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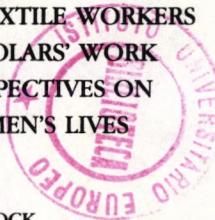
**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION**

**EUI WORKING PAPER No. 86/231**

**SCHOLARS' WIVES, TEXTILE WORKERS  
AND FEMALE SCHOLARS' WORK  
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON  
WORKING WOMEN'S LIVES**

by

**Gisela BOCK**



(Paper presented to the Workshop on "Working Women's Lives"

12 November 1985, Department of History and Civilization,  
European University Institute)

BADIA FIESOLANA, SAN DOMENICO (FI)

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Printed in Italy in June 1986  
European University Institute  
Badia Fiesolana  
I-50016 San Domenico (FI)

**Scholars' Wives, Textile Workers and Female Scholars' Work:  
Historical Perspectives on Working Women's Lives**

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I.

"Woman's place is in the history books," proclaimed Anne Firor Scott in 1979.<sup>1</sup> However, until recently this was, in the bulk of historiography, true only for the final ("last but not least") section of scholars' acknowledgments: "But without Margaret X. who suffered in ways well known to scholars' wives, the proofreading would have been interminable and the publication considerably delayed", or: "I want to thank my wife for valuable counsel from first to last; without her self-sacrifice, patience and ever present sense of humour this book could not have been written."<sup>2</sup>

Obviously, though surreptitiously, such gratitude refers to an important aspect of working women's lives: housework, a kind of work on which not only most scholars' happiness, but also their achievements, largely depend; which is often conceived not as work but as love; which is unpaid but secures - though in an unstable way - the support of supporting women. Recent efforts to rewrite

history by including not only men's but also women's experience in and of history have underlined the need for a redefinition, from the perspective of women, of many current historical and social categories. Among them were the concepts of "women's work" and "working women", which should include the historical significance and change not only of paid, but also of unpaid, work.<sup>3</sup> In fact, it was estimated that at present 90 % of the unpaid work of the world is done by women and that, correspondingly, women's share of the income derived from work is far inferior to men's.<sup>4</sup> The history of working women's lives is to a large degree the history of female housework.

Despite the current and common invisibility of such women's work, various scholars, mostly economists and sociologists between the 1880s and the 1930s, have noted it. They attributed to it a high individual, social and economic value based not only on its achievements, but precisely on its lack of remuneration. One example is Lorenz von Stein who, in 1886, dedicated his book Die Frau auf dem Gebiete der Nationalökonomie to his "Verehrte Freundin!" His investigation intended to counteract "eine der merkwürdigsten Erscheinungen unseres Jahrhunderts, dies Loslösen der Frau vom Mann, dies Gefühl der Selbständigkeit". To the women who claimed "to be valued according to their value" he demonstrated the value of women's housework ("Arbeit der Liebe") to their husbands, starting from his own experience: "Ich kann freudig in den Tod gehen, wo es das Höchste gilt; aber - und das Triviale mit seiner kalten Stirn wird

furchtbar ernst, wenn ich ihm in das herzlose Auge zu schauen den Muth habe - ich kann diese Begeisterung und diesen Muth nicht fünfundzwanzig Jahre in meiner Arbeit aufrecht halten, wenn ich nirgends eine freundliche Stelle finde, auf welcher mit der Verzehrung zugleich ein wohlthuender Genuß entgegenkommt, wenn Haus und Bett und Tisch und Kleidung, unmöglich und unsauber, mir täglich ihre erkältenden Tropfen in den glühenden Becher meiner begeisterten Arbeit gießen..." He underlined that "der Mensch (meaning, as is often the case in the German language, "der Mann"), der in ewig neuer Thätigkeit sich bewegt, kann nicht ohne Ordnung sein... Wer aber soll ihm... in der Herstellung der Ordnung für Zeit und Raum seines Hauses helfen?" Of course not "der Mensch"<sup>5</sup>: "An der Schwelle dieses Hauses aber steht die Frau. Ich weiß wohl, was ich dort von ihr erwarte; ich weiß, daß ihre weiche Hand mir die Stirn glättet... und daß die Arbeit an mich kein Recht mehr hat... Und diese Arbeit der Frau ist es, die in ihren tausend kleinen Mühen und Aufgaben doch wieder eins ist, unendlich wie das Leben selbst, aber zuletzt der Werth aller Werthe, die ich gewonnen haben mag." As an economist, he stressed not just the emotional but also the financial value of female work to men: "Und wenn ich nun vom Gefühle zum Verstande übergehe, so wird aus dem was freundlich ist, etwas, was mir mit jedem Jahre mehr auch seinen wirthschaftlichen Werth enthüllt... Nehmen Sie einen Augenblick den Stift zur Hand - ... Und daß das in zehn Jahren einige hundert Millionen gibt, um die wir reicher sind, wenn die Frau des Hauses in wirthschaftlichem Sinne Hausfrau ist?... Sie lächeln? Ja, es ist auch komisch, von solchen Dingen überhaupt und noch dazu wissenschaftlich reden zu wollen. Aber doch kann man ja einmal

