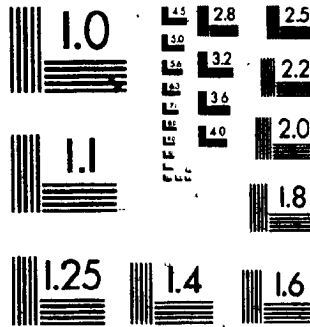


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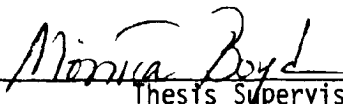
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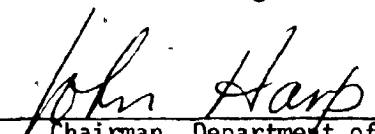
A STUDY IN THE PERSISTENCE OF POOR WORKING CONDITIONS AND

LOW STATUS: IMMIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS IN CANADA

submitted by Louise Renaud, B.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts


Thesis Supervisor


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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines temporary domestic workers in Canada and analyzes structural and historical reasons for the persistence of poor working conditions and low status. The interaction of elements specific to migrant labour and household labour are deemed to be key reasons for the situation facing temporary domestics today. As migrants, they represent a new addition to the separate labour market of migrant workers who are primarily concentrated in the secondary sector of a dual labour market. As household workers, they perform domestic labour which comprises elements of the household labour process with distinct relations of production, conditions of work and worker status. Five factors stemming from the nature and organisation of domestic work emerge as central to the persistence of bad working conditions and low status. Historical material and immigration statistics from 1973 to 1981 are used to illustrate how these factors have continued over time. It is argued that domestic work has thus been consistently marginalized from other work and shown concentrations of those experiencing multiple disadvantages in the occupational structure.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Q

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A STUDY IN THE PERSISTENCE OF
POOR WORKING CONDITIONS AND LOW STATUS:
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

My day's work begins at six in the morning and ends any time before twelve at night. All day long I serve and scrub and bake and then wash dishes, polish silver, press clothes until well into the night....But I do it all gladly, and I am well satisfied that my meagre wage is enough to pay for the bite that keeps my children alive.

Florence, a domestic worker, 1934.¹

When I started the people said they would pay me \$82.00 a week. Well, I went there, and I started living-in and when I got my pay I noticed that I was only getting \$50.00 a week. I stayed there for eight months and all through that eight months I was getting \$50.00 a week. When I was working there I looked after two kids....

I'd say my day started at about 7:30 in the morning when the kids got up and I would work until about 6:00 when my employers came home from work, but that depended from day to day, because sometimes they came home later.

Julie, a domestic worker, 1982.²

These two women have much in common. Both of them have worked as domestics in Canada, performing housework for pay in the homes of their employers. Both of them have offered descriptions of a typical working day. Yet fifty years has passed since the first of these excerpts appeared

1 Leslie, Genevieve. Domestic Service in Canada, 1880 - 1920. Pp. 71-125 in Janice Acton et al. (eds.), Women at Work 1850-1930. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974, page 87.

2 Silvera, Makeda. Silenced. Toronto: Williams-Wallace, 1983, page 34.

among the letters on a newspaper editor's desk. These brief glimpses into the world of domestic work suggest that little has changed for domestic workers in that time. In fact, research shows that working conditions for domestic workers have improved very little in Canada over the last century in spite of changes in employment opportunities for women, household technology and general social conditions. The result is that domestic work continues to guarantee the majority of its workers low pay, long hours, little or no coverage under employment standards legislation and low status.

The reasons for this are a function of the work itself. The nature of domestic work and its location in the home frequently result in lack of contractual agreements, arbitrary job descriptions and the notion that the tasks done do not constitute "real" work in the labour force sense. At the same time there is an expectation that these tasks be wide-ranging and span many hours. Depending on which province they work in domestics today may not even be covered by minimum wage laws, employment standards or health and safety legislation. Consequently domestics often find themselves relying strictly on the good will of their employers to set appropriate pay and work schedules. Domestic workers who live-in are even more vulnerable since they share their employers home and are less able to separate work and leisure time. In some cases the work arrangement proves satisfactory, but growing evidence indicates that too often the combination of poor working conditions and lack of legal protection results in what can only be described as examples of exploitation.

When recent research focussing on domestic work is compared with historical accounts it becomes clear that harsh working conditions, low status and frequent exploitation have persisted despite repeated efforts to

regulate the work and to monitor those who are employed to do it. Efforts have been made to standardize and professionalize domestic work by training workers and elevating household work to both career and scientific status. Currently in Canada many personnel agencies are emerging to deal only with household workers. Also several educational institutions are including homemaker and nanny training in their programs. For example, Sheridan College in Ontario now has a two-year Canadian Nanny option as one of three in its Child Studies Program. In addition government and private agencies have been actively involved in the recruitment and placement of domestic workers. An overview of the literature also reveals that the problems associated with domestic work have not gone unnoticed. Special interest groups, social service agencies, labour groups and union organisers have lobbied on behalf of domestic workers. In other cases domestics have organised their own support groups and unions to fight for their rights (Epstein, 1981; Leah, 1979; Vukman-Tenebaum, 1981). Efforts made to improve general working conditions, to elevate the social or economic status of domestic work and to act as advocates for better treatment of domestic workers have been minimally successful. Efforts have been frustrated by the isolation of domestic workers, by the invisibility of the work, by the competition from segments of society fighting to retain low-cost household help or by attitudes of employers and domestics themselves. Whatever the reasons, it is clear that the tradition of poor working conditions and low status has proven resistant to change.

The situation facing most domestic workers is of concern not only because their work frequently constitutes sub-standard working conditions which are generally defined as unacceptable in Canada, but also because of the extent of the problems. Domestics represent a large number of female workers, many of whom are foreign-born. Census figures

for 1981 show that over 28,000 women were employed as housekeepers and servants (Statistics Canada, Census 1981, Catalogue 92-918, Volume 1). Immigration statistics for the same year showed that 15,000 people were issued immigration permits to work as domestics (see Table 8). The figures show that the majority of these domestics were those destined to the labour force on employment authorizations. It must be pointed out that employment authorizations in this instance includes both new visa issues and renewals. Therefore the actual number of documents is not synonymous with actual entrants since many of the domestic visas are issued to those already in the country (see Appendix C for detailed discussion of methodological issues). Even so, when these workers are combined with the large number of domestics in the hidden economy, it becomes clear that domestic workers represent a significantly large group of workers worthy of attention.

Given its characteristics and location in the lower strata of the occupational structure, it is not surprising that domestic work has always been plagued by a shortage of workers and high turnover rates. Native-born Canadians have been reluctant to accept employment in private homes, especially when it involves living-in. This holds true even when there are high rates of unemployment among native-born unskilled workers. The reasons why native-born Canadians do not consider full-time domestic work to be an acceptable employment option are seen to be directly related to its association with poor working conditions and low status (Task Force, 1981). For workers with other options, it appears that these conditions simply represent an unacceptable working arrangement.

Yet the demand for domestic workers has always been high. In the early part of this century domestics were in demand for family farms and upper-middle class homes to assist with the work involved in managing a complex and

usually large household (Barber, 1980). In other cases, as women's opportunities in leisure and work expanded, domestics were sought to help perform housework and childcare in order to allow the mistress of the household to pursue other interests (Strong-Boag, 1975). Today a growing proportion of women are seeking long-term employment or else combining marriage and motherhood with paid jobs even when children are below school-age. Recent census figures for 1981 show that 52% of married women are employed or looking for work (Statistics Canada, Census 1981, Catalogue 92-915, Volume 1). Research shows that the present movement of women into the labour force in greater numbers and for longer periods of time has not been accompanied by significant changes in traditional divisions of labour within the household.³ Thus women who participate in the labour force are often faced with two jobs, one at home and one at work. By employing a domestic worker to come into the home, many people are solving the problem of the "double-day" (see Glazer, 1981 for an analysis of this concept) and circumventing the problem of insufficient spaces for children in good quality, reasonably-priced childcare centres.⁴ Thus the employment of a domestic worker represents a viable option for those families who can afford it. In fact hiring live-in domestic workers has been cited by employers, particularly working parents, as desirable because the service they provide is more personal, more flexible and often less expensive than comparable substitute services such as babysitting and housekeeping (Dubois, 1977; Task Force, 1981).

3 For recent Canadian studies examining the division of labour in the household and time spent on housework see Luxton, 1980; Meissner et al., 1975; Ng and Ramirez, 1981; Proulx, 1978).

4 In most provinces childcare services have not kept pace with the increased labour force participation of (con't)

The most effective way to meet the demand for domestic labour was and continues to be through the recruitment of immigrant women. Historical material and current studies suggest that the demand for household help has been sufficient enough so as to warrant the institution of special government programs and the development of recruitment agencies designed specifically to import workers for private households. In-depth supply-demand data is not available with which to adequately account for movements of domestics in Canada. The available research does point to the importance of demand in generating movements of domestic workers (see Leslie, 1974; Roberts, 1979; Silvera, 1983). Institutionalised recruitment of foreign-born women for domestic work has alleviated the shortage attributed to Canadians' unwillingness to accept domestic jobs and has helped to meet the demand for live-in domestic help.

Since 1973 an important change appears to have taken place in the recruitment of foreign-born women for domestic work. Many of the foreign-born domestics being admitted are on temporary employment authorizations. Yet the apparent change from recruitment of permanent immigrants to the use of migrant workers may be misleading since the employment visas are comprised of two separate categories - validated and waived. The former consists of employment visas granted on the condition that no Canadian is available to perform the job, the second consists of workers already in Canada who are granted employment visas as an administrative practice. Available data point to a general trend since 1973 among immigrants destined to the labour force whereby the number of landed immigrants has decreased and the number of employment authorizations has decreased. The upsurge in

women. For example, for every 1 licensed daycare space available for children 3-5 years, there are 6 children whose mothers are employed. Only 1 in 19 children under 3 years with working mothers are accommodated by licensed daycare spaces (Health and Welfare, 1977:6).

visas relative to the decline in landed is difficult to interpret. The trends toward greater use of employment authorizations is not a strict substitution of migrant for permanent labour. Information gleaned from immigration officials and recent analyses of visitors and permit holders reveals that the issuing of visas is not only used for labour certification but is also used as a legitimization of groups already in Canada. The most recent data available reinforces the need to use caution in drawing conclusions.⁵ It appears that another shift is occurring whereby many domestics are being issued visas from within Canada. Further research is needed to adequately interpret this newest trend and its affect on working conditions.

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entry to Canada or visa renewal is contingent upon maintaining specified employment for a specified employer and for a set time period. Any changes which occur in their situation must be reported to and approved by Employment and Immigration officials. As a result, the mobility of these workers is restricted and they are more likely to tolerate the bad working conditions so prevalent in domestic work.

Other difficulties arise if domestic employers violate terms outlined in work contracts. First of all it is more difficult for foreign-born domestics to assess their working conditions and to proceed with complaints when they are isolated in private homes with little opportunity for collective action. Secondly, since temporary domestics depend on their employers for their dwelling place and their continued stay in Canada, they are often reluctant to report breaches of contract. Many of these workers are also isolated by racial, social or language barriers. In the absence of fellow workers or social networks, the ability to make grievances is further impeded.

Since domestic labour is isolated within private homes and grievances must be initiated by the individual, the monitoring of working conditions and the enforcement of regulations by immigration officials is both time-consuming and difficult to administer. These difficulties are outlined in the most recent report to examine temporary domestic work in Canada. It shows that many problems still exist despite federal policy changes in 1981 aimed at improving working conditions. The report outlines issues and problems related to the employment authorization program and potential for landing. The authors argue that the present system of enforcement and monitoring to guarantee domestics equality remains largely ineffective (INTERCEDE, 1983:31). The net result of these difficulties

is that not only is the demand for domestic work still a reality, but so are the low pay, long hours, low status and inadequate protection under labour legislation which have been characteristic of domestic work throughout this century.

Yet despite the serious problems and the large number of workers affected, domestic work and more particularly temporary domestics have not been the subject of extensive analysis in Canada. The reasons for this relate to the nature of the work, the way it is organised and the recent recruitment of migrant workers in large numbers. Firstly, domestic work takes place in private homes or in the hidden economy where it is less visible, separated from work in the market sphere and generally considered less worthy of study. Only recently has household labour been chosen as the subject of serious concern by analysts of labour processes and occupations in the twentieth century. Secondly, the recent influx of temporary workers in Canada has added a new dimension to domestic work. Migrant work in Canada has yet to be fully examined in both its broad and specific contexts.

The following paper examines temporary domestic work since the employment authorization program began in 1973. This year represents an important delineation since regulations were changed in Canada to initiate the employment authorization program. The time period 1973 to 1981 was chosen also because of changes in the occupational codes in the 1970s which limit comparability with earlier time periods.

The paper addresses the question of why below-standard working conditions and low status continue to be so prevalent within domestic work. Given their migrant status and restricted mobility, temporary domestic workers experience a set of problems specific to their immigration status. These issues are relatively new within the

Canadian labour force. Yet to fully understand the reasons for the unsatisfactory working conditions and low status they experience, the situation of temporary domestic workers must also be examined in light of long-term trends which have developed within the broader context of domestic work.

The uniqueness of temporary domestic work stems from its distinction as a new category of unskilled migrant labour⁶ but more importantly from its representation as an additional dimension within household labour. Consequently the working conditions and status characterising temporary work hinges on the interaction of attributes of temporary work and household work. As temporary domestics in Canada, these workers represent an important category within a new and separate labour market of migrant workers with restricted options and restricted mobility. Recently domestic workers have been placed in a favored position vis à vis other migrants in Canada. Under the new program started in 1981, domestics have three migration options - immigration, provisional migration (ability to acquire landing from within Canada) and migration. The newness of the program and lack of analysis means that it is not yet clear who is able to take advantage of all three options and whether a qualitative difference exists between provisional migration and migration with respect to occupational status. As household workers, domestics perform domestic labour which comprises elements of the household labour process with distinct relations of production, instruments of production, conditions of work and worker status.

Thus the present situation facing temporary domestic workers is primarily the result of factors associated with

6 It is true that many migrants in Canada are recruited to fill skilled jobs, even in the primary sector. Where they recruited to fill skilled jobs, they are usually confined to variable portion of demand (Piore, 1979: 40).

the nature of domestic work and its organisation. While factors related to the workers themselves contribute to poor working conditions, they are of a secondary nature and tend to reinforce social and structural factors. In order to illustrate the importance of structural factors to the persistence of poor working conditions and low status, the situation facing temporary domestics will be examined in an historical context. In this way the social and historical factors determining its unique labour form will be highlighted. It will be shown how domestic work has been consistently marginalized from other work, undervalued and maintained as the preserve of those experiencing multiple disadvantages in a work world stratified by nativity and gender. It is the persistence of these trends which has led to the poor working conditions and low status so prevalent in the occupation today.

Five factors stemming from the nature and organisation of domestic work emerge as central to the persistence of bad working conditions and low status. Historical material on domestics and recent data on temporary domestics since 1973 will be examined to show how the current situation is in fact a continuation of trends which have existed in similar forms over the last century. The five factors are:

- 1) the predominance of household labour and relations of production specific to the household labour process.
- 2) the recruitment of domestic workers from disadvantaged groups and the institutionalization of mechanisms minimizing their ability to control supply of workers and working conditions.
- 3) the location of domestic work within the private sphere of the family where work is considered to be private from and unequal to work in the market place.

4) the retention of links associating domestic work with subservience and powerlessness, usually in the context of class relations.

5) the prevalence of occupational segregation based on gender and nativity and the subsequent interaction of negative statuses.

By examining domestic workers in the past and present it will be shown that these factors have persisted over time. It will be argued that the present trend toward recruitment of temporary workers represents an additional dimension in what is in fact a continuation of marginality and low status. Despite recent drops in validated visas and increases in waived visas (see Appendix C) the temporary migrant status represents a form of marginality. The recruitment of temporary workers for domestic work will actually impede the improvement of working conditions and the elevation of the status of domestic work. Theoretical considerations in section four will address the question of further continuation. Using Piore (1979) it will be argued that temporary domestics are one occupational group within the broad category of migrants recruited to satisfy the requirements of the secondary sector of the labour market. Jobs in this sector are generally unstable, offer little security and are subject to cyclical fluctuations. Migrants are most adaptable to this sector because of their temporary attachment (Piore, 1979:40). Using Sassoon-Koob (1981) it will be argued that the institutionalization of temporary work contributes to the fragmentation of the labour market by maintaining domestic work as a marginal sphere where work is assigned a low market value. Secondly it will be argued that the unique status of temporary domestic workers places them in a separate category of labour distinguished by variables of gender, nativity and migrant labour. Their distinct status, one imposing multiple

disadvantages, facilitates the exploitation of this pool of workers. Their distinct status and increased recruitment facilitates the continued reproduction of domestic work where working conditions are poor, wages low and stratification intact.

