GENDER AND UNIONISM:
REPRESENTATIONS IN HOTEL WORKER UNIONS

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the representations of gender and unionism in two hotel worker unions in Vancouver; one is an American hotel worker union (Local 40) and the other a Canadian, male, industrial worker union (CAIMAW). Between 1982 and 1984 these unions struggled over the rights to represent hotel workers. Rather than focus only on the complex series of events and allegations that marked the struggle, in this thesis I explore the meanings, ideologies and understandings of two different union discourses, one about gender and the other about unionism. Gendered ideologies and gendered union practices are expressed in the daily actions of unions and union officials. In particular I examine the circumstances of the struggle, and the organisation practices employed by Local 40 and CAIMAW in the hotels, to explore how the meanings of gender and unionism are expressed and negotiated within unions. The struggle itself was couched both in terms of nationalism (ie Canadian versus American International unions), and union organisation. Despite women's predominance as hotel employees, gender and the concerns of women workers, were neglected as an issue.
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PROLOGUE

In 1982 approximately 12,000 unionised hotel employees in Vancouver and British Columbia in organised workplaces were represented by the American-based Hotel, Restaurant, Culinary Employees and Bartenders Union (hereafter referred to as Local 40).¹ However, Local 40 was in trouble. The local media were alleging that there were irregularities in the union finances, and that the President Al Morgan was mishandling union dues.² It was also suggested that this local corruption was connected to broader illegal activities in the Chicago-based head office of the International union, which at the time was undergoing investigation by the FBI for possible links to the Mafia.³

The result of this internal turmoil was the formation of a rank and file reform committee within Local 40. There were a series of issues that the committee found were causing discontent amongst the members, including suspicion that worker dues were being used to promote the hotel industry of BC rather than fulfilling the original intention of facilitating both the organisation of non-union workers,⁴ and improving the servicing and representation of members.⁵ In response, the union publicly argued that it was indeed successfully undertaking

¹Employees in the Canadian Pacific Hotels such as Hotel Vancouver and the Empress in Victoria have always been members of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway and Transport Workers Union. These represent only a small percentage of hotel workers.

²Ward, Doug 1981 "Hotel Union Chief Lands in Dispute". The Vancouver Sun September 12, p H5

³Interview: Full-time organiser, CAIMAW

⁴Morgan, John 1981 "Mystery Fund Probe Sought" The Daily Sentinel September 25, p3

⁵Rank and File Reform Committee, Local 40. Leaflet to all members, July 4th 1981. Box 31 CAIMAW, University of British Columbia, Special Collections.
its responsibilities. For the collective agreements negotiated by Local 40 at the time were arguably among the best in North America and certainly in Canada. However, the rank and file reform committee, which represented a broad spectrum of the membership, demanded more accountability from the union office. To this end they organised a campaign to have members of their group elected during union elections in 1981.

The successful take over of the union by the reform committee members only contributed to the confusion within Local 40, however. From the moment that this reform committee were elected there were rumours that a trusteeship would be imposed by the International Head Office, and this duly occurred in Sept 1982. The reasons for the imposition of the trusteeship are complex. There are two main points, though. First, the reformers felt that the trusteeship was imposed because the International thought that their agenda was ultimately to depose its control. Second, Local 40 was clearly in a financial mess and the International needed to step in to manage the monies of the union so as to prevent financial disaster.

With the imposition of the trusteeship several things happened. Firstly, within Local 40 itself, the newly elected leadership lost their jobs, and union by-laws were suspended to enable

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6Interview: President, Local 40, March 1993
7Interview: Hotel Union Reformer, March 1993
8Ward, Doug 1981 op cit p H5.
9Mickleburgh, Rod 1982 "Union Trio 'out' in trusteeship" The Province September 28, no page number. Ward, Doug 1982 "Four unions cast eyes on embattled local" The Vancouver Sun October 13, no page number
the appointment of a trustee to administer and manage the union.\textsuperscript{11} Secondly, the BC Federation of Labour stepped in to provide their support for Local 40 as an insurance against the union being taken out of the Canadian Labour Congress by raiding unions.\textsuperscript{12} Thirdly, and most importantly for this thesis, the trusteeship sparked a series of raiding attempts by three other unions. They were CAIMAW (Canadian Allied Industrial, Mechanical Association of Workers),\textsuperscript{13} BWDWU (the Brewery, Winery and Distillery Workers Union an independent affiliate of the BCGEU (British Columbia Government Employees Union),\textsuperscript{14} and the CBRT (Canadian Brotherhood of Railway and Transport Workers). There is some conflict of interpretation over the roles played by these three unions, and the reasons for their involvement. The present leadership of Local 40, for example, argues that the BCGEU through the BWDWU was the biggest threat to Local 40, while CAIMAW counters that they led the raiding charge, and that the other unions followed only in order to disrupt CAIMAW’s efforts.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{11}Thompson, Syd \textit{Open letter to the membership of Local 40 BC Federation of Labour}. Box 31 CAIMAW, University of British Columbia, Special Collections. Interview: President, Local 40.

\textsuperscript{12}Ward, Doug 1982 \textit{op cit}

\textsuperscript{13}In January 1992 CAIMAW merged with the Canadian Auto Workers and are now known as the CAW, however, throughout the thesis I will refer to CAIMAW.

\textsuperscript{14}The BWDWU reportedly stepped into the raiding fray for the sole purpose of heading off the CAIMAW raid. The BWDWU claimed they were not exactly raiding Local 40, but preferred to see the hospitality workers in a Canadian Labour Congress affiliated union. CAIMAW was not at the time an affiliate of the BC Federation of Labour or the CLC. Glavin, Terry 1982 "Hotel Restaurant Workers in BC Turning to CAIMAW" \textit{The Columbian} October 14, A4

\textsuperscript{15}Certainly newspaper reports at the time suggested that CAIMAW was well ahead of the other raiding unions in terms of certifications applied for during the raids. By December 1982, for example, CAIMAW was reported to have made applications to represent workers in 35 hotels. See, Glavin, Terry 1982a "Crown Decision will help defend itself" \textit{The}
In terms of the number of certifications taken away from Local 40, CAIMAW was the most successful of the raiding unions. By the end of the raids in 1984 CAIMAW gained certifications in 10 hotels: in downtown Vancouver, Pacific Pallisades Hotel, the Parkhill (formerly Rembrandt Hotel), Ramada Vancouver Centre (formerly Centennial Hotel) and the Harbour House Revolving Restaurant, the Granville Island Hotel; on Vancouver Island, The Courtney Hotel, the Seagate Hotel in Port Hardy, The Greenwood Hotel in Port Alberni; and in the lower mainland, the Grovenor Hotel (shut down by the end of the raids in 1984) and the Terminal Hotel in New Westminster. CAIMAW applied for more hotels, but they were either unsuccessful in the vote, or they did not get the opportunity to put the certification question to a vote with the workers.\(^\text{16}\)

The raiding of Local 40 ended in November, 1984, when that union claimed they had successfully fended off the acts of "union cannibalism", as they referred to the raids, and that stability had returned to the local union because of effective management during the trusteeship.\(^\text{17}\) In contrast, CAIMAW claimed that their efforts had been successful, and that they would have gained even more certifications had they not been thwarted by strong opposition from the mainstream labour movement in BC.\(^\text{18}\) More importantly, CAIMAW argued its challenge to Local 40 signified a democratisation of hotel union activism. For CAIMAW's raids represented the first time that hotel workers in this province were able to choose unions to which

\(^{15}\)Interview: Full-time organiser CAIMAW

\(^{17}\)see The Local 40 Mixer Vol 10 No 3 March-May 1984

\(^{18}\)Interview: Regional Vice-President, CAIMAW
they could become members.\textsuperscript{19}

Two final points should be made about the events surrounding Local 40. First, the struggle over the right to represent hotel workers in Vancouver in the early 1980s was not a battle to forge alliances among hospitality industry workers. In many ways it fragmented them further. Until the mid-1970s many hotel workers were not unionised and further, those that were were distributed among a variety of different local unions. The consolidation of those unions into Local 40 occurred throughout the mid-1970s. In May 1974, Local 16 was formed comprising locals 676 and 28.\textsuperscript{20} In 1976 Local 40 was created from Local 835 and Local 16, uniting 12,000 hotel employees in BC.\textsuperscript{21} In this sense the raiding of Local 40 by CAIMAW and other unions in the early 1980s shattered an only recently established unity among hotel workers.

Second, the president and vice-president of Local 40 at the time the trusteeship was imposed were women. They, along with the secretary/treasurer (a man), lost their jobs when the trustee was appointed. The women were two waitresses from the Vancouver suburb of New Westminster. Their leadership was short lived, and it is remembered as controversial. It is also remembered that these women were elected because they were women and this appealed to the female membership.\textsuperscript{22} The representations and memories surrounding the leadership of Local 40 provide an interesting insight into the positioning of women in unions and the potential for effective leadership of unions by women. This will be a point to which the thesis returns later.

\textsuperscript{19}Interview: Rank and File Reform Committee Member

\textsuperscript{20}See, The Mixer Vol 1 No 1 May 1974.

\textsuperscript{21}See, The Local 40 Mixer Vol 2 No 3 October 1976.

\textsuperscript{22}Interview: President, Local 40
At first glance the circumstances of the struggle between Local 40 and in particular CAIMAW suggest two points from which to begin analysing the nature of each union's involvement. CAIMAW was formed in Winnipeg in 1964 and since then had organised predominantly male employees in mining, electrical and manufacturing plants in BC and Manitoba. Its the motivation for raiding the hotel workplaces appeared to be one of gaining more members, a result in large part because of declines in manufacturing employment following deindustrialisation during the 1970s and 1980s. As a traditional male industrial union, CAIMAW had never before attempted to represent workers in the service sector who were predominantly women and as we shall see later, this presents a particularly difficult challenge to the union.

Initially the response to CAIMAW's raids by Local 40 was as much shaped by the internal problems at the union as it was by the raids themselves. Later, however, Local 40 union officials did focus their energies on the more positive strategy of reorganising their representational practices. For example, Local 40 officials responded to the charge that the union was not adequately servicing their members by restructuring the executive board such that those on the board represented a wider cross-section of the membership (see chapter four). Given this context, the central claim of this thesis is that the struggle between CAIMAW and Local 40 was based on two very different philosophical and practical approaches to the task of representing workers. In neither case, however, did those representational practices come to terms with the fact that those who were represented were predominantly women. The task of this thesis will

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23see Atherton, Patricia Gwen 1981 CAIMAW - Portrait of a Canadian Union Unpublished MA Thesis, Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration, University of British Columbia
be to document the intersection between daily union practices, unionism, and gender. To do so this thesis will address two central questions. First, what are the means, if any, for the concerns of unionised women workers to become the concerns of the union itself? And second, what is the most appropriate forum for organising the unionisation of women service sector workers such as in the hotel industry?
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

My general purpose in this thesis is to understand the positioning of women in service sector unions. Women in Canada represent 51% of the workforce, yet despite successful and ongoing efforts to organise they constitute only 39% of unionised workers.¹ My aim is to move beyond the literature that only highlights the numerical extent of women’s underrepresentation (although this is important) in unions, to explore also the social, cultural and organisational practices of exclusion. What I hope to show is that women’s representation and organisation in worker unions is underlain by ideological constructions of femininity and masculinity. It is these dominant ideologies that contribute to indirect discriminations, and thus constrain women’s participation in unions.

The role of unions is to represent their members, indeed, to speak for these members during contract negotiations. In the act of representing workers to improve or protect existing wages and working conditions and in their daily organisational practices unions also speak about their members. As Linda Alcoff argues, "in both the practice of speaking for as well as the practice of speaking about others, I am engaging in the act of representing the other’s needs, goals, situation, and in fact, who they are"² (Alcoff’s emphasis). The act of representing workers in the workplace, then, cannot be separated from the representation of workers that are


constructed by officials in the union office. Representations of this second kind are ideologically constituted, underpinning every political and discursive action in which the union engages on behalf of their members. Particularly germane to this thesis is that the representations constructed by union officials are a product of deeply imbedded ideological assumptions about gender; assumptions that define the nature of male and female union members. Thus, throughout this thesis I will use representation in two senses. First, in the sense that unions represent workers at workplaces and second, in the sense that union officials construct representations of the workers themselves. I shall try to keep the two definitions distinct.

In the first sense of the term, there are two main issues that stem from the under-representation of women in unions. First, the numerical under-representation of women both as members and in leadership positions implies that women’s specific needs in the workplace are often neglected. Even within their union women members may encounter a range of responses to the issues that concern them, from a keen interest to promote childcare availability and payment of benefits and superannuation to part-time workers to outright neglect. This neglect by unions often occurs in those that are organised around the principle of majority rule. The potential for women trade unionists to influence the collective bargaining agenda depends to a certain extent on the type of union to which they belong. Pradeep Kumar distinguishes between public and private sector unions in Canada in terms of their willingness to bargain for women’s concerns. Collective bargaining issues in public sector unions have emphasised pay and employment equity measures, sexual harassment and family related leaves. The private sector unions, whose membership and/or leadership are largely male, have been slower to pursue women’s issues having focused mainly on work-environment improvements. In such a context
there is little scope for women members to directly influence central issues and debates because of their underrepresentation on negotiating committees.³

Second, union membership in traditional sectors is declining because of employment losses. Milkman argues, for example, that unions in the United States suffered large membership losses during the 1970s. In part this was because many new jobs went to women who, in turn, were not organised by unions.⁴ In this context of economic restructuring and the decline of organised labour the challenge for unions is to attract and retain new members. One source is the potential unionisation of new women workers particularly in the service sector. Instead of tapping this source, however, unions have sought new members through merger and amalgamation creating larger unions with very diverse memberships divided along gender, occupational and industrial lines.⁵ As we shall see throughout this thesis, union leaders work with various ideological constructs (representation in the second sense) about masculine, feminine and the different work environments in which men and women are employed. The organisation of women service sector workers has proved difficult because within unions these ideological constructs hinder the development of organisational strategies that are sensitive to the needs and concerns of both women and men union members.

Thus, a central question for my thesis is how are unions reorientating their


⁵This is indeed a characteristic of CAIMAW, see discussion in chapter three.
representation(s) of members in particular places and labour markets and with reference to the
diversity of workers within those contexts? The issue is not merely that unions have a
responsibility to represent their members at the bargaining table, but that the very act of
representation, as already argued, incorporates ideological constructions about gender and
unionism. Ideological effects in unions are represented, organised and expressed in very material
forms. The prioritising of issues within unions, for example, is not defined merely in the
abstract, but rather in relation to economic, political and ideological conditions in specific
places. Those ideological constructions made by union officials occur in, and underpin, the daily
union business of organising new workplaces, negotiating contracts and in the making of union
policy. I will argue that an examination of union representations (in the second sense),
particularly those impinging upon women members, can provide insights into the further, and
related, question of why more women in paid employment are not organised and represented (in
the first sense) by worker unions. Historically, men have used unions to exclude women.6 This
thesis does not ask how women experience this inevitable exclusion, but rather how unions
structure and maintain such an identity. Thus, this thesis is not just a "corrective" survey of the
positioning of women in unions (we know that women are underrepresented), but rather aims
to situate women with respect to discourses about unionism and in representations of gender and
gendered social relations.

In this thesis I examine a struggle (outlined in the prologue) between two unions in

6see Heidi Hartman's seminal paper, Hartman, Heidi 1976 "Capitalism, Patriarchy and
Job Segregation by Sex" in Martha Blaxall and Barbara Reagan (eds) Women in the
Workplace University of Chicago Press, Chicago, (esp. pp 147-169) and; Barrett, Michele
and McIntosh, Mary 1980 "The family wage: some problems for Socialists and Feminists"
Capital and Class 11 pp 51-73
Vancouver who organise workers in the hospitality sector, Local 40 and CAIMAW. The struggle between these unions provides an interesting case study for a number of reasons. Firstly, Bryan Palmer characterises the election of two women leaders at Local 40 as an example of the emerging prominence of women and women's issues in the labour movement. As he writes "a waitress and a woman bartender defeated a well-entrenched male bureaucracy in Local 40." However, Palmer does not follow the post-election problems including the imposition of the trusteeship and the ensuing raids of Local 40 certifications. During the raiding period, 1982 to 1984, issues of gender were not the concerns around which the struggle between Local 40 and CAIMAW was negotiated. Instead Local 40 and CAIMAW contested the struggle in terms of which union was more appropriate to represent hotel workers. I argue that both during the hotel membership struggle and in conducting their daily union business the issue of gender and a sensitivity to the needs of women members should have been of critical concern to these unions. In the example of hotel workers in Vancouver, over 60 percent of them are women, yet the majority of hotel workers (about 80%) in BC are not represented by a union. The hotel industry is a notoriously difficult one in which to organise, and it seems impossible to ignore the relationship between the reality of unorganised workers and the fact that so many of the employees in this industry are women.

Secondly, the struggle over the right to organise hotel workers in BC represents one of

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8see for an example of different attempts to organise hotel workers in British unions; Johnson, K. and Mignot, K. 1982 "Marketing Trade Unionism to Service Industries: An Historical Analysis of the Hotel Industry" Service Industries Journal Vol 2 No 3 pp 5-23
only a few Canadian examples of unions organising in private sector workplaces. Hotels are part of the service industry and include many examples of service sector occupations in which women are commonly employed, but are not substantially organised by worker unions. Workers in private, service sector workplaces, especially women, have remained predominantly unorganised by unions because of perceived difficulties associated with organising those workers. Local 40 and CAIMAW have vastly different experiences of organising in different sectors of the British Columbian economy. I compare their styles of organising both during and beyond the struggle to consider why issues of gender were not brought to the fore during the membership struggle. Despite the differences between Local 40 and CAIMAW, they have a similar experience of organising workers in service occupations in private sector workplaces. A case study of CAIMAW and Local 40s organising experiences and practices, especially in the service sector, is interesting for a number of reasons. First, the fact that both an international union and a national union with previous organising experiences only in industrial workplaces represent workers in similar private sector workplaces is relatively unique. Second, CAIMAW and Local 40 exemplify some of the broad changes that have, and are occurring, in the Canadian labour movement. These changes include the organisation of women and the expansion of some unions' traditional jurisdictional boundaries to include representation of women workers. Finally, the organisational and ideological histories of CAIMAW and Local 40 are quite different and I argue throughout the thesis that these differences are quite apparent in the meaning and practice of unionism expressed throughout the struggle to organising hotel workers between 1982 and 1984.

In the remaining part of this introduction I review briefly some pertinent economic and feminist geographic literature. The final section of this chapter explains the research
methodology.

GEOGRAPHY AND TRADE UNIONS: LINKS BETWEEN HOME AND WORK

Researchers in both economic and feminist geography have examined social and spatial divisions of labour. Yet, in this literature there has been little attention to unions in the workplace and their role in perpetuating segregation in the labour force.

Economic geographers have sought to understand processes of industrial restructuring and its socio-spatial impacts: relocation, plant closure and reworkings of social (class, gender, racial) divisions of labour. As part of these projects geographers have observed the process and spatial distribution of union formation and declining union membership. Gordon Clark, for example, examined declining unionism in the manufacturing sector in the United States. He concluded that changes in the density of union membership in regions where unions were traditionally strong is an outcome of both economic restructuring and community change. Clark argues that the unionisation formation process is decentralised in the US. As a consequence, the overwhelming significance of local issues contributes to the fragmentation of union solidarity. The influence and power of unions diminishes, then, in the face of internal conflict, membership decline and economic restructuring.\(^9\)

While Clark examines the fragmented state of the American labour movement, Sayer and Morgan point to the need to examine how union officials and workers respond differently to the effects of economic restructuring in regions. Sayer and Morgan argue that community and union

responses to economic restructuring are complex. Their research on electrical engineering firms in South Wales was motivated in part by the belief that there are not only conflicts between working communities and local industry, but within each of these, between different types of workers and firms.10 As workplace institutions, unions act to protect the interests of workers, yet there may be unacknowledged or unrecognised conflict around the definition of these interests. Sayer and Morgan argue that industrial geographers have failed to notice these differences due to a disciplinary emphasis on a 'view from above' style of research that considers economic change from the perspective of capital, not the different workers.11

In this thesis I take up Sayer and Morgan's point that there are differences between workers and officials within unions to examine how such differences structure the different association that respectively women and men have with unions. Feminist geographers have sought to make visible the differences between workers, the spatial significance of such differences and the subsequent impact on work experiences for women (paid and unpaid) and men.12 While feminist geographers such as Gibson, Pratt and Hanson, for example, have examined the construction and spatial configuration of gendered and classed identities in

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11 Sayer, Andrew and Morgan, Kevin 1985 ibid p 164

particular workplaces and labour markets, the possibility that unions have incorporated these
gendered and classed identities into their union practices and thereby perpetuated labour market
segregation (as well as the exclusion of women from unions) has not been explored. Despite this
neglect of trade unions, feminist geography informs this thesis in a number of ways.

Feminist geographers have examined women’s position in society, and particularly in the
paid workforce, as a function of underlying social relations and power structures. For example,
Louise Johnson examined the relations between industrial restructuring, the occupational
segregation of women and patriarchal social structures in the Australian textile industry. Susan Hanson and Geraldine Pratt sought to conceptualise the problem of gender divisions in
urban labour markets with specific reference to women’s experience of spatially constrained
employment opportunities. Jacqueline Tivers has explained the division of labour in the paid
workforce and women’s lesser access to employment and social services in terms of, and in
relation to, women’s greater responsibility for unpaid work in the home.

13See Gibson, Kathy 1992 "‘Hewers of cake and drawers of tea’: Women, industrial
restructuring and class processes on the coalfields of central Queensland". Rethinking
Marxism Vol 5 No 4 Winter pp 29-56. See also Pratt, Geraldine and Hanson Susan 1994
"Geography and the Construction of Difference" Gender, Place and Culture Vol 1 pp 5-30

14See: Johnson, Louise C. 1990 "New Patriarchal Economics in the Australian Textile
Industry" Antipode Vol 22 No 1 April pp 1-32.

15Hanson, Susan and Pratt, Geraldine 1988 "Spatial Dimensions of the Gender Division
of Labour in Local Labour Market" Urban Geography Vol 9 March-April pp 180-202. See
also, Wekerle Gerda R. and Rutherford Brent 1989 "The mobility of capital and the
immobility of female labour: responses to economic restructuring" in Jennifer Wolch and
Hyman, Boston pp 139-172

16see Jacqueline Tivers 1985 Women Attached: The Daily Lives of Women with Young
Children Croom-Helm, London
The relationship between home and work, and its impact on the labour force participation of women has been an important focus of feminist geographic research. Hanson and Pratt, for example, emphasise the need to move beyond the accepted conceptualisation of home and work as separate yet gendered spheres. Instead, they argue that the characteristics of home and work define each other, and are mutually implicated in decisions about work, residential choice, and community participation.\textsuperscript{17}

I argue throughout this thesis that there are clear ideological links between home and the paid work environment. As Michele Barrett writes "the gender divisions of social production in capitalism cannot be understood without reference to the organisation of the household and the ideology of familialism".\textsuperscript{18} As McDowell argues, however, the linkage between union organisation and the relationship between home and work has not been widely researched.\textsuperscript{19}

In union discourses home and work are typically artificially separated, where each place has a distinct gender identity. Home is constructed as the place where women perform unpaid domestic work while work is conceived predominantly as a male environment where the male is the breadwinner earning the wage that supports their family. In this thesis I explore the process by which unions have co-opted these gendered identities constructed respectively within the home and work to construct particular identities of the women workers they represent. I will argue that, in part, worker unions exploit (in the sense that they fail to challenge) both these gendered divisions of labour.

\textsuperscript{17}Hanson, Susan and Pratt, Geraldine 1988 "Reconceptualising the links between home and work in Urban Geography". In Economic Geography Vol 64 No 4 pp 299-321

\textsuperscript{18}Barrett, Michele 1980 Women's Oppression Today Verso, London p 186

\textsuperscript{19}McDowell, Linda 1993 op cit p 171
Geographers have previously considered the spatial links between home and work and women's segregation in the urban labour market through an examination of journey to work data. In this thesis home and work are not drawn together by commuting patterns but at a single site, the union office, where the identities of women members are constructed. For this thesis, then, the union office, union policy and the actions and sayings of union leaders are pivotal because they are the sources of the constructions and representations of gender and unionism, which in turn, either inhibit or facilitate women's participation in unions. Unions are not merely objective arbiters of the interests of the workers they represent, but rather are gendered institutions and as such they actively reproduce divisions in the workforce and society as a whole.

METHOD

Methodologically, this thesis relies on two main sources of information. First, the monthly newsletters of Local 40 and CAIMAW provided information about both the struggle, and the activities and philosophies of each organisation. The Local 40 Mixer was available from 1974 and The CAIMAW Review from 1978. For information about CAIMAW prior to 1978 I referred to Patricia Atherton's account of CAIMAW's history. Her thesis takes the story of the union up until 1981. Secondly, eight intensive and open-ended interviews were conducted

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20for example, Howe, A and O'Connor, K. 1982 "Travel to work and labour force participation of men and women in an Australian metropolitan area" Professional Geographer Vol 34 pp 50-64

21see for example; Cockburn, Cynthia 1983 Brothers: male dominance and technological change Pluto Press, London

22Atherton, Patricia Gwen 1982 op cit
with both male and female union officials who were involved in either Local 40 or CAIMAW at the time of the struggle. Heery and Kelly found, in the British context, that full-time union officials play a significant and creative part in union policy development and implementation. Their research indicates that although the role of the full-time officials is circumscribed by a range of factors union officials enjoy some scope for innovation and choice within these limits. It is assumed that the union officials in Local 40 and CAIMAW have contributed to the shaping and interpretation of gender and unionism.

Throughout the thesis I will refer to the persons interviewed by the title of their union position. With the exception of one person who withdrew from union activism at the end of 1984, all those interviewed remain public figures within the labour movement. Only one interviewee was not involved in the actual struggle, but she was a member of CAIMAW at the time and became a hotel employee in 1983, and later a union official representing the hotel membership of CAIMAW (see appendix 1).

During interviews it was understood that the representatives spoke on behalf of their union and with reference to union policy. Where this was not the case, the interviewee would indicate they were offering a personal opinion. The interviews were each between one to two hours long, they were taped with permission and transcribed in full. Each interviewee was provided with a copy of the transcript and they were given the choice to edit it in any way they chose. None of the people interviewed edited their transcript. The questions revolved around the

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23Heery, Edmund and Kelly, John 1988 "Do Female Representatives Make a Difference? Women Full-time Officials and Trade Union Work" Work, Employment and Society Vol 2 No 4 pp 488, 504. This research refers specifically to the possible contribution of female trade union officials, however it is also instructive more generally, of the role of trade union officials.
particulars of that person's involvement during the struggle and their interpretation of it. Thus, interviewees were asked to recall the union strategies for conducting and defending the raids, the geography of these strategies and the main issues of the struggle including specific questions of gender.

The interviews were interactive and given that people were asked to recall events of ten years ago it was sometimes necessary to remind them of the details of events, dates and so on that I had gleaned from newspapers and union magazines. It was interesting that people did not clearly remember the sequence of events and details of the circumstances of the struggle, but they clearly remembered the issues and counter claims made about those issues by the opposing union. In analysing the role of oral history and memory in historical research, Bodnar argues that interviews can be read to discover what people remember, but also to discover how they went about the process of organising and creating those memories in the first place.24 It emerged during interviews that there was a collective 'official' memory of the struggle whereby similar stories were recounted by representatives from the same union. Personal memories also emerged as individual's described their particular involvement in the struggle. As events have been recast over time the memories of events appear to have solidified around some central themes which gave meaning to the experiences and actions of both the specific organisation and the individual union representative. I will argue that it is these central themes - the union history, the experiences of representing women workers and the union philosophy - which structure male and female union official's memories of past struggles and continue to motivate

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the representation(s) of women workers in these unions.

