

多文化主義の中のアメリカ歴史学

ジェンダーの視点から見た女性史、男性史、全体史

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は し が き

これまでの歴史は、政治、経済、文化などの各分野において支配権を握る社会の指導者の立場から描かれてきた。これを普通の人々、あるいは社会において支配されてきた人々の視点から見直したらどうなるのだろうか。私はこうした問題意識の下に、アメリカ合衆国の歴史を研究してきたが、平成10年度、11年度の文部省科学研究費を得て、人種・エスニシティ、階級、ジェンダーの差異による諸集団の視点、すなわち多文化主義の視点からアメリカ史研究を行った。その中で特に、ジェンダーを人種・エスニシティおよび階級と絡み合わせ、それらの差異の相互関係に注目し、多文化主義の中の歴史学のあり方について考察した。

本報告は、以上の研究における成果を示すために、研究年度中に出版された論文の中2点および学会での発表予定の論文1点を所収するものである。所収論文のうち1)「多文化主義とフェミニズム—女性史からジェンダーの歴史へ」は方法論的研究であり、2)

”Private Rosies and Public Housewives: The Employment of Women During World War II in Berkeley, California”は1)の方法論に基づいた実証研究である。1)で確立したジェンダー概念に公共性の概念を導入して両概念を関連づけ、第二次大戦下のアメリカ社会を考察している。3)“Patriots or Hard-Working Young Consumers?: Teenage Employment During World War II in Berkeley, California”は、2)と同じ史料を用い、第二次大戦下のアメリカにおける10代の少年少女の雇用について、ジェンダーの視点を取り入れて考察する実証研究である。

これまでの歴史を見直すという膨大な仕事が、本研究で完結するわけでないことはいくまでもない。むしろ研究は、多文化主義の視点からのそれを皮切りに緒についたばかりである。これから、方法論、実証研究とも、さらに深め、発展させていきたい。

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研究発表

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多文化主義とフェミニズム——女性史からジェンダーの歴史へ

怒れる白人の男のバックラッシュが必ず来ると聞いていましたが、今、それが来たのです。しかし、「白人」はこの白人の男のバックラッシュの方程式のほんの一部にすぎません。方程式の他の一部分は「男」なのです。このバックラッシュに迎合するウィルソン知事のような政治家たちは、あらゆる肌の色を持った怒れる女性たちが立ち上がるのをいまに見ることになるでしょう。

ダイアン・カーパ（『サンフランシスコ・クロニクル』一九九五年七月二五日）

はじめに——多文化主義とフェミニズム

冒頭の引用は、一九九五年夏、カリフォルニア大学の理事会によるアファーマティヴ・アクション廃止の決定に反対して、当地の新聞に寄せられた投書である。アファーマティヴ・アクションは、学校や職場を構成する人間の多様性を確保するために、入学や雇用に際してとられる人種・エスニックのマイノリティや女性に対する優遇措置であるが、この投書は、「あらゆる肌の色を持った怒れる女性たち（傍点筆者）」という表現で、多文化主義とフェミニズムの関係をうまく示していた。

多文化主義もフェミニズムも一九六〇年代末以降のアメリカ社会を揺さぶった思想・運動であるが、これらを定義づけることは容易ではない。単純な見方に立てば、人種・エスニシティによる文化の差異ないし多様性を重視する多文化主義はアメリカ社会を各人種・エスニシティ集団毎に分断し、他方、女性の立場を中心に据えるフェミニズムは性の同一性に基づいた統合を指向し、両者の方向は相反するよう見える。しかし、両者は密接な関係にあり、このことは、前掲の投書が「白人の男」を両者共通の反撃目標として示唆しているところにも見られる。その関係を明らかにすることによって、多文化主義およびフェミニズムの真の意味も明らかにされるのである。

多文化主義というと、人種・エスニック集団の文化を考えることが多く、女性は忘れられがちである。しかし、多文化主義は、人種・エスニシティだけでなく、性、階級、年齢、地域、その他のカテゴリーによって分けられる全ての集団の異なる文化の価値を尊重し、これらの集団の平等な権利を求める立場である。多文化主義が、人種・民族別集団だけを射程に入れるのでは成立しないことは、近年明らかになっている。
* また、フェミニズムが性差別の撤廃だけを考えていては前進できないということも、近、理解されるようになってきているが、これは、一九九〇年頃から多文化主義の影響の下で見られた新たなフェミニズムの展開とも見られる。

* 例えば、『多文化主義事典』（*Encyclopedia of Multiculturalism*, ed. Susan Auerbach, 1994）においても、各人種・エスニシティに関する項目と並んで、女性運動、人工中絶、女性運動家・作家、同性愛など、性やジェンダーに関する項目が掲載されている。しかし階級には小さいスペースしか割いていない。

本稿では、女性の平等な権利の獲得をめざして出発したフェミニズムが、多文化主義の興隆の中でどう変化していったかを明らかにしたい。その過程において、アメリカのフェミニズムはジェンダーの概念を生み出したのであるが、このジェンダー概念が実際にどのように学問研究を変えたか、特にアメリカ女性史研究の中でどのように

ジェンダー概念が取り込まれたかも考えてみたい。そして最後に、アメリカ史がジェンダー史としていかに描かれうるか示唆したい。このことは、多文化主義の影響の下での歴史の断片化が批判される今日のアメリカ史研究において、総合的歴史へのひとつの道を暗示することになるかもしれない。（有賀、一九九〇）皮肉なことに、断片化の張本人である多文化主義を採り入れたフェミニズムの視点に立つことによって。

1. フェミニズムの変化―多文化主義からの挑戦

第二派フェミニズムへの攻撃

ここで言うフェミニズムとはいわゆる第二波のフェミニズムである。第二波フェミニズムは、女性の平等な政治的・経済的・社会的権利の獲得を要求して一九六〇年代に台頭してきた運動であったが、次第に、社会の変革、個人の意識の変革も視野に含めるようになっていった。第二派フェミニズムに参加した女性たちは、大別すると全国女性組織（NOW）などを通して活動した穏健派とインフォーマルな小グループに集まった急進派とに分けることができるが、いずれも白人中産階級出身の高い教育を受けた女性たちであることに変わりはない。第二派の特に前者のフェミニストたちは、当初は、男女の平等権を保障する憲法修正（ERA Equal Rights Amendment）を成立させることを中心目標とし、ERAは、急進派の女性たちの支持も得て、第二派フェミニストの力を結集させた。ERAは、強力な反対勢力の台頭を前に、一九八二年に不成立に終わったが、フェミニズムは、運動の展開の中で、完全な男女の平等を実現するために男女関係についての意識の変革、さらに女性の身体の完全な自由を求めるようになり、より根本的な人間関係の変革の方向へと発展していった。そして、七〇年代以降のアメリカ社会に浸透していき、女性の社会進出、家族の変化をもたらす力ともなった。しかし八〇年代以降、フェミニズムは、ERAのような具体的目標を失い衰退したと言われるようになっていく。（Brenner, 1996・De Hart, 1995）

フェミニズム「衰退」の理由としては、女性の進出や社会の変化に危機感を抱く保守的な層が勢力を増したという社会的、外的な問題と、フェミニズム自体の思想的限界といった内的な問題が考えられる。これらの問題によって、フェミニズムは全く逆の二つの方向から攻撃にさらされることになった。保守派はいわゆるバックラッシュを引き起こし、ERA阻止、近年の人工中絶反対などに見られるような激しい運動によってフェミニズムを攻撃していった。さらに、ポストフェミニズムといわれる動き、すなわち、フェミニズムが達成した女性の職場進出やより自由な性関係を当然のこととして受けとめながら、フェミニズムはもう不必要であるとする消極的ないし否定的な若い世代の動き、それにこの動きを喧伝するメディアも加わり、フェミニズムは困難な立場に立たされた。（Faludi, 1991・Whelehan, 1995・有賀、一九九七）

もう一方からの攻撃は、急進的な立場からの批判であり、フェミニズムの限界をさらけ出すものであった。一言で言えば、フェミニズムは白人中産階級の女性たちの利益を守るための運動にすぎないという批判である。黒人、アジア系、ヒスパニック系、インディアン女性、また白人の労働者階級の女性など、性差別以外の差別をより深刻なものとして経験してきた女性たちにとって、フェミニズムが唱える男女の平等は

空しく聞こえた。これは、人種・エスニシティ、階級による差別をより大きく問題視するいわば多文化主義からの攻撃でもあり、「衰退」の状態にあった第二派フェミニズムに新たな展開への活力を与えたのは、この多文化主義からの攻撃であった。

多文化主義からの攻撃の背景

多文化主義からのフェミニズム攻撃の背景として次のことが考えられる。第一に、アメリカ女性の中の人種や階級によるギャップの広がり。フェミニズム運動の恩恵を受けて高収入が得られる専門・管理職に就く白人女性が増える一方で、子供を持つ貧しいシングル・マザーたちが特に黒人やヒスパニックの女性の中に増えていた。例えば、一九九三年に、黒人の母子家庭は五七、七パーセント、ヒスパニック系では六〇、五パーセントが貧困家庭となっている。第二派フェミニズムの成果とも言えるアフーマティヴ・アクションは、確かに、これまで白人男性が独占してきた職場や大学の門を広げ、その結果、多くの特に白人中産階級の女性が専門職や管理職に就くことになった。しかし、マイノリティの労働者階級の女性たちが低賃金のいわゆる「女性の職場」で働くという状況は変わらなかった。こうした女性たちの中の極端な相違が示されることによって、女性がひとつの集団ではないことが露呈された。(Costello and Krimgold, 1996・有賀、一九九七)

第二に、公民権運動を経験した黒人、アジア系、ヒスパニック、インディアンなどのマイノリティが、一九六〇年代以降次第に力を増し、八〇年代頃から、白人中心のアメリカ文化に同化するのではなく、人種・エスニック集団独自の文化を保持することを何よりも優先視する多文化主義が興隆したことがある。多文化主義は、白人リベラルの支持も得て、一九八〇年代までには、初等・中等教育における教育、さらに大学におけるカリキュラムにまで影響を与えるようになっていた。(D'Souza, 1991・*Journal of Social History*, 1995) こうした中で、白人中産階級女性主導のフェミニズムも批判されることになった。

第三は、働く女性が増える中で、マイノリティを含んだ労働者階級の女性の中にフェミニズムが浸透していったことが注目される。一九六〇年頃までは、過酷な労働条件の下で働く労働者の女性たちは特別な保護を必要とし、フェミニストたちは職場での賃金・昇進の上での完全な男女の平等を求め、女性に対する特別な保護は差別に通じるとして反対し、女性労働者たちと対立することが多かった。しかし、労働条件が全体的に改善されるにつれ、労働者の女性たちも、特別な保護規定はかえって女性を賃金・昇進などにおいて不利な立場に置くと感じるようになった。そしてフェミニズムを受け容れるようになると、フェミニズムが中産階級の女性の利益を追求するものであることに不満を持ち出した。(Kessler-Harris, 1982)

このような背景において、フェミニズムは多文化主義から攻撃を受けることになった。女性としての一体性を前提とするフェミニズムと人種および文化の相違を最も重視する多文化主義の対立の構図を描くことは容易であろうが、両者は密接に絡み合っている。多文化主義によるフェミニズム批判の検討に入る前に、多文化主義自体の性格を明確にしておきたい。

多文化主義における「差異」と「多様性」

普通、多文化主義は人間の「差異」に基づいて形成される諸集団の文化の「多様性」を重視し擁護する立場ないし思想・運動であると定義できるだろう。この意味をさらに追究すると、「差異」と「多様性」が対立する概念でもあることがわかってくる。現実において、多文化主義にはアメリカ社会の「多様性」を確保することを目的とする側面と、あくまでも集団間の「差異」を重視する側面とがあり、そのいずれかの強調の度合いによって多文化主義の中にまた新たな相違をつくっている。しかも「差異」を重視する多文化主義（これを便宜的に「差異の多文化主義」とする）と「多様性」を重視する多文化主義（これを便宜的に「多様性の多文化主義」とする）の間での対立が見える。

「多様性の多文化主義」では、サラダボールの比喻のように、アメリカ社会の中に多様な文化を持った集団が調和しながら共存することが理想である。学校のカリキュラムでは、人種・エスニックのマイノリティの文化を反映した教材が採り入れられ、二カ国語による教育も支持される。例えば、ダイアン・ラヴィッチは、マイノリティや女性の歴史を加えることによって「全ての人種・エスニック集団の（生徒たち）に彼らがアメリカ社会の一員であるとの信念を持たせ」、人種、宗教、ジェンダー、エスニシティなどに関係なく、誰でもが能力を発揮できると考えるように教育すべきことを主張し、それによってより豊かなアメリカ人共通の文化を求めるのだとしていた。(Ravitch, 1990・Talaki, 1993) また企業や研究・教育機関においてアファーマティブ・アクションが推進され、近年は経営学でも、「企業の多文化主義戦略」が求められている。マイノリティや女性の雇用を推進しているかどうかはもはや問題ではなく、労働力の多様性を前提とした上で、「会社のどの人間も、性、人種、国籍が同じであるかのごとく」能率的に働き、生産性を上げることが課題となる。経営者は、多様な人間を会社の文化に同化させるのではなく、「同化されない多様性を許容しうる文化をつくるべきだ」とされる。ここでは、労働者は多様性が容認されるとは言え企業の生産性向上のための能率的行動が要求されるのであり、アンジェラ・デイヴィスの言うように、結果として企業文化への同化を意味することになる。(Davis, 1996) こうした「多様性の多文化主義」においては、社会、企業、国家が多様性を包摂してしまい構造的な変化は起こらず、支配集団の地位を根本的に脅かすことはない。

