of any kind (including Marxist Feminists, generally) deal with the crucial feature of the responsibility of women in their mothering for reproducing the sexed/gendered workers of the next generation. Rarely elaborated on, this is a taken for granted feature of the socialization process. We need to explore, analyze, or strip bare this issue to understand that women produce not only class-linked ("classed") workers, but sex/gender-linked ("sexed/gendered") workers as well.

Instead, it has been both mainstream social scientists (both non-feminists like Blood and Wolfe, 1960; or Parsons, 1949a, 1955; and feminists like Valerie Kincaide Oppenheimer, 1970; Epstein, 1972; Hoffman, 1972; and Acker, 1973) and Radical Feminists (like Firestone, 1970; Rich, 1976; and Dinnerstein, 1976) who have focussed in on the development of sexed/gendered workers. For the mainstream social scientists this is embodied in the notions of sex role socialization; for the Radical Feminists it is more specifically done in terms of the role of women in their gender identity as mothers in the institution of motherhood.

some of the problems mentioned in this section are Glazer (Malbin) (1975, 1976) and Dorothy Smith (1975, 1975-1976, 1977).

The traditional notion of sex role socialization as a set of personality traits, which are changeable if you change the socialization process, implies a set of options available to the people who "play these roles." It implies a set of roles that you play--one at home as mother, another out in the community as consumer, and another in the labor force as employee.

The Radical Feminists tell us, however, that the fact that women got mothered and potentially can mother--due to the patriarchal construction of mothering--completely changes one's life. There is no such thing as a woman who can "put on" and "take off" the gender identity of mother. This is true whether a woman ever has a baby or not. Women are incredibly marked by the experience of growing up potentially as mothers in our society. This does not mean, necessarily, for example, that women are confident that they can nurture. It is only that women must nurture when they are mothers. (Or even that women must nurture men, even when they are not married to them, and have not bore their children.)¹

It becomes incumbent on Marxist Feminist writers, I believe, to attempt to understand the production and reproduction of the sexed/gendered workers--both home and market--if we are to truly understand the system of patriarchal capitalist production and the role of women in it. Moreover, I would add, it is important to understand how these sexed/gendered

¹This has been an important contribution to the Dialectical Marxist Feminists and explains, in part, why they have looked to Radical Feminism instead of traditional sociological theory on sex role socialization for an understanding of women in society. That makes sense to them despite the Radical Feminist failure to incorporate the social relations of class with those of sex as defining features of women's exploitation.

workers differ in different social classes and strata as women's mothering helps to reproduce the next generation of workers: both classed and gendered.

With the increasing employment of women in the (sex-segregated) labor market in monopoly capitalism, the task of mothers is to socialize both sons and daughters to similar types of requirements for market employment: like obedience and respect for authority. They must do this in ways appropriate to their class and strata, although it is taken for granted by Marxist Feminists that girls will be socialized differently to submit to sex-stratified jobs in the market. The sex division of production and the sex division of labor is certainly questioned by the Dialectical Marxist Feminists, but the process by which mothering itself is reproduced through women's work in the home with their children has not been adequately explored yet.

In order to reproduce the social relations of production in a class society, it is not only market workers, but home workers too who must be properly socialized. The process of women reproducing with their daughters the institution of those women becoming the next generation of home workers needs further investigation. We need more Marxist Feminist discussion of this highly complicated problem for women who act interchangeably as both home and market workers in a very different way than men who are being socialized in the family. In short, we must begin to understand the conditions that maintain a capitalist society via the sex/gender system--and how this is related to the reproduction of mothering by women in the home and outside the home too.¹

¹Among Dialectical Marxist Feminists, only two stand out in

To paraphrase a statement recently made by Eli Zaretsky in a discussion at a conference of historians (1977): "Home and market are productive workshops for the making of men and women." The reproduction of class (and gender) through women's work is, in sum, a core dynamic of a society organized along the principles of patriarchy and capitalist relations.

V. The Weakening of the Family Wage and the Increased Participation of Women in the Labor Market: What Are the Implications for Patriarchy as well as for Capitalism?

The "family wage" was the first time in modern history that a wage was supposed to be paid to reproduce not only the labor power of the typically male head of the household, but also of the wife and children. The collaboration of patriarchy and capital made this possible (Chapter V).

What I suggest here is that twentieth century monopoly capitalism has not been able to live up to its part of the "family wage" bargain.¹ Rather, along with the erosion of the family wage and the cheapening of labor power has come the tremendous influx of women into the labor market, particularly married women, since World War II (Chapter II; Kolko, 1978).

this particular concern for sex/gender reproduction. Both of these women take quite clearly only the first tentative steps in a long neglected area. The two are Gayle Rubin (1975) and Chodorow (1978a).