The data used in this analysis consists of admission statistics collected by Employment and Immigration for immigrants and employment authorizations for migrants destined to the labour force. The data reflect the number of persons over 15 years who have stated their intent to enter the labour force. Employment and Immigration publishes annual statistics showing numbers, destinations and demographic characteristics of immigrants.⁷ Entry data on visitors, students, tourists and returning residents is also included. However, only since 1980 have these publications shown data on migrant labour trends. Published material now includes breakdowns by country of last permanent residence and occupational groups for long- and short-term student and work authorizations. Domestic workers intending to enter the labour force are one of many occupations included in the service category. Thus much of the data used in this study are taken from unpublished material obtained from Employment and Immigration Canada in Ottawa.

7 The Immigration Act of 1976 defines "immigrant" as any person who seeks landing, that is, lawful permission to enter and establish permanent residence in Canada. The three classes of admissible immigrants include family class (previously called sponsored class), Convention refugees and independent or other immigrants who apply on their own initiative. Independent immigrants include assisted relatives, retirees, entrepreneurs and self-employed persons. Aside from retirees, immigrants in the independent class are assessed against ten selection criteria in the point system: education, specific vocational preparation, experience, occupational demand, arranged employment/designated occupation, location, age, french/english ability, personal suitability, relative.

In keeping with the two dimensions of migrant labour and household labour, the first section outlines literature which has examined temporary domestic workers and the home as a work setting. The second section highlights recruitment of domestic workers to illustrate the emergent trends and to illustrate the development of institutionalized recruitment, first of foreign-born women and, second, of migrant workers. The third section will focus specifically on temporary domestics from the start of the employment authorization program to illustrate how these trends continue. The final section will expand on theoretical considerations to explain the perpetuation of marginality and low status.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The influx of temporary workers in Canada since 1973 has led to a growing interest in paid household labour and the home as a place where people work for wages. Despite the problems associated with the employment authorization program, domestic work is starting to gain a new visibility because of the increased number of migrant workers. Temporary domestics are accountable to government and thus easier to document and monitor. Also community groups and individuals have become involved as the number of domestics has grown and the seriousness of the problems has become more evident.

As a result of the increased attention, much of what is known about present-day domestic work is a direct result of the interest shown in temporary domestic work. Again, the working conditions and status are a result of two dimensions - migrant labour and household labour. In order to highlight aspects of these two dimensions which have contributed to the situation facing temporary domestics and to illustrate how these aspects relate to the Canadian labour market, the following section outlines literature which has focussed on migrant workers and workers in the home.

Temporary Domestics as Migrant Workers

Since 1973 the number of migrant domestic workers has increased substantially in Canada because of changes in government policy. This has been mediated somewhat since 1982 and the increase in waived employment authorizations and subsequent decline in validated issues. As of January 1, 1973, any person wishing to work in Canada who is not a Canadian citizen, a landed or sponsored immigrant must obtain an employment authorization before entering the country

(Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974, Volume 1). The new regulations are designed to link immigration policy more closely to labour shortages without increasing the number of permanent immigrants. In addition migrant workers are to be recruited when no Canadian or landed immigrant is available (except for those classified as waived). The program represents an important change in Canadian immigration policy because it institutionalises temporary work and thereby creates another category of worker in the labour force. Employment authorizations may be issued more than once but if a visa holder wishes to apply for renewal or landed status he or she was initially required to leave Canada and apply from outside. Recent alterations in policy have made it possible for some applicants to renew visas from within the country.⁸ This system has been referred to as "bonded force-rotational" system since the intent is to provide temporary work which will solve immediate labour scarcity. The assumption is that such an employment authorization program "bonds" employee to employer (see Wong, 1984: 87). While this may be technically true, provisions do exist for changing employers. Also evidence shows that at a macro-level, guestworker programs facilitate segmentation of the labour market by reinforcing stratification (Dumon, 1981: 195; Piore, 1979; Sassen-Koob, 1980: 14). As a result workers are bonded to specific sectors and occupations within them.

Recently domestic workers who are able to demonstrate self-sufficiency or potential for self-sufficiency through upgrading are allowed to apply for landing from within Canada, subject to assessment by immigration officials.

8 Certain categories of temporary workers are exempt from the visa program. These are some sales representatives, inspectors, visiting athletic or cultural teams, crews of foreign ships, foreign news media personnel and diplomats (Richmond, 1973: 173).

The changes were designed to remove inequities in the employment authorization program which impeded domestics from achieving permanent residence. As a result of pressure from advocacy groups, domestic workers now have the option of three avenues to migrate. Preliminary evidence shows that the policy is affecting the ratio of visas to landeds. Yet there is some evidence to suggest that the options are not benefitting certain groups of domestics (INTERCEDE, 1983). Problems which remain will be expanded on later in the paper.

Owing to the newness of the employment authorization program there has been a lack of research in Canada with which to base analyses of migrant workers. Yet the policy to allow people to live and work in a host country as official "aliens" or "non-immigrants" is not a new concept. Several countries in Europe have had well established "guestworker" systems which have been integral components of the labour force since shortly after the second World War. Even though these programs have been curtailed since the economic downturn in the early 1970s (Rist, 1979; Krane, 1979), many foreign-born workers continue to seek jobs and to participate in the host country's labour force. Well-developed migratory channels and extensive social networks allow for continued recruitment and hiring.

As a result of the longer tradition, much of the literature dealing with temporary workers is based on the experience of Western European countries such as Sweden, France, West Germany and Switzerland. Canada's recent experience with temporary workers, its distance from many of the labour sending countries and its regional economies are all factors which make strict comparison with Europe difficult. In addition most immigrants who have come to Canada have assumed that citizenship is possible. In this sense temporary workers are a new and distinguishable class of worker with a unique status. Given that Canada

is already a country of immigrants, temporary workers may in fact be less visible and less powerful when compared with some of their European counterparts.

The United States also has visa programs which are comparable in some ways to Canada's employment authorization program. Yet there are differences between the two countries in the extent of migrations and the degree of problems. An important component of the American policy is to curb illegal immigration, particularly from Mexico and the Caribbean. As in the European case, problems in the United States stem from established migratory and employment channels. Even when temporary worker programs are stopped, the flow of migrants continues. In addition the linguistic and ethnically-based occupational structure established by the recruitment of migrant labour remains intact (Burawoy, 1976). In recent years Canada has experienced a greater volume of migrant labour than that seen in the States. Differences in policy and immigration flows have assisted in the fact that Canada has not yet experienced the problem with illegal migrants to the same degree (Robinson, 1983).

Despite these differences, there are some similarities related to the characteristics of the migration process which help in understanding the situation facing migrant domestic workers in Canada. Piore (1979) outlines several characteristics which have some relevance. First, the desire to obtain employment on a temporary visa is primarily based on economic incentives, whereby workers are responding to job opportunities in an industrialised country. The search by employers for labour initiates the migration and usually controls its evolution. Piore argues that demand is a key element in generating migrant worker movements. While recruitment explains the timing and origin of migrations, it is often difficult to distinguish institutionalized recruitment efforts from informal channels once the migration

is well established (Piore, 1979: 19). The availability of domestic jobs and recruitment efforts in Canada have been facilitated by both formal and informal channels. (see Turrittin, 1976 and Silvera, 1983).

Secondly, temporary workers are entering to fill a set of jobs which native-born and permanent residents reject because of poor working conditions or low pay (Piore, 1979:3). However in Canada, a large number of migrants enter to fill high-skilled jobs. Piore's analysis helps us to understand these seeming contradictions. He argues that migrants are recruited to the secondary sector because their temporary attachment makes them more readily adaptable to the requirements of this labour market. Jobs within this sector are unstable, offer little security and are more subject to cyclical and seasonal fluctuations in demand (Piore, 1979: 105). Yet variability exists to some degree even in industries and occupations within the primary sector so that when migrants are recruited for skilled jobs, they are usually concentrated where high variability in demand exists such as in health professions in the United States (Piore, 1979: 40). The increased use of migrants in sports and arts in Canada is another example of this variability. Piore's analysis allows for the inclusion of these primary jobs because he focusses on attributes of jobs and their meaning to the incumbents in the social context. He argues that a strict focus on income differentials as a determinant of migrant flows has led to explanations based solely on the under-developed state of donor countries (Piore, 1979:8). In contrast, his theory aims to understand why the economy needs the jobs filled by migrants, why natives reject them and how society recruits different sources of the labour when traditional supplies are scarce.

In Canada, the unavailability of native-born workers for domestic jobs has become formulated in policy.

In the broader context of migrant labour recruitment, one of the criteria upon which validated visa applications are assessed is whether or not a Canadian is available to fill the job. Again recent data reveal that waived visas (those issued to migrants already in Canada) is increasing. It is not yet clear whether this is a response to higher levels of demand for domestic work or an attempt to limit the secondary sector by facilitating mobility and regularizing the status of labour. It could represent an attempt to meet the demand through means other than restricting the mobility of native-born workers (see Piore, 1979: 185-187 for further discussion of policy options). Given the apparent resistance of governments to improve working conditions for domestics through tighter laws and guaranteed minimum wages, the recent policy changes may be an alternative to attraction of native-born workers into domestic jobs which those improvements may engender. Piore's analysis shows that once temporary work programs become institutionalized, any efforts to improve a particular set of jobs are slowed because of a seemingly inexhaustible supply of labour.

The third characteristic of migrant worker movements cited by Piore focusses on the changing perception of the workers. Initially they see themselves as temporary but as time goes on, their perception changes. In the European case, the changing perception of migrants over time may not be reflected in governments' willingness to consider them as citizens. Guestworker programs span several decades with the result that a large number of foreign-born workers have contributed many years to the host countries' economies but are not able to participate fully in all areas of society. Analysts point out that what was intended to alleviate labour shortages on a temporary basis, has become a permanent feature of the host country. The ambiguous status of these workers has led to distinct disadvantages. They are not recognized as

citizens and often occupy a second-class position in society with inferior housing, jobs, education and limited or no chance to actively participate in politics. This status is part of a much greater issue of cultural integration of foreigners into the host country.

Many studies of guestworkers have examined this unique social, economic and political status and its implications (for European examples see Castles, 1973; Castells, 1975; Kosack and Castles, 1971, 1972; Miller, 1982. For reference to the U.S. see Burawoy, 1976; Keely, 1975). In the United States Sassen-Koob (1980) illustrates how important distinctions based on political and cultural factors serve to differentiate immigrant and minority workers in that country even though they appear to represent functional equivalents. Within this group legal immigrants, illegal immigrants and non-immigrants (temporary workers) all have unique statuses and exert different impacts on the labour market (Sassen-Koob, 1980:6). Even though differences in the history of immigration and related policy make Canada's experience with temporary work distinct from the European and American ones, it is likely that continuation of the employment authorization program could present similar problems. In fact research using Canadian occupational data illustrates evidence of this separate labour market Marr (1977) argues that temporary workers are non-competitive with immigrants and native-born workers in the labour market.

The correlational analysis used by Marr (1977) is not conclusive given the short term covered by the data. Yet Piore's study points to the fundamental dichotomy between jobs of migrants and jobs of native-born workers. The temporary attachment of migrants makes them more adaptable to a set of jobs, particularly those in the secondary sector. As a result, employers and workers may have an interest in the continuation of temporary migration

programs (Piore, 1979: 41). Yet there are native-born workers with whom migrants do compete, that is who share a marginal attachment to the labour force such as youth, housewives and peasant workers. These workers, according to Piore, all share an adaptability to the requirements of the labour market, a durability and susceptibility to manipulation and control (1979:90). As a result, migrants are non-competitive with workers in certain sectors but do complement other native-born workers. The recruitment of migrants into specific sectors explains why unskilled labour is recruited in industrialised societies despite a growth in technology in the host countries. Examples of these less-technological streams in Canada include movements of farm workers from the Caribbean (Richmond, 1974) or domestic workers from the West Indies (Henry, 1968). Piore points out that the only immigrant jobs common throughout the industrial world are menial jobs. An important occupation within this group is personal service, namely domestic work.

Temporary Domestics as Household Workers

Temporary domestic workers share some of the same characteristics as migrant workers in Europe and the United States. Yet their work is unique in that it takes place in the private sphere of the home. In recent years a body of research has begun to emerge which examines the private household as a work setting. The growth of the feminist movement, and the development of a feminist perspective have helped to turn the attention of social scientists toward work done by women and work which takes place outside the market place. Analyses which have

emerged out of this concern stem from a variety of perspectives but a common method is to conceptualize two spheres of activity - public and private - and to examine the relationship between them. These analyses have been useful in focussing attention on the household labour process, its historical transformations, divisions of labour and effects on those who perform household tasks. Debate among those examining household labour has centred around whether work in the home is a separate but equally valuable mode of production (Connelly, 1978; Gardiner, 1976; Secombe, 1974), or a less valuable and subordinate mode (Bernard, 1974; Himmelweit and Mohun, 1977).

Yet few of the analyses of housework incorporate paid household labour or the effect that each sphere's activities have on the other. Both of these elements have an impact on the continuation of poor working conditions and the reinforcement of low status experienced by temporary domestics. One, the fact that temporary domestics work in the private sphere is critical in keeping their work hidden and less valued. Secondly, temporary domestic work represents an interface between home and market spheres which results in conflicting and seemingly contradictory trends. As a result, temporary domestic work manifests the ambiguous status and occupational segregation associated with household labour.

Even though temporary domestic work has not been specifically addressed at a theoretical level, certain conceptualizations of the private sphere help to clarify its unique market location. Juliet Mitchell (1977) was one of the first theorists to examine the relationship between housework and capitalist production from a feminist perspective. According to this perspective the home and market spheres are seen as separate spheres each with its own productive process and value. Activities in the market place produce goods and services to be sold whereas those

produced in the home are to be consumed by family members. She argues that the structural differentiation which accompanied industrialization has relegated women to the private and subordinate sphere of the family (Mitchell, 1977: 169). Since women's work is marginal to the total economy, they remain unequal to men as a group and vulnerable to exploitation. She argues that transformations are needed in four integrated structures in order to guarantee equality between men and women. One of the structures she specifies is production where, she argues, women must be integrated equally. Others who base their analyses on separate spheres have argued that the private sphere itself must be transformed in order to guarantee equality (Benston, 1977: 220). On the other hand Braverman (1974) presents an analysis of work in the twentieth century where he argues that major transformations are in fact occurring. Production that was formally done in the home is being taken over by capital as it appropriates new markets, products and services (Braverman, 1974: 277). In his view the result is a gradual shift of production from private to public spheres and subsequent degradation of all labour (1974: 282).

An alternative to the rigid demarcation of public and private spheres is presented by Glazer (1980). She argues that for women, domestic work and work in the market place intersect to maintain gender stratification (Glazer, 1980: 249). Her main theme is that the responsibility assigned to women for household labour affects their lives outside the home. In contrast to the separate sphere typology, she maintains that the home and family also represent a workplace, even if women hold a job in the labour force (Glazer, 1980: 253). While Glazer focusses primarily on married women working at home for no pay, she points out that this relationship to household labour is shared by all women. First, they hold an

ascribed occupation she terms housewifery (see Hall, 1969). Second, this ascribed occupation has consequences for the relation women hold to capital. Women performing domestic work in the home act as "shock absorbers" by adjusting the family to the cyclical problems of capitalism. It is a key element of capitalism to have a core of unpaid workers with flexibility in their productivity. Therefore the pressures to keep domestic work in the private sphere are intense (Glazer, 1980: 259).

Glazer points to evidence which shows that in contrast to Braverman's argument, housework has not moved into the exchange market to the same extent as have other aspects of production. Some aspects of production, such as housecleaning, have remained privatized. Others, such as laundry, have moved back and forth depending upon profitability. Another aspect of continued privatization is the fact that many women have simply assumed an intensification of labour. The double-day has become normalized (Glazer, 1980: 257-8).

In terms of temporary domestic work, the analysis presented by Glazer is useful because it focusses on the intersection of work in the household and work in the market place. In Glazer's view domestic labour is one aspect of women's work which serves to perpetuate stratification on the basis of sex. This provides a means of including paid domestic workers into the study of household labour because it conceptualizes links between public and private modes of production.

In summary, the research on migrants and household workers has highlighted the features of temporary domestic work which contribute to its unique status. As a form of migrant labour it is one type in a set of jobs characterised by instability and susceptibility to demand cycles. Migrants are suitable for them given their temporary attachment. As household labour, domestic work constitutes work deemed less valuable and outside the market sphere. The restricted mobility of migrants makes them suitable for work in the private sphere. Studies which

have looked at temporary domestics illustrate the specific implications.

Temporary Domestics as Workers in Canada

Most of the recent Canadian literature focussing on temporary domestic workers has been descriptive in the form of journalistic accounts (Arnopoulos, 1979; Farkas, 1978), government reports (Task Force, 1981; Human Rights Commission of B.C., 1983; Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism, 1979; Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970) and conference proceedings (Ontario Women's Directorate, 1983; Minister of State Multiculturalism, 1981). For example, the report by the International Coalition to End Domestics' Exploitation (INTERCEDE) which was submitted to the Minister of Employment and Immigration provides a vivid picture of the current situation of temporary domestics in Canada. Silvera (1983) also presents a graphic illustration of current hardships through personal accounts of ten West Indian women working as domestics. In her view, economic exploitation has persisted because housework is defined as an individual responsibility and is located in private life. Hence intolerable working conditions remain hidden (Silvera, 1983: 122). Since her focus is on West Indians, she cites the concentration of visible minority women as a major reason for the lack of improvement in working conditions.