This research was conducted as part of a wider project investigating labour market restructuring in Vancouver and the relationship this has to international reconfigurations of capital and divisions of labour. In my capacity as research assistant for this project I conducted interviews of hotel workers. In total for the project there have been approximately 35 interviews of hotel managers and 25 interviews of hotel workers conducted. The interviews were open-ended in nature and structured around some general questions about worker’s employment history and experiences in the hospitality industry. Although time and space constraints prevented my a systematic analysis of these worker’s experience as hospitality union members in Vancouver, references to seven different worker’s comments (and one hotel manager) were elicited from the interviews I conducted and are included in this thesis.

OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

To understand and illustrate the positioning of women in service sector unions it is first necessary to highlight the themes of two separate literatures. Chapter two is a review of the literature of the positioning of women within worker unions. Much of this literature suggests that there are a great number of barriers to the participation of women within unions. One important barrier is the very nature of unions as masculine organisations, one that tends to render invisible women’s class concerns and their class activism. This chapter, then, considers the informal ways women do organise at work. Two different strategies seek to capture women’s different organisational experiences and they are considered in conjunction with ways that unions can restructure their organisational practices to meet the needs of women in paid employment.
Chapter three considers the changing geography of trade union representation (in the first sense) as economic restructuring alters the labour market and thus, the nature of union membership. In particular, this chapter examines explanations for the continuing underrepresentation of women private sector workers in unions. These explanations include considerations of the difficulty of organising workers in the occupations that women typically perform, union neglect of the service sector and the fragmented structure of the Canadian labour movement which has allowed private sector workers to go unorganised by unions. In final part of this chapter I consider both Local 40 and CAIMAW’s different position in the Canadian labour movement as unions that organise in private service sector workplaces. In this section too, I consider some of the differences between these two unions. Chapters four, five and six provide the case study. The aim of these chapters is to expose the forms of social and union organisation within CAIMAW and Local 40 that maintain women’s exclusion both as members and as active and effective union activists. The discussion in chapters four and five extends outside the two year period of the struggle. Chapter four explores union representations of the hotel industry and the difficulties of organising workers within it and concludes with a discussion of the workplace organisational practices employed by Local 40 and CAIMAW. Chapter five specifically considers discourses and representations of gender that occurred within Local 40 and CAIMAW. In the two year struggle between these unions traditional notions of masculinity and femininity were deployed to legitimate strategies of organisation and reorganisation, yet gender issues were neglected during the struggle.

Thus, chapters four and five place the union struggle between 1982 and 1984 in context. Taken together these chapters explore the institutional characteristics of CAIMAW and Local
40, the histories of these unions, their membership, and suggests a structural, organisational and ideological basis for the representations of women members which contribute to their construction as marginal workers and union members. Chapter six reveals the issues that did attract the attention of union officials between 1982 and 1984. The tactics and strategies employed by the unions are more closely considered here. In conclusion I argue that this case study provides an example of the attempt by unions to organise women workers in the service sector, and as such it the promise of useful political lessons as such organising continues.
CHAPTER 2
WOMEN AND UNIONS: THE NEED TO (RE)ORGANISE

INTRODUCTION

As academics have sought to understand and explain the under representation of women in the labour movement there has been increasing documentation of both hitherto hidden women's struggles and activism, and the exposure of structural and social restrictions on women's participation in unions.¹ If women remained invisible in research about labour studies it was only because their struggles were considered insignificant both historically² and contemporarily.³

There is now, however, a growing literature on successful workplace struggles by women workers, instances where women were able to resist management and to mobilise around such issues as wage increases or equal opportunity. What is notable about these successful struggles by women is that they tend to be sporadic or short term responses to a discriminatory situation rather than formal ongoing efforts.⁴ In order to organise simultaneously previously unorganised

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¹For a review of recent publications in American women's labour history, for example, see Milkman, Ruth 1993 "New Research in Women's Labour History" Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society Vol 18 No 2 pp 376-388.


⁴See for example, Costello B. Cynthia 1985 "'Wea're Worth it!' Work Culture and Conflict at the Wisconsin Education Association Insurance Trust" Feminist Studies 11 No 3 Fall pp 497-518. Costello explores the working conditions which led women in an insurance firm to strike. She notes that during preparations for the strike women generated militant resistance through claiming their status as workers. Once the working conditions which caused discontent were removed, the desire for militant and organised work action declined.
workers, to build on moments of successful workplace struggle, and to channel that effort into long-term, formal worker organisation, it is necessary to understand the institutional mechanisms that operate to exclude women workers.

Such is the task of this chapter, which is to present a review of literature about women's positioning in unions, and which also addresses the specific question of why, despite ongoing attempts to organise, women are numerically underrepresented as union members. The literature about women's relationship to unions varies enormously in terms of spatial scale, social and temporal locations and industrial foci. Instead of trying to review it systematically, I will use the literature selectively to address two main issues. First, to identify the barriers to union membership faced by women, and which are created and enforced by unions. Second, to examine the literature that deals with discourses about gender, home, work and unionism.

There are different themes in the literature that discusses issues of gender and unionism. In the literature that identifies barriers to women's participation in unions, masculinist trade unionist assumptions about, and representations of, women's relationship to their home and their paid work are exposed. However, I will argue that even in writings which seek to challenge the present status of women union members, these masculinist assumptions remain implicit and unexplored. A second theme in this literature introduces a radical feminist perspective to discussions about women's relation to unions. Thus, explicit understandings of masculinist organisational structures and women's different work experiences inform this literature which calls for a radical feminist process to be incorporated into unions. Thus, the chapter reviews, with examples, the spectrum of approaches to explaining why more women are not members of a union.
In the first section I consider how women are excluded from unions, through male trade unionists actions and through discourses of masculinity and femininity. In the second section I explore the difficulties associated with organising women service sector workers. The second half of this chapter begins with a review of literature which addresses women's consciousness of class and gender as embodied in a 'work culture'. This literature draws attention to the different, informal nature of women's organisation at work which is rendered invisible by traditional structures of union organisation. I examine literature about work cultures in this chapter to highlight firstly, that women do indeed participate in resistance in the workplace, and secondly, that this organisation has potential to be channelled into formal union activism. The final two sections of the chapter address the question of how women can be included in structures of union organisation. Both women's committees and the incorporation of a responsive, feminist process have been cited as ways unions can create a place and a space for discussion of women's issues. My broader aim in this chapter is to expose the different constructions of masculinity and femininity that both structure and underpin women workers' relation to unions. These constructions will later inform my analysis of the struggle between Local 40 and CAIMAW, and the status of women members in these hotel worker unions.

WOMEN UNION MEMBERS

I. Exclusion

Laurell Ritchie, among, others argues that women are excluded from unions in part as

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a result of a gendered division of labour that allocates unpaid work to women. This responsibility for household maintenance restricts women's participation in paid work. As a consequence women's paid work tends to be part-time, casual and is performed in and around child bearing and rearing. Although women now have a permanent, if unequal, attachment within the labour force women remain predominantly responsible for the majority of caring work within families, and as a result they have less time for paid work and trade unionism. It is important, however, not to leave the question of barriers to union participation only with women and their commitments to unpaid housework. Such an analysis is problematic because women are presented as both victims of their social role and are made responsible for changing it.

With respect to this last point, Heidi Hartmann has argued that male workers, through the institutions of unions, have strategically employed notions of the appropriate role of women in society to resist their presence in both the workforce and the labour movement. She argues this patriarchal ideology represents women as homemakers and consumers rather than workers. Also Anna Pollert shoes that their is a consensus view among male trade unionists in Britain that women are different to male workers. Women are perceived as housewives, their place being

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in the home and their claims to worker status limited because women’s wages are only 'pin money'. The idea that women’s paid work is only secondary to their unpaid work is based, however, as much in male trade union ideology as women’s actual material experiences of paid and unpaid work.

Two case studies identify the particular nature of women’s exclusion from male-dominated unions in north America. These case studies refer to workplaces that are dominated by male workers. This is different to the hotel workplaces in Vancouver which employ predominantly female workers, however, I would argue these case studies are instructive for this thesis because the situation in the auto, steel and the hotel unions in Vancouver is similar. As was the case at Local 40 and CAIMAW, before the struggle began, both Gabin and Luxton and Corman’s research describes unions which are dominated by men and where male trade union organising strategies are practised.

In her forty-year study period of the United Auto Workers, Gabin shows how women union activists challenged their male counterparts to recognise women’s contribution as auto workers, and to address the issues of equal pay, seniority, equal access to jobs and compulsory overtime. She demonstrates that the success of these demands varied according to both terms of each successive challenge and the economic circumstances of the time. After many years of ongoing struggle, some male auto unionists finally reassessed their ideas about gender relations and women’s rights and supported women worker’s demands including claims to seniority and

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10 Pollert, Anna 1981 ibid pp 173-180

equal pay. The male unionists were ultimately persuaded by "the ideology of egalitarianism and individual liberty implicit in industrial unionism".\textsuperscript{12}

In the second example, by Luxton and Corman, during the late 1970s and early 1980s at Stelco Steel in Hamilton, the workers, men and women, struggled to transform work and hiring practices so women could be hired in non-traditional occupations. Women in Hamilton, Ontario were motivated to challenge the ideologies and the realities of work in male-dominated heavy industry by the desire to earn high wages. These struggles were officially supported by the union for two reasons. Firstly, altering management hiring codes would remove inherent and institutionalised sexist practices. Secondly, changing hiring practices challenged the fundamental right of management to control access to jobs through hiring; this was previously a management prerogative.\textsuperscript{13} As Luxton and Corman argue, it is difficult to assess the impact of the struggle at Stelco because by the early 1980s few women retained their jobs. Recession-induced redundancies had forced women, without seniority, out of jobs ahead of their male counterparts. When it came to layoffs the union's priority remained with the 12,000 male employees. Seniority rules were not altered to ease the burden of layoffs on the few hundred women employees.\textsuperscript{14} Perhaps the most significant effect of this struggle at Stelco was the challenge to the sex/gender division of labour and hegemonic male workplace culture posed by the presence of women production line workers.

\textsuperscript{12}Gabin, Nancy F. 1990 \textit{ibid} p 183

\textsuperscript{13}Luxton Meg and Corman June 1991 "Getting to Work: The Challenge of the Women Back into Stelco Campaign". \textit{Labour/ Le Travail} 28 Fall pp 149-185.

\textsuperscript{14}Luxton, Meg and Corman, June 1991 \textit{op cit} p 157, 183, 185
It is, of course, impossible to generalise about women’s experiences as union members in male dominated occupations simply from these two examples. However, the studies by Gabin, Luxton and Corman refer to situations where male unionists exclude women because they are a threat to the male control of both the shop floor and bargaining issues. In this case there is a clear relationship between gendered workplaces, where men dominate numerically, and a gendered union ideology and practice. The actions of unions are defined exclusively by and for the majority of the members in those workplaces. Women’s exclusion from unions also occurs as the result of prevailing social attitudes which prescribe gendered social roles to women and men. In particular, as I will discuss in the next section, trade union activism is gendered in ways that both alienate women activists and renders their activism invisible.

II. Gendered activists and trade union activism

It is commonly thought that women are poorly represented by unions because they are passive actors in the workplace. Angela John argues, however, that women’s passivity is exaggerated, and that if women’s protests are missing from historical accounts it is only because they do not fit into predefined notions of trade union activism. In particular, because that union activism is defined in masculine terms women are reluctant to join formal labour organisations. For example, union meetings tend to occur in pubs which makes women feel unwelcome or out of place. Stepping into the world of trade unions, therefore, involves


16Beale, Jenny 1982 op cit p 31; Ward, Susan E 1991 op cit p 14

17Beale, Jenny 1982 op cit p 27
stepping into a patriarchal world. Particularly in industrial worker unions where shop stewards are commonly male, women are reported to feel alienated. For example, Sallie Westwood explores patriarchal relations, labour processes and shop floor culture in a women’s hosiery factory in the UK. Women factory workers expressed feelings of anger and frustration at the lack of consultation and commensurate neglect of their concerns by the union. For these reasons some of these women held strongly anti-union views.\textsuperscript{18}

Exemplary of the complex relations and controls imposed on women’s labour activism is Joy Parr’s account of a strike in the knitting mills of Paris, Ontario in 1949.\textsuperscript{19} Women strikers in Penman’s knitting mills found that the prevailing ideologically constructed femininity restricted their behaviour as union activists. Female militancy was constructed by police, neighbours, journalists and picketers in the imagery of feminine ‘wiles’.\textsuperscript{20} While women sought to act on the picket line in a way that would effectively maintain that line, men and outsiders to the town denied both the possibility and the appropriateness of such militancy. Male unionists believed that women would not be effective picketers while the police insisted that the women should simply not act in such a manner. They insisted the strikers behaviour was inappropriate for respectable women and that they should return to their homes.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{18}See Westwood, Sallie 1984 \textit{All day every day: Factory and family in the making of women’s lives} Pluto Press, London, esp. chapter 4.

\textsuperscript{19}Parr, Joy 1990 \textit{The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950} University of Toronto Press, Toronto, chapter 5 especially pp 104-118

\textsuperscript{20}Parr, Joy 1990 \textit{ibid} p 113

\textsuperscript{21}Parr, Joy 1990 \textit{ibid} p 106
WOMEN UNION MEMBERS: SERVICE SECTOR WORKERS

The case study cited above suggest that the battles women face to prove their value as workers in paid employment, and the relevance of their concerns are hard fought. But women must also prove themselves as trade unionists.22 Demonstrations of commitment to the union cause can be difficult to establish, however. Women must overcome dominant perceptions that their association to the labour force and the union office is only tangential to their responsibilities for child-rearing and household work. They are often taken not to be 'real' workers because they are predominantly employed in service jobs which are low paying, insecure, part-time or casual, where existing union presence may not necessarily inspire union activism.23 In this case, however, the problem lies not with the women workers but with the types of occupations that are available to them. Further as Judith Hunt argues, women are often employed in small workplaces where there is no tradition of organising.24 Attempts to organise retail employees in Eaton's downtown Toronto store illustrate some of the difficulties of organising in workplaces of predominantly female part-time employees where there is no established union. Union organisers faced two different problems related to the geography of the workplace. First, retail workers themselves are isolated from each other both physically and by the different shifts they work, and secondly, union organisers had to struggle against a lack of

22Beale, Jenny 1982 op cit p 18

23For a brief summary of the history of Canadian women in the labour force see Sangster, Joan 1985 "Canadian Working Women in the Twentieth Century" in WJC Cherwinski and Gregory S. Kealey (eds) Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History Committee on Canadian Labour History and New Hogtown Press, St John's Newfoundland

access to the workers. Eaton's management prevented staff from discussing the union anywhere on the premises of the store including lunch rooms. And when in the store, due to surveillance of organisers' activities by management and security staff, workers were unable to freely approach the union to ask questions or sign a card.25

As service sector workers, women face other structural impediments to their participation in unions. Laurell Ritchie refers to employer opposition, labour laws and union organisation as sources of structural and institutional constraints on the potential organisation of women.26 Anti-union positions taken in labour legislation, for example, do not prevent employer discrimination against workers attempting to organise. Management attempts to discourage unionisation are clearly evident in Cynthia Costello's study of insurance workers in Wisconsin. While a deterioration in working conditions provoked the initial unionisation drive at the insurance firm, managerial harassment, especially of the union supporters, created a vulnerable workforce where many were afraid to challenge the company. The office workers faced several barriers to collective action. First, the separation of employees across several buildings impeded the development of social ties, requiring the union to build support in several locations. Second, collective solidarity among the union workers was undermined by the threat of non-union workers. Finally, management repression intimidated employees and lead to a high turnover rate, and further more this stood as a constant reminder of the likely consequences of collective


26Ritchie, Laurell 1981 op cit pp 13-14
action. Remarkably the workers were able to hold onto their union in the face of constant managerial assaults. Costello notes her case study as "a sobering testimony to the challenges faced by office workers in authoritarian work settings".

Unions themselves encounter difficulties in organising service sector employees. Susan Ward examines the relationship between union organising strategies and white collar work environments where women are predominantly employed. She argues that the 'non-traditional (white collar) bargaining units' are often not successfully organised because unions do not plan strategically nor sensitively for such workplaces. However, Ward's study and those of others that refer broadly to the service sector suffer from overgeneralisation. Although Ward is referring to workers in the public sector unions in Canada, 'white collar' is a large and relatively unspecific occupational category which includes office workers, retail workers and service workers. I would argue that in order to understand thoroughly the barriers to women's participation in unions, it is necessary to identify specific organisational barriers that arise both in different unions and in the various occupations in which women are employed. In chapter four I begin that task by examining Local 40 and CAIMAW's efforts to organise and represent

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28Costello, Cynthia B 1991 ibid p 84

29Ward, Susan E 1991 Rising to the Challenge: Organising White-Collar Workers School of Industrial Relations, Research Essay Series No 39 Industrial Relations Centre, Queen's University at Kingston

30See for example, Edelson, Miriam 1987 "Challenging Unions, Feminist Process and Democracy in the Labour Movement" CRIAW/CREF, Ottawa. Edelson closely considers the women's issues program in the Public Service Alliance of Canada, but her discussion is not specific to any one workplace.
workers in the hotel industry in Vancouver.

This discussion reveals the economically exploitive and socially oppressive nature of dominant (masculine) trade union ideology and action on the working lives of women. Women trade union activists have sought ways to break down male control of unions by challenging its internal structures. I will return to this issue below. At this point I wish to consider the relationship between women's class consciousness and their class actions. Conceptualising women's relation to unions and the labour market in terms of both women's gendered role in households and male control of unions maintains a false separation between the spheres of production and reproduction, paid work and home. If the home is considered the site of gender relations where women perform an unpaid domestic role, then class relations are viewed as only occurring in workplaces and union offices where men work. The effect of this representation is to obscure and silence women's different class actions and class consciousness.

In the following section I examine literature that refers to work cultures associated with women's workplaces and paid work experiences. The work cultures literature draws attention to examples of women's successful workplace struggles which occurred despite the lack of a formal, effective union presence. The work cultures literature does not explicitly consider why and how women are excluded from unions, although Alice Kessler-Harris examines women's work cultures as a way to view how women understand unions, their role within them, and

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Peter Jackson reminds us that in considering home and work as ideologically and spatially separated it is necessary to be aware of the extent to which power in one domain spills over into other domains. Men's authority in the home, for example, depends on their absence from it during the day. Jackson, Peter 1991 "The cultural politics of masculinity: towards a social geography" Transactions: Institute of British Geographers New Series 16 p 219
indeed women’s desire to participate in a formal labour organisation.\textsuperscript{32} Women do organise differently and in the manner of their organisation women express a consciousness of class and gender that is based in their experiences as paid workers, and unpaid domestic caregivers.

**WOMEN’S WORK CULTURES: GENDER AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS**

Studies of women’s workplace culture and consciousness, I think can inform union organisers about the cultural differences between men and women that, in turn, generate disparities in their union membership. In this section I consider the role and function of work cultures in informal workplace resistance. Given that women’s work experiences are generally isolated from other workers either by divisions of labour or fragmentation of workplaces, it is useful to introduce the notion of work cultures to examine the potential for resistance and organisation among women workers. It is clear from the literature about work cultures that women do express both a consciousness of class and a willingness to organise at the workplace in ways that are protective of their interests and concerns. Work cultures provide ideological space for women to express both their classed and gendered identities at home and work. However, these informal organisations of women at work tend to be overlooked by unions. I argue later in the thesis that both Local 40 and CAIMAW defined issues to present to the hotel workers during the 1982-1984 struggle without consideration of the workers thoughts about these issues.

Susan Porter Benson offers a definition of work cultures and their function: "a realm of informal customary values and rules [that] mediates the formal authority structure of the

\textsuperscript{32}Kessler-Harris, Alice 1985 \textit{op cit}
workplace and distances workers from its impact. Radical work cultures flourish in particular work situations. They are produced in opposition to both the capitalist labour process and the subordination of women in the workplace. It is in the context of general powerlessness of their control over the labour process that women create their own shopfloor culture. In Porter’s department store case study, women developed a shop floor culture to resist the thorough, yet fragmented, supervision and inconsistent authority of management. Inconsistent management arose from the typical department store situation of conflicting lines of authority. Sales people were supervised by a plethora of managers including members of the buying, operations, advertising, personnel, accounting and sales promotion staffs. In this context, women claimed an authority and status of their own, as they employed their knowledge as consumers and personal skills as communicators to deal with both management and customers on the shop floor.

Expressions of workplace culture and class consciousness also transcend traditional boundaries between home and work. For example, Patricia Zavella observed the work-related and work-based networks of communication and social activity amongst Chicana cannery workers. These women were empowered by their shared understanding of both their paid and domestic work contributions. At work women developed a supportive culture that enabled them

33Benson, Susan Porter 1988 Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers and Customers in American Department Stores 1890-1940 University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago p 228

34Westwood, Sallie 1984 op cit p 6

35Pollert, Anna 1981 op cit p 130

36Benson, Susan Porter 1988 op cit p 230

37Benson, Susan Porter 1988 ibid
to endure stressful working conditions. Beyond the workplace women developed meaningful relationships with one another based around social and political activities for which they did not have time at work. Such networks suggest the need for unions to conduct organising in places other than in paid work environments.

As Benson argues the forms and priorities of the work culture are certainly different to traditional forms of resistance in worker unions. There is not the authority or the formal organisation, but there is a structure of solidarity to which employers, managers and supervisors are forced to respond. For example, the 'sisterhood' developed among retail saleswomen, creating space for a resourceful work culture by liberally interpreting manager's rules and instructions, saleswomen developed an appreciation for the skill of selling but an unwillingness to use that skill as their employers wished. In the cannery factory women's work culture networks became politicised, especially after the union refused to meet the special needs of the Spanish speaking Chicana workforce. Friends from work formed political alliances to struggle against and challenge the existing union leadership. The relevance of such work cultures is in illustrating the empowerment of women by informal communications. Knowledge of women's communications that exist both at home and work are typically ignored by established union practices of organisation and representation.

Writings about work cultures and the networks of interaction between workers, both work-based and work-related, remind us more specifically of local contingencies that create or

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38Zavella, Patricia 1985 "'Abnormal Intimacy': The Varying Work Networks of Chicana Cannery Workers" Feminist Studies 11 no 3 Fall pp 541-557

39Benson, Susan Porter 1988 ibid p 268
deny the possibilities for union organisation. As Louise Lamphere argues, the existence of a work culture is dependent upon workers' ideologies and their behaviour, union presence and management control of the workplace and unions, in short the whole work context.\textsuperscript{40} Just as Burawoy's workers disguised the coercive nature of their employment by playing political games and ultimately consenting to the organisation of their work by management,\textsuperscript{41} so too, women's work cultures involve a complex set of relationships including both oppositional discourses and adaption and consent to management policy.\textsuperscript{42} For example, in Westwood's study of hosiery workers referred to above, women used their femininity, constructed around domesticity, as a means of confronting management controls and the sexism of male supervisors. While at work hosiery workers 'domesticated' their work environment by taking slippers to work, making aprons on company time, celebrating birthdays and babies and conversing about home life.\textsuperscript{43}

The problem for working-class resistance as expressed through work cultures is that it can remain isolated and localised within the context in which it is produced.\textsuperscript{44} As a result, the struggles in different workplaces cannot easily feed into each other. Furthermore, as exemplified in Lamphere's case study of apparel and electronics factories in New England and the Southwest

\textsuperscript{40}Lamphere, Louise 1985 "Bringing the family to work: Women's culture on the shop floor" Feminist Studies 11 No 3 Fall p 521

\textsuperscript{41}Burawoy, Michael 1985 The Politics of Production Verso, London

\textsuperscript{42}Lamphere, Louise 1985 op cit p 521

\textsuperscript{43}Westwood, Sallie 1984 op cit; See also Pollert, Anna op cit. Both texts have extensive quotes from the women they interviewed.

\textsuperscript{44}Connell, R. W. 1987 Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics Stanford University Press, Stanford p 269
of the USA, management can try to co-opt the informal work culture in an attempt to build a loyal workforce. So, birthday celebrations, screening of employees for union sympathies, decreasing the differences in payments to workers, are all strategies employed to blur the distinctions between management and workers,\textsuperscript{45} and thus discourage worker resistance or union organisation within that workplace.

This is not to negate the importance of a work culture or to deny its useful function for women. Lamphere argues work cultures must be taken seriously. Even without a formal union presence work cultures can represent a 'threat' or challenge to management's control in the workplace. Further, while the work community may fail to challenge the gendered hierarchy of the workplace, it can provide women with a refuge from work room authority, which is most often male. The work culture provides a social world where women can resist supervisory pressure, but where they can also express individuality and independence.\textsuperscript{46}

However, the impact of work cultures is ambiguous without formal organisation. Research about work cultures does not explain how or why women are excluded from unions, but it does explore the intersection between class and gender at the workplace. The literature on work cultures shows that women do express consciousness of class and gender issues in the workplace. For work cultures to ultimately lead to long-term resistance in the workplace I would argue that it is necessary to engage in formal unionisation. The problem is that women are frequently rendered invisible in many class struggles, whether informally or formally organised,

\textsuperscript{45}Lamphere, Louise 1985 \textit{ibid} pp 531-533

because of the way they are defined by traditional unions. This clearly raises questions about how labour organisation should proceed to include women, and to deal with the issues that specifically concern them. In the following section I refer to literature that defines different strategies for allowing women members to be better included in the daily business of union activism.

UNION ORGANISATION: WOMEN'S COMMITTEES AND FEMINIST PROCESSES

Julie White argues that although some ambivalence is still expressed, women concerned with labour issues are now considering how best to restructure and reorganise unions to meet the needs of women.47 I consider here two different strategies. Firstly, the creation of separate women’s committees for women union members. Women’s committees create the opportunity for women members to formulate their concerns and to address them within the union. Secondly, I consider briefly a feminist organising process and the challenge it presents to union organisational strategies that presently exist.

Before addressing these two strategies, however, it is important to note that one response to women’s growing membership in unions has been to retain existing organisational structures within unions. Jenny Beale argues that the increased representation of women in unions, as female labour force participation rates have grown, automatically makes unions more democratic. While she acknowledges that existing union structures are masculinist, she argues that increased participation of women will bring greater democracy to union structures because

47White, Julie 1993 Sisters and Solidarity: Women and Unions in Canada Thompson Educational Publishing, Toronto, see chap 3
more voices and interests are present in the membership. In making this argument, however, Beale neglects two points. First, she does not take into account the fact that newly employed women workers are not necessarily organised into unions (see chapter three). Secondly, as Cynthia Cockburn recognises, the mere fact of women’s presence in unions does not challenge dominant ideologies, or male control of unions, given their previous numerical dominance. Instead she argues for a more proactive feminisation of unions with the promotion of women as full-time organisers and leaders.

Merely 'adding women in' as trade union members or to leadership positions is not sufficient to address the imbalance in the representation of women in unions. Given that collective bargaining does not function neutrally with respect to gender it is important for women trade unionists to challenge the deeply rooted male domination of union strategies, structures and ideologies. Only by doing so is it possible to redefine the 'collective' through systematic inclusion of women.