¹In Chapter V we saw that the family wage, even at its best, never paid the working class husband enough to reproduce the labor power of the wife at home: women's labor power was produced below cost to the capitalist. The family wage continued the previously established double standard of living in the family: one for men, and a lower one for women (and children). Here I am arguing that in addition to this double standard of living within the family itself, the family wage as a whole has itself lost ground.

This is, in large part, because of people's inability to support a family on one income, as was promised by the family wage. Capitalism increasingly requires two adult workers, where before only one was presumed to be needed. Nonetheless, the impact of the family wage principle on women's market employment has been to justify the "myth of supplemental income": women need only be paid a small amount of money for their labor in the market, since they are considered to be only secondary workers in the family.

The ability of capital to maintain such a single wage provider family structure was undercut by structural changes in the economy, beginning especially with the Great Depression of the 1930s. Immediately after World War II was a period of high profits for American corporations--both at home (because of worker's savings and overtime work, along with the elimination of rationing that had gone on during the war) and in Europe (due to wartime destruction and the need to rebuild). However, by the late 1950s and early 1960s, it became more difficult for capitalists to earn high rates of profits: profits were increasing at a decreasing rate.

These two periods of activity after World War II (first of high, then of lower rates of profits) brought out the inability of wages to keep up with the rising cost of living and demonstrated the increasing erosion in the ability of the wage earner to reproduce his costs (and that of his family) through the family wagee(see Table 7-1, next page).

As the costs increase of products necessary for the maintenance of the working class while the price of labor (wages) remains at former or only slightly increasing levels, the value of labor power is cheapened.

Thus, as the single individual's wages are increasingly insufficient to support the reproduction and maintenance of the family, more and more men with inadequate wages are accompanied by their even more inadequately paid spouses in the labor market. In 1920, only 9 per cent of all married women were employed in the labor force. By 1950, this had increased to 22 per cent. And by 1975, labor force participation rate of wives doubled to 44 per cent (Hayghe, 1976, p. 13).

TABLE 7-1

THE AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASES IN CONSUMER PRICES AND REAL WAGES: 1947-1962 AND 1962-1976^a

	<u>Average Annual Increase in Consumer Prices</u>	<u>Average Annual Increase in Real Wages</u>
1947-1962	2.0%	2.5%
1962-1976	4.6%	1.2%

^aAdapted from Douty (1977), pp. 7-8.

Since this is the case, we must ask the question: what happened to patriarchy in this struggle? If the family wage was initially the outcome of a struggle between capitalist and working class men, both of who benefitted through women's work in the home (as the argument goes), aren't Marx and the Early Marxist Feminists correct in saying that patriarchy in the family has been eroding? Aren't the Dialectical Marxist Feminists wrong in saying that patriarchy is alive and well?

The traditional Marxist argument has been that as women enter waged labor, male domination in the home is weakened. Furthermore,

if women are increasingly incorporated into the labor market, doesn't capital lose its unique reserve labor pool of housewives to be called on in time of need and returned to the home when no longer needed by capital? This would imply that the traditional Marxist argument is correct, that patriarchy in the home would be weakened, while capitalist men would lose the benefits of women's free labor in the home.

While it is true, however, that women gain certain economic and emotional independence and power in family relations vis-a-vis their husbands when they are employed, it is not the case that this necessarily happens at the expense of male domination. The matter is much more complex.

Surely, when women are employed, male domination in the home is weakened by working class men having to depend on their wife's employment as their own so-called "family wage" is increasingly unable to support their families. This is an important part of the contradictory nature of female employment in monopoly capitalism: as increasing numbers of women seek jobs to maintain the household, they become more independent by having control of a wage and may help to change the patriarchal nature of the household. However, men still benefit in numerous and important ways even when their wives are employed.

First, as stressed throughout this dissertation, women's employment means women do a "double day" of work: they are not substantially relieved of family duties when they are waged laborers. While socioeconomic strata differences are apparent in husbands "helping" wives with "their" domestic labor, men do not share homemaking and childcare tasks equally or near equally with employed partners. They

are still women's tasks: women are responsible for doing them or making sure they get done. Moreover, the cost of labor is spread without alleviating women's work at home. In fact, she must make the budget go further!¹ This is especially intensified in periods of economic hardship.

Second, not only is men's labor cheapened through the deskilling process in general (see Chapter III), through the vast increase of women in the labor force, through the internationalization of monopoly capitalism, through the increase in the cost of living, and so forth, women's labor power is cheapened even more than men's. (Thus, for example, women's wages have decreased steadily relative to men's between 1939 and 1970. In 1939, women were paid 72 per cent of what men were paid in the same occupational category. By 1975, this had eroded to 57 per cent.) In this way, patriarchy still benefits at women's expense.