他方、「差異の多文化主義」は、人種・エスニシティ、性による差異がそれぞれの集団間の支配・対立関係を伴うものであることを強調し、被支配集団は多様性という形で社会の中に調和して存在するのではなく、独自の文化を維持するために支配集団の文化に挑戦することになると考える。そして支配集団による多様性の許容によって社会の中の差異が中和化されることを警戒する。この立場に立つアンジェラ・デイヴィスは「差異によって変化をもたらす多文化主義」こそ意味のある多文化主義であると述べる。(Davis, 1996)

アーサー・シュレジンガーなどのオールドリベラルや保守派が、多文化主義は伝統的な意味でのアメリカ社会の統合を脅かし「アメリカの分裂」を招くとして攻撃するのは、この「差異の多文化主義」である。(Shelesinger, 1992) 「差異の多文化主義」から見れば、「多様性の多文化主義」は現存の社会の中に異なる要素の存在を並立的

に認めるだけであり、それらの階層的な関係、相互の対立は「多様性」の中に解消され、被支配集団である人種・エスニックのマイノリティの復権は達成されず、社会変革の道にはならないことになる。そして、この対立を内包する差異を重視する多文化主義は女性の中の差異を強調し、女性は被抑圧者として一個の集団を形成するという前提に立って運動を進めてきたフェミニズムを批判することになった。

フェミニズムを率いてきた白人中産階級の女性は、第一の問題は男性による女性支配であり、家父長制を打倒することが「全て」の女性の解放を意味すると考えた。資本主義体制を崩壊させることによって女性は解放されるとするマルクス主義の立場に立つフェミニストもいたが、「全て」の女性が家父長制の下での被抑圧者であるとの認識は共有していたと言える。そして、フェミニストたちは被抑圧者としての女性の繋がり、すなわちシスターフッドを強調した。そこでは、女性の中の人種・エスニシティ、階級による違いは認識されず、マイノリティの女性は、当然、「女性」のカテゴリー中に包摂されるものと考えられていた。フェミニズムが発生の当初から、他者の利益ではなく、女性としてのアイデンティティに基づく自己の利益・権利を追求するいわゆるアイデンティティ・ポリティクスの性格を有し、その担い手が白人中産階級という人種・エスニシティ、階級においてほぼ同一と言える集団であったことを考えれば当然とも言えよう。しかし、黒人や他の人種・エスニックのマイノリティ、そして労働者の女性たちの多くがフェミニズムに加わるようになると、問題になったのはこの点だった。例えば、黒人女性は、女性として性差別を受けることも事実であったが、それ以上に黒人として人種差別を強く感じる者が多かった。また、中産階級の妻にとって家庭外の仕事は自立への道に通じ生きがいになり得ても、労働者の妻にとって、それはぎりぎりの生活を維持するための辛い労働以外の何ものでもなかった。こうして、「差異」を重視する多文化主義から見ると女性の同質性を基盤にするフェミニズムは受け入れ難いことになった。

しかし根本的には、性的差異による差別に対して闘ってきたフェミニズムは、差異による差別一般と闘う多文化主義とつながるはずである。冒頭の投書者による「白人の男のバックラッシュ」に対する「あらゆる肌の色を持った怒れる女性たち」の反撃の警告は、この関係を示唆している。多文化主義を実現するために打倒すべきなのは「白人の男」による支配体制であるが、それは同時に性差別を維持してきた体制でもある。そして、この関係を浮かび上がらせる働きをしたのは黒人などのマイノリティの女性たちだった。

2. ポストコロニアリズムのフェミニズム批判

黒人、その他のマイノリティ女性からのフェミニズム批判

フェミニズムの人種差別的傾向は一九七〇年代から黒人やその他のマイノリティの女性たちから指摘されていた。黒人などのマイノリティ女性は、白人女性が主導権を握るフェミニズム運動において、人種的に劣位に置かれ、周辺に置かれたり排除されたりし、差別感を感じていた。また、特に黒人女性は公民権運動においても、男性の補助や下働きの仕事をさせられ、ここでは性による差別を痛感していた。この人種と

性による二重の差別状況に対して、黒人女性は「挑戦したり、問題にしたり、批判したり」せず、「反応しただけだった」と、ベル・フックスは言う。「多くの黒人女性は、女性解放は『白人女性の愚行』として非難したり、他の黒人女性たちは、黒人フェミニストのグループを作ったりすることで反応した」のであり、黒人の女性であること、つまり性と人種の抑圧の犠牲者であることの意味を考えることはしなかったと言う。(hooks, 1981) しかし、フックスのいう黒人女性の「反応」も、以下に示すように、新たなフェミニズムの展開に重要な役割を果たしていたように思われる。

一九六〇年代からフェミニズムに参加していた黒人フェミニストは、これと離れて活動する必要性を感じ、一九七三年、「全国黒人フェミニスト組織」を設立した。その主旨は、一九七七年にボストンの黒人フェミニスト・グループ「コンバヒー・リバー・コレクティヴ」が出した「黒人フェミニスト声明」に最も良く現れている。「声明」は、「黒人、他の第三世界、労働者の女性たちは、フェミニスト運動に発足当時から加わったが、フェミニズム運動外部の反動的勢力および運動内部の人種差別主義、エリート主義の両者が、我々の参加を見えなくしてしまった」とする。そして「声明」は、ラディカルな政治が他人の抑圧ではなく、自分自身のアイデンティティを問題にするところから出て来ること、性と人種による被抑圧者の解放は「家父長制だけでなく資本主義および帝国主義の政治・経済システムの破壊」を必要とすること、したがって黒人フェミニストは社会主義者であることを明言している。また、性による被抑圧者には同性愛者も入るが、白人レズビアン分離主義は、性以外の女性抑圧の要素、すなわち人種や階級を否定しているとして退ける。「声明」は全体として、人種的、性的、異性愛的、階級的抑圧のシステムは相互に絡み合っていることを明確にしており、後のポストコロニアリズムを先取りしていたとも言え、白人フェミニズムの人種差別に対する「反応」以上のものを提供していたように見える。(Moraga and Anzaldúa, 1983)

このような黒人のフェミニズム運動は多くの黒人女性の支持を得ることはできなかった。まず、一般の黒人女性においては、「フェミニズムはしばしば白人女性の権利の運動と同一視され」、また、レズビアンの運動であると考えた女性も多く、受け入れ難かった。黒人女性の作家や評論家たちも「フェミニズム」が白人中産階級の世界観に立つものであると考え、「フェミニスト」であることに違和感を持った。例えば、アリス・ウォーカーは、白人のフェミニストと区別して、「ウーマニスト」ということばをつくり出した。(Whelehan, 1995・Hewitt, 1992)

また、ベル・フックスのように、自ら「フェミニスト」を名のり女性全体の解放をめざす「真」のフェミニズムの構築をめざす者にとっても、黒人女性の分離運動が解決策になるとは考えられなかった。フックスは、「黒人フェミニスト」の分離運動はフェミニズム内部の人種隔離を進め、攻撃しているはずの人種差別をむしろ支持する「反動的」な動きとして批判した。彼女たちの組織は、白人女性運動家の組織の人種差別的な綱領にそっくりの綱領をつくり、白人女性たちが自分たちに課したと同じ条項を受け容れているとした。そして、黒人女性フェミニストのグループの興隆は女性解放運動内部の黒人と白人の分離をさらに広げ、両者の相違が乗り越えられないものであることを示したと論じた。黒人女性の分離活動は、白人中産階級女性のフェミニ

ズムにおける差別に「反応」しただけであり、フェミニズムの内部で人種ないし人種差別を問題にする機会をなくし、白人中産階級女性主導のフェミニズムは何も変わらないと批判したのだった。(hooks, 1981)

フックスのめざすのはフェミニズム自体の変革、全ての女性を解放する「真の」フェミニズムの構築であり、それによってアメリカおよび世界の抑圧システム全体を崩壊させることであった。したがって、前掲の「黒人フェミニスト声明」は、黒人女性抑圧の要素である人種、性、異性愛、階級が相互に絡み合っていることを明確に示してはいても、分離的行動は黒人女性のゲットー化によって人種の垣根をつくり、女性間の分離を押し進め、現状の抑圧システムを維持することになると考えられたのであろう。「アメリカ史を通して白人男性は白人女性と黒人女性の間の敵意や分裂を助長させてきた。白人の家父長制権力構造はふたつの集団を相互に闘わせ、女性の間に関連が育つことを防ぎ、家父長制支配下の女性の従属者としての地位を固定させている」と述べている。フックスによれば、白人男性は、性役割の変化による白人女性の社会的地位の向上も、従来の女性の役割を担う別の女性（マイノリティや労働者階級）が存在する限り、支持するのである。(hooks, 1981)つまり、白人女性の地位が変化しても従来の女性の役割自体は変化せず、家父長制の下での性差別は、人種・階級差別を通しての女性の分離によって温存されることになる。

人種・エスニックのマイノリティ女性の側からのフェミニズム批判は、黒人だけでなくヒスパニック系、アジア系、インディアンなどの女性たちからも出ていた。そうした批判の声を表現し、その後のフェミニズムや多文化主義の展開に大きな影響力を与えたと見られるのは、一九八一年の、「急進的有色女性による作品」を収めた『私の背中という橋』の出版であった。これは、アフリカ系アメリカ人女性と第三世界からの移民女性が詩、エッセイ、評論などを通して性、人種、階級による差別を暴き出そうとするものだった。編者のチェリー・モラガは、自称「チカナ、混血（黒人が半分―筆者中）、フェミニスト、レズビアン、作家、教師、話し手、ウェイトレス」であり、Moraga and Anzaldua, 1983) 一九七九年に白人女性のフェミニスト組織がそのエリート主義、人種差別主義を認めようとしないうちに絶望して、有色女性フェミニストの感情や意識、考えを表現するためにこの書を計画した。出版に当たり、「全ての女性たち―特に白人中産階級の女性たち―にフェミニストとしての私たちを特別のものにしているしている経験を伝えたい。私たちはフェミニスト運動内部の不寛容、偏見、差異などの事例を検討し、女性の分断の原因、根源、解決法を追究するつもりである。そして、私たちにとっての『フェミニスト』の意味を広げ、定義づけたい」と述べている。(Kanneh, 1998・Moraga and Anzaldua, 1983)

この書の作品では、女性を分断する根源としての人種、性的傾向、階級の差異の問題が中心的に取り上げられている。その中で詩人のオードリ・ロードは、単なる差異の許容は最もひどい改良主義であり、差異は許容されるものとしてだけでなく、相互に「対立する」中で「創造性がきらめく」ことを可能にする、両極に蓄積された必要物として見なければならないとする。社会の標準と異なる女性、すなわちレズビアン、黒人、高齢、貧困の女性たちは、自由に生きられる世界をつくるために、社会のアウトサイダーとして社会の基準に従うのではなく差異を武器にすべきであると訴える。

そして、「主人の道具（基準一筆者注）は主人の家を決して壊しはしない。その道具は主人のゲームで主人を一時的に負かすことあるかもしれないが、真の変革をもたらすことを可能にはしない」と述べるのだった。（Lorde, 1979）

『私の背中というこの橋』は、文化的人種的に異なる集団を含めた広範なフェミニズムの運動を提起して、白人の支配するフェミニズムに挑戦した点において重要な意味があった。そこでは、同性・異性愛の有色女性の著者たちが、それぞれの体験を心の奥底から語りかけ、全体として白人女性のフェミニズムに代わる「全女性」のためのフェミニズムを示している。一九八〇年代初めにこの書が訴えた第三世界とアフリカ系アメリカ人の女性の連帯は、その後、いわゆるポストコロニアリズムのフェミニズムの中でより体系化され議論されることになる。

ポストコロニアリズムのフェミニズム

そうしたフェミニズムの代表的理論家の一人とされる前述のベル・フックスは、アフリカ系アメリカ女性の従属を奴隷制における人種・性差別にさかのぼって説明し、白人男性支配の資本主義・帝国主義体制が人種・性・階級による差別を持続させていること、これが女性を分裂させ、フェミニズムをゆがめてきたことを明らかにした。フックスは、この体制に組み込まれている性差別をなくすための条件として全女性の連帯を強調したが、「シスターフッド」についてはその欺瞞性を指摘した。「ブルジョアの女性解放家」たちは、性的「被抑圧者」としての共通の立場から女性たちが連携する「シスターフッド」を唱えてきたが、これは正しくない。なぜなら「シスターフッド」の核とされる「共通の抑圧」の観念は、女性たちが人種差別主義、階級的特権、異性愛主義などの偏見によって分裂している現実をごまかし、女性による女性の搾取・抑圧を覆い隠すものであるからである。また、黒人女性は白人至上主義を受け容れることによって人種差別主義を内面化し、搾取に甘んじ、ブルジョア白人フェミニストは貧しい女性を家事労働者として搾取することによって社会で活躍する。このように、女性の中の差異に基づく支配関係が存在していると説明する。フックスは、女性の連帯を妨げてきた原因として、白人中産階級女性主導のフェミニズムにおける人種差別、階級差別を追及し、「全ての女性」の共通の利益のための「連帯」、すなわち真のシスターフッドの形成を訴えたのだった。（hooks, 1984）

黒人、アジア系、ヒスパニック系、インディアンなどのフェミニストによって展開されたフェミニズム攻撃における議論は、女性の中の差異を強調しながら、全女性の連帯を志向していたが、ポストコロニアリズムは、フックスにも見られるように、より包括的に白人男性の支配体制をとらえる理論を提供することになった。ポストコロニアリズムが扱うのは、「移住、奴隷制、抑圧、抵抗、表象、差異、人種、ジェンダー、場所、そして歴史・哲学・言語学についての帝国主義ヨーロッパの影響力のあった大家の言説に対する反応に関する議論や経験」であり、それは被植民者たちが話したり書いたりしてきたことによって明らかになるものとされる。女性は、ポストコロニアリズムにおいては、家父長支配によって「植民地化」された「他者」として他の植民地化された人々と同じであるが、女性の中にさらに支配関係があり、第三世界の女性たちは「帝国主義と家父長制のイデオロギー」によって「二重に植民地化」され

