

"sisterhood divided" over the war effort, Richardson founded the Women's Peace Crusade which was premised on maternalist ideals of women's special proclivity for peace. Like Witherspoon, Richardson focussed many of her writings on the plight of the conscientious objector.

The causes that Witherspoon and Richardson were so active in were similar, yet many aspects of their lives diverged. While Witherspoon and her colleagues lived and worked in the hectic urban atmosphere of New York City with its multitude of intersecting organizations and vibrant political culture, Richardson interacted with the peace movement mainly from her farmhouse in northern Manitoba. Yet Richardson experienced much more tumult in her personal life, including a strange, probably unconsummated first marriage and a broken second union, and repeated bouts of illness, both physical and mental, which eventually debilitated her completely. Both women put their energies into similar causes, but while civil rights was foundational for the work of Witherspoon and Recht's Bureau, Richardson's activism arose mainly from her beliefs in women's rights and the teachings of Christ.

What makes both these books particularly admirable is that, even while their main purpose is to illuminate the past, using meticulous research tools and historical methodologies, they are also inspirational. Both Early and Roberts are obviously quite enamoured with their topics and this has the effect of drawing the reader towards Witherspoon and friends and Richardson as captivating individuals and not just subjects of analysis. Both authors also identify with the political programs espoused by the people and organizations they write about; Roberts avows that one of the reasons she chose to write about Richardson was to close the disjuncture between her scholarship and her peace activism. One might ask whether such an identification would result in an uncritical appraisal, but this does not happen in either book. Both authors reveal characters that are multifaceted, flawed, and ultimately human. This certainly is the mark of good biography.

For those concerned about systemic militarism that pervades the globe today even in the absence of a world war, and about a peace movement that is fragmented and sometimes seems dormant, an understanding of the ways in which both Witherspoon and Richardson (and their colleagues) worked for peace offers hope for individual potential in opposing war. The world that each created was very much that of a "peace culture" that brought feminism, socialism, Christianity, and pacifism together in a vision of a better world. By linking such models from the past with hope for the future, Early and Roberts are both acting in the best tradition of the historian.

Frances Early is professor of history at Mount Saint Vincent University in Halifax and president of the Peace History Society. Barbara Roberts, who died in 1997, was professor of women's studies at Athabasca University. Published just shortly before her passing, Roberts' biography of Richardson will remain, not only a tribute to an outstanding peace leader of the early 20th century, but also a testimony to Roberts' own brilliant scholarship and commitment to peace activism.

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Opposing Positions on the Canadian Welfare State

Women and the Canadian Welfare State: Challenges and Change. Patricia M. Evans and Gerda R. Wekerle, eds. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997; xii+329 pages; ISBN 0-8020-7618-1; \$24.95.

Retooling the Welfare State: What's Right, What's Wrong, What's to Be Done. John Richards. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute, 1997; appendices, tables; x+300 pages; ISBN 0-88806-420-9; \$18.95.

These volumes contribute to the debate on Canadian state policy in the era of globalization and re-structuring. The books examine women's entitlement in democratic, capitalist societies. They

both start with the premise that state policies shape gender relations, but sharply diverge around whether state policy ought to help or hinder women getting jobs or leaving marital partners. The collection edited by Patricia Evans and Gerda Wekerle advocates policies that promote gender equality and provides a strong counterpoint to Richards' return to asymmetrical gender relations.

To unify the campaign for progressive social policies, Evans and Wekerle argue for federal protection of national standards and uniform social programs. To demystify the assumptions used to justify cutting state programs, Marjorie Cohen explains that state inscription of international economic rights is not inevitable and that the huge national debt is a consequence of high interest rates tied to federal monetary policies, not from reckless government spending. Meg Luxton and Ester Reiter explain how downsizing the public sector has intensified women's work at home and in the labour market.

Other authors in the collection point out the complications arising from: entrenching social rights in the constitution (Hester Lessard); relying on gender-neutral programs (Patricia Evans); using different definitions of "family" and "spousal support" in the arenas of divorce and social welfare policy (Mary Jane Mossman and Morag Maclean); current migrant and immigration policy (Monica Boyd); the withdrawal of government support to social housing (Gerda R. Wekerle); home-based care for the frail elderly (Sheila Neysmith); and organizing pay equity to address only local issues (Pat Armstrong).