über die Sache nachdenken..." The results of this thinking were indeed all but "comical"; he concluded that the essential task of housework consisted in administrating that part of the husband's income - and, according to social class, the lack of it - which was to be used for the household: "Kochen ist in erster Linie rechnen, in zweiter wieder rechnen, und rechnen in dritter Linie. Kochen kann jeder, der es bezahlen kann; daß ich (i.e. the woman) das könne, ist die Hauptsache." Therefore he sustained that "das erste und absolute Prinzip aller Arbeit der Frau das Festhalten an der Summe in der Hauswirthschaft ist, welche der Mann der Frau geben kann. Eine Frau, die an diesem Prinzip noch zweifelt oder in - verzeihen Sie mir das harte Wort - verbrecherischen Leichtsinn es verletzt, verdient nicht den hoch ehrenwerthen Namen einer Frau." Precisely for all its value, women's work is "nicht zählbar und meßbar, und doch erreichbar, nicht bezahlbar und käuflich, und doch so unschätzbar", and the author questioned seriously the opinion that "es der Liebe und der Achtung vor unseren Frauen Eintrag thut, wenn man ihnen beweist daß sie uns nicht bloß unendlich theuer, sondern daß sie uns außerdem auch noch mindestens tausend Millionen, zu sechs Prozent berechnet werth sind."

In his Grundriß der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre Gustav Schmoller continued to think about the matter and expressed his gratitude to "Meiner teuren Frau Lucie, dem Stolze und dem Glücke meines Lebens, der treuen Gefährtin meiner Arbeiten". Later on in the

book he specified: "Die Gattin, die dem Manne das Mahl bereitet, ihm abends die Stirn glättet, die Kinder vorführt, wird dienend zur Glück spendenden Herrscherin ihres Hauses... (Sie) waltet in Küche, Keller und Kammer, sie reinigt und flickt, stellt überall im Hause wieder Ordnung her, führt den kleinen Kampf gegen Staub und Verderbnis und erhält so allen Besitz, alle Geräte, alle Mobilien sehr viel längere Zeit, sie kann mit demselben Einkommen das Doppelte schaffen, wenn sie ihr Budget richtig einzuteilen, wenn sie mit Waren- und Menschenkenntnis einzukaufen versteht, wenn sie die nötigen kleinen chemischen, technischen und Küchenkenntnisse hat... Was macht die Arbeit billig und gut? Daß sie mit Liebe für Mann und Kind, für das eigenste Interesse erfolgt, daß sie nicht bezahlt und gebucht wird, daß dabei nicht gerechnet wird." The essence of the unpaid work done by women of all classes has been seen in the wise administration and the stretching of the husband's income, conceived as - particularly in relation to poor women - "die kleine Sozialpolitik" compared to the "große Sozialpolitik" of wage rises and social security for male workers.<sup>6</sup> Some generations after Lorenz von Stein, there was less "Lächeln" about scholarly thinking on the subject of housework, just as the "Stirn glätten" gave way to more prosaic descriptions: "Die Frau findet in der unmittelbaren Führung der Haushaltungsgeschäfte die in der Regel ihr am meisten zusagende und zugleich die wirtschaftlich fruchtbarste und nützlichste Wirksamkeit."<sup>7</sup>

