WORKING AT NIGHT

THE TEMPORAL ORGANISATION OF LABOUR
ACROSS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REGIMES

Edited by Ger Duijzings and Lucie Dušková

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1 Introduction

The night represents almost universally a special, liminal or "out of the ordinary" temporal zone with its own meanings, possibilities and dangers, and political, cultural, religious and social implications. Only in the modern era was the night systematically "colonised" and nocturnal activity "normalised," in terms of (industrial) labour and production processes. In the first instance, the night was a temporal and moral frontier that had to be conquered, which led to forms of resistance and "moral panics" regarding the various transgressions that the night presumably allowed, undermining daytime social expectations and norms.[1] Although the globalised 24/7 economy is usually seen as the outcome of capitalist modernisation, development and expansion starting in the late nineteenth century, other consecutive and more recent political and economic systems, like socialism, adopted perpetual production systems as well, extending work into the night and forcing workers to work the "night shift," normalising it as part of an alternative non-capitalist modernity.[2] This volume draws attention to these extended work hours and night shift work, which have remained underexplored in the history of labour and the social science literature. By describing and comparing various political and economic "regimes," it argues that, from the viewpoint of global labour history, night labour and the spread of 24/7 production and services should not be seen, only and exclusively, as an epiphenomenon of capitalist production, but rather as one of the outcomes of industrial modernity.

Not having the intention here to present an all-encompassing global history of night work, which is a far too ambitious task, we rather want to make a programmatic statement and open this field of investigation as an interesting and viable topic for future research. Based on diverse case studies offered in this volume, we would like to draw attention to the preconditions, implications and consequences of night labour. Most of the texts gathered here focus on negotiating the conditions around the formalised night shifts, and their perception by the workers concerned and the impacts on society and family. To a lesser extent do

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1 Stanley Cohen, *Moral Panic and Folks Devils* (London: Routledge, 1972); Murray Melbin, *Night as Frontier: Colonizing the World After Dark* (New York: Free Press, 1987); Joachim Schlör, *Nachts in der großen Stadt: Paris, Berlin, London 1840–1930* (München: Artemis und Winkler, 1991); Joachim Schlör, *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London 1840–1930*, 2nd ed. (London: Reaktion books, 2016).

2 S. N. Eisenstadt, "Multiple Modernities," *Daedalus* 129, no. 1 (2000): 1–29.

they deal with the changes in life and circadian rhythms, which are covered in the literature on the adversarial physical, mental, behavioural and generally harmful health consequences for people working long hours and extended (evening or night) shifts.[3] The contributions also show that night labour is not limited to industrial shift work; there are other forms of informal, non-industrial and overtime work carried out during (part of) the night, such as (as mentioned in the texts) in the platform economy and service industry, in hospitals, bakeries, shops and internet-based services across time zones.

Nevertheless, the overall context of industrial modernity is crucial. Night shift work and other nocturnal forms of labour indeed primarily emerged during the early industrial period, enabled by artificial light, reinforced by the appearance of modern means of transportation and spawned by the rise of mobility and communication technologies connecting different parts of the world.[4] Hence, the night shift is intimately tied up with industrial modernity. The key game changers were coal, gas and light (from the beginning of the nineteenth century) and the mass-produced electric light bulb (from the 1880s onwards) which made a systematic extension of the work day into the night possible for the first time in history.[5] One of the consequences was the creation of a full-fledged "night shift." Then, with the rise of chronometric instruments (clocks and watches) and standardised "rational time,"[6] industrial production started to expand into the night, with an ever-increasing list of activities added: (public) transport and railway services, policing, night-watch and security services, medical care and firefighting services, postal services, (road) construction and maintenance work, gas and electricity supply services, newspaper presses, hotels, cleaning companies, mining, iron and steel works, etc. Also, various other trades and businesses started to take place during the night, which often carried the stigma of belonging to the grey or informal economy; finally, the night also became host to "illicit" activities through which people tried to make a living (such as theft, burglaries and prostitution).[7]

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3 See, for example, Martin Moore-Ede, *The 24-hour Society: The Risks, Costs and Challenges of a World that Never Stops* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1993).
4 Luc Gwiazdzinski, Marco Maggioli, and Will Straw, eds., *Night Studies: Regards croisés sur les nouveaux visages de la nuit* (ELYASCOP: Grenoble, 2020); Jonathan Crary, *24/7 – Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* (London: Verso, 2013).
5 Melbin, *Night as Frontier*.
6 Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: C.H. Beck, 2020 (2009)), 119–26.
7 Simone Delattre, *Les douze heures noires: La nuit à Paris au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Le Grand livre du mois, 2000); Dominique Kalifa, *Les bas-fonds. Histoire d'un imaginaire* (Paris: Editions Seuil, 2013); Eloise Moss, *Night Raiders. Burglary and the Making of Modern Urban Life in London, 1860–1968* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Most available research on nocturnal work patterns focuses on the negative consequences of sleep deprivation and the disruption of sleep patterns and circadian rhythms. Especially those working full night shifts experience adverse health effects.[8] Jonathan Crary has shown that military research enabling perpetual combat readiness among soldiers has been instrumental in encouraging a trend towards the "end of sleep" in other spheres of life.[9] As is often the case, these military innovations percolate down to the rest of society, leading, amongst others, to the transformation of industrial production processes. There are no reliable figures on how many workers worldwide are currently working at night or working night shifts, but in the US alone nearly 15 million Americans "work a permanent night shift or regularly rotate in and out of night shifts."[10] The sixth European Working Conditions Survey report, published in 2016, found that 19% of workers in the EU carry out night work, which is defined as working two or more hours between 22:00 and 05:00 at least once a month; this varies substantially across the EU, ranging from 13% for Italy to 26% for Ireland.[11] Eurostat provides slightly lower figures, showing that for the EU as a whole, around 5% of employees work "usually" and another 7% "sometimes" at night (in all probability not capturing informal labour, which is far more common during the night).[12] Shift and night work "are associated with negative consequences for health and well-being, such as increased risk of cardiovascular disease, fatigue, reduction in the quantity and quality of sleep, anxiety, depression, gastrointestinal disorders, increased risk of miscarriage, low birth weight and premature birth and cancer."[13]

This volume aims at defining commonalities and particularities of night (shift) work for the modern period, starting with the era of early industrialisation to the current "neoliberal" and "post-industrial" stage of digital platform economies, covering various political and economic regimes that can be identified along the way. The volume's intention is to explore, through a number of case studies, the proliferation of night work, including work extending into the evening or the "small

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8 Bernard Millet, "L'homme, animal diurne?," in *La nuit en Question(s)*, eds. Catherine Espinasse, Luc Gwiazdzinski, and Édith Heurgon (Paris: Hermann, 2017), 65–73.

9 Crary, *24/7 – Late Capitalism*.

10 M. Price, "The Risks of Night Work," *Monitor on Psychology* 42, no. 1 (2011), http://www.apa.org/monitor/2011/01/night-work.

11 https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/data/european-working-conditions-survey (accessed May 2, 2022); see the survey question "How many times a month do you work at night?" (under the rubric "working time").

12 https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-datasets/-/lfsa_ewpnig&lang=en (accessed May 2, 2022).

13 https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/industrial-relations-dictionary/night-work (accessed May 2, 2022).

hours" (often not called the "night shift") across various political and economic regimes. It addresses night work not only as a labour phenomenon but also as a contentious social and political issue, subject to public debate and expert opinion. Hence, the volume investigates how different political and economic stakeholders (such as state officials, politicians, industrialists, workers, trade unions, labour organisations and health experts) have conceptualised and intervened in discussions around night work, covering the period from the end of the nineteenth to the start of the twenty-first century.

One key aspect of nocturnal work patterns is that it is often carried out by people with limited access to the labour market, such as rural-urban migrants, refugees and displaced persons, as well as migrant workers (with little or no language skills), and individuals with limited education and from socially disadvantaged backgrounds. This suggests that access to night work differs according to social or ethnic background: there often seems to be a special social and ethnic demography of night shift workers, reinforcing existing inequalities between the rich and poor, locals and migrants, or men and women, producing different rhythms and non-simultaneities between social categories and classes. Migrants especially inhabit the night, being employed as casual workers, cleaners, maintenance personnel and security guards, complementing the more skilled nocturnal jobs and activities that are carried out by the majority or host population. As a result, the nocturnal city is a mirror of social divisions and contradictions, which may be more pronounced than during the daytime economy.

Night work is an unexplored topic in the history of labour. There is indeed a vast literature covering the history of labour, but there are, to our knowledge, very few studies exploring night work, except for a handful of publications (including non-academic). The available publications that deal with night work do this mainly from an ethnographic or journalistic perspective. Worth mentioning is Martha Gies' *Up All Night*[14] which provides colourful portraits of night shift workers in the city of Portland (US), amongst them taxi drivers, port workers, paramedics, police, streets sweepers, night bus drivers, etc. Similar is Sukhdev Sandhu's *Night Haunts: A Journey Through the London Night*,[15] which describes various night activities including night work: this book has been one of the main sources of inspiration for the burgeoning field of night studies. It looks at the police force, cleaners and flushers of the London sewage as well as (migrant) minicab drivers, graffiti writers, urban fox hunters, sleep technicians,

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14 Martha Gies, *Up All Night* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2004).
15 Sukhdev Sandhu, *Night Haunts: A Journey Through the London Night* (London: Artangel and Verso, 2007).

charity workers and nuns who worship during the night. These nocturnal activities are presented through well-written and impressionist "reports" summarising the author's expeditions into the London urban night. It shows that a large city cannot function without people keeping the city going at night.

It is only in the last 15 years or so that the first studies have appeared that focus on night work from a more scholarly perspective. Examples are Russell Leigh Sharman and Cheryl Harris Sharman's *Nightshift NYC*[16], which provides ethnographic portrayals of individual night shift workers in New York City, or Reena Patel's monograph *Working the Night Shift: Women's Employment in the Transnational Call Center Industry*,[17] which is an exploration of female workers in Indian call centres.[18] More recently, anthropologist Julius-Cezar MacQuarie carried out anthropological fieldwork amongst migrants doing the "graveyard shift," working as a night shift worker himself in a City of London wholesale fruit and vegetable market.[19] His work offers fascinating auto-ethnographic reflections on the bodily, psychological and social repercussions of the night shift, based on his experiences over a period of more than eight months. His example shows that nocturnal ethnographic research can be challenging, as it represents a departure from established diurnal work patterns in anthropology.

In this volume, contributions come from a range of disciplines, apart from anthropology, such as history, nursing, sociology, religious studies and cultural studies. The texts provide insights into the various viewpoints: from the "every-night" experience of shift workers to the perspectives of factory managers, shopkeepers and the authorities. They together provide a combination of angles

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16 Russell Leigh Sharman and Cheryl Harris Sharman, *Nightshift NYC* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

17 Reena Patel, *Working the Night Shift: Women's Employment in the Transnational Call Center Industry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

18 For international call centres see also Kiran Mirchandani and Winifred R. Poster, eds., *Borders in Service: Enactments of Nationhood in Transnational Call Centres* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

19 Julius-Cezar MacQuarie, "Invisible Migrants: A Micro-Ethnographic Account of Bodily Exhaustion Amongst Migrant Manual Labourers Working the Graveyard Shift at the New Spitalfields Market in London," *Journal of Health Inequality* 5, no. 2 (2019): 1–5, https://doi.org/10.5114/jhi.2019.91400; Julius-Cezar MacQuarie, "While Others Sleep: The Essential Labour of the Migrant Nightshift Workers in the UK," in *Society for the Anthropology of Work. Exertions* (2020), https://doi.org/10.21428/1d6be30e.fb029d9b; Julius-Cezar MacQuarie, "The Researcher's Nightworkshop: A Methodology of Bodily and Cyber-Ethnographic Representations in Migration Studies," in *Visual Methodology in Migration Studies*, eds. Karolina Nikielska-Sekula and Desille Amandine (Springer, 2021), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-67608-7_16. Accessed January 25, 2022.

across political and economic regimes. This collection primarily provides empirical case studies that throw light on the implications and experiences of night shift work, giving voice amongst others to those working night shifts. The regimes that the contributing authors touch upon are late agrarianism, interwar capitalism, colonialism, socialism, apartheid, post-war social democracy and globalised digital capitalism, organised here in bigger sections, showing the peculiarities of the night shift in each of these regimes. Our attempts to find a contribution covering the National-socialist regime remained unsuccessful: labour historians both in Germany and the Czech Republic were unable to point us in the direction of any work done in this field. Hence, this volume is innovative in that it opens a taken for granted but rather invisible phenomenon that has hardly been studied systematically, certainly not in the global comparative manner that we propose here.[20]

As indicated already, two fields of scholarship cover related fields, with which we hope to establish connections: new labour history and nightlife studies. Neither of these has truly dealt with night shift work, at the interface of labour history and night studies, although some mention the phenomenon in passing. Even if there is a very broad labour history literature, it has hardly touched on the topic of night shift work, for reasons which remain obscure to us: examples are Andrea Komlosy's *Work. The Last 1000 Years*,[21] Daniel Maul's book *The International Labour Organization*[22] and three recent edited volumes by Andreas Eckert,[23] Marsha Seifert[24] and Ursula Mense-Petermann.[25] Although extensive research has been carried out on the adversarial health effects of night shift work, this literature tends to be in the medical field, supporting trade union advocacy aiming at the regulation of shift work, the reduction of labour hours, as well as the protection of the workforce.[26] In some contributions, health-related issues are touched upon, although most other papers demonstrate that problems extend far beyond mere health issues and include various social obstacles and moral

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20 Marion G. Crain, Winifred R. Poster, and Miriam A. Cherry, eds. *Invisible Labor: Hidden Work in the Contemporary World* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

21 Andrea Komlosy, *Work: The Last 1000 Years* (London: Verso, 2018).

22 Daniel Maul, *The International Labour Organization: 100 years of Global Social Policy* (De Gruyter, 2020).

23 Andreas Eckert, ed., *Global Histories of Work* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).

24 Marsha Siefert, ed., *Labor in State-Socialist Europe: Contributions to a Global History of Work* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2019).

25 Ursula Mense-Petermann, Thomas Welskopp, and Anna Zaharieva, eds. *In Search of the Global Labor Market* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2022). See also Kim Christian Priemel, "Heaps of Work. The Ways of Labour History." H-Soz-Kult, January 23, 2014. www.hsozkult.de/literatur ereview/id/forschungsberichte-1223.

26 Moore-Ede, *The 24-hour Society*.

concerns. One recurrent question in discussions is that of the right to, and need of, a proper night rest, and the extended employers' claims to workers' labour time, which comes down to "whose" night it is and who "owns" the night. While employers and public institutions (such as hospitals and the police) are certainly not oblivious to the need for the workforce to regenerate, they also tend to appropriate their employees' time to carry out necessary tasks and labour during the night.

The issue of demanding workers' availability into the evening or across a 24-hour cycle is treated particularly in the contributions that focus on night work in industrialising societies passing from the agrarian mode of production to the industrial one. Yet who avails of a worker's evening and night-time hours has been a far more common issue: for example, it similarly pertained to factory workers in socialist countries, who sometimes owned modest pieces of land which they cultivated in their spare time, as was the case, for example, with the so-called *kovorolníci* ("iron farmers") in Czechoslovakia. These conflicting demands on people's time meant that night shift work could potentially affect families' possibilities to secure their existence through the provision of home-grown food, as it could also be consequential for a person's and family's social life and leisure activities.

In any case, night work – as part of the broader issue of working hours and times – has been an issue of broad controversy and complaints. During the nineteenth century, the problem emerged with the unbridled extension of working and production hours into the evening and night, leading to demands for an eight-hour workday and sufficient time to rest for the workforce, first formulated in Chicago (1886), which were at the basis of the international May Day celebrations and protests in the US and beyond.[27] One of the earliest consequences of the heightened moral concerns around night shift work was that working hours (and night shifts) for women and children were increasingly regulated, limited and prohibited. This went together with the demand for higher wages in order to bring an end to the need for women and children to earn the extra income needed for families to secure their existence. Gender issues came to the fore as politicians argued in biological and nationalist terms, pointing at the need to protect the (future) mothers of the nation.

After its establishment in 1919, one of the areas in which the International Labour Organization (ILO) tried to intervene was indeed the issue of night work of women and minors (Conventions C004 and C006). In due course, campaigns

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27 Joshua B. Freeman, *Behemoth: A History of the Factory and the Making of the Modern World* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2018).

included calls for extra remuneration (or bonuses) for night shift work, which was one of the reasons why workers did not protest and sometimes even preferred to work the night shift, as it provided them with a much-needed source of extra income. These financial demands for night shift work developed particularly after World War II. Up to that point, employers approached night work as "normal" labour, not warranting special compensation, blurring the temporal boundaries between night and day. One can discern a wide variety of responses to night shift work, depending on the extent of workers' degree of political awareness and organisation, as well as the evolution of labour laws and rights, ranging from forms of acquiescence to acceptance of the night shift in return for financial remuneration or active refusal, or a combination of these, to more recent forms of exploitation engendered by the era of platform or digital capitalism.

In the burgeoning field of nightlife studies, the focus is on the night-time leisure and service industries. Similarly, in this currently vibrant field of research, systematic attention to night shift work and workers is rather peripheral. The dominant themes here are in large part the nocturnalisation of elite sociability and the democratisation of nightlife leisure, ignoring the people that facilitate this through their nocturnal work and services. In this volume, we indeed want to draw attention to these everynight facilitators of the nocturnal city. Some works worth mentioning in this context are Joachim Schlör's *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London 1840–1930* (originally published in a German in 1991),[28] Peter Baldwin's *In the Watches of the Night: Life in the Nocturnal City, 1820–1930*,[29] Jonathan Crary's theoretical but inspiring *24/7 – Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*[30] and Luc Gwiazdzinski, Marco Maggioli and Will Straw's edited volume *Night studies*: *Regards croisés sur les nouveaux visages de la nuit*.[31]

Joachim Schlör's seminal book[32] explored the night as a special time zone, and a mirror of social contradictions, as a place of encounter between well-to-do revellers and the less well-off, poor and marginalised, some of whom work during the night to make a living. Even if Schlör does not focus so much on night shift work as such, it is one of the first and most inspiring studies when it comes to identifying the social contradictions of the modern nocturnal city. The forces

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28 Schlör, *Nights in the Big City*.

29 Peter Baldwin, *In the Watches of the Night: Life in the Nocturnal City, 1820–1930. Historical Studies of Urban America* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2012).

30 Crary, *24/7 – Late Capitalism*.

31 Gwiazdzinski, et al., *Night Studies*.

32 Schlör, *Nachts in der großen Stadt*.

of order and morality, such as the police and church, attempt to initially control the night and impose a nocturnal order by declaring the night as prohibited territory. As the battle against the expansion of the night and the modern nocturnal city is inevitably lost, light is used by the authorities as a factor of order, as a claim to power, much like CCTV cameras nowadays, making night-life visible and "seen." This type of research has been developed further by historians, geographers and anthropologists. Important work was done by historians like Wolfgang Schivelbusch,[33] Brian Palmer,[34] John Jakle,[35] Mark Caldwell,[36] Roger Ekirch[37] and Chris Otter[38] who mainly deal with the emergence of artificial lighting, in large cities like New York or London, and with forms of transgression for which the (partly) illuminated night provides new opportunities. Early examples of "nocturnalisation," that is, of the increased significance of the night as a privileged time-space of social differentiation, especially amongst the aristocratic elites, are provided by Craig Koslofsky[39] and Alain Cabantous.[40]

Much recent work focuses on urban governance and forms of policing the urban night, in response to various "nightlife" disruptions and excesses (such as noise pollution and issues of public order, to mention some of the key concerns). This field is dominated by geographers, urban governance and crime

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33 Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Lichtblicke: Zur Geschichte der künstlichen Helligkeit im 19. Jahrhundert* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1983).

34 Bryan D. Palmer, *Cultures of Darkness: Night Travels in the Histories of Transgression (from Medieval to Modern)* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000).

35 John A. Jakle, *City Lights: Illuminating the American Night* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

36 Mark Caldwell, *New York Night: The Mystique and its History* (New York: Scribner, 2005).

37 A. Roger Ekirch, *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past* (New York: Norton, 2005).

38 Chris Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision In Britain 1800–1910* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

39 Craig Koslofsky, "Princes of Darkness: The Night at Court, 1650–1750," *Journal of Modern History* 79, no. 2 (2007): 235–73.

40 Alain Cabantous, *Histoire de la nuit: XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2009).

scientists like Leon Kreitzman,[41] Robert Hollands,[42] Robert Hollands and Paul Chatterton,[43] Luc Gwiazdzinski,[44] Dick Hobbs,[45] Phil Hadfield,[46] Simon Winlow and Steve Hall,[47] Deborah Talbot,[48] Marion Roberts, Adam Eldridge, Jordi Nofre,[49] Robert Shaw[50] and Phillip Wadds.[51] Most of these studies look at the leisure industries (primarily in Great Britain) in terms of urban governance and policing, proposing methods and technologies to overcome nightlife excesses. In line with this, some geographers have produced critical ethnographies of nightlife and clubbing, such as Sarah Thornton,[52] Ben Malbon[53] and Phil Jackson.[54] Anthropological studies too focus mainly on the leisure and nightlife aspect of the nocturnal city; several such studies have been published in German: Bastian

41 Leon Kreitzman, *The 24-hour Society* (London: Profile, 1999).

42 Robert Hollands, "Divisions in the Dark: Youth Cultures, Transitions and Segmented Consumption Spaces in the Night-Time Economy," *Journal of Youth Studies* 5, no. 2 (2002): 153–71.

43 Robert Hollands, and Paul Chatterton. 2003. "Producing Nightlife in the New Urban Entertainment Economy: Corporatization, Branding and Market Segmentation." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27, no. 2: 361–385. Paul Chatterton, *Urban Nightscapes: Youth Cultures, Pleasure Spaces and Corporate Power* (London: Routledge, 2003).

44 Luc Gwiazdzinski, ed., *La ville 24 heurs sur 24. Regards croisés sur la société en continu* (Le Moulin du Château: Editions de L'Aube, 2002).

45 Dick Hobbs, Philip Hadfield, Stuart Lister, and Simon Winlow, *Bouncers: Violence and Governance in the Night-Time Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

46 Phil Hadfield, *Bar Wars. Contesting the Night in Contemporary British Cities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Phil Hadfield, ed., *Nightlife and Crime. Social Order and Governance in International Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

47 Simon Winlow and Steve Hall, *Violent Night: Urban Leisure and Contemporary Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2006).

48 Deborah Talbot, *Regulating the Night: Race, Culture and Exclusion in the Making of the Night-Time Economy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

49 Marion Roberts and Adam Eldridge, *Planning the Night-Time City* (London: Routledge, 2009). Jordi Nofre and Adam Eldridge, *Exploring Nightlife: Space, Society and Governance* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018).

50 Robert Shaw, *The Nocturnal City* (London: Routledge, 2018).

51 Phillip Wadds, *Policing Nightlife: Security, Transgression and Urban Order* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020).

52 Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995).

53 Ben Malbon, *Clubbing: Dancing, Ecstacy and Vitality* (London: Routledge, 1999).

54 Phil Jackson, *Inside Clubbing. Sensual Experiments in the Art of Being Human* (Oxford: Berg, 2004).

Bretthauser's *Die Nachtstadt*,[55] Tobias Rapp's *Lost and Sound. Berlin, Techno und der Easyjetset*[56] and Anja Schwanhäußer's *Kosmonauten des Underground*,[57] an ethnography of the rave scene in Berlin; more recently Lena Reich completed a doctoral thesis on nocturnal "atmospheres" in Nairobi.[58] Other anthropological work deals with traditional nocturnal activities such as sleeping and dreaming, or religious festivities and rituals that happen at the night, rarely addressing night shift workers and other nocturnal labour activities.[59] One of the few exceptions is Julius-Cezar MacQuarie's work.[60]

Usually the "night" is considered the time between sunset and sunrise, after it gets dark and before the sun appears again, roughly between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m., even though it includes dusk or dawn. The texts in this volume tend to confine nocturnal labour indeed to this time zone of darkness, which coincides with heightened moral concerns and social boundaries. The ILO defines night work rather formally as meaning "all work which is performed during a period of not less than seven consecutive hours, including the interval from midnight to 5 a.m." while the term "night worker" refers to "an employed person whose work requires the performance of a substantial number of hours of night work which exceeds a specified limit".[61] This was the last in a series of official ILO definitions that started with the establishment of the International Labour Organisation in 1919, some of which were adopted in national contexts. For example, in the Czechoslovak labour code of 1919, the night shift was defined as the hours from 22.00 to 5.00 (whereas today it extends until 6 a.m.).

However, often, the boundaries are blurred and not always clearly defined, especially in states with precarious jobs and weaker worker protection. There are also informal jobs carried out at night, such as by security guards and cleaning

55 Bastian Bretthauer, *Die Nachtstadt: Tableaus aus dem dunklen Berlin* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1999).

56 Tobias Rapp, *Lost and Sound. Berlin, Techno und der Easyjetset* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2008).

57 Anja Schwanhäußer, *Kosmonauten des Underground: Ethnografie einer Berliner Szene* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2010).

58 Hanna Lena Reich, *Nairobi Nights: Eine Ethnographie nächtlicher Atmosphären* (Unpublished) doctoral thesis (Bayreuth: Universität Bayreuth, 2020).