I. Women's Committees

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48Beale, Jenny 1981 op cit p 9

49Cockburn, Cynthia 1987 quoted in Heery, Edmund and Kelly, John 1988 op cit p 495

50Davies cites collective bargaining as one example of a union process through which exclusion occurs. He argues that it is difficult to convince trade unionists that the universalisation of workers interests in industrial bargaining for the good of the collective may be harmful to the interests of women or other workers. Davies, Scott 1990 "Inserting Gender into Burawoy’s Theory of the Labour Process" Work, Employment and Society Vol 4 No 3 p 400

There has been much debate about the value and worth of separate women's committees in raising the visibility of women members and their concerns. Debbie Field, in a study of Ontario Public Service Union, argues that the barriers to women's participation in unions provide a justification for separate women's committees. In further support for women's committees, Margaret Beattie found in her research of two labour federations, one in France and another in Quebec, that despite similar levels of awareness of women's issues and the goals of the women's movement, women were better represented and mobilised within their union where a committee structure was present and active. These discussions suggest that women unionists can successfully use special and separate committees to their benefit. For example, Canadian public sector unions have made women's issues such as maternity leave, child care and inclusive language contracts into industrial bargaining issues through such committees. In particular the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), which has the highest proportion of women members, has a women's bargaining committee in place to oversee the bargaining process; this committee ensures that women's concerns are not 'traded away' during contract negotiations.

To be effective, women's committees within unions must facilitate communication and

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53Beattie, Margaret 1986 "The Representation of Women in Unions" Signs: Journal of Women and Culture in Society Vol 12 No 1 pp 118-129. The organisations studied between 1973 and 1981 were two education labour federations; Federation de l'Education Nationale (Paris, France) and Centrale de l'Enseignement du Quebec.


mobilisation of women around issues of their representation and leadership. Such committees can offer support and encouragement to women union activists whether they are members or leaders. However, it is also important to consider the potential problems faced by separate women's committees in unions, which neither Field nor Beattie do in their studies of public sector union organisations. Where women have formed a separate committee to fight their isolation in the union, and to gather a collective voice around issues which concern them, they can remain isolated and separated from the existing leadership. There are difficulties in challenging the existing union structures, practices and ideologies from the position of a women's committee whose status is somewhat marginal. More generally, by confining discussion by women unions members to only women’s issues creates an isolation that further contributes to the difficulties in the quest for change.56

Women’s committees unite and empower, but it is possible that they also serve to discipline and silence women participants within the context of the existing union structure. The integration of an inclusive and supportive feminist process within unions, in contrast, would affect significant and permanent changes to union bureaucracy, to strengthen union activism, and democracy, which would benefit all, not just women members.

II. Feminist Process

Briskin argues that a responsive, hospitable and participatory feminist process, grounded in union structures, offers a counterweight to the tendency toward marginalisation that women's

56Cobble, Dorothy Sue 1990 "Rethinking troubled relations between women and unions: craft unionism and female activism" Feminist Studies 16 No 3 p 534
committees experience.\textsuperscript{57} Thus feminist union activists have incorporated some lessons from the women's movement to challenge and question the internal power relations within unions. In particular, a feminist process emphasises accountability within the union, redefines leadership towards decentralisation, and is inclusive and participatory.\textsuperscript{58} Women union activists need the opportunity to develop their own power, to explore the internal (and invisible) barriers to women's participation, and to build their activist skills in an organisation that affirms the status and worth of women members. The incorporation of a feminist process is understood to lead to greater openness in union structures, awareness of gender issues and barriers to women, and is thus, constructive of a stronger, more democratic organisation.\textsuperscript{59}

Discussions calling for the incorporation of a feminist process in unions are to some extent trying to step beyond merely the question of barriers to women in unions. The project here is to restructure and reorientate unions as a way to allow the class struggle to absorb women's different responsibilities.

CONCLUSION

Access to labour organisations is politically beneficial for women, but women's underrepresentation suggests that they are still defeated by indirect or invisible barriers. I argue

\textsuperscript{57}Briskin, Linda 1990 \textit{op cit} p 41

\textsuperscript{58}Briskin, Linda 1990 \textit{ibid} p 39.

\textsuperscript{59}Edelson, Miriam 1987 \textit{op cit} pp 2-24; See also Ann Marie Wierzbicki interviewed by Barbara Sanford 1988 "Union Maid" \textit{Women and Environments} Vol 11 No 1 Fall p 13. Wierzbicki, a regional representative with the Public Service Alliance of Canada, argues feminists have a key role to play in the democratisation of the labour movement, which has become increasingly bureaucratic, and the membership inactive. Women broaden the scope of issues unions define and struggle over.
that it is necessary to place simultaneously gender relations in three locations if we are to understand the barriers to women's participation in unions: homeplace, workplace and the union office. Gendered identities and gender relations are mutually constituted at all three sites.

Masculine trade unions construct masculine and feminine subject positions in relation to work, with the feminine being positioned as inferior. It is important to explore how these perceptions of masculinity and femininity are exposed and maintained within workplace institutions. In the context of a worker organisation, the implications for women are that they are inadequately represented both ideologically and practically by their union. This chapter has sought to expose the constraints on women's participation in unions. These constraints occur as a result of the interactions between institutionally-legitimated and socially-constructed assumptions about the role of women in the workforce and in households.

The literature on women and unions points to the need to enact or enable a process through which women's voices can be heard, and through which traditional gender relations and their influence on union business can be challenged. In as much as we need to focus on gender, gender relations and the exclusion of women, we need also to situate such discussion within two different, but related contexts, that of the Canadian labour movement and that of regular daily union activism. In the next chapter I examine the first of these contexts, the Canadian labour movement, to explore the degree of organisation of private sector workers. As I will argue in chapter three, service sector workers, including hotel workers are generally underrepresented by unions for reasons related both to the nature of the work they perform and the neglect of their organisation by mainstream unions.
CHAPTER 3
SERVICE SECTOR WORKERS AND TRADE UNIONISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the changing nature of union membership in Canada. I explore the reasons for the continued exclusion and/or underrepresentation of service sector workers as union members. Bagguely et al suggest that there is a need to consider more thoroughly the role of labour in both the development and restructuring of services for a number of reasons. Firstly the investigation of restructuring and employment in services is important because they result in important economic, social and political outcomes. Secondly, services should be studied as a field of research because such research cannot be pursued simply by taking over modes of analysis developed to investigate the manufacturing industry. Finally, working conditions of unorganised service sector workers remain vulnerable to abuse of their working conditions primarily because service industries are labour intensive and the cost of labour, which employers may seek to reduce, is a high proportion of total costs.

I have two purposes in this chapter. My first aim is to examine the possibilities for, and the constraints which may limit, the participation of service sector workers in the labour movement. In so doing I examine two different features of the Canadian labour movement. First, I examine the extent of unionisation of women service sector workers, and second, I briefly examine the structure of the labour movement in Canada. I contend that several factors combine to perpetuate the exclusion of women service sector workers from unionisation.

My second aim is to position the hotel unions in Vancouver within the context of a labour

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1Bagguely, Paul et al 19990 Restructuring: place, class, gender Sage, London p 48, 59-60
movement where, in general, private sector service workers are not unionised. CAIMAW and Local 40 are emblematic of the remarkable diversity within the Canadian labour movement. Local 40 is an American international union with a long history of organising in the service sector. CAIMAW is a Canadian industrial worker union that was formed to contest the presence of American international unions in the Canadian labour movement. Despite the differences between them they both currently organise and represent women employed in private sector workplaces. In this chapter I draw attention to the differences between Local 40 and CAIMAW, and in later chapters I examine the implications these differences have for the ways both unions conduct their organising in hotel workplaces.

I begin by identifying changing trends in union membership in Canada. Particularly since the 1960s large proportions of workers in different occupations, including service sector workers, have been incorporated into unions. Organisation of workers, however, has been quite selective. In the second section I address literature that explains the underrepresentation of women service sector workers within unions. In the third part, I examine the fragmented nature of the labour movement in Canada, arguing that private sector workers have been excluded from unionisation by all segments of the labour movement. Finally, I consider Local 40 and CAIMAW’s participation as bargaining units in private sector workplaces.

UNION MEMBERSHIP TRENDS

The spaces of union strength have been traditionally the mine and the factory sites associated predominantly with male employees. However, membership in these workplaces is

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2See White, Julie 1993 op cit chapter 2.
Gilson and Spencer report that in Canada between 1981 and 1985 the International Woodworkers and International Steelworkers each lost over 20 percent of their membership. Machinists, clothing, textile, retail, wholesale and railway workers all lost over 10 percent of their members. Gilson and Spencer note a similar, though more dramatic decline in the United States. Herod argues that as employment in these industrial sectors decreases, unions turn to different workers in different occupations and industrial sectors to maintain bargaining strength. In particular, unions have increasingly sought new members from unorganised women service sector workers.

Empirical evidence certainly supports this claim. Service sector employment has consistently expanded in Canada since the 1950s. Indeed, 90 percent of net employment growth since then has been in services. Women’s participation in paid work has also become a predominant feature of the labour market. By 1989 women’s labour force participation rate was 57.9 percent and women constituted 44.3 percent of the total paid labour force. At the same time 57.4 percent of all employed women worked in community business or personal services.

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3Herod, Andrew 1991 "Homework and the Fragmentation of Space: Challenges for the Labour Movement" Geoforum Vol 22 No 2 p 182


5Herod, Andrew 1991 op cit p 182

6Dawes, Colin Jonathon 1987 The Relative Decline of International Unionism in Canada Since 1970 School of Industrial Relations Research Essay Series No 19. Industrial Relations Centre Queen’s University at Kingston p 63

7Economic Council of Canada 1991 Employment in the Service Economy Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa p 1
the total labour force employed in the services sector in 1989 women comprised 62.4 percent.\textsuperscript{8} The overall rate of unionisation for all workers in Canada is 38 percent where 34 percent of women belong to unions, compared to 41 percent of men.\textsuperscript{9} Although women remain underrepresented as union members compared to men, women's membership within unions has grown, especially in comparison to manufacturing. While union membership in manufacturing has declined from 39 percent in 1966 to 19 percent in 1989, the proportion of unionised workers in services increased during the same time period to 34 percent.\textsuperscript{10}

There is evidence to suggest, however, that organisation of women service sector workers has not occurred uniformly across the service sector. The expansion of unionism among women service sector employees has been selective such that while workers in some occupational categories are now highly organised, others such as private-sector, clerical, sales and service workers remain largely outside the labour movement. Most women unionists are found in manufacturing and public administration. These are sectors in which unions traditionally organised, or where government-sponsored organisation drives occurred. For example, unionisation in the public sector has ostensibly reached 'saturation' point. Respectively 67 percent of education/health service workers, and 70 percent of public administration workers are now union members.\textsuperscript{11}


\textsuperscript{9}White, Julie 1993 \textit{op cit} p 164

\textsuperscript{10}White, Julie 1993 \textit{ibid} p 57

\textsuperscript{11}The organisation of public sector workers was made possible by new legislation which granted federal public administration workers the right to collective bargaining in 1967. See White, Julie 1993 \textit{op cit} p 51 (for a discussion of the extension of collective bargaining
The three private sector service industries of trade, finance and personal/business services have, however, very low rates of unionisation. In trade only 15 percent of workers are unionised. Supermarkets and warehouses have some degree of unionisation, but independent and chain retail outlets and department stores remain predominantly non-union. Approximately five percent of workers are employed in the finance industry which includes insurance and real estate companies as well as banks. This sector includes 10 percent of unorganised women. For all finance workers the general rate of unionisation is 12.4 percent. The personal/business services sector has the lowest rate of unionisation. The personal services sector includes restaurants, hotels, bars, hairdressers, drycleaners, cinemas, and theatres. Business services include employment agencies, security and collection services, but also highly qualified and professional business consultants such as accountants, architects, computer programmers and lawyers. Although some employees in personal service occupations such as hotel workers, actors and musicians are unionised, overall, unions have had little impact on this sector, organising only 11.5 percent of workers up to 1989. Taken together women workers in trade and personal/business services constitute 53.4 percent of all non-unionised women workers.

\[ \text{White, Julie 1993 \textit{ibid} p 163} \]

\[ \text{12White, Julie 1993 \textit{ibid} p 163} \]

\[ \text{13All figures in this paragraph are taken from White, Julie 1993 \textit{ibid} chapter 6. White's data comes from the Labour Market Activity Survey. In January of each year since 1986 a questionnaire has been attached to the monthly Labour Force Survey. This questionnaire obtains information on all jobs held by a respondent in the previous year. It asks whether the job was union or non-union and this information can be analysed by detailed industrial and occupational categories, by sex, by size of firm and by part-time and full-time work. It provides material for a more detailed analysis of unionisation by sex than information previously available through the Corporations and Labour Unions Returns Act (CALURA). Most of the information White includes was unpublished data from the Labour Market Activity Survey.} \]
There are a variety of explanations that account for the low proportions of organised women service sector employees. To allow for this fact, I will draw upon two different arguments in the literature. Firstly, I argue that women service workers are underrepresented as union members because of the nature of their employment and the sector of the economy in which they work. Secondly, I argue that male trade unionists in manufacturing sector have simply ignored the opportunity to organise women private service sector workers. I illustrate this latter point with reference to two case studies.

WOMEN SERVICE WORKERS: WHY ARE THEY UNORGANISED?

Linda Briskin and Marina Boehm, among others, have argued separately that it is not their sex per se that excludes women from union participation, but the nature of their employment. In a statistical review of union membership, Briskin found that the sector of the economy has more impact on the likelihood of union membership than gender.14 Boehm argues further that women are employed in industries and occupations that are difficult to organise15 for a number of reasons related to the nature of service occupations. First, its high turnover; second its industrial organisation is dominated by either very large employers (banks, hotel chains, department stores) or small-sized firms that both employ a large proportion of women,

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15Boehm, Marina C. 1991 Who Makes the Decisions? Women's Participation in Canadian Unions School of Industrial Relations Research Essay Series No 35. Industrial Relations Centre, Queen's University at Kingston p 4
part-time workers or young workers;16 third, its high use of subcontracting of work especially to low-wage firms and to an expanding, permanently temporary workforce.

The consequence of these kinds of features found within the service sector is one where working conditions are easily abused, affecting typically, minority and women workers. In that light, Christopherson’s research on the US service sector is very revealing. Christopherson argues that the United States has the least ‘rigid’ employment security system, and the largest flexible workforce of all OECD membership countries. Employers have been able to utilise workers flexibly (in terms of hours and times of work), most notably among women and minority workers, because of the lack of employee protection and bargaining power. Christopherson concludes that the costs of a flexible economy are being borne by those segments of the workforce historically neglected by labour institutions.17 This is, of course a strong argument for unionisation of previously unorganised service sector workers. However, the nature of both the work and the workers in the service sector precludes such organisation. Either unions are not willing to learn about the unique work experience of service occupations, or they do not have the resources to organise workers located in isolated and fragmented work spaces.18

The intersection between the workplace, the presence of women and minority workers in the service sector complicates the organising process and, ultimately, perpetuates the exclusion of service workers from labour organisations. It is also the case, however, that unions have simply neglected to organise the service sector. The reasons for this neglect are a result

16Coates, Mary Lou 1992 Is there a future for the Canadian Labour Movement? Industrial Relations Centre, Queen’s University at Kingston, p 6

17Christopherson, Susan 1989 ibid p 138, 140

18Ward, Susan E. 1991 op cit
of unions either treating service sector workers as unimportant, or seeing them as irrelevant to their jurisdiction. In general, Townsend argues that in the British labour movement service industries are excluded from organisation because they are viewed as only a subordinate activity within manufacturing. The consequence is that the unionised manufacturing sector, for example, has received support and protection at the expense of low-paid service employment.\(^{19}\) In the United States labour movement, Christopherson argues that services remain on the fringe of labour activism because of the reluctance of the dominant craft unions to organise in unfamiliar industries.\(^{20}\)

Such neglect is illustrated by the history of private sector clerical and bank workers in Canada and the United States. As a group, Sharon Hartman Strom argues clerical workers have consistently remained outside the labour movement. The backdrop for her analysis is the feminisation and mechanisation of clerical work which she argues was largely complete by the end of the 1930s.\(^ {21}\) Clerical workers were situated at different times as either part of the craft union movement and associated with the American Federation of Labour (AFL), or the industrial labour movement and in the Congress of Industrial Organisations (CIO). The AFL responded to the expansion and mechanisation of office work in the 1920s and 1930s in two different ways. Firstly, the AFL argued for an apprenticeship system (although Strom argues that this was

\(^{19}\) Townsend, A. 1991 "Services and Local Economic Development" \textit{Area} Vol 23 No 4 pp 310-311

\(^{20}\) Christopherson, Susan 1989 \textit{op cit} p 139

inappropriate) given the continued deskilling and proletarianisation of office work. Secondly, office workers were shunted into ill-financed locals where union officials had no intention of effectively representing them.\(^2\) Clerical workers were also organised by the industrial labour movement into unions affiliated with the CIO. At first, the United Office and Professional Workers of America (UOPWA) organised clerical workers employed in the steel and rubber industries, but they were forced to transfer these members to the United Steel Workers and the United Rubber Workers. As Strom notes, during the 1930s male unionists in CIO affiliated unions consistently signed contracts which exchanged gains for blue-collar members for an agreement to eliminate office-workers' bargaining rights. These organisations did not include clerical workers in their contracts. Thus, as members of industrial union monopolies, clerical workers effectively had no union. Male unionists justified their neglect of office workers with the assumption that clerical workers would either side with management, or prove impossible to organise because they were susceptible to manipulation by supervisors or bosses.\(^3\)

More recently, attempts to organise private sector bank and financial workers in Canada have also met with only limited success. In 1988, for example, union membership in the financial industry, which includes banks, credit unions, and so on, comprised only 3.4 percent of paid workers in that sector.\(^4\) The difficulties and costs of organising and servicing a multitude of small geographically dispersed bargaining units are illustrated by the bank workers

\(^2\)Hartman Strom, Sharon 1985 *ibid* p 227

\(^3\)Hartman Strom, Sharon 1985 *ibid* p 213

\(^4\)Baker, Patricia 1993 "Reflections of Life Stories: Women's Bank Union Activism" in Linda Briskin and Patricia McDermott (eds) *Women Challenging Unions: Feminism, Democracy and Militancy* University of Toronto Press, Toronto p 63
attempts to organise in British Columbia in the late 1970s. At that time the Service, Office and Retail Workers Union of Canada (SORWUC) supported a group of bank workers who wanted to organise their workplaces. The battle to organise was waged on two fronts, against the banks and the established labour movement, neither of which considered banks as likely workplaces for union activity. In the face of the bank’s persistent efforts to intimidate employees and derail the organising campaign, the union struggled to organise and then maintain a majority of support in each workplace. Each branch was designated a separate bargaining unit and was certified separately despite the time and financial costs incurred.

As the costs of the campaign mounted, however, the United Bank Workers became increasingly isolated from the broader labour movement. That movement, however, was also part of the problem. At the beginning of the campaign the CLC seemed to favour the SORWUC bank workers. But during this organising drive the CLC itself began to organise bank workers. This confused the bank workers and provided bank managers with the opportunity to ask their employees to 'wait and see' which union would offer the best deal. Ultimately, such uncertainty stalled the organising efforts of SORWUC to the point where no new members were joining and the union ran into financial difficulties. After eight months of contract negotiations for workers in the 24 banks which had been certified, SORWUC was forced to withdraw because of the lack of funds either to support a strike or to continue negotiations.  

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{25 SORWUC is an independent, Canadian labour union committed to the organisation of women workers into a democratic and feminist union. See, The Bank Book Collective 1979 An Account to Settle: The Story of the United Bank Workers (SORWUC) Press Gang Publishers, Vancouver}\\
\text{26 The Bank Book Collective 1979 ibid}
\end{array}\]
The United Bank Workers argued that the structure of the CLC was not geared to organising, having not been involved in major organising campaigns for a number of years. Furthermore male trade unionists were not convinced that women should earn similar wages or be involved in union meetings. As I will discuss in the next section, there is evidence to suggest that the experience of the bank workers indicates a broader trend within the Canadian labour movement; that of the reluctance of unions associated either with the international union movement or industrial occupations to organise in sectors where workers are traditionally unorganised, or in occupations which are beyond the jurisdiction of an established union.

THE CANADIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

I. Non-traditional Organising

Within the Canadian labour movement there are three factors that cause women private sector workers to remain predominantly unorganised. These factors stem firstly, from the actions and ideologies of existing unions; secondly, from the lack of government and public support for the unionisation of private sector workers and finally from the fragmented nature of the labour movement itself.

First, Susan Ward concluded that union organising efforts in Canada are geared substantially towards organising in traditional sectors, rather than in services occupations where women’s employment is expanding. Ward attributes this feature to the perceived difficulties of organising women service sector workers. In contrast, Gilson and Spencer argue that unions

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27 The Bank Book Collective 1979 ibid p 113

28 Ward, Susan E 1991 op cit pp 9, 11
actively seek to organise workers in those occupations where it is possible to develop collective identity through similar bargaining experiences. Gilson and Spencer note that, while the expansion of union membership into non-traditional sectors occurs in Canada, it is actually restricted to a few, high-profile unions.\(^{29}\) Thus Gilson and Spencer comment that,

> apart from some high-profile unions such as the UAW (CAW), NUPGE and CUPE, it appears that membership growth is typically taking place along traditional lines of representation, reflecting perhaps that similar collective bargaining experiences between workers continues to exert a powerful influence over trade union developments.\(^{30}\)

Second, while unions may not actively be organising where women’s employment is expanding, the possibility for the organisation of private sector service workers is influenced by factors beyond the actions of the labour movement itself. White argues that there is a clear difference in employer opposition to unionisation between the private and the public sectors. Although many restrictions have been placed upon the rights of public sector workers, basic recognition of unions has been easier to obtain in the public sector.\(^{31}\) In contrast, workers in the private sector have not enjoyed government sponsorship of unionisation. As a result there

\(^{29}\)Gilson, Clive and Spencer, Ian 1986 op cit p 123

\(^{30}\)Gilson, Clive and Spencer, Ian 1986 ibid p 123a. UAW is United (Canadian) Auto Workers, NUPGE is National Union of Provincial Government Employees and CUPE is Canadian Union of Public Employees.

\(^{31}\)White, Julie 1993 op cit p 174. Panitch and Schwartz described restrictions placed on public sector workers’ rights in BC at the beginning of the 1980s. The Social Credit government legislated a series of curtailments of union power and activism. Changes included new legislation to deprive provincial government employees of the right to bargain over working conditions, the organisation of work, job security and the right to strike at any work site classified as an 'economic development project'. These bills were part of a broader package of legislative assault on the welfare state in British Columbia. Panitch, Leo and Swartz, Donald 1984 "Towards Permanent Exceptionalism: Coercion and Consent in Canadian Industrial Relations" Labour/ Le Travail 13 p 133-157
has actually been a decline in private sector unionisation. Indeed, Troy Leo found that union membership in the private sector declined from 26 percent to 21 percent between 1975 and 1985.\textsuperscript{32} A number of factors have contributed to this decline, including structural shifts in the economy, public policy that restricts organising and collective bargaining, employer hostility to unions and an unfavourable public opinion.\textsuperscript{33}

Third, private sector workers are not incorporated into a labour movement because of its fragmented nature. The central division here is between international and national unions.\textsuperscript{34} Workers in Canada are predominantly organised into either international unions which are affiliated to labour federations in the United States, or national unions where workers are organised and represented by Canadian labour activists in Canada. Typically, international unions represent workers in manufacturing, steel, lumber and other secondary industries. Union membership, though, in international unions is declining as a proportion of overall union membership, from 66 percent in 1962, to only 39 percent in 1989.\textsuperscript{35} As I argue in the next section, while expansion of union membership in national unions has extended unionisation to large numbers of women workers, those employed in private sector occupations have not benefitted.

\textsuperscript{32}Leo, Troy 1990 "Is the US Unique in the Decline of Private Sector Unionism?" Journal of Labour Research XL: 2 Spring p 127

\textsuperscript{33}Coates, Mary Lou 1992 op cit pp 3-5

\textsuperscript{34}Lipton, Charles 1972 "Canadian Unionism" in Gary Teeple (ed) Capitalism and the National Question in Canada University of Toronto Press, Toronto p 105

\textsuperscript{35}White, Julie 1993 op cit p 58
II. The National Labour Movement

The rise of distinctly Canadian national trade unions within the context of an internationally based labour movement is perhaps the most significant alteration to trade union membership in recent years. Two separate organising trends have occurred. Firstly, a large proportion of public sector workers have been unionised across Canada since collective bargaining rights were granted to federal government employees in 1967. National ideologies and local conditions produced this expanding labour movement in the public sector. Such a move was crucial for the unionisation of large numbers of women workers across Canada since the late 1960s. Indeed, by 1989, 48 percent of all women union members were represented by national, public sector unions.36

Secondly, in the 1960s a large proportion of Canadian unions were affiliated with US counterparts. In the mid-1960s, however, a small number of Canadian locals broke from American unions to form independent unions such as CAIMAW. Palmer argues that national unions gained support primarily because workers rejected international unionism’s alienating and contemptuous treatment of locals in Canada. The national question persisted throughout the 1970s as breakaways and raids continued, especially in labour movements in the west of Canada.37 These new national unions particularly organised workers in the industrial sector.

The relationship between international unions and the Canadian locals has remained somewhat uneasy. The source of this unease is the control that American internationals exercise over their Canadian locals. This control is exemplified by the ability of international unions to

36White, Julie 1993 ibid p 58
impose trusteeships on Canadian workers.\textsuperscript{38}

As workers in Canada have sought to create a labour movement independent of American unions, however, the growth of the national labour movement has been resisted. From the point of view of those in the labour movement who are affiliated to the CLC and the AFL-CIO, isolated, breakaway unions in Canada are considered too weak to serve the interests of their members. The eventual outcome is perceived to be a general fragmentation and weakening of the whole trade union movement.\textsuperscript{39}

As already suggested the struggle between Local 40 and CAIMAW was partly a result of tensions between international and national unions in the Canadian labour movement. CAIMAW is a member of the Canadian Confederation of Unions (CCU) which unites those unions that disaffiliated themselves from American international unions in the 1960s. Despite the smallness of the union (about 8000 members in British Columbia and Manitoba), CAIMAW organisers insist that their union has had a big impact on the labour movement.\textsuperscript{40} This impact can be measured, partly, by the serious and carefully organised response that Local 40 officials and the British Columbian labour movement (through the BC Federation of Labour) made to CAIMAW's raids of Local 40 certifications. I would argue that such a response (which I discuss more extensively in chapter six) was an example of resistance to the expansion of national unions as much as it was an attempt to save Local 40 from disintegration. In the next section I consider Local 40 and CAIMAW's organising traditions which I argue made it possible for

\textsuperscript{38}Dawes, Colin Jonathon 1987 \textit{oz cit} p 33

\textsuperscript{39}Atherton, Patricia Gwen 1982 \textit{oz cit} pp 125-6

\textsuperscript{40}Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW
both these unions to represent workers in private sector workplaces.

