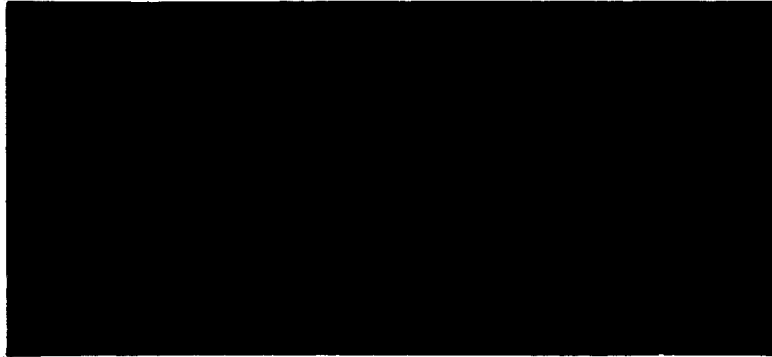




TRANSFORMATIONS
comparative study of social transformations



CSST
WORKING PAPERS
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor

RESEARCH FELLOWS CONFERENCE
PANEL ON

THE POLITICS OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

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RESEARCH FELLOWS CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

Tuesday, April 25, 1989

Rackham East Conference Room

First Session: The Politics of Social Transformation. 1:15-2:25

Seong Nae Kim, Anthropology:

"Gender and the Discourse of Resistance: Reading the Autobiographical Narratives of Korean Militant Factory Women."

Joanne Goodwin, History:

"State and Single Motherhood: Women on Welfare, Chicago 1910-1930."

Commentator: Kathleen Canning, History

Second Session: Struggles, Conflict, and Constraints on Social Change. 2:25-3:35

Anne Gorsuch, History:

"Soviet Youth Culture and the Struggle for Social Transformation, 1921-1928."

Sharon Reitman, Sociology:

"Class Capacities and Union Political Formation."

Commentator: Geoff Eley, History

Third Session: Subordinate Actors and their Marginalization in Social Theory. 3:45-5:15

Nilufer Isvan, Akos Rona-Tas, Cynthia Buckley:

"Margins of Theory and a Theory of Margins: Underexplored Territories of the World System."

Akos Rona-Tas, Sociology:

"The Second Economy in Hungary."

Theresa Deussen, Sociology:

"Peasantry, State, and Social Theory: Accounting for Agricultural Policy Change in Cuba, 1975-1985."

Commentator: Mayfair Yang, Anthropology and Center for Chinese Studies

Wine and Cheese Reception: 5:15-6:00

**GENDER AND THE DISCOURSE OF RESISTANCE:
READING THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES
OF MILITANT FACTORY WOMEN IN KOREA**

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In this paper I will explore the process of gender constitution in a sex-segregated labor market, as particularly expressed in the politics of radical labor movements. By applying gender as an analytical category (Scott 1986), I articulate the nature of the gender concept to understanding how gender works in a particular cultural and social context and how change occurs. In Korea, the remarkable economic growth during the last two decades--especially in the export-oriented industries such as garments, textiles, and electronics--has depended on a cheap work force of young women workers. (P. Y. Kim, 1984; Korean League of Labor Unions, 1983; O, 1983). The militancy of these factory women in the late 1970's not only brought about political struggle for the formation of working-class but also challenged the dominant gender ideology that had typified the subordinate position of female labor. Focusing on the subjective experiences which underlie this militancy, I am interested in the extent to which the militant activism of young factory women generates an alternative gender consciousness and class consciousness as well. I approached this problem by reading and analyzing the autobiographical narratives of these militant factory women that were published in the form of testimonies. (This paper is a preliminary analysis of materials for a further research on the relationship between gender and class.)

Historical Formation of Female Labor and Militancy

Before discussing these narratives themselves, however, it will be useful to provide a brief historical information on the history of the Korean factory women's collective activism. In 1982 at the peak of industrial growth, factory women in export industries worked 62 hours a week, the longest working hours in the world, and 5 to 9 more hours in a month than male workers (P.Y. Kim, 1984). It is not surprising to see the labor movement of Korean

women workers occurred mainly in the export manufacturing industries. Their strikes were spontaneous yet militant and aimed not only at achieving better working conditions and organizing an independent union among themselves, but also at challenging the patriarchal dominance of both male union bureaucrats and employers as well as the police. For example, militant women workers laid half-nude as a resistance in front of male workers and police, who poured human feces on their faces and breasts in 1978 (Sok, 1984). They disturbed a solemn Christian gathering for an Easter celebration in order to publicize that humiliating event in 1978 (Chang, 1984). And they occupied an office building of the Opposition Political Party when there seemed no outlet for public recognition of their struggle in 1979. (Ex-YH Union *et. al.*, 1984) In spite of the demonstrable effects of their militancy on the public, however, they were fired en masse or imprisoned under the restrictive rules on free labor union activities after the Special Measure Law Pertaining to National Security was enacted in 1972 (Cho, 1985). (See Appendix 1).

Nevertheless, those militant factory workers persisted in their struggle. Instead of settling for marriage, which was traditionally considered to be the only alternative for the laid-off women workers, they insisted on remaining single independent women with the politically charged label of "fired workers" (haeko nodongja). They organized themselves into secret small groups of sworn sisterhood based on a radical Christian theology (Sun, 1987) and they also recently formed a legal organization of fired workers in coalition with other radical labor activists, whose chief task was to regain their lost jobs. Such cultural practices as their ritual sisterhood and the organizational fight for jobs may suggest a growing sense of careerism and an aspiration for female autonomy. Furthermore, from the broader perspective of social history, the militant activism of these young

factory women has set a pioneering example for the politicization of labor problems and their extension to the dimension of collective social movements which reach beyond local unionism and aim at radicalizing wage workers as a whole, who have rapidly grown to emerge as a social class in the process of export-oriented industrialization throughout the 1970s and the 1980s (Park 1983).

Autobiographies or suki of some of those "fired women workers" with titles such as "The Road to Seoul" (Song, 1982) "The Light of Factory" (Sok, 1984) "The Divested Workplace" (Chang, 1984) "The History of YH Labor Union" (Ex-YH Union et al., 1984) were written between 1982 and 1984 as testimonies of their personal and political struggles. They were published by a small group of radical intellectuals and were sold at their bookstores. Although these autobiographies were banned immediately, they were circulated underground and used as regular reading materials at evening schools (yahak) for edifying workers. In the midst of censorship and surveillance of the government, they were also read for inculcating a collective spirit of resistance between the writers and the readers together. (Christian Yahak Associations, 1985).