59 Burkhard Schnepel and Eyal Ben-Ari, "Introduction: 'When Darkness Comes . . . ': Steps Toward an Anthropology of the Night," *Paideuma* 51 (2005): 155–63; Brigitte Steger and Lodewijk Brunt, eds., *Night-Time and Sleep in Asia and the West: Exploring the Dark Side of Life* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

60 MacQuarie, "Invisible Migrants," 1–5; MacQuarie, "While Others Sleep"; MacQuarie, "The Researcher's Nightworkshop."

61 Night Work Convention 1990, C171; https://www.ilo.org/

personnel, which are often not seen as proper night shifts as they may work only for a limited number of hours, or only for a limited part of the night, with late afternoon and evening shifts finishing at 10 p.m. or early morning shifts starting at 5 or 6 a.m. These jobs often imply going from or to work during the night, which may similarly have an adverse impact on somebody's health and feeling of security, pertaining especially to women.[62]

Although the night is a specific time zone that, as Schlör and others have argued, differs quite fundamentally from the day (for instance in terms of social norms and expectations, gender norms and workers' demography), the night is not necessarily the antipode of the day. It is far more accurate to see the relationship between day and night as dialectical and complementary, whereby the night is really part of the day, not the other way around. In this context, the anthropologist Burkhard Schnepel makes a useful distinction between so-called "hyper-nights" and "hypo-nights."[63] The first form counterpoints to the day, offering spaces for rebellious (or even revolutionary) forms of behaviour, questioning, mocking or transgressing diurnal social life as well as norms and moral values. They are heterotopias, where fantasies and desires can be realised, and alternative identities can be experimented with.[64] Hypo-nights, on the other hand, represent the desire to tame, control and colonise the night, for instance through light. They reinforce, strengthen and multiply diurnal social distinctions. Hyper- and hypo-nights are not strictly separated, they coexist and one may be embedded in the other. Victor Turner's pair of concepts "structure" and "anti-structure" may help to pursue this argument even further.[65] Whereas daytime activity primarily represents the "structure" or social order, the night has the potential to be "anti-structural," comparable to other anti-structural situations such as festivities (like Carnival) and religious celebrations. On the other hand, the night is also and always an extension of the "structure," in terms of the maintenance that needs to be done at night to keep the city going in daytime. The night is crucial for the continuation of the diurnal functions of urban life.

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62 See, for example Patel, *Working the Night Shift*.

63 Burkhard Schnepel, "Strangers in the Night: The Making and Unmaking of Differences from the Perspective of an Anthropology of the Night," in *The Making and Unmaking of Differences: Anthropological, Sociological, and Philosophical Perspectives*, eds. Richard Rottenburg, Burkhard Schnepel, and Shingo Shimada (Bielefeld, 2006), 123–44.

64 Jacques Rancière, *La nuit des prolétaires: Archives du rêve ouvrier* (Paris: Fayard, 1981); Schivelbusch, *Lichtblicke*.

65 Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969).

In the late twentieth century, digital technologies and globalised communication networks have brought about the blurring or collapse of temporal boundaries, allowing some types of work to be carried out anywhere, anytime. This global 24-hour economy entails activities and services that are largely disconnected from local time zones, bringing cities, businesses and people together across time zones. As scholars like Murray Melbin,[66] Leon Kreitzman[67] and more recently Luc Gwiazdzinski[68] have argued, the rise of such around-the-clock economies has had far-reaching consequences in the spheres of labour, the media, public transport, the service industries (such as banking and childcare), consumerism and the leisure industries. This has also led to more demanding work schedules and a general reduction of time reserved for sleep. Scholars such as Gwiazdzinski have therefore called for more regulation and the recognition of a nocturnal public sphere in public regulation and governance of the night. A good example of the outsourcing and offshoring of labour to other time zones is the boom of international call centres in India, helping customers in the Global North.[69] In this context, multinational firms and western consumers get a privileged around-the-clock service and access to an (often precarious) labour force in parts of the world that have low salaries and workers' protection.

One of the key drivers of extending working hours into the night has always been the preponderance of piecework and task-oriented duties, which was a double-edged sword in terms of allowing workers to achieve their targets but also forcing them to continue until the work was done or until enough money was earned. Theoretically, it was possible to finish work early or meet a target ahead of schedule, but usually this was not the case, which meant that workers had to go the extra mile to do the required amount of work without any special bonus or appreciation. Traditionally, this situation is typical for agriculture, which is characterised by temporary or seasonal labour demands, for example at the time of the harvest (often depending on natural circumstances such as the seasonal calendar, the weather and climate). However, this has been also common in industry and services, when employers or customers may require the completion of a set task, regardless of the formally set work time limitations. In such cases, night labour can be entangled with daytime work duties in terms of the extra time needed to fulfil a task, without any financial remuneration.

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66 Melbin, *Night as Frontier*.

67 Kreitzman, *The 24-hour Society*.

68 Gwiazdzinski, *La ville 24 heurs sur 24*.

69 Patel, *Working the Night Shift*; Crary, *24/7 – Late Capitalism.*; Kiran Mirchandani and Winifred R. Poster, eds., *Borders in Service: Enactments of Nationhood in Transnational Call Centres* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

Reflections about extra compensation for night work became only an issue in the second half of the twentieth century, as some authors in this book point out.

With the rise of the platform-based gig economy, the classic forms of industrial production and regimented night shift work have been replaced by a trend towards flexibilisation, informalisation and precaritisation, especially in the services sector. In the post-industrial gig economy, working at night has become less regulated and predictable, hence also more precarious.[70] In a number of sectors, the 24-hour economy has led to a radical change in work rhythms, forcing people to work beyond a fixed number of hours to fulfil certain tasks and sacrifice their free time in the evening or at night. This is a reversal of the historical trend towards shorter and fixed shifts. They resemble the other informal and precarious nighttime jobs such as street and office cleaning, securitisation, sex work or work in the leisure and entertainment industry.

This volume brings together a number of historical examples which permits us to raise new research questions and invite others to continue these explorations. Of course, the volume, even if it is historical wide-ranging and interdisciplinary in orientation, is far from exhaustive in terms of historical and geographical coverage, or possible disciplinary approaches or topics. Nevertheless, the aim has been to bring together examples from different continents (Europe, Asia and Africa) and eras, starting from the second half of the nineteenth century to the present day. What we offer here is a variety of empirical case studies which enable the reader to draw conclusions about conditions, views, representations and practices. It also provides the various points of view of relevant stakeholders, including the night shift workers, the public authorities and institutions, employers and management, experts and even mass culture.

Of course, this volume has certain limitations, as it does not cover all periods, continents, regimes and types of night work. For example, there is not so much attention for hidden forms of nocturnal labour in the black or grey economy, such as domestic care work, or for stigmatised professions such as prostitution, as they are often semi- or illegal or associated with forms of crime and also difficult to access for research. This volume focuses primarily on conventional physical and manual work, less on forms of creative and intellectual work taking place at night. In future research, it may be important to distinguish between these very different types of nocturnal labour. This is not to suggest that the issues pertaining to the first, such as work time, wages or social, family and health impacts, are not relevant for the latter.

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70 Gwiazdzinski, *La ville 24 heurs sur 24*.

Hence, this book must be understood as an invitation, preparing the ground for future research. This should not only be case studies filling the empirical gaps; indeed they have multiplied in the last several years, especially through the work of anthropologists. What is needed are more comparative and synthetic approaches. This volume hints at interesting comparative differences, such as the number of hours spent in work shifts: from ten hours in the case of Czechoslovakia at the beginning of the twentieth century to eleven, twelve or even fourteen hours per day or night in Portugal or India during the same period. While in the case of Czechoslovakia, workers nor employers wanted labour inspectors to carry out checks in the workplace, the South African shop assistants, on the contrary, used these inspectors to help them in imposing the night work limitations against their employers.

1.1 Overview of Chapters

The chapters are largely organised in chronological order, following the sequence of political and economic regimes that we cover in this volume. The first chapter after the introduction by Antoine Paris (Chapter 2) falls, however, plainly outside of this temporal frame, as it is a close and hermeneutical reading of a biblical text, Apostle Paul´s First Epistle to the Thessalonians, where there is mention made of the Apostle Paul (metaphorically) "working night and day." This contribution is a "misfit" in the best sense of the word, coming from Classical Studies, providing a thought-provoking prologue to this volume. It describes an ancient world where working at night is not considered abnormal, even if lacking the usual modern technical infrastructure. In this biblical text, one can detect an early attempt towards normalising the night shift, as having a certain moral or sacral importance, foreshadowing later technological developments and early capitalist industrialisation. In his contribution, Paris asks, provocatively, whether the Bible, by God first creating and then overcoming the distinction between night and day, prefigures the homogenisation of time in capitalism. His detailed hermeneutic analysis brings up other instances where relevant categories and binaries are "messed up": it leaves room for ambivalent views of the night, as the time for "thieves to come out," presenting "the Day of the Lord" as a fundamental act of transgression. Paris' analysis provides much interesting food for thought, engaging directly or indirectly with the empirical contributions in this volume. In any case, it points at the importance of special religious nights, which have a universal appeal. The night's darkness and liminality make it suitable for "illumination" to emerge.

The first section of the book deals with early industrialisation in societies that are in the process of passage from agrarian social and economic order to industrial capitalism. The contribution by Arun Kumar (Chapter 3) examines the nights of workers in the Bombay textile industry (1870–1920), not concentrating on labouring frames and shop-floor exploitation, as is common in labour history, but rather on other nocturnal activities that workers engage in, like night schools. He argues that the night was the time that allowed workers in Bombay to unfold their emancipatory dreams of social mobility. Hence, he provides an interesting case study of working-class ownership of the night in a colonial context, exploring tensions between an encroaching night shift imposed by employers and backed up by the colonial state, and the working-class' retraction of the night as the time dedicated to sleep, using it as non-work time dedicated to the family, socialising and personal improvement. This was part of an ongoing battle between factory workers and employers who wished to control working-class activities during the night, amongst other things by introducing night shifts and offering "competing" working-class leisure activities.

In a comparable case study, Rosa Maria Fina (Chapter 4) focuses on the emergence of night shifts in Lisbon (1890–1915), describing the social and economic context of the nocturnalisation of labour in the Portuguese capital. Around the turn of the century, Lisbon was a growing city because of rapid industrialisation and massive rural-urban migration in a country that was still predominantly rural and agricultural. The chapter provides a perspective from the European periphery, describing the nocturnal urban habitat of a city going through similar changes as other (far more well-documented) cases like Paris, London or Berlin. It shows how in due course (informal) night labour and (formal) night shifts became normalised. The new work rhythms had many social and economic impacts, providing new opportunities for other forms of (informal) nocturnal employment, such as for prostitutes and – typical for Portugal – Fado singers. The chapter describes a situation in which various characters of the night do not earn sufficient daytime income (despite their long daytime shifts of eleven hours or more) to be able to afford a home to withdraw for proper sleep. Like those without any employment whatsoever, they are forced to extend their income-generating activities into the night (through informal jobs and small crime, like stealing, gambling and scavenging) to be able to survive at all. The spread of (informal) night labour is mainly the result of pauperisation and not a consequence of 24-hour production processes thanks to the availability of artificial light. The night shifts partly emerged because of the availability of an uprooted nocturnal population, roaming the streets of Lisbon, and seen as a dangerous class prone to survive through crime and illicit activities. The figure of the night guard is an

example of a potential criminal who is co-opted by the ruling classes to do the policing and keep order.

The next section deals with night work under various liberal market regimes. The first chapter of this section deals with night work in the interwar period. Jakub Rákosník (Chapter 5) explores the regulation of night and overtime labour in Czechoslovakia after the country ceased to be part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and became independent (1918–1939). The Czech lands were amongst the most industrialised regions in the Habsburg Monarchy, therefore of Czechoslovakia, at its inception already an industrial superpower in Central Europe, having a strong and well-organised labour movement. The Czech lands, still part of the Habsburg Empire, were one of the first to regulate night shifts, introducing, for example, a ban on night work for women in the 1880s. These measures carried over into the interwar period when night work was normalised in various sectors, making them exempt from legal protection. Based on archival research, Rákosník analyses the interventions and responses, of trade inspectors, workers as well as employers, to the restriction of overtime and night work as part of the eight-hour workday law (1918). Workers and employers were often opposed to regulating night shift work, the former because they preferred to extend their working hours into the night to increase their earnings. Also, women (especially sole female breadwinners, such as single parents and widows) argued strongly against the labour laws imposed by the state. Generally, society did not view night work as a serious problem, because of which legal measures introduced to protect workers were implemented against the will of those they were meant to protect.

Malte Müller (Chapter 6) focuses on the issue of the continuous-shift workers in West-German debates during the post-war economic boom between the end of the 1940s and the first half of the 1970s, revolving around the special burden workers in the iron and steel industry in the Ruhr area faced. The text reveals the growing importance of the continuous shift system in factories and industry, within the context of the boom in the German economy after World War II. The author describes the discussions related to working conditions, revolving around the adverse and persistent effects of the shift system on workers' health and on social and family life, leading, for example, to marital problems and social isolation. The chapter points to the sustained paradox that workers and unions, even though conscious that the night shift was harmful, did not campaign to change night shift realities. They preferred to increase household income and embrace post-war consumerist dreams. In later years, during the economic downturn of the 1970s and 1980s, the issue moved to the bottom of the political agenda, as the unions' aim was to retain jobs in this sector, making the well-being of workers and their families of secondary importance.

To close this section, in her contribution (Chapter 7), Anja Katharina Peters deals with representations of the night nurse in popular fiction, analysing the visual representations and dominant stereotypes in popular comic books. Her research complements the research that was done on the representation of nurses in cinema and literature. She provides a brief history of nursing as a nocturnal job, exploring how female nurses enter this type of night labour, what controversies arose and how in the end night nurses became normal and accepted characters in hospitals, even if in popular imagination ambiguity continued to linger, in terms of night nurses being idealised as caring, devoted and self-sacrificing young women on the one hand, while being objectified on the other as promiscuous and objects of sexual desire. A close analysis of comic books shows a variety of gender-based stereotypes, which are reinforced in the different genres of night nurse comic books, depicting them as subservient and obedient and at the same time sexually available. It goes without saying that these are misrepresentations that have nothing or little to do with the actual practices, standards and ethics of nursing, but have very real consequences in terms of the forms of sexual assault night nurses are regularly exposed to.

The following section focuses on oppressive and undemocratic (authoritarian) regimes: on the one hand, the emerging Apartheid regime in South Africa and, on the other, state-socialism in Czechoslovakia. Bridget Kenny (Chapter 8) discusses the ongoing debates around work extending into the evening in the case of Johannesburg (1907–1970), particularly focusing on female retail workers. She looks at the decades-long discussions around the extension of opening times of shops, and what arguments were used for, or against, both by retailers and the trade unions. This question and the related social issues functioned as a terrain of struggle to defend the female workers' ownership of their reproductive, leisure and family time. As elsewhere, the moral integrity of women was perceived to be in peril when working into the evening. This moral urge is analysed in the context of an emerging Apartheid system of racial segregation, in which these issues are dealt with differently along racial lines: white and black female workers are treated differently by the unions. In the end, the unions primarily defend white workers' rights, becoming part and parcel of the Apartheid system. Black women entered the job market as shop assistants in the 1970s to replace white female workers who did not want to work unsocial hours and preferred "standard" shifts to protect their respectability as mothers and wives. Racial divisions also contributed to moral anxieties, as the night became dangerous for white female shop assistants returning home.

In Chapter 9, Lucie Dušková analyses the positive representations of night shifts in early socialist movies. She shows how night shifts were given huge symbolical importance in the attainment of socialist ideals, variously being presented

as a patriotic duty and source of happiness, a contribution to a socialist future and a source of emancipation for women. She focuses on the period between the first five-year economic plan and the institutionalisation of extra compensation for working the night shift (1949–1961). The transformative power of the night shift was emphasised in the movies, being instrumental in transforming workers into socialist men. In these cinematic representations, workers enthusiastically embraced working the night shift (along Stakhanovite lines), refusing to be paid a bonus. In later years, these bonuses were, however, paid, suggesting a discrepancy between the (propagandistic) content of the films and the real situation. The chapter concludes that any enthusiasm that may have existed on the part of workers disappeared because of poor living and working conditions. After 1953, socialist propaganda promoting the night shift came to an end. This case study also shows the "darker" (relatively hidden) phenomena connected to the night shift, such as various "anti-socialist" tendencies and phenomena (such as forced labour, the dodging of work duties at night, drinking, card-playing and sex) as well as forms of resistance (such as strikes). Even though some people were forced to work at night, as a kind of punitive measure, the night shift was also less strictly surveyed, allowing these anti-socialist tendencies to come to the surface.

The last section of the book focuses on the digital and globalised 24-hours platform economy of twenty-first-century capitalism, replacing the traditional industrial labour sector. Both chapters show that the new platform and gig economy make no difference between day and night and the different time zones. Asya Karaseva and Maria Momzikova (Chapter 10) provide a portrayal of digital platform workers in cities in the Russian Far East. The paper describes the situation of vast time zone differences (Russia having eleven times zones) and what their (unforeseen) implications are and how the country manages them, for example through time zone reforms. It provides an ethnographic description of the various repercussions of working across time zones in particular non-labour areas, like education, leisure, family and socialising. In addition, it spells out the implications in the sphere of labour and business relations, how trans-local work relationships between the centre (Moscow) and the periphery, asymmetrical as they are, look like. The text provides interesting insights into time zone management and synchronous communication across time zones. It shows that the dominant position of a global city may pertain not only to the Global North and South but also to centres and peripheries in one and the same nation state that encompasses multiple time zones. This is illustrated through interviews with the inhabitants of Magadan and Vladivostok, two cities in the far east of Russia. A great number of employees depend on Moscow, and therefore

on its time regime, which means they must stay awake at night, an outcome of spatiotemporal inequality.

Simiran Lalvani (Chapter 11) describes the demands and work conditions in the online-based delivery sector, as the work of the deliverers and mobile couriers extends into the night. The paper describes asymmetric relations between the deliverers and their managers and points at important elements of the gig economy: through "unhinged" technology and unstable demand, the bike messengers are incentivised to constantly harvest work, shifting the burden and financial consequences of low-demand time and spaces onto the workers themselves. The paper also shows that the "construction of the night" has patriarchal undertones, making it more difficult for women to work after 6 p.m.

The last chapter is an epilogue based on the keynote lecture given at the workshop, which gave birth to this book, by Hannah Ahlheim. It provides a short history of working and waking in the United States and Germany during the twentieth century, exploring how various scientific discoveries and technological innovations, the war-time economy, combat experience, the emerging post-war entertainment industry and production processes in traditional industrial sectors pushed the boundaries between day and night, making "staying awake" or "working at night" an important feature of twentieth-century society. Through various examples, she focuses on how the notion of staying awake and working around the clock transformed our understandings of labour, time and the human body, giving rise to forms of protection for workers who work against the inner (biological) clock and notions of "chronohygiene."

In sum, this volume shows that regardless of economic or political conditions, night labour in the various economic and political regimes that have been discussed here share common features and characteristics. Without providing a comparative synthesis, which we feel is too early at this stage, we hope to have started to sensitise researchers to the varieties in the conditions of night labour and the regional specifics linked with these specific regimes. Finally, we hope that the book shows that night labour is best studied across a variety of cases and in an interdisciplinary fashion, and that this is the only way to fill an important gap in the field of global labour history.

**Prologue: Towards Normalisation
of Night Work?**

Antoine Paris

2 "... Working Night and Day" Working at Night as a Metaphor in Paul's *First Epistle to the Thessalonians*

Editorial note: We considered this text important to include in the book as it opens the whole problem. Although the text is different by its "genre" – a literary critic of a theological text – and by the concerned period, first-century AD, it deals with a universalist text which was at the foundation of all political and economic regimes treated in the book. Therefore, it gives the problematic of "working at night" more universal dimension and serves as a basis for the rest of the texts. This is also why it follows just after the introduction.

We are conscient of the possible unusualness of a lecture of such a text for historians or anthropologists. However, we consider that this shows the importance of this text all the more, as it illustrates that the working at night has so many dimensions and concerns different disciplines.

In the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians*,[1] the authors – "Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus" (Παῦλος καὶ Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τιμόθεος) according to the first verse – wrote that "working night and day, in order not to be a burden for one of you, we preached to you the gospel of God"[2] (νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί τινα ὑμῶν, ἐκηρύξαμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ[3] – *1 Thessalonians 2:9*). Such a reference and consequently this chapter, which scrutinises it, could seem at first glance peripheral and even out of step in this book for three reasons.

First, chronologically, whereas the other chapters deal mainly with topics situated in the modern and contemporary eras, the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians*

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1 I express my warm gratitude to Lucie Dušková and Ger Duijzings for having accepted this kind of misfit proposition for the colloquium and then for the publication and for having, through this opportunity and, above all, through their generous and stimulating suggestions, opened for me new horizons. Also many thanks to every participant in the colloquium for the more than fruitful discussions. Above all, a warm thank you for Lucie Dušková too for having re-read this article with so much thoroughness and generosity.

2 Except if otherwise specified, I give my own translations from the Greek.

3 For the Greek text of the New Testament, I follow the text edited in Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart, 2012), 28th revised edition.

was written in ancient times, more precisely around 50 AD,[4] which makes it one of the oldest books in the "New Testament."[5] Consequently, its economic and political outlook is quite different from the other works or phenomena studied in this book. The paid activity of "working night and day" of the *Epistle*'s authors takes place in Thessaloniki, the capital of the Roman province of Macedonia. At the time, it was under the rule of the emperor Claudius (41–54 AD) and the political regime of the Principate, a period when, at least in appearance, a balance was preserved between the emperor's and the Senate's powers,[6] which meant a relative calm period for the citizens and a lesser participation of them in political life. Regarding the economic regime, the Roman economy of the time was mainly agrarian,[7] characterised by a large number of slaves in specific economy sectors,[8] such as in crafts,[9] by the absence of a central bank[10] and the use of fiat money.[11] Concerning craft activities, which the day and night work referred to in the *Epistle* falls within, some scholars have spoken about "capitalism,"[12] to the extent

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4 See, among others, Gordon D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians* (Grand Rapids – Cambridge (United Kingdom), 2009), 241.

5 The *Epistle to the Galatians* could be placed "most probably in the late 40s or very early 50s," so around the same date as the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* (George R. Knight, *Exploring Galatians and Ephesians. A Devotional Commentary* (Hagerstown, 2005), 24). As a comparison, the oldest text characterised as a "gospel" in the New Testament, the *Gospel according to Mark*, dates from around 70 AD (see, among others, Élian Cuvillier, *Le concept de* parabolè *dans le second évangile. Son arrière-plan littéraire, sa signification dans le cadre de la rédaction marcienne, son utilisation dans la tradition de Jésus* (Paris, 1993), 16 and id., *L'Évangile de Marc. Traduction et lecture* (Paris – Geneva, 2002), 14).

6 See, among others, Andrew Gallia, *Remembering the Roman Republic: Culture, Politics and History under the Principate* (Cambridge (United Kingdom) – New York, 2012).

7 See Peter Garsney et al., *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (Berkeley, 2015), second edition.

8 About slavery in Ancient Rome, see, among others, Peter Hunt, *Ancient Greek and Roman Slavery* (Hoboken – Chichester, 2018).

9 See Alain Ferdière, "La 'distance critique': artisans et artisanat dans l'Antiquité romaine et en particulier en Gaule," *Les petits cahiers d'Anatole. CITERES*, 2001, online publication, https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00586539/document, 10.

10 See Jean Andreau, *Banking and Business in the Roman World* (Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1999), 2.

11 See William Vernon Harris, "The nature of Roman money," in *The Monetary Systems of the Greeks and Romans*, ed. William Vernon Harris (Oxford – New York – Auckland, 2008), 147–207.

12 Alain Ferdière, for example, describes the owners of shops and workshops as "fat 'capitalists'" ("gros 'capitalistes'" in French), even if his use of brackets underlines the anachronistic nature of the expression ("La 'distance critique'," art. cit., 7).

that craftsmen themselves seem to have rarely owned their workshops.[13] Nevertheless, many craftsmen or -women appear to have been independent workers,[14] especially when they didn't need a workshop,[15] so they were self-employed independent workers. Such seems to have been the case for Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus, who apparently had the possibility to independently work in Thessaloniki, even if they were in the city only for a temporary stay. Second, the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* belongs to a specific literary genre[16] – which could be labelled as the genre of the "epistle" – which mixes up epistolary and rhetoric[17] characteristics, so as to preach the gospel through writing and deal therefore with theological topics. In such a genre, the topic of night shift seems to be *a priori* quite anecdotical. Third, methodologically, my approach of this text is essentially a literary one, especially considering the fact that I emphasise the use of extended metaphors, whereas a sociological, economic, historical or anthropological approach could seem more suitable to grasp the idea and implications of night shift.

However, *1 Thessalonians* 2:9 is paradoxically central for the reflection on night shift, even in the modern and contemporary times, because it belongs to the canonical texts for the Christian churches, that is to say to the Bible,[18] and

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13 According to Michael I. Rostovtseff, because of a law of the emperor Augustus, it was very difficult for craftsmen and craftswomen to access ownership (Michael I. Rostovtseff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1957, 2nd edition), 50 and 212).

14 According to Alain Ferdière, independent craftsmen were notably numerous in Gaul (Alain Ferdière, "La 'distance critique'," art. cit., 8).

15 For archaeological reasons, it is nevertheless difficult to have a precise idea of the situation of craftsmen, who worked with perishable matters, such as wood, leather or cloth, which was the case of Paul, if one supposes, building on *Acts* 18:2 (see below), that he was a tentmaker or if one agrees with Verlyn Verbrugge and Keith R. Krell that he was a "leatherworker" (Verlyn Verbrugge and Keith R. Krell, *Paul & Money. A Biblical and Theological Analysis of the Apostle's Teachings* (Nashville, 2015)).

16 On the questions of the genre of Paul's epistles, see, among others, Régis Burnet, *Épîtres et lettres, Ier-IIe siècle: de Paul de Tarse à Polycarpe de Smyrne* (Paris, 2003).

17 On the relationship between Paul's epistles and rhetoric, see, among others, Emmanuel Dumont, "La dialectique de l'évangile et de la rhétorique chez saint Paul," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 125, no. 3 (2003): 374–86.

18 Two epistles by Paul to the Thessalonians are already mentioned in two of the oldest witnesses of a Christian biblical canon, the thirty-ninth Festal Letter by Athanasius, transmitted in Coptic (Easter 367) and the Muratorian fragment (7th to 8th century). For the text of Athanasius' thirty-ninth Festal Letter and a translation of it in French, see Athanasius, *Lettres festales et pastorales en copte* (Louvain, 1965). For the text of the Muratorian fragment, see Hans Lietzmann, *Das Muratorische Fragment und die Monarchianischen Prologe zu den Evangelien* (Bonn, 1902).

therefore it has long been and still remains nowadays a reference text for Christians.[19] Consequently, chronologically speaking, even if the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* was written in ancient times in an entirely different political and economic context, it is also modern and contemporary, in the sense that it was in modern times and still is nowadays considered as authoritative by Christian churches and is thus – consciously or (more often) unconsciously, willingly or (more often) unwillingly – in the core of Western civilisation, where the most subsequent changes which influenced the night work through the whole globe emerged. In terms of genre, this core character of the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* means that this text contains something which exceeds its first literary context, which can circulate and be influential even independent of its epistolary-rhetoric context and which could be labelled as "ideas" or "worldview."