While analytical studies of temporary domestic work are still rare, a review of the literature reveals that the problems and suggestions to solve them have been investigated. In some cases, the reports have examined domestic work in general, while in others the issues specific to temporary work have been the focus. Together these studies have contributed by highlighting issues and problems as well as by providing a forum for domestics to

begin telling their stories.

The studies highlighting the problems of domestic workers are supported by research on immigrant women in general both in Canada and other industrialized countries. Descriptions of temporary domestic work within the broader contexts focussing on immigrant women parallels evidence brought to light in the recent literature. That is, studies touching on domestic work have also documented the over-representation of immigrant women (Glen, 1980; Ng and Ramirez, 1981); the harsh working conditions (Chaplin, 1978, Katzman, 1978); lack of legal protection; importance of racial concentrations (Anderson and Bowman, 1953; Chaplin, 1964; Dill, 1983; Leah and Morgan, 1979); low status (Coser, 1973; Preston-Whyte, 1976); and potential for exploitation (Cock, 1980; Nett, 1966).

Historical reviews have contributed to the understanding of temporary domestic work today through the documentation of working conditions and how the work has accommodated changes brought about by industrialization. For example, Leslie (1974) outlines patterns of recruitment and working conditions for domestic workers from 1880-1920. She focusses on household workers during a transitional phase in Canada's industrial development to illustrate how these changes affected the work and immigrants who were concentrated there. Roberts (1979) describes domestic recruitment by looking at women from the United Kingdom. Studies of the role which government (Strong-Boag, 1981) and ideology (Stoddart and Strong-Boag, 1975) played in institutionalizing the sexual division of labour have pointed out the **historical importance** of domestic work for women.

One theme to emerge from these studies is the continuing demand for domestic workers. As industrialization moved production increasingly outside the home and created employment options, native-born women moved out of domestic work to be replaced by immigrant and minority women. The

high turnover created problems in meeting the demand so governments became more actively involved in recruitment. The numbers and ethnic origins of these workers have varied depending on the economic situation and immigration policies, on the rate of urbanization, on the availability of other work and on the extent of recruitment networks (Leslie, 1974).

The historical studies help to highlight the continuation of two pressing issues facing temporary domestics today - poor working conditions and the lack of legislative standards. These problems have been raised periodically in Canada over the last few decades and have generally stated that the list is long and that problems such as low pay, long hours, contract violations, arbitrary job descriptions and inadequate board occur often. Despite efforts to alleviate the problems, working conditions still remain, for the most part, below standards which are normally acceptable in a Canadian workplace. The result is that temporary domestic work occupies a position at the bottom of the employment ladder along with farm labourers and at-home garment workers.⁹

Urgent action to improve the situation of paid household workers was recommended by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women back in 1970. The overview provided in the commission's report was valuable in bringing issues concerning working conditions and lack of legal protection to light (Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970: 534-540). Yet the recommendations were formulated before

9 While many of the workers in each of the three groups face unique health hazards, it is difficult and even futile to argue which group faces the worse problems. Farm workers are exposed to dangerous pesticides, garment workers at home often work long hours subject to poor light and ventilation and exposure to fabric dust. In all three cases unsatisfactory working conditions hinge on inadequate or no coverage under labour standards legislation and inadequate enforcement or monitoring procedures.

the influx of temporary workers so structural factors were less obvious. As a result the report concentrated on ways to change attitudes. A major premise was that improved view of domestic work would help to elevate status and improve working conditions. For example the report recommended changing outmoded attitudes toward household labour, instituting training for household workers and establishing a central hiring agency as ways to improve wage levels and conditions on the job. The composition of domestic work has changed significantly since then. This change has reinforced the need to consider structural factors as well.

Recommendations to improve working conditions were again made at Canada's first national conference focussing on issues concerning immigrant women held in 1981. Based on evidence from across Canada, the delegates cited the need for work contracts, better enforcement of regulations, protection under labour legislation and greater access of domestic workers to information concerning their rights and obligations (Minister of State Multiculturalism, 1981: 11-12). An important contribution of this conference and accompanying report was that it included input from immigrant women themselves. Provincial governments and agencies have also called for improvement of working conditions through increased wages and coverage under labour standards legislation. Submissions and appeals to gain legislative equality have been made to provincial authorities continuously over the last century through provincial commissions, inquiries and groups fighting for domestics (B.C. Human Rights Commission, 1983: 32).

In the early 1980s temporary domestics were the subject of attention. Unfavorable working conditions were cited as the foremost concern in a Task Force report on Immigration Practices and Procedures which was established by the Minister of Employment and Immigration (Task Force,

1981: 13). The report shows how variations occur between provinces in wages, working conditions and coverage under labour legislation for domestics. Owing to the urgent need to improve working conditions, the Task Force recommended that contracts between employers and employees be made mandatory, that enforcement of contracts and monitoring of arrangements be more strenuous and that wages be elevated to provincial minimums. Their findings of prevailing wage rates for live-in domestic maids in 1980 showed that hourly earnings varied from \$1.56 in Ontario to \$2.71 in Saskatchewan. Babysitters earned from \$1.04 in Prince Edward Island to \$3.13 in Nova Scotia (Task Force, 1981: 62-69). However the amount deducted for room and board, lack of pay for overtime hours and deductions for benefits all served to lower the wages further. Figures show that in 1980 domestic maids in every province were paid below the minimum wage - some as much as \$1.78 below (Task Force, 1981: 62-3).

Recent studies (Dubois, 1977; Task Force, 1981) show that domestic workers today are most frequently hired to facilitate employers' full-time participation in the labour force. The majority of employers are those in upper-income brackets. Studies done in Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba show that most employers of live-in domestics (65-72%) had household incomes of over \$40,000 per year based on 1977-1980 earnings (Task Force, 1981). Even among single parent female-headed families, two-thirds of the households had incomes of \$20,000 to \$30,000 (Dubois, 1977: 11).¹⁰ The higher the employer income the more likely the domestic was to be a non-Canadian and to live in (Task Force, 1981: 45). When this is combined with the existence of wide

10 The studies also show that samples of households hiring domestic workers represent those with higher incomes, higher percentage of working women, fewer children, more likely to be English speaking and Canadian-born. As a result the sample of employers is biased in favor of upper socio-economic strata.

gaps between wages paid to domestics and the cost of substitute services, it suggests that wages for household service could be increased substantially without a decrease in demand.

In 1981 the Federal Government attempted to alleviate some of the problems by implementing the Special Policy on Foreign Domestic Workers. The provisions allow domestics who have worked in Canada for two years on employment authorizations to apply for landed status from within the country. Their application for landing is subject to an assessment of their "self-sufficiency" and efforts to upgrade their skills. The policy also specifies that conditions of employment and duties be written in a legally binding contract signed by both employer and employee. The policy changes were an attempt to make domestic work more equal to other work by emphasizing contractual relationships and providing a chance for upward mobility. Recent data show some impact on landings.

These changes have worked to a minimal degree. INTERCEDE (1983) found that while some improvements had taken place in wages and working conditions for temporary domestics, many employers were simply ignoring contracts. Temporary domestic workers experience unique problems in rectifying their situation since employment authorizations restrict their mobility. As a condition of employment they must remain in continuous employment for the duration of their visa. If they experience contract violations or unjust treatment they must report to Employment and Immigration officials. This places individual workers in an extremely delicate position and may even jeopardize their stay in Canada. In some cases, immigrant domestics have been threatened with deport if they complain (Arnopoulos, 1979; Epstein, 1980, INTERCEDE, 1983). While this is often a hollow threat, it does serve

to intimidate many domestics into accepting unsatisfactory conditions of work.

In addition, domestics frequently experience working conditions which remain difficult to monitor since they work alone within private households. Sexual harrassment, for example, is an issue which is just beginning to be discussed openly. It is even more difficult for domestics who are victims of sexual harrassment to come forward. As employees within the home, live-in domestics face the problem of isolation from fellow workers. In this context they have fewer opportunities to take part in collective action or to judge the legality or fairness of their own working conditions. The fact that they depend upon their employers for lodging and wages, makes them vulnerable to poor treatment. The INTERCEDE report (1983) found that little is being done to monitor the situation or to enforce regulations. As a result, the inequities persist and poor working conditions continue to be a reality for many domestic workers.

The above review shows that domestic work both in the past and present ranks at the extreme low end of the occupational scale in Canada with respect to wages, legislative protection and conditions on the job. This has been documented through personal accounts, government research and by those working directly with immigrant women.

While inadequate inforcement of regulations, problematic grievance procedure and administrative difficulties all play a role in continuation of problems, lack of standardized legislative coverage is a major area of concern. For most workers in Canada, employment standards cover wages, hours of work, overtime, holidays, leave provisions, job protection and termination conditions. Specific acts may also govern obligations of contrators, child employment and regulations pertaining to employment

agencies. Whether or not temporary domestics are included under employment standards acts and the extent of their coverage varies by province. For example, as of 1983, only Ontario, Quebec, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island included domestics under their minimum wage acts. Others like British Columbia and Manitoba provide for a different and lower minimum wage for domestics. Ironically some domestics are contributing to pension plans and unemployment insurance schemes yet are rarely able to take advantage of benefits. Either they are required to find new employment under terms of their visas or they leave the country before securing any benefits. Others are not covered at all (Task Force, 1981: 67). Temporary domestic workers on courtesy permits and who are employed by embassies are excluded from all federal and provincial laws since the permits are issued by External Affairs not Employment and Immigration (INTERCEDE, 1983: 37). These workers are extremely vulnerable due to lack of protection and being caught between diplomatic immunity and government bureaucracy.

Another problem related to inadequate legislative protection results from the fact that while employment standards in Canada are under provincial jurisdiction, visa issuance is a federal responsibility. The enforcement of contracts and monitoring of working conditions is therefore the responsibility of both levels of government and even more complicated to administer. INTERCEDE found that lack of communication between federal immigration officials and employment standards agencies was an important factor in impeding the improvement of working conditions for temporary domestics (INTERCEDE, 1983: 20).

Similar to other immigration assessments, considerable discretion and personal evaluation rests with officials in interpreting policy and procedures. For example, assessment for landing requires immigration or

employment personnel to make judgements on the degree of success in working relationships between domestics and their employers, the appropriateness of previous work histories of domestics and the justification of employers in firing of workers. Significant variation in assessments attests to the susceptibility of these evaluations to opinion and bias. For example, rates of those domestics accepted for landed status showed greater variation across Canada than would be normally expected with standardized assessment criteria. Figures from Employment and Immigration for November 1981 - November 1982 showed that 30% of applicants were accepted for landing in Ontario, 36% in Quebec and 89% in B.C. (INTERCEDE, 1983: 69). Criteria which incorporate personal judgement are tallied with other criteria which rely primarily on discretion such as judgements of the applicant's personal suitability and self-sufficiency. Evidence and individual experience suggests that older domestics, black women and those with dependents are disproportionately affected by discrepancies in assessment and counselling for upgrading (INTERCEDE, 1983: 12).

In some cases, provincial legislation counteracts the minimal guarantees of equitable wages for domestics. For example, B.C.'s government passed legislation in 1981 that set specific employment standards for domestics and farm workers placing them in a different class from others in the province's labour force. Employers of domestics are required to pay a minimum wage of \$29.20 per day. When based on an 8-hour day, this corresponds to the provincial minimum hourly wage of \$3.65. However a problem arises when domestics work over eight hours. Since no hourly wage is specified, \$29.20 becomes a standard maximum wage with no provision for overtime (Beaudin, 1983). In 1983 this legislation was challenged in the courts on the grounds that the law was discriminatory but the case was lost.

Even when rights are guaranteed by legislation the

on employment authorizations. These workers are being recruited to meet the demand for live-in domestics to provide childcare and housekeeping services. The overview shows that poor working conditions and low status persist despite efforts to find solutions and to upgrade the work through changes in government policy. Since the 1970s when the employment authorization program began, there has been an increased interest in the situation of temporary domestic workers. The studies that have emerged have been valuable in highlighting concerns and formulating recommendations toward tackling the problems. In general the research does not go far enough. Many of the reports fail to adequately consider historical and structural problems or else one element such as nativity is seen to be the cause. Others are limited by their role as advocacy groups.

What the research points to is that more fundamental factors are central to the persistence of bad working conditions and low status. That is, domestic work is different from other work because it takes place in the home and manifests some trends which run contrary to other types of employment. It connotes a low status which is deep-rooted and is resistant to efforts made to change attitudes towards housework. The increasing use of temporary workers has created a new type of worker to do domestic work, yet many of the same trends are emerging. While this shift in policy was intended to alleviate labour shortages, it has resulted in distinctions in the labour force and workers who experience additional disadvantages. The unique nature of domestic work and its ability to resist change raises several questions: one, how has domestic work managed to remain consistently below standard despite constant demand for the service; two, do these conditions of work and low status hold true for all groups recruited to perform domestic work; and

three, what does the situation for present-day domestic workers tell us about future trends. The next section will examine these questions by looking at the recruitment of domestic workers today and in the past.

CHAPTER THREE

RECRUITMENT OF DOMESTIC WORKERS

Canada's immigration policy has always included a focus on the recruitment of labour. Historically this focus has been mediated by policy to limit specific groups based on concerns that immigrants be able to remain self-sufficient, that the ethnic composition established in the early history of immigration be maintained and that Canada's economic structure be able to absorb the in-coming workers or their families (Kalbach, 1970). In view of these concerns recruitment and admittance criteria have been used to restrict certain groups based on physical conditions, mental capacity, level of skills, nationality and race. Subsequent growth in population, increased racial diversity and changing economic needs helped to initiate a reevaluation of recruitment criteria in the early 1960s. In an effort to introduce universalistic and less discriminatory entry requirements, Canada changed to a point system based on education, occupation, language and current economic needs of the country. Changes in legislation have since removed nationality as a criteria of exclusion. The focus of policy continues to incorporate themes of recruitment of labour and family reunification (Boyd, 1976a).

Some argue, however that the system still retains biases since its criteria and assessment are based on values and opportunities largely applicable only to developed countries. Biases also enter into the point system because some criteria can only be measured through discretion and personal evaluation. This has important implications for occupations such as domestic work which can encompass skills, knowledge and experience acquired outside of, or independent of, formal school systems.

Within the context of labour recruitment through immigration, domestic work has played a significant role.

Recruitment of domestic work by employers may be the result of employer initiated campaigns outside the country. Legitimate offers of employment and sponsorship of domestics are also conducted through contacts with domestics already in Canada. This may take the form of employer-employee contacts or requests directed to agencies in the community (Ng, 1983; Turritten, 1976). Informal channels are sometimes used by those who enter Canada as visitors and then seek employment. In many cases private employment agencies act as go-betweens for potential employers and domestic workers. Some of these recruitment channels have been well-developed over time. For example, countries such as those in the United Kingdom have a long tradition as suppliers of domestic workers to Canada. Up to the Second World War many of the single women who entered Canada destined to the labour force were those entering as domestics (see Leslie, 1974). In fact domestics were one of the few immigrant groups which did not face immigration restrictions and which government actively recruited even during difficult economic times.

Certain features have remained unchanged in domestic work. One of these has been the over-representation of women. Domestic occupations such as groom, chauffeur and driver represent minor exceptions. In 1901 women represented over 80% of the domestic service workers in the Canadian labour force. By 1931, 94% of those working as servants, maids and related workers were women (see Appendix A). While it still remains a female-dominated occupation, domestic work has decreased in significance as a leading occupation for employed women. Yet even though the proportion of employed women working as domestics declined, it continued to remain a major occupation for women until World War II. By 1981 only 2% of all employed women recorded by the Census were working as domestics. Recent trends toward the increasing recruitment of migrant female workers for domestic work suggest that household labour is again becoming a significant

occupation for certain ethnic-linguistic groups. ¹¹

A major impetus for active recruitment of domestic workers has been that supply never seems to meet demand. The movement out of domestic work has historically been linked to the availability of other jobs. As labour force opportunities grew for women in factory and white-collar occupations early in the century, native-born women began to abandon domestic service. In order to meet the demand immigrant women including those from the lower classes, orphans or children from workhouses, reformed prostitutes and single mothers were all seen as potential domestic workers. Initially, since British domestics were preferred, government agents established recruitment offices and openly advertised in the United Kingdom. Agencies were set up in Britain and Canada to recruit, train and monitor domestics (Barber, 1980; Leslie, 1974; Roberts, 1979). By 1911, 35% of all women employed in domestic and personal service were foreign-born. This was higher than the proportion of foreign-born women in the overall labour force - 24% (Leslie, 1974: 96). The source countries of domestics have since diversified. More recent programs to recruit domestic workers from Jamaica, for example, have facilitated recruitment of domestics from the Caribbean (Henry, 1968; Silvera, 1983).