Third, the material and ideological reality of the family wage has allowed women--all women--to be treated as "secondary workers." This is true even when they are the only, primary or equal breadwinners in their families--and even when the "family wage" of their husbands are increasingly inadequate to pay for their unwaged productive and reproductive home labor. Not only are women paid less as "secondary" or "supplemental" workers, but they are recruited into less stable, less profitable, more boring, and more powerless positions--on the

¹In his discussion on "Inflation and the Female Labor Force," Stover (1975) reminds us that greater use in the household of "convenience" products of capitalism, "places the working-class household even more at the mercy of inflation. What was once seen as 'convenience' now appears as 'necessity,' and this transition plays havoc with the family budget" (p. 57).

basis of the argument that they do not need the jobs as much as men, will leave when they can, and therefore should not be given better jobs!

One of the major contradictions in capitalism today is as follows: on the one hand, monopoly capital needs people to work and earn wages in order to buy goods. On the other hand, there is a need for fewer workers overall, because technology and machine production is so great. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the family wage helped to solve this problem, at least in part, by forcing women and children out of the labor market and into the home and schools respectively. Not only did this keep women out of the labor market, but they did important and necessary consumption work, and men's wages were not eroded further. (See Chapter V for a discussion of how Marx and Engels understood early female and child employment in industrializing England.)

However, as monopoly capitalism has expanded, it has become more and more dependent on the permanent attachment of women to the labor force. In recent years this has become apparent by the resorting of capital to the employment of women with very young children.

There are numerous ways that capital tries to solve this contradiction--through planned obsolescence, capital investment, government spending, raising the standard of living, and so on. I would like to suggest, though, that in large part the less than full-time and year round employment of the majority of American women has been another answer to this problem.

By employing so many women at less than full-time and year round jobs,¹ capital is able to have a larger number of people working, allowing the production of the same or greater quantities of goods and services,² but at lower costs to capital, while simultaneously maintaining people's ability to buy the products. Thus, by cheapening the family wage (of the male) and employing his very low waged wife in a way that is less than total attachment to the labor force, the costs of the reproduction of labor power are spread even more thinly over the wife (and husband). But it still keeps the wife a powerful reserve labor force for capital: and a somewhat better consumer to boot!

The vast increase in the labor force during the 1960s came clearly from women, and most particularly married women living with their husbands. In the 1970s, mothers with young children showed the most dramatic increase. However, most women entered either as part-time, temporary, or full-time workers who worked for less than a full year (for summary, see Chapter III, section VI).

What all these women have in common, in addition to low waged, sex-segmented jobs, are (1) the failure of capital to pay them job benefits amounting to approximately 35 per cent of wages (and thus

¹The vast majority of employed women (75 per cent) work on a full-time basis. On the other hand, only 40 per cent of all employed women (and 42 per cent of employed married women) work full-time and year-round. (For men, the figure is 68 per cent.) (See Chapters II and III for data.)

²A hypothetical example may be: if instead of having ten people work full-time, an employer hires eight full-time equivalents of sixteen people half-time, he could produce the same amount or more of goods, but at a lower cost. In academia, instead of hiring one person full-time, an employer may hire three or four people as part-time adjuncts, teach as many courses, and pay them less--both in salary and overtime. Furthermore, part-timers lack whatever influence and decision-making power full-timers might have.

making their employment that much cheaper to capital) and (2) the inability to develop a totally reliable relationship to the labor force due to the unavailability of stable jobs (as well as alternative childcare), thereby keeping them as a meaningful reserve army of labor. Moreover, it should not be forgotten, that more than half of all married women are not employed at all, and still act as the traditional reserve to the reserve army of labor. All the same, in the vast majority of all cases of employed wives living with their husbands, their employment is what keeps the family out of poverty or in the respectable "middle class." (For data, see government reports, summarized by Rae Lesser Blumberg, 1978).

While wages overall have increased in the twentieth century, the incredible increase in married women's employment has not changed the contribution these women make to their own family's income. The average contribution of employed wives in husband-wife families was about 27 per cent in both 1920 and 1975 (see Hayghe, 1976). Thus, more and more paid work is needed by women to simply keep pace with the rising cost of living. Moreover, while capital increasingly incorporates women into waged labor, it does so in such a way as to maintain women's primary role as "motherworker."

With the ever-increasing need for women to be employed to provide for basic subsistence for their families, along with the simultaneous increase in unemployment of both women and men, certain questions arise: Will women remain in the labor market as they are today? Will they be incorporated in new and different ways in the market in the future? Will they be forced back into the home as they were after World War II? Or will some combination of all these tendencies and others come to exist?