ORGANISING SERVICE SECTOR WORKERS

I. Organising women

Until Local 40 was formed in the mid-1970s, women in some hotel occupations including housekeepers were not systematically organised into unions. By the beginning of the hotel membership struggle in 1982, however, all hotel workers in certified properties were represented by the union. Furthermore, throughout the struggle Local 40 engaged in a systematic reorganisation of their representational practices with regard to women members. For example, where previously women were not visible activists within the union office, women were encouraged to became shop stewards and members of the executive board of the union.

In contrast it wasn’t until CAIMAW organised women in the Vancouver hotel sector that it had ever represented service sector workers. The history of CAIMAW’s membership expansion stands as a notable exception to the general organising trends described above. In organising service sector workers, CAIMAW actively broadened its representational boundaries to incorporate women and unskilled workers. The union now broadly represents industrial, manufacturing and service sector workplaces. Since the formation of the union in 1964 the membership has expanded as the result of a variety of strategies.\(^\text{41}\) CAIMAW’s commitment to organising workers who are trapped in American-based unions has resulted in significant membership expansion. This said, 50 percent of CAIMAW’s organising has been also conducted

\(^{41}\)See Atherton, Patricia Gwen 1982 \textit{oz cit}
in non-union workplaces. CAIMAW organisers believe strongly that there is merit in being an organisation that represents workers in a diverse range of occupations. One organiser said,

I am a real believer in the importance of having unions bring people together who are working in different industries and getting away from just being obsessed with your particular industry. Because I don’t think it’s healthy for people always just to be focusing on the problems in their little industry or type of work.43

In the next section I consider the different organising traditions from which both these unions have emerged. I argue that despite the recent general tendency to exclude private sector workers from unionisation in Canada, both Local 40 and CAIMAW are products of union traditions which make organising in that sector possible.

II. Organising traditions

Although, Local 40 has a long history of organising workers in the service sector, as an international union in Canada it is quite unusual for its presence in a non-industrial sector. Local 40 is still affiliated to the International from which it originated, the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union (HERE). HERE grants Local 40 jurisdiction to organise hotel workers in British Columbia. Both HERE and Local 40 have successfully organised women workers, especially waitresses, in the past.45

42Interview: Regional Vice-President, CAIMAW.

43Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

44Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40

45See chapter five for a brief discussion of the women in hotel unions between 1900-1920. For a consideration of the history of organisation among waitresses in HERE see Cobble, Dorothy Sue 1990 "Rethinking Troubled Relations Between Women and Unions: Craft Unionism and Female Activism" Feminist Studies 16, No 3 Fall p 541
Union officials at Local 40 orientate their organising efforts towards two aims. The first is to ensure a successful hotel industry, and the second aim is to guarantee and protect the jobs and living standards of their members\textsuperscript{46}. Local 40 officials work towards maintaining stable relations at the workplace, including the settling of disputes before they reach arbitration\textsuperscript{47}.

CAIMAW is part of the industrial union movement which emerged in the late 1930s in both Canada and the United States in response to American craft unions’ dominance of the labour movement. Industrial unionism incorporates a commitment to the recruitment of unskilled workers and the abandonment of racial and gender exclusiveness.\textsuperscript{48} CAIMAW’s organising efforts are directed towards developing a collective identity among all the skilled, unskilled, male and female workers they represent. Union officials at CAIMAW argue that their role is to identify a series of issues about which all workers in their membership are interested. Typically these issues relate to concerns other than those found immediately in the workplace such as union resistance to the various free trade agreements in North America.\textsuperscript{49}

In different ways both these unions try to overcome the problems of organising in an industry where the workers are isolated from each other and the organisation of the hotel industry itself is fragmented into separate bargaining units.

\textsuperscript{46}Interview: President, Local 40

\textsuperscript{47}Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40

\textsuperscript{48}Milkman, Ruth 1990 “Gender and Trade Unionism in Historical Perspective” in Patricia Gurin and Louise Tilly (eds) Women, Politics and Change Russell Sage Foundation, New York

\textsuperscript{49}Interviews: Secretary/Treasurer and Staff Representative, CAIMAW.
CONCLUSION

While service sector employment has greatly expanded in the post-war era, I argue that private sector workers, particularly, are situated predominantly outside the labour movement. Women’s concentration in private sector workplaces and their poorer representation (in both senses) as union members largely relates to the nature of the workplace in which they are employed (although I would argue that this is inseparable from questions of gender). Furthermore women workers have historically been excluded from labour organisation because male trade unionists in industrial unions have neglected or ignored women’s contribution in the labour force.

In the next chapter I consider Local 40 and CAIMAW’s attempts to organise in hotel workplaces in which women workers dominate numerically, and where union membership, historically, is not extensive in Canada. The previous organising experiences of these unions have led Local 40 and CAIMAW to their present participation in private service sector workplaces. I examine the interaction between union representations made about workers, the nature of the hotel industry, and the organisational strategies employed by CAIMAW and Local 40 as both unions approach the task of representing workers in private sector workplaces.
CHAPTER 4
THE HOTEL INDUSTRY: REPRESENTATION(S) AND ORGANISATION

INTRODUCTION

My aim in this chapter is to examine the challenges unions face in organising employees in hotel workplaces. Union activity in such workplaces is hindered by several factors: the features of hotel employment, the isolated and fragmented work experience, the close relationship employers establish with employees, and worker's presumed lack of interest in unions given their often temporary stay in hotel employment. In this chapter I examine the question of potential and actual union organisation in hotel workplaces, particularly for the cases of Local 40 and CAIMAW. Specifically, this chapter explores union representations and discourses surrounding the hotel industry, the employees and union activism.

The chapter is not an analysis of the strength or weakness of CAIMAW and Local 40 as such, but rather a discussion around the specific forms of unionism practised by each, and their interplay with the hotel workplace. For the responses of CAIMAW and Local 40 to the conditions of employment and the experiences of different types of workers in hotel occupations varies with their particular understanding of the industry. Through an elaboration of the recent histories of Local 40 and CAIMAW, and an examination of each union's approach to organising both within and beyond the hotel industry, I will examine the factors that lead the two unions to conflict 1982 and 1984. I argue that the particular histories of Local 40 and CAIMAW meant that each had 'preconstructed' assumptions about the hotel industry, the employees and potential union activism, which in turn directly created different organisational and workplace unionism.

I have two purposes in this chapter. Firstly, to describe the obstacles in organising hotels, and secondly, to compare CAIMAW and Local 40 union official's testimony about the
difficulties organising hotel workers. CAIMAW established its organisational practices as a bargaining unit in male industrial workplaces. In contrast, Local 40 and its predecessor locals have a long history of organising hotel workers. I argue that the impact of these different histories is evident in the ways that each attempted to overcome the difficulties of organising hotel workers. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of the recent history of each union. In subsequent sections I consider the problem that employee turnover creates for organisation, the means by which unions understand their members, and finally the employer/employee relation in hotels. The final section considers workplace unionism as practised in the hotel industry of Vancouver by Local 40 and CAIMAW. In particular, I consider the debate between the two unions about which style of unionism is most appropriate for organising in the hotel industry. The primary sources of information are union magazines (which each member receives quarterly) and interviews. Both union magazines, The Local 40 Mixer and The CAIMAW Review, include editorial comments, reviews of current negotiations and organising drives, discussions of issues such as Free Trade, labour relations policy in BC, and so on.

CAIMAW AND LOCAL 40: RECENT HISTORY

CAIMAW was formed in 1964 in Winnipeg when members of Local 174 of the International Moulders Union formed a breakaway group from the American International arm of the IMU. A variety of factors lead to this move including dissatisfaction with the poor representation of Canadian worker concerns, a desire for Canadian worker sovereignty and unwelcome interference in collective bargaining.¹ Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the

¹Atherton, Patricia Gwen 1981 op cit pp 32-39
membership of CAIMAW expanded to incorporate various industrial workers throughout Western Canada including electrical and manufacturing workers and, in BC, 30 percent of the above ground miners. The result was that most members were male industrial workers.

CAIMAW defined the struggles of its male industrial members in terms of health and safety, wages and conditions and the right to be organised by a Canadian labour organisation. Control of CAIMAW by the membership (i.e., the rank and file) is enshrined in the constitution. Individual locals, represented by elected local officials, retain decision-making power over such matters as the rate of membership dues. Negotiating committees are elected from the rank and file, the aim being to achieve a democratic structure without hierarchy or the potential for empire building. In an unpublished history of CAIMAW, which takes the story of the union up until 1981, Atherton describes the emergence of organisational democracy as the guiding philosophy of the union’s workplace activism. It was precisely these themes of the quest for democratic union structures, rank and file control of policy and decision making and sovereignty of the Canadian labour movement, as I will argue below, that motivated CAIMAW’s involvement in raids of Local 40 workplaces between 1982 and 1984.

Historically, Local 40 is the ‘official’ hotel industry union in BC. The original hotel and restaurant employees union began within the Knights of Labour around 1898. Rosenthal notes that women were probably involved from the beginning, but especially between 1910 and 1914.

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2 See Atherton, Patricia Gwen 1981 ibid chapters 2 and 3
3 see The CAIMAW Review Vol 10 No 6 Sept/Oct 1978
4 Atherton, Patricia Gwen 1981 op cit
5 Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW
there was a women’s local known as Waitresses Union, Local 766. This local maintained an active presence at the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council as it fought for better wages and conditions for waitresses. In the 1930s and 1940s women were again leading figures in the organisation of hotel and restaurant employees. Women are approximately 60 percent of the present membership of Local 40, and of the three leadership officers there is a woman vice-President. However there are no separate women’s committees. One organiser remembers only bartenders being involved in the union in the hotel in which he was employed. In the late 1970s he became an organiser to assist in the unionisation of housekeepers. This organiser said;

As I recall….part of the hotel, our part (bartenders) was union, and the other part of the hotel, the chambermaids and so on were not. They weren’t union. And so what happened was I got involved…… and I signed them all up.

Today, Local 40 represents all the workers in each location in which it is certified. The union presents itself in The Local 40 Mixer as an organisation that works with government and the industry to further the interests of hotel workers. The dominant concern throughout the 1980s in the BC tourism industry has been to work towards creating and maintaining a viable

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6In June 1914 when the membership of the Waitresses Union was 35 they merged back with the male union, Local 28 of the Waiters and Cooks Union. It was reported to the VTLC that the charter of the Waitresses Union had been sent back. Although it is not clear in Rosenthal’s discussion, I am assuming that the male unionists determined that this occur. In 1910 the charter had established a separate and autonomous local for unionised waitresses in Vancouver. Between 1910 and 1913 Rosenthal notes that unionised waitresses were in great demand from employers. Rosenthal, Star 1979 op cit p 48-50

7Interview: President, Local 40

8Interview: Rank and File Reform Committee Member
hotel sector. Local 40 has sought to support the development of tourism, particularly to promote job creation in the industry through a range of strategies: making concessions with respect to wages and hours of work, and promoting holiday specials for union members who stay in union hotels. In particular the union asserts the link between a successful tourist industry and jobs for its members. One headline in The Local 40 Mixer read, "support tourism, tourism means jobs".

Local 40's positioning of itself as the link between government and successful tourism stands in sharp contrast to CAIMAW's position as a bargaining unit with no experience in tourism and the service sector. Before examining further the possible implications of these different histories it is first necessary to discuss the possibilities for effective representation of hotel workers given employment patterns and industry characteristics. In the following section I examine the issue of employee turnover and its potential impact on union organising efforts both generally and with specific reference to British Columbia. Later in the chapter I argue that even though Local 40 and CAIMAW are faced with similarly unfavourable organising conditions they maintain quite different strategies and attitudes towards their task in the local hotel industry.

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10The Local 40 Mixer Vol 3 No 3 July 1977 p2. In many issues Local 40 links the need to promote tourism with the preservation and expansion of jobs; see for example Vol 4 No 1 Feb 1979 p 1-3; Vol 5 No 1 April 1979 p 1-2; Vol 7 No 2 April 1981 p 4; Vol 11 No 1 Dec 84 - Feb 85 p2
THE INDUSTRY: TURNOVER AND ORGANISATION

The hotel industry is notorious for the high turnover of employees, and managers, and this in turn raises questions about the possibilities for ongoing representation and organisation within hotel workplaces. The literature (primarily British) on turnover notes some representational strategies that revolve around understandings of the rate and costs of employee turnover. Johnson alludes to the fact that employers use perceptions of high turnover both to manage and control their workers. Despite the resulting retraining costs high turnover has benefits for employers in that they are able to manage seasonal fluctuations in trading without significant adjustments to internal staffing levels. As Cockburn argues, turnover affords employers the freedom of selecting workers from within a more numerous and potentially cheaper labour market.

In contrast, turnover creates problems for unionisation. For workers, turnover can be understood in two ways. Firstly, it is seen as an expression of discontent. Workers change jobs rather than seek to alter fundamentally the workplace through collective action. Secondly, turnover is part of a worker strategy to gain experience that will enhance career prospects. It is assumed that both these strategies destroy the potential for union organisation because workers either move out of the hotel industry altogether, or have no interest in collective action alongside their career development. However, it is not clear which employees are moving in and out of

11Johnson, Keith 1985 "Labour Turnover in Hotels - Revisited" The Service Industries Journal Vol 5 No 2 July, p 135

12Cockburn, Cynthia 1983 op cit p 148

jobs, and if they are actually moving out of the industry altogether. In British Columbia, for example, turnover may indeed be intra-industry;

I started in 1976, when I was in high school, in Kamloops. I worked at the Canadian Inn, which is the nicest hotel in Kamloops and it was a union hotel. I have mostly worked in union hotels, I try to seek them out….its not a BCGEU, its not a Local 40 hotel any more, in Kamloops. But I’ve actually worked in a few in Kamloops. But you go from one hotel to another, just to try them all out, just to get different experience.14

Further, it is also not clear if turnover is voluntary, or to what extent it relate to the state of the economy. The contribution of Johnson’s research in Britain is to suggest that external economic factors predominantly influence the rate of turnover.15 Turnover in the Vancouver hotel industry has been found to be approximately 20-25 percent per year.16 As British research suggests, there are also contradictory interpretations of the actual impact and importance of turnover rates in Vancouver. In a recent industry and union survey, it was found that there was evidence of high turnover levels among front-of-the-house workers.17 This suggests that turnover is not entirely voluntary, but rather a strategy to overcome the traditionally high underemployment among these workers. Turnover was also attributed to the large number of student workers holding summer jobs.18

14Interview; dining room waitress, 8.9.92
15Johnson, Keith 1985 op cit pp 135-151
16Interview: hotel personnel manager, 19.8.92
17'Front-of-the-house staff’ include; food servers, bartenders and drink servers, front desk personnel and service workers including bellmen, doormen and concierges.
In the early 1990s in Vancouver, Johnson's hypothesis that turnover decreases in uncertain economic times seems true. There is consensus in both Local 40 and CAIMAW that workers are tending to remain in their jobs longer because there are neither new nor other jobs in which to shift. In a slightly different, but related trend, workers are remaining in the hotel industry by choice, creating career paths especially in management. Yet the incidence of lowered turnover does not remove other problems unions must confront in hotel workplaces during bad economic times. As one organizer said,

I think that our industry where [sic] we have difficult economic times, there is a lack of hours available to our members, which makes our members unhappy quite frankly....we find that there are usually more problems in January, February and March. When there's less business, you've got more people scrambling around for less hours.

Declining, or, at least, stagnating union membership also presents some real challenges to the hotel unions in BC. Only about 20 percent of all hotel employees in British Columbia are organised. Since 1983 all the new major downtown hotels are union-free with the management paying comparable or above-union wages to discourage workers from seeking union certification. I later return to the role of employers in discouraging union organisation, but

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19Local 40 is actively contributing to the development of a scholarship training program for hotel and restaurant workers in conjunction with the Association of Tourism Professionals. The aim is to create an internationally recognised degree for hotel and restaurant workers. This is all part of an effort to upgrade the industry in terms of recognition of worker's skills and improved wages and thus attract young people to the industry who are looking for a career. This program would include all workers, not just those interested in careers in management. Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40.

20Interview: President, Local 40

21Telephone interview: Local 40 organizer

22Interview: Research Officer, Local 40
it is useful now to return to the unions in Vancouver to examine how they understand workers in the hotel industry given both these employment trends I have described here and the potential constraints on organisation.

**REPRESENTATIONS: THE WORKERS AND UNIONISM**

As argued above, women service sector workers are assumed to have two characteristics in relation to their labour market participation. First, low levels of attachment to the labour force, and therefore, second, they are difficult to organise. However, to organise successfully in the service sector, unions must reconsider their understanding of service sector workers. I will argue in this section that the typical assumptions and generalisations about service sector workers serve only to immobilise organising efforts rather than to motivate unions to explore new and creative ways of expanding the boundaries of their representational jurisdiction.

Local 40 and CAIMAW understand the hotel workers they represent in different ways, as a result of their different sectoral histories. The task of unions is to represent their members whether it be at the bargaining table or in the workplace. However, the representation of members does not occur objectively; Local 40 and CAIMAW bring to the bargaining table certain assumptions about their members. These assumptions which are the basis of union representations underpin each union's understanding of, for example, ethnic diversity in their membership, gender divisions of labour, and worker interests. Local 40's representations of the workers in the hotel industry are apparent in the pages of The Local 40 Mixer. Since 1974, when this magazine was first published, readers have been presented with the public face of the union. There are many pictures of workers at work, of union social
events, and pictures of, and columns by, the leadership of the union. The images conveyed are of workers "happily" going about their tasks, or participating in union training weekends. Some groups of workers are more visible than others. As mentioned bartenders historically dominated the hotel worker unions. They are described in The Local 40 Mixer as "mixologists", and are represented in a column called "Bar Banter" and also by many drinking poems.23 The prominence of bartenders is further reflected in the very title given to the union magazine.

This focus on barworkers, who are mostly men, serves to exclude those who work in other jobs. Cleaners and maintenance workers, are rarely present in the magazine, although as Waldinger notes with respect to the American context, twenty-five percent of hotel employees are engaged in such heavy, manual work.24 One CAIMAW representative suggested that these 'back-of-the-house' jobs tend to be performed by workers who are predominantly from different ethnic backgrounds;

I think that today you find out that more and more people of colour or minority groups or non-english speaking groups are in hotels and they hide them. They put them in the back end of the restaurant cooking and they put them in maintenance work where they're an invisible group or they put them in housekeeping or something like that.25

The occupational invisibility of workers from different ethnic backgrounds is mirrored in the structures of both Local 40 and CAIMAW. The unions acknowledge a problem, yet it is presented as a fault associated with the individual worker. It is understood, or assumed, at Local 40, that workers from different cultural backgrounds do not understand the rights of workers in

23see issues of The Local 40 Mixer in the 1970s


25Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW
Canada, that they may be frightened from approaching the union for fear of reprisal, and that a lack of English language skills leaves the union without a way to communicate about the union and its role in the workplace. Local 40's strategy to overcome the language and cultural distance between workers and the union is to publish the president's column in the language of the membership. In 1984, The Local 40 Mixer published, for the first time, the President's column in Chinese as well as English. This is considered an appropriate recognition of the ethnic membership of the union, one in which 28 percent of the workers in large corporate hotels in Vancouver are of Chinese origin. Yet there are many other 'visible minority' workers who remain unrecognised in this public fashion by Local 40.

'Visible minority' workers are also not generally represented in the executive in either union, yet, in CAIMAW they are considered the "silent supporters" of the union. CAIMAW is very concerned to resist racism and racist discrimination in the workplace whether it be caused by employers or members of the union themselves. However, CAIMAW was, and is, restrained in their efforts to organise non-anglo Canadian hotel employees by some of their assumptions. Despite their recognition that workers from different ethnic backgrounds are made invisible by the location of their job (see quote on page 11) CAIMAW places the problem of invisibility of minority groups within the cultural context from which their members come. It is not that workers fear reprisals or do not understand the function of the union, but rather the assumption is that;

[Visible minorities] don't participate in the union because they can't get out of the house

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26 Interviews: Local 40

27 Interview: President, Local 40
to come to meetings, they can’t come out.\textsuperscript{28}

Another CAIMAW representative reiterated that there are no constraints on the participation of non-english speaking groups,

as far as the union [is concerned]. There maybe other cultural constraints within their own communities.\textsuperscript{29}

Neither CAIMAW nor Local 40 have addressed the problem of underrepresentation of members from different ethnic backgrounds as a structural problem. CAIMAW does not actively try to change itself rather it relies on the belief that the democratic structures of the union provides space for any member to put forward their point of view. As one CAIMAW representative argued:

I’m sure they’ll come forward, you know I’m confident that they will because there is a democratic structure there, and what we have to make sure is that we facilitate that and accommodate that.\textsuperscript{30}

All members have an equal opportunity to speak or vote about the actions of CAIMAW, yet the notion of democracy which underpins this assumption ignores ethnic and gender differences between members that serve to exclude them.

Local 40’s approach to the question of the invisibility of ethnic minority workers is different to CAIMAW’s in that it emerges directly from the union’s desire to promote the tourist industry to improve employment. Thus, when organising workers in the late 1970s, Local 40 did not address the question of visibility of ethnic minority workers per se, but rather, was concerned only to improve the bargaining position of workers within the industry. The skill

\textsuperscript{28}Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW

\textsuperscript{29}Interview: Regional Vice-President, CAIMAW

\textsuperscript{30}Interview: Regional Vice-President, CAIMAW
levels and qualities demanded from tourism workers are not generally recognized by formal credentials and, according to Britton,\textsuperscript{31} this encourages market underpricing of the value of labour. The hotel industry predominantly operates on a 24 hour basis, and in terms of the structure of the hotel workforce structure, labour flexibility is portrayed as an employee problem rather than an employers one.\textsuperscript{32} For example, one hotel worker in Vancouver claimed that it was made clear in an interview that despite the fact that the hotel would not guarantee him regular hours of work, he should be available to work at any time.\textsuperscript{33} In this context, Local 40 defends the skills and commitment of the hotel workers to their jobs arguing that these workers are vital to the overall success of the industry. Local 40 argues also for a recognition of the industry’s contribution to the economy of British Columbia. In particular, The Local 40 Mixer notes the role of the industry in absorbing minorities, skilled, semi- and un-skilled workers.\textsuperscript{34}

Yet in the pictures of the workers that are very prominent in the magazine during the 1970s the faces and names represented in photographs are mostly anglo-Canadian. In issues throughout the 1980s anglo faces still predominate in photographs of the workers but there is a recognition of the multi-racial nature of the hotel workforce. As well as some photos of Chinese Canadian workers, there are also explicitly anti-racist statements and columns, including

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{31}Britton, Steven 1991 "Tourism, capital and place: towards a critical geography of tourism". \textit{Environment and Planning D: Society and Space} Vol 9 p 459
  \item \textsuperscript{32}Guerrier and Lockward suggest hotel labour forces can be efficiently organised if comprising a core of functionally flexible employees, surrounded by 'peripheral' employees to provide numerical flexibility; see, Guerrier, Yvonne and Lockward, Andrew 1989 "Core and Peripheral Employees in Hotel Operations" \textit{Personnel Review} Vol 18 No 1 pp 9
  \item \textsuperscript{33}Interview: Banquet Waiter, downtown hotel Vancouver, 23.8.93
  \item \textsuperscript{34}The Local 40 Mixer Vol 3 No 3 Nov 1977 p 7
\end{itemize}
one column entitled, "Don’t blame immigrants [for unemployment]" and of course the President’s column in Chinese.

CAIMAW and Local 40 offer different reasons for why hotel workers from different ethnic backgrounds do not participate in their union. By situating the responsibility for the invisibility of the workers either with the individuals themselves, or the cultural context, neither union recognises the constraints within their own organisation that discourage participation. A further invisibility or exclusion in union representations occurs in discourses around the gender division of labour.

I. Gender, occupational segregation and invisibility

Crompton and Sanderson identify the sex-typing of jobs that occurs in the hotel industry. Hotel occupations are overlain with meanings of sexuality and assumptions about gender roles. For example, the occupation 'cocktail waitress' is reserved for women, as are also room attendants or 'maids'. In these examples there is the exploitation of gender roles. In the first, women’s sexuality is portrayed as alluring, while in the second women replicate the domestic responsibilities they are assumed to have at home.

While gender stereotypes still determine the division of labour within hotels, there is

35see The Local 40 Mixer Vol 13 No 4 March-May 1988 p8

36The tone of the magazine appears to have changed quite significantly by the end of the trusteeship. In issues during the 1980’s The Local 40 Mixer addressed a broader range of issues than previously including, for example, drink driving, sexual harassment, the literacy of workers and updates on the state of the hotel industry in BC.

increasingly a mixing of the sexes. Whether occupational segregation based on gender occurs in the hotels in Vancouver was a point of contention between representatives from CAIMAW and Local 40. When asked whether gender stereotypes were still evident in hotels the Local 40 representative said;

        not much, occasionally you’ll get some room manager’s got it in his head that he wants nothing but male waiters or nothing but women working in his bar, but as a rule no.\(^38\)

In interviews, hotel workers confirmed the mixing of the sexes in many occupations including the front desk, food serving, and management, at least up to the middle management level.\(^39\) The service staff in the lobby of the hotel, the doorman, concierge and bellmen, as some of the job titles suggest, are predominantly men, although, at the time of writing there are a small number of women employed in bell departments of some hotels in Vancouver. CAIMAW representatives, however, recognise that even in occupations where women and men are both represented, gender and sexuality are still manipulated.

        A young woman should work the cocktail hour because they can sell more and the elderly woman should serve the breakfast shift. So there is a lot of manipulation going on in that area, that kind of thing is important. We certainly haven’t seen a gender breakthrough in housekeeping. In the kitchen it was always pretty balanced, you didn’t see the separation of labour. In housekeeping the housemen wash the hallways and do the floors and the stairs and you have the room attendants, women, absolutely.\(^40\)

The division of labour in hotels presents a divided and fragmented shop floor where both

\(^{38}\)Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40

\(^{39}\)Interviews: Hotel Workers, Vancouver

\(^{40}\)Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW
occupations, and the spaces where those occupations are performed, are gendered. However, Crompton and Sanderson do not consider the role unions play in either perpetuating such divisions, or trying to break them down. From my research it is clear that Local 40 and CAIMAW construct different representations of the gendered divisions of labour, and it is interesting to consider how these representations motivate and structure the workplace activism in which each union engages.

EMPLOYERS, EMPLOYEES AND WORKPLACE UNIONISM

Organising in hotels is complicated by the closeness of the relationship between employer and employee. MacFarlane argues that the employer is fundamental to the potential development of a trade union presence. He found that if hotel managers are opposed to unions there is less opportunity for collective action. Employers work in close proximity to the hotel employees, and thus they can impose their authority leaving employees with little control at the workplace. A representative of Local 40 argues that;

the employers are without a doubt among the worst in any industry. I mean not all of them of course, there’s good ones, but they exploit and they lie and they cheat, I mean they are horrible, horrible employers, and they treat their employees like dirt.

For example, cleaning hotel rooms is associated with women, but cleaning of the public spaces in the hotel such as hallways and lobbies is performed by male janitors. Some spaces may change their gender characteristic depending on the time of day. A coffee shop/restaurant is served by waitresses during the day and by night becomes a silver service dining room served by male waiters. Interview: Personnel Manager, downtown hotel, Vancouver.