However, methodologically speaking, dealing with this literary context is essential to grasp such "ideas" or "worldview." Not only does the object of study requires it to put the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* in its original socio-economic context, using the method of the contextual analysis, but also and above all, the literary analysis helps to seize what "worldview" is built by this text through literary means such as repetitions and metaphors, which is and remains in the core of the Western civilisation beyond the first context of the *Epistle*. In that way, our question could be: what is meant by working at night in this biblical text which serves as a part of the basis of a civilisation?

The main aim here is to show how the *Epistle* erases the difference and boundary between "night" and "day," especially concerning work, by taking "night" and "day" not only as periods of time or as chronological references but also as concepts and words, and how, in that way, the *Epistle* creates a new worldview, a new perception of reality, which we would call a new normality. To that extent, analysing the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* can be a way to shed a new light on the idea of working at night in the modern and contemporary areas, that is to say under very different political and economic regimes, as I'll sketch out at the end of this chapter.

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19 For example, on the Catholic side, the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* is referred to three times in the *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* published by the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace in 2004 (one reference in article 126 – in the section "The many aspects of the human person" – and two references in article 264 – in the section "The duty to work") (available online on the website of the Vatican: https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/justpeace/documents/rc_pc_justpeace_doc_20060526_compendio-dott-soc_en.html).

2.1 "Night" and "Day" as Words

It may be tempting to study the reference to a work at night in *1 Thessalonians* 2:9 as a direct testimony about a standard paid activity by Paul and his companions in Thessaloniki, probably as "leatherm[e]n."[20] Adopting such an approach, one would link this reference to the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, another biblical text written by Paul (born around the turn between the first-century BC and the first-century AD;[21] dead in 67 or 68 AD[22]) and "his brother" Sosthenes between 53 and 57 AD[23] because they state in this text that they "laboured, working with [their] own hands" (κοπιῶμεν ἐργαζόμενοι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσίν) (*1 Corinthians* 4:12). *1 Thessalonians* 2:9 was also associated with a passage from the *Acts of the Apostles* (written between 80 and 90 AD),[24] whose authorship is attributed to Luke (first-century AD).[25] This text explains that during his stay in Corinth, Paul met two Jews, named Aquila and Priscilla, and "because he was of the same craft (ὁμότεχνος), remained and worked by them, because they were tentmakers by their craft (τέχνη)" (*Acts* 18:2).[26] Therefore, at first glance, these clues seem to support the hypothesis that Paul worked as a leatherman and that these craftsmen standardly worked through day and night. However, such an approach is problematic and doubtful for two reasons.

First, generally speaking, the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* doesn't say much about its living contemporary reality, which makes it difficult to cross-analyse it with the *Acts of the Apostles* in a historical perspective and to use it as a historical witness at all. The information that Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus,

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20 Verlyn Verbrugge and Keith R. Krell make the hypothesis that Paul worked as a "leatherworker" and that *Thessalonians* 2:9 makes clear that, "when he was in Thessalonica, Paul combined preaching and working" (Verlyn Verbrugge and Keith R. Krell, *Paul & Money*, op. cit.).
21 See Michael Wolter (translated in English by Robert L. Brawley), *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (Waco, 2015), 10.
22 According to the most ancient sources, dating from the fourth century. See Marie-Françoise Baslez, *Saint Paul* (Paris, 1991, 2nd ed. 2012²), 293.
23 See Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids – Cambridge (United Kingdom), 2000), 30–1.
24 See Daniel Marguerat, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (1–12) (Geneva, 2007), 20.
25 We don't know much about Luke. According to Daniel Marguerat, who bases on Luke's theology, he belongs to the third generation of Christians. Consequently he would have written around the end of the first-century AD (Daniel Marguerat, "Les Actes des Apôtres," in *Introduction au Nouveau Testament. Son histoire, son écriture, sa théologie*, ed. Daniel Marguerat (Geneva, 2008), 133.
26 *1 Thessalonians* 2:9 and *Acts* 18:2 are already linked in the eighth century by Cosma of Jerusalem (*Commentario ai Carmi di Gregorio Nazianzeno*, ed. Giuseppe Lozza (Naples, 2000), par. 548–50).

after their first stay in Thessaloniki, "found good to be left in Athens alone" (3:1) is an exception, which is confirmed by Luke's assertion of Paul's travels in this region (cf. *Acts* 17:15). Most of the time, the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* is only allusive, such as when the authors refer to "pressures" (θλίψεις), which the Thessalonians are enduring (3:3), without precising further. Assuming that "working night and day" in 2:9 refers to Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus' earning a living working night and day as leathermen in Thessaloniki would be as bold as interpreting "we became free in our God when we spoke to you the gospel of God in a great struggle" (ἐν πολλῷ ἀγῶνι) (2:2) as referring to a historical "battle," "assembly" or "contest"[27] during which the three missionaries would have preached.

Second, interpreting "working night and day" as referring to an actual historical job done by Paul and his companions in Thessaloniki presupposes that, in the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians*, language in general refers to lived experience, that is to say that words in this work are intended to say something, to provide new information about something outside the text. On the contrary, one could say that the *Epistle* isn't referential at all, in the sense that it doesn't provide its recipients anything they don't already know, whether it is memories which the Thessalonians are not supposed to have forgotten – "Indeed, remember (μνημονεύετε), brothers, our labour and pain" (2:9) – or information that they are supposed to already have got – "you *know* we have been such among you, because of you" (1:5); "You, indeed, you *know*, brothers, that our entering among you has not been useless" (2:1); "as you *know* it" (καθὼς οἴδατε), (2:2, 2:5 and 2:10); "you, indeed, you *know* that it is our fate" (3:3). Far from providing new information about a reality outside, the *Epistle* has what can be called a pleonastic character, which appears not only from time to time but also in the very structure of the text, in two ways. First, Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus often underline the fact that their readers already know what they are saying: "in every place your faith in God has come, so that we *don't need* to speak about it" (1:8); "About the love between brothers we *don't need* to write to you, because you, yourselves, you were taught by God to love each other" (4:9). To put it in another way: the authors underline there is no use to write what they are writing; that, seen as referential, the *Epistle* is useless. Second, Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus often repeat what they already said, whether in the form of

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27 Those are three meanings of ἀγών according to Henry Georg Liddell, Robert Scott, Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1st ed. 1843, 9th ed. 1940), with additions in 1996 and an online edition in 2011.

refrains without important variation of meaning or wording[28] or of chiastic structures, whether wide[29] or small.[30] To put it in another way: the three authors can say again something they already said because the primary goal of the text isn't to say anything at all.

This pleonastic, repetitive and – consequently – non-referential nature of the *Epistle* is the first reason to not understand the expression "working night and day" as referring to an actual paid job with day and night shifts the *Epistle*'s authors may have had. In other words, the text can't be seen as "accurate" or "true" because it has no mimetic function.[31] It doesn't operate as the reflection of a person in a mirror, as a grid of words which could be superimposed over a grid of actual persons, objects of facts. Thinking in that way would be mistaking important characteristics of the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* – its repetitive aspect, for example – but also the nature of language: language doesn't imitate differences and distinctions which exist in reality but rather

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28 "We give thanks to God (Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ) always for all of you" (1:2)/"And that's why we also we give thanks to God (εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ) without interruption" (2:13)/"What thanks indeed (Τίνα γὰρ εὐχαριστίαν) can we give back to God about you" (3:9); "Indeed, we have never been in a word of flattery, as you know it, nor in a goal of greediness; God is our witness (θεὸς μάρτυς)" (2:5)/"You are witnesses, and God too (Ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες καὶ ὁ θεός), how we have been holy, fair and without any reproach towards you, who believed" (2:10). To borrow a concept from Félix Guattari and Gilles Deleuze, such repetitions could be labelled as "ritornellos" ("ritournelles" in French). See Félix Guattari, "Monographie sur R. A." (1956), in Henry Georg Liddell, Robert Scott, Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie, *Psychanalyse et transversalité* (Paris, 1972, reedited in Paris, 2003); Henry Georg Liddell, Robert Scott, Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie., *L'inconscient machinique. Essais de schizo-analyse* (Paris, 1979, 117 sq.); Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, "11. 1837 – De la ritournelle," in Henry Georg Liddell, Robert Scott, Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie., *Capitalisme et schizophrénie 2. Mille plateaux* (Paris, 1980), 381–433; and Félix Guattari, *Chaosmose* (Paris, 1992), 107 sq.
29 The whole work begins with a wish that the Church of Thessaloniki be granted "grace" (χάρις) (1:1) and ends with another blessing, also about "grace" (χάρις as well) (5:28). This chiastic structure could be labelled as a "ring composition." On the ring composition, see Willem Anton Adolf Van Otterlo, *Untersuchungen über Begriff, Anwendung und Entstehung der griechischen Ringskomposition* (Amsterdam, 1944) and Mary Douglas, *Thinking in Circles. An Essay on Ring Composition* (New Haven, 2007).
30 Compare "That's why, when we could no longer forebear (Διὸ μηκέτι στέγοντες), we found good to be left in Athens alone, and we sent (ἐπέμψαμεν) Timotheus our brother and co-worker of God in the gospel of Christ, to reinforce you and to urge you about your faith" (3:1), and "That's why I too, when I could no longer forebear (Διὰ τοῦτο κἀγώ, μηκέτι στέγων), I sent (ἔπεμψα) someone to know your faith, fearing that the tempter may have tempted you and that our labour may have become vain" (3:5).
31 On likelihood as "a speech which looks like the speech which looks like reality," see Julia Kristeva, "La productivité dite texte," *Communications* 11 (1968): 59–83, notably 61.

creates reality as a system of differences and distinctions[32] – for example, the ones between night and day. Therefore, a text is able to change the differences and distinctions we see in reality – to restructure reality as we see it, if not reality itself.[33] Night and day are not an exception here. The limitations between "to sleep" and "to stay awake" are erased in the same way when the authors write ". . . our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us, in order that, *whether we stay awake or sleep*, we live together with him" (5:9–10).

According to me, this is what the *Epistle* does with night and day: it shows them as undifferentiated because the text is organised through a general principle of assimilation, which will lead us to reconsider night shift in this work.

2.2 The Assimilation of "Night" and "Day": Working in a Unified Time

Assimilation is one of the topics of the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians*. The text is written by authors whose recipients have become similar to them and, through them, to the Lord (1:6) and similar to the authors' Churches of origin (2:14), so that other people can become similar to the recipients as well (1:7). In this way, the distinction between missionaries and followers disappears, such as the distinction between Churches of different geographical areas. The *Epistle*'s authors and recipients perform the same actions, which are expressed through the same words.[34] To put it in a nutshell: they are the same person(s).[35]

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32 See Friedrich Nietzsche, *Wahrheit und Lüge im Aussermoralischen Sinne* (*On Truth and Lies in a Nonmoral Sense*), written in 1873, published in 1896.

33 Friedrich Nietzsche considers that "myth" and "art" have such a power.

34 The Thessalonians are "witnesses" (μάρτυρες) of the apostles' behaviour (2:10) and the apostles "are witnesses" (μαρτυρόμενοι) so that [the Thessalonians] walk in a manner worthy of God" (2:12). Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus repeatedly "give thanks" (εὐχαριστῶ) (1:2; 2:13; 3:9) and, according to them, the Thessalonians should "give thanks" (εὐχαριστῶ) too (5:18); the first ones suffer from "oppression" (θλίψις) (3:7) and so do the second ones (1:6; 3:3, where θλῖψις is used as well); the authors explain that their behaviour in Thessaloniki was "without any reproach" (ἀμέμπτως) (2:10) and urge their addressees to "make [their] hearts without any reproach (ἄμεμπτος)." The apostles and the Christians of any Church live in the same way, share the same life, are the same person: "Indeed, what is *our* hope or joy or crown of boasting? Isn't it *you* also? (. . .) Because *you*, you are *our* glory and our joy" (2:19–20). As Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus put it, they "share" with the Thessalonians "not only the gospel of the Lord, but even [their] own souls" (αἱ ἑαυτῶν ψυχαί) (2:8).

35 Because of this general assimilation, it is difficult to understand exactly who wrote the *Epistle*: "Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus" as three distinct individuals, "Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus" as identified to each other in a single person or any other intermediary explanation or

But this assimilating process is not just about people involved in and by the *Epistle*.[36] Space as well is seen as fully unified or as in a process of becoming one, to the extent that every country has, at least virtually, become Christian.[37] Reality is one too, temporally speaking. The authors know neither past nor present nor future: their remembering, praying, thanksgiving and working take place in a time similar to eternity, without any limit or change.[38] This leads to reconsider day and night and, consequently, working at night in the

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even the recipients to the extent that they are identified to the authors. According to the first verse, there are three authors: "Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus to the Church of Thessaloniki" (1:1). For that reason, it seems that the first person plural mainly used in the letter (for example, "we beg you" in 4:1) should be interpreted as referring to several authors. However, in 3:2, this apparently collective author states: "we sent (ἐπέμψαμεν) Timotheus our brother and co-worker of God in the gospel of Christ." Because Timotheus is supposed to be one of the three authors – unless one imagines that the sentence is about a second Timotheus – you have to suppose that only the other two ones, Paul and Silvanus wrote those words. The problem becomes more complicated when, in a following verse, one reads the first person singular in place of this first person plural – "That's why I too (κἀγώ), when I could no longer forebear, I sent (ἔπεμψα) someone" (2:5) – the first person singular which is used again, at the end of the epistle: "I make you swear (ἐνορκίζω) by the Lord, to read this epistle to all your brothers" (5:27). These changes and contradictions could be explained as the clues of interpolations in the *Epistle*, which, in that case, should be interpreted as juxtaposing passages written at times by one author alone – maybe Paul – or by two, or by three. But, even in such a perspective, putting the emphasis on the redactional history of the text, it would still remain to understand why a final writer and compiler did not smooth or erase those differences in the person used. Hence, the use of "we" in the *Epistle* is not symptomatic of a "heteroglossia," that is to say of a discourse where different voices and consequently different opinions are expressed, but, on the contrary, of a discourse where any difference is so neutralised that every speaker becomes interchangeable. On the concept of "heteroglossia," see Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel" (first publication in Russian in 1934–1935), *in The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, translated in English by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, Austin, 1975. In addition to this, while recipients and authors are seen as so much similar that they appear as the same persons, recipients as well could be seen as the *Epistle*'s writers.

36 As the philosopher Éric Marty puts it, speaking of the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* but also of the *Epistle to the Romans* and of the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, the apostle dreams of "a unanimous universality, without any deviation" (Éric Marty, "Paul, l'universel et la question du symbolique," *Insistance* 8, no. 2 (2012): 27–40, 34).

37 See the verse: "From you indeed the *Logos* of the Lord sounded forth, not only in Macedonia and Achaea, but also *in every place* (ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ) your faith in God came forth" (1:8).

38 Two adverbs are repeated in the *Epistle* to create such a unified time: ἀδιαλείπτως ("without interruption") and πάντοτε ("always"). Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus thank God "without interruption" (ἀδιαλείπτως) (1:2 and 2:13) and the Thessalonians should pray "without interruption" (ἀδιαλείπτως) too (5:17). The apostles "sp[oke] to the nations so that they always (πάντοτε) fill up the void of their sins" (2:16) and, in the same way, the Thessalonians "always (πάντοτε) keep the good memory" of the authors (3:6), are urged to "always (πάντοτε) rejoice"

Epistle. Seen as temporal divisions, day and night become the same in a unified time: day is night and night is day. That's why the "day" of the Lord can also be seen as a "night" (5:2). Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus "pray (. . .) night and day" (3:10) and "work night and day" (2:9) because they always and uninterruptedly work and pray, in a time which has become without divisions.

In this way, the work at night which is mentioned in 2:9 is not an exception. On the contrary, working at night has become fully normal because normality has been changed by and through the *Epistle*: day and night are not differentiated periods of time anymore, the first notably allocated to work, the second notably allocated to sleep; there is one single time, day and night at the same time, a time similar to eternity, for every activity, that each becomes uninterrupted.

One might argue that "work," "night" and "day" in "working night and day, in order not to be a burden for one of you, we preached to you the gospel of God" (2:9) should be understood not as referring to actual realities – and to actual time – but as metaphors, which means that, in this expression, "work," "night" and "day" would each refer to something else than the actual work, night and day and analogical to them.[39] In that case, the words "working night and day" should be interpreted outside of the assimilating process at work notably concerning time in the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians*. Indeed "night" and "day" would not be temporal units anymore but something similar to them, which consequently would not preclude that they remain different realities, if not on a literal level, then on a metaphorical one.

Nevertheless, even considering the possibility of a metaphorical interpretation doesn't prevent from seeing night and day as assimilated realities inside a unified time, whether it be literal night, day and time or metaphorical ones. Indeed, it is undeniable that the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* is built on

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(5:16), until the day when, with Paul and his companions, they'll "always (πάντοτε) be with the Lord" (4:17).

39 There is no theory of a second meaning of the text in the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* and speaking of "metaphor" could seem a way to import an alien concept in this text. More precisely, the "metaphor" as I use this word here – and as it is most commonly used – comes from Aristotle, notably from *Poetics*, 21, 1457 b 6–8, where "metaphor" is described as "the application of an alien word either from the genus to the species or from the species to the genus, or from the species to a species or by analogy" (my translation. I follow the Greek text edited by Rudolf Kassel in Aristotle, *De Arte Poetica Liber* (Oxford, 1965)). On this – expressed or implied – Aristotelian origin and therefore conception of metaphor, see, among others, Marie-Christine Lala, "La métaphore et le linguiste," *Figures de la psychanalyse* 11, no. 1 (2005): 145–61, 145 and Serge Margel, "La métaphore. De la langue naturelle au discours philosophique," *"Rue Descartes"* 52, no. 2 (2006): 16–26, 16.

extended metaphors:[40] Christian church as a family,[41] lacking faith as being in need versus preaching as working to satisfy one's basic needs,[42] light as knowledge and/or purity versus darkness as ignorance and/or sin,[43] staying awake versus sleeping,[44] being drunk verus being sober[45] and being protected at war versus being defenceless,[46] with approximately the same meanings.[47] However, none of these metaphors considered individually nor all of them seen as a whole could

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40 Rather than of extended metaphors, Samuel Bénétreau, in his analysis of the *Epistle to Romans*, talks of "model[s]" ("modèle[s]" in French) but the literary phenomenon described through this term is the same: several metaphors related to the same theme – in that case, family – in the same text (Samuel Bénétreau, "Permanence de la symbolique familiale en *Romains* 8, 18–30," *Études théologiques et religieuse* 2, no. 87 (2012): 199–211).

41 The Thessalonians are "brothers" (ἀδελφοί) (1:4; 2:1; 2:9; 2:14; 2:17; 3:7; 4:1; 4:6; 4:10; 4:13; 5:1; 5:4; 5:12; 5:14; 5:25; 5:26 and 5:27) and so are the *Epistle*'s three authors (3:2) and the different Christian communities to each other (4:10). Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus "urge" and "reassure" each Thessalonian "as a father his own children" (ὡς πατὴρ τέκνα ἑαυτοῦ) (2:11) and that is why the Thessalonians "have become beloved (ἀγαπητοί) for [them]" (2:8).

42 Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus want "to provide (καταρτίζω) the things that are lacking (τὰ ὑστερήματα) to the faith" of their addressees (3:10). Both terms (καταρτίζω "to provide" and τὰ ὑστερήματα "the things that are lacking") can refer to material realities ("providing" something to eat; "lack" of food or of material goods) but, in that context, are used metaphorically to describe Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus' preaching to the Thessalonians and these last ones' lack of faith. See also 3:5 and 5:12 and maybe 4:11 and 12.

43 "But you, brothers, you are not in the darkness (ἐν σκότει), so that the day (ἡ ἡμέρα) won't befall you like a theft, because you, you are sons of the light (υἱοὶ φωτός) and sons of the day (υἱοὶ ἡμέρας); we are not those of the night nor of the darkness (νυκτὸς οὐδὲ σκότους)" (3:4–5).

44 "Consequently, let's not sleep like the others, but let's stay awake (. . .) because those who sleep, sleep at night" (5:6–7).

45 "let's stay awake and sober because (. . .) those who get drunk, get drunk at night" (5:6–7). See also 5:8.

46 "But we, because we belong to day, let's be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love, and as a helmet, the hope of salvation" (5:8). See also 1:10; 2:2.

47 Several of these metaphors find parallels in the Christian literature of the first centuries. See, for example, for the metaphor of being drunk versus being sober, the *Apocryphal Letter of James*, 3, 9–10 and, for the metaphor of being asleep *vs* being awake, the same text, 3, 11–12 ("L'Épître apocryphe de Jacques" (NH I, 2), edited and translated by Donald Rouleau, in Donald Rouleau and Louise Roy, *L'Épître apocryphe de Jacques (NH I, 2). L'Acte de Pierre (BG 4)* (Québec, 1987)). The structural importance of metaphors in the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* should prevent interpreting it as strictly theological or moral. For example, in 4:13, 14 and 15 and 5:1, "being asleep" can be understood as a way to speak of "being dead" in a theological passage about death and resurrection (see 4:14–18) but also in the framework of sleep as ignorance versus being awake as knowledge as an extended metaphor, as we find it in 5:6–7. In the same way, the warning against "lust" (πορνεία) in 4:3 could be interpreted as ethical or/and as metaphorical, for example, for rejecting God.

be seen as a grid, which could be superimposed to reality and/or to a literal meaning and in which "night" and "day" would exist as separated and differentiated, for four reasons.[48]

First, each extended metaphor lacks in consistency, so that it could not be seen as a grid in which each square could be linked with a reality outside the text. In that respect, "to work" in "working night and day" (2:9) could be understood as part of the extended metaphor of lacking faith as being in need versus preaching as working to satisfy one's basic needs: "to work" would mean here, in a metaphorical way, to address, by preaching, the Thessalonians' spiritual needs, which the end of 2:9 – "we preached to you the gospel of God" – would confirm. Nevertheless, this extended metaphor in the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* is not as consistent as an equivalence system such as being in need = lacking faith; being a provider = preaching the gospel. Indeed, in 3:6–7, the *Epistle*'s authors, while they are preachers of the gospel, appear as in need, whereas the *Thessalonians*, while they lack teaching about faith, appear as fulfilling the authors' needs: "But now, because Timotheus went to us from you and gave us good news (εὐαγγελίζομαι) of your faith and love (. . .) because of that, we were comforted, brothers, about you and about our oppression and *need* (ἀνάγκη)[49] because of your faith." There seems to be here a reversal inside the extended metaphor involving "word," a reversal which is confirmed by the use of εὐαγγελίζομαι – which often means in Christian texts "preach the gospel (εὐαγγέλιον)"[50] – with the *Epistle*'s authors as direct object: Paul and Silvanus[51] appear here paradoxically as receiving a preaching from the Thessalonians. In the same way, consequently, "work," "night" and "day" could not be seen as a coded message which could be deciphered because, so to speak, the code through which it is written is not fixed and consistent.

Second, the plurality and above all the interweaving of extended metaphors used in the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* make its interpretation more difficult as well. For example, the opposition between "day" and "night" appears in three of the *Epistle*'s different extended metaphors: the one of staying

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48 For those four reasons, it is not helpful to study this text according to a structuralist methodology, whereas a poststructuralist or rather deconstructionist approach, such as the one by Jacques Derrida (see notably *De la grammatologie*, Paris, 1967), would be more relevant.

49 This term can, generally speaking, refer to the need to satisfy the bare necessities of life, which seems to be the case here, considering that the authors state afterwards that after the return of Timotheus from Thessaloniki with good news: "now [they] live" (3:8).

50 See, among others, *Gospel according to Matthew* 11:5; *Gospel according to Luke* 16:16; *Epistle to the Galatians* 1:11; *Epistle to the Hebrew* 4:2 and 6.

51 Timotheus is here dissociated from the two other authors of the *Epistle* (see above).

awake versus sleeping,[52] the one of being drunk versus being sober[53] and the one of being protected at war versus being defenceless,[54] so that "night" appears as moral sleep and as moral drunkenness and as defencelessness in life, which is difficult to link to the expression "working night and day (. . .) we preached to you the gospel of God" (2:9), where "night," far from having a morally negative meaning, is part of the unified time and/or of a unified unceasing activity of preaching. In this way, the various metaphors in the *Epistle* don't appear as a way to strengthen a distinction between "day" and "night": if the three first metaphors separate "day" and "night" while situating the last one on a negative side, such a separation is contradicted by 2:9, whether seen as literal or as metaphorical.[55]

Third, it is impossible to link precisely one metaphorical use of one word in an extended metaphor of the *Epistle* with one literal meaning of the same word. In this way, in this text, a metaphorical grid with separated units is not superimposed over a literal grid or substituted for it, which is evidenced for example in this passage: "About the times and moments, brothers, we don't need to write to you. Indeed, you, you know exactly that the day (ἡμέρα) of the Lord comes as a thief at night" (5:1–2). The Greek ἡμέρα as well as the English "day" can refer to a date, such as Thursday, January 13, and to the period when the sun shines, in contrast to night. In this sentence, it could be interpreted in both ways at the same time. On the one hand, "the day" is here a date since 5:1 begins by referring to "the times (χρόνοι) and moments (καιροί)." However, on the other hand, the "day" is here also the part of the 24 hours when there is light, which allows a paradox to be created at the end of 5:2: "the *day* (ἡμέρα) of the Lord comes as a thief at *night* (νύξ)."[56] Therefore, in 5:1–2, "day" (ἡμέρα) has both meanings at the same time: reading and interpreting these sentences lead to oscillating between "day"

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52 "Consequently, let's not sleep like the others, but let's stay awake (. . .) because those who sleep, sleep at *night*" (5:6–7).