Two completely opposing tendencies have developed already in our society which make these crucial areas of future study. On the one hand, the contemporary women's movement has emerged in large part out of the contradictions facing women in their "double day" as homemaker and wage laborer. Women's consciousness has been raised in so many different ways--and differently for professional and business women than working class women. Still, it is true that women are much more aware of feminist issues and problems as they experience them in their daily living. With the support of a women's movement (and the increased need for certain types of female employment), it will be much harder for patriarchal capitalism to push women back into the home as was done after World War II.

On the other hand, certain policies are beginning to encourage women to go back into the home. Most importantly, next to the "backlash" against affirmative action in the 1970s, recent "protective legislation" against health hazards on the job have been directed, as in the early part of the century, at women. In this case, pregnant women. Thus, much of that legislation serves to "protect" pregnant women from high paying, traditionally male jobs, on the argument that toxic substances in the environment can harm the fetus (see Chavkin, 1978).

In the next and last section of this chapter, I say more in answer to the question posed here: what are the implications for patriarchy as well as capitalism of women's changing place in the labor market?

VI. How Does Patriarchy in the Labor Market Grow Now Rather than Diminish?

Mainstream social scientists (Chapter I), Marx (Chapter III), and the Early Marxist Feminists (Chapter IV) all talk about the breakdown of patriarchy in the capitalist family as more and more women work in the paid labor force.¹ Employed women, all theories assert, have more resources than full-time homemakers, relative to their husbands. They are relatively more powerful in the family, and greater equality is established between husband and wife. Lower income families are said to have greater sex equality than higher strata families because the income of the wife is proportionately more important to the family than the income of women from higher economic strata.

On the one hand, it is most assuredly true that women have relatively more power in their families by entering into social production that is financially remunerated in a capitalist society. However, it is also the case that women still work for individual men and their children in families, making it possible for capital to extract surplus value from market workers. Women work a "double day." While waged labor is potentially liberating, women are still doubly exploited: once by their husbands, and twice by capital (indirectly in their husbands' and children's congealed labor power, as well as

¹Dual Labor Market theory (Chapter II) does not address this problem. There is generally no mention of the family, and thus no discussion of patriarchal relations there. Sex-segregation is assumed to be so firmly entrenched that there is no discussion about any decrease of sexism in the labor market by this group.

their own non-market labor power; and directly through the women's own market labor). On the other hand, as more and more women enter into waged labor, they are increasingly confronted by a capitalist labor market that is organized in the interest not only of capital, but also of men. Hence, patriarchy in the labor market fails to diminish now; it grows instead.

The concept of reciprocal reinforcement helped us earlier to focus on the slighted issue of the development of class in the home. In this last section, I am now able to sharpen another element of this reciprocally reinforcing set of relationships: the operation of patriarchy in the labor market.

In this section I propose to elaborate on one aspect of patriarchy in the labor market. It is my hypothesis that the modern bureaucratic form of twentieth century America is not simply organized in a manner for making profits for capital. It is likewise organized to ensure that material benefits accrue to men through the exploitation of women's labor. This is how, I assert, patriarchy is becoming increasingly more solidified in the labor market, not less so.

Patriarchy (as defined in Chapter V) is a system of absolute authority of senior males over all others, including junior males and all women. It is a system of hierarchical relations establishing interdependence and solidarity among men, organized on the basis of the exploitation of women's labor. Thus, patriarchy is a system of domination, control and order of some men over others, which in turn determines the system of power relationships of men over women.

In our labor market, the organization of certain men over all other men and all employed women can be said to occur in at least two forms.

In the first case, the class relations between ruling class owners (and their executives) and laborers seem patriarchally organized. This form of organization, like that in the family earlier (see Chapter V), is premised on the idea that if subordinate men (working class) perform in the interest of the superordinate men (the owners of industry and their representatives), they will be rewarded economically and emotionally: they too will be dominant over women. These patriarchal benefits are more clearly seen in the monopoly capital sector for working class (white) men than in the competitive capital sector, which is less stable, more non-white, and more female. The patriarchal relations among men assures some sort of allegiance of the subordinate men to the superordinate men and the larger social, political economic system itself, as well as dominance over women. However, it does not in any way eliminate the exploitation of the male working class by ruling class men.

In the second case, the hierarchically organized and inter-dependent social relations within executive/management ranks, as well as between management and workers, seem patriarchally organized. As I see it, this is grounded in the work women do in the bureaucratic corporation in at least three ways: first, through the sex-segmentation of managerial tasks in the labor market in general; second, through the work women are forced to do in staff as opposed to line management; and third, through jobs essential to the management bureaucracy but without any career ladder connections to management: secretarial work. This is work done by women, whose cheap labor benefits men and capital-- in particular male manager/executives.