As female housework changes over time, so does scholars' awareness and acknowledgment of it. Two generations later, at a time of renewed doubts about women's proper work and increased access of women to scholarly work, husbands might choose to praise different kinds of female support, such as the author of a book on slaves: "My wife, to whom this book is dedicated, did not type the manuscript, do my research, darn my socks, or do those other wonderful things one reads about in acknowledgments to someone 'without whom this book could not have been written'. Nor did she work so hard on this book that she deserves to be listed as co-author. She did, however, take time from writing her doctoral dissertation to criticize each draft, review painstakingly the materials, help me rewrite awkward sections and rethink awkward formulations, and offer countless suggestions, corrections, and revisions. And while under the pressure that anyone who has written a dissertation will readily appreciate, she made an immeasurable if intangible contribution to the writing of this book by living it with me."<sup>8</sup>

II.

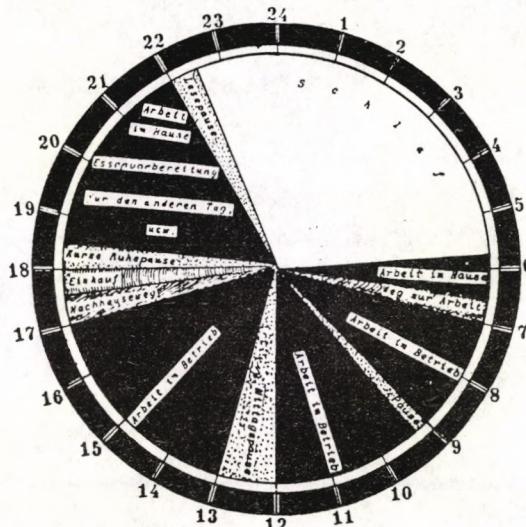
In the past decade, mostly female scholars have dealt with historical continuity and change in the forms, contents and perceptions of housework, with differences in housework according to class or, rather, to the husband's income, with the relations between paid and unpaid work

of women, with differences in cultural context and cultural meaning of women's work inside and outside the home.<sup>9</sup> It has been shown that behind the image of the middle-class "lady of leisure" of the turn of the century there was a daily life of work which, moreover, included the effort to keep such work invisible: German "middle-class wives were to appear idle, and by their apparent non-involvement with housework they were to demonstrate and symbolize the social status of their husband."<sup>10</sup> Other authors have argued that for a variety of reasons - such as, e.g., rising standards of cleanliness, of childraising and of support to husbands, or a process that has been called "emotionalization" of housework - the mechanization of the household since the 1920s has hardly diminished women's working hours in the home.<sup>11</sup> The investigation of housework has led to looking at the family not just as a unit of mutual interest and complementary dependence but as a workplace for one sex and a place of rest for the other; as a locus not (only) of harmony but also of (potential) conflict;<sup>12</sup> not just as a division of labor between the sexes but also a gender-determined division of independence and leisure, wealth and welfare, decision-making and power;<sup>13</sup> it has questioned the familiar dichotomies and contrapositions of "work and family" (since both are workplaces for women), "production and reproduction", "public and private".

Women's working lives have rather been a daily continuum and interaction of work inside and outside the home,