The book closes with three strong case studies of women's agency in the struggle to redesign the welfare state: the challenges launched by black women (Patricia Daenzer); public sector workers (Norene Pupo); and within agencies created to implement pay equity in Ontario (Sue Findley). All the contributors to this collection concur that the internal logic of the market is not the best regulator of needs and that people must struggle to ensure that social programs create the conditions for gender equality.

In contrast, Richards argues that the generous welfare state of the 1980s needs to be

downsized and redesigned to eliminate policies that promote symmetrical life courses for women and men. Instead, state policy should explicitly channel women into the role of full time homemaker while men become primary "breadwinners."

Richards' advice assumes: private markets are necessary to realize the potential of industrial technology because interest group accountability is so intractable in communist central planning; pure market economies tend to produce excessively unequal distributions of incomes; welfare state policies are necessary to address this source of inequality; the art of democratic politics is to reconcile conflicting interest group claims; provinces are better placed to undertake administratively complex social programming; children benefit from full time mothers; and children benefit from and therefore are entitled to live-in fathers.

The contributors to the collection edited by Evans and Wekerle sharply diverge from Richards by conceptualizing a less neutral relationship between the state and the economy and by viewing the state as a arena of struggle and contestation.

This contrast is illustrated by the solutions to child poverty. Contributors to the collection edited by Evans and Wekerle advocate removing the dependency of women on their husband's wage by instituting state policies that encourage women's labour force participation and that provide appropriate parental leave and child care. Upon marriage breakup, women could then support themselves and supplement their spouses' child support payments. State subsidies would enable those women and children left with few resources to avoid the consequences of living in poverty.

Richards' solution to post-divorce poverty is simple: discourage divorce. State policies ought to encourage people to enter heterosexual unions and to remain married so that children could benefit from a reasonable standard of living, a full time mother and a live-in father.

Richards' case for policies that entrench the traditional family form in Canada is based on a selective reading of two articles that review American research (Haverman and Wolfe, 1995;

Popenoe, 1996). Based on the conclusion reached by Haverman and Wolfe (1995:1870) that "growing up in a family in which the mother chooses to work appears to have a modest adverse effect on educational attainment," Richards jumps to the conclusion that all Canadian women (without attention to diversity issues) ought to resign from paid employment and work as full time mothers.

Based on the same articles, Richards argues that poverty is not the pivotal factor in setting the stage for children's futures, instead the more important factor is the presence of the father. In fact, Haverman and Wolfe (1995) conclude, based on their review of American studies, that there is a strong relationship between poverty and educational attainment. In their own research, they found only a 5 percent difference "in the probability of high school graduation of the mean child experiencing two parental separations between ages 6-15 as compared with that of the child growing up in an intact family" (Haverman, Wolfe and Spauding, 1991:1856). The implications that Richards draws from the exhaustive literature review by Haverman and Wolfe are unwarranted.

Giving priority to the presence of a father rather than poverty to account for low educational attainment of children, though, enables Richards to call for policies: that discriminate toward families with children where the wife withdraws from the labour market to raise the children; that deter women leaving marriage (e.g. lower the benefits paid to single mothers); and that deter men from leaving marriages (e.g. high child support payments).

Richards writes in a quick, easy, compelling prose that encourages readers to overlook the dangerous implications of his logic. For example in the following passage, he seems to be suggesting that women should not be given money from the state to enable them to leave "unfaithful, violent and improvident men." According to Richards (1997:209): "(b)ut surely Canadians should be cautious about policies that accommodate single parenthood as a viable family form. Provision of more-generous transfer income

to single parents implies that 'marrying the state' is a reasonable option, at least for the many women faced with unfaithful, violent, and improvident men." Does he intend that women remain locked in these types of relationships for the benefit of the children?

The consequences of the policies advocated by Richards for women living with violent partners are distressing. Richards links male violence to alcohol to low self-esteem to unemployment. His solution is a progression through workfare and retraining to employment for male breadwinners. Cuts to state support for single mothers leave women with the option of staying with their husbands. As Eileen Morrow of the Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses, explains: the 22.1 percent welfare cut sends the message that "if you leave an abuser, you will be punished and that punishment will take the form of hunger and poverty and homelessness" (*Globe and Mail*, December 1, 1998, A17).