The operation of patriarchal relations in large-scale bureaucratic organizations of the monopoly era can best be understood in terms of certain features of the capitalist mode of production (Chapter III). In all Marxist theory, capitalism is made up of the two increasingly polarizing classes of the bourgeoisie (ruling class) and the proletariat (working class). While capitalism "frees" laborers to sell their labor power on the market for a wage, the workers increasingly lose control over their products, the labor process itself, and their own skills.

The large-scale formal bureaucratic organization of the twentieth century, characterized by intense rationality and a cadre of highly specialized professional managers, is particular to the development of monopoly capitalism. Technical ability to perform a limited task became separated out from cognitive ability to abstract, plan, and logically understand the whole process. Management became the representative of the capitalist, the only ones knowledgeable about the totality of the production process.

In looking at the class relations between men, we must consider that non-ruling class men are subordinate to ruling class men and thus are out of control of the decision-making and material benefits of capital accumulation. However, through their alliances and struggles with ruling class men, working class men are able to ensure certain material and psychological benefits to themselves. One crucial mechanism discussed earlier (in Chapter V), was through the sex-segmentation of the labor force itself. The work women do in low paying, low status job markets with limited upward mobility, short career ladders

and dead-end types of jobs (see Chapter II for a discussion of the Secondary labor market) is essential for a developed capitalist society.

The fact that women do these kinds of jobs at such low wages benefits not only male capitalists, but also the male working class. It is the patriarchal relations among men of different social classes that solidifies the control by men over men's jobs, which exclude women and make them responsible for the work in sex-segregated, low wage and low status sectors of the labor force, as well as for unwaged domestic labor.

Thus, job segregation by sex maintains male superiority in capitalism because it enforces lower wages and less power for women in comparison to men in the labor market. At the same time, however, each of these measures contains a contradictory element: the working class had to struggle against ruling class men for each of these reforms: family wage, protective legislation, etc. Hence, the material base of patriarchy in the contemporary labor market is the incredibly low waged market work women do. This keeps women from competing with men for their higher paid, sex-assigned jobs and allows men higher waged and more powerful jobs. Simultaneously, this ensures women's position in the home.

If women are only paid about half of what men are paid, they remain dependent on men through marriage. But married women must perform domestic chores for their husbands and their husband's children. Today, men's higher wages allow them to receive the benefit of women's domestic labor either through the direct labor of their wives or by being able to buy the cheap labor of women in the labor market, whose

services substitute at least in part for the labor that would be done by wives if they had them. Women, on the other hand, with their lower waged, sex-segregated jobs, cannot afford such costs. They must still reproduce their own labor power--even when they are employed.

The patriarchal nature of relations in the upper reaches of the managerial system itself are most characteristic of the monopoly capital sector, the dominant sector in the American economy. However, all large-scale bureaucracies in our society (including government and competitive capital institutions as well as monopoly sector enterprises--see Chapter III) are organized along the model of formal organizations, which include the "rational efficient expert manager."

How are junior men subordinated to senior men in management? How does this form of subordination allow men control over and rewards from women's labor in the bureaucracy?

By applying the Dialectical Marxist Feminist definition of patriarchy to the real world of management in large-scale bureaucratic corporations, I offer these tentative answers.

Sex-Segmentation in Management.--The managerial sector of a large bureaucratic organization is hierarchically organized on the basis of seniority and training (and ownership). First line, middle level, and top management positions are typically evident in all such organizations. Just as obvious is the fact that managerial positions are not simply hierarchically organized, but are organized as relations among men. We find an incredibly small number of women

managers as well as an overwhelmingly dismal record for women the higher up the managerial ladder one goes.¹

Segregation by sex of managerial positions maintains male superiority in capitalism because it enforces lower wages and less power and more dead-end managerial jobs for women in comparison to men. This prevents women from competing with men for their higher paid, sex-assigned managerial and executive positions, allowing men higher wages and total control over decision-making for the organization. Further, it ensures that women managers remain responsible to their homes.

In the total labor market itself, if women are managers, they are more likely to be found in small, less powerful, lower status and less economically advantaged organizations--i.e., in competitive as opposed to the dominant monopoly capital sector of the economy. In Chapter III we learned that the vast majority of women professionals are employed by the government, not private industry. Now we see that women managers are more likely to be employed in administrative positions outside the foremost sector, that of monopoly capital. In both cases, women professionals and managers are excluded from the "best" and male dominated sectors of the economy.

Patriarchal Forms of Allegiance: The Sponsor-Protege System.--

Managers and administrators typically do not work themselves up the ranks of the organization from the working class laborers.² Rather

¹See, for example, Bowman, Worthy and Greyser (1965) and Kanter (1977a).