particularly so in the case of working women's lives in the more restricted sense of the term, i.e. employed women, or - even more restricted - employed working-class women. Many of them worked outside the home out of necessity, often for the mere survival of their families, as for instance most of the German textile workers who in 1928 responded to a women union's appeal to describe Mein Arbeitstag - Mein Wochenende. For them, the workday started long before the factory whistle blew and was not finished after the shift nor at the weekend. "Meine tägliche Arbeitszeit in Haushalt und Fabrik beträgt 16 bis 18 Stunden. Unsere Familie zählt fünf erwachsene Köpfe im Alter von 15, 17, 19, 42 und 44 Jahren. Frühmorgens 4.30 ist die Nacht vorbei; dann ist es höchste Zeit, mich anzukleiden, zu waschen und das Frühstück den anderen zu besorgen und alles zu wecken, denn 5.15 Uhr heißt es nach dem Betrieb zu gehen, da ich 45 Minuten bestimmt laufen muß. Um 6 Uhr beginnt die Arbeitszeit im Betrieb. Ich arbeite in einer Tuchfabrik und zwar in der Zwirnerei. Zuspätkommen darf im Betrieb nicht vorkommen. Wir arbeiten in Schichten von 6 bis 14 Uhr und von 14 bis 22 Uhr. Arbeitete ich in der Vormittagsschicht, so geht von 14 Uhr die häusliche Arbeit an. Ich muß dann auf dem Wege von der Fabrik bis nach Hause die Einkäufe selbst besorgen, so daß es dann meistens schon 16 Uhr ist ehe ich im Heim bin. Hier angekommen geht es sofort hurtig weiter. Das Mittagessen ist zu kochen; denn der Ehemann und die Kinder haben auch bald Feierabend. In der Zeit von 18 bis 19 Uhr halten wir unseren Mittagstisch. Nachdem und während der Zeit, wo

das Mittagessen kocht, werden andere häusliche Arbeiten verrichtet. Bei der Nachmittagsschicht kommt hinzu, daß ich an drei Vormittagen neben der häuslichen Arbeit die Wäsche für die Familie waschen muß. Wir wohnen in einer Siedlung und haben noch zwei Gärten; die erfordern ebenfalls vom Frühjahr bis zum Herbst nicht wenig Arbeit. Von meinem Mann kann ich dabei sehr wenig unterstützt werden. Er verrichtet in einer Hutfabrik schwere Arbeit und ist abends sehr abgespannt."<sup>14</sup>



Der Verlauf des Arbeitstages einer Textilarbeiterin in bildlicher Darstellung

Not too much had changed when the Women's Office of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront, the Nazi surrogate for a union, made a similar investigation in 1936, the results of which were to be kept strictly secret (no wonder after their promises that women should have the right to be employed but would not need to go out to work for mere survival of their families<sup>15</sup>). Almost a third of the respondents, blue and white collar workers, declared they had no "Freizeit", and very few had three hours during the week and on Sunday. "Ich habe durchschnittlich 16 Stunden am Tage Arbeitszeit. Ich habe keine Lust und kein Interesse für irgend eine Veranstaltung (they were asked to join the leisure time activities organized by the party and regularly declined). Dazu bin ich viel zu müde. Auch der Sonntag bringt mir keine Abwechslung, da muß ich die Wohnung sauber machen, die Kleidung der Kinder und des Mannes überholen. Die einzige Abwechslung, die ich seit 15 Jahren gehabt habe, war die Geburt eines Kindes und eine 14-tägige Krankheit. Ich habe garnichts von meinem Leben. Nun habe ich mich aber daran gewöhnt."

### III.

After a decade of historical investigation of women's activities in and around the home, some of the initially underlying questions have changed: instead of concentrating on proving "that housework was better or more degrading than other kinds of labor done by men",

historians now ask what light these investigations may cast "on mentalities, social behavior, and political questions". Such historical research is, however, much older than it may seem today: feminist and female scholars, including historians<sup>16</sup>, in the 19th and early 20th century dealt with women's domestic work and they often demanded that its value be included in the gross national product. Käthe Schirmacher, a merchant's daughter who preferred to live not with a man but with women and who was one of the earliest German women to receive a doctorate (in 1895), soon afterwards began her work on Die Frauenarbeit im Hause, ihre ökonomische, rechtliche und soziale Wertung: "Wenn die Nationalökonomie von 'Frauenarbeit' spricht, so versteht sie darunter fast ausschließlich die Fabrik- und Werkstättenarbeit der Frauen. Die Frauenarbeit im Hause wird meist mit einer kurzen Analyse abgetan, die den nicht produktiven Charakter der häuslichen Frauenarbeit betont. Die Frau im Hause, heißt es, konsumiert Werte, verteilt Werte, schafft aber keine Werte. Ich beeile mich hinzuzusetzen, daß letzteres unrichtig ist." She described at length women's work in the household ("Sie sind, je nachdem, Dienstmädchen und Köchin, Wirtschafterin, Schneiderin, Wäscherin, Tapezierer, Maler, Dekorateur, etc."), for the husband ("Die häusliche Frauenarbeit ist die conditio sine qua non der außerhäuslichen Berufsarbeit des Mannes") and for the children ("Gibt es endlich eine 'produktivere Arbeit' als die der Mutter? Ist es nicht die Mutter, die ganz allein den Wert aller Werte, den denkenden und handelnden Wert aufbaut, den man ein