The recruitment of foreign-born women has proven adaptable to changes in the labour market and social structure. Institutional mobilization (response of social structures to changing economic needs) (Stoddart & Strong-Boag, 1975) and shifts in government policy have helped to secure women from different ethnic and social backgrounds

11. The changes in definitions of service and household labour make it difficult to chart historical trends and to make strict comparisons over time. Personal service done within the home is often grouped with other occupations which were subject to a greater degree of privatization and movement into the industrial sector (such as laundry, janitorial and some cooking).

depending on the need, for example, when domestic workers were needed on farms, recruitment efforts were centred on rural areas (Leslie, 1974: 98). Efforts have often led to the recruitment from groups with less option and less power. Nothing has paralleled the drive to recruit domestics which took place between the late 1800s and the first World War. Governments and agencies responded to demands for household help by easing restrictions and redirecting resources into active recruitment combined with elaborate processing procedures for those who entered. These efforts were aided by ideology which supported the nuclear family. The success of the drives to recruit domestics even during the transitional phase to industrial capitalism can be attributed to the strength of this ideology. In turn, state intervention in recruitment of domestics helped to reaffirm it (Strong-Boag, 1981: 4). As employment opportunities and work outside the home expanded for upper and middle class women, the economic differentiation of home and work worked in conjunction with sexual divisions of labour to ensure that household help retained a market value, albeit of relatively lower value than other work.¹²

Today the employment authorization program is another example of how changes in the labour market and government policy have altered recruitment efforts. The data available since 1973 suggest that temporary domestic workers represent an increasingly significant proportion of domestic workers. As migrants these workers are disadvantaged with respect to mobility and economic status (Renaud, 1980).

Clearly, domestic work has played a significant role in the recruitment of labour to Canada. Foreign-born women have been actively recruited for domestic work

¹² Upper-class women in Canada may not have been employed outside the home but they were often involved in volunteer work, particularly of a helping nature.

throughout this century. The degree of government involvement has varied, depending on economic conditions and the degree to which supply of household help has failed to meet demand. The overview of historical recruitment reveals that key features of domestic work have remained intact. As pointed out earlier it is the continuation of elements associated with the nature and organisation of domestic work which have resulted in the persistent bad working conditions and low status. The following sections show how these elements are manifested in both the present and historical contexts.

The Nature of Housework and Its Market Location

Comparison of the two earlier housework typologies revealed that different sets of characteristics can be discerned by comparing work in the private sphere to work in the public sphere. Work in the private sphere has taken many forms historically (cottage industry, piece-work, unpaid commodity processing and social support), but household labour remains the most persistent. Studies of the household labour process have documented the change in household technology (McBride, 1976), time allocation of tasks (Meissner et al., 1975; Vanek, 1978), division of labour (Oakley, 1974); and impact of the work on household members (Luxton, 1980; Ng and Ramirez, 1981). Surprisingly, it has been found that changes in household technology have not necessarily decreased the amount of time spent or the number of tasks defined as household labour. Changes in expectations and standards plus the shift of tasks between home and market sphere depending on economic conditions have all contributed to the fact that the amount of work remains relatively constant.

Braverman argues that most social needs have been taken over by industrial capital and reshaped to fit into

the market sphere. As a result, the processing functions of the household have been transformed into productive labour with a market value (Braverman, 1974: 283). In the same way, the work of the housewife has been shifted to productive labour as more women work outside the home. He argues that both the functions and the workers from the private sphere have moved in to the service sector of the economy.

Braverman distinguishes private paid household employment from personal service work in the labour force because he argues that although paid domestic work has also moved into the service sector, it has not grown in the number of servants hired (1974: 366). His analysis has been criticized for its failure to adequately incorporate female workers both paid and unpaid as well as to consider the power of institutional sexism (Blaxandall et al., 1976: 3). The critics argue that rather than simply shifting from home to market sphere, women's work in the home has changed from "craftmanship" to "machine tending" as a result of industrial capitalism (Blaxandall et al., 1976: 6). Unpaid work in the home has always supported work in the labour force even when craftmanship dominated in the market sphere. In their view the penetration of capital interests into the private sphere has actually usurped power from household workers and allowed for an "easy interchangeability" of women from home to industry (1976: 7). The effect on paid household work is seen in the lower status of domestic service.

Glazer (1980) supports this view. She argues that the household is a workplace yet the work performed in this sphere is continually trivialized (1980: 256). Women retain the main responsibility for housework even when they are employed outside the home. Glazer points to a fundamental intersection between work in the home and work in the labour force, with women experiencing the negative effects disproportionately. That is, the lower rank

and the assumption that women are homemakers influence the jobs women obtain in the labour force. Even though her discussion focusses on unpaid work in the home, the implications for domestic workers are clear. As workers they perform work considered less valuable than that done in the market place. As women they are disproportionately affected by occupational segregation and stratification based on sex (Glazer, 1980: 261).

Glazer's analysis is consistent with the premise that an interactive relationship appears to take place between home and market place whereby functions of the household move back and forth with changing economic conditions. Studies of women's work during the depression in the 1930s reveal that women substituted their own labour for commodities available in the market place in order to compensate for reductions in family income (Milkman, 1976: 82). Similarly, figures show a reduction in women employed in domestic work during the second World War as they took advantage of other employment opportunities. Yet their responsibility for emotional support and human maintenance did not decrease (Milkman, 1976: 83). Certain relations of production, such as personalized employer-employee relations and maintenance tasks such as nurturance are less easily transferred to the market place and result in the lack of fit between paid domestic work and the market economy. The movement from specialized to generalized domestic work, the personalized relations of production and changing, not diminishing, tasks are examples which illustrate this unique labour process.

The shift from specialized to generalized tasks became evident in the early part of this century. Despite their qualifications, many of the domestics who came to Canada worked on farms where usual household work was combined with farm labour. Even highly trained domestics who went to the cities were expected to perform general

duties including laundry, cooking, household cleaning, childcare and sewing. The trend toward less specialization served to increase the range of duties, lengthen the working day, decrease their hourly wage and lower their status. For instance, general maids could be paid less than housekeepers, cooks or governesses. The trend toward less standardization also served to minimize skill and ability (Leslie, 1974: 83). The difficulty in attributing skill to their work was increased when moral and personal attributes were emphasized as much as training (Barber, 1980; Leslie, 1974).

Temporary domestic workers today are again experiencing a shift back to general duties and live-in work. In fact the employment authorization program was developed partly to meet the demand for live-in household help. The official government response to criticisms directed at the visa program included a statement that: "The 'live-in' condition has always been essential in order to qualify for admission as a foreign domestic. This is because Canadians are usually available for domestic jobs that offer 'live-out' conditions"... (Employment and Immigration, 1983: 5). This shift is contrary to other forms of work which are moving toward increasing specialization and depersonalized relations (Katzman, 1978: 377). Live-in domestic work makes professional and contract relationships difficult because it involves an unusual combination of intimacy and authority which can frequently be a source of tension (Katzman, 1978: 382). On the one hand, it can provide flexible scheduling and personalized care which is difficult to match with substitute childcare arrangements (Employment and Immigration, 1980: 46). On the other hand, it can serve to reinforce social and class differences (Preston-Whyte, 1976: 87). The implications for the status of domestic work are important. The work is assigned a secondary or marginal status even when it is done for pay.

It is assumed to be low-skilled and outside market relations. This contributes to the powerlessness of the workers and accounts for the low status vis a vis other types of work.

The relations of production manifest persistent characteristics as well. It has been observed that historical recruitment of domestics emphasized personality and demeanor often before skill (Katzman, 1978a, 1978b). Indeed the entire process from recruitment through placement emphasized personalized relations. Agencies were set up in the United Kingdom to recruit and train domestics while others were established in Canada to receive, supervise and place the workers (Leslie, 1974; Roberts, 1979, 1980). Rejection of domestic work was frequently attributed to the low status of the work and efforts were made to rationalize and upgrade the occupation through home economics education (Strasser, 1978). Yet it appears that the employer-employee relations which ran contrary to other employment were an equally important factor. For many, domestic work represented loneliness, loss of freedom, lack of privacy and subservience which they gladly traded for a job where home and work were separated. The low image domestics had of themselves served to impede efforts of union organisers (Leslie, 1974: 110). In seeming contradiction to their isolation was the intense personalized relationship between employer and employee (this usually involved women as both boss and employee which was unique in itself). This posed problems when live-in domestics experienced lack of privacy and demands on their free time. The vague definition of tasks and ambiguous standards of domestic work also contributed to the assumption by some employers that live-in domestics were available on call, were able to work long hours and did not require vacations or sick leave.

A similar situation exists for temporary domestics today. In addition to tasks such as housekeeping and cooking,

they are expected to perform personalized tasks such as caring for children and tending to sick or elderly family members. It has been found that employers value this aspect of domestic work considerably because it allows for flexibility and intimate care with significant parental input (Employment and Immigration, 1981: 47). Consequently despite the fact that they are paid workers, temporary domestics are performing many housework functions which run contrary to market relations of production. The one-to-one relationship often with less rigid supervision and a certain degree of worker autonomy in scheduling of tasks create difficulties in assigning market values. As a result, domestic work retains an image of activity done outside a direct relation to capital. The dichotomy between work done in the home and work done in the market sphere has in turn helped to perpetuate the conception of household labour as non-work (Glazer, 1980: 261).

Recruitment From Disadvantaged Groups

In the mid 1800s, family colonization schemes provided some direction for immigration policy in both Canada and Britain. As development progressed and demand for domestic help increased, efforts were directed toward recruitment and placement of young women in household help occupations. By the late 1880s a system for transporting female domestic workers from Europe to Canada was well established. Researchers have documented how domestic work provided a means whereby early reformers could ensure that the "right" citizens were helping to build the nation (Barber, 1980; Roberts, 1979). It also provided a way for countries like Britain to solve its own problems with overpopulation, unemployment and poverty (Roberts, 1979: 188), a way for single women to gain entry and seek opportunity in Canada (Leslie, 1974: 90) and a chance for feminist

reformers to minimize exploitation of female factory workers in Britain by decreasing the size of the reserve army (Roberts, 1979: 190).

In addition to state-supported initial recruitment of preferred ethnic groups from the United Kingdom, Britain was able to provide domestics because she had a well-established system of employing household help. Training and socialization guaranteed that many lower-class girls would seek domestic work. It was assumed that most working class girls had experience in housework, if not formally, than simply as a result of their female up-bringing (Leslie, 1979: 82). Interestingly, North American ideology initially provided a challenge to the use of domestic help for private homes because of its class and status connotations. Debates centred on the social implications of "doing one's own housework" (Barber, 1980: 150; Strasser, 1978: 53). However, the need for help to simply manage a household turned the debate around and focussed attention on the need for more servants. The desperate need for domestic help clouded issues somewhat. Roberts points out that apparent good intentions of recruitment personnel were often based on self-serving and "bourgeois" notions of ways to improve women's lot. This attitude was apparent in institutionalized ideology surrounding recruitment of prostitutes, orphans and single mothers for domestic service and farm work (Barber, 1980).

The pressure to import workers resulted in fierce competition between provinces over recruitment of domestics from the United Kingdom. Both provincial and federal governments established policies to assist domestic workers with passage loans (Barber, 1980: 162) and to provide financial incentives to groups who recruited and placed workers (Leslie, 1974: 98). Organised groups got more involved and the recruitment of immigrant workers included those who were less desirable even though they were from

"preferred" ethnic groups. Within this context church groups and women's organisations established a system whereby future domestics were selected, protected and supervised. The system was set up to scrutinize applicants for moral character and respectability as well as for skills. Applicants were escorted and supervised closely over every mile of their journey (Roberts, 1979: 192-3). As a result, even those domestic workers who were highly skilled or were members of the educated middle-class, were recruited and processed through a system designed to render them less powerful. Roberts argues that the emphasis of much of the reformers was patronizing and moralistic. As she says of the reformers and the Canadian Homes of Welcome:

They believed their work provided a greatly needed service to the nation and to the empire, as well as to the immigrants. Essentially protective in nature, the service was generally two-fold: the provision of a respectable and carefully controlled environment for the new arrival and the provision of an employee for the employer - usually, but not always in domestic service. The facilities undoubtedly met the immigrants' need for safe, cheap shelter, but it is clear that the terms upon which this service was rendered enforced 'respectability', docility and other traits considered characteristic of the 'right' sort of British female immigrant. As well as agencies of social service, the homes were agencies of social control.

(Roberts, 1979: 195).

A certain amount of control was maintained over other immigrant domestic workers simply because they were from under-privileged classes of society with less option and less power. Those who had received financial assistance were required to stay in service, at least until their loan was repaid. In other cases attempts were made to appeal to duty and patriotism or to glorify the status of domestic work while emphasizing the negative aspects of other work.

The extent of control over supply of workers and conditions of employment by agencies supporting employers' interests was illustrated by the fact that little protection existed in terms of legal contracts. At the height of the immigration movement, agencies kept tight control over numbers and movement of domestic workers. Applicants were scrutinized, escorted by matrons while on route to Canada, housed in temporary shelters, hostels and boarding houses until they could be forwarded to their employers. The system was efficient but was no substitute for legal guarantees of good working conditions. Rather it was designed to enforce segregation and to guarantee that the women remain in domestic work. The links that domestic work had to servant classes, slavery and second-class citizenship caused the low status to remain a crucial feature of the work. It was performed primarily by those with fewer options, those with less mobility or those viewing it as a temporary situation. As a result, the status of domestic work was tied to the complex interaction of class, gender and family (Dill, 1983; Glazer, 1980). These features were either used by reformers and recruitment agents or were artificially created by governments through immigration policy.

During World War I there was a significant decline in immigration. Then as industrialization provided greater employment opportunities for women, female immigrants from other countries were recruited to meet the demand. The shift in recruitment partly resulted from the movement out of domestic work by British women as soon as they discovered the low wages, isolation and hard work associated with domestic work in Canada. Many of them had been led to believe the work was easier than at home but when they experienced otherwise they soon abandoned their positions to work elsewhere or to set up their own households upon marriage (Roberts, 1979: 199). Also domestics were still

in demand in Britain so Canadian recruiters faced competition, especially in obtaining trained domestics (Barber, 1980: 155). As a result, by the 1920s some provinces turned to Central and Eastern European countries to obtain domestics (Barber, 1980: 166). The immigrant domestics were concentrated in the cities whereas Canadian-born domestics tended to be in more rural areas. The 1911 Census shows that most foreign-born domestics in Ontario were in cities with over 15,000 population and that 70% of rural domestics were Canadian-born (Barber, 1980: 168). By 1921, 66% of all domestics recorded in the Census were Canadian-born and 23% were born in the British Isles (Sixth Census of Canada, 1921: Volume 4).

In summary, the system of recruitment of domestic workers in the past facilitated government control over supply of workers, one-sided intervention and active solicitation of those with restricted options. Much of the difficulty in securing an adequate supply of domestic workers lay in the poor working conditions and low status associated with the jobs. Early promotion focussed on the "genteel" aspects of domestic work and on the contributions women could make in addition to their work as domestics. In fact the promotions often glossed over harsh realities of work in Canada and took on the tone of propaganda (Roberts, 1979: 191). In other cases the opportunities for marriage and other employment were used as incentives. The result was that domestic work retained a status as a below-standard or intermediary occupation. Glen (1981) illustrates the implications of this status in her analysis of Japanese-American domestic workers. Many of these women viewed domestic work as a means to earn money and to ensure a return to Japan. The women thereby adopted a "sojourner orientation" and tolerated the sacrifices and menial work involved (Glen, 1981: 361). Consequently the problems remained hidden and there was little organised action to

combat bad working conditions. Even when domestics were trained or were members of dominant ethnic and economic classes they became part of an institutionalized recruitment system which placed most of the control on the side of the employers' interests.

Temporary domestic workers today are recruited into an equally unbalanced system. Despite continual efforts to alleviate hardship, the majority of these workers experience intolerable working conditions and limited legislative protection. The lack of legislative protection for domestic workers is often rationalised as a way of protecting jobs (see Mattila, 1972). According to this perspective, domestic work represents a safety valve for the economy by providing employment for large numbers of unskilled workers when employment in "covered occupations" is scarce (Mattila, 1972: 382). This assumes that a high degree of mobility exists in and out of domestic work and that most domestics are working simply to supplement family income. The reality is that a large number of immigrant and non-immigrant domestic workers take these jobs because their options are severely limited. Either barriers of race, sex or language restrict their entry to other employment (Glen, 1981; Katzman, 1978) or their household responsibilities impose limits on labour force participation (Glazer, 1980; Johnson, 1978; Ng and Ramirez, 1983). In Toronto, for example, the majority of temporary domestics interviewed who were planning to stay in domestic work were women from the Caribbean (INTERCEDE, 1983: 14). Women from under-developed countries are often single or sole-support mothers working in Canada to provide for their children back home (INTERCEDE, 1983; Leah and Morgan, 1979). INTERCEDE found that domestic workers from the Caribbean were most affected by the "breakdown" in Canada Employment Centre counselling on upgrading to qualify for landed status (1983: 12). Like domestic workers in the past, they

simply tolerate the menial work, low pay and sacrifices their work entails. Appendix C describes changes since 1982.