MacFarlane, Alistair 1982 "Trade union growth, the employer and the hotel and restaurant industry; a case study" Industrial Relations Journal Vol 13 No 4 Winter p 31

Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40
Fear of the employer is, according to Local 40, the greatest deterrent to union activism by the membership. The shift work typical of the industry combined with the multiple, divided and isolated workplaces of the hotel serves to create opportunities for employers to destroy a collective identity among workers. For example, as Wood argues, room cleaners working on their own may enjoy a freedom from close supervision. Their isolation, however, is also problematic. Lack of management attention and support may mean that requests from back-of-the-house workers for more equipment, or their protests over short-staffing often remain unattended. In such an environment there is little potential for resistance or organisation.

So how can Local 40 and CAIMAW overcome problems of organisation? How do the unions create collective action? During the trusteeship, Local 40 sought to establish internal organisational coherence as a starting point for more effective collective action. Given the troubles in the main office of Local 40 itself, it was considered necessary to redefine and clarify the responsibilities of different officials and business agents working there. Furthermore, Local 40 sought to ensure a greater representation of the diverse membership. The executive board of the union was reorganised to guarantee representation of workers in all parts of the province, and new union staff were hired including women, back-of-the-house workers and younger people.

The administration of the union was old, male. The members were young, female to a great degree. English as a second language, no minorities at all around the union whatsoever, very few women.

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44 Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40
46 Interview: President, Local 40
One of the achievements of the Local 40 leadership since the early 1980s has been to break down barriers between workers in different occupations, to create the understanding that they are part of a collective bargaining unit.

It took a while but nobody considers the bar workers any longer to control the union like they did for a number of years….. we didn’t want the campers or the bartenders running the union because how would the English as a second language women and men get any say in the union?47

However, Local 40's strategies for communication with hotel workers, especially visible minorities, were not well considered. A former Local 40 Business Agent described his role as effectively a public relations representative of the union. His job was to communicate with the workers and see that they were happy, or to deal with any problems that had arisen since his last visit.

You spend an awful lot of time just going around to places talking to the membership, asking them questions, How are you doing? What is going on? Do you have problems? You can head most grievances off at the pass just by asking them [the members] questions. So that way its [the business agents job] is more like a PR position.48

Yet, it was also the practice of this Business Agent to sit in the bar of the hotel and wait for members to approach him. He argued that it was expected that Business Agents join "some of the guys for a beer" and from their place in the bar to conduct union business.49 The effectiveness of such an organisational strategy is questionable. Firstly, in the 1970s Local 40 business agents had quite a reputation for drunkenness.50 And secondly, bars in hotels are very

47 Interview: President, Local 40

48 Interview: Business Agent, Local 40. This business agent is now the Financial Secretary/Treasurer of Local 40.

49 Interview: Financial Secretary/Treasurer, Local 40

50 Interview: President, Local 40; Interview: Rank and File Reform Committee Member
public places and to be seen discussing problems with the business agent could be a difficult situation for an hotel employee given the typical nature of employer/employee relations.

For both the unions, but particularly CAIMAW, maintaining a presence in the hotels was a way to convince workers of a number of things. Firstly, that they had a supportive union, and secondly, that the real interests of the workers above and beyond getting along with management, were their wages and conditions. By their frequent presence in hotels, the union organisers hoped to overcome some of the difficulties created by the close personal relationship that develops between workers and managers. For CAIMAW and Local 40, the organising challenge was to create visibility of union officers and shop stewards without the advantage of a big lunch room on an industrial site, or other places where organisers could make contact with the members.

CAIMAW’s organisational and representational strategies emerged in direct response to those of Local 40. When it began negotiating contracts in the hotels in 1985, CAIMAW found that the collective agreements they inherited were very restrictive. The contracts negotiated by Local 40 did not allow for sufficient numbers of shop stewards to communicate with workers in many departments;

For instance, the language says you can have one shop steward. Now if your shop steward happens to come from housekeeping, very seldom do they have connections with front of the house gratuity workers. As a matter of fact there is a real division. You know many times there is a racial division. Many times there is a gender division. So very likely you don’t have anybody [to service workers] in the other areas.

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51 Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW

52 Interview: President, Local 40; Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW

53 Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW
CAIMAW thought there should be shop steward for all the different departments. They based this on the understanding that workers in different departments did not, nor could not, know the problems that other workers were experiencing. In interviews conducted with workers, it is clear that workers in different occupational spaces in the hotel had both a limited opportunity and desire to communicate with one another except to discuss the arrangements of work when responsibilities of the separate departments overlapped.\(^{54}\)

In the British context Wood suggests that trade unions in the hotel sector have failed to develop an administrative structure suitable to the organisation of the industry.\(^{55}\) CAIMAW and Local 40 have attempted to overcome the difficulties of organising hotel workers, in part, by establishing a representational infrastructure that incorporates and administers the variety of workers and occupational classifications. Their respective strategies are slightly different from one another. Local 40 reorganised the representative functions of the union office. CAIMAW, in contrast, altered the representation of workers at the workplace. In their different ways, Local 40 and CAIMAW both sought to enhance union activism among workers by neutralising some of the barriers to organising established by employers. Yet, for both these unions there remained the problem of differences among workers who were divided both by occupation and by attitude towards the union itself. The following section considers union efforts by the unions to establish a collective identity, and thereby to promote an appreciation of the union itself.

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\(^{54}\) Interviews: Hotel workers, Vancouver

\(^{55}\) Wood, Roy, C., 1992 *op cit* p 105
UNION PARTICIPATION AND (MILITANT?) WORKPLACE UNIONISM

I. Membership participation

A perennial problem in organising service sector workers is to persuade employees of the relevance of unions. In the literature there are two different takes on this problem. Firstly, Mars and Nicod’s ethnographic study of restaurant work cultures suggests that the boundaries between home and work are becoming blurred, and that waiters are not experiencing their work as paid work but as 'fun'. Work has become a place for socialising and a way of life.\textsuperscript{56} Marshall found that as leisure and work boundaries became blurred for waiters, there was correspondingly less resentment about their poor conditions of work.\textsuperscript{57} As such, the very relevance of unions is put in doubt. I would argue, however, that Mars and Nicod present a particularly romanticised picture of restaurant work that ignores, among other things, the physically punishing nature of waitering. Food servers in hotel restaurants in Vancouver certainly describe their situations quite differently from those in Mars and Nicod’s study. On one hand, they struggle to maintain steady employment from week to week and throughout the seasonal downturns of the tourist industry,\textsuperscript{58} sometimes juggling two part-time jobs.\textsuperscript{59} And on the other hand they often desire to leave the restaurant behind. One waiter who was

\textsuperscript{56}Mars, Gerald and Nicod, Michael 1984 \textit{The World of Waiters} George Allen and Unwin, London.


\textsuperscript{58}Interview: dining room waitress, 8.9.92

\textsuperscript{59}Interview: Restaurant waiter, 25.9.92
interviewed preferred to work up to 20 hours a week as a home renovator.  

Secondly, the question of the relevance of the union arises in workplaces where employees work autonomously from management, and in teams. Hannah Creighton, in a further restaurant study, found the work culture mitigates the development of formal union organisations. The waitresses where Creighton worked enjoyed a strong sense of independence and satisfaction from the contribution of their work, but also a sense of teamwork because they worked in a non-hierarchical system of job rotation. The incongruity between the job rotation plan, and the union contract, did much to inhibit any interest in the union. Waitresses were happy to retain the job rotation system given the level of autonomy and independence they enjoyed when performing their jobs. They did not feel their craft was compromised, and so resisted attempts to become organised.

Although these studies focus on restaurant workers, the discussions of worker consciousness and workplace culture are instructive for hotel workers more generally. Both Local 40 and CAIMAW expend considerable energies motivating hotel workers to become involved in their union. There are frequent calls in the magazines of both unions to encourage membership participation. Again, the specific focus and strategies of the two Vancouver hotel unions are diverse, although both are attempting to deal with the same problem of activating membership.

60 Interview: Banquet waiter, 25.9.92

61 Creighton considers waitresses, while the other studies referred to above are of male waiters

62 Creighton, Hannah 1982 "Tied by double apron strings: female work culture and organisation in a restaurant" The Insurgent Socialist Vol XL No 3 Fall pp 63-64
In *The Local 40 Mixer* the union's function is presented as one of protecting the interests of members. Members are asked to attend regular union meetings to ensure that union policy reflects their wishes. Members are also asked to find out "the facts" from their union representative about collective agreements and about their rights as workers. Yet there are contradictions between the public calls for rank and file membership participation and the actual possibilities for participation especially before the imposition of the trusteeship. It is acknowledged by the present leadership of Local 40 that before 1982 there was little involvement by the rank and file in negotiating. Instead the Morgan leadership conducted top down organising whereby;

you go to the employer and say you are opening a hotel in three months, here’s the union agreement, sign the agreement, the employer says great, no problem [with the outcome being] there was no involvement by the rank and file to determine if they wanted the agreement or not.

CAIMAW representatives maintain that Local 40 is still "not at all a rank-and-file orientated union". However, by 1985 policy regarding strategies for providing information to members of their collective agreements had shifted. Local 40 members were now informed about particular features of collective agreements in a regular column entitled "know your collective agreement". This column recorded information about seniority, wages and working conditions. Yet, in support of CAIMAW's claim, such information to members only becomes

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63 *The Local 40 Mixer* Vol 6 No 2 April 1980 p 1; Vol 6 No 3 July 1980 p 1

64 see various issues of *The Local 40 Mixer* up until 1981

65 Interview: President, Local 40

66 Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

67 *The Local 40 Mixer* Vol 11 No 2 March-May 1985 p 6
public after collective agreements are in place.

In contrast to *The CAIMAW Review*, the pages of *The Local 40 Mixer* do not record in detail the terms and conditions of contracts that are being negotiated, although there are many reminders that negotiations are ongoing. The reason Local 40 does not publish more specific details of contract negotiations is unclear. CAIMAW, however, has some particular reasons for doing so. In publications after the raiding period, CAIMAW was interested in reminding the new hotel members of improvements to their contracts since changing unions\(^{68}\) although it is also the case that even before CAIMAW certified hotel workers it was the practice of the union to record details of contract negotiations in their magazine. The union acknowledges that membership participation is always strongest during contract negotiations\(^ {69}\) so, in the spirit of democratic unionism, CAIMAW actively sought to create an informed membership as the basis for effective, participatory union activism.

Of the two unions, CAIMAW represents itself as more successful at creating a collective consciousness through workers’ participation in their union. CAIMAW’s advantage over Local 40 is that it represents many fewer hotel workers, about 700 in total. As a result, such members do have a greater opportunity to know one another and their representatives more closely than is possible at Local 40. As one organiser commented;

> you know there are quite a few people we almost form a personal relationship with so you know, advise them on all sorts of things\(^ {70}\).

A long time organiser preempted the sentiments of current CAIMAW representatives when she

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\(^{68}\) see: *The CAIMAW Review* Vol 17 No 1 Jan/Feb 1985 p 1

\(^{69}\) Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW

\(^{70}\) Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW
wrote in The CAIMAW Review that unionism is "more than just paying dues". This organiser called upon members to remember about the union after they pay their dues and to make unionism a way of life. Unions in Canada do have legal recognition, but this does not give them great power, especially if they also lack membership support. CAIMAW organisers, therefore, work towards giving the members a sense of obligation to participate in the union; if its a union like ours, we have expectations on the members to participate and to vote on things and to get involved in not only the workplace issues, but broader issues as well, the fight against free trade and things like that.

It is remarkable that CAIMAW's interpretations of unionism is perceived by its organisers to engender a collective consciousness among hotel workers, because many of its statements fail to mention a number of the different workplaces and industrial contexts that they represent. Firstly, in the quote above taken from CAIMAW's magazine there is no reference to gender differences in union participation, making it appear that all workers have the same opportunity for union participation. Secondly, these statements appear to refer to an era, or at least a workplace, where whole communities are involved in the union. Indeed, many of CAIMAW's organising experiences were in such workplaces. This cannot persist, however, in the urban-based work environments of hotels where people's attachment to work and to the union is very much moderated by the different types of work they do, and by the different relationships between home and work.

71The CAIMAW Review Vol 12 No 3 April/May 1980 p 6
72Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW
73see Atherton Patricia 1981 op cit
II. Union militancy

Local 40 responds to its members seeming indifference to the union by a non-militant style of unionism. The union appears reluctant to challenge the perceived "realities" of the hotel industry. For example, although Local 40 does not approve of the entry rate of payment\textsuperscript{74} for workers beginning a new job, they see it as a no-win situation. It is understood that existing employees will not strike to alter something that does not affect them. It is considered almost impossible to ask workers in the industry to go on strike. First, the workers have little bargaining power once they reach a threatened strike position because managers of hotels can engage other workers to perform their jobs. Secondly and more importantly in terms of Local 40's representations of their membership, the union does not believe that workers would actually vote to strike if their jobs were perceived to be at stake.

It is difficult to determine if Local 40's reluctance to ask their members to go on strike is a strategic response to recognised difficulties of organising in the hotel sector, or indeed whether the union really is inherently reluctant to defend its members. The issue of workplace militancy is an interesting one, and was used during the struggle to discredit CAIMAW. Local 40 argued that CAIMAW was a radical union, and its militancy would threaten the job security of the hotel workers.\textsuperscript{75} Local 40 representatives further argued that given CAIMAW's history of organisation in industries other than hospitality, it was an inappropriate organisation to represent such workers because;

\textsuperscript{74}The entry rate of payment was introduced into the Local 40 contract's in 1985. Newly employed workers begin their jobs earning 75 percent of the full wage, after 3 months they move to 100 percent payment.

\textsuperscript{75}Interview: President, Local 40
workers in the hospitality industry [don’t] belong anywhere but in a union that represents only hospitality industry workers. I think that this industry is so unique and the problems are so different that you’d get lost in the shuffle if you were in there with a bunch of ironworkers.\textsuperscript{76}

CAIMAW countered such charges by referring to Local 40’s lack of militancy. If it is militant argued CAIMAW, then it is only because it is acting with, and on behalf of, workers who vote in support of strike motions that are put at membership meetings.\textsuperscript{77} Local 40, CAIMAW representatives argue, conducts their decision-making at the union office and without consultation with their membership. It is this strategy that also permits Local 40 bargaining committee members to negotiate wage and working condition concessions, including the entry wage rate referred to above. CAIMAW claims that they have been able to protect workers in their hotels from such concessions in every contract they have negotiated since 1985.\textsuperscript{78}

In chapter six the debates about unionism during the struggle are considered in more detail. However it is interesting to note that to some extent hotel worker participation in their union revolves around the styles of unionism that both Local 40 and CAIMAW present. Local 40’s long standing history as a bargaining unit in the hospitality sector has not automatically resulted in a participatory style of unionism. CAIMAW takes to the hotel workers a determination to represent all members in a democratically constituted organisation. Yet in both unions some members are rendered invisible or excluded. Between 1982 and 1984 the case for and against the merits of both unions was contested as Local 40 and CAIMAW sought to justify

\textsuperscript{76}Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40

\textsuperscript{77}Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW

\textsuperscript{78}Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW
their claims to represent hotel workers.

CONCLUSION

As discussed in chapter two, much of the literature about service sector employees is general and considers the problems of organising without specific reference to either the unions or specific workplaces sought to rectify such omissions by considering the relationship between organisational strategies, workplace unionism and hotels as specific worksites. The hotel industry itself comprises many geographically widespread and diverse units. In British Columbia, for example, hotel sizes vary from those with only 10 rooms to those with over 400. In addition, international capital dominates ownership patterns in the industry. The role of geography in inhibiting successful union organisation should not be overlooked. Whether considered at the industry scale or within each hotel, the workforce is separated and isolated. Union officials must find ways to overcome the difficulties of creating a collective identity between workers who are employed firstly, in separate bargaining units (the hotels) and secondly, in very different positions and workplaces within the same hotel.

The type of unionism perpetuated by Local 40 and CAIMAW emerge from the different histories and organisational experiences of each. The practices of both unions are influenced by their organisational experiences in male trade union environments. Although Local 40 has years

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of experience as a bargaining unit in the hotels in Vancouver where employees are predominantly women, the leadership of the union remain predominantly men, and, as will be seen more specifically in relation to women in the following chapter, there is a marked lack of willingness by the union to step into the workplace on behalf of its members. Local 40’s workplace representational strategies do not challenge, nor overcome the isolated and fragmented nature of the hotel work experience.

CAIMAW, as an industrial worker union with a concern for achieving democracy in the labour movement, organises the workplace so that all members can speak with shop stewards or staff representatives from the union. CAIMAW does not, however, readily admit different cultural or gendered experiences and in this sense offers only a limited notion of democracy. The underlying assumption of CAIMAW is that all members, including women, are the same in that they have the equal opportunity to present their concerns to the union.

Perhaps a unique characteristic of the unions considered in this thesis is that they do not provide an example of active and deliberate exclusion of women from unions by male trade unionists, as, for example, found in Cockburn’s study of male printing workers and their exploitation and maintenance of sex/gender occupational segregation and female exclusion from the union.  

81 Women cannot be excluded from membership in the Vancouver hotel unions because they dominate the membership. Although this chapter focused on representations of ‘the worker’ and styles of unionism in the hotel workplace, the following chapter considers more specifically the influence of male trade union ideologies in constructing gendered discourses and

81 Cockburn, Cynthia 1983 op cit
representations of women trade union members. I argue that these representations of gender have implications for women in service sector employment and for the possibilities of ongoing, effective organisation.
CHAPTER 5: GENDERED DISCOURSES AND REPRESENTATIONS

INTRODUCTION

When we understand the gendered constructions of the working class we gain new perspective on old problems - the problems of competition from women, of sexually differentiated wage scales, and of organising women workers - problems central not only to women, but also to the working-class movement as a whole.¹

In a climate of economic restructuring and membership loss, the inclusion of unorganised women workers is an important strategy to retain and improve the bargaining strength of unions. Beyond numerical strength and bargaining power, two further benefits of women's membership accrue to unions. First, Ann Marie Wierzbicki argues that women, particularly feminists, contribute to the democratisation of unions, an important consideration given that unions have become very bureaucratic and the membership inactive. Second, active women members are able to challenge hierarchical power structures and empower themselves. Further, women members broaden the scope of issues that unions consider and fight for. Both benefits extend to both men and women union members alike.²

However, as discussed in chapter two, barriers to women's participation in unions tend to limit the possibility and their contributions. As already argued, underlying and reinforcing

¹Scott, Joan W 1987 "On Language, Gender and Working-Class History" International Labour and Working-Class History No 31 Spring pp 10-11

²Wierzbicki, Ann Marie 1988 Interviewed by Barbara Sanford "Union Maid" Women and Environments Vol 11 No 1 Fall p 13. At the time of the interview Wierzbicki was a Regional Representative with the Public Service Alliance of Canada, the union for federal government employees. Her role was to resolve grievances, represent people on appeals, help organise locals and represent the PSAC on issues such as workforce downsizing. She also worked with women running education workshops, a newsletter, and starting women's regional committees.
barriers to union participation are gendered understandings, or constructions, that are produced and materially recreated in households, communities and within unions. As Carole Pateman argues women have not been incorporated into the patriarchal structure of capitalist employment as 'workers' but as women.\(^3\)

The aim in this chapter is to expose the construction and reproduction of gender and gendered identities in the hotel unions in Vancouver with particular reference to women members, trade union activists and leaders. My question is how are women situated within a complex set of discourses that refer to gender within their union? The focus of this chapter is on union constructions of gender and gendered identities. This is not to argue that women are not active participants in this process, but rather, that both the hotel unions in Vancouver that I investigate ascribe competing, changing and sometimes contradictory meanings to women.

In the first section of this chapter I refer briefly to the magazines of Local 40 and CAIMAW, and consider ways in which gendered identities constructed within households are incorporated into union discourses about women. These gendered identities are the basis of both representations of women's participation in unions, and also the issues that union officials select as important to women. In the second section I explore more specifically union representations of the constraints imposed upon women's participation in the hotel unions by their household responsibilities, and the issues that hotel unions in Vancouver identify as important to women members. In the third section I consider one particular workplace issue that specifically affects women hotel workers, that of sexual harassment. I explore the ways in which women's bodies

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and their sexuality are implicated in the performance of their jobs, and I consider the different ways in which both hotel unions approach the problem of such on behalf of their women members. In the fourth section I refer to the possibilities for women trade union activists making a contribution to their union as shop stewards or union officials. I argue that there are severe constraints imposed on potential women organisers. In the final section I refer specifically to the events at Local 40 in the early 1980s when two women leaders were elected and later dismissed. A complicated series of discourses surround these circumstances. I examine the memories of present union organisers about these events and the trusteeship at Local 40 in order to consider the implications for women’s leadership of unions.

GENDERED REPRESENTATIONS AND THE FAMILY

Gender relations are an integral part of the sphere of production because patriarchy is always present in the workplace and workplace institutions such as unions. Women’s participation in the labour market, and in labour organisations, is thereby linked with, and regulated by, the position of women in patriarchal family structures. This is certainly apparent in the way in which women are represented in the union magazines of Local 40 and CAIMAW. Although up to the end of 1984 there are only infrequent references to women, they are represented in ways that emphasise both traditional notions of femininity and archetypal roles of women within the home.

Gender stereotypes abound in pictorial representations of women and men in The Local 40 Mixer. In the mid-1970s, for example, the magazine portrayed the meaning of union

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4Hunt, Pauline 1980 op cit
'brotherhood' through representations of how men and women could contribute to trade unionism. Men are shown in photographs marching in protest, while women are shown "making cakes for sick neighbours". In addition, the gendered occupational divisions are represented by photographs and texts indicating "hard working men" and "smiling 'pretty' women". The purpose of these stereotypes I believe, is to reinforce a division of labour within both the hotel workplace and in the union office that serves to limit or to exclude women's participation as members.

However, in the pages of The Local 40 Mixer such stereotypes are occasionally challenged by the membership. For example, in 1984 a letter from a women member that referred to the neglect of women's issues by Local 40 was published. In response, in the same issue, an unnamed union reporter wrote a column discussing the on-the-job health hazards faced by waitresses when carrying heavy trays of food. Yet despite the growing awareness of women's issues there is evidence that particular stereotypes remain fundamental to representations of women and men hotel workers. In late 1986, a series of columns began in The Local 40 Mixer profiling various hotel occupations. In one issue, housekeepers are described as the "Cinderellas" of the hotels. In another issue, it is suggested that women bar workers are

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5The Local 40 Mixer Vol 1 No 5 May 1975 p 7

6see The Local 40 Mixer Vol 1 No 5 May 1975. Although this issue was published a few years before the struggle in the early 1980s I argue that such representations dominated Local 40 up until the beginning of the struggle. As was discussed in chapter 3, such representations of gender roles and gender relations remain powerful influences on unions in the present.

7The Local 40 Mixer Vol 10 No 3 June-August 1984 pp 6-7

8The Local 40 Mixer Vol 12 No 4 Sept-Oct 1986 p 2
only able to perform bar jobs because of the unique characteristics they bring to the work. It is assumed that female bartenders are more successful at stopping bar fights because they have a "distracting, calming presence".\(^9\) It was not until 1988 that a framework was systematically established to address women's issues. The members were notified in their magazine of the formation of a new committee to develop policy on women's issues.\(^{10}\)

Pictorial representations of women in *The CAIMAW Review* are a little more scarce, particularly through the 1970s when women were only a small proportion of the membership. However the portrayals of women in this magazine are not free from gender stereotypes. Photographs during this period show women acting in supportive roles to male union members. One image depicts a 'family day' at the picket line. The wife of a union member is pictured holding a baby and being interviewed by a radio reporter.\(^{11}\) However, up to the time of the struggle CAIMAW's attitude to women at the workplace is quite different than that of Local 40. *The CAIMAW Review* refers specifically to several ways in which women are disadvantaged in the workplace.

Firstly, CAIMAW addresses the persistent underpayment of women workers, calling for legislative change to implement standards of equal pay for work of equal value.\(^{12}\) In support of such claims CAIMAW has fought successfully equal pay wage cases for their members. For example, in 1980 CAIMAW won a wage rise for a group of newly certified women data

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\(^9\)The Local 40 Mixer Vol 13 No 1 Jan-March 1987 p 2

\(^{10}\)The Local 40 Mixer Vol 13 No 4 March-May 1988 p 3

\(^{11}\)The CAIMAW Review Vol 10 No 6 Sept-October 1978 p 4

\(^{12}\)The CAIMAW Review Vol 12 No 1 Jan 1980 p 6
processors at Kenworth, a truck assembly plant. Secondly, CAIMAW acknowledges, and has sought to improve, the situation of women's underrepresentation in trades occupations. In the same year as the Kenworth equal pay case, a letter was published in The CAIMAW Review notifying members of the formation of an organisation to promote women's access to trades occupations.

These representations of women in both union magazines speak to two aspects of union life. Firstly, that unionism and 'brotherhood' is constructed as a family and community affair. In such a construction women replicate the role they have in households and do not, therefore, contribute to unions as workers. Secondly, although this is less obvious, at CAIMAW, women's 'difference' in the labour movement occurs because they are represented as women rather than as workers. In the following section I attempt to unpack the distinction unions make between 'women' and 'worker' and examine its impact on efforts to organise and represent women members. I argue that the artificial separation of women from workers in representational discourses serves to justify the unions' failure to address so called 'women's issues' at the bargaining table. In both unions different representations are called upon first, to legitimate particular policy decisions with respect to women members, and second, to support a particular ideological approach to unionism. I consider below union representations about the household constraints on women's participation in unions. Secondly, I examine the issues that

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13 The CAIMAW Review Vol 12 No 2 Feb/March 1980 p 3. At the time at Kenworth the plant workers were all men except for two women. The data processors who worked in the company office were all women. The union demanded that they received pay rates comparable to the assembly line workers. See also Larkin, Jackie 1981 Resources for Feminist Research: Women and Trade Unions Vol 10 No 2 p 78

14 The CAIMAW Review Vol 12 No 3 April/May 1980 p 2
representatives from Local 40 and CAIMAW define as relevant to their men and women members.

WOMEN MEMBERS/WOMEN'S ISSUES: THE LINKS BETWEEN HOME AND WORK

I. Participation

The representation of women members in the hotel unions in Vancouver as women is most apparent when both Local 40 and CAIMAW refer to the household situation of these members as the source of constraint upon their participation in unions. The most common representations of women's lived experiences are those that refer to the phase of women's life course that is associated with marriage and childbearing.\(^{15}\) That women participate in such a life course pattern is implicit in statements made by Local 40 and CAIMAW representatives. It is assumed that women are too busy with unpaid housework and family responsibilities to participate in union business. According to CAIMAW, the ability to participate in unions is different for men and women,

> It always has been. I mean the basic is availability. I mean women by and large tend to have far more demands on their time at home, women at home or single women out. If they had children the problems were magnified far more.\(^{16}\)

CAIMAW representatives are particularly aware of the constraints on women's participation which is particularly acute given that the hotel workforce is predominantly female. The staff representative who is responsible for hotels said "you have women barely having enough energy

\(^{15}\)Pratt, Geraldine and Hanson, Susan 1993 "Women and Work Across the Life Course" in Cindi Katz and Janice Monk (eds) Full Circles: Geographies of Women over the Life Course Routledge, London and New York p 27

\(^{16}\)Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW
Constraints on women's participation in unions beyond their responsibility for childcare and housework are also acknowledged at CAIMAW, but these too are primarily related to household circumstances and living conditions (including wages) of women. The lack of access to a car, spousal resentment of time spent at meetings, and low wages, are perceived to contribute to women's lack of availability for union participation. These representations position women outside unions and inside the home.