²Evidence abounds on the homogeneity of business leaders from 1900 to today. Also, there is evidence on the clear overlap between managers and the ruling class. E.g., see Domhoff (1967).

they are formally trained in business schools as managerial and decision-making experts (professionals) for the organization.

They are recruited into the organization specifically as professional managers. So long as junior managers stay in line, perform decision-making and administrative functions in the interest of the organization (private profits and capitalist control), they are promised career advancement in the ranks of management. The patriarchal relations of senior over junior executives and managers establishes the allegiance of the former to the latter. If they mature in their careers according to plan, they will work their way into the rewards of the patriarchal system: wealth, resources, prestige, power, leadership, dominance over junior male managers and workers and all women in the system.

An important mechanism used to establish and perpetuate the patriarchal allegiance among junior and senior executives is that known as the "sponsor-protége" system or "old boys' network." Sponsorship is here identified as a crucial mechanism by which junior men are recruited into the upper eschelons of the patriarchal administration. The protégé is treated much like an apprentice, under the benevolent wing of a sponsor. "Crucial trade secrets" of the upper eschelon are learned by the protégé, who simultaneously performs services for the sponsor.

The sponsorship system has been used by mainstream sociology (Chapter I)¹ to describe how elite sectors of professions typically

¹Classic studies, not mentioned in Chapter I above, are Hall (1948) and Hughes (1945) in medicine and Smigel (1963) in law.

are able to recruit like-minded people to their profession. Important to sponsors in the recruitment of proteges are people with similar values who would uphold the shared norms, attitudes, mutual understanding and common standards of behavior. A shared sense of social and moral solidarity was said to define the professions in general, and the sponsor-protege system in particular. While classic studies mentioned the "proper" race, ethnicity and sex as being necessary components for recruitment into the sponsorship system, it is clear that such a system is primarily interested in the maintenance of the class stratification characteristic of the professions.

In what follows, I explore the implications of the "sponsor-protege" system in terms of a Dialectical Marxist Feminist analysis.

Two basic problems raised by mainstream feminist social scientists¹ are important to this analysis: first was that the professional (and managerial) culture itself was organized around a "masculine ethic"; and second was that the recruitment system in general and the sponsorship system in particular was not only elitist (and racist), but was also sexist: it recruited people and promoted them to the top on the basis of their sex as well as their class (and race).

¹It was not until the recent period of feminist concern that the exclusion of women in the professions has become a topic of serious discussion in mainstream sociology. It was primarily those feminist social scientists who recognized sex stratification in the labor market as disadvantageous to women who investigated these problems. These authors are more akin to Dual Labor Market theorists (in Chapter II) than Status Attainment theorists (in Chapter I). I include most particularly the work of Epstein (1972), Theodore (1971), Lorber (1975), and Lipman-Blumen (1976). The work of Kanter (1977a) extends these ideas to management in large-scale bureaucracies.

It has been argued, and rightfully so, that the "masculine ethic" is synonymous with bureaucratic or managerial culture and therefore excludes women on this basis. While rationality and efficiency were the keys to the modern bureaucratic organization of the monopoly era, it was also synonymous with and legitimated by ideas of male domination in the labor market. The consequence of this for women is that they are seen as "temperamentally unfit" for management--they are said to be "too emotional"--or they are regarded as "deviants."

However, I want to argue: while the managerial culture is a powerful ethic operating against women's entrance into decision-making positions in the hierarchy, the managerial culture by itself would not have the power to exclude women. Such exclusion must be grounded in the patriarchal benefits that accrue to men through women's labor.

The identification of the managerial culture with a masculine ethic is not sufficient by itself to explain why women are left out of the decision-making positions of administration. More importantly, this type of analysis does not deal with the problem of how to change the administrative process itself. Eliminating patriarchy in the labor market without any challenge to capitalist control through the managerial structure typically means that women should be trained to be more "like men."¹ This assumption is not challenged by Status Attainment

¹I would argue that in our society, eliminating patriarchy means eliminating hierarchical control of a certain class of men over other men as well as of men in general over women.

With regard to the issue of whether women should be trained to be more "like men," it is an empirical question as to whether women

theorists at all and is not challenged sufficiently by those researchers recognizing sex stratification in the labor market.

For example, among mainstream researchers who recognize sex stratification in the labor market, it has been suggested that corporations create "artificial sponsorship" programs to move women into management: develop "old girls' networks." For sure, women must move into top decision-making positions, and it is more effective to do this collectively than individually. However, I maintain, unless one changes the nature of the work organization itself, in addition to the male domination of work, the vast majority of men and women will remain disadvantaged in our system of work--and women more so than men at each level.

In short, and most importantly, putting more women who are "like men" into management does not deal with the mass of both women and men who are totally left outside any decision-making control in their jobs.