Despite efforts to upgrade the image of domestic work it retains a negative stigma with strong historical roots. Domestic work in both European and North American contexts has links to servant classes and slavery (Katzman, 1978: 378). The work has an image of second-class citizen, having been the occupational ghetto of blacks (Anderson and Bowman, 1953; Dill, 1983), immigrants and older minority women (INTERCEDE, 1983; Katzman, 1978). The social distance between employer and employee is implicit even if it does not exist in a rigid way. Dill (1983) argues that the low status of domestic work and its important socializing role for black women in the United States has had a powerful negative effect on alliances within the women's movement (1983: 144).

Regardless of the reasons, domestic work's status has been blamed for the high mobility out of these jobs by those acquiring landed status and also for the difficulty in recruiting potential workers (Task Force, 1981). This difficulty in recruiting Canadians has been used as a rationale for increasing recruitment of temporary workers on work visas. While a visa system may remedy labour shortages it could help to perpetuate poor working conditions and low status by guaranteeing a constant supply of workers ready to tolerate the conditions (Parai, 1975). The negative stigma is considered to be powerful enough, especially for live-in domestic work, that it is often questioned whether improvement in wages and working conditions would guarantee enough Canadians to meet the demand (Task Force, 1981:4)

The discussion of domestic work has shown that consistent trends related to the nature of housework, its location in the private sphere and recruitment from

disadvantaged groups are evident through many decades. Occupational segregation is another feature of domestic work which has remained constant.

Occupational Segregation and the Interaction of Negative Statuses

It is clear from the discussion that domestic work in the past as well as temporary domestic work today show evidence of segregation by sex and nativity. The pattern of occupational segregation in domestic work is part of a general concentration of women in specific sex-typed occupations (see Armstrong, 1978). Nativity along with gender plays an important role in stratification of workers in the labour force. The interplay of gender, race and/or nativity exerts an independent effect on differentiation in the labour force and this is increasingly being incorporated into analyses of economic stratification, mobility and social inequality (Boyd, 1976, 1980; Duncan and Duncan, 1968; Kalbach, 1970; Li, 1978; Porter, 1965). The interaction between variables is important to consider when looking at the low status of domestic work and the over-representation of immigrant women within it. Boyd (1975, 1980) shows that being a member of two negative status groups can significantly lower one's occupational and economic status. This suggests that foreign-born females who work as migrant domestics in Canada will be disadvantaged even further.

The degree and persistence of over-representation of women in household occupations is demonstrated by Census figures which show that in 1981 service occupations continue to represent one of the leading employers of women. This has not changed significantly since the last Census was taken in 1971. In both cases, nearly one-fifth of all employed women were working in service occupations (see Appendix A). When female representation within service work



is examined, it shows that women are beginning to dominate within service as well. In 1971, 46% of all service workers were women and by 1981 this figure had increased to 52%.¹³ Personal service is the Census category within which most domestic work is included. In 1981 there were approximately 143,000 women employed in personal service occupations. This figure represents only 3% of all employed women in each of the nativity groups. One in five service workers are employed in personal service work which includes jobs as hairdressers, travel industry personnel, guides, attendants, child-care workers, housekeepers and servants. Armstrong & Armstrong (1978) and Leslie (1974) show that personal service has consistently been a leading occupation for women even though its relative importance has declined. Women have always accounted for at least 85% of the workers in personal service jobs.

When nativity is examined in conjunction with gender, it shows that, first, both native-born and foreign-born women are more heavily concentrated in a smaller number of occupations than males of their comparable nativity groups. Second, nativity plays a significant role in a segregated occupational structure. Using 1971 data, Arnopoulos (1979) found that immigrant women were over-represented in the "top and bottom rungs" of the labour force. This over-representation in the technical occupations is a result of government policy, particularly in the 50s and 60s which recruited professional and technical workers to supply the expanding economy. Product fabrication/assembling and service employed nearly one-third

13 Service occupations as grouped in Census tabulations include several types of occupations of which domestic work is only one. Included in this group are protective service, food and beverage, lodging, personal service, apparel and other service such as cleaning of buildings & equipment and lower-paid kitchen work.

of all immigrant women. Figures for 1981 show that close to two-thirds of both foreign-born (59%) and native-born (63%) working women are concentrated in the top three occupations of their respective nativity groups (see Table 1). This has remained virtually unchanged since 1971 when the figures were 60% for foreign-born and 63% for native-born women (Renaud, 1980). Among native-born women, the three main clusters occur in clerical, service and sales occupations. Foreign-born women were concentrated predominately in clerical, service and product assembling and fabrication (see Arnopoulos, 1979; Johnson, 1983, Leslie, 1974; Silvera, 1983 for discussions of specific occupations where immigrant women are over-represented).

Figures for 1981 show that service work is slightly more important as an employer of foreign-born women. Table 2 shows that 18% of foreign-born women compared to 15% of native-born women are in service jobs. Ng and Ramirez in their study of immigrant housewives show that they are concentrated in domestic work, low-paid kitchen, janitorial and manufacturing jobs (1981: 55-6). The concentration of immigrant women in domestic work, factory or cleaning jobs may be partly due to a lack of proficiency in English and the institutionalised recruitment into jobs bounded by ethnicity and language (Boyd, 1980). In addition, these jobs can be made to fit into a schedule of housework and childcare (Ng and Das Gupta, 1981: 84). This is the main reason why many immigrant women do piece-work in their homes (Johnson, 1983: 85). Mobility into better-paying jobs is then restricted when their "Canadian experience" is considered most relevant for future employment and consists of only lower-level, low-status jobs.

Domestic work done in the private sphere of the home is only one of the personal service occupations but here a different trend emerges. Whereas equal proportions of both nativity groups were concentrated in

personal service, foreign-born women are concentrated slightly more in housekeeper-servant occupations than native-born women. Nearly half of these women are recent immigrants who arrived in Canada after 1971 (Statistics Canada, Census, Catalogue 92-918, Volume 1).¹⁴ However, the Census data represents an under-reporting of women's work in domestic jobs. For example, Johnson (1978) found that 65% of women providing babysitting in their homes in Toronto had been born outside Canada. Over half of these women had immigrated to Canada since 1966.

Studies show that while immigrant women experience disadvantages based on their membership in two negative status groups, the effect is mediated for certain birth-place groups, namely Great Britain and the United States (Boyd, 1980). The implications of greater disadvantages resulting from stratification by nativity within domestic work are only beginning to come to light (see Epstein, 1980;

14 The categories used in the Census are outlined in the Standard Occupational Classification which is revised every ten years. Using Census data to examine domestic work has its problems. First, because definitions and categories change, historical comparability is difficult. Second, the occupations are grouped according to "kind of work performed". As a result private household occupations are not always separated from those done outside the home. "Housekeeper-servants-related occupations" as well as "childcare occupations" are two of five unit groups within personal service. Unit groups represent the finest breakdown available and together these two include most domestic service jobs: housekeeper, butler, personal servant/valet, household servant, domestic couple, personal attendant, babysitter, children's nurse, parents' helper, chaperon and handyman. The distinct unit group for "housekeeper-servants" is an improvement over previous Census classifications since all the occupations in this group are done in private homes. "Childcare" includes occupations done in government institutions and recreational facilities as well as the home. Third, some domestic occupations such as cook, private driver and chauffeur are included in other unit groups along with occupations done in the public sphere. Fourth, many domestic workers work in the hidden economy and are unaccounted for as household workers. This results in an under-representation of domestic workers.

Ng and Ramirez, 1981; Silvera, 1983). The research suggests that historical preference for certain nativity groups has been incorporated in past immigration policy and recruitment practices. The implicit preference for domestic workers from certain nativity groups may operate concurrently with stratification among female immigrant workers thus reinforcing ethnic-linguistic labour markets. This suggests that not all temporary domestic workers experience the same degree of difficulty even within the context of low pay, poor working conditions and low status. Birthplace appears to stratify domestic workers and exert an influence over recruitment, immigration status, occupation and mobility (Renaud, 1980). Table 9 shows that the number of workers entering Canada from the United Kingdom, United States and Asia have been increasing whereas workers from the Caribbean have been decreasing since the program began. As pointed out earlier some of the shifts could be the result of renewed visas.

Racial differentiation among domestic work is also reflected in the types of jobs domestics engage in. In 1980 for example, England was the top source country for all types of domestics (housekeepers, maids, babysitters and parent helpers were the ones listed). Yet babysitters represented the top occupation among those recruited from the United Kingdom, while maids represented the top occupation among those recruited from the Caribbean (Task Force, 1980: 52). This suggests a re-emergence of the British nanny as a preferred domestic worker. In addition it appears that motives for engaging in domestic work, degree of racial discrimination and means of recruitment are also tied closely to birthplace.

The distribution of specific racial or immigrant groups in domestic work has been examined in other countries as well. In the United States, for example, until World War II, domestic work provided the major employment for immigrant women (Anderson and Bowman, 1953; Glen, 1981: 352).

Domestic work has historically been the preserve of those groups with low status and little respect in society (Coser, 1973:39) or those groups who have not been fully integrated into the industrialised sectors (McBride, 1976). Studies from Latin America and Europe show that domestic work has offered an introduction to urban or industrial society and a chance to become integrated (Chaplin, 1978; Jelin, 1977; Smith, 1973). In some cases domestic work served as a temporary bridging occupation for individuals moving from rural to urban areas (Chaplin, 1978) or for workers' offspring (Fichter, 1963). Notwithstanding the possibility of using domestic work as a stepping-stone, many domestic jobs are filled by those groups who are at the bottom of a racially stratified society. Studies of domestic work in the United States show how blacks (Chaplin, 1964, 1978; Dill, 1983; Katzman, 1978b) especially in the south have been over-represented in domestic work because of racism and exclusion from other types of work. Japanese-Americans of two generations have been heavily concentrated in domestic work in California because of barriers to entry into other employment opportunities within a society stratified by ethnicity (Glen, 1981: 379).

As discussed earlier, some of the increase in employment authorizations and variations by nativity may be affected by renewals rather than new visas. Waived visas show an increase relative to validated visas toward the end of the period we have focussed on in this analysis (see Appendix C for a discussion of methodological issues). Lack of finer categorizations within the employment authorization groups make it difficult to assess nativity shifts within waived and validated categories. Racial differentiation could be accounted for by granting of renewals to certain nativity groups and thereby inflating the actual number of visa authorizations.

In summary, the recruitment of domestic work shows that a pattern related to the nature and organisation of the work emerges over time. State involvement in recruitment included government, women's groups and community organisations at home and abroad. The data demonstrates the over-representation of women and the reliance on foreign-born domestics. Depending on the economic situation and the severity of demand, recruiters sought women from urban and rural areas and varied nativity groups.

Despite changes occurring in society over this time, domestic work manifests characteristics which can be traced throughout history. The nature of domestic work and its market location have resulted in personalized relations of production and work considered to be outside the market economy. The result is that domestic work continues to retain a low status and manifest elements from both the public and private spheres. In addition, domestic workers have continually been recruited from disadvantaged groups such as lower-class women or non-British immigrants. The degree of state recruitment helped to reinforce the powerlessness of domestics and retain control over supply of workers in the government's hands. Occupational segregation is another characteristic which continues. The data point to stratification within domestic work with certain birthplace groups experiencing negative status to a greater degree. The following section examines these issues in the context of temporary workers from 1973 to 1981.

CHAPTER FOUR TEMPORARY DOMESTIC WORK: CONTINUING THE TRENDS

The analysis of domestic work has shown that the situation experienced by temporary domestic workers stems from the interaction of migrant labour and household labour. Within this context variables associated with the nature of the work and its organisation have persisted over time. The following section examines recruitment, occupational segregation and the unique nature of temporary domestic work today.

Female Migrants in Domestic Work

The recent development of the employment authorization program has helped to meet a need for domestic workers which the native work force seems unable to provide. The social stigma attached to the work, the low wages, long hours and lack of privacy associated with live-in household work have been identified as some of the reasons why Canadians or landed immigrants have been unwilling to take jobs as domestics even when unemployment is high (Arnopoulos, 1979; Task Force, 1981; INTERCEDE, 1983). The evidence shows that since the employment authorization program began, domestic work has become an increasingly important occupation among migrants entering to work in Canada. Within domestic work there is an over-representation of women and a differentiation by nativity. Persistent occupational segregation based on gender and nativity within the labour force and service work in particular has resulted in the fact that domestic work today is an occupational ghetto for women from certain ethnic and language groups. Current data on temporary domestic work points to evidence of the re-emergence of the British nanny and occupational stratification within domestic work as well.

The data ¹⁵ illustrate how the trend toward increasing use of temporary workers in domestic service is part of a general trend whereby landings are decreasing among those destined to the labour force while employment authorizations are increasing. ¹⁶ A portion of this shift is likely to occur as a result of increases in the number of renewals. Consequently the number of employment authorizations may be inflated relative to landings since the numbers represent documents, not individuals. In addition employment authorizations as used in this analysis are a component of two separate categories of visas - validated and waived. The latter are granted to individuals already in the country and thus do not represent a strict substitution of migrant for permanent labour. Comparison of landings and visas should therefore be made with caution (see Appendix C). Table 3 shows the proportion of landings and visas over a nine-year period starting from the introduction of the employment authorization program. For both males and females destined to work in Canada, a steadily increasing proportion are admitted under the visa program which allows them to work for specific jobs on a

15 Tables showing landed immigrants and employment authorizations include unpublished data and immigration statistics published yearly by Employment and Immigration. Figures for 1980 and 1981 include not classified workers (those destined to the labour force but not categorized according to the occupational classification) whereas data prior to 1979 omit all not classified workers. Inconsistent programming in the raw data meant that some "non-workers" were included in this not classified category. Raw figures show small numbers for "non-workers" for both landed and employment authorizations prior to 1977. As a result only 1978 and 1979 landings may be underestimated by omitting "not classified".

16 Comparison between intended occupation for landed immigrants and visa holders must be done with some caution. Discrepancies exist between first employment in Canada, last employment in former country and intended occupation for entry (Richmond, 1967: 1975). Employment visas require pre-arranged employment for specified occupations and may result in a better indication of job.

on a short-term basis.¹⁷ In 1973 employment authorizations accounted for almost half of workers entering. Males on visas outnumbered females by about three to one. By 1981, the percentage of workers on employment authorizations had increased to 69% of all immigrants and visas destined to the labour force. Males on visas still outnumbered females on visas by approximately three to one. Male visa holders accounted for over half of the migrant workers entering while female visa holders accounted for one-fifth. Even though workers on employment authorizations are recruited from the same countries as landed immigrants, the occupational distributions of the two groups differ (Marr, 1977: 521). Marr argues that those on visas are being recruited for different occupations than those admitted as landed immigrants. The two groups appear to be "non-competitive". The correlation between occupational distributions of "non-immigrants" and the Canadian labour force in general is also low (Marr, 1977: 523). This suggests that those with employment authorizations represent a different labour market. Piore argues that migrants are more suited to jobs in the secondary sector (1979:40).

Previous discussion has shown how sex-typing and occupational segregation have played an important role in the over-representation of women in domestic work. Among migrants, similar trends are apparent. Tables 4 and 5 show the occupational distributions for male and female workers entering Canada since the temporary worker program began in 1973. Roughly half of all men are concentrated in the top four male occupations. These differ depending on whether one is a landed immigrant or visa holder. In 1973 the top four occupations for male landed immigrants

17 Employment authorizations vary in length from a few months to one year with chance of renewal. The length of stay shows variation by occupation. Data from the early part of the program show that domestic workers are nearly all granted visas of nine months or more.

were fabrication (assembly-repair), construction, natural science and machining. In some years managers and administrators accounted for one of the four leading male occupations. For example, by 1981 this occupational category placed third in importance for men with landed status. Among male visa holders the top four occupations in 1973 were sports-arts, farming-horticulture (due to influx of seasonal farm workers), natural science and fabrication (assembly-repair). Toward the end of the period, this ranking shifts slightly. By 1981 the top four occupations for male visa holders were sports-arts, teaching, natural science and service. In addition, the degree of segregation became slightly more pronounced for males with visas. By 1981, the top four occupations accounted for nearly two-thirds of all males in this entry category. Except for 1981, sports-arts and farming-horticulture were the leading occupations for men with employment authorizations. Whereas most male occupations fluctuated slightly, sports-arts showed a dramatic shift from 17% of all male visas in 1973 to 30% in 1981.

Among women, the patterns are more striking. Table 5 shows that occupational segregation is more pronounced than among men and trends toward greater use of employment visas are particularly visible. In 1973 the top female occupations for those entering as landed immigrants were clerical, service, fabrication (assembly-repair) and medicine-health (due to the large recruitment of nurses and technicians), accounting for 80% of all female landeds. These four occupations remained the leading ones for females entering the work force as landed immigrants but by 1981 they accounted for decreasing proportions - 54% of all females in this category. For women entering on employment authorizations, the four leading occupations are slightly different. In 1973, these included service, sports-arts, clerical and fabrication. The four leading occupations accounted for 69% of all women with visas.

By 1981 the four leading occupations changed to service, sports-arts, teaching and clerical. The importance of these four occupations for women visa holders increased substantially so that by 1981, they accounted for 81% of all female visas. The most notable changes occurred in fabrication (which dropped from 12% to 3%), clerical and service. By 1981 service accounted for nearly half of all women admitted to Canada on employment authorizations.