てきたということになる。(Ashcrofr, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1995・Suleri, 1995・Mohanty, 1991) ポストコロニアリズムにおいて、「コロニアル」は地理的歴史的な第三世界のことを指すだけでなく、支配という抽象的な意味を持ち、世界の植民地化、すなわち支配関係が人種・エスニシティ、階級、性による差異の視点で説明される。そして、白人中産階級のフェミニストはこの支配関係を認識せず、黒人などのマイノリティや労働者階級、また同性愛者を無視、時には敵対視さえしてきたと批判することになる。

こうしたポストコロニアリズムの理論は、黒人などのマイノリティの女性が提起してきた問題を、植民地時代以来世界を支配してきた西欧の政治的経済的文化的ヘゲモニーの大きな枠組みの中に位置づけていることに意義があるだろう。これまで、白人中産階級の女性のフェミニズムから見捨てられ、あるいはフェミニズムを避けてきた労働者階級やマイノリティの女性たちも一緒に、全ての女性が女性として連帯することを、ポストコロニアリズムのフェミニストは訴える。

3. ジェンダーの視点

ジェンダー概念の導入

こうして、バックラッシュとマイノリティからの攻撃に板ばさみにされ、フェミニズムも積極的に新たな理論を探ることになる。その中で出てきたのが、ジェンダーの概念だった。このジェンダーという概念も定義するのは困難であるが、一般に受け入れられているジェンダーとセックスの区別、すなわち「ジェンダー」は「生物学的な性別を示すセックスに対して、社会的・文化的に形成される性別」（『広辞苑』第四版）という説明は誤解を生じさせるおそれがある。ジェンダーが社会的に形成されるのに対し、「セックス」は生物学的に動かせない事実としてとらえられてしまうからである。生物学も時代と社会の文化的制約の中で構築されるものだということが、科学者の間でも言われるようになっていく今日、男と女という性差の生物学的な二分法も文化の産物ということになる。ジェンダー概念の構築において、フェミニストの真の意図は、生物学的性差を固定化することではなかった。例えば、ジュディス・バトラーは、「この『セックス』という概念はジェンダー同様文化的に構成されるもの」であり、「実際には、常にジェンダーがそこに存在し、セックスとジェンダーの違いは全く違いではなくなった」と考える。さらに、「当然の前提としてのセックスの提示は、ジェンダーが指定した文化構成装置がもたらしたものとして理解する必要がある」と述べる。(Butler, 1990・上野、一九九五・館、一九九六)

ジョーン・スコットは、ジェンダーを「知覚された性差に基づく社会関係の構成要素」と説明しているが、ここでスコットが意味しているのは、性差が一定の文化的社会的状況において「知覚された」ものであるということである。また、ここで言う、「性差に基づく社会関係」とは男性支配の権力関係のことである。すなわちジェンダーは一セックスも一歴史的社会的文脈の中でつくられる流動的なものであり、ジェンダーを決定するのはその社会の支配者ということになるが、この考え方がポストモダニズムの言語学理論の影響を受けていることはスコットも認めるところである。

(Scott, 1988) すなわち、ことばが反映する固定した現実というものはなく、ことばはその時代・社会における支配者の言説の中で意味づけられるのであり、「男」と「女」の意味も絶対的なものではないとする考えである。(Waugh, 1998・Bordo, 1990) こうしたジェンダーの概念を取り込んだフェミニズムは、女性および男女の範疇では括れない人間も含めての男性以外の性の、男性支配からの解放を考えるようになった。

性関係を人間の差異に基づく権力関係としてみるジェンダー概念は、性差別を白人男性による人種、階級、性の差異に基づく世界支配の枠組みの中でとらえるポストコロニアリズムにおいても有効になる。こうして、フェミニズムは、多文化主義からの攻撃の中でジェンダー概念を採り入れることにより、新たな展開を示すことになった。フェミニズムがつくり出したジェンダー概念は、マルクス主義における階級と同様に、人間の間を明らかにする上で大きく貢献することになったと言えるだろう。

ジェンダー概念によってフェミニズムが多文化主義と結びついたことは、今日の学問・思想の状況においては必然的成り行きだったようにも思える。このことは、フェミニズム、多文化主義それぞれの中心概念でもあるセックスとジェンダー、人種とエスニシティの関係の類似から言える。一般的に、人間は生物学的にセックスおよび人種の違いによって分類されてきた。しかし、一九七〇年代になって、文化的差異を表す概念として人種よりもエスニシティが、八〇年代になって、セックスよりもジェンダーの用語が使われるようになってきた。多文化主義の中で、生物学的な差異としての人種に対して文化的差異を表すとされるエスニシティの語がより頻繁に使用される一方で、フェミニズムの中でも同じ時に、生物学的なセックスよりも文化的な性差とされるジェンダーを重視するようになってきたこと、そして、この同時性は注目される。しかも、生物学的固定的差異と見られてきた人種やセックスさえも、時代や社会の文化的文脈の中で変化する流動的な観念であると考えようになっている。この背景には、先に触れたようなポストモダンの思潮があるように見える。しかし、文化が人種やセックスの観念をつくり出すという考え方は、生物学決定論に代わる文化決定論に陥る可能性があると言ったら過言であろうか。こうした文化的差異を重視する思想的状況の中で、性的差異による差別を問題にするフェミニズムがジェンダーを採り入れたのは当然とも言え、このジェンダー概念を媒介にして、エスニシティを中心に据える多文化主義との合流が可能になったのではないだろうか。

女性史からジェンダーの歴史へ

アメリカの女性史をジェンダーの視点から見直したらどうなるだろうか。一九七〇年代以降アメリカの女性史研究はめざましい発展を遂げたが、その特徴はフェミニズムと新しい社会史の視点だった。新しい社会史とは、一言で言えば、「普通の人々の視点で普通の人々の歴史を描き出す歴史」ということになるが、七〇年代以降のアメリカ史研究の牽引力となり、女性史はこれを取り入れて大きく飛躍した。そのアメリカ女性史は、「男性支配」に対して女性たちがどう考え行動したかというフェミニズムの関心と、その中で「普通的女性」がいかなる役割を果たしたかと新しい社会史の関心において研究が為された。そうした関心から女性史を説明するための概念として、

「領域」つまり家庭を中心とした女性の領域という概念が生み出された。「領域」は白人中産階級の女性を対象にした歴史研究の中から生まれたものだったことはいまでもない。領域の概念を使ったアメリカ女性（白人中産階級女性）の歴史は次のような筋書きになる。

女性は、独立革命によって完全な市民とはならなかったが、共和国の市民を育てるべく、高い道徳を備えた「共和国の母」として国家のために尽くす任務を負わされるようになった。そして、産業革命は性別役割分業をもたらし、女性たちに家庭を中心とした「領域」をあてがった。そして、男性のいない自分たちの領域内で女性たちは自律性を確立し、家庭および社会の道徳の守護神たるべき「共和国の母」の役割を果たしながら、女性としての共通の意識にめざめ、シスターフッドを築いていった。このシスターフッドを土台に、男性支配に立ち向かい、女性の領域自体を突き崩すフェミニズムへと進むことになったというものである。（Cott, 1977・Kerber, 1980・有賀、一九八八）

この女性史は、フェミニズムが一部のエリート女性によって指導されたのではなく、「普通の女性」たちの日常生活の中から生まれてきたということを明らかにした点で、方法論的にもアメリカ史研究に貢献した。しかし、この女性史にも、人間の関係性で見るジェンダーの視点でみると欠陥がある。ここでは女性の領域の中のことは明らかにされたが、外の世界との関係はほとんど無視されていた。これが女性史のゲットー化という批判にも繋ることになった。

より重要な欠陥は、この女性史における「男性支配」「普通の女性」というキーワード自体にあった。つまり、「男性」とは白人男性のことであるが白人ということとはほとんど意識されていない。また「普通の女性」も、白人中産階級で女性全体を代表させ、黒人などの人種・エスニックマイノリティや労働者の女性は視野に入っていない。ところが、ジェンダーの視点に立つと、女性内部の人種・民族、階級などによる差異に眼を向けることになり、それまでの女性史の中心的テーマであったシスターフッドは、白人中産階級女性のいわば仲間意識ということになり、かえって女性を分断していたことになる。ベル・フックスは、アメリカ史において常に黒人は男の黒人を指し、女性は白人中産階級女性を指し、黒人女性は黒人の中にも女性の中にも入れられてこなかったことを指摘したが、(hooks, 1981) ジェンダーにおける差異の力関係の視点に立つと、黒人女性は女性の中でも黒人の中でも無視できない存在として浮かび上がる。

差異による支配関係によって社会をとらえるジェンダーの視点から見ると、アメリカ社会は、性差別社会であると同時に、人種差別社会、階級社会でもあるということになる。そして、アメリカの歴史は、黒人を奴隷（人種差別）として、マイノリティや移民を低賃金労働者（階級差別）として、女性を市民や労働者の再生産者として利用することにより（性差別）、白人男性支配の下に資本主義経済の発展を推し進め、市民国家の発展を成し遂げた歴史ということになり、女性もこの中に位置づけることになる。

ジェンダーで見るアメリカ史

これまでの女性史では、女性の領域だけをみてきたが、ジェンダーの歴史では、男性の領域とその内部の多様な集団が、女性の領域や領域内の様々な女性の集団と並列して、しかし対等ではない関係で研究の視野に入ってくる。そしてさらに、二つの領域のどちらにも属さない人々も加えて、それら相互の関係を見ることになる。女性史が興隆する以前の伝統的な歴史は全て男性の歴史であったとも言えるのであるが、ここで登場する男性史はジェンダーの歴史としての男性史であり、意味は全く違う。ジェンダーは、女性だけでなく男性の行動も規定してきたとの認識から、職場や政治の場を中心にした男性の領域における男性の意識や行動が研究テーマになるが、これは、政治や経済の指導者たちの伝統的な歴史ではない。男たちの日々の労働や活動を明らかにして、それを女性の領域と関連づけて、全体として、ジェンダー社会としてのアメリカ社会の形成を明らかにしていくのである。いわば、フェミニズムと新しい社会史の視点から男性に焦点を当てた歴史であり、女性史の新たな展開ということもできるだろう。(Kimmel, 1996)

女性史の先駆者のガーダ・ラーナーは、二〇年前、「私たちにとって必要なのは伝統的な歴史と女性史を総合する全体史だ」と言ったが、当時はこれは、非常に遠大な目標のように思えた。しかし、男性史の研究者も言うように、これでは全体史にはならない。つまり、伝統的な歴史は真の男性史ではないからである。(Carnes and Griffen, 1990) 男性のエリートの歴史だったからである。男性の歴史もジェンダーの視点を入れてみなおす「新しい男性史」の登場により、初めて全体史へと通じるのである。

次にジェンダー史のひとつの具体例として、男子普通選挙権の意味に言及したい。一九世紀初期の白人成年男子普通選挙権の一般化は、アメリカ社会の平等化の例としてあげられるが、ジェンダーの視点から見ると必ずしもそうならない。まず、それ以前選挙権を持っていたのは一定の財産を所有していた者であり、財産を持たない白人男性、白人女性、黒人が、非有権者として同等の立場にあった。ところが白人男性が有権者の中に入ると、白人女性や黒人が取り残され、白人女性および黒人側から見ると白人男性との間の不平等は広がったことになる。さらに、憲法修正一五条は黒人全体ではなく黒人男性の選挙権を保証したのであり、ここでは女性が取り残され、法的な政治参加の権利の観点から見ると、黒人男性に対しても女性の地位は低下したことになる。

最後にジェンダー社会の成立、発展の歴史としてのアメリカ史の全体的なアウトラインを提示してみたい。まず、ジェンダー社会とは、ジェンダーによって規定される社会とする。そこでは、経済面において、生産労働が非生産労働と区別され、男は家庭の外で生産労働に就き、女は家庭で非生産労働とされる家事・育児を行うといった性別役割分業が規定されている。政治面においても、政治を行い国家を動かすのは男であり、女は間接的に、男を育てる母親として、また夫を通して、あるいは男たちを援護することによって政治に関わるものとされる。さらに、男らしさ女らしさの性イメージが固定され、人々はそのイメージに従って行動することを余儀なくされる。そして、性差は男と女の二極に限定され、それ以外は認められない。

アメリカにおけるこうしたジェンダー社会の成立を見ると、まず、独立革命以降の初期の共和国において、男性については選挙権を含めた市民の権利と義務を明示し、

女性には暗黙に「共和国の母」の資格を与えたが、これは市民権のジェンダー化を意味していた。それに続く一九世紀における民主政治の展開の下では、普通選挙権に基づいた男性による政党政治とその外側での女性たちの政治的な社会運動に示されるような政治における性別役割分業、すなわち政治のジェンダー化が進んだ。そして、産業革命以降の産業化の中での男は職場、女は家事・育児、また職場内での男女の分離といった、労働のジェンダー化が起こり、さらにこうした社会の動きの中での近代家族の形成に見られた家族のジェンダー化によって、ジェンダー社会は固められていった。こうして確立したジェンダー社会は、二〇世紀にはいると変化を強いられながらも、今日まで息づいているのである。