There are very real material limitations placed on women's time and these are acknowledged by both unions. One representative at CAIMAW expressed frustration with the accepted social relations and gender divisions of labour in the household that limits women's participation in unions. At Local 40 there is concern that given women's responsibility for both paid employment and unpaid domestic work "there are a lot of exhausted women walking around out there". Thus, that home and work are intimately related is acknowledged in union discourses about the restrictions placed on women's participation in unions. Union

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17 Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW

18 One organiser at CAIMAW explained the relationship between women's lower wages and their lesser participation in unions as follows, "If you are going out for a meeting and you go for a few beers afterwards, well a person making $100 per week compared to someone making $200 per week, then it is far harder to socialise than it is for the other person". Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW. It is of course a rather broad (and masculinist) assumption that all women, and even all men, would wish to spend time after meetings drinking beer.

19 Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW

20 Interview: Regional Vice-President, CAIMAW

21 Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40
officials’ understandings of the links between home and work are also apparent in the ways that unions define issues as relevant to their women members, or to the workplaces in which they organise. Where the hotel unions perceive that they can most actively support their members are on those issues that directly relate to the workplace, including wages, working conditions, scheduling arrangements and so on. These workplace issues are considered common to women and men employees. The question then arises as to whether 'women's issues', which may include childcare, health and welfare benefits, time for child sick-leave, affirmative action and protection from sexual harassment, are also understood within the union context as workplace issues. Typically women's issues such as these are not included as bargaining items in unions that focus only on the workplace issues of wages, conditions and so on. In the following section I refer specifically to the testimony of union officials to clarify Local 40 and CAIMAW's understanding of 'workplace' and 'women's issues'.

II. Women's issues / workplace issues; similar or different?

Despite their different sectoral experiences, Local 40 and CAIMAW organisers identified a range of issues that are considered equally important to men and women members. It is when referring to these issues that the hotel unions consider men and women on equal terms as workers. Local 40’s jurisdiction is concentrated in one sector, which includes tourism services such as travel, entertainment, accommodation, fast food outlets and restaurants. The greatest proportion of union members are in the hotels. According to Local 40, men and women are attracted to unions because they offer "job security and seniority and benefits, health care, that

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22 Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40
kind of stuff". CAIMAW represents a broad range of workers in many different workplaces yet one representative argued strongly that the interests of all workers they represent, including women and hotel workers, are the same. As one organiser said,

is a worker in a restaurant there any different to the worker down the street? Very little difference, we’ve gotta go to work, we got the same problems, we’ve gotta live, we gotta eat, we gotta raise our families and all of these things. Everywhere you go you get, 'oh our group’s different'. But when you’ve heard it from about twenty separate groups, 'oh you gotta admit our groups are all different'. Hardly.

Thus, wage and employment security are specifically identified as workplace issues. Unions traditionally develop policy and establish bargaining programs around these issues. However, both Local 40 and CAIMAW also understand that their women members are concerned about a unique set of 'womens’ issues', including equity, childcare, health and safety at the workplace and safely getting to and from work.

Local 40 organisers believe employment equity issues including training, day care, flex time and child sick time are the bargaining issues that attract women. Wage inequality is considered less of an issue in the hotel industry. Local 40 representatives maintain that there is no obvious wage inequity between women and men primarily because women are represented in so many occupations throughout hotels, "so you don’t have the wage ghettos like you do in the public sector for instance". It is argued that the industry has always paid people for the work they do, including paying equal wages to men and women in similar occupational

23 Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40

24 Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW

25 Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40

26 Interview: Legal Officer, Local 40
classifications. I would argue, however, that Local 40's position with respect to occupational segregation and wage equality ignores differences in earnings both for men and women in similar and different occupations. Aside from obvious divisions of labour based on gender which were discussed in the previous chapter, there is also a division between gratuity and non-gratuity workers. Male workers employed as bellmen, doormen or concierges earn up to 50% above their hourly rate in 'tips'. There is no opportunity for women employed as room attendants to supplement their income in such a fashion. Even where women do earn gratuities their ability to supplement their income may be limited by men's readier access to the more lucrative hours of work such as evening 'fine dining'. One Local 40 organiser commented that,

in some jobs, like for instance in a fine dining room, generally speaking men are hired to be waiters in fine dining because the operator and the customer think's its classier to

27Interview: Research Officer, Local 40

28This general evidence would appear to be born out in at least one downtown Vancouver hotel. In this property at the time of interview (summer season) there were approximately 170 employees. Housekeeping employed 55 who were all women except for eight housemen. Administration included 15 staff; all non-managerial staff in this department were women. Food and beverages included three separate areas. There were 12 employees in the kitchen (no information was provided as to the gender of these employees). Room service employed six men. The restaurant employed a mixture of men and women, although it was standard practice for the women to work the morning shifts and men to work in the evenings, when the earnings from gratuities are higher. The front desk area included reservations, clerical staff, bellmen, concierges etc. There were 22 staff in this area. At desk itself the gender composition of workers was mixed although four management staff present were men. In the lobby where employees such as bellmen could earn gratuities the staff were men. Sales staff are women and maintenance workers are men. Interview: Personnel Manager, downtown hotel, Vancouver.

29One bellman working in a downtown Vancouver hotel estimated that over a year 50 percent of his income came from gratuities. Interview: Bellman, 4.8.93. A bell captain at another downtown hotel estimated that this translated into a wage of $20 to $25 per hour. Interview: Bellcaptain, 31.8.93. This is significantly more than approximately $12 per hour earned by room attendants or front desk staff.
have a male waiter than to have a female waitress.\textsuperscript{30}

In contrast to Local 40, CAIMAW representatives were reluctant to concede a different range of concerns for men and women, although there is a suggestion that women's concerns relate to their family and children. One organiser said,

I don't know so much if there's a difference between men and women. I do know that what women talk about is you know, the need to be able to take the kids to the dentist, you know that kind of stuff.\textsuperscript{31}

In the spirit of CAIMAW's belief that all workers have the same concerns related to family and survival, one central goal of the union is to improve medical and health benefits that the hotel workers receive. To focus on such benefits during bargaining is part of an income maintenance strategy because, "in the hotel we're talking about marginal incomes really and so I always think that facing those kinds of issues are really important".\textsuperscript{32} CAIMAW organisers are aware that hotel workers in different occupations or at different stages in their life course have a variety of concerns. Benefits that provide health and dental coverage are considered vital for workers who have families. Yet, health benefits are not so important to those workers who are "young and healthy and they can't imagine that they would get sick",\textsuperscript{33} or who do not have families.

The concerns of women members are more clearly drawn by CAIMAW representatives when they refer specifically to the hotel workplace. Health and safety has always been a primary

\textsuperscript{30}Interview: President, Local 40.

\textsuperscript{31}Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW

\textsuperscript{32}Interview: Regional Vice-President, CAIMAW

\textsuperscript{33}Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW
concern of CAIMAW\textsuperscript{34} as the membership is largely employed in potentially dangerous worksites with heavy machinery. With respect to the health and safety of women hotel workers, union organisers identified two concerns. Firstly, CAIMAW has addressed the issue of workers safety when leaving work late at night and making their way home. The union responded to women members concerns for their safety by formalising the need for employers to guarantee the safety of women workers in contract language. Employers were asked to provide escorts for women returning to their car or waiting at the bus stop late at night.\textsuperscript{35} Secondly, women members in CAIMAW also ask the union to help them protect their bodies at work so as,

\begin{quote}
not to loose their job you know because their body doesn’t hold out. Younger women who would be [food] servers for instance, they want to be able to get their feet fixed. Quite a few of them have problems with their feet from wearing high heels.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

Women’s issues are indeed considered subjects about which either union can and should bargain. CAIMAW particularly has defined and addressed some concerns of women as workplace issues. However, I would argue that when it is the case that women’s household responsibilities, rather than the circumstances of the workplace are the basis for their problems, there is less willingness to act in support of women union members. For example, in interviews representatives from both unions referred to childcare as a particular concern of women members. However, neither union has a childcare policy nor a program for bargaining childcare

\textsuperscript{34}See Atherton, Patricia Gwen 1981 op cit

\textsuperscript{35}Interview: Regional Vice-president, CAIMAW. The issue of safety when moving between home and work is not new for hotel workers. In 1945 Local 40’s president, Emily Watts Nuttal, demanded waitresses be given shifts that would enable them to finish work at or before midnight, so that it was reasonably safe to get home. \textit{The Local 40 Mixer} Vol 13 No 3 July–Sept 1987 p 8.

\textsuperscript{36}Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW
during negotiations. At CAIMAW, childcare provisions have been made occasionally at conferences but never on an ongoing basis. The union argues that it has not developed a childcare program in the industrial sector because it is not organised in large workplaces which would financially support such a program. In the hotels CAIMAW has not successfully developed childcare as an issue. One representative said,

I've got to be honest with you, childcare in terms of the hotels, we've just never have got to making that a major issue. I am not saying that it isn't. Obviously its a major issue.\(^{37}\)

Local 40 does not present childcare as a bargaining or workplace issue. It is accepted in principle that unions can bargain for childcare, but Local 40 appears to avoid this responsibility. The implication is that workplace childcare is not an appropriate issue on which to bargain in the hotel industry. Further, it is not clear what form of childcare Local 40 would negotiate on behalf of their members. As one union representative said:

And I don't necessarily think that workplace childcare is always the answer, I mean in some cases it might be, but some sort of subsidy [might be preferable]. Some employers now buy, actually purchase, childcare spaces for their employees.\(^{38}\)

Although each union explains differently their neglect of childcare as a bargaining issue, I would argue that both positions reflect Local 40 and CAIMAW's unwillingness to challenge divisions of household labour which determine that women shall be responsible for childcare.

Women's different concerns as workers arise from factors other than their relation to households, however, as witnessed by CAIMAW's attention to health and safety issues. In the

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\(^{37}\)Interview: Regional Vice-President, CAIMAW

\(^{38}\)Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40
next section I examine union representations of women's experiences as hotel workers. In hotel workplaces women's bodies are implicated in the performance of their work in unique ways. I argue that this demands union intervention in workplaces in ways that may not have been previously considered either appropriate for union activism, or relevant to bargaining. I argue here that Local 40 and CAIMAW's different attention to their women members as either women or workers determines the approach they take toward protecting members from harm and harassment at work. In the next section I address the need for the hotel unions to be actively concerned about the working conditions of their members. I refer particularly to sexual harassment and both CAIMAW and Local 40's understanding and approach to this problem.

GENDERED WORKERS AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Women's bodies are involved in relations between employers and women workers in many occupations. Sexuality, including a woman's smile, dress and femaleness are often an implicit part of the employment bargain. Gender identities, often taken to be natural, are integral to the performance of interactive service jobs. Gender segregation of work reinforces this appearance of naturalness. Leidner demonstrates through an examination of interactive service jobs both at McDonalds and the insurance industry that gendered divisions of labour are both socially constructed and flexible. In hotel workplaces, however, it appears as though there

39Cockburn, Cynthia 1991 In the Way of Women: Men's Resistance to Sex Equality in Organisations Macmillian, London p 27

40Leidner, Robin 1991 "Serving Hamburgers and Selling Insurance: Gender, Work and Identity in Interactive Service Jobs" Gender and Society Vol 5 No 2 June p 156. 'Interactive service work' refers to those that involve direct interaction with customers or clients (p 155)
are some particularly rigid gendered divisions of labour which are based on perceptions of appropriately feminine or masculine work. For example, women as the 'fairer and weaker' sex are excluded from jobs which involve carrying bags. Bellmen and other front lobby jobs are reserved for stronger men.

Elizabeth Stanko argues further that the jobs women perform such as care-giving and waitressing contribute to the sexualisation of women in the workplace. Employers exploit different aspects of women's femininity and sexuality in hotel workplaces. On the one hand, women's sexuality is perceived as non-threatening. According to a Local 40 representative, one reason women are employed as room attendants is to ensure the comfort of the guests. He argues,

think of walking into a room and this man is in there fooling around, setting things aside. And you [a woman guest] think god I don't want men touching my stuff. You have to think of that angle. We have because we are not trained to think that there is a man makes up a room, we're trained that a woman makes up a room.

This union organiser did not consider, however, the possible threats women room attendants may face from male guests as they go about cleaning rooms.

On the other hand, women's sexuality in the workplace leaves them vulnerable to sexual harassment. Mackinnon has argued that the willingness to tolerate sexual harassment is often a condition of the job. In the hotel unions in Vancouver there are different degrees to which

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42 Interview: Financial Secretary/Treasurer, Local 40

43 Mackinnon, Catherine A 1979 Sexual Harassment and Working Women Yale University Press, New Haven CT. Quoted in Acker, J 1990 op cit p 152. The basis of Mackinnon’s research is extensive analysis of sexual harassment legal cases.
each will allow their members to tolerate sexual harassment. Ten years of experience in the hotel industry has created much awareness among CAIMAW representatives of the problems of sexual harassment. Despite CAIMAW’s insistence that all workers have similar concerns, the union is aware that sexual harassment is a much greater problem for hotel employees compared to the other workers they represent. One male staff representative said,

There is a lot more sexual harassment in the hotel and restaurant industry than there is in the average factory...... managers doing everything from trying to coerce the women to going out on dates to making jokes that are uncomfortable for them. And its not just management, its a problem with our own members, we deal with that too.44

My sense from discussion with union representatives is that CAIMAW is prepared to step into the workplace to deal with sexual harassment. It is considered an element of gender discrimination which manifests itself in, among other ways, wage and employment inequity. Along with discrimination on the basis of race, CAIMAW views sexual harassment as a serious infringement of workers’ rights.45

At Local 40 there are contradictory responses to sexual harassment. The Legal and Services Officer noted that in the last five years there has been at least one sexual harassment grievance constantly on her desk. One representative argued that instances of sexual harassment arose from the customers in the hotels,46 not managers or colleagues as the CAIMAW representatives argued. In contrast, however, another official suggested that sexual harassment

44Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

45Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

46Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40. When asked about sexual harassment she said, "oh the customers of course. It’s a sadly growing segment of arbitration laws, sexual harassment. The public is hard enough to deal with, but when they have had three or four drinks under their belt they’re even worse, and our members have to face that every day". 
is virtually a non-issue in the hotel industry. The President of Local 40 describes an attitude toward sexual harassment that is ambivalent at best. He said,

I'll explain women to you in this industry, this industry is different with women, we do not have the kind of problems that you may associate that women have in other industries. What would be considered in most environments sexual harassment, is not sexual harassment in this industry. Because a woman goes in there with her buttons undone, with a short skirt because she knows she can make $150 a day in tips and she accepts comments, she accepts remarks without responding to them or laying sexual harassment charges because she is going in there knowing exactly what she is doing and why she's doing it. That is the reality.47

In public places in hotels, then, women are understood to be empowered by their sexuality, which they can exploit to attract customers and to increase their earnings.

There are several problems I see as arising from Local 40's position that sexual harassment is an aspect of the paid work experience that empowers women. Firstly, women who did object to sexual harassment in places where such behaviour is considered acceptable would probably lose their jobs. Secondly, as Britton argues, workers in tourism are simultaneously providers of labour services and also part of the consumed product.48 Local 40's position, then, further reinforces women's status as sexualised beings in the workplace, and therefore undermines the gains women have made towards being taken seriously as workers and union members. Finally, as economic restructuring and decreasing welfare assistance increase the pressures on women to remain part of the wage-earning workforce, it becomes less and less likely that women as individuals will be (if they ever were) in a position to challenge their subordinate status in the workplace. As a result this challenge must come from their union. The

47 Interview: President, Local 40

48 Britton, Steven 1991 op cit p 458
problem for women members of Local 40, however, is that their union does not recognise the relationship between the low wages they receive, and the acceptance of sexual harassment by those same workers.

The question arises, then, as to whether women can overcome the 'traditional' limitations imposed on their ability to be active in the labour movement. For it is clear that women are located such subject positions, for example that of unpaid domestic caregivers from which the union assumes they cannot become politically active. In the next section I consider the situation of women trade union activists in Local 40 and CAIMAW. While women have successfully worked as shop stewards or union officials in both these unions, I argue that the 'job descriptions' for such organisers are inherently gendered. That is, models of trade union activism are based on the template of male organisers. Within such a context women's contribution as activists is bound to be limited.

WOMEN MEMBERS AND TRADE UNION ACTIVISM

As Field and many others have argued, male trade unionists have neither centrally integrated women's job demands or women members into unions. Different strategies have been proposed to overcome the underrepresentation of women's voices including (especially) the promotion of women to policy decision making or to shop floor positions. The challenges for women trade union activists are two fold; firstly, to represent women's concerns in bargaining and union policy making; and secondly, to challenge the constructions of women workers and activists in ways that broaden the scope for their participation in unions. It is important,  

49 Field, Debbie 1981 op cit p 2
however, to place discussion of women union activists in the context of the union in which women are members. In both hotel unions in Vancouver women are represented either as shop stewards or in more formal capacities in the union office. I argue, however, that masculinism continues to influence and limit both the job description and the union’s organisational structures within which these organisers perform their job. This section specifically considers the testimony of the two women union organisers interviewed at both unions.

I. Participation as union activists

At both Local 40 and CAIMAW it is understood that the motivation for union activism arises from a variety of sources including family history and experiences as an employee. Local 40’s Legal Services Officer’s long experience in a union family motivated her to continue to support unions through activism. She said,

I had early exposure not just in my family, but in the community that I grew up in. I remember the coal miners and their families in the Kootneys and the struggles they went through… accidents… employers taking off and leaving their employees without their payroll. So it was always the union that fought for those things. So you are almost born into being in a union in a way.\(^{50}\)

At CAIMAW, the staff representative I interviewed became an active union organiser through her own initiative. As a new employee in a lock producing plant she was faced with the decision to vote for CAIMAW, who was raiding the plant at the time, or the existing international union. This organiser phoned the CAIMAW office to "find out why they were different", and from there became very active in the union, holding a variety of positions including those of shop steward, chief steward on the negotiating committee and health and safety officer in her

\(^{50}\)Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40
Union activists are critical to the ongoing actions of their union. When asked who participated in general union meetings a Local 40 representative said;

I think its probably mostly the union activists come to the membership meetings, unless somebody's got an issue or something going on, then they will come to the meeting.\textsuperscript{52} Local 40 representatives argued that union activists participate in unions to find ways to confront problems that they are experiencing at work. It is generally understood that if workers were not born into unions then "a lot of the union activists were driven to it because they were working for some heartless dictator, and they had to find out how to defend themselves".\textsuperscript{53}

\textbf{II. Participation as shop stewards}

The union activists among Local 40's membership often become shop stewards.\textsuperscript{54} The internal reorganisation of Local 40 during the trusteeship improved the possibility for women in the hotel workplaces to become officially involved in their union, either in the workplace as shop stewards or as organisers working from the union office. Presently at Local 40 the ratio of women to men shop stewards is two to one which reflects the predominance of women in the membership. In general women at Local 40 are motivated to become union officials for different reasons than men. One woman organiser said,

Maybe it's expectations too, because more from men in this industry you'll hear 'oh I'm

\textsuperscript{51}Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW

\textsuperscript{52}Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40

\textsuperscript{53}Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40

\textsuperscript{54}Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40.
just doing this until something better comes along'. But women you know because they don’t have as high a self-esteem maybe think ‘well okay I am going to be a bartender here for the rest of my life’. Maybe they think this is the best I can do. And so they have a bigger stake in the job.55

At both CAIMAW and Local 40 when women become active in their union organisers are not aware of barriers related to gender that either encourage or constrain women’s contribution. During union meetings, for example, gender differences are not thought to preclude women from speaking out. As one organiser at CAIMAW said;

I think the reasons why people don’t participate in unions, you know I don’t think there is a difference between men and women. [If you don’t participate] I think you feel you don’t have something to say or you don’t know how to say it. Your education background might have something to do with it.56

Shop stewards are a crucial element in the geography of trade union activism. They mediate between the shop floor where the workers are located, the organising office and the employer.57 However, evidence from interviews with hotel workers in Vancouver suggests that union members reluctantly take on the role of shop steward because they don’t want the ‘headaches’ associated with such a responsibility.58 There are two related problems. Firstly, in interviews workers expressed disinterest in Local 40 as a representational body. There is a strong feeling that the union will not act in support of members and the shop steward. The perception is exacerbated because members do not 'know' the union organisers. According to

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55Interview: Legal Officer, Local 40
56Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW
57Cynthia Cockburn found male branch secretaries in a British union were very conscious of their role as a link in the geography of union activism. Cockburn, Cynthia 1991 op cit p 116
58Interview: Assistant Housekeeper, 9.8.93 and Assistant housekeeper, 16.8.93
some members, Local 40 organisers have only a minimal presence on the shop floor, except during election time.\textsuperscript{59} This is because the union conducts its organising from the union office and only rarely enters the shop floor itself. Secondly, acting as a shop steward is perceived as a thankless task which lacks support from the membership. Shop stewards become very frustrated that women hotel workers will not speak up about their problems when union representatives are in their hotel. Women workers do not want to be seen as trouble makers by their colleagues. I argue that this speaks to the difficulties of being a union member in the hotel industry, as discussed in the previous chapter, but it is also indicative of the lack of union activism in hotels by organisers from the union office.

Thus, regardless of the good numerical representation of women in shop steward positions, the structure of Local 40 and the difficulties of organising reluctant workers in hotels precludes any successful interventions by shop stewards. The geography of union organising at Local 40 has weak links at the workplace. The dissemination of power and activism, emanating as it does from the central union office of Local 40, does not incorporate effectively those who could perhaps most contribute to the development of different representational and organisational strategies, those actually in the hotel workplaces.

CAIMAW takes a direct approach to the promotion of women as stewards and organisers. In the mid-1970s they employed a woman health and safety officer. The decision to send a women union representative into predominantly male working environments caused conflict at CAIMAW.\textsuperscript{60} The disagreement was over whether men at the union's industrial sites

\textsuperscript{59}Interview: Assistant Housekeeper, 9.8.93

\textsuperscript{60}Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW
would accept a female official. The present secretary/treasurer of the union who eventually hired Kathy Walker remembers,

my argument was let the guys down there decide and let no-one else decide it for them. If she can’t cut it down there and they give her a bad time, so be it. Better to give her the same opportunity as everyone else. Throw ’em in the water, see if they can swim.61

Kathy Walker has been remarkably successful in the labour movement. She worked for CAIMAW for 20 years, and is now director of health and safety at the CAW in Toronto.62 The appointment of a woman in such a position is cited as evidence of CAIMAW’s preparedness to give all union members equal opportunity. It was explained that women experienced no barriers to opportunity within CAIMAW, and that problems for female organisers and bargainers are related instead to the sexist employers they have to deal with;

[employers] find it more difficult still today to bargain with a woman, because I think most of the management in the hotel industry are sexist….not unlike another employer a few years ago, you know you could sense that that person would have trouble dealing with Kathy Walker.63

III. Gender and trade union activism

There is no question at both Local 40 and CAIMAW that women are able to be successful trade union activists. However, the characteristics of a committed trade union activist remain gendered. Cockburn argues union organisers are constructed as masculine heros. They must display commitment and leadership skills, be able to endure flak from members and officers, strongly believe in themselves, be patient, well organised and resilient. Cockburn

61Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW

62Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW.

63Interview: Regional Vice-President, CAIMAW. nb Kathy Walker is the health and safety officer mentioned above
reported that the 'masculine hero' organiser frequently suffers severe health problems given the time spent working, travelling and in stressful situations.64 Women are expected to mimic men as they climb the union hierarchy.65 An organiser at Local 40 concurred with this characterisation of union activists behaviour. She argued that women union activists need, the same thing men need, the same thing anybody needs who aspires to positions of leadership for their fellow workers...vision...commitment to social change...[be] able to communicate reasonably well...devote 16 hours a day seven days a week, and have people around you that you can trust, and who will be honest.66

I would argue that this is a model for male union organisers which prescribes a level of commitment and a style of involvement in the labour movement that many women are unable to achieve. The description of the character required to be a union organiser does not suggest ways that women organisers could overcome barriers to their involvement in the labour movement. Rather, they must endure the enormous demands on their time and energy if they are to be active union members. While there is no doubt that these qualities are necessary to run a successful union, I argue that the model is based on traditional and masculine organisational structures. Within her union context, the union organiser quoted above has assumed these characteristics as necessary to perform her job. However, as was discussed in chapter three, women have different approaches to workplace organisation. I would suggest that different organisational practices necessarily require different and creative commitments from trade union activists. Research in Canada identified three major ways in that women approach their trade

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64 Cockburn, Cynthia 1991 op cit pp 120-121

65 Cockburn, Cynthia 1991 ibid p 238

66 Interview: Legal Officer, Local 40
union work differently than men including: a service orientation to workers that incorporates both cooperative and caring attention to workers concerns; an insistence upon a balanced lifestyle that allows women organisers to balance the competing demands of their paid work and family life; and a commitment to use power as a means to distribute resources fairly rather than to gain control over others.\textsuperscript{67}

In the model of trade union behaviour described above there are other characteristics that women union organisers might bring to their job but are not listed. For example, one such capacity is the ability to make connections with working people in the hotels, especially the women. Thus, one CAIMAW hotel representative was praised precisely for possessing these characteristics.

What's really so excellent about Silvia is that she relates to working people so well, particularly to women. You know she's got that connection, she's got that wonderful chemistry.\textsuperscript{68}

This hotel staff representative herself emphasised her social connections with present and past members of CAIMAW. With some members it was possible to form "close personal relationships" and former members would "come by every so often, and we would have lunch and a chat". Beyond union business such as grievances and arbitration this organiser found she was able to talk with and assist members about a broader range of issues including unemployment insurance claims and workers compensation appeals.\textsuperscript{69}


\textsuperscript{68}Interview: Regional Vice-President, CAIMAW

\textsuperscript{69}Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW
Discourses of commitment to trade union activism do not merely float around the union office, they have a material reality. In the next part of this chapter I examine representations and memories of the leadership of Local 40 by two women. Their experience of dismissal from elected positions is a material outcome of male control of discourses about leadership and authority in the labour organisations. Further, this example makes concrete the points I have made about the relationship between social constructions of gender and the exclusion of women members and activists from trade unions.

WOMEN AS UNION LEADERS

Women are underrepresented at all levels of the union, but never more so than in leadership positions. While women in Canada number 39 percent of the unionised workforce, they hold only 25 percent of executive positions. It is interesting to note the positioning and distribution of women throughout the executive and staff positions at both Local 40 and CAIMAW. At the end of 1993, 15 men and 15 women were employed in Local 40 staff positions. It is clear, however, that women are underrepresented in both leadership and business representative positions. Of three executive staff (the elected leadership), there is one woman. In total twelve people are employed as business representatives. Men predominate in this category - ten men and two women work as business agents. Nine women are employed in various office staff categories including office manager (one), executive secretary (one) and support staff (seven). The functions of the directors (two women) and specialty staff (two men

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70 Galt, Virginia 1993 op cit p A6
and one woman) are not clear.  

At CAIMAW there is only one officer who is both elected and paid by the membership. He is the Secretary/Treasurer and works from the head office. The responsibilities for a variety of union concerns are distributed between six different people, including the secretary/treasurer, who are employed as staff representatives in the CAIMAW head office. Five men are listed as resource persons, and they share responsibilities for the BC Federation of Labour, coalitions/International affairs, Communications, Education, Substance Abuse, Training, UIC and Worker's Compensation Board Policy. The one women staff person has responsibility for Human Rights, Women's Department, Literacy and Public Transportation. While it is the case at CAIMAW that there is a women staff member responsible for women members concerns, women are underrepresented at CAIMAW.