53 "let's stay awake and sober because (. . .) those who get drunk, get drunk at *night*" (5:6–7).

54 "But we, because we belong to *day*, let's be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love, and as a helmet, the hope of salvation" (5:8).

55 The extended metaphors in the *Epistle* are not like different translations, in different languages of the same message. On the contrary, some of the metaphors (5:6–7 and 5:8) contradict another one (2:9) as far as "night" is concerned. To borrow one concept used by Claude Lévi-Strauss in *La Voie des masques*: the various extended metaphors are not various "codes" ("codes" in French) conveying and underlining the same message (Claude Lévi-Strauss, *La Voie des masques* (Geneva, 1975)).

56 The expression is for example seen as paradoxical and needing an explanation by Thomas Aquinas, who solves it by interpreting "day" as the revelation of secrets and "night" as the

as date and "day" as hours of sun and light. In the same passage, "the day of the Lord" could be understood in a metaphorical way, by linking it to one of the extended metaphors involving day and night: "the day of the Lord" could be, for example, the preaching of the gospel to the Thessalonians. But, because of the word 'days' meaning oscillating between date and daylight in 5:1–2, "the day of the Lord" as a metaphor also oscillates between two correspondences between metaphorical grid and literal grid: the preaching of the gospel as a situation in time and/or as light. Consequently, in the same way, for this reason as well, in "working night and day (. . .) we preached to you the gospel of God" (2:9), even in the framework of a metaphorical interpretation, it is impossible to separate an association such as "day" = preaching of the gospel = one precise date from an association such as "day" = preaching of the gospel = light.

Fourth, the idea of a separation between night and day on a metaphorical level is made fragile by another phenomenon in the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians*: this text purposely blurs the line between metaphorical and literal meaning, notably concerning "night" and/or "day." For example, the expression "the day of the Lord" (ἡμέρα κυρίου) (5:2), which I previously understood as metaphorical, could also be interpreted as literal: as referring to the last day of the world (see, for example, *Second Epistle of Peter* 3:10) or as the date of Jesus' return (see, for example, *Matthew* 24:43–44). On the one hand, these intertextual relationships support a literal interpretation of "the day of the Lord." However, on the other hand, the presence and structural importance of extended metaphors in the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* also compel to consider as essential a metaphorical meaning of it, without the possibility of determining which of the two interpretations is the more accurate. In the same way, in 2:9, "working night and day, in order not to be a burden for one of you" could be interpreted as a metaphor for preaching unceasingly the gospel of God but also in a literal way: Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus' goal, while working, is concretely to make a living, to be economically independent and to not need any help from locals. Each of the two interpretations can be supported by another part of 2:9, the literal one by what immediately follows – "in order not to be a burden for one of you" – the metaphorical one by the end of the verse – "we preached to you the gospel of God." Therefore, in "working night and day," "work" is both a literal and a metaphorical work, as is the case also for "night" and "day." For this reason also, "night" and "day" can't be seen as separated in the *Epistle*: if

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uncertainty surrounding this same revelation (Thomas Aquinas, *Commentaires des deux épîtres aux Thessaloniciens* (Paris, 2016)).

you consider "day" as something metaphorical, it can coincide with the literal "night" and vice versa.

In this way, the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* actually appears as organised through a dynamic of erasing the differences and assimilating distinct realities, whether this text is read in a literal or in a metaphorical way. In fact, these few reflections on the possibility of a wholly metaphorical interpretation of "night," "day" and "work" in this text lead us to consider another modality of the assimilating process at work in the *Epistle*. These assimilating dynamics are also about language itself: in the *Epistle*, different extended metaphors mingle the metaphorical and literal levels; to a certain extent, reality and language are becoming one and the same.[57] Here, the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* is not far from the first chapter of the Gospel according to John, in which the "*logos*" is – among others – the "word" and "Jesus,"[58] "God's *Logos*"; at the same time language and reality.

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57 In fact, this erasing of the distinction between metaphor and literal language and, to a certain extent, between language and reality is already to be found in Aristotle, when he writes, for example, "making a metaphor is contemplating what is alike" (*Poetics*, 1459 a) and "this is a metaphor and before the eyes" (*Rhetoric*, 1411 a): in both cases, metaphor would be a direct access to reality. For the *Rhetoric*, I translate the text edited by William David Ross (Aristotle, *Ars rhetorica* (Oxford, 1959)). Other conceptions of metaphor, belonging to distinct fields, lead, for different reasons, to the same observation of a mingling of metaphorical and literal use of language and of language and reality. For example, in psychoanalysis, Jacques Lacan considers that metaphor and the Freudian process of "condensation" at work especially in dreams are one and the same (Jacques Lacan, *Encore* (Paris, 1975), 130. See Marie-Christine Lala, "La métaphore et le linguiste," art. cit., 155). In the same field, Paul-Laurent Assoun also shows how Sigmund Freud uses metaphors to explain and even elaborate psychoanalysis concepts, that is to say how he uses them as having a "literal" function (Paul-Laurent Assoun, "Métaphore et métapsychologie. La raison métaphorique chez Freud," *Figures de la psychanalyse* 11, no. 1 (2005): 19–31, 21). In the same way, according to cognitive linguistics, metaphor is "the normal use of language" (Jacques Moeschler, "Aspects linguistiques et pragmatiques de la métaphore: anomalie sémantique, implicitation conversationnelle et répertoire métaphorique," *Revue Tranel* 17 (1991): 51–74, 65). Such an idea erases the difference between a literal and a metaphorical use of words. On this point, see also Marco Fasciolo and Micaela Rossi, "Métaphore et métaphores: les multiples issues de l'interaction conceptuelle," *Langue française* 189, no. 1 (2016): 5–14. One could also quote Georges Kleiber's article "Du triple sens de *Métaphore*" (*Langue française* 189, no. 1 (2016): 15–34) where the author distinguishes three uses of metaphors: a word used as a metaphor, a concept used as such and an object such as in the sentence "in this movie, the gun is a metaphor for violence." Here as well the distinction between literal language, metaphorical language and reality – to which objects belong – tends to disappear.
58 We are close to what Silvia Lippi, following Jacques Lacan, writes: that "From the start, the body of the subject is crossed by language" (Silvia Lippi, "Les destins de la masturbation," *La Clinique lacanienne* 11, no. 1 (2006): 175–93, 178).

2.3 Creating Normality

The disappearance of a distinction between metaphors and literal language and between language and reality, while going beyond the scope of this chapter, confirms that the *Epistle* is driven by a dynamic of assimilation, especially of night and day in a unified time. This leads us to the question of the possible links between this first-century biblical text and the other chapters in this book, which focus on much more recent periods.

Several texts in this volume connect the work at night with the notion of normality. Jakub Rákosník notes for example that "attitudes toward night work open the door to an understanding of what people considered *normal*" in inter-war Czechoslovakia.[59] In the same way, Malte Müller opposes "Normalarbeits-woche" ("normal work week") and "the abnormal work conditions of shift workers" in the Western Germany of the 1960s–1980s.[60] This introduces the question of what is normal. What makes working at night abnormal and what could transform it into a normal activity?

The hypothesis I would suggest is that normality is created and reorganised by language. To that extent, the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians*, through the way it uses language, transforms reality to the point that it creates a new normality, where day and night are not separated realities anymore, different in nature, but two undifferentiated ways to talk about a homogeneous time. In this new manner of the time perception, working at night can't be abnormal.

The *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* isn't the one and only Christian text to unify time, and, as we saw, persons and space as well. One could mention, among others, this passage of *Revelation* (written between 68 and 117[61]), where the inhabitants of the "new Jerusalem" (see *Revelation* 21:2) are described as follows: "And night won't be here anymore and they won't need a light of a lamp nor a light of a sun, because the lord God will shine upon them and they will reign in the centuries of the centuries" (*Revelation* 22:5). Time has become an eternal day.[62]

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59 Jakub Rákosník, "Night Labour, Overtime Employment and the New Methods of Scientific Management in Interwar Czechoslovakia (1918–1938)", published in this volume as "Night Work Restrictions in Interwar Czechslovakia (1918–1938)", 89–110.

60 Malte Müller, "Continuous Shift-Workers in Societal and Sociological Debates of Western Germany (1960s–1980s)", published here as "Disrupted Times: Continuous Shift Workers in Societal and Sociological Debates Between Boom and Crisis (1945–1975)", 111–136, notably 120 and 123.

61 For the dating of *Revelation*, see Leonard L. Thompson, "Ordinary Lives. John and His First Readers," in *Reading the Book of Revelation. A Resource for Students*, ed. David L. Barr (Atlanta, 2003), 25–48, 26–8.

62 See also *Revelation* 21:23: "And the city needs neither sun nor moon to enlighten it, because the glory of God is its light and the lamb is its lamp." And *Revelation* 21:25: "because there won't

Such a reconfiguration of reality and normality doesn't go without an idea of transgression towards another former normality, in which day and night are separated. We find such a former normality expressed, among others, in the first chapter of *Genesis* (end of the fourth century – beginning of the third century BC for its final redaction),[63] where, before other separations, "And God divided in the midst light and darkness. And God called the light 'day' (יוֹם in Hebrew; ἡμέρα in Greek[64]) and he called the darkness 'night' (לָיְלָה in Hebrew; νύξ in Greek)" (*Genesis* 1:4).[65] This transgressive aspect of the *First Epistle* is expressed in this text through the apparently paradoxical evocation of "the Lord" as an outlaw: "About the times and moments, brothers, we don't need to write to you. Indeed, you, you know exactly that the day of the Lord comes as a thief (κλέπτης) at night" (5:1–2). In the same way as a thief, by robbing a house, makes the limit between inside and outside disappear,[66] in and through the *First Epistle of the Thessalonians* "the boundaries of the night are burst open."[67]

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be any night here." In *Revelation*, this unification of time, like in the *Epistle*, goes together with a unification of space, the limitation between the city and the outside world – the gates – becoming porous since "its gates [the ones of the new Jerusalem] won't be closed in day" (*Revelation* 21:25).

63 For this datation, I follow Christoph Uehlinger in *Introduction à l'Ancien* Testament, ed. Thomas Römer, Jean-Daniel Macchi and Christophe Nihan (Geneva-Paris, 2009), 207.

64 In the translation of the five first books of the Hebrew Bible which is called "the Septuagint" and for which I follow the text edited by Henry Barclay Swete (Henry Barclay Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint. Vol. 1. Genesis-IV Kings* (Cambridge, (United Kingdom) 1901)).

65 This doesn't mean that a Christian normality is created from a transgression of a Jewish normality, which would be too reductive, even if the homogenisation of time I tried to highlight in the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians* is consistent with, for example, other transgressions by Jesus towards Jewish traditional borders in the *Gospel of Mark* (see notably David Rhoads, "Social Criticism. Crossing Boundaries," in *Mark and Method, New approaches in biblical studies*, ed. Janice Capel Anderson et Stephen D. Moore, Minneapolis, 2008, 2nd edition, 145–79). In the same way, Éric Marty opposes the "mimetic universality" defended by Paul – in general and not only in this *Epistle* – (because of imitations and identifications, everything and everyone is one) to a "symbolic universality," which the scholar identifies in Judaism (a universality where separate realities have common points and where, separately, several words match several realities) (Éric Marty, "Paul, l'universel et la question du symbolique," art. cit., 33). On the difficult question of the definition of Judaism and Christianism and, therefore, of their separation, see, among others, Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia, 2004).

66 Cf. *Gospel according to Luke* 12:39, where this erasing of the limitation between inside and outside by the "thief" is concrete: "You know that if the master of the house knew at what hour the thief comes, he would not have let him *dig through* in his house" (I underline).

67 Joachim Schlör, *Nights in the big city. Paris, Berlin, London (1840–1930)* (London, 1998), 36, quoted by Rosa Maria Fina in "The first factory night-shifters, how Lisbon tried to start living 24/

By whom is this new normality, justifying work at night, accepted? An easy answer would be: by those who hold as authoritative or even sacred the *First Epistle of the Thessalonians* – and other texts which blur the limit between night and day as well – that is to say by all Christian communities, who include the *Epistle* in their canons, read it publicly and base some teachings on it. The unification of time in the *Epistle* seems indeed to have made certain aspects of Christianism of the subsequent centuries possible. For example, according to Benedikt's *Rule* (516), monks should pray and praise God at day and at night.[68] In addition, the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1992) presents such a day and night prayer from the monks as "the public prayer of the Church"[69] and states that bishops also should work "night and day."[70]

However, the normality created by the *Epistle* also matches a very secular and much more recent conception of work and time. The erasing of the limit between night and day by "Paul, Silvanus and Timotheus" echoes, for example, the "homogenization of the time and erosion of distinctions within the diurnal cycle through the extension of capitalist activities," as Asya Karaseva and Maria Momzikova underline in their chapter about Far-Eastern Russia nowadays.[71] It also reminds of the "homogeneous, empty time" where the "historical progress" takes place, as stated by the philosopher and critic of the Enlightenment conception of modernity Walter Benjamin (1892–1940).[72] However, the study of the *First*

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7 (1890–1915)", published here as "Nightwork in Lisbon (1890–1915)", 71-85, notably 71.) I intentionally chose a quote about working at night in the contemporary area.

68 *Benedicti Regula*, edited and translated in French by Philibert Schmitz, Maredsous, 1962. See Chapter 4, par. 76 and Chapter 16, par. 5.

69 Collectif, *Catéchisme de l'Église catholique* (Paris, 1992, art. 1174).

70 Collectif, *Catéchisme de l'Église catholique* (Paris, 1992, art. 1586). Sukhdev Sandhu, in his book *Night Haunts: A Journey through the London Night* (London – New York, 2010), also mentions a contemporary monastic order, whose members pray continuously day and night in London. We thank Ger Duijzings for this reference.

71 Asya Karaseva and Maria Momzikova, "Not only night work: Night wake, time difference, and the national power-geometry in Far-Eastern Russia", published here as "Not Only Night Work: Time Difference, National Power-Geometry and Night Communications in Contemporary Far-Eastern Russia", 221–243, notably 222.

72 Walter Benjamin, *Über den Begriff der Geschichte* (Berlin, 2010, first edition in 1940). On the concept of "homogenous time" by Walter Benjamin, see notably Michael Löwy, "Temps messianique et historicité révolutionnaire chez Walter Benjamin," *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'Histoire* 117, no. 1 (2012): 106–18 and Eduardo Colombo, "Temps révolutionnaire et temps utopique," *Empan* 69, no. 1 (2008): 17–26.

Epistle to the Thessalonians has shown us that the idea of night and day as not separated is far older than the two last centuries. Because of this text – and of other texts creating in the same way a unified reality – working at night became normal. For reasons which are still to be explained, as far as the conception of time is concerned, Christianity paved the way to the industrialised society.

Agrarian Societies/Early Industrialism

Arun Kumar

3 The Nights of Bombay Workers (1870–1920)

Nights are usually an absent analytical category in the history of labour, even though nights occupy at least a little less than half of our lives.[1] Historians and scholars have framed working lives from the vantage point of labour, work and struggle. In doing so, they have privileged the daytime, especially while writing the history of industrializing societies. Night, on the other hand, appears as a moment of rest and leisure – the social reproduction of labour, and with the introduction of electric lights as an artificially created work time. My attempt in this chapter is to invert this image of the night and also rescue workers from their constant reduction to a labouring frame. I locate night as a site of contestation between workers and employers and among workers, state and employers who gave it a special character at the end of the nineteenth century. I ask a question as to who owns the workers' night? Is it the worker, or the employer, or the state? And, can a focus on the nights result in a nuanced understanding of worker politics, labour-capital relationship and the self-perception of workers?

In general, night, in workers´ lives, was not simply a temporal category but because of extreme work conditions, long work hours and alienation, the night acquired a significant political and emotional meaning. This chapter analyses the nights of Bombay workers, primarily textile workers, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when India was under the British colonial rule.

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1 A particular exception to this is the work of French philosopher Jacques Rancière who explored the night time of French artisans in the nineteenth century. My own work has been influenced by his work in many ways, including the focus on the literary traditions of workers and use of the night to question the neat partitioning of thinking as an exclusive arena of the high class and manual labour as the world of the worker. Jacques Rancière, *The Nights of Labor: The Workers' Dream in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).

Bombay emerged as a global industrial metropolis by the end of the nineteenth century with cotton mills dominating the industrial landscape of the city and workers its habitation pattern. By exploring the history of night schools that the labouring poor attended at the turn of the nineteenth century, the text will show that the nights of Bombay workers remained a political issue both before and after the introduction of electric lights. Both practised time and abstract time was a bone of contention between workers and employers which a cautious colonial state watched over and intervened into when it required to impose its own interests. The presence or absence of the colonial power manifested through legal and economic interventions had far-reaching effects the way labour politics developed in colonies.[2] It is argued that the contestation over the ownership of the night was itself produced through the interventions of the colonial state.

This study also challenges the dominant notion that workers in this period were an illiterate group.[3] While workers' relationship with gymnasium, religious festivals, communal gatherings and cultural gatherings, alcoholism and political protests have been explored in the perspective of leisure activities,[4] their intellectual engagements do not get the same attention. The apathy of educated elites (both colonial officials and Indians) towards workers and the absence of workers' writings have occluded us from raising the question of workers' education, intellectual life and subaltern literary culture both from caste and class perspective. Labour historians have analysed the history of the working class from the standpoint of reducing workers to their labouring identities. Here, I focus on the dark hours between 7 and 10 p.m., in a very unconventional manner by not reducing it as an extension of the worktime or as a repose, rather, as a time where workers aspired and experienced new things in their life, namely, schooling, knowledge production and circulation, which had impacts also on the rest of their night as well as day.

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2 Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India: Business Strategies and the Working Classes in Bombay, 1900–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Aditya Sarkar, *Trouble at the Mill. Factory Law and the Emergence of Labour Question in Late Nineteenth-Century Bombay* (Corby: Oxford University Press, 2017); Nitin Varma, *Coolies of Capitalism: Assam Tea and the Making of Coolie Labour* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017); Jan Breman, *Mobilizing Labour for the Global Coffee Market Profits from an Unfree Work Regime in Colonial Java* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015).
3 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, 429, 431; Shashi Bhushan Upadhyay, *Existence, Identity, and Mobilization: The Cotton Millworkers of Bombay, 1890–1919* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2004).
4 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*; Chitra Joshi, *Lost Worlds: Indian Labour and Its Forgotten Histories* (London: Anthem Press, 2005), 115–26; Nikhil Menon, "Battling the Bottle: Experiments in Regulating Drink in Late Colonial Madras," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 52, no. 1 (2015): 29.

In the first half of the chapter, I will discuss workers' struggle to carve out non-work time (leisure hours), especially, freeing up the late evening time for attending night schools, attending to household needs and socialising with friends and family. In doing so, they also produced a critique of the intense factory work culture imposed onto them by employers. The struggle for leisure time straddled through the incipient labour movement, the necessity of wage in working lives, the debates of the colonial government-appointed factory commissions and workers' desire to have a non-work life. In the second half of the chapter, I will move to analyse workers' participation in night schools. These were a visible phenomenon in the industrial landscape of Bombay since the 1880s. I will answer the following questions. Who established them, and why? Moreover, why were workers interested in attending these schools at the expense of their well-earned sleep?[5]

3.1 Day and Night in Working Lives

Although the first textile mill in Bombay was constructed in 1854, the real growth in the numbers of mills occurred in the post-1870s. Between 1855 and 1860, only eleven mills were inaugurated, and then came the years of "cotton mania" as a result of the American Civil War (1861–64) which inflated the prices of raw cotton and the demand of Indian cotton in the world market.[6] Parsi merchants consolidated their profits from the cotton trade, but with the end of the war came the crash of the cotton boom. Historian Rajnarayan Chandavarkar shows that the capital investment in early mills by Parsis was part of their strategy to diversify their entrepreneurial activities and risk as cotton trade came with considerable uncertainties both in terms of accessing the highly lucrative European market and maintaining a secure supply of the cotton from the Deccan Plateau fields in Southern India due to the lack of proper transport. In the 1870s with railways entrenching into the cotton belt of India, European agency houses with a supportive colonial administration and a greater capital organisation took over the cotton

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5 My analysis here is limited to the later part of the nineteenth century even though night schools continued to proliferate, and the introduction of electric lights complicated the issue of work-hours and night schools.

6 S. M. Rutnagur remarks that the value of cotton export from India increased from 5¼ millions to 80 millions in just four years. S. M. Rutnagur, *Bombay Industries: The Cotton Mills* (Bombay: Indian Textile Journal Ltd., 1927), 13.

trade from Indian merchants, forcing them to explore alternative means of capital accumulation.[7] The expanding demand of the cotton yarn since the 1870s by the Chinese market provided an opportunity for Parsi merchants to invest their capital in mill buildings and machinery. While only two mills were built between 1861 and 1870, in the next five years between 1870 and 1875, 15 new mills were established, followed by 21 mills between 1875 and 1885 and a further 21 mills between 1885 and 1895.[8] Throughout this period, the Bombay textile industry was geared towards meeting the foreign demand rather than producing yarn and cloth for local consumption as the internal markets were dominated by the goods of the Lancashire mills in North-west England. R. Chandavarkar points out that almost two-thirds of the total demand for clothes was met by the British cotton mills, leaving little market for Indian entrepreneurs.[9]

Historian R. Chandavarkar shows that shifts and fluctuations in the global political economy, especially the demand from the Chinese markets, along with the cost of raw cotton and price of the finished products, decided the fate of industry which in turn shaped the nature of the labour market and industrial organisation.[10] Two clear outcomes of this heavy dependence on the uncertain global market were (1) the deployment of a huge casual labour force and (2) fluctuating work hours. To meet the sudden increase in the demands of yarn and cotton goods, employers intensified their production by employing a larger workforce and operating mills for longer hours, and when there was a slump, they reduced the work hours and workforce, laying off hundreds of workers.[11]

The industrial workforce was mainly comprised of peasant migrants from the Deccan and the Konkan region (in the mid-Western coast of India) who were later joined by the distressed peasantry from the eastern regions of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (in North India).[12] In terms of numbers, about 13,550 workers laboured in the mills in 1875. By 1885, already 41,550 workers were mill employees. And between 1885 and 1895, 34,200 more workers joined the mills, making the total population about 75,750. In the following ten years (1895–1905), the number of additional workers was just 17,250, which shows the slump in the industry first due to changes in the currency policy

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7 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, 63–65.

8 A slump came in-between 1877 and 1878, halting the progress momentarily due to market saturation and the great famine in India. See Chandavarkar, 245–46; Rutnagur, *Bombay Industries*, 10–20.

9 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, 249.

10 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, 60–71.

11 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*.

12 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, 129–30.

(delinking of the Indian coin from silver) and then due to the plague epidemic and recurring famines.[13] By 1905, 93,000 workers were working for the textile industry in Bombay. This number would go on to increase by 129,510 in 1945.[14] Meanwhile, the overall population of Bombay city increased from 644,406 in 1872 to 1,489,883 in 1941.[15]

These two phenomena – the uncertain production process and a relatively new industrial labour force drawn from peasantry – were closely linked with the question of work hours. Hours of the factories for male adults remained unregulated until the 1911 Factory Act; the 1881 and 1891 Factory Acts only regulated the work hours of children and female workers. Mills in the late nineteenth century operated unevenly to meet the demands for the Chinese market but a central feature in this period was the extreme exploitation of workers. Mills usually run for between twelve and fourteen hours per day depending on the sunlight and season. The mill management gave varied answers as to the number of daily work hours to the 1875 Factory Commission.[16] For example, Mothiram Bhagubhoy, General Superintendent of the Frere and Mazagon Spinning and Weaving Companies, revealed that his mill operated between 5:30 a.m. and 6:30 p.m., but in cold seasons it operated from 6 a.m. to 5:45 p.m.[17] James Helm, Manager of the Bombay United Spinning and Weaving Mills, told that his mill usually worked for twelve hours, but there were no fixed work hours.[18] From the evidence presented to the commission by employers, workers, engineers and health officers, it appears that a 12-hour workday was a norm, but it could be extended depending on the demand. However, what is intriguing is that none of the workers demanded a reduced

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13 For number of workers see Rutnagur, *Bombay Industries*, 10–21; on plague and industry see Aditya Sarkar, "The Tie That Snapped: Bubonic Plague and Mill Labour in Bombay, 1896–1898," *International Review of Social History* 59, no. 2 (August 2014): 181–214; on famines see David Hall-Matthews, *Peasants, Famine and the State in Colonial Western India* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

14 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, 250.

15 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, 30.

16 Factory commissions were appointed by the British colonial government at various intervals to enquire into the conditions and regulations of factories and factory work. Employers, workers, medical experts and managers were called in to give their opinions on various set themes/questions of factory commissions. I will refer to some of these commissions in this essay.

17 Evidence of Mothiram Bhagubhoy, Second Meeting, April 21, 1875, "Bombay Factory (Arbuthnot) Commission 1875: Report, Proceedings and Evidence. Bombay, 1875," British Library, India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/V/26/670/85 (1875).

18 Evidence of James Helm, Second Meeting, April 21, 1875, "Bombay Factory (Arbuthnot) Commission 1875."

workday if it jeopardised their daily wages.[19] It is not impossible that this idea was implanted on to workers beforehand that any demand for a reduced workday would come with a wage reduction.