おわりに

以上、多文化主義とフェミニズムの対立関係を検討し、その中からフェミニズムが生み出したジェンダー概念のフェミニズムおよび歴史研究における有効性を見てきた。つまり、フェミニズムは、人間の差異の関係を意味するジェンダーを取り込むことにより、「差異の多文化主義」と融合し、より包括的な「真の」フェミニズムを提起したポストコロニアリズムに答えることを可能にした。また、女性史も、ジェンダーの視点により、女性を単一の集団にとらえず、また、女性だけでなく男性や他の性集団も含むより広い研究へと発展してきた。さらに、ジェンダーの視点は、アメリカ史の中の多様な要素を関連づけ、構造的にとらえることを可能にするように見える。

最後に、人種とセックス、エスニシティとジェンダーの関係が対応している点に再度触れておきたい。人種もセックスも、人間の生物学的な差異として絶対的に考えられ、人間を区分するカテゴリーとして長い間用いられてきたが、近年その意味が疑問視され、人種にかわってエスニシティが、セックスにかわってジェンダーが用いられることが多くなっている。いずれにおいても、社会的文化的状況の中で創られるとされる概念への移行である。これが何を意味するかを考えると、現代の思想状況という膨大なまた別の深みに入り込みそうである。ここでは、次のことだけを記しておきたい。それは、私たちの多くが、生物学を含めた人間の「知」を疑問視し、「知」をつつてきた社会・時代の文化の力を重視するようになってきたということである。そして、その文化の背後にあった「白人男性」、これは冒頭にあげた投書にでてきた言葉であるが、この「白人男性」の権力を打ち壊そうとするところで、多文化主義もフェミニズムも繋がるということが言えるのではないだろうか。

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PRIVATE ROSIES AND PUBLIC HOUSEWIVES: THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN DURING WORLD WAR II IN BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Natsuki Aruga

Introduction

Over the past two decades, the concepts of public and private and the relationships between them have developed into a major framework for research and writing by historians of women and the family and have become a central issue in debates among political and social theorists. The research reported in this paper explores the employment of American women during World War II in light of the current discussions surrounding the dichotomy of public/private. Before going further into the study, let me note that the terms public and private are by no means fixed terms. Their contexts and boundaries vary with the exigencies of time and society.¹ The terms take on different meanings even for those who are engaged in the current debates and studies involving the dichotomy of the public/private concept. In general, one can delineate the difference as that between two schools of thought, represented by historians of women and the family on the one side and by social-political theorists on the other. It is beyond the scope of this paper, and my ability, to propose any theoretical argument regarding the discrepancy between the two groups, but it may be necessary to make a few remarks, so that the relevancy of my study may find its mark among the ongoing scholarly debates concerning public and private.

Historians of women and the family, on the one hand, have since the 1970s largely worked with a framework of separate male and female spheres. These spheres contain distinct domains of public and domestic (private), production and reproduction/consumption, and culture and nature.² According to these studies, women have been assigned the domestic (private) sphere to do the reproductive work of child-bearing and -rearing and housework, while men have pursued productive work and political activities in the public sphere.³ Hence these historians have

¹ Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 5.

² Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, "Women, Culture, Society: A theoretical Overview," in *Women, Culture and Society*, ed. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 17-42; Sherry B. Ortner, "Is Female to Nature as Nature Is to Culture?" in *Women, Culture and Society*, pp. 67-87.

³ Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1790-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the*

assumed a separation between the public male world of politics and productive work and the private female world of family, domesticity, reproduction and consumption. With this assumption they would expect that women's work outside the home would indicate change in the functions and meanings of these separate spheres which would eventually lead to gender equality.⁴

While historians of women and the family were applying this concept of the separate spheres to their studies of specific historical topics, social and political theorists, on the other hand, elaborated on the historical development of the idea of public/private and its meaning for democratic society.⁵ For the last decade or so, their discussions have centered on the idea of the "public sphere" presented by the German political philosopher Jurgen Habermas. The publication of an English translation of his book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* in 1989 sparked heated debates over the question of public/private among American scholars from various disciplinary camps, and, importantly, these camps included feminist scholars. In that work, Habermas extolled the "bourgeois public sphere" which had come into existence in eighteenth-century Western Europe. According to Habermas, the public sphere is the sphere of private citizens who come together to openly discuss matters of general, public interest. It is here that he finds the critical open discourse that will resist the "state" authority and protect a democratic political structure.⁶

Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); and for an overview of women's history see Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988): 9-39; and Susan M. Reverby and Dorothy O. Helly, Introduction: Converging on History," in *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp.1-24.

⁴ Carole Pateman, "The Patriarchal Welfare State," in *Feminism, the Public and the Private*, pp. 242-255; Leonore Davidoff, "Regarding Some 'Old Husbands' Tales': Public and Private in Feminist History," in *Feminism, the Public and the Private*, pp. 164-181. And also see essays in *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor*, ed. Ava Baron (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991); Alice Kessler-Harris, "Treating the Male as 'Other': Redefining Parameters of Labor History," *Labor History* 34 (Spring/Summer, 1993).

⁵ The concept of public/private is as old as, or even older than, the Greek philosopher Aristotle, whose idea of the public, more than two thousand years later in the United States, was reinforced by Hannah Arendt. Arendt highly regarded the Greek agonistic space as the ideal public where citizens competed in their excellence in ideas regarding the affairs of the *polis* "a structured body politic" apart from the daily needs in the *oikos*, the private household. Writing thirty years later in the second wave of feminism, Jean Bethke Elshtain, considered the gendered hierarchical dichotomy of "public man, private woman" and sought to reconstruct the public and private by bringing feminism, or female family values, into the tradition of Western political thought. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), chaps. 1, 5 and 6.

⁶ Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1989). The book originally appeared in German in 1962; Dena Goodman, "Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical

Justifiably, feminist scholars criticize the Habermas notion of a public sphere for his neglect of women's political roles in public and they have expanded the range of the "citizenry" to include women.⁷ However, even with the inclusion of women in the definition of citizenry, there is yet another most central aspect absent from these theoretically oriented discussions of public and private; that is work. In contrast, as I indicated would be the case earlier, historians of women and the family consider work as a crucial element in the public domain in the public/private dichotomy. The omission of work in the theoretical discourse reflects Habermas' own idea of a public sphere that locates economic activities performed outside the household in the private sphere. In his blueprint of the bourgeois public sphere in the eighteenth century, the private sphere comprises "civil society," or the "realm of commodity exchange and social labor" as well as the family of "bourgeois intellectuals."⁸ I should point out that in arguing that the public sphere is formed by private citizens, Habermas is not degrading the activities of the private sphere. Rather he sees them as springboards by which citizens can move into the public sphere. But this notion is not his main concern and he has left the aspect of work largely unexplored in his consideration of the role of the public sphere in democratic politics. The arguments by political-social theorists who criticized or adopted Habermas' public sphere also have focused on the political meaning and function of the public sphere in democratic society. In that focus lies the difference between the social-political theorists and the historians of women and the family regarding the place of work in the public/private dichotomy.

This study brings the neglected aspect of work into the politically focused discourse of the public sphere developed by social-political theorists. But more importantly, it reconsiders the supposition that women's employment was their means of entrance into the public world, and it questions the stance generally assumed by historians of women and the family that paid-work is a public act.

I have elected to study the period of World War II because it is a time when state intrusion into the private lives of citizens appears to be most conspicuous. Patriotism,

Approaches to the Old Regime," *History and Theory* 31 (1992), 1, 4-6.

⁷ For example, Nancy Fraser, *Justice Interruptus: Rethinking Key Concepts of a Postsocialist Age* (New York: Routledge, 1997), chap. 4; Joan B. Landes, "The Public Sphere and the Private Sphere: A Feminist Reconsideration," in *Feminism, the Public and the Private*, ed. Joan B. Landes, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.135-163; Seyla Benhabib, "Models of Public Sphere: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas," in *Feminism, the Public and the Private*, pp. 65-99; Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

which I perceive as the attitude and belief that a state's interests command primacy over private, individual ones, is a driving force in modern war. In the name of patriotism state interests are made identical with the general, public good, and the private interests of individual citizens are seen as selfish, and, therefore, to be sacrificed or set aside. During World War II, the state roused patriotism to commit its citizens to the state cause of fighting the war in the name of public and recruited them into the military, the labor force, or other activities to support the war.

American women were an important target of this patriotic campaign. Rosie the Riveter, the symbol representing women who worked in war plants like men, was lauded by both the government and media propaganda.⁹ Although many American women did indeed happily take jobs in the wartime labor market, it is quite another thing to say that they did so in response to the patriotism urged upon them by the state. The meaning of work for American women during the war is not as simple as the representations of the war plant worker, serving her nation, Rosie the Riveter, would suggest. When we look at the diversity of the stories these women tell, we can see that their attitudes and experiences were far more complex and cannot be relegated to the simplistic patriotic impulses which government and media tried to inculcate and activate in the minds of the Americans.

The Meaning of the Increase in the Number of Working Women During World War II

Working women during World War II commanded the attention of the social statisticians of their day, just as they have commanded the attention of social scientists and historians since. According to the federal Women's Bureau, the number of women in the civilian labor force increased from 13.01 million (26 percent of the total population of women) in March 1940 to 19.11 million (35.5 percent of the total population of women) in July 1944. Notable was the larger share of married women in

⁸ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, pp.30-31.

⁹ Historians have studied American women's participation in the wartime labor force in response to government mobilization campaigns and suggested change in gender roles in the home-private and the work-public sphere. They include William H. Chafe, *The Paradox of Change: American Women in the 20th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Leila J. Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women During World War II* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981); D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); Susan Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne, 1982); and Chester W. Gregory, *Women in Defense Work During World War II: An Analysis of the Labor Problem and Women's Rights* (New York: Exposition Press, 1974).

the labor force: in 1940, 35.5 percent of the women in the labor force were married, but in 1944 this figure was 44.3 percent. In 1944, 23 percent of married women were in the labor force, having risen from 15.2 percent four years earlier. This increase in the number of married women in the work force has nearly always been interpreted as the result of women's patriotic enthusiasm which prompted them to take jobs outside the home, thus heralding a change in gender roles.¹⁰

But when we examine the statistics carefully we become aware that the wartime increase in the number of working women did not necessarily mean an "influx" of newcomers into the female labor force. Though our knowledge of the wartime propaganda for mobilization of women easily leads us to assume that patriotism moved women to enter the labor force, in fact, a large number of women who worked during the war had worked before or simply stayed in the labor force and so cannot be counted as "newcomers." Alice Kessler-Harris states that many women responded to the call to work during the war, "but not with the kind of unthinking enthusiasm that the statistics seem to demonstrate." "One misconception must be cleared away immediately," maintains D'Ann Campbell, pointing out that "Very few of the women were strangers to paid employment." When investigating the employment of women in wartime American society, we must be reminded that among urban women born in 1915, 91 percent had entered the work force by 1938, as compared with 96 percent of the men. Thus, when the war came to America, there were millions of housewives who already had some work experience.¹¹ This statistic, then, would seem to suggest that most women during the war did not go to work out of a war-incited patriotism, or for the public cause but rather, that they simply continued to work as they had in the past.

The Employment of Women in Berkeley during World War II: An Overview

That women workers in wartime America were not motivated by patriotism will become clear in a close study of the work experiences of individual women. For such

¹⁰ United States Department of Labor, *Women's Bureau Bulletin* 211, "Employment of Women in the Early Postwar Period" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 2-3, 11.

¹¹ Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*; . Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p.276; Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class Gender and Propaganda During World War II* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), pp.19-20; Campbell, *Women at War with America*, p.72 ; United States Department of Labor, *Women's Bureau Bulletin* 211, p.11.

investigation the Berkeley Guidance Study, a longitudinal study conducted by the Institute of Child Welfare (ICW) at the University of California at Berkeley, is extremely useful. It provides the detailed records of 124 subjects born in Berkeley between 1928 and 29 and their family members including the subjects' mothers. Knowing something of how these individual women perceived their lives will help us better understand the nature of women's work outside the household.

**Table 1 Employment Status of Guidance Study Women
Before and During World War II:
Their Numbers and Class¹² Average (sample=124*)**

total number 124 (class 7.28)		before WWII		
		Employed 92 (class 7.71)	not employed 25 (class 5.48)	unknown 7
during WW II	Employed 61 (class 8.34)	56 (class 8.55)	4 (class 5.75)	1
	Not employed 51 (class 6.04)	32 (class 6.47)	19 (class 5.32)	0
	Unknown 12	4	2	6

employed some time before or during WWII 97 (class 7.62)

never worked before or during WWII 19 (class 5.32)

*The women were all married during the war, but the statistics entered under "before WWII" refer to both single and married women.

¹² The social class index used in this table is adopted from the one used by the ICW, in which the classes are designated by numbers as the following.

Social Class Index

Middle upper class	1
Lower upper class	2
Upper upper middle class	3
Middle upper middle class	4
Lower upper middle class	5
Upper lower middle class	6
Middle lower middle class	7
Lower lower middle class	8
Upper upper lower class	9
Middle upper lower class	10
Lower upper lower class	11
Upper lower lower class	12
Middle lower lower class	13
Lower lower lower class	14

In the Berkeley Guidance Study there is no subject ranked below 12.

Contrary to the general belief that World War II drove a great number of American women to work, Table 1, which shows the employment status of the Berkeley Guidance Study women before and during the war, suggests that the war did not necessarily propel those women to work. The widely accepted notion of an influx of large numbers of women into the labor force for the first time is simply not substantiated. Most women in the Guidance Study had worked before the war, and, in fact, more worked before the war than during the war which reinforces Campbell's and Kessler-Harris's argument that wartime women's employment simply continued from the prewar period.

