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WOMEN IN THE MARGINS:
MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN'S LABOUR
IN THE CANADIAN PRESS, 1939-1945

by

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A dissertation

presented to Ryerson University and York University

in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the Program of
Communication and Culture

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Doctor of Philosophy, 2012

Tracy Moniz

Joint Graduate Program in Communication and Culture, York University and Ryerson University

ABSTRACT

During the Second World War, women's participation in Canada's 'total war' effort meant increased domestic responsibilities, volunteering, enlisting in the armed forces, and joining the civilian workforce. Women's labour force participation more than doubled throughout the war, with more women working alongside and in place of men than ever before. This created a situation that could challenge the traditional sexual division of labour, and so women's labour became a subject for discussion in the public sphere.

Through a comparative content analysis of the commercial and alternative (labour) press, this study examines representations of women's labour in wartime in the context of women's mobilization into the war effort through to subsequent demobilization near war's end. It first considers the theoretical and methodological issues involved in the historical study of news media and women and then offers original empirical research to demonstrate that when women's labour did emerge as a subject in the Canadian press, gender, not labour, was prioritized in the news. This was symbolically and systematically leveraged both within and across the commercial and alternative press, which reinforces stereotypical values about women and their labour and upheld the patriarchal status quo. In the end, while there were surface-level changes

to the nature of women's paid labour during the war, the structures of female subordination and exploitation remained unchallenged despite women's massive mobilization into the workforce.

By setting media representations against the wartime realities of women's labour told through archival records and secondary literature, this dissertation argues that news media generally presented a '*history*' of women's labour that did not reflect the lived reality or the political economic and social significance of women's labouring lives. This not only coloured how women's labour was represented in the news, but it can also shape the history that scholars construct from the newspaper. In contributing to feminist media and media history scholarship, this dissertation offers empirical evidence that challenges dominant ways of thinking about women's history in terms of the domestic sphere and furthers an understanding of women's wage labour as a provocation to such historical public-private divisions. This may, in turn, inspire histories that more fully and equitably capture women's experiences.

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This dissertation honours Canadian women and their labour during the Second World War—women who played an important part in our nation's history. I feel privileged to contribute a piece of their story to our history.

*for Sierra,
my greatest teacher*

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

A Snapshot of History



Figure 1. The Miss War Worker Beauty Contest, 1942 (Source: Alexandra Studio, City of Toronto Archives)

Saturday, July 18, 1942

Young women sport their employee uniforms and line up atop a stage at the Canadian National Exhibition Grandstand in Toronto, all hoping to be crowned with the title ‘Miss War Worker’. Thousands crowd the grounds for the Police Field Games, with the pageant as a highlight of the day’s activities. Thousands cheer on these working “beauty queens” (“Red-Headed”, *Toronto Daily Star*). The top ten contestants are announced, and then ten becomes five,

and five becomes three. Then silence. The crowd waits. Excitement builds. The names of the first and second runner-up echo through the air—Maxine Pearsell and Irene Brayley—and then that of Miss War Worker herself: Dorothy Linham, a 19-year-old war plant inspector. Applause erupts and Police Chief D.C. Draper drapes a ribbon over the newly-elected “queen of the city’s war workers” (Alexandra Studio, “Police Chief”; ““Miss War Worker””, *Toronto Daily Star*).

In its next issue, the *Toronto Daily Star* devotes most of page three to news and photos of the beauty pageant. And with this, Miss War Worker 1942 Dorothy Linham becomes a national symbol for the nearly 1.2 million women in Canada’s workforce during the Second World War.

But what exactly did Miss War Worker symbolize?

‘Woman’ versus ‘Worker’: A Historical Tug-of-War

Leila Rupp (1978) used the phrase “woman’s place is in the war” to capture the push-and-pull that went on during the Second World War between traditional notions of a woman’s relationship to the home and the simultaneous need for women’s workforce participation (3). For women in Canada, assuming a ‘place’ in the nation’s war effort meant increased domestic responsibilities, volunteering, enlisting in the armed forces, and joining the civilian workforce—many for the first time. Women’s participation in the labour force was crucial to Canada’s involvement in the war. The enlistment of men for active duty overseas created labour shortages on the home front and, as such, government propaganda “aim[ed] to recruit female labour and encourage maximum output” (Keshen 2004: 145). By January 1944, a woman filled one out of

every three jobs (Canada, Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, Final Report of the Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women 1944: 8).¹

The critical need for “womanpower”, as then Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King called it, created a situation that could challenge the sexual division of labour which traditionally relegated women to the home and placed men in the workforce (1942: 5). A sexual division of labour is essential for the maintenance of a patriarchal system, and any deterioration of this division, such as women’s wartime entry into the traditionally male workforce, inherently threatened the patriarchal status quo. Ruth Roach Pierson (1986), thus, cited four factors as crucial to understanding women’s increased participation in the work force during the Second World War: (1) In its mobilization of the workforce, the Canadian government, via the National Selective Service (NSS) and the Department of Labour, structured women’s labour to fulfill its wartime objectives, viewing women as “a large labour reserve” to be drawn into the paid workforce as the (male) “labour pool dried up”; (2) Therefore, women’s traditional labour (unpaid domestic and volunteer work) was mobilized first and on the greatest scale throughout the war; (3) Government campaigns recruiting women into the paid workforce therefore appealed to “patriotic duty and the necessity to make sacrifices for the nation at war. Women’s *obligation* to work in wartime was the major theme, not women’s right to work”; (4) According to the government, accommodations made for working women’s needs were “temporary measures, to remain in effect only so long as the nation was at war” (22-23).

Over the course of the Second World War, women’s participation in the Canadian labour force more than doubled, and so became a subject for discussion in the public sphere—at the very least, within government circles. But what about in the news—the very ‘space’ through

¹ Hereafter referred to as “Final Report”.

which, Jurgen Habermas (1989) argued, the public sphere emerged? This dissertation examines representations of women's wartime labour as a subject in the news media in the context of women's mobilization into the war effort through to subsequent demobilization near war's end. It identifies and contextualizes the extent to which women's labour became a subject for discussion in the wartime news, and analyzes how the subject of women's labour in wartime was represented in the press. This dissertation argues that when women's labour did surface as a subject in the news, gender, not labour, was prioritized. This was symbolically and systematically leveraged both within and across the commercial and alternative press, which reinforces stereotypical values about women and their labour and upheld the patriarchal status quo. By setting media representations against the wartime realities of women's labour, this dissertation will demonstrate that news media generally presented a 'history' of women's labour did not reflect the lived reality or the political economic and social significance of women's labouring lives. This, in turn, not only colours how women's labour was represented in the news, but it also has the potential to shape the scholarship that historians then write based on the pages of the press.

Women's Labour through a Feminist Lens

To understand the position of women in society, this dissertation is grounded in feminist theory. Feminist scholar Liesbet van Zoonen (1994) isolated two concepts as central to defining feminist thought: *gender* and *power*.

Traditionally, feminist theory distinguishes between the concepts of 'sex' and 'gender'. 'Sex' is based on biological differences and constitutes either male or female, while 'gender', as feminist theorists define it, is a social construction that specifies what is associated with men

(‘masculinity’) and women (‘femininity’) in a given society at a particular time (deBeauvoir 1949; Parr and Rosenfeld 1996; van Zoonen 1994, 1995). The relationship between masculinity and femininity gains meaning in its opposition (for instance, ‘masculine’ connotes objectivity, rationality, detachment and power, while ‘feminine’ connotes subjectivity, irrationality, emotion, passivity and dependence) and corresponds to power relations (Klaus and Kassel 2005: 339; van Zoonen 1994, 1995: 320).

Feminist theory, as van Zoonen (1994) argued, seeks to understand these “relations of subordination” and to analyze how, in these relationships, “individual and collective identities, such as gender ..., are being constituted (4). According to feminist scholars Shana L. Calixte, Jennifer L. Johnson and J. Maki Motapanyane (2010), feminist theory offers a way of understanding the connections between the everyday activities and experiences of women and the larger social, political and economic processes and institutions (1). With its focus on relations of subordination, feminist theory enables “an analysis of systems of power in society [such as patriarchy and capitalism] and indicate(s) how the unequal distribution of this power shapes the lives of men and women” (Ibid. 1). In the end, feminist theory strives to improve the subordinate status of women and, ultimately, achieve gender equality.

Feminist scholar Nancy Mandell (1998) offers a synthesis of these ideas in her framework for explaining feminist theory: “First, feminist theories seek to understand the gendered nature of virtually all social and institutional relations... Second, gender relations are constructed as problematic and as related to other inequities and contradictions in social life... Third, gender relations are not viewed as either natural or immutable but as historical and sociocultural productions, subject to reconstitution. Fourth, feminist theories tend to be explicitly political in their advocacy for social change” (4). Thus, feminist theory offers a useful theoretical

lens for understanding the relationship between women and the public sphere during the Second World War to then analyze how gendered roles were constructed and negotiated in news about the subject of women's wartime labour.

To understand the latter, this dissertation employs a feminist media studies approach, which analyzes the construction of gender in media texts and, more broadly, the relationship between gender, power and mass media (van Zoonen 1994). It includes research on representations of women in mainstream media, which points to the media's role in the representation of gender and, conversely, in the transmission of stereotypical, patriarchal and hegemonic values about women and femininity (Carter, Branston and Allen 1998; Valdivia and Projansky 2006; van Zoonen 1998; and Wood 2009). From this, feminist media theory posits that "media have marginalized women in the public sphere" and that "media purvey stereotypes of femininity and masculinity" (McQuail 2010: 123). Feminist media theorists also consider media production through analyses of media structures and newsroom practices. As Carter, Branston and Allen (1998) argued, gendered realities are embedded in news work practices, whereby male ownership and control of media remains the norm and whereby women have, historically, remained comparatively invisible or marginalized—relegated to the women's pages or to writing 'soft' news and limited from progressing professionally by the persistent 'glass ceiling'. In this theoretical view, both the "production and content of media are gendered" (McQuail 2010: 123). Feminist media theory, thus, helps explain how gender relations shape journalistic practices and institutions and how gender discourses are encoded in media texts (Carter, Branston and Allen 1998; van Zoonen 1998; McQuail 2010). This, in turn, offers a useful theoretical framework for understanding the historical relationship between women and journalism, including women

journalists in the newsroom, women's journalism in the newspaper, and representations of women in the news, including in times of war.

Feminist theories of war, as outlined by Joshua Goldstein (2001), uphold the idea that gender is important in understanding war and that gender roles are consistent throughout history and across human societies and cultures and deeply embedded in times of war. In the “war system”, men are the fighters and women assume secondary support roles (Goldstein 2001: 9). Gender roles reflect a male-female dichotomy—public-private, workplace-domestic, brave-passive, powerful-powerless, protector-victim—which connects war with traditional constructions of ‘masculinity’. Feminist theories of war view women as a disadvantaged group that have been dominated and exploited by men and, therefore, strive to change masculinism—“an ideology justifying male domination”—in military practice and in scholarship on war and gender (Ibid. 38).

Finally, in addition to feminist theories, this dissertation also draws on theories about propaganda, given that propaganda was essential to the maintenance of a patriarchal social order during the Second World War when, as Teresa M. Nash (1982) explained, “the government leaders, policy-makers and informationists in Canada were faced with a conundrum ... to recruit women into the workforce without upsetting the traditional assumptions which governed the sexual division of labour and the established patterns of patriarchal authority” (82). Their ‘solution’ to this ‘issue’, according to Nash, was the strategic and systematic management of information surrounding women’s wage labour—in essence, propaganda that communicated the critical need for women to participate in the war economy, while simultaneously reminding the audience of women’s traditional connection to the ‘home’ (Ibid. 82, 85).

Randal Marlin (2002) isolated one feature as common to all propaganda, whether positive, negative or neutral in connotation: "... it is an organized and deliberate attempt to influence many people, directly or indirectly" (22). Marlin provided a useful framework through which to understand the 'what' and 'why' of propaganda. Underlying this framework is a desire for power and control. Harold Lasswell (1972) and Jacques Ellul (1965) offered definitions of propaganda centered on notions of power and control and concerned with mass media as a vehicle for delivering these messages. Lasswell (1972) defined propaganda as "the management of opinions and attitudes by the direct manipulation of social suggestion rather than by altering other conditions in the environment or in the organism" (34). Lasswell et al. (1946) argued that propagandists aim to "to influence mass attitudes" and induce "large numbers of people ... to act together" (1, 2). Similarly, Jacques Ellul (1965) described propaganda as "an attempt to spread an ideology through the mass media of communication in order to lead the public to accept some political or economic structure or to participate in some action" (63).

News media play an important role in disseminating government propaganda, particularly in times of conflict.² Patriotism, blurred ethics and personal views collide, resulting in news media that reproduce propaganda uncritically in wartime (McLaughlin 2002). As such, an understanding of propaganda is important in analyzing news media representations of women's labour during the Second World War.

² For research that suggests a consistency between government and media agendas during times of war, see Baroody 1998; Boyd-Barrett 2004; Carruthers 2000; Covert 2001; Hallin 1997; Herman and Chomsky 1988; Keshen 2004; Lasswell 1972; McLaughlin 2002; Robinson 2004; Ward et al. 2006; and Yang 2000.

The Sexual Division of Labour as a Key Concept

With its focus on relations of power, feminist theory provides a lens through which to analyze gender as constructed through the material and symbolic worlds, as van Zoonen (1994) argued, or, more precisely, through a capitalist system of economic organization and a patriarchal social order.

Patriarchy and capitalism feed off one another, working in tandem to oppress women—a view that assumes a middle ground between the liberal and Marxist feminist debate over whether patriarchy or capitalism, respectively, is the prime mover behind women’s subordination in the public sphere. As Pierson (1986) explained:

Patriarchy has survived the industrialization of western society under capitalism. Women as a group have remained subordinate to men as a group. To speak of the subordination of women and the superordination of men reflects the differing relation of women and men to power in the sense of “power over,” of dominance. A power difference is part of the inequality of the male-female relationship under patriarchy: male dominance is the other side of women’s subordination. The enforced economic dependence of many women on male providers has contributed greatly to the perpetuation of that power difference and the survival of patriarchy. (13)

Thus, patriarchy and capitalism use one another to shape women’s ‘gendered’ existence—socially and economically. Under patriarchy, men hold the social roles of primary authority as ‘head of the family’: husbands and fathers and, thereby, breadwinners. Under capitalism, the means of production are controlled privately—by men, given the patriarchal social structure. In

either case, men reign at the top of the social and economic hierarchy. Both patriarchy and capitalism rely on masculine ways of organization that naturalize male dominance and, concomitantly, female subordination.

A sexual division of labour is one such 'way of organizing', as it "guarantees that socio-economic benefits derived from the marketplace will be under exclusive male control", which is crucial for maintaining "the politics of privilege" (Nash 1982: 92-93; Armstrong and Armstrong 2010). A sexual division of labour operates according to a male-female dichotomy and hierarchy: the male public sphere and the female private sphere. William Chafe (1972) argued that "sexual inequality is rooted within the social structure itself, through the allocation of different spheres of responsibility to men and women...., with little interaction or exchange between the two. This division of labour, in most cases, has led to a division of authority as well" (Ibid. viii). So while there may be no "inherent difference between the value of holding a job and the value of keeping house, ... one has clearly been accorded greater weight and prestige than the other" politically, economically and socially (Ibid. viii). Furthermore, the sexual division of labour reinforces and perpetuates gender stereotypes which, in turn, negatively affect women's status and empowerment (Anker 1998: 7). Joan Sangster (1995, 2008) argued that women's ambition was "socially constructed, shaped by what was seen as possible and probable for young women, by the economic and social structure of the local community and by the imperatives of the family economy" (1995: 251; 2008). Women are, thus, wives, mothers and homemakers, while men are the labourers and breadwinners, and this sexual division of labour dominates and persists because it is entrenched structurally and ideologically. As Ruth Milkman (1987) argued: "Ideology is key to sustaining structural inertia, explaining the reproduction of the sexual division of labour once it has occurred" (Ibid. 124).

Filling in the Gaps

The ‘reproduction’ or persistence of the sexual division of labour is evident in scholarship and in journalism.

As an area of academic study, scholarly attention on journalism history has traditionally reflected a dominant male perspective and, as a result, has neglected issues pertaining to women and gender (Beasley 1995, 2001; DiCenzo 2004, 2010; Freeman 2011; Yang 2000). Within Canada, some scholars have attributed this to a broader trend—the omission of women (their voices and experiences) in the writing of Canadian history generally (Nash 1982; Strong-Boag 1976). Veronica Strong-Boag (1976) called this omission “a long-delayed interest in the problem of the female past” (as cited in Nash 1982: 44).

This absence of women’s participation in the public sphere is evident in Michael Schudson’s (1997) identification of five dominant problems in the field of journalism history generally. These include media-centricity or media solipsism, anticommercial bias, economic reductionism and technological determinism, declinism, and democratic functionalism.³ Even in explicitly addressing the problems evident in how scholars have written the history of journalism, Schudson still overlooked a major issue with the literature—its tendency to exclude women’s part in that history. Neglecting to expose and criticize this omission only serves to reinforce it.

³ Respectively, Schudson (1998) explained these as: “(1) the assumption that the media always are central to a historical event or process; (2) the assumption that commercial forces always have a corrupting influence on journalism practice; (3) the tendency to reduce complex events to technological or economic explanations; (4) the acceptance of the view that journalism is in a constant state of decline; and (5) the assumption that the news media came into existence because they served a popular need” (463).

Surveys of media history in Canada also indicate the omission of women. William J. Buxton and Catherine McKercher's (1998) survey of media history scholarship categorized historical narratives on the emergence and development of print media in Canada into five analytical groups. Although descriptive, these include historical overviews, first-person accounts, biographies, accounts of particular newspapers or institutions, and focused thematic studies.⁴ Buxton and McKercher viewed these groups as complementary, with each working to fill in the gaps left by the other groups. None, however, addresses women in journalism in any significant way, demonstrating the dearth of scholarship—largely limited to biographies of prominent female figures in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁵ Picking up where Buxton and McKercher left off, Barbara Freeman (2011) outlined how scholarship within these five categories of media history has evolved since the late 1990s and, in the process, identified the same problem: “While they provide important background on the history of the media, these books and articles do not extensively address women or gender issues, or discuss their place in the journalism studies canon” (3).⁶

Marjory Lang (1999) offered a reason for this, namely that “women’s role in journalism intersected only tangentially with the standard themes in press history”, including “the development of the newspaper as a market commodity and on the press as a feature of a mass-entertainment industry” (8). As such, historically, women’s experiences as journalism workers

⁴ See Buxton and McKercher (1998) for an overview of the relevant academic studies within each category of media history scholarship.

⁵ The literature review did not include a section specifically on women journalists or women’s journalism, but rather subsumed these biographical works under biographies of “journalists whose careers were more chequered and distant from executive power” (Buxton and McKercher 1998: 111). Specifically, the works noted in this literature review were Susan Crean’s *Newsworthy: The Lives of Canadian Media Women* (1985), Jill Downie’s *A Passionate Pen: The Life and Times of Faith Fenton* (1996), and Barbara Freeman’s *Kit’s Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman* (1989). See Buxton and McKercher (1998), pages 111-114.

⁶ For an overview of post-1990 scholarship within each of Buxton and McKercher’s (1998) groups (historical overviews, first-person accounts, biographies, accounts of particular newspapers or institutions, and focused thematic studies), see Freeman (2011), page 3.

and the interplay between their lives as journalists and their lives as women have often been overlooked. Journalism history, traditionally reflecting a dominant (male) perspective, has neglected to incorporate the voices and experiences of women journalists. As James Curran (2002) argued, a shift in perspective to narrate media history as “HER-story” results in a very different version of media history (138). Feminist media historians are targeting and widening this area of study by pursuing research on women journalists and their work.⁷ In the process, they are broadening the traditional definition of journalism “that involves reporting and commenting on conflicts and controversies mainly of interest to a male-run world” to take account of women’s involvement and experiences (Beasley 2001: 208). In her overview of the history of Canadian women in the media, Freeman (2011) noted that the body of scholarship comprises work on early women print journalists, literature exploring the “strong connections between some of the journalists’ work and their feminist activism in women’s associations”, studies on women’s professional advancement in the field beyond traditional roles in the women’s pages, and research that looks at the post-World War II and more contemporary context for women in

⁷ One such work is Marjory Lang’s (1999) *Women Who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada, 1880-1945*, the most comprehensive social history of women journalists in Canada to-date. In this book, Lang presented an historical overview of the experiences of female journalists in Canada, exploring their working lives as well as the journalism they produced. She takes a view largely “overlooked” in studies of the gendered nature of mass consumer culture (according to Benson 1986, Lancaster 1995 and Wright 1994) by discussing the distinct “contribution that women journalists made to a specifically feminine culture of consumerism” (164).

Kay Rex’s (1995) book, *No Daughter of Mine: The Women and History of the Canadian Women’s Press Club, 1904-1974*, paid “tribute” to the achievements of the Canadian Women’s Press Club (CWPC) and its members and, in the process, illustrated the CWPC’s role in advancing women status in Canadian journalism (xi). Embedded in the book are profiles of prominent women in the history of the CWPC and Canadian journalism. In this book, Rex also offers insight into the broader social and political climate of the time, illustrating how women journalists persisted in the profession despite systematic discrimination (such as lack of access to education and no voting rights).

Individual works about prominent female figures in Canadian journalism, although limited, can also be found as complete biographies, first-hand accounts or amid broader institutional histories or works on women and journalism (see Arnold 1987; Burkholder 1933; Fiamengo 2008; Freeman 2011; Gabriele 2006; Martin 2006). Gladys Arnold’s (1987) *One Woman’s War*, for instance, offer a rare first-hand account a female journalist’s experience at war. Moreover, Arnold was also the only Canadian reporter to experience the invasion of France by the Germans in 1940—the focus of the book—which offers a valuable contribution not only to women’s history and journalism history but also to the broader history of the Second World War.

the media.⁸ While some scholarship tends to be descriptive more than analytical or critical about women covering news, the scholarship as a whole does raise important questions about how gender—as a social relation that specifies what is associated with men (‘masculinity’) and women (‘femininity’) in a given society at a particular time—impacts the experience of women journalists.

The general absence of women in journalism history scholarship or, rather, the dearth of ‘HER-story’, persists in the writing of women in the journalism profession as well as in media representations of women in non-traditional roles. Feminist media research maintains that the news media landscape is one site where the sexual division of labour is reproduced. Michael Kimmel (2008) argued that the news media are gendered institutions that reflect existing gender differences and gender inequalities, construct those gender differences and reproduce gender inequality. News media reinforce gendered spheres—masculine-feminine, public-private—both in terms of organizational structure (with a hard-soft news divide that, in turn, divides male and female journalists) and in terms of content (through representations that exclude or marginalize women).⁹ With respect to organizational structure, Gertrude Robinson (2005, 2008) argued that news work differs for women because of systemic biases in the profession that are rooted in a sexual division of labour—that is, “gender-based assumptions about how work and family obligations should be combined” (2008: 124). These systemic biases rely on gender binaries to define women as “‘different’” from men, and such a classification justifies “unequal evaluations

⁸ For a review of recent studies on women in the media, historically through to present-day, see Freeman (2011), pages 5-7.

⁹ With respect to the former, see Allan 1999; Carter, Branston and Allan 1998; Kimmel 2008; Lang 1999; Mills 1988; Molotch 1978; van Zoonen 1998: 36; Yang 2000. With respect to supporting scholarship for the latter point (gendered media content), see Allan 1999; Barker-Plummer and Boaz 2005; Byerly and Ross 1999, 2006; Ferguson 1978; Franzwa 1974; Friedan 1963; Gauntlett 2008; Gill 2006; Korinek 1996; Kumar 2004; Lemish 2005; Nash 1982; Norris 1997; Smith 2008; Tuchman 1978; van Zoonen 1994, 1995; Vipond 1977; Weibel 1977; Wilson 1977; Winship 1987.

of women's newsroom activities" and, in this way, "construct(s) a system of social stratification in the profession of journalism"—one in which women are not equal participants (Ibid. 124, 126). In fact, women journalists assume a subordinate status to men in the newsroom, resulting in separate spheres of journalistic practice—the women's pages versus general news or 'soft' news versus 'hard' news, whereby the 'beats' women cover are viewed as less important to the daily reporting of public events in the newspaper (Ibid. 129). With respect to media content, Margaret Thompson et al. (2007) argued that mainstream media coverage distorts or ignores women's views and experiences (especially in times of armed conflict) because of the 'macho' culture of (war) reporting and also because of male corporate control of media. Research further suggests a consistency in mass media images of women over time. Based on their survey of feminist media studies in the United States and Britain on women's representations in media over the last three decades, Carolyn Byerly and Karen Ross (2006) argued that women are consistently framed in highly restricted and mostly negative ways that promote "patriarchal" versions of "'acceptable' femininity" (50).

In theory, alternative news sources can more readily bypass the gendered divisions and representations characteristic of mainstream media by offering perspectives outside the "established [patriarchal] order" or the "mainstream view of a subject" (Comedia 1984: 95). Marisol Sandoval and Christian Fuchs (2010) proposed a model of alternative media as "critical media", both in terms of media producers and media structure (147-148). In this view, "critical producers ... objectify their subjective critical consciousness into objective critical media content that is distributed and can be consumed" (Ibid. 147). Alternative media, therefore, advance a broader social agenda: "Alternative media can be understood as media that try to contribute to emancipatory societal transformation by providing critical media content, content that questions

dominative social relations” (Ibid. 147).¹⁰ The notions of ‘critique’ and ‘advocacy’ are central to distinguishing alternative media from mainstream media, with the latter producing ideological content and standardized, depoliticized formulas that appeal to a mass public sphere (Hamilton 2000: 357-358; Sandoval and Fuchs 2010: 147). Collectively, networks of alternative media projects form a “counter- public sphere” that enables greater public visibility and, in this way, offers a more effective challenge to the dominant discourse (Ibid. 143). Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) considered a large counter-public sphere “that is accessible for all exploited, oppressed and excluded groups and individuals as an important foundation for political change processes” (Ibid. 143). This, in turn, allows for “grassroots voices [and issues] to be better heard”, including feminist and working-class issues (Curran 2007: xvi; DiCenzo 2004, 2010; Steiner 1992; Tusan 2005). A view of alternative media as critical media, as argued by Sandoval and Fuchs (2010), allows us to “question ruling ideas and to contribute to the realization of suppressed societal alternatives. Such alternatives are based on the vision of a truly democratic society without oppression” (149). With respect to how media represented women’s labour, this may mean more progressive social meanings than those that flow through mainstream news sources, such as portraying women in non-traditional roles that challenged the sexual division of labour.

¹⁰ Sandoval and Fuchs’s (2010) definition of alternative media differs from traditional definitions of alternative media as “participatory media” (See Sandoval and Fuchs 2010, p 142, footnote 1). A view of alternative media as participatory media is founded on the notions of collective organization (where media consumers become media producers) and non-commercial financing. For Sandoval and Fuchs (2010), these dimensions are potentials, but not necessary qualities of an alternative medium. They argue that involving media consumers in media production does not mean that their voice will be heard (limited financing results in limited reach) and it also does not mean that production processes will *not* be used to advance a repressive agendas or to accumulate profit (148). Moreover, a view of alternative media as critical media means that media strive to drive social change, and this requires public visibility or a broad audience for the critical media content. Alternative media is located within a capitalist system and is therefore dependent on resources and financing for production and distribution and, ultimately, to get the progressive message out (Ibid. 143). This is why Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) argued that commercial financing and professional organization should not be excluded in an alternative media model, so long as critical content is produced (148).

Carolyn Kitch (1997) clustered historical research on representations of women in American mass media into four categories of scholarship:

(1) the “stereotypes approach,” in which historians have documented oppressive media imagery and contended that such images “reflected” real options for women; (2) the search for alternative representations of women inside and outside mainstream media; (3) examinations of the function of media imagery within cultural and political ideology; and (4) semiotic analyses of media images as texts with multiple meanings.¹¹ (477)

As Kitch explained, one way to interpret these theoretical approaches “aligns perspectives according to whether or not scholars view these media representations as ‘evidence’ of historical reality”, an important question underlying media history scholarship (485, 477). For Kitch, pairing the first two categories (the stereotypes approach and the search for alternative images) suggests the former—that media images depict reality—by assuming “that media stereotypes exist; that they are widely recognized by audiences, who see them as some kind of reference to a day-to-day ‘reality’” (485). Combined, the third and fourth categories (the examination of imagery as ideology and the reading of images as polysemic texts) “rest on the opposite assumption: that media imagery is never a literal depiction of reality, but rather is part of a complex symbolic system that serves to advance particular ideas among particular people at particular times” (Ibid. 485). This dissertation considers the question of what constitutes valid and reliable historical evidence from which to reconstruct and write about women’s history. More specifically, it considers whether news media representations of the subject of women’s

¹¹ See Kitch (1997) for a detailed analysis of these categories, including the specific studies that comprise the body of scholarship supporting each.

labour constitute valid and reliable evidence of women's (labour) history by setting these media representations against the wartime realities of women's labour, as told by women in letters to the editor as well as through archival records and secondary literature.

To compare media representation with lived reality, this dissertation contributes to another important area of historical scholarship: women's (labour) history. Historically, labour—in practice and scholarship—has been conceived of as “a largely male enterprise” and, hence, the “male norm” or men's experiences as labourers were presumed “the universal standard” (Palmer 2010: 211; Baron 1991: 10). This left ‘labour talk’ to men, which meant that the discussion became largely about men.

In this field, Desmond Morton (2000) cited the expansion of women's history in general as the source of major advances in labour and working-class history during the late 20th century (32).¹² In his overview of scholarship on women's labour history in Canada, Bryan Palmer (2010) described the emergence of women as a force in Canadian labour history in terms of two paradigms. The first reflects the emergence of women's history alongside working-class history predominantly in the 1970s and 1980s, such that women's history “reconfigure[d]” how the “labouring subject” was defined (Palmer 2010: 210). Research sought to uncover existing barriers to women working for wages and joining the trade union movement in Canada and included studies of working-class families and women's unpaid domestic labour.¹³ This paradigm was built on Marxist and materialist feminist theories which focused on how “the *structures* of political economy established boundaries within which human agency unfolded”

¹² For an overview of the historiography of women's labour in Canada, see Iacovetta 2007; Morton 2000; Palmer 2010, p 210-215; Sangster 2000, 2010a.

¹³ Individual studies include Bradbury 1993; Copp 1974; Kealey 1979, 1998; Fox 1980; Bradbury 1993; Luxton 1980; Sangster 1989. For an overview of scholarship within this paradigm, including some of these specific studies, see Palmer 2010, p 210-212.

(Ibid. 212). It culminated in, as Palmer explained, “the study of women [being] subsumed within a *theoretical* insistence on studying gender as a system of social organization demarcating the sexes” (212). The second paradigm shift took place in the 1990s through scholarship focused on “the linguistic turn” which drew on post-structuralist, postmodern and discourse theories in its recognition that “all language ... has shaped both understandings of events and the nature of interpretation in the past and subsequent ‘readings’ and ‘representations’ of such happenings” (Ibid. 212; Sangster 2010a: 150). This approach resulted in the writing of gendered labour histories, most notably industry-specific and/or regional studies of women’s working lives.¹⁴ In Palmer’s summation, these paradigm shifts represented a progression from “material social histories of class formation and struggle” to “gendered, classed and raced, largely cultural histories” (Ibid. 218). With respect to the focus of labour history today, Palmer argued that, while class matters in the historiography of Canadian workers (men, women and children), it is no longer the central focus: the “project of our times” is not so much “the making ... of working-class power” as it is “the making of ‘a more generous democracy’” (Ibid. 217).

Contributing to ‘the making of a more generous democracy’ necessitates writing about women’s history in ways that offer more attention to women’s participation in the public sphere—as wage labourers or in public life, for instance—without repackaging this history in ways that confine women to traditional, gendered identities. Herein lies the impetus for this dissertation. The magnitude of women’s entry into the military-industrial complex alongside and in place of men during the Second World War offers a prime opportunity to study women’s participation in the waged workforce and, concomitantly, in roles outside the traditional sexual

¹⁴ Individual studies include Parr 1990; Parr and Rosenfeld 1996; Sugiman 1994; and Sangster 1995. For an overview of scholarship within this paradigm, including some of these specific studies, see Palmer 2010, p 212-215.

division of labour.¹⁵ This dissertation probes at the process through which scholars write about women's history by exploring what constitutes reliable evidence of that history. For instance, do historical newspapers offer a reliable source from which to write women's labour history in a way that works toward "the making of 'a more generous democracy'"? (Ibid. 217) These two lines of thinking merge in analyzing news media representations of women's labour during the Second World War.

Studies on women's labour during the Second World War, including studies on media representations thereof, are more fully cultivated in the United States than Canada. Yet even American scholarship has emphasized the gap that exists in journalism history about the role of the press in the mobilization of women's labour during this conflict (Covert 2001; Yang 2000). This gap widens when considering the Canadian context (Lang 1999). Literature surrounding women's workforce participation during the Second World War feeds into a larger discussion about the significance of this war in stimulating social change in the status of women (Anderson 1981: 3). This debate first gained momentum 20 years ago, propelled by Pierson's (1986) book, *'They're Still Women After All': The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood*, which questioned the impact of the Second World War on the social construction of gender and the

¹⁵ It is important to note that there was a great deal of female participation in the workforce prior to the mass recruitment of (largely) middle-class women into the military-industrial complex, particularly in the two decades prior to the Second World War and particularly among the urban working class (Copp 1974: 44; Palmer 1992). Historically, women's participation in the waged workforce, however, has been difficult to document and quantify, in part, because of high turnover rates for women and the difficulty categorizing women's work within conventional occupational classifications (Palmer 1992). As Palmer (1992) noted, women were "often casually employed or then marginalized in outwork" and, with a lack of union protection or legal options, working-class women had little choice but to find new employment when faced with issues on-the-job (Ibid. 326). Until the 1940s, most working-class women were employed as domestic servants or then as "laundresses, sweatshop workers in the garment industry, or factory operatives in light manufacturing" such as in clothing, textiles and food processing (Ibid. 326, 237; Copp 1972; Census of Canada 1941, Vol. I, Chapter XII: 321). For the most part, these jobs were characterized by poor pay and rigid supervision (Palmer 1992: 237). So while women did work for wages prior to the Second World War, this conflict opened opportunities up to women that were previously closed off, including in higher-earning, male-dominated occupations.

status of women in Canadian society. Subsequent research focusing on the United States, Britain and, to a lesser extent, Canada acknowledged the gains made by women during the war period but, overall, largely pointed to the short-lived nature of women's wartime advancement.¹⁶ Some studies have used media coverage of women's labour as a lens through which to analyze the question of the war's impact on the status of women in wartime society. Even though limited, some such Canadian studies have relied on advertisements, fiction or consumer-oriented women's magazines as an object of study or, if researching news sources specifically, the empirical evidence comprised individual news articles presented as representative of broader trends, but these have not been conducted via a systematic quantitative analysis.¹⁷

There exists no such systematic study of news media representations of women's labour in Canada during the Second World War. This dissertation fills this gap by considering the interplay between women's wartime labour and media representations of the subject to understand how news media negotiated the changing demands on civilian women imposed by 'total war'. In the process, this dissertation considers the theoretical and methodological issues involved in the historical study of media representations of women. Focusing on the media source, it considers the placement of news about the subject of women's labour in the newspaper (women's pages, versus general news, versus editorials, versus letters to the editor) and the type of media accessed by scholars (commercial versus alternative press). In doing so, it advances a feminist perspective in journalism history, evolves scholarly understanding of women's

¹⁶ For scholarship that addresses the impact of the Second World War on women's status in society (directly and indirectly), see Anderson 1981; Battaglini 1996; Bingley 2006; Covert 2001; de la Vina 1982; Forestell 1989; Hartmann 1982; Keshen 1997, 2004; Klaussen 1998; Nash 1982; Pierson 1986; Prentice et al. 1988; Smith 2008; Yang 2000.

¹⁷ Such Canadian scholarship includes Battaglini 1996; Forestell 1989; Keshen 1997, 2004; Korinek 1996; Nash 1982; Pierson 1977, 1986; Prentice et al. 1988; Smith 2008.

participation in the wartime workforce and, in merging both, contributes a feminist media history focus to scholarship surrounding women's labour during the Second World War in Canada.

Research Methodology

The Second World War is an important period in women's (labour) history and a particularly pertinent time for research on media representations of women's labour because of the influx of women who entered the workforce during this time and the concomitant issues associated with demobilizing them once servicemen returned from battle overseas. The Second World War brought with it "ambiguity and confusion regarding women's roles in society", and no other war had the same effect on society and women because of its duration and the extent of civilian women's participation (Anderson 1981; Nash 1982: 12).

With this as a historical backdrop, this dissertation seeks to address the following research questions: Was there a public discussion of the subject of women's labour in print news media during the Second World War? Whose representation of women's labour is reflected in the pages of the press, and how were gendered roles constructed and negotiated in news of women's wartime labour? What impact, if any, does this have on the way women's history is represented?

To address these questions and, with this, help fill the gaps in historiography and journalism identified earlier, research for the dissertation involved a comparative content analysis of representations of women's labour (domestic, volunteer and wage, with emphasis on women's non-traditional waged labour) within and across the commercial and alternative (labour) press during the Second World War.

The variables considered in the content analysis were the type of newspaper (commercial versus alternative), the sort of media coverage (general news versus women's pages, versus editorials, versus letters to the editor), and the sex of the writer (for letters to the editor only) to identify—applying a feminist media studies lens—the relationships among and between them. First, this dissertation considers the extent to which women's labour in wartime, with an emphasis on women in non-traditional wage labour, became a subject for discussion in the news, given the magnitude and socially necessary nature of women's workforce participation. Furthermore, in comparing coverage across newspaper type, the analysis identifies whether the invisibility and marginalization of women within and by mainstream, male-dominated news media, as posited by feminist media theory, persists in the commercial news coverage of the Second World War and, moreover, in alternative news media which, as “critical media”, are more apt to question and challenge dominant social relations (Sandoval and Fuchs 2010). The same feminist media studies framework structures the comparison across the sort of news coverage: the male-dominated general news and editorials and the female-dominated women's pages—the latter of which, as scholars have argued, ‘chronicled’ women's advancing status in society.

The content analysis was combined with archival research of original government documents (such as reports, memos and pamphlets) produced by the Department of Labour and the Department of National War Services and obtained, in part, through Library and Archives Canada to identify the magnitude and scope of women's labour in wartime, particularly in non-traditional roles, and to compare news media coverage of women's labour with wartime realities. Letters to the editor, which serve as an indicator of public opinion, offer another historical basis for comparing media coverage to reality. This research, in turn, addresses the question of

whether historical newspapers, in fact, offer evidence—a record or chronicle—from which to write about women’s history during the Second World War.

The stratified random sample for the content analysis comprised a total of 342 newspaper issues published from September 10, 1939, when Canada entered the Second World War, to September 2, 1945, when the war officially ended.¹⁸ It included three commercial newspapers (*Toronto Daily Star*, *The Hamilton Spectator* and *The Halifax Herald*) and three independent labour newspapers (*The Labour Leader*, Toronto; *The Labor News*, Hamilton; and *The Citizen*, Halifax) published in Canada during the Second World War. The match in circulation areas across the commercial and labour press allowed for control over regional differences, enabling a more accurate comparison across newspaper type. These newspapers and cities created a foundation for the stratified random sample, but were selected with a non-random purposive sampling technique, because the *Census of Canada 1941* ranked Toronto, Hamilton and Halifax among the major urban centres in Canada, and these cities were also focal sites for government recruitment campaigns for women’s labour during the war (Vol. VI, Table 7; Library and Archives Canada, History of the Wartime Activities of the Dept. of Labour, Part I: 73).¹⁹

¹⁸ The time period for the content analysis was defined through a pilot study conducted of the Toronto newspapers. The analysis did not precede the war for a baseline of comparison because the need for women to enter the labour force only became acute mid-war when the existing (male) labour pool had exhausted. The time period did not extend beyond the war for a baseline of comparison because the pilot study confirmed that hits on the war-related coverage plummeted in the final war year and in the two years following it. Details on this pilot study are included in the discussion of the content analysis research methodology in Chapter Four.

¹⁹ Library and Archives Canada, Department of Labour fonds, History of the Wartime Activities of the Department of Labour, Employment of Women (Part I), RG 27, 1 File Part 10, 1-86.

Part I of this report is hereafter cited as “Wartime History of the Employment of Women”. The year of publication is not indicated in either the government document itself, obtained with permission from Library and Archives Canada, or the archival record itself. However, the document was published sometime between April 1, 1945 (the latest chronological date noted in the document) and August 24, 1950. Pierson (1986) indicated in an endnote citation that this government document was published “sometime before August 24, 1950” (240). This report contains two parts: (I) Employment of Women, and (II) Day Care of Children.

This study analyzes the discussion that ensued in the press about the mobilization of women's labour and subsequent demobilization during the war to understand how gendered roles were constructed and negotiated in the news. As such, this content analysis is not an exhaustive study of all coverage of women's labour. Rather, it is concerned with coverage of women's labour as a subject under consideration in the news. This includes, for instance, discussions of a breakdown in marriages during the war (domestic), a government call-out for women's volunteer services to accommodate wartime needs (volunteer labour) or women's workplace absenteeism (wage labour). More specifically, a news article, feature or column, or an editorial or a letter to the editor was identified as covering 'women's labour as a subject' if it met one or more of the following inter-related criteria: (1) It discussed women's labour or an aspect(s) thereof as upholding or transgressing the social norm or sexual division of labour; (2) It considered women's performance as labourers or made an evaluative statement about women's labour; (3) It presented women's labour or an aspect(s) thereof as problematic or contentious; (4) It highlighted the interplay between women's traditional and wage labour, or expressed tension *within* or *between* women's traditional or non-traditional roles; (5) It discussed the wartime mobilization or demobilization of women's labour by government and/or industry or some aspect(s) thereof; and (6) It considered the circumstances or conditions surrounding women's employment.

Using these guidelines for surveying media content, the sample yielded a total of 273 items (individual articles, photos, editorials and letters) about the subject of women's wartime labour for analysis: 200 within the commercial press and 73 within the labour press.

Limitations of the Dissertation

This content analysis of newspapers enables an examination of how many times women are represented in media and how they are represented. The content analysis provides a framework for a more interpretive view of women's work during the Second World War. Applying an interpretive lens grounded in feminist media theory then allows for an analysis of the relationship between these various dimensions in the text, including the intersection between news media and the areas of gender and labour. Additional archival research further contextualizes or supports the data obtained in the content analysis.

With historical research, the scope of the study reflects the nature of historical evidence available. This study compared mainstream commercial newspapers and independent labour newspapers published in Toronto, Ontario; Hamilton, Ontario; and Halifax, Nova Scotia. In addition to Toronto, Hamilton and Halifax, the *Census of Canada 1941* also ranked Vancouver and Montreal among the major urban centres in Canada during the war period. Ideally, this dissertation would offer a national perspective on the topic of how news media negotiated women's labour during the Second World War by incorporating one commercial and one labour newspaper from Vancouver (to capture a Western Canada perspective) and the same from Montreal. However, this was not possible because, while there was access to commercial newspapers in both cities, there were no independent labour newspapers published in Vancouver and Montreal for comparative analysis.

The nature of historical evidence also limits analysis of the sex of the journalist writing about women's labour to observation, and not quantifiable statistics. Newspapers at this time did not include reporter bylines with articles as general practice. Bylines were generally attached to

columnists and guest writers and, at times, accompanied articles reprinted from other news sources. Secondary literature supports the fact that most general assignment reporters and editors were male and practically all women's page reporters were female.²⁰ The Second World War did offer women opportunities to work as general assignment reporters and as editors; however, the traditional division of labour within the press still dominated. These figures, however, cannot be quantified within the newspapers analyzed because of the lack of evidence within the pages of the press to indicate who (a male or a female journalist) wrote a given article.

Furthermore, with its focus on news content, this dissertation does not focus on issues of audience—specifically, newspaper readership or audience reception. With respect to the former, given the historical nature of the dissertation, there is a lack of primary audience research to determine who read what section of the newspaper around the period of the Second World War (McQuail 2010: 121). For instance, did women only read the women's pages, or did they venture off into general news? To address questions of readership, this dissertation draws on secondary literature which establishes that, given the separate spheres of 'his' and 'her' media, the general news pages represented news written largely by men for men and the women's page represented news written largely by women for women (Byerly and Ross 2006; Kimmel 2005; Lang 1999). With respect to theories of audience reception, this branch of scholarship on mass media imagery focuses on "the issue of agency in meaning-making and ... consider[s] the importance of decoding as well as coding in this process" (Kitch 1997: 485). In essence, scholars debate over "who controls the meaning of media texts": the media or the audience? (Ibid. 485).²¹ While this

²⁰ See Chambers, Steiner and Fleming 2004; Lang 1999; Marzolf 1977; Molotch 1978; Mills 1988; Poindexter, Meraz and Weiss 2008; Ross 1936; Schudson 1978; Yang 2000.