The second problem raised by these feminist sociologists in explaining the disadvantaged position of women in the labor market is that the characteristics of the managerial hierarchy encourage managers and executives to pick people much like themselves as their

would act differently than men in management. One group of researchers suggest that it is location in the organizational structure that creates certain personality types and behavior typically associated with women in our society. That is, both men and women who are found in blocked, low status positions of limited power exhibit personality characteristics of the stereotype of women in our society--devalued personality types. Another group of researchers, on the other hand, suggest women's total differential socialization than men and hence values might lead them to operate differently when in power than men do. Clearly, this is an area for further empirical investigation and theoretical integration.

proteges, thus assuring continuity of leadership. Conformity pressures and exclusive management circles closed to "outsiders," it is argued, stem from (1) the high degree of uncertainty in specifying all contingencies in advance and (2) the need for personal discretion surrounding such managerial decisions--especially at the higher levels of the bureaucracy. Clearly, women are "different," just as are blacks, and those of lower socioeconomic origins. Choosing people like themselves--socially homogeneous candidates for rising in the patriarchal management hierarchy--ensures loyalty, trust, conformity, similar values and interests. Choosing people like themselves means choosing men--and certain kinds of men at that.

The need for trust and loyalty among potential elite in the administration of the corporation is essential. However, I assume, it is much more than the reduction of uncertainty and the insurance of loyalty that is in operation with regard to male domination in management. Much more than norms, attitudes, and ways in which people think is in question here. In addition, I would presuppose, it is the material benefits that managers get, both as men and as capitalists (and their representatives), that is essential to the patriarchal nature of the managerial group.

How, one might ask, do women work for the male managers to provide both economic and emotional benefits to the male managers otherwise unavailable to them?

I shall answer this by looking at (1) the work women are allowed to do as managers within large-scale bureaucracies and (2) the work women do as secretaries, the support-maintenance workers of the male bosses in these bureaucratic organizations.

Women Managers Are Recruited into Staff Positions.--Although very few women are found in managerial positions in any large-scale bureaucracy in today's labor market, when they are, they are much more likely to be doing work in lower paid staff positions, less powerful than line (or command) ones. Staff positions include personnel, research and more recently affirmative action and equal employment officers.

While line positions are typically part of an internal labor market, offering career mobility and the possibility of movement up in the organization to top executive jobs, staff positions do not lead to decision-making positions with the organization. Typically, staff positions (often made up by professional experts) represent advisory or recommending bodies to the decision-making managers and executives. As such, women do the work to find out what is needed, make recommendations, and then men decide what is to be done with regard to these recommendations. Managers in staff positions very often have authority over an area of expertise, but without system power.

The fact that women are placed in these positions is not simply a function of the male ethic--a cultural component of the bureaucratic organizational style of leadership. Rather it is because of the material benefits accruing to men by placing women in these positions.

This means that when women are in managerial positions in male dominated organizations, they have little or no authority, and they are outside the career ladders that lead to the top of the organization. They do the needed work of the organization--at lower wages than male managers, thus allowing men the benefits of money, status, power,

resources, specialization in decision-making control and order--without challenging or competing with the male managers for their privileged positions.

In short, the fact that women managers are forced into staff positions without power, adequate financial remuneration, or ability to move into line positions offering upward mobility is beneficial to both men and capital.

Women are Predominantly Recruited into Secretarial Positions.--

A second and most crucial way (since it is most prevalent) in which patriarchal relations encourage male control over women in the capitalist bureaucracy today is through the relationship of secretaries to their bosses.

Feminization of clerical work in the age of monopoly capitalism has made it possible to elevate men to management, with women subordinate to them guaranteeing higher wages, status, and control to men at the expense of women.

However, this was not always the case. Prior to the expansion of large corporations in the last decades of the nineteenth century, clerical workers were men (see Chapter III). The clerkship of a male office worker acted as an "apprenticeship" for a young man "learning the business" before he moved onto a managerial position. It was only during the twentieth century that clerical work became "women's work." As it did, the nature and organization of clerical work itself changed. It became a dead-end job, with a high degree of replaceability, and virtually no career ladder possibilities to managerial jobs.

Along with changes in the structure of clerical labor in the corporations was a change in ideology about the nature of clerical

work itself. It took only a very short while for the ideology to shift and for people to accept the presence of women in offices, and even to change their belief about women's inherent "nature" in the work.

The rationalization of clerical tasks allows for a high degree of low level skills, cheap labor, and easy replaceability of workers--the key to profits and control for male owners. This rationalization is exemplified in the work done by the vast majority of secretarial workers in work organized in such places as "secretarial pools." Tasks have been reorganized--around such machines as a typewriter or an adding machine, dictaphone, billing machine, copier, and more recently, the computer.