Table 1 indicates that before World War II started, ninety-two women had worked for varying periods of time, while only sixty-one were employed during the war. The number who worked before the war includes both married and unmarried women, whereas the number of women in the study who worked during the war consists of only married women, and this could account for the decline in the number of employed women during the war. Nonetheless, the study reveals that the majority of the employed women in Berkeley during the war had pre-war work experience and that they continued, rather than started, to work in wartime. Only four women took jobs for the first time during the war while thirty-two did not work even though they had held jobs before the war. Of the ninety-two women who had been employed before the war, fifty-six worked during the war and most of them stayed at jobs they already had. Nineteen women never worked before or during the war. These data suggest that most of the women in the Guidance Study did not go to work during the war out of wartime patriotism.

Class distinctions among the women of different employment status shown in Table 1 will lead us to surmise that the wartime employment of women was influenced by the economic conditions of their families rather than patriotism. The largest class difference was found between those who worked both before and during the war and those who never worked. The former in general came from the working class (8.55) and the latter from the upper-middle class (5.32). The table also tells us that those who were employed during the war came from classes lower (8.34) than those who were not employed (6.04).

A closer look at the individual cases of the Guidance Study women supports what these statistics suggest. There, for example, we will even find that some of the women quit working during World War II when their husbands' incomes increased in the booming economy, as if they were deliberately heedless of the government's call for the entire nation to work. The following examination of individual experiences of Berkeley women, by bringing home the concrete reality of diverse experiences and meanings of the women's wartime employment that reflect class and educational differences, will show more precisely the nature of women's work outside the home.

"Newcomers" into the Labor Force: Personal Interests First

Women who took jobs for the first time during the war may be considered as the ones who most likely responded to the patriotic appeal by the government and media propaganda, so it is important to know their work experiences and attitudes. There were four such women in the Berkeley Guidance Study. Their reasons for taking up jobs varied: the absence of a husband in the home and a desire for material goods.¹³ One of them, Ann Sanders¹⁴ took a job for the first time during the absence of her husband. In 1941, Ann's husband, who had been successful in business, left home to serve overseas as an Army officer. During his absence, she worked three days a week as a nurse's aid, which she enjoyed, and she even went to Washington D.C. for training. She said that when she was working she did not have time to think and saw that many people were worse off than she was, which kept her from pitying herself for her husband's being gone. Although she was contributing to the war effort by filling a war-caused vacancy in the medical personnel, Ann never mentioned that she had an intention to serve the nation at war.

Jane Carter wanted to have a larger income for the family and took a job at Moore's Shipyards as a timekeeper in 1943. She got up at 4:30 a.m. to go to work. Her

¹³ Historians have shown that women whose husbands were away for military or civilian service in the war often sought employment outside the home to escape from loneliness and to compensate for a decrease in income. Campbell, *Women at War with America*, pp. 191, 197-99; Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, pp. 78-79; and Anderson, *Wartime Women*, 28.

¹⁴ The data for all the individual women discussed in the paper come from the case files of the Berkeley Guidance Study. Because the identities of the subjects in the Berkeley Guidance Study are to remain confidential, the names used here are not real and the case numbers for the subjects cited are not disclosed in this work. For future researchers who are interested in using the Berkeley Guidance Study case files, a list of the pseudonyms this study uses for the subjects in correspondence to their case numbers will be provided by the author.

husband was a real estate broker, and during the war he worked for the War Department appraising real estate. His income fluctuated from over \$2,400 to over \$6,000 a year but it was enough to support the family. Jane explained the reason for working, saying, "I suppose I would never have taken my job in the shipyards if we had not just bought the house and hadn't been interested in getting new furniture." She quit the job after eight months at Thanksgiving because "the house had gotten run down at the heel and I felt I wasn't giving enough time and attention to either my husband or the youngsters."

Jane went to work to increase the family income when the war gave her an opportunity, but she cherished the traditional belief regarding gender roles that a mother's responsibility was to take care of the home. Her attitude toward work was reflected in her daughter's statement, recorded in 1946, that "they [sic] women war workers should go back to their homes. Nor should a woman with small children be away from home." The war did not change Jane's traditional attitude; whether she worked or stayed home, she did so to protect the private, family interests.

Maria Crosby also went to work for the first time in 1944 to increase the family income. She left school to marry and had always stayed home until she began to work that year, but she was not particularly a devoted or hard-working housewife. The ICW's psychoanalyst, Erik H. Erikson, wrote that Maria "belongs to the ranks of the great American 'flapper,'" and spent money extravagantly on her clothes. According to Erikson, her husband, a "stern, Scotch" man, married a young girl, Maria, who "would like to go dancing every night." In 1944, when she was "nervous" after a vacation, Erikson encouraged her to get a job. She had been worried about money and had constantly complained about her husband's "lack of ambition in terms of earning more money." She found a job at a cleaner's where she became the manager and took pride in it. However, when asked if it did not boost her self-confidence and self-esteem to know she could be independent in terms of work, she said, "Oh no," and added that she did not want to be working. She had gone to work following the suggestion by her psychoanalyst that she overcome her nervousness by earning her own money. Without suggesting that Maria lacked public concern, we may note that Erikson did not refer to her possible contribution to the war effort when he recommended that she get a job to gain self-confidence.

These four "newcomers" to the wartime labor force had different reasons to take

jobs outside the home, but all worked for their own personal interests rather than the public cause. Ann mainly sought diversion from loneliness and the others including Jane and Maria took jobs only for material gain.

Work for the Family Economy

Fifty-six of the sixty-one women who worked during the war had worked before and their average years of completed schooling was 8.55, which would indicate a working-class background (see Table 1 above) and makes a strong case for private pecuniary and other non-public reasons for the women's employment during the war. If we look at Figure and Table 2 below, we will also know that they had the least education; only twenty-one of the fifty-six women finished high school and of the twenty-one, eight had some education after high school. Most of them would have worked during the 1940s had there been no war. They worked, as they had before the war, to support their families. The war simply gave them better job opportunities and higher wages.

Figure Years of Education of the Guidance Study Mothers by Employment Status during and before World War II

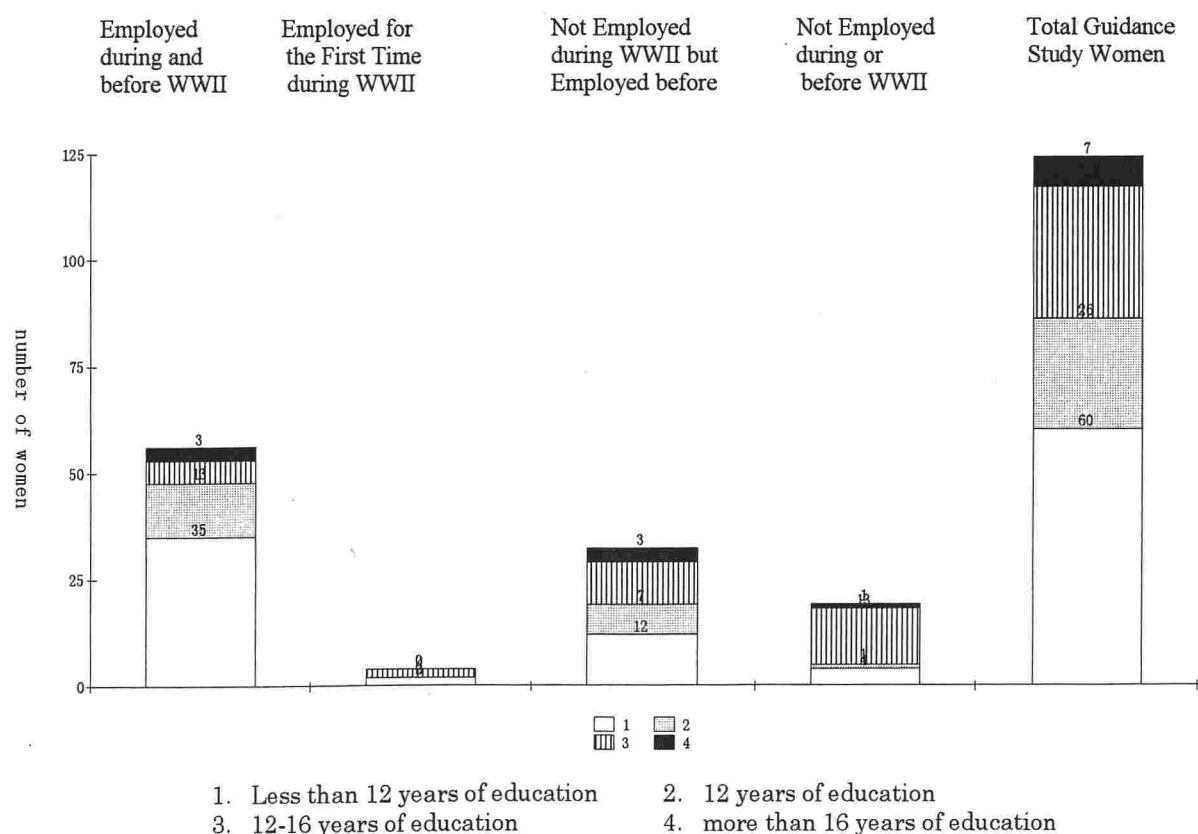


Table 2 YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF THE BERKELEY GUIDANCE STUDY MOTHERS

	less than 12 years of education	12 years of education	12-16 years of education	more than 16 years of education	total number of women	class average
those who worked during and before WWII	35	13	5	3	56	8.55
those who worked for the first time during WWII	2	0	2	0	4	5.75
those who worked before but did not during WWII	12	7	10	3	32	6.47
those who did not work during or before WWII	4	1	13	1	19	5.32
Guidance Study women	60	26	31	7	124	7.28
status unknown					13	

For example, Suzy Nelson, at the bottom of the class ladder and with eleven years of education, had worked before marriage as a clerk. After marrying a truck driver she did clerical work part-time or full-time while receiving welfare. Another example is Nina Moreno who, with the same class background as Suzy's and four years of education, worked at a fruit cannery before being fired for inferior work in 1938. She applied for work through the State Employment Office in 1942 but had no offers. Nina and her husband both came from Italy and the husband was not naturalized. Because Nina needed work to help support the family, she was very likely to take a job whenever she could during the war. Helen Walters, from the same class and educational background, had a longshoreman husband and always worked as a maid.

The domestic service job in which Helen was engaged was loathed by most women, and for a long time was the domain of new immigrant and African American women. The war made it possible for these women to switch to more agreeable jobs and the number of white domestics in the United States declined from one million to 670,000 during the war.¹⁵

To those who were employed as domestics, the patriotic propaganda did not

¹⁵ Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, pp.128, 135-37; Campbell, *Women at War with America*, pp.74-76.

make any difference in their decision concerning employment. They could but work to support their families. All of the seven women in the Guidance Study who were in domestic service jobs came from the lowest working classes. Their education level was low and only one of them had graduated from high school. They were financially in need and, with one exception, less status-conscious. Their reasons for taking this least desirable job were practical. As was so with the majority of the domestic workers in the nation, most of those in the Guidance Study belonged to ethnic/racial minority groups. Three out of the five African American mothers in the entire Guidance Study were among the seven women.

Anna Ames was one of the three. Her husband did not earn enough for the family to function and had left the family when her son was six. In addition to welfare, Anna always supported the family by working full-time as a domestic for other families or occasionally as a waitress at restaurants. The war gave her an opportunity to get out of domestic work. In 1942 she was employed as a waitress at a restaurant and found the job "much better than in private homes." Mary Mason was also African American. Her husband had a stable job and income, but after marrying she always worked as a housekeeper in the afternoons, leaving her small children with her mother. In 1941 she said that she did not think it was necessary for her to work but she would have too much spare time if she did not have a job and she wanted more money to spend on her children. For some time her son had wanted a guitar, which she gave him for his birthday, and now she was going to arrange lessons for him. She wanted to give her children what she had not had in her own childhood. She told the ICW worker, "if you weren't very happy yourself you want more for your children." It goes without saying that she and the other women in domestic service were preoccupied with family concerns. They worked to fulfill their roles as mothers.

Brit Anderson, an immigrant from Denmark, also worked for other families for wages, but her case was unique in that she took a domestic job about the time the war started and she was the only one who expressed humiliation regarding her occupation. Despite her difference in this respect, in her decision to work she shared with the others a lack of interest in participating in the war effort and a great concern with the family interests.

Brit was the only high school graduate among the seven women and came from a higher class than the other women in domestic service. Before she moved to the

United States at the age of twenty-five, she had had various jobs including those of bookkeeper and secretary, and after coming to the United States she was employed at a department store until she married. She was an intelligent woman (she liked to discuss world politics with the ICW worker) and had no difficulty with English because she had learned it in Denmark. In 1940 when her salesman husband's income had been cut by 50 percent, she took up a housekeeping job, which she considered as most fitting her needs which were centered on the family.

Although Brit herself chose it among other occupations suitable to her educational background, she revealed an uneasiness about her domestic service job. First, she told the ICW worker that her husband was "ashamed" of her work. Then she added that she was "not exactly proud of it," either. Her husband wanted her to stop working and get along on what he could bring home, which she thought was utterly impossible. Brit wanted her children to go to college and get out of the working-class status, but her husband felt that the children should support their parents instead of going to college, which was a "waste of time." Both were ashamed of Brit's work as a domestic but for different reasons; while her husband was humiliated by his wife's working because of his working-class beliefs in the traditional family, Brit was more concerned about the status implications of her domestic servant job. Although she felt degraded by her work and her husband was making better wages in the office at the shipyard during the war, she did not give up her job. Brit saw some positive aspects in domestic work such as healthier working environment, more flexible work hours, and wages similar to other available jobs for women at stores, offices and factories. In April 1944, she stopped working when her husband's income rose. Later in that year, however, she went back to work as a laundress for an individual family because she thought it was an easy job. She continued her domestic job to earn more money for her own family, even though its status implications kept troubling her.

These case studies reveal that most of the fifty-six women who worked before and during the war did so out of economic necessity. Nine of the women even counted on wages brought in by their working children to maintain their households; their children gave all or most of their earnings to their mothers.