The apparent trend toward increasing recruitment of migrant workers is particularly important for women who specify their intent to enter the labour force upon entry to Canada. Table 6 shows the degree of this shift by illustrating the change from landed status to visa status for female occupations. Food-beverage processing, farming/horticulture and fish/forest/mining changed toward greater landed. A few occupations fluctuated from greater visas to less visas and back but their ratios remained relatively stable. Sports-arts, service, teaching and construct/transport show increases in the proportion of employment visas. Of these, service exhibited the greatest proportional change from landed to visa for women over the period from 1973 - 1981. In 1981 there were 7 employment visas issued to female service workers for every 1 granted landed status. The increase of visas issued to domestic workers accounts for the dramatic shift to migrant workers among those in service occupations. Table 7 shows that from 1973 to 1981, the category of overall service work accounted for a steady proportion of all employment authorizations. At the outset, half of all employment authorizations in service were issued to females and by 1981 this had increased to 78%. This appears to be because the proportion of employment authorizations issued for domestic work had increased steadily since the program began and 9 out of 10 domestic workers were women. In 1973, 58% of all service workers who were issued employment authorizations entered Canada's labour

force destined for domestic work. By 1981, this had increased to 79%. In 1981 approximately 15,000 people, over 90% of them women, entered Canada on employment authorizations to work as domestics. Table 8 shows the change from landed status to employment visa within domestic work. In 1973 out of nearly 7,000 domestic workers, half were women entering with landed status. This changed dramatically so that by 1981, 88% of all domestic workers entering Canada's labour force were women on employment visas (refer to Appendix C for methodological qualifications).

Clearly, factors which have segregated foreign-born women in domestic work are reinforced with the employment authorization program. Through the visa program, the recruitment of foreign-born women for domestic work is facilitating the addition of workers with less mobility and control over their working conditions. The institutionalization of migrant worker labour markets is particularly important for domestic workers because it continues the trend whereby supply of domestic workers is controlled by government. Not only are these workers rendered less powerful through the nature and location of their work but efforts to mobilize for higher pay and better working conditions are impeded by government control over the number and distribution of workers. Evidence of inadequate legislative protection and monitoring procedures is tipped toward employers' interests. The size of the labour supply for domestic work is also influenced by the invisible economy since work in the household is frequently done by illegal immigrants or workers not wishing to record any economic transaction. One effect of illegal immigration is to lower wage levels and impede improvement of working conditions (Robinson, 1983: 16). Migrant domestic work continues to retain a stigma of interim labour done by those intent on returning home or secondary labour done in support of market sphere activity. The institutionalization of a migrant labour force

reinforces this lower status.

In addition to changes from landed to visa status for immigrant domestics there have been shifts in country of birth. Table 9 shows nativity breakdowns for female domestic workers entering Canada from 1973 to 1981. Over the period both direction and degree of the shift have varied considerably by country of birth.¹⁸ For example, in 1973 the Caribbean was the top source country for female domestics entering as landed immigrants and temporary workers.¹⁹ Roughly half of all landed domestics (45%) and all visa domestics (52%) stated the Caribbean as their country of birth. Western Europe was the second source country for both categories of domestics followed closely by United Kingdom.²⁰ Together the United Kingdom and Western Europe accounted for 35% of all landed domestics and 31% of all those entering on employment authorizations.

However, by 1981, the top source countries had changed. A steady increase in the proportion of employment authorizations issued to domestics from United Kingdom and Asia was accompanied by a steady decrease in the proportion of employment authorization domestics from the Caribbean.

18 The figures given represent Canada as a whole. Break-downs for provinces could indicate slightly different trends given that concentrations of ethnic groups vary by city and province. For example, Toronto has a large number of domestics from the Caribbean whereas Vancouver shows a higher number of Asian domestics.

19 This category includes: Anguilla, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Nevis, St. Kitts, St. Chris, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, West Indies, Jamaica, Trinidad-Tobago, Barbados, Bahama Islands, Montserrat, Guadeloupe, Martinique.

20 This includes England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales.

As a result, by 1981 the top source country for domestic workers entering on employment visas was the United Kingdom with 26%. Asia accounted for 26% of all domestics on visa while the Caribbean had dropped to third most important source country - accounting for 20% of all domestics on visas. Western Europe fluctuated slightly between a low of 13% of all visas in 1974 to a high of 20% in 1979. A similar trend was evident among female domestics entering as landed immigrants. Total landed domestics decreased dramatically to only 855 in 1981. Yet the United Kingdom increased its overall proportion of landed domestics while the Caribbean proportion decreased. In 1973 nearly half (45%) of all landed domestics reported the Caribbean as their country of birth. Western Europe was the second most important source region (25%) while the United Kingdom was third (11%). By 1977, the Caribbean accounted for 26% of all landed domestics. Western Europe - 20% and United Kingdom - 20%. The Caribbean dropped to a low of 10% in 1979, representing the fifth most important source of landed domestics. By 1981, the number of landed domestics from the Caribbean was beginning to rise again but only represented 35% while United Kingdom and Western Europe together were responsible for supplying 29% of all landed domestics. Asia also showed a steady increase in landed domestics from 8% in 1973 to 18% in 1981 - the second most important source of landed domestics.

Interestingly, despite a significant decline in the overall proportion of landed domestics being admitted, the United Kingdom and Asia are the only two source regions which show an increase in both landed and visa domestics. Despite the existence of a long-standing program with Jamaica to recruit domestics since the 1950s, the Caribbean showed a relative decline in both categories of domestics. In 1981 it appears to be regaining some ground as a supplier of landed domestics even though the

total number is quite small. The shift in policy to acquire landing from in Canada is undoubtedly influencing the rise.

The shifts in source countries which the data show for domestic workers are influenced by labour demand and extent of recruitment channels. The employment authorization program provides a means for continued recruitment of foreign-born domestics but it also accounts in part for differentiation by nativity. Traditionally the institutionalization of recruitment through government programs, community involvement and immigration policy has allowed for entry of specific nativity groups. One of the questions posed was whether specific nativity groups would experience disadvantages associated with poor working conditions and low status to a greater degree. The discussion points out that certain groups are experiencing disadvantages based on their membership in specific nativity groups.

Heterogeneity Among Foreign-Born Domestics

For each of the three top source regions, there are individual countries which supply the bulk of domestics on employment authorizations. Jamaica supplies the bulk of the domestics from the Caribbean region. Occupational breakdowns for domestic work show that the vast majority of domestics from Jamaica are being recruited as maids.²¹ In 1980 for example, 44% of all domestics entering Canada as temporary workers from Jamaica were destined for jobs as domestic maids (Task Force, 1980: 52). In 1973, 87% of all visa domestics from Jamaica were being recruited as maids, while 12% were recruited as babysitters. Among

21 Ambiguous definitions of occupations and overlapping tasks within domestic work make it difficult to differentiate occupations such as housekeeper or maid; babysitter or parent helper. Yet evidence points to preferred recruitment based on ethnicity with British domestics defined as better skilled or more desirable.

landed domestics from Jamaica in 1973, 93% went to maid jobs while 5% were employed as babysitters. Similarly, the Phillipines which supplies most of the domestics from Asia, shows a greater percentage of maids and servants than babysitters (Employment and Immigration, unpublished data, 1983). In contrast, babysitters are recruited more frequently from England which represents the greatest supplier of domestics from the United Kingdom. In 1973, 72% of those entering as temporary domestics from England were destined as maids while 24% were to work as babysitters. In 1980, 33% of domestics from England were maids while 40% were babysitters (Task Force, 1980: 52). Among landed domestics from England, the shift has been more pronounced. In 1973, 79% of domestics from England entered Canada as maids and only 18% as babysitters. By 1980, 30% were to work as maids and 53% as babysitters (Employment and Immigration, unpublished data, 1983).

Not only does nativity exert an influence over domestic occupations, but recent analyses of the employment authorization program reveals that membership in certain nativity groups influences mobility, treatment within the program and status. Silvera (1983) and INTERCEDE (1983) found that black domestic workers experience higher degree of downward mobility upon entry as temporary domestics. Employment agencies which place domestics often advertise and specialize in the recruitment of British domestics and thus facilitate mobility for women from the United Kingdom. The recent program to grant landing for domestics may operate less easily for visible minority domestics. For example, INTERCEDE found that women from the Caribbean were the ones to most frequently report lack of counselling for upgrading by Canada Employment Centre personnel (1983: 12). Reports of treatment by officials who administer the program to facilitate landing reveal frequent complaints

by minority women, especially older domestics or those with dependents. Expectations are that women from the Caribbean will be over-represented among those domestics rejected from the program should differential treatment continue (INTERCEDE, 1983: 24).

In many ways the trends toward demand for "preferred" ethnic groups and differentiation by nativity parallel the recruitment in the past which emphasized ascriptive characteristics over skill and experience. Without employment standards and worker control, certain groups may experience greater disadvantages. The problems that migrant domestics face due to their membership in a unique status group bounded by variables of gender, nativity and immigration status may be compounded for certain domestics within that group.

Status: From Double Negative to Multiple Disadvantage

Evidence shows that immigrant women are disadvantaged in the labour force because of complex stratification systems where variables of nativity and gender and the interaction of these variables impact negatively on occupational status (Boyd, 1980; Phizacklea, 1982). The double negative concept has been applied to other categories as well. Chappell and Havens (1980) show how the combined effects of being female and elderly placed this group at a disadvantage in terms of objective indicators of mental health status. Kats (1982) examines the negative effect of gender and nativity on Russian female immigrants in the labour force of Israel. Her evidence shows that occupational status was affected by their membership in a negative status group for those at higher academic levels. Ng (1981) uses the double negative concept to illustrate how "ethnicity" becomes consequential for immigrant women from certain nativity groups. The concept of ethnicity is crucial in

distinguishing certain immigrants who are members of visible minorities. Their "ethnicity" and femaleness served to place these women at a disadvantage.

Others have documented the effect of multiple negatives through analyses of migrant wives (Rytina, 1981); black and other minority women (Almquist, 1978; Seidman, 1978). The impact of the multiple disadvantage facing migrant domestics workers in Canada stems from their membership in a negative status group bounded by gender, nativity, migrant labour and household worker.

Previous sections have shown that recruitment of domestic workers has resulted in a high representation of women from disadvantaged groups either because of nativity, socio-economic status or immigrant status. Institutionalization of the recruitment process through government involvement or immigration policy has kept the balance of control over supply of workers and working conditions tilted toward employers. Recently the variable of entry status has further differentiated domestic service workers as many of them are admitted under the employment authorization program. Historical links to powerlessness and subservience have served to reinforce their lack of control and negative status.

It has also been shown that the prevalence of occupational segregation accounts partly for the overrepresentation of foreign-born women in domestic work. Stratification by gender and nativity is also prevalent within the occupation. The interaction of negative statuses and the subsequent growing representation of disadvantaged migrant women from specific nativity groups reinforces domestic work's unique and marginal labour form. The stratification system in combination with disadvantaged position of migrant workers suggests that certain temporary domestic workers will experience multiple disadvantages.

The nature of domestic work has played a major role in the continuation of these trends. It has remained

associated with private sphere activities even though the continued demand for domestic work has determined its viability as a form of labour in the market place. While household tasks have changed, they have usually not diminished the functions of the household labour process. The work of domestics has instead displayed a move toward more generalised tasks incorporating maintenance, processing and nurturant functions within the context of personalised employer-employee relations. Not only does domestic work encompass elements of private household production but it also represents a component of low-wage labour.

Temporary Domestic Work: A Unique Labour Form

It has been demonstrated how domestic labour combines characteristics done in the home and work done in the labour force. Temporary domestic work constitutes a distinct work environment which remains marginal and secondary to other labour force activity. The work is isolated and retains a connotation as an individual responsibility outside the realm of public scrutiny. Tasks involved in temporary domestic work remain ambiguous and amorphous and in a supportive relationship with work of a higher market value. The association of the work with unpaid work which is assigned to women on an ascriptive basis with connotations of duty and non-monetary rewards contributes to its lower status. When done for pay, the work retains deep-rooted links to powerlessness.

The trends manifest in the work indicate a decline in skill but not an accompanying division of tasks. Differentiation among workers appears to be based on ascriptive characteristics such as nativity rather than training or experience. The association of temporary domestic work with housework impedes attribution of skill, imposition of standards and collective organisation.

The interface of characteristics from public and private spheres frequently results in contradictions in recruitment efforts, relations of production and definitions of the work.

The low status of domestic work can be seen in comparable work in the private sphere. The element of status is complex and difficult to measure but studies show that the perception of low status has a powerful effect on recruitment and attitudes of both employers and employees. Scales have been developed to rank the occupational prestige of jobs in the labour force. The measurement of prestige is inexact since it is often not clear whether the score reflects a personal value of one's occupation or whether it reflects how one perceives the occupation to be valued by others. Nevertheless, the scores provide some indication of the relative value and desirability of occupations. On scales where the maximum prestige score is 100, personal service has a score of 19.3. This occupation was ranked as the second-lowest of all the leading female occupations. Only janitors-charwomen-cleaners had a lower prestige score - 17.3 (Armstrong, 1978: 43).²²

The low status accorded domestic work is demonstrated by the number of points a potential immigrant is awarded upon application for entry to Canada for "specific vocational preparation". According to the Immigration Act of 1976, units of assessment toward achieving landed status are awarded, up to maximum of 15, for the amount of formal or on-the-job training a potential immigrant has acquired. The most a domestic worker can earn is 3 points for specific occupations such as babysitter or maid, regardless of the

22 The Pineo-Porter occupational prestige scale included laundresses rather than personal service workers. The low score of laundresses and janitors and the similarity of their work to housekeeper-servants provides some indication of the relative low ranking of domestic workers.

amount of training s/he has (Task Force, 1981: 21). The discussion of federal policy describes the recent changes to facilitate the acquisition of landed status for domestic workers. Ironically, if a domestic worker in Ontario becomes a permanent resident in that province, her wage drops by over \$100.00 per month as soon as the occupation falls under provincial labour standards (INTERCEDE, 1983: 36).

As with temporary domestic work, the wages paid to comparable jobs in the labour force reflect the low status and ambivalent attitude toward the job. A study of family daycare providers in Toronto showed that 18% received no earnings while 46% were paid less than \$1,000.00 per year. Only 7% earned between \$3,000 - 8,000 per year (Johnson, 1978: 123). The higher their earnings, the more likely caregivers were to have plans to continue working as caregivers. Yet half of those earning no money or less than \$1,000 planned to continue or did not prefer alternative employment (Johnson, 1978: 125). Caregivers who travelled to the employer's home were more likely to view their job as work, while half of those who stayed in their own homes did not define caregiving as work. A study of low-wage employees in Ontario (Smiley, 1975) showed that half of those working in services to buildings and dwellings were only earning 10% above the minimum wage at the time the study was done. This industrial category ranked third of forty industries for the proportion of low-wage employees. Census data shows that personal service workers continue to receive low wages. The average yearly income for female housekeepers-servants who worked full-time, full-year was \$6,063. Among those women who declared their earnings, full-time workers represented only 26%. The median yearly income for all female housekeepers-servants was \$2,759. Full-time childcare workers in 1980 received a yearly income of \$6,229. Based on a forty hour week, women working as full-time housekeepers-servants earned an hourly wage of

\$2.92. As full-time childcare workers they earned \$2.99. As we have seen, many domestic workers, especially those living-in often work longer days with few receiving overtime pay.

Studies of temporary domestic work in Canada show that it retains an image as support work for work in the market place. Dubois (1977) shows how domestics are hired to care for children and home duties so employers can continue to work full-time. Ng and Ramirez (1981) document the intensification of housework for immigrant women upon immigration as orientation and adaption to a new culture by family members become part of their domestic duties. This notion of social support and nurturance is a consistent element of household labour and is difficult to separate from work done by temporary domestic workers.

The use of temporary workers in domestic work contributes to its continued low status. As a non-permanent and "un-attached" occupation, domestic work is still seen as secondary labour performed by unskilled workers. As a result, it is under-valued and not accorded a "work" status. The stigma attached to temporary domestic work is reinforced by its historical links to sub-servience and second-class citizens. Piore (1979) has documented the power of migrant or temporary labour in perpetuating work which appears inconsistent with other forms of work in industrial economies. When the demand for workers continues the country of origins may simply shift. The persistence of poor working conditions in evidence within domestic work hinges on the development and perpetuation of this distinct labour form and labour market. The fragmentation of the labour force even within the secondary sector, has important implications for workers already experiencing institutional and structural disadvantages. The workers are less powerful and more dependent on their employers. Sassen-Koob argues that the powerlessness of workers in the secondary sector

is due to the fact that the bulk of secondary workers are drawn from populations groups which already experience oppression, discrimination and barriers to occupational mobility (Sassen-Koob, 1980: 25).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The analysis of past domestic workers and present temporary domestic workers shows that key factors related to the nature and structure of domestic work result in the persistence of poor working conditions and low status. It was shown how these conditions continue despite efforts to upgrade and standardize the work.