Evidence from the 1875 Factory Commission suggests that although the customary working hours were from sunrise to sunset, they varied from one mill to the other and from one season to the other. The 1881 Factory Act had neither prescribed the timings of factories nor the maximum hours of work. In summers, work hours, the 1884–85 Bombay Factory Commission noted, could go up to fourteen hours a day, that is 98 hours per week.[20]

R. Chandavarkar argues that the uneven nature of cotton textile production in Bombay was such that it required flexible recruitment and deployment of labour and flexible work hours. He explains that the reported instances of workers not working during the work hours inside the mill were not evidence of workers' non-industrial agricultural instincts but a result of flexible work organisation that suited mill owners and the management.[21] Re-emphasising the widespread practice of flexible working hours and flexible labour employment in Bombay mills, historian Hatice Yildiz in her recent essay shows that Bombay workers used clocked time as a point of resistance to clearly demarcate between their "work time and personal time."[22] She suggests that it is difficult to apply E. P. Thompson's top-down notion of clock-based timed work in the context of Bombay textile mills and cotton ginning and pressing factories who, though part of the global economy, were structured by the local economy, agrarian world and workers' needs.[23] Thompson's notion that the emergence of the modern factories marked the beginning of a clock-based industrial time neatly divided into work hours and leisure hours was a powerful explanation that changed our understanding of industrial capitalism and modernity. The labouring classes who until now worked in fields and workshops were governed by a task-oriented time which exhibited little distinction between work and life. But the industrial capitalism required that workers be alert, attentive, efficient and committed at the shop floor. To produce this committed and disciplined workforce, employers and mercantile moralists invested in the division and supervision of

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19 Shashi Bhushan Upadhyay, "Cotton Mill Workers in Bombay, 1875 to 1918: Conditions of Work and Life," *Economic and Political Weekly* 25, no. 30 (1990): PE87–99, PE88.
20 "Report and Proceedings of Commission Appointed to Consider the Working of Factories of the Bombay Presidency" (hereafter FC 1885) (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1885), 5.
21 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, 326–30.
22 Hatice Yıldız, "The Politics of Time in Colonial Bombay: Labor Patterns and Protest in Cotton Mills," *Journal of Social History*, 54, no. 1 (2020): 206–85, accessed May 25, 2020, 7–13.
23 Yıldız, 7–12.

labour, bells and clocks, schooling and preaching, timesheets and time-keepers.[24] In the context of England, Thompson remarks that there was an internalisation of this worktime discipline by the nineteenth century but it remained a problem in still predominantly agrarian industrial societies like India, where a task-oriented peasant turned industrial workforce forced employers to maintain "elastic time-schedules, irregular breaks, and meal-times."[25]

In anticipation of a legislative framework regulating factories and work hours, there emerged an interesting discussion around the boundaries of work and leisure hours between workers and employers in Bombay. Employers, in their writings and evidence to the factory commissions, maintained that workers did not respect work hours and were undisciplined in contrast to British workers. Lack of work ethics on the part of workers and the structure of the industry forced them to keep the factory hours extended.[26] Mill owners pointed out that workers' leisure habits popped up during work hours. Time spent at work was not equal to the time spent on work. Workers were accused of taking naps, visiting latrines for smoking and breaks, reading Bhajan books and taking unannounced leave.[27] The mill management made a similar type of argument in relation to the use of child labour stressing that children did not work all the time while they were inside the factory.[28] The idea behind creating an image of undisciplined work culture was to show that Bombay cotton mills were not exploitative as the Lancashire lobby was claiming. This image construction was also key to keep the wages low and work hours long. It was no surprise that such an image persisted even at the time of the Royal Commission of Labour in 1930. One mill-authority pointed out: "workers do not work all the time; they may be sitting down in one of the departments, they may be sleeping – and I myself have seen some sleeping – or they may have their meals."[29]

24 E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present*, no. 38 (1967).

25 Thompson, 92–93. See also, Yıldız, "The Politics of Time in Colonial Bombay."

26 Nasir Tyabji, "Primary Education, Working Hours and Half-Timers: Contentious Shopfloor Issues in the Turn-of-the-Century Textile Industry," in *Education and the Disprivileged: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century India*, ed. Sabyasachi Bhattacharya (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2002), 290–309, 297.

27 India and 1890 Factory Commission, *Report of the Indian Factory Commission, Appointed in September 1890* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of government printing, India, 1890) (hereafter FC 1890), in *Copy of Report of the Recent Commission on Indian Factories* (London: Hansard Publishing Union Limited, 1891), 14.

28 "Bombay Factory (Arbuthnot) Commission 1875."

29 *Royal Commission on Labour in India* (hereafter RCLI), Vol. I, Part 2, Bombay Presidency (Oral Evidence) (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publications, 1931), 83.

Workers also complained that work intruded into their leisure hours. Once what seemed satisfied workers over the question of long work hours as long as due wages were not reduced (1875 Factory Commission) began to critique long work hours by the 1880s. On the one hand, workers took industrial action to declare Sunday as a leisure day, and on the other hand, they began to disentangle the night from the workday.[30] The first workers' political organisation, the Millhand's Association under the leadership of Narayan Meghaji Lokhande, mobilised workers over the question of fixed factory hours.[31] In 1884, the Association organised huge gatherings of workers in Byculla and Parel and drafted a memorandum with 5,500 signatures to be presented to the 1884–85 Factory Commission. Among various demands included: work from 6:30 a.m. till the sunset, a half an hour recess at noon, Sunday as a rest day and wages to be paid before the fifteenth day of the next month.[32] Later, a petition with similar demands was submitted to the 1890 Factory Commission.[33] These were bold demands, indicative of workers' calculation of time, in times of no welfare laws.[34] Yildiz demonstrates that workers' internalisation of time was closely linked to their struggles "for control over their work and life."[35] Social historian Keletso E. Atkins in her fascinating work on time shows that Natal zulu workers, who followed moon and stars to calculate their time (28 days month), were frequently termed as offenders, contract breachers and lazy by European employers who followed the solar calendar which had months of differing days (between 28 and 31 days). These differing calculations, Atkins shows, often led to labour-capital conflicts and clashes.[36]

By the time the 1890 Factory Commission recorded the oral evidence of workers, historian Aditya Sarkar shows that an incipient labour movement had started around the question of work hours and protective labour legislation.[37] Workers' politics, which emerged in the light of factory acts, also weaved in the

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30 Aditya Sarkar discusses in detail how the limitations of the factory laws opened up spaces for new industrial disputes. Sarkar, *Trouble at the Mill.*

31 On the rise of Lokhanday as a labour leader, see Aditya Sarkar, *Trouble at the Mill: Factory Law and the Emergence of Labour Question in Late Nineteenth-Century Bombay* (2018), 236–50.

32 J. C Kydd, *A History of Factory Legislation in India* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1920), 36–37.

33 *FC* 1890, 106–07. See also, Yıldız, "The Politics of Time in Colonial Bombay," 10–11.

34 Arun Kumar, "Learning to Dream: Education, Aspiration, and Working Lives in Colonial India (1880s–1940s)" (Göttingen: University of Göttingen, 2017), 247–48.

35 Yıldız, "The Politics of Time in Colonial Bombay," 11.

36 Keletso E. Atkins, "'Kafir Time': Preindustrial Temporal Concepts and Labour Discipline in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Natal," *The Journal of African History* 29, no. 2 (1988): 229–44.

37 Sarkar, *Trouble at the Mill*, 236–247.

question of the social reproduction of labour and timely wage payment.[38] They argued that with present working conditions, they do not get enough time for rest (sleep), to attend to family needs and to spend time with children.[39] The memorandum presented their concerns through a language of social reproduction that might appeal to the state and employers. A reduced workday, workers argued, would generate healthy working bodies which "working with energy would turn out work satisfactorily both as to quantity and quality." They reminded, "The loss to mill owners from over-taxing the energies of their servants by the unnatural system of incessant work for nearly 13 to 14 hours a day, is far greater than they are aware of."[40] Workers knew that industrialists' extraction of labour surplus and theft of the family time was unjust, but it took time to build a consensus over the issue. However, it is not clear whether the demand for shortened working hours was made for both male and female workers or just for male workers. In the official discourse surrounding the amendment of the 1881 Factory Act which defined "the factory" for the first time as using steam power and employing more than 100 workers, the question of an overall shortened work day and timely wage payment was omitted. Just before the 1890 Factory Commission, about 17,000 workers signed a petition organised by an industrialist N. N. Wadia addressed to the government demanding Sunday as a holiday and half an hour recess at noon.[41]

Later, when the 1890 Factory Commission sat for gathering the perspectives of workers, both male and female workers overwhelmingly demanded a shorter work day. Like in 1875, they were worried about losing their earnings, but it did not stop them, this time, to demand a decent workday.[42] Working mother Doorpathee requested the commission, "It will be better if the hours are shortened."[43] For workers, the workday easily stretched into the night. To arrive at work at 5:30 a.m., Babajee Mahdoo woke up at 3 a.m.[44] The worker-mother Doorpathee woke up at the same time to cook food for herself and for her little daughter and then she would take a quick bath, dress and run for the mill which was one and a half miles away.[45]

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38 Sarkar, *Trouble at the Mill*.

39 *FC* 1885, 100. See also, Yıldız, "The Politics of Time in Colonial Bombay," 11–12.

40 *FC* 1885, 106. See also *FC* 1890, 106–07.

41 Kydd, *A History of Factory Legislation*, 50–52. On Wadia, see Sarkar, *Trouble at the Mill*, 302.

42 Sarkar, *Trouble at the Mill*, 261–63.

43 *FC* 1890, 27–28.

44 *FC* 1890, 24.

45 *FC* 1890, 27–28.

Although dominated by male migrants, cotton mills of Bombay comprised a quarter of female force in the 1890s and about 22.2% in 1926.[46] A larger number of women were employed in the casual and low-paid industries and services such as beedi-making, domestic service, sex work and cleaning and manual scavenging.[47] Within the cotton mills, they were employed as casual labourers and mainly in the reeling and winding department, receiving much lower wages than their counterpart male workers.[48] This economic exploitation was often accompanied by sexual exploitation at the workplace. The burden of the social reproduction of labour which fell on her side made her life harsher and the night more intense. Once relieved from the factory, household work, i.e., cooking, cleaning, caring of the males and collecting water, awaited her. A 1933 academic study of India's industrial labour stressed that the working women living in chawls (working-class one-room houses) woke up quite early, first to collect water from the common tap and then to fire cow dung cakes to cook food. It was only "after such a night and morning; they have to go to their respective mills and to work in their stuffy atmosphere till the evening."[49] Moments of relief and socialisation had to be combined with work. Queuing to collect water since very early in the morning in the crowded chawls was also probably the time when they fought over the scarcity of water and nurtured their social ties with other women of the neighbourhood by discussing topics of common interests (the cruelty of jobbers and headmen/women, differentiated wages, the future of their children, sex scandals and love affairs of chawls and workspaces).[50]

The result of the intense labour politics of the 1880s was the 1891 Factory Act which declared Sunday as a holiday, limited the work day of female to eleven hours and of children (between the age of nine and 14) to seven hours.[51]

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46 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, 94; Radha Kumar, "Family and Factory: Women in the Bombay Cotton Textile Industry, 1919–1939," *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 20, no. 1 (1983): 81–96, 81.

47 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, 96–97.

48 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*; Kumar, "Family and Factory."

49 S. G. Panandikar, *Industrial Labour in India* (Longmans, Green and Co. Bombay, 1933), 232.

50 On water scarcity in Bombay see, Prashant Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890–1920* (London: Routledge, 2016), 39–40.

51 See Act XI of 1891, "A Collection of the Acts Passed by the Governor General of India in Council, 1891" (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1892). At the same time in the metropole (England), women only worked for 56 hours per week compared to 66 hours in India. Children under the age of eleven were not employed, and children between the age of eleven and 14 only worked for five hours and were given compulsory education. Both of them were also not allowed to do work in the night. See Kydd, *A History of Factory Legislation*, 74–75.

The 1891 Factory Act was not applicable in factories that worked on the shift system.[52] This proved to be a major loophole; factory owners installed an expensive electric lighting system in the 1890s to start working on the shift system and extend working hours into the night.[53] The colonial state allowed the theft of the recess time from workers' lives, including of those whom it sworn to protect through the law. The number of mills fitted with electricity increased from five in 1896 to 13 in 1898 to 39 in 1905.[54] And all these mills worked for 15 hours from 5 a.m. to 8 or 8:30 p.m. with half an hour recess. Atmaram Alwe, a worker and labour leader, while narrating his life history to the Meerut Court, told that when he joined the industry as a half-timer in the 1910s, mills worked for 16 hours between 5 a.m. and 9 p.m., confirming the extensive use of electric lights. In addition, adult workers had to get up at 4 a.m. in the morning to be ready.[55]

Since the 1880s, employers in Bombay were in the habit of reducing working hours when the market for the yarn and piece goods were down and extending them when the market was up again.[56] The mid-years of the 1910s were particularly good as both the home market (due to the boycott of foreign clothes) and the China market had revived. Out of 85 mills on the Bombay Island, 60 mills had installed electric lights.[57] In the face of a growing demand for a regulated and shorter work day, mill owners maintained the position that the factory work acted as a disciplinary mechanism for workers, as otherwise workers would indulge with "undesirable social elements."[58] This language of morality had grounds in the growing discourse that workers wasted their money and energies on sexual pleasure, drinking, gambling and in theatres (tamashas).[59] For employers, the day and the night of workers belonged to the employer and were part of seamless commodity production. Any intrusion in the cycle was an intrusion in the process of commodity production. In employers' understanding, to drink alcohol, gamble, engage in labour politics, fall ill and be absent from the next day's work was to break the cycle. Despite resistance from mill owners, the Factory Act of 1911 limited the working hours of male

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52 Kydd, *A History of Factory Legislation*, 68, 75.

53 Kydd, *A History of Factory Legislation*, 77.

54 Upadhyay, "Cotton Mill Workers in Bombay, 1875 to 1918," 89.

55 *Merrut Conspiracy Case 1929–32, Defence Statements. P 933–1606*. Alwe's examination, 935. Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library, Online Archives, File no. GIPE-024101, https://dspace.gipe.ac.in/xmlui/handle/10973/22824, accessed August 7, 2020.

56 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*.

57 Upadhyay, "Cotton Mill Workers in Bombay, 1875 to 1918," E89.

58 *TOI*, October 8, 1909, 8.

59 Prashant Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis*, 203–4.

adults to twelve hours and of child workers to six hours per day.[60] Reduction in the working hours, we will see later, had a direct bearing on the number and attendance of night schools in the city.

3.2 Sacrificing the Sleep: Workers in the Night Schools (1880–1910)

"A great many of the labouring classes had a great difficulty in making both ends meet; and when they managed somehow to send their children to these [night] schools, they sent them with the object of giving them a rise in life, which showed that they appreciated the advantage of learning," wrote a *Times of India* correspondent in the spring of 1890.[61] The contemporary newspaper provided glimpses into an alternative framework of working lives which is missing in the official archive and remains unexplored in scholarly works. The importance of education was firmly placed in the lives of a number of Bombay workers in the 1890s when there was no limit to work hours. The first Factory Act of 1881 had only fixed the working hours for child workers (between the age of seven and twelve) to nine in a day. Clearly, it was not like that workers first waited for a shorter work day and then attended the school.[62] Instead, the demand for a shorter work day and schooling went hand in hand. Although long-working hours constituted a barrier to workers' non-work aspirations, this was overcome by expanding the horizon of the night. By sacrificing their rest in the dark hours, workers diluted the sacred relationship of education with the high class/caste that employers maintained.[63] Education was one of the chief elements that distinguished them from the "influential" classes residing in better-off areas.[64] Workers challenged the idea that the difference of the intellect was natural. Attendance in night schools, despite long hours of work and characterisation of their self as "illiterate" and apathetic to education by the elites,

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60 Kydd, *A History of Factory Legislation*, 174.

61 *TOI*, April 23, 1890, 3.

62 Tyabji, "Primary Education, Working Hours and Half-Timers: Contentious Shopfloor Issues in the Turn-of-the-Century Textile Industry."

63 I discuss this relationship in great detail in my PhD thesis, see Kumar, "Learning to Dream: Education, Aspiration, and Working Lives in Colonial India (1880s–1940s)" (PhD thesis, University of Göttingen, 2017).

64 Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis*, 35–38; Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, "Workers' Politics and the Mill Districts in Bombay between the Wars," *Modern Asian Studies* 15, no. 3 (1981): 603–47.

reflected their vision of themselves. Workers flooded night schools established by workers, individual philanthropists and social reform bodies with their vibrant presence.

When the dusk rolled out and mills got closed, many workers turned into students. Tired workers went straight to night schools at 7 p.m. and spent two hours enjoying the pleasure of reading, listening to the master and holding a book. It is hard to tell precisely how many workers attended night schools or how many night schools operated as no systematic records of these schools were kept by employers or the state. Our only sources are the annual reports of organisations who maintained these schools, workers' testimonies, labour enquiry commissions, contemporary sociological and labour writings, and journalistic writings. These diverse set of writings reported about these schools with different motives – some to show how benevolent social reform organisations were, some to report the success of their civilising, reforming and disciplining the urban poor, some to suggest their ability to explore the hidden aspects of working lives and others to highlight the educational aspirations of workers. Evidence of these schools, as I will show later, were then framed by the narratives of those who ran and reported about these schools. The history of workers' dreams, desires and aspirations is hidden in the routine narrative of these organisers' hagiographies.

3.3 Bhiwaji Nare's Night Schools

The first workers' night school was established by a mill worker, Bhiwa Ramji Nare (?–1917), in 1874. He funded the school from his wages. We do not know if Nare was married or had children, but he started his career as an ordinary worker at eight rupees per month in the Dinshaw Petit Mill, one of the largest mills in Bombay. He worked in the mill industry for 37 years and retired as a master-weaver from the Morarji Goculdas Mill at Rs. 250 per month.[65] Nare belonged to the first generation of mill workers and worked with premier mills of Bombay raising from an ordinary worker. This gave him experience and authority to speak for the second generation of the mill workers. Nare was probably one of the earliest labour leaders who mobilised workers politically and intellectually. In 1887, Nare with the help of his worker friends expanded the night school into a free day school for workers in the Mararji's Chawl (Old Government House Road, Parel) and named it "Nare and Mandali's Free School." The

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65 Rutnagur, *Bombay Industries*, vol. 2, 716.

school became popular and existed even after his death in 1917.[66] Seeing the response for education among workers, Nare further established two schools which he could not maintain after his retirement in 1906.[67] By now, he was a public leader, a representative of workers' voices who was invited to speak to the 1907–8 Factory Commission. He founded the Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha in 1909 (an association for the promotion of workers' interests) and served as its president for eight years.[68] As one of the earliest work association, the Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha helped workers in distress, unionised them, provided them with legal support through pleaders, mediated their concerns with the mill management, opened schools and promoted temperance. The Sabha ran a Marathi night school in the house at 247 Ferguson Road.[69] It was perhaps the only workers' body that pushed the question of education so centrally.[70] Bhiwaji Nare's commitment to workers' education was definitely an influence.

We do not know what was taught and who attended these schools. What is clear is that a section of influential workers recognised the need for a formal school for their and their children's growth as early as 1874. Nare's schools disturbed the rhythms of a worker life that employers created so passionately in front of the Factory Commissions. His schools questioned employers' orthodox partitioning of the workers' day as a time of work and the night as a time of rest. By not attending mill-work, educating their children in schools and mobilising workers for readdressing grievances, workers learned to question the norm of the industrial life in which they were caught for the first time. All this was happening in the absence of effective trade unions and governments' and employers' denial to provide education for workers and their children. Nare generated a politics of intellect in the poor working-class neighbourhoods that threatened to collapse the "natural" distinctions of society and culture which the "the educated and more influential classes" of the town maintained.[71] The mouthpiece of the employers, the *Indian Textile Journal* wrote mockingly, "The

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66 Chimanlal H. Setalvad (Chairman), *Educational: Report of the School Committee of the Bombay Municipality for the Year, 1920–1921* (Schools Committee's Office, Bombay, 1921), 290, http://dspace.gipe.ac.in:8080/xmlui/handle/10973/35259.

67 Rutnagur, *Bombay Industries*, vol. 2, 716.

68 Rutnagur, *Bombay Industries*, 716. On the history of this association, see Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis*, 191–92.

69 S. D. Punekar and R. Varickayil, eds., *Labour Movement in India: Documents: 1891–1917, Vol. 2* (New Delhi: I.C.H.R, 1990), 338.

70 Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis*, 191.

71 Quoted from Chandavarkar, "Workers' Politics and the Mill Districts in Bombay between the Wars," 605.

president was a man in ten thousand giving his leisure time to conducting a school for the children of mill-hands . . . The Indian operative is no more fit for Trade Unions than he is for scientific education or ever reading and writing. He has to first learn things that are much more necessary, touching his daily life and work."[72] The editor reasserted the dominant elite view that the realm of workers was labour and hard manual work; it was not education, not politics, not intellect.

The effort to intellectualise and politicise workers was to take them away from their immediate identities and necessities. And yet, Nare's schools were imbedded into the everyday realities of the working life. On the one hand, his schools became a tool that disturbed the status quo and the fixed image of workers; on the other hand, they taught workers to become conscious of their self, be disciplined and be responsible beings. Nare's schools provided new hope to the exploited working class to think of their and their children's lives in alternative terms. When workers in large numbers supported Gokhale's Education Bill for the introduction of compulsory education in 1911, the same journal commented, "their ideas of education must have been no clearer than those of the Indian people, who believe that the purpose of education is not to make the recipient an honest, capable and intelligent workman, but to raise him above the degradation of manual labour."[73] To workers, night schools presented an opportunity to achieve what seemed impossible – an entry into the world of literates.

Nare's vision of educating workers was framed by his vast experience and authoritative presence in Bombay's factory world. He distinguished the older generation of workers which had settled in Bombay from the incoming migrant generation. The latter, according to him, was a degenerated lot. It wasted its leisure time and resources on drinks and theatre. He called them "uneducated and thoughtless workers" who, finding ready cash at hand, indulged in vices. At work, they were controlled by employers and in the night by drinking habits and other "vices." The worker pedagogue remarked, "All this is due to [the] want of education and want of knowledge of the value of time and money."[74] Nare cherished the ideals of self-control, work ethics and values of time management and thrift. Education, he believed, was a tool of self-control and regaining the lost dignity. However, he had little hope from the current generation. It was probably

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72 Punekar and Varickayil, *Labour Movement in India*, 337–38.

73 Punekar and Varickayil, *Labour Movement in India*, 339; see also Sarada Balagopalan, *Inhabiting 'Childhood': Children, Labour and Schooling in Postcolonial India* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 77–80.

74 *TOI*, December 12, 1907, 5.

for this reason that during the oral testimony before the 1907 Factory Commission officials he only spoke of educating workers' children and worker-children. For adults, he proposed a 13-hour workday, from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. with a half an hour recess, throughout the mill industry and no wage rise. More money meant more spending on vices by workers. Instead, he demanded that the cost of education should be borne by mill owners, but schools should remain under the administration of the local educational officials.[75] Nare was fully aware of the scandals of "non-functional" factory schools set up by mill owners. And he was equally aware of working parents' temptation to send their children to earn wages. As a solution, he proposed that "It should be made compulsory for the children to attend school by making the production of a monthly certificate of attendance at a school a condition to their admission to, or continuance in, a factory."[76]

The Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha, administered by three secretaries and legal advisers, raised issues of the exploitative practice of wage withholding, a shorter work day, rampant alcoholism among workers and schools for workers.[77] By II, its programme also included the issues of workers' housing and sanitation, hospitals and free education for workers, appointments of Indian factory inspectors, laws ensuring compensation for accidents, workers' representation in municipal bodies and legislative councils.[78] It continued to conduct the night school for workers in Lower Parel. In 1919, it was an organisation of the labour aristocracy – comprising 200 workers who were "leading jobbers, muccadams, and railway workmen" who further commanded many workers.[79] In 1919, the Sabha continued to maintain a night school at the Lower Parel and a night class in its central building there.[80] Besides, as a social reform body, the Sabha was also politically engaged: "Their [Sabha and the Bombay Social Service League] aim was to rescue workers from the depths of ignorance. In response to low wages, they suggested more education; as a solution to bad housing conditions, they tried to teach workers hygiene; faced with poverty, they advocated thrift."[81] However, his analysis that the elite organisation of the Sabha made it difficult to adopt a radical programme is framed in opposition to the 1920s militant worker politics:

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75 *TOI*, December 12, 1907, 5.

76 *TOI*, December 12, 1907, 5.

77 Punekar and Varickayil, 339.

78 The *Indian Textile Journal*, October 1919, 16–17.

79 *Indian Textile Journal*, October 1919, 16.

80 *Indian Textile Journal*, October 1919, 16.

81 Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, *Imperial Power and Popular Politics: Class, Resistance and the State in India, c. 1850–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 129.

"[Sabha leaders] secretly held meetings in the chawls and only saw if anything could be secured by goodwill by going to the bungalows of the owners. But this clandestine management of affairs did not meet with success. Afterwards, people gradually lost confidence in that union also and that (union) too came to an end."[82] The fierce nature of the emerging workers' politics after the war years and a growing dependence on outside leadership pushed the programmes of education backward from the agenda of the workers' political organisations. In the late 1920s, the newly formed workers' trade union, the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal (GKM), maintained three day and night schools for workers and their children.[83] The union paid the salaries of teachers, but Alwe complained that Mayekar, the ex-secretary of the Union, often usurped these funds for his own interests.[84] We do not know if these schools were continued, and even if they were continued, they operated on a very small scale. The majority of workers attended schools established by the social and religious reform bodies, charity institutions, the Depressed Class Mission, Christian missionaries and Dalit organisations. In the following, I will focus on the activities of one such religious and civic organization, the Prarthana Samaj.

3.4 Theistic Association Night Schools

At a time when Nare's schools were pursuing workers to send their children to schools, the Theistic Association, a social and religious body advocating belief in a supreme being, began to organise night schools for the city's labouring poor on a large scale. The Theistic Association was an offshoot of the Prarthana Samaj (another theistic religious body) which was established in 1867 to promote the universality of God but it operated within the larger frame of a reformed Brahmanical Hinduism.[85] The Samaj, which had a limited membership, became a more social institution when the educational work began under the newly constituted Theistic Association in 1872. The Association's history can also be seen as part of the emerging public culture in the nineteenth-century Bombay where various religious and civic associations emerged to take the role of integrating the heterogenous populace in a rapidly changing society and

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82 Kranti, January 20, 1929, 1.

83 *MCC,* Alwe's examination, GIPE-024101, 961.

84 *MCC,* Alwe's examination, GIPE-024101, 961.

85 Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis*, 162.

economy.[86] However, operating within the traditional hierarchies of caste, religion, region and class, these associations often reproduced the social tensions prevalent within the society.[87] The Theistic Association was no exception to this; run by educated upper-caste elites, it had a patronising tone towards workers and saw their identity as ideal and disciplined labourers of the mills and other employers.