Work for Self-fulfillment

In the Guidance Study we find very few women for whom work outside the home meant self-fulfillment rather than a means of income. The cases of these few women were extreme in that work occupied the entire meaning of their lives. Alice Gordon's case was the most extraordinary of this group. She once indicated that the only time she was truly happy was after she married and worked as a secretary for a large real estate firm. An ICW worker noted in 1931 that she was not reconciled to giving up her work when she became pregnant. She said that she "wanted a home and child and now she has them and on the whole she is satisfied and happy," but she spoke often of how much of a struggle it was to live on a reduced income. After her husband lost his job in 1938, she went back to work irregularly in offices of a major department store and the Community Chest. At that time she stated that she could have a regular job if she were not married and was thinking of separating from her husband so that she could work. To support the family, her husband worked night shifts while in the daytime he went to an Electrical Government Defense School where he acquired skills he could use in the job market. After 1941, when Alice became emotionally unstable and started to have delusions, her husband did the housework while working as a foreman in the electrical section at the shipyard ten-and-half hours a day, including Sundays. Even as her condition deteriorated, she continued to express her desire to have a job.

Later, when Alice was in a hospital and visited by an ICW worker, she expressed her aspirations for work, saying "I always think that if I was out I could get a job" and "Anyhow I would like to get out and see if I couldn't earn a little money and send it to the children." Notable is her persistent reference to a "job" and "money" in her interviews with ICW workers. Since her pregnancy, which had forced her to give up her job, she had been suffering from depression and delusions. Her case was an extreme example of the situation of mothers who had to stop working because of family reasons such as pregnancy. The war seemed to have given employment opportunities to such women, but it was not easy for them to recover lost positions, as we see in the case of Alice. Alice wanted to work, not for the public good, but for private reasons centering on self-fulfillment, and to her, that hinged upon the act of working itself.

Linda Todd was another woman who stated that the happiest time in her life was when she worked in shipyards in 1943. She was one of the few in the Guidance

Study who had a college degree and worked both before and during the war, continuously or intermittently. Nonetheless, it was neither because of her educational background nor her contribution to the war industry but, rather, to her original working-class background that she found satisfaction in her work during the war.

She lost both her parents at age three and had been placed in an orphanage. When she became fourteen she was bound out to various homes and worked her way through high school and college. She received a degree in household arts at the University of California at Berkeley and married an architect. Her husband's income in the late 1930s ranged between \$8,000 and \$9,000. With ample income, Linda stayed home to keep house and raise the children, as did most other middle-class American women at the time. However, this household was full of problems. The ICW worker's report characterizes Linda as a "crazy woman" full of hostility toward her husband and not competent at keeping house. Once, the worker depicted their house as the "filthiest home in the Study," and as "dirty, unkempt, smelly and a mess." Her husband complained about his wife's "careless and extravagant spending" which was like that of "a drunken sailor." For example, he said that she planned "buying 3 rugs with which it would be wonderful to have covered [the floor] but which instead gets stored in the cellar along with dozens of other such purchases." Linda started to work in 1943 and her husband, after managing the household for a while, left home.

Linda was content with her job at the shipyard, where she worked from midnight to 8:00 a.m. Her satisfaction with the job might be attributed to her original class background. She explained to the ICW worker that she always felt "cut off from the upper class people of their neighborhood" but found companionship with her fellow shipyard workers very gratifying. She particularly liked her associations with "lower class" people, the worker wrote, "people who are sort of healthy and warm-hearted like herself" and "who don't exhibit the sort of pretense that she finds among her neighbors at home." She reported in amusement an incident in which one of her co-workers tried to make love to her. She did not allow him to do so but giggled happily while telling the ICW worker about it.

Linda joined the upper-middle class by marrying a professional, but her values had more in common with those of the working class. Her carelessness about keeping the house was not considered proper for the middle-class norm. Working for the economic reason of supporting herself, she found emotional satisfaction there; the

work brought her back to her original working-class company. In view of the kind of self-fulfillment she gained from her work, she stands out from the rest of the working women. Yet, in regard to employment, her values were kin to theirs for she too placed a high value on her personal interests and gave no thought to public cause.

The Family Economy, Traditional Values: Those Who Stayed Home During the War

There were thirty-two who, although they had worked before, did not work during the war. They became "just" housewives. Because the war brought higher salaries to their husbands they no longer needed to work outside the home. They embraced the traditional woman's role in the home as the nature of things. The government and media propaganda urging patriotism did not seem to affect their traditional attitude and behavior.

Rachel Thomas did not work during the war because her husband earned enough for the family. She had been forced to leave school at fifteen to support her family. After marrying her husband who was in the furniture manufacturing business, she did clerical work for his business, but when the business prospered and no longer required her work, she stayed at home and remained there for the duration of the war. Nancy Seymour was a stenographer before marriage and worked a few months when her husband lost a job, but when he joined the service and became a Captain in the Army during the war, she was happy and proud to stay home and manage the household. Sheila Benson had worked in a candy store before marriage and had a job in 1932, but did not work during the war because her husband, a Chief Petty Officer in the Navy, was "able to support the family."

Other mothers from the working classes had many work experiences before and/or after getting married, but their files show no record of their working during the war. Their husbands and/or their children were reported to earn a sufficient amount of money to support the family, and in some cases, the war provided an opportunity for them to make an income above what they had received prior to the war. For example, Gloria Weaver was on welfare, but during the war all of her children worked to support the family. Her son left school in the tenth grade to work full-time.

A few women quit jobs in the middle of the war because they also felt that their husbands' increased wages no longer required them to work outside the home. Maureen Kennedy from the working class worked full-time as a candy dipper from the

1930s until 1943 while her children were growing up. In 1944 when her husband--who had been a truck driver, meat cutter, and longshoreman at the shipyards--earned higher wages working in the shipyards and again as truck driver, she quit her job and was "glad to be [a] housewife again." Emily White rated in the lower middle class had been a nurse but stopped working in 1944 when her husband, a county official, received a raise in salary; she did not use her professional skills toward the war effort in any capacity. The government's efforts to mobilize women for wartime work in most cases, those from the working classes in particular, did not seem to affect their decisions about work. What mattered most to them was private and urgent; their concern was always whether or not their families had enough money to live on.

Women with higher education also did not seem to be affected by the mobilization campaign and stayed home even though they had worked before the war. Unlike their working-class counterparts, these women did not stay home because of the improvement in the family economy. Although they shared with working-class women the value regarding a woman's role in the home, to them a woman's role was not simply taking care of the family but maintaining, or raising, the family's social status, war or no war. Audrey Johnson with seventeen years of education had taught English at a high school, but she never went back to work. She was occupied with helping her husband, a City Councilman who later became Mayor. Gail Brown also taught at school after finishing junior college; after marrying she went back to college to major in political science but never took a job again. During the war she stayed home occupying herself with her hobby of collecting exotic and unusual salt and pepper shakers from around the world. Her unique collection would very likely have introduced her into a circle of women from classes higher than her own. Considered by the ICW workers to be one of the most status-conscious women in the Guidance Study, it seems probable that she would seek to gain social respect by contributing to the war effort. That she did not take a job may indicate that staying home rather than taking up paid work was considered to be more respectable, even during a national emergency such as war. Another case of a status-conscious woman concerns Alicia Johnson, an immigrant from Russia who strove to become Americanized by trying to adopt what she understood to be upper middle-class values and manners. She never worked before or during the war, although her daughter worked, just as did most other middle-class teen-agers. It may be pointed out that from Alicia's perspective,

for a mother to have a job outside the home was to deviate from upper-middle-class American mores.

Public Housewives

It was generally housewives more than working women who consciously participated in the war effort in response to the patriotic urge by the government. Nevertheless among the working women, we find a few for whom work had public meanings. These women were usually highly educated and, not surprisingly, tended to come from the higher classes. They did not take jobs out of economic necessity but chose to work outside the home for self-fulfillment, which they often found in performing civic duties. One example was Beth Thomas who had nineteen years of education and a Ph.D. in astrophysics. After getting married, she worked in the real estate business and earned as much as her husband, who was a professor of astronomy at the University of California. In 1943 she changed her job to one at the statistics laboratory on campus, which very likely was offered to her because there were no qualified men available because of the war. She enjoyed her new work of which she thought as related to the war effort.

It was more often housewives rather than these working women with higher education who responded to the patriotic appeal by the government. Some women from lower working classes and with less education who stayed home during the war because of their husbands' increased incomes showed their public spirit by doing voluntary work instead of taking paid jobs. For example, Pauline Jackson, an African American woman with ten years of schooling had given piano lessons, but during the war she worked for the USO (United Service Organizations) and the PTA through which she engaged in war-related activities. Norene Scott with a similar educational background also stayed home and was active in the PTA and the Red Cross.

Others from higher classes with previous work experience also did not work during the war and participated in voluntary work for the war effort. Janice Temple wanted to go back to work part-time during the war but instead served as captain in the War Chest and block mother for the neighborhood. While she was involved in defense activities, she encouraged her son John to go to a forest camp in 1945. Lucy Grant with a college degree came from a family that traced itself back to the 1660s. She taught history and English before marriage, and after getting married she

participated in the Woman's League for Peace and became the president of the League's Northern California chapter. There is no indication in Lucy's file of the extent of her commitment to war-related activities, but she obviously contributed through her participation in the Women's League for Peace organization.

There were nineteen women who did not work before or during the war. They differed in class and educational background most greatly from those who worked before and during the war. In Table 2, we see that the nineteen who did not work had an average class index of 5.32, which means the upper middle class, and fourteen of them had more than twelve years of education, and nine of these had college degrees including Elizabeth Bailey with a master's. These women with college degrees were very often socially active.

Elizabeth Bailey was the National President of the League of Women Voters. Ellen Holmes was a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley and was nationally known for her idea of a USO scrapbook of newspaper clippings to send to American soldiers overseas. Deborah Jennings graduated from a private college in Ohio and acted through the city's Board of Education. Other mothers with similar educational backgrounds and from the upper-middle classes participated during the war in various volunteer activities that included Red Cross First Aid Classes, church work and other organizational programs. Mothers from the lower-middle classes tended to stay home where, besides keeping house, they maintained Victory Gardens. These housewives, while staying home, were involved in public affairs involving war work. They more consciously served the nation than did women who worked outside the home. In other words, in wartime America it was the 'just' housewives who were public-spirited.

We might argue that the women who stayed home responded to the government's call to contribute to the war effort more than those who were employed because they had more time to spend on volunteer activities or to tend their Victory Gardens. Those who worked, in practice, were contributing their labor to the war effort, but they worked to earn money or to achieve self-fulfillment, as they would have done in peacetime. Even in a time of national emergency when the sacrifice of private interests for the public cause was presented as urgent, for these working women private interests took precedence over public. However, this sentiment also prevailed with the housewives who volunteered. Participating in the war effort in

response to the government call, they did not sacrifice their own family interests or step over the traditional boundaries of gender roles. Coming from more affluent classes, they could afford to put their time and labor into service for the nation even without pay. Therefore, housewives reacted positively to patriotic campaigns and participated in a variety of war-related activities in and outside the home, such as helping the Red Cross, serving as block mothers, entertaining soldiers, promoting bond purchases, assisting rationing programs, saving metals and paper, and growing vegetables in their gardens. These volunteer activities were the extension of the domestic roles that American middle-class women had always filled. In the war, their extended roles were politicized so that housewives, without changing their gender roles, acted in the service of the nation. In this sense, the war was a housewives' war.

Conclusion

In sum, the findings of this paper suggest that most women in the Berkeley Guidance Study continued their pre-war lives during the war with respect to employment. Most of the employed women worked both before and during the war. Usually coming from the working class, they earned money for their families which depended upon their wages. Some stopped working during the war when their husbands brought home more money. It is a common principle in life that the major reason to work is personal need. The war did not dissuade families from this principle despite government attempts to introduce a different reason to work, the public cause, or, to state the case more precisely, the state cause.

Rosie the Riveter, that wartime worker full of a patriotic spirit, may have been a heroine on the American home front, but she was not typical of the women in the Berkeley Guidance Study. If Rosie represents simply wartime women working, either for or not for a public cause, then there were many Rosies in Berkeley, but Berkeley's Rosies took jobs not for the public cause but for their private needs, that is, for more wages and personal gratification. While paid work outside the home to most working women in Berkeley was a private act (though in practice it often had the political meaning of working for the war effort), unpaid work around the home, or the extension of domestic tasks, such as tending Victory Gardens, saving metal and grease and the making of "Victory cakes," performed by these housewives became politicized and took on public meanings.

Finally I should like to make a few comments in reference to gender roles, private interests and the public sphere. First, let me point out the public implication of women's work outside the home however private its meaning may be to working women themselves. Most of the women workers in the Berkeley Guidance Study cherished traditional family values and were determined to carry out the role of motherhood in supporting their family. To them paid work was part of their family responsibility. They went to work to fulfill that responsibility. Thus, wartime women's work did not directly lead to change in gender roles. However, these observations in no way deny the significance of women's work in the public sphere. Even though one's work is motivated only by private concerns, work brings the worker into contact with others outside his/her family and provides an opportunity to exchange ideas that might potentially affect the whole of society in which the traditional gender roles are entrenched. This is not far from Habermas' public sphere which is formed in the places where people gather, such as salons, coffeehouses, and literary societies. The workplace may also constitute a public sphere, and during World War II many American women went into such workplaces.

Second, we should not overlook the importance of private values in the making of a public sphere. The tenacity of private values as seen in most of the women in the Berkeley Guidance Study appears to mitigate public cause, which often is the state cause. By pursuing private interests Berkeley's working women protected their living space which was grounded in the private sphere. Here we might well call to mind Habermas' "authentic public sphere" mentioned at the beginning of this paper. An authentic public sphere is constructed by private people who live in the private sphere. By maintaining the private sphere, Berkeley's working women were in fact building the basis of an authentic public sphere. They may have neglected the "state" cause but they may have potentially and inadvertently contributed to the "public" cause.