In order to meet the on-going demand for domestic workers, Canada has relied heavily on the recruitment of foreign-born women. The high turnover and reluctance of native-born or landed immigrants to accept domestic jobs have served as incentives for active recruitment by community groups and governments. The recent increase in migrant labour to Canada has been significant for domestic work as a higher proportion of foreign-born entrants to Canada's labour force seeking domestic employment are being admitted on employment authorizations. While this shift adds a new dimension to domestic work it also represents a continuation in the trends of marginality and low status which are characteristic of domestic service. The interaction of key elements of migrant labour and household labour has produced a unique labour form.

Historical literature and data was presented to highlight elements of temporary workers as migrants and household workers in Canada. The result is that domestic service remains at the lower end of the occupational structure. Yet not all groups are effected equally. There is an increase in the number of domestics being admitted from the United Kingdom and a subsequent decline in those from the Caribbean. Occupations within domestic work are also affected by nativity. This is a continuation of trends in domestic work which have differentiated workers by ascriptive characteristics such as gender and nativity.

Data on recruitment demonstrates how Canada has relied heavily on foreign-born women for domestic work. Five factors emerge from the analysis which determine the persistence of bad working conditions and low status. The nature and market location of domestic work has resulted in an interaction of elements from both public and private spheres. The trend toward less specialization is continuing along with an emphasis on personalized relations of production. Domestic work therefore, remains outside the market sphere and less valued as a form of work. State recruitment has resulted in one-sided intervention and the tendency for government to be in control of supply of workers. The occupational segregation evident historically continues today with certain nativity groups experiencing multiple disadvantages based on gender, nativity, temporary and household worker statuses.

Temporary workers today continue to exist in the context of domestic work in the past with poor working conditions and potential for exploitation. Women and certain nativity groups continue to be over-represented. Yet the shift to migrant labour presents additional problems. The increased recruitment of migrant domestic workers facilitates the reproduction of domestic work where working conditions remain poor and wages low by ensuring a ready supply of less powerful workers. These interrelated elements explain the persistence of economic exploitation and low status associated with domestic work.

Glazer's analysis of women's domestic labour and the interaction of work activity in the home and market spheres helps to explain how domestic work retains a significantly lower market value. The discussion has shown how the location of domestic work in the private sphere and the nature of housework serve to place domestic work in a supportive and subordinate relationship to other work. Glazer (1980) argues that elements of work in both spheres

The framework provided by Piore (1979) provides an analysis of temporary work and an explanation for a division of labour leading to the recruitment of migrant workers. According to this framework, migrant labour recruitment is initiated by demand and represents an encouragement of 'less-technological streams even when the host country is experiencing increased growth in technology. Even when higher skilled migrants are recruited to fill jobs, they are found in occupations which manifest high variability of demand (Piore, 1979:40).

Using a dual-labour market perspective, Piore's analysis helps to explain why the economy needs secondary sector jobs, why natives reject them and how society seeks different sources of labour. He argues that the temporary attachment of migrants makes them more adaptable than native-born workers to secondary labour market jobs. These jobs are usually characterized by greater instability, less security, and greater susceptibility to fluctuations in demand (1979: 105). In fact migrants are the most adaptable of this class of industrial labour. The legal restrictions placed on migrants are a reflection of a social structure which defines occupational and social stratification and facilitates the development of the marginal labour force. Temporary domestic workers are one component of this labour force.

Sassen-Koob (1980) provides the theoretical framework to explain how this unique labour form is maintained. Her analysis focusses on the position of immigrant and minority workers in the organisation of the labour process. The stratification of the labour force by sex and race is crucial to understanding the position of workers who make up the low-wage labour supply since it represents a fragmentation of the labour force. The structural divisions have implications for workers who already experience disadvantages in terms of nativity,

race, gender or immigration status. Immigrant workers represent one basic factor in the reproduction of low-wage labour supply because they manifest different traits due to their status as foreigners. The fragmentation of the labour supply and the relative autonomy of each category within it means that separate labour markets exist for immigrant and minority workers even within a range of lower-level jobs. This assures that mobility will be decreased and that workers will retain less option and control. Jobs within this sector will be less likely to be improved with a ready supply of workers available. Data has illustrated that the same trends continue - temporary domestic work remains marginal and under-valued. If present trends continue, it is likely that poor working conditions and low status will remain the norm.

The study has extended the analysis of domestic work by examining structural and historical factors which contribute to the present situation facing migrant domestic workers in Canada. Given the temporal nature of the data used a cautionary note must be stated. Recent data which covers the period since this study was done indicates that another shift in recruitment of domestics is occurring whereby validated employment authorizations are decreasing and waived employment authorizations are increasing. It is not yet clear whether the shift is a result of supply or demand factors and what the effect will be on the working conditions of domestic workers.

Several questions were raised by the research and the newest changes. First, research is required to determine how the increased use of female migrants and their subsequent landing will affect other female dominated jobs. Second, further analysis is required to differentiate within categories of employment authorizations and landed immigrants to determine the impact of new categories on

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occupational status and distributions in the labour force. Three, further research is needed to determine the impact of household workers in the invisible economy.

Table 1: Occupations of Native-Born and Foreign-Born Residents in Canada by Sex, 1981

Occupations	Native-born		Foreign-born	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Total, Reported N (a)	3,870,095	5,602,970	901,245	1,346,330
Total Percent	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0
Manager-Admin	5.5	11.4	5.6	12.1
Science-Engin-Math	1.1	4.4	1.4	7.4
Social Science	2.2	1.4	1.8	1.2
Religion	.2	.3	.1	.5
Teaching	6.6	2.8	4.9	3.3
Medicine-Health	8.8	1.6	8.3	2.3
Art-Lit-Recreation	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.6
Clerical	38.0	7.4	30.4	6.0
Sales	9.6	9.2	8.4	7.3
Service	15.3	9.3	17.8	14.3
Farm-Hort-Animal Husb	2.2	5.9	2.0	3.3
Fishing-Trapping	.1	.7	(b)	.1
Forestry	.1	1.3	.1	.3
Mining	(b)	1.2	(b)	.5
Processing	2.2	5.4	2.7	5.4
Machining	.4	3.7	.8	6.3
Product Fab-Assemb-Rep	3.5	9.8	11.0	12.5
Construction	.3	11.0	.2	11.4
Transport	.7	7.0	.4	3.6
Material Handling	1.0	2.9	1.9	2.2
Other Crafts	.7	1.7	.7	1.4

(a) Excludes those who did not state their occupations and those who were unemployed and had never worked or who had worked only prior to January 1, 1980.

(b) Less than .055.

Source: Statistics Canada. 1981 Census, Labour Force - Occupation by Cultural Characteristics. Catalogue 92-918, Volume 1. Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1984.

Table 2: Occupations of Female Service Workers (a) by Nativity in Canada, 1981.

Service Occupations	Native-born	Foreign-born
Total, Reported N (b)	593,780	160,090
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Protective	4.9	2.0
Food and Beverage	51.2	37.8
Lodging	5.4	8.0
Personal Service	19.1	18.5
Funeral	(.3)	(f)
Housekeepers-Servants	(18.7)	(23.2)
Barbers-Hairdressers	(34.6)	(36.8)
Guides	(2.3)	(1.2)
Travel	(3.5)	(4.0)
Child-care	(32.1)	(25.2)
Personal Service, nec. (c)	(3.8)	(5.3)
Assigned (d)	(4.7)	(4.3)
Apparel	3.4	5.6
Other Service (e)	16.0	28.1

(a) Resident in Canada

(b) Omits persons who did not state their occupation.

(c) Includes those respondents who did not specify their occupation and were assigned to appropriate minor group categories based on occupational characteristics.

(d) Includes occupations not elsewhere classified concerned with providing personal services such as tattoo artist, masseur, locker-room/clubhouse attendant, usher, handyman (Standard Occupational Classification, 1980).

(e) Includes occupations concerned with cleaning buildings interiors and equipment, minor repairs and operating such as janitors, cleaners, elevator operators, dish-washer, exterminator and parking lot attendant.

(f) Less than .055.

Source: Statistics Canada. 1981 Census, Labour Force-Occupation by Cultural Characteristics. Catalogue 92-918, Volume 1, Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1984.

Table 3: Immigrants and Employment Authorizations Destined to the Labour Force (a)
in Canada, 1973 - 1981.

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
<u>Immigrants</u>									
Total N (b)	170,323	185,387	172,482	147,927	132,600	113,309	132,967	171,082	182,297
Total Percent	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	99.9	99.9
Male E.A. (c)	37.5	34.8	41.6	45.6	47.9	53.5	52.2	46.5	50.4
Female E.A. (c)	11.2	11.6	14.0	15.6	18.9	19.1	17.9	16.2	18.3
Male Landed	34.6	36.3	30.4	26.2	21.8	17.6	19.5	23.7	19.8
Female Landed	16.7	17.4	14.0	12.6	11.4	9.9	10.3	13.5	11.4

(a) Actual or intended occupation.

(b) 1973-1979 excludes those who did not give their actual or intended occupation. For 1980 and 1981 not classified workers are included among landed.

(c) Employment authorization.

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada. Unpublished data, Ottawa, 1983.
Employment and Immigration Canada. Immigration Statistics. Ottawa:
Supply and Services, 1980, 1981.

See Appendix C for methodological considerations.

Table 4: Occupations (a) of Male Immigrants and Employment Authorizations Destined to the Labour Force (b) by Entry Status and Year in Canada, 1973 - 1981.

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
<u>Landed Immigrants</u>									
Total N (c)	58,923	67,253	52,509	38,744	28,938	19,886	25,959	40,597	36,100
Total Percent	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.1	99.9	99.9
Entrepreneur	3.2	3.0	2.8	4.9	3.4	2.1	1.1	.6	.7
Manager-Admin	6.1	5.7	7.0	8.3	9.6	9.5	8.4	6.4	8.4
Nat Scien-Eng-Math	11.5	11.9	15.6	13.2	12.9	13.0	11.7	10.7	16.7
Social Sci-Relig	2.2	1.6	1.8	2.3	2.7	2.9	2.3	1.5	1.7
Teaching	3.3	2.5	2.3	2.9	2.6	2.8	2.4	2.0	1.9
Medicine-Health	3.3	3.0	3.1	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.1	2.3
Sports-Arts	2.0	1.7	1.7	2.3	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.0	2.0
Clerical	7.8	7.4	7.0	7.3	5.7	5.3	5.5	4.4	4.8
Sales	5.1	4.6	4.6	4.9	5.3	5.6	4.6	3.9	3.9
Service	7.5	7.8	7.4	7.8	7.7	8.4	8.1	6.1	5.8
Farm-Hort-Ani Husb	5.1	3.7	2.6	2.7	3.8	4.3	5.5	5.2	6.6
Fish-Forest-Mining	.6	.8	.7	.4	.4	.4	.6	.8	.6
Food, Bev Process	3.3	4.0	2.7	2.6	2.7	3.0	3.5	2.8	2.5
Machining	8.9	10.7	9.7	7.6	7.4	8.6	8.3	6.8	6.8
Fab-Assemb-Repair	14.6	15.3	16.2	15.8	16.3	15.1	18.4	15.9	12.4
Construct-Transp	13.7	14.5	13.2	12.4	12.4	12.3	11.8	10.0	7.9
Mater Handl-Craft	1.8	1.9	1.7	2.0	1.8	1.6	2.1	1.8	1.5
Not Classified								16.9	13.5

.....continued

Table 4 continued

Employment Authorizations	1973 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978 1979 1980 1981									
	Total N (d)	Total Percent	Total N (d)	Total Percent	Total N (d)	Total Percent	Total N (d)	Total Percent	Total N (d)	Total Percent
Entrepreneur	63,799	100.1	64,476	100.1	71,703	100.0	67,532	99.9	63,516	99.9
Manager-Admin	6.3		6.6		7.0		8.3		8.2	
Nat Scien-Eng-Math	10.6		10.6		11.0		9.9		9.6	
Social Sci-Relig	2.2		2.1		2.1		2.3		2.5	
Teaching	5.6		7.0		8.6		10.2		11.7	
Medicine-Health	2.3		2.5		2.5		2.4		2.5	
Sports-Arts	17.4		18.2		20.1		23.7		24.7	
Clerical	2.5		1.8		1.5		1.9		1.6	
Sales	2.5		1.6		1.4		1.5		1.4	
Service	9.3		8.3		6.4		5.8		4.4	
Farm-Hort-Ani Husb	13.7		15.4		13.3		12.8		12.3	
Fish-Forest-Mining	1.4		1.2		.8		.6		.7	
Food, Bev, Process	4.4		3.2		1.3		1.6		1.8	
Machining	4.3		3.3		2.3		1.5		1.4	
Fab-Assemb-Repair	8.9		8.7		7.2		7.4		8.1	
Construct-Transport	6.4		7.7		13.3		8.6		7.6	
Mater Handl-Craft	2.1		1.6		1.0		1.1		1.1	

(a) Actual or intended occupation.

(b) Excludes those for whom occupation data were not collected.

(c) 1980 and 1981 include workers who did not specify their actual or intended occupation (not classified workers).

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada. Unpublished data. Ottawa, 1983.
 Employment and Immigration Canada. Immigration Statistics, Ottawa:
 Supply and Services, 1980, 1981.

See Appendix C for methodological considerations.

Table 5: Occupations (a) of Female Immigrants and Employment Authorizations Destined to the Labour Force (b) by Entry Status and Year in Canada, 1973-1981

Landed Immigrants	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Total N (c)	28,456	32,204	24,164	18,624	15,095	11,463	13,718	23,148	20,869
Total Percent	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	99.9	100.1	99.9	99.9
Entrepreneur	.3	.4	.5	.6	.5	.2	.1	.1	.2
Manager-Admin	1.4	1.5	2.1	2.3	2.8	3.2	2.6	1.9	2.7
Nat scien-Eng-Math	2.1	2.2	2.9	2.8	3.0	3.2	3.5	3.0	4.3
Social Sci-Relig	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.5	2.8	3.2	2.2	1.4	1.9
Teaching	5.4	5.1	5.8	6.9	6.8	6.5	6.3	4.7	4.8
Medicine-Health	11.6	13.5	16.5	14.7	11.8	11.8	11.0	7.8	9.9
Sports-Arts	1.5	1.4	1.7	2.5	3.0	2.8	2.7	1.8	2.4
Clerical	31.1	33.2	33.7	35.0	35.9	35.0	31.4	23.4	25.5
Sales	3.5	3.3	3.5	3.9	4.5	3.9	4.4	3.8	3.6
Service	20.6	16.6	13.4	14.0	16.0	17.4	13.5	9.3	10.4
Farm-Hort-Ani Husb	.3	.5	.7	.5	.7	.7	1.2	1.5	2.6
Fish-Forest-Mine	(e)	(e)	(e)	(e)	(e)	(e)	(e)	(e)	(e)
Food, Bev Process	.9	1.1	1.2	.8	.9	1.0	1.8	1.8	1.3
Machining	.8	1.3	.5	.3	.3	.3	.4	.4	.4
Fab-Assemb-Repair	17.0	15.9	14.1	12.2	10.2	9.7	17.9	16.9	8.6
Construct-Transp	.2	.2	.1	.1	.1	.2	.2	.3	.2
Mat Handling-Craft	1.0	1.6	1.2	.8	.8	.8	.9	.8	.7
Not Classified								21.0	20.4

.....continued

Employment Authorizations

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Total N (d)	19,145	21,454	24,106	23,027	25,051	21,613	23,868	27,707	33,416
Total Percent	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.1	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.9
Entrepreneur	.1	.3	.1	.1	.2	.1	.1	.1	.1
Manager-Admin	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.8	1.8	2.3	2.3	2.7	2.6
Nat Scien-Eng-Math	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.7
Social Sci-Relig	3.4	3.1	3.2	3.9	3.4	5.0	4.9	3.7	3.4
Teaching	7.8	9.0	10.7	10.4	10.0	10.5	9.7	9.4	9.5
Medicine-Health	5.9	8.7	8.0	3.8	3.1	3.3	3.5	3.7	3.9
Sports-Arts	13.1	12.6	17.5	22.8	24.5	20.8	29.5	21.4	20.4
Clerical	11.8	10.8	6.4	5.0	4.1	3.9	4.1	4.0	4.3
Sales	2.8	1.8	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.4
Service	31.8	39.8	45.9	45.5	46.7	47.2	47.5	46.2	46.3
Farm-Hort-Ani Husb	3.0	2.2	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.4
Fish-Forest-Mining	.1	(e)	(e)	(e)	(e)	(e)	(e)	.1	(e)
Food, Bev Process	2.1	1.2	.5	.3	.4	.4	.5	.5	.6
Machining	1.0	.7	.2	.2	.2	.1	.2	.2	.2
Fab-Assemb-Repair	11.8	6.0	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.6	2.4	2.4	2.8
Construct-Transp	.3	.2	.2	.4	.2	.2	.5	.6	.7
Mat Handling-Craft	2.1	.9	.3	.4	.4	.4	.3	.5	.6

(a) Actual or intended occupation.

(b) Excludes those for whom occupational data were not collected.

(c) 1980-1981 include workers who did not specify actual or intended occupation.

(d) Excludes workers and non-workers who did not specify their actual or intended occupation.

(e) Less than .055.

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada. Unpublished data. Ottawa, 1983.
 Employment and Immigration. Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Supply and
 Services, 1980, 1981.

See Appendix C for methodological considerations.

Table 6: Ratios (a) of Female Employment Authorizations to Female Immigrants Destined to the Labour Force by Occupation (b) and Year in Canada, 1973-1981.

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
<u>Landed Immigrants</u>									
Total N (c)	28,456	32,204	24,164	18,624	15,095	11,163	13,718	23,148	20,869
<u>Employment Authorizations</u>									
Total N (c)	19,145	21,454	24,106	23,027	25,051	21,613	23,868	27,707	33,416
Entrepreneur	.25	.27	.20	.21	.65	.80	3.18	1.03	1.08
Manager-Admin	.76	.67	.76	.94	1.08	1.41	1.51	1.64	1.56
Nat Scien-Eng-Math	.44	.43	.46	.56	.64	.81	.74	.61	.64
Social Sci-Religion	1.01	.94	1.49	1.93	2.02	3.10	3.89	3.15	2.89
Teaching	.97	1.18	1.84	1.85	2.46	3.13	2.70	2.39	3.15
Medicine	.34	.43	.48	.32	.43	.54	.55	.56	.64
Sports-Arts	5.92	5.60	10.59	11.26	13.62	14.26	17.77	14.15	13.59
Clerical	.26	.22	.19	.18	.19	.22	.23	.20	.27
Sales	.54	.36	.31	.43	.47	.69	.60	.48	.61
Service	1.03	1.59	3.42	4.02	4.84	5.24	6.12	5.95	7.11
Farm-Hort-Ani Husb	6.48	3.01	1.75	3.17	3.16	3.59	2.02	1.23	.90
Fish-Forest-Mine	5.00	.67	9.00	10.00	2.00	7.00	4.50	1.86	1.00
Food, Bev Process	6.64	.74	.39	.45	.61	.79	.52	.35	.73
Machining	.86	.34	.40	.74	.88	.85	.86	.48	.79
Fab-Assemb-Repair	.47	.25	.12	.15	.23	.32	.24	.17	.51
Construct-Transport	1.08	.78	1.54	3.19	3.11	2.00	4.50	2.81	4.84
Mat Handling-Craft	1.36	.36	.22	.52	.78	1.01	.67	.85	1.37

(a) Employment Authorizations/Landed Immigrants.

(b) Actual or intended occupation.

(c) Excludes those landed immigrants who did not specify their actual or intended occupation. 1980-1981 includes landed workers who did not specify their actual or intended occupation.

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada. Unpublished data, Ottawa, 1983.
Employment and Immigration Canada. Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Supply and Service, 1980, 1981.

See Appendix C for methodological considerations.

Table 6: Ratios (a) of Female Employment Authorizations to Female Immigrants Destined to the Labour Force by Occupation (b) and Year in Canada, 1973-1981.

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
<u>Landed Immigrants</u>									
Total N (c)	28,456	32,204	24,164	18,624	15,095	11,163	13,718	23,148	20,869
<u>Employment Authorizations</u>									
Total N (c)	19,145	21,454	24,106	23,027	25,051	21,613	23,868	27,707	33,416
Entrepreneur	.25	.27	.20	.21	.65	.80	3.18	1.03	1.08
Manager-Admin	.76	.67	.76	.94	1.08	1.41	1.51	1.64	1.56
Nat Scien-Eng-Math	.44	.43	.46	.56	.64	.81	.74	.61	.64
Social Sci-Religion	1.01	.94	1.49	1.93	2.02	3.10	3.89	3.15	2.89
Teaching	.97	1.18	1.84	1.85	2.46	3.13	2.70	2.39	3.15
Medicine	.34	.43	.48	.32	.43	.54	.55	.56	.64
Sports-Arts	5.92	5.60	10.59	11.26	13.62	14.26	17.77	14.15	13.59
Clerical	.26	.22	.19	.18	.19	.22	.23	.20	.27
Sales	.54	.36	.31	.43	.47	.69	.60	.48	.61
Service	1.03	1.59	3.42	4.02	4.84	5.24	6.12	5.95	7.11
Farm-Hort-Ani Husb	6.48	3.01	1.75	3.17	3.16	3.59	2.02	1.23	.90
Fish-Forest-Mine	5.00	.67	9.00	10.00	2.00	7.00	4.50	1.86	1.00
Food, Bev Process	6.64	.74	.39	.45	.61	.79	.52	.35	.73
Machining	.86	.34	.40	.74	.88	.85	.86	.48	.79
Fab-Assemb-Repair	.47	.25	.12	.15	.23	.32	.24	.17	.51
Construct-Transport	1.08	.78	1.54	3.19	3.11	2.00	4.50	2.81	4.84
Mat Handling-Craft	1.36	.36	.22	.52	.78	1.01	.67	.85	1.37

(a) Employment Authorizations/Landed Immigrants.

(b) Actual or intended occupation.

(c) Excludes those landed immigrants who did not specify their actual or intended occupation. 1980-1981 includes landed workers who did not specify their actual or intended occupation.

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada. Unpublished data, Ottawa, 1983. Employment and Immigration Canada. Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Supply and Service, 1980, 1981.

See Appendix C for methodological considerations.

Table 7: Annual Numbers and Percentages of Service and Domestic Employment Authorizations (a)
Showing Sex and Year in Canada, 1973-1981.

Year	Visas Total Occupations (b)	Visas Total Service (c)	Percent of Total Visas	Percent Female	Visas Domestics (d)	Percent of Service	Percent Female
1973	82,944	12,005	14.5	50.8	6,968	58.0	96.5
1974	85,930	13,857	16.1	33.3	8,310	60.0	97.7
1975	95,809	15,674	16.4	70.6	10,311	65.8	98.3
1976	90,559	14,414	15.9	72.9	10,398	72.1	98.2
1977	88,567	14,460	16.3	80.8	11,882	82.2	98.7
1978	82,260	12,425	15.1	82.1	10,543	84.8	97.8
1979	93,299	14,210	15.2	79.5	10,081	78.0	98.0
1980	107,337	16,116	15.0	79.4	12,633	78.4	96.3
1981	125,328	19,867	15.8	77.9	15,678	78.9	93.1

(a) Those destined to the labour force on employment authorizations (work visas).

(b) Excludes those for whom no occupational data was collected.

(c) Includes occupations in protective, food-beverage, lodging, personal, apparel and other service (Standard Occupational Classification, 1980).

(d) Includes babysitter, personal servant, maid-domestic, butler, companion, farm housekeeper, domestic couple and handyman/woman.

Source: Statistics Canada. 1981 Census, Labour Force-Occupations by Cultural Characteristics. Catalogue 92-918, Volume 1. Ottawa: Supply & Services, 1984.
Employment and Immigration Canada. Unpublished data. Ottawa, 1983.

See Appendix C for methodological considerations.

Table 8: Domestic Service Workers Destined to the Labour Force by Entry Status and Sex in Canada, 1973-1981.

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Domestic Service Workers (a)									
Total N (b)	6,968	8,310	10,311	10,398	11,882	10,543	11,081	12,633	15,678
Total Percent	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
Male Visa	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.2	2.0	1.9	3.4	6.5
Female Visa	46.8	67.9	85.8	86.0	87.6	88.1	91.0	90.3	87.9
Male Landed	1.2	.7	.4	.3	.4	.4	.3	.3	(c)
Female Landed	50.2	29.8	12.2	12.1	10.8	9.5	6.8	6.0	5.5

(a) Refers to intended occupation as reported by individual. Includes babysitter, personal servant, maid-domestic, butler, companion, farm housekeeper, domestic couple, handyman. This grouping includes most occupations done in private homes except domestic cook, chauffeur and private driver. It corresponds most closely to 1981 Census unit groups of Child-Care Occupations and Housekeepers, Servants, Related Occupations. However, Child-Care also includes occupations within government institutions and recreational establishments (see Standard Occupational Classification, Statistics Canada, 1980).

(b) Omits persons who did not give their actual or intended occupation.

(c) Less than .055

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada. Unpublished data, 1983.

See Appendix C for methodological considerations.

Table 9: Domestic Service Workers (a) Destined to the Labour Force by Entry Status and Country of Birth for Females in Canada, 1973-1981.

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
<u>Employment Authorizations</u>									
Total N (b)	3,264	5,644	8,851	8,946	10,409	9,289	10,080	11,407	13,767
Total Percent	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.1	100.1
United Kingdom	14.4	23.8	23.2	24.4	27.0	29.0	29.4	28.1	26.4
Eastern Europe	1.6	4.7	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.6
Western Europe	16.4	13.0	15.7	17.5	18.4	19.1	19.8	19.1	16.9
Africa	.9	.7	.6	.7	.6	.9	1.1	1.1	1.3
Asia	2.8	1.9	1.8	3.3	3.8	5.3	9.7	17.0	25.6
Australia-New Zeal	.8	1.2	.8	.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.6	1.7
North America	2.2	1.9	1.2	.8	.8	.7	.7	.8	.5
Central America	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.7	2.2	1.6	1.2	1.2	1.4
South America	7.1	4.6	4.9	5.6	5.4	5.7	4.7	4.2	4.1
Caribbean	51.9	45.2	47.5	43.4	39.0	35.0	31.3	25.8	20.4
Ocean Islands	(c)	.2	.1	.1	.1	.2	.2	.2	.2
Stateless	(c)	.2	.2	.4	.5	.1	(c)	(c)	(c)

.....continued

Table 9 continued

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
<u>Landed Immigrants</u>									
Total N (b)	3,499	2,473	1,263	1,262	1,288	1,003	758	759	855
Total Percent	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
United Kingdom	10.5	7.3	10.0	20.1	19.8	16.8	16.2	15.4	13.6
Eastern Europe	3.5	3.0	4.0	4.3	4.7	4.1	5.4	2.5	3.0
Western Europe	24.6	17.9	16.5	18.2	20.3	19.8	18.7	17.5	15.8
Africa	.5	.6	1.3	1.5	2.5	3.8	2.5	2.5	2.1
Asia	8.1	8.5	19.3	13.0	16.4	14.9	15.8	20.2	17.7
Australia	.1	.1	.2	.2	.5	.3	.1	.5	.2
North America	1.8	2.5	1.8	1.4	2.1	.9	1.2	1.7	1.3
Central America	.7	.8	1.3	1.7	.8	1.7	1.5	2.1	2.0
South America	4.7	5.7	6.1	6.2	6.5	8.6	28.0	8.3	9.0
Caribbean	45.3	53.2	39.0	33.2	25.5	28.6	10.2	29.1	34.7
Ocean Islands	.2	.5	.5	.3	.9	.5	.4	.1	.6

(a) Actual or intended occupation.

(b) Excludes those who did not state their actual or intended occupation.

(c) Less than .055.

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada, Unpublished data. Ottawa, 1983.
See Appendix C for methodological considerations.

Appendix A: (a) Labour Force (b) by Detailed Occupation and Sex
for Canada, 1971 and 1981.

Occupations	1971		1981	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total, Reported N ^(c)	5,101,820	2,620,210	6,764,085	4,643,785
Total Percent	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1
Manager-Admin	6.2	2.2	9.0	4.4
Science-Engin-Math	4.3	.7	5.1	1.2
Social Sciences	1.0	1.1	1.3	2.1
Religion	.4	.1	.4	.2
Teaching	2.7	8.1	2.9	6.3
Medicine	1.6	9.3	1.7	8.7
Art-Lit-Recreation	1.2	.8	1.5	1.4
Clerical	8.5	35.9	7.2	36.6
Sales	11.1	9.5	10.0	10.1
Service	10.2	17.1	10.1	16.1
Farming	7.9	4.1	5.9	2.3
Fishing-Hunt-Trap	.5	(d)	.6	.1
Forestry	1.3	.1	1.1	.1
Mining	1.2	(d)	1.2	(d)
Processing	5.4	2.3	5.4	2.3
Machining	4.5	.5	4.2	.5
Product Fab-Assemb-Rep	9.5	5.7	10.4	4.9
Construction	11.0	.2	11.2	.3
Transport	6.5	.3	6.3	.8
Materials Handling	3.2	1.5	2.8	1.2
Other Crafts	1.9	.5	1.7	.7

(a) Table in the bulletin from which this table was made are produced using 1971 labour force definitions. Slightly different definitions are used in 1981 so labour force counts may be different.

(b) Excludes those who were unemployed and had never worked or had worked prior to January 1, 1970 or January 1, 1980, respectively.

(c) Excludes those whose occupations were not classified or not stated.

(d) Less than .055.

Source: Statistics Canada. 1981 Census, Population-Labour Force Occupation Trends. Catalogue 92-920, Volume 1. Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1983.

See Appendix C for methodological considerations.

Appendix B: Women Employed in Domestic Service (a) in Canada,
1901-1981

Year	Female Domestic	Domestics as % of Female Labour Force (b)	Females as % of Domestic
1901	81,493	34.0	83.7
1911	98,128	28.0	78.1
1921	88,825	18.0	77.7
1931	134,043	20.0	94.0
1941	148,999	18.0	95.0
1951	88,775	8.0	89.0
1961	120,392	7.0	88.0
1971	76,555	2.0	92.0
1981	72,010	2.0	96.1

(a) Includes different occupations depending on Census year and the change in definitions, for 1901-1921 domestics include domestic servants, for 1931-1961 domestics include domestic service, not elsewhere classified, for 1971 domestics include babysitters and personal service, not elsewhere classified, for 1981 domestics include child-care and housekeepers, servants and related occupations. A common element is work done in private homes but comparability is difficult.

(b) Includes employed persons 10 years and over until 1931, in 1941 and 1951 this includes employed persons 14 years and over, 1961-1981 this includes employed persons 15 years and over.

Source: Leslie, Genevieve, Domestic Service in Canada, 1880-1920. Pp. 71-125 in Janice Acton, et al. (eds.), Women at Work 1850-1930. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974, page 72.

Census, 1931. Volume 3, Table 1:3; Table 44:320.

Census, 1941. Volume 7, Table 5:60; Table 4:26.

Census, 1951. Volume 4, Table 1:1-2, Table 12:12-9, -17.

Census, 1961. Volume 3-1, Table 1:1-2; Volume 3-1, Table 21:21-5, 21-9.

Census, 1971. Volume 3, Part 3-2, Table 1: 1-1, 1-23.

Census, 1981. Volume 1, Table 1: 1-33 to 1-36.

See Appendix C for methodological considerations.

Appendix C: Methodological Issues

The following appendix is intended to highlight important methodological aspects of the data used in this analysis. The reader is to be aware that these points must be taken into account before using material for citation or when making generalizations based on the significance of trends analyzed in the study. Given the temporal nature of the study which focusses on a nine-year period, and the fact that data following this period suggests that trends are again shifting, it is important to note that the thesis presents an illustrative rather than a definitive view of temporary domestic workers in Canada.

- 1) Since 1981 there has been a change in policy allowing domestics to apply for landed status from within Canada subject to an assessment of their self-sufficiency or potential for self-sufficiency. Data from Employment and Immigration shows that a large number of domestics since 1981 are renewals and that this component of visas is increasing. In other words, the numbers of visas represent documents rather than individuals which causes the figures for employment authorizations to be inflated.
- 2) The category of employment visas is comprised of two types of visas. Validated visas are those granted to entrants when no Canadian is deemed to be available for the job. Waived visas are those granted as an administrative practice or to legitimate groups already in Canada. As in point one, data available for the period following 1981 shows that the waived portion of employment authorizations is increasing (see Analysis of Visitors and Permit Holders 1981 to 1983. Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission: Data Analysis and Forecasts, Policy and Program Development Immigration. Ottawa, March 1984). It is not yet clear whether this trend

will continue, what impact this differentiation of visa status will have on working conditions or whether it is a result of supply or demand factors. It suggests that the shift from migrant labour to permanent labour is mediated and that one should be cautious in making assertions.

- 3) The category of "not classified" workers presents problems in determining the numbers of employment authorizations and landed immigrants. "Not classified" workers comprise a residual category of those destined to the labour force but who are not categorized according to the occupational classification. Inconsistent programming in the raw data meant that some "non-workers" (those not destined to the labour force) were included with "not classified" workers intending to enter the labour force. Raw data shows that the "not classified" category increases steadily from 1973 to 1981. The figures for 1980 and 1981 were adjusted using published Employment and Immigration material to separate "non-workers" from "workers" in the "not classified" category.
 - The significance of this residual category is particularly important for landed immigrants and for the years 1978 and 1979. As a result landeds in these two years may be underestimated by omitting "not classified" from the totals.
- 4) Comparison of intended occupation for landed immigrants and visa holders must be done with caution. Discrepancies exist between first employment in Canada, last employment in former country of residence and intended occupation as stated to gain entry to Canada (see Richmond, 1967).
- 5) The comparability of Census material over time is problematic due to changing definitions (see Standard Occupational Classification). Occupations are grouped according to kind of work so that domestic jobs done in the home are often included in groups along with occupations done outside. Also, not all domestic occupations are included in personal service (eg. chauffeur & cook). Many domestics are not included in the Census because they are working in the hidden economy.

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