Menschenwesen nennt?"). She insisted on calling it "real work" even though "it may look like nothing", and added: "Ich muß gegen diese Ausbeutung der Hausfrau und Mutter protestieren, sie ist ebenso ungerecht, verhängnisvoll und unmoralisch wie die der Arbeiterin." She questioned the justice of women being supported not by their own, but by male income and the appearance "daß der Mann für zwei arbeitet, während er doch nur für zwei einstreicht". Like many others among the more radical minority of the women's movement in Western countries around the turn of the century, she demanded "eine Umwertung bestehender Werte", and, more precisely, payment for housework in order to end women's economic and sexual dependency on men.<sup>17</sup>

Helene Stöcker, a single woman, admirer of (a reinterpreted) Nietzsche, advocate of "free love" and one of those who called themselves "the radicals" within the women's movement, and Henriette Fürth, a Jewish woman, economist, mother of eight children und advocate of marriage reform (so that the woman "hört auf, Haussklavin zu sein, und wird dafür zur Herrin... Sie hört auf, nur Gebärerin zu sein, und wird dafür zur wirklichen Mutter"), joined in the demand for the acknowledgment of the ideal and economic value of housework. Fürth underlined that this would also lead to improvements in the wages and work conditions of women employed in domestic service, which was then the numerically most important women's job. She argued for a specifically historic consideration

of the changes in housework over time: "Es ist eigentlich, wie wenig wir von uns selbst wissen, von dem Weg, der zu uns hinführt... Dieses Nichtwissen ist daran schuld, daß Zeit- für Ewigkeitswerte, vorübergehende Erscheinungen für Dauerzustände gehalten werden." Like some historians today, she saw housework not as the "traditional" role of women, but as a product of the 18th and 19th centuries: "Die Beschränkung des Tätigkeitsgebietes der Hausfrau auf die reine Hauswirtschaft und daneben auf die Repräsentation des Hauses, das ist also auf die Dreiheit von Kinder, Küche und Konversation, setzte erst in dem Augenblicke ein, in dem mit den Umwälzungen innerhalb der Produktions-technik, oder wie es uns geläufiger ist, mit dem Siegeszug der Maschine die Großindustrie aufkam... Auch der immer wieder proklamierte und fast zum Axiom erhobene Satz, daß die Frau ins Haus gehöre, ist erst für eine vergleichsweise neue und heute schon wieder in weitem Umfang der Vergangenheit angehörende Zeit zuständig."<sup>18</sup>

Likewise, Marianne Weber, wife of the better-known Max, commented, in 1912, on the still current "slogan" of "wages for housework". She concluded, however, that not its economic, but its "ideal" or "cultural" reevaluation was to be approved of, especially "since every instinct and consciousness of the specific significance of the domestic profession rebels at the material measuring of achievements which cannot be considered market commodities and which, being 'labor of love', are literally immeasurable."<sup>19</sup> During the 1920s, when the "slogan" had lost its attraction, the need for at least an "ideal"

reevaluation of housework was often stressed by women, including those who now placed their hopes for relief from domestic drudgery in the new possibilities of rationalizing and mechanizing housework. One of them came to the conclusion that "the strongest obstacle to technological development in the household is the lack of value of women's domestic labor, since it makes the introduction of labor-saving machinery appear unprofitable."<sup>20</sup>