In addition to keeping women out of the higher status, waged and powerful jobs of the organization structurally, unequal relations between secretaries and others in the organization served, through sexual advances and harassment, to boost men's egos in the organization--all men's egos, whether they were part of management or not.

In addition to the secretary in the typing pool is the more celebrated "personal secretary" to the individual male bosses. Some features of the secretary-boss relationship are clearly antithetical to the bureaucratic nature of the modern rational corporation. It is by far the preferred arrangement to work for a particular boss (or a few bosses) because secretaries, like wives, learn to rely on a personal relationship with a boss for rewards.

The work that women do as personal secretaries reinforces the sex stereotyped image of the secretary and the patriarchal nature of

the secretarial-boss relationship. Secretaries function as "status symbols" for executives; they are often doled out as rewards to bosses rather than in response to job needs. They present a "front" for their bosses as part of the job. They participate in behind-the-scenes transformation of chaos into order, or rough ideas into polished letters and documents. They set the stage to awe or impress visitors. They act as a buffer between the boss and the rest of the world, controlling access and protecting him from callers. Sometimes they are asked to collude in lies on behalf of their boss. (For example, Rosemary Wood's alleged erasure of portions of the Nixon tapes.) They are often forced to provide personal, emotional, and housekeeping services (see Kanter, 1977a for this and further descriptions).

Placing these mainstream descriptions into a Dialectical Marxist Feminist framework, I have shown that the large-scale bureaucratic organization in contemporary America is organized not only on the basis of an ethic of male domination, but also as a system in which women do a lot of special work for men. Women shore up the male ego; women provide an arena for domination, control, status, letting off steam, managing fronts, gaining emotional support and nurturance. Women provide, as well, both housekeeping functions and are the objects of physical/sexual exploitation.¹

¹For their work, women get "praises not raises." This keeps them working as they do--in the interest of men and capital. Kanter (1977a) discusses this further (p. 87). For her,

Indsco secretaries were locked into self-perpetuating, self-defeating cycles in which job and opportunity structure encouraged personal orientations [parochialism, timidity and self effacement, praise-addiction, and emotionality and gossip] that reinforced low pay and low mobility and perpetuated the original job structure. The fact that such jobs were held almost entirely by women also

In sum, Dialectical Marxist Feminists help to lay bare the independent importance of patriarchy in the labor market as it disadvantages women there. By looking specifically at certain forms of patriarchy in the labor market, we can better understand why it is that women are so badly disadvantaged there.

Conclusion.--While it is probably true that certain patriarchal controls in the family are diminishing, it is not true that all or even the most important ones necessarily are. This point needs emphasis and special attention in the future in terms of the whole analysis of women in the labor market. Hence, I will close this dissertation with the following key point.

Patriarchy is not decreasing its force and control in the labor market. On the contrary, at least one aspect of patriarchal control over women is actually intensifying in certain sectors of the contemporary labor force: in many executive and supervisory positions of the "female"-segregated labor market, men have taken over positions traditionally held by women. Alternatively, jobs with male managers and supervisors maintain male control while increasing the number of low level female workers.

Thus, we must distinguish between (1) those jobs which are becoming increasingly female in the low level positions--like clerking

reinforced limited and stereotypical views of the "nature" of women at work (p. 103).

Thus, while Kanter sees the structure of the organization as causal in creating self defeating personality types for women as secretaries, she does not focus in on the work women do for men as being their downfall. Rather, she focusses on the personality structures that develop in organizational structures. Although hardly unimportant, I believe the time has come to look at the benefits received, in this case, by men who are managers, through women's concrete work, not their personalities per se.

in banks--but which have become increasingly male dominated in the supervisory and administrative positions from (2) those jobs which have been traditionally female in the twentieth century with female supervisors and administrators--like elementary school principalships, full professorships at women's colleges, library science, social work--, which are now becoming increasingly male in their upper levels. In both instances, patriarchal control is intensifying in the labor market against women.

As a result, the work women do in the labor market fails to provide them with avenues of mobility and control at the top of the organization, occupation or profession. These are increasingly the domain of men--even when women are the major workers in the field.

In sum, these mechanisms are persistent and even spreading features of the patriarchal nature of the contemporary private and public employers in American society. Together all these mechanisms perpetuate the exploitation of women's labor by providing benefits and control for both men and capital. For women in the United States labor market, patriarchy as well as capitalism are alive and well, but we have seen the evidence that there are contradictions inherent in these interlocking social relations. In both the home and the workplace, each reinforces the other to keep employed women in a disadvantaged position. This critique, as I see it, is the main contribution of my present study to the field of sociology.

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