If women are to have their concerns seriously considered by unions that represent them they need to be in positions of power to ensure those concerns are addressed. Marina Boehm argues that unions in Canada have introduced progressive policies to improve women's representation. However, the situation remains that women union members need both leadership role models, and ideological support for women union leaders. To achieve change in the balance of power in unions there must also be a change in the cultural focus of the labour movement. Boehm argues unions need to continue the steady but slow assault on the prevailing attitudes that hinder women in their attempts to gain increased access to positions of power.

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71 The Local 40 Mixer Vol 19 No 1 Jan-March 1994 p 3

72 Interview: Staff Representative, CAIMAW

73 Boehm, Marina C. 1991 op cit pp 7-8, 47
The election of two women officers in 1981 was the first experience Local 40 had of women in leadership positions. Women were not present in the union office during the 1970s except for a daughter of Al Morgan who worked in a clerical capacity in the union office and as a business agent. Another daughter ran the union shop steward training school. However, leadership of the union by these women did not necessarily signal a challenge to prevailing attitudes. There are two themes here. Firstly, the women leaders, by virtue of a perceived lack of skills and experience, were deemed unsuitable leaders. Secondly, the attributes necessary to bring control back to the union are masculinised in ways that excluded the possibility for the women leaders to exercise their power.

Power in Local 40 is formally located in the officer positions of President, Vice-President and Secretary/Treasurer. This is in contrast to CAIMAW where there is only one paid leadership position, that of Secretary/Treasurer. It was because of Al Morgan’s misuse of his presidential power that troubles began in Local 40. Disenchanted members of Local 40 established a rank and file reform committee to protest the lack of accountability within the union. The committee channelled their protest into an election campaign in which they put

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74 Ward, Doug 1981 op cit September 12, H5. Morgan was accused of nepotism, by both Local 40 and CAIMAW representatives. It was claimed that to get a job at Local 40 during his leadership, you had to be a member of his family. Further, the women who were elected in 1981 were members of the executive board, however, they did not participate in the daily running of the union as did Morgan’s daughters. Interview: President, Local 40.

75 The power and influence of the elected officers of Local 40 is extensive. For example the President and Secretary-Treasurer comprise the total Editorial Board of The Local 40 Mixer. The Vice-President of Local 40 is not involved because she is currently based on Vancouver Island.

76 Both unions have executive boards comprising elected representatives from the membership.
forward two women as leadership candidates running in opposition to Al Morgan. When these women were elected, though, their victory was perceived only as the outcome of Morgan’s excesses, rather than as a successful take over of the union by the reform committee representatives. As one Local 40 representative remembers,

So what happened is the first time they had their elections the only two people eligible to run, and I use this without being derogatory at all, were the two waitresses from small restaurants in New Westminster. They were grandmothers essentially. The dog catcher could have won this election against Morgan.

There are several points of interest in this statement. Firstly, the information about the occupations of the women leaders is incorrect. The new president was indeed a waitress in a coffee shop. The new vice-president was a bar waitress in Abbotsford. This slight misunderstanding suggests perhaps that members of the union did not know their elected officials well. Indeed, immediately after her election the vice-president publicly addressed the membership in the pages of *The Local 40 Mixer*. In a column thanking members for their support she records her credentials as a union member, stressing that she was "not a trade union greenhorn". However, as the reference to the women leaders as 'grandmothers’ perhaps connotes, it was believed in many quarters that these women did not have the skills and

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77Interview: Rank and File Reform Committee Member

78To stand for election in Local 40 it is necessary to have had five or more years experience on the executive board of the union. The two waitresses fulfilled this eligibility criteria having had over 12 years experience between them. The membership reform committee therefore put these women forward to lead the challenge against Morgan. Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40

79Interview: President, Local 40

80Ward, Doug 1981 op cit p H5

81*The Local 40 Mixer* Vol 7 No 4 November 1981 p 3
experience to manage Local 40. The following is a lengthy quote from a Local 40 representative who constructs the inexperience of the women leaders in terms of both generational and gender differences.

They were a couple of sweet middle aged ladies. You know the kind of women that I'm talking about. They came from a different era. I mean they did not have the benefit of the years of experience that I have had for instance, I mean they came from a different albeit ... maybe someways more oppressive, but gentler time, you know and there was never anybody in their lives that expected them to be able to do anything more than serve coffee and make pleasant conversation, raise a family and do all the good things that our grandma's did. But I mean lets face it, our grandmas did not know how to run a meeting, our grandmas did not know what was legal and what was illegal, our grandmas did not have any sense that they could actually assert authority and carry it, they didn't know how to manage people, they didn't know how to manage a crisis.82

It was asserted by this union representative that, in contrast, women today have the benefit of education and experience in trade unions that enables them to assert authority and perform as effective trade union activists.83

Due to their inexperience and their gender, the women union leaders were portrayed as ineffective. Furthermore, traditional understandings of masculinity and femininity were deployed to justify the imposition of the trusteeship and the wresting of control of Local 40 from the reform committee. The first conclusion the trustee came to after his appointment was that the women leaders were responsible for the worsening problems in Local 40. According to the present leadership "it was alleged and proven that Joyce and Viola had not acted in compliance with the constitution and by-laws of the local union". Note that these charges were "quite frivolous, but it was enough grounds to impose the trusteeship".

82Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 440

83Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40
The pervasiveness of male cultural norms is evident in the language and memories surrounding the perceived problems in Local 40 after the election of the reform committee. The problems in the union are feminised, that is, they are attributed to the women leaders rather than being considered an outcome of Morgan’s erratic leadership of the union. Also masculinised are the attributes supposedly required to bring control back to the union. When describing the effort to defend Local 40 from raids, and eventually to reconstruct the union, representatives’ recalled the shift from a situation of chaos to one of creating a calm environment of discussion, control and careful planning. Experienced (mostly male) trade unionists gathered together to sit down and talk about the trusteeship and the pending raiding season so, "we started a war room, you run a real tight ship, everything is orchestrated, not one thing happens, not one letter goes out unless its been approved". In contrast, it was supposed that the women leaders would not be able to impose this control.

you’ve gotta remember, they did not have any experience and ability to put a master plan together to bring this local union around to where it should go. Trade unions are political organisations, they are very difficult to manage, they are very difficult to keep moving in the right direction.

The implications are, I think, that women are perceived as unable to participate in, or successfully manage large political organisations. Certainly it is acknowledged at Local 40 that immediately upon their election the women leaders faced strong, disruptive opposition from

84The tales of Morgan’s wealth and life style are legendary. He was a member of the Social Credit party. He owned fancy cars and was famous for conducting negotiations with hotel employers on his yacht. Interview: Legal Officer, Local 40

85Interview: President, Local 40

86Interview: President, Local 40
Morgan supporters remaining in the membership.\textsuperscript{87} However, throughout interviews it was repeatedly maintained that the women leaders lacked appropriate leadership skills. The trade unionists who were brought into the union from the British Columbia labour movement did, however, have experience gained control of Local 40. Despite six years representation on Local 40’s executive board, the women leaders couldn’t overcome the perception that they lacked the experience necessary to be leaders of a trade union.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has sought to expose the ideological constructions that underpin women’s status in unions. These representations occur as the result of interactions between the institutionally-legitimated and socially-constructed assumptions about the role of women in the workforce. Discourses and representations about women members, activists and leaders in unions are gendered in ways that perpetuate the exclusion of women’s workplace concerns from union policy and prevent effective action by women within unions. Representations of gender in the hotel unions in Vancouver are especially motivated, either explicitly or implicitly, by the perceived relation of women to the home, the labour market and their suitability for union activism. Gendered representations preserve the status quo in that they do not challenge established and ’traditional’ gender roles at home and work.

\textsuperscript{87} Organisers at CAIMAW agreed that the women leaders did not have a fair and unchallenged opportunity to exercise their power and gain control over the union. One organiser commented that the women leaders at Local 40 were honest but ”overwhelmed. They just didn’t know what head was up and they were manipulated by some other people and before they know it they were out. They never did get a look in”. Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW.
Representatives at both unions emphasised that women and men share a common interest in the workplace issues of job protection, benefits and seniority. And it is around these concerns, and the issue of the best union able to represent hotel workers, that the struggle was fought. As I will discuss in the next chapter considerations of gender were neglected in the face of both Local 40 and CAIMAW's focus on issues of unionism and nationalism.
INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I focused on Local 40 and CAIMAW's representations of women and gender issues within their organisations. In this chapter I consider representations of trade unionism as expressed by union officials during the 1982-1984 struggle. The daily practices and ideologies of Local 40 and CAIMAW, which I term unionism, were apparent in the ways these unions defined both the issues they considered important, and the strategies that they employed to conduct the struggle. CAIMAW couched the struggle in terms of nationalism. They argued that American International unions such as Local 40 had no place in the Canadian labour movement. The debates of the struggle also coalesced around the question of which union was most appropriate to represent workers in the hospitality sector.

The effects of this inter-union dispute were generally negative for workers, who found that their concern's were increasingly neglected. Admittedly, some issues of concern for workers, such as protection of the health benefits and pension rights were addressed by both unions. But as I will argue below, hotel workers themselves were not well represented on the committees within both Local 40 and CAIMAW that were responsible for identifying these issues of concern. Not surprisingly, gender issues and the concerns of women workers also did not become central issues. Rather, issues were determined only by male trade unionists who made their decisions on a strategic basis with respect to the struggle.

In this chapter I will first identify the different sites in which the struggle was conducted. Second I will add to the details of the struggle that were outlined in the prologue, considering especially here the different stages that were important. In the third section, I consider the
strategies employed by each union during the struggle. I focus particularly on CAIMAW. The tensions within that union with respect to the organisation of hotel workers indicate some of the problems industrial unions face as they organise in the service sector. In the final section I examine Local 40 and CAIMAW's understanding of trade unionism. The philosophy and organisational practices of these unions are evident in the issues that were deemed important, and more germane here, not important, to the struggle.

THE SITES OF STRUGGLE

The first sites of struggle were the already unionised hotels in Vancouver and British Columbia. In these hotels, union officials, and to some extent hotel managers, discussed with employees the certification of either Local 40 or CAIMAW. Representatives from both unions were very active in communicating with the workers in the hotels. One organiser recalls meeting opposing union officials in the same hotels, although "we basically tried to steer clear of each other".¹ When union organisers were not physically present, literature was circulated among workers. This literature conveyed 'facts and information' about both unions. Workers were exhorted either to remain members of Local 40, or shift their allegiance to CAIMAW.

The role of employers in the hotels during the struggle was interpreted differently by both hotel unions. CAIMAW officials asserted that employers actively contributed to the successful defense of the Local 40 certifications because, as one organiser claimed, employers preferred a non-militant labour union to represent workers:

the employers very much did not want to lose Local 40 as the bargaining agent, so we

¹Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40
had all sorts of intimidation, letters given to the employees saying that they prefer if they (employees) stayed with the union that they had now (Local 40). The employers [had] all sorts of individual meetings in various hotels with employees saying this CAIMAW is a militant union that would have them (hotel workers) out on strike.²

In contrast Local 40 representatives dismiss the idea that hotel employers played any direct role in the struggle. Rather, employers "stayed back out of it and made sure that they weren't perceived as being on one side or the other".³ It is clear, however, that Local 40’s concern to remain as the only union in the hotels concurred with employers’ interest to retain Local 40 as the bargaining unit for the hotel industry. One Local 40 organiser described his perception of employers interests in the following manner,

employers in this industry, like any industry would be very concerned for the fragmentation of unions within their industry. I mean we've seen it in the forestry industry, tremendous disputes, long disputes because of three unions in the industry, and what they were all doing is posturing to get the best agreement.⁴

It is impossible to gauge the real impact of either employers' opposition to CAIMAW's attempts to organise hotel workers, or their desire to maintain the status quo and retain Local 40 as the only bargaining unit in the industry. The role of employers, however, was certainly a complicating factor in the dispute.

The head offices of Local 40 and CAIMAW provided the second location in which the struggle was conducted. While the raiding campaign occurred publicly in the hotels, in the privacy of union offices there were debates about how the struggle should be managed. These debates largely referred to organisational strategies, and the meaning of trade unionism

³Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW
⁴Interview: President, Local 40
associated with each. At Local 40, for example, following the imposition of the trusteeship, a 'revitalisation' committee was formed. The role of this committee was two-fold. Firstly, the committee planned and implemented Local 40's response to the raids. Secondly, this committee sought to stabilise the financial disarray and the political conflict which had arisen between reform committee members and the previous leadership of Local 40. Thus, while Local 40 defended its claim to represent workers in the hotels, organisers constructed both a discourse and a plan of practical application to revitalise the union.\(^5\) In contrast to the united effort at Local 40, an internal power struggle developed within CAIMAW. At issue was CAIMAW's existing trade union ideology and practice, and its application during the organisation of hotel workers. As I will argue in this chapter, the internal conflict distracted CAIMAW's attention away from the hotel workers. Indeed, one CAIMAW organiser recalled the hotel sign-up campaign being relegated to secondary importance as the internal struggle was played out.\(^6\)

The third context in which this struggle was conducted was within the broader one of the British Columbia labour movement. At the beginning of the organising campaign CAIMAW was positioned both by itself, and in the imagination of the BC labour movement as the aggressor union.\(^7\) Throughout the struggle, however, CAIMAW was forced into an increasingly defensive

\(^5\)The term 'revitalise' is the one used by the present President of Local 40. He was brought into Local 40 to defend the raids and at the same time to restructure Local 40 so that the problems of lack of accountability and poor representation of members, common throughout the 1970s in the union, would not also be a feature of the 1980s. Interview: President, Local 40

\(^6\)Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW

\(^7\)see Buchanan, Brian 1989 "No Compromise: CAIMAW is the most hated and feared union in this province. Why?" *BC Business Magazine* Vol 17 (5) May pp 52-65. Buchanan describes CAIMAW as "among the supremely cantankerous and fiercest-bargaining organised labour factions in British Columbia" (p 52). He argues that CAIMAW’s uncompromising
posture. Local 40 was able to exploit CAIMAW's position outside the mainstream labour movement in BC by calling for, and receiving, support from the BC Federation of Labour. The Federation provided the first "real strong injection of credibility" that Local 40 required in order to survive the raids. The Federation's support ensured that the union was not lost to a non-affiliated organisation such as CAIMAW. So while Local 40 began the struggle desperately defending their certifications, by the end of it, as a result of their own revitalisation strategies and the alliance with the BC Federation of Labour, the majority of their certifications remained intact.

THE STRUGGLE ITSELF

The raid on Local 40 workplaces by CAIMAW and the other unions is acknowledged as the biggest raid, in terms of the number of members that were applied for, ever attempted in Canada. The membership of Local 40 at the beginning of 1982 was approximately 14,000. At the beginning of the struggle organisers estimated, and feared, Local 40 could lose up to stand draws enemies from employers, workers and unions alike.

8 Interview: President, Local 40

9 Revitalisation strategies included a commitment to diversifying the membership represented on the executive committee. Further, the membership was assured that business agents would be selected from the hotel industry itself rather than outside it; thereby guaranteeing that member's concerns would be understood and acted upon by people with similar experience. Throughout this time Local 40 also develop an organisational structure which ensured members would be notified in advance of meetings, the bargaining agenda and their responsibilities especially if they were a member of bargaining committees or the executive board. Interview: President, Local 40.

10 Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40
5000 members from roughly 100 certifications within the province. CAIMAW conducted membership sign-up campaigns in Local 40 workplaces in two consecutive years during the months of the legal raiding season, November and December. The CAIMAW leadership thought they would gain up to 1500 new members. Although CAIMAW plans for the hotel workers were not as grand as Local 40 representatives assumed, it must be remembered that there were some organisers at CAIMAW who thought it possible to take over the whole of Local 40 hotel membership.

CAIMAW's involvement in hotel workplaces began approximately two years prior to the first raiding attempts. In 1980 the union was approached by a member of Local 40 who represented the newly formed rank and file reform committee. At that time the plan of the reform committee was to change Local 40's constitution from within. Acting under the advice of CAIMAW representatives a number of strategies were employed. A petition was signed by 600 rank and file members and presented to the officers of the union. Questions of the union leaders were also asked at meetings as reformers sought to improve accountability within Local

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11Interview: President, Local 40

12Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW. See also The CAIMAW Review Vol 15 No 1 1983 p 8. The figure of 1500 new members was noted in an article describing why CAIMAW had not been more successful in organising greater numbers of hotel workers.

13Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW. Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW

14The rank and file reform committee were referred to CAIMAW because that union was not an affiliated member of the BC Federation of Labour. BC Federation affiliates, by common understanding, do not raid each others memberships and workplaces.

15Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

16Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW
40. They were concerned about the lack of servicing of its members, and also were uncertain about the location of membership dues money. In particular, reformers resented the fact that, as members of an American union, funds from their dues went south to the International’s head office. The reformers persisted with the strategy of publicly shaming the union leadership into change. Finally the reform committee representatives were elected in 1981.

CAIMAW’s main support to the reformers during the years preceding the raids was to provide secretarial and leaflet printing services. However, after the trusteeship was imposed, CAIMAW officially declared its intention to raid once they were granted a charter to a new local. Canadian Hotel and Allied Workers, Local 1 (hereafter referred to as CHAW), became the hotel organising arm of CAIMAW for the duration of the sign-up campaign. Today this local still exists within CAIMAW, although, it no longer operates as a separate unit from the downtown office as it did between 1982 and 1984. CAIMAW organisers recall the situation at

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17 Interview: Member, Rank and File Reform Committee. The concerns of the reform committee were not unlike those of the first wave of union reform movements that proliferated throughout the 1960s and 1970s in Canada. These reforms were provoked by a quest for democracy. In particular, union insurgence was touched off by suspicion of monies going missing, mismanagement of insurance funds, failure of American union representatives to process grievance, disciplining of critics of US internationals and favouritism towards American members. See Benson, Herman 1986 "The Fight for Union Democracy" in Martin Lipset Seymour (ed) Unions in Transition: Entering the Second Century Instituted for Contemporary Studies, San Francisco pp 330, 360

18 Interview: Member, Rank and File Reform Committee. CAIMAW organisers recall warning the reform committee that they would not be successful in challenging Local 40’s constitution from within. Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW.

19 Interview: Member, Rank and File Reform Committee

20 The CAIMAW Review Vol 14 No 3 November 1982 p 1. A headline read 'Local chartered for Hotel Workers'. The article reports that CAIMAW had been approached by hotel activists from Local 40. This is first mention in the union magazine of the 'sign up campaign' that CAIMAW was conducting in Local 40 workplaces.
the beginning of the sign-up campaign as "initially ... a real exciting period". They remember many hotel workers calling CAIMAW's office to request that their workplace be raided. Very quickly CAIMAW organisers found themselves busy in about 35 different workplaces in the lower mainland and on Vancouver Island. One organiser said,

Well I remember the first few weeks of the campaign was utter madness. I mean we were getting calls from hotels all over the province, not just the lower mainland. I mean there were calls just coming in from all over the place from people who wanted to get out of Local 40. In the first few weeks I'm sure there were sign-up campaigns going on at 20, 25, 35 different hotels all at the same time.22

After the initial rush of the campaign, some organisers returned to their previous duties and those associated with CHAW continued to work in the hotels signing up new members. It is now clear that such demands challenged CAIMAW's resources. This point is discussed more below for it was one of the issues around which internal conflict arose.

As the CAIMAW raids began, the Local 40 office quickly marshalled a team of organisers from a variety of unions affiliated with the BC Federation of Labour. Among the revitalisation committee were several representatives from the International Woodworkers Association, the Canadian Labour Congress, the BC Federation itself, the Steelworkers Association and one representative from the hotel industry.23 This committee worked alongside the appointed trustee of the union. The sole function of Local 40 now became one of defending itself. Publication of The Local 40 Mixer was postponed between April 1982 and May 1983, and

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21 Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

22 Interview: Full-time Organiser, Local 40

23 Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40. Interview: President, Local 40. Aside from the one hotel worker on this committee, those such as the international woodworker representatives had experience in defending raids in other workplaces. The BC Federation also made available to Local 40 their public relation's officer.
business agents and revitalisation committee members were asked to be at work 18 hours a
day. Their tasks were to save the Local, and to continue providing services to the
members. The continued provision of services enabled Local 40 to claim that the union was
able to perform an effective job as the representational body for the hotel industry.

Between legal raiding seasons the focus of the struggle was transferred from the hotels
and union offices to the Labour Relations Board. It was at the LRB that Local 40 engaged in
its most successful strategy to thwart CAIMAW’s raiding efforts. The LRB was responsible for
arbitrating the struggle, including counting votes and granting certifications to CAIMAW if the
result of a vote was favourable. Through the LRB Local 40 sought to redefine the geography
of contract bargaining for hotel unions in British Columbia. In the hotel industry each hotel is
certified as a separate bargaining unit. For practical purposes there are both employer (the B.C
and Yukon Hotels Association and the Greater Vancouver Hotel Employers Association) and
employee (Local 40) organisations which conduct collective bargaining, although representatives
from each hotel must ratify contract agreements. Local 40 tried to create one large bargaining
unit from the fragmented ones that existed at the time.

24 Interview: President, Local 40. Interview: Business Agent, Local 40. Whether people
truly worked 18 hours a day for a full two year period is somewhat doubtful. The impression
conveyed however, was that revitalisation committee insisted that all business agents and
those working from the union office did, and were seen to be doing, a proper job. Before the
trusteeship was imposed the reputation of the BA’s was poor, they were reported to wander
into work mid-morning and to leave or start drinking early in the afternoon.

25 Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40. This organiser was called into the head
office of Local 40 after the trusteeship was imposed. She had been a shop steward and
actively involved in the union throughout a career as a part-time bartender.

26 Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

27 Interview: President, Local 40
We filed what we called a section 40 application in front of the Labour Relations Board at the time, saying that those votes should never be counted because this local is a bargaining unit. What we were trying to do quite frankly is make it an impregnable bargaining unit by moulding it all together into a poly-party certification. If they were going to raid, they had to raid the whole thing in one shot. It took a year to do that. What it gave us, I'll be frank with you is a breathing period. Also it gave us a year when those votes were in the [ballot] box, where even if we'd lost in the box we'd had time to go out and regroup because its not one of these things that you can handle in a few months.28

The time involved in settling the challenge at the LRB did detract CAIMAW’s energy away from organising, and eventually had a detrimental effect on their success. One representative at CAIMAW argued that in between CAIMAW’s signing of new members and the certification vote, both employers and Local 40 were able to convince those hotel workers to remain with Local 40.29

More generally, mounting raids presented logistical problems to CAIMAW because the union simply did not have the resources to undertake a province-wide campaign. At the beginning of the organising campaign the union had approximately 6000 members, with few people able to go out organising. Nonetheless CAIMAW did raid Local 40 as we have seen. In the next section I examine the growing internal conflicts within CAIMAW as they became increasingly involved in the hotel industry. I begin by considering CAIMAW’s motivations for becoming involved in representing workers in the service sector. I then consider the strategies that CAIMAW employed during the struggle.

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28Interview: President, Local 40

29Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW
CAIMAW: AN INDUSTRIAL WORKER UNION IN HOTEL WORKPLACES

Given CAIMAW's history as a male industrial worker union one wonders why this union struggled for the right to represent workers in service sector workplaces. Certainly CAIMAW organisers were initially reluctant to become involved in the hotel sector. In fact they tried to encourage members of the Local 40 rank and file reform committee to approach another union to assist them. For CAIMAW representatives feared that they did not have the experience to organise in the service sector. They acknowledged being "up to our ears fighting in the industrial sector which we are more comfortable with, we understood".30 Further, the union feared the possibility of spreading their resources too thinly to be an effective representational body for their own members.31

Specifically, the rank and file reformers were introduced by CAIMAW to FASWOC, the Food and Services Workers Organisation of Canada. As CAIMAW argued, this organisation was already a presence in the service sector, and it was a Canadian organisation. However, the rank and file reform committee discovered that FASWOC did not have the resources to help them, and so returned to CAIMAW with their request for help.32 After debates a vote was eventually

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30Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW

31Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

32Interview: Member, Rank and File Reform Committee. Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW. FASWOC represented workers in the White Spot restaurants. At CAIMAW it was admitted that FASWOC was an embarrassment to the Canadian Confederation of Unions (which CAIMAW is affiliated to). Although the specific problems in FASWOC are not clear, it was thought that the hotel reformers could combine their reorganising the hotel workers with a take over of FASWOC. FASWOC merged with CAIMAW in 1988. Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW. The CAIMAW Review Vol 20 No 1 June 1988.
taken at an executive board meeting and CAIMAW agreed to assist the reformers.\textsuperscript{33} 

CAIMAW representatives insisted in interviews that their reluctance to organise the hotels was not motivated by the presence of women workers in the hotel workplaces, but merely unfamiliarity with the industry. One organiser said,

You know we didn’t really have a problem with the fact that it was women workers. If we had an problem it was that it was a totally new kind of industry for us. Hotels versus manufacturing facilities, it’s a completely different world.\textsuperscript{34}

This sentiment was echoed by all I spoke to at CAIMAW, and indeed as was discussed in the previous chapter, this union has not been afraid to offer support to women workers especially around the issue of equal pay for work of equal value. Ultimately CAIMAW elected to conduct the raid of hotel workplaces because they saw the need, and had the opportunity, to remove Canadian workers from an American union. Later I will return to the issue of nationalism in the labour movement and examine how it was manifested as an issue during the struggle. Now, I want to focus only on the strategies employed by CAIMAW during the struggle. All at CAIMAW, including those in the new local, agreed that organising Canadian workers into national unions was a fundamental issue. There was no agreement as I will argue, however, about the approach that was necessary to convince hotel workers to change unions.

I. Organising Hotel Workers: Debates and Strategies at CAIMAW

Crafting a way to organise the hotel workers entailed negotiations around the meaning of unionism at CAIMAW. The union learnt its trade as a bargaining unit in industrial

\textsuperscript{33}Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW

\textsuperscript{34}Interview: Full-time organiser, CAIMAW
workplaces where organising was a matter of talking to workers in their lunch room, or handing out leaflets at the end of a shift to a group of predominantly male employees. In organising the hotel workers CAIMAW faced challenges that they had not previously encountered. The debates within CAIMAW, however, did not refer to the different workplace or the type of workers, but rather to the issue of how CAIMAW would present itself to the hotel workers.

Firstly, a tension arose in the relationship between CAIMAW, the sponsoring union, and the new local, CHAW, which was comprised of some CAIMAW organisers and Local 40 reform committee members. The question revolved around whether CAIMAW was to direct the raid or merely to sponsor it. By distancing themselves from CAIMAW, the reformers in CHAW hoped to establish a local that was staffed by those experienced in the hotel sector. The reformers did not want "a bunch of mine workers running the local [CHAW] who didn’t understand the issues". The leadership of CAIMAW, however, resented CHAW’s attempts to distance themselves from the parent organisation.

[the President of CHAW] was trying to do it sort of on the side door, not exactly the back door, he wasn’t that sort of dishonest person..... they think they’ve got their own local and that’s who they are associated with... when you start putting out leaflets from the union and you don’t even mention which bloody union you are...! I’m not impressed by that.36

CHAW organisers did not, however, completely deny CAIMAW. Indeed, in a fact sheet circulated to the hotel workers they characterised the relationship between the CAIMAW and the new local as a supportive one. CAIMAW provided the "strong backing and access to expert

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35 Interview: President, CHAW Local 1, CAIMAW (formerly referred to as a member of the Local 40 rank and file reform committee).