Richards' book is replete with frustrating *non sequiturs*. For example, Richards explains that Thai monarchs advocate education to raise the standard of living while feminists advocate education because "educated girls are less subservient; they have options beyond the traditional roles of marriage, child bearing, and unpaid labour within the family. Feminists want more equality between the sexes, both in the family and in the community, regardless of what men think on the matter (1997, 108-109)." Is he suggesting that women ought to seek men's permission to be educated?

Despite these confusing passages, Richards is very clear on what he thinks about equality between the sexes: the demise of family values as an unintended consequence of social policy ought to be replaced by intentionally entrenching the traditional family form.

Both books recognize that state policy contributes to the level of dependency and subordination experienced by women but the authors then proceed to draw diametrically opposed conclusions. Richards pleads for policies that entice married women out of the labour market, leaving them dependent on and therefore living with

"bread-winner" husbands. In contrast, the contributors to *Women and the Canadian Welfare State* advocate policies that increase the independence of women from financial reliance on either men or the state and encourage women to be active agents in reconstituting the welfare state.

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Undisciplined Women: Tradition and Culture in Canada. Pauline Greenhill and Diane Tye, eds. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997; xv+306 pages; photographs, diagrams, map; ISBN 0-7735-1614-x; \$55.00 (paper).

This collection of twenty articles with introductory and concluding essays claims to locate the intersection of three all too often marginalized areas of academic inquiry - folklore, women and Canada - by countering supposed emphases in our cultural studies on high, mainstream or mass culture; men and their products; and the international. Contributors offer perspectives from women's studies, folklore, anthropology, sociology, art history, literature and religious studies, while they assume an interdisciplinary stance. Aiming to question disciplinarity itself, the editors purport to offer a multidisciplinary gaze on the Canadian folklore constitution of feminism and the folklore feminist constitution of Canada, amounting to a consideration of the study, relevance and future of Canadian women's traditions

This provocative book has three sections: perspectives - primarily retrospective - on "Identifying, Collecting, and Interpreting Women's Folklore;" then selected "Images of Women in Canadian Traditional and Popular Culture;" and finally, specific explorations of how primarily contemporary "Women Transform Their Lives and Traditions." Its greatest value lies in its confrontational stance, speaking from the margins to challenge perceived silencing of women's

culture and its study in Canada. Yet its insistent feminist focus verges on being somewhat presentist and limited, skewing the representation here of relevant Canadian folklore work. Those unfamiliar with the field will not appreciate the notable femaleness characteristic of Canadian folklore - scholars, material and study - evident in both scholarly and popular publications; let alone numerous archival, museum and ethnic-specific collections. Edith Fowke's "Personal Odyssey" testifies to the significance of one woman to Canada's folklore; and Labelle's account of Catherine Jolicoeur testifies to the contribution of another through preserving regional traditions. But here, as often in this necessarily selective book, one wishes for more. The implications of feminist politicization of cultural representations - well documented by Christine St. Peter in "Feminist Afterwords: Revisiting *Copper Woman*" - definitely merit much more attention.

One decided strength of this book is its exploration of the dynamics of culture in Canada: Tye, for example, underscores the underappreciated academic value and public significance of a woman's presenting local traditions in a newspaper column. And Labrie's excellent article "Help! Me, S/he and the Boss" documents negotiations among folk, popular and elite aspects and representations in film and folktale. The collection exemplifies the worthy if not innovative point that research itself empowers and transforms. It also explores the relevance of grassroots versus official culture in defining identity, a matter of particular consequence in Canada where official rhetoric has manipulated culture from above and undervalued the people's own traditions apart from ethnicity. Still, selectivity and overstatement cannot any argument make; the issue here is the politics of culture, not of sexuality/gender alone as emphasized here. The "Images of Women" are illustrative: negative images prevail among those chosen for inclusion (as in Rieti's fine piece on Newfoundland witch traditions), along with directly sexual references and cultural artifacts as, for instance, in the articles by Greenhill, Taft (one of two men included) and Ristock. What emerges is important insight into the construction of gender