Female housework tended to expand during the economic crisis of the early 1930's, in relation to the period before as well as in relation to the work of unemployed men, as has been shown by the sociologist Marie Jahoda<sup>21</sup> in a study of a town where both men and women had been employed as textile workers. In 1931, such men suffered from too much time, from doing nothing, hanging out in the streets, while the women suffered from overwork for their families, who had to live on less income (e.g. poor relief) than before: "Die Frauen sind nur verdienstlos, nicht arbeitslos im strengsten Wortsinn geworden... Der Tag ist für die Frauen von Arbeit erfüllt: Sie kochen und scheuern, sie flicken und versorgen die Kinder, sie rechnen und überlegen und haben nur wenig Muße neben ihrer Hausarbeit, die in dieser Zeit eingeschränkter Unterhaltsmittel doppelt schwierig ist... Doppelt verläuft die Zeit in Marienthal, anders den Frauen und anders den Männern... So grundverschieden ist die Zeitverwendung bei Männern und Frauen, daß man für sie nicht einmal dieselben Kategorien aufstellen konnte." In the history

of working women's lives, not only the experience of work but also the experience of time - of history itself - may be different from that of men, and it requires new and more complex historiographical categories than the traditional ones.

- (1) Anne Firor Scott, "Woman's Place is in the History Books" (1979), repr. in: id., Making the Invisible Woman Visible, Urbana, Ill., 1984, pp. 361 ff. On the subject of the invisibility of women's activities see, e.g., id., "On Seeing and Not Seeing: A Case of Historical Invisibility", in: Journal of American History 71 (1984), p. 7-21.
- (2) Cf. Marylin Hoder-Salmon, "Collecting Scholars' Wives", in: Feminist Studies 4/3 (1978), pp. 107-114.
- (3) See, e.g., Nona Glazer-Malbin, "Housework: A Review Essay", in: SIGNS. Journal of Women in Culture And Society 1 (1976), pp. 905-922; Ann Oakley, Woman's Work : The Housewife, Past and Present, New York 1974; Gerda Lerner, The Majority Finds Its Past : Placing Women in History, New York/Oxford 1979, esp pp. 129-144 ("Just a Housewife"); Gisela Bock/Barbara Duden, "Arbeit aus Liebe - Liebe als Arbeit: Zur Entstehung der Hausarbeit im Kapitalismus", in: Frauen und Wissenschaft, Berlin 1977, pp. 118-199. A related conceptual change was to conceive gender (gender systems, gender relations, the relation between the sexes, sexual stratification) not as a "biological", but as a social category: cf. Joan Kelly, "The Social Relations of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History", in: SIGNS 1 (1976), pp. 809-824; Susan Carol Rogers, "Woman's Place: A Critical Review of Anthropological Theory", in: Comparative Studies in Society and History 20 (1978), pp. 123-162.
- (4) International Labor Organization data, quoted in: Hilda Scott, Working Your Way To the Bottom: The Feminization of Poverty, London 1984, p. 3.
- (5) Lorenz von Stein, Die Frau auf dem Gebiete der Nationalökonomie, Stuttgart 1886, pp. 98-99, 111; for this use of "Mensch" in contrast to "Frau" cf., e.g., p. 137. The previous quotes: pp. V, 7-8, 144, 48-49; the following quotes: pp. 94-95, 112-114, 84-85, 67, 117.
- (6) This was the formula used by a German expert on poor relief in 1889, quoted in: Gerda Thorneiport, Studien zur Frauenbildung, Weinheim/Basel 1979, p. 131; cf. Gustav Schmoller, Grundriß der Allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre (1900), Leipzig 1901, pp. 249-252.
- (7) Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, vol. 5, Jena <sup>4</sup> 1923, p. 161, art. "Haushaltung".

- (8) Eugene D. Genovese, Roll Jordan Roll. The World the Slaves Made, New York 1974, p. XXIf.; for the scholarly work of this scholar's wife see Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Placing Women's History in History", in : New Left Review 133 (1982); another important overview is Olwen Hufton|Joan W. Scott, "Women in History", in : Past and Present 101 (1983), pp. 125-157.
- (9) For the latter cf. Lyndal Roper, "Housework and Livelihood", in: German History 2 (1985), pp. 3-9, who explores this subject for 16th-century Augsburg and deals with some of the older and newer cultural definitions of housework.
- (10) Sibylle Meyer, "Die mühsame Arbeit des demonstrativen Müßiggangs: Über die häuslichen Pflichten der Beamtenfrauen im Kaiserreich", in: Frauen suchen ihre Geschichte. Historische Studien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, ed. Karin Hausen, p. 172; cf. id., Das Theater mit der Hausarbeit : Bürgerliche Repräsentation in der Familie der wilhelminischen Zeit, Frankfurt a.M./New York 1982; for a similar view on British middle-class women see Patricia Branca, "Image and Reality: The Myth of the Idle Victorian Woman", in: Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women, ed. Mary S. Hartman/Lois Banner, New York 1974, pp. 179-191.
- (11) Ruth Schwartz Cowan, More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave, New York (Basic Books) 1986; Susan Strasser, Never Done : A History of American Housework, New York 1982; Joann Vanek, "Time Spent in Housework", in: Scientific American (Nov. 1974), pp. 116-120.
- (12) Heidi I. Hartmann, "The Family as the Locus of Gender, Class and Political Struggle: The Example of Housework", in: SIGNS 6/3 (1981), pp. 366-394.
- (13) E.g. Bock/Duden (note 3).
- (14) Mein Arbeitstag - Mein Wochenende : 150 Berichte von Textilarbeiterinnen, ed. by Arbeiterinnensekretariat des Deutschen Textilarbeiterverbands, Berlin 1930, pp. 145, 224.
- (15) This was the content of the Nazi propaganda campaign in relation to women for the election of November 1932, when for the first time a larger number of women voted for the NSDAP (Thomas Childers, The Nazi Voter, Chapel Hill/London 1983, pp. 188f., 239f.). The results of the Frauenamt der DAF

are in : Bundesarchiv Koblenz, NS 5 I/3-4. Cf. Dörte Winkler, Frauenarbeit im "Dritten Reich" , Hamburg 1977.

- (16) See Bonnie G. Smith, "The Contribution of Women to Modern Historiography in Great Britain, France, and the United States, 1750-1940", in : American Historical Review 89 (1984), pp. 709-752; the quotes in the previous sentence are from p. 730; on p. 715 the author rightly points out that women historians today have been less fascinated than their predecessors with women's intellectual work. Cf. also Kathryn Kish Sklar, "American Female Historians in Context", 1770-1930, in: Feminist Studies 3/1-2 (1975/6), pp. 171-184; Natalie Zemon Davis, "Gender and Genre: Women as Historical Writers, 1400-1820", in: Beyond Their Sex. Learned Women of the European Past, ed. Patricia Labalme, New York 1980, pp. 153-182.
- (17) Käthe Schirmacher, Die Frauenarbeit im Hause, ihre ökonomische, rechtliche und soziale Wertung (1905), Leipzig 1912, pp. 3-8 11; for the "radicals" see, e.g., Feministische Studien 3/1 (1984): "Die Radikalen der alten Frauenbewegung".
- (18) Henriette Fürth, Die Hausfrau, München 1914, pp. 35-42; for comparable hypotheses see Bock/Duden (note 3) and Thornieport (note 6). For Helene Stöcker see Feministische Studien (note 13).
- (19) Marianne Weber, "Zur Frage der Bewertung der Hausfrauenarbeit" (1912), in: id., Frauenfragen und Frauengedanken, Tübingen 1919, p. 89.
- (20) Erna Meyer, Der neue Haushalt , Stuttgart 1926, p. 294.
- (21) Marie Jahoda/Paul F. Lazarsfeld/Hans Zeisel, Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal, Leipzig 1933, repr. Allensbach/Bonn 1960 und Frankfurt a.M. 1975. The investigation of the lives of the Marienthal women was done by Marie Jahoda and other women. The following quotes are from pp. 84, 89 f.



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