Such oppositional practices of militant factory women contest the premise of Marxist-feminist (Elson and Pearson, 1981; Hartman, 1976; Kuhn and Wolpe, 1978) and other development theories (Afshar, 1985; Deyo, 1984; Nash and Fernandez-Kelly, 1983) that treat Third World women 'as a singular monolithic subject,' as Mohanty (1984) criticizes, and thus reduce them to the subordinate form of labor for patriarchal and capitalist domination of the industrial market. These theories tend to predict the structural impasse of gender subordination of young women workers or overemphasize the new-found freedom of urban mobility and independence brought by industrialization (See

Lim, 1983). Those studies adhere excessively to this totalizing logic of "patriarchal family and capitalist ideology" and, as a result, dismiss the reconstitution of concrete, psychological subjectivity of the women workers (Ong, 1987). Factory women's autobiographies and other self-narratives such as daily journals (*ilki*) may show the process how this reconstitution occurs and what it means to individual writers.

In this context, I raise several questions about the relationship between militancy and the autobiographical writings of those women workers. How does the self-consciousness of gender subordination have a destabilizing effect on their reality? How does this self-consciousness constitute the rhetoric of militant resistance? How is this rhetoric linked to their radical Christian theology, whose vision of justice and ethic of self-sacrifice appear to provide the guiding moral principles of sworn sisters' groups? Why, then, in the first place, do they decide to publicize their resistance through writing? Why do they choose an autobiographical mode of narrative for testimony as if they display their private body in a public space? Is there any difference between women workers' testimonial narratives and those of male workers, which are rather rare? In this paper I don't intend to answer all of these questions. Rather I limit this paper to a primary suggestion of a frame of analytical vision for those questions.

Delinquent Self-narratives: Praxis Literature

Recognizing the predominantly "autobiographical" mode of those militant women's testimonial narratives, I link the problem of gender and class to the feminist question of why and how women perceive and resist the dominant image of female body and self (Bovenschen, 1978; Martin, 1987) specifically in the domain of women's writing and politics of women's self-

representation. Starting from the position that there is a self-defining tradition of women's writing, feminist criticism of women's autobiography has promoted a rethinking of women's textual power and alternative creativity. (Anderson, 1986; Hite, 1988; Jacobus, 1986; Patai, 1988; S. Smith, 1987; Stanton, 1987) Particularly, I draw valuable insights from a recently developed women-reader approach, which emphasizes the social actor's posture of the woman reader in her "reading" of her life and work: "the woman as the producer of her own system of meanings; meanings that may challenge or subvert patriarchal readings and undo the traditional hierarchy of gender" (Jacobus 1986:5). By "reading" here I mean the critical activities of the factory women "reader" in making their personal and historical experiences into life histories, the activities which may be unusually tormenting due to the memory of sufferings and struggles in the past yet redeeming in the process of public "telling" to the familiar audience of their fellow workers. Accordingly, I will illuminate the factory women's authorial signature in their autobiographical narratives, which are themselves a political activity.

Although the factory women's autobiographical narratives are interpretable in terms of the tradition of women's writing in general, they shall be analyzed as a different type of writing in a new language from that of professional feminist writers. If the professional writers' primary goal lies in the discovery of the alternative textuality of woman's subjecthood, the factory women's goal encompasses the gender boundary and move toward the formation of class consciousness. As Vincent has contended in his study of the working-class autobiography (mainly of male writers) that emerged in the 1840s in England (1981), those factory women's self-writings indicate a new and much more self-confident attitude towards the development of Korean working-class personality. Their writings was also used a key means of self-

discovery and political action (Nekola and Rabinowiz, 1987; Steedman, 1986; Swindelles, 1985; Vicinus, 1978).

In the case of Korean factory women, their autobiographies were written as a substitute for oral testimonies of their struggles that were normally not publicized because of political repression. Some of these autobiographies are group products (Ex-YH Union *et al.*, 1984). Moreover, in a society where women workers are defined as illiterate, submissive "factory girls" (Spencer, 1988), their literacy itself is a deviant act. By producing "delinquent narrativity" in such a society, their published narratives transgress the limit of a dominant social order (de Certeau, 1984; Stallybrass and White, 1986). In this context, I would label the factory women's autobiographical narratives "praxis literature," a literary genre that records and produces social activity. (See Korean Association of Women Workers 1987.) Interestingly, although this type of literary genre has emerged from the grass-roots movement among the working-class for self-discovery and political action at the margin of professional literary tradition, it was incorporated into the dominant tradition with a new label for it such as nodong munhak (literature of labor) or hyonjang munhak (literature of actual scene) (C. Lee 1984: Sung 1984). Feeling uneasy with this trend, however, the workers themselves prefer to stress the ownership of signature of the worker writers, redefining their literary genre nodongja munhak (literature of the workers) (P.D. Kim *et al.*, 1985; see Appendix 2.) My textual analysis of these factory women's self-narratives must be shaped by this consideration of politics of literary genre in addition to feminist criticism of women's writing.

In fact, part of this delinquency and "praxis" of factory women's autobiographies is proved in the background story about those writers' informal schooling at yahak, the tuition-free evening classes. Yahak started as

literacy programs and Christian bible studies led by young Christians and urban mission groups in the late 1960s. This participatory education program had a great impact on a consciousness-raising movement among the workers and also on the ideological solidarity between them and the radical elites (T.H. Lee, 1984; Christian Yahak Association, 1985).¹

Moreover, as this yahak curriculum always included a Bible study, their transgression may well be articulated through the Christian tradition of "bearing witness," particularly to social justice in this case, which emerged as a popular form of protest recently in Korea (Sun, 1987; The Institute of Incheon Christian People's Pedagogy, 1988). In addition to this Christian tradition, the ordinary circulation of oral life stories follows the testimonial tradition of Korean women's hardship stories (sinse taryong).² The circulation of similar life stories and symbols--such as hero figures of Chon Tae-il, Kim Kyong-sook, or the image of crucified Christ (Chang, 1984)--among these women workers either at the workplace or at their factory dormitory facilitated the construction of social knowledge of their subjectivities and nodong, labor. Under the extreme time constraints imposed by factory labor, the "free space" of thinking, talking, and writing even on a secret memo passed around in the midst of work was a political activity to designed to resist the mechanization of labor.³ Together with oral life stories and episodic journals, these minor forms of narrative are the oppositional practices of the everyday life compared to explicit political activism.

¹ After the Urban Mission Churches were accused of the pro-communist activities, such radical alliances were made illegal by the Chun Too-hwan military regime after 1980. Since then, cooperation between workers and radical students has gone underground with such effect that some students became workers and union organizers.

² I owe this insight to Laurel Kendall.

³ See Eisenstein 1983:39-40 on the oppositional practices within the free space of women's consciousness-raising group.

This delinquent quality in factory women's autobiographical writings is also expressed in gender difference and self-consciousness in the autobiographical content. If autobiographies by male workers--which are rather rare (Yu, 1978)--display a much more objective and self-confident attitude towards the development of the working-class personality, women workers' stories tend to present experiences in an apologetic tone. Besides the usual descriptions of poverty and injustice, female writers focus especially on the evolution, beginning from birth, of their personal knowledge of gender subordination. In the prologue to her autobiography, Chang Nam-su (1984) describes her birth as an unwanted second daughter to a poor peasant family, which meant to her the ominous sign of her unending destitution and alienation, "like the water ghost who clutches her constantly in the abyss of despair" whenever she faced crises such as when she lost her job in 1980. (See Appendix 3). Her newly-found life as a union member and militant activist is indeed interspersed with a constant inner struggle against this original omen. But as her narrative progresses, her self-image is transformed from a burdened "daughter" to a woman who became a factory worker. We see how she identifies her newly achieved gender identity with a class identity. As she said in the preface, she expected that her life history would be recognized by all workers who would read and share her experiences of struggles. In this sense, her "writing" of life was the "re-writing" of her self with the self-consciousness of being both a factory worker and an independent woman.

Although those factory women writers more often present the personal side of their experience of becoming a worker, the notion of "personal" does not imply the typified "women's stories," which are often characterized as

episodic and fragmented in comparison with work life stories (Jelinek, 1980).⁴ In the case of Korean factory women writers, their "personal" style of self-representation implies their autonomous cultural boundary of "personal reality" (Steedman, 1986) where they construct their own stories and inherit them through the gender line of sworn sisterhood among those self-determined single factory women. The sense of tragedy and inequity in personal reality shared by these women represents a collective sense of moral justice more than a private domain of experience. These women autobiographers often explicitly disown their stories and experiences and instead refer to them as "the stories of we workers." Such a statement does not indicate self-effacement, or denial of their subjectivities. Instead, disavowing one woman's private body calls forth the mandate of becoming connected in the body of solidarity with other women and men workers. Individual autonomy may be the result of this we-solidarity, as those autobiographical writers usually envision in their epilogues. By seeking to publicize one's self, factory women writers violate a structurally coerced feminine image as docile or hidden by resisting or changing what is known about her, a mere "factory girl" (yokong) in a derogatory term.

The Rhetoric of Conversion and Militancy

When and how, then, does this self-transformation occur? The autobiographers commonly expressed this initial moment of discovery of we-solidarity as the worker (P.D. Kim et. al., 1985) as "a new awakening" (nun ttum). Because this moment is linked to their introduction to the free union movement and the radical Christian theology of the Urban Mission Church, I call it conversion experience. This is the moment of recognition of their

⁴ In such a way, Jelinek (1980) has differentiated the female tradition of autobiographical writing from the male tradition.

"otherness" or the "radical otherness" (Fanon, 1963) of their gender and class identity which is experienced in both sexual difference and social alienation in the labor market. The word "conversion" is specifically used in the sense that this vision of the autonomous whole person extends to the cosmological scheme when the militant factory women denounced "the evils of society" (sawhoe ui akhan kottul), in their own words, and announced themselves "Christ-like arbiters" of "democratic revolution" (minju hyokmyong) of the whole Korean society (Chang, 1984). In fact, many militant workers had Christian backgrounds or became Christians along with their involvement in the radical labor movements (Chang, 1984; Sok, 1984; Song, 1982).

In fact, this idiom of "conversion" places itself as the unique rhetoric of militant resistance in the sense that it is rhetoric as a rite of initiation that brings women into the cultural heritage of group solidarity; it is rhetoric as a self-conscious method for the transformation of gender and class identities. With regard to this rhetoric of conversion, the autobiographies showed two levels of conversion: cosmological and organizational. The cosmological conversion began with reading biographies of the leading militants of labor movements in the past, including Kang Ju-ryong, who fasted to death in prison in the 1930's to protest exploitative Japanese factory owner (H. C. Lee, 1984); Chon Tae-il, whose suicide in 1970 by burning himself in public for the workers' right to form their own labor union, broke up the long silence of the workers (The Association for Building a Memorial Building for Chon Tae-il, 1983); and Kim Kyong-suk, whose mysterious death during a labor dispute kindled social concerns for women workers' problems (Ex-YH Union et. al., 1984).

Indeed, reading the biographies of the dead and the reaction of grief to their tragic deaths was like the mourning ritual itself. By considering

the dead women workers (Kang Ju-ryong and Kim Kyong-suk) as their ancestral figures, the factory women readers articulated the women's stories of past struggles and their ongoing history. This task of making ancestral history indicates cosmological conversion. By reading the stories of tragic deaths the factory women readers created a new history of militancy or martyrdom by transforming actual the tragic and untimely deaths of young unmarried workers into myths. With collective gatherings or open arguments about those dead workers prohibited by the government, the symbolic task of preserving this "dangerous memory," to borrow a term from Fiorenza (1984:19), reclaimed their present-day sufferings and struggles through the "subversive power of the remembered past." Actually, the factory women readers themselves became the myth-like martyrs when they were persecuted as a result of their protest. The immortality of that myth allowed them to endure coercion, hardship, and their betrayal by their fellow male workers. (See Appendix 1)

Conversion to the Union: Single Women's Community and Resistance

By the other dimension of conversion experiences--"organizational conversion"--I mean a new awareness of organized labor that is strengthened through sisterhood and emotional attachments among women workers. They joined the labor union usually through personal relationships with union members because propagation of a free labor union was overtly repressed by the government. In the restrictive work environment that did not permit personal interaction, unionism appealed as the alternative personal life even beyond its organizational merit. To women workers, the labor union meant women's community or the extended sisterhood. Their personal sharing and mutual concern was, at the same time, an organizational necessity. Even when they were fired, these women retained their membership and usually remained single

(cf. Silverblatt, 1987; Topley, 1975). Their prolonged existence as single women served to undermine the traditional expectation that these women would marry. In a word, the ideal of a community of single women where the women workers could create their own culture enabled the women's counter-hegemonic practices to oppose the impersonal culture of industrialism.

In 1982, 36.62% of the 10 million wage workers were women (P.Y. Kim, 1984:276-279). Along with fast pace of economic growth (8% on average between 1962 and 1978), their numbers are increasing at an annual rate of 10%, compared with 4% for men. The majority (85.7%) of working women in manufacturing industries were young women who had recently migrated and urban poor single women between 14 and 24. Most of them live separately from their families and live collectively in the factory-run dormitory or in groups together nearby in metropolitan area and industrial complex. They form a community of so-called "factory girls" (yokong). Unlike married women, these single female workers could be mobilized much easily for independent militant action (Cho, 1985). The dormitory life of the yokong was also a seed-bed for political organization. Recently, these factory girls showed the political power of solidarity and unity of their community during the 1985 general strike in the Kuro industrial district of Seoul City.⁵

Religious Formation of Militancy and Emergence of Radicalism

The unionism for militant women workers was also promoted by the Christian ethic of self-sacrifice and mutual love, which was often the guiding moral principle of the women's labor union community. However, this Christian impact should not be seen as the mere imitation of conservative values of the

⁵ Regarding the gender-specific significance of this single women's community, Rosaldo (1974:39) shows diverse cases in other societies and at different times which exemplify how the women's groups are constructively used by women as a basis for female solidarity and worth in the absence of men.

elite Christians. In fact, the opposite is the case. Their Christian practices served to signify values and meanings of their unionism and cultural heritage of community. The origin of women's community and its particular religiosity can be traced back to Korean shamanic tradition (Kendall, 1985). In Korean shamanism, the shamans, mostly female, invoke ancestors and plea their blessing as well as recovery of health and fortune. During the rituals, they recite family and local histories of misfortunes that are usually passed on by women. In this case, both female shamans and clients together play the role of the spiritual recorders of popular history and thus the bearers of suffering and injustice (cf. S.N.Kim 1989; Ong 1988). Because people no longer practice shamanism these days, however, the image of Christ has been adapted to the traditional shamanist role of the benevolent ancestor. Christian morality, non-conformist in particular, replaces the popular morality of the marginal people for the purpose of resistance (Burgos-Debray, 1984).

In the late 1960's, Christian churches such as the Urban Industry Mission Church and Catholic Workers' Association began their evangelical missions to christianize the workers. Although the churches had failed in their earlier efforts to make them into "good" Christians, they witnessed the poverty and dehumanizing work condition of the workers. After then the churches changed the direction of mission work into serving those oppressed workers. They have provided the workers with the space for creative and critical activities outside labor union. They launched labor education programs, stirring up more radical labor union movements. Three of the four autobiographers I analyzed here also wrote that they became aware of their labor problem through the contact with the church, called "the labor church" (nodong kyohwoe). During the two decades of alliance with the radical

churches, workers have grown self-sufficient enough to solve their own problems without outside help or education. However, the nodong kyohwoe remains still the locus of spiritual consolation as well as moral strength. Whether idealized or ideologized, the figures of dead fellow workers and crucified Christ have been the autobiographer's iconic representation of continuous identity that stands for her autonomous selfhood.⁶

Although all of autobiographers I studied are from the peasantry or the working class, their activism has provided the foundation for the radicalization of political protest in the past decade. If labor struggles in the 1970's had been organized by workers themselves with outside connection to radical Christian missinoners and a few intellectuals, in the last decade labor struggles have been influenced by radical students' wide infiltration into workplace.⁷ With certain ideological purposes, these radical college students had infiltrated into the workers since the early 1980's after the Chun Doo-whan regime began to violently repress student protest. Hiding their identities, they worked at factories and led labor movement ideologically into class-struggle. Some of them remained there as the workers or the labor activists.

In this process of social transformation, radical women college students played an important role. Particularly, socialist-oriented feminism

⁶ At one of nodong kyohwoe in the industrial complex area nearby Inchon City, a crucified Christ was constructed by welding pieces of steel which were intended to represent the construction workers' life.

⁷ These students were prosecuted for their anti-regime demonstrations. They were first removed from school or jailed. However, they continued to protest by establishing a nation-wide coalition with other political dissidents as well as many other student activists from most of colleges and universities. Their radicalism became more strategic and long-term targeted in terms of protest tactics. Many of radical students in the 1980s went underground and, as one of those long-term struggle from the bottom, found factor jobs. The main purpose of their strategy was to "participate" in the life of the poor and oppressed and instigate more systematic or "scientific" (in their radical Marxist term) class struggle.

had been introduced to factory women in the 1970's through Christian urban missionaries who were influenced by liberation theology. This socialist-oriented feminism or women's equal participation in societal transformation was adopted as an ideological model for their labor movements [sources from various pamphlets of one or five pages]. This ideological stance of militant factory women was quite different from a liberal feminism that was more common among educated middle class Korean women whose version of women's liberation had produced many prominent women leaders in Korean history. There is certainly an ideological difference between two streams of feminism. However, the subjective vision of gender among the factory women autobiographers should not be uncritically judged as an imitation of one or another feminist ideology. The ideal image of autonomous women as aspired by the militant factory women does not indicate any typified category belonging to one specific ideological camp; rather it implies the "alternative or directly oppositional" formation "which, while clearly affected by hegemonic limits and pressures, are at least in part significant breaks beyond them" (Williams, 1977:114).

Thus far my analysis of militant factory women's autobiographies has dealt with the way in which these women reorganize themselves through the categories of gender and class in order to achieve autonomy. In these autobiographical narratives, factory women presented themselves as agents of culture formation rather than as the objects of other people's representations. On this basis, I conclude that the production of "delinquent" narratives in the midst of patriarchal subordination and political repression do justice to the testimony of experiences of conversion towards solidarity and autonomy which are capable of destabilizing the dominant gender and class ideologies.

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Appendix 1

Temporary Girl Workers

We work for enough to live on each day,
Without a day off, like the Labour Laws say,
But the price of noodles, twelve hours work don't pay,
So, change our working conditions. Hey!

[Refrain]

Fellow workers, get it together,
For prosperity in our land,
Fellow workers, rise up together,
To right things by our hand.

When we get out monthly paychecks,
Our money worries merely grow,
Most of it* goes for some rice and the rent--
Our private debts we still owe.

Lifeless, as if they were poisoned,
Are all those fine young men
Who once promised to work hard for us--
Oh, revive your lost bravery again.

Korean factory girl's song

From Voices of Women, An Asian Anthology, 1978 (Asian Women's Liberation
Newsletter 1983)

*4,200 won in 1978; approximately \$US 12

Appendix 2

Prayer of Working Women

Pray, Pray!
 Greeting the World Women's Day [March 8], we pray our wishes.
 Pray with a full heart for humane and equal society.
 From birth, humans are all equal.
 Among them the best is the worker who produces in sweat.
 More than that, we women produce life.
 Who dare to neglect us, discriminate us?
 Those rich and proud fellows disdainfully call us "factory
 girls" (kongsuni).
 Suni! Yongi! we all kongsui get together and celebrate today.
 Our shoulders dance tongsil tongsil, our hips dance, tulssok
tulssok.
 Let us sing and dance, let us play intoxicatedly.
Tongdokung tongdokung, let us play bloomingly.

A poem in the front page of March, 1988 issue of monthly bulletin, Ilhanun
Yosong [Working Women], published by Hankuk yosong nodongjawhoe* [Korean
 association of women workers]

*first issued in Summer 1987 in Seoul in the midst of general strikes of
 workers and political democratization struggle on the national level.

Appendix 3

Brief Biography of Chang Namsu*

1958. Born as the second daughter in a poor peasant family.

Her father had a small spot, but it was not enough to support a family of five. He sold most of his land and went to Seoul for better job. Her whole family except Namsu moved to Seoul. She had to help her grandmother's farming and graduated the elementary school. She liked reading. Her reading lists cover from Western fairy tales to Tolstoi's Resurrection and Thomas Hardy's Tess.

1973, 15 year old. She came to Seoul to join her family. But because her family was very poor and barely made a living, she had to go to the evening school (yahak) which was tuition free. Her family went back to the farming village due to extreme poverty in Seoul. Being left alone, Namsu began to work in the factory to support herself and also her family in the countryside.

She started from a small candy manufacturing factory nearby, and then moved to an electronics factory.

1977. Finally settled down at a textile factory, Wonpung Textile Company, which was one of major textile companies in Korea. She lived in the dormitory for women workers. She had an older sister who was already working at the same factory. Her sister introduced her autobiographical writings of other workers such as Sok Chong-nam's 'Burning Tears' (1978), Yu Tong-wu's 'The Cry of a Stone' (1978). These two books awakend her and inspired her to participate in the radical labor union struggles. By using a biblical allegory, she described this awakening experience as a shock and wonder that happened to Apostle Paul who could recover a sight with new vision after the temporarily blind cornea of his eyes was open.

1978. She joined a protestant industrial mission church and also an independent trade uion. She became a central figure in the union and activities. She often expressed her sense of mission for labor union struggle by identifying it with the passion of Jesus. By doing so, she meant to justify the dignity of the struggling workers like the crucified Christ. For instance, in the 1978 incident when she disturbed the solemn gatherings of Easter in order to publicize the fellow women workers' struggles, she testified that she saw the face of crucified Christ right in the dark sky at the moment of action.

1978--present. Because of this act of civil disturbance, she was prisoned for six months. She went to back to the factory for a while until 1980 when she was finally fired after a major strike at the national level. Since then she participated in the formation of allied front of the "fired workers" that became legalized in 1984, while working at other factories in the meantime. Still in 1985 she was fighting to take back "the job divested" in the year of 1980.

*from her autobiography, Ppaeatkin ilto [the Divested Workplace] 1984.

**The State and Single Motherhood:
Women on Welfare, Chicago 1910-1930**

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Paper delivered at the Comparative Studies
in Social Transformations Symposium,
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**The State and Single Motherhood:
Women on Welfare, Chicago 1910-1930**

This paper is part of my dissertation which examines the ways in which gender interacted with the formation of public welfare policy for female-headed families at the beginning of the twentieth century. During this period, local governments introduced policies designated specifically for single mothers. My dissertation attempts to answer the question: why did the state expand its responsibility to this group of poor at this time? The majority of research on early welfare policies draw on sources from private charity organizations. While these collections offer the rich detail of individual lives from case studies, they cannot speak to the expanding role taken by local governments in the development of welfare or the political process surrounding this transformation. My focus on public welfare has meant the sacrifice of individual detail about single mothers lives. Chicago, as other municipalities, destroyed such records. Therefore, my sources, drawn from the Cook County poor relief records, outline the aggregated effect of individual actions.

This paper discusses two interpretive frameworks used by historians to explain expanded state responsibilities for single mothers. The first is the social control thesis and its adaptation by feminist historians, and the second is maternalist ideology, or the language of motherhood. I have used findings from my research to illustrate certain limitations in each of these interpretations. In the first half of the paper, I argue

that social control arguments, in their most deterministic form, have removed the agency from the very people social historians study. My research examines the ways in which women utilized public welfare resources when traditional networks of support failed. In the second half of the paper, I discuss the ways in which a maternalist interpretation of mothers' pensions, the first social welfare policy directed at the needs of poor, single mothers, misinterprets the policy as one which promoted domesticity, when its implementation enforced work for both women and their children. This paper suggests the importance of examining both the political context and economic constraints of these welfare policies.

In my work "the state" refers to those governmental bodies and the administrative structures that organize local and geographical-state policies.

Social Control Thesis

Historians' explanations for the development of social welfare policies have relied heavily on social control arguments. Revisionist historians have argued that reform measures frequently derived from economic interests and that a more critical evaluation of the class and economic backgrounds of those promoting reforms was needed. They also pointed to the increasingly active role played by the state in mediating conflicts through reforms. Some studies argued that what historians have called democratic or humane reforms were in fact policies legitimated by the state to limit the authority of

particular groups for the benefit of the middle and upper-classes. The social control thesis portrayed social relations as the domination of the powerless by those who held economic or political power.¹

Gender was not a topic of analysis in these early revisionist studies. Research on unemployment, poverty or social mobilization of the poor recognized men as the central actors and did not ask how either women or gender operated in the formation of the welfare state.²

As historians of women sought to explain the interaction of gender with expanded welfare activities, the influence of the social control thesis merged with the conceptual framework of separate spheres and precluded the analysis. The focus of the attention turned to the power dynamics between the sexes, most obvious in the home, but with significant repercussions upon economic and political sectors. The contribution of this analysis lies in its delineation of the impact of the sexual division of labor and women's responsibilities for social reproduction. Not only has it deepened our understanding of women's labor, but also of the constraints placed on women's lives. However, the analysis led to a limited and often reductionist explanation of power relations. The interactions of men and women were described by oppositional pairs of male domination and female subordination, public and private, patriarchy and female powerlessness. At one point, the relationship between women and the emerging welfare state was described as the transformation from private patriarchy to public

patriarchy; that is, a transition from male control of women's productive power to state control of women's productive resources. While this analysis raises awareness about the structured relations of social reproduction, the sense of monolithic control thoroughly overshadowed the agency of women.³

Linda Gordon has offered a valuable warning on the hazards of social control analysis for historians of women. She has pointed out that a thesis which stresses complete domination produces a "victim paradigm", one which removes all agency from the women as actors in their own lives. Her recent work on family violence demonstrates a new approach to a more complex analysis of the constraints and opportunities faced by women.⁴

How did poor women interact with the systems of welfare available to them? From the mid-nineteenth century through the early twentieth century, publicly-funded poor relief was channelled primarily through three institutions: the poorhouse, the county hospital, and the relief office. These public institutions were not designated to serve specific categories of poor people, but were instead "open" to all residents of the county who passed the residence requirements. The poor, however, utilized these programs in significantly different ways.⁵

The poor relief office served the broadest cross-section of the poor, and it is for that reason that I used this set of records to compare the patterns of relief use by male-headed and female-headed families. This research revealed two significant variations: male-headed and female-headed families came onto poor

relief for different reasons and stayed on relief for different periods of time.

Women and men entered poverty for different reasons. Two-parent families were most likely to seek aid from the poor relief office when unemployment and illness limited the earning capacity of the father. After exhausting all other resources, unemployed families applied for food and coal. Single mothers came onto poor relief following the death or desertion of their husbands. Loss of male wages and the presence of children were the greatest indicators of poverty for women.

Secondly, the presence of two-parent families on poor relief fluctuated greatly from year to year. Relief officials linked periods of great demand for relief to periods of industrial downturn in the city. In contrast, thirty-five to forty percent of the public caseload was made up of female-headed families throughout the twenty years of my study. While women with dependent children made up only a small percentage of Chicago families (they made up 5.6 percent in 1900) they were a significant portion of families on relief. Women responsible for the care of young children and outside the traditional labor market, were less able to rebound from poverty with employment. The demand upon relief services by female-headed families was greater than that of any other group, except in years of severe unemployment.⁶

The fact that women came onto poor relief due to a change in their family status and stayed on relief for longer periods of time than male-headed families reflected the economic

vulnerability of working-poor women. The traditional systems of family, work, and community no longer able to support them, single mothers sought assistance from public (and private) relief agencies. Women's persistence on relief, despite labor demand, weakens the connection between welfare and control of labor systems when we look specifically at poor women.

Social reproduction also related to women's labor in the form of child care and homemaking. Historians have developed this area in their research on maternalism, the second historiographical framework to be discussed.

Maternalism and the Power of Ideology

Ideology came to play an increasingly important role in the explanations of maintenance of power relations both between the sexes and between women of different races and classes. Historians of women explained the formation of welfare policy largely in ideological terms of maternalism. This concept had two components: a domestic ideology that prescribed women's primary role as a caretaker and rearer of children; and a second component of moral guardianship. Drawing from early twentieth century sources, historians found that men from all points of the political spectrum accepted this prescription for women, but most interesting to historians of women, was that women also used this "metaphoric representation".⁷ They used it not strictly as an assertion of the value of their traditional role, but also as a wedge into new public, often political, space. Women argued that they were better able to perform specific public duties precisely

because they were caretakers and homekeepers. The language of these self-promotions identified women for example as "moral guardians" and "municipal housekeepers".

It is precisely this interpretation of maternalism that historians have used to explain the implementation of mothers' pensions, the first welfare policy explicitly designated for female-headed families. However, this interpretation obscures the role of work in the pension policy, and the resulting interaction between work and home faced by single mothers on welfare.⁸

In 1911, the Illinois legislature authorized local governments to make support payments to families with dependent children through the Juvenile Court. This program, originally called the Funds to Parents Act, made economic need its sole criteria for eligibility. It was quickly revised under pressure of the court and the county administration who feared the economic repercussions of such a broad policy. The new policy for dependent children in their homes became known as the Mothers' Pension Act. In a later section of my dissertation, I develop the political pressures that led to such state expansion. However, in general the movement for mothers' pensions was a national movement that received impetus in 1909 from the White House Conference on Children. The legislation was designed to provide cash assistance to single mothers to assist in the support of their dependent children. Support came from child welfare advocates, juvenile court judges and organized reform women. The superior organization of all three groups in Chicago

explains in part why Illinois was the first in the nation to implement such legislation. One of the major differences however between the endorsement of the White House conference and the Illinois policy was that the assistance came from public government rather than private sources.

In defining the principle behind the mothers' pension legislation, Julia Lathrop, Director of the United States Children's Bureau wrote: "It is against sound public economy to allow poverty alone to cause the separation of a child from the care of a good mother, or to allow the mother so to exhaust her powers in earning a living for her children that she can not give them proper home care and protection." In this brief statement, Lathrop captured the tension involved in implementation of this new policy for working-poor, single mothers. These women had a dual role: an expectation to raise their children as well as support them. The mothers' pension did not eliminate either responsibility.⁹

Despite the promotion of maternalism in the pension program, able-bodied women were required to work as a condition of receiving aid. In a report to the United States Children's Bureau, Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckinridge noted that the Chicago Juvenile Court viewed the pensions as a supplement to the potential earnings of the mother.¹⁰ A study of 1115 pensioned families, conducted by the Mothers' Pension Department of the Juvenile Court found that sixty percent of the mothers who received pensions were also working. This evidence, so at odds with the maternalist rhetoric of the pensions upon which our

historical analysis of early welfare policy for women is based, illustrates the interface between family and work for poor women and begs for a closer examination of the extent and conditions of their work.

Pensioned mothers were concentrated heavily in domestic service jobs with average monthly earnings of \$12.60. The most common type of work taken by pensioned women was washing outside the home. Sixty-one percent did such work. Cleaning and home laundry were the second most frequently taken jobs. Home sewing accounted for 16 percent of the jobs and taking in boarders comprised 14 percent. Factory and restaurant jobs which offered higher wages accounted for only five percent of the jobs taken by working mothers on pensions. Seventy percent of the working mothers were employed at more than one job.¹¹

In addition to the type of work performed it is necessary to identify the locus of the work to determine if women were able to fulfill home care responsibilities. Out of 360 jobs listed by the pensioned women, one-third of these jobs were performed at home. This included washing, sewing, and taking in boarders. Two-thirds of the jobs taken by pensioned women were performed away from the home. While there is no indication of the amount of time devoted to each job, such proportions suggest that only a minority of women receiving pensions were able to care for their children at home while working.

A discussion of work for these families would not be complete without some mention of the role children played in the family economy. Contemporary studies of the early twentieth

century documented a "composite family income" among the working class and poor. This research pointed to the secondary sources of income provided by children. Thus when a family lost its primary wage-earner, the mother was thrown into work but so too were the older children. This dynamic was not altered with the implementation of mothers' pensions. Rather families frequently lost their eligibility for aid when a child reached legal working age and his or her potential earnings were added to the family budget. During the twenty years of this study, thirty percent of all the cancelled cases were attributed to this cause.¹²

In sum, the mothers' pension program, while constructed with the language of maternalism acted less as a mechanism of domesticity upon working-poor women than as a type of workfare. Pension authorities stressed self-sufficiency to a far greater extent than previously discussed in the literature. A family's ability to provide earners, whether it be part-time mothers' wages or children over fourteen, took precedence over any ideology of maternalism present in society, and over other concerns for the role played by mothers in reducing social problems by being at home.

This evidence is not intended to return us to an explanation of the labor force control of welfare policies, however. Rather, I would like to place the question of gender and expanding state welfare in its political context. Not only did pension authorities recognize the value of self-support but they were also faced with limits of fiscal expenditures. Public programs supported by public treasuries created an external limit on the

expansion and contraction of welfare policies. The study of state policies for female-headed families needs to contend not only with controls placed on workforce participation but with the connection between political context and fiscal limits in expanding state programs.

I would like to conclude with an insight provided by Joan Scott. States are never gender neutral, but reflect and actively shape gender relations. Social welfare policies, particularly those relating to the family, have been interpreted as lying outside the realm of politics, largely due to society's inclination to privatize social relations. Historians' reliance on ideology has replicated this process and buried the political aspects of policy making. The result has been the construction of a "victim paradigm" that obscures the actions of women as well as the political context of reform. Historians must "offer a more interactive and reciprocal account of the relationship between the construction of gender roles and of states." The next step in my research will be to examine the ways in which increased political opportunities for women and expanding state capacities influenced the process of welfare formation. This discussion of politics will examine the ways in which gender and class shaped and limited women's political behavior and created alternative vehicles for women in the political process.¹³

ENDNOTES

1. Examples of an early articulation of the social control thesis as it was applied to social institutions can be found in David Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971); Michael B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968). Both authors later revised their thinking on the social control thesis in David Rothman, "Social Control: The Uses and Abuses of the Concept in the History of Incarceration." Rice University Studies, vol. 167, no. 1 (Winter, 1981), pp. 9-19; Michael Katz, "The Origins of the Institutional State," Marxist Perspectives (1977). The most influential example of the social control thesis, and also the most heavily criticized, is Frances F. Piven and Richard A. Cloward, Regulating the Poor: the Functions of Public Welfare, (Pantheon, 1971).
2. Although historical research on social reform, particularly the settlement house movement has recognized women reformers, the critical analysis of gender in these accounts was rudimentary if existent at all. See Michael Katz, In the Shadow of the Poorhouse, A Social History of Welfare in America, (New York: Basic Books, 1986).
3. Eileen Boris and Peter Bardaglio. "Gender, Race and Class: The Impact of the State on Family Economy, 1790-1945," in Families and Work, edited by Naomi Gerstel and Harriet Gross. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), pp. 132-151. For this perspective see also: Mimi Abramovitz, Regulating the Lives of Women, Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present. (Boston: South End Press, 1988); Libba Gage Moore. "Mothers' Pensions: The Origins of the Relationship between Women and the Welfare State," (PhD dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1986). Boris and Bardaglio later called for a more complex interpretation which would include the active role played by women. See "Reconstructing the "Family": Women, Progressive Reform, and the Problem of Social Control," paper presented at the Conference on Women in the Progressive Era, National Museum of American History, Washington, DC, March 10-12, 1988.
4. Linda Gordon, "Family Violence, Feminism, and Social Control," Feminist Studies 12:3 (Fall 1986): 453-478, and Heroes of Their Own Lives, The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston 1880-1960 (New York: Viking, 1988).
5. The data for this section came from the Cook County, Board of Commissioners, Charity Service Reports (1902-1927). The topic of this paper focuses on variation by sex of the head family. Variations by race and ethnicity existed as well and are included in the larger study.

6. Figures on population are from the U.S., Bureau of the Census, 12th Census, 1900, Population v. 1. The relationship between welfare and industrial cycles were found in: Cook County, Charity Service Report (1908) p. 18, (1915) p. 10-11; Cook County Board of Commissioners, Proceedings, 1920-21, p. 241.

7. The term metaphoric representation comes from Joan W. Scott, "Rewriting History," pp. 21-30 in Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars, edited by Margaret Higonnet, et al., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

8. Ideology is used to explain the formation of welfare policies for women in Mark Leff, "Consensus for Reform: The Mothers' Pension Movement in the Progressive Era," Social Service Review, vol. 47, no. 3 (September 1973): 397-417; David Rothman, "The State as Parent: Social Policy in the Progressive Era," in Willard Gaylin et al Doing Good: The Limits of Benevolence (New York: Pantheon, 1978); Molly Ladd-Taylor, "Mother-Work: Ideology, Public Policy and the Mothers' Movement, 1890-1930," (PhD, dissertation, Yale University, 1987); Susan Tiffen, In Whose Best Interest? Child Welfare Reform in the Progressive Era (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982). See also: Ann Shola Orloff, "The Politics of Pensions: A Comparative Analysis of the Origins of Pensions and Old Age Insurance in Canada, Great Britain and the United States," (PhD, Princeton, 1985).

9. U.S., Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, The Administration of the Aid-to-Mothers Law in Illinois, by Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, publication number 82 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1921), p.5.

10. *ibid.*, p.69. Charity Service Reports, Juvenile Court, Mothers' Pension Department, 1917, pp.257-273.

11. Charity Service Reports, 1917, p. 273. The percentages of jobs taken by pensioned mothers do not total one hundred because they include several jobs taken by each woman.

12. *ibid.* Single women with only one child were frequently considered ineligible for pensions because the court estimated that they would be able to balance family and work responsibilities when only one child was present.

13. Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," the American Historical Review, 91:5 (December 1986):1070.

Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, "Gender and the Origins of the Welfare State," Radical History Review 43 (1989): 112-119. The quote is from p.113. Current work on the interaction of gender and the welfare state seeks to expand the traditional boundaries of political action to include actions of women active in voluntary activities. Katherine Kish Sklar has taken this idea the furthest by suggesting that "social policy was shaped

more by voluntary associations than by legislators or civil servants." (114)

Comments on
"The Politics of Social Transformation"

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Seong Nae Kim, "Gender and the Discourse of Resistance: Reading the Autobiographical Narratives of Militant Factory Women in Korea."

Remarks:

Work can be viewed in a number of contexts: Seong Nae's work promises to make an important contribution in not only restoring political agency to female factory workers--often viewed by labor historians and sociologists as marginal because of their concentration in traditional women's industries, the low status and low pay associated with those jobs, their youth, and their allegedly unstable work patterns.

Female textile workers in Korea experience an additional form of marginalization because of their location at the periphery of a global industrial market.

Her work is exciting not only because it uncovers women involved in militant politics with a class content, but because Seong Nae can observe first-hand the construction and living out of gender and class identities among women workers in Korean textile mills. She has testimony which most historians can only dream about and will be able to gain insight into the dichotomies of family and work in working-class women's identities; by examining this "conversion experience" she will explore the ways in which women are mobilized and politicized and, in turn, mobilize and politicize; into the overlap of gender consciousness and class consciousness in autobiography and action, in the construction of the self.

Most of these things: object of speculation or purely theoretical.

Will be able to see it at work.

Empirical work that we need to deconstruct and reconstruct notions of class, of militance, of resistance, of consciousness, to rejuvenate theory, if you will.

Female agency at center of this work:

Militant actions remarkable in defiance of cultural norms--nudity, lying down in front of police and male workers.

Extreme example of something Jackie Dowd Hall uncovered for N.C. and Eleanor Gordon for Dundee, Scotland.

That women have their own forms of resistance has often been misread or ignored because this doesn't conform to notion of what is political or what constitutes resistance as defined by male workers' movements.

Even more remarkable--remained single, remained unemployed by choice and designated selves in this manner:

formed own organizations with goal of taking back jobs.

attests to identification with jobs, "careership."

own radical interpretation of Christian theology.

published narratives.

Questions:

1. Small questions: Location of resistance among single, unmarried women.

Makes sense because they work together in mills and live collectively in boarding houses.

But what about change over time? What happens to your political actors as they age and marry? How do gender identity, consciousness change?

Have the groups changed as the original members got older, perhaps married? Are their ranks replenished as some leave?

Married women's work in Korean textile industry?

How tenacious have secret women's societies been? How have they survived unemployment for years on end?

p. 11: In more general sense, why do you think that the "ideological process of the production of alternative consciousness of gender identity" occurs mainly among women who are under 30 and unmarried?

- 2: Re: global market culture:

How do you differentiate between resistance to global market culture and resistance to norms, conditions, traditions, dominant ideology of gender that are specifically Korean?

Is there something like a globally dominant gender ideology?

Where are the boundaries between national and international?

What in women's testimonies reveals global context--their own resistance to "global capitalist culture?"

Anti-imperialist component of Korean women workers' movement?

3. Relationship between 'gender and class consciousness; what is going on in "conversion experience" (I find compelling):

On p. 4 of paper you refer to the contribution of militant factor women in ripening further class consciousness of working class which emerged as a class in 1970's.

All kinds of questions about this: In what sense did class emerge?

Were women participants from the beginning?

Doesn't gender consciousness and gender-specific militance, dramatic highlighting of sexual subordination, contradict class politics of male workers' organizations? (again, European context).

you note on p. 5 that women engage in rebellious and anarchistic resistance to male co-workers and male officials yet on p. 7 seek to connect in body of solidarity with other men and women workers.

What is their connection with male workers' organizations? Do some male workers support them?

Prevalence of Marxism in male organizations? Definitions of productive and unproductive (reproductive) labor? Honor and status in labor?

Joanne Goodwin: "The State and Single Motherhood."

First, I would like to say that this is a very promising project: analyzing reasons why male-headed and female-headed families sought poor relief and differentiate between their patterns of interaction with the welfare state is the right approach.

Issues:

1. Where do the boundaries of the welfare state begin and end and what are boundaries/relationship between local and national state?

Relationship between local governments in Illinois and national policy.

Historical context of new policy, "expansion of state responsibility;" why focus/attention to single motherhood? Why did Illinois legislature enact Funds to Parents and Mothers' Pensions Acts in 1911, not earlier, not later.

How much do you know about these single mothers? How many children on the average? age of women? How many white women, black women, immigrant women? Does ethnicity play any role in how state constructs public relief during this period? How does state differentiate between women who have been "victimized" by death or desertion of husbands and those mothers who have been single mothers all along.?

2. Criticize, I think, rightly the social control thesis and wish to impart to single mothers agency in dealings with local welfare state.

Women clearly targets, sometimes victims, of emerging welfare states.

Where do you locate female agency: How did women shape, resist, force redefinition of welfare programs and policies?

I see agency in 60% of mothers with pensions who balanced the double burden of work and child-rearing, but where else might we look for it? Did women demand pensions? Did pensions allow the state to intervene in single mothers' family lives in new ways and did women resist?

At conclusion, you hint that women's political behavior has a role in formulation of welfare policies. Do you want to say more on this point? Perhaps speculate.?

3. Do you see any relationship between social control thesis and the ideology of maternalism?

It sounds like you view them as somehow contradictory because women themselves formulated and used the "metaphoric representation" of women as mothers and moral guardians.

But here is where class comes in: since it was mainly middle-class women's organizations which formulated maternalism and who propagated it through their philanthropic activities, it seems to me to also represent a form of social control.

I find very convincing your argument that single mothers' pensions contradicted maternalism in that they required able-bodied women to work, thereby emphasizing self-sufficiency at the same time.

In order to understand this contradiction, it would be helpful to know more about the historical role of maternalism in the formulation of the welfare state in the U.S., the salience of maternalism during the two decades you study.

To analyze the language of maternalism in formulation of this policy, look for signs of its transformation, breakdown, new definitions.

Class differentiation in definitions: maternalism for middle classes meant something different than for working classes?

4. One important contribution your work can make, I think, is to clarify connections between welfare and what you call "control of labor systems" or labor market.

P. 5: despite the demand for their labor, women remained on public relief.

It seems clear, however, that women who received pensions were confined to certain types of menial, low-paid jobs.

This secures the service sector in a sense.

What does broader labor market in Chicago look like at this time?

Were better-paying factory jobs available to women?

5. You raise questions concerning gender and expanding state welfare.

Needs closer examination.

On a simple level, welfare institutions and bureaucracies, which emerged between 1870 and World War II, constitute the aspect of state activities which affected women most

directly and through which women attempted to influence state-building.

Questions one must ask: What role do states play in the construction of gender? Koven and Michel (Center for European Studies at Harvard, 1987-88) seek interactive and reciprocal account of the relationship between the construction of gender roles and states.

a) How did enactment of mothers' pensions in Illinois contribute to a construction of gender? Look at history of state and construction of gender? Did pensions embody a change, a redefinition? A contradiction?

Were gender relations inscribed into ways aid was sought, administered? How did the administration of local welfare differentiate between male and female-headed families?

b) Another question is what role does gender play in the formation of states, specifically the welfare state?

Why, how does state become aware of family, of its breakdown, of single mothers, of changing role of women in workforce and its effect on family?

What role do women have in bringing to the attention of the state the conditions of their lives? in making demands upon the states for assistance? in resisting the definitions and interventions of the state?

Jean Quataert has found that welfare policies in late 19th-century Germany affected the very core of family life, transformed relations between parents and children, husbands and wives, love and labor.

6. Finally, careful differentiation between women and gender as defined by Joan Scott: social organization of relations between sexes--means focus on relations, differences in interaction of men and women, male and female labor market, with welfare system.

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