36 Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW
assistance" that the local required. The CAIMAW National Union was understood as "there to help us.... never to dominate like the American Union". To a large extent the reformers were trying to side step a public image of CAIMAW that could potentially derail the organising drive. Indeed, throughout the struggle, Local 40 was to exploit the perception that CAIMAW was a militant, strike-prone union with no experience in the hotel industry.

Secondly, although CAIMAW recognised the need to adapt their organising strategies to the hotels, they rejected the notion that running a "flashy" campaign was necessary to convince hotel members to change unions. "Flashiness" was understood and resisted in a number of ways. CHAW organisers required all of their representatives to wear suits and ties when working in the hotels. CAIMAW organisers, however, refused to wear "fancy clothes". It was considered dishonest to dress differently while working as an organiser in the hotels. One organiser said,

I don’t come to work in jeans, but we are not going to get into a fashion show just to impress some people. That’s not how the union runs and its not going to be the way it runs if we get them [hotel workers] into the membership.

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37 Canadian Hotel and Allied Workers Local 1 Democracy Fact Sheet No. 1. (undated)

38 Interview: President, CHAW Local 1

39 One organiser remembers that it was necessary to change the way employers were described. He said, "In the hotels and restaurants, top management is right there you know. They (managers) are standing around beside them (employers). They may even have personal friendships with them, its a lot closer. [Workers] don’t want to hear you make a lot of derogatory comments about the management, especially any personal comments. Whereas miners and industrial workers, they don’t care so much about whether you say they (employers) are a bunch of cheap so and sos, because they agree with that sentiment usually". Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW.

40 Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

41 Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW
As far as strategic conduct of the campaign was concerned some compromises were made that for a time, allowed CHAW to run the campaign predominantly as they wished. For the duration of the organising drive CAIMAW provided the CHAW organisers with a separate office from which to run the campaign. They justified this downtown office as a matter of geography; for the purposes of organising it was necessary to be close to the major labour market in the industry.\(^{42}\) Also, for a time, the leaders at CHAW convinced most of the CAIMAW executive that it was necessary to run a high profile, and expensive campaign. The CHAW organisers had special membership cards printed, buttons made and a cartoon produced to explain the issues to the hotel workers. It was precisely around this question of campaign publicity, however, that the internal political struggle began. At stake was the authority and judgement of a CAIMAW organiser, on one hand, and a former regional vice-president of CAIMAW who was working with CHAW, on the other.

CHAW organisers maintained throughout that their experience as hotel workers qualified them to determine appropriate campaign strategies.\(^{43}\) However, the CAIMAW leadership rejected the high profile publicity campaign, insisting that CHAW’s strategies were in conflict with the ideals of honest trade unionism. Further, they argued, it was irrelevant to present a different picture of the union to the hotel workers because ultimately hotel members would

\(^{42}\)Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW. Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW. CAIMAW’s offices are presently located in New Westminster. At the time of the raid the head CAIMAW office was in Burnaby. The downtown office proved a vital focus to the campaign. It proved to hotel workers that CHAW had established a base, and members could call or visit the office anytime to ask for help and information or to sign a membership card. Interview: President, CHAW Local 1

\(^{43}\)Interview: President, CHAW Local 1
"come face to face with all of our industrial workers and mines workers".\textsuperscript{44} The CAIMAW organiser who was eventually vindicated after the internal conflict was resolved said,

My feeling was, you work towards getting the people’s commitment. You use your grassroots organising then, just like we had done traditionally, and then you build in the bases as you go along.\textsuperscript{45}

Although CAIMAW organisers had given CHAW permission to open a separate campaign office located away from the rest of the union, they did not completely hand over responsibility for the raids to CHAW. The CAIMAW leadership achieved a large measure of control over the definition of issues that would be presented to the hotel workers. CAIMAW approached the hotel workers with a series of concerns about issues of fairness and honesty. Fact sheets addressed the need for democracy in union organisation, the protection of worker’s health, welfare, pension benefits and the right of workers to change unions.\textsuperscript{46} Although these were considered basic to the rights of workers, I would argue that these issues were also defined as part of a defensive strategy against Local 40 and the BC Federation of Labour’s efforts to discredit CAIMAW.

Once CAIMAW officials had identified the issues they considered important to the campaign they proceeded to introduce these issues to workers in each hotel in which CAIMAW was trying to become certified. While it is clear that the hotels in British Columbia are certified

\textsuperscript{44}Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

\textsuperscript{45}Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW

\textsuperscript{46}Canadian Hotel and Allied Workers, Local 1. Fact Sheets 1. Democracy, 2. Health and Welfare Benefits, 3. Your right to change unions is protected by law, 4. Pension Protection. Box 31 CAIMAW, University of British Columbia, Special Collections. Also, Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW
as separate bargaining units, CAIMAW did not approach the Local 40 certifications as such. As the raids were conducted, CAIMAW did not enter each hotel aware that the size of the hotel, number of employees, relations between workers and management and previous experiences with union representatives would impact the likelihood of a successful certification. Instead, the same issues were presented to workers in each hotel throughout the campaign. With hindsight the CAIMAW and CHAW organisers did acknowledge the presence of locally-contingent factors that determined the success of their raiding. For example, the role of union activists amongst the hotel workers was recognised as important.

The hotels where we were successful were the hotels where we had the good leadership within the workforce supporting us.47

CAIMAW organisers were also aware that the campaign was made more difficult by relations between employers and Local 40. Local 40 had a poor reputation for standing up to the employer, and this created difficulties when trying to convince members to change unions. CAIMAW organisers felt that hotel workers who were members of Local 40 had learnt to think that all unions were similarly poor at representing members, and would therefore reject CAIMAW's overtures to join that union.48

Ultimately, given that the issues were considered transportable from hotel to hotel, CAIMAW conducted a geographically insensitive campaign.49 Indeed, it is not clear how and on what grounds CAIMAW chose the hotels they raided at the beginning of the sign-up campaign. I argue, then, that the uniformity of issues with which the hotel workers were

47Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW
48The CAIMAW Review Vol 15 No 3 Dec 1983 p 4
49Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW
presented restrained CAIMAW and CHAW from developing geographically subtle and appropriate organising strategies. In contrast, Local 40 developed a strategic defense campaign. While Local 40’s strategies were not necessarily more locally sensitive to the hotel workers and their situation the revitalisation committee mapped out their response to CAIMAW’s raids very systematically. Local 40 organisers monitored the status of a CAIMAW raid, and would target each hotel where it was thought that CAIMAW was gaining the upper hand. In this way Local 40 conducted a very organised, and predominantly successful, defense of their certifications.

The internal conflict at CAIMAW had two related effects on CAIMAW’s initial organising attempt in the service sector. First, tensions between CAIMAW and CHAW leadership distracted attention away from the hotel workers and focused concern instead on the appropriate way to present CAIMAW to the hotel workers. 'Flashy’ publicity was considered by CAIMAW leaders to be dishonest and unnecessary. These leaders fashioned a style of organising that involved a strategic definition of a small selection of issues considered relevant to the hotel workplaces where Local 40 was certified. Second, the focus on basic organising issues, the 'honest trade unionism’ approach, allowed CAIMAW to conduct an organising campaign that did not allow organisers to adapt to different local situations within each hotel. Furthermore, while honest and fair trade union practices are indeed important issues, it was not possible within the terms that CAIMAW leaders established to introduce other issues such as women worker’s concerns and issues of gender and ethnicity.

In the following section I examine more closely the issues that became important during

50 Interview: President, Local 40
the struggle. According to their understanding of trade unionism each union defined a different set of core issues during the struggle. Emphasis on core issues such as, for example, nationalism, union structure (CAIMAW) and a successful tourist industry (Local 40) meant that other issues, including those of gender were neglected.

THE ISSUES OF THE HOTEL STRUGGLE

Both Local 40 and CAIMAW entered into the struggle determined to offer hotel workers an effective organisation and membership services. Throughout the raids both unions spent much time and energy discrediting the other. CAIMAW claimed, and continues to assert, that Local 40 does not have the best interests of the workers at heart. In reply, Local 40 argues that CAIMAW is completely unsuited to organising in the hotel industry. Whatever the 'truth' of these allegations, they served a purpose during the struggle as way of either attracting new members or retaining existing ones. Further, these claims allude to the very real differences that exist in the way Local 40 and CAIMAW conduct themselves as trade unions.

By their own account, Local 40 was placed in a trusteeship expressly because the organisation was not operating effectively as a trade union. Organisers at Local 40 identified the need to reorganise and restructure the functions of that union as the main issue of the struggle. According to CAIMAW the main issue of the struggle was the need to offer hotel workers the opportunity to become members of a national union.

51 Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

52 Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40

53 Interview: President, Local 40
There are contradictory interpretations of the importance of nationalism. Nationalism was an important part of the CAIMAW campaign. Indeed, the maple leaf is part of the union’s letterhead, and was displayed on all the fact sheets and literature presented to hotel workers. Yet, organisers at Local 40 argue that nationalism was hardly an issue amongst the hotel membership,

it was only an issue because the other parties (CAIMAW) were saying it was an issue. These people (the membership) hadn’t thought of it before, it wasn’t an issue in their minds.\(^{54}\)

In particular, nationalism was debated with reference to the financial relationship between US and Canadian locals. CAIMAW, and other Canadian unions, strongly reject the practice of Canadian locals sending all or part of their membership dues to union head offices in the United States.\(^{55}\) This was an especially pertinent issue in the hotel struggle because of fears among the hotel reform committee members that their union dues had gone missing. Although organisers at Local 40 argue that in fact there were no financial irregularities, they directly addressed the issue during the struggle. As one organiser said,

we quite successfully beat that one back though. Because in fact what the international does with our per capita (membership dues) is they simply process it and redeposit it in a national Canadian strike fund. I think we beat that back (the issue of financial irregularity) pretty efficiently. Certainly that was their (CAIMAW’s) number one issue.\(^{56}\)

As members of an international labour organisation, Local 40 organisers defined a clear role for the union both in terms of their position within the labour movement, and within the

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\(^{54}\)Interview: Business Agent, Local 40

\(^{55}\)Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW

\(^{56}\)Interview: Legal Services Officer, Local 40
hotel industry in BC. With regard to the labour movement one organiser claimed that being a member of such an organisation provided strength in numbers.

we’ve always looked at it because of the hotels, these are universal companies, they are not just Canadian companies. You look at all the major hotels in Canada, their bases are in the United States. If I have one of the major hotels downtown on strike and I need help, I will go to the international and they’ll go and put pressure [on the head office of the relevant hotel company] and that helps us. If we were alone up here we, you know we wouldn’t have that great feeling I’ve got if I can rely on a quarter million people in the United States to stick by me.57

That many hotels are owned by foreign capital was also used by Local 40 representatives to justify their membership of an International union.58 Such representatives, however, do not acknowledge the incongruity that they are members of an American International union, while 75 percent of the foreign hotel ownership is not North American based.59 Local 40 does, however, recognise the problems that foreign ownership creates for protection of worker’s jobs.

One organiser admitted to a certain helplessness in dealing with financial organisers located far away from the reality of the British Columbian labour market, he said,

You’ve got to argue at the bargaining table and develop language that will hopefully protect your people against decisions that are being made a million miles away. But how do you stop a massive Japanese company from deciding that this particular property [a hotel] they own is no longer economically viable [and they shut it down]? You can’t stop that.60

The argument, then, is that it is considered important to know the ownership structure of the industry in order to develop relevant bargaining strategies and contract language that will protect

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57 Interview: Business Agent, Local 40
58 Interviews: President, Legal Services Officer, Business Agent, Local 40
59 Stevenson, Kellogg Ernst and Whinney 1989 op cit
60 Interview: President, Local 40
workers.\textsuperscript{61} In this sense, the model of trade unionism at Local 40 is business unionism. This means that the purpose of unions is preserving market relations with capital and representing working-class interests solely through the collective organising process.\textsuperscript{62} In the case of Local 40 this implies that first, the union ensures that there is a viable hotel sector, and secondly, that hotel workers' standards of living are maintained.\textsuperscript{63}

In contrast, CAIMAW's model of trade unionism pays less attention to ownership structures in the hotel industry, or to the international union 'brotherhood' than to the concerns of workers and their rights. CAIMAW challenges the business union structures. It argues that business unions have too cosy [a] relationship with government and business.\textsuperscript{64} Instead, the focus must be on the worker. As one organiser colourfully described it,

> We weren't overawed by the need for massive resources to strike and stuff of that nature. What was more interesting is getting a fair deal for who we were representing, and not going along with sellouts and bullshit and lies and deceit [of American International unions]. And if an employee has a legitimate grievance, then fight the bloody thing. And if she's a woman or black or green or whatever, they've got the same rights as anybody else.\textsuperscript{65}

During the struggle, CAIMAW also challenged Local 40's policy and decision-making practices as inherently undemocratic. CAIMAW argued that Local 40's constitution is structured to allow for the union to be run by full-time business agents and officials rather than the rank

\textsuperscript{61}Interview: President, Local 40

\textsuperscript{62}Archer, Keith 1987 "Canadian Unions, the NDP and the Problem of Collective Action" Labour/Le Travail 20 p 175

\textsuperscript{63}The Local 40 Mixer Vol 12 No 2 March-May 1986 p 2

\textsuperscript{64}The CAIMAW Review Vol 10 No 6 Sept/Oct 1978 p 1

\textsuperscript{65}Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW.
and file membership. Exemplary of the undemocratic structure at Local 40 was the inability of the rank and file reform committee to achieve constitutional changes without going outside the union. In contrast, CAIMAW presented itself to hotel workers as an open, honest union that maintained the accountability of organisers and officials by holding elections every two years, rather than every five, which was the case at Local 40. Indeed, Canadian union democracy is grounded in the instant accountability of the shop steward, and on policies which are to be determined in discussion with the membership.

However, although CAIMAW makes claims that they include workers in all decision and policy-making activities, I would argue that throughout the organising drive the hotel workers, especially those participating in the rank-and-file reform committee and later CHAW, remained relatively voiceless and powerless. In general, the struggle was conducted in places, including the union offices and the Labour Relations Board, which were far removed from the daily situations of the hotel workers. In particular at CAIMAW, it was alleged that the organising efforts of those with hotel experience (the CHAW organisers) were actually undermined by the CAIMAW leadership. Firstly, the contributions of the CHAW organisers were not acknowledged or considered a valid part of the campaign. Secondly, CHAW organisers argued they were misled in believing that ultimately the hotel workers would have a separate local from which the hotel workforce would be represented after the main struggle was over. The President of CHAW argued that when the CAIMAW leaders 'won' the internal political conflict there was no further

66 Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

opportunity to develop and extend the role and function of CHAW. Consequently, CAIMAW focused its organising strategies around some 'tried and true' issues and the concerns of hotel workers, especially women, were neglected. In the following section I consider the position of women as the struggle was played out between Local 40 and CAIMAW.

**REPRESENTATIONS OF GENDER 1982-1984: WHERE WERE THE WOMEN?**

In the issues deemed critical to the struggle to claim the right to represent hotel workers, gender and the concerns of women members were not mentioned by either Local 40 or CAIMAW. The reasons are very different for each union.

It is now admitted by the present Local 40 leadership that the women reform committee members were elected partly because of their appeal to women members in the hotels. However, among the current decision makers in the Local 40 head office, remains a denial of the relevance and significance of gender in the events of the early 80s. For it was precisely the appeals to masculine constructions of authority and control, in contrast to feminine 'chaos' that legitimated the dismissal of the women leaders at Local 40.

CAIMAW representatives argued that they did not address questions of gender during the struggle because they were not raised by workers. Such representatives suggested that the Local 40 workplaces they were attempting to organise were completely unpolticised. That is, Local 40 organisers had neglected their representational mandate to the point where union members were not encouraged to discuss actively union and workplace issues. Indeed according to CAIMAW organisers,

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58Interview: President, CHAW Local 1
things like gender were just sort of beyond the level of where the people were at realistically, and they weren’t into any sort of broader political issues. You’d be wasting your time trying to put those to people.\textsuperscript{69}

The efforts of women were not entirely ignored, however. A few women were formally part of the struggle as members of the committees for either conducting raids, or for defending the existing membership. At Local 40, two women were represented on the revitalisation committee.\textsuperscript{70} There were more women organisers in CHAW, including a women vice-president.\textsuperscript{71} Despite the lack of representation as participants throughout the struggle, women from Local 40 who became active in the rank and file reform committee demonstrated a strong commitment to their jobs and to their union. The President of CHAW was adamant that women were the backbone of the original reform committee, and then of CHAW’s organising campaign in the hotels. He said,

I have to say that the people that supported the whole effort in the hotels more than anyone were the women. The workers inside who were willing to at least motivate some of the other staff, it always seemed to be that it was the women.\textsuperscript{72}

Despite the presence of female activists there had been no place for a feminist discourse or active representation of women trade union activists and gender related policies in Local 40 or CAIMAW before the struggle. I would argue that throughout the struggle the deeply masculinised nature of trade unionism as practised by Local 40 and CAIMAW was apparent. Structural barriers and male exclusionary practices to women’s membership and participation

\textsuperscript{69}Interview: Full-time Organiser, CAIMAW

\textsuperscript{70}Interview: President, Local 40

\textsuperscript{71}Interview: President, CHAW Local 1

\textsuperscript{72}Interview: President, CHAW Local 1
in unions were recreated and reinscribed in debates about unionism. Despite, or perhaps because of, the women leaders at Local 40, gender was neglected as a concern. Organisational and revitalisation strategies were structured around the masculine virtues of authority and control. At Local 40 experienced male trade unionists were given the task of retrieving Local 40 from financial problems and poor organisation. At CAIMAW the dispute over how to organise the hotel workers became a power struggle. Essentially at stake were two men’s judgements, and therefore their authority, about effective trade union organising practices. Ironically, the pressures from the reform committee to be more aware of the different nature of the hotel workers and workplaces were felt to be shifting CAIMAW away from its trade union focus. The contribution of women was limited both by a lack of numerical representation and the focus of the struggle on issues other than gender.

CONCLUSION

CAIMAW couched their participation in the hotel membership struggle in terms of the philosophy that had motivated all organising drives, whether conducted as raids or in previously unorganised workplaces. That is, CAIMAW fights for the right for Canadian workers to be represented by Canadian unions. While CAIMAW organisers did not address the hotel workplaces with sufficient concern for the nature of those workplaces or the type of workers within in them these were not the only reasons for their lack of success. CAIMAW has been characterised as a nationalistic 'flagwaving' and "unintelligently militant" organisation standing

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73 Interview: Secretary/Treasurer, CAIMAW
outside mainstream labour movements.\textsuperscript{74} As the BC Federation of Labour contributed in a practical and supportive way to the defense of Local 40, so they were challenging the right of CAIMAW to a presence in the Canadian and British Columbian labour movements.

I argue that because of CAIMAW's battle to claim a legitimate place in the local labour movement, and the previously unstable situation within Local 40, the terms of the struggle were fought around issues of trade union politics rather than issues directly of concern to the hotel workers. The preoccupation of Local 40 and CAIMAW with their image as a trade union was most apparent in debates about their respective 'styles' of trade unionism. Local 40 called upon experienced trade unionists (mostly men) to assist in the reorganisation and defense of Local 40. In so doing, the union claimed that their historical experience in the hotel industry, their attention to ownership patterns and finally their efforts to establish an executive board that was more broadly representative of the membership legitimated their presence as the sole bargaining unit for those workers. In contrast, CAIMAW argued that their attention to both concerns of Canadian workers regardless of the ownership structures in the industry, and the choice of union they offered hotel members, justified their raids on Local 40 certifications. I believe that the hotel membership struggle provided a unique opportunity for unions in the hotel industry to reconsider seriously the ways in which women service sector employees are both practically and ideologically represented by unions. Yet, in the terms and conditions that were set for the struggle by Local 40 and CAIMAW this did not occur.

\textsuperscript{74}Buchanan, Brian 1989 \textit{op cit} pp 52-65
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

At one level this thesis is an interpretation of a struggle between two unions, Local 40 and CAIMAW, who fought for the right to represent hotel workers in Vancouver and British Columbia. At another level, however, this thesis more generally addresses the question of how unions organise and represent women members. Through an analysis of the representational strategies of Local 40 and CAIMAW I attempted to position women in two different union discourses, one on gender and the other on unionism itself. In so doing my aim has been to understand the numerical and ideological underrepresentation of women workers within unions. Throughout the thesis I have made three general points about the organisation of private service sector workers and the way in which they are represented by unions.

I. Private sector workers and unionisation

Throughout this thesis I argued that to understand the reasons for the underrepresentation of women in unions it is necessary to take into account contexts: the workplaces in which women are employed, and the union offices where the organisation and representation of women service sector workers is conducted. In chapter four, I considered the difficulties associated with organising hotel workers as they are understood by union officials in Local 40 and CAIMAW. Specifically union activity is hindered by several features of hotel employment including the isolated and fragmented work experience and the close relationships that develop between employers and employees. Given employers control of scheduling and job distribution, the potential for exploitation remains a defining feature of
work experiences in the hotel industry. While Local 40 and CAIMAW identify similar obstacles to successful and ongoing organisation of hotel workers, I argued that each employs very different strategies in undertaking that task.

Comparison of the different sectoral and organisational histories of Local 40 and CAIMAW drew attention to the complex sets of material (and historical) circumstances underlying trade union engagement in service sector workplaces. For CAIMAW organisers, the decision to raid Local 40 certifications was not taken lightly. I would argue that this decision was motivated by a combination of factors including the opportunity to remove workers from an international labour organisation. This resulted in membership growth and the expansion of CAIMAW's representational jurisdiction. While Local 40 already represented hotel workers, the troubles in that union and the ensuing raids highlighted the need to reassess representational and organisational practices. For this reason organisers in this union worked to reclaim the right to represent hotels.

II. Representations of Gender

In chapter two I identified barriers to women's participation in unions, and later, in chapter five I considered the configurations of gender relations and gendered identities that are found in Local 40 and CAIMAW. Union officials in Local 40 and CAIMAW construct representations of femininity that rely on a spatial and ideological separation between home, work and union office. But gendered identities, I argued, are constructed in all three places. Specifically, it is women's assumed commitment to just one of these places, the home, that creates barriers to women's participation in unions at least in the minds of Local 40 and
CAIMAW officials. Union understandings of women members rely on the assumption that women’s commitment to their home and domestic responsibilities either prevents or limits their participation in paid work and trade unionism. The myth of unorganisability, associated with women’s home lives and the occupations in which they are employed, has been both pervasive and persuasive. I argued, however, that Local 40 and CAIMAW use these myths to perpetuate, rather than to challenge, gendered divisions of labour in households, paid work environments and union offices. Furthermore, although home and work are considered separate spheres, clear ideological links between home and work are evident in union official’s representations of both constraints upon women’s participation in unions, and identification of women workers concerns.

Yet, gender and gender relations are neither constructed nor experienced uniformly in Local 40 and CAIMAW. Union officials employ distinctly different understandings of gender in their workplace organisational strategies. This was perhaps most powerfully demonstrated in reference to the issue of sexual harassment which was discussed in chapter five. Local 40 officials did not readily admit that women workers suffered because of sexual harassment in the workplace. In contrast, CAIMAW officials worked to protect women from sexual harassment because it is considered a serious infringement of their rights as workers. I have demonstrated that, although women are numerically dominant in the hotel unions, representations of gender constituted in Local 40 and CAIMAW’s offices contribute to significant (ideological) underrepresentation of women workers.
III. Gendered Representations of Unionism

Definitions of unionism and daily union practices exhibit gendered characteristics in that they imply certain assumptions or notions about male and female union members. At the juncture of representations of gender and unionism in Local 40 and CAIMAW sit trade union officials. Business agents and those elected to leadership are most often male, and, from their position as a geographical link between the members at work and the union offices, they perpetuate the idea that union business is for men. In the two unions, different discourses about women’s ability to work as trade union officials were evident. At Local 40 the discourses and memories surrounding the failed leadership of that union by two women highlighted the masculine characteristics of control, authority and trade union organising experience that are typically defined as critical to successful union activism. The women organiser interviewed at Local 40 has, by her own account, assumed these male characteristics in the performance of her job. In contrast at CAIMAW, the ability of one woman organiser to relate professionally and socially to other women hotel workers was lauded as an important attribute for organising.

Furthermore, I argued that in both Local 40 and CAIMAW the organisational practices are also gendered. The issues considered to be trade union bargaining and organising concerns emerge from two sources typically associated with male trade unionism. Firstly, the membership of both unions prior to the struggle was predominantly male, and secondly, both unions organising experiences have been directed predominantly by male trade union leaders. Thus, as the struggle played out, male trade unionists working in each union’s office, defined issues of nationalism and previous trade union organising experiences
as important concerns. Union members, particularly women, had no opportunity to influence the issues of the struggle because they were not present in the union offices where such issues were constructed.

The three general points raised above suggest that the deeply masculinised nature of trade union practice and ideology persists despite the prominence of women members in the hotel unions in Vancouver. Throughout this thesis I have argued that gendered constructions underpin both the representations of union members and trade union issues in ways that continue to prevent women from effective and meaningful participation in unions. The exposure of gendered representations in union ideology and practice is only the beginning of the project, however. Labour organisations must reconfigure organisational practices such that gendered ideologies are continually challenged as union officials work towards facilitating the participation of women in unions.
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APPENDIX 1: Persons Interviewed

From CAIMAW
Jess Succamore: President/Secretary
John Bowman: Full-time Organiser
Roger Crowther: Regional Vice-President
Silvia Simpson: National Staff Representative

Succamore, Bowman and Crowther were all involved with CAIMAW at the time of the struggle (Check CAIMAW Review). Silvia Simpson is now the CAIMAW staff representative for hotels. She became a member of CAIMAW when employed at Sledge Lock in 1978. Towards the end of the organizing drive it was suggested to Simpson that she apply for a position that was available in the laundry at the Pacific Pallisades. Roger Crowther wanted more union activists employed in the hotels because the hospitality industry was notorious for not being particularly active (Interview: Silvia Simpson). In 1986 Simpson was appointed to head the bargaining team for CAIMAW’s hotel members.

From Local 40
Nick Worhaug: President
John Arnold: Financial Secretary/Treasurer
Marie Decaire: Director, Legal and Legislative Services

Worhaug and Decaire were brought to the offices of Local 40 during the trusteeship to assist in the revitalisation and defense of Local 40. Worhaug was formerly associated with the International Woodworkers Association and had extensive experience fending off raids of this International union (Interview: Nick Worhaug). Decaire has been a member of Local 40 for 16 years, before 1981 as a bartender, and after then as a union official. Arnold was a business agent employed by Al Morgan in the early 1970s. He was the only business agent to survive the transition in leadership and the trusteeship.

From Local 40 and CAIMAW
David Matthews: Member of Rank and File Reform Committee; President of CHAW Local 1

David Matthews was a member of Local 40 in the late 1970s and early 1980s. He lead the rank and file reform movement within Local 40 and supported the election of Joyce Charlton and Viola Powell. His most important involvement in the two year struggle was to approach CAIMAW for advice on how to reform Local 40 from within and when this was unsuccessful to ask CAIMAW to sponsor a raid of the Local 40 hotels. He became President of the new local struck by CAIMAW, Canadian Hotel and Associated Workers, Local 1, and conducted much of the organizing in the hotels. Ironically Matthews left union organizing and activism at the end of 1984 having been displaced from both Local 40 and CAIMAW.