The Association was first established by Keshab Chunder Sen in Calcutta in the early 1870s as an affiliate body of the Prarthana Samaj to discuss "religious and moral questions."[88] Sen, who had returned from England after seeing the role of the Anglican Church in educating and disciplining the industrial poor through schools, stressed the idea of social-cum-religious work in his lectures in Bombay and inspired others.[89] Association members proclaimed to raise the poor masses from their "degraded status." Hinduism, as it was practised by conservative upper-castes, was too ritualistic for the members. According to them, it had little sympathy for the poor and for their moral and intellectual needs. From the very beginning, it began to focus on the educational needs of the labouring and artisanal classes "whose lowly condition and want of means did not permit them to obtain it in the usual course, and whose leisure is otherwise likely to be injuriously spent."[90] Partly to control and discipline the leisure hours of the poor and partly to recognise the long working hours of factory workers, it constituted a night school committee. Education seemed the best method for the members to alleviate the mental and material status of the poor. Night schools allowed the Association to create a space where Indian elites and local European officials such as court judges, doctors and municipal officers affirmed their "progressive liberal" thoughts, benevolent human nature and contributions to the larger society. Primarily led by Atmaram Pandurang (1823–1898), the prolific social reformer and medical practitioner, the Association was able to receive the patronage of the local colonial government who presided over the night school annual functions and contributed to its fund collection.[91] For his social services, Pandurang was appointed as the sheriff of Bombay, Justice of the Peace and a fellow of the Bombay University.[92] Within the emerging modern Bombay's civil society, the presence of a

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86 Kidambi, 201.

87 Kidambi, 201.

88 TOI, January 15, 1883, 3: February 28, 1912, 10.

89 Followers W. Modak, N. M. Parmanand and A. Pandurang were inspired by the idea and established the Association. TOI, Samaj Night Schools, February 28, 1912, 10.

90 *TOI*, January 15, 1883, 3.

91 *TOI*, April 27, 1898, 4.

92 *TOI*, April 27, 1898, 4.

large oppressed labouring population offered an opportunity for the upper class and elite castes to fashion their own selves in a distinctly modern sense where ideals of social reform, charity and service were closely intermingled with promoting the imperial and emerging industrial order. At the annual prize distribution ceremony of the Association's night schools in 1881, George Cotton, the Chairman of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, was the chief guest. He remarked that he was at the brink of declining the invitation sent by Pandurang and then suddenly he experienced a "selfish gratification" which persuaded him to attend the ceremony and be part of the greater good.[93] From the movement emerged important social reformers and the public advocated who redefined the social and industrial landscape of Bombay,[94] including those who ran the Depressed Classes Mission Society which established night schools for Dalit labourers.

The first night school of the Association was established in 1876, and by 1889, five more schools were added.[95] Established in the working-class neighbourhoods of Kalbadevi, Girgaum, Gamdevi, Byculla and Dongri, these schools met the educational needs of a diverse labouring people and castes. In 1891, there were 279 students in these schools. Of these, 65 were mill workers and office peons, 23 book-binders and compositors, 13 shopkeepers, 11 hamals, 10 each carpenters and goldsmiths, 9 tally-clerks, 8 fitters, 3 each coppersmiths, painters, beggars, Marathi teachers and electro-platers, 2 each day-labourers, barbers, coachmen and domestic servants, one tailor, and 18 unemployed.[96] The diverse occupational backgrounds of these students confirm the flourishing and expanding labouring market of Bombay.[97] And we see that education is not only sought by the skilled workers and workers that might benefit from literacy such as mill workers, printing press workers, teachers, painters, electro-players and tailors but also by those whose occupations may not necessarily require literacy at all such as day labourers, beggars, barbers and domestic servants. Unskilled and unemployed people also saw some benefits from education in their lives.

In terms of caste, these schools again present a unique social world as they comprised high and low castes at the same time. Among its ranks, there were 166 Marathas, 27 Bhundarees, 11 each Vaishyas and Brahmans, 10 each Sonars and Kolees, 8 each Muslims and Agrees, 4 Simpees, 3 each Soothars, Cammattes,

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93 *TOI*, March 21, 1891, 5.

94 These included the social reformer and lawyer N. G. Chandavarkar and Vithal Ramji Shinde.

95 *TOI*, January 15, 1883, 3.

96 *TOI*, March 21, 1891, 5.

97 Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, Chap. 3.

Kassars, Coombhars and Hajams, 2 each Telis and Vanjarees, and 1 each Parbhu, Shenvee, Gowlee, Jew and native Christian.[98] These schools were truly diverse in their social composition except for including women and Dalits. Like in textile mills where Dalits employment was resisted in high wage weaving departments, Dalits of the city were absent from these night schools.[99] However, a growing presence of Dalit labour in the city, and particularly in cotton mills, meant that any politics of social reform and service had to include and negotiate the presence of the diverse labouring population.[100] In 1890, the Association established a night school for Mahars (a Dalit caste in the Bombay Presidency) in the Dongri area who were mainly employed by the Great India Peninsular Railway Company workshop.[101] Later, they also established another night schools for Dalits of the Madanpura neighbourhood which was predominantly inhabited by Muslim workers.[102]

The age of students in these schools ranged from twelve to 35 – from child worker to the adult worker.[103] In terms of proportions, very few workers, and fewer mill workers, were passing through these schools. Nonetheless, this number was not insignificant and static. If we count, including the irregular students who attended the Theistic Association night schools infrequently and left with a little smattering of English and arithmetic, no less than 2,748 workers attended these six schools between 1886 and 1890. In 1912, we came to know that three more schools were added in the working-class neighbourhoods of Thakurdwar, Khetwady and Dongri. And the number of students increased to 565 students.[104] The Theistic Association calculated that by 1912, over 26,000 workers had attended these schools.[105] In 1911, the Bombay city was inhabited by 979,445 individuals.[106] If we assume that all those 26,000 people were living in 1912, about 2.65% of the city's population was educated by just these six schools over roughly three decades.

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98 *TOI*, March 21, 1891, 5.

99 On Dalits' exclusion from weaving departments see Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, 325–26.

100 The proportion of Dalit workers in the textile mills increased from 1% in 1872 to 12% in 1921. Upadhyay, "Cotton Mill Workers in Bombay, 1875 to 1918," PE 87.

101 *TOI*, April 30 1891, 5.

102 *TOI*, December 19, 1901, 5.

103 *TOI*, January 15, 1883, 3.

104 *TOI*, February 28, 1912, 10.

105 *TOI*, February 28, 1912, 10.

106 On Dalits' exclusion from the weaving department see Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capitalism*, 325–26.

And these were not the only night schools running in the city; there were several others which the labouring population attended after their work hours. For example, the Theistic Association reported that there were three other night schools in Byculla, Dongri and Girgaum run by Christian missionaries and a "private gentleman" which directly competed with their schools.[107] We also came to know of a Day and Night schools for workers and their children in Colaba area which was run by one Mrs. Trimbuck. Workers of the Oriental Spinning and Weaving Mills and of the Government Central Press along with some shopkeepers attended these schools.[108] Similarly, there was another Free Night School at the Parel opposite the Kohinoor Mills run by the Young Men's Hindu Association for Dalit labourers.[109] The growing number of students in these schools caught the attention of one Madhaudas Morarji of the Times of India who stated that about 2,000 people (0.204% of the total population and about six % of the school attending population) attended night schools daily in 1911 in Bombay.[110]

Usually run from 7 to 9 p.m. in the buildings of the local schools or in some working-class buildings, these schools replicated the curriculum of government primary schools. Falling in line with the guidelines of the Public Instruction Department meant that these schools could get some financial help in the form of grant-in-aid from the government.[111] They taught reading, writing and arithmetic. However, the diverse social composition of these schools meant that different languages were taught in these schools ranging from Marathi, Gujrati, Urdu and English. Some schools also taught history and geography.[112] However, the Theistic Association schools reported that worker-students resisted learning geography and grammar but did not reveal the reasons for this.[113] The Association authorities always argued for keeping its schools close to the workers' needs. Courses on bookkeeping, accounting, drawing and designing were suggested as the ideal subjects for workers.[114]

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107 *TOI*, April 23, 1890, 3.

108 "The Colaba Day, Night, and Sunday School," *TOI*, February 1, 1890, 3.

109 "Parel Free Night School," *TOI*, January 16, 1911, 8.

110 *TOI*, May 11, 1911, 6. The number of students attending schools up to high schools was 36,126 in 1909, and the above percentage is based on this number. See S. M. Edwardes, *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Vol. 3* (Bombay: Printed at Time Press, 1910), 125.

111 For example, the grant-in-aid of the Theistic Association was increased from Rs. 247 to Rs. 400 in 1911–12. "Samaj Night Schools," *TOI*, Feb 28, 1912, 10.

112 "Exhibition of the Theistic Association's Night Schools," *TOI*, January 15, 1883, 3.

113 *TOI*, March 27, 1885, 3.

114 *TOI*, March 27, 1885, 3.

Though radical in its time and unprecedented in its scale, these schools were framed by a language of "improving" the working class in a rapidly industrialising society where the poor was predominantly seen as a source of problems ranging from diseases, prostitution, raucous gatherings and communal violence. Except for Nare's schools, these schools were run top-down, and those running these schools saw themselves as coming from an altogether different world. In 1883, the authorities of the Theistic Association asked for financial support from the city's mill owners. They argued that their schools saved factory workers from idling their leisure hours, taught them to be "honest, sober, thrifty, skilled and intelligent" which ultimately helped mills in managing the labour efficiently.[115] Such a line of argument resonated with the concerns of mill owners who, at this point, inhabited contradictory positions – that is to not spend anything on the education of workers and constantly complain about the lack of work ethics among workers. Initially dependent on the annual contributions from members and charity of the wealthy class, the Association by the 1890s stabilised their novel institutions through the grant-in-aid from the education department. Among its contributors included the earliest labour leader Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengali who not only contributed Rs. 50 yearly but also provided special book grants for students. Support from Bengali suggests that the early labour movement and the demand for workers' education was a linked issue as it was not just Bengali who was associated with night schools but also the prominent labour leader, Narayan Lokhande.[116] It was perhaps from this school going crowd that Lokhande was able to gather support for his 1884 petition and labour activism.

This enthusiasm for education among a section of workers sits in contrast to the portrayal of workers as not interested/engaged in education that both the colonial sources and subsequent labour historiography present. Despite the constraints of long hours of work, absence of public education and poor wages, workers traversed the world of manual labour and education seamlessly. Of course, their education was full of ups and downs, and night schools were ephemeral entities. Excessive long hours of work and later temptation to do double shifts to square wages limited workers' participation in education projects but none of the school reports mentioned a lack of engagement from workers. In fact, the local educational administration cited the lack of funds to reject

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115 *TOI*, September 26, 1883, 3.
116 Lokhande, the most influential labour leader in nineteenth-century Bombay, was a member of a Night School Committee which ran seven night schools (perhaps of the Theistic Association). On Bengali and Lokhande, see Sarkar, *Trouble at the Mill*, 100–114, 187; *FC 1890*, 43.

the applications of opening new night schools.[117] Commenting on the enthusiasm of workers for education, Madhaudas Morarji wrote, "how low paid workers who somehow or other are able to maintain themselves and their families, [are] attending these night schools so enthusiastically instead of enjoying their well-earned rest."[118] But at the same time, it remains a fact that the majority of workers did not attend a school.

Since the second decade of the twentieth century, a new social service organisation, the Social Service League, would start opening night schools on a larger scale. In 1917, the League ran 15 night schools in various working-class neighbourhoods with 450 enrolled students.[119] The Theistic Association schools which had come back under the umbrella of the Prarthana Samaj in 1899 continued to survive but on a smaller scale. In 1925, the Samaj reported that it had seven schools with 186 students on school registers.[120] The 1920s also marked the period of the emergence of a fragmented welfare capitalism in Bombay where many mill owners began to invest in the welfare of workers, especially in their leisure hours.[121] And the Social Service League was a key player in invoking and sustaining the discourse of welfare capitalism.[122] This also marked an intense contestation over the control of the nights of workers as keeping workers busy during the leisure hours meant control over workers' political activism.[123] I explore this colonisation of night elsewhere in great detail.[124]

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that nights are an important moment to study working-class history, albeit not restricted to the labouring frames. The movement towards night-time work shifts with the installations of electricity was

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117 *Report of the Indian Education Commission* (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1883), 147.

118 *TOI*, May 11, 1911, 6.

119 "Social Service League," *TOI*, November 16, 1917, 4.

120 "Prarthana Samaj Night Schools," *TOI*, May 20, 1925, 11.

121 Two major groups of mills, Currimbhoy Ebrahim and Sons and Messrs. Tata & Sons organised welfare work on a large scale and established the Workingmen Institutes.

122 Rangildas Kapadia, "The Bombay Social Service League," *The Modern Review*, April 1936, 395–408.

123 Chandavarkar calculates the number of strikes in individual mills as 189 between 1917 and 1920 along with two general strikes in 1919 and 1920.

124 Kumar, "Learning to Dream: Education, Aspiration, and Working Lives in Colonial India (1880s–1940s)," PhD dissertation.

accompanied by another phenomenon in Bombay that is the use of nights by workers to educate themselves, be literate and eligible for more respectable jobs and status. In doing so, I have explained that struggles for carving out leisure hours (non-work time) from the 1880s, particularly the evening time and the night time (dawn and dusk), was an important feature of the late nineteenth-century labour politics. Night schools fitted into the wider struggles of workers to lay claim over their freedom, leisure hours and lives. In this period, night emerged a critical arena for workers to reconstitute their self, and night schools took them away from the everydayness of the shop-floor exploitation and household constraints. It gave them an opportunity to present and create a new self – the educated worker. However, the night was subject to variation for different workers and often constrained in varying degrees for the adult male worker, female workers and children. Long work hours, weak labour laws and limited educational resources meant that the majority of workers could not get an education. And even those who got through various night schools were subject to the visions of the school authorities. The nature of the working-class education that emerges in this period is geared towards making the worker more disciplined, industrious, healthy and docile. It is a trend that continues into the twentieth century with employers taking a keen interest in the nights of workers.

Rosa Maria Fina

4 Nightwork in Lisbon (1890–1915)

> The phrase "the sleeping city" is not however entirely accurate, and with the growth of
> the big cities it becomes more and more of a myth: the boundaries of the night are burst
> open very early on both sides.[1]

At the end of the nineteenth century, we can observe the beginning of a continuous activity in the city of Lisbon, without the night as a frontier (Melbin 1987) completely breaking the rhythm of the city life: "The workers, strung with the walls, with their ears raised, the workers at night, the sleepless, the nighthawks – those who earn their bread in the light of the stars."[2] Since the second half of the nineteenth century, the city experienced a great population growth caused by the industrial development. Somehow delayed by the turbulent political situation,[3] it was facilitated and reinforced by the development of the railways since 1856. From the 1890s, the development also accelerated some changes in mentalities. By 1915, Portugal quit its purely agricultural character and became at least a partly industrialised state with night work as an important part of the (city's) economic productivity.

The industrial development entangled with the demographical increase of Lisbon. While in 1849 the city counted three and a half million inhabitants, in 1890 it was already more than five million, and in 1915 this number rose to six million.[4] The city was a point of arrival mainly of men from the rural interior of Portugal and of Spain (especially from Galicia province) and from African countries. In a hope of finding job and what to earn their life for, these people were at the origin of formation of a new, poor and multicultural strata of the

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1 Joachim Schlör, *Nights in the Big City. Paris, Berlin, London (1840–1930)* (London: Reaktion books, 1998), 36.

2 Fialho de Almeida, "De noite," in *Lisboa Galante* (Lisboa: Editora Vega, 1994).

3 This was mainly due to a series of political events in the first half of the nineteenth century: the attempts of the Napoleonic occupation (1806–1811), the Liberal Revolution (1820), the loss of the Brazillian colony (1822) and the political and military conflicts between liberals and absolutists that endured until 1840, when the liberal monarchy was well established. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the Portuguese economy was steady enough to welcome the industrial development.

4 Teresa Rodrigues, "Ser imigrante na Lisboa Oitocentista," in *Exclusão na história. Actas do Colóquio Internacional sobre Exclusão Social*, eds. Maria João Vaz, Eunice Relvas, and Nuno Pinheiro (Oeiras: Celta Editora., 2000), 25.

city.[5] In the overcrowded city, many of them had no choice but to roam the city night streets and take part in the informal or liminal activities, creating a specific social substratum, which inhabited the city night.

This chapter explores the composition, the activities and the work and life conditions of this specific social strata. First, the text explores the scenery of industrialising Lisbon. It sets the city context of the establishment of the city working class in general and of the night workers strata. It maps the geography of factories and of the working-class districts. The second part refers more specifically to the night life of the city and focuses on the informal night work activities.

As these people did not leave many traces of their existence, the text relies on the reflections on them by some writers, poets and journalists and proceeds to a contextual analysis of their observations. These sources are completed with some statistical data.

4.1 The Geography and the Work Conditions in Lisbon's Night

> To travel from the centres of capitalist accumulation, with their exploitation of factory production workers, to the margins of proletarization is to enter another world of inequality, subordination, and sociocultural imbalance.[6]

Until 1850, most factories and manufacturers in Lisbon had less than ten workers. The widespread nature of the steam machine by this year then started the massive industrial development.[7] By the 1890s, the important urbanistic constructions which symbolically opened the capital city to the industrial era followed.[8] The symbol of these processes was the destruction of the Passeio Público in the city centre (a symbol of the Pombal era)[9] in order to build the largest and longest city avenue (Avenida da Liberdade) in its place. Along with

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5 Miriam Halpern Pereira, "Demografia e desenvolvimento em Portugal na segunda metade do século XIX," *Análise Social* 7, no. 25/26 (1969): 85–117.

6 Bryan D. Palmer, *Cultures of Darkness. Night Travels in the Histories of Transgression [from Medieval to Modern]* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000), 257.

7 Jaime Reis, "A industrialização num país de desenvolvimento lento e tardio: Portugal, 1870–1913," *Análise Social* XXIII, no. 96 (1987): 207–27.

8 Ana Barata, *Lisboa caes da Europa. Realidades, desejos e ficções para a cidade (1860–1930)* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2010).

9 Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo, Marquês de Pombal (1699–1782), was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Kingdom to King Joseph the First and was part on the Portuguese Government between 1750 and 1777. He was a representant of the Enlightenment absolutism

this huge urban project, the municipality decided to proceed to the construction also of other new avenues according to the model of the Hausmann reconstruction of Paris. These huge constructions returned the industrial, urban and demographic development of the city. Indeed, by the 1890s, the construction sector formed one of the most dynamic sectors of the city´s economy with night work as a standard activity.
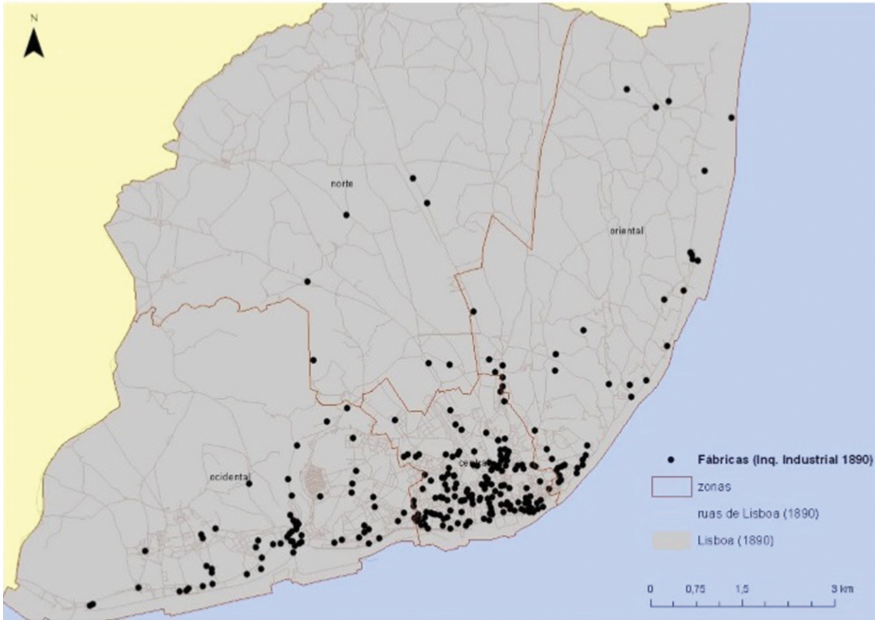
Fig. 4.1: SEQ Figura * ARABIC 1: Factories' location according to the 1890 Industrial Survey. Copyright: Ana Alcântara.[10]

Along with these symbolical urbanistic constructions, new factories were constructed. They framed the river, which was the main transport communication in the city. The industrial strip started in Beato (east) and ended in Alcântara valley (west). The industrial clusters were also organised by their production segment: in Beato and Xabregas, wine storages, tobacco and cotton industries and windmills

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with English influence as he spent several years as Portuguese Ambassador in London. He was also responsible for the reconstruction of the city after the great earthquake of 1755.

10 Ana Alcântara, *Espaços da Lisboa Operária. Trabalho, habitação, associativismo e intervenção operária na cidade na última década do século XIX* (Tese de Doutoramento, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2019).

operated; in Boavista were the foundry and nail factories; in Alcântara, Santo Amaro and Calvário textiles, leather, ceramic and sawing workshops grew.[11] The new city districts followed this organisation, while several employers undertook the construction of the workers' housing. Such projects gave birth to the neighbourhoods in the proximity of their factories (for example, Estrela d'Ouro in Graça), located in the centre east of the city. These were, however, the exception.

Attracting inhabitants of poor rural areas, what could be seen as a technological progress, reinforced pre-existing territorial inequalities in the state. Fostering distinct regional dynamics,[12] the industrial development made from poor rural population poor urban inhabitants of the capital city. In parallel, these people soon outnumbered the traditional city strata and transformed Lisbon from a city inhabited mostly by aristocracy and the higher social strata of merchants into a multicultural city with strong numbers of lower social strata of poor rural origins. According to the 1890 census, 62% of Lisbon inhabitants were born outside the city. Mostly men were quitting their fields, leaving an absence of the necessary labour force.[13]

However, when they arrived in the city, they barely improved their life and work conditions. Although quickly developing Lisbon factories needed a new workforce, the offer of the workforce was still bigger than the demand. This situation, as well as low wages, forced many workers to extend the working hours into the night-time as well as to send their children to factories.[14] Eleven or more-hour shifts were not an exception with even 18-hour long shifts reported,

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11 Most of this information (as the map, with due consent) is taken from a PhD thesis on the Lisbon working classes by Ana Alcântara (UNL 2019), which lays out a depiction of the city and the spaces (leisure and professional) occupied by the working classes.

12 L. E. Silveira, D. Alves, N. M. Lima, A. Alcântara, and J. Puig-Farré, "Caminhos de ferro, população e desigualdades territoriais em Portugal (1801–1930)," *Rev Ler História* 61 (2011): 7–38, 8.

13 C, *Censo da população do Reino de Portugal a 1 de Dezembro de 1890*, Vol. 1 Relatório, LIV (1890).

14 The Companhia de Fabrico de Algodões de Xabregas [Xabregas Cotton Manufacturing Company], for example, was founded in 1858 by English industrialists, following the model of the similar units in Manchester. Seeking to train future workers, in 1862, the so-called boarding school was created admitting "minor strays" as apprentices. In addition there was "a night class of primary education" (Alexandra de Carvalho Antunes "A Companhia de Fabrico de Algodões de Xabregas, em Lisboa, e a melhoria das condições da vida operária na segunda metade do séc. XIX," in *História do Movimento Operário e conflitos sociais em Portugal*, org. Cabreira Pamela Peres (IHC, 2020), 330, 329–46). So the children worked during the day, learning the tasks, and were schooled in the evening. This was seen as an example of goodwill and investment in the future.

while industrialists were occupied by their workers' productivity and argued that the shifts were an effective way to prevent the workers from uselessly roaming the night streets and drinking alcohol.[15] From the 1890s, these attitudes mingled with the first attempts of the labour movement to impose the eight-hour shift and better work conditions; however, the class consciousness was still too weak and the movement did not meet any bigger success.[16]

The diversity, the elemental increase and the poverty of new urban proletariat fascinated the traditional city inhabitant classes, contrasting with their stable numbers, well-established social parameters and the almost exclusive racial and social uniformity. In their attitude, both fear and pity mixed. On the one hand, they considered the new urban proletariat mainly as criminal and dangerous with distrust of their vagrant and elemental character. Not distinguishing poverty and evil, they considered these people as vagrants in the sense of a "'negative paradigm' of wandering poverty, detached from the community, not integrated into the traditional networks of inter-knowledge and sociability."[17] This non-integration and non-fixed place in society scared the upper classes and gave birth to the notion of the underworld, closely connected with the night.[18]

On the other hand, they were fascinated by their work and life conditions. These attitudes projected in the media discourse. For example, in 1909, the magazine *Ilustração Portuguesa* made a feature about the workers in lime kilns titled "A job that kills," (Fig. 4.2) describing it as "a trip to Dante's hell."[19] These kilns expelled toxic lime dust, which, along with the extreme heat, harmed the workers' health. By the age of 40, they became too weak and ill to work and many of them died even before that age. In another article of the magazine, the author also focused on this branch, depicting the scenes as he observed the flames from the kilns at the Monsanto hill in the western part of the city over the whole night.

15 BTI, "Inquérito sobre as condições das indústrias têxteis e situação do respectivo pessoal," in *Decreto de 18 de Agosto de 1911, in Boletim do Trabalho Industrial (BTI) n.º 69* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1911), 73.

16 Ana Alcântara, "Associações de classe e operariado na Lisboa do final do século XIX," in *História do Movimento Operário e conflitos sociais em Portugal*, org. Pamela Peres Cabreira (IHC, 2020), 23–47, 39.

17 João Fatela, "'Para se lhes dar destino . . .' Modos de repressão dos vadios em Portugal na segunda metade do séc. XIX," in *Exclusão na história. Actas do Colóquio Internacional sobre Exclusão Social,* eds. Maria João Vaz, Eunice Relvas and Nuno Pinheiro (Oeiras: Celta Editora, 2000), 149.

18 Kalifa 2013.

19 IP, *Ilustração Portuguesa*, n.º169, 609–612, 609. Lisboa, May 17th 1909.

Fig. 4.2: SEQ Figura * ARABIC 2: "A Job that kills" in Ilustração Portuguesa, n.º169, Lisboa, 17 de Maio de 1909.

In the same line, the 1911 National Survey[20] was supposed to summarily investigate the work conditions in the textile industry, which was counted among the most important sectors in Portugal and had export ambitions to the African continent.[21] This was the first official survey addressing the night work and its conditions that the employers offered to take part in. It was done in the aftermath of the establishment of the Republican Regime (1910) and was consistent with efforts of the regime – from Socialist inspiration – to evaluate the work

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20 "Inquérito sobre as condições das indústrias têxteis e situação do respectivo pessoal." Decreto de 18 de Agosto de 1911, in Boletim do Trabalho Industrial (BTI) n.º 69, Lisboa, Impresa Nacional, 1911 (Survey on the conditions of the textile industries and the situation of their staff." Decree of 18 August 1911, In Industrial Labor Bulletin n.º69, Lisbon, National Press, 1911).

21 This especially after the 1890 British ultimatum which forced Portugal to retreat from areas claimed on the basis of historical discovery and recent exploration (namely territories that connected the two Portuguese colonies Angola and Mozambique) but which the United Kingdom claimed on the basis of effective occupation. See also Pedro José Marto Neves, *Grandes Empresas industriais de um país pequeno: Portugal. Da década de 1880 à 1.ª Guerra Mundial* (dissertação de doutoramento, UTL-ISEG, 2007), 144–181.

conditions and abuses that might take place in the industries. The questions were addressed to each textile company in the state. Some of them were thorough and demonstrated political effort to collect information about this type of work, with clear intention to evaluate the situation in order to further legislate it. Therefore, among the questions was, for example: (1) Is there any nightwork professed?; (2) In which seasons of the year?; (3) Which workers execute it?; (4) Is the night work professed only by adult men or also by female and child workers?; (5) How many hours of nightwork is done in total?; (6) Do night workers face any abuses?[22]

While most of the factories in the backcountry did not respond (or did in a quite uncomplete way), a few establishments in Lisbon did. Of a total of 44 responding companies, only 13 admitted using the night work, while they ignored most of the other more specific questions. Most of them also claimed that night work was seasonal (mainly from November to February) and/or that it was rather an overtime in a case that the daily ten-hour shift did not meet the task deadlines.

It seems that these missing, incomplete or evasive answers were rather the sign that most of the establishments did use the night work, however, did not want to admit it for various reasons. Most probably, the working conditions were poor and the use of the night work excessive, so the companies wanted to avoid any kind of control by public authorities. As the trade unions were yet in infancy, there existed no reliable reports or investigation of work conditions, so they remained the issue of media, the upper social strata and the state institutions. In fact, the night shift in Portugal was not framed until 1915 despite the widespread discussions steaming from the Bern conventions which in 1905–1906 put the first universal attempts in place to prohibit night work for women and children in Europe. In Portugal, the conventions were ratified only between 1912 and 1915, before the ban of night work for women and children by the International Labor Organisation in 1919 definitively brought to an end this first phase of the night work regulations.[23]

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22 BTI, "Inquérito sobre," 12.
23 David O. R. Pereira, "As políticas sociais em Portugal (1910–1926)" (PhD diss., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012), 50.

4.2 Variety of the Night City Professions

> Alone, or in small groups, at unyielding hours, one can see those sleepless creatures leaving the doorways of the houses and coming in and out of cafes, billiard rooms, cheating houses, brothels and liqueur bars.[24]

The influx of new inhabitants was also at the origin of the elemental geography of the city which strengthened with the afflux of rural and African migrants from 1864. As the organised habitation construction was lacking, most of the newcomers were brought to construct improvised housing in the vicinity of the factories they worked in. They usually inhabited, occupied, altered or reconstructed the already existing old buildings while it was just in the neighbouring areas that a new city was constructed. As a consequence, this created the large aggregations of "working-class" residents in the frontier areas between "old Lisbon" and the new industrial development poles[25] growing in the east and west of the old city (Fig. 4.1). They formed specific workers' neighbourhoods with houses made of all materials which were available, often with unsatisfactory sanitary conditions and their own life. The most typical example could be seen in the districts of Alfama and Mouraria.[26]

Many of the newcomers however did not dispose of any housing at all while the lack of any systematic social care beyond the few upper classes' and religious initiatives did not permit improving their situation. In the end, they were condemned to incessantly roam the night city streets until dawn because, contrary to the social initiatives, the repressive legislation did become stricter. In fact, when one remained too long in one place, he or she became automatically suspicious and could easily get arrested by police or be taken to the infamous and overcrowded shelters run by the catholic organisation Santa Casa da Misericórdia.[27] Indeed, the colourful depiction of the Lisbon night people at the

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24 Almeida, "De noite," 126.

25 Barata, *Lisboa caes da Europa*, 209.

26 Rodrigues "Ser imigrante," 25.

27 Holy House of Mercy [Santa Casa da Misericórdia] was a religious institution founded in 1498 by the Queen Leonor (widowed queen of D. João II) with the goal to help those in need. The development of maritime expansion, port and commercial activity favoured the influx of people to large urban centres, as Lisbon was. People came looking for work or enrichment in an often unsuccessful search. The streets turned into dens of promiscuity and disease, crowding beggars and the disabled. Shipwrecks and battles also caused a large number of widows and orphans, and the situation of those imprisoned in the kingdom's prisons was distressing. In this difficult context, D. Leonor decided to institute a Sisterhood of Invocation to Our Lady of Mercy, in the Cathedral of Lisbon (Chapel of Our Lady of Piety or the Loose Land), where it became its headquarters. In the nineteenth century, this centennial institution helped to dwell

beginning of this subchapter comes from a realist writer Fialho de Almeida (1857–1911) who attentively observed the social structure of the second half of nineteenth-century Lisbon and was well known for his chronicles about Lisbon and its people. Beyond his criticism of the city upper classes, he also wrote about the city at night and the characters that inhabited it. One of his short stories, called "At Night,"[28] observes the walkers, always in motion, because if they stopped for a long time in the same place, the police or someone from the Catholic association *Holy House of Mercy* [Santa Casa da Misericórdia] could come and take them away.

The night street inhabitants undertook various activities. Some of them of course had recourse to criminal activities as theft or loitering. Indeed, as Louis Chevalier illustrated in the urban studies classic *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses*,[29] rapid and continuous population increase inevitably led to general social dislocation and ineradicable poverty, which in turn generated intolerable quantities of lower-class crime and violence. Chevalier believed that this pathological situation was tragically inevitable: all were guilty, and all were victims. While the upper classes did not distinguish between poverty and crime, this substratum was at the origin of many fantasies and stories, exactly as Dominique Kalifa described in his book about the Underworld (Kalifa 2013).

Others succeeded in getting employed as a night guard, which was a specific case of the informal night profession. Night guards often presented themselves with a set of keys, which were entrusted to them by neighbours. Their task was to lock and secure all gates, in exchange for a small amount. For most of the year, their principal job started after midnight when the streetlights turned out. They roamed the block holding a lantern until dawn and paid attention that nothing or no one harmed the entrusted property.[30]

They were supposed to exist in parallel to the already institutionalised Royal Guard and the Civil Police. According to the 1867 Legal Charter [Carta de Lei],[31] "when the inhabitants of any circumscription wanted it to be watched more constantly, given the inadequate policing available, it would be granted the direct assignment of a 'police officer'." In other words, the night guard turned out to be a measure to compensate for the lack of policing that was felt throughout the

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the vagrancy problem, and the city council asked for their help collecting homeless people from the streets, not always in a consented manner.

28 Almeida, "De noite," 121–129.

29 Louis Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses* (Plon: collection Civilisations d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, 1958).

30 João Afonso and José Rodrigues, *Os Guardas-Noturnos. História, Estatutos e Regime Jurídico* (Chiado Books, 2019), 43–49.

31 CL, *Carta de Lei de 2 de Julho de 1867* (Imprensa Nacional, 1867).

nineteenth century because in the same royal document, it was said that this function did not necessarily have to be performed by police elements but by an "individual or individuals proposed by them." From the outset, therefore, it was not a public service but a complementary service which could be recognised as necessary precisely because of the lack of policing. In 1883, a Portuguese Parliament was deliberating on the need to formalise this profession and give it the necessary benefits. Although there are records that speak of the need of guards to work exclusively at night from the mid-seventeenth century, as was the case with Quadrilheiros [civil night watchmen],[32] (Fig. 4.3) at the end of the nineteenth century, the ratification of the profession was still in discussion.

Fig. 4.3: SEQ Figura * ARABIC 3: Night watchman figure (189-)
Portuguese National Library Archive.

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32 A group of civil armed men appointed by the City Hall were in charge of their own neighbourhood security during the night. These groups existed in Lisbon between the fifteenth and the end of the eighteenth century.

Another typical character of the Lisbon city night was the coffee and spirits (liquor) seller. He was also present in popular culture, as one of main characters of Fialho de Almeida's short stories. In one story, he wanders the city during the night to catch up with those who work at night and have nothing to warm up with: "The boiled alcohol mixture is then sold to the sentries, the night coachmen, and the *decavés* he finds in the streets." These coffee and brandy vendors were called "fireflies"; "The "fireflies" men died with their coffee pots, selling a liquid they called coffee . . . the bottles of spirits, and even the basket with glasses and cups, bearing the drunken and the nighthawks, from the early hours until late dawn in the neighborhoods of Alfama, Mouraria, Bairro Alto, Baixa, etc."[33] The profession was occupied mainly by low paid unqualified male workers who sought to earn extra money (sleeping just an hour or two between chores). Sometimes, they were old former workers who could no longer meet the requirements of the heavy physical work in the factory. According to the references of their clients, the liquid they called coffee was often made from the leftovers of the city's coffee grounds they got by begging at the doorsteps and then mixed with water and sugar. The spirits were usually homemade. Albeit unhealthy and bitter, both liquids were used by the clients regardless of their social status to keep themselves awake and to warm up. Finding a "firefly" in the cold night would always be a comfort.

Alberto Pimentel, a journalist and writer, focused on the description of another night profession, the newspaper boys. Sometimes they announced the early morning, sometimes they crawled through the night trying to sell the last copies of the day that was already over: "Then, as night falls, the swarm of boys who sell newspapers riots in the streets, and sometimes, early in the morning, a ten-year-old offers, shivering with cold, very eagerly, the Novidades [Novelties], which are already old at this time, and the Night Mail, which by then should be called Morning Mail."[34]

In general, however, many of the informal works were liminal with criminal activities, exactly in a way as was emphasised by Friedrich Engels, who in his writings pointed out that much of the crime was committed by workers who simply did not earn enough money to feed their families.[35] One of the most

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33 Alfredo Augusto Lopes, *Vendedores Ambulantes*, Conferência realizada em 15 de Junho de 1943 na sala do grupo "Amigos de Lisboa," Separata de Olisipo, n.º 5 de Abril e Julho de, 1943, 31.

34 Alberto Pimentel, *Vida de Lisboa* (Lisboa: Parceria António Maria Pereira – Livraria Editora, 1900), 54.

35 "The contempt for the existing social order is most conspicuous in its extreme form – that of offences against the law. If the influences demoralising to the working-man act more powerfully, more concentratedly than usual, he becomes an offender as certainly as water abandons

common activities was begging, as the darkness could provide the beggar with at least some anonymity. They often professed at the proximity of railway stations, rich districts and main squares, where they could find more generous offers and move the hearts of the bourgeois wives.[36]

The poet Cesário Verde (1855–1886) depicted other inhabitants of the city night, from the visible ones to those who remained mostly invisible. His city night was peopled by the "marsans,/ like rats, in the fat grocery stores," the young, often just boys, who worked and lived in the warehouses, "bogged down for so many years!," or by the "craft artists" who roamed the city "weary from the job."[37] The poet described the city at night and the characters he could meet on his frequent night-walks. When the carpenters, caulkers and other honest professions gathered at the sound of bells, others came to their craft at night, such as bakers preparing the bread for the next morning, cutters, night guards or street prostitutes. He observed these people and registered his ideas in his texts which nevertheless remained unpublished during his life and so were inaccessible to his contemporaries. Among his notes, the prostitute necessarily occupied an important place, and she also fascinated many others (Guinote 2007, 11).[38] The writings also point that there were several types of prostitutes, from the ones that roamed the streets and broke the law and the ladies of brothels which were under regulation to the upper class "cocottes" who had luxurious apartments where they received the political and economic elite (Guinote 2007, 11).

Finally, probably the most emblematic profession of the Lisbon night was the *fadista* [*fado* singer]. As a historian Dominique Kalifa points out:

> Paris did not have a monopoly of songs about the underworld. In the working-class areas of Lisbon, in the taverns of the Bairo Alto and Alfama, the fado (born in the nineteenth

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the fluid for the vaporous state at 80 degrees, Réaumur. Under the brutal and brutalising treatment of the bourgeoisie, the working-man becomes precisely as much a thing without volition as water, and is subject to the laws of Nature with precisely the same necessity; at a certain point all freedom ceases. Hence with the extension of the proletariat, crime has increased in England, and the British nation has become the most criminal in the world." Friedrich Engels, *Condition of the Working Class in England*: Results, Leipzig, 1845, https://www.marxists. org/archive/marx/works/1845/condition-working-class/.

36 Fatela, "'Para se lhes," 120.

37 Cesário Verde, *Livro de Cesário Verde* (Porto: Caixotim, 2004).

38 "In the second half of the nineteenth century, a succession of studies sociological or statistical contours, of varying depth and accuracy, will contribute decisively for the creation of a specific mythology around the figure of the prostitute, victim or agent of preferential perdition in the mind of the moralists or chroniclers of the time." Paulo Guinote, "Criminosos, boémios, prostitutas e outros marginais: o mundo da transgressão social," https://educar.files.word press.com/2007/07/boemia.pdf, 11.

century) recounted nothing else. Sad and nostalgic, it spoke of the suffering of sailors, the saudade (longing) of prostitutes, and the complex mixture of sensuality and fatalism that characterized the social margins. In Portuguese, the fadista (singer of fado) was also a term that could refer to either the pimp or the mauvais garçon (bad boy).[39]

The *fadistas* were a liminal profession on the borderlands between a performer and a criminal. They inhabited the working-class areas and often took over all sorts of illicit business. They also participated in the night life, which was concentrated mainly in the district of the Bairro Alto, where they worked among the prostitutes and the journalists to create a veritable night economy triangle in this famous district. The journalist, writing or searching there for a topic of his reportage or for a sensation, came for some drinks, to warm up and to meet colleagues and friends from the intellectual and artistic circles. After a few drinks, they searched for female company, often prostitutes. Sometimes, they found such company themselves; but often, they used the services of the *fadistas* who served both as mediators and bodyguards of prostitutes. The next day, readers of some newspapers could read about a night robbery, or a skirmish performed by a *fadista*, which in turn guaranteed high sales of the newspaper.

However, many of such stories were rather a product of journalists and writers' imagination, who at this point encountered the above-mentioned fears and fascination of the upper classes. Beyond that, the writers like Fialho de Almeida or Eça de Queirós describe and analyse the society – mimicking and paying homage to Zola an Balzac – pointing out its most profound problems which lay only on the flaws of human nature.

4.3 Conclusion

The process of passage from the purely agricultural to partly industrial society in Portugal changed the geography of the capital city. Here, the rationality of industrial development was given by the edification of factories in the proximity of the main communication which was the river, mixed with the elemental development of the workers' neighbourhoods given by the lack of regulations and of any housing for the newcomers from the rural areas. The structure of city districts also attracted different types of night activities: from the "classical" night work in the kilns in the west of the city and the informal jobs such as night

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39 Dominique Kalifa, *Vice, crime and poverty: how the Western imagination invented the underworld* (Columbia University Press, 2019), 99.

guards in the modest neighbourhoods to the liminal activities in the Bairo Alto and Alfama.

In fact, the industrial transformation of the city promoted night work as a new necessity and, therefore, part of the daily life of the capital city. It had many forms: from the factory workers, bakers, journalists, night watchmen, police, tavern owners, the coffee and spirit sellers and the newspaper boys to prostitutes, vagrant beggars and thieves.

In particular, the liminal activities and night city inhabitants sustained imagination among the upper classes and intellectuals. In their attitude, fear mixed with pity and fascination. These mixed feelings led them search how to submit the night streets under control and to chase most of these people from the city streets. The night shift prolongation was one of the used methods, especially by industrialists who in the National Survey of 1911 complained about workers that rather spent their time in a tavern and blamed union associations that "should regenerate the worker, taking him away from the tavern."[40] Another way to regulate the night life was the religious associations' activity and the police control, which came about with the changes in legislation. In this context, we might ask who owned the Lisbon night at the time. As Joachim Schlör points out in his analysis about the London night, "the city is no longer felt to be a shelter, it is no longer a space of freedom; it is hostile."[41,42] However, these larger impacts of industrial modernity on the city night are already another topic.

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40 BTI, "Inquérito sobre," 73.
41 Schlör, *Nights in the Big City*, 159.
42 See also Maria João Vaz, "Crimes e Cidades: Lisboa nos finais do séc. XIX," in *Exclusão na história. Actas do Colóquio Internacional sobre Exclusão Social*, eds. Maria João Vaz, Eunice Relvas, and Nuno Pinheiro (Oeiras: Celta Editora, 2000), 141.

Liberal Market Economies

Jakub Rákosník

5 Night Work Restrictions in Interwar Czechoslovakia (1918–1938)

Although occasional violations of the prohibition of night work were brought before the Czechoslovak Parliament, night work was a matter of peripheral importance in the political conflicts between the world wars. This raises the question of why we should choose to tackle a topic that seems to be quite marginal. Are we not making the very mistake that Jürgen Kocka warned against at the turn of the millennium? He suspected that the growing interest in the history of everyday life based on the cultural turn was moving away from the socially critical tasks of historiography, and noted a concern that upon a background of the accelerating globalisation of capitalism, historians will "fiddle while Rome is burning."[1]

Although night work in interwar Czechoslovakia appears at first sight to be an unimportant theme, in an unimportant country, in my chapter I shall attempt to demonstrate the opposite. Czechoslovakia, which was established as an independent liberal parliamentary republic in 1918 upon the ruins of the Habsburg monarchy, inherited three-quarters of its industrial base, but only one-fifth of its territory and a quarter of its population. It thereby became an industrial superpower of Central Europe, which nevertheless lacked a sufficiently large market to sell its products. As a result, it was reliant upon exporting, which increased the vulnerability of the economy to the vicissitudes of the world market.[2] According to the calculations of historians of interwar Czechoslovakia based on GDP per capita, the advanced economic structure placed the country in a relatively high ranking – around 17th in the world.[3] This relatively

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1 Jürgen Kocka, "Loses, Gains and Opportunities: Social History Today," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 23.
2 Zdeněk Jindra, "Výchozí ekonomické pozice Československa," in *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Philosophica et Historica 3–4*, *Studia Historica XLII* (Prague: Karolinum, 1995), 183–204; Václav Průcha, "Sociální a profesní struktura obyvatelstva v meziválečném Československu," in *Československo 1918–1938*, ed. Jaroslav Valenta, Josef Harna and Emil Voráček (Praha: Historický ústav AV ČR, 1999), 378ff.
3 Eduard Kubů and Jaroslav Pátek, eds., *Mýtus a realita hospodářské vyspělosti Československa mezi světovými válkami* (Praha: Karolinum, 2000), 53.

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strong industrial base predetermined the nature of social conflicts, in which the question of regulation of working hours played an important role.

We can form a quite clear picture of the problems with the regulation of night work from the extant sources. The year 1883 saw the creation of an Austrian system of trade inspectorates, which, among other matters, were responsible for checking compliance with working hours. They issued detailed reports on their activities ranging from 1 to 200 pages each year, in which, as a rule, a number of pages were devoted to violations of the prohibition of night work. The inspectors had only supervisory powers. They were expected to recommend workable solutions to problems and to instruct employers. In the event of infringements, they were to contact the competent administrative authorities with criminal jurisdiction. In spite of the relatively small territorial scope of their districts and insufficient staff, the inspection system had already functioned very well in times of the Habsburg monarchy.

Although the inspectors were usually unable to check all the businesses at least once a year – this was exceptional – according to detailed statistics compiled by a historian Otto Urban, it is clear that they visited an average of 61.3% of businesses each year between 1901 and 1913.[4] Recurring inspections were not exceptional. They largely involved bakeries for their violations of the prohibition of night work. For example, in the Moravian town of Kroměříž, 81 inspections were completed in 71 bakeries in 1931. The same report from that year presents an extreme case in the environs of the town of Mladá Boleslav, where the inspectors had to intervene six times.[5] Another important information source is the Ministry of Social Welfare collection of documents in the National Archives, in which approximately ten boxes of writings relate to the agenda of night work. They contain authorisations of work in individual undertakings, complaints, plus documents from litigation. A third rather random source is the daily press and the professional literature of the time, though the information therein is more fragmented.

The chapter is divided into three main sections: the first section explores the background of the prohibition of the night work; the second section presents three examples of attitudes of the concerned actors and their conflicts with the regulations; and the final section deals with the effectiveness of surveillance by the state institutions.

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4 Otto Urban, *Zprávy živnostenských inspektorů jako pramen hospodářských a sociálních dějin*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Phil. et Hist. 3, Studia historica 19, 1979, 100.

5 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1931* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1932), 49.

5.1 Night Work Ban: Legal and Social Background

The strong industrial base was not the only reason for the social conflicts. From the times of the Austrian monarchy, Czechoslovakia inherited a strong and well-organised socialist workers' movement, which ultimately, in the years 1917–1918, mostly adhered to other Czech political parties, whose programme at that time was to break up the monarchy and establish an independent state. Thanks to this situation, socialist parties (the Social Democrats and National Socialists) enjoyed a powerful position in the first Czechoslovak governments. This was aided also by a strong radical-left social atmosphere, which during this period held sway among a significant proportion of the population also in other European countries. In the first parliamentary elections, the socialist parties (Czechoslovak and German Social Democrats and Czechoslovak National Socialists) combined gained 44.9% of votes.[6] In addition, the level of trade union organisation was among the highest in the world. According to the statistics from 1923, Czechoslovakia ranked third in the world behind Germany and Austria, and was even almost 1% ahead of the traditional home of trade unionism – Great Britain.[7] However, its bargaining potential was limited by the high degree of fragmentation and the close linkage of individual trade union headquarters to political parties.[8]

A significant role was also played by the legacy of the developed social legislation of the Habsburg monarchy, even if this applied somewhat more to its western, Austrian part – including Czech lands – than to the regions ruled by Hungary – so the Slovak and Subcarpathian Ruthenian part of the newly formed state. As early as 1892 at the congress of the Second International, Viktor Adler, the leading figure of Austrian social democracy, who after decades of mistreatment of his party certainly had no reason to praise Austria, stated that his country together with Germany and Switzerland had the most advanced social legislation.[9] As early as 1885, Austria limited the night work of women. This was 30 years later than in England,

6 Josef Tomeš, *Slovník k politickým dějinám Československa 1918–1992* (Praha: nakl. Budka, 1994), 270–71.

7 Albin Oberschall, *Odborové organisace zaměstnanecké v Republice československé – Statistická studie za léta 1913–1922* (Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1924), 14.

8 Peter Heumos, "Die Arbeiterschaft in der ersten Tschechoslowakischen Republik," *Bohemia* 29, no. 1 (1988): 50–72.

9 Quoted by Evelyn Kolm, "Die Anfänge der österreichischen Sozialversicherung im späten 19. Jahrhundert," in *Glanz und Elend der altösterreichischen Bürokratie*, ed. Wolfgang Fritz (Wien, 2008), 57.

but still it was one of the first states in the world to do so.[10] Despite these circumstances, however, ratification of the international legal regulation of the night work of women was no easy matter. When the Berne Convention was signed in 1906, it was symbolically considered the "first chapter of an international labour code," which was an arduous process.

The legal arrangement that then applied in Austria related only to factories, and it was not difficult to circumvent this law. A large number of economic activities were exempt from protection (agriculture, healthcare, domestic industry, crafts, entertainment, etc.).[11] Statistical surveys showed that even children were not spared night work, despite the legislative restrictions.[12] Within the framework of the Austrian parliament, there was an ever-present tension between the upper (House of Lords) and lower (House of Deputies) houses on the issue of the transposition of the Berne Convention into the internal state legislation.[13] Eventually a consensus was reached, and on February 21, 1911, the Imperial Council passed Act No. 65 on the prohibition of the night work of women in industrial enterprises. As its title indicates, this regulation was not even universal, since it related only to one part of the economic system – industry. After the outbreak of World War I, the effectiveness of the law was again suspended due to the expected shortage of labour.[14] During the war, the Austrian government was not sparing in its promises for social reforms, including a shortening of working hours or the extension of suffrage rights. However, within the conditions of an ever-more exhausted war economy, all were postponed until the end of the war.[15]

Immediately after the establishment of Czechoslovakia in October 1918, its first government was determined to intervene decisively in the regulation of

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10 International Labour Office, eighty-ninth session, June 2001, information and reports on the application of conventions and recommendations, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc89/rep-iii1b-i.htm.

11 Ilse von Artl, *Die gewerbliche Nachtarbeit der Frauen in Österreich* (Wien [no publisher], 1902).

12 Karl Hauck, *Die Nachteirbeit der Jugendlichen in der österreichischen Industrie* (Wien: Franz Deuticke, 1907).

13 *Hlidka (Měsíčník vědecký se zvláštním zřetelem k apologetice a filosofii)* 1911, 28, no. 2: 125–26.

14 Holger H. Herwig, *The First World War: Germany and Austria-Hungary 1914–1918* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 277.

15 Birgitta Bader-Zaar, "Women´s Suffrage and War: World War I and Political Reform in a Comparative Perspective," in *Suffrage, Gender and Citizenship: International Perspectives on Parliamentary Reforms*, ed. Irma Sulkunen et al. (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 207–08.

working hours. On December 19, 1918, a law on eight hours of working time was announced. Its symbolic weight was no less important than its factual significance. Later, in 1925, Lev Winter, the first Czechoslovak Minister of Social Welfare, declared this law to be the "workers' flag of the New World."[16] The government coalition, which included socialist parties, needed to legitimise its position by means of legislation that contained traditional workers' demands in order to weaken the general post-war wave of left-wing radicalism. Although the Austrian Trade Licensing Act of 1885 permitted a work shift of eleven hours, by the first years of the twentieth century such long working hours had become an exception. According to figures from 1907, more than half of the workers in Bohemia worked less than ten hours at a stretch, either under individual arrangements or collective agreements.[17]

In addition to the introduction of the general principle of an eight-hour work day and a 48-hour work week, the new post-war Act No. 91/1918 Coll. also contained detailed regulation of work leave and protection of specific groups of workers. Sections 8 and 9 were devoted to night work. Night work was authorised only for undertakings in continuous operation, in which the interruption of production was prevented for technical reasons.[18] For other establishments, the Minister for Social Welfare was empowered to allow a specific legal act to enable night work, either if it was in order to meet the needs of consumers or if perishable raw materials were used in production. If there was no dispensation laid down for a given sector in the law, an individual permit from the ministry was necessary. More precisely, this concerned: "iron, metallurgical, limestone, gypsum, magnesite and dolomitic, cement, brick, glass, wind and wind mills, malt houses and breweries; sugar production; drying chicory, beets, potatoes, vegetables and fruit; chemical industry; fat industry; production of gas for lighting, heating and propulsion; power plants."[19] The exception included also seasonal works, healthcare and the entertainment industry, where "the public interest or the regular need of the audience requires so."[20]

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16 *Mezinárodní sjezd sociální politiky v Praze 1924* (Praha: Sociální ústav, 1924), 73.

17 Digitální repozitář Parlamentu České republiky. Stenografický záznam Národního shromáždění československého, 1918–1920, 11. schůze, čtvrtek 19. Prosince, 1918, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.psp.cz/eknih/1918ns/ps/stenprot/011schuz/s011001.htm.

18 However, according to pre-war statistics, such manufacturing plants constituted only 3.2% in Austria. See Digitální repozitář Parlamentu České republiky.

19 *Nařízení ministra sociální péče ve srozumění se zúčastněnými ministry ze dne 11. ledna 1919 č. 11/1919 Sb.*, čl. II.

20 *Zákon ze dne 19. prosince 1918 o osmihodinové pracovní době č. 91/1918 Sb.*, § 8, odst. 2; *Nařízení ministra sociální péče ve srozumění se zúčastněnými ministry ze dne 11. ledna 1919 č. 11/1919 Sb.*, čl. IV.

Under no circumstances, men under 16 years of age were to perform night work between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m., and this applied also to women regardless of age. Women over the age of 18 could only work at night with a special permit from the ministry, and in addition, they could not perform any strenuous work.[21] These bans were one of the formatting issues of the International Labour Organization (ILO), and among the first conventions, it was issued since its official foundation in 1919.[22] They were ratified by the Czechoslovak parliament in 1920.[23]

5.2 The Restrictions of the Night Work in Practice

The ministry and the work inspectorates, which were supposed to ensure the compliance with the rules, firmly held that the mere economic loss of an undertaking due to the prohibition of night work did not constitute a sufficient public interest. Yet at the same time, the authorities made sure – especially in the first post-World War I years – that the strict application of the law would not lead to companies going out of business.[24] While the debate on the draft law in parliament was spirited, little attention was paid to the sections on night work. The proposed legislation, as previously mentioned in this chapter, was passed through the parliament without difficulty. None of the paragraphs proposed by the Social Political Committee of the House were rejected.[25] The law became effective on the 15th day after publication. For some groups of businesses, due to

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21 *Zákon ze dne 19. prosince 1918 o osmihodinové pracovní době č. 91/1918 Sb.*, § 1, § 2, § 8, odst. 1.; *Nařízení ministra sociální péče ve srozumění se zúčastněnými ministry ze dne 11. ledna 1919 č. 11/1919 Sb.*, čl. II.

22 See: *Anatomy of a Prohibition. ILO Standards in Relation to Night Work of Women in Industry* [online], quoted May 16, 2020, https://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc89/pdf/rep-iii-1b-c2.pdf.

23 *Convention concerning Employment of Women during the Night. 004 – Night Work (Women) Convention, 1919 (No. 4)* [online], quoted May 15, 2020, https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:12100:2099978954069::NO::P12100_SHOW_TEXT:Y; *Convention concerning the Night Work of Young Persons Employed in Industry. Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1919 (No. 6)* [online], quoted May 15, 2020, https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C006

24 National Archives Prague, coll.: Ministerstvo sociální péče [Ministry of Social Care], box no. 7.

25 Quoted in: Digitální repozitář Parlamentu České republiky. Stenografický záznam Národního shromáždění československého, 1918–1920, 11. schůze, čtvrtek 19. Prosince 1918, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.psp.cz/eknih/1918ns/ps/stenprot/011schuz/s011001.htm.

the lack of raw materials, labour shortages or technical reasons, the minister was empowered to postpone the application of the law. He used this mandate several times during the course of 1919.

The introduction of an eight-hour work day was mainly opposed by the employers, represented by the Chambers of Commerce and Trade (CCT) as their pressure groups. Their most frequent argument was competitiveness. The young republic was among the first countries in the world to shorten working hours in this way. Therefore, as early as November 25, 1918, the Brno CCT lobbied the Ministry of Social Welfare to shorten working hours in Czechoslovakia only after this commitment had been accepted also by other states at an international conference. In its opposition to the regulation of working time – including the limitations on night work – this CCT also published a brochure in which it levelled criticism at the bill's shortcomings and expressed its anger at the fact that even the right-wing parties in parliament had ultimately voted in favour of the bill.[26]

The adoption of Act No. 91/1918 Coll. ultimately did not cause more serious frictions on the labour market. First, night work was a problem only for a small but often very vocal segment of employers, as we shall demonstrate. Secondly, economic factors played a role here because the employers avoided night work as far as possible since they had to pay for it.[27]

The extant sources allow us to reconstruct very well local conflicts in the workplace, which arose in connection with night work. They also enable us to understand the motivations of the actors involved and to trace their general strategies. The law prohibiting the night work of some groups of employees is only one side of the coin. The other side represents its application. The intuitive expectation that there are employers who force employees to work at night in order to maximise their profits does not hold true here. Nor is it always the workers who struggle against exploitation, and it is not always the state that can find an effective remedy. As the experience of the interwar years shows, what was much more effective in reducing night-time work was self-governing grassroots initiatives based on collective bargaining, rather than bureaucratic interventions based on administrative law.

The following sections investigate three examples of practising the night work ban and its impacts on the worker environment. The first example focuses on the male labour force and its motivations, on why male employees sabotaged the prohibition of night work and on numerous occasions joined forces

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26 National Archives Prague, coll.: Ministerstvo sociální péče [Ministry of Social Care], box no. 7.

27 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1920* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1921), 91.

with their employers to oppose the inspectors who demanded adherence to the law within the relevant enterprise. The second example is devoted to employed women and their resistance to legal protection. The third example is devoted to business owners. The legal regulation of working hours became a welcome tool in the competitive struggle.

5.2.1 Why Did Men Protest Against the Ban on Night Work?

From the reports of inspectors it appears that workers' resistance to the limitations on working hours and the possibility of night work appeared mainly in the first years after the passing of the law. The arguments deployed by the workers were threefold: firstly, they referred to their low wages as a result of compliance with the law; secondly, they argued for the personal freedom which the law restricted; and thirdly, they referred to unfair competition from the self-employed and workers who, in addition to full-time jobs, worked the land after hours to raise the living standards of their families, in which they were not restricted by law. This, however, closed the circle, and the problem was again low wages. Thus, there were cases where the workers themselves prevented the inspectors from entering the company premises to check if the prohibition of night work was being violated.[28] Therefore, due to cases of synergies between employers and employees in the violation of the prohibition of night work, there were some non-exceptional cases between the wars where the inspectors proposed the imposition of fines on both sides of the employment relationship – employers and employees.

There was often a consensus between entrepreneurs and employees about the existence of night work, especially in cases where it had been an effective tool to increase low wages, resulting from low wage levels in a particular locality or sector. In such cases, workers routinely exerted pressure on their employers to be allowed to work at night, and when the inspectors discovered it, the night work was denied.[29] In 1920, an inspector from the Slovak city of Bánska Bystrica stated that a workers' delegation had visited him. It demanded the right for workers to be allowed to work for more than eight hours based on the argument that "they have already had enough rest" and wanted higher incomes.[30] In 1922, we

28 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1922* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1923), 143.

29 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských,* 137.

30 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1920* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1921), 82.

have a documented case of carpenters who simply refused to work on a building when they found that the employer had consistently adhered to the rules on working hours.[31]

The overstepping of the permitted working hours could also cause a conflict between the employed and unemployed. In 1922, some unemployed construction workers complained to the trade unions about the construction of a new factory and a residential housing development due to its breach of the law. Repeated checks showed that, in this case, the employers had given in to pressure from their workers and allowed them to work until the evening hours so that they could end the work on Friday and leave for the weekend to join their families.[32] The staff of the competent authorities, in the first years after the war, sometimes tended to meet such workers' demands, in contravention of the law. In 1922, in the city of Opava, the trade licensing office, on the initiative of the inspectors, sent a gendarme to investigate the situation on one construction site. When the construction workers assured him that they were working voluntarily, this explanation was accepted by the officer. It was only when the inspectors complained at the district office that remedial measures were taken.[33]

A case typical of the situation occurred in northern Bohemia in 1919, in the early days when the law came into force. The textile workers' unions complained about the widespread practice of illegal night work in spinning mills. The employers argued that the existing machinery must operate at night. A Liberec-based firm, Gustav Ehrlich, then decided to adjust the working hours and work two shifts between five in the morning and ten in the evening, in order to comply with the law while not losing economically.

After two weeks, however, as a result of the workers' resistance, it had to abandon the effort because the employees had refused to get up at 3 a.m. As this view was confirmed by workers from other factories, other businesses did not attempt to follow suit. The district commissioner took the employers' side, and even trade union officials themselves acknowledged that, in the current situation, night work in the spinning mills was necessary. At the same time, the trade union secretary stated that he still insisted that the law should be applied "so that companies would not grow accustomed to illegality."[34]

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31 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1922* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1923), 137.

32 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských,* 137.

33 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti, živnostenských,* 138.

34 National Archives Prague, coll.: Ministerstvo sociální péče [Ministry of Social Care], box no. 7.

5.2.2 Why Did Women Protest Against the Prohibition on Night Work?

The night work of women was forbidden generally in the work regulations of nineteenth-century Habsburg Austria, and more particularly after extensive amendments adopted in the 1880s (amendment to the Mining Act of June 21, 1884, and amendment to the Licensing Act of December 20, 1885). The law allowed the ministry to grant dispensations.[35] These were used in times of labour shortages, especially during World War I. After its end, a stricter regime returned. In the period immediately after the end of the war, before the men returned from the army, the authorities began to act more liberally in this regard. But when unemployment began to rise, stricter procedures were applied. Then, in 1919, the ILO convention banned the night work of women, and the convention was ratified by the Czechoslovak National Assembly in the subsequent year. Only official permission by the Ministry of Social Welfare legalised women's night work.

Between the wars, the tactics emerged that an employee acquired the legal status of a self-employed person and so was no longer covered by the protective provisions of labour law. In this way, in 1920, female porters at Prague railway stations and their employers escaped punishment when they acquired a business concession and started to carry out their work independently.[36] However, we can consider this case rather exceptional.

Far more frequent were situations where employers – often in cahoots with employees – tried to circumvent the prohibition of night work in some way. As a rule, they used the moral argument relating to social considerations, with reference to the misery of the women concerned. In the case of women also, we can find their primary motivation in their unsatisfactory living conditions and an endeavour to secure a higher income. The sources capturing the activity of the inspectors frequently mention cases of widows who had lost their men in the war, for whom night work provided an opportunity to supplement their income as the sole breadwinners. From the year 1920, we have an extant report from a certain sugar factory, where its management gave in to pressure from the workers, and despite the prohibition being already in place it continued to enable women to work at night without an official permit from the ministry. Social conditions served as the argument. Most of the women were single parents or widows of fallen soldiers, and their pauperisation was to be prevented in

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35 Albín Bráf, "Dělnické zákony ochranné," in *Ottův slovník naučný*, vol. 7 (Praha: J. Otto, 1893), 235–39.

36 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1920* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1921), 74.

this way. However, the Prague Inspectorate refused to accept such a plea.[37] There were also cases of open coercion of women into night work. In 1924, inspectors in an unspecified ceramics plant found that some women worked up to 16 hours a day. Some of them confessed that they had been forced to do this by a foreman who had threatened to sack them if they disobeyed and had even locked them in the workshops.[38]

However, the reports show little evidence of such oppression. On the contrary, social arguments for women's employment at night appeared even later in abundance, although the ministry and the inspectorates disregarded them entirely. A case in point occurred in 1919, when the Prague Ironworks sought a permit to employ women in the company's canteen to serve the workers during night hours. It put forward arguments invoking social conditions, referring to the fact that the canteen staff were widows of former employees or spouses of workers who, as a result of an accident, had become incapacitated, and that therefore the work of these wives and mothers was desirable with regard to the maintenance of families. The ministry complied with that request, but not on these grounds. In implementing regulations for the law, an exemption was granted to restaurants, which could also be applied to company canteens.[39]

At other times, the need for female night work ensued from the gender division of labour, in which tasks performed by women organically followed on from men's labour. Gender stereotypes about typical women's activities also played an important role here. The Printers' Committee, based in Prague, threatened the Ministry of Social Welfare in November 1919 that the strict application of the prohibition of women's night work would result in their dismissal if they were not allowed to perform menial work, such as packaging of newspapers or carrying them to the post office. In the document, the representatives of the committee argued as follows: "In Prague alone, this would involve around 700 women who would have to be fired, even though they have been practising the profession for more than thirty years. But experience teaches us that this work does not befit a man at all, and it is abundantly clear that none of the men would do the work."[40] The prevalence of stereotypes about male and female work is shown in the following case. In 1920,

37 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1921* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1922), 96.

38 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1924* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1925), 144.

39 National Archives Prague, coll.: Ministerstvo sociální péče [Ministry of Social Care], box no. 7.

40 National Archives Prague, coll.: Ministerstvo sociální péče [Ministry of Social Care], box no. 7.

there were several sugar factories in which men worked legally at night. At the same time, women were employed at night illegally, mainly performing continuous cleaning of premises and cleaning of machines. Both employers and shop stewards told the inspectors that there was no other way. If the cleaning was not performed, the workers would not work. At the same time, the men would consider it beneath their dignity to do the cleaning and would refuse. However, the inspectorates did not accept this line of argument. In some sugar refineries, they actually stopped cleaning, and the employer simply forced the workers to continue to work. In a few rare cases, some men eventually deigned to carry out the "demeaning" tasks.[41]

In the inspectors' reports, the picture of women in the workplace usually presents them as passive objects. Their employment is most often explained as being in the employer's (philanthropic or egoistic) interests, and/or due to coercion of the male employees for their employment. Even so, women sometimes actively fought to be able to violate the prohibition of night work. In 1924, a conflict flared up in two unnamed furniture factories in the Užhorod district in Subcarpathian Ruthenia,[42] where women mounted resistance to an inspector. He subsequently stated, bitterly, "Using very vulgar expressions, the female workers complained about the law, which prevented them from working voluntarily for more than eight hours and from earning just enough to feed their families." At the same time, he acknowledged that the main cause was poverty and low wages, which were much higher in the advanced industrial regions of Bohemia and Moravia than in Subcarpathian Ruthenia.[43]

The historian Melissa Feinberg, writing about the movement for feminine emancipation in Czechoslovakia in her book published in 2006, made an interesting observation by comparing it with the American debates in those days. Whereas in the US debates, the discourse of women's individual rights was heard quite strongly, the Czechoslovak debates relating to the issue of the right to abortion, for example, were dominated by a collectivist discourse, dominated, as a rule, by the ideology of nationalism: the protection of women for the good of the nation, as the parents of the next generation.[44] A similar logic can

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41 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1920* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1921), 74.

42 A most eastern part of the interwar Czechoslovakia and also the less industrial one. After World War II, it was annexed by the Soviet union, and today it forms a part of Ukraine.

43 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1924* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1925), 145.

44 Melissa Feinberg, *Elusive Equality: Gender, Citizenship and the Limits of Democracy in Czechoslovakia 1918–1950* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), 137.

be followed also in the case of night work. In 1931, when the trade union boss Josef Bílý railed fiercely against the night work of youth and women, he was not interested in individual rights, in the possibility of self-fulfilment or the right to leisure, but "in the interests of national health and the future of the state to protect our youth and especially future mothers."[45]

5.2.3 Why Did Employers Protest Against the Prohibition of Night Work?

The issue of night work triggered conflicts between mass producers and small-scale manufacturers. Both sides used the law to advance their own economic interests. The mass producers most often argued that entrepreneurs without employees, who used only their family members, were not restricted by law and could work at night, which gave them an advantage.[46] Objectively speaking, this was undoubtedly true. However, the Supreme Administrative Court, which had to rule on this matter in 1929, did not affirm this interpretation. In the view of the court, the law protected only employees, and its application to employers, or to any self-employed person, was impossible. This key court tribunal therefore gave priority to personal freedom and freedom of enterprise above other values.[47] This interpretation was also adhered to in later legal practice, in which the court emphasised that protection by the law also did not relate to family members of the employer if they merely assisted and did not have the legal status of employees.[48]

Self-employed tradesmen and small-scale producers, with a few employees, spoke in turn about the technological advantages of mass production, which they could compete only with a greater working effort.[49] The inspectors sometimes vindicated the mass producers. In small businesses, there was a problem with the inspection, where inspectors could not easily enter the establishment. Moreover, given the different relationships between employers and employees in small-scale production, where there was usually a stronger personal bond between the two

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45 Josef Bílý, *Sociální postavení učňů v živnostech* (Sobota, vol. 2, 1931), 100–01.

46 National Archives Prague, coll.: Ministerstvo sociální péče [Ministry of Social Care], box no. 7.

47 See Josef Václav Bohuslav, *Sbírka nálezů Nejvyššího správního soudu ve věcech administrativních* 11, no. 8038 (1929–1930): 773–75.

48 Bohuslav, *Sbírka nálezů Nejvyššího* 15, no. 10,918: XXVIII.

49 Bohuslav, *Sbírka nálezů Nejvyššího*.

parties, workers usually helped employers to make violations of the law more widespread.[50] At the same time, as a rule, small-scale producers were not restricted by the institutions of shop stewards and work committees, and therefore they could more easily exert pressure on their employees, who complied in fear of losing their jobs. Major establishments had to be more cautious in relation to their observance of the prohibition of night work, because with a higher number of workers and the existence of self-governing defence institutions (shop stewards and work committees) it was more likely that inspectors would be notified.[51] Still, in a 1922 inspector's report, we find this statement: "We cannot withhold the truth that it is precisely in the retail sector that there is still much reluctance to obey the law, which many small-scale artisan producers continue to consider to be a necessary post-war evil, believing that it is their natural right to determine the length of working hours according to the needs of their trades, and that they are obliged to pay only for the work they have done."[52] However, even in the retail sector, the inspectors found a trend of improvement, but this was in part due to the economic crisis that affected Czechoslovakia as a result of a deflationary monetary policy that caused the fall of demand and consequently also the need of labour force anywhere.[53]

In such a situation, small-scale producers in urban centres managed to exploit the law to good advantage and willingly reported the factory competition to the inspectors. In this regard, a report from 1922 states somewhat facetiously: "The small business owners, being aware of the superiority of the technical equipment of the major manufacturers with whom they could hardly compete, defend the law, not so much in relation to the workers but rather as a prospect for their own businesses, that is to say, for selfish reasons, which can be best seen in the fact that many bakers, demanding that the law be observed by competitors, do not hesitate to violate it flagrantly in their own enterprises."[54]

In the battle between small businessmen and large industrial manufacturers, informing on one's competitors took place with surprisingly frequency. The night work in bakeries remained the most problematic in terms of violating

50 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1922* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1923), 154.
51 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1921* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1922), 101.
52 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1922* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1923), 132.
53 John M. Keynes, *A Tract on Monetary Reform* (London: Macmillan, 1923), 146–47.
54 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1922* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1923), 144.

the prohibitions. A number of factors affected the behaviour of individual producers. The first was market distance. Those who supplied from villages to distant towns tried to compensate for the handicaps caused by the lost time by transporting pastries at night. This problem also dogged the large-scale bakeries which were located on the outskirts of towns.[55] Although the ministry believed that the problem with the bakeries would be defused when a compromise was worked out and the bakeries were permitted to operate at least preparatory work at night, this only added fuel to the fire and provoked new conflicts between the bakers and the inspectors over what did and did not constitute night work. Moreover, the bakers were often encouraged by public opinion, which was on their side.[56] The law banning the night work in bakeries, which was supposed to solve the issue, was enacted after World War II, in September 1946. However, it still allowed a large space of manoeuvre for the bakers, introducing many exceptions and enumerating them.[57] If we watch the commentary on this bill, we can see that the lawmaker tried to find a compromise between the needs of production and health protection.[58]

Perhaps also because of these conflicts, the ILO soon began to focus its attention on night work in bakeries. This problem afflicted not only Czechoslovakia. We can consider evidence for this to be provided by the fact that night work in bakeries became the subject of the sixth conference of the ILO, held in Geneva in 1924. In the international arena also, the antagonistic interests of employees and employers surfaced. Whereas the workers' representation demanded a legal arrangement in the form of an international treaty, employers requested the form of a mere recommendation. The first position, that is a convention, narrowly triumphed in the professional commission (19 votes for, 16 votes against). A similar conflict followed concerning the provision that night work would relate not only to employees but also to businessmen. Here too, the broader scope was upheld.[59] Upon the second reading of the convention that took place at the seventh conference of the ILO in 1925, the employers attempted to overturn this provision with

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55 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1921* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1922), 109.

56 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1921*, 110.

57 *Zákon ze dne 13. září 1946 o úpravě pracovní doby v pekárnách č. 177/1946 Sb.*, § 2, odst. 3, § 3. However, the same law simultaneously excluded the so-called preparatory work from that ban such as firing ovens or kneading dough, and allowed a wide range of exceptions, when the night work could be ordered.

58 Digitální repozitář Parlamentu České republiky. Ústavodárné národní shromáždění Československé republiky 1946–1948. Tisk č. 52, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.psp.cz/eknih/1946uns/tisky/t0052_00.htm.

59 Josef Skoch, *Mezinárodní organisace práce a Československo* (Praha: Lidová tiskárna A. Němec, 1928), 93–102.

the aid of proposals from the Belgian and British governments, but without success. After the convention had been ratified, the employers did not give up their fight. They called upon the International Labour Office to submit an inquiry via the United Nations to the International Court of Justice in the Hague as to whether the ILO also had the authority to regulate the legal relations of employers. According to the interpretation of the employers, this authority is related only to outlining the legal relations of employees.[60] The court rejected this interpretation, asserting the view that if the ILO regulates any type of labour for employees, it may regulate the same labour also for employers and other self-employed persons.[61] Only very few countries worldwide ratified this ILO convention no. 25 by the time of the outbreak of World War II, and they included none of the world's leading economies.[62] The convention was also not ratified by Czechoslovakia.[63]

5.3 Effectiveness of the Trade Inspection

With regard to the period before World War I, Urban stated that "lodging a complaint was generally considered to be a measure of last resort, and some inspectors were reluctant to take it expressly." Therefore, in practice much depended on the interaction between a particular inspector and a particular employer.[64] We also have documented some regional differences in the conduct of individual inspectorates in the interwar period. For instance, in 1931 the inspectorate in Užhorod was very strict, and out of 25 requests for overtime it dismissed 22. On the contrary, in Moravian Kroměříž, out of 44 applications it dismissed only 18.[65] From our perspective, it is not easy to assess the degree of strictness in the supervision impartially. Most of the evaluation data come from the Ministry of Social Welfare and the inspectorates themselves. Both types of institutions had an

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60 Skoch, *Mezinárodní organisace práce*, 108.

61 Skoch, *Mezinárodní organisace práce*, 109.

62 Night work (bakeries) convention, 1925, no. 20, accessed December 20, 2020, https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C020.

63 Ratifications of Convention no. 20 – Night work (bakeries) convention, 1925, no. 20, accessed December 20, 2020, https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:11300:0::NO:11300:P11300_INSTRUMENT_ID:312165.

64 Otto Urban, *Zprávy živnostenských inspektorů jako pramen hospodářských a sociálních dějin*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Phil. et Hist. 3, Studia historica 19, 1979, 102.

65 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1931* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1932), LX.

understandable interest in creating the most positive image of themselves. Therefore, in the materials studied, we will essentially find assurances as to how the ministry took into account the threat of dismissal of employees in the authorisation of night work, and how sensitively the inspectorates assessed individual cases.

From the materials examined, it appears that the strictness gradually increased. In the first post-war years, the supervisory authorities had been more moderate in view of the production difficulties arising from demobilisation and the periodic shortages of raw materials. In the case of punishments – most often in the form of fines – they were relatively lenient if not symbolic (usually in tens or hundreds of crowns). However, a report for 1922 states that the inspectorates had to start to conduct their business more rigorously because employers and workers abused their benevolence.[66]

In the checking of night work, it was not exceptional that entrepreneurs simply did not let the inspectors into the establishment. This happened even in cases where they had a gendarme or a police escort.[67] The risk of punishment for obstruction of an official function was less for entrepreneurs than the risk borne in the case that a widespread violation of the prohibition of night work was discovered. In the case of small producers who had placed their bakery in an enclosure (such as a courtyard), it was usual for them to delay the opening of the house in order to hide all evidence of the work carried out at night.[68] In a 1932 report, the inspectors stated denial of access as the greatest problem in their control activities.[69]

It appears from the published reports that the inspectorates generally chose moderate measures at first and stiffened the penalty when the offence was repeated. Initially, the punishment was usually a reprimand or a symbolic fine to the order of tens of crowns. In the case of chronic recidivists, the fines could amount to thousands.[70] In 1932, the inspectors recalled an exceptional case in Brno, where a baker repeