# CHAPTER IV RESPONSE TO THE PROBLEM OF REPRODUCTION: THE NEW URBAN LANDSCAPE

By the 1880s, the problem of ensuring the adequate reproduction of the labour force in Toronto, and of co-ordinating its needs with those of industrial enterprises had become a major social issue. Symptoms of this problem: the growing scale and worsening conditions of crowded slums, the numbers of uncared for children and 'unproductive' adults, and women's resistance to their traditional role, were all manifest in the city. They came to be seen as 'urban problems', as problems created by the city itself, and therefore as amenable to urban solution. The problem of reproduction thus became the central focus of the emerging urban reform movement. This problem had resolved itself into one of finding mechanisms which would provide mass services to the labour force while strengthening the family and maintaining women's unwaged domestic role. These mechanisms were found in the move toward rationalization of urban structure; the creation of a new urban landscape.

This chapter will discuss responses to the problem of reproduction: its definition as an 'urban problem', its situation within the urban reform movement, and its partial resolution in the rationalization of the urban landscape into specialized industrial commercial districts and class segregated suburbs. These developments will be assessed in

terms of their effect on the relation of production and reproduction and on women's social position.

1. The Urban Problem

Clifford Sifton, in his address of welcome to the 1914 City Planning Confernce in Toronto, said:

> When in Canada we had a population of two and a half millions and were admittedly poor and insignificant, there was not real want; no one was hungry, no one was homeless and crimes were very rare. Now we have eight millions of people or thereabouts; we have transcontinental railways; we have great accumulations of wealth and some degree of importance in the eyes of the world; and we are beginning to see slums, congested districts, and the ever widening division between wealth and poverty which marks the beginning of the growth of the proletariat (Sifton, 1914, p. 218).

Late nineteenth century industrial cities throughout the United States and Western Europe had been plagued with these problems for some time. By the late 1880s, they had become manifest on Toronto's landscape in a way which was impossible to ignore, and had become pressing urban issues. The problems of industrialization in the city became defined as urban problems, as problems created by the conditions of city life.

As early as 1883, Goldwin Smith had defined 'urban problems' and defined their specificity in the colonial political economy of Toronto:

> Where over-population is gathered in large masses, there must be a certain amount of failure, infirmity, disease, decrepitude and intemperance; the vicissitudes of commerce and industry on a large scale must give birth to cases of individual misfortune. The length of the close season in this climate presses hard on industry; and a summer improvidence, which is almost pardonable, often leads to winter's suffering. Moreover, the pauperism of the Old World is being constantly thrown upon our shores (quoted in Splane, 1965, p. 114).

There is a sensitivity here and in Sifton's remarks, to the interaction of industrialism and urban life, a recognition that, in some way never clearly defined, urban conditions were a result of industrialization manifesting itself in cities. But this sensitivity is absent from the discussions of many of their contemporaries. For them urban pathology became, in a tautological environmental determinism, a function of the city itself. This was an intensified form of the North American anti-urban tradition, spurred on by fear of the conditions of pathology in European, American, and (even) British cities (Rutherford, 1977, p. 368; Sifton, 1914). The problem becomes that of "urban degeneracy"; the moral and physical decay resulting from the conditions of the city itself [1]. The city, and specifically its slums, come to be seen as the source of all evil. Its environmental conditions were the root of 'problems' from human character defects to socialism:

> slums were "cancerous sores" on the body politic, "sources of bacteria" spreading disease, crime and discontent throughout the city. They menaced the moral and physical character of Canadian manhood and thus the racial future of the whole nation. Some alarmists even feared a red revolution sparked by the disgruntled

> proletariat and the immigrants. (Rutherford, 1977, p. 375).

It is the conditicns of city life which are preventing the family frcm doing its job and necessitating state intervention into reproduction. The weakened family was bcth a contributor to and a victim cf urban degeneracy. J. J. Kelso, in an impassioned plea, imbued with environmental determinism, wrote

> The slums should be attacked and abclished because they are the great enemy of the home, which is the foundation stone of the state. Bad housing conditions inevitably lead to drunkenness in parents; to delinquency in children; to disorderly conduct; to wife and family desertion by men who get tired of it all; to immorality in the growing generation; ... to the spread of typhoid, fever, diptheria, scarlet fever, and the ravages of the great white plague (Kelso, n.d., p. 167).

J. S. Woodsworth, no less impassioned, warned

> the city may become a menace to our whole civilization ... the city has destroyed the home, and substituted for it the hotel, flat, terement, boarding house, and cheap lodging house ... the city exacts an awful price that is being paid in human life, suffering and the decay of virtue and the family (Wocdsworth, 1911, p. 23).

Thus the dual prcblems of the threat to the health and 'morals' of the labour fcrce, and that cf the threat of the family had becc̈me problems of city life. Women's active challenge to their traditional sphere was also attributed to urban life. Declining marriage and fertility rates were imputed to slum conditions [2]. Protestations by reformers

and craft unionists that women's wage work was 'unnatural' were also protests that city life was 'unnatural' (Klein and Roberts, 1974; Woodsworth, 1911).

The urban problem of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Toronto were rooted in the fundamental problems of co-ordinating production and reproduction writ large. Since it was in the growing cities that the problem of reproduction in industrial society was most clearly manifest, it came to be seen as an 'urban problem', as a series of problems created by the conditions of city life. This definition contained sufficient truth that it precluded a radical critique of capitalist industrialization itself, averted the necessity for questioning the social priority of profits over people. It also presented well meaning reformers and the increasingly professionalized group of urban bureaucrats and politicians with a concrete manageable problem, one which seemed amenable to solutions within the confines of industrial capitalism, and which found its conveyance in the urban reform movement.

2. The Urban Reform Movement

Response to the problems of industrialization became situated within the urban reform movement, which emerged in Canada in the late 1880s and 1890s and continued until the 1920s [3] (Rutherford, 1977, p. 368). The urban reform

movement was an expression of its age; motivated by an unprecedented sense of crisis in the cities, and imbued with a faith in 'progress', in science and in the almost infinite possibilities of human improvement through scientific rationalization of social life and the social environment.

Urban reformers included groups ranging from church organizations and philanthropic associations of bourgeois women, to real estate lobbies and municipal politicians. In many ways, urban reform was a "collection of assorted causes linked only by a general focus on the city and its problems" (Rutherford, 1974, p. xiii). But the common root of the multitude of problems: the problem of reproduction, and the 'spirit of the age', gave urban reform a focus, both in its definition of problems and in its advocated solutions.

Urban reform focused on the social welfare of urban dwellers. Sifton emphasizes that the "efficiency of the human unit, the health and the happiness and the vigour of the individual, should be preserved." (Sifton, 1914, p. 214). This concern for the welfare of urban citizens, while not lacking in humanitarian sentiment, was a concern for the "health, happinness and vigour" and above all the "efficiency" of a productive industrial labour force. Urban reformers borrowed the model of the new industrial factory and saw the city as an interdependent enterprise, as a "corporation that called for efficient management." (Burdih, 1917, p. 238; Stelter and

Artbrise, 1977, p. 338). Urban reform attempted to rationalize the reproduction of the labour force along the same lines of order and efficiency as the individual industrial enterprise produced sewing machines, pig iron or soap. This rationalization of human life was to be the resultcf an ordering and upgrading cf the urban environment and of the principles upon which the landscape was organized. As the labour process had been rationalized into its compcnent parts and the labour force in the factories assigned their specific tasks under the hegemcny cf rational and efficient productiCn, so urban reformers bent themselves to the more difficult task of rationalizing the urban landscape and assigning the labour force their appropriate lccations under the hegemcny of the new social division cf labour. Environmental reform was also moral reform, "an experiment in social engineering, an attempt to force the city dweller tc conform to the public mores of the church going middle class." (Rutherford, 1977, p. 371).

> The thrust of the reform was toward more uniformity in public attitudes and a closer supervision of individual behavour, both to protect the public interest. Further, growing out of the class presumptions of its advocates reform was designed to reinforce the bourgeois character of the city .... Welfare policies were devised to instil the work ethic into the underprivileged, moral purification to change the lamentable habits of the proletariat, and child protection to convert pauper offspring intc replicas of the respectable citizens (Rutherford, 1977, p. xx).

The relatively new phenomenon of urban planning co-ordinated all these objectives through rationalizations of

the urban landscape. Urban planning, was a "rational system of supervising the conditions in which the people of our great cities shall live." (Sifton, 1914, p. 219). Urban planning, in conformity with its philosophical environmental determinism, was largely planning directed at manipulation of the city's physical bases [4]. This included municipal financing or subsidization of unprofitable infrastructure of circulation, education and public health, which formed the physical basis for an environment where a healthy, well socialized labour force could be reproduced. A major aspect of such planning was the municipal provision of physical infrastructure for the extension of residential suburbs, the provision of transportation infrastructure and of hard and social services for these suburbs. From the late 1880s, the suburbanization of the working class became a major reform issue in Toronto, an issue which included the questions of municipal ownership or control of urban utilities (Rutherford, 1974, p. xxii; Sinclair, 1891; Weaver, 1977).

We will examine the effect of suburbanization on the productive-reproductive relationship and the position of women after a brief examination of the influence of industrialization on Toronto's landscape.

## 3. The New Social Landscape of Toronto

Between 1880 and 1910, Toronto's 'built-up' area and populati expanded tremendously (Tables B and C Statistical Appendix).

The city's boundaries had been extended between 1883 and 1914 (Map 5 ). The city government was reorganized to administer this growing territory [5] (Rutherford, 1977, pp. 377-380; Weaver, 1977, pp. 409-412). This expansion in area and population was also a change in population distribution. With the growth of suburban infrastructure, including public transit, people moved out from the city's core [6] (Goheen, 1970, p. 72; Maps 6 and 7)

This physical expansion was not a random pattern, but rather an economic rationalization of territory, the expression of new economic relations on the landscape. The increasing separation of home and workplace, of productive activities from family life, and the growing reproductive insularity of the home, which had increased with industrial production, was reflected on the economic landscape. There was a creation, for most sectors of the labour force, of the parallel and mutually exclusive areas for production and reproduction which had existed for the bourgeoisie in the pre-industrial period [7]. Concomitant with this concrete reflection of growing separation and insularity of the home and workplace was the development of landscape expressive of class and occupational segregation.

Residential districts became more occupationally homogeneous and exclusive, reflecting the new occupational gradations of the industrial social division of labour.

This spatial separation of home and workplace and class segregation began in the 1880s, with the movement of families, especially large, young families from the core. The core became more exclusively an industrial commercial area and new residential districts with no economic activities emerged on the periphery of the city (Goheen, 1970, p. 168). By the 1890s, much of the core area had been abandoned as residential space. In 1890, according to Goheen, "centralization of economic activities, reflected here in land and building value and returns to investment in them, was very pronounced." (ibid., p. 180). By 1899, the centraliztion of economic activity was even more pronounced. "Intensive utilization of land for commercial and manufacturing purposes" occurred centrally along the waterfront rail lines. "Here accessibility has created great commercial prospects and endowed the land with value for manufacturing enterprises as well." (ibid., p. 211). (Map 8) Meanwhile suburbs developed as specialized reproductive spaces, and in 1890, we see the "first instances of the development of subsidiary shopping districts." (ibid., p. 179)

Although much of this suburbanization was movement of the affluent, it also included large sectors of the industrial

working class (Gcheen, 1970, p. 201). Journey to work maps for industrial workers indicate their growing dispersion, as well as the continued centrality of industrial firms (Maps 9 and 10).

The more affluent clerical workers were also dispersed, with relatively lcng journeys to work (Map 11) The landscape had thus taken on a pattern reflective of the new industrial organization of production and reproductiсn.

4. The Suburban Solution

This new urban landscape reflected both the operation of market forces in an industrial society, and the conscious, collective planning and co-ordination of these market forces by urban reformers and politicians. Urban reform did not create the suburbs. But it did co-ordinate their development, through, as noted above, municipal provisions of physical and social infrastructure, and through municipal regulation of housing in suburban develcpments. Suburbanization of the urban population was a major part of the solution to the urban crisis. Suburbanization was well suited to the concerns of reformers and industrialists, with their distress over the condition of the inner city labour force. It was suited to the needs of speculators and builders, with their concern for the accumulation of capital. And it was suited to the needs of the working class family, with their rather more immediate distress over their own 'urban degeneracy'. The major concern of the

reformers was the moral and physical damage to the working class stemming from overcrowding in the central city (Kealey, 1974, pp. 18-20). A major reform platform in this period, following the analysis of Henry George's single taxers, was the elimination of land rents in favour of universal ownership for use (Kealey, 1972, pp. 23-77). The 1889 Commission on Labour and Capital stated that:

> The question of rent, the increase of which has been almost continual during the last years, and has exceeded what labouring men have gained in increase of wages, will be settled only when workers become owners. It is undeniable that workers are badly lodged in houses badly built, unhealthy and rented at exorbitant prices (Freed Report, quoted in Kealey, 1974, p. 20).

This solution involved single family housing (Rutherford, 1977, p. 375). Single family homes would reinforce the private ideal family', and eliminate the dangers of "communistic modes of thought and sexual promiscuity" inherent in use of communal facilities (Wright, 1975, p. 42). Single family housing was also an ideal form for speculators and builders. The virtues of the suburbs and the state responsibility for infrastructure provision were summed up by William McClean, a speculator and editor of the TORONTO WORLD, who said in 1909:

> The blocking of suburban extension was ... not only intolerable for present citizens, but constitutes a serious limitation on the growth of the city. Cheap and rapid transportation means plentiful labour, well-housed, well-fed and intelligent labour. Good labour of this kind means satisfactory conditions for the employer and manufacturer. This reacts on retail business, and the development of the modern community

> follows, all as a result of rapid transport. (W. Maclean, 1909, quoted in Weaver, 1977, p. 400).

Suburbanization was thus a fitting solution to 'urban problems'. And in fitting the multitude of symptomatic problems, it also partially resolved the basic problems of co-ordinating production and reproduction. The municipal co-ordination of suburban development contributed to this resolution.

It did this in three ways. Firstly, it complemented and co-ordinated the process of private development already in progress. Secondly, it helped provide a basis for a new, restructured 'ideal family', and a new feminine role. Thirdly, it helped to ensure that labour was reproduced in its requisite divisions. We will examine each of these aspects in turn.

a. Assistance to the Development Process

The provision of physical and social infrastructure for working class suburbs by municipal government was not intended to interfere with or restructure the private land market. It was rather an attempt to facilitate the operation of this market through providing the infrastructure necessary for private developers to make profits in working class suburbanization. A. H. Sinclair, a political scientist from the University of Toronto, summarized the "duties" of the municipality:

> Indeed, it is the duty of the city government to provide for the free expression of city limits; and by securing for the people of the suburbs sure and easy access to the centre, together with the ordinary amenities of city life, to relieve the centre parts of that excess of population which is now its curse. Not only this, but it is the duty of the community to provide for those who cannct otherwise afford them at less than cost, and even free when necessary, those essentials to a decent life, such as abundant pure water, light, etc. (Sinclair, 1891, p. 29).

This was in conformity with a long tradition in Toronto in which speculation was a major means of capital formation by the same elite which controlled urban politics. The same process took place in most growing industrial cities. Warner states, for example, that such intervention by Boston's public agencies

> hoped to give the greatest scope to the workings of individual capitalists. Education, health, transportation, and plentiful land were tools to encourage individuals to work effectively as private profit makers. The works of the individual profit makers were to be the return for the public costs and effort (Warner, 1962, p. 33).

The movement toward public ownership of transportation services and utilities such as hydro and waterworks were a part of this encouragement to private developers. John Weaver says:

> Public ownership at times complemented unregulated private aspirations, while restructured civic governments were designed to afford business interests a greater opportunity to mould city development (Weaver, 1977, p. 393).

With the rapidly expanding scale of the city, private provision of civic services was both inefficient and

unprofitable to the concerns involved. The debates over public ownership in Toronto continued well into the twentieth century. Municipal controls or subsidies were always justified in terms of 'good business', in terms of 'supporting private enterprise.' (Guillet, 1934; Middleton, 1934; Sinclair, 1891, Weaver, 1977).

The city thus provided the services which private enterprise needed but was unwilling or unable to risk providing. The contemporary attitude was that a "free market in property complemented by public transportation, could resolve the housing and health crisis" (Weaver, 1977, p. 405). This was indeed 'socialism for the rich and free enterprise for the poor.'

State assistance to privately developed working class suburbanization was thus not a revolution in the mode of production, but an attempt to compensate for dsyfunctions in what was seen as an essentially sound or at least inevitable system. This support thus contained no DIRECT, municipal mechanism to co-ordinate labour force reproduction with industrial demands, but merely aided the operations of the 'free' market in land.

b. The New Family

As noted above, the family had been severely weakened in the late nineteenth century, both as an agent for reproduction and as a force for social and political stability. Working class suburbs provided the environment for a new form of ideal family, one which was extended ideologically, to all classes, and which ensured the continuation of women's unwaged labour.

As the rise of monopoly capital and union demands made possible (and increasingly necessary) one wage families for a growing sector of the working class, so the working class suburbs facilitated the establishment of a restructured ideal family. Unlike the earlier period, the suburban families at the turn of the century were those who could aspire to an ideal family. Women and children were economically and spatially removed from immediate employment opportunities and the other 'temptations' of the heterogeneous central city. The single family suburban home and its homogeneous neighbourhood provided a relatively stable environment in which working class women could practice the newly created science of 'home economics'.

The home economics movement had far reaching implications. For bourgeois women and those whose husbands were skilled workers, it reinforced the ideal, paternalistic nuclear family by clearly defining women's sphere of concern as domestic, while giving them a 'science' with which to absorb their

potentially dangerous energies in an appropriately 'feminine' way. By making a science of the remaining work of the household, it countered the protests against the erosion of household functions. Home economics was also extended to immigrants as part of the process of Canadianization and to the 'poor' as part of their training in reproducing the new industrial labour force, generally through the auspices of the same bourgeois women who had traditionally been responsible for welfare work.

In the 1890s and early twentieth century, the home and feminine role took on a new meaning. It was, both economically and ideologically, integrated more fully into social production as a whole. Women carried out the activities of reproduction in response to an increasingly complex division of labour, and consumed more and more commodities in order to do so. The home was portrayed as the cornerstone of a new society. This fit well with the expanding horizons of women and the growing ideological and economic importance of the family.

The home was explicitly presented as a vital microcosm of society as a whole. The principles of business and the scientific method extended into the household. The breadth of this movement was evident in a 1898 statement by the National Council of Women:

> Domestic work must be placed upon an intellectual basis ... It will be necessary for the first reforms to run on the lines of knowledge, promptness, order and economy of time and money. These methods which govern the office, shop or factory should be brought to bear on domestic duties. Until educational and scientific principles are applied in the home, we shall never have the social economy properly regulated (National Council of Women, 1898, p. 260).

The kitchen became a "scientifically controlled environment." (Wright, 1975, p. 41). The germ theory of disease introduced a scientific standard of household cleanliness. The extension of Taylorism into the home turned the housewife into a 'professional' who organized her time and her environment for maximum efficiency. Household tasks were increasingly broken down and organized along the line of factory work. There were scientifically designed diets for different income levels (Cross, 1974, pp. 164-167; Kealey, 1974, pp. 25-26). Child psychology, established as a discipline by 1900, set objective standards of maternal performance (Oakley, 1976, p. 67).

Part of the movement was also an elevation of the status of housework. The new family offered dignity and complexity to the roles of mother and housewife. It 'formed an ideology that could legitimate the continued restriction of women to the home' (Ehrenreich & English 1975, p. 3). There was a consistent emphasis on the vital social value of the home and of women's work. Marjory MacMurchy wrote of the 'new Canadian woman' in 1919:

> The woman of the home has work of unrivalled value. She has to study new standards of living, to help to control the food supply, to improve the health of children and to lower the rate of infant mortality. A standard of living in each community might be tabulated by women home-makers. Such information should be available in each locality and should be accessible to all classes in the community. How are workers ... to know on what sums individual families can live and maintain health and efficiency if these matters are not studied, determined and published for their use (MacMurchy, 1919, p. 197).

The move to order the residential environment was "a gesture toward ordering our social world." (Wright, 1975, p. 43). It was not coincidental that a growing range of household commodities deemed essential to the proper running of the home entered the market and the household at this time. Consumer goods and innovative marketing techniques proliferated (Wright, 1975).

Thus, the extension of the possibility of the 'ideal family' for large sectors of the working class fundamentally changed the ideological and economic role of this family. Rather than being seen primarily as a sanctuary from economic life, it became the 'cornerstone of social life'.

With the increasing direct control over reproduction by the state, the shrinking household became itself more directly controlled. It was reliant on the commodity market for an increasing number of goods and services, and was invaded by 'expert advice' in every activity. The ideal family in the context of the suburban working class home thus provided a

means of assuring some control over the private aspects of reproduction.

c. The New Social Division of Labour

As noted above, the solution to the problem of adequate reproduction involved both direct intervention into reproduction and support for the family. These two were not, in the short term, mutually compatible. Working class suburbs provided an environment in which these two aims could be reconciled. The last section has outlined the development of a new form of 'ideal family' in the suburbs. The mechanisms of direct control over reproduction were co-ordinated with this family in order that they supported rather than threatened it. At the same time, suburbs provided a means of reproducing the requisite divisions of the social division of labour.

Suburbanization was extended only to those sectors of the working class whose labour was most in demand, thereby helping to reproduce requisite divisions in this class. The working class was increasingly internally differentiated and spatially segregated as the suburbs and the new 'ideal family' were accessible only to the most 'essential' and highly paid sectors.

Such segregation was not merely the result of a 'shortage of resources', but part of an explicit policy of segregating

the 'respectable' working class; artisans, mechanics, clerks, from the 'dangerous' casual labour force, the lumpen: the unemployed, the sick, the alcoholics. Such separation was an over-riding concern of moralists, reformers and industrialists in the late nineteenth century. The spectre of urban degeneracy - fears for the biological and political degeneration of the whole working class, and the threat to order and stability engendered by mixing all sectors of this class - led to a campaign for separation [8]. According to Adna Weber, there was a need for a vital, mobile intellectual elite to guide industrial society. This could only be assured by isolating good working class stock and ensuring that channels of upward mobility were available to the best. (Weber, 1899, p. 387).

Such fractionalization of the working class is documented by Stedman Jones for Victorian London. The policy consisted of "wooing the respectable working class" in the context of a new liberalism which included expanded political rights (Stedman Jones, 1976, p. 303). This was an explicit recognition of their integral importance to industrial accumulation and of their growing organization and militancy. At the same time there was "the espousal of a more coercive and interventionist policy toward the residuum.' (ibid.,). In this segregation of desirables from undesirables, suburbanization was a tool to co-ordinate the process of social segregation (Warner, 1968, Chapter 2). As Weaver says, suburbs functioned as "social

filters" (Weaver, 1977, p. 408). They were a ready made mechanism to help in the creation of a "hierarchical and deferential urban society" (Stedman Jones, 1976, p. 270).

Thus reorganization of urban space according to occupation perpetuated the occupational stratification appropriate to industrial production. In Toronto by 1890, "unskilled, skilled, clerical and professional persons were segregated from one another." (Goheen, 1970, p. 194). By 1899, "the exact precision of economic rank was translated into the landscape in terms of separation of one class from another." (ibid., p. 220). This landscape expression was an attempt "to perpetuate a stratified society based upon traditional patterns of deference and morality." (Weaver, 1977, p. 394). Thus, suburbanization, through zoning regulation and restrictive covenants, contributed toward structuring a new social order, a new bourgeois hegemony, based on landscape segregation.

Suburbanization helped ensure that the requisite types of labour were reproduced: skilled mechanics and clerical workers in the suburbs and the unskilled casual labour force in the centre [9]. Residential segregation thus provided another mechanism of controlling reproduction. It did so through provision, in the suburbs and central city, of the educational and social services appropriate to a particular labour force sector, and through ensuring that reproduction went on in a relatively homogeneous neighbourhood. For example, children

growing up in an area with schools, recreational and cultural facilities appropriate to future mechanics and mechanics' wives, and where all their contemporaries were mechanics' children, were likely to foresee their future as mechanics or mechanics' wives. There was less temptation and less opportunity to take on casual work than in the central city, nor was there much institutionally reinforced encouragement to aspire to higher status. According to Sam Bass Warner

> segregation had a supportive effect. The new detached, middle class modes of family life and child care could not have been maintained with so little supervision as existed in the new suburbs had not strong income, and hence class, segregation existed. At all levels of society a rough neighbourhood homogeneity gave a sense of place and continuity (Warner, 1968, p. 173).

The full-time housewife, busily engaged in the science of keeping her family germ free and appropriately adjusted, reinforced this socialization. The homogeneity of the neighbourhood reinforced the tendency for her to purchase appropriate goods and services and to organize her family and educate her family 'appropriately'. In turn, she encouraged her husband in his role, upon which her status and that of her family depended.

Suburbanization was also a stabilizing mechanism. A home in the suburbs was concrete expression of success, of individual achievement and of the 'rightness' of society. These relatively homogeneous neighbourhoods gave people 'a

stake in society', preventing challenges to the status quo. Kelso said

> It is a well known fact that decency of life and conduct is a matter of enforced habit, a tribute of respect to those around us. If one lives on a nice street, it is impossible to resist the refining influence of association (Kelso, n.d., p. 168).

The families who remained in the central city were families of labourers and casual workers. Goheen confirms that by the 1890s, the "unskilled labouring population of Toronto was the class most systematically excluded from areas in which groups of different status were found" (Goheen, 1970, p. 194). Families in the central commercial-industrial districts were those with characteristics of unskilled, low income families. (Goheen, 1970, p. 177).

For these families, conflicts were exacerbated. They could now be identified as the 'residuum', to which increased coercion and intervention' must be applied. This sector, the reserve labour force so essential to the operation of the capitalist labour market, was to be 'controlled', not 'elevated' [10].

Although all persons in this sector functioned as a reserve labour force, women in these families functioned as such in a specific way. Women's dual role, and the ideological reinforcement of its reproductive component, meant that they

were ideal as a flexible, relatively manipulable source of labour. Women's functicn as a reserve army of labour cheapened labour costs tc capital and the state in several ways. First, their low wages and relatively low rate of unionization kept general wages down [11]. Second, the possibility cf women supplementing the family wage, either occasionally or regularly, reduced pressures fcr higher male wages in many poorly organized sectors. Third, women's dual role in unwaged domestic labour and 'supplementary' wage labour reduced the demand for state services and supplements to low income families (Conference of Sccialist Econcmists, 1975, p. 27). Women in their dual roles, were thus a reserve army in the fullest sense. They could be called out, or let go as need be, reabsorbed into the household with minimum social costs or disruption [12].

Women in these residual families continued in concretely dual roles, essential both to labour intensive industrial sectors and to family survival. Despite introduction of large scale, capital intensive factcries in scme sectors, flexible female labour was still essential to labour intensive sectors. In his 1892 Report, the Cntario Factory Inspector said:

> I frequently meet with persons who think that females should not work in factories, but instead, sufficient wages should be given to fathers and brothers to enable them to keep the girls at hcme, and thus not go into competition with male labour. But there are many trades in which at least a portion of the work is more suitable for females and can be better done by them

(Fourth Annual Report of the Inspector of Factories, Ontario, 1892, quoted in Cross, 1974, p. 122) [13].

While working at what were often the most undesirable, poorly paid jobs, (Thomas, 1889, p. 181) these women continued to reproduce their heirs in a pale parody of the new 'ideal' family.

The suburban movement can be seen as the development of territorially discrete 'reproductive complexes'. The suburbs expressed the new mode of reproduction; the restructured ideal family built around women's unwaged domestic service labour, complemented by direct public services to the labour force. The territorial segregation of these complexes according to occupation helped ensure that different reproductive complexes reproduced different types of labour, hopefully in its requisite divisions. At the same time, the territorially discrete industrial commercial districts expressed the new organization of production, and the territorial separation of the two types of area reflected and reinforced the growing separation and insularity of the activities of workplace and home. This new urban landscape was largely the result of private development, but it also expressed the growing responsibilities of the state to provide unprofitable hard and social services which were a precondition for private accumulation. The city thus manifested - in its physical structure - the alteration in the nature of production and reproduction, and their new relationship. By so expressing these alterations, the city

provided a 'rational' environment for the operation of the new relations of production, and also reinforced these relations. But this territorial solution was inherently limited, and laid the basis for new tensions in the relationships between production and reproduction, and in women's lives. These limits, and the new tensions in the productive reproductive relationship, are the subject of the next section.

5. Limits of the Solution

The spatial rationalization of the industrial city into specialized productive and reproductive complexes provided a means of alleviating some of the most obvious symptoms of the 'urban problem'. And because this movement alleviated symptoms of 'inadequate' reproduction (from the perspective of both workers and industrialists) it was also a partial, short term alleviation of the 'fundamental' problem: co-ordinating production and reproduction.

This spatial rationalization, and its social aims as expressed in urban reform, was limited and ultimately contradictory. Collective response to the problem was formulated within the confines of the environmentally deterministic urban reform movement, which saw the city as a larger form of industrial firm. This is hardly surprising, since urban reform and urban planning developed in response to the crisis engendered by the conflict between the private

rationality of the industrial firm, and the aggregate chaos of the general conditicns of production and labour, reproduction in the city which industrializatien had produced. The economically 'raticnal' firm was not only symbolic of a new age of 'progress', but it was an cbvious model upon which to reorganize the sccial division cf labour and its reproduction. This attempt at coordination through duplication was a reasonable response, especially since the technical division of labour in the firm had presupposed and expanded the social division cf labour, a pcint which was not lost on urban reformers (Burdih, 1917, p. 23).

But it was an extremely myopic analogy. The imperatives of reproduction and production, although mutually dependent, were opposed in their structure, activities, and value systems. Private corporaticns ran according to individual profit motivated criteria of efficiency, based on minimization of cost. There were objective and mcre or less universal social and technical criteria for the breakdown of the productive process into machine regulated detail tasks. within its sphere cf operation, the firm exerted control over technical, material and human inputs and outputs. It could plan and predict, to some extent, the repercussions of its actions. Although it operated with an eye tc market conditions, the firm enjoyed a virtual monopoly within the space of its productive process.

The city, on the other hand, expressed a combination of productive and reproductive imperatives, the aggregate outcome of thousands of individual decisions. Urban planning was specifically concerned with collective planning of the aggregate chaos of the outcomes of these private decisions; ensuring that overall conditions ran smoothly. And the preconditions of industrial production for which state planning was responsible were necessarily ordered according to non-economic criteria. The state was most active, most 'responsible' for planning those aspects of urban infrastructure and activity which COULD NOT be ordered according to profit criteria and industrial methods of efficiency: unprofitable public utilities and social services. Furthermore, its provision of these commodities was in response to demands from different sectors of capital (eg., industrialists and speculators), from social reformers, and from the working class. Its decisions were necessarily political as well as economic, or even, in many cases, primarily political. The fact that decisions were made in response to specific crises precluded any objective universal criteria. The model of industrial efficiency was thus limited in application, and in fact, dysfunctional. Its use limited state response in this period to assisting private development, generally on the terms laid down by private developers. State intervention merely followed, and helped co-ordinate processes of spatial rationalization already in progress. The environmental determinism which informed the social content of

the 'city as corporation' model further limited intervention, restricting it largely to manipulation of the physical base of the city.

Beyond the limits in scale and perspective evident here, beyond the lack of independent collectivist or even humanist criteria (which is hardly surprising) were the inherent limits of state intervention itself. We have noted that the state was the only institution capable of co-ordinating the new services to the labour force, and the only institution able to take on provision of unprofitable infrastructure necessary for the spatial rationalization of the city (Chapter 3, Section 3). It was able to do this precisely because it was not capitalist itself, but rather an institution which functioned to co-ordinate and ensure the reproduction of the general conditions of capitalist production . The capitalist state intervenes in specific conjunctures to co-ordinate the results of thousands of private decisions so that capitalist production as a whole can continue.

> Hence the capitalist State functions as a general palliative and steering device, treating practical problems that are immune to resolution via the spontaneous (and chaotic) rationality of capitalist civil society, and leading society onward into collectively rational options consistent with existing social and property relations (Scott and Roweis, 1977, p. 14).

State intervention is specific, proceeding not from some logic internal to the state, but from the need to respond to some

specific crisis, such as the 'urban problems' manifest in late nineteenth century Toronto.

> State intervention can only be understood as a continual stream of responses to the negative and disruptive outcomes of the unresolved - and in capitalist society, the unresolvable - contradiction between PRIVATIZED AND DECENTRALIZED DECISION MAKING (as imposed by the very logic of commodity production and exchange) and COLLECTIVE ACTION (as imposed by the imperatives of continued social cohesion) (Scott and Roweis, 1977, p. 15).

The state is therefore inherently limited to palliative and ameliorative measures, to smoothing over crises. It cannot reconcile the fundamental conflict which arises with capitalist production itself: that between the private, profit motivated means of producing and distributing wealth and the collective human needs of the labour force upon which the production of wealth depends. In nineteenth century Toronto, the state was caught between this private accumulation and distribution, and the increasing range of necessary collective services to urban citizens, the growing interdependence of conditions of urban life as a whole.

> Since the capitalist state does not have and can never have a mandate to change fundamental capitalist social and property relations it can only ever modify the parameters but not the intrinsic logic of the whole urban land development process. In the same way, the capitalist State can never finally resolve that central contradiction of commodity producing society, namely the contradiction between the imperatives of private versus collective action. State intervention derives its basic character from the necessity to intermediate this contradiction (by way of reactive planning) as and when it begins to undermine the continued success

> and viability of commodity production as a whole. In this process, the State continually recreates this contradiction at successively higher levels of complexity (Scott and Roweis, 1977, p. 31; emphasis deleted).

This contradictory position is reflected in the nature of state intervention into reproduction. This intervention was reactive, and short term. It was guided in large part by immediate social crises, by real or potential conflicts. As this intervention into reproduction was defined by short term manifestations of the underlying contradiction, it merely moved the problem around.

Action to co-ordinate urban spatial reorganization did alleviate immediate symptoms of the problem, but also laid the basis for reemergence of new symptoms. This form of spatial rationalization and state coordination of this process in industrializing Toronto were contradictory in at least two ways

. First, the expansion of direct intervention into education, health, and urban infrastructure 'politicized' more and more areas of life. Debates over these services and political demands for their provision brought into question more and more aspect of reproduction formerly seen as 'natural' or 'purely private'. Education, medical care, transport and even the sacroscant family, became areas where the basic urban conflict was increasingly evident and increasingly a matter for political struggle [14]. This politicization may, under certain circumstances, extend to a basic questioning of the

whole relation between production and reproduction, and certainly to demands for ever increased state intervention. Politicization of reprcduction is thus a self-reinforcing process. Such pcliticization was evident in Toronto, not only in the negative reactions cf laissez faire liberals (Cross, 1974, p. 75), but also in the growing demands by unions and reformers for state action in more and more areas (Chapter 3, Section 3). This politicization was most evident, and perhaps most 'dangerous', in the resistance of women to the 'God-given' ideal family (Chapter 3, Section 4).

Second, as we have seen, the increasingly complex industrial division of labour necessitated extended control over aspects of reproducing the labour force. This control was achieved directly through socialization of some aspects of reproduction and indirectly through the creation of a 'reproductive complex' for the home and through direction of household work and values by the market and by 'science'. The same forces which necessitated this socialization also necessitated a new role for the family, as a separate sphere of 'human and personal life', the negative image of productive relations. Thus, while the family was, on one level, drawn more closely into capitalist market processes, it was at the same time, becoming more insular, more unlike the productive sphere. Its value lay in being a NON-CAPITALIST ENTITY INTEGRATED INTO AND DEPENDENT UPON A CAPITALIST SOCIAL FORMATION. It was only as a non-capitalist, 'nonalienated'

space that the family could provide a basis for personal life, a means of primary socialization and a 'reward' for wage work. This position was necessarily one of some tension. For the individual it created temporal, spatial and psychological conflicts between the market imperatives of 'home', conflicts which were especially acute for women who worked in both spheres. The dislocation was manifest, on an aggregate level, in, for example, the commuter's rush hour, the 'manless' daytime suburbs, and the erosion of the father's role in child care and family life. The home was itself in a position of tension, its 'personal' values being moulded by the market and by the demands of the productive sphere, demands for a certain kind of worker, a certain consumption pattern and a certain type of family social behaviour. The forces directing home life were 'frozen' and reinforced by the homogeneous reproductive complex of the suburbs.

Spatial RATIONALIZATION created, on a mass basis, a modified form of the separate pre-capitalist bourgeois family, reproducing many of the ideal family's values. But by separating family life so distinctly from productive life, and placing the family in a position of dependency and intrinsic opposition to dominant market values, it created a new potential threat to the family. The progressive erosion of family functions, its growing spatial and ideological 'isolation' [15] in the twentieth century, laid the basis for the reemergence of women's 'discontent', the emergence of

renewed demands for a fuller participation, and demands for release from the suburban family 'trap' [16].

Thus while spatial RATIONALIZATION solved many immediate problems, through restructuring the relationship between production and reproduction, the nature of the solution laid the basis for new conflicts. The basic problem remained unresolved. In fact, the growing spatial and functional separation exacerbated the problem, forcing a search for new mechanisms of coordination, and new ways of co-ordinating production and reproduction in the dichotomized city in the twentieth century.

Just as the forces of capitalist industrial production necessitated a new urban landscape, expressing the new relationship between production and reproduction, so this relationship and its landscape expression laid the basis for an altered 'feminine role'. This is the subject of the concluding section of this chapter.

6. The New Woman

What were the effects for women of these changes in the productive-reproductive relationship? Generally, the industrial restructuring of this relationship had two major effects on women's social position. First, by increasing the separate and dependent nature of household work and of women's

roles within the household, it lay the basis for the twentieth century 'housewife' role. Second, the separation of the two spheres provided the conditions for the diffusion of a loosened, but still restrictive 'feminine ideal' to more and more women, and reinforced the hegemony of this ideal in all aspects of women's lives. We shall examine these two interrelated influences in turn.

a. The Housewife

The expansion of direct educational and health services to the working class, and the facilitation of working class suburbanization, undoubtedly made the working class family, and its 'housewife' more comfortable and healthier. But the provision of these goods and serivces was administered in such a way as to erode the family's control over production and some aspects of reproduction, without providing an alternative to the family. The work that remained for women in the household was increasingly controlled by the influence of 'science' and the commodity market. The dependent, non-capitalist family in a capitalist society laid the basis for the dependency of the twentieth century 'housewife' role

The housewife role had three defining characteristics, all of which arose in this period of early industrialization. First, domestic work did not itself produce commodities of direct economic value. Household work was now a service,

enabling others to engage in work for wages. The activities of domestic work were regulated by the need to maintain an employable 'breadwinner' and to bring up children who would be employable in the future. Second, the housewife came to act as the main consumer for the family. The commodities used in her work; food, clothing, and household appliances were purchased primarily by her, outside the home. Yet despite its importance to her role, the housewife had little direct control over decisions as to what products and services were available. The separation of the household and its non-market norms, rendered her a largely passive respondent to an external market. Her own purchasing was further restricted by the limits of the family income, a factor over which she, in her role as a housewife, had little direct control. Third, housework was unwaged, in a society where wage work was becoming the dominant norm, and where people were being measured according to their earning capacity. Domestic work was not regarded as 'real' work. Housewives in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canada had no right to even the minimal benefits provided by private and community forerunners of Workman's [sic] Compensation and Unemployment Insurance. They had little legal protection in their working environment (Martin, 1900). There were no universal safety standards or fifty hour weeks in the home. The housewife's relation to the economy was mediated through the contract of marriage. Denied direct economic or legal status, domestic work thus became socially 'invisible', seen as marginal and 'valueless'. This was reinforced through

the physical isolation of the suburban reproductive complex from the centres of productive work, its association with leisure time and personal life, and further by the physical isolation of the home worker in her single family home.

The common quality of these characteristics is dependency. The sphere within which the housewife worked, the home in the suburban reproductive complex, was increasingly a dependent and subordinate one. The household had become almost completely dependent on wages and goods from outside the home to carry on its work, and these set the limits to what it was possible to do in the home. The activities of the housewife were subordinated to the demands of the wage sector for a particualr kind of labour. Women working in this dependent and separate sphere, came to be seen as dependents: in their activities, in their legal and economic status, and eventually in their character and 'nature'.

b. Woman as Dependent

This very real legal and economic dependency and 'separateness' of women's household role was reflected in the growing hegemony of the definition of women as DEPENDENT BY NATURE. Women, identified with a dependent and subordinate sphere, became separated from the definition of 'man'. A distinct and separate definition of women's nature developed, one which incorporated the character of her domestic work.

Both the constituent elements in the separation, production and reproduction, and the characterization of women to which this separation gave rise, came to appear as independent and 'natural' entities. This "[served] to legitimize and finalize men's and women's spheres of activity, knowledge, skills and consciousness as discrete." (Smith, 1973, p. 30). Woman's historically specific identification with a dependent reproductive space became translated into a biological and therefore inescapable definition of women's nature, a definition in which reproductive service and dependent behaviour was determinant [17].

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century urban spatial separation of domestic work from wage work thus reinforced an increasingly rigid definition of what women 'were' and what they were 'supposed to be doing'. The formalized feminine ideal of the pre-industrial bourgeois woman, although expanded and loosened, was universalized in its altered form. The growing complexity of the social division of labour had rendered the family more dependent, and more specialized. In its more specialized form, its members needed to be reintegrated - to use Parsonian language - into the "upgraded normative order of this more differentiated system." (Parsons, 1961, p. 93). This integration involved 'legitimization', the development of new and more specialized roles, and the development of their ideological justification. As the social division of labour became more complex and more

specialized, so did the sex roles.

> Perhaps the most important focus of this new legitimation is the new conception of the adequate, socially desirable man, particularly as organized about the balancing of the two differentiated spheres of performance and responsibility, in his occupational role on the one hand, in his family on the other. If this is the case, then clearly there are extremely important concomitant problems of change in the feminine role. The first stage of these probably concerns the ideological legitimation of a more differentiated femininity than before, namely that even in a family which has lost its function it is justified for the woman to devote herself primarily to husband and children. A later phase involves various forms of community participation and occupational involvement (Parsons, 1961, p. 93) [18].

It was in the nineteenth century that the definition of women by their reproductive capacity, as being fundamentally different from men, as the antithesis of the 'real world of business', gained wide social currency. Initially, this was a definition primarily applied to, and fitting, the social role of bourgeois women in their separate families. But the threat to the family, the growing number of women in the labour force in contractual wage labour independent of the family, led to the development of integrative mechanisms which extended this feminine role ideologically and in concrete terms, to all women. According to Alison Hayford, this was "the first time in history that there arose a widespread belief that women should not be involved in any form of productive labour." (Hayford, 1974, p. 15).

The new legitimation of this role in the transitional period was rephrased and reinforced by psychological science in the twentieth century. Modern 'psychological explanations' of the female nature have a ring reminiscent of Bliss Carmen and Reverend Sedgewick (Chapter 3). Bruno Bettelheim says

> we must start with the realization that women ... want first and foremost to be womanly companions of men and to be mothers (Weisstein, 1969, p. 143).

And from Erik Erikson we learn that

> Mature womanly fulfillment rests on the fact that a woman's ... somatic design harbours an 'inner space' destined to bear the offspring of chosen men, and with it, a biological, psychological, and ethical commitment to take care of human infancy.' (ibid., p. 144).

This growing differentiation and restricted definition of women penetrated outside the household. It influenced the position and occupational pattern of women's wage work. We have seen how women entered into the productive sphere as subordinates and often in female 'occupational ghettos' - low skilled, poorly paid corollaries of traditional household work. (Chapter 3, Section 4). This pattern persisted into the twentieth century. Women in the labour force are still concentrated in jobs which correspond to their domestic roles. Women continue to provide the bulk of the labour force in the public corollaries of services performed in the home (for example, waitressing, elementary school teaching, nursing, etc.,) or in sectors manufacturing articles formerly produced in or intended for, the home (light consumer goods, production,

textiles manufacture, food processing etc.,). The large number of women in clerical work provide for the corporate structure the detailed daily mainterance housewives provide in the family (Labour Canada, 1973, pp. 46-49; Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1970, pp. 52-159).

The dependency and subordination that are concomitants of the domestic role are also evident in women's wage work. A 1969 survey of 'white collar' workers in British Columbia (Marchak, 1977) indicated that women were concentrated in jobs with restricted responsibility. They had lower control over task content and made fewer decisions in performance of their tasks than did men. The most important skills for performing their jobs were more often those associated with domestic work: repetitive detailed maintenance and the operation of simple machines (Marchak, 1977, p. 150). The low skill non-responsible nature of women's work, coupled with their irregualr work histories, results in a wage scale which is consistently lower than that of men (Labour Canada, 1973, pp. 69-121; McDonald, 1977).

The territorial separation of productive and reproductive work in the nineteenth century city laid a concrete basis for a formalization of the conflict in women's dual role. By the early twentieth century, woman's dual role as a wage earner and a housewife resulted in a dialectic reinforcement of her status as a dependent and a subordinate. The assumption that all

women had a primary job in the home provided a justification for maintenance of the occupational discrimination and the low wage structure imposed on women in the labour force, and contributed to women's acquiescence to the situation. Conversely, the nature of the tasks that women performed in the labour force reinforced their definition as dependents, and their low wage structure reinforced their economic dependency [19].

Thus, in all aspects of their lives, women were defined not only as different from, but as subordinate to and dependent on, men. The socially necessary character of women's domestic role became obscured and devalued in its isolation and invisibility. The dependency of the reproductive space became manifest as the social and economic dependency of individual women on individual men. This subordination assured the continued performance of the socially necessary work of reproduction, ensured that what was done in the home was done as a means to the maintenance of capitalist conditions of production as a whole, and further ensured that women would continue to provide cheap, reserve labour.

The dependency of the household and women's domestic role, and the hegemony of this dependency in all aspects of women's lives were clearly manifest and clearly reinforced by the spatial separation of production and reproduction into specialized territorial enclaves. And, at the same time,

women's performance of these roles, as housewives and as wage earners, strengthened the legitimacy of this spatial separation. Women's domestic work, as well as their wage and or volunteer work in teaching and community service activated the reproductive complex, gave it vitality and legitimacy as the centre of personal life and reproductive activity. Therefore, while the suburban complex provided a basis and rationale for their unwaged domestic role of family service and psychological support, and for their dependent dual role, women's clearly defined social nature and social role was a further legitimation of this new spatial rationalization. Women's industrial social roles were thus structured and maintained by a dialectic between spatial organization and women's own activities.

The dependency and subordination of women was essential to the smooth functioning of capitalist industrial reproduction as a whole. While in the era of small-scale, self-regulating pre-industrial production, the mechanisms of personal domination and community custom and sanction ensured appropriate fulfillment of reproductive work, and its co-ordination with production, industrial co-ordination needed impersonal, large-scale controls. The spatial separation of the reproductive from the productive complex, and the spatially reinforced dependence of the home and the housewife were among such mechanisms.

N. E. S. Griffiths, concluding a discussion on the experiences of nineteenth Canadian women says,

> the growth of prejudice and discrimination against women is part and parcel of an attempt to cope with the problems that faced people as their lives were affected by actions over a wider territory and a wider sphere (Griffiths, 1976, p. 145).

The inability of nineteenth-century urban dwellers to understand and control the city led to a rigid categorization of its elements, including its human population. Laissez-faire in the economy had its negative image in the precisely defined family in a precisely defined residential locality, built around a vacuous and restrictive feminine ideal. This precision and restriction were rationalized and universalized in the development of the suburban 'reproductive complex'. The new city provided an environment in which opportunities and constraints conformed to the new feminine role, encouraging the activities which constituted the social definition of this role.

There is no denying that the physical comfort, and probably the emotional satisfaction of a full time suburban housewife in in 1910 far exceeded that of a woman of the 1880s with a dual role of twelve to fifteen hours of sweat shop labour and the care of a family in a one-room central city cottage. There is no denying that the period of transition saw a tremendous improvement in working conditions in both the home

and the workplace, and an improvement of hours and wages in the latter, if not the former [20]. There is no denying that this period also saw a successful struggle for greater political, educational, social and occupational freedom for bourgeois women, and to a lesser extent for working class women. But these gains were the result of long and difficult struggles, on the part of working class women and men, and on the part of enlightened bourgeois women (and a small number of bourgeois male reformers). For women in this period, the choices were never clear cut, and the gains were never an unmixed blessing. Throughout the period of industrialization, the alternatives were always contradictory. The direct socialization of traditional household services and manufacture lightened women's workload. But it also eroded her 'traditional sphere', the work upon which her social position and status in the community had been based. The concomitant opening of job opportunities for women provided the means of some potential independence, especially for single women. But it was a replacement of the bonds of family control with those of direct control of production in the capitalist workplace. As E. P. Thompson, speaking of women's entry into the wage sector in Britain points out, "The new independence ... which made new claims possible, was felt simultaneously as a loss in status and in personal independence. Women became more dependent upon the employer or labour market." (Thompson, 1966, p. 416). To the extent that women followed their traditional work into the productive sphere, they did so as subordinates in the

capitalist labour process. By doing for wages what they had done traditionally done at home, they thus reinforced the erosion of the remaining household tasks, as well as reinforcing their own subordinate status in the productive process and creating low skill, poorly paid female 'occupational ghettos'. More comfortable homes and services to the labour force were accompanied by increasing household dependency and isolation. The 'solution' to one set of problems laid the preconditions for new ones.

These conflicts were a result of the basic conflict between the needs of a private, market oriented productive sphere and an increasingly 'public' and personally oriented reproductive sphere. From the advent of capitalism, women's social lives were defined by and carried out in the centre of this conflict. Industrialization altered the nature of the conflict, and women's responses further altered the relationship between production and reproduction. But the changes in the relationship, and in women's roles did little to alter the root of the problem, and in fact, laid the basis for recreating conflicts in a new form.

A feminist geographer, Alison Hayford, said in 1974:

> At the present time [women's] positions in the larger society are ambiguous; enough of the old ideology of the household and of its control functions remain to limit their ability to function fully within the network of productive relations which dominate society.

> The need to cope with strict spatial segregation of functions, without having the means of freedom to move from space to space, impose tremendous stress upon most women. The impossibility of meeting the demands of either the public or the private spheres of activity creates intolerable contradictions. Women do not have the same freedom to move in space or to organize space that men have; at a time of great change in their roles they have no power with which to effect the course of that change, whether within the bounds of the capitalist system or outside it (Hayford, 1974, p. 17).

The roots of these concerns, which are echoed in a non-normative manner in the work of many writers on the geography of women [2] were expressed in the landscape and activity of early twentieth century Toronto. The conflicts in women's roles are spatially manifest, and this very concrete manifestation 'freezes' the conflict, so to speak. The partial and ambiguous 'solutions' themselves are 'frozen', creating the basis for re-emerging symptoms of the same problem, the co-ordination of a separated and increasingly socialized reproductive sphere with a dominant productive sphere based on private value accumulation and distribution.

The conflicts in women's position do not reemerge in an identical form. And the changes in the conflicts are partly a function of women's active response within an altering productive-reproductive relationship. Just as the late nineteenth-century spatial RATIONALIZATION laid the basis for a new feminine role and new dependency in this role, so it laid the basis for a more comprehensive and searching questioning of women's social position in the late twentieth century.

The demands of nineteenth-century feminists and union women were, by and large, demands for palliative reforms, demands engendered by the erosion of the old self-regulating productive-reproductive relation. Although they were revolutionary in their context, they were necessarily constrained by the conditions from which they arose, and they were absorbed by the new industrial role granted women. This new role was accompanied by an increasing 'politicization' of reproduction as a whole, and the creation of a non-capitalist enclave in the home, increasingly dependent within the capitalist social formation. The tensions engendered by these contradictory developments laid the basis for a twentieth-century feminist analysis and feminist action which has as its first objective, overcoming the fundamental separation of production and reproduction [2a]. And such an objective leads to more penetrating and all-embracing questions of capitalist social relations as a whole, and to a necessarily more sweeping and perhaps revolutionary series of demands on the part of women.

Chapter IV Notes

1. For an analysis of the concept of urban degeneracy, and its social influence, see Stedman Jones, 1976, Chapter 6.

2. There is considerable evidence from European cities that slum populations had higher infant mortality rates. (Engels, THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND, Chapters 1 and 2; Oakley, 1976, p. 48). There is also some Canadian evidence that working class families were smaller than bourgeois families. (Cross, 1974, p. 155; Katz, 1975, p. 234; Kealey, 1974, p. 18). Sources also show that marriage and death rates varied with occupation and income. The poor married later and died younger (Katz, 1975, p. 257; Weber, 1899, p. 367). The extent to which these are purely 'urban' problems is, however, questionable.

3. For analysis of the urban reform movement in Canada, and its expression in Toronto, see for example, Clark, 1898; Harney and Troper, 1975, p. 257; Weber, 1977; and Woodsworth, 1911.

4. Urban reform also concentrated on related activities of 'cleaning up' and professionalizing city government. (Rutherford, 1974, p. xx; Weaver, 1977, pp. 409-412).

5. For example, in 1889, the ward system was restructured and in 1897 a 'Board of Control' established.

6. In 1860, Toronto had 6 miles of street car track carrying an average of 2000 persons per working day. By 1891, there were 68.5 miles of track in the city, carrying between 50,000 and 60,000 people per working day (Goheen, 1970, pp. 71-2).

7. Suburbanization did not disperse the 'casual' labour force, the unskilled lumpen, who remained concentrated in the core. See Section 4, part c, of this chapter.

8. This policy of separation is reminiscent of the earlier, semi-feudal separation of 'deserving' from 'undeserving' poor.

9. Of course, the process was not as clear cut as this. But it is possible to argue that the reproductive complex of the residential neighbourhood "differentiated according to provision of schools, clinics, open space, and other facilities, law enforcement zoning policies [at a later date] etc.... is crucial to the reproduction of labour power." (Pickvance, 1978, p. 26). See also, Harvey, n.d. Further, the relative status of suburban and 'inner city' residents certainly conformed to this pattern in late nineteenth century Toronto.

10. For discussion of the development and role of the reserve army of labour, see Braverman, 1974, Chapter 17; and Marx, CAPITAL Volume I, Chapter 25.

11. The rising level of organization of women in the labour force in the mid twenieth century, especially in the traditionally 'feminine' sectors, may pose a real threat to this wage differential. It may also pose a threat to women's domination of these traditionally poorly paid sectors.

12. In absolute terms, of course, the process was, and is, not all that smooth. And it has tended, historically, to become less and less smooth. But unemployed housewives still cause less social disruption than a comparable number of unemployed 'family breadwinners', (partly due to the ideological conflicts of the dual role), and the wide range of potentially available skills possessed by housewives is more easily and quickly available than training a comparable number of young people to fill job openings.

13. These "many trades" were largely the newly created 'female occupations' (see Chapter 3, Section 4). The same report mentions labour intensive 'female' sectors such as textiles and garment trades, food processing, laundries and light household manufacture (Cross, 1974, p. 121).

14. Lojkine (1972) discusses this process of 'politicization' as do Habermas, 1973 and Scott and Roweis, 1977.

15. Isolation of the family is relative, understandable only as a historical development from the self-regulating pre-capitalist family. Here isolation refers to the social definition of the family and of 'home life' or 'personal life', as a sphere outside the main economic business of society. This is reinforced by the physical separation of the home from the centres of economic decision making. For a fuller discussion see Benston, 1969; Morton, 1970; Vogel, 1973; Zaretsky, 1974.

16. Some of the classic expressions of this re-emergence of 'discontent', the forerunner of the late twentieth century feminist movement are Betty Friedan's THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE (Dell, 1963), Juliet Mitchell's WOMAN'S ESTATE (Penguin, 1966) and items in Robin Morgan's SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL (Vintage, 1970). Altbach, (1970) is a good annotated bibliography of this early literature.

17. It can be argued that a restricted definition of women's nature also imposed restrictions on men. Men were cut off from free expression of 'feminine' qualities and restricted to a distorted definition of independent, 'tough' productive 'masculinity'.

18. This is not the place for a tirade on Parsonian theory of the family. However, it is esential to note that although this analysis of increasing differentiation is accurate, what is problematic is the assumption that this is a 'higher order', a realization of what is intrinsic in human society and human nature, that this is inevitable. Implicit in all Parsonian structuralism is the idea that whatever the conditions of their lives, people are not responsible, nor can they change their conditions. This is teleology, verging on determinism, and finally reaches determinism in the structuralist analysis of the legitimation and differentiation of the 'feminine role'. See for example, Parsons, 1961 and Betty Friedan on Parsons in the FEMININE MYSTIQUE, Chapter 3.

19. This situation has changed only superficially in the latter twentieth century. Despite the fact that in 1972 women represented 33.2% of the Canadian labour force and 37.1% of Canadian women over 14 years of age were in the labour force (Labour Canada, 1973, p. 3) there is still an assumption that women are primarily homemakers, and should be treated accordingly (Marchak, 1977, p. 150; Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1970, pp. 52-104).

20. There is considerable evidence to suggest that housewives work just as many hours as did their late nineteenth century counterparts. The declining number of domestic servants lengthened hours of work for women of the bourgeoisie and better paid working class sectors (Leslie, 1974). For all women, the nature of housework changed, to involve more service and less manufacture. See for example, Ehrenreich and English, 1975; Morton, 1970; Oakley, 1976; Schwartz, 1974; Wright, 1975. See also Baker, Elizabeth, TECHNOLOGY AND WOMEN'S WORK and Oppenheimer, Valerie, THE FEMALE LABOUR FORCE IN THE UNITED STATES.

21. See for example: Andrews, 1976; Everitt, 1974; Hanson, 1975; Loyd, 1975; Michelson, 1973; Rengert, 1975.

22. Overcoming this separation demands a new synthesis of productive and reproductive activity. Minimally, this means the regulating of the production of goods and services according to human needs, not market criteria. A 'new synthesis', and a strategy for its achievement is a major point of debate in socialist feminist literature. See for example: Bridenthal, 1976, Conference of Socialist Economists, 1975; Harrison, 1973; Morton, 1970; Seccombe, 1974 and 1975; Smith, Joan, 1977.

# CHAPTER V ASSESSMENT: FROM THE 'NEW CITIZENSHIP' TO 'BEYOND THE FRAGMENTS'

In many ways this paper reveals as much about the historical period in which it was written as it tells us about Toronto between 1880 and 1910. It was written at a time when the social conflicts in women's lives, which had given rise to the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s, were being articulated in a theoretically commodious and discerning feminist analysis. This analysis was beginning to provide the motive power for a colonization and interrogation of the paradigms and content of academic disciplines. This paper was motivated and shaped by these developments: first by the feminist analysis of the late 1960s and 1970s; and second by the ensuing insinuation of the 'woman question' into geography in the development of the 'geography of women'.(1)

The influence of feminism was a positive one. By politically and theoretically articulating the emerging 'discontent' of mid-twentieth-century women, it made visible and comprehensible the 'discontent' of women in nineteenth-century Toronto. Feminism also provided an impelling connection between the research project and my own political concerns and activities. The geography of women was a negative motivation. Although I welcomed its growth (not least for providing me with a recognized shorthand with which to describe my research), my welcome was more to the field's promise than to the work produced. In most of the extant work standard geographic methods were applied to the measurement of women's spatial patterns, with the result that questions about women appeared to be squeezed into spatial frameworks inappropriate for encompassing or comprehending them. In much of this work, the energy and complexity of women's activities were not only cramped and deformed. They seemed to be petrified in and to further petrify a 'given' urban structure.

As a result of these converging influences, the project of this paper became the application to the city of the feminist analysis of

production and reproduction of labour. This was not only an attempt to understand both changes in women's social position brought on by industrialization and the connections to our own period, but was also an explicit challenge to the theoretical cowardice of the geography of women. The examination was informed by the exploration of an underlying methodological question: how do we approach the historical geography of an industrializing city from the perspective of women's social position? The characteristic distinguishing women's social position from that of men was defined as the primacy of their responsibility for reproductive work. The historical development of women's social position was defined as the result of changes in the relationship of reproductive work to social production as a whole. The paper thus examined the city of Toronto as an expression and reinforcement of the changes in the productive-reproductive relationship which arose with industrialization. These changes were assessed from the perspective of their influence on women's social role.

Throughout the research, I was struck by the parallels between what I was reading in the TORONTO STAR every morning with what I was reading in the archives every afternoon. While recognizing that my selection and my attribution of precedence in the latter material was influenced by the former, the changes in women's activity patterns and the rhetoric of protest and reaction appeared seductively similar. I became increasingly interested in discovering how and why the events I was documenting had generated the problems that contemporary women experienced.

My fascination with parallels shifted to what Raymond Williams calls "points of CONNECTION, where a version of the past is used to ratify the present and to indicate directions for the future" (Williams, 1977, 116). In effect, I was beginning to ask HOW we had lived out the early twentieth century 'solutions' and WHY this was creating a new series of conflicts.

This question was beyond the scope of the paper, and I compromised by boxing it into a nascent Marxist structuralism(2) and by insisting in my conclusion that the paper was "only a beginning, a beginning from which hopefully new directions for more comprehensive and more theoretically perceptive research could emerge". I now realize the fact that I never clearly formulated this question was an indication that events and analysis had not developed to the point where it was historically available. Both events and analysis have now overtaken the original question, and the complexity and importance of the project is becoming daily more evident.

I shall insist (ruefully) that the present venue is 'not the place' to deal fully with these issues. Rather than rewriting the entire thesis, or subjecting it to an extended critique, for the present, I shall discuss briefly some of the political and theoretical developments which provide a context within which to assess this paper. I shall first summarize the paper and outline some of the concrete events in women's lives in the last four decades which constitute the current 'woman question' and which motivate feminist analysis. Second, I shall discuss some developments in socialist feminist and Marxist theory which have (allowed) and impelled the formulation of new questions. I shall conclude with general suggestions about how the problems and the perspective outlined in this paper might be extended in a move toward more sensitive and inclusive perspectives on urban development.

1. Women's 'Discontent' and the 'Woman Question'

a. Women in Industrializing Toronto

The initial chapter of the paper examined the manifestation of the productive-reproductive relationship in pre-industrial Toronto. Toronto's pre-industrial economy was a colonially dominated commercial one, augmented by independent commodity production. Throughout the pre-industrial period, the expanding scale and specialization of productive activity led

to its growing spatial and functional separation from the activities of reproducing the labour force. The family, which in pre-capitalist and early capitalist rural economies, had been the basic unit of both production and reproduction, became more exclusively concerned with reproducing the personnel of economic life and reproducing class relationships. The degree of separation and insularity varied over different urban classes, a variation expressed and reinforced by changes in the social landscape of the city. The emerging commercial bourgeoisie developed specialized and territorially discrete productive and reproductive districts. The latter was built around the 'ideal family' centred on an 'ideal woman', and complemented by educational and social services to assist in reproducing the city's commercial leaders. Artisanal families, producing commodities for local markets, retained closer spatial and functional integration of workshop and home. The commercial export-oriented economy offered little steady, socially 'valuable' work to unskilled workers. Families of unskilled workers became 'units of survival', with little spatial or social connection between their 'working lives' and their home lives. In fact, they experienced considerable friction between these two aspects of their lives. Women in these families especially had conflicting dual roles.

The advent of industrialization restructured the productive process. Value was now produced in the manufacture of commodities, a manufacturing process which pre-supposed a healthy, literate and disciplined labour force, reproduced in the requisite industrial divisions. Reproduction of this labour force necessitated the expansion of direct services to the labour force and a restructured family. These needs were mutually contradictory. Women's active resistance to the erosion of traditional family functions, and the hegemony of the eroded family in their lives severely threatened the family as an agent of reproduction. This problem, which was exacerbated by unprecedented demands on urban space and resources

brought on by the industrial concentration of production and the labour force, in the city, was recognized, by the 1880s, as a 'social problem' and defined in urban terms. Industrialists and reformers realized that the reproduction of the labour force which produced their profits was a matter of grave 'social concern'. The nature of the capitalist relations of production precluded an automatic market mechanism to co-ordinate the demands of industry with the responses of the reproductive sphere. Therefore the state intervened to alleviate the 'urban crisis'. Within the context of the urban reform movement the state co-ordinated the 'spatial rationalization' of the city by private developers into specialized reproductive complexes in the suburbs and specialized productive complexes in the central industrial commercial areas. The suburban reproductive complex provided for a new 'scientifically' organized family, concerned with 'personal life' and supported by a series of direct institutional services to help reproduce the labour force. As these suburbs were segregated by occupation, they provided a rough means of controlling the reproduction of the labour force into its requisite divisions. Spatial rationalization thus provided a partial, short term resolution of the 'problem'. It also laid the basis for the modern 'housewife' role for women and for the hegemony of the dependency associated with this role in all aspects of all women's lives.

But spatial rationalization merely alleviated symptoms of the problem. It did not attack the fundamental problem: that of the contradiction between the private means of accumulating and distributing social wealth and the increasingly collective nature of the general conditions of production, including the conditions of labour force reproduction. Spatial rationalization laid the basis for the re-emergence of new conflicts. These took the form of increasing 'politicization' of productive activity and infrastructure, and of tensions created by a 'non-capitalist' family increasingly dependent upon the capitalist market for its survival. These problems laid

the basis for the re-emergence of feminism in the mid-twentieth century.

b. The 'new' woman question

The reemergence in the early 1960s of the 'woman question' as a socially articulate 'problem' expressed the fact that changing social conditions were leading to conflicts in women's everyday lives which the prevailing ideology about 'women's place' could no longer mask. The 'solution' of the early twentieth century had produced conditions which were incubating a new 'discontent'.

On the surface, the problem had the same elements in combination: a growing and sex-specific labour force participation which indicated and furthered the increasing socialization of community life. The demographic trends of the late nineteenth century had taken the form of smaller families, compressed maternity and longer life expectancy for women.(3) In 1968: Myrdal and Klein point out:

> Whereas fifty years ago, a woman spent on the average fifteen years of a considerably shorter life span in actual child-bearing and nursing of babies, the corresponding average is three and a half years today. Assuming she marries at the age of 22, this represents only 6-7 per cent of the remaining years of her life. The family functions of women, for which ... women were set aside, have diminished radically. (Myrdal and Klein, 1968, 20)

Once again, the growing socialization of reproductive activities and the expansion of capital into the production of mass consumption commodities created demands for labour. These new goods and services and women's altered life cycles 'freed' women to fill the demand, the 'pull' factor of available jobs was reinforced by a 'push' factor - the desire to supplement family earnings in order to purchase the new goods and services women were producing. Once again, women's entry into the labour force signified and reinforced changes both in the wage labour process and in domestic/community work. Once again, women's dual role had the

effect of mutually reinforcing their disadvantaged position in the wage sector and in the community.

It was the numerical and structural extension of the dual role which had been incubated in the landscape of 'separate spheres'. The birth, of this dual role in the 1940s and 1950s and extension in the following decades demarcated a new adjustment in the productive-reproductive relation, a 'solution' to the problem of a growing need for wage Labour concomitant with a continued need for unwaged domestic work. The dual role developed in and depended on the patchwork city of 'separate spheres' tied together by public transit, transfer payments, commodity labour power and journey to work studies.

The dual role was also a source of new conflicts. It resulted in conflicts for women with dual roles who were moving between a boring lowpaid job in the wage sector and a demanding unwaged job in the family and community, and in conflicts for full-time housewives who, ideologically assaulted in their eroded households, were either bored or defensive(4). And while the dual role was increasingly necessary to the fine balance of circulation and transfers that co-ordinated and animated the 'dual role' city of separate spheres, it created conflicts here.

Cracks in this adjustment appeared in the early 1960s, but the whole edifice began to threaten collapse in the growing 'recession' of the 1970s(5). Cuts in social services meant that the family had to take on more jobs formerly done by state services. For example, the family becomes more responsible for the care of the elderly and handicapped as institutions for their care are closed or cut back. Deterioration in health and hospital services place a greater nursing burden on the family. Cut-backs in nursery care, raising of school entering age, the elimination of school meals and shorter school hours shift more responsibility for child care on to the family. (CIS, WOMEN UNDER ATTACK, 24-29). Cutbacks in council

housing construction and renovation and the selling of council properties lead to deteriorating conditions of concrete household labour for those in council housing and for those waiting, perhaps in vain, for council housing.

At the same time that the family is taking on more and more jobs, it has fewer and fewer resources with which to do them. Declining real wages exacerbate the difficulties of the housewife's job. She must work harder and buy fewer 'convenience' commodities and services. Her growing domestic responsibilities make it more difficult for her to take on wage work at a time when increasing responsibilities demand increasing family resources.

State cutbacks also decrease employment opportunities for women in the service sector, while a decreasing level of household consumption of commodities leads to layoffs in light manufacturing sectors.

Women are thus caught in a vicious circle, a direct outgrowth of the specific nature of their dual role. It is women who, by and large, are responsible for the increased family workload, for stretching out or compensating for declining family resources. And in taking on these new jobs, women are responding to cutbacks which decrease their own employment opportunities, decrease support services, and thus further erode family resources.

The difficulties experienced by families whose activities have come to rely on a balance of state services, supplementary wages and unwaged domestic work express themselves in a bewildering variety of urban problems and protests. These range from internal family violence and vandalism to politically conscious community movements.

They suggest that the nineteenth-century 'solution' of separate spheres is fracturing under diverse attacks, and that these converge and become visible as conflicts in women's lives.

The shifting of activities and social definitions which bemused,

disrupted and angered nineteenth-century urban dwellers is now visible to us as the transition toward a new relation of production and reproduction, a different city and new activity patterns.(6) However, it is not easy to 'collect' and explain these diverse and apparently disconnected activities in our own period.

Such 'collection' and explanation has only become possible with the emergence of an active and theoretically informed feminism.(7) Attempts to understand and to consciously alter the bewildering variety of problems that constitute the 'woman question' gave rise to socialist feminist analysis and moved socialist feminists toward an increasingly commodious and sensitive perspective. This unfoldment of socialist feminism indicates some points of convergence with 'other' areas of socialist analysis. The next section discusses these developments and suggests a 'theoretical location' for the woman question in urban analysis.

2. Socialist Feminist Analysis and Friends

a. The socialist feminist problematic

Women's disadvantages as wage workers, community members and state clients became 'women's issues' in their interrelation. They became 'political issues' with their expression in the feminist problematic, and the terrain of the political extended from the shop floor to the kitchen to the bedroom (managing for a time to skip the academy). What Betty Frieden had called "the problem that has no name" gave rise to 'women's liberation', an attempt to redress 'inequalities' in women's position through challenging and invading formerly male preserves. Women's liberation was an attempt to make women 'equal' within the confines of capitalist social relations. Women demanded, and to a limited extent succeeded in gaining, legal equality in marriage and the workplace. Women demanded, and again to some extent succeeded, in creating, alternatives to

the conventional patriarchal nuclear family - whether through single parenthood, divorce or communal living. But the hollowness of formal and partial solutions became increasingly evident. For working-class women, wage work was a necessity, not a privilege, and the fact that more and more did it merely extended the conflicts of the 'double shift'. Equality in the wage workplace was largely an equal right with other women to the low wages and insecure tenure of feminized occupational ghettoes, coupled with an exhausting second shift of domestic work. For bourgeois women, the right to a 'real career' generally meant the sacrifice of a sustained and satisfying personal life.

As it became increasingly evident that solutions in one area of women's dual role merely exacerbated problems in others, women's liberation gave rise to feminism, an analysis which emerged from the realization that women's position is socially structured. The conditions and content of women's lives, and the myths and restrictions that bound these lives are not a function of simple 'male supremacy', nor an historical accident which can be eliminated by attacks on 'male' institutions of power. Rather, woman's position is created and changed by the functioning of society as a whole. This position is embedded in the process of reproducing capitalist social relations and is a component of such social reproduction. Changing this position necessitates an alteration in the fundamental social relations of life and work.

Socialist feminist analysis therefore is not only 'about' women. It is 'about' capitalist society as a whole, from the perspective of women's patterns of interaction. Women's patterns of interaction straddle the analytic wall between production and reproduction in a complex way. Therefore, socialist feminism calls for a new theoretical approach, a re-analysis of the whole of the content, structures and processes of social life, and the structures and processes of theory and theory formation.

Because as we look at society from a different perspective, all of its 'elements', activities and relations appear different.

As I have mentioned above, socialist feminists take as their starting point the relations between production and reproduction of labour power as they converge in the conditions of people's daily lives. Women's contemporary position is seen to structure and be structured by the interaction of greater social integration of these spheres with theircontinued separation in and through women's dual role. From this perspective women's dual role appears to arise out of the 'separate spheres' and to reproduce them as 'separate'. Simultaneously it indicates and creates greater interdependence between them.

In examining this process, socialist feminists are confronting the question of the 'contradictory unity' of capitalist society. This question has formed the major theoretical problem of Marxist analysis in the last five to ten years. Thus it provides a point of theoretical convergence between feminism and other 'areas' of political economy.

b. The context of 'contradictory unity'

The same conditions which laid the basis for socialist feminist analysis - the interdependent restructuring of the labour process and of community life have also led to a revival of historical materialist method and political economy approaches in social science(8). A generation of new Marxists has shifted its focus to areas relatively neglected in the classical Marxist tradition. This has resulted in attempts to formulate comprehensive political economy approaches from a variety of apparently discrete fields of interest - the state, ideology, collective consumption, the Labour process and class structure (and the woman question).

All these fields of analysis are unified by virtue of being both inspired and confounded by an unprecedented generalization of capitalist social relations in conjunction with a specific and changing separation

between various aspects of life. On the one hand, in Hirsh's words:

> The expanded reproduction of capital involves not only the tendency for the capital relation to be universalized, the generalization of the production of exchange values, the subsumption of ever more spheres of social production under capital and with that the determining imposition of capitalist class relations, but also the permanent transformation and technological revolutionalization of the labour process and its material basis. (Hirsh, 1978, 66-67)

On the other hand, in exploring this universalization, analysts and activists have 'discovered' profound and specific separations between the economic/political/ideological, between production/reproduction and labour power/consumption. These separations appear to proliferate with the generalization of capital relations.

Indeed they do, in that separations are constantly generated and changed by this process of universalization. Capitalist social relations are a complex and contradictory unity. Marx speaks of various 'moments' of social reproduction as "members of a totality, distinctions within a unity" (Marx, GRUNDRISSE, p.99). These constituent moments are articulated in contradictory forms of unity.(9) Thus we have a process of the constant generation and change of distinctions through the universalization of capitalist social relations.(10)

The expanded reproduction of capital tends to have the effect of widening and deepening the sphere of capital relations and state intervention, a constant shifting of the boundaries between 'private' and 'public', between 'productive' and 'reproductive' activities and experiences. These changes are created by new forms of activity creating new relations between the 'moments' within the unity. But while these activities are breaking down barriers between moments in some areas, they are reinforcing old divisions or creating new ones in other areas. And this constant shifting is taking place through a multitude of apparently disconnected encounters and events which may, in their totality, be demarcating a new relation between

production and reproduction.

Understanding and responding to these encounters and events is a formidable and perplexing task. It is also an imperative one, which calls for a theoretical and historical examination of this interdependence-separation as it is created, reproduced, and altered by the movements of capitalist society. Socialist feminist analysis has begun to explore this process as the variable, contradictory and mutating relation among the activities of producing the means of subsistence and reproducing the labour which creates and consumes them.

c. The dual role and 'contradictory unity'

Women's dual role created, and creates, new moments in the social totality and creates new combinations of old ones. In living out this role, women alter all these areas of life.

The labour processes of 'traditional' sectors were altered with the large-scale entry of women with major domestic responsibilities. New shift schedules, part-time work, new forms of 'sharing' tasks all acknowledged women's 'part-time' commitment to their wage jobs. Service and clerical sectors were expanded on the basis of the 'dual character' of female labour - the disadvantages accruing from women's double burden, and the advantages of 'cheapness' and 'flexibility' which also accrue from the dual role. While the wage labour process was being restructured around one part of woman's role, the other part, the family, was being restructured around the commodities and services she produced in her wage work and for which her wages helped to pay. Simultaneously, her wage work created a demand for and provided new or expanded state services (nurseries, school meals, etc.). It also altered the relations between and perception of the family and community.(11)

While it draws together and transforms all these areas, women's dual role is internally contradictory. Women's dual activities allow

and further social integration of all aspects of social life. These activities also reinforce specific separations in social life. In doing two separate jobs, women reproduce a division between home and wage workplace at the same time as they effect the balance between them. They also constantly recreate their own 'suitability' for each aspect of their dual role. In recreating the conditions and content of work in each area, women reinforce the conditions of their own oppression.

Yet neither this oppression, or the relations which constitute it are static. Sheila Rowbotham points out that 'oppression' is an idea that must be used carefully. An emphasis on oppression "fixes people in their roles as victim rather than pointing to the contradictory aspects of relationships which force the emergence of new forms of consciousness" (Rowbotham, Segal and Wainwright, 1979, 31). Women reproduce the separation between productive and reproductive activity while also living lives that deny the separateness of these activities. In living out this contradiction women constantly change the conditions and shift the parameters of 'production' and 'reproduction', of 'private' and 'public'. This alters the content and context of social labour in specific ways and forces "the emergence of new forms of consciousness", among the socialist feminist consciousness.

Nellie McClung fought for a 'New Citizenship' for women. This had many components and implications, which must have appeared disparate, and disconnected to McClung, her allies and her opponents. But for us, this new citizenship and the struggle to achieve it is 'common sense'. It appears as the combination and synthesis of all the legal, economic and moral prerequisites by which women assumed and lived out their new roles, separate but ostensibly equal. Somehow we have forgotten that it ever was, or could ever have been, different. This separation has proliferated until, in 1980, 2,000 people, personifying almost as many 'fragments'

of social struggle can gather together and discuss the possibilities and difficulties of going 'beyond the fragments'.(12) How did the new citizenship give way to the fragments?

The emergence of a functional, spatial and temporal separation between production and reproduction has become manifest and has been socially reproduced, as a complex and problematic separation between wage workplace and family-community; between 'work' and 'life'; between the economic moments of production and consumption; between logic and emotion; between men and women-children; between rationality and sexuality. This separation, emerging in the spatial expansion of late-nineteenth-century cities, has been extended and given form in contemporary cities and in our daily spatial behaviour. It has structured and fragmented our sense of history. It has shaped academic disciplines and 'special interest fields'. It has influenced the categories within which we appropriate experience and the terms with which we describe ourselves and address others. It has defined and separated areas of political strategy and activities. It has structured the processes through which we appropriate the environment and the form in which we utilize resources. It has imbued and educated our theoretical perspectives and our understandings of daily life.

In the process of becoming universal, this separation has become personally politically and theoretically naturalized to such an extent that it has become difficult to analyze it - difficult even to distance ourselves sufficiently to see the historical nature and social implications of its existence. It is so omnipresent that we forget it is there. This separation has become 'common sense'.

But the questionable comfort of such common sense has been actively denied to women. And it is more and more actively denied by feminist perspectives.

The gender category 'women' includes those people socially defined in terms of the area given to reproduction, encompassing the 'private' relations of family-community, 'life', consumption, emotion, other women-children, and sexuality.(13) These are, by implication or attribution, secondary to their 'opposites', dependent and reactive. But the daily lives of women constantly deny that these are separate relations, that they are 'private', 'secondary', 'dependent' or 'reactive'. Women know that the family and community are workplaces, in which work and life converge and consumption requires productive activity. Women know that the emotions of love and anger require the application of logic to the business of survival. Women know that men are also the 'other', sexually and rationally. Women know that all people know these things 'practically', in experience. Women also know that the separations are real, but permeable, and they penetrate and shift these divisions daily. And as they come to know these things 'discursively', they begin to act upon them deliberately and to control the process of change..(14)

Changes in the relations of various social moments of production and reproduction are created, more and more, in the growth of consciously political struggle in areas of life formerly seen as 'private' or 'natural'. These changes are demarcated by the fact that many of the struggles appear to incorporate a qualitively new dimension in their organizational structure and in their political priorities - a dimension which consciously disputes a simple and unchanging dichotomy of 'politics' and 'personal life'.

So the process of social reproduction and change is compounded by a self-conscious apperception of and action around the conditions of daily life. The contradictory unity moves through a dialectic of drawing out discursive consciousness from practical consciousness and applying this discursive knowledge to the alteration of experience. And this dialectic

is manifest in the appearance of the 'fragments', simultaneously knowing and denying we are fragments.

Neither the perspective informing the discussion of Toronto nor these suggestions on its extension have any pretensions toward providing 'answers' to the problems of how to go beyond the fragments. What I have suggested is that attempts to reintegrate women into urban history necessitate an urban analysis theoretically informed by socialist feminism, and that this constantly challenges the 'common sense' that fragments our social understandings. I shall conclude by suggesting some of the implications of extending this perspective into urban analysis.

3. The Last Word

I stated at the outset that the project of understanding women's position in urban development called for simultaneous examination of productive and reproductive activities. In an attempt to locate the "Points of connection" between early twentieth century 'solutions' and the conflicts in our own lives, the nature of the project has shifted. The creation and extension of women's dual role has 'come out of the ghetto', so to speak, and audaciously claimed a central part in the creation and change of capitalist social relations as a whole.

I am now suggesting that understanding urban development calls for consideration of the variable and contradictory relations between the activities which constitute production and those which constitute reproduction of labour power. It is the relations between these activities which constitute the gender category 'woman'. Women's roles in reproducing and changing these relations are especially prognastic.

The analysis which informed this discussion of nineteenth century Toronto allowed us to recognize the changes in women's activities as the transition to a new relation between production and reproduction of

labour power. New developments in socialist feminist and socialist theory as a whole have informed a new perspective. This recognizes women's activities as specific constituents of the contradictory unity of capitalist society. Women's dual activities are seen as a constant reproduction and alteration of social moments and a creating of new moments. And the contradictions in these activities have forced the development of an anti-hegemonic, discursive consciousness out of a practical consciousness that refutes the 'common sense' of 'separate spheres'.

The richness implied in the historical materialist concept of contradictory unity is beginning to leaven the work of political economists in various disciplines and even to stimulate 'cross-disciplines', as in the case of urban and regional studies. Socialist feminist discussions of the dual role have begun to specify the means by which this contradictory unity moves and some of the implications of this movement. But as the socialist feminist problematic has become bolder and larger it has also posed more searching questions to political economists in urban and regional studies.(15)

The socialist feminist perspective attributes a more historically active role to human agency, and a specific role to those people who occupy the constantly mutating gender category 'woman'. It thereby attributes a more profound historical responsibility to people, and within this, a specific responsibility to women. Priorizing human agency has wide ranging implications for our view of the 'social whole' and our understanding of the nature of 'social determination'.(16) It also loosens many of the categories of social anaylsis, including those which deliniate activities as 'productive' or 'reproduction of labour'. This loosening of abstract categories makes visible new concrete relationships and activities.

Perhaps most significantly, this perspective compells not only the re-examination of the structures and practices of our social world, but

a re-examination of the structures and practices of theory formation and of our day-to-day lives. Raymond Williams says:

> It is significant that much of the most accessible and influential work of the counter-hegemony is historical: the recovery of discarded areas, or the redress of selective and reductive interpretations. (Williams, 1977, 116)

Nowhere is this recovery and redress more necessary or more prolific than in the case of feminist history. The processes of recovery and redress are necessarily simultaneous. The "recovery" of women's specific activities and their reintegration into urban history entails the constant redress of 'common sense' interpretations.

The apparently primordial lament of 'never understanding women' has taken on a new dimension. The specific and complex activities and interactions that constitute the gender category 'woman' and that women reproduce daily cannot be understood through an analysis which sees only a 'productive part' or a 'reproductive part' (still less a 'consumption part'). It is becoming increasingly evident that they cannot be understood through an analysis which poses a simple conflict and adjustment between a given 'production' and a given and reactive 'reproduction of labour'.

'Understanding women' involves understanding the reproduction and change of the gender category woman and the social changes that the people who occupy this category effect. The ultimate objective underlying any socialist feminist work is an understanding directed toward and directed by action to change social relations in such a way that this change eliminates the restrictive effects of the gender category woman. The creation and change of gender categories is an aspect of social change. Therefore, 'understanding women' can only proceed through a perspective which simultaneously breaks down the gender categories of 'women' and 'men' and the social categories of 'production' and 'reproduction of labour', on all their levels, into the human activities and relations which constitute

them.

And this in turn presupposes and reaffirms a new understanding of social change. Changes in our activity patterns and in our relationships with other people are not a by-product of social change and of the struggle to create and control this change. They are the very stuff of which struggle and change are made, and toward which these move. From the contradictory choices and opportunities of the nineteenth-century relation of separate spheres, we have created the fragments.

The outstanding features of the fragments are our diversity and our weariness. The diversity is a mixed blessing. It is both a source of richness and a source of confusing particularism. The weariness is an unmixed curse. It stems from our loss of a sense of 'creating history'. We have negated or forgotten the scope of changes we have created and experienced in our lifetimes. Our own activities in time have become 'history', part of a "selective tradition" of common sense, as processed, diminished, distorted and inaccessible as McClung's new citizens. Our appropriation (or inability to appropriate) the environment has become 'space', as frozen immovable and nearly as invisible as Toronto in 1910.

The initiation of strategic activity presupposes a 'sociological imagination' - an ability to see ourselves and our activities in time and in the environment. Sustaining strategic activity requires a constant reaffirmation, interrogation and alteration of our imagination. Sociological imagination is not the exclusive domain of intellectual workers, nor is it wholly discursive. It is a basic human survival tactic and an active creator of the 'counter-hegemonic'.

Going beyond the fragments requires the application of a sociological imagination to the contradictory unity of the moments that make up our collective lives. Integrating these fragments into urban analysis requires an historical and geographic imagination. In the development of

this, the project of a feminist-informed urban history is a step in the right direction.

## NOTES CHAPTER V

1. For a bibliography of this literature see Loyd, 1976 and the Association of American Geographers series 'Geographic Research on Women'. Since this paper was written there has been some published (and a great deal of unpublished) debate on the status and method of the 'geography of women'. In Britain, see Tivers, 1978a and 1978b and Mackenzie, Foord and McDowell, 1980.

2. The functionalism which infects this entire paper (and debases the project) is explicable only as an ill-informed and uncritical adoption of Marxist structuralism. Structuralist analysis provided a welcome way of contextualizing the disorderly questions that women's patterns of activity raised and that 'common sense' and the base superstructure model divided. This was largely true because of the structuralist concept of the totality as "a number of distinct but interrelated instances, apart from the economy itself - the political, the ideological, the theoretical - none of which are reducible to the economic" (Callinicos, 1976, 41). This decisive break with the base superstructure model accounted for the growing importance of 'non-economic' factors and was both motivated by and encouraged a shift of focus to the political and ideological. It was here that many of the feminist questions appeared to be located. Tactically structuralist analysis was fruitful in pinning these questions down long enough for us to look at them. (See for example, Bridenthal, 1976; Mitchell, 1971; Saffioti, 1977). But it became increasingly evident that the feminist question, in this framework, was being reduced to 'the ideological', and simply being segmented in a new way. Perhaps more important, the political fatalism implied by structuralist analysis was antithetical to the feminist project.

3. For discussions of these developments in Britain see, for example Conference of Socialist Economists, 1978; Myrdal and Klein, 1968. For Canada, see Labour Canada, 1973; McDonald, 1977; Marchak, 1977.

4. The geography of women has documented that women as a whole have more restricted activity spaces than do comparable groups of men, and that such restrictions remain and may in fact be exaccerbated with women's entry into non-family roles while maintaining their domestic roles. See for example Andrews, 1976; Everitt, 1974; Hanson, 1975 and Michelson, 1973.

5. Some of these problems are documented in Counter Information Service Anti-reports Numbers 13 and 18 and in recent Conference of Socialist Economist work on the state (C.S.E., 1979a and 1979b).

6. There is some general agreement on the elements, development and implications of the 'suburban solution' as presented in this paper. See, for example, Richard Walker's discussion of suburbanization (Walker, 1978) which was 'in production' at the same time as this thesis and Zaretsky's pathbreaking discussion of 'personal life' (Zarestsky, 197 ).

7. There are two major feminist frameworks - radical and socialist feminism. I am primarily concerned below with socialist feminism, while recognizing that its development was and is predicated on some of the insights of the radical feminists, which priorize sex over class. Socialist feminism developed out of a historical synthesis (some would say opposition) of radical feminism, which priorizes gender over class and pre-feminist Marxism, which appears to 'naturalize' gender questions. See discussion of this synthesis in Z. Eisenstein (1979).

8. These developments have, until recently, been empirically influenced by the 'woman question' but largely uninformed by feminist theory. Their development has thus been parallel with feminist analysis rather than interactive (which has meant, in many cases, theoretical and tactical opposition).

Within urban literature, the recognition of this restructuring has taken two major forms, the development of more empirically inclusive frameworks which recognize both productive and reproductive activities and the development of political economy approaches which situate urban development within wider social processes of capitalist development. In the first group, I would include some work in the urban management/institutional literature, especially that of Pahl, 1970, Harvey, 1973, Part I as well as work on the geography of women. Within the second, see for example, Anderson, 1975; Castells, 1977; Harvey, 1973 Part II; Lojkine, 1976; Santos, 1977. Most of this work has maintained, or at least failed to fundamentally challenge, the orthodox divisions in the analysis of relations inside and outside the wage work place, and has therefore failed to question the parameters of these divisions and the possibilities of their change.

9. See, for example, the discussion of contradictory unity in GRUNDRISSE, the Chapter on Money', especially p.159.

10. There is another sense in which these separation proliferate with universalization of capitalist relations. The focus on relatively 'new' areas of discussion has led to overenthusiastic attempts to develop 'A' theory of the state, 'A' theory of ideology, 'A' theory of collective consumption ('A' theory of the dual role?). In a conceptual sleight of hand, everything is either subdued to the reign of these 'relatively autonomous areas' or defined as 'outside'. Thus each focus is its own 'division' and sets up its own internal separations. This problem is probably largely our 'growing pains', a temporary and perhaps tactically necessary part of outgrowing economism and reductionist analysis.

11. For discussion of these relations and adjustments in Britain, see Jephcott, Seear and Smith, 1962 and Myrdal and Lein, 1968.

12. I refer here to the 'Beyond the Fragments' conference in Leeds, August 30, 1980. This was, in large part, inspired by the energy and ideas elucidated in the book of the same name.

13. It is important to distinguish between 'sex' and 'gender'. Sex categories are defined by biological differences - differences in reproductive organs and biological reproductive capacities between men and women. Gender categories are social - definitions of the 'nature' of man and woman and the social and physical capacities and appropriate activities of men and women. These are constituted in the movement

of social relations as a whole. The dividing line is not a rigid one. Many aspects of biological sexuality are socially influenced. Certainly gender categories can be occupied by people of either sex, and the link between sex and social activities can be broken down (at least hypothetically). See for example Marge Piercy's utopia in WOMAN ON THE EDGE OF TIME (The Woman's Press, London, 1979).

14. I am employing Anthony Gidden's distinction between 'practical' and 'discursive' consciousness. Practical consciousness is defined as "tacit stocks of knowledge which actors draw upon in the constitution of social activity" and discursive consciousness as "knowledge which actors are able to express on the level of discourse". (Giddens, 1979, 5).

15. Incidentally, I have just discovered that it is difficult to express the idea of 'bold' or 'courageous' without evoking a lot of 'manly' connotations. The synonyms for 'courageous' listed in my thesaurus include - gallant, heroic, chivalrous, knightly, yeomanly, soldierly, manful and manly. Oh, and Amazonian.

16. With regard to the 'social whole', this perspective appears to lead us toward a 'relational' rather than 'structural' conception of the totality. (See note 2. on the latter. On relational conceptions, see for example, Ollman, 1973 and Sayer, A. 1979: Theory and Empirical Research in Urban and Regional Political Economy: Asympathetic Critique WORKING PAPER 14 Urban and Regional Studies, University of Sussex.) Similarly, this perspective emphasizes human agency in discussions of social determination. See for example Giddens, 1979 and Williams, 1977 as well as Sayer, op.cit.

# Statistical Appendix

## Table A

Percentage of the Population Urban: Canada and Ontario 1851-1911

| Year | Canada | Ontario |
|---|---|---|
| 1851 | 13.1 | 14.0 |
| 1861 | 15.8 | 18.5 |
| 1871 | 18.3 | 20.6 |
| 1881 | 23.3 | 27.1 |
| 1891 | 29.8 | 35.0 |
| 1901 | 34.9 | 40.3 |
| 1911 | 41.8 | 49.5 |

Source: Stone, URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN CANADA 1961 Census Monograph, Ottawa, 1967, p. 29.

## Table B

Population of Toronto: 1851-1911 and Percentage Increase per 10 Year Period

| Year | Population | Percentage Increase |
|---|---|---|
| 1850 | 30,775 | ---- |
| 1860 | 44,821 | 45.6 |
| 1870 | 56,092 | 25.1 |
| 1880 | 86,415 | 54.1 |
| 1890 | 144,023 | 66.7 |
| 1901 | 208,040 | 44.5 |
| 1911 | 376,538 | 81 |

Source: Goheen, 1970, pp. 55, 76 and Canada Year Book, 1911.

## Table C

Increase in Land Area and Built Up Area. Toronto: 1834-1909

| Year | Land Area | %Increase | Built up area | %increase | Built up area as % of total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1834 | 5566 | | | | |
| 1879 | 5566 | | 3105 | | 55.79 |
| 1889 | 10475 | 88.2 | 4855 | 56 | 46.35 |
| 1899 | 10521 | .4 | 5785 | 19 | 55 |
| 1909 | 15642 | 48.6 | 9469 | 99.9 | 60.53 |
| 1914 | 19551 | 25 | 15679 | 65.6 | 80.1 |

Source: Harris et al., 1915, Volume 1, p. 29

Table D

Immigration into and Emigration from Canada by Intercensal periods: 1851-1911

| Year/Period | Immigrants (numbers in thousands) | Emigrants |
|---|---|---|
| 1851-61 | 209 | 85 |
| 1861-71 | 187 | 379 |
| 1871-81 | 353 | 440 |
| 1881-91 | 903 | 1,109 |
| 1891-1901 | 326 | 506 |
| 1901-11 | 1,759 | 1,043 |

Source: Historical Statistics in Canada, p. 44.

Table E

Institutions Under the Charity Aid Act: Ontario 1874 & 1893

| Type | Number | persons under care | days care | Tot. expd. (dollars) | Grants payable (dollars) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hospitals | | | | | |
| 1874 | 10 | 3,466 | 127,160 | 62,337 | 32,684 |
| 1893 | 32 | 12,392 | 389,700 | 297,600 | 107,312 |
| Refuges | | | | | |
| 1874 | 4 | 793 | 100,445 | 23,799 | 7,072 |
| 1893 | 32 | 3,483 | 639,206 | 179,960 | 53,548 |
| Orphanages | | | | | |
| 1874 | 14 | 1,846 | 361,280 | 50,200 | 7,346 |
| 1893 | 28 | 4,125 | 694,039 | 112,846 | 14,925 |

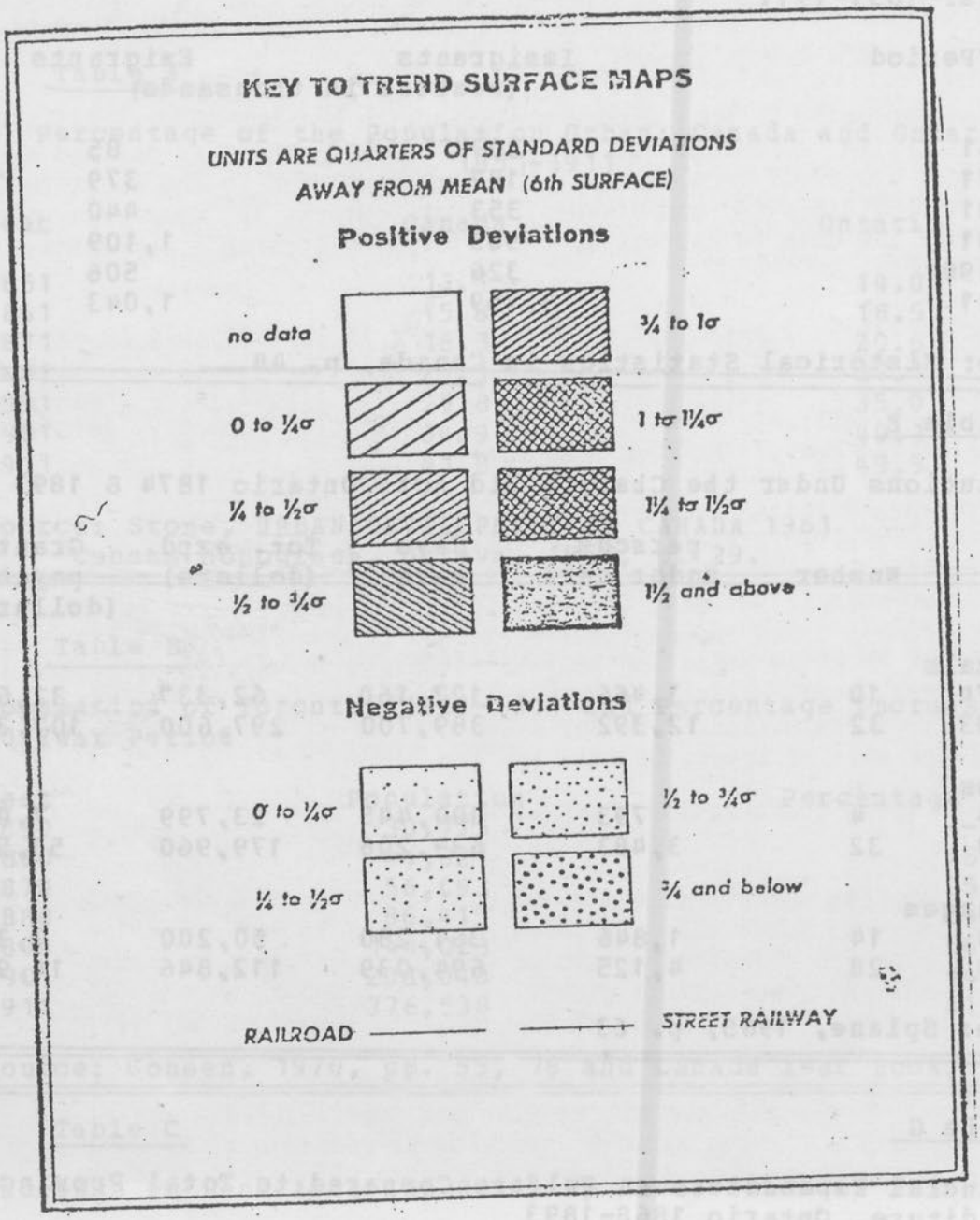
Source: Splane, 1965, p. 63

Table G

Provincial Expenditure on Welfare Compared to Total Provincial Expenditure, Ontario 1868-1893

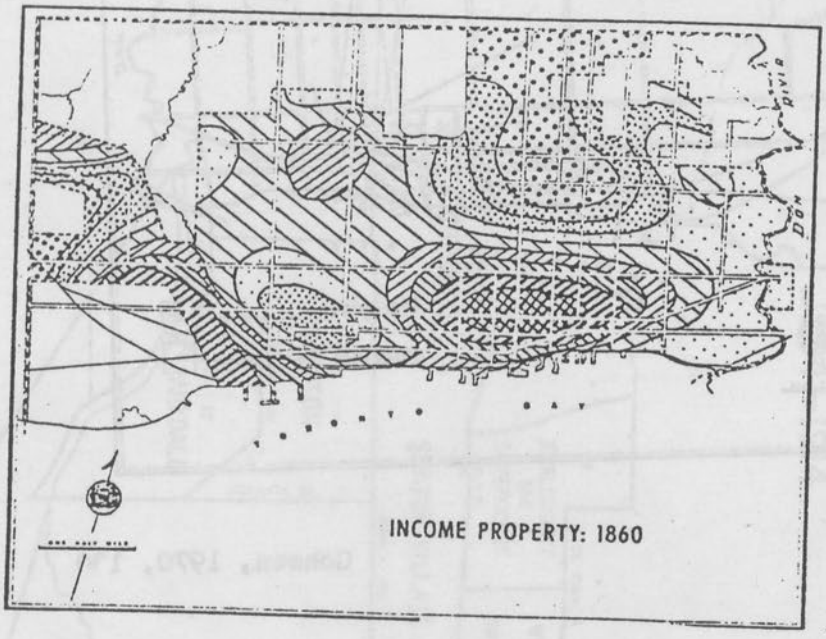
| Year | Total Provincial Expenditure ($) | Social Welfare Expenditure total $ | % of total Provincial |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1868 | 1,182,388 | 284,758 | 24.1 |
| 1878 | 2,784,321 | 822,149 | 29.5 |
| 1888 | 3,536,248 | 1,129,445 | 31.9 |
| 1893 | 3,907,145 | 1,265,193 | 32.4 |

Source: Splane, 1965, p. 283.




Goheen, 1970, 120

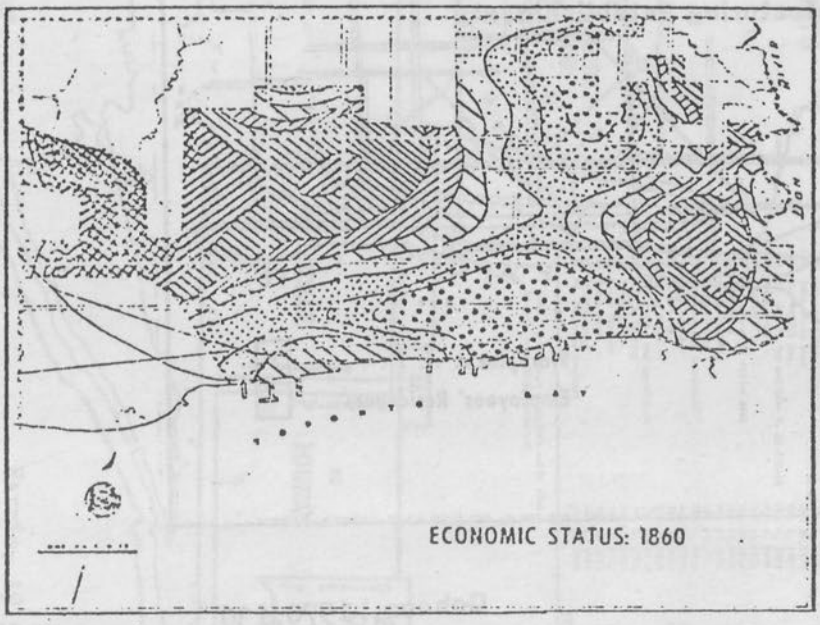
MAP 1




Goheen, 1970, 121

High positive values indicate high "commercial value of land" and high numbers of "income earning activities". (Goheen, 1970, 118-119)

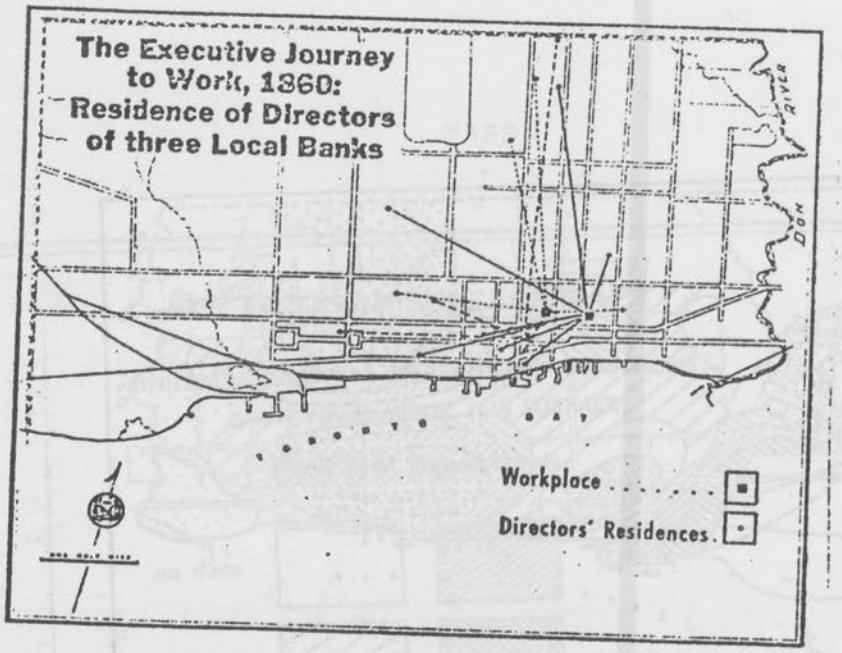
MAP 2




Goheen, 1970, 123

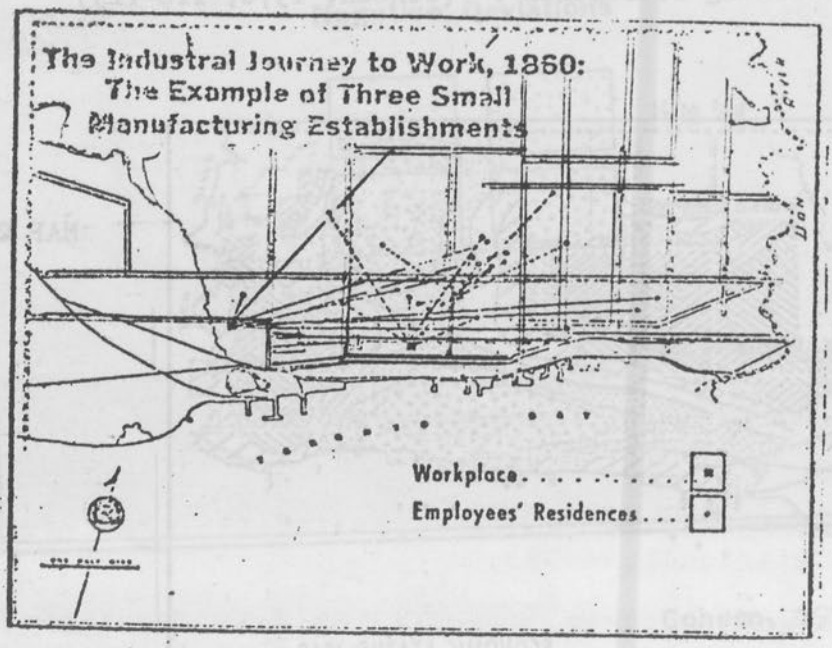
High positive values indicate low economic status. This factor "correlates with occupations defining the whole range of status and...references characteristics of real and personal property which are material manifestations of this status". (Goheen, 1970, 121)

MAP 3




Goheen, 1970, 130

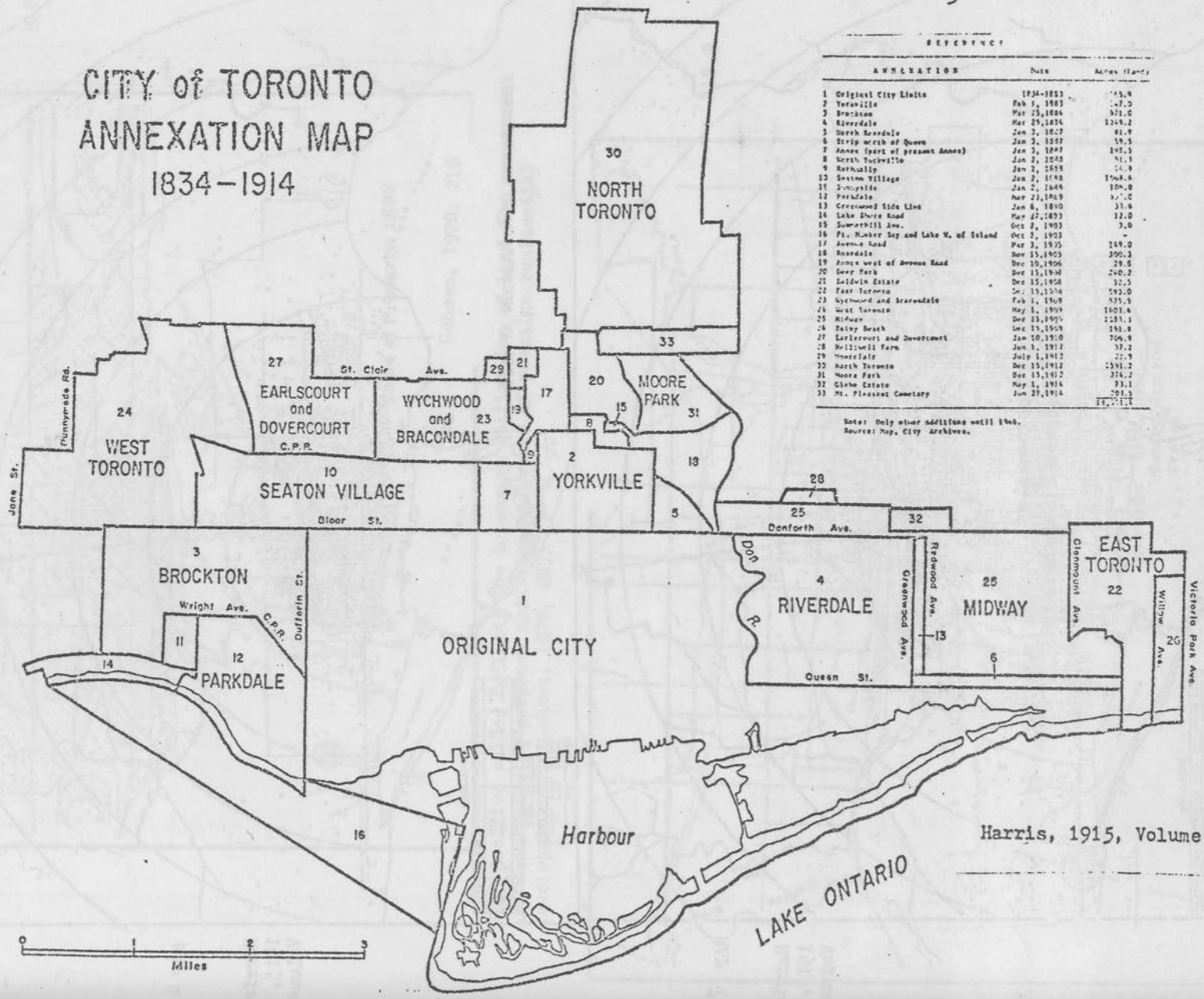
MAP 4




Goheen, 1970,130

MAP 5

# CITY of TORONTO ANNEXATION MAP 1834–1914

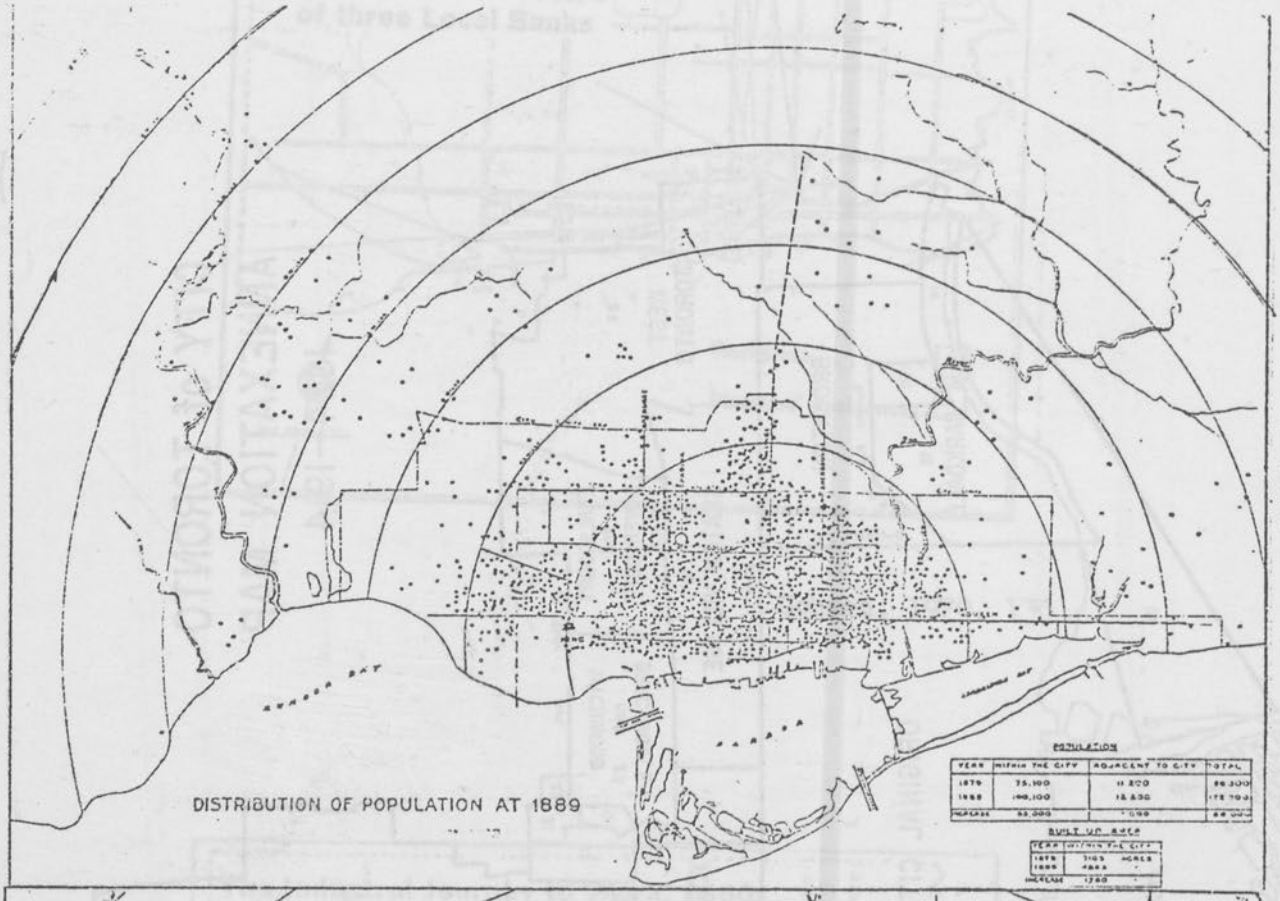



REFERENCE

| | ANNEXATION | Date | Acres (Land) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Original City Limits | 1834-1853 | [illegible] |
| 2 | Yorkville | Feb 1, 1883 | [illegible] |
| 3 | Brockton | Mar 25,1884 | 971.0 |
| 4 | Riverdale | Mar 25,1884 | 1249.2 |
| 5 | North Rosedale | Jan 3, 1887 | 81.9 |
| 6 | Strip north of Queen | Jan 3, 1887 | 59.5 |
| 7 | Annex (part of present Annex) | Jan 3, 1887 | 145.5 |
| 8 | North Yorkville | Jan 2, 1888 | 51.1 |
| 9 | Rathnally | Jan 2, 1888 | [illegible] |
| 10 | Seaton Village | Jan 2, 1888 | [illegible] |
| 11 | Sunnyside | Jan 2, 1888 | 104.0 |
| 12 | Parkdale | Mar 23,1889 | [illegible] |
| 13 | Greenwood Side Line | Jan 6, 1890 | 33.6 |
| 14 | Lake Shore Road | May 27,1893 | 12.0 |
| 15 | Summerhill Ave. | Oct 2, 1903 | 3.0 |
| 16 | Pt. Humber Bay and Lake W. of Island | Oct 2, 1903 | - |
| 17 | Avenue Road | Mar 3, 1905 | 149.0 |
| 18 | Rosedale | Nov 15,1905 | 300.3 |
| 19 | Annex west of Avenue Road | Dec 10,1906 | 29.8 |
| 20 | Deer Park | Dec 15,1908 | 240.2 |
| 21 | Baldwin Estate | Dec 15,1908 | 32.5 |
| 22 | East Toronto | Dec 15,1908 | 593.0 |
| 23 | Wychwood and Bracondale | Feb 1, 1909 | 525.5 |
| 24 | West Toronto | May 1, 1909 | 1603.6 |
| 25 | Midway | Dec 15,1909 | 1181.1 |
| 26 | Bailey Beach | Dec 15,1909 | 161.8 |
| 27 | Earlscourt and Dovercourt | Jan 10,1910 | 706.9 |
| 28 | Helliwell Farm | Jun 1, 1912 | 37.2 |
| 29 | Montclair | July 1,1912 | 22.9 |
| 30 | North Toronto | Dec 15,1912 | 1591.2 |
| 31 | Moore Park | Dec 15,1912 | 374.2 |
| 32 | Glebe Estate | May 1, 1914 | 73.1 |
| 33 | Mt. Pleasant Cemetary | Jun 27,1914 | 201.5 |
| | | | [illegible] |

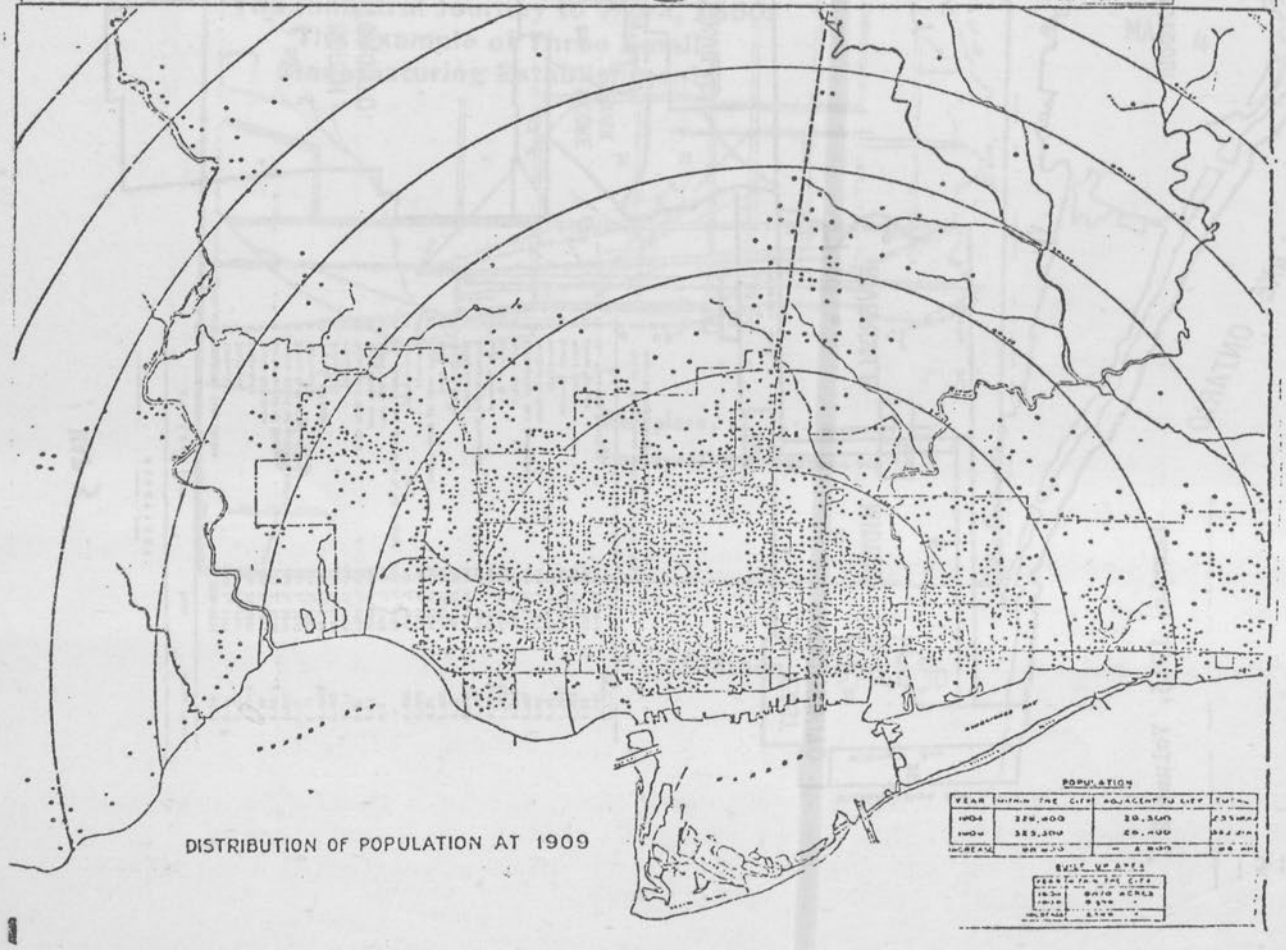
Note: Only minor additions until 1946.
Source: Map, City Archives.

Harris, 1915, Volume 2




MAP 6

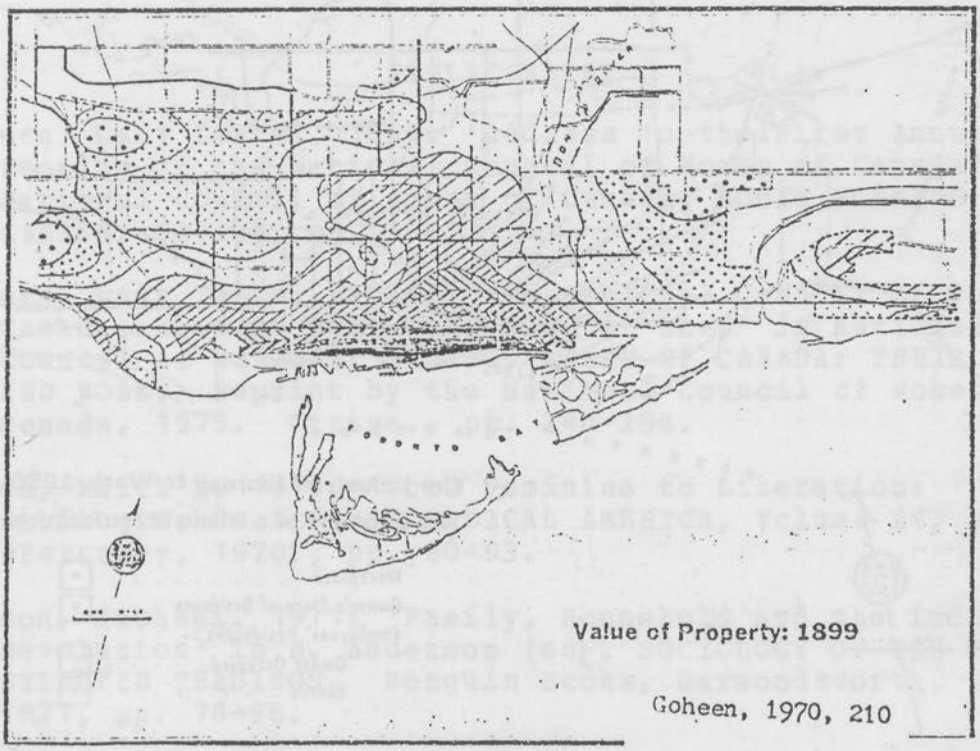
Harris, 1915, Volume 2




MAP 7

Harris, 1915, Volume 2

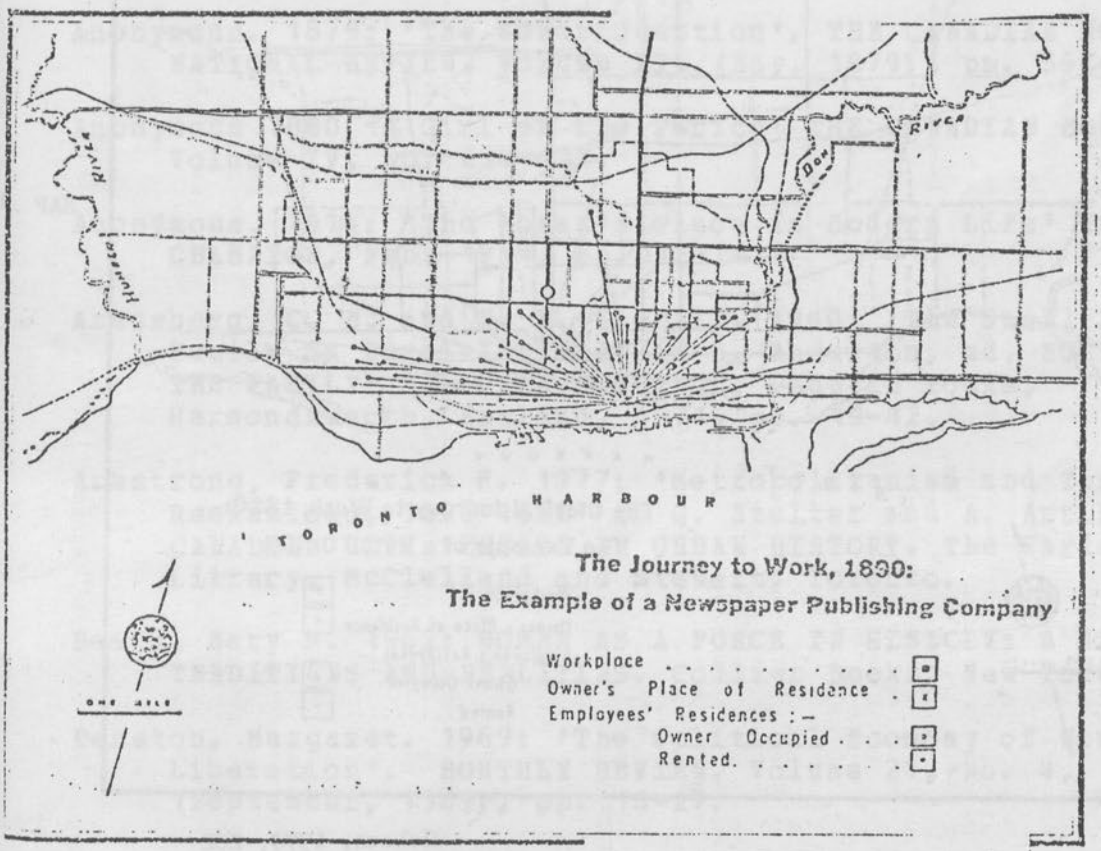
MAP 8




Goheen, 1970, 210

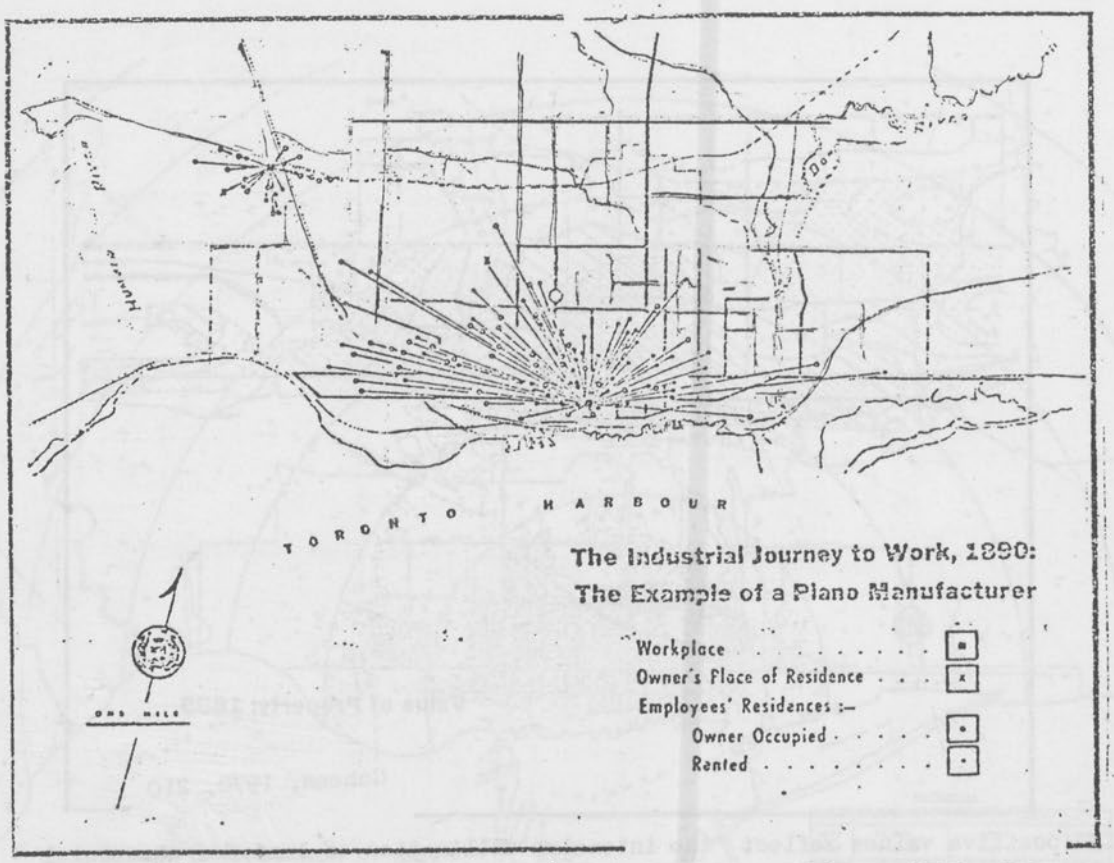
High positive values reflect "the intensive utilization of land for commercial and manufacturing purposes and...the influence of prestige residential development.". (Goheen, 1970, 209)

MAP 9



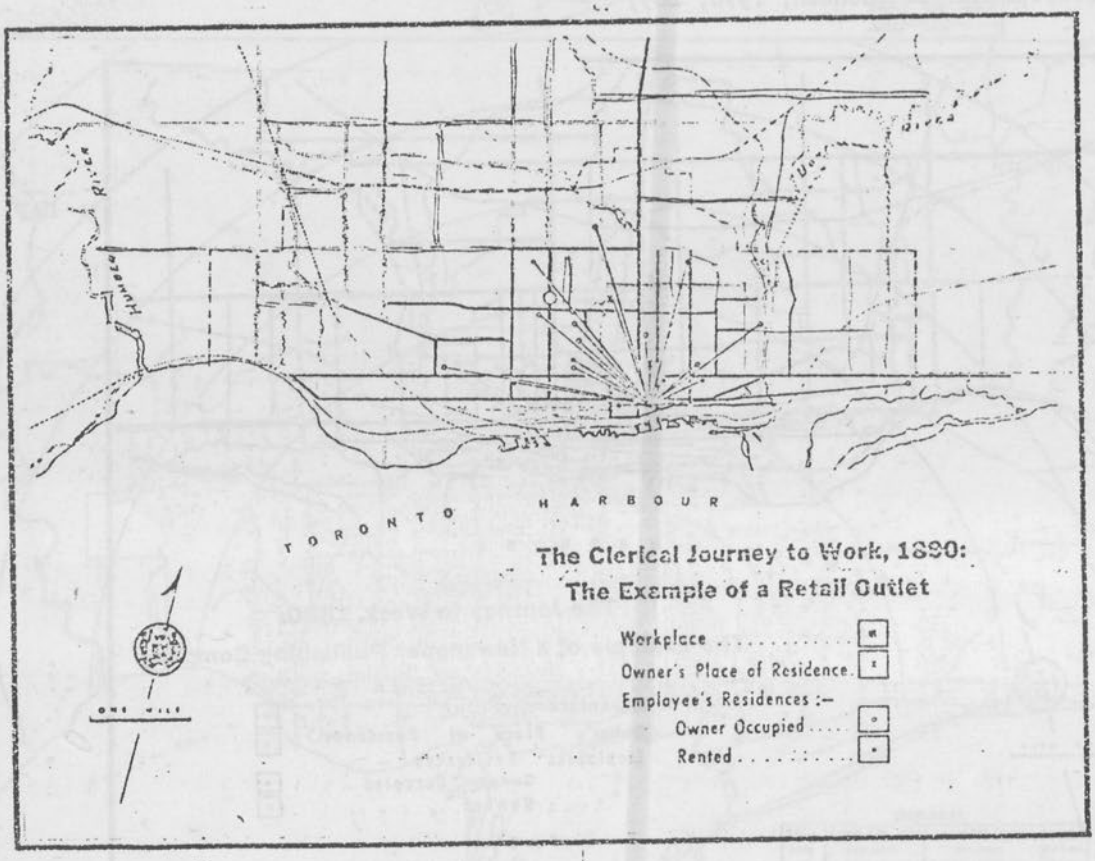

Goheen, 1970, 198

MAP 10




Goheen, 1970, 200

MAP 11




Goheen, 1970, 202

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