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This study of concrete experiences of individual women questions the assumption of the public nature of women's work held by historians of women and the family, and relates the phenomenon of work and working to the public sphere as conceived by political and social theorists represented by Habermas. The narratives of the Berkeley women presented here, in casting new light on long held perceptions concerning the nature of the role of women working during World War II, also highlight the need for

a reexamination of current theoretical and historical premises regarding the prevailing public/private, work/home dichotomy.

Patriots or Hard-Working Young Consumers? Teenage Employment During World War II in Berkeley, California

Introduction

We have heard much about Rosie the Riveter, the symbol of America's working woman during World War II, but very little about the young people who also worked at that time. Reporting on the nation's labor force after the outbreak of World War II, the Department of Labor in August 1943 noted: "Contrary to general belief, the early withdrawal of boys and girls from school was a greater factor in the expansion of the labor force than was the increase in the number of women working." Between 1940 and 1944, the number of employed youth age fourteen through seventeen increased by over two million or over 200 percent.¹ What were the causes for this sudden increase in the number of teenage workers? Did they go to work out of patriotic spirit to serve the nation at war, or for some other reason or reasons?

This paper focuses on the wartime employment of young teenagers in the largely middle-class community of Berkeley, California using its main historical source the Berkeley Guidance Study--a longitudinal study of a 1928-29 birth cohort conducted by the Institute of Child Welfare (ICW) at the University of California at Berkeley. It contains detailed records of the lives of some 100 subjects.² The Guidance Study shows that Berkeley's teenagers went to work mainly out of a desire to make spending money and also because they believed in the intrinsic value of hard work rather than because they were stimulated to patriotism by war-time propaganda.

Teenagers at Work

The employment of teenagers in wartime Berkeley was not a phenomenon of a certain class, an ethnic/racial or a gender group, but a common practice among the children of all classes, regardless of race, ethnic affiliation, or gender. Of 104 subjects, ninety-one students--52 boys and 39 girls--refer to their employment status had some kind of work for pay, while only one boy and twelve girls did not work. Please look at Table 1, which lists the jobs the subjects held. Teenagers worked hard for long hours. This led government officials and the media to fear that such "child labor" forced teenagers to neglect schooling. But the Guidance Study students arranged their work schedule so as not to conflict with school attendance, by working full-time in summer and part-time during the school year. The concern about "child labor" did not apply to Berkeley's teenagers. Furthermore, they enjoyed their work--it gave them spending money and the opportunity to socialize with their coworkers. Work was an integral part of their lives

Let's see a few examples. Newspaper delivery was a common, and usually a first, job for teenage boys from all classes and diverse ethnic and racial groups. Jack, from an affluent upper-middle-class family of British descent who employed a maid, at thirteen delivered 77 copies of the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* on Saturdays and weekdays after school for six months. Mario, with Italian immigrant parents who were in the lower class, at age thirteen sold Sunday newspapers. Teddy, an African-American boy from the lower middle-class, at age thirteen also had a paper route after school.³

Retail business employed the greatest number of students; twenty-six boys and ten girls from diverse classes worked at a variety of stores (See Table 2.). Philip, from an upper-middle-class family, at age fifteen worked during the summer at a gas station from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., six days a week, and earned about 80 cents an hour. His

duties included sweeping the station and pumping gas, which he said was "okay." Stewart, from a lower-middle-class family, delivered newspapers from age eight until age fifteen when he found a job at a drug store. He worked all summer, made about \$30 a week and continued the job from 3:30-6:00 p.m. on school days and all day on Sunday for 40 cents an hour. He said that he liked the job "real well," and described his experience in the superlative of the day: "it's swell," he said.⁴

At workplaces, teenagers not only worked for pay but also enjoyed socializing with coworkers. For example, Jennie at age fifteen worked Saturdays and during summer vacation in the Kress's department store basement, doing stock work and other tasks. She liked the job only "fairly well," but had a "wonderful time" with the boys who also worked there. Timothy, who washed dishes at Mills College, a women's college in Oakland, said that though his job was "too monotonous" and took "too much time," he liked it because "I met a lot of the gals there. They had a democratic system. The girls took turns drying the dishes. You got to know them all. Oh, I fooled around a lot up there."⁵ Thus, teenagers in Berkeley in general enjoyed their work, getting paid, and having companionship.

How Teenagers Spent the Money They Earned

Obviously, these teenagers worked for money. But, why did they want money? I shall first examine the ways these teenagers spent the money they earned. This will uncover their immediate, materialistic motives. Then I shall examine the attitudes of youths and parents toward their children's employment in an effort to determine the underlying cause of their values about work, or the work ethic.

There were two patterns of how teenagers used money: (1) for themselves, either to buy things they wanted or to save, and (2) for their families. (See Table 3.)

Most students worked to earn money to spend on themselves, and they bought such things as clothes, food and beverages, presents, a bicycle and even a car, or paid for shows, club fees, camps and other forms of entertainment. Such consumption was common among Guidance Study subjects of all classes. Despite the rationing of some items, most people in the United States unlike people in other countries were able to maintain or even raise their standard of living above what it was in the prewar years. Easier access to money, made possible by the war-expanded economy, stimulated the shopping impulses of Americans who had struggled through shortages during the Great Depression. John Kenneth Galbraith recalled: "In the war years, consumption of consumer goods doubled. Never in the history of human conflict has there been so much talk of sacrifice and so little sacrifice." The historian Michael Adams puts it: "Many businessmen and consumers had come to equate democracy less with the right to vote than with the right to shop."⁶ With so many families having more than enough money to spend on necessities, luxuries came to be perceived as necessities. Items such as fashionable clothes, expensive furniture and household goods, and jewelry, which might here be categorized as "basic luxuries" (oxymoron intended), became a part of American middle-class expectations and a mark of middle-class status. This trend was bolstered by the advertising industry, which in the war years reached its largest budget in history and lured the public to buy various goods.⁷ The *Berkeley Daily Gazette* and other newspapers in the Bay Area filled their pages with advertisements for clothes, household goods, and other attractive merchandise. Teenagers in Berkeley during the war followed the adults by spending more money on luxuries and necessities.

The social life of high school students continued during the war and required students to wear fashionable clothes if they wanted to have a place, or to "be somebody," in the social structure at school. At Berkeley High School cashmere sweaters and saddle shoes were necessities to gain a status among girls.⁸ For boys, easier access to a large amount of money made it no longer unrealistic to have a car of their own or other expensive items.

Most boys expressed a desire to have a car. However, it was expensive and at ages fifteen through seventeen only seven boys spoke of actually buying or planning to buy one. Notably no girl bought or planned to buy a car. Ownership of an automobile or having a driver's license apparently symbolized manliness and had a close link to having a girlfriend. Stuart, at age seventeen, wanted "a car and a blonde girl," so he worked to save money.⁹

Their usual habits of, and attitudes toward, saving were stimulated by the wartime mobilization through defense bond campaigns. Most students put their money in banks, but thirty in the Guidance Study referred to the wartime drives for defense stamps and bonds as a form of saving. More boys (twenty-three) than girls (seven) had bonds, presumably because they usually wanted more expensive commodities like cars and bicycles that required saving over a long period, whereas girls bought apparel that cost less but had to be bought while it was in fashion. Boys tended to be savers, but they saved in order to consume; girls in most cases spent money without saving. In both cases, the subjects were interested in buying, and in this regard the war was responsible--it stimulated their consumer materialism by giving them easier access to money and by encouraging them to save, paradoxically, to purchase expensive commodities.

Those Who Gave Money to Their Parents to Help Support the Family--Cases of the Family Economy

Whether they spent or saved, the above students used the money as they pleased and their money generally was not essential to support their families. In the Guidance Study, however, five subjects, all from lower classes, contributed significantly to their family economies. The ethnic backgrounds of these subjects' parents varied: they were Americans of English descent, a second-generation Swede, an unnaturalized Italian and two African-Americans.¹⁰ Five youths came from impoverished families that subsisted on welfare in addition to wages earned by family members. All these children, except Linda, gave their earnings to their mothers without objection.

In Linda's case, we find conflict between the mother and the children over the latter's earnings. Her family was in "chronic poverty. But the mother gave great satisfaction and security to her children so that the girls grew up to be reliable, resourceful, helpful and independent." However, this security was provided to large extent by the children's earnings. At seventeen, she outwitted her mother in an argument over money. Her mother had instructed her to pay \$10 a week for room and board from the \$30 she was making by working at a soda fountain. When Linda objected to this, her mother became "very angry" and said that "she would collect the entire check from Linda's boss and that Linda would get none of it." Linda spoke to her boss about this and he assured her that he would never give her paycheck to her mother.¹¹

Two lower-class African-American boys, Sam and Armand, made contributions to

their families' incomes, which were managed by their mothers without any conflict. Sam's father left the family when Sam was two and the family lived on state and county aid, charity, the mother's wages, and later the children's earnings. "Sam's mother acted on the belief that her children should be protected from worries about income while they were growing up," wrote an ICW researcher. At age fourteen, Sam took it for granted that he would turn his earnings over to his mother, who made decisions in regard to his work. About this time his mother stressed that it was no longer right that she should have to work since her children had grown up.

Armand's family was even poorer than Sam's. His father had left home and seldom gave his family any money. Armand was raised by his mother, who worked part-time or full-time and depended on state relief and sometimes on relatives and friends. Under these circumstances, Armand was expected to contribute his earnings to the family. At fourteen he worked all summer from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. at the cleaning establishment owned by his aunt and earned \$3.50 a week. This was about one-tenth of what other students earned for the same number of hours of work. Of the \$3.50 he gave \$2 a week to his mother. In other years he had other jobs such as shoe-shining at age twelve, which was what his father did but did not want his son to do.¹²

Attitudes of Teenagers and Parents from the Upper and Middle Classes toward Teenagers' Work--the middle-class Value of Hard Work

Most teenagers worked because they wanted to do so. They wanted to work because they wanted to earn some money to buy things that were beyond the essentials of life--to satisfy their materialistic desires stimulated by the expanded war economy. Now, what values underlay the students' decision to work for money and the attitudes of their parents who allowed--and encouraged-- them to work while going to school? The records of the Guidance Study subjects and their parents reveal, to different degrees according to class background, firm beliefs that encouraged hard work to acquire one's own money even when young, or what may be called a hard-work ethic or a "Protestant work ethic."

Most upper- and middle-class youths expressed a belief--which they got from their parents, usually self-made fathers--in the value of earning their own money. One example was Gary. His father was a successful businessman. His mother said that her husband's "main value was to make money and then show off how successful he had been." After graduating from college, Gary's father started work as a sales manager in an advertising firm and became a half owner of a large printing company. He wanted his son Gary to be "a reasonably successful businessman" to whom he could eventually turn over his business. Gary's parents wanted him to get good grades and go to college, but they did not press him very hard.

Gary neglected school work but did adopt his father's work ethic and enterprising traits. When he was eleven and twelve, he sold football programs, worked at his father's office every day after school, and delivered for a drug store. By age fourteen he felt independent and claimed, "If my parents were to die today and leave no money, I probably could support myself."¹³

Richard, from an upper-middle-class family, is described in his ICW file as "being over-attached to money and possessions." His father began working at ten and made his way through high school and college to become an engineering professor. Richard grew up observing his self-made father and became "spend-thrifty" and greatly

interested in saving. When Richard was fourteen he said, "My father won't even let me borrow--he says he's going to teach me to save and never borrow." At age eleven he was already working for his neighbors, at twelve he had a paper route, and at thirteen he was reported to be so preoccupied with earning money that he never spent "a nickel on candy or ice-cream" and he hated to use his own money for the movies. Always keen to make money, at age fourteen he claimed, "I won't wax our floors for nothing! I charge them [his parents] 75 cents for the living room and 35 cents for the dining room." At age seventeen he still wanted to have more money at his disposal to buy a "real fancy car." His father had instilled a hard-work ethic in him. At age seventeen Richard reflected, "Since my father has made something out of himself, I have always wanted to make something out of myself. That's been true throughout my life."¹⁴

Steve came from an upper-middle-class family, with a company executive father and a maid, but he worked from when he was thirteen or younger. His father believed in the free-market system of the time and was critical of the New Deal. He stressed his conviction that "a thrifty, intelligent, hard-working man will always be able to acquire a great deal of money." Needless to say, this was how he portrayed himself. When Steve wanted an expensive bicycle at age thirteen, he had to work long hours doing "all the dirty work" at a grocery store.¹⁵

Thus, middle-class students went to work driven by values of hard work and money as well as the immediate motives of buying what they wanted.

Attitudes of Children and Parents from the Lower Classes toward Children's Work--Not in the Work-and-Succeed Game

Most lower-class subjects and their parents were not as enthusiastic about the children working as were their counter-parts from higher classes. Interestingly, we find more parents from lower classes than from middle classes who valued school more than money. Alan, from a lower class, wanted a job because he did not like to ask his parents for money, but his mother just "wish[ed] he would get a good education, that's important these days," and expressed her strong belief in education. She disapproved of high school students getting "large war incomes" and said in 1943 that this was "one reason I'm glad he hasn't a job right now." She did not give him an allowance and gave him money when he needed it because "I don't want him to think of money as important." Pauline, an African-American girl, wanted to work but could not because her father objected. Her father, a railroad porter, was a well-read Catholic and a proud man; he despised the people of his race who performed manual labor. He aspired to live as "a white" because he believed that the whites represented intelligence. It is therefore understandable that Pauline's father, imbued with conventional Catholic ideas of the patriarchal family, asserted, "Why does she have to work? She doesn't need to--I can support my children."¹⁶

All the families in the lowest class received state or county aid at some time and their children gave their wages to their family when they worked. The parents of such families, however, were not as interested as those in the middle class were in adding more to the family income through having their children work. Ronald, for instance, agreed with his widowed mother that at age fifteen he should just go to school and not take part-time jobs, although he did in fact work after school and on Saturdays. Frank had to give up a job because his parents objected to his working during school terms. He was, nonetheless, anxious to work and help with payments on their house.

Furthermore, he, his brother, and his father were saving money to buy a "fur coat" for their mother. It is indicative of the prevailing air of consumerism that they should want their mother to have a fur coat. Such a purchase must have been difficult given that this family, with an unskilled machinist father, sometimes was on welfare.¹⁷ But a fur coat was a middle-class status symbol, and for this family, their mother's fur coat was a symbol of social advancement to the middle class. Moreover, this family was overwhelmed by the visions of luxuries that the booming consumer society of the 1940s offered. Newspapers and popular magazines during the war ran advertisements for fashionable clothes for women. The consumerism of the age did not pass without touching this poor family in the lowest echelon of Berkeley's social hierarchy.

While upper- and middle-class children and their parents often tended to share a belief in hard work and a high value on money—which is the essence of the "Protestant work ethic"—their lower-class counterparts appeared to be lacking this work ethic. When the lower-class youths worked for pay, they did so more out of immediate economic necessity than out of any belief in having money for the sake of money itself, or in any belief in the value of hard work and/or the educational value of work. Many middle-class fathers made an effort, often prompted by their wives, to raise their economic and social status by working hard and competing in the market economy, and many succeeded. Such fathers, who were often upper-middle-class and self-made, tried to inculcate their values regarding hard work and money in their sons, and sometimes daughters, and their children acted according to the values they had learned. Lower-class families, on the other hand, did not share these values of social advancement through hard work. Lower-class youths and families were to a large degree not involved in the work-and-succeed game played by the middle class, who dominated the social structure of the town. Berkeley's social structure, which was split between the middle class and the working class, would reproduce itself in the next generation.

Those Who Did Not Work: Gender Values

There were thirteen students whose files show no trace of employment (See Table 3 above.). Some of them came from affluent classes and were provided by their parents with things they wanted or with ample allowances to buy them and were not taught a hard-work ethic. It should be noted that all of them but one were female. Their testimonies and those of some of the working students suggest that gender often hindered female students from gaining employment.

Although the parents of the twelve girls who did not work were not explicit about it, some parents of those who did work expressed negative attitudes about girls working. Cathy worked in the post office at age sixteen, but her mother did not think that Cathy and her sisters should work, although she approved of her son's doing so. At age fifteen Cathy was paid for work she did at home, and her father even increased her allowance so that she would not work outside the home. Dorothy liked her jobs and hoped to work in 1945, but her parents were always reluctant to allow her to work though they did not object to their son's having a job. Ann described by an ICW researcher as "extravagant" and ambitious to work, disagreed with her mother about working. When asked about her major assets as an emerging adult, she said, "I think [they are] my values to do a job well, to overcome obstacles." But her mother did not think that "a girl my age should work" and wanted her to "relax this summer." In addition to these parents, there were patriarchal fathers like the above mentioned

Pauline's, who were too proud to allow their children--and their wives--to take jobs.¹⁸

The traditional belief of a woman's place in the home, therefore, sometimes prevented the employment of girls. Their parents did not instill in them the kind of work ethic that encouraged boys to work and save. Thus, the widespread value that people of the middle class placed on hard work and money did not always apply to female students.

War and Employment--Patriotism

Out of desire to earn money and out of a belief in hard work, most teenagers in Berkeley went to work. This was wartime, when the nation was mobilized by patriotic calls for help, but in general patriotism seems to have played only a small part in the employment of Berkeley's teenagers.

In some cases patriotism was a cause for students' employment. A number of students did go to work to serve the nation at war. The most well-known activities were to be found in the Harvest Camps. Seven boys and three girls from the Guidance Study went to these camps where they picked fruit and beans or worked in forest conservation. There were still others, like Elizabeth from the upper class who probably would not have worked if it were not for the war. She took a kitchen job because her mother felt that "everyone should be useful with the present labor shortage." And "I [Elizabeth] wanted to work too," but she did not enjoy the job. She worked eight hours washing dishes at a "board of health" and was "dead tired every night and went to bed early."¹⁹ These were only a small fraction of the Guidance Study students. Needless to say, some of these students also worked at places which were quite unrelated to the war effort.

Purchasing defense stamps and bonds was considered an act of patriotism. Some students spent some of the money they earned on them and some volunteered to sell them. Timothy in 1942 had his picture in the *Oakland Tribune* for selling \$1,300 worth of defense stamps, which eventually totaled up to \$1,900. These war bond campaigns gave teenagers an incentive to make money, therefore to work, whether or not they were inspired by the patriotic appeals of the campaigns.

In Sum

The experiences of work by the Guidance Study subjects during World War II show that work was an integral part of their lives. Most took jobs out of desire to have more money to spend on items that were beyond their basic needs. This desire was stimulated by a resurgence of the consumerism that had been stifled by the Great Depression. However, some students worked out of necessity to help their family economies. Teenagers worked also because they believed that it was morally correct to earn their own money through labor rather than ask their parents for it, and their parents also encouraged them to take jobs believing in a hard-work ethic. This work ethic was not shared by some of the affluent upper-class or lower-class students and their parents, nor by the African-American father who professed to value only work which required the use of the intellect. Although these were exceptions rather than the rule, they are important to this analysis because this lack of an acceptance of a hard-work ethic in the lower classes could be interpreted as hindering their social mobility if indeed, the machinations of this ethic were the means of social advancement.

The majority of people in the middle-class community of Berkeley did embrace a work ethic that valued hard--often manual--labor and money, and this ethic underlay

the materialism and patriotism that sent teenagers to work during the war. The war roused teenagers to take a positive attitude toward work by creating more jobs and inciting patriotic spirit. A large number of students imbued by their parents with this work ethic were drawn to the lucrative job opportunities offered by the war, in order to satisfy their desires as consumers. If the records of the Berkeley community during the war years are at all indicative of other American communities, then we must conclude that it was the growth of consumerism coupled with the historical "Protestant work ethic" described here that prompted the sudden increase of teenage workers during the war and not patriotism or civic spirit.

¹ "Sources of Labor Supply for the War," U.S. Department of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review*, 57 (August 1943), 212; *Monthly Labor Review*, 59 (November 1944), 1034

² "Berkeley Guidance Study," in *An Inventory of Longitudinal Research on Childhood and Adolescence*, ed. Frederick Verdonik and Lonnie R. Sherrod (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1984), 52-54; For a detailed account on the Berkeley Guidance Study, Jean Walker Macfarlane, *Studies in Child Guidance, Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, no. 19 (Washington, D. C.: Society for Research in Child Development, National Research Council, 1938).

³ Berkeley Guidance Study, case files on Jack, Mario and Teddy. Because the identities of the subjects in the Berkeley Guidance Study are to remain confidential, the names used here are not real and the case numbers for the subjects cited are not disclosed in this work. For future researchers who are interested in using the GS case files, a list of the pseudonyms this study uses for the subjects in correspondence to their case numbers will be provided by the author and also placed at the Institute of Human Development, University of California at Berkeley.

⁴ Case files on Philip and Stewart.

⁵ Case files on Jennie and Timothy.

⁶ Studs Terkel, *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War Two* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1984), 320; Michael C.C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: American and World War II* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 130-32.

⁷ John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture during World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 100.

⁸ See Natsuki Aruga, "Continuity During Change in World War II: Berkeley, California as Seen Through the Eyes of Children," (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1996), chap. 2.

⁹ Case file on Stuart. For the relationship between the car and gender, see Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 166-7.

¹⁰ Case files on Linda, Warren, Mario, Sam and Armand.

¹¹ Case file on Linda.

¹² Case files on Sam and Armand.

¹³ Case file on Gary.

¹⁴ Case file on Richard.

¹⁵ Case file on Steve.

¹⁶ Case files on Alan and Pauline.

¹⁷ Case files on Ronald and Frank.

¹⁸ Case files on Cathy, Ann and Pauline.

¹⁹ Case file on Elizabeth.

Table 1 Jobs/Workplaces of Boys and Girls in the Guidance Study (1938-46)

job/workplace	boys	girls	total
store	19	10	29
newspaper and magazine delivery	26	2	28
office work	10	13	23
restaurants and hotels	11	6	17
manufacturing	12	3	15
gardening	13	1	14
baby-sitting	2	9	11
Harvest Camp	7	3	10
family business	7	0	7
gas station	7	0	7
farm work	5	1	6
park, recreation facilities and summer camp	6	0	6
usher and bowling pin setter	1	2	3
hospital	1	2	3
cleaning shop	2	1	3
others*	15	8	23

Each student who held different kinds of work is counted each time in the jobs/workplaces listed in the table.

* Others include housekeeping, odd jobs, janitorial work, shining shoes, collecting papers and bottles, and vending.

Table 2 Kinds of Stores Where Teenagers Worked (1940-1946)

store	number employed*	
	boys	girls
Gas Station	7	
Drug Store	6	1
Grocery Store	5**	
General/Department Store	3	5
Bakery	2	
Butcher Shop	2	
Cleaner	2	1
Music Shop		1
Photo Studio		1
Gift Shop		1
Tobacco Shop		1
Bike Shop	1	
Unidentified***		2

*The total numbers of boys and girls in this table do not match the numbers of boys and girls who took store jobs in Table 2 because every store job held by each subject is counted here.

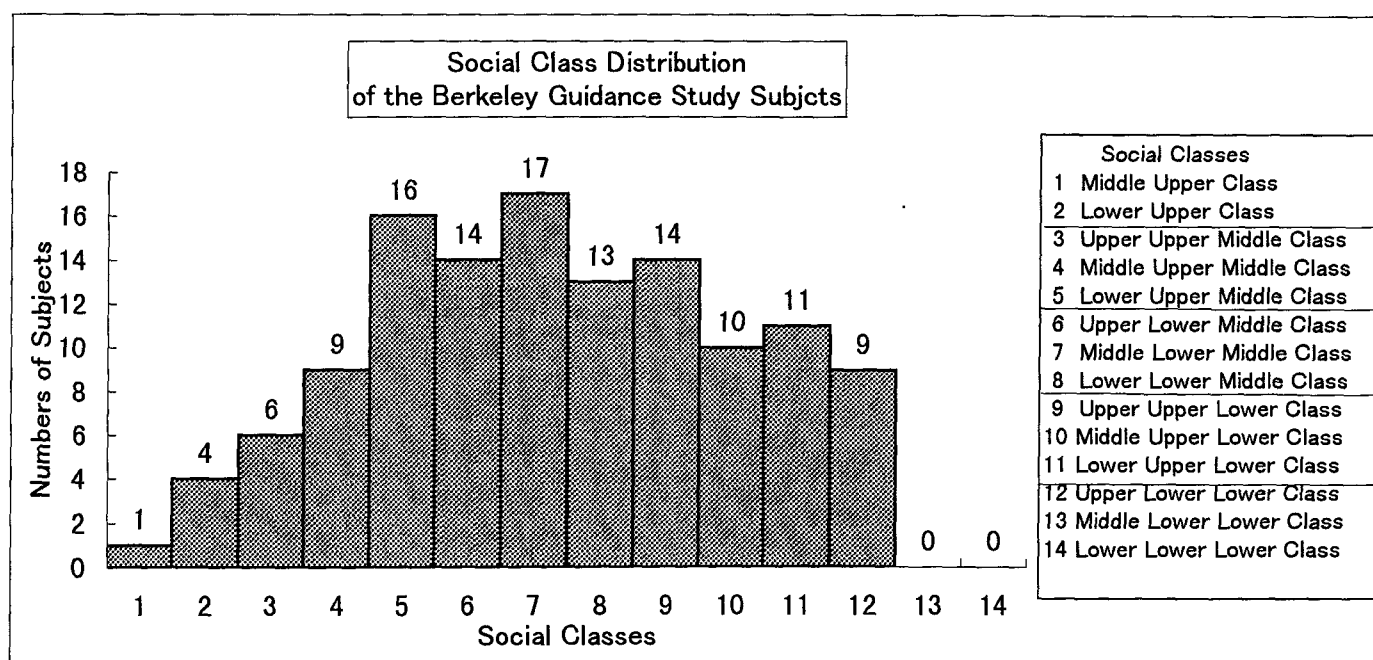
**A salesclerk and an errand at unidentified stores

Table 3 Class Averages of Those Who Contributed to the Family Economy, and Other Groups 1940-46

group	number	class average*
Those who gave money to their parents to help support the family	5	11.20
Those who gave money to their parents but did not support the family	5	7.86
Those who had savings	39	6.54
Those who worked	91	7.26
Those who did not work	13	6.23
Guidance Study subjects	124	7.28

* See the chart (Social Classes) below.

Berkeley's Social Structure



The social classes here are adopted from the "Socio-Economic History" of the families in the Berkeley Guidance Study. The Study adopts Warner's Index of Status Characteristics and identifies the class position of each family according to occupation, source of income, house type, dwelling area, education and income. The Study establishes five major classes (upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower and lower-lower classes), basically using Warner's system with six-classes (upper and lower divisions of the upper, middle and lower classes). The fourteen subclass are given numerical values--the middle-upper being 1 and the lower-lower-lower class being 14.

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多文化主義の中のアメリカ歴史学

(埼玉大学教養学部教授)

基盤研究C

ジェンダーの視点から見た女性史、男性史、全体史

有賀夏紀

平成二二年三月