²¹ An alternative pairing of Kitch's (1997) theoretical approaches combines categories one (stereotypes) and three (ideological) and then categories two (alternative images) and four (semiotic analyses). The former pairing supports the notion that "through mass media imagery, meaning is imposed on audiences", while the latter "suggest[s] that

dissertation discusses prominent representations of women in wartime newspapers, it remains focused on the content itself, and not on how audiences engaged with or extracted meaning from these images.

Lastly, while this dissertation presents its own *history* of women's labour during the Second World War, it must be recognized as only a partial history. It is a history pieced together from primary government documents and newspapers as well as secondary literature. The focus on institutions and politics means that there is less emphasis on society and culture and, in this way, this dissertation, too, fails to capture first-hand the voices and lived experiences of those it represents—women wage labourers themselves.

Dissertation Outline

This introductory **Chapter One** has presented the dissertation's central problem and the ensuing research questions, and situated these within a broader theoretical framework and broader scholarly discussions. It has also offered an overview of the sexual division of labour, a key concept that functions as an analytical thread in this dissertation. This chapter has also outlined the methodological approach for this study and addressed the dissertation's limitations.

Chapter Two addresses, from a theoretical standpoint, the historical relationship between women and the news media. It focuses on the women's pages, women in the journalism profession and media representations of women to establish the institutional background and context for media coverage of women's labour during the Second World War. In the process, this chapter engages with the theoretical and methodological issues inherent in the historical

audiences decide the meaning of imagery, either by recognizing and responding to atypical imagery or through an even more active and personal reading of media" (Ibid. 485).

study of women and media and establishes the scholarly context and key debates that this research contributes to.

Chapter Three sets up the historical background to contextualize the research findings presented in Chapters Five and Six. It offers a picture of what women's labour—domestic, volunteer and wage—encompassed during the Second World War. To do so, the chapter draws on a number of historical sources, including most notably census data and reports from the Department of Labour and the Department of National War Services. Furthermore, to contextualize women's wartime labour within a feminist framework, the chapter also draws on theories surrounding women's paid and unpaid labour and the sexual division of labour. Finally, this chapter considers the Canadian government's policy and propaganda approaches to women's labour—that is, how the government leveraged women's labour in the interests of 'total war', mobilizing women into the workforce when the military-industrial complex required it and then ushering them back into the home at war's end when their labour was no longer needed.

Chapter Four outlines the content analysis methodology. It justifies the selection of the media content and sample, defines analytical categories and explains how the study negotiated issues of reliability and validity.

Chapters Five and Six discuss the results of the content analysis within the theoretical and historical frameworks established in the preceding chapters. **Chapter Five** addresses the extent to which there was a public discussion in the wartime press of women's labour as a subject and contextualizes this discussion within the broader scope of media coverage. It offers empirical evidence to demonstrate who (or, conversely, who did not) shape the 'public' discussion on women's labour in the news and addresses the implications of this on how women's history is

represented. In the process, the chapter engages with questions of whether women's journalism or the alternative press offered a progressive space in which to represent women's history.

Chapter Six offers a thematic analysis that addresses how women's labour was negotiated within the wartime press. By comparing the reality of women's wartime labour with media representations thereof, this chapter reveals the news media's role in shaping the public discussion on women's labour during the Second World War and, concomitantly, the scholarly implications that this 'record' has on how historians understand and construct women's history.

The dissertation concludes with **Chapter Seven** which summarizes the dissertation and offers suggestions for future research.

Conclusion

Women's labour was central to the Canadian government's execution of the Second World War. Thus, if news is to mirror social reality, as Gaye Tuchman (1978) argued, this leads to a set of assumptions about news coverage of women's labour during the war. First, that women's participation in the Canadian labour force became a subject for discussion in the news media—if not in the commercial press, then in the alternative press which, as the 'critical media' of the 'counter-public sphere', can more readily offer perspectives outside the established patriarchal order and question dominant social relations (Comedia 1984; Sandoval and Fuchs 2010). And, if not in the general news, then at least in the women's pages which, as scholars have argued, 'chronicled' women's advancing status in society. The second assumption is that the extent of this discussion may reflect the magnitude and socially necessary nature of women's workforce participation. The third and final assumption is that newspapers, thus, offer

evidence—a record or chronicle—from which to write about women’s history during the Second World War.

This dissertation tests these assumptions by comparing news coverage within and across the commercial and labour press during the war period. It seeks to determine whether there was, in fact, a public discussion of women’s labour as a subject in the Canadian press—and, if so, to identify how gendered roles were constructed and negotiated in the news. If discussion of women’s participation in the labour force filtered out into the public sphere via the press and, in fact, chronicled women’s lives as labourers, then this may suggest a challenge to gendered representations traditionally prominent in the news and, ultimately, threaten the patriarchal values that these gendered representations work to uphold.

CHAPTER TWO

Women and the Media

Constructing Gendered Spheres

Communications media play a key role in establishing a ‘space’ for identifying and facilitating critical debate over public issues. Habermas (1989) argued that news is a necessary condition for the emergence of a public sphere—a space where private citizens could come together to discuss public matters. The newspaper stimulated discussion and, in the process, it united a community of readers. Benedict Anderson (1991) argued that newspapers create imagined communities—a social and cultural awareness among readers who imagine others reading the newspaper at the same time and sharing the same knowledge. For James Carey (2009), newspapers perform a ritualistic function, reconfirming shared knowledge and values and, in the process, shaping public consciousness. In reading newspapers, people feel a sense of belonging to a wider community.

For women, the public sphere has consistently been a controlled space. Historically, in practice, participation in the public sphere was largely restricted to the elite: propertied, educated, white males (Allan 1997). There were divisions between who could participate and who could not. Feminist theory has used the expression ‘the public sphere’ to refer to “everything that is outside the domestic or familial sphere”, bringing together “the state, the official-economy of paid employment, and arenas of public discourse” (with the latter including the media) under the umbrella of the ‘public sphere’ (Fraser 1997: 70). This public-private dichotomy inherently divides ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ and excludes women whose ‘space’ has traditionally been the domestic sphere where women are wives, mothers, volunteers and

household consumers. News media reinforce these separate spheres, both in terms of organizational structure (with a hard-soft news divide that, in turn, divides male and female journalists) and in terms of content (through representations that exclude or marginalize women).²² These ‘gendered’ divisions are heightened in times of war (Barker-Plummer and Boaz 2005; Halonen 1999; Hunt and Rygiel 2006, Kumar 2004; Lemish 2005; Thompson et al. 2006).

With this as a theoretical backdrop and given the media’s role in facilitating public discussion, this dissertation analyzes the extent and nature of coverage on women’s labour as a subject in the wartime press. To contextualize this analysis, this chapter offers an overview of the historical relationship between women and media, focusing on the women’s pages and the ensuing hard-soft news divide in the press, women in the journalism profession and media representations of women, highlighting in the process some of the theoretical and methodological issues inherent in the historical study of women and media.

Taking a Second Seat: Women and their Journalism

One way that news media have constructed ‘gendered’ spheres—a masculine public sphere and a feminine private sphere—is through their organizational structure. Inherent in the division between ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ news, or general news and news in the women’s pages, was a male-female, public-private divide. In essence, the women’s pages segregated female journalists from their male counterparts both in the newspaper and in the newsroom.

²² With respect to the former, see Allan 1999; Carter, Branston and Allan 1998; Kimmel 2008; Lang 1999; Mills 1988; Molotch 1978; van Zoonen 1998: 36; Yang 2000. With respect to supporting scholarship for the latter point, see Allan 1999; Barker-Plummer and Boaz 2005; Byerly and Ross 1999, 2006; Ferguson 1978; Franzwa 1974; Friedan 1963; Gauntlett 2008; Gill 2006; Korinek 1996; Kumar 2004; Lemish 2005; Nash 1982; Norris 1997; Smith 2008; Tuchman 1978; Vipond 1977; Weibel 1977; Wilson 1977; Winship 1987.

A History of the Women's Pages

The emergence of the women's pages in mainstream Canadian newspapers in the late 1800s has social, technological, cultural and political roots, including "a higher education level for urban women" and, with it, increased literacy rates; technological advances that enabled mass production such as faster presses; "an urban culture united around the consumption of leisure products"; and "the demands of [newspaper] advertisers who wanted to attract larger audiences" (Freeman 2001: 42; Fiamengo 2008: 19). At this time, a major change occurred in newspaper history, with the press shifting from a partisan to a commercial press—from a press consumed with politics to a press consumed with profit (Baldasty 1992; Chalaby 1998; Rutherford 1982; Sotiron 1997). Market dollars replaced party patronage. Newspapers sought large circulations to attract advertisers whose revenue offset rising production costs and provided profit. The commercial press therefore began writing for a larger market to increase advertising revenue and, for the first time, this market included women in large numbers (Chambers, Steiner and Fleming 2004; Lang 1999; Marzolf 1977; Mills 1988; Ross 1936; Schudson 1978; Yang 2000).

The desire for broad appeal meant that news organizations had to recognize women among their potential readership. Valorizing gender divisions, a women's page was included in mainstream newspapers to attract a female audience for advertisers and, thus, advertising dollars for newspaper proprietors. This large female readership comprised women whose lives differed significantly and so, to maximize readership, the women's pages targeted a "broad and largely undifferentiated urban female audience" (Lang 1999: 158). The women's pages were not as diverse, assumed that most women were "average housewives and mothers", and any "differences were based on region more than on class" (Ibid. 157). While the women's page targeted the ordinary housewife and mother primarily, Paul Rutherford (1978) argued that it "did

appeal to any teenage or adult female whatever her class” (59). Furthermore, the female audience generally comprised white, middle-class, urban, literate women.

As news written for women and by women, the women’s pages provided a type of ‘service’, offering information and advice about household consumption and directing female readers on “performing the consumer role” (Covert 2001; Lang 1999: 164). By the 1930s, many larger newspapers featured consumer advice columns in their women’s pages. Women’s sections offered advertisers an ideal outlet to reach their key audience since most women were the main consumers of household products. For instance, during the Second World War, approximately 2,285,000 million Canadian ‘homemakers’ were responsible for over 80 per cent of the nation’s retail purchases (Leacy 1982: B75-81, as cited in Prentice et al. 1988: 296).

Within the newspaper, the women’s pages were separate from the general news that occupied the front page and the pages immediately following. The women’s page was its own section inside the newspaper, complete with its own female writers and its own collegial style. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (1978) discussed the impact of story placement, arguing that where a story appears in the newspaper makes the difference between “public notice and oblivion” and that categorizing stories by section significantly impacts how messages are heard and experienced (217). With respect to the women’s pages, she argued that “placing news about women on the women’s page even reinforces the still-current view that the material is only appropriate for women and that it is less serious and important than news highlighted as general news” (Ibid. 217). Labelling the women’s page “the stepchild of the profession”, journalist Ishbel Ross (1936) wrote: “A city editor will see to it that little live news is allowed to settle into [the women’s pages’] somewhat static mold” (427). Thus, news for men was segregated from news for women, reinforcing the public-private sphere divide. General news was ‘male’ news. In

the general news pages, men engaged in public discussion about matters of public interest. The women's pages—and women—were not part of this. Theirs was the private, domestic sphere of the home.

Topics in the news have further reflected the gendered nature of news journalism, with 'masculine' topics including politics, crime, finance and war and 'feminine' topics revolving around the "Four F's—family, food, fashion and furnishings" (van Zoonen 1998: 36; Lang 1999; Mills 1988; Yang 2000). This reflects a hierarchical division between 'hard' news (serious and important) to be covered by male journalists, and 'soft' news (trivial and insignificant) to be reported by female journalists (Allan 1999; Carter, Branston and Allan 1998; Lang 1999). Rutherford (1978) also argued that despite the range of subjects and global reach of the women's pages in Canada, it was "predicated upon the assumption that there was a woman's sphere with a routine and a rhythm quite distinct from the concerns of society at large", reinforcing the "Victorian myth of the separate natures of the sexes" (60). Accordingly, 'hard' news topics reflect "man-to-man talk" and, thus, the news pages do not cover the day-to-day routines and events that women have traditionally dealt with: raising and educating children, cleaning homes and maintaining personal relationships (Molotch 1978: 181). The distinction between the perceived news needs of men and news needs of women, as embodied in the separation between the general news pages and the women's pages, respectively, were a product of the "different and commonly held situation [of men and women] in the social world" (Ibid. 181). Even now, Michael Kimmel (2008) argued that 'his' and 'her' print media "are part of a gigantic cultural apparatus designed to reproduce gender inequality by making it appear that such inequality is the natural result of existing gender differences" (238). But, in fact, 'his' and 'her' media—or 'hard' versus 'soft' news or the general news pages versus the women's pages—reflects a world of

gender inequality where “his media *are* better than hers; in fact, his are often *the* media, and she fits in around the margins” (Ibid. 240).

Despite the patriarchal structure of news journalism, some scholars suggest that the women’s pages provided a distinct and even liberating space within the larger newspaper that united an ‘imagined community’ of women readers. In her historical overview of the experiences of Canadian female journalists, *Women Who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada, 1880-1945*, Marjory Lang (1999) argued that the women’s pages offered women journalists an opportunity to create a “subculture which, although marginalized within the overtly patriarchal newspaper world, could nonetheless render service to their chosen community of women” (11). In this view, the women’s pages provided a space, albeit limited, in which women were the newsmakers, both subjects and producers of the news (Ibid. 10). It served as “a public venue where women could address other women [within prescribed roles], where they could, at least in part, define what was newsworthy for women and create a kind of woman-centred newspaper inside the newspaper” (Ibid. 142). For Lang (1999), the women’s pages provided a “highly influential public platform” for discussing particular women’s issues—a chronicle of “women’s advancing status and participation in the local community, the nation, and the world” (Ibid. 150). Sandra Gabriele (2006), too, argued that the women’s pages “emerged as a space within the newspaper where women could converge and participate in the public and political discourses of the newspaper, in a setting that was decidedly domestic and feminine” (175). Barbara Freeman (2001) noted that from their early days, women’s pages “were constantly dealing with women’s issues, broadly defined: equal pay, acceptable roles for women, temperance and the vote” (42). Similarly, Janice Fiamengo (2008) argued that women’s journalism in the late 19th and early 20th

centuries “claimed a voice in the public sphere” and, as a result, made imprints on print culture in Canada that opened opportunities up to later generations of women writers (28).

Much of the work championing the transformative power of women’s journalism has relied on methodologies such as archival research and case study. For example, Gabriele (2006) used a case study of the domestic travel writing of two women journalists writing in Toronto in the late 19th century—‘Kit’ Coleman of *The Daily Mail* and Faith Fenton of *The Empire*—to demonstrate how, through their writing, these journalists negotiated their competing domestic or ‘gender’ roles with their professional identities. She argued that, in “thriv[ing] off a deeply personal, familiar tone that relied on traditional notions of domestic femininity”, journalists Coleman and Fenton were also transforming those ideas and their societies in the process (176). Fiamengo (2008) also championed the women’s pages by presenting case studies of the lives and works of six prominent Canadian women writers and performers in late 19th and early 20th century Canada, among them the first officially accredited war correspondent Kathleen ‘Kit’ Coleman (1856-1915); Sara Jeannette Duncan (1861-1922), the first woman to work full time at a Canadian newspaper, the *Globe*; and “radical feminist” and newspaper columnist Flora MacDonald Denison (1867-1921) (6). The scholarship tends to assume more of an idiographic approach to historical research which, as Nord (1989) explained, is concerned with the particular and works through description and explanation to understand a specific event, but does not necessarily seek to generalize beyond that particular time and place.

Content analysis enables a quantitative study of media content, which helps reveal patterns that may not be immediately evident in the traditional research that contributes to the question of whether women’s journalism offers a liberating space for news by and about women. As such, content analysis may offer a broader historical picture of the progressive potential of

women's journalism. The case studies presented by Lang (1999), Gabriele (2006) and Fiamengo (2008), for example, suggest the latter, namely that women's journalism may have allowed a meaningful degree of autonomy for women journalists. Collectively, they present a view of the women's pages as a dedicated space for discussing women's issues and celebrating women's achievements—in essence, a chronicle of women's history. This, in turn, supports an assumption that the wartime increase in women's participation outside the home could be front and centre in the women's pages during the Second World War, especially given the magnitude of women's workforce participation. This dissertation tests this assumption with a content analysis that compares coverage of women's labour during the war period across the sort of media coverage: the women's pages versus general news, versus editorials, versus letters to the editor. This level of analysis can indicate whether and, if so, in what ways, the second-tier status of women in the newsroom impacted their coverage of women's labour.

A History of Women Journalists in Canada

Kay Mills (1997) wrote that, historically, the idea that only men made the news predominated. Women struggled to find a place. The relationship between women and journalistic practice is a story of “breakthroughs and breakdowns” (Mills 1997: 54). It is a story spanning centuries and told against a backdrop of national histories in general and women's history in particular. Patricia Bradley (2005) noted that (Western) women journalists have operated within a national and professional culture that has limited their role and upheld standards of difference. Carolyn Byerly and Karen Ross (2006) argued that the right to communicate is tied to democratic participation in civil society, and while women are part of society, they have not always participated in it because of historical barriers based on sex

discrimination. The barriers that women journalists encountered have roots in traditional, hierarchical definitions of gender and a concomitant sexual division of labour.

Women journalists first appeared on the Canadian census in 1891, accounting for only 4.5 per cent (35 out of a total 786) of the individuals working as editors, reporters and journalists in Canada's press (Lang 1999: 29). From the late 19th century through the first half of the 20th century, the women's pages were the first, the main and often the only opportunity for women journalists to write in commercial newspapers, both in Canada as well as in other countries such as the United States and Britain (Chambers, Steiner and Fleming 2004; Lang 1999; Marzolf 1977; Ross 1936). Men dominated daily news journalism and sexist assumptions prevailed about women's professional capability as journalists. Female journalists as a whole were seen as "invading the sanctity of the newsroom"—male space, norms and power (Carter, Branston and Allan 1998: 13). As former city editor of *The New York Herald Tribune* Stanley Walker (1936) put it: "... in general, women can be a good deal of a nuisance around a newspaper office..." (xi). As such, women and their news sat separate from the men and the current events that constituted the majority of the newsroom and newspaper, respectively. As Lang (1999) concluded, "for all women, including women journalists, the notion of 'separate spheres' governed their choices and chances in the first half of the twentieth century, even as the range of opportunities considered suitable for women widened" (5).

Lang (1999) also highlighted women's labour but in terms of their ability to earn an income as journalists, which is crucial to understanding their status and success in the field: "... their identities as women and as workers intersected with questions of earning power—who has the right to earn, how much, and at what stage of her life cycle" (106). While men and women starting out as reporters in the 1880s earned similar salaries—between \$4 and \$8 per week—the

salaries of men advanced at a far faster rate than those of women journalists, and most women's salaries remained at the lower end of the pay scale even as they gained experience (Ibid. 111). Even in wartime, which reportedly increased journalistic opportunities for women, male authors, editors and journalists still earned higher wages, nearly double in fact. The *Census of Canada 1941* reported that male authors, editors and journalists earned an average of \$1,912 in 1940-41, compared to \$1,006 for women in the same category (Vol. VI, Table 6).

The demands of journalism meant that many women struggled to maintain careers and balance a domestic life. The *Census of Canada 1941* reports that a majority (75.6 per cent) of wage-earning female authors, editors and journalists were not married, while married women comprised 13.2 per cent of this population and 11.2 per cent were either widowed or divorced (Vol. VI, Table 5). That same year, the majority of working female journalists (51 per cent) were between the ages of 35 to 64, with women aged 25 to 34 (prime child-bearing years) comprising only 27 per cent of gainfully employed female journalists (Ibid. Vol. VI, Table 5).

The notion of gendered spheres in journalism takes on heightened significance in wartime.²³ For example, Lang (1999) characterizes the relationship of women and war as “an uphill battle” (95). This is because what is evident in peacetime is accentuated in times of crisis, including gender relations since war reporting is considered ‘natural’ for men (Mazepa 2003). Marina Prentoulis, Howard Tumber and Frank Webster (2005) described war reporting as a ‘macho’ pursuit—a culture in which women struggle to find a place (375). At the start of the First World War, male journalists dominated war news, but as more and more men left to serve in the war overseas, women began to land their first opportunities to work in journalism. Most

²³ For a survey of supporting scholarship, see Hunt and Rygiel 2006, Halonen 1999; Thompson et al. 2006, Barker-Plummer and Boaz 2005, Kumar 2004; and Lemish 2005.

presswomen, however, were not front-line correspondents but reported from the ‘home front’ during wartime, helping their female readers adapt to shifting societal expectations of women. While this persisted throughout the Second World War, Freeman (2001) argued that this war also created new opportunities—albeit short-lived in some ways once men returned from war—for women journalists who were either hired by the government to write in support of the war effort or who worked as general news reporters or editors. More opportunities opened up for women writing as part of the government’s propaganda arm than anywhere else. A number of more experienced women journalist were seconded to work in Public Information at Ottawa, but most women journalists who worked as part of the government’s propaganda program did so through the Wartime Prices and Trade Board where they largely explained war effort policy to homemakers, capitalizing from their experience offering advice to women on household matters in the women’s pages (Lang 1999: 95-96).

Journalistic opportunities for women, however, increased slower than other work opportunities such as factory jobs and, as Lang (1999) noted, opportunities did not increase as quickly as the Canadian Women’s Press Club hoped (97). Even with men away at war, women were still the minority in the journalism profession. The *Canada Census of 1941* reported 713 females (age 14 years and over) as ‘gainfully employed’ authors, editors and journalists in Canada and, comparatively, 3,434 males (vol. vii, table 13).²⁴ This is up from 464 female and 2,880 male authors, editors and journalists reported on the 1931 census—an increase of 35 per cent for women and 16 per cent for men over the decade. Nonetheless, sexual prejudices still

²⁴ Labour, to even be considered, had to be commodified. The Census of Canada 1941, volume I, defined the category of “gainfully employed” as referring to an occupation ““by which the person who pursues it earns money or in which he assists in the production of marketable goods”” (321). This could include persons unemployed for short periods who still sought employment in their former occupation, as well as children (14 years of age and older) who assisted parents on farms or in businesses without pay.

loomed for women in this “male-dominated calling” (Voss 1994: 81).²⁵ Female reporters were discouraged from branching out professionally and encouraged to stick to the appropriately feminine and domestic women’s pages, not war journalism.

A ‘Gendered’ Perspective in (War) Journalism?

The notion of ‘gendered’ spheres feeds into a larger debate among feminist media scholars over whether ‘gender’ matters when it comes to journalism generally and war journalism specifically. In reviewing American literature on women and journalism in the Second World War, Maurine Beasley (1995) called for more historical attention to this research question. Few studies directly address this question from the historical perspective of the Second World War or earlier conflicts covered by women journalists such as the Spanish-American Civil War of 1898 and the First World War. Much of the scholarship—largely American and British—focuses on conflicts that occurred after the Second World War, resulting in a limited historical analysis of whether women journalists offer a different perspective on war than their male counterparts. This may, in part, reflect the nature of the historical evidence available.²⁶ Because later periods involved different social, cultural and political dynamics (consider the influence of second-wave feminism, for example), there is no discussion here of studies that directly consider whether women journalists offer different perspectives on war by analyzing news coverage of conflicts after the Second World War or by interviewing or conducting survey research with

²⁵ According to the “Global Report on the Status Women in the News Media” (2011), barriers still loom for women in journalism today—the ‘glass ceiling’ still prevents women from advancing in media organizations worldwide. This international study found that women represent only a third (33.3 per cent) of the full-time journalism workforce in the 522 companies surveyed (6). Moreover, men continue to occupy most top management jobs (73 per cent) and news-gathering positions (64 per cent) in most of the 60 nations surveyed (9).

²⁶ Most women journalists who covered conflicts between 1880 (when women entered the journalism profession) and 1945 are no longer living and most did not write autobiographies, thus erasing these experiences and narrowing the scope of possible research methodologies and sources, as compared to studies that consider this research question from the perspective of more recent conflicts and can therefore rely on interviews or survey research with journalists.

journalists after this war period.²⁷ However, some later studies have challenged the idea that gender affects how journalists report in general, suggesting that factors other than gender more reliably indicate journalists' attitudes and values and have a more profound impact on news coverage—factors such as newsroom and community culture as well as journalists' socioeconomic status and political values (Ross 2004; Weaver 1997).

Overall, feminist media studies point to current differences between how men and women report on war—differences that are consistent with the gendered nature of journalism in that they mirror the traditional masculine-feminine divide evident in news discourse generally. This includes differences in the topics covered (such as politics versus human interest), angle assumed (factual versus compassionate, for example), sources consulted (as in, male versus female) and ethical position (such as detached versus audience-centred) (van Zoonen 1998: 36). These distinctions also depend on the situation of the journalist-historian. For example, Mills (1997) argues from a difference feminist standpoint that gender influences newsgathering and news content because women's unique experiences as 'women' shape their worldview and, in turn, their journalism. Mills argued that 'gender' (as socially constructed) has limited women in different ways and that this, in turn, impacts their work. For instance, women may have been denied jobs or promotions solely because they were women or they may have done the bulk of the housekeeping or childrearing. As a result, women's different set of professional and personal experiences means that some women write different elements in stories than some men would write about the same events.

²⁷ These studies include Caballero 2001; Chambers, Steiner and Fleming 2004: 196-215; Elwood-Akers 1988; McLaughlin 2002; Prentoulis, Tumber and Webster 2005; and Rouvalis and Schackner 2000.

Extending this idea to war news then, Agnès Cardinal, Dorothy Goldman and Judith Hattaway (1999) viewed the First World War as a catalyst for women writers, including women journalists, to create a unique perspective on war. Their collection of women's writing during the First World War, including journalistic writing, highlighted the distinct ways that women writers saw and narrated the war. For instance, women writers tended to focus on matters of everyday life in the backdrop of the Great War, such as "women's struggle on the home front, their experiences of becoming autonomous, running a house or leaving it to do paid work, managing money, driving cars or travelling abroad to visit the front" (Ibid. 1-2). More specifically, Barker-Plummer and Boaz (2005) argued that women take "a more 'human' approach" to war news than men, which may contribute more emotional depth and empathy in war news coverage, given the greater focus on victims and families in wartime, for instance, instead of military strategy and conflict (372). Accordingly, "losing this 'emotional' aspect, of course, means losing an essential part of the war story, an aspect that if it were present in enough force, would in fact change the story altogether" (Ibid. 372).

In calling for more research on whether women journalists offered a different perspective on the Second World War, Beasley (1995) urged scholars to consider whether the prevailing belief in women's "'feminine nature'" and moral superiority was in fact true (that is, whether it reflected 'natural' or 'essential' differences), or whether it was a product of the "accepted wisdom of a gendered society that held women as a group to be morally superior—but at the price of being economically and socially dependent" (333). This question has roots in the equality-versus-difference debate underpinning Western feminist theories of war. Steiner (2005), for example, suggested that differences in the work of women journalists in the early to mid-20th century may reflect patriarchal influences more than 'essential' differences. While women

reporters may have adopted different ethical principles or a “more sentimental style”, or written about different topics, Steiner argued that this is often “the price of admission into professional journalism ... and says more about how people respond to conditions of employment than about differences between men and women, and certainly about ‘natural’ differences” (Ibid. 44). If more women were assigned to cover ‘soft’ news, for instance, then it seems logical that they would come to be seen by others and by themselves as being interested in ‘soft’ news (van Zoonen 1998). This practice, thus, “reflects and constructs power relations between men and women in the profession” (Gallagher 2001: 64). These ‘power relations’ in journalism result in a profession that was “almost totally led by middle-aged white men and it reflected their interests, their biases, their backgrounds” (Mills 1997: 43). And this, in turn, results in media portrayals of war that are heavily dominated by patriarchal logic (Lemish 2005: 275).

Media Representations of Women

Research on representations of women in mainstream media reflects in large part the work of feminist media scholars who argue that the mass media “contribute to the reinforcement of gender differences and inequalities” and, as such, constitute a “key site through which oppressive feminine identities are constructed and disseminated” (Gough-Yates 2003: 7). More specifically, feminist analyses of media seek to understand this connection between image and (patriarchal) ideology—that is, how images and cultural constructions are connected to patterns of inequality, domination and oppression (Gill 2006). According to van Zoonen (1995), media representations of gender—masculinity and femininity—are expressions of dominant gender discourse and reflect a dichotomous, binary and hierarchical definition of gender. For example, in explaining the media’s dichotomization of gender, she characterized representations of women with the terms: “underrepresentation, family context, low-status jobs, no authority, no power,

related to others, passive, emotional, dependent, submissive and indecisive” (320). Oppositely, media characterize men in terms of the following key words: overrepresentation, work context, high-status positions, authority, powerful, individual, active, rational, independent, resistant and resolute (Ibid. 320). These representations, then, become part of human subjectivity, offering ways of understanding and representing oneself.²⁸

According to Gaye Tuchman (1978), “all mass media disseminate the same theme about women to all social classes: They announce their symbolic annihilation and trivialization” (30). Based on their international survey of feminist media studies on women’s representations in media, Byerly and Ross (2006) argued that women are framed in highly restricted and mostly negative ways that promote “patriarchal” versions of “‘acceptable’ femininity” (50).²⁹ Traditionally a patriarchal space, news media marginalize and limit women’s role in modern societies and use gendered frames in news reporting that tend to undermine women or represent them in stereotypical and marginalized ways. The framing of news narratives is orchestrated to provide ways of understanding gendered relations that symbolically reinforce women’s subordinate status and preserve the male-ordered status quo.³⁰

Concomitantly, feminist media scholars have also found that women’s journalism has consistently portrayed women in domestic roles. Women are wives, mothers, homemakers, sex objects and consumers and, if single, then they are aspiring wives, mothers and homemakers.³¹

For instance, Michelle Smith (2008) argued that, between 1928 and 1945, the illustrations,

²⁸ See Brooks and Hébert 2006; Byerly and Ross 2006; Carter, Branston and Allan 1998; Covert 2001; Ferguson 1983; Friedan 1963; Gauntlett 2008; Gill 2006; Kimmel 2008; Poindexter, Meraz, and Weiss 2008; Byerly and Ross 1999; Scanlon 1995; Smith 2008; and Tuchman 1978.

²⁹ The Global Media Monitoring Project 2010 demonstrates the enduring power of these images, identifying the continued structuring of gendered social relations despite or in spite of feminist gains and labour laws.

³⁰ For supporting scholarship, see Nash 1982; Byerly and Ross 1999, 2006; Kumar 2004; Lemish 2005; Barker-Plummer and Boaz 2005; Smith 2008; and Ross 1995.

³¹ See Ferguson 1978; Franzwa 1974; Friedan 1963; Lang 1999; Lemish 2004; Ross 1995; Smith 2008; Weibel 1977; and Wilson 1977.

advertisements, advice columns and fiction in Canada's two leading women's magazines, *Chatelaine* and *Canadian Home Journal*, instructed women on performing their roles as national citizens, depicting this role as "wives and mothers who were dependent on men", as "society's caregivers and consumers" and as "slender, youthful, attractive, urban and middle-class [women] devoted to their husbands and homes" (141). Similar to American studies (such as Friedan 1963 and Tuchman 1978), women's education, political agency and economic independence was excluded from the magazines' construction of 'woman' and the focus remained on 'the feminine mystique'—that is, the idealized image of womanhood, of the happy housewife, which neglected women's desire for individuality (Smith 2008: 141). As part of the domestic stereotype, women have also been portrayed as consumers—a reflection of their perceived commercial value and an important means of "endorsing and reproducing particular models of femininity" over the 20th century (Carter, Branston and Allen 1998; Carter and Steiner 2004; Lang 1999; Macdonald 2004: 41; Smith 2008).

Some feminist media studies have focused specifically on the representation of women's employment in magazines published prior to and around the period of the Second World War (Ferguson 1978, 1983; Franzwa 1974; Tuchman 1978; Vipond 1977). For example, Mary Vipond (1977) studied assumptions about women's work in Canada's mass circulation magazines in the 1920s, including those intended primarily for women. This is an important focus given how closely the evolution of women's status in society has been tied to changes in the nature of their work. These middle-class magazines communicated that, for the average woman, "it would be almost impossible to combine a career with housekeeping", stressing how "exceptional such 'Super-Women' were" (Ibid. 119). Faced with the choice between both, the magazines "left no doubt that in their view every *true* woman chose marriage if she could" (Ibid.

119). Similarly, in her study of female roles in American women's magazine fiction between 1940 and 1970, Helen Franzwa (1974) argued that the fiction "makes a definite statement about women and work: it says that work plays a distinctly secondary part in women's lives" (106). In the end, there appeared a structural resistance to any conception of 'woman' that strayed from the confines of the 'domestic'.

This gendered structuring is all the more acute in wartime. Goldstein (2001) argued that traditional gender roles are consistent regardless of cultural context or time period and are deeply embedded in times of war. In essence, war is male domain. For Goldstein, "cultures develop gender roles that equate 'manhood' with toughness under fire, and so across cultures and through time, the selection of men as potential combatants (and of women for feminine war support roles) has helped shape the war system" (9).³² In war, women serve to reinforce soldiers' masculinity in various ways, including through their embodiment of 'home' because "men's participation in combat requires the psychological construction of a nurturing 'feminine' domain, a place to return to, or at least to die trying to protect—a place called home or normal or peacetime" (Ibid. 301). In war, women also serve as conquests of property through sexual violence. Elisabeth Klaus and Susanne Kassel (2005) described the symbolic construction of this male-female dichotomy as 'gender logic' and argued that it connects war and the military with traditional constructs of masculinity: "bravery, aggressiveness, power, rationality, physical

³² Underlying the masculinization of war, in part, is the theory that there are biological differences between men and women that more closely associate violence with men than women. Jean Bethke Elshtain (1987) noted: "Male bodies, straight, hard, are more fit for combat and toughening. Male bodies are also expendable in large numbers, But consider female bodies—softening, rounding out, *giving* birth. The bodies of young females are not expendable: they are what re-creates and holds forth promise of a future" (165-166). In this view, men are violent and women peacekeeping. Claudia Herbst (2005) argued that this ideology equating "women's biology with women's destiny ... has served to exclude women from a variety of disciplines, thus opportunities" (321). Traditionally, feminist scholars have distinguished between the concepts of 'sex' and 'gender'.

prowess and discipline” (339). ‘Feminine’ traits stand in stark contrast: submissiveness, passivity, powerlessness, emotionality and permissiveness (van Zoonen 1995: 320). The relationship between masculinity and femininity gains meaning in its opposition and corresponds to power relations that go beyond the battlefield.

News media have largely and historically excluded women from war narratives—as subjects and sources of news (Barker-Plummer and Boaz 2005; Halonen 1999). Scholarship suggests several reasons for this. Krista Hunt and Kim Rygiel (2006) have suggested that women are not perceived as important international actors whether in conflict or in the news. Margaret Thompson, Maria Toro and Katerina Gomez (2007) attributed women’s absence to “the patriarchal tradition of conventional war and mainstream [macho] war reporting” (438). When news media do depict women, it is in stereotypical, ‘gendered’ ways that conform to patriarchal definitions of women—women as objects and symbols—and often serve propagandistic ends, boosting support for war (Barker-Plummer and Boaz 2005, De Pauw 1998, Halonen 1999, Kumar 2004, Keshen 2004, Lemish 2005, Smith 2008). Consequently, this position elevates the male subject and, as Mazepa (2003) argued, reinforces the requirements of war relations.

Alternative Voices: The Case for Alternative Media

Some feminist media scholarship suggests that one way women have overcome the ‘gendered’ limits of journalism practice has been by establishing ‘alternative’ or ‘women-only’ news media—a strategy that bypasses liberal feminist attempts to assimilate women into the patriarchal newsroom or newspaper (Beck 2008; Byerly and Ross 2006; Chambers et al. 1998;

Steiner 1997). No single, accepted definition of ‘alternative media’ exists.³³ Alternative media has, at times, been understood in terms of what it is not: “it is not the established order; it is not the capitalist system; it is not the mainstream view of a subject...; or it is simply not the conventional way of doing something” (Comedia 1984: 95). Or then ‘alternative media’ has become a “‘blanket’ term describing publications which are out of the mainstream of commercial publishing; publications which otherwise might be described as radical, progressive, socialist, feminist, anti-racist, community based, etc.” (Ibid. 95). Other definitions emphasize the communication of facts or opinions as the primary aim of the alternative press or, in another view, social and political action. For James Curran (2007), alternative forms of journalism “enable divergent social groups to define and constitute themselves, facilitate internal strategic debate, and further the forceful transmission of their concerns and viewpoints to the wider public” (xvi). Additionally, he argued that “the engaged media of working-class groups; the feminist movement; sexual minorities; ethnic minorities; peace, environmentalist and anti-global poverty groups; and others, have all extended the diversity of the media system, and enabled grassroots voices to be better heard” (xvi).

With respect to feminist news sources specifically, for instance, with women as decision-makers and news gatherers, these offer content that is controlled by women, that is written for women and by women, and that works to “shift, critique and challenge conventional representations of women” (DiCenzo 2004: 44; 2010; DiCenzo, Delap and Ryan 2011).³⁴ As

³³ For a survey of different ways that the term ‘alternative media’ has been conceptualized and/or defined, see Atton 1999, 2003, 2009; Atton and Hamilton 2008; Bailey et al. 2008; Comedia 1984; Coyer et al. 2007; Harcup 2003, 2011; and Streitmatter 2001.

³⁴ For an overview of studies on women’s political print media in the United Kingdom during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see DiCenzo 2004, pages 47-48; DiCenzo 2010; DiCenzo and Ryan 2007; DiCenzo, Delap and Ryan 2011. Linda Steiner (1991) offers an historical overview of the diversity of women’s media in the United States (including some international perspectives) from the mid-19th century onwards. For a Canadian perspective, see

Maria DiCenzo (2010) argued of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth- century feminist press in Britain, the feminist press worked to expose the “problem of media privilege” whereby the mainstream press “systematically exclude” the interests and opinions of those groups “operating outside the sphere of privilege”—in this case, women (par. 8). By excluding women’s interests and opinions which, in fact, included “everything from social policy and legal reform, to education, work, and war”, the mainstream press offered women “no representation”, “no public voice” and “no means of education” by “being acted *for* by man” (Ibid: par. 8). Feminist media creates a space that, in addition to reporting on a range of national and international events, foregrounds women’s experiences and discusses women’s issues—issues that may seem controversial and threatening to market-oriented, male-run mainstream news organizations and their advertisers who have it in their own best interests to structure women into domestic roles (Beck 2008; Byerly and Ross 2006; Chambers et al. 1998; DiCenzo 2010; DiCenzo, Delap and Ryan 2011; Steiner 1992).

Historically, one such issue is women’s labour. For example, Michelle Tusan (2005) argued that there were a number of smaller women-only or women-focused periodicals in Britain that brought a woman-centered social agenda into the mainstream political discourse both during and (for about a decade) after the First World War. Whether promoting women’s increased involvement in the war effort or advocating for suffrage, women’s advocacy journalism promoted a vibrant woman’s political culture based on an ethic of public service, according to Tusan. For instance, women’s newspapers depicted the political woman activist in a new public role: war worker. As such, Tusan argued that women earned their citizenship (a place in the public sphere) in a particular way—by showing commitment to national war service.

Freeman’s (2011) collection of case studies on how women journalists and other media workers have advocated for women’s rights and identities.

While such case studies demonstrate that some women's periodicals did allow for a variety of female experiences, this assessment may be overly optimistic given that it was still restrictive. For example, in women's periodicals, the emphasis remained on an ethic of patriotic 'service' or 'sacrifice', which reinforced stereotypical ideas about feminine 'nature' and framed women's work as a temporary wartime measure. Furthermore, the audience reach of feminist news (and, thus, the extent to which they permeated the public sphere) was also narrower than that of mainstream media (because of limited financial resources and a smaller circulation, for example) and, therefore, its ability to effect broad social change more limited. Furthermore, as Patricia Mazepa (2003) indicated in her overview of the women's labour press in Canada during the Second World War, "the struggle to articulate labour in terms of gender was ... complex" because a sexual division of labour excluded women from opportunities to participate in political activism or other activities outside the home (52). And, with respect to a feminist labour press specifically, given that women were excluded from the newsrooms of the commercial newspapers, "a distinct labour press by and for women was therefore even more rare" (52).

There was, however, an active alternative labour press or, as Curran (2007) described it, an "engaged media of working-class groups" in Canada during the Second World War (xvi). David Spencer (1995) traced the emergence of "dissident journalism" in Canada to the mid-1800s and subsumed the working-class labour press within this brand of "nonconformist" journalism, which "def[ied] established authority" and "provided the only class-based alternative to daily newspapers" (160-161). Given the labour press' explicit mandate to cover labour issues and given that women were, in fact, wage labourers, the labour press should be more apt to portray women in this unconventional role and, in this way, to provide an alternative frame on

women's wartime experience—one often excluded from mainstream commercial news media because it challenges the dominant social order.

Social Change or Status Quo?: The Impact of the Second World War on Women

Over 30 years ago, Pierson (1977, 1986) questioned whether the Second World War “‘liberate[d]’ women from patriarchal divisions of labour and conceptions of proper womanhood”, sparking a scholarly debate (1986: 9). To address her question, she studied the Canadian government's recruitment of women into the labour force, analyzing files of the Women's Division of the National Selective Service during the war. In examining the “context of women's wartime employment and ... the degree to which [government] attitudes towards women's proper role in society changed during the war”, she concluded that while women crossed sex/gender boundaries during the Second World War, the “war's slight yet disquieting reconstruction of womanhood in the direction of equality with men was scrapped for a full-skirted and redomesticated post-war model” (1977: 125; 1986: 220).

Much subsequent research on the impact of the Second World War on women's status in society continues to draw on Pierson's work. This scholarship largely acknowledges the temporary workplace and, concomitantly, economic gains made by women over the course of the war. At the same time, however, scholars debate whether women's wartime ‘advancement’ created social change or, conversely, enabled social continuity.³⁵

³⁵ Literature discussing the war's limited impact on women in the workplace includes: Anderson 1981; Battaglini 1996; Bingley 2006; Campbell 1984; Covert 2001; de la Vina 1982; Forestell 1989; Honey 1981, 1983; Klausen 1998; Milkman 1987; Nash 1982; Pierson 1986; Rupp 1978; Smith 2008; and Yang 2000. For a sample of literature emphasizing the war's liberating impact, see Chafe 1972, 1991; Keshen 1997, 2004; Prentice et al. 1988; and Hartmann 1982.

As the main instruments of public opinion, newspapers and magazines had the potential to play an important role in bringing about a change in public attitudes toward women and, more specifically, women's work (Chafe 1972, 1991). As such, many studies (the majority of them American) have used media as a lens through which to analyze the question of the war's impact on the status of women in wartime society, focusing specifically on representations of women's labour therein.

Some scholarship takes a progressive view of the war's impact on women as labourers, arguing that the Second World War spurred social change. For example, Jeffrey A. Keshen (1997, 2004) suggested such "progressive currents" based on his observation of wartime print media including newspapers, magazines and sources geared to women such as *Maclean's*, *Chatelaine*, *Mayfair* and *Saturday Night* (1997: 266). According to Keshen, news media conveyed restrictive stereotypes about women during the Second World War and, with respect to their wage labour, took the "reassuring stance that women workers had taken jobs solely out of patriotism—to 'back the attack'—in order to release men for action, and that they would happily return home once victory was attained" (2004: 152). At the same time, however, many news stories (often about women helping with the war effort abroad) also relayed "inspirational accounts of female strength and skill in numerous unprecedented roles outside the domestic sphere" (Ibid. 153). Keshen draws on individual news articles as supporting evidence. He argued that, in the end, too much had happened during the war years for life to return to the pre-war status quo.

Similarly, Alison Prentice et al. (1988; 2004) argued that "the opportunity to expand their activities [beyond personal service work, for example] did have a positive impact" on some Canadian women (1988: 317). Specifically, women "gained an increased sense of self-worth,

leading them to chafe at the more traditional and limited notions of women's appropriate roles that re-emerged at war's end" (Ibid. 317). In short, "though few [women] noticed it, a new era had begun for women" (Ibid. 295). Much like Keshen (1997, 2004), Prentice et al. reached this conclusion based on qualitative observation of Canadian periodicals such as *Canadian Home Journal*, *Saturday Night*, *Maclean's* and *Chatelaine*, with individual articles cited as supporting examples. The scholars add to this archival research of government documents (from the Department of Labour, for example), some personal interviews with women who worked during the war, and complementary research from books and journal articles. Despite noting the persistence of gender-based stereotypes in Canadian media messages throughout the war and into the 1950s, Prentice et al. argued that what matters foremost is that the war had the long-term effect of increasing women's workforce participation.

Similarly, Chafe (1972, 1991) called the Second World War "a watershed in the history of women at work" in America (1972: 136). According to Chafe (1972), "a dramatic change had occurred in the status of the woman worker" because the very nature of war "had disrupted the established order and forced an adjustment in the patterns of national living" (1972: 150). Through observation of government documents, public opinion polls (such as Gallup), news articles and secondary research, Chafe noted a temporary change in public attitudes towards working women—from "outright condemnation to tolerant sanction" (1972: 149). Fuelled by the government campaigns to attract female workers, newspapers and magazines praised women who joined the labour force and upheld Rosie the Riveter as a "national heroine" (a married heroine over the age of 35), urging others to join her (Ibid. 147). The evidence that this was government, and perhaps corporate (war industry), propaganda echoed in the commercial media is clear, given that just a few years earlier, mass media discouraged women from pursuits outside

the home. Nonetheless, and much like the Canadian context, Chafe argued that shifts in attitude and industry during the Second World War created “ripple effects” that ultimately served as a “catalyst” (1972: 150, 254), “accelerat[ing] a long-term process and help[ing] to make conceivable new patterns of behaviour among women” (1991: 233).

These studies support a view of the Second World War as having a progressive impact on women’s status in society based, in large part, on qualitative observation, with scholars selecting individual news articles as supporting evidence. This evidence, however, may not necessarily be representative of wartime media coverage. Furthermore, these studies warrant a more detailed consideration of how propaganda may be encoded in these media texts. Studies (largely American) that incorporate a more systematic and/or quantitative analysis of a representative sample of media content across the entire war period, such as content analysis, begin to reveal a different, less optimistic view of the war’s impact on labouring women.

Maureen Honey (1981, 1983, 1984) argued that contradictory images of women labourers created in response to economic wartime imperatives served to reinforce a sexual division of labour in the United States during the Second World War. Through a content analysis of advertisements and fiction geared to women in two magazines (one middle-class and one working-class), she concluded that media created “an ideological framework for the employment of women in male-identified blue-collar jobs—a framework which simultaneously acknowledged that women were capable of filling jobs requiring ‘male’ characteristics [but still] preserved essential features of the feminine role” (1981: 50). As she suggests, images of women war workers grew out of “government policies which stated that their role as wage earners was a temporary one, a view based on inaccurate assumptions about the motivations of women entering war production and on a more accurate assessment about the desires of businessmen to employ

them only for the duration of the war” (1981: 51). The complex image of women in fiction and advertisements blended two models of American womanhood: the “guardian of the hearth who represents vulnerability, spirituality, and nurturance” and “the tough fighter who can work beside men as an equal” (1984: 216). In shaping American ideology to fit wartime needs, propaganda strengthened rather than challenged sex role stereotypes, reinforcing the traditional sexual division of labour. Linking national ideals such as “the frontier”, “love of country” and “the family” to the changing status of women avoided the transformative implications of women’s war work (54). Honey, thus, argued that the war narrowed women’s sphere rather than expanding it, despite the media’s publicly legitimizing [for propagandistic purposes only] women’s entry into traditional ‘male’ work.

Through content analyses of news media and archival research of government documents during the war, Mei-Ling Yang (2000) (who compared “how the white press and the black press prioritized women’s war activities”) and Tawnya A. Covert (2001) (who studied advertisements in women’s magazines) argued that gender ideologies about women’s roles in society figured prominently in encouraging American women into the workforce during the Second World War (Yang 2000: iii). Interested in questions of race and gender, Yang (2000) analyzed non-combat news stories concerning women and the United States’ war effort in New York and Chicago newspapers during the period of women’s mobilization (June 1942 to December 1944), focusing on different aspects of women’s labour—housework, paid work, military service and volunteer work—to determine how newspapers prioritized various roles of women in wartime society (57). She argued that “the ideology of patriotic domesticity set the cultural parameter through which the press interpreted the meaning of women’s work in relation to the war” (338). In much the same way, Covert (2001) sought to analyze changes in the prevailing images of women during

the war by conducting a content analysis of images of white women in advertisements in six American women's magazines from 1941 to 1946. She concluded that advertisements, while expanding representations of women in non-traditional wartime activities and occupations, "continued to emphasize traditional ideas about women's roles, refitting wartime responsibilities into the context of women's traditional roles in the home" (xii). Furthermore, she noted that few advertisements post-war depicted women's employment and, instead, emphasized women's role as wives and mothers, as was the pre-war norm. As previously noted in this chapter, Smith (2008) concluded the same about Canadian women's magazines through a case study examining the fiction therein, arguing that the magazines positioned women's war work in ways that preserved the sexual division of labour.

Conclusion

There exists limited scholarship and, thus, a rather narrow view, on how Canadian media generally and (even less so) news media specifically represented women's labour during the Second World War. No quantitative, longitudinal study has been conducted within and/or across Canadian print news media. The lack of a systematic analysis reflects a methodological gap in the literature. This gap calls into question whether existing research sufficiently captures a comprehensive Canadian perspective on how media represented women's labour. This, in turn, has broader implications for both the historical study of women and media as well as the question of whether the Second World War spurred social change in the status of Canadian women. This dissertation made a methodological choice to count when, where and how women's labour surfaced as a subject in the commercial and alternative press, creating a systematic way of understanding how media constructed and negotiated gender roles during the Second World War.

The next chapter sets up the historical background for this dissertation by presenting an overview of women's traditional and wage labour during the Second World War and setting these against the broader social and political landscape.

CHAPTER THREE

“Womanpower” to the Rescue:

A History of Working Women in Canada during the Second World War

A Historical Overview

“It must, however, not be forgotten that a total war effort is needed to protect everything we hold dear, including the family and family life; and that the employment of women is essential to a total war effort.”

— Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada

(King 1942: 9)

On September 10, 1939, Canada entered the Second World War. With men overseas, this left massive labour shortages on the home front, and so the Canadian government mobilized women to aid in the ‘total war’ effort. Working in Canada’s paid labour force was one way civilian women participated in the war effort. Women also enlisted to fill shortages threatening the armed forces and led volunteer efforts at home (Pierson 1986). By 1944, the number of women working full-time in Canada totalled nearly 1.2 million—almost twice what it was when the war started—and approximately 800,000 additional women worked part-time or on farms (Final Report 1944: 7; Pierson 1986: 9). As the war neared its end, the government leveraged social and economic policy and spread propaganda to drive women out of their wartime jobs and create work for returning soldiers.

By analyzing news coverage during the war period, this dissertation seeks to determine whether there was a public discussion of the subject of women’s labour in the Canadian press

and, if so, to identify how gendered roles were constructed and negotiated in the wartime news. To contextualize these research questions, this chapter offers an historical overview of women's domestic, volunteer and wage labour during the Second World War, with an emphasis on the latter. In the process, it establishes the magnitude and scope of women's workforce participation, explains how the sexual division of labour structured and limited women's workforce participation, and demonstrates how government policy and propaganda manipulated women and their labour in the interests of the patriarchal family.

Women's Traditional and Wage Labour in Wartime Canada

Women's Domestic Labour

Work in the home is traditionally identified as women's work.³⁶ In reference to urban Canada from the mid-1920s onward, Pat and Hugh Armstrong (2010) divided the tasks performed by women in the home into five inter-related categories: housework, reproduction and child care, care of the elderly and disabled, tension management, and sexual relations.³⁷ Similarly, Meg Luxton and June Corman (2001) defined domestic labour in terms of two major labour processes: (1) housework and household maintenance and (2) making ends meet. The former involved "keep[ing] up the physical space and provision of people living there", and the latter encompassed "other work processes such as financial planning and shopping to transform

³⁶ See Armstrong and Armstrong 2010; Bourne 1985; Bradbury 1993; Luxton 1980; Luxton and Corman 2001; Pierson 1986; Palmer 1992; Sangster 1995, 2010b; Strong-Boag 1985, 1986; and Thomas 1987.

³⁷ The scholarship references the 1920s because industrialization gained "considerable proportions during the late Twenties" in Canada and, with this, came a shift in the meaning of 'domestic' labour (Wartime History of the Employment of Women: 4). Prior to the rise of industrialization and, concomitantly, urbanization in the 19th century, there was little division between 'work' and 'home', as "the family was the basic unit for social and economic purposes" (Armstrong and Armstrong 2010: 82). The emphasis was on domestic production: families farmed, people traded goods, and women made the items the family needed to survive from raw materials. But as manufacturing and trade became increasingly important, "more and more of the products previously made in the home were made in the factory.... Factories, workshops, department stores, and offices began to replace home-based production. Workplaces, work and workers became increasingly segregated" (Ibid. 83).

the income available into goods and services, thus contributing to household standards of living” (Ibid. 154). While Luxton and Corman reference the 1980s specifically, they argue that little had changed in the organization and conception of domestic labour since the early part of the twentieth century (155). Some labour historians have also included women’s paid work in the home within the scope of women’s domestic work, which included such tasks as laundry, sewing, typing and taking in boarders (Armstrong and Armstrong 2010; Bradbury 1993; Strong-Boag 1986; Luxton 1980). In all cases, women’s work within the home was always about service to others. A woman’s identity was tightly tied to her role as wife and mother, as if being a wife and mother and consequently running a home was all a woman could or would ever want or hope to do. As Nash (1982) explained, this idea that a “woman’s ‘proper place’ is in the home was the cornerstone of patriarchal ideology both during the Second World War and in the post-war years” (116).

Women’s unpaid domestic work was key to maintaining the family, which was especially pertinent in times of war. Furthermore, homemakers were an important group in the mobilization of Canadian society for effective execution of war. For instance, during the First World War, thrift and economy were homemakers’ primary wartime duties (Hopkins 1918: 331). In fact, thrift and economy were perceived as so important to women’s domestic work in wartime that this became one of four areas of focus at the Women’s War Conference, organized by the federal government in early 1918.³⁸ Among its various resolutions, the Conference “opposed ... expenditures which do not help to make the nation or the individual more efficient in performing the tasks imposed by war, regarding other expenditures as promoting luxury and therefore

³⁸ The Women’s War Conference brought together representatives of women’s national organizations, as well as other women from across Canada, on the invitation of the War Committee of the Cabinet so that “representatives of the women of Canada might consider with the War Committee plans for their wider participation in war work” (Women’s War Conference 1918: 3). The other subject areas discussed at the Conference were (1) National Health and Child Welfare, (2) Agriculture and Production and (3) National Registration and Industrial Activity (Ibid. 13).

undesirable in wartime” (Canada, Women’s War Conference 1918: 14).³⁹ On a less formal scale, women were also mobilized as ‘morale boosters’ to encourage men to serve on the frontlines since, in the first year of the war, many women did the opposite: “The difficulty [of] women holding back their sons or husbands was for a time serious and its influence was by no means negligible at the close of the [first] year [of the war]” (Hopkins 1918: 331). As stated in an open letter by Mrs A. E. Gooderham, president of the National Committee of Women for Patriotic Services, in August 1915:

Most urgent of all today is the call to give up ungrudgingly our husbands, sons and brothers. We are called to create in our homes such an atmosphere of self-devotion that our men and boys may feel that their resolution to offer themselves in their country’s service is simply what we expect of them. Are we making it hard or easy for our men to obey their country’s call to service? If we hold back our men we are courting defeat. (Ibid. 331)

Women’s domestic labour was mobilized on a larger and more strategic scale during the Second World War. As Pierson (1986) found through an examination of wartime advertisements by commercial industry and government, “it was ... in the spirit of near-total mobilization for war that women’s traditional domestic services received new recognition as socially necessary labour” (41). Wartime advertisements militarized women’s domestic labour, heralding women as “Canada’s Housoldiers” whose home front efforts were crucial to winning the war (Ibid. 41). On

³⁹ “Luxury” was further defined as “anything not essential to life and health” and “that which entails labour needed for essential articles” (Women’s War Conference 1918: 14). Luxury items or activities could include *food* (such as vegetables and fruit out of season, expensive confectionary, and unnecessary meals), *dress* (discarding unworn clothing to follow fashion trends, buying clothes that are not durable, and buying jewelry), *amusements* (such as amusements that result in fatigue or extravagant expense, playing bridge for money or expensive prizes, using gasoline for pleasure riding, and horse racing), and *extravagant habits* (such as constant gifts of large amounts of candy, unnecessary use of cardboard boxes and tissue paper, unnecessary toilet articles, and using wool for unnecessary sweater coats) (Ibid. 15).

a greater scale than the First World War, through thrift and economy, homemakers again assisted the war effort “by respecting the limitations that rationing imposed, by preventing waste and by saving and collecting materials that could be recycled for use in war production” (Pierson 1986: 33). Promotion of thrift and economy targeted the upper class or upper-middle class lifestyle foremost, not the working-class who could not afford luxuries anyway, and for whom rationing was already a way of life given the Depression years preceding the war. In addition to conservation, women grew “victory gardens,” managed family budgets and purchased ‘victory’ bonds (Ibid. 33). Women’s role as household consumers was a key part of their domestic identity, whether in times of war or peace. Homemakers were responsible for transforming their husbands’ wages into whatever the family needed for daily survival (Bradbury 1993: 160). Yet their purchasing power and its concomitant role in driving a consumer economy did not accord domestic work any added value or prestige.

Without wages themselves, women were economically dependent on those who did earn wages—their husbands, for the most part. Within this “model of the patriarchal family which ... was the major operative model for social policy purposes in Canada”, including during the Second World War, “the father/husband is seen as responsible for the economic well-being of the family” and, conversely, “the wife/mother is seen as responsible for the household and personal care of the family members, especially childcare” (Eichler 1985: 62-63). This model subordinates women. Because women’s domestic work is not rewarded monetarily, it is therefore perceived as being “of less value than the work of the wage-earners on whose financial support they must rely” (Armstrong and Armstrong 2010: 89; Eichler 1985; Palmer 1992). The *Census of Canada 1941* stated as much in its definition of a “gainful occupation” as one “by which the person who pursues it earns money or in which he assists in the production of marketable goods”

(Vol. I, Chapter XII: 321). As the government defined it, this included anyone of “working age” (14 years of age and over) who “assist[ed] parents in the work of the farm or in some family business in a ‘no pay’ capacity”, but it did not include “daughters helping in the domestic work of the home without pay ..., though many of these, especially on farms, would be fully employed at home duties” (Ibid. 321, 324). Margrit Eichler (1985) suggested the same undervaluing about women’s volunteer labour: “Any activity that qualifies as work by virtue of its nature but which does not involve a worker receiving cash in exchange for services is not regarded as work in an economic sense” (Ibid. 63).

Women’s Volunteer Labour

‘Service’ is the hallmark of women’s organizations, dating back to pre-Confederation Canada when most women’s associations were local and organized at either the municipal or parish level (Brandt 1985: 80; Canada, Royal Commission 1970: 47). Women’s organizations in Canada provided countless hours of unpaid volunteer service to society, including and especially in times of national crisis. As stated in the “Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada” (1970): “Society has always looked to [women] to meet service needs and they have responded” (46).

During the First World War, Canadian women were appealed to on many levels: by “officers on the platform, soldiers in the streets, clergymen in the pulpits, politicians in their speeches ... [and] women writers in the press” (Hopkins 1918: 337). Women’s response to this appeal was widespread: “... women in every grade of life and labour did something, gave something, helped in some way; if there were some who were ignorant or selfish the proportion was less than amongst the men” (Ibid. 330). Throughout this war, nearly 500,000 Canadian

women (or approximately 15 per cent of the female population) held membership in volunteer women's societies across the country where they:

raised funds, outfitted hospital ships, collected and distributed clothing for service men and their families, made parcels to be sent to the men in trenches, rolled bandages, knitted socks, assisted the Red Cross in its efforts, operated canteens and boarding houses for female munitions workers, and set up and administered camps for young women who worked on farms and in food production during the summer months. (Brandt 1985: 87).

Three of the more notable women's associations were the Canadian Red Cross, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and the Young Women's Christian Association of Canada. Red Cross Societies in every Canadian community were the centres of women's voluntary labour and, as such, were strongly supported, including by other women's associations which gave volunteer hours to Red Cross service and initiatives (Hopkins 1918: 336). The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, which had 500 chapters and 30,000 members across Canada, had raised \$443,733 for "patriotic purposes" by the end of the first war year alone (Ibid. 331). The Young Women's Christian Association of Canada undertook the responsibility of housing women working in munitions factories and agriculture and setting up Hostess Houses at military camps where mothers, wives, children and friends could wait for and greet their men returning from battle. Such voluntary organizations, which comprised mainly middle-class homemakers, had conservative, religious roots, "tend[ing] to be oriented to religious matters, welfare and patriotism" (Canada, Royal Commission 1970: 46). Working within values that privileged the patriarchal family, women could still render 'service' to their nation, but within

the confines of a bourgeois women's public sphere that segregated women and their work and that upheld a sexual division of labour.

Women's volunteer organizations also played a significant part in supporting the National Registration Board's official registration of men and women in 1918, which sought to "obtain information for all our industries in Canada in order that we may with some success bring labour in touch with the men and firms and corporations who are requiring labour, and also at the same time attempt to direct labour into the more essential channels" (Canada, Women's War Conference 1918: 22). Women volunteered as registrars at upwards of 15,000 polling subdivisions across Canada, assisting people in completing their registration cards (Ibid. 23).

With the First World War not too far from Canadian consciousness and experiences, the Second World War began and, with it, another call for women to volunteer. The Second World War was "much more highly mechanized than its predecessor" and "the ordinary civilian was more personally involved" and, as such, the war reached further into Canadian homes (Harshaw 1966: 156). In fact, as the Women's Voluntary Services (W.V.S.) Division, Department of National War Services, said of the Second World War: "Never has there been citizen participation on such a scale as has been the case during the war" (W.V.S. Division, Appendix J 1945: 1).⁴⁰ For women, it was traditional work—that is, domestic and volunteer labour—that was mobilized on the greatest scale (Pierson 1986). When Canada declared war, several hundred existing women's organizations immediately took initiative to enlist their own volunteers to carry out their own programs, particularly relating to salvage and to services for the Armed Forces

⁴⁰ Library and Archives Canada, Department of National War Services fonds, Women's Voluntary Services Division: Appendices (1941-1946), RG7-G-26, File 328-G, Volume 113, Appendix J: Suggested Courses for Volunteer Training, 1945.

(W.V.S. Division, Part II: 1).⁴¹ Furthermore, the initial voluntary national registration of women was organized completely by female volunteers. The federal government also encouraged women's organizations to assume greater responsibilities and was "much more anxious [than in the First World War] to orchestrate the activities of the women, many of which assumed a semi-official nature" (Brandt 1985: 90).

In October 1941, the federal government assumed official direction over women's volunteer war work by establishing a W.V.S. Division within the Department of National War Services to "promote the coordination of the voluntary efforts of the women of Canada and to encourage the organization of women's voluntary services on a community basis, with a view to their best utilization for the needs of their communities, the maintenance of national morale and the furtherance of the welfare of the nation" (W.V.S. Division, Part I: 1).⁴² The national office of the W.V.S. Division in Ottawa directed, advised and supplied government information to the 44 W.V.S. Centres set up in Canadian cities coast to coast, with more than half located across Ontario and Quebec (W.V.S. Division, Part I: 7-8). These Volunteer Centres served as a "manning pool on which existing organizations [could] draw for assistance in carrying out their expanding duties ... [and] a recruiting office at which volunteers may register, indicating the type of work which they are best fitted to do" (W.V.S. Division, Appendix G: 3).⁴³ These Centres

⁴¹ Library and Archives Canada, Department of National War Services fonds, Women's Voluntary Services Division, Confidential Recommendations (Part II), RG35, Series 7, Vol. 18, File WVSD#17, Report, 1941-1946.

⁴² Library and Archives Canada, Department of National War Services fonds, Women's Voluntary Services Division, Organization and Work (Part I), RG35, Series 7, Vol. 18, File WVSD#17, Report, 1941-1946.

⁴³ Library and Archives Canada, Department of National War Services fonds, Women's Voluntary Services Division: Appendices (1941-1946), RG7-G-26, File 328-G, Volume 113, Appendix G: Booklet, How to Organize a Volunteer Centre, n.d.

aimed to “prevent overlapping and duplication and to coordinate voluntary war work and civilian services on a community basis” (W.V.S. Division, Part I: 2).⁴⁴

These Volunteer Centres organized millions of Canadian women into hundreds of local societies and clubs (Ibid. 8; Pierson 1986: 37). Over the war years, volunteers engaged in a range of activities across various fields of work, including hospital services (such as arranging flowers, tray distribution and collection, manning the Information Desk), housing services (including surveys and rooms registry), health services (including clinics, first aid, home nursing, making surgical dressings, nurses’ aides), child care services (such as in Wartime Day Nurseries and child care agencies), and clerical services (W.V.S. Division, Part I: 9-11). Volunteers also sewed and made clothing; operated canteens and snack bars; led canvassing and tagging for community campaigns, individual organizations and Victory Loans; organized community letter-writing campaigns for Armed Forces overseas; made ‘ditty bags’ for the Navy League; organized committees, discussions and information booths on nutrition; ran recreation centres and welfare agencies; led training in areas such as First Aid, home nursing, community organization and language learning; and distributed information to households on rationing (Ibid. 9-11).

In addition, women’s volunteer organizations appointed liaison officers to local subcommittees of the Consumer Branch of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board and, in this way,

⁴⁴ The objectives of the W.V.S. Division were as follows: (1) To unite both voluntary war work and civilian services in such a way that the whole volunteer movement marches forward in a coordinated whole on a community basis; (2) To recognize the difference in community set-up so that the plan of coordination will vary as the structure of war work and civilian services varies; and (3) To be of service in an advisory capacity so that duplication and waste of effort may be reduced to a minimum. This may be accomplished by (a) strengthening civilian morale by such volunteer activity as will provide satisfaction and a feeling of accomplishment to the volunteer; (b) stimulating women to understand total war so that organizations may be encouraged to give volunteer service that will adapt itself to the constantly changing war scheme; [and] (c) encouraging the development and extension of training and lecture courses so that volunteers may be more proficient in their performances; but more especially, that they may understand the reasons for changes and development in war and civilian activities (Library and Archives Canada, Department of National War Services fonds, Women’s Voluntary Services Division: Appendices (1941-1946), RG7-G-26, File 328-G, Volume 113, Appendix A: Memorandum, n.d., 1).

one million of Canada's three million adult women were mobilized to monitor and report on inflation, including in paid positions (Pierson 1986: 39-40). Women also volunteered as registrars for the National Registration Board just as in the First World War (W.V.S. Division, Part I: 9-11). Furthermore, the national office of the W.V.S. introduced a Block Plan in 15 larger urban centres to organize the community for house-to-house canvassing and collection. It served as a conduit through which "every national war programme [could] be effectively brought into every home, and every householder given vital information concerning them" (W.D.S. Division, Appendix L).⁴⁵ Under this system, for instance, a waste fats and bones salvage campaign was led and executed by women in response to a 1942 shortage in supplies of oils and fats, needed for the glycerine required to make explosives.

The W.V.S. Division also cooperated with several government departments including the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; the Departments of Agriculture, Finance, Health and Welfare, and Labour; the National Film Board of Canada; and (as previously mentioned) the Wartime Prices and Trade Board (W.V.S. Division, Part I: 14-15). Members served on government committees that dealt with different types of war activity including the Consumer Information Services, Food Conservation Committee, Coal Conservation Committee and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (W.V.S. Division, Part I: 13).⁴⁶ The W.V.S. Division also cooperated with approximately 27 national organizations including the Red Cross Society, Canadian Nurses Association, Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire,

⁴⁵ Library and Archives Canada, Department of National War Services fonds, Women's Voluntary Services Division: Appendices (1941-1946), RG7-G-26, File 328-G, Volume 113, Appendix L: The Block Plan of Organization, 1943.

⁴⁶ The Consumer Information Services was a committee of the Wartime Information Board whose purpose was to coordinate information issued to consumers. The Food Conservation Committee considered ways and means for nationwide cooperation in the food conservation program. W.V.S. Centres distributed information about coal conservation released by the Department of Munitions and Supply. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration set up an interdepartmental committee to assist in recruiting and placing qualified personnel within the Administration. (W.V.S. Division, Part I: 13)

Catholic Women's League, Federated Women's Institute of Canada, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Girl Guides Association (Ibid. 15-16).

While the scale and scope of women's domestic and volunteer work expanded throughout the war, it did not challenge traditional gendered roles or the sexual division of labour in society. Women's volunteer efforts were thus highly praised by the government, particularly in the early war years when the idea of female participation in the war effort required some adjustment (Nash 1982: 86). It was, however, women's waged work that held the strongest potential to shift the status of women in society and to render a more equal division of labour. During the war, women were more than just mothers and wives and consumers. Women did more than maintain homes, rear children, manage family budgets, fundraise and knit sweaters for soldiers. Women flooded the labour market in large numbers, including into jobs traditionally performed by men.

Women's Wage Labour

As Linda Kealey, Joan Sangster and Raelene Frances (1996) argued, among the most "important, yet subtle revolutions in the labour force of the industrialized countries over the past 100 years has been the increasing growth of female participation in formal wage work" (54). Both World Wars played a part in this 'revolution' by expanding opportunities for women's paid employment.

The First World War "did much to break down the barriers against employment of women in general and ... opened up opportunities [at least for the war period] as [the] male population declined proportionately" (Wartime History of the Employment of Women: 4). As of the 1911 Canada Census, approximately 14 per cent of women of working age were 'gainfully occupied', meaning either working for pay or assisting in the production of marketable goods,

and most of these women were employed in occupations “considered the province of women”: domestic service, teaching, sales, dressmaking and millinery, for instance (Ibid. 1). The First World War brought about a shift, with thousands of women joining the workforce for the first time, often in fields that were new to women such as iron and steel manufacturing for munitions production. Other industries, such as agriculture, also relied on women’s labour to a lesser degree (Ibid. 1). The Great War “markedly ... affect[ed] the occupational pattern of female employment”, with women leaving domestic work in large numbers in favour of ‘white-collar’ jobs such as clerical work (in which the percentage of employed women rose from 9 per cent to 18 per cent), retail jobs and work in telephone offices (Ibid. 2). The expanded employment opportunities for women reflect, to an extent, reductions in the male labour supply given the substantial war casualties as well as industrialization which enlarged occupational fields (Ibid. 4). Between the 1911 and 1921 censuses, the percentage of employed women increased by 125,000, or 34 per cent.

Women’s “wider participation in war work”, including paid work, was also on the government agenda for discussion at the Women’s War Conference of 1918, specifically as it pertained to women’s industrial activity as well as agriculture and production. The resolutions adopted at the Conference regarding women’s industrial activity included employing women to “relieve men for necessary war work” in occupations such as “the civil service, railways, electric and motor transportation, building trades, food production and manufacture, printing and allied trades, wood working, jewellery manufacture, telegraphy [and] certain departments of shipbuilding”, as well as employing women to work as “porters and elevator operators, delivery wagon drivers, electrical operators, waiters in hotels and restaurants” (Ibid. 19). Interestingly, women’s wider participation in war work became an issue for public discussion only towards the

end of the First World War, given that both the Women's War Conference as well as the National Registration took place in 1918—the final war year. Perhaps with the experience of the First World War not far in the background, the Second World War looked to its female labour 'reserve' much earlier.

When the Government of Canada declared war in 1939, Canadians were still trying to recover from the Great Depression, with about 900,000 unemployed—20 per cent of this female (Prentice et al. 1988: 297; Pierson 1986: 9). To "provide the Government with an inventory of the mechanical and industrial skill of [the] population," the King government held a National Registration in August 1940 of all single men, aged 19 to 45 inclusive, and of male widowers without children in the same age group (Canada Year Book 1942: 98). The information collected would be used to call on manpower for military training and service and also to ascertain "the extent of ... resources of skilled labour which can be drawn upon to meet the needs of essential wartime industries" (Ibid. 98). The National Registration of 1940 did not include women.

By 1942, however, demand for war production and in the armed forces had depleted Canada's [male] labour pool, leaving industry "almost entirely dependent upon women workers as a means for expanding employment" (Wartime History of Employment of Women: 80). This prompted the King government to establish the NSS in March 1942 "to control and direct the services of men and women in the manner which will best serve the national interest at a time of war" (King 1942: 8). King declared the "recruitment of women for employment [as] 'the most important single feature of the program'" (Ibid. 6). That same month, he announced the government's 10-point program, a series of social and economic measures to facilitate women's increased employment, including recruitment campaigns, child care provisions and job

training.⁴⁷ Two months later, in May 1942, the Women's Division of the NSS was created with the recruitment of women and the execution of this program as a primary mandate (Ibid. 6).

In a public address, "Canada and the War: Manpower and a Total War Effort", broadcast on August 19, 1942, King described the nation's "manpower policy" as "the aim and the means employed by the government to direct the services of all men and women into the most needed channels" (5). This policy stated that "every man and woman capable of performing some form of war service should undertake the service for which he or she may be best qualified and when the demands of war require" (King 1942: 5). Men and women were needed for three main purposes: (1) the armed forces; (2) "to make the machines, the munitions and the weapons of war for [Canada's] fighting men, and to provide their food, clothing and shelter" and "to make the machines and munitions of war for [Canada's] partners in the war ..., and to provide food for the people and the armies of [Canada's] allies in the active fighting zones"; and (3) to keep the home front running (Ibid. 6-7). Running the home front meant feeding, clothing and sheltering Canadians; educating the young; caring for the sick and elderly; providing police and fire protection; and maintaining transportation (Ibid 7). King called this "a large undertaking in a widespread country requir[ing] a very large number of men and women" to fulfil it (Ibid 7). As such, "womanpower" was a necessary part of the "total manpower" needed for total war (Ibid. 5). The labour pool from which to draw this 'womanpower' totalled approximately three million women just before the war began—two million married and one million single (Final

⁴⁷ The 10-point program encompassed the following measures: (1) Recruiting campaigns to attract women; (2) The provision of appropriate and adequate facilities for interviewing women applicants and for giving them advice and direction; (3) The establishment of competent job information and placement services, specializing female labour; (4) Advances to cover transportation costs; (5) Provision of hostels or other satisfactory housing arrangements; (6) Provision of nurseries or other means of caring for children; (7) Provision where needed of medical and recreational facilities; (8) The provision in industry, as well as under direct government auspices, of training programs, specifically designed for women; (9) Pressure upon employers who may be reluctant to hire female labour; (10) Changes in civil service and industrial restrictions on the employment of female labour, and, particularly, married female labour (Stephan 2000:195-196).

Report 1944: 7). To increase the total available manpower for war purposes, King relied on “the employment of women who [had] not previously been employed”—that is, wives and mothers (Ibid 9).

Before recruiting wives and mothers, however, the government first looked to young, single women. Married women followed, and the government only began recruiting women with children when necessary. The ideology of separate, gendered spheres underpinned the view common across Canada, the United States and Britain of women as a ‘reserve’ labour pool and a ‘temporary’ one at that. It was only in 1942, when the male labour pool was exhausted, that women were recruited into the paid workforce. Both Canada and Britain conscripted women’s labour, holding a national registration that enabled the respective governments to obtain an inventory of women available for employment and thereby direct women’s labour as necessary to meet the needs of the wartime economy. In Canada, the NSS Women’s Division conducted an official compulsory registration of married and unmarried women ages 20 to 24 from Sept. 14 to 19, 1942 to gauge the size of the young, single female labour reserve so this demographic could be tapped into first before calling on married women with children to take up work in war and other industries (Pierson 1986: 24). As a secondary goal, “it was also thought that the psychological effect of the registration would be a sharper realization of the urgent necessity for more women to accept employment” (Wartime History of the Employment of Women: 15). A total of 258,583 women registered—117,894 single and 140,689 married (Ibid. 18). Britain, however, in its compulsory registration, exempted women with children under 14 years of age from work and other women were also exempt because of “household pressures” (Wilson 2005: 31). This did not, however, mean that British women with children did not work but, rather, that they did so on their own initiative (Ibid. 31). In contrast, the United States’ government resisted

the idea of a systematic, national system for women's labour conscription, with Congress rejecting a bill to impose universal conscription on women aged 18 to 50 in 1943 despite growing public support for a national registration (Yang 2000: 210; Sato 2000). The government opted instead to rely on "voluntarism and business initiative" and persuasion through 'womanpower' propaganda campaigns (Sato 2000: 48, 58). As Yang (2000) noted, the government was "inhibited by the political tradition of a liberal state that emphasized freedom of choice [even though the government drafted men into active duty] as well as the cultural tradition of a society that sanctified motherhood" (210).

In its recruitment campaigns, the NSS Women's Division first targeted young, unmarried women, even launching programs to relocate single women from the Prairies and Maritimes to Central Canada to work in war production (Prentice et al. 1988: 298; Wartime History of the Employment of Women: 19). By 1943, rising war production needs meant extending recruitment to married women without children for part-time work and eventually full-time work, and then to married women with children for part-time work and finally full-time work (Pierson 1986: 22). The NSS Women's Division led several campaigns to recruit women into full- and part-time employment in cities across Canada, most notably Peterborough, Hamilton, Toronto, Ottawa and Halifax. It also co-operated in the recruitment of women for the armed services by "giv[ing] information concerning the three Services [Navy, Army, and Air Force] to any woman who was seeking employment and who seemed to have the required qualifications for enlistment" (Wartime History of Employment of the Women: 73).

Employing women, especially married women, also necessitated a shift in employers' hiring practices. Given the "plentiful" unemployment rates leading up to the Second World War, employers tended to arbitrarily set their own standards of qualifications for prospective

employees, including “no married women, no women over 30 or 35, [and] no women except high school graduates” (Ibid. 11). When the government began recruiting women into the workforce, some employers resisted deviating from their hiring norms, requesting that women who met their standards be transferred in from other areas in Canada. Employers were especially reluctant to “substitute women workers” for labour traditionally performed by men (Ibid. 12). These barriers to women’s absorption into war industries were slowly broken down with “constant education of employers by the Employment and Selective Service Offices [as per the government’s 10-point plan], coupled with growing shortages of [single] women” (Ibid. 11-12).

When war broke out, about 600,000 women were “gainfully employed” (Wartime History of Employment of Women: 8). This represented only about 17 per cent of the labour force (Pierson 1986: 9). By November 1943, the number of working women doubled to 1.2 million and, of this, 260,000 were employed in war industry—either directly or indirectly by taking over jobs that released men for service in the armed forces or essential war industry (Final Report 1944: 7; Prentice et al. 1988: 298). Furthermore, the total count of 1.2 million working women did not include part-time workers or the 800,000 women working on farms or volunteers (Pierson 1986: 9). In the end, 600,000 women (who were not working pre-war) joined the full-time workforce. Furthermore, only about 85,000 of these women were unemployed and looking for work just before the war began, which means that over 500,000 new female workers were “drawn into the ranks of the employed” by late 1943 (Final Report 1944: 8).

The issue of what would happen to all these employed women when the war ended was on the government agenda even before National Selective Service recruitment campaigns peaked in 1943. In March 1942, the House of Commons passed a resolution to establish a Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment, which subsequently created six subcommittees to explore

and make recommendations about major areas affecting the post-war economy (Canada Year Book 1943-44: 739).⁴⁸ The final committee to be set up, the “Subcommittee on the Post-war Problems of Women,” was established in 1943 and charged with the following “terms of reference”: “To examine the problems relating to the re-establishment of women after the war and to make recommendations to the Committee on Reconstruction as to the procedure to deal with the problems and other matters relating to the welfare of women in the period of reconstruction” (Final Report 1944: 3). It was headed by Margaret Stovel McWilliams, a Canadian journalist and Winnipeg alderwoman of Liberal affiliation whose career in public life spanned 42 years and who, in hindsight, has been called an “interwar feminist” (Kinnear 1991: 3). Another nine women from Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, British Columbia and New Brunswick also comprised the Subcommittee’s members.⁴⁹ The committee submitted its Final Report on Nov. 30, 1943.

With its general mandate in mind, the Subcommittee pursued a progressive path in identifying issues and making recommendations aimed at ensuring both the social and economic welfare of working women post-war. Predicated on the assumption that “full employment [would] be the objective of all economic policy in Canada after the war”, the Final Report advocated women’s “acceptance ... as full members of a free community”—members whose ‘problems’ should not be viewed apart from general post-war problems (Final Report 1944: 5). The Subcommittee considered issues affecting the entire labour pool from which ‘womanpower’

⁴⁸ The Advisory Committee on Reconstruction Set up six Subcommittees, each charged with a particular issue: I. Agricultural Policy; II. Conservation and Development of Natural Resources; III. Publicity-Financed Construction Projects; IV. Housing and Community Planning; V. Post-war Employment Opportunities; and VI. Post-war Problems of Women.

⁴⁹ The Final Report (1944) states that “no representative basis of any kind was used for the choice of members” (3). However, Prentice et al. (1988) suggested that while the members “had considerable experience and expertise as a result of the organizational work in which nearly all were involved, several were clearly chosen because of their husbands’ prominent positions and political connections” (304). She further noted that all were “well-educated, almost exclusively of British Protestant background, middle-aged and mostly upper middle class” (304).

was drawn: married women in the home, single women earning their own living, married women working, and women on farms. While the Subcommittee identified issues unique to each group, some general considerations applied to all women:

1. To women in each group the right to choose what occupation she will follow must be conceded as a right to which every citizen is entitled. She must also have the right to equality of remuneration, working conditions, and opportunity for advancement.
2. We believe that the right to choose is not going to operate to make every woman, or even much larger groups of women, want to leave their homes for the labour market. It is the right to choose which is demanded. Happier homes, and, therefore, a happier democracy, will result from the recognition that women choose or do not choose marriage as their vocation....
3. ... A large proportion of the women now working, both married and single, have been earning money for the first time, or the first time since marriage. They have gained an entirely new realization of their skills and capacities. Many will return gladly to home life. Others will feel a sense of frustration if they have not the opportunity to exercise these abilities. For some, public activities will serve, others will wish to be gainfully occupied. (Ibid. 9-10)

Overall, the Subcommittee's recommendations aimed to give all women—those who would choose to return to, or take up homemaking, and those who would choose to remain in the

workforce—a public ‘voice’ and, ultimately, to ensure that the gains achieved during war did not disappear post-war.⁵⁰

The Department of Labour, however, identified a different set of issues related to the employment of women and post-war planning: (1) Married women composed 35 per cent of the labour force in 1944—up from about 10 per cent in 1939; (2) Thousands of women were transferred from the Prairie and Maritime provinces to work in Quebec and Ontario; (3) 265,000 women had been employed in war industry and largely in jobs that would disappear; (4) Younger women out of school now worked at higher rates of wages than those paid in ‘normal’ times; (5) service occupations, particularly household employment, had become less acceptable to women; and (6) Thousands of “girls” were “ill-prepared for continuous employment” in lines of work that had offered them “easy access” during the war such as offices, trade, finance and manufacturing (Wartime History of Employment of Women: 75). Thus, with the need for ‘total manpower’ subsiding near the end of the war, government strategies and propaganda surfaced to return married women to the home and single women back into traditionally ‘female’ occupations such as domestic service, nursing and teaching (Pierson 1986: 23, 61). Job preference would go to returning servicemen, many war industries employing women shut down, and government incentives encouraging women to work outside the home, such as the Income

⁵⁰ A summary of the principal recommendations of the Subcommittee on the Post-war Problems of Women is noted in the Final Report (1944) as follows: (1) Immediate preparations to increase employment opportunities for women; (2) The implementation by the Government of a new plan for raising the status of household work and household workers; (3) The establishment of a scheme of children’s allowances; (4) The speedy implementation of health insurance; (5) Particular attention to be given in any housing scheme to adequate household conveniences for doing the work of the home; (6) The extension of nursery schools; (7) Encouragement of National Selective Service in securing a highly trained staff; (8) Selection from among those now employed of well-educated, capable young women who would like to be trained to fill an imperative need for technical and professional workers in the post-war period; (9) Training or retraining for transition period. Government should provide or supervise the training. The young women to be trained should provide their own maintenance buy loans at low interest or scholarships might be offered from government sources; (10) Extension of Unemployment Insurance and Workmen’s Compensation Acts to include groups of women not now included; (11) Immediate attention to the special needs of farm women; and (12) Immediate and serious attention to the problem of the 100,000 women over the age of 20 working for less than \$12 a week in occupations covered by unemployment insurance. (24)

War Tax Act and the Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement, terminated at the end of the war (Nash 1982; Pierson 1986). Another policy, the Family Allowance Act took effect in 1945 as part of the Canadian government's plan for post-war reconstruction. This social assistance program was intended to help with the "maintenance of children" under age 16 by providing supplementary income—between \$5 to \$8 monthly (Marsh 1943: 87, 90). Furthermore, as Pierson (1986) noted, women had little to no say in these matters: "Women were not represented on the post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation committees in any way commensurate with their proportion of the population or the socially necessary nature of their labour" (61). For instance, none of the six initial members of the federal Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, one of the most influential reconstruction committees, were women (Ibid. 40). In addition, the 10 women who made up the Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women were the 'voice' for the entire population of Canadian women, including the two million working women. The work of this Subcommittee had little or no value to the federal government which created this subcommittee only after repeated lobbying from women's organizations, particularly the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs and the Quebec-based League for Women's Rights, and then decided to terminate its work even before the subcommittee submitted its Final Report. By 1946, one year after the war, the female participation rate in the labour force had dropped to 25.3 per cent from a wartime peak of approximately 33.5 per cent in 1944, with many women having little choice but to 'disappear' back into the home (Armstrong and Armstrong 2010: 18; Keshen 1997: 246).

The Sexual Division of Labour

Considering these three categories of women's labour (unpaid domestic work, volunteer work and waged work), this dissertation is particularly interested in the latter. Feminist scholars

have emphasized the important connection between women's paid and unpaid work and social inequality—between the sexual division of labour and the unequal balance of power between the sexes in the public and private realms.⁵¹ The sexual division of labour reflects the tendency for men and women to perform different types of labour and to work in different occupations (Anker 1998: 403). More specifically, the sexual division of labour operates such that men hold the jobs or positions deemed to have the greatest importance, prestige, power, value, authority and economic reward (Henshel 1973:52; Kessler-Harris 2004: 195). In keeping with this division, women's place is in the home and their identity tightly tied to the family (Prentice et al. 1988:143). When women do work, they tend to have “lower paying and lower status jobs ... and work in female-dominated occupations ... [that are] similar to activities women perform at home (Anker 1998: 6). However, according to Pierson (1985), it is not the nature of domestic work that oppresses women, but its imposition on women—that is, imposing the burden of housework or the demands of childrearing on women serves patriarchal interests and remains a primary reason for women's inequality in the paid labour force.

While wage work has traditionally been socially acceptable (a promoted necessity, in fact) for men, women have been ‘permitted’ to work outside the home. Historically, men have dominated the workforce. For instance, pre-war, the *Census of Canada 1931* reported only 13 per cent of the total female population as ‘gainfully occupied’ (Vol. I, Chapter XVII, Table I).⁵² Furthermore, the 1931 census generalized that “all occupations [had] approximately 83 per cent

⁵¹ See Anderson 1981; Armstrong and Armstrong 2010; Frances, Kealey and Sangster 1996; Hartmann 1982; Kessler-Harris 2004; Kreimer 2004; Luxton and Corman 2001; Nash 1981; Pierson 1985, 1986; Summerfield 1998; and Yang 2000.

⁵² According to the *Census of Canada 1931*, the category ‘gainfully occupied’ included persons unemployed for short periods who still sought employment in their former occupation, as well as children (14 years of age and older) who assisted parents on farms or in businesses without pay. This is distinct from the census’ category of “wage-earner”, which appeared in the 1941 census to refer to an individual receiving an amount of money as “salary, wages, commission or piece-rate payment” (344).

males and 17 per cent females” and, interestingly, defined any occupation having more than 17 per cent females as having “more than its share and may be said to lean to feminism” (Ibid. Table IV).⁵³ Moreover, women were ‘permitted’ into certain pockets of the workforce and at certain times, mainly occupying jobs of secondary importance that mirrored their overall second-tier status in society. For instance, women dominated the pre-World War II workforce foremost as dressmakers’ apprentices, milliners’ apprentices, nurses, housekeepers, stenographers, seamstresses (not in factories), domestic servants, telephone operators, and lodging and boarding house keepers (Ibid. Table IV).⁵⁴ Public service occupations (such as public service officials, firemen, armed services and police, for example) certainly did not have ‘more than its share’ of female employees, with men dominating these fields, according to 1931 census figures: 193 females were in public administration and defence Canada-wide (aged 10 and over) compared to 31,231 men in 1931 (Vol. VII, Table 44).

⁵³ The *Census of Canada, 1931* does not explicitly define its use of the term ‘feminism’. To qualify this comment, it provides a table of occupations in which females are prominent and offers this list as “a basis for classifying ‘female occupations’” (Vol. I, Chapter XVII, Table IV). Given this, the term seems to imply ‘female dominated’ more so than suggest a social movement.

⁵⁴ The *Census of Canada 1931* identified “as distinctly female occupations” those in which more than 50% of the workers are female. In total, the *Census* lists 43 occupations as “distinctly female” or, rather, as having a “tendency toward a feminine cast” (Vol. I, Chapter XVII, Table IV). These “female occupations” and the per cent of gainfully occupied females therein are: dressmakers (100%), dressmakers’ apprentices (100%); milliners’ apprentices (100%); nurses—graduate (100%); nurses—in training (100%); milliners (98.66%); matrons and stewards, housekeepers (96.16%); stenographers, typists (94.85%); sewers, seamstresses—not in factory (94%); domestic servants (94.03%); telephone operators (93.74%); lodging and boarding house keepers (91.48%); nuns (87.94%); sewers and sewing machinists—shop or factory (86.46%); office appliance operators (86.28%); charworkers and cleaners (85.97%); inspectors, lookers, menders—textiles (85.30%); spoolers, warpers and beamers (82.52%); librarians (79.88%); electric lamp makers (78.53%); teachers—school (77.98%); cigarette makers (72.73%); other—manufacturing—tobacco products (72.10%); nurses—practical (70.10%); social welfare workers (67.52%); paper box and envelope makers (65.81%); other—textiles (65.39%); health professionals (65.35%); Packers, wrappers and labellers (64.07%); glove makers (63.04%); other—printing, publishing, bookbinding (62.75%); foremen and overseers—textile goods and wearing apparel (61.65%); spinners (58.24%); bookbinders (58.04%); other—textile goods and wearing apparel (57.33%); knitters and hosiery frame tenders (56.47%); canners—fruit and vegetable (55.09%); fish canners and curers (54.70%); other—manufacturing—electrical apparatus (53.34%); waiters, waitresses, dining-car stewards (53.32%); musicians, music teachers (52.82%); cigar makers (51.91%); and washing and drying machine operators (50.12%).

Not only were working women segregated in a few positions considered ‘feminine’ by tradition and held little power, prestige and pay, but even if in the same occupation and at the same education level, women have also earned less than men (Henshel 1973). During the Second World War in Canada, male wage-earners over 14 years of age earned an average of \$993 (during the 12 months prior to the census date of June 2, 1941), while the equivalent for females was \$490 (Vol. VI, Table 6). Furthermore, even in occupations which were considered ‘feminine’ and where women outnumbered men, males were still paid more. The *Census of Canada 1941* reported 21,021 female graduate nurses and 150 male graduate nurses, and 5,365 female nurses in-training compared to 54 males. The graduated male nurses earned \$865 while graduated female nurses earned \$702, and male nurses in-training earned \$369 while their female counterparts earned \$174 (Ibid. Vol. VI, Table 6). Women in the active service initially earned two-thirds the pay rate that men earned. This basic pay was eventually raised to 80 per cent of the pay received by men of the same rank in July 1943 in response to public outcry led by the National Council of Women (Pierson 2008). Historically, a woman’s income was directly related to perceived need—that is, whether women required as much income as a man, given that the man supported the family, or whether a woman even had a right to hold a paying job at the cost of neglecting her children’s needs (Lang 1999: 119). Traditionally, female wage earners lived within a family household and contributed to a family income, whether by turning their wages over to their parents as single women or supplementing their husbands’ income when married (Copp 1972). However, the Second World War changed things to some degree. Where women, for the most part, may not have been (fully) responsible for their own sustenance pre-war (often living within the family household), the migration of thousands of women from the Prairies and Maritimes into urban centres for war production meant that, for the first time, these women

found themselves paying for room and board and other living expenses. In fact, given the limited housing supply in urban centres, one of the responsibilities allocated to the Women's Voluntary Services centres was to investigate the types of rooms available and maintain a rooms registry to help accommodate the housing needs of these working women (W.V.S. Division, Part I: 10; Copp 1972).

Broadly, the sexual division of labour extends across borders and cultures—typically to the detriment of women: It is “extensive in every region, at all economic development levels, in all political systems, and in diverse religious, social and cultural environments” (Anker 1998: 403; Kessler-Harris 2004). Similarities in the sexual division of labour evident in the wartime experiences of working women across Canada, the United States and Britain confirm this, with common themes including: (1) the persistence of occupational segregation of women in the labour force and the concomitant ideology underlying this separation, which is based on the model of a nuclear, heterosexual family with a male ‘breadwinner’ and a female ‘dependent’; (2) wage inequality based on gender; and (3) the undervaluing and marginalization of women’s labour that results from both.⁵⁵ These themes are further discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

Government Policy and Women’s Labour in Wartime Canada

Throughout the Second World War, economic and social policy and/or action functioned as a tool used by governments to control women’s labour—to usher women into the workforce when war needs required it and then back into the home when they had served their wartime purpose.

⁵⁵ These themes were among those originally identified as common between Canada and Australia in a comparative case study on women and wage labour from 1880 to 1980 (see Frances, Kealey and Sangster 1996: 55). For supporting Canadian, British and American scholarship, see Kesselman 1990, Klausen 1998, Sato 2000, Sugiman 1994, Summerfield 1998, and Yang 2000.

Interestingly, women's mobilization into the industrial workforce occurred at the height of industrial conflict during the war. Over the course of the Second World War, union membership more than doubled—from 359,000 organized workers in 1939 to 832,000 by 1946 (MacDowell 2006: 273). Until 1944, when the Canadian government passed legislation under the War Measures Act supporting collective bargaining (specifically, order-in-council PC 1003), the number of strikes continued to escalate, reaching a peak in 1943 when one out of every three trade union members was on strike (Ibid. 274). This translated to approximately 250,000 workers and over a million “man-days lost” and, with that, decreased industrial productivity (Ibid. 284). As Laurel Sefton MacDowell (2006) explained it, the government's primary concern and motive in enacting PC 1003 was to eliminate industrial conflict and, given that it was implemented in the form of an order-in-council, it was intended to remain in effect only for the duration of the war and not as a permanent measure (285). The latter point mirrors the government's approach to recruiting women into the paid workforce. However, the federal government resisted introducing bargaining legislation for much of the war period: “For political reasons, the government felt it necessary to conciliate business—its wartime ally in developing the war economy. It was therefore unprepared to establish collective bargaining as a ‘right’ or grant labour an important role in running the war” (Ibid. 280).

The federal government was, however, prepared to flood the labour force with women between 1942 and 1944 when labour unrest peaked. Even among unionists, women were viewed as “conservative”, “especially difficult to organize” and a general threat to the trade union movement because of their lack of “education” on organized labour (Sugiman 1994: 29-30). Women were not as actively involved in the labour movement, particularly in leadership positions, given the level of commitment required and given that many women had to manage a

‘double day’ of work between their jobs and their homes (Ibid. 37). Ultimately, women’s engagement in trade unionism “confirmed rather than challenged conventional ideas about women’s proper place in employment and society” (Ibid. 30). The gender politics behind women’s entry into the workforce followed women into it and shaped their experience as labourers. As Pamela Sugiman (1994) discussed in her case study of gender politics in the United Auto Workers union in Canada during the war period, gender ideologies—that is, the notion of the patriarchal family and its concomitant sexual division of labour—as well as the segregation of women to ‘feminine’ jobs in the workforce masked the consequences of gender discrimination for the working class broadly (27-28). For instance, Sugiman (1994) argued that employers’ use of female labour as “cheap and expendable” encouraged men to view women labourers as “a threat, rather than as partners in a unified struggle” (28). This, in turn, led unionists to tolerate the unequal treatment of women by employers, which “contributed to the entrenchment of workplace inequalities, fractured worker resistance, and resulted in the marginalization of women ... and the construction of unionism as a masculine pursuit” (Ibid. 28). This, Sugiman argued, inevitably limited social change for working women.

With respect to government policy and women’s mobilization into the labour force specifically, the Canadian government made two significant policy directives in 1942 when women were first recruited into the labour force: the Amendment to the Income War Tax Act and the Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement. Both served as incentives for married women in particular to pursue employment during the war. Prior to the Amendment to the Income War Tax Act, a wage-earning married woman whose husband also had an income could earn up to \$750 without her husband losing his claim to the full married status tax exemption. The Amendment made it so that a husband with an employed wife could still claim the full married status

exemption regardless of how much income his wife earned. This differed from the situation in the First World War in that the Income War Tax Act of 1917 did not overtly target married women. Instead, it exempted a husband and wife with an income below \$3,000 each from filing a tax return, illustrating the heightened reliance on women's labour during the Second World War (Pontifex 1917: 28). Similarly, the establishment of child care facilities in Ontario and Quebec via the Dominion-Provincial Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement, enacted in July and August 1942 respectively, was designed specifically to accommodate the needs of mothers working in essential war industries. The Agreement was amended in April 1944 to admit children whose mothers worked in non-essential industries into day nurseries (History of the Wartime Activities of the Department of Labour, Day Care of Children, Part II: 4).⁵⁶ Under the Agreement, the capital and operating costs were divided equally between the provincial and federal governments, but it was up to the provinces to establish the nurseries, including determining areas of greatest need, applicants' eligibility and staffing. By the end of the war, Ontario had 28 day nurseries in Ontario which took care of approximately 900 children, while the five day nurseries operating in Quebec cared for approximately 120 children (Pierson 1986: 53). Both policies—the Amendment to the Income War Tax Act and the Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement—terminated with the war. The government capped the maximum income a wife could earn without affecting her husband's income tax deductions at \$250 a year and, without government funding, most of the day care centres closed, including all of them in Quebec, thus sending women with children back into the home to care for them (Phillips and Phillips 2000: 36).

⁵⁶ Library and Archives Canada, Department of Labour fonds, History of the Wartime Activities of the Department of Labour, Day Care of Children (Part II), RG 27, 1 File Part 10, 1-18. Part II of "History of the Wartime Activities of the Department of Labour" is hereafter cited as "Wartime History of the Day Care of Children".

The same was true of government-funded child care programs designed to care for the children of female war workers in the United States and Britain during the Second World War. At first, the United States and British governments resisted instituting publicly-funded child care programs out of fears over “gender disorder” and disrupting the patriarchal family order, however the overwhelming need for female labour in light of industrial wartime demand took precedence (Riley 1996: 339; Wilson 2005).

In 1942, the United States government acknowledged in a policy statement issued by the War Manpower Commission that child care facilities should be provided to facilitate the entry and retention of women into the wartime workforce (Riley 1996).⁵⁷ Unlike Canada, however, the child care program was not funded completely by government sources but, rather, the federal government generally provided 50 per cent of the funding needed and local communities contributed the rest. Similar to the Canadian situation, the federal government did not bear responsibility for implementing the child care programs. Local communities (usually schools) had to apply for government funding and then organize and operate the child care facilities, which ultimately slowed the spread of child care centres. But, as in Canada, day nurseries were only a temporary wartime measure and not intended as a statement of support for women’s employment, especially women with children. As one male member of Congress suggested in a House Hearing in May 1945:

I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, with this great grant allocated to child care, instead of discouraging it, it will encourage these women to remain in these plants, knowing that their children will be looked after. The policy should be, it seems to me, that

⁵⁷ In the United States, the wartime child care program developed after a 1941 amendment to the National Defense Housing Act which authorized federal funding on public works to help communities affected by the national defence program. The term ‘public works’ was interpreted—albeit it with resistance from some members of Congress—to include child care (see Riley 1996: 336-338).

they should be discouraged and driven, if necessary, back to their homes, where they belong, to look after these children. (Riley 1996: 335)

Three days after V-J Day in August 1945, the United States government announced the end of federal child care funding.

Underlying ideologies about appropriate gender roles also created resistance in the British government to the idea of nursery care during wartime, with the Ministry of Health (under which responsibility for the wartime day nurseries fell) claiming that “day nurseries were suitable only for emergency cases because ‘a mother’s place is in the home, where she should look after her own children’” (Wilson 2005: 34; Summerfield 1984). Despite the fact that married women with children under 14 were exempt from wartime employment, many did work. For instance, by 1943, 43 per cent of female workers were married and one-third had children under 14 (Wilson 2005: 31-32). Still, the Ministry of Health maintained that nurseries were not needed because “mothers were not entering war work” or, alternatively, that “women were making their own [childcare] arrangements” (Ibid. 33). Nonetheless, the provision of nursery care did increase over the war period, but not at the rate needed by working mothers. In 1940, there were 14 nurseries that served less than one-twentieth of children under five with working mothers. The number of nurseries climbed to 1,500 by 1944, providing care for about 72,000 children. Yet, despite this, government nurseries still accommodated less than 5 per cent of children, and no nurseries provided care for children ages 3 to 5 (Ibid. 34).

Considering the Canadian, American and British contexts, wartime child care programs served to manipulate and leverage women’s labour in response to government-defined needs, and the termination of these programs represented one way that, as Alice Kessler-Harris (2004)

argued, Western industrial nation-states have worked through social policy to regulate women's labour in the interest of the patriarchal family.

Governments' wartime endorsement of the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' achieved much the same end. Underlying government support of 'equal pay for equal work' across Canada, the United States and Britain was a desire to restrain employers from exploiting women's cheaper labour to the detriment of men's jobs and wages. Such support did not arise out of "feminist agitation" and was not a statement about women's equal rights (Summerfield 1998: 319; Briggs 2001: 202; Figart, Mutari and Power 2002: 10; Wartime History of the Employment of Women: 82; Wilson 2005).

In Canada, the earliest record of support for the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' came in 1882 when the Toronto Trades and Labour Council issued its first platform of principles which included "equal pay for equal work for both sexes" (Canada, Dept. of Labour, "Equal Pay" 1959: 4). Up until the First World War, however, women did not often perform the same jobs as men. Labour shortages during the First World War necessitated employing women in munitions factories, in rail work and in steel, cement and shoe manufacturing. As women trained and gained efficiency at their jobs, some employers paid women the same rate as men doing similar work. In the final war year, the federal government created a labour policy governing relations between employers and war production workers, stating "that women on work ordinarily performed by men should be allowed equal pay for equal work and should not be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength" (Ibid. 6). At the war's end, however, the issue of equal pay for equal work fell off the public agenda, as the economic depression took its place—that is, until the Second World War.

Greater and more complex production needs in the Second World War resulted in a shortage of [male] workers, causing inflation of wages and salaries. This led the Canadian government to institute wage controls. The Wartime Wages Control Order of 1941 “generally prohibited employers from changing the basic scales of wage rates or altering the terms of employment which were in effect” at that time. Because the Order did not differentiate between male and female workers (but, rather, by job), there were difficulties applying the Order to inexperienced women in jobs formerly held by men. The Order was therefore amended in 1942 to allow the Regional War Labour Boards to authorize ““new and lower paid occupational classifications than those previously in effect in cases in which the skill and ability called for is of a lower grade than that previously associated with the established classifications of the employer and/or where separate classifications are desirable for apprenticeship or learners’ schedules”” (Ibid. 7). This, in effect, gave employers license to pay their new female employees lower wages. Under the amendment, once training was completed, then workers were “entitled to rates of pay comparable with the pay of skilled employees receiving the higher wage rates” (Ibid. 7). However, two years later, the National War Labour Board, after an enquiry into labour relations and wage conditions, noted difficulties in applying the principle of ‘equal pay for equal work’, stating that the average woman was just as or even more efficient than the average man in some types of production, and less efficient in others. However, ignoring these claims, the Department of Labour upheld ““the consistent application of the wage principle of equal pay for equal work to all women’s employment”” (Ibid. 7).

As in Canada, the United States and Britain also supported the principle of equal pay based on job content during the war period. As stated by the Women’s Bureau of the United States Labour Department in 1942: “A correct or suitable rate for a job can be established only

by an analysis of the specific requirements of the job” (Figart, Mutari and Power 2002: 135). The emphasis on “paying the job rather than the worker” became managerial policy and the principle of ‘equal pay for equal work’ became “codified as a personnel practice” (Ibid. 120). Despite this, however, the understanding of ‘equal work’ was open to interpretation and therefore contested before the National War Labour Board during the Second World War, spurring the development of job evaluations as an industry practice during and immediately following the war (Ibid. 120-121, 141). The concept of job evaluation was, however, based on a rather “narrow” definition of ‘equal pay for equal work’ that “required men and women to work side-by-side, performing identical tasks for the same employer in the same plant or location” (Ibid. 141). In Britain, the same ‘narrow’ definition applied, with the principle of ‘equal pay for equal work’ being applied to men and to women performing the same war jobs. As such, equal pay between the sexes was “rarely an issue” since most women did not directly take over men’s jobs or work directly alongside men, given their new ‘feminized’ tasks (Wilson 2005: 32). Male workers, however, did demand equal pay (or ‘the rate for the job’) for women who did directly replace male workers in an effort to curtail employers from replacing men with women who earned less.

The end of the Second World War meant an influx of servicemen returning to the Canadian workforce—servicemen whose jobs were guaranteed upon war’s end—and, concomitantly, the need for a mass demobilization of women working ‘men’s jobs’. Women could return to the home or then, if remaining employed, enter new jobs in the trades and service sectors, in government services and in any new industries (Armstrong and Armstrong 2010: 17). The Family Allowance Act emerged at war’s end to assist parents in providing “health, proper food and clothing and desirable conditions of family life” (“Baby Bonus Unveiled” 1945). The 1943 “Report on Social Security for Canada” claimed that the family allowance was intended as

a “direct attack on poverty where it is bound up with the strain imposed by a large family on a small income” (Marsh 1943: 87). With the “background of social and economic insecurity ... not entirely forgotten”, the anticipated “re-employment problems” projected for the post-war period were front of mind (Ibid. 9). While this universal welfare program—the nation’s first—responded to growing public concern over economic instability and unemployment post-war, Armstrong and Armstrong (2010) suggested another reason for the introduction of family allowance: to encourage women to return to the home (17). The Final Report of the Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women (1944) indicated this much, stating its support for the establishment of a system of children's allowances and, moreover, suggesting that these allowances be made payable specifically to the mother. According to the Final Report, this would “psychological[ly]” ease the transition back into the home that “a considerable proportion” of women in the workforce would make post-war: “They have been earning their own money, much of which has been spent on their homes and their children. The addition to the family income from children's allowances paid to the mother and by her spent for the welfare of her children made well be an alleviating factor in the mental attitude which may result from the surrender of the double income” (13). It was inevitable: Men were ‘in’. Women were ‘out’.

Women’s Work and Canada’s ‘Information Strategy’ in World War II

Lasswell (1972) argued that “the government management of opinion is an unescapable corollary of large-scale modern war” (15). For Canada, this was never more acute than in the Second World War when the Canadian government “formally entered the propaganda business” (Young 1978: 1). It was during this conflict that the government established its first full-scale wartime ‘information’ agency or, rather, ‘propaganda’ agency, as William R. Young (1978) called it, with the launch of the Bureau of Public Information (1939-1942) and the Wartime

Information Board (which succeeded the former from 1942 to 1945). As part of the Department of National War Services, the Bureau of Public Information/Wartime Information Board, “marshal[led] publicity and education techniques to mobilize the population for wartime activity” (Ibid. 1). In essence, it was the government’s propaganda arm: “All the activities of the Bureau of Public Information and the Wartime Information Board surely qualify as propaganda since they aimed to gain support for the government’s wartime commitments, domestic and international” (Ibid. 4).

This was not, however, a smooth process. Young (1978) explained that “the evolution of official wartime ideology more or less paralleled policy development” (iii). The Bureau first tried to establish a concept of Canadian nationalism, which meant “presenting a view of the enemy, of the allies and of wartime events that would mobilize Canadians to support the government’s policies”, and subsequently “trying to define a view of ‘Canadianism’ that would encompass the ethnic community as well as the English and French Canadians” (Ibid. iii). However, as Young (1978) described, by mid-war this approach had not proved satisfactory, and so the Wartime Information Board succeeded the Bureau and established new programmes that took a different approach to Canadian nationhood. These programmes “tried to awaken a sense of participation in alienated groups, to take individual needs into account and to provoke discussion about the direction of government policy” (Ibid. iii). The inevitable result, as Young (1978) argued, was that these propaganda operations “opened the door to manipulation of public opinion” (iv).

The government’s information strategy, with respect to drawing women into industry, involved “recruiting campaigns, planned and publicized to attract women into needed work” (Wartime History of the Employment of Women: 6). The NSS Women’s Division had the responsibility of “initiating plans for the recruitment of workers, including transference of

women to meet the needs of war industries and essential services; to advise the Employment Service concerning the facilities required to carry out these plans and in every way co-operate with their administrative officers, both in planning and if required, in detail” (Ibid. 7). Another “important phase” of the Division’s work was to “enlist the sympathetic, and where necessary, the active assistance of women’s organizations, both nationally and locally, in carrying out the plans of the NSS” and to seek out the “co-operation of the press, radio, magazine, National Film Board, and other media of publicity ... in the interests of the recruiting and employment of women” (Ibid. 8).

Given the acute labour shortages when the NSS Women’s Division was launched—most immediately the need for 75,000 additional women workers in Ontario and Quebec—a “recruiting program” had to “convince [women] that it was their duty to go to work, whether single or married, provided that they could be spared from home responsibilities and were qualified for the available jobs. Women must also be persuaded that work in war industries offered the most direct contribution which could be made to the prosecution of the war, apart from enlistment in the Armed Forces” (Ibid. 8).

With the demand for ‘womanpower’, propaganda was deliberately fashioned to lure women into the workforce. The Department of National War Services, which included the Bureau of Public Information/Wartime Information Board and the National Film Board of Canada, served as “the government’s cheerleader,” ensuring “high morale and patriotic fervour” via propaganda that made its way into wartime motion pictures, government news reels, radio broadcasts, magazines and newspapers (“Democracy at War” 2003). For instance, the National Film Board produced a number of short wartime and post-war films related to women’s paid labour, including “Homefront” (1940), “Women are Warriors” (1942), “Proudly She Marches”

(1943), “Handle with Care” (1943), “Women Don Slacks and Hair Nets” (1943), “Workers at War, No. 2” (1943), “Women Build Ships” (1943), “Girl Shipbuilders” (1943), “To the Ladies” (1946), and “Careers and Cradles” (1947). Nash (1982) argued that reflected in these films were four major “strategies of interpretation” used by the Canadian government to “explain women’s involvement in the war effort”: patriotism, the sexual division of labour, femininity, and the primacy of the home (82). These ‘strategies’ “offer[ed] reassurance that the patriarchal ideology was not seriously threatened during the war, and ... reinforce[d] that ideology after the war was over” (Ibid. 85).

In addition, the Wartime Information Board established an industrial morale section with a mandate to align workers with “a sense of importance in the greater cause” (Young 1978: 255-256). With respect to female labourers specifically, it worked to “ease the path of women who had joined the wartime labour force” with “cartoons of the ‘Rosie-the-Riveter’ variety [that] praised and poked fun at women working in formerly male occupations”, as well as by “publiciz[ing] the particular industrial accomplishments of women in industry” and “demonstrat[ing] the magnitude of the women’s contribution by releasing 1944 figures which showed that 41,000 women had joined the armed forces, while one million women formed 22 per cent of the workforce” (Ibid. 256).

News media were an important part of the government’s mobilization efforts: “The co-operation of the press, radio, magazines, National Film Board and other media of publicity was to be sought and kept active in the interests of the recruiting and employment of women” (Wartime History of the Day Care of Children: 8). By 1942, when war labour needs were most acute, the federal government immediately consulted with publishers and radio directors to “impress [upon them] the immediate need for presenting war industries to women as a patriotic

and acceptable type of work” (Wartime History of the Employment of Women: 9). Magazine editors were asked to devote an issue to war employment of women, and pictures of women working on machines and of war workers in uniform as well as articles on women’s accomplishments appeared in magazines (Ibid. 9). Urban newspapers publicized the employment ‘crisis’, publishing news releases from the NSS about the labour problems as well as articles that localized the issue and appealed to women (Ibid. 9). The Canadian Press and the British United Press even suggested topics for NSS news releases (Ibid. 9). The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and independent local stations were “made available most generously for presentation of the problems concerning the employment of women”—for instance, by nationally broadcasting a series of dramatic plays written for the NSS around the theme of women war workers (Ibid. 9). Local press representatives formed part of local recruitment campaign committees set up by NSS Women’s Division in cities where there existed a shortage of women workers (Wartime History of the Employment of Women: 21). Cooperation between the press and the government was the wartime norm, as media took on the function of building domestic support for government activities, including women’s recruitment: “‘Propaganda’ was not a term of opprobrium when it was patriotic to ‘do your bit’ for the war effort” (Lang 1999: 231).⁵⁸

Conclusion

What emerges from this broad wartime picture told through government records and by feminist and media historians is a view of the working woman’s progress as a story of breakthroughs and breakdowns, a story that has women taking two steps forward and one step back or, depending on the perspective, one step forward and two steps back. Census data and

⁵⁸ For research that suggests a consistency between government and media agendas during war, see Baroody 1998; Boyd-Barrett 2004; Carruthers 2000; Covert 2001; Hallin 1997; Herman and Chomsky 1988; Keshen 2004; Lasswell 1972; McLaughlin 2002; Robinson 2004; Ward et al. 2006; and Yang 2000.

government documents reveal the magnitude and significance of women's participation in the labour force during the war. But given its challenge to the patriarchal hegemony, was there a public discussion of women's labour in the wartime press, or was it all government-led propaganda? To what extent did women's labour become a matter of wider public discussion through the press? Furthermore, how was the subject of women's labour represented or 'negotiated' in the press and what, if any impact does this 'record' have on the way women's history is represented?

The next chapter outlines the research methodology for the content analysis that sought to address these research questions.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Methodology

The dissertation seeks to address the following research questions: Was there a public discussion of the subject of women's labour in print news media during the Second World War? What relationship exists between the type of newspaper (commercial and alternative) and the sort of media coverage (women's pages, news, editorials and letters to the editor) on the subject of women's labour? With this in mind, whose representation of women's labour is reflected in the pages of the press, and how is women's history represented? How were gendered roles constructed and negotiated in news of women's wartime labour?

To address these questions, research for the dissertation involved a comparative content analysis of representations of women's labour within and across the commercial and labour press during the Second World War. This method allows for a systematic and quantitative analysis of media content that enables comparison between and reveals trends within and across news media coverage.

Selection of Media Content and Sample

The stratified random sample for the content analysis comprised 342 newspaper issues published from September 10, 1939 when Canada entered the Second World War to September 2, 1945 when the war officially ended.

The period of the Second World War is an important period in women's history and a particularly pertinent time for research on media representations of women's labour because of the influx of women who entered the workforce during this time and the concomitant issues

associated with demobilizing them once servicemen returned from battle overseas. The Second World War brought with it “ambiguity and confusion regarding women’s roles in society”, and no other war had the same effect on society and women because of its duration and the extent of civilian women’s participation (Anderson 1981; Nash 1982: 12). The Second World War also sits in the shadow of the extreme public reaction to the lack of a place for ex-servicemen at the end of the First World War. At that time, “work-related problems flourished,” as ex-servicemen “drifted between jobs”, or “returned to mundane tasks” or junior positions (Keshen 1996: 198). Furthermore, “by 1923, about 20 per cent of veterans—a number significantly higher than the national average—were jobless” (Ibid. 204). With this fresh in mind and with the end of the Second World War looming, the Canadian government sought to avoid similar problems of reintegrating returning soldiers into society at the end of the war. As such, the government strategically mobilized to lure women out of the workforce.

Selection of Newspapers

This dissertation compares media coverage of women’s labour (domestic, volunteer and wage) as a subject within and across the commercial daily press and the alternative labour press. The study examined three commercial newspapers (the *Toronto Daily Star*, *The Hamilton Spectator* and *The Halifax Herald*) and three labour newspapers (*The Labour Leader*, Toronto; *The Labor News*, Hamilton; and *The Citizen*, Halifax). The match in circulation areas allowed for control over regional differences, enabling a more accurate comparison across newspaper type.

The *Census of Canada 1941* ranked the cities of Toronto, Hamilton and Halifax among the major urban centres in Canada during the war, along with Vancouver and Montreal.⁵⁹ The census reported 250,367 wage-earners in Toronto (67 per cent male and 33 per cent female); 63,864 wage-earners in Hamilton (74 per cent male and 26 per cent female); and 22,600 wage-earners in Halifax (66 per cent male and 34 per cent female) (vol. vi, table 7). The main industries in these cities, as indicated by the number of wage-earners employed therein (male and female alike), were manufacturing, service, trade and clerical (Census of Canada 1941, Vol. VI, Table 7). Of all the provinces, Ontario had the largest number of wage-earners, at 39 per cent of the national total, as well as the largest number of female wage-earners specifically: 274,320 or 25 per cent of all female wage-earners (Census of Canada 1941, Vol. I, Chapter XII, Table I). Toronto was the urban centre with the largest number of female wage-earners, age 14 years and over: 81,524. Hamilton was also a significant industrial centre during the war. The city's population grew from 155,000 in 1939 to 174,000 by 1945 due to an influx of workers into war industries ("Life on the Homefront"). The city specialized in steel production, which was especially pertinent to the manufacture of war materials, and other industries such as textiles also flourished ("Industry"). Halifax also experienced substantial growth during the war, with its population increasing from 75,000 to 125,000 as service workers and members of the Royal Canadian Navy poured into this port and naval city. Halifax was the chief port of North America before the United States entered the war in December 1941, serving as such for the two years that Britain fought alone.

⁵⁹ This dissertation could not include Vancouver and Montreal in its sample, and thereby offer a national perspective on this topic, because there are no independent labour newspapers available in these two cities for comparative analysis with their commercial counterparts.

This dissertation compares, via content analysis, commercial newspapers with independent labour newspapers published in the same city during the war period. In addition to this and establishing geographic relevance, two additional factors drove the selection of labour newspapers: (1) independence from trade or union interests (in the case of the labour press) and (2) accessibility.⁶⁰ A survey of the labour press in Canada yielded a small sample of independent newspapers, as most were union vehicles or trade-specific (Mazepa 2003). From here, the sample was further refined according to which independent newspapers were still accessible on microfilm for the dates required: *The Labour Leader* (Toronto), *The Labor News* (Hamilton) and *The Citizen* (Halifax).

The Labour Leader was selected as the leading independent labour newspaper published in Toronto. Published by The Labor Leader Publishing Co., Limited, it launched as a weekly in June 1919, then circulated twice a month from April 1930 to February 1948, and finally became a monthly periodical until it ceased publication in 1954. Issues typically ran four pages, with the occasional eight-page issue. Self-proclaimed as “Canada’s National Labour Newspaper” on its front page, it featured general news and editorial sections but no letters to the editor or women’s page. The editorial section contained four to six individual editorials on average of approximately the same length. A column titled “For the Housewife” with household hints and recipes launched in the January 9, 1942 issue but ceased by the April 24, 1942 issue. There is no circulation data available for this labour newspaper.

The Labor News was published monthly by the Labour News Publishing Co. in Hamilton, Ontario, from 1906 to 1956. An independent periodical, issues typically ran four

⁶⁰ Mazepa (2003) concluded through preliminary reviews that there was little to no discussion about the relationship of gender and labour in trade-specific papers across Canada.

pages and circulated at the end of each month. Its masthead read: “A Journal, Independent Labor in Politics, and devoted to the presentation of Current Trade Union News, Economics and Education.” *The Labor News* included news and editorial coverage but no women’s section or letters to the editor. There is no circulation data available for this labour newspaper.

The Citizen was published weekly on Fridays in Halifax and was devoted to “the interests of workers and citizens generally,” according to its masthead. It circulated to approximately 100,000 workers in Nova Scotia (Elliott 1948: 226). *The Citizen* circulated from May 9, 1919 to October 6, 1950. It typically ran four pages and included a women’s column titled either “Hints for Women” or “Hints to Housewives” that appeared minimally and inconsistently. This women’s section functioned more like an advice column, offering helpful household tips to homemakers. *The Citizen* did not contain letters to the editor.

The corresponding commercial newspapers analyzed in this study are the *Toronto Daily Star*, *The Hamilton Spectator* and *The Halifax Herald*. These three newspapers were selected because they were leading commercial newspapers in their respective cities during the war.

Launched in November 1892, the *Toronto Daily Star* was the nation’s largest-circulation daily commercial newspaper during the war period (McNaught 1941: 131-132). It achieved this standing with its “middle-of-the-road attitude” which made it “less an organ of opinion than a medium of all opinions” (McNaught 1941: 131-132). Nonetheless, this self-proclaimed “paper for the people” had a clear Liberal affiliation (Harkness 1963: 27).⁶¹ Circulation hit 247,111 in 1940 (at the end of Canada’s first year at war) and climbed to 304,815 by the end of the war in

⁶¹ Joseph E. Atkinson purchased *The Star* to support the Laurier government “in putting into effect the platform on which the Liberal party had been elected in 1896” (Harkness 1963: 24). This platform was based on “reciprocity with the United States, Canadian nationalism, opening of the West to settlement, encouragement of immigration, construction of railways, and support for labour unions” (Ibid. 24). As editor and manager of *The Star* from 1899 to 1948, Atkinson gave “full expression to his essential liberalism, both political and social” (Ibid. 24).

1945, with an average circulation of 266,022 throughout the war period.⁶² This broadsheet averaged 35 pages during the war and included the following sections: news, editorial, letters, sports, business, entertainment/arts, women/society, classifieds, births and deaths, and comics. The editorial page contained three to four individual editorials on average, all running approximately the same length (within 500 words). Its women's section ran three to four pages on average, and it launched a feature titled "Women's War Work" on June 11, 1940, which contained articles on women's volunteer and wage work related to the war effort. This feature ran until the August 10, 1945 issue.⁶³

The *Hamilton Spectator* was founded in 1846 by printer Robert Smiley and a partner and then sold in 1877 to William Southam, becoming the first newspaper in the Southam newspaper chain ("About Us", TheSpec.com). Originally an evening newspaper, it had little competition in the city until the *Hamilton Herald* emerged in the 1920s, but this competitor eventually folded in 1936.⁶⁴ Published by The Hamilton Spectator Ltd., its masthead stated: "*The Spectator* aims to be an independent, clean newspaper for the home, devoted to public service". Furthermore, W.H. Kesterton (1967) wrote: "Never flashy or strident, it long served its family readership in a rather staid, conservative manner" (102). Associated with a Conservative interest, its content had a strong focus on local news: "*The Spectator* has always been unmistakably Hamiltonian" (Bruce

⁶² These figures were obtained from the editorial page of an issue published at the end of each full war year: August 2, 1940 (247,111); August 9, 1941 (238,675); August 10, 1942 (251,053); August 24, 1943 (268,320); August 8, 1944 (286,155); and August 23, 1945 (304,815). The average for the war period was calculated from these figures.

⁶³ There was no discussion about the impetus for launching this section in the editorial of the June 11, 1940 issue or about its cessation in the August 10, 1945 editorial.

⁶⁴ The two papers "enjoyed a reasonably peaceful co-existence, with top spot long since conceded to the Spec," until November 1923 when the *Herald* was sold to Wilberforce Herman, an entrepreneur and successful operator of newspapers including the *Windsor Record*. The two papers battled for circulation until the Southams purchased the *Herald* in November 1924. Operating losses persisted and the *Herald* folded in 1936, eliminating the *Spectator*'s primary competition (Kesterton 1967: 75; Bruce 1968: 221-226).

1968: 218). Circulation hit 71,000 in the months post-war.⁶⁵ *The Hamilton Spectator* ran between 25 and 30 pages during the Second World War, and it contained sections on general news, editorials, letters (although not published in every issue during the war), women's page/society news, sports, business, arts and entertainment, classifieds, births and deaths, and comics. The editorial page ran two to three editorials per issue. Its women's section contained a society news page (typically located on the second or third page of each issue) as well as between one or two additional pages of 'women's news' and columns.

The Halifax Herald (as it was named during the war period) was first published on January 14, 1875 by The Halifax Herald Limited, as part of the Dennis chain of newspapers, which operated in the tradition of "publisher-as-editor-and-manager" (Marsh 1986: v).⁶⁶ *The Halifax Herald* was the leading daily in the province throughout the 20th century, having absorbed the *Novascotian* (est. 1824) in 1926 and the *Chronicle* in 1949 (Kesterton 1967: 108; Marsh 1986: v). Other significant newspapers folded, including the *Acadian Recorder*, which operated from 1813 to 1865 (Kesterton 1967: 108). Associated with a conservative interest, *The Halifax Herald* was described as "hot" and "impulsive", inclined to "opportunism and excess" (March 1986: vi). Over the course of the Second World War, the Dennis papers flourished, with a large and "enthusias[ti]c" readership (Ibid. vi). Daily circulation averaged 43,753 throughout the war (Ibid. 398). Issues typically ran 14 to 16 pages and included news, editorial, sports, women/society, comics and classified sections. The editorial page contained three to four editorial write-ups and the women's section ran one or two pages.

⁶⁵ This figure reflects circulation in March 1946, and is the closest figure obtained to the period of the Second World War (Bruce 1968: 240).

⁶⁶ The newspaper's name has gone through different iterations. During the Second World War, the newspaper's name was *The Halifax Herald*, and this is therefore the name used in this dissertation. At the time this dissertation was written, however, the newspaper's name was *The Halifax Chronicle-Herald*.

Sampling Technique and Sample Size

The stratified random sample for this content analysis was divided by war year into six years. Stratified random sampling ensured that the sample was drawn evenly across the war period, thereby capturing the different occurrences with respect to women's labour during the six war years (such as their mobilization and demobilization). Furthermore, stratified random sampling has proven effective for analyzing media content in particular because it can account for the systematic variations or cycles common in media production that, in turn, affect content (Riffe et al. 2005; Holsti 1969). For example, daily newspapers vary in thickness based on advertising and advertising varies according to the day of the week.

For this reason, 'constructed week' sampling is recommended for daily newspapers, and it involves randomly selecting an issue for each day of the week.⁶⁷ For instance, a sample of one constructed week would involve randomly selecting one Monday, one Tuesday, one Wednesday, etc., from the total population. Applying guidelines for sampling daily newspapers which recommend a sample of two constructed weeks to efficiently infer to content for one year, a total sample of 12 constructed weeks was selected for each of the commercial dailies in this study: *The Toronto Daily Star*, *The Hamilton Spectator* and *The Halifax Herald* (Riffe et al. 2005: 112; Holsti 1969). For these commercial newspapers, which published two editions a day, both editions were included in the analysis. This resulted in a sample of 72 newspaper issues for each commercial newspaper, for a total sample of 216 issues of the commercial press.

The labour papers had varying circulation frequencies, so sample sizes were determined accordingly. Stratified random sampling has also proven more efficient with weeklies than

⁶⁷ For an overview of studies that focus on efficiency of sampling for inference by using the constructed week, see Hansen et al. 2005, p 113-114.

simple random sampling (Lacy et al. 1995, as cited in Riffe et al. 2005: 115). Guidelines for sampling weeklies suggest randomly selecting 12 issues per year—one issue from each month (Holsti 1969; Riffe et al. 2005). As such, the sample for the weekly Halifax paper, *The Citizen*, comprised a total of 72 issues, subdivided into 12 issues per war year. Stratified random sampling, again, is recommended for studying longer-term trends (more than one year) in monthlies (Lacy, Riffe and Randle 1998, as cited in Riffe et al. 2005). For Hamilton's monthly labour paper, *The Labor News*, a random stratified sample of 18 issues (or 25 per cent of the total population) was selected, subdivided into three issues per war year.⁶⁸ In the absence of explicit guidelines for stratified random sampling of media periodicals circulating bi-monthly, this study used a stratified random sample of 36 issues (or 25 per cent of the total population published during the war) for *The Labour Leader* in Toronto, subdivided into six issues per war year. This resulted in a total sample of 126 issues of the labour press.

Appendix A lists the dates of the specific issues analyzed for each newspaper.

Selection of Newspaper Content

Through a comparative content analysis of the commercial and alternative (labour) press, this study examines representations of the subject of women's labour in wartime, in the context of women's mobilization into the war effort through to subsequent demobilization near war's end.

⁶⁸ Guidelines for efficient stratified sampling of monthly periodicals (consumer magazines, in particular) recommend examining all issues (12) to study content for one year. For studies spanning longer periods, stratified random sampling (the 'constructed year' approach) is recommended (over simple random sampling) (Riffe et al. 2005). Specifically, a sample of one constructed year—that is, randomly selecting one issue from each month—is suggested from a five-year period (Lacy, Riffe, and Randle 1998, as cited in Riffe et al. 2005).

Within the commercial newspapers, the content analysis surveyed news content in the general news pages and the women's pages, as well as editorials and letters to the editor. The general news section and the women's pages specifically were identified as representative, as opposed to surveying the entire newspaper or additional specialized sections therein (such as business, for example). The news section distributes news of general interest to society at large—news that the average citizen needs to be informed, to form opinions and to make decisions within the public sphere. Therefore, analyzing general news coverage provides a sample of the degree of importance placed on the subject of women's labour within the public sphere, as distinguished by its appearance in the news section. Specialized sections in the newspaper, such as sports, business and the women's pages, distributed information of interest to niche audiences (and functioned to attract these specialized mass audiences and, thereby, boost readership) (Emery, Emery and Roberts 2000). Of these specialized sections in the newspaper, the women's pages were analyzed because they represent news written by women and for women, and provide a sample of the degree of importance placed on the subject of women's labour, as distinguished by its presence in the women's pages. Editorials were selected because, as Elisabeth Le (2010) argued, "each editorial defines at a given time how media construct their socio-cultural environment and where they position themselves in it" (xi). In this view, media play a political role through their editorials, with editorials serving as "official expressions of a media position on an issue they choose to highlight over all others in a given context" (Ibid. 3). Letters were analyzed because they serve as an indicator of public opinion. DiCenzo (2010) argued that placing letters to the editor in newspapers is "one of the most direct forms of intervention in public debates" (par. 19).

In the labour newspapers, the content analysis analyzed all pages, which comprised general news pages and an editorial page. The labour newspapers analyzed in this study did not run a separate women's page or print letters to the editor.

On the general news pages and (in the commercial press only) the women's pages, this study surveyed news content in the following formats: news articles, feature articles, columns and photos. Advertisements on the general news, editorial and women's pages were excluded because the primary focus of this study is journalistic news coverage, not advertising.

This study seeks to analyze the discussion that ensued in the press about the wartime mobilization of women's labour and subsequent demobilization, and to understand how gendered roles were constructed and negotiated therein. As such, this content analysis is not an exhaustive study of all coverage of women's labour. Rather, it is concerned with women's labour as a 'subject' under consideration in the news. This includes, for instance, discussions of a breakdown in marriages during the war (domestic), a government call-out for women's volunteer services to accommodate wartime needs (volunteer labour) or women's workplace absenteeism (wage labour). More specifically, news content (general news and women's pages), an editorial or a letter to the editor was identified as covering the subject of women's labour if it met one or more of the following six criteria:

- It discussed women's labour or an aspect(s) thereof as upholding or transgressing the sexual division of labour (For example: "Women's Greatest Duty is to Build Up Morale", *The Hamilton Spectator*; "Two Mothers, Daughters are Merchant 'Seamen'", *The Halifax Herald*);

- It discussed women's performance as labourers or made an evaluative statement about women's domestic, volunteer or wage labour (For example: "British Women Do Their Bit: In Almost Every Sphere of the War They Are Contributing to Victory", *The Hamilton Spectator*);
- It presented women's labour or an aspect(s) thereof as problematic or contentious (For example: "Churchill Quits if 'Equal Pay' Given to Women", *Toronto Daily Star*);
- It highlighted the interplay between women's traditional and wage labour, or expressed tension *within* or *between* women's traditional and/or non-traditional roles (For example: "Busy Mother Still Finds Time for Nursing Work", *The Halifax Herald*; "Objects to Married Women in War Jobs: Employment of Mothers is Believed Cause of Rise in Juvenile Delinquency", *The Labor News*);
- It discussed the wartime mobilization or demobilization of women's labour by government and/or industry (For example: "Women Replacement of Male Labour Proceeding Rapidly", *The Labor News*); and
- It considered the circumstances or conditions surrounding women's employment (For example: "Pathway to Improved Status of Workers: Britain's Labour Minister Seeks to Place Domestic Service on Same Footing as any Other Industry", *The Citizen*).

These criteria are not mutually exclusive.

Content that did not meet one or more of these criteria fell outside the scope of this study and was therefore excluded from further analysis. For example, on the women's pages, social notices (which conveyed wedding, engagement and related society news and announcements)

were excluded because they do not communicate information about the subject of women's wartime labour, as the following headline in *The Halifax Herald* illustrates: "Honour Recent Bride with Dinner Party and Shower". The women's pages also contained news briefs with reports on or summaries of women's club events and activities, both unrelated and related to the war. As an example of the latter, consider the following news brief titled "Women of the Moose" from the Sept. 16, 1942 issue of the *Toronto Daily Star*:

West Toronto chapter No. 54, Women of the Moose, held their meeting in Lakeview Hall, senior regent, Mrs. Harry Fester, presiding. Mrs. Albert Cox, convenor of the knitting for the afternoon euchre committee, reported many socks sent overseas to men on active service. Mrs. George Winkworth read letters of appreciation from men overseas on the ditty bags they had received from the junior chapter. A bingo was planned for a social evening the first meeting in October with Mrs. William Millar as chairman of the entertainment committee.

In either case, these briefs read like a 'laundry list' of either women's social or then community (voluntary) activities or read like meeting minutes and did not discuss women's labour as a subject, as defined by the criteria noted above. They, therefore, fell outside the scope of this study and were not included in the analysis.

Headlines were read to determine if the subject of the discourse in news content, editorials or letters to the editor met any of the established criteria. Where the headline indicated that the item was about women's labour but failed to distinguish whether it met the criteria for further analysis, the main body text was then reviewed. Any coverage identified as concerning

women's labour as a subject received further analysis according to the categories in the content analysis.

Using these guidelines for surveying media content, the sample yielded a total of 273 items (articles, photos, editorials or letters) on the subject of women's wartime labour for further analysis: 200 within the commercial press and 73 within the labour press. Appendix C contains the results of the content analysis, comparing the results across newspaper type (commercial versus labour press), the sort of media coverage (general news versus the women's pages, versus editorials, versus letters to the editor), and the sex of the writer (for letters to the editor only) for each category in the content analysis.

Defining Analytical Categories

While this dissertation focuses on women's wage labour, the content analysis first sought to contextualize women's wage labour by gaining a broader understanding of how the subject of women's labour in general, including domestic and volunteer as well, was represented in the commercial and alternative press. This involved identifying where (location) and how (form) coverage of women's labour appeared within each newspaper, as well as how much physical space this coverage received. The sex of the writer was also noted for letters to the editor. From here, women's wage labour in particular was analyzed in more detail to identify the type of wage labour discussed in the news, the topics covered, discursive framing and the position projected toward women's wage labour. Appendix B presents the template used to code the data collected.

The coding categories were defined as follows:

Sort of Media Coverage: This category was coded according to the 'sort' or classification of coverage: general news, the women's pages, editorials or letters to the editor. Furthermore, if

the coverage in the general news or women's pages took the form of a photo, then it was also coded as such to later compare the form (articles versus photos) of coverage.

Sex of the Writer: For letters to the editor on the subject of women's labour, the sex of the writer was coded as "male", "female" or "undetermined" if the signature on the letter or the body of the letter could not identify the writer as either male or female.

Type of Women's Labour: This category was coded as "domestic", "volunteer" or "wage" labour. Articles were identified as relevant to this study if they discussed either type of women's labour.

Articles were coded as concerning women's domestic labour if they discussed the subject of women's unpaid work in the home during wartime. More specifically and drawing on feminist definitions of domestic labour, this type of work included housework and household maintenance such as "cooking and cleaning up after meals, tidying, cleaning and maintaining the various rooms of the house and furnishings, shopping, laundry, mending and sewing, taking out the garbage, [and] paying the bills" (Luxton and Corman 2001: 163).⁶⁹ Highlighted herein is women's consumer role of transforming wage income into goods and services. Women's domestic labour also included motherhood—that is, reproduction and child care. Women's domestic work is further understood to encompass topics related to a woman's position as 'wife' in the home, which includes subjects such as marriage and divorce as well as activities pertaining to the care of working adults (such as a husband, for example).

⁶⁹ See Armstrong and Armstrong 2010; Bourne 1985; Bradbury 1993; Fox 1980; Luxton 1980; Luxton and Corman 2001; Pierson 1986; Sangster 1995, 2010b; Strong-Boag 1986; Thomas 1987

In this study, articles were identified as being about women's volunteer labour if they discussed the subject of women's unpaid/voluntary work in service to the broader community, as it pertained to the war.

Finally, articles were coded as being about women's wage labour if they discussed the subject of women's paid (waged or salaried) work outside the home. This study defines a "wage-earner" as did the *Census of Canada 1941*: an individual receiving an amount of money as "salary, wages, commission or piece-rate payment" (Vol. I, p 344).

Size of Article or Photo: The articles were coded as "small," "medium" or "large". A small article ran up to 200 words, medium articles ran 200 to 500 words, and large articles surpassed 500 words. Photos were coded as "small" if they spanned one column in width, as "medium" if they were two to three columns wide, and "large" if they were four or more columns wide.⁷⁰

Type of Women's "Wage" Labour Discussed: Within the category of "wage labour", articles were further coded as "service," "clerical," "manufacturing," "trade and commerce," "active service," "general" and "other." These subcategories reflect the areas of waged work employing the greatest number of women during the period under study, according to both the *Census of Canada 1941* and statistics from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Department of Labour, as cited in the "Final Report of the Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women" published November 30, 1943. The *Census of Canada 1941* further identified, within each subcategory noted above, the occupations employing the most female

⁷⁰ Both broadsheets by column width, the commercial newspapers contained eight columns, and the labour newspapers ran seven or eight columns wide (depending on the labour paper). Therefore the difference between column width (and thus photo size) was minimal when comparing photos in the commercial newspapers with those in the labour newspapers.

“wage earners,” providing the basis for how these subcategories were defined in this study.⁷¹

Drawing from this, articles on waged labour were further coded as “service” if they discussed “professional” occupations such as nursing (graduate or in training) and teaching or “personal” occupations such as domestic servants; housekeepers, matrons and stewards; and waiters or waitresses. Articles were coded as “clerical” if women were represented as working as office clerks, stenographers and typists, and bookkeepers or cashiers, for example. Articles were coded as “manufacturing” if they discussed women’s work with clothing and textiles, iron and its products, and other metal products, for instance. Articles were coded as “trade and commerce” if women were depicted in jobs such as retail. Articles were coded as “active service” if they concerned women working in the armed forces. The subcategory “general” accounted for articles that concerned women’s wage labour generally, without mentioning a particular industry or occupation.

Topic of Article on Wage Labour: This coding category sought to determine what topics the discussion of women’s wage labour focused on and the circumstances under which women’s wage labour appeared in the news. As such, the subject of the article was coded as “hiring and/or recruitment” (if it concerned news on women being recruited and/or hired into the workforce), as conforming to a “first woman to ...” story framework (if it focused any ‘first’ for women with respect to their wage work), as “firing” (if it concerned women being fired from, laid off from or encouraged to leave their employment), as “government policy and/or action”, as a labour “strike”, as “performance” (if it engaged with questions of women’s aptitude or proficiency on the job), as “circumstances of employment” (if it discussed conditions or issues surrounding

⁷¹ For a complete list of all occupations within each category, see the *Eighth Census of Canada 1941*, Vol. VI, Table 6, p 90-99.

women's wage work such as housing shortages, wages and trade unionism), or as "other" for subjects falling outside these parameters.

Qualifier: Discursive Framing – Key Words to Describe Women's Wage Labour:

Articles were analyzed to determine how women's wage labour was framed in the news—that is, what key words and frames were used to describe women's wage labour. The sub-categories analyzed were: labour, work(er), womanpower, service, temporary, gendered descriptors, other and not applicable. Of these, "temporary" and "gendered descriptors" refer to general frames, not specific words. "Temporary" refers to words that emphasized the temporary or wartime-limited nature of women's wage labour. "Gendered descriptors" refers to language that emphasized gendered roles in describing women's wage labour (such as 'wife' or 'mother'). This analysis sought to determine whether women's wage labour was framed in the news in ways that upheld or challenged traditional conceptions of women (such as by reflecting the rhetoric of government propaganda, for example).

The key words and frames analyzed were developed through empirical evidence and supporting research. For instance, in analyzing all references to women made in the Debates of the House of Commons from 1939 to 1949, Nash (1982) found that "the idea that the right to work as a male prerogative was so deeply ingrained that no one even questioned when ... the word 'labour' [was used] as a synonym for the word 'men'" (93). As such, the term "labour" was tested to determine if it was associated with women. It is for this reason that the terms "labour(er)" and "work(er)" were both analyzed even though they are essentially synonyms. The term "womanpower" was included because Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King used this term in his 1942 address to the nation, "Manpower and a Total War Effort", in which he discussed women's contribution to the war effort and, specifically, the need to employ women

who have not previously worked and who could replace men in essential civilian occupations, in war production and in some duties within the armed forces. The term “womanpower” is also used to describe all employed women under study in the 1943 “Final Report of the Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women”. Empirical evidence guided further category definitions. For instance, once a term appeared consistently (more than five times) in the trial sample conducted (Moniz and Mazepa 2011), that word became a category for this full-scale content analysis.

Qualifier: Discursive Framing – Position on Women’s Wage Labour: The articles on waged labour were further qualified as positive, negative, both or neutral, according to the stance assumed toward women’s labour in the article as indicated by the tone and/or diction.

Geographic Focus of Coverage on Women’s Wage Labour: Coverage was coded according to the geographic region it concerned: Canada, Britain, the United States or “other” countries. This category served as a check on whether most coverage focused on Canada, ensuring that this dissertation could speak to the Canadian experience.

Issues of Reliability and Validity

Before embarking on the full-scale content analysis of the three commercial papers and the three labour papers for this dissertation, a pilot study was conducted to test the time range, sample size, coding schedule and clarity of coding guidelines. This pilot resulted in a co-authored paper presentation (Moniz and Mazepa 2011). This pilot study sought to address the same research questions as this dissertation using, as the object of study, the sample of Toronto newspapers: *The Toronto Daily Star* and *The Labour Leader*.

The pilot study refined the time period for the study to the six war years, rather than extend the analysis to one year pre- and post-war to provide a baseline of comparison. The time range for the pilot study and, subsequently, this dissertation, did not precede the war because the need for women to enter the labour force (the type of women's labour that this study is most concerned with) became acute in 1942. The results of the content analysis of the Toronto newspapers in this pilot study reinforced this, demonstrating that coverage of women's labour only peaked in the mid-war years. For example, the total proportion of coverage remained consistent for the first two war years, at 15 and 14 per cent of total wartime coverage, in the *Toronto Daily Star*. In *The Labour Leader*, the proportion of coverage in the first two war years amounted to 5 and 17 per cent, respectively. To determine whether the time frame for the content analysis should extend post-war, the pilot study included a survey of a sub-set of the sample (the women's pages of the *Toronto Daily Star*) for the key words related to women's labour during the war—"war", "work", "home front" and "womanpower"—to determine the volume of news coverage in the two years after the war. Hits on these key words dropped after 1945. For example, the final war year yielded 309 hits on the word "war" but in 1946, hits dropped by approximately 90 per cent to 32. Furthermore, the results of the content analysis conducted on the *Toronto Daily Star* for the pilot study confirmed that the study could terminate in 1945, given that coverage of women's labour tapered to 7 per that final war year.

Furthermore, conducting the pilot study helped to justify sampling choices, such as sampling technique, time period, sample size and categories of analysis. For instance, a sample size of two constructed weeks per war year for *The Toronto Daily Star* (rendering a total sample of 72 issues) was sufficient to reveal patterns in media coverage and to illustrate a range of examples. Conducting this pilot study also refined the coding schedule by revealing initial

inadequacies or inconsistencies (Hansen et al. 1998: 118-121). Furthermore, this pilot study used two coders (a primary coder and then a secondary coder who served as a check on coding decisions) to test the clarity of coding guidelines. This ensured that the study could be replicated and results thereby validated.

Historical Background

To place media coverage of women's labour in its broader national context, this dissertation relied on archival research of government documents concerning women's volunteer and wage labour. This included reports and literature produced by the Department of Labour and the Department of National War Services, obtained through Library and Archives Canada, such as the "History of the Wartime Activities of the Department of Labour, Employment of Women (Part I) and Day Care of Children (Part II)" and files from the Women's Voluntary Services Division that contained internal reports as well as literature for public consumption. Primary materials also included published government reports such as the "Final Report of the Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women" (one of six subcommittees of the federal government's Advisory Committee on Reconstruction) and the "Report of the Women's War Conference" (1918), among others. Overall, this historical research created a picture of the magnitude and scope of women's participation in the labour force and located the mobilization and demobilization of women's labour within its broader national context. This, in turn, provided a basis for analyzing representations of women's labour in the wartime press.

With respect to the link between news media representations of women's labour and government propaganda, the dissertation relied on general messages within government documents as primary sources, as well as on Nash's (1982) work on propaganda films about women's labour from the National Film Board of Canada as a secondary source. This

dissertation focuses on how often and how women's labour was represented in the press, arguing that the news media negotiated women's labour in terms of traditional gendered roles. And while government propaganda is a part of that, this study does not probe at the dissemination of government propaganda explicitly among its research questions. As such, the methodology did not include more extensive archival research of government departments such as the Wartime Prices and Trade Board or the Wartime Information Board to tighten the propaganda link. The focus remained on the content within the pages of the press and what this content communicated about women and their labour.

Drawing on the findings of the content analysis, the next chapter begins to address some of the research questions driving this study: Was there a public discussion of the subject of women's labour in print news media during the Second World War? Whose representation of women's labour is reflected in the pages of the press?

CHAPTER FIVE

Whither Women's History?

During the Second World War, women's participation in the Canadian labour force doubled, with more women employed in traditionally male-dominated fields than ever before. Yet, a content analysis of news, editorials and letters to the editor suggests there was a lack of discussion about the subject of women's labour in the wartime press. Moreover, within the discussion that did exist, the wartime press repackaged news of women's labour in ways that not only reinforced stereotypical values about women prominent in mainstream news and, more specifically, in war news, but also in ways that challenged the idea that either women's journalism or the alternative labour press offered a 'space' for more progressive identities for women than those traditionally found in the mainstream press, such as that of 'wage earner'.

Contextualizing the 'Public' Discussion of Women's Labour in the Wartime Press

Despite the magnitude and significance of women's wartime work as homemakers, as volunteers and as wage earners, there was minimal discussion in the public sphere on the subject of women's labour in wartime through the pages of the press. First, only about half of the newspaper issues analyzed in both the commercial and labour press over the six war years (54 and 45 per cent, respectively) rendered results—that is, at least one article, photo, editorial or letter to the editor about the subject of women's labour. Furthermore, this study examined the general news, women's pages, editorials and letters to the editor, as applicable, across six newspapers: three commercial newspapers and three labour newspapers. The sample comprised 342 newspaper issues in total: 216 issues of the commercial press and 126 issues of the labour press. In the end, the content analysis surveyed thousands of pages of news across the

commercial and labour press for coverage on the subject of women's labour in wartime, yet the sample yielded only 273 individual results (that is, individual articles, photos, editorials and letters): 200 'hits' in the commercial press and 73 'hits' in the labour press.

Furthermore, analysis of the existing coverage indicates that the social significance of women's labour was minimized in and by the press. For example, coverage of the subject of women's labour received minimal physical space on the actual pages of the press, given that coverage took the form of large articles and photos in only 14 and 15 per cent of coverage in the commercial and labour press, respectively. Newspapers relied mainly on small or medium articles and photos. In the commercial press, small and medium news items comprised an even 43 per cent of coverage each. In the labour press, small news items made up 45 per cent of coverage and medium news items comprised 40 per cent of coverage. In doing so, the press visually downplayed the 'story' of women's labour since the more space, the more important the story, given that column inches were exchanged for advertising dollars.

Overall then, despite the fact that women's labour was "essential to a total war effort", as King announced in 1942, the overall volume of coverage on this subject was minimal in the commercial and labour press during the war—certainly not "commensurate with ... the socially necessary nature of their labour" (King 1942: 9; Pierson 1986: 61).

Given that the subject of women's labour was not a priority on the commercial or alternative news agenda, what did make news during this time?

Dominating the women's pages of the commercial press were social notices; society news; briefs on women's club news, events and activities; and news and columns related to women's domestic roles including advice on childrearing, homemaking 'hints', beauty advice,

news and tips on health and wellness, and advice on ‘proper’ etiquette. General news coverage in the commercial press comprised local/city news typical of the general assignment and courts/police news beats. This included news on fires; accidents; court cases; crimes; notable community anniversaries, events or deaths; and education. The majority of general news coverage, however, concerned the war. For instance, general news coverage about the war concerned price controls, rationing, Red Cross needs, the Victory Loan Campaign, cost-of-living increases, and postwar planning in Canada as well as in other nations such as Britain and the United States. General news coverage of the war, however, focused foremost on the ‘battlefront’—that is, on military strategy and attack. Some commercial newspapers featured news columns devoted to news of war strategy and events as well as war news analysis such as “The War Reviewed” (*Toronto Daily Star*), “We Cover the Battlefronts” (*The Halifax Herald*) and “The Listening Post” (*The Halifax Herald*). The predominance of this type of war news in the commercial press is consistent with the gendered nature of war journalism, which results in media portrayals of war that are heavily dominated by patriarchal and patriotic logic.⁷² War and war news, therefore, becomes about military strategy and attack foremost.

The comparative lack of news coverage on labour-related subjects in the commercial press illustrates this. While labour received some coverage, stories about war strategy and attack monopolized the front page and, oftentimes, filled the majority of space on the general news pages. Select articles about labour fit in between news of air raids, military advancements and the politics of war. Labour-related news coverage concerned topics such as potential labour strikes (by freight handlers, for example) or ongoing labour strikes (in engineering and mining, for instance), war production, labour shortages resulting from increased militarization and war

⁷² See Allan and Zelizer 2004; Boyd-Barrett 2004; Carruthers 2000; Ward, Murphy and Donovan 2006; Lemish 2005: 275; and McLaughlin 2002.

production (including in industries such as farming/agriculture which lost workers to higher paying war industries), the conscription of military service (as in the plebiscite of 1942), government labour regulations (such as wage ‘stabilization’/wage ‘ceilings’ or then ‘freezing’ male labourers in essential war industries and essential civilian services) and government post-war employment planning.

Coverage of labour generally (not women’s labour specifically) was far more comprehensive in the labour press, given that its mandate was precisely that—to cover issues related to labour, labourers and trade unionism, as indicated by the mastheads of each labour newspaper analyzed. Consider, for example, the masthead of *The Citizen* in Halifax: “Published every Friday in the interests of workers and citizens generally”. As such, the labour press engaged more with the state of labour or issues surrounding organized labour than did the commercial press. This included articles supporting trade unionism and discussing appropriate national models of organized labour. While the labour press did not focus on military strategy and attack, as did the commercial press, the Second World War still shaped what made news in the labour newspapers. Over the course of the war, coverage engaged with how the war impacted labour in and beyond Canada. This included discussion of conscription (such as drafting men for military service), wages (including increases, disputes and policies), strikes, job training, increases and shortages in wartime industry production (largely in Canada, but also in the United States and Britain), workplace absenteeism, summer employment of students and teachers, and company profiles (that highlighted labour standards, for example). Similar to the commercial press, the labour press depicted a home front where “Canadian labour [was] on the job one hundred per cent for victory”, as a tagline that consistently ran across the top of the editorial page of *The Labour Leader* reminded Toronto readers. Just as the “emergency of the war” trumped

workers' grievances and, therefore, "limit[ed] picket lines", so too did the labour press' allegiance to the war effort trump its allegiance to the 'labourer' and, thereby, shape its coverage ("Constitution" *The Labour Leader*).

The subject of women's labour in wartime was not a priority on the overall news agenda. Traditional notions of 'womanhood' did not align with masculine concepts of 'labour' or 'war', rendering news about women's wartime labour relatively minimal within the broader news agenda. As Poindexter et al. (2008) argued, gender norms are entrenched in news work practices, which help to explain who makes it into the news and who does not and, in the end, issues of interest to women are often relegated to second-tier status.

Who Represented Women's History?

John Berger (1972) argued that each image embodies someone's way of seeing. During the Second World War, representations of women's labour were refracted largely through a gendered lens that upheld a patriarchal social order.

An analysis of the placement of coverage revealed that the greater proportion of coverage on the subject of women's labour (domestic, volunteer and wage) was located in the general news pages of both the commercial press and labour press—50.5 and 93 per cent, respectively [see Table 1]. Furthermore, while the war created opportunities for women journalists who worked as general news reporters or editors (Freeman 2001; Lang 1999), most general assignment reporters were still men during this period, and practically all women's page reporters were women.⁷³ Qualitatively, this means that men generated the greatest proportion of

⁷³ See Chambers, Steiner and Fleming 2004; Lang 1999; Marzolf 1977; Molotch 1978; Mills 1988; Ross 1936; Schudson 1978; Yang 2000 for discussions of the hard-soft news divide in journalism practice.

coverage on the subject of women's labour.⁷⁴ This magnifies when combined with editorial coverage, given that most editors-in-chief were also male. About the labour press specifically, Mazepa (2003) noted that editors were generally almost always male. In the labour and commercial press alike, the names of editors-in-chief and managing editors that appear in the mastheads of the newspapers surveyed, as available, were male (such as in the *Toronto Daily Star*, *The Labour Leader* and *The Labour News*). As Molotch (1978) noted: The formal news business "is essentially men talking to men" while the women's pages "are a deliberate exception: Here it is the case that women who work for men talk to women" (180).

	General News	Women's Pages	Editorials	Letters
Commercial Press (N=200)	50.5%	37%	7%	5%
Labour Press (N=73)	93%	N/A	7%	N/A

Table 1. Coverage of Women's Labour, Distribution across the Sort of Media Coverage – Commercial vs. Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

⁷⁴ The nature of historical evidence limits analysis of the sex of the journalist writing about women's labour to observation, and not quantifiable statistics. Newspapers at this time did not include reporter bylines with articles as general practice. Bylines were generally attached to columnists and guest writers and, at times, accompanied articles reprinted from other news sources. Secondary literature supports the fact that most general assignment reporters and editors were male and practically all women's page reporters were female. The Second World War did offer women opportunities to work as general assignment reporters and as editors; however, the traditional division of labour within the press still dominated. Precise figures for the total number of women writing general news cannot be precisely quantified within the newspapers sampled because of the lack of evidence within the pages of the press to indicate who (a male or a female journalist) wrote a given article.

As an observation, of the total coverage on women's labour as a subject in the commercial newspapers, 3 male bylines were noted in the women's pages—all in the *Toronto Daily Star* and all attached to the same advice column: "A Man Talks to Women". No female bylines were observed on coverage of women's labour as a subject in the general news pages of the commercial newspapers. Five "undetermined" or androgynous bylines were observed: 3 attached to news of women's labour in the women's pages and 2 attached to articles on women's labour in the general news pages. Of the coverage on women's labour as a subject in the labour newspapers analyzed, only one female byline appeared among the general news pages. This observation, however, does not suggest or indicate that female journalists could not have written the articles on women's labour as a subject that appeared without bylines in the general news section.

The predominance of men writing about women's labour was especially prominent in the labour press because there was no women's page therein and, therefore, no 'acceptable' space for female voices. This reflects a broader "struggle to articulate labour in terms of gender" (Mazepa 2003: 52). Historically, labour—in practice and scholarship—has been conceived of as "a largely male enterprise" and, hence, the "male norm" or men's experiences as labourers were presumed "the universal standard" (Palmer 2010: 211; Baron 1991: 10). This left 'labour talk' to men which meant that the discussion became largely about men. However, historians of women's labour have maintained that 'male' should not be the taken-for-granted norm, as experiences of labouring women were shaped by traditional notions of gender and, therefore, distinct from those of men (Palmer and Sangster 2005, Parr 1990, Sangster 1995).

Moreover, women's wage labour received the greatest proportion of total coverage, compared to domestic and volunteer labour, in both the commercial and labour press. In the commercial press, women's wage labour garnered 68 per cent of overall coverage, followed by domestic labour at 19 per cent and volunteer labour at 13 per cent. Following the same general pattern in the labour press, women's wage labour garnered 89 per cent of overall coverage, followed by domestic labour at 11 per cent and there was no coverage on volunteer labour in the labour newspapers analyzed. Also, most of the coverage on the subject of women's wage labour was located in the male-dominated general news pages: 59 per cent in the commercial press (compared to 30 per cent in the women's pages, for instance) and the labour press divided coverage of women's wage labour between its two sections—general news and editorials—at a percentage ratio of 95:5.

The predominance of coverage on women's wage labour suggests that it was the type of women's labour that required the most 'negotiation' in the public sphere because of its inherent

threat to the sexual division of labour, given that the Second World War turned ‘woman’ into ‘worker’ more prominently than ever before. Therefore, men (as the dominant writers of general news and editorials where coverage of women’s wage labour was concentrated) structured or, rather, controlled the discussion of women’s labour—informing if, when and how this subject permeated the public sphere. The emphasis on women’s wage labour among general news stories also reflects its newsworthiness. Women flooded the labour market during the war, with many working in jobs formerly performed by men. This was *new* to the war period and therefore *newsworthy*. When deciding what makes a story newsworthy, journalistic convention considers the news values present in a story. Traditional news values include prominence, timeliness, proximity, impact, magnitude, conflict, oddity/novelty and human interest (McKercher, Thompson and Cumming 2011; The Missouri Group 2011). Many of these news values combine to make women’s wage labour a newsworthy subject. Women’s wage labour was a *timely* topic throughout the war and prompted by the war (*conflict*) which *impacted* the lives of hundreds of thousands (*magnitude*) of Canadian women and their families on the home front and abroad (*proximity*). For this reason, it also piqued *human interest*. But most significantly, women’s wage labour made news because it was unusual (*oddity/novelty*). The role women were called on to assume as labourers during the war strayed from the pre-war domestic norm, particularly when women first entered the workforce in large numbers, including in jobs exclusive to men, and then again when the government recruited married women and then mothers to work. As S.C. Watkins and R. Emerson (2000) argued, “gender informs norms and values that pattern industry production practices and conventions” (151). Topics normally designated as newsworthy primarily concern men and involve men in positions of authority: the economy, electoral politics,

crime (Ibid. 152-153). Therefore, underlying the newsworthiness of women's wage labour was the notion that women did not naturally belong in the public sphere workforce.

With most coverage of women's labour generally and women's wage labour specifically being located in the male-dominated general news pages (and even more so when combined with editorial coverage), this meant that women were comparatively less involved in drafting the history of their own labour. This is compounded by the fact that, even coverage in the women's pages, reflected patriarchal interests and influence. The lack of a genuinely female perspective on women's (wage) labour resulted in a 'story' and, moreover, a HIS-story that does not fully capture women's voices and women's experiences of war. Mills (1997) argued that women bring different perspectives to their newsgathering and writing, which stem from their distinct cultural experiences as women. This may lead them to ask different questions than male colleagues or write different elements into a story about the same event. Bernadette Barker-Plummer and Cynthia Boaz (2005) argued that the absence of women and concomitant dominance of men writing the news results in news that is "excessively masculinist in form", meaning that, among other elements, it includes: (1) a reverence for power that manifests in sourcing and coverage practices that follow and reproduce military and political power; (2) a lack of interest in or pursuit of the views of the less powerful (often women); and (3) representations of women that follow constrained and conventional patterns, such as woman as victim or woman as a symbol or object.

Feminist media scholars have argued that women's accounts of war offer a different perspective on a conflict from that told in the official "War Story" created to give "order to wars that are generally experienced as confusion" (Cooke 1996: 15; Barker-Plummer and Boaz 2005; Cardinal, Goldman and Hattaway 1999). The 'War Story' is the "official state authorized story

about why we go to war and how wars are won” (Hunt and Rygiel 2006: 4). This “metanarrative”, written historically by men, offers a “paradigm” that “shapes reality as the government says it was” (Cooke 1996: 16, 39, 28). The ‘War Story’ relies on binaries such as war and peace, battlefield and home front, and combatants and civilians, which inherently divide masculine and feminine. It draws on essentialist notions of gender, evoking traditional “gendered tropes” said to be ‘natural’, but that are in fact far from ‘natural’: “... this sex segregation is justified for biological reasons: the men are strong, therefore they must protect the women who are weak. It is written in their genes that men shall be active and women passive” (Hunt and Rygiel 2006: 4; Cooke 1996: 16). Cardinal, Goldman and Hattaway (1999) argued that a ‘female perspective’ can complement, correct or reshape the war story told by men. However, given the consistency between government and media agendas during times of war,⁷⁵ combined with the control that men in the profession exerted over war news generally, including news of women’s labour, where in the wartime press did such a perspective exist?

Women’s Labour as a Challenge to Women’s Journalism as ‘HER-story’

Such a ‘female perspective’ on war did not exist in the women’s pages of the commercial press which reflected power relations in the journalism profession and reinforced the masculine-feminine binaries on which the ‘War Story’ is based.

Largely regarded as news written by women and for women, the women’s pages of the commercial press also reflected a dominant patriarchal social order that defined and addressed women in terms of the private, domestic sphere. From the late 19th century through the first half of the 20th century, the women’s pages were the main and often the only opportunity for women

⁷⁵ See Baroody 1998; Boyd-Barrett 2004; Carruthers 2000; Covert 2001; Hallin 1997; Herman and Chomsky 1988; Keshen 2004; Lasswell 1971; McLaughlin 2002; Robinson 2004; Ward et al. 2006; and Yang 2000.

journalists to write in newspapers (Chambers, Steiner and Fleming 2004; Lang 1999; Marzolf 1977; Ross 1936). Newspapers sought to “include ‘feminine’ values” but were carefully managed so as not to “hand over any power to women” (Holland 1998: 21). For instance, women’s page editors often reported to the city editor. So although women’s sections were headed by women, men still controlled the newspaper and influenced coverage (Mills 1988: 123). This patriarchal structure of news journalism reinforced patriarchal messages about women’s labour. For example, throughout the war, the women’s pages of the commercial press contained the greater proportion of overall coverage on traditional forms of women’s labour—that is, their volunteer and domestic work. As stated, the male-dominated general news pages housed the larger proportion of the coverage on women’s wage labour, nearly double in fact. [See Table 2].

	General News	Women’s Pages	Editorials	Letters
Domestic Labour (N=38)	32%	47%	13%	8%
Volunteer Labour (N=26)	31%	65%	0%	4%
Wage Labour (N=136)	59%	30%	7%	4%

Table 2. Type of Women’s Labour, Distribution across the Sort of Media Coverage – Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

This is not to say that the women’s pages did not consider the subject of women’s wage labour, but simply that there was more overall coverage of women’s wage labour in the general news pages than in the women’s pages. This holds true whether analyzing the distribution of coverage across or within the general news and women’s pages. For example, when the

distribution of coverage on women's domestic, volunteer and wage labour was analyzed within the general news section, the women's pages, editorials and letters individually, each of these sections discussed women's wage labour foremost over women's domestic and volunteer labour [see Table 3]. Indeed, it was the most newsworthy of the three types of women's labour in wartime because it strayed from the social 'norm', which also made it the type of women's labour that required the most 'explanation' if the patriarchal status quo was to be maintained throughout the war. Proportionally, however, the general news pages contained about 1.5 times the coverage of the women's pages.

	General News (N=100)	Women's Pages (N=76)	Editorials (N=14)	Letters (N=10)
Domestic Labour	12%	24%	36%	30%
Volunteer Labour	8%	22%	0%	10%
Wage Labour	80%	54%	64%	60%

Table 3. Type of Women's Labour, Distribution within the Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

Even though just over half of the coverage in the women's pages concerned the subject of women's wage labour, the topics considered therein reinforced the hard-soft news divide in journalism and, with it, the second-tier status of women and their journalism in the profession. For instance, the women's pages discussed women's performance in the workforce during the war foremost, at 45 per cent of coverage therein [see Table 4]. This included discussions on women's double duty with work and home life; the need for women to maintain their health for better industrial production; praise of women's labour, including in traditional occupations such

as nursing and non-traditional occupations like bomber pilots; workplace absenteeism and neglect; and women's workplace strengths with an eye to likely post-war employment opportunities for women in traditional areas such as youth education or other roles dealing with human relationships.

	General News (N=81)	Women's Pages (N=40)	Editorials (N=8)	Letters (N=7)
Hiring and/or Recruitment	36%	17.5%	0%	14%
First Woman To	4%	2.5%	0%	0%
Firing	11%	7.5%	0%	0%
Government Policy and/or Action	17%	10%	37.5%	43%
Strike	0%	0%	0%	0%
Performance	18%	45%	25%	0%
Circumstances of Employment	4%	2.5%	25%	29%
Other	10%	15%	12.5%	14%

Table 4. Topics Covered, Women's Wage Labour, Distribution within the Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The women's pages conveyed mixed messages about women's performance in the workplace. Some negative coverage criticized women's workplace absenteeism or neglect and offered women advice on maintaining health to ensure increased productivity on-the-job. For example, one column that appeared regularly in the women's pages of the *Toronto Daily Star*, "A Man Talks to Women", criticized women's emotional behaviour in the workplace in its Dec.

13, 1943 write-up. The columnist, George Antheil, scolded women's frivolous behaviour, namely their gossiping, as well as their inability to separate their work and home life, as detrimental to workplace morale and, more importantly, to their own productivity at work which, ultimately, hinders war production and, with that, the war effort. He also presented women as overly-emotional and overly-sensitive to the conventions of the male workforce, urging women to behave more like men on the job:

You take your home to work with you, and that is a bad emotion for your efficiency. You are easily hurt when you think people are slighting you [e.g. of breaks] when maybe you are merely too busy to stop [working]. You are deeply hurt because the boss scolded you for a mistake and you harbour a grudge. Men are conditioned to work with each other, to take orders from bosses, to see things of which they disapprove but ... their emotions are trained to not interfere on the job. (23)

However, not all coverage on the women's pages conveyed negative messages about women's on-the job performance. The women's pages also highlighted women's workplace strengths but, interestingly, these strengths often stemmed from qualities, such as care-giving and servitude, associated with their traditional domestic roles. For example, an article titled "War Nurses Lauded as Example to All" published June 5, 1940, in the *Toronto Daily Star* heralded the nursing profession as "one of courage", stating that "in the last 10 terrible days of disaster for the Allies, although they have brought new determination and confidence to their peoples, the courageous work of the nurses who have stood by the troops in something that will go down in history. It is a challenge to oncoming generations of the professions." The article praised women's courage, but negotiated images of female strengths in terms of gendered ideals.

Furthermore, when the women's pages praised women's performance within traditional male-dominated labour, such as in railroad yards or in the active service, coverage tended to remind readers that these wage earners were still wives and mothers and grandmothers. For example, in Figure 2, the women's pages of the *Toronto Daily Star* presented images of Russian, Indian and American women working in logging and in railroad yards as well as manufacturing war goods, heralding these women as exceeding productivity expectations at "jobs their men would be doing in peacetime" (21). Specifically, one of the photos depicted "four working mothers" who, combined, have 42 children, including grandchildren. In much the same way that the Canadian nurses 'stood by the [male] troops' in the aforementioned article, so too was the paid labour of women in other nations negotiated in relation to the men in their lives—literally and symbolically—and, concomitantly, in relation to their domestic roles and its associated qualities. This reminded readers that women were wives and mothers and grandmothers first. They were wage labourers second, working hard on-the-job to support their men and "[do] their part in the war" (Ibid. 21). Women's identity, including their workplace identity, was bound by their lives in the home.



Figure 2. "United Nations' Women Carry on at Jobs Their Men Would be Doing in Peacetime", *Toronto Daily Star*, April 27, 1943; page 21.

The women's pages did not discuss 'hard' news, such as government policy and/or action or the circumstances surrounding women's employment (including their wages, for example), to the extent that the editorials, which were written by the men heading the newspapers, did. Editorials discussed government policies and related actions surrounding women's wage labour foremost, particularly as it concerned topics surrounding working mothers (such as the Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement, for example), which further defined women labourers in terms of traditional notions of motherhood. Moreover, the male-dominated general news pages of the commercial and labour press emphasized women's mobilization into the paid workforce foremost—the main priority of the government and, following from it, industry with respect to women during the war. As such, the politics of labour and other 'hard news' angles, including the circumstances surrounding women's employment (such as wages and unionism) remained male domain in the press. [See Table 4]

Furthermore, if the women's pages addressed the interests of its intended audience—women—then it would have concentrated coverage on the subjects that most concerned or interested women with respect to their own labour at the time. These subjects, according to the letters to the editor submitted to the commercial newspapers by women about their own wage labour, were government policies and/or actions impacting their employment (at 40 per cent of women's letters), hiring and/or recruitment, circumstances surrounding their employment and "other" subjects (which, in this case, comprised one letter expressing the challenges associated with finding employment as a widow)—the latter three subjects comprising 20 per cent of letters

each.⁷⁶ Yet, nearly half of the coverage on women's wage labour in the women's pages addressed women's performance in the workplace.

This dissertation explored the extent to which the women's pages of the commercial press covered the different types of labour that women engaged in during the war, with particular interest in how the women's pages discussed an 'alternative' conception of 'woman': woman as wage labourer or wage earner. In the end, the general news pages contained the greater proportion of coverage on women's wage labour. Concomitantly, the women's pages contained the greatest proportion of coverage on women's traditional labour. Furthermore, coverage of women's wage labour within the women's pages reinforced the hard-soft news divide in journalism. Women's history drawn from the women's pages has tended to neglect aspects of women's experience beyond the 'domestic', such as their workforce participation, structuring women according to the prescribed roles of wife and mother. Furthermore, the women's pages did not offer a comprehensive representation of women's paid labour because 'hard news' angles were more often left to the male-dominated general news pages and editorials. Furthermore, coverage of women's massive influx into the labour force during the Second World War, including in jobs traditionally performed by men, was often renegotiated in terms of women's traditional labour. A close analysis of the distribution of writing about the subject of women's labour in the women's pages through content analysis reveals patterns that raise doubts about the women's pages as a space that enabled more progressive identities to unfold. Therefore, if only the women's pages are accessed to account for or 'reconstruct' women's history, then history told from this perspective will serve to reinforce dominant patriarchal perceptions of women by

⁷⁶ Of the 10 letters to the editor about women's labour in the commercial press, women wrote 7 of the letters, a male wrote 1 letter, and 2 letters were coded as "undetermined" due to their androgynous signatures. Furthermore, of the 7 letters written by women, 5 letters concerned women's wage labour (71.4 per cent), 1 letter concerned women's domestic labour (14.3 per cent), and 1 letter concerned women's volunteer labour (14.3 per cent).

replicating and not challenging a gendered division of labour. Such a challenge, however, was even less likely to occur in male-dominated general news and editorials, which led the discussion on women's wage labour specifically and, in the process, reshaped women's history in ways that aligned their wage labour with their gendered, private-sphere roles.

So if not in the women's pages, this still begs the question: Whither women's history?

Women's Labour as a Challenge to Alternative Media History as 'Alternative'

Alternative social meanings are more likely to flow through alternative news sources (Comedia 1984; Curran 2007). In theory, the alternative press should be more apt than the commercial press to portray women in less conventional ways and to provide 'alternative' frames on their experiences, including their experience as wage labourers during the Second World War, given the magnitude of women's participation in the wartime workforce and the labour press' explicit mandate to cover labour issues. In theory, the alternative labour press, specifically, should be particularly apt to portray women as wage labourers, given its mandate to cover labour news and issues. Yet, with respect to coverage of women's wartime labour as a subject in the alternative labour press, this was not the case.

The content analysis revealed strong similarities between the mainstream commercial press and the alternative labour press—in terms of the common focus on women's wage labour, as well as the types of wage labour emphasized, topics discussed, discursive frames employed, and the position projected toward women's wage labour.⁷⁷

Both the commercial and the labour press prioritized coverage of women's labour in the same way, focusing on their wage labour foremost, as previously stated in this Chapter. This

⁷⁷ For a complete overview of these findings, see Appendix C, Part One.

reflects its newsworthiness (based predominantly on its novelty) and suggests that paid work was the type of women's labour during the war that required the most 'negotiation' in the news because of its inherent threat to the sexual division of labour. Coverage of women's traditional labour—domestic and (in the case of the commercial press only) volunteer labour—trailed behind. As 'traditional' forms of labour, neither women's domestic nor their volunteer labour during the war inherently threatened the sexual division of labour in society. Instead, these traditional forms of labour upheld the status quo. Consider, for example, the following two articles published in *The Halifax Herald* in 1942 and 1943, respectively, when the need for women in the paid workforce was acute. A June 4, 1942 article headlined "Housewives Keep Check on Prices" explained that "housewives are keeping their eyes peeled for the slightest attempt to upset Canada's price structure" (1). It discussed the role of housewives as watchdogs for government by monitoring prices to ensure that the imposed price ceilings on food and other goods were being upheld by retailers. In the process, the article represented women in the traditional domestic role of consumer. Similarly, coverage of women's volunteer labour also simultaneously served war imperatives and upheld traditional notions of womanhood, as demonstrated in the article "Busy Mother Still Finds Time for Nursing Work" published Oct. 19, 1943 in *The Halifax Herald*. The article upheld Mrs Evelyn Sampson as a model for other women in wartime. Mrs Sampson, a mother of six and a grandmother, had volunteered 290 hours of nurses aid work up to that point in the war "in addition to her regular household duties" and the "many calls on her time at home" (11). She did so because she was "keenly alive to the importance women volunteering to aid in this important work" and has a "keen interest in the work of fitting herself to meet any war emergency where nursing and first aid can be helpful" (Ibid. 11). This article exemplifies much of the coverage on women's volunteer labour which

presented women’s service to others as stemming from the ‘feminine’ quality of nurturing and caregiving—the historically and culturally specific work of ... sustaining members of the human species” (De Pauw 1998: 298; Luxton and Corman 2001: 154-155).

Overall, coverage of women’s paid labour in the commercial and labour press also followed similar patterns in terms of the types of wage labour discussed, with both focusing on women’s wage labour generally as well as women in manufacturing industries and the armed services foremost. Interestingly, newspapers did not devote the same amount of coverage to women performing traditional female roles in industries that did not inherently threaten the masculine status quo. For example, service industries received less coverage than manufacturing industries or the active service, as did women’s clerical work since these were traditional fields for women that did not threaten the sexual division of labour in society. [See Table 5]

	Active Service	Clerical	General	Manufacturing	Service	Trade & Commerce	Other
Commercial Press (N=136)	20%	1%	22%	36%	15%	1%	5%
Labour Press (N=65)	12%	3%	25%	51%	9%	0%	0%

Table 5. Type of Women’s Wage Labour, Commercial vs. Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Both the commercial and labour press also framed women’s labour foremost in ways that placed gender front and centre in the description of female labourers. The discursive frames “workers” and “gendered descriptors” rendered the most results across the categories analyzed in both the commercial and labour press [see Table 6]. Women were referred to as “workers” in 37 per cent of the coverage on women’s wage labour in the labour press and 18 per cent in the

commercial press. However, this term rarely stood alone. Rather, across both newspaper types, the adjective “women” often preceded it—as in, “women workers” (“Reception”, *Halifax Herald*). Similarly, both the commercial and labour newspapers described working women with a range of gendered descriptors such as “women wage-earners” or, more specifically, “women bomber and fighter pilots” (“State Control,” *Labour Leader*; “Russ Women,” *Toronto Daily Star*). Interestingly, gender was not used as a qualifier in descriptions of male labour in either the commercial or the labour press and regardless of whether coverage appeared in general news, the women’s pages or editorials. If an article simply referred to ‘workers’, this implied male workers. This was evident because, when an article concerned labour issues specific to women, it indicated as much by referring to ‘women’s work’ or ‘women workers’, as previously noted. However, when an article concerned male and female labourers alike, it tended to refer specifically and explicitly to both ‘men and women workers’. This reinforces the notion that the labour force was ‘male’ domain.

Nash (1982) found this to be precisely the case in House of Commons debates wherein the word ‘labour’ was synonymous with the word ‘men’ (93). Mainstream and alternative news media, too, in their labour-related coverage associated ‘labour’ with ‘male’ by default. So even though the Prime Minister himself acknowledged that “the total manpower for all essential needs can be increased only by increasing the employment of women”, the government and the press alike refused to even label women’s labour as “labour” at all. Women’s labour was only described as “labour” in two per cent of coverage in the labour press and never so in the commercial press [see Table 6]. At times, their labour was termed “service”, in keeping with traditional notions of women’s familial role, but not “labour” [see Table 6].

	Commercial Press (N=136)	Labour Press (N=65)
Labour(er)	0%	2%
Work(er)	21%	37%
Womanpower	4%	3%
Service	10%	9%
Temporary	13%	17%
Gendered Descriptors	21%	17%
Other	8%	6%
N/A	23%	9%

Table 6. Discursive Framing – Key Words to Describe Women’s Wage Labour, Commercial vs. Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Even the influx of women into the paid workforce during the Second World War—600,000 in Canada, 6 million in the United States and 7.75 million in Britain—did not alter gender-based stereotypes arising from the traditional sexual division of labour. Neither did the change in the pattern of female employment, given that many women worked in traditionally male-dominated industries and in jobs typically performed by men, such as in shipyards, factories and munitions plants. Women’s recruitment into the military-industrial complex was met with government concern that it might lead to a breakdown of the sexual division of labour—a fear calmed in the House of Commons with “reassurances that women were still primarily engaged in traditional ‘women’s work’ and that female involvement in non-traditional jobs was temporary and secondary” to jobs held by men (Nash 1982: 95). With respect to calling women into the wartime workforce, then Prime Minister King stated:

Women are now replacing men in many essential civilian occupations, in some almost entirely. Women are undertaking many of the tasks in war production.

Women are also replacing men in many of the duties in the armed forces. In all cases, the men replaced are being released for heavier or more hazardous duties.

(1942: 9)

As the government framed it, women's wage labour served strategic ends by freeing men for more 'important' war work, and this 'justification' for calling women into the workforce "upholds rather than threatens the patriarchal ideology" (Nash 1982: 99).

In tandem, news discourse positioned working women as patriotic replacements for men whose temporary and tenuous presence in the workforce was second tier to that of men [see Table 6]. Women were not allowed to fully appropriate their workplace roles. News discourse reminded readers that women were always still doing "men's jobs" ("A Man Talks to Women," 1940, *Toronto Daily Star*). Just as the government positioned women as temporary "replac[ements]" who freed men for "heavier" duties, so too did the news media position women as "wartime additions to labour force" or wartime "replacement(s)" for men who worked solely to "release" men for other duties as a way to "hurdle the manpower problem" and "answer the Dominion government's call for maximum production" (King 1942; Sangster 2010b; Summerfield 1998; Yang 2000; "Women Will Leave," *Labour Leader*; "Women Replacement," *Labor News*; "Girls Replacing Men," *The Citizen*; "Women in British War Industries," *The Citizen*; "Pretty Girls"; *Toronto Daily Star*).

Government propaganda and news media rhetoric reinforced the idea that women did not have an inherent right to these jobs in the same way that men did. It was only under the auspices

of a ‘national emergency’ and ‘total war’ that governments actively recruited women into the paid workforce in such large numbers. Women were not in the workforce to stay, and their recruitment was not a statement about gender equality. Framing women’s labour as temporary and tenuous marginalized women’s presence in the public sphere workforce, and the social construction of separate spheres for men and women—men were wage earners, women were not—went largely unchallenged in and by news media which privileged the patriarchal status quo.

Overall, discourse across the commercial and labour press also projected a predominantly positive or then neutral position on women’s wage labour, with little negative coverage [see Table 7]. On the surface, this may appear as public support for women in the workforce, which concomitantly means acceptance of a shift in the sexual division of labour and, ultimately, in the social order. However, the aforementioned emphasis on the temporary nature of women’s paid work generally attributed women’s entry into the labour force to the war emergency and not to their right or desire to work, signalling that the apparent support of women’s paid labour evident in the positive coverage across the commercial and labour press served more of a propaganda purpose. Positive coverage across the commercial and labour press supported women’s paid employment as a means of furthering the war effort. Thus, even the alternative press played a propaganda role during the war. The Canadian government needed women in the workforce as part of its war strategy to ensure ‘victory’, and media coverage aligned with this.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ The link between government propaganda and the news media’s support for women’s wage labour, evident in the overall proportion of positive coverage, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

	Positive	Negative	Both	Neutral
Commercial Press (N=136)	57%	7%	13%	23%
Labour Press (N=65)	45%	5%	11%	40%

Table 7. Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Position on Women’s Wage Labour, Commercial vs. Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

In the end, the similarities across the commercial and labour press culminate to portray women’s labour in stereotypical ways that emphasized their gender, not their labour, and in turn projected a patriarchal view of women’s place in society. While it was in the commercial media’s interests to structure women into domestic roles to attract advertisers (such as in the women’s pages), the same cannot be said of the labour press whose mandate to address labour offered potential for more coverage and more progressive coverage on the subject of women’s wage labour. Additionally, alternative news sources can more readily offer perspectives outside the “established [patriarchal] order”, the “capitalist system” and the “mainstream view of a subject” (Comedia 1984: 95; Curran 2007). Yet, a close analysis of coverage about women’s labour across newspaper type through content analysis reveals that the alternative labour press did not, posing a challenge to alternative media history as not quite so ‘alternative’.

Conclusion

Journalists, like historians, select and arrange facts and decide which events constituted major historical events (Carr 1961). As Carr argued, “... every journalist knows ... that the most effective way to influence opinion is by the selection and arrangement of the appropriate facts.... It is [the historian] who decides to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context” (11). Therefore, reflected in the pages of the wartime press are primarily (male) reporters’ judgements of what constituted the major events of the war, how these events were represented

and who the major players were in these events. These judgements were further tied to what the Canadian government deemed significant over the course of the war and to the needs of newspaper advertisers. Regardless, the major players in the war were not women, given their relatively limited role in decision-making and in battle. This is, at least, according to the historical 'record' left by the wartime press.

Therefore, using news media as a lens into the question of whether the Second World War had a progressive impact on women's status in Canadian society results in a less-than-progressive response. First, the study rendered minimal overall results for coverage on women's labour, indicating that it barely surfaced as a subject in the news and, by extension, the public sphere, particularly compared to 'masculine' news of military strategy and combat which furthered patriarchal interests. Furthermore, existing coverage largely failed to portray women wage labourers apart from their stereotypical roles of wife and mother. The media coverage analyzed here on the subject of women's labour in wartime left little room for alternative or more progressive conceptions of women, such as woman as 'wage earner', which hardly serves as an indicator of women's long-term social progress throughout the Second World War.

Nevertheless, women did participate in growing numbers, not only in the war itself via military service but in the industrial labour force as well. And, given that Canada could not have participated in the Second World War as it did without the labour of Canadian women, as records from the Department of Labour state, women's labour could have been reflected more prominently in the pages of the press—if not in the male-dominated news pages, then at least in the 'chronicle' of the women's pages, and if not in the 'male-stream' commercial press than at least in the alternative labour press given its focus on labour issues. The content analysis

demonstrates that patriarchy was systemic not only within (that is, across the news, editorial and women's pages) but also across commercial and alternative print media.

Thus, if the 'nation', as an 'imagined community', as Anderson (1991) argued, is a way of organizing the world, then newspapers, which create an 'imagined community', also offer a way of organizing the world—in this case, a gendered world. Applying Anderson (1991), if the developing consciousness of the nation was made possible in part by people reading newspapers, then women's exclusion or marginalization in the news (both as producers and subjects of news, for instance) results in women's exclusion or marginalization in public consciousness. In her study of representations of women in films produced by the National Film Board during and post-war, Nash (1982) argued that "the milieu in which these films were made was a patriarchal one" and, as such,

the political, economic and creative aspects of image-making were under almost exclusive male control.... And since the context in which they were produced was a patriarchal one, we can expect the images of women in these films to reflect neither how women actually were in society, nor shape how they might become, but rather to reflect how men, the controllers of the images, wanted to see women and how these men wanted women to see themselves. (276, 6)

The same applies to representations of women's labour in the press. The patriarchal structure of news journalism generally and war journalism specifically makes it so that most images of women (textual and visual) were made by men, whether literally or symbolically. As such, the representations of women's labour in the pages of the press reflected not how women actually were in society—1.2 million Canadian women were wage labourers—but, as Nash (1982)

suggested, how the men controlling the images—that is, the government (via propaganda) and news media (which reinforced propaganda)—wanted to see women and how these men wanted women to see themselves: as patriotic wives and mothers, or aspiring wives and mothers, who were doing their ‘bit’ for the war effort.

Letters to the editor indicate the power of these images, given that, in letters, women described their labour as “service” foremost—an indication of how they perceived their own work. In one letter, published Sept. 25, 1941 in *The Hamilton Spectator*, prior to the mass recruitment of women into the labour force, a widow expressed her confusion about the mixed messages circulating in society about whether women should work, noting that, on the one hand, women were told to do their “bit” for the war effort but, on the other hand, it seemed “impossible” to get work in some cases when there was already a male ‘breadwinner’ (such as a son) in the home (“When Should One Work or Not?”, *The Hamilton Spectator*). The patriarchal family, in which women are dependent on male breadwinners, remained an ideal of wartime society. Embedded in this letter was a truth that followed women throughout the war: They would continue to be publicly perceived first in terms of domestic-sphere roles, not as public-sphere wage earners. This reflects and reinforces a social construction of gender which relies on a traditional division of labour that traps women in domestic identities with no prestige or power that inhibit their equal participation in the public sphere—an inherent threat to democracy. These gendered news practices reveal a key theme of feminist media critique—the invisibility and marginalization of women in the news.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ See Allan 1999; Barker-Plummer and Boaz 2005; Byerly and Ross 1999, 2006; Ferguson 1978; Franzwa 1974; Friedan 1963; Gauntlett 2008; Gill 2006; Korinek 1996; Kumar 2004; Lemish 2005; Nash 1982; Norris 1997; Smith 2008; Tuchman 1978; Vipond 1977; Weibel 1977; Wilson 1977; Winship 1987).

The next chapter will explore how this theme played out in media coverage of women's labour during the Second World War.

CHAPTER SIX

Shaping the Public Agenda:

Media Representations and Wartime Realities

(Re)writing Women's History

Women make history, not just play a designated role in history. Yet, as Kitch (2001) argued, journalists (like historians) have told stories in a way that “treat women as supporting rather than primary actors”, even though women have played key roles in these histories (27). This argument takes on particular relevance when thinking about the history of Canada's working women during the Second World War. Just because there was a weak discussion of the subject of women's labour in the wartime press and just because women were marginalized in the stories published therein, that does not mean that women were not part of Canada's war story. In fact, we know that women did not sit on the sidelines of wartime society. More women joined the labour force and the military than ever before in Canadian history. Yet, the historical ‘record’ left by wartime media certainly did not reflect the magnitude or social significance of women's wartime labour. Rather, the discussion of women's labour that did exist in the pages of the press served a different purpose: It minimized and marginalized women's workforce participation. By allowing any discussion of women's wage labour to permeate its pages, the press controlled not only how prominent a subject women's wage labour became in the news, but also how women's labour was framed in the public sphere.

This chapter addresses how women's labour was negotiated in wartime media through a thematic analysis that compares representations of women's labour in the wartime press, as identified through the content analysis, with the wartime realities of their labour told through

archival records and secondary literature. Based on broad patterns observed in this comparison, five themes were deduced to explain how the Canadian press generally ‘managed’ its coverage of women’s labour during the Second World War: From Mobilization to Negotiation, From Celebration to Objectification, From Patriotism to Economics as Motivation, From Social Policy to Social Control, and From Journalism to Propaganda. This chapter explores each theme, largely juxtaposing media representations with wartime realities, but also demonstrating areas where representation and reality intersect, and to what end in both cases. Regardless, however, in both their juxtapositions and intersections, these themes culminate to demonstrate that news media generally presented a ‘*history*’ of women’s labour that did not reflect the lived reality or the political economic and social significance of women’s labouring lives.

These themes, in part, reflect and build on the four major “strategies of interpretation” identified by Nash (1982) as used by the Canadian government to “explain women’s involvement in the war effort”: patriotism, the sexual division of labour, femininity, and the primacy of the home (82). As Nash argued, these strategies filtered into government propaganda, specifically National Film Board recruitment films, to ‘explain’ women’s work roles in a way that “offer[ed] reassurance that the patriarchal ideology was not seriously threatened during the war, and to reinforce that ideology after the war was over” (Ibid. 85). This dissertation goes one step further to demonstrate that these strategies’ also filtered out into the wartime press and to the same end of upholding patriarchal ideology.

Women's Wartime Labour: A Thematic Analysis

From Mobilization to Negotiation

Across its archived pages—the pages that are then left for media historians to write about women's wartime labour history—the Canadian press presented a society that did not reflect the social reality of women's labour. In reality, women, who comprised 48.5 per cent of Canada's population, were essential to the government's execution of the Second World War (Census of Canada 1941, Vol. I, Table I). In the home, Canadian women managed family budgets and purchasing, adhered to wartime rationing, bought Victory Bonds, grew Victory gardens, led the Block Plan and, among other tasks, supported salvage campaigns. Yet, in the newspapers analyzed, women's domestic labour comprised 19 per cent of the overall coverage of women's labour as a subject (domestic, volunteer and wage) in the commercial press and 11 per cent in the labour press. In their communities, millions of Canadian women organized into hundreds of local volunteer societies and clubs. Yet, in the newspapers studied here, volunteer labour was the type of women's labour that garnered the least amount of overall coverage of women's labour as a subject—13 per cent in the commercial press and no coverage at all in the labour press. Its absence is indicative of how women's labour is politically and economically valued or, rather, undervalued. Women's traditional work—that is, their domestic and volunteer labour—typically goes unnoticed or then discounted in society largely because it is unpaid work that takes place in the private sphere and not in the public market place (Armstrong and Armstrong 2010: 86; Eichler 1985; Palmer 1992; Sangster 2010b). As such, it does not factor into a capitalist economy: "Women who work exclusively in the home without pay are not regarded as workers because they neither exchange their capacity to work for wages nor sell their goods and services directly in the market" (Armstrong and Armstrong 2010: 87). The "Report of the Royal

Commission on the Status of Women” (1970) aptly expressed the problem inherent with this perspective: “To view the housewife’s work in the economic sense that money determines value is to distort the picture of her contribution to the economy. Such a concept, even if it imputes money value to her work, fails to recognize those of her functions that can never be measured in market terms” (32).

In the labour market, Canadian women offered the only solution to the nation’s labour shortages throughout the war (Wartime History of the Employment of Women: 29). Women comprised 36 per cent of persons employed in industry in early 1943 and, additionally, nearly 38,000 women had joined the armed forces by late 1943 (Final Report 1944: 8). Yet, even though women’s unpaid (domestic and volunteer) labour was mobilized on the greatest scale during the war, in the press, women’s wage labour garnered the most coverage—68 per cent of the total coverage on women’s labour as a subject in the commercial press and 89 per cent in the labour press. Thus, as Carlin Romano (1986) argued, “... what [journalists] present to the reader is not a mere image of truths, but coherent narrative of the world that serves particular purposes” (42). In this case, the press served capitalist, patriarchal, patriotic and, ultimately, propagandistic purposes.

As discussed in the previous chapter, in addition to the news value of novelty or ‘unusualness’ that made women’s wage labour a newsworthy story, the focus on women’s paid labour in the press (compared to domestic or volunteer labour) further suggests that wage labour was the type of women’s labour that required the most management or ‘negotiation’ because it posed the greatest challenge to patriarchy and, more specifically, to the sexual division of labour, given the magnitude of women’s involvement in the workforce and its potential impact on the aforementioned ‘War Story’. The ‘War Story’ relied on “mythic wartime roles” and “essentialist

clichés of men's aggressivity and women's pacifism” to present a gendered order where men fought on the frontlines and women stayed on the home front with no direct engagement in the war and no “direct access to the spaces of power that the men in general occupied” (Cooke 1996: 14). And while many Canadian women did remain on the home front during the Second World War, millions did not remain in the home. Millions traded the ‘hearth and home’ for slacks and salaries. Women also served overseas with the Canadian armed services for the first time during the Second World War, rendering the battlefield no longer an exclusively-male domain.

Most women in Canada worked in three industries: service, trade and finance, and manufacturing. In June 1939, 342,000 women worked in service industries; 111,000 in trade and finance (largely retail work); and 111,000 in manufacturing (Final Report 1944: 7). By January 1943, these figures rose to 439,000, 180,000 and 373,000, respectively (Ibid. 7). This represents an increase of approximately 28 per cent in service industries, 62 per cent in trade and finance, and 236 per cent in manufacturing. Other industries employing fewer women, comparatively, included transportation and communication; agriculture; construction; mining; and forestry, fishing and hunting (Ibid. 7).

If media coverage mirrored wartime society, it would focus on women in manufacturing, trade and finance, and service industries foremost. But this was not quite the case. In fact, as Table 8 illustrates, neither the commercial nor the labour press covered women employed in trade and commerce at all (defined, most notably, by retail jobs). And while the press contained some coverage of women in service industries (and professional service industries such as nursing and teaching foremost, at 60 and 50 per cent of overall coverage on women employed in service industries across the commercial and labour press, respectively), this coverage was certainly not proportionate to the growth these industries experienced. Instead, media coverage

fixated on women's influx into the traditionally male-dominated fields of manufacturing and military service, in addition to covering women's labour in a general sense.

	Active Service	Clerical	General	Manufacturing	Service	Trade & Commerce	Other
Commercial Press (N=136)	20%	1%	22%	36%	15%	1%	5%
Labour Press (N=65)	12%	3%	25%	51%	9%	0%	0%

Table 8. Type of Women's Wage Labour, Distribution of Coverage across the Commercial and Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

When war broke out, about one-third of employed women worked in domestic service (Wartime History of Employment of Women: 8). In fact, domestic service was the largest occupational sector for women in 1939 but, by the end of the war, manufacturing had taken its place (Stephen 2000: 264). By November 1943, the number of women working in war industry surpassed that in the domestic services—an indicator of 'total war'. Similarly, the Second World War gave women their first-ever access to the battlefield and military operations, even if these servicewomen were not directly engaged in battle. By the end of the war, nearly 50,000 women served in one of Canada's three women's military services: the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Air Force, the Canadian Women's Army Corps and the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (Pierson 1986: 9). Prior to this, Canada's military was all-male, with the exception of the 'Nursing Sisters' of the Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps' Nursing Service. Given the threat that this shift from traditional domestic service to industrial work and military service posed to gender stereotypes, it follows that these types of women's labour received the larger proportion of coverage in wartime newspapers. Women's work within 'macho' manufacturing industries

also comprised a notable proportion of coverage across the general news pages, editorials and, in the case of the commercial press only, the women's pages. For example, 35 per cent of coverage within the general news pages of the commercial press and 48 per cent of general news in the labour press discussed women in manufacturing industries. With respect to editorials, this coverage totalled 80 per cent in the labour press and 33 per cent in the commercial press.⁸⁰

Overall, the role that women were called on to assume because of the 'war emergency'—as public-sphere, paid workers and as members of the active service—conflicted with their traditional, private-sphere role in the home. This private-public shift in roles "endangers the home-front binary" (Cooke 1996: 22). Women's wage labour, thus, required strategic 'management' in the news. And 'managed' it was, as the ensuing themes in this chapter will continue to show—through a gendered, patriarchal lens that packaged news of women's wage labour in ways that presented a narrow perspective grounded in traditional notions of 'womanhood' which trapped women in gendered roles regardless of the magnitude and significance of their wartime labour. In fact, women's wage labour provoked newspaper coverage that reinforced the patriarchal social order precisely because it held so much potential to challenge it.

From Celebration to Objectification

Just as the number of working women doubled in Canada over the war period, so too, as Keshen (2004) argued, did coverage of working women double in newspapers and magazines between 1939 and 1944 and, moreover, "many celebrated women's contributions and accomplishments in new workplace domains" (154). While this increased news coverage may

⁸⁰ See Appendix C, Part B, Tables 15 and 17 for detailed results.

appear, on the surface, as a celebration of women in the labour force, in fact, this news reinforced domestic stereotypes with news briefs that detailed, for instance, how many sweaters women knitted or how many ‘ditty bags’ women assembled for soldiers overseas. Second, coverage of women’s labour served more as a reinforcement of dominant stereotypes about women within the public sphere than it did celebrate labour. Irma K. Halonen (1999) argued that women are consistently assigned a subordinate and objectified position in war news. Media representations of women’s labour during the Second World War offered no exception, with story frameworks and forms as well as discourse that reinforced women’s subordinate and objectified position in the news.

During the war, working women made news precisely because they were working women. Among the coverage, newspapers ran “first woman to” stories: “First Women Employed at Nova Scotia Coal Mine” (*Halifax Herald*), “First Woman Operator Meets Romance on Sea” (*Halifax Herald*) and “Women Pilots Aiding Air Force” (*Labour Leader*). As Poindexter et al. (2008) argued, this story framework reinforces gender stereotypes. While such coverage assumed a ‘positive’ position on women’s wage labour and while it may appear empowering or celebratory on the surface, this story framework undermines women by presenting them, by default, as second-tier. Historically, women have been highlighted as ‘news’ when something strayed from the ‘norm’, and the ‘norm’ was certainly not woman as coal miner, woman at sea, woman in the military, and woman as foreign war correspondent. And while novelty is a journalistic news value identifying the ‘unusual’ as newsworthy (whether it concerns men or women), treatment of such stories about women’s wage labour during the war period more often served to explain these ‘firsts’ in ways that reinforced women’s subordinate social position and upheld stereotypical values about women than suggest an emancipatory shift in the sexual

division of labour or social structure, or herald these ‘firsts’ as progressive steps for women or, better yet, humankind. News coverage of ‘firsts’ with respect to women’s wartime wage work highlighted women’s presence in non-traditional fields as ‘other’ and this story framework objectified women by making a spectacle of their entry into traditionally male-dominated labour. Again, it was not their ‘natural’ space, and employing such a story framework communicated this.

The article, “Women Pilots Aiding Air Force”, which ran in the Sept. 20, 1940 issue of *The Labour Leader*, illustrates this. In it, readers learned that the first “women members” of the British Air Transport Auxiliary “wear skirts, not trousers” and that “even though women are doing a man’s job of work, that’s no reason why they shouldn’t continue to look feminine” (9). The article explained that even the necessary regulation flying suits and parachutes they must wear when flying only “improves [their] beauty” and that, “all the same, when [they are] not in the air, [they] do pride [them]selves on [their] appearance” (9). Such a story communicated less about the importance of this ‘first’ for women labourers broadly, opting instead to emphasize that these ‘women pilots’ retained their femininity. Similarly, the article “First Woman Operator Meets Romance on Sea”, which ran in *The Halifax Herald* on Oct. 27, 1942, profiled Canada’s first woman radio operator, Fern Blodgett, 24. This “petite Canadian girl” persisted in her ambition to become a commercial radio operator—an occupation that did not employ women prior to the Second World War. She was the first woman to gain admittance into and the only to graduate from the “gruelling” course instituted specifically for women. Then, she boarded a ship and began her work as a wireless radio operator. Her story represented a ‘first’ for women. Her story was newsworthy. However, what the headline flagged as most newsworthy about her story, which the story text then reinforced, was the “romantic climax to her ocean voyage”: “Just as it

would have happened in a story-book—she married the captain of her ship—a tall, blond, sun-tanned Norseman” (10). In the end, the story of this ambitious woman culminated in her ambition leading her to her ultimate voyage in life—that of a wife. And, like a ‘good wife’ in wartime, she would not retreat to the home but, rather, “she feels she is still needed so she is going to travel right along with her husband as his radio operator—and his wife” (10).

Further curtailing the challenge that women’s wage labour posed to traditional public-private divisions, news coverage objectified women labourers, placing them on visual display—most prominently for male readers in the general news pages. First, women’s wage labour elicited more photographic coverage than women’s domestic or volunteer labour in the wartime press—31 per cent in the commercial press and 16 per cent in the labour press. This is compared with 20 per cent photographic coverage on women’s volunteer labour and 3 per cent on domestic labour in the commercial press, and no photographic coverage of either women’s domestic or volunteer labour in the labour press. Second, in the commercial press specifically, the general news pages housed more photographic coverage on all three types of women’s labour than did the women’s pages—4.5 times as much with respect to wage labour and 1.5 times the photographic coverage of volunteer labour [see Table 9].⁸¹

	Domestic Labour (N=1)	Volunteer Labour (N=5)	Wage Labour (N=38)
General News	100%	60%	82%
Women’s Pages	0%	40%	18%

Table 9. Type of Women’s Labour, Distribution of Photographic Coverage within the General News vs. the Women’s Pages, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

⁸¹ This is compared to the women’s pages in the case of the commercial press. In the case of the labour press, this occurs by default since the labour press included only general news and editorials.

As Byerly and Ross (2006) argued, most mainstream media production has been oriented to a male audience. Given the separate and unequal spheres of ‘his’ and ‘her’ media, as Kimmel (2008) put it, or mainstream news versus the women’s pages, the dominance of photos in the general news pages catered to the presumed audience—men—and corresponded to Berger’s (1972) argument that, as in art, women are treated as objects of the male gaze. Men are the spectators, surveying women’s femininity. Berger argued that this unequal relationship is so deeply embedded in Western culture that it structures the consciousness of many women and, as such, the ‘visual’ both reflects and perpetuates assumptions and beliefs held within (and passed on through) Western tradition. van Zoonen (1998) agreed, noting that “the dominant visual economy is still organized along traditional gender lines: men look at women, women watch themselves being looked at” (103). Furthermore, this “traditional structure” persists because of the “patriarchal will to maintain power” (Ibid. 103).

This was never more evident than through the series of ‘War Worker’ beauty pageants commonplace throughout the Second World War. These contests and the news coverage thereof objectified women—literally put their physicality “on parade” (“Red-Headed”, *Toronto Daily Star*). What appeared on the surface as positive coverage on women’s wage labour and as a public celebration of proud ‘women workers’ representing their companies and proud companies supporting their ‘women workers’ was actually just another way to marginalize women as labourers by reducing them to a spectacle—hyper-feminine objects for the male gaze—and embodiments of wartime propaganda. As June Pattison, the winner of the “Miss John Inglis Pageant” in 1943, admitted: “I was excited when I won, yes. The only thing I didn’t like was that I never wore make-up to work, and after I won they told me I had to wear make-up to work. I guess so I looked a bit better” (Sobel and Meurer 1994:75). Sarah Banet-Weiser (1999)

described the beauty pageant as a “highly visible performance of gender, where the disciplinary practices that construct women as feminine are palpable, on display, and positioned as unproblematically desirable” (3). The near full-page coverage of the 1942 Miss War Worker pageant, as well as the Miss Toronto pageant which took place the same day, illustrates this. Told alongside news from the battlefield, these articles heralded the winners (and the ‘runners up’) as role models for all ‘women workers’ [see Figure 3]. For example, ‘Miss Toronto’ Marie Forester, a 19-year-old farm girl-turned-secretary for the war effort, planned “to pay for a victory bond” with the \$400 cash prize she received. Miss War Worker herself, Dorothy Linham, “a pretty 19-year-old brunette” and knitter-turned-assembly line inspector at Research Enterprises Limited “‘eats right’ to keep healthy” and, thereby, productive on the job. (“Miss War Worker”). On the side, she also operated her own private beauty parlour to “make herself pretty”, as the article proudly quoted her mother saying (Ibid.). This “beauty queen” cooks too and “looks after the house” and her mother at the same time as she works to drive the war effort forward (“Red-Headed”; “Miss War Worker”). Banet-Weiser (1999) further explained beauty pageants as “a profoundly political arena, in the sense that the presentation and reinvention of femininity that takes place on the beauty pageant stage produces political subjects” (3). Politically, the ‘War Worker’ pageants and the ensuing news coverage subsumed all employed women under a single, common identity—patriotic war workers who were employed solely and explicitly to further their nation’s ‘total war effort’.

Working in tandem with the visual objectification of women in the press was discourse that foregrounded gender and gendered roles and, concomitantly, women's femininity. Of the discursive frames used to describe women's wage labour, the greatest proportion of coverage within the commercial and the labour press relied on language that placed gender front and centre in the description of women wage earners. More specifically, within the commercial press, 21 per cent of the 136 news items discussing women's wage labour relied on the term "worker", most often qualifying the term with the adjective "woman"—as in "woman worker". In the labour press, where 65 items were analyzed on the subject of women's wage labour, the proportion was 37 per cent. Discourse also comprised a variety of other gendered descriptors—a proportion of 21 per cent in the commercial press and 17 per cent in the labour press. For example, newspapers referred to female labourers as "ladies in the Air Force blue", "girl recruits", "plane factory beauties", "wage-earning wi[ves]" and "war-working mothers" ("Airwomen's Pay," *Hamilton Spectator*; "Girls from West," *Toronto Daily Star*; "Plane Factory," *Toronto Daily Star*; Dix, "Pocketbook is Friend," *Halifax Herald*; "Quebec and Ontario Families," *Toronto Daily Star*). As Byerly and Ross (2006) argued, media frame women in highly restricted ways that promote "patriarchal" versions of "'acceptable' femininity" (50).⁸² The article "Do War Job, Home Job, Too; Women Busy and Keep Fit: Many Women Doing Men's Work and Their Own Along With It" published in the women's pages of the Apr. 27, 1943 issue of the *Toronto Daily Star* further illustrates this in its discussion of how women handled their double-duty with domestic and wage labour. The first two paragraphs of the article stated:

⁸² The Global Media Monitoring Project 2010 demonstrates the enduring power of these images, identifying the continued structuring of gendered social relations despite or in spite of feminist gains and labour laws.

The war workers who make me want to stand up and cheer are the women who are successfully putting in full time at some essential industry in addition to running their homes and bringing up their children. Having to do double work isn't bothering these women. It is making them spruce up! All they want to know is how to keep fit and keep their figures. (24)

The article reassured readers that women who entered the labour force would not lose their femininity to the toils of their double duty in the factories and at home. Another article, "Russ Women Battle-Tried Bomber, Fighter Pilots: Mother of Five-Year-Old Boy Guides Plane on Bombings", published Apr. 22, 1942 in the *Toronto Daily Star* highlighted the "important part" that Russian "women bomber and fighter pilots are playing ... in the air war against Germany" by profiling one bomber pilot in particular, Valentina Grizodubovna (3). While this general news article portrays a woman working in a highly 'macho' position within the active service in an apparently positive and progressive way, she is dismissively identified as "a 31-year-old mother" first, both in the subheading and then in the body of the article. In addition, the article emphasized Grizodubovna's physical appearance and defined her in relation to the men in her life: "Valentina, with curly dark hair, brown eyes, shapely mouth and dimples, began flying 14 years ago. Her husband is a pilot, her father was a pilot, and her five-year-old son already has earned the nickname 'Little Falcon'" (3). In essence, news discourse reduced female labourers to "beauties" which, once again, positioned women as feminine objects of the male gaze, or then new discourse confined employed women to their private-sphere identities which upheld the idea that "woman's 'proper place' is in the home"—a "cornerstone of patriarchal ideology" (Nash 1982: 116).

The emphasis on femininity is further reflected in the sex-typing of occupations and specific industrial tasks as either ‘male’ or ‘female’ during the Second World War, which organized workers into a hierarchy of ‘skilled’ male labour and ‘unskilled’ female labour, devaluing women’s labour and, by extension, their position in society.⁸³ As Margaret Kreimer (2004) argued:

The segregated integration of women allows the unequal treatment of equal workers and avoids direct competition between men and women.... Labour market segregation was a successful strategy to prevent women from entering men’s jobs or from having similar career possibilities to men. With labour market segregation it was possible to maintain a gender hierarchy throughout society. (228)

In the military, a pre-war sexual division of labour was reproduced such that servicewomen worked largely in support roles: “The number of occupations open to women in the Forces increased during the war, but all three [the Air Force, the Army and the Navy] primarily used service women in support jobs in order to release men for combat duty. The mottos of the women's services tell the story: *We Serve That Men May Fly*; *We Serve That Men May Fight*; *We Are the Women Behind the Men Behind the Guns*” (Pierson 2008; Klausen 1998; Sugiman 1994; Kesselman 1990). So while some women performed operational duties with coastal defence units and worked as mechanics or drivers or in gun operations as broadcasters or telephonists, “the secretary in uniform remains the typical servicewoman” (Pierson 2008; “On the Home Front”, Toronto Star). And it was this “typical” servicewomen who appeared in the news. Servicewomen were largely represented in the news in support roles, namely as “camp followers” whose

⁸³ See Anderson 1981; Frances, Kealey and Sangster 2006; Klausen 1998; Kreimer 2004; Sangster 2010b; Sato 2000; Stephen 2000; Sugiman 1994; Summerfield 1984, 1985, 1998; Wilson 2005; and Yang 2000.

primary role in the military was to cater to servicemen just as their primary ‘feminine’ role was about service to others or “caregiving—the historically and culturally specific work of ... sustaining members of the human species” (De Pauw 1998: 298; Luxton and Corman 2001: 154-155). For example, an article entitled “‘Hannah’ is a ‘Wren’ on Marine Duties”, published in the Nov. 6, 1942 issue of the *Toronto Daily Star*, outlined the ‘caregiving’ function of women admitted into the Royal Marines through the Women’s Royal Naval Service (WREN). Of the “duties” performed by these “Hannahs”, as they were known within the Navy, the article stated: “Housed in the ‘Wrennery’, across a parade ground from a Marine barracks in England, the Hannahs do a variety of useful work—keeping the Marines’ service records, making out pay lists, cooking and serving meals and ordering mess provisions, recording gunnery drill scores, and calling for and delivering mail and supplies” (11).

Similarly, in industry, the “war necessitated reorganizing the sexual segregation of workers in order to accommodate women in the factory” such that male employees at the factory were machinists, electricians and foreman, while female employees worked in the assembly line and in positions that involved operating machinery (Klausen 1998: 209). Discourse on women’s workplace ability and aptitude shifted such that industrial tasks were ‘feminized’ to accommodate women in the factory without upsetting the traditional sexual division of labour (Sato 2000; Yang 2000). Government and industry heralded the ‘natural’ feminine attributes that complemented homemaking, such as “patience” and “dexterity”, as assets in manufacturing industries—“special abilit[ies]”, in fact, when it came to performing the repetitive, tedious factory work that many women were hired to do (Yang 2000: 224; Summerfield 1998: 200). The emphasis on femininity reflects a top-down flow of information since, as Nash (1982) found, an emphasis on women’s femininity was among the strategies that the Canadian government used to

explain women's involvement in the war effort in the public sphere. Wartime propaganda "link[ed] 'feminine attributes' (such as passivity, dependence, glamour, triviality, gentleness, emotionality, sexuality, frivolousness, personal appearance, and objectification) to military or industrial images of women" (Nash 1982: 109). This propaganda, in turn, filtered out into wartime society via newspapers which, too, celebrated certain 'feminine' attributes as an ideal fit for the repetitive or operational tasks women were needed to perform in manufacturing industries. As one front-page general news item that ran Nov. 27, 1942 in *The Labor News*, Hamilton, stated: "This war job needs the feminine touch in many operations where deftness and delicate precision are of prime importance" ("Lace and Frills").

This remained status quo in the news until a problem or issue arose, such as workplace absenteeism and neglect, in which case women's femininity or 'gender' suddenly became a crutch. Overall, coverage on women's wage labour was predominantly positive (57 per cent in the commercial press and 45 per cent in the labour press) or then neutral (23 per cent in the commercial press and 40 per cent in the labour press), with minimal negative coverage (7 per cent in the commercial press and 5 per cent in the labour press).⁸⁴ Interestingly, 90 per cent of this negative coverage occurred in the general news pages where predominantly male journalists reinforced the idea that the workforce was not women's 'natural' sphere. News media framed absenteeism and neglect as predominantly female issues. For example, an editorial in the *Toronto Daily Star*, dated June 17, 1943, cited the "double strain" of work and domestic life as the primary reason for women's absence from the workplace ("An Unjust Verdict"). The editorial then called on government, employers and communities to increase support for working women which, while seemingly progressive, any public showing of support for women's wage

⁸⁴ With respect to the commercial press, N=136. For the labour press, N=65.

labour during the war was more about fulfilling national labour needs (and therefore temporary) than a step towards women's acceptance in the workforce or their emancipation in society generally. The fact that overall coverage of women's labour dropped in the final war year—to 8 per cent of total coverage in the commercial press and 15 per cent in the labour press—indicates as much.⁸⁵ Conversely, coverage peaked between September 1942 and September 1944—to 41.5 per cent of total coverage in the commercial press and 48 per cent in the labour press—when labour needs were acute. When women were no longer needed in the workforce, their labour suddenly did not seem quite as newsworthy, especially their being fired or laid off from the workforce—a topic that garnered only 9 per cent of total coverage on women's wage labour in the commercial and labour press alike.⁸⁶

In contrast to the editorial attributing women's workplace absenteeism to their 'double strain', a front-page news article titled "The Menace of Absenteeism" in the Nov. 6, 1942 issue of Toronto's labour newspaper, *The Labour Leader*, offered quite different reasons for why "this disease [was] particularly rampant among women", citing the following as "some of [their] stunts":

If a girl has a date on a certain evening, she first of all takes that afternoon off, so that she can take a preliminary sleep. After keeping her engagement, she then takes the following morning off, to get over its effects. If there is a bargain sale at one of the local department stores, some will take an entire morning off to attend the sale. If a girl feels the need of a permanent wave and manicure, time is taken off from work. We have similar reports from other textile mills, clothing factories,

⁸⁵ With respect to coverage of women's labour overall in the commercial press, N=200. For the labour press, N=73.

⁸⁶ With respect to coverage of women's wage labour in the commercial press, N=136. For the labour press, N=65.

and most important of all, from munitions factories and others engaged wholly on war work of one kind or another.

In this way, news coverage highlighted and chastised women labourers' frivolous behaviour, projecting the message that women's 'essential' femininity could preclude them from being reliable labourers. Women's neglect on the job was another common theme throughout wartime media. For example, the Dec. 5, 1942 issue of the *Toronto Daily Star* contained a collection of photos in its general news section under the headline "Urge Workers on Home Front to Stick to Jobs, Keep Supplies Flowing" [see Figure 4], as well as an article on the women's page of the same issue titled "Toughen Up to Keep Job from Wearing You Down." This type of coverage aimed to combat absenteeism (due to sickness or fatigue, for instance) and workplace accidents among "careless" women in factories ("Urge Workers"). While reinforcing the traditional sexual division of labour, the negative coverage also served to buoy women up for greater 'sacrifice'—that is, increased war production to meet government demands. After all, as one photo caption in *The Toronto Daily Star* stated: A "tired girl worker is only half a producer" and the "Government urges all workers: 'Don't be cheated in sight of the nation's goal—victory.' Soldiers at the front can't rest on the job" ("Urge Workers," *Toronto Daily Star*).



THIRD OFFICER Alice L. Kidwell, one of a group of "WAAC" officers taking a course in water safety methods at Dayton Beach, is shown before and after taking a dip



INTO THE POOL leap the girls of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps holding empty barracks bags over their heads. As they hit the water, the bags are brought down sharply, filling them with air for use as emergency lifebelt substitutes



USING INFLATED BAGS as giant water wings, the army girls race each other in a swim across the pool. All the girls taking the refresher course—and it is refreshing—hold the rank of third officer in the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps

Urge Workers On Home Front To Stick To Jobs, Keep Supplies Flowing



"GIRL WHO ISN'T THERE" represents a serious bottleneck in Canada's production of vitally needed war materials on many far-flung fronts. Worker absent because of illness, or absenteeism, means a gap in the front line, too.



WEAR THOSE GOGGLES—An accident may cheat the worker of sight, lose a skilled worker for a war plant. Carelessness, officials maintain, is a serious form of inefficiency in munitions plants.



TIRED GIRL WORKER is only half a producer. She was up late and needs a rest, and her work will suffer. Government urges all workers: "Don't be cheated in sight of the nation's goal—victory." Soldiers at the front can't rest on the job.



DRESS HAS COST some fighting men a gun. Taking a lay off to go shopping is declared to be "absenteeism in its most appalling form," shows disregard for responsibilities.



REGULATION BANDANNA would have saved this girl from a painful "scalping," perhaps worse. Factory rules are made for workers' safety and comfort, should be followed faithfully.



WHEN 100 WORKERS waste five minutes each, a day's work is lost. Specially posed pictures on this page were issued by Canada's Wartime Information Board.

Figure 4. "Urge Workers on Home Front to Stick to Jobs, Keep Supplies Flowing" [Source: *Toronto Daily Star*; December 5, 1942, page 21]

From Patriotism to Economics as Motivation

The Canadian government positioned patriotism as women's main motivation for pursuing wage work during the war. As chronicled in the "History of the Wartime Activities of the Department of Labour": "In many instances, particularly in 1942 and 1943, no solution could have been found to the labour shortage situation except that Canadian women, confronted with their patriotic duty, were willing to forego the ordinary course of their lives in order that war demands should be met" (29). In House of Commons debates during the war, women were "praised and sentimentalized for their patriotism" which, as Nash (1982) argued, served four important functions in terms of maintaining the place of women within the patriarchal system: (1) It reinforced the idea that "women are motivated by sheer goodness; by a devotion to duty and country that is far beyond anything so crass as money, working conditions or equal rights"; (2) It "neutraliz[ed] the notion that women might desire and be motivated by economic independence"; (3) It set up "'the norm' for women", presenting "a model of the 'proper' attitudes and behaviour to which women should aspire"; and (4) It "confirms the idea that while women may have a duty to work when it is required of them in times of national emergency, the right to work is still the sole prerogative of men" (88-91). In this view, women worked out of patriotic duty and not out of an inherent right or desire to work or out of economic necessity.

This framework gave the government license to control women's labour in the interests of 'total war' or, rather, in the interests of patriarchy and capitalism. For example, as part of its mandate to "direct the employment of civilians in order to maintain war production and essential civilian service at the required level", the NSS sought to prioritize and regulate the use of civilian labour under Order in Council P.C. 7595 which took effect September 1, 1942. The NSS Women's Division managed the following "controls" on hiring female employees:

Women were required to secure a written permit from a National Selective Service Officer to seek and accept employment.

No employer was permitted to interview a woman in regard to employment nor to employ a woman unless she possessed a permit to seek employment.

No employer could advertise through any publicity medium for women employees except as permitted by National Selective Service.

No woman could quit employment without giving seven days' notice of separation.

No employer could dismiss a woman without giving seven days' notice. (Wartime History of Employment of Women: 14)

These measures were not unique to women, as they applied to civilian labour broadly. However, for women labourers, the timing during which the government lifted these controls on women's employment—May 17, 1945—was strategic. First, it preceded any attempts to demobilize male labour and, second, war industries were ready to be curtailed rather than expanded (Stephen 2000: 267). It was, therefore, a “‘psychologically’ opportune time [as the director of the NSS Women's Division, Fraudena Eaton, put it] to permit women to leave their war jobs and seek other opportunities while there was still some employment available” (Ibid. 267). The NSS Women's Division was on-hand to assist women in determining their “employment futures” via local employment offices that formed part of a national employment service administered by the federal government (Ibid. 267). Press campaigns and radio broadcasts encouraged women to trust in the expertise and guidance of these employment services in fitting them into the post-war

labour market—"the most efficient system available for matching supply and demand" (Ibid. 267).

Ultimately, regulating women's employment during the war served patriarchal and capitalist ends. It protected the structure of the patriarchal family by upholding men as the 'natural' providers, linking masculinity with "a sense of entitlement to particular kinds of jobs, skills and economic security" (Kessler-Harris 2004: 195). Limiting women's labour market participation also restricted women's capacity to compete with men in the labour market (Ibid. 195). And even though the government also controlled men's labour during the war (for example, through regulations such as wage 'stabilization' or wage 'ceilings'; 'freezing' labourers in essential war industries and essential civilian services; or placing controls on hiring, separation and dismissal), it was not controlled in the interests of women, while controls impacting women's labour ultimately benefitted male labourers. In essence, regulations on women's employment helped "limit the number of women remaining in the labour force after the temporary war demand had disappeared" (Armstrong and Armstrong 2010: 18).

The government's claim that women worked out of patriotism communicated that women were on hand to serve, or not serve, as national interests required. In repeating and reinforcing this rhetoric, news media legitimized the government's control over women's labour during the war. For example, newspapers used discursive frames emphasizing women's mobilization into the labour force as a temporary wartime measure.⁸⁷ Newspapers described these labourers as "wartime additions to labour force" or wartime "replacement(s)" for men who were on-hand simply to "hurdle the manpower problem" ("Women Will Leave," *Labour Leader*; "Women

⁸⁷ Of the 136 news items analyzed on women's wage labour in the commercial press, 13 per cent used discursive frames emphasizing the temporary and tenuous nature of women's wartime labour. In the labour press, the proportion was 17 per cent (N=65).

Replacement,” *Labor News*; “Women in British War Industries,” *The Citizen*; “Women Sorters,” *Toronto Daily Star*). Coverage supported the notion that women generally understood this and wanted to leave the labour force once the ‘war emergency’ ended. For example, one article published Oct. 27, 1944 in Hamilton’s *Labor News* maintained that “a large number of married women who have been engaged in part-time or full-time employment appear to wish to return to the home when assured that the labour supply emergency in their own locality is over” (“Seek Avenues” 1).

In reality, however, most women joined the workforce out of economic necessity.⁸⁸ For example, the Department of Labour surveyed 19 wartime day nurseries in greater Toronto in 1945 to determine why mothers worked. The survey found that “financial reasons are by far the most frequent reasons for mothers working outside their own homes” (Wartime History of the Day Care of Children: 13). More specifically, women with children most often cited the need to supplement their husband’s income because it was either “inadequate for [the] family’s needs” or then because the husband was serving in the military (Ibid. 12).

Over 1000 Women Register for Work; Drive is Praised

Campaigns for part-time women workers may be opened in Saint John and Moncton in view of the successful Halifax drive, R. P. Hartley, K.C., regional superintendent of National Selective Service and the Unemployment Insurance Commission said in an interview here yesterday.

After conferring with local National Selective Service officials, Mr. Hartley said more than 1,000 Halifax women registered for part-time work during the campaign which closes today.

“Reports from employers show the women are taking on part-time work with unqualified enthusiasm and are making a 100 per cent effort,” said Mr. Hartley. Termed as “significant” by Mr. Hartley was the fact that only a small number of applicants questioned the rate of pay offered for part-time work. “We appreciate this attitude,” he said, “and we know that the women will do everything to alleviate the labor shortage.”

Figure 5. “Over 1000 Women Register for Work; Drive is Praised”, *The Halifax Herald*; October 2, 1943; page 20.

⁸⁸ For literature that cites financial need as a main a main motivator for women to seek wage work during the Second World War, see Anderson 1981; Frances, Kealey and Sangster 1996; Hartmann 1982; Keshen 1997; and Kesselman 1990; Pierson 1986.

Further evidence of this comes from the fact that women often sought higher-wage defence jobs, even though government-identified labour needs extended beyond higher-paying production jobs to industries such as agriculture and service work, for instance. If women entered the labour force primarily motivated by patriotism, then service industries would not have experienced the wartime labour shortages they did. In fact, by summer 1943, areas of the service sector dependent on female labour experienced severe labour shortages because women swapped low-paying service jobs for higher-paying work in war industries, leaving service industries “clamouring for help” (Pierson 1986: 27). Yet, representations in the media depict patriotic women performing their ‘duties’ to the nation, not to their pocketbooks. For example, an article titled “Over 1000 Women Register for Work; Drive is Praised” published in the Oct. 2, 1943 issue of *The Halifax Herald* simultaneously praised the success of the NSS’ recruitment campaign for part-time female workers in Halifax and the “unqualified enthusiasm” and “100 per cent effort” of the willing women labourers themselves [see Figure 5]. The article highlighted how few women “questioned the rate of pay offered for part-time work”, quoting the NSS’ regional superintendent stating that “women will do anything to alleviate the labour shortage”.

But women did question their wages and highlight other financial challenges they faced during the war period. When Canadians wrote in about the subject of women’s labour, it was women who wrote 70 per cent of the letters to the editor in the commercial press, suggesting a willingness among women in society to engage in a public discussion about their own labour.⁸⁹ As DiCenzo (2010) argued, “one of the most direct forms of intervention in public debates was the act of placing letters to editors in newspapers” (par. 19). In letters to the editor, women

⁸⁹ Of all the newspapers sampled in the content analysis, only two of the commercial newspapers published letters to the editor: the *Toronto Daily Star* and *The Hamilton Spectator*. The sample yielded 10 letters discussing women’s labour as a subject (9 in the *Toronto Daily Star* and 1 in *The Hamilton Spectator*): 7 written by women, 1 written by a man and 2 with “undetermined” signatures.

expressed concern over their financial circumstances and called for action such as improved financial support or employment assistance from the government. In fact, 57 per cent of the letters written by women discussed circumstances that negatively impacted their financial situation. For example, in a letter published Sept. 16, 1939 in the *Toronto Daily Star*, at the start of the war, one woman who signed off as a “non-pensioned widow” highlighted the “problem finding employment for non-pensioned veterans’ widows” because of competition from younger women, noting in the process the “financial assistance” that a job would afford her (“Widows Need Employment”). Another letter written by another widow, this time published two years later, on Sept. 16, 1941, sought to “bring to ... attention the very small allowance that widows receive to keep themselves and children” and called for increased government financial assistance to mothers (“The Mothers’ Allowance”, *Toronto Daily Star*). This widow outlined her financial circumstances and, in the process, highlighted the discrepancies among various “authorities” as to what constitutes an appropriate “living allowance” for a woman and her children [see Figure 6]. Another woman, who identified herself as a soldier’s wife, called for increased financial assistance for her cohort and, in the process, reaffirmed the reality that some women were primarily responsible for their own sustenance during the war and, if mothers, for supporting their children [see Figure 7]. When women were actively recruited into war industries, many relocated from rural areas of Canada to the major urban centres of war production, likely living in boarding houses or similar accommodations where they

THE MOTHERS' ALLOWANCE
 To the Editor of The Star.
 Sir: The way world conditions are now it seems wrong for any one fortunate enough to be living in Canada to complain of living conditions. But I must bring to your attention the very small allowance that widows receive to keep themselves and children at the present time. I am a widow with four children under age and receive \$50 per month for an allowance. This works out to \$35 for a widow with one child and \$5 for each child besides. Imagine it, \$5 per month to keep a growing child in clothes and food. The army allows \$12 per month and the mothers say that this sum is not any too much. A dependant with two children receives \$35 plus \$24, and this is only allowances, not counting assigned pay. So you can see, that there is a vast difference in what the authorities say is a living allowance. I am not going into detail about the increase in living costs but hope that this comes to the attention of someone who can help our cause.
 A WIDOW

Figure 6. “The Mothers’ Allowance”, Letter to the Editor, *Toronto Daily Star*; Sept. 16, 1941; page 6.

had to pay for room, board and other expenses. Another letter reinforced this idea that women bore heavy financial burdens during the war period. This letter, written by someone identified as “a sympathizer” (and, therefore, it is unclear whether the individual was male or female), called for “something [to be] done about the wages paid to rural school teachers” who, according to the letter, scarcely earned enough to pay their board, transportation, clothing and insurance, among other costs, with less than \$12 per week (“Rural School Teachers”, *Toronto Daily Star*: 6). In addition, as this “sympathizer” stated, “summer courses must be taken each summer, which does away with any savings they might have, and no wages are made at this time. If some teachers didn’t board at home in the summer holidays they would be out of funds by September” (Ibid. 6). This indicates that groups of women lived on their own and supported themselves for most, if not the entire, calendar year. As such, finances were an issue for women.

HARD STRUGGLE
To the Editor of The Star.
 Sir: Cost of living is up again and wage-earners are going to get another increase in pay, which is as it should be. But what about soldiers' wives? Don't we count? I am one of them who recently had to move because the house I was living in was sold. I rented the only place available and am now paying more than half my income in rent. I am afraid if I can't get cheaper accommodation or an increase in pay soon I will be about distracted, as it is getting me down trying to provide three meals a day for my two sweet children and myself.
SOLDIER'S WIFE

Figure 7. “Hard Struggle”, Letter to the Editor, *Toronto Daily Star*; August 10, 1942; page 6.

Therefore, the apparent celebration of female labourers’ self-sacrifice and patriotism evident in much of the positive coverage surrounding women’s wage labour was, in large part, government rhetoric designed to encourage women to fall in line with wartime labour needs. The press projected an upper-middle and middle-class view of these ‘women workers’ or ‘patriots’ when, in reality, the working-class women in factories or on the farm fields were forced to work because, with husbands and fathers off at war, they needed the income to survive. The wealthy or

upper middle-class women who didn't need to supplement the family income or who did not wish to work volunteered instead.

The emphasis on patriotism in constructing women's workplace identity during the war explains why, for the most part, the sample of commercial and labour newspapers analyzed did not cover women's labour strikes. Of the topics analyzed with respect to women's wage labour in the wartime news, the content analysis rendered no coverage at all of women's labour strikes in the commercial press and a mere two per cent (or one article) in the labour press. After all, women who work for patriotic reasons, not economic need, do not strike. Yet women did organize and women did strike. For instance, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers demanded and received union shop agreements, and membership in the United Garment Workers of America grew from 750 to 12,000 members by the end of the war (Phillips and Phillips 2000: 165). Women employed to make gun carriages at Genelco in Peterborough, a subsidiary of Canadian General Electric established specifically for the war effort, "initiated a slowdown and brief walkout to highlight the inequities of their wages" after recruiters from a Malton factory tried to entice women workers away with promises of wages like those paid in Toronto. These women agreed to return to work, but only "pending a review of their piecework rates" (Sangster 1995:169). This image of a woman on strike—a labourer with a strong sense of her rights as a labourer and the complementary demands to meet them—would sharply contrast the image of the patriotic and complacent girl/wife/mother in the workforce doing her part for the war effort. By observation, the commercial and labour newspapers did, however, cover labour strikes by men in the general news section—an indicator of men's inherent right to work, to organize into unions and to demand of their employers even in the face of a 'national emergency'. Furthermore, labour strikes were newsworthy in general,

given the news value of conflict, but even more so because of the Canadian government's legislative measures to encourage collective bargaining and prevent strikes under order-in-council PC 1003, which the federal government passed on February 17, 1944 under the authority of the War Measures Act. This Order included "compulsory recognition of workers' representatives, compulsory collective bargaining, the surveillance of labour relations by permanent administrative boards, and the forbidding of certain 'unfair labour practices'" (Webber 1985: 57). Nonetheless, strikes by male and female labourers alike persisted in essential war industries during the war, but it was those involving male labourers that made headlines.

As war drew to an end, the government needed women to leave the workforce and return to the home to make room in the labour market for returning soldiers. Part of the government's strategy to address the "problem" of "demobilization and re-establishment" post-war—a problem which involved the "re-employment" of over 1.8 million Canadians whose work was directly related to the prosecution of the war and would therefore end with it—was predicated on the assumption that "a number of married women ... [would] wish to withdraw from employment" (Canada, Employment and Income 1945: 3). And this is precisely what the government claimed women wanted. As the Minister of Labour stated at the end of the war, "Women 'have preferred—and I think this is a pretty sound conclusion to arrive at—to return to home-keeping'" (in Nash 1982:

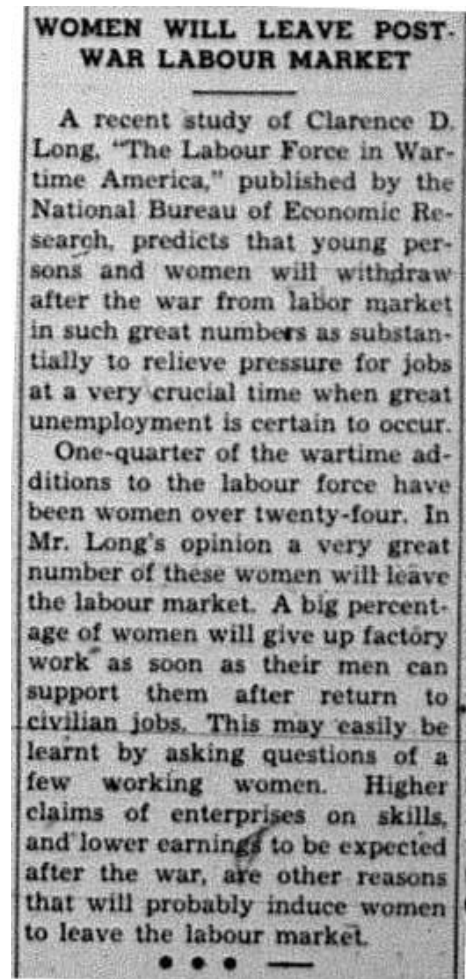


Figure 8. "Women Will Leave Post-War Labour Market", *The Labour Leader*; January 12, 1945; page 4.

124). Newspapers repeated this rhetoric, as the aforementioned article published in Hamilton's *Labor News* demonstrated in its assertion that "a large number of married women who have been engaged in part-time or full-time employment appear to wish to return to the home when assured that the labour supply emergency in their own locality is over" ("Seek Avenues" 1). Another news article, published in the Jan. 12, 1945 issue of *The Labour Leader*, claimed that simply asking a few women over the age of 24—a demographic that comprised one-quarter of the "wartime additions to the workforce"—about their post-war intentions would reveal that "a big percentage of women will give up factory work as soon as their men can support them after return to civilian jobs" (4) [see Figure 8].

But this was not the case. To understand what women working in war industries thought about their positions post-war and, thus, inform their Final Report, the Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women conducted a preliminary survey of women working in war plants, revealing that approximately half intended to either take up or return to homemaking, leaving the remaining 50 per cent of women wanting to continue working. Furthermore, the aforementioned survey conducted by the Department of Labour in 1945 to determine why mothers held paying jobs revealed that, of the 542 mothers interviewed, all but 58 intended to continue working "indefinitely", demonstrating that many were not simply "answering the Dominion government's call for maximum production", as one article in the *Toronto Daily Star*, dated March 24, 1942, claimed (Wartime History of the Day Care of Children: 12; "Pretty Girls", *Toronto Daily Star*). This was why the government could not solely rely on "the widespread return of married women to their homes and, to a lesser degree, [the] normal retirement of workers, and resumption of education by many" to "ease" the "vast release of women workers", as the Department of Labour claimed (Wartime History of the Employment of Women: 81). Rather, by April 1, 1945, more

than one-third of women engaged in war work had been laid off and these “mass lay-offs” continued through August (Ibid. 81). With little (if any) incentive or options to do otherwise, this inevitably placed women on a unidirectional path that led them back into the home or then returning to the lower-paying jobs they held pre-war.

Therefore, if patriotism was the primary motivation for women to take up jobs, as government rhetoric and media representations depicted, then these women would enter the workforce when labour shortages required it and then willingly return to the home post-war. In this case, then, there would be no need for government campaigns and policies and propaganda, and, concomitantly, media coverage aimed at achieving this. But, as the next theme, “From Social Policy to Social Control”, will demonstrate, there were such policies and such propaganda and such media coverage precisely because patriotism was largely a veil intended to uphold the public-private divisions and maintain society’s patriarchal structure.

From Social Policy to Social Control

Government policy worked to manipulate women’s labour—that is, to increase the number of women in the workforce and hold them there for the duration of the war and no longer. Newspapers, in turn, covered and supported these directives such as income tax amendments, the principle of ‘equal pay for equal work’, daycare facilities and child care bonuses. The content analysis revealed that coverage of government policies and related actions occupied 18 per cent of the overall coverage on women’s wage labour in the commercial press and 35 per cent in the labour press. Rather than analyze, question or challenge these policy directives and their underlying motives, news media supported them, further facilitating the manipulation of women and their labour during the war.

Drawing on the previous theme examining women's motivation to work, the government's manipulation of income tax legislation illustrates that patriotism was not sufficient in and of itself to motivate all groups of women to take up jobs, most notably those who did not want to work or who did not need to work for financial reasons. For this group of middle-class women, employment had to make financial sense for their household at the end of the tax year such that their husbands would not lose eligible tax deductions. As one article in *The Halifax Herald* explained, amendments to the Income War Tax Act in 1942 were "designed to keep married women from quitting employment" because "a substantial number of women [were] proposing to leave employment because it [would] pay them to do so as a result of these income tax schedules" ("Working Wife" 1942: 1). The government therefore leveraged tax law to facilitate this, and the press not only endorsed the incentive but also criticized the need for its existence. Another article in the *Toronto Daily Star* addressed this issue of wives quitting war jobs to avoid paying more income tax, frowning on "women workers who consider[ed] money before the needs of an all-out war effort" as "creating a problem" ("Praises Wives" 1942: 2).

The government and, concomitantly, news media also supported the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' throughout the war. The government instituted wage controls under the rhetoric of 'equal pay for equal work' that, in actuality, limited women's earning potential during the war. For example, the government's amendment to the Wartime Wages Control Order in 1942 (precisely when women entered the workforce in large numbers) allowed Regional War Labour Boards to authorize "'new and lower paid occupational classifications" if it deemed an employee's "skill and ability" to be "of a lower grade than that previously associated" with the job or if "separate classifications are desirable for apprenticeship or learners' schedules"' (Canada, Dept. of Labour, "Equal Pay" 1959: 7). Thus, employers could pay lower wages to

female trainees or to women working in what industry, as a result, began to classify as ‘unskilled’ or ‘feminized’ tasks. Furthermore, in jobs where employers classified women as performing the same work as men, the principle of ‘equal pay for equal work’ functioned to “protect wage standards in the post-war era”, as one editorial in *The Toronto Daily Star* explained, and not to protect employed women (“The Rate for the Job” 1944: 6). Protecting wage standards, in effect, protected the jobs of returning servicemen from being appropriated by women earning lower wages (which cut production costs and facilitated higher profits). Quoting a union manual, the editorial further explained that ““as long as women are employed at the same job in industry and professional spheres at lower rates than men, their presence is a threat to all existing wage standards”” (Ibid. 6). Thus, the endorsement of ‘equal pay for equal work’—in law, in practice and in the news—was never a statement about women’s equal rights.

News media support for government-funded child care facilities worked much the same way to manipulate women’s labour to suit government interests. The Canadian government launched the Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement to facilitate the employment of women with children, and media supported this policy and its objectives and even pushed for increased support for all working mothers. For example, one editorial titled “War Nurseries in the Budget” in the March 22, 1943 issue of the *Toronto Daily Star* advocated extending child care services beyond women working in essential industries to advance the war effort:

Public anxiety will, however, continue until it is known that the province has liberated its definition of the term ‘war work’ and will permit the children of all groups of working mothers to enjoy the benefits of the provincial day-care services. The present ruling makes it a restricted service and to this extent the war effort is being hampered. (6)

However, upon the war's end, returning servicemen would need jobs and women's continued presence in the workforce posed a social problem. The Subcommittee on the Post-war Problems of Women estimated that, of the 1.2 million working women, approximately 180,000 would need to be "taken care of" post-war, after accounting for the 750,000 women who would be required for normal employment, and the 270,000 women expected to return to their homes or marry (Final Report. 8). This estimate of 180,000 did not include women from the armed forces who would choose to enter the labour market. To minimize the number of women in the workforce, the Canadian government terminated the policies aimed at facilitating their entry into it, such as income tax incentives and child care policies, and instituted new measures to drive women back into their homes.

Social policy became a means of social control and media did not question or challenge this. Newspaper coverage supporting the Family Allowance Act replaced prior coverage supporting tax benefits, equal pay for women and government-funded child care. As discussed in Chapter Three, the Family Allowance program was among the social-welfare policies arising from the Marsh Report of 1943 and, while it responded to growing public concern over economic instability and unemployment post-war, Armstrong and Armstrong (2010) suggested that its introduction was also motivated by a need to encourage women to return to the home (17). The Final Report of the Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women (1944) indicated as much, stating its support for the establishment of a system of children's allowances and, moreover, suggesting that these allowances be made payable specifically to the mother to "psychological[ly]" ease the transition back into the home that "a considerable proportion" of women in the workforce would make post-war (13). Toward the end of the war, the press encouraged women to 'serve' their country by having more children. For example, an article

titled “Sees Family Allowance as Aid to Greater Canada” in the July 3, 1944 issue of *The Toronto Daily Star* heralded the child bonus legislation as facilitating the “natural increase” the nation would need to “build up its population” and, in this way, create a “greater Canada” (6). Government propaganda presented women as “home front soldiers” to build morale throughout the war and, toward war’s end, “the icon of the home” was represented as women’s reward post-war (Nash 1982: 123). This explains the negative news coverage targeting women’s presence in the workplace that occurred toward the end of the war when demobilization was the government’s priority. For example, a front-page article in the Feb. 25, 1944 issue of *The Labor News*, “Objects to married women in war jobs”, focused on the employment of mothers as the cause of a rise in juvenile delinquency. As the press positioned it, women’s return to the home, facilitated in part by the government’s new Family Allowance policy, would enable family life to flourish once again. Thus, news media played an important role in framing government policies and related actions within the public sphere in ways that transmitted and strengthened the patriarchal values underlying them.

From Journalism to Propaganda

When news media defer to the state in wartime, journalism blurs into propaganda. According to Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (1988), “a propaganda approach to media coverage suggests a systematic and highly politicized dichotomization in news coverage based on serviceability to important domestic power interests” (35). The themes explored so far in this chapter—From Mobilization to Negotiation, From Celebration to Objectification, From Patriotism to Economics as Motivation, and From Social Policy to Social Control—culminate to reveal that coverage of women’s wartime labour, while packaged as news, read far more like propaganda. Coverage of women’s labour objectified women and heralded them as patriots, not

labourers at heart. In the end, women were pawns in the government’s war strategy, manipulated through social policy—used and then discarded when no longer needed.

Daniel Hallin (1997) argued that the relationship between the state and civil society involves “co-operation, co-optation and blurring of the lines, in which state functions were often taken on by institutions like the press, and vice versa” (209). Over the course of the Second World War, the press helped to drive women into and then out of the workforce, according to government needs. The distribution of press coverage over the war period illustrates this, as it mirrors the government’s mobilization of women into the labour force and, subsequently, its relocating women within or firing them from the workforce near the end of the war. As stated, nearly half of the coverage of women’s labour as a subject occurred between September 1942 and September 1944—peak years for the government’s recruitment of women labourers. Concomitantly, as the war neared its end, women’s labour fell off the news agenda. Coverage tapered toward war’s end when women’s presence in the workforce posed a problem for post-war reconstruction and ‘demobilization’ was therefore in full force [see Table 10].

	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
Commercial Press (N=200)	13.5%	14.5%	22.5%	24%	17.5%	8%
Labour Press (N=73)	8%	15%	14%	27%	21%	15%

Table 10. Distribution of Coverage on Women’s Labour, Commercial and Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Coinciding with this, news coverage discussed (and largely supported) women being recruited and hired into the labour force—a topic that occupied a proportion of 27 per cent of

articles analyzed on the subject of women's wage labour in the content analysis of the commercial press and 15 per cent in the labour press. Newspaper coverage focused on government-led recruitment campaigns for female labourers as well as government-identified labour imperatives and, in the process, encouraged women to work. For example, a Dec. 10, 1943 article in *The Labour Leader*, "Organized Women Help Secure Workers for Textile Trade", heralded the success of a two-week recruitment campaign for female textile workers launched in Hamilton by the NSS which resulted in 420 women referred to textile jobs. Furthermore, when the military needed to recruit more women, newspapers encouraged women to enlist, as an article in the Sept. 10, 1943 issue of *The Labour Leader*, Toronto, entitled "Canada is Proud of Them", illustrates:

... all these thousands of uniformed girls and women are doing things that have got to be done by somebody. If women don't do them, men must. That is why it is so very important that more Canadian women must join the Force, since more Canadian men are to be withdrawn for combat duty. If they do not do so, then there will be fewer men in the firing line—when there must be more. (2)

Concomitantly, just as there was reduced coverage of women's wage labour as a subject toward war's end, there was also far less coverage of women being fired from the workforce than recruited and/or hired into it—9 per cent of total coverage in the commercial and labour press alike compared to 27 and 15 per cent, respectively. Newspapers minimized coverage of measures that drove women out of the workforce, echoing government rhetoric in constructing a post-war Canada where women were "released"—not fired or laid off—from their wartime labour and returned to their 'natural habitat': the home ("Women in British War Industries," *The Citizen*). Coverage, as discussed, claimed that this was precisely what women wanted too. Consider, for

instance, the headline of an article that ran in *The Hamilton Spectator* on March 17, 1945: “Making a Home Full-Time Job”. Toward war’s end, the focus fell on the home as women’s full-time workplace. As the headline indicated, the article discussed the possibility of offering a course to help prepare women for marriage as part of college curriculum, focusing on areas such as homemaking and child care. In reality, however, the government did not “release” women from their wartime “duty”, as newspapers claimed, but rather actively drove women out with propaganda and policies and layoffs that left them little choice but to return home.

As Romano (1986) argued, “the press does not critically examine privileged cultural beliefs” (57). McKercher, Thompson and Cumming (2011) also identified predictability—“stories that reinforce the prevailing view or stereotype”—among journalistic news values (22). This is all the more acute in times of war. War brings with it questions of “allegiance, responsibility, truth and balance” and problems of distinguishing between “patriotism and militarism” (Allan and Zelizer 2004: 3, 4). In war, a reporter’s sense of national identity can both “underpin journalism’s strengths” while, simultaneously, imposing constraints on “the integrity of practice” (Ibid. 4). Oliver Boyd-Barrett (2004) argued that the “genre of war reporting serves a propaganda purpose”: “Journalists may unthinkingly subscribe to or knowingly comply with the objectives, ideologies, and perspectives of one or another side to a conflict” (25). Stephen Ward et al. (2006) proposed that news media are pressured socially to report in an uncritical, patriotic manner, which means supporting the government and its war. In the end, the wartime press transmitted government rhetoric about women’s labour rather uncritically, acting more as an arm of government than a “watchdog against government” (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm 1956: 47).

Conclusion

News media, operating within a patriarchal milieu, make “representational and narrative choices in reporting” which, in turn, tell a particular history—one that marginalized and excluded women’s part in that history (Kitch 2001: 15). As van Zoonen (1998) argued, communications media have played a key role in the representation of gender and, conversely, in transmitting stereotypical, patriarchal and hegemonic values about women and femininity. History told from this perspective, then, does women’s history a disservice because news media already structured women into gendered roles and historical research based on such media risks doing the same—that is, reinforcing dominant patriarchal perceptions of women by replicating a gendered division of labour. This poses a theoretical and methodological problem.

In reference to summary journalism, Kitch (2001) argued that “if news is the first draft of history, then, at the end of a century, history is the last draft of news” (14). Embedded in this statement is a broad truth about writing history. With news as “the first draft of history”, historians must be all the more cautious about how they write that “last draft of news”, particularly when using news media as a lens through which to understand and write women’s history because, as this content analysis demonstrated, whither that history? (Ibid. 14) If news media are to be the “creators and preservers of the public’s picture of the ... past”, then news media created and preserved a narrow picture of women as wage labourers—certainly not a ‘record’ or ‘chronicle’ from which to reconstruct women’s labour history today (Ibid. 28).

This dissertation demonstrates the significance of gender for understanding how news media cover the subject of women’s labour and, in the process, it offers feminist media and media history scholars a way of thinking about women’s history and, more specifically, the

historical relationship between news media and women, that goes beyond dominant constructions of the 'domestic' to understand women's wage labour as a provocation to these historical gendered, public-private divisions. With the historians' words as "the last draft of news", this offers hope for writing about women's history in a way that revises or reshapes or broadens that history (Kitch 2001: 14).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Summary and Conclusion

Summary

During the Second World War, women's participation in Canada's 'total war' effort meant increased domestic responsibilities, volunteering, enlisting in the armed forces, and joining the civilian workforce. Women's labour force participation more than doubled throughout the war, with more women working alongside and in place of men than ever before. This created a situation that could challenge the traditional sexual division of labour, which was based on a public-private distinction, with women being relegated to the non-waged, domestic, private sphere and men—the 'breadwinners'—stationed in the public sphere workforce. The sexual division of labour was essential for the maintenance of a patriarchal system. Given such fundamental challenges to existing social relations, this dissertation sought to determine whether women's labour became a subject for discussion in the public sphere via the wartime press and, if so, to understand how women's labour was represented in the news and, more specifically, how the press negotiated women's competing public-private roles.

Through a comparative content analysis of the mainstream commercial press and the alternative labour press, this study examined representations of women's labour in wartime in the context of women's mobilization into the war effort through to subsequent demobilization near war's end. The study analyzed the type of newspaper (commercial versus alternative), the placement of news about the subject of women's labour in the newspaper (general news versus the women's pages, versus editorials, versus letters to the editor), and the sex of the writer (for letters to the editor only) to identify—applying a feminist media studies' lens—the relationships

among and between them. This dissertation considered the extent to which women's labour in wartime (with an emphasis on women's non-traditional/wage labour) became a subject for discussion in the news, given the magnitude and social necessity of women's workforce participation. Furthermore, in comparing coverage across newspaper type, the analysis identified whether the invisibility and marginalization of women within and by mainstream news media, as posited by feminist media theorists,⁹⁰ persisted in the commercial news coverage of the Second World War and, moreover, extended to the alternative labour newspapers which, as "critical media" of the "counter-public sphere", may be more apt to question and challenge dominant social relations and advocate on behalf of workers (Sandoval and Fuchs 2010: 147, 143). As Curran (2007) argued, alternative media such as the media for working-class groups enable perspectives outside the mainstream. The same feminist media studies framework shaped the analysis across the sort of news coverage: the male-dominated general news and editorials and the female-dominated women's pages. With respect to the latter, even within a domestic and feminine environment, the women's pages seemed to allow a meaningful degree of autonomy for women journalists to discuss women's issues broadly and to chronicle women's advancing status in society, as scholars such as Fiamengo (2008) and Gabriele (2006) have demonstrated through case studies, and also Lang (1999) in her historical overview of women journalists and their journalism.

Considered together, analyzing representations of women's labour within and across the wartime newspapers feeds into a wider question of the degree to which the news media representations captured women's movement out of the private sphere of the home and into the

⁹⁰ For supporting scholarship, see Barker-Plummer and Boaz 2005; Byerly and Ross 1999, 2006; Ferguson 1978; Franzwa 1974; Friedan 1963; Kumar 2004; Lang 1999; Lemish 2005; Nash 1982; Ross 1995; Smith 2008; Weibel 1977; and Wilson 1977.

public sphere workforce and the concomitant potential challenge to patriarchy that women's participation in the waged labour force posed. This, in turn, contributes to a scholarly debate over whether the Second World War "'liberate[d]' women from patriarchal divisions of labour and conceptions of proper womanhood," as Pierson (1986) phrased it (9). Some Canadian studies have used print news media as a lens into this question and as evidence to argue that the war did have a progressive impact on women's social status overall.⁹¹ However, such conclusions are based, at least in part, on individual news articles presented as representative of broader trends, and not based on conducting a systematic analysis of media representations of women's labour.

This dissertation relied on a quantitative methodology—content analysis—to systematically identify how prominently women's labour figured into the 'history' of the Second World War told through Canadian newspapers. In the end, the content analysis rendered only 273 total results (individual articles, photos, editorials and letters) about the subject of women's wartime labour: 200 within the commercial newspapers and 73 within the labour newspapers. The dearth of coverage is not indicative of the magnitude of women's workforce participation, given that the number of women working full-time alone doubled over the war period, not to mention women's part-time and volunteer labour. It is also not indicative of women's overall contribution to the wartime workforce and, in general, how central women's labour was to the Canadian government's plan to 'win' the war.

When women's labour did emerge as a subject in the wartime newspapers analyzed, the empirical evidence demonstrated that gender, not labour, was prioritized in the news—symbolically and systematically leveraged both within and across the commercial and alternative press which reinforces stereotypical values about women and upheld a sexual division of labour

⁹¹ See, for instance, Keshen 1997, 2004, and Prentice et al. 1988.

and, with that, the patriarchal status quo. Women's labour was consistently negotiated in terms of traditional gendered roles. Women labourers were feminine and patriotic wives and mothers, or then patriotic 'beauty queens' who aspired to be wives and mothers, joining the workforce to do their 'bit' for the war effort. In essence, the 'story' of women's labour during the Second World War, as told through the newspapers analyzed, was reduced to all that was embodied in the symbol of Miss War Worker herself—a manipulation and marginalization of women's experiences as labourers which left limited, if any, space for a broader or more progressive identity or for the possibility of social change in the direction of women's equality.

Furthermore, this trend of women's marginalization and subordination is evident in the women's pages as in the general news and editorials, which poses a challenge to the women's pages as a space that, as Lang (1999) described it, "heralded the breakthroughs women made in the paid workforce and drew attention to the frustrations and injustices women encountered in their work in the home, on the farm, and in the factory" (5). The only discussion of the 'frustrations and injustices' women experienced with respect to their labour during the war occurred in a handful of letters to the editor written by women, and certainly not in the women's pages, or, for that matter, in the general news or editorials. Similarly, the marginalization of women's experiences as labourers is as evident in the alternative labour press as in the mainstream commercial press. This poses a challenge to the labour press as being not so 'alternative' after all, given its minimal coverage on women's labour and its lack of critique and advocacy in the interests of female labourers or women's equality in general. The lack of coverage of women's labour strikes is a particularly glaring omission.

In terms of accessing and writing history, these omissions and women's overall marginalization in the news combine to demonstrate the value of a content analysis methodology

in revealing patterns in the press that may not be immediately evident from general review or random selection. Evidence of the war's liberating impact on women is evident statistically, but is otherwise questionable without systematic analyses. Using news media as a lens into this question necessitates conducting a content analysis because, as was demonstrated here, such a methodology reveals a different, less progressive picture of the impact on women of changes made by government and in industry during the Second World War. Newspapers celebrated women's patriotism, not their social progress; and, in the process, traditional gendered roles were not challenged and representations of women followed patriarchal divisions otherwise prominent in the news. In the end, while there were surface-level changes to the nature of women's paid labour during the war, the structures of female subordination and exploitation remained unchallenged despite women's massive mobilization and participation in the workforce (paid or otherwise).

This dissertation considered the interplay between women's wartime labour and media representations of the subject to understand how news media negotiated the changing demands on civilian women imposed by 'total war'. By setting news media representations against the concomitant wartime realities of women's labour as told through archival records, government statistics and secondary literature, this dissertation argues that news media generally presented a 'history' of women's labour that did not reflect the lived reality or the political economic and social significance of women's labouring lives. News coverage minimized and marginalized women's workforce participation.

Suggestions for Future Research

Where, then, can historians—scholars of women’s (labour) history and feminist media history—find a broader and more progressive historical picture of women’s experiences as labourers in Canada? Does such a view even exist?

One approach to this question leads back to women’s journalism and working-class publications to probe further into whether these are vehicles of women’s oppression or whether they offer any real public-sphere possibilities. Future studies could involve comparative analyses of different types of news media geared to women labourers in Canada. With respect to the Second World War, this could include analysis of other forms of women’s journalism such as women’s magazines to determine if these contained more coverage and, with that, a more progressive discussion of women’s labour than the women’s pages, given that the women’s pages were produced and published within the larger patriarchal environment of the newsroom and newspaper, respectively. Or, did women’s magazines also replicate the sexual division of labour, given the demands of advertisers (who addressed women in terms of domestic roles)? Analyses of other historical news publications (as accessible) that addressed women labourers during the Second World War, such as factory newsletters (for example, *The Shotgun* at Inglis), could further identify whether the patterns and themes of women’s marginalization identified in this dissertation were replicated or, conversely, whether there existed exceptions to these patterns.

A related study (not, however, particular to the Second World War) could examine how ‘alternative’ newspapers published by women’s trade unions discussed women’s wage labour historically in Canada. Given the scarcity of such sources, however, this would mainly entail a

case study of two trade union newspapers published out of Montreal: *Justice*, the official publication of the International Union of Women's Clothing Workers (published 1937-1948) and *Needle Worker*, the official organ of the Industrial Union of Needle Trade Workers of Canada (published 1933-1935) (Elliot 1948: 230, 232). This study would, nonetheless, add another layer to research on the historical relationship between the media (the alternative labour press, specifically) and women labourers in Canada and offer insight into whether newspapers published specifically to advocate for the interests of women labourers challenged dominant (patriarchal) perspectives of women's labour.

A different avenue for future research involves further analysis of the link between news media and government propaganda in Canada during the Second World War. One such study involves a re-reading of the commercial and labour newspapers for a closer analysis of how the wartime press discussed specific government policy directives with implications for women's wage labour: the conscription of labour, the principle of 'equal pay for equal work', the War Income Tax Act and Family Allowance Act. This study could cut across the general news, editorial and women's pages, as applicable to each newspaper type, to analyze the dominant frames or interpretive strategies, offering greater insight into the relationship between wartime journalism and government propaganda with respect to mobilizing and demobilizing women in Canada. Another study could involve archival research through the records of federal government departments such as the Wartime Information Board and the Wartime Prices and Trade Board for reports, press releases, photos, correspondence or other related materials that may directly link propaganda from those departments with coverage in the wartime newspapers analyzed. Such a study may also offer insight into the question of how much editorial agency

these newspapers may have used in deciding which government-generated materials to run and what treatment to give them.

Furthermore, as noted in Chapter Two, Maurine Beasley (1995) called for more attention to the question of whether male and female journalists report differently on war, given that few studies address it from the perspective of historical conflicts. Furthermore, much scholarship—largely American and British—focuses on conflicts that occurred after the Second World War, resulting in a limited historical (not to mention Canadian) analysis of whether gender really matters when it comes to (war) journalism. Subsequent studies could further test this question by considering, for instance, how the news media developed and framed broader concepts of war and peace, both across the sort of media coverage and, concomitantly, by male and female journalists.

Such research is indicative of the broader need to study women journalists as ‘labourers’ in Canada, historically. Related studies could address questions such as: In what ways have women journalists challenged the traditional division of labour within the industry? Did women journalists challenge the dominant perspective(s) of war and women’s role in it? Did women journalists include perspectives on war that would have been otherwise ignored in mainstream, male-dominated media? For instance, did female journalists interview female war workers, servicewomen on the ‘front lines’ or female volunteers? Did this challenge dominant views of women in war work? And how did women journalists understand their mandate as journalists? Such research would be best served by triangulating quantitative and qualitative methodologies, including content analysis of women’s journalism (to reveal broader and longitudinal patterns in women’s coverage of war), case studies, and historical/archival research.

A final avenue for future research could probe at issues of audience reception. As noted in the limitations of this dissertation stated in Chapter One, this study does not take into account individual agency—that is, how the women reading the newspapers might have ‘received’ or interpreted this coverage or how these women may have viewed their own labour within the broader social context. This study remained focused on the content itself, and not on how audiences engaged with or extracted meaning from these representations. Future scholarship could draw on other historical objects of study, such as oral histories, to extend this research. Such a research route would make the cultural context important to meaning-making, and it would be interesting to consider, for instance, the relationship between how women viewed their labour and themselves as labourers, and how the media wanted women to view their labour and themselves as labourers, as garnered through representations of women’s labour therein.

Conclusion and Final Thoughts

In the backdrop of the Second World War, the story of women’s labour, as told through the commercial and labour newspapers analyzed, could have been a story about women’s social progress. But it was not. Instead, women’s labour history of the Second World War came refracted through a gendered and patriarchal journalistic lens that confined women to private-sphere, domestic identities in spite of their public-sphere role as wage labourers. This study uncovered key characteristics about this news media coverage, including empirical evidence to support its limited scope and the fact that women’s marginalization was systemic within and across wartime news. In the pages of both the commercial and labour newspapers analyzed, we see story-forms and frameworks as well as gendered discourse that appeared to celebrate women’s labour, but in fact subordinated and objectified working women. We see a focus on patriotism as the main motive for women to work even though it was financial need that drove

many women into the workforce. We see a manipulation of women's labour through social and economic policy during the Second World War that goes unchallenged by news media. And we see that what appeared as journalism read more like propaganda aimed at luring women into and then out of the workforce. Women's new-found place in the labour force working alongside and in place of men posed a potential challenge to patriarchy, but this challenge was never realized in the pages of the wartime press studied here. Instead, the sexual division of labour was supported and reinforced. In any case, regardless of the '*history*' told in the pages of the press, women learned that they could indeed do any job a man could do, despite previously imposed limitations. And they did. As the "Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada" (1970) aptly stated: "A turning point for working women, married and single, World War II gave them a chance to show more than ever before that they could perform a wide variety of tasks and carry much more responsibility" (54).

In considering the theoretical and methodological issues involved in the historical study of media representations of women, this dissertation advances a feminist perspective in journalism history, evolves scholarly understanding of women's participation in the wartime workforce and, in merging both, contributes a feminist media history focus to scholarship surrounding women's labour during the Second World War in Canada. This dissertation has set up a foundation for future research that uses news media (including women's journalism and alternative media) as a lens through which to write about women's labour history. It suggests a way of thinking of women's history beyond dominant constructions of the domestic, as symbolically and systematically represented in the news media. Such news media coverage has the potential to shape history that relies on newspapers as empirical evidence. Because print news media already structured women into gendered roles, media history scholarship based on

such sources risks doing the same—that is, reinforcing dominant patriarchal perceptions of women by replicating a sexual division of labour. As suggested by Michelle Hilmes (1997): “It is history writing that has consigned women to the sidelines, not historical events themselves” (132).

Critical reviews of media history scholarship indicate a tendency to neglect issues pertaining to women and gender generally,⁹² and Hilmes aptly noted the need for such scholarship to identify women in non-traditional roles and representations. This dissertation sees through and moves past the propaganda and patriarchy, and carves a path toward writing women’s history through a lens that enlivens and expands the historical and scholarly record through new and more progressive representations of women that more fully and equitably capture women’s experiences, actions and lives. This dissertation is, thus, both a way of honouring the labouring women of the Second World War and contributing to the field of Canadian media history, specifically from a feminist perspective. It offers scholars a way of thinking and writing about history that does not confine women to the sidelines or, rather, to the margins of history.

⁹² For scholarship that discusses this omission, see Beasley 1995, 2001; Curran 2002; DiCenzo 2004, 2010; Freeman 2011; Lang 1999; Nash 1982; Strong-Boag 1976; and Yang 2000.

APPENDIX A

Newspaper Issues Included in the Content Analysis Sample

Commercial Newspapers

War Year	<i>The Toronto Daily Star</i>	<i>The Hamilton Spectator</i>	<i>The Halifax Herald</i>
Sept. 10, 1939 – Sept. 9, 1940	16/09/1939 02/10/1939 14/11/1939 13/12/1939 04/01/1940 23/02/1940 30/03/1940 22/04/1940 14/05/1940 05/06/1940 25/07/1940 02/08/1940	18/09/1939 27/09/1939 24/10/1939 04/12/1939 16/01/1940 03/02/1940 23/02/1940 20/03/1940 18/04/1940 16/05/1940 12/07/1940 27/07/1940	02/10/1939 17/10/1939 25/11/1939 10/01/1940 20/02/1940 09/03/1940 03/05/1940 23/05/1940 14/06/1940 31/07/1940 12/08/1940 05/09/1940
Sept. 10, 1940 – Sept. 9, 1941	16/09/1940 15/10/1940 06/11/1940 19/12/1940 03/01/1941 01/02/1941 24/03/1941 15/04/1941 21/05/1941 26/06/1941 11/07/1941 09/08/1941	26/09/1940 14/10/1940 13/11/1940 30/12/1940 17/01/1941 13/02/1941 02/04/1941 09/05/1941 13/05/1941 10/06/1941 28/06/1941 09/08/1941	11/09/1940 17/10/1940 15/11/1940 28/12/1940 11/02/1941 24/03/1941 05/04/1941 10/06/1941 31/07/1941 04/08/1941 18/08/1941 29/08/1941

Sept. 10, 1941 – Sept. 9, 1942	16/09/1941 15/10/1941 13/11/1941 05/12/1941 17/01/1942 02/02/1942 24/03/1942 22/04/1942 28/05/1942 26/06/1942 31/07/1942 10/08/1942	25/09/1941 18/10/1941 27/10/1941 04/12/1941 19/12/1941 13/01/1942 21/01/1942 18/02/1942 24/03/1942 01/05/1942 09/05/1942 31/08/1942	15/09/1941 03/10/1941 27/10/1941 26/11/1941 16/12/1941 03/01/1942 16/01/1942 17/02/1942 14/03/1942 13/05/1942 04/06/1942 16/07/1942
Sept. 10, 1942 – Sept. 9, 1943	16/09/1942 15/10/1942 06/11/1942 05/12/1942 04/01/1943 27/02/1943 22/03/1943 27/04/1943 12/05/1943 17/06/1943 30/07/1943 07/08/1943	02/10/1942 14/10/1942 09/11/1942 16/11/1942 13/01/1943 25/02/1943 27/03/1943 12/05/1943 29/05/1943 22/07/1943 27/07/1943 13/08/1943	17/10/1942 27/10/1942 30/11/1942 19/12/1942 04/01/1943 03/02/1943 05/03/1943 24/03/1943 11/05/1943 10/06/1943 02/07/1943 22/07/1943
Sept. 10, 1943 – Sept. 9, 1944	16/09/1943 15/10/1943 06/11/1943 04/12/1943 24/01/1944 08/02/1944 29/03/1944 20/04/1944 26/05/1944 24/06/1944 03/07/1944 08/08/1944	16/09/1943 25/09/1943 06/10/1943 26/10/1943 25/11/1943 03/12/1943 03/01/1944 25/02/1944 25/03/1944 12/04/1944 29/05/1944 20/06/1944	22/09/1943 02/10/1943 19/10/1943 15/11/1943 16/12/1943 22/01/1944 21/02/1944 11/04/1944 11/05/1944 23/06/1944 12/07/1944 28/07/1944

Sept. 10, 1944 – Sept. 2, 1945	15/09/1944	28/09/1944	27/10/1944
	21/10/1944	15/11/1944	02/11/1944
	06/11/1944	27/11/1944	13/11/1944
	05/12/1944	06/01/1945	30/01/1945
	31/01/1945	27/02/1945	24/03/1945
	22/02/1945	17/03/1945	26/04/1945
	09/03/1945	08/05/1945	02/05/1945
	28/04/1945	14/06/1945	16/05/1945
	21/05/1945	20/07/1945	07/07/1945
	12/06/1945	01/08/1945	06/08/1945
	25/07/1945	06/08/1945	17/08/1945
	23/08/1945	17/08/1945	28/08/1945

Labour Newspapers

War Year	<i>The Labour Leader,</i> Toronto	<i>The Labor News,</i> Hamilton	<i>The Citizen,</i> Halifax
Sept. 10, 1939 – Sept. 9, 1940	3/11/1939 15/12/1939 26/01/1940 22/03/1940 31/05/1940 14/06/1940	29/09/1939 21/03/1940 29/08/1940	15/09/1939 13/10/1939 17/11/1939 22/12/1939 05/01/1940 09/02/1940 15/03/1940 26/04/1940 31/05/1940 08/06/1940 12/07/1940 16/08/1940
Sept. 10, 1940 – Sept. 9, 1941	20/09/1940 01/11/1940 24/01/1941 07/02/1941 02/05/1941 25/07/1941	29/11/1940 28/04/1941 29/07/1941	20/09/1940 18/10/1940 22/11/1940 06/12/1940 10/01/1941 21/02/1941 28/03/1941 04/04/1941 09/05/1941 20/06/1941 25/07/1941 29/08/1941
Sept. 10, 1941 – Sept. 9, 1942	10/10/1941 28/11/1941 27/02/1942 10/04/1942 10/07/1942 28/08/1942	31/10/1941 29/05/1942 28/08/1942	26/09/1941 24/10/1941 07/11/1941 12/12/1941 16/01/1942 27/02/1942 06/03/1942 10/04/1942 15/05/1942 26/06/1942 31/07/1942 07/08/1942

Sept. 10, 1942 – Sept. 9, 1943	06/11/1942 22/01/1943 12/03/1943 14/05/1943 11/06/1943 09/07/1943	27/11/1942 28/01/1943 18/06/1943	11/09/1942 09/10/1942 20/11/1942 25/12/1942 29/01/1943 05/02/1943 12/03/1943 16/04/1943 28/05/1943 04/06/1943 09/07/1943 20/08/1943
Sept. 10, 1943 – Sept. 9, 1944	10/09/1943 10/12/1943 11/02/1944 14/04/1944 14/07/1944 25/08/1944	21/12/1943 25/02/1944 15/07/1944	17/09/1943 15/10/1943 26/11/1943 24/12/1943 07/01/1944 11/02/1944 17/03/1944 28/04/1944 05/05/1944 06/06/1944 21/07/1944 25/08/1944
Sept. 10, 1944 – Sept. 2, 1945	13/10/1944 12/01/1945 23/02/1945 11/05/1945 08/06/1945 24/08/1945	27/10/1944 29/03/1945 27/07/1945	29/09/1944 27/10/1944 03/11/1944 08/12/1944 19/01/1945 23/02/1945 03/03/1945 07/04/1945 11/05/1945 15/06/1945 27/07/1945 31/08/1945

APPENDIX B

Content Analysis Coding Template

The following is the template used to code results for the content analysis conducted on each of the mainstream and labour newspapers. Each of the following tables represents one category of analysis.

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	SORT OF COVERAGE ON WOMEN'S LABOUR (GENERAL – DOMESTIC, VOLUNTEER & WAGE)				
	General News	Women's Pages	Editorial	Letters	Photo & Location
Issue Date					

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	SORT OF COVERAGE ON WOMEN'S DOMESTIC LABOUR				
	General News	Women's Pages	Editorial	Letters	Photo & Location
Issue Date					

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	SORT OF COVERAGE ON WOMEN'S VOLUNTEER LABOUR				
Issue Date	General News	Women's Pages	Editorial	Letters	Photo & Location

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	SORT OF COVERAGE ON WOMEN'S WAGE LABOUR				
Issue Date	General News	Women's Pages	Editorial	Letters	Photo & Location

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	SIZE OF ARTICLES AND PHOTOS ON WOMEN'S DOMESTIC LABOUR								
Issue Date	General News			Women's Pages			Photo & Location		
	S	M	L	S	M	L	S	M	L

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	SIZE OF ARTICLES AND PHOTOS ON WOMEN'S VOLUNTEER LABOUR								
Issue Date	General News			Women's Pages			Photo & Location		
	S	M	L	S	M	L	S	M	L

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	SIZE OF ARTICLES AND PHOTOS ON WOMEN'S WAGE LABOUR								
Issue Date	General News			Women's Pages			Photo & Location		
	S	M	L	S	M	L	S	M	L

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	TYPE OF WOMEN’S WAGE LABOUR								
Issue Date	Service			Clerical	Manufacturing	Trade & Commerce	Active Service	General	Other
	Professional	Public	Personal						

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	TOPIC OF COVERAGE ON WOMEN'S WAGE LABOUR							
Issue Date	Hiring and/or Recruitment	'First Woman To...' Framework	Firing	Government Policy and/or Action	Strike	Performance	Circumstances of Employment	Other

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	DISCURSIVE FRAMING: KEY WORDS TO DESCRIBE WOMEN'S WAGE LABOUR							
Issue Date	labour	work(er)	womanpower	service	temporary	gendered descriptors	other	n/a

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	QUALIFIERS: POSITION ON WOMEN'S WAGE LABOUR			
	Positive	Negative	Positive & Negative	Neutral
Issue Date				

NAME OF NEWSPAPER	GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS OF COVERAGE			
	Canada	Britain	United States	Other
Issue Date				

APPENDIX C

Results:

A Content Analysis of Media Representations of Women's Labour, 1939-1945

Overview

During the Second World War, women's participation in the Canadian labour force more than doubled, with more women working in traditionally male-dominated fields than ever before. Yet, a content analysis of print news coverage of women's labour during the war revealed that there was a lack of discussion about the subject of women's wartime labour. Furthermore, within the limited discussion that did exist, there were similarities across coverage in the commercial and labour press, yet differences depending on the sort of media coverage—general news versus the women's pages, versus editorials, versus letters to the editor. For example, both the commercial and labour press covered the subject of women's wage labour (over domestic and volunteer) to the greatest degree and foremost so in the general news pages where coverage was consistently similar in terms of the types of wage labour, topics, discursive frames, and position toward women's wage labour. When coverage was explored across the sort of media coverage, nuances were observed. For instance, where the women's pages contained the greatest proportion of coverage on the subject of volunteer labour, a majority of the overall discussion on women's wage labour took place in the male-dominated general news pages. Furthermore, to varying degrees, general news, the women's pages, editorials and letters to the editor prioritized coverage differently in terms of the types of wage labour, topics, discursive frames, and position projected toward women's wage labour.

Combined, however, these similarities and differences advance the same theme: When women's labour did surface as a subject, newspapers foregrounded women's gender, not their labour. This marginalization of women was evident across the type of newspaper (commercial and alternative press) and the sort of media coverage (news, women's pages, editorials and letters to the editor), suggesting that women were not only symbolically marginalized within the press, as Tuchman (1978) argued, but that women's marginalization was also systemic across wartime print media.

This Appendix presents the results of the content analysis of representations of women's labour as a subject in the commercial newspapers (averaged) and the labour press (averaged) during the Second World War. The analysis compared the type of newspaper (commercial and alternative press) and the sort of media coverage (general news, women's pages, editorials and letters to the editor) to identify the relationships among and between them. Results also quantitatively analyze the sex of the writer for letters to the editor.

Appendix C divides into three parts. Part One compares the results of the content analysis across newspaper type: the commercial press versus the labour press. Part Two compares the results across the sort of media coverage: general news versus the women's pages versus editorials versus letters to the editor. Part Three considers the sex of the writer in letters to the editor about women's labour.

PART ONE: A Comparison across Newspaper Type

The following compares coverage of women's labour as a subject across the type of newspaper: the (average) results for the commercial press (*Toronto Daily Star*, *The Hamilton Spectator* and *The Halifax Herald*) with those of the labour press (*The Labour Leader*, Toronto; *The Labor News*, Hamilton; and *The Citizen*, Halifax) for each category in the content analysis.

Total Media Coverage

The commercial and labour press discussed the subject of women's labour (domestic, volunteer and wage) to similar degrees. Of the 216 issues sampled from the commercial newspapers, 51 per cent rendered results. Of the 126 issues analyzed from the labour press, 41 per cent contained coverage.

Distribution of Media Coverage

In terms of how coverage of the subject of women's labour (domestic, volunteer and wage) was distributed over the war period, the fourth and fifth war years elicited the most coverage across both the commercial and labour press and the final war year elicited the least [see Table 1]. The years 1942 to 1944 were peak years for the government's recruitment of women into the paid workforce but, as the war neared its end, demobilization was in full force.

	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
Commercial Press (N=200)	13.5%	14.5%	22.5%	24%	17.5%	8%
Labour Press (N=73)	8%	15%	14%	27%	21%	15%

Table 1. Distribution of Coverage on Women's Labour, Commercial vs. Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Type of Women's Labour

Both the commercial press and the labour press contained the greatest proportion of coverage on women's wage labour as a subject, followed by women's domestic labour and then (in the commercial press only) women's volunteer labour. Women's volunteer labour garnered no coverage in the labour press. Specifically, of the total coverage on the subject of women's labour in the commercial newspapers (N=200), 68 per cent concerned wage labour, 19 per cent concerned domestic labour and 13 per cent concerned volunteer labour. Of the total coverage on the subject of women's labour in the labour newspapers (N=73), 89 per cent concerned wage labour and 11 per cent domestic labour.

Sort of Media Coverage

The commercial press contained general news, women's pages, editorials and letters to the editor, while the labour press contained general news and editorials. The distribution of coverage on women's labour across the sort of media coverage reflects (in part and particularly with respect to editorials and letters to the editor) the general distribution of material among these sections, as applicable to each newspaper type. General news was the largest of the sections analyzed, followed by the women's pages. Editorials and letters were generally located on the same page, amid other news items. Combined, editorials and letters typically occupied half to three-quarters of one news page.

Of the total coverage (N=200) on women's labour (domestic, volunteer and wage) as a subject in the commercial press, 51 per cent appeared as general news coverage, 37 per cent in the women's pages, 7 per cent as editorials and 5 per cent as letters to the editor.

Of the total coverage (N=73) on the subject of women's labour (domestic, volunteer and wage) in the labour press, 93 per cent appeared as general news and 7 per cent as editorials.

Women's Domestic Labour

Coverage on domestic labour occurred foremost in the women's pages of the commercial press, followed by the general news pages. Specifically, of the 38 news items (articles, photos, editorials and letters) that discussed women's domestic labour as a subject in the commercial press, 47 per cent was located in the women's pages, 32 per cent in general news, 13 per cent in editorials and 8 per cent in letters to the editor.

Of the 8 news items (articles, photos and editorials) in the labour press that discussed the subject of women's domestic labour, 75 per cent appeared as general news and 25 per cent as editorials. The labour press did not contain a women's page or print letters to the editor.

Women's Volunteer Labour

In the commercial press, coverage of women's volunteer labour appeared mainly in the women's pages. Specifically, of the 26 news items (articles, photos, editorials and letters) that discussed women's volunteer labour as a subject in the commercial press, 65 per cent were located in the women's pages, 31 per cent in general news and 4 per cent in letters to the editor, with no editorial coverage.

The labour press yielded no results for coverage on women's volunteer labour as a subject.

Women's Wage Labour

In both the commercial and labour press, a majority of coverage on women's wage labour appeared as general news. Of the total coverage on women's wage labour as a subject in the commercial press (N=136), 59 per cent appeared as general news, 30 per cent in the women's pages, 7 per cent as editorials and 4 per cent as letters. Of the total coverage on women's wage labour in the labour newspapers (N=65), 95 per cent appeared as general news and 5 per cent as editorials.

Form of Coverage (Articles vs. Photos)

This study analyzed the 'form of coverage' across the general news pages and (in the case of the commercial press only) the women's pages only, given that editorials and (in the case of the commercial press only) letters to the editor followed their own conventions in terms of format.

Most coverage on women's labour (domestic, volunteer and wage) as a subject took the form of articles in the commercial and labour press alike. This is expected, given that newspapers generally contain more articles than photos. Of the 176 items analyzed from the general news and the women's pages of the commercial press, articles comprised 75 per cent and photos comprised 25 per cent. Of the 69 general news items analyzed across the labour press, articles made up 87 per cent and photos comprised 13 per cent.

Form (Articles vs. Photos): By Type of Women's Labour

Women's Domestic Labour

Nearly all of the coverage of women's domestic labour took the form of articles in both the commercial and labour press. Of the 30 items analyzed across the general news and the women's pages of the commercial press, 97 per cent were articles and the remaining 3 per cent photos. All of the news items (N=6) on domestic labour analyzed across the labour newspapers were articles, with no photographic coverage.

Women's Volunteer Labour

Eighty per cent of coverage on women's volunteer labour across the general news and women's pages of the commercial press took the form of articles, with 20 per cent of coverage in photographic form (N=25). The labour press did not discuss the subject of women's volunteer labour.

Women's Wage Labour

Women's wage labour contained the most photographic coverage of the three types of women's labour in both newspaper types. Of the total coverage in the commercial press on women's wage labour as a subject (N=121), 69 per cent comprised articles and 31 per cent photos. In the labour press, total coverage on women's wage labour (N=62) divided into 84 per cent articles and 16 per cent photos.

Size of Articles and/or Photos

This study analyzed ‘size of articles and/or photos’ across the general news pages and (in the case of the commercial press) the women’s pages only. Editorials and (in the case of the commercial press) letters to the editor on the subject of women’s labour were not included in this category because these followed their own respective conventions in terms of text length.

In both the commercial and labour press, coverage on women’s labour (domestic, volunteer and wage) was closely divided between small- and medium-sized articles and/or photos, with comparatively fewer large items. Of the total coverage on women’s labour as a subject in the commercial press (N=176), 43 per cent were small articles and/or photos, another 43 per cent medium-sized items and 14 per cent large items. Of the total coverage in the labour press (N=68), 45 per cent of items were small, 40 per cent medium and 15 per cent large.

Size: By Type of Women’s Labour

Women’s Domestic Labour

In the commercial and labour press alike, coverage encompassed mainly medium-sized articles and/or photos. Of the 30 results for women’s domestic labour across the general news and women’s pages of the commercial press, 43 per cent were medium-sized articles and/or photos, followed by 34 per cent small items and 23 per cent large articles and/or photos. Comparatively, the 6 articles in the labour press that covered women’s domestic labour encompassed 33 per cent small articles and 67 per cent medium articles, with no photographic coverage.

Women's Volunteer Labour

Of the 25 total results rendered for the subject of women's volunteer labour across the general news and women's pages of the commercial press, 56 per cent comprised small articles and/or photos. This was followed by medium-sized items for 28 per cent of results and large items for 16 per cent of results. The labour press did not cover women's volunteer labour at all.

Women's Wage Labour

Overall, coverage of women's wage labour in the commercial and labour press was closely divided between small- and medium-sized articles and/or photos, with comparatively fewer large news items. Specifically, coverage (N=121) broke down as follows in the commercial press: 42 per cent small, 46 per cent medium and 12 per cent large articles and/or photos. Similarly, coverage in the labour press (N=62) comprised 47 per cent small, 37 per cent medium and 16 per cent large articles and/or photos.

Type of Women's Wage Labour

Coverage in the commercial and labour press followed similar patterns in terms of the type of women's wage labour discussed. Both discussed women's wage labour in general as well as women working in manufacturing industries and in the armed services foremost. Women's clerical work received a fairly negligible amount of coverage. [See Table 2]

	Active Service	Clerical	General	Manufacturing	Service	Trade & Commerce	Other
Commercial Press (N=136)	20%	1%	22%	36%	15%	1%	5%
Labour Press (N=65)	12%	3%	25%	51%	9%	0%	0%

Table 2. Type of Women’s Wage Labour, Commercial vs. Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Coverage on service industries broke down further by type: professional, public and personal. Both the commercial press (N=20) and the labour press (N=6) covered professional service industries foremost—60 and 50 per cent, respectively. In the commercial press, this was followed by 35 per cent of coverage on women working in public service industries and 5 per cent in personal service industries. In the labour press, this was followed by 33 per cent of coverage on women working in personal service industries and 17 per cent in public service industries.

Topic of Coverage: Women’s Wage Labour

In the commercial press, coverage on “hiring and/or recruitment”, on-the-job “performance” and “government policy and/or action” received the most attention. In the labour press, “government policy and/or action”, “circumstances of employment” and “hiring and/or recruitment” received the most coverage. With respect to “other” subjects across both newspaper types, this category included topics such as juvenile delinquency, statistical data on working women and news about public opinion polls on employing women. This sample of commercial newspapers yielded no results for women’s labour strikes, while the sample of labour newspapers contained one article. Articles discussing women’s post-war employment situation—

that is, women being “fired” from or encouraged to leave their wartime jobs—received minimal coverage across both newspaper types. [See Table 3]

	Commercial Press (N=136)	Labour Press (N=65)
Hiring and/or Recruitment	27%	15%
First Woman To ...	3%	2%
Firing	9%	9%
Government Policy and/or Action	18%	35%
Strikes	0%	2%
Performance	26%	12%
Circumstances of Employment	6%	19%
Other	11%	6%

Table 3. Topic of Coverage, Women’s Wage Labour, Commercial vs. Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Qualifier: Discursive Framing – Key Words to Describe Women’s Wage Labour

The commercial and labour press followed similar patterns of coverage in terms of the discourse used to frame the subject of women’s wage labour. For the commercial press, the hierarchy (from most coverage to least) was: gendered descriptors and “work(er)” which ranked equally (the latter most often qualified by a preceding adjective that indicated gender such as ‘woman’ or ‘girl’), language that emphasized the “temporary” nature of women’s wage labour, “service”, “other” descriptors and “womanpower”. The term “labour” was never used in the sample of newspaper issues analyzed. For the labour press, the hierarchy (from most coverage to least) was: “work(er)” (often qualified by the preceding adjective ‘woman’/’women’),

“temporary” and gendered descriptors equally, “service”, “other” descriptors, “womanpower” and “labour”.

Across both newspaper types, language that placed gender front and centre in the description of women workers included: “women wage-earners”, “women bomber and fighter pilots”, “ladies in the Air Force blue” and “working wife” (“State Control,” *Labour Leader*; “Russ Women,” *Toronto Daily Star*; “Airwomen’s Pay,” *Hamilton Spectator*; “Working Wife,” *Halifax Herald*). Furthermore, discursive frames emphasizing the temporary (wartime-limited) nature of women’s labour included references to women as “wartime additions to labour force” or wartime “replacement(s)” for men who helped to “hurdle the manpower problem” (“Women Will Leave,” *Labour Leader*; “Women Replacement,” *Labor News*; “Women in British War Industries,” *The Citizen*; “Women Sorters,” *Toronto Daily Star*). [See Table 4]

	Commercial Press (N=136)	Labour Press (N=65)
Labour(er)	0%	2%
Work(er)	21%	37%
Womanpower	4%	3%
Service	10%	9%
Temporary	13%	17%
Gendered Descriptors	21%	17%
Other	8%	6%
N/A	23%	9%

Table 4. Discursive Framing – Key Words to Describe Women’s Wage Labour, Commercial vs. Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Qualifier: Discursive Framing – Position on Women’s Wage Labour

The commercial and labour press followed identical patterns in terms of the hierarchy of the position expressed toward women’s wage labour: positive, neutral, positive and negative, and negative. Of the 136 total results for coverage on women’s wage labour in the commercial press, 57 per cent conveyed a positive stance towards women’s wage labour, 23 per cent was neutral, 13 per cent was both positive and negative, and 7 per cent was negative. Of the 65 total results for coverage on women’s wage labour in the labour press, 45 per cent conveyed a positive stance towards women’s wage labour, 40 per cent was neutral, 10 per cent was both positive and negative, and 5 per cent was negative.

Geographic Focus of Coverage: Women’s Wage Labour

Coverage across the commercial and labour press alike focused the most attention on women’s wage labour in Canada and the least on women’s wage labour in the United States. Of the 136 items that considered the subject of women’s wage labour in the commercial press, 83 per cent focused on women’s wage labour in Canada, 10 per cent in Britain, 5 per cent in “other” nations and 2 per cent in the United States. Of the 65 items that considered the subject of women’s wage labour in the labour press, 46 per cent focused on women’s wage labour in Canada, 20 per cent in Britain, 20 per cent in “other” nations and 14 per cent in the United States.

PART TWO: A Comparison across the Sort of Media Coverage

The following compares results for each category in the content analysis across the sort of media coverage for the commercial press and the labour press, as applicable to each newspaper type: general news versus the women's pages, versus editorials, versus letters to the editor.

Total Media Coverage

The Commercial Press

In the commercial press, the general news pages contained the largest percentage of coverage on women's labour (domestic, volunteer and wage) as a subject, followed by the women's pages. Editorials and letters to the editor contained comparably lower proportions. However, the distribution of coverage on the subject of women's labour across the sort of media coverage reflects (in part and particularly with respect to editorials and letters to the editor) the general distribution of material among these sections. General news was the largest of the sections analyzed, followed by the women's pages. Editorials and letters were generally located on the same page, amid other news items. Combined, editorials and letters typically occupied half to three-quarters of one news page.

Specifically, of the total coverage on women's labour (domestic, volunteer and wage) as a subject in the commercial press (N=200), 50 per cent was located in general news, 38 per cent in the women's pages, 7 per cent in editorials and 5 in letters.

The Labour Press

In the labour press, the general news pages contained most of the coverage on the subject of women's labour (domestic, volunteer and wage). Of this total coverage (N=73), 93 per cent was located in general news and 7 per cent in editorials.

Type of Women's Labour

Results in this category were analyzed both *across* and *within* the sort of media coverage, as applicable to each newspaper type.

The Commercial Press

When viewing how coverage of women's domestic, volunteer and wage labour were individually distributed *across* the sort of media coverage, the greater proportion of coverage on the subjects of women's domestic and volunteer labour occurred in the women's pages, while the general news pages housed the greater proportion of coverage on women's wage labour as a subject [see Table 5].

	General News	Women's Pages	Editorials	Letters
Domestic Labour (N=38)	32%	47%	13%	8%
Volunteer Labour (N=26)	31%	65%	0%	4%
Wage Labour (N=136)	59%	30%	7%	4%

Table 5. Type of Women's Labour, Distribution across the Sort of Media Coverage – Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The following table presents the distribution of coverage for each type of women's labour *within* the general news pages, women's pages, editorials and letters to the editor, individually. Each of these sections focused foremost on women's wage labour, followed by women's domestic labour and, lastly, women's volunteer labour. Editorials, however, contained no coverage on the subject of women's volunteer labour in the sample of commercial newspapers analyzed. [See Table 6].

	General News (N=100)	Women's Pages (N=76)	Editorials (N=14)	Letters (N=10)
Domestic Labour	12%	24%	36%	30%
Volunteer Labour	8%	22%	0%	10%
Wage Labour	80%	54%	64%	60%

Table 6. Type of Women's Labour, Distribution within the Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The Labour Press

The following table presents the distribution of coverage for each type of women's labour *across* the general news pages and editorials as individual sections of the labour press. Coverage of women's domestic, volunteer and wage labour dominated in the general news pages, although editorials contained a notable proportion of coverage on women's domestic labour in particular. This sample rendered no coverage of women's volunteer labour. [see Table 7].

	General News	Editorials
Domestic Labour (N=8)	75%	25%
Volunteer Labour (N=0)	0%	0%
Wage Labour (N=65)	95%	5%

Table 7. Type of Women's Labour, Distribution across the Sort of Media Coverage, Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

The following table presents the distribution of coverage on each type of women's labour *within* the general news pages and editorials as individual sections of the labour press. Both the general news and editorials focused most attention on the subject of women's wage labour; however, editorials were far more closely divided between coverage on wage and domestic labour than were the general news pages [see Table 8].

	General News (N=68)	Editorials (N=5)
Domestic Labour	9%	40%
Volunteer Labour	0%	0%
Wage Labour	91%	60%

Table 8. Type of Women's Labour, Distribution within the Sort of Media Coverage, Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Form of Coverage: Articles vs. Photos

The Commercial Press

Form of coverage was analyzed across the general news pages and women's pages of the commercial newspapers for this category because editorials and letters to the editor each follow their own form and are not categorized as either news articles or photos.

Coverage took the form of articles foremost in the general news pages and the women's pages of the commercial press. This is expected, given that commercial newspapers tend to contain more text than photos generally. More notable, however, was the fact that general news contained more photographic coverage than the women's pages. Specifically, of the 101 news items on women's labour analyzed in the general news pages, 65 per cent were articles and 35 per cent photos. Of the 75 news items on the subject women's labour analyzed in the women's pages, 88 per cent were articles and 12 per cent photos.

The same trend applied to domestic, volunteer and wage labour when analyzed individually. General news contained substantially more photographic coverage of women's domestic and wage labour as subjects than did the women's pages. [See Table 9]

	Domestic Labour (GN: N=12, WP: N=18)		Volunteer Labour (GN: N=8, WP: N=17)		Wage Labour (GN: N=80, WP: N=41)	
	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos
General News	92%	8%	62.5%	37.5%	61%	39%
Women's Pages	100%	0%	88%	12%	83%	17%
Editorials	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Letters	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 9. Form of Coverage (Articles vs. Photos), by Type of Women's Labour and by Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The Labour Press

The labour press generated results from the general news pages only for this category of analysis and, as such, no comparative analysis can be made within the sort of media coverage.

Overall, the general news pages of the labour press were fairly text-heavy, with few photos. Following from this, of the 68 general news items analyzed on the subject of women's labour, 85 per cent were articles and 15 per cent photos.

When analyzing the form of coverage particular to women's domestic, volunteer and wage labour individually, the same trend applied, with articles dominating as a form over photos. The labour press did not contain any coverage of women's volunteer labour. [See Table 10]

	Domestic Labour (N=6)		Volunteer Labour (N=0)		Wage Labour (N=62)	
	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos	Articles	Photos
General News	100%	0%	0%	0%	84%	16%
Editorials	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 10. Form of Coverage (Articles vs. Photos), by Type of Women's Labour and by Sort of Media Coverage, Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Size of Articles and/or Photos

The Commercial Press

In terms of the amount of space allotted to women's labour (domestic, volunteer and wage) as a subject, the general news pages relied foremost on small articles and/or photos, while the women's pages contained medium-sized articles and/or photos foremost. While large articles and/or photos appeared the least in the general news and the women's pages alike, the women's pages contained nearly double the amount of large news items than did the general news pages. [See Table 11]

	Small	Medium	Large
General News (N=99)	52%	37%	11%
Women's Pages (N=77)	31%	49%	20%
Editorials	N/A	N/A	N/A
Letters	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 11. Size of Articles and/or Photos on Women's Labour, by Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

When analyzing the size of articles and/or photos for each type of women's labour individually (domestic, volunteer and wage), there was a relatively close divide between small and medium items in the general news pages. In the women's pages, medium-sized items dominated coverage of women's domestic and wage labour, and small items dominated coverage of women's volunteer labour. Across the general news and women's pages, large articles and/or photos were found the least across women's domestic, volunteer and wage labour alike. [See Table 12]

	Domestic Labour (GN: N=10, WP: N=20)			Volunteer Labour (GN: N=8, WP: N=17)			Wage Labour (GN: N=81, WP: N=40)		
	S	M	L	S	M	L	S	M	L
General News	50%	30%	20%	87.5%	0%	12.5%	48%	42%	10%
Women's Pages	25%	50%	25%	41%	41%	18%	30%	52.5%	17.5%
Editorials	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Letters	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 12. Size of Articles and/or Photos, by Type of Women's Labour and by Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The Labour Press

In terms of the amount of space allotted to the subject of women's labour (domestic, volunteer and wage) in the labour press, the general news pages relied foremost on medium-sized articles and/or photos, followed by small news items, with comparatively fewer large articles and/or photos. Specifically, of the 68 general news items discussing the subject of women's labour, 45 per cent were small, 40 per cent were medium and 15 per cent were large.

More specifically, general news coverage of women's domestic labour in the labour press comprised a significant proportion of medium-sized articles and/or photos, while women's wage labour comprised a close split between small and medium-sized [see Table 13].

	Domestic Labour (GN: N=6)			Volunteer Labour (GN: N=0)			Wage Labour (GN: N=62)		
	S	M	L	S	M	L	S	M	L
General News	33%	67%	0%	0%	0%	0%	47%	37%	16%
Editorials	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 13. Size of Articles and/or Photos, by Type of Women's Labour and by Sort of Media Coverage, Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Type of Women's Wage Labour

Results in this category were analyzed both *across* and *within* the sort of media coverage, as applicable to each newspaper type.

The Commercial Press

The following table presents the results of how coverage for each type of wage labour was distributed *across* the general news, women's pages, editorials and letters to the editor. The general news pages contained the greater proportion of coverage for most types of women's wage labour, most notably women in the active service and in service industries. The women's pages contained exclusive news coverage on women in clerical work and in trade and commerce. Editorials discussed only women's labour generally as well as women in manufacturing and the active service. Letters concerned only women's labour generally as well as women in service industries and the active service. [See Table 14]

	General News	Women's Pages	Editorials	Letters
Service (N=21)	62%	29%	0%	9%
Clerical (N=1)	0%	100%	0%	0%
Manufacturing (N=49)	57%	35%	6%	2%
Trade & Commerce (N=1)	0%	100%	0%	0%
Active Service (N=27)	74%	22%	4%	0%
General (N=30)	43%	30%	17%	10%
Other (N=7)	71%	29%	0%	0%

Table 14. Distribution of Coverage across the Sort of Media Coverage, by Type of Women's Wage Labour, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The following table presents the results of how coverage on the specific types of women's wage labour was distributed *within* each section in the newspaper: the general news, women's pages, editorials and letters to the editor. The general news pages discussed women

working in manufacturing industries foremost, followed by women in the active service. The women's pages also focused on women working in manufacturing foremost, followed by discussion of women's labour generally. Editorials discussed women's labour generally foremost, followed by women in manufacturing industries and in the active service. Half of the letters to the editor on women's wage labour focused on women's labour generally, followed by women in service industries and women in manufacturing. News of women working in clerical positions and in trade and commerce (such as in retail jobs) garnered little, if any, coverage across the general news, women's pages, editorials and letters alike. [See Table 15]

	General News (N=80)	Women's Pages (N=10)	Editorials (N=3)	Letters (N=1)
Service	16%	14%	0%	33%
Clerical	0%	2%	0%	0%
Manufacturing	35%	41%	33%	17%
Trade & Commerce	0%	2%	0%	0%
Active Service	25%	14%	11%	0%
General	16%	21%	56%	50%
Other	8%	6%	0%	0%

Table 15. Type of Women's Wage Labour, Distribution within the Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The Labour Press

The following table presents the results of how coverage of each type of women's wage labour was distributed *across* the general news and editorials. The general news pages of the

labour press housed all coverage on the subjects of women working in service industries, performing clerical work and enlisted in the active service. Editorial coverage only considered the subjects of women's labour in manufacturing industries and women's labour generally. Trade and commerce received no coverage at all in this sample of labour newspapers. [See Table 16]

	General News	Editorials
Service (N=6)	100%	0%
Clerical (N=2)	100%	0%
Manufacturing (N=33)	88%	12%
Trade & Commerce (N=0)	0%	0%
Active Service (N=8)	100%	0%
General (N=16)	94%	6%
Other (N=0)	0%	0%

Table 16. Type of Women's Wage Labour, Distribution across the Sort of Media Coverage, Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

The following table presents the results of how coverage of the different types of women's wage labour analyzed was distributed *within* general news and editorials. The general news pages and editorials alike contained the greatest proportion of coverage on the subject of women working in manufacturing industries and the least coverage on women in clerical work. [See Table 17]

	General News (N=60)	Editorials (N=5)
Service	10%	0%
Clerical	3%	0%
Manufacturing	48%	80%
Trade & Commerce	0%	0%
Active Service	13%	0%
General	26%	20%
Other	0%	0%

Table 17. Type of Women’s Wage Labour, Distribution within the Sort of Media Coverage, Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Topic of Coverage: Women’s Wage Labour

Results in this category were analyzed both *across* and *within* the sort of media coverage, as applicable to each newspaper type.

The Commercial Press

The following table presents the distribution of coverage for each topic analyzed *across* the general news, women’s pages, editorials and letters to the editor. Overall, the general news pages contained the greater proportion of coverage on the majority of topics analyzed, most notably “hiring and/or recruitment”, “first woman to” stories, “firing” and “government policy and/or action”. The women’s pages contained the greater proportion of articles and/or photos concerning the subject of women’s “performance” on-the-job. Editorials discussed

“circumstances of women’s employment”, “government policy and/or action” and women’s “performance” on-the-job only. Letters concerned “circumstances of women’s employment”, “government policy and/or action” and “hiring and/or recruitment” only.

In the general news pages, “other” topics included the relationship between working mothers and juvenile delinquency, results of a public opinion poll as well as statistics on employing women, and news of the Miss War Worker pageant. In the women’s pages, “other” topics included discussion of women working pre-marriage and, conversely, discussion of employing married women. Editorial coverage of “other” topics comprised one editorial denouncing married women’s labour. In letters, “other” comprised one letter by a (female) widow discussing challenges of non-pensioned widows in finding employment. [See Table 18]

	General News	Women’s Pages	Editorials	Letters
Hiring and/or Recruitment (N=37)	78%	19%	0%	3%
First Woman To (N=4)	75%	25%	0%	0%
Firing (N=12)	75%	25%	0%	0%
Government Policy and/or Action (N=24)	58%	17%	12.5%	12.5%
Strike (N=0)	0%	0%	0%	0%
Performance (N=35)	43%	51%	6%	0%
Circumstances of Employment (N=8)	37.5%	12.5%	25%	25%
Other (N=16)	50%	38%	6%	6%

Table 18. Topic of Coverage, Women’s Wage Labour, Distribution across the Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The following table presents the distribution of coverage for each topic analyzed *within* the general news, women's pages, editorials and letters to the editor, respectively. The topic that received the most coverage within the general news pages was "hiring and/or recruitment". Concomitantly, "first woman to" stories and "circumstances of women's employment" received the least coverage. The women's pages focused foremost on women's "performance" on-the-job and contained the least amount of coverage on the "circumstances of women's employment" and "first women to" stories. Editorials and letters to the editor discussed "government policy and/or action" foremost. The sample of commercial newspapers rendered no coverage on women's labour strikes. [See Table 19]

	General News (N=81)	Women's Pages (N=40)	Editorials (N=8)	Letters (N=7)
Hiring and/or Recruitment	36%	17.5%	0%	14%
First Woman To	4%	2.5%	0%	0%
Firing	11%	7.5%	0%	0%
Government Policy and/or Action	17%	10%	37.5%	43%
Strike	0%	0%	0%	0%
Performance	18%	45%	25%	0%
Circumstances of Employment	4%	2.5%	25%	29%
Other	10%	15%	12.5%	14%

Table 19. Topic of Coverage, Women's Wage Labour, Distribution within the Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The Labour Press

The following table presents the distribution of coverage for each topic analyzed *across* the general news and editorials of the labour press. All coverage of “hiring and/or recruitment”, “first woman to” frameworks, “firing”, women’s labour “strikes” and “other” topics occurred in the general news pages of the labour press, not in editorials. Editorials covered “circumstances of employment”, women’s “performance” on the job and “government policy and/or action” only.

[See Table 20]

	General News	Editorial
Hiring and/or Recruitment (N=10)	100%	0%
First Woman To (N=1)	100%	0%
Firing (N=23)	100%	0%
Government Policy and/or Action (N=1)	96%	4%
Strikes (N=1)	100%	0%
Performance (N=8)	87.5%	12.5%
Circumstances of Employment (N=12)	83%	17%
Other (N=4)	100%	0%

Table 20. Topic of Coverage, Women’s Wage Labour, Distribution across the Sort of Media Coverage, Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

The following table presents the distribution of coverage for each topic analyzed *within* the general news and editorials of the labour press. The general news pages discussed “government policy and/or action” foremost, while half the editorial coverage concerned

“circumstances of employment”. The general news pages of the labour press contained one article that discussed a labour strike by women. [See Table 21]

	General News (N=61)	Editorial (N=4)
Hiring and/or Recruitment	16%	0%
First Woman To	2%	0%
Firing	10%	0%
Government Policy and/or Action	36%	25%
Strikes	2%	0%
Performance	11%	25%
Circumstances of Employment	16%	50%
Other	7%	0%

Table 21. Topic of Coverage, Women’s Wage Labour, Distribution within the Sort of Media Coverage, Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Key Words to Describe Women’s Wage Labour

Results in this category were analyzed *across* and *within* the sort of media coverage, as applicable to each newspaper type.

The Commercial Press

The following table presents the distribution of coverage for each ‘key word’ analyzed *across* the general news, women’s pages, editorials and letters to the editor. The general news contained the greater proportion of coverage for most of the discourse analyzed, with the exception of the term “womanpower”. The women’s pages contained the greater proportion of

coverage on this key word. Furthermore, when editorials did discuss women's wage labour, they used language that either emphasized gender or gendered roles or then the temporary nature of women's wage labour, or then referred to women's as "workers" (or, rather, "women workers"). [See Table 22]

	General News	Women's Pages	Editorials	Letters
Labour(er) (N=0)	0%	0%	0%	0%
Work(er) (N=29)	65%	28%	7%	0%
Womanpower (N=5)	40%	60%	0%	0%
Service (N=14)	71%	29%	0%	4%
Temporary (N=17)	59%	23%	18%	0%
Gendered Descriptors (N=29)	52%	35%	10%	3%
Other (N=11)	64%	27%	0%	9%
Not Applicable (N=31)	55%	35%	0%	10%

Table 22. Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Key Words to Describe Women's Wage Labour, Distribution across the Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The following table presents the distribution of coverage for each key word analyzed *within* the general news and editorials of the labour press. The general news pages framed the subject of women's wage labour or women wage labourers as 'women workers' and, following from this, with language that relied on gendered descriptors. The women's pages inverted this hierarchy, relying on gendered descriptors foremost, followed by the term "worker" or, rather, 'women workers'. When editorials did discuss the subject of women's wage labour, they relied equally on gendered descriptors and language that emphasized the temporary nature of women's

wage labour. Letters relied equally on gendered descriptors, the term “service” and “other” key words. [See Table 23]

	General News (N=80)	Women’s Pages (N=42)	Editorials (N=8)	Letters (N=6)
Labour(er)	0%	0%	0%	0%
Work(er)	24%	19%	25%	0%
Womanpower	2%	7%	0%	0%
Service	12.5%	7%	0%	17%
Temporary	12.5%	10%	37.5%	0%
Gendered Descriptors	19%	24%	37.5%	17%
Other	9%	7%	0%	17%
Not Applicable	21%	26%	0%	49%

Table 23. Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Key Words to Describe Women’s Wage Labour, Distribution within the Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The Labour Press

The following table presents the distribution of coverage for each ‘key word’ analyzed *across* the general news, women’s pages, editorials and letters to the editor. The general news contained exclusive use of the discursive frames “labour(er)”, “womanpower” and “service”, and the greater proportion of coverage for all discursive frames analyzed. The only discursive frames that appeared in editorials were “work(er)” (or, rather ‘women workers’) as well as language that either emphasized gender or gendered roles or then the temporary nature of women’s wartime employment. [See Figure 24]

	General News	Editorials
Labour(er) (N=1)	100%	0%
Work(er) (N=24)	96%	4%
Womanpower (N=2)	100%	0%
Service (N=6)	100%	0%
Temporary (N=11)	91%	9%
Gendered Descriptors (N=11)	91%	9%
Other (N=4)	100%	0%
Not Applicable (N=6)	83%	17%

Table 24. Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Key Words to Describe Women’s Wage Labour, Distribution across the Sort of Media Coverage, Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

The following table presents the distribution of coverage for each key word analyzed *within* the general news and editorials of the labour press. The general news relied on the term “worker” or, rather ‘women workers’ foremost, followed equally by language emphasizing gender or gendered roles or then the temporary nature of women’s wartime employment. Editorials also relied equally on these same discursive frames. [See Figure 25]

	General News (N=61)	Editorials (N=4)
Labour(er)	2%	0%
Work(er)	38%	25%
Womanpower	3%	0%
Service	10%	0%
Temporary	16%	25%
Gendered Descriptors	16%	25%
Other	7%	0%
Not Applicable	8%	25%

Table 25. Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Key Words to Describe Women’s Wage Labour, Distribution Within the Sort of Media Coverage, Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Position on Women’s Wage Labour

The Commercial Press

The following table presents the distribution of positive, neutral, positive and negative, and negative coverage individually *across* the general news, women’s pages, editorials and letters to the editor. The general news pages housed the larger proportions of positive, negative and neutral coverage, while the women’s pages contained the greater proportion of coverage that was simultaneously positive and negative. Editorials contained no negative coverage at all, while a notable proportion of letters expressed a simultaneously positive and negative stance toward the subject of women’s wage labour. [See Table 26]

	General News	Women's Pages	Editorials	Letters
Positive (N=78)	64%	30%	5%	1%
Negative (N=10)	90%	9%	0%	0%
Both (N=17)	12%	65%	6%	18%
Neutral (N=31)	65%	23%	6%	6%

Table 26. Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Position on Women's Wage Labour, Distribution across the Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The following table presents the distribution of positive, neutral, positive and negative, and negative coverage *within* each section: the general news, women's pages, editorials and letters to the editor. The majority of coverage in the general news pages, the women's pages and editorials was positive, with minimal negative coverage on the subject of women's wage labour. Letters expressed a simultaneously positive and negative position towards women's wage labour foremost, followed by a neutral stance and then, to the least degree, a positive position. [See Table 27]

	General News (N=81)	Women's Pages (N=42)	Editorials (N=7)	Letters (N=6)
Positive	62%	55%	57%	17%
Negative	11%	2%	0%	0%
Both	2%	26%	14%	50%
Neutral	25%	17%	29%	33%

Table 27. Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Position on Women's Wage Labour, Distribution Within the Sort of Media Coverage, Commercial Press (1939 to 1945)

The Labour Press

The following table presents the distribution of positive, neutral, positive and negative, and negative coverage individually *across* the general news and editorials in the labour press. Given that the general news pages housed the majority of coverage on the subject of women's wage labour (over editorials), it follows that the general news pages would also house the majority of coverage for each 'position' analyzed. The editorials, however, did contain a notable amount of coverage that was simultaneously positive and negative, as was the case in the commercial newspapers analyzed. [See Table 28]

	General News	Editorials
Positive (N=29)	97%	3%
Negative (N=3)	100%	0%
Both (N=7)	71%	29%
Neutral (N=26)	100%	0%

Table 28. Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Position on Women's Wage Labour, by Sort of Media Coverage, Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

The following table presents the distribution of positive, neutral, positive and negative, and negative coverage *within* each section: the general news and editorials. The majority of coverage in the general news pages expressed a positive or then, following closely, a neutral position towards women's wage labour, with minimal negative coverage. Editorials across the labour press expressed a simultaneously positive and negative position towards the subject of women's wage labour foremost, followed by a positive stance. [see Table 29]

	General News (N=62)	Editorials (N=3)
Positive	45%	33%
Negative	5%	0%
Both	8%	67%
Neutral	42%	0%

Table 29. Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Position on Women’s Wage Labour, by Sort of Media Coverage, Labour Press (1939 to 1945)

PART THREE: A Comparison across the Sex of the Writer – Letters to the Editor

The nature of historical evidence limits the quantitative analysis of the sex of the writer to letters to the editor. This section analyzes letters published on the subject of women's labour, across applicable categories in the content analysis. This analysis applies to the commercial press only and, specifically, to the *Toronto Daily Star* and *The Hamilton Spectator*, since *The Halifax Herald* did not publish letters and neither did any of the labour newspapers sampled.

Total Coverage on Women's Labour

The content analysis identified 10 letters to the editor about women's labour in the commercial press. Of these, females wrote 7 of the letters, a male wrote 1 letter, and 2 letters were coded as "undetermined" due to their androgynous signature.

Type of Women's Labour

Of the 7 letters written by women, 5 letters concerned women's wage labour as a subject (71.4 per cent), 1 letter concerned women's domestic labour (14.3 per cent), and 1 letter concerned the subject of women's volunteer labour (14.3 per cent). The one letter written by a man discussed women's domestic labour. Of the two letters coded as "undetermined", one concerned women's wage labour as a subject and the other women's domestic labour.

Type of Women's Wage Labour

Of the five letters to the editor written by women about the subject of their wage labour, 80 per cent concerned women's wage labour generally and 20 per cent concerned women in service industries, specifically public service. Men did not write in about women's wage labour.

The one letter on women's wage labour coded as "undetermined" discussed women in service industries, specifically teaching.

Topic of Coverage: Women's Wage Labour

Of the five letters to the editor written by women about the subject of their wage labour, 40 per cent discussed women being hired into the workforce, 20 per cent discussed government policy and/or action, 10 per cent discussed circumstances surrounding women's employment (specifically, wages) and another 10 per cent discussed "other" topics (that is, women in public service). Men did not write in about women's wage labour. The one letter on women's wage labour coded as "undetermined" discussed circumstances surrounding women's employment, specifically their wages.

Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Key Words to Describe Women's Wage Labour

Of the five letters to the editor written by women about the subject of their wage labour, 50 per cent described their own labour as "service" and another 50 per cent used "other" terms to describe their labour (for example, "employment"). Men did not write in about women's wage labour. The one letter on women's wage labour coded as "undetermined" referred to women wage labourers by their specific occupation (coded as "other" key words): "school teachers".

Qualifiers: Discursive Framing – Position on Women's Wage Labour

All five letters to the editor written by women about the subject of their wage labour expressed a negative position, as qualified by women expressing the challenges they experienced with respect to wage labour. Men did not write in about women's wage labour. The one letter on

women's wage labour with an "undetermined" byline was coded as "negative" because it, too, discussed the challenges women experienced as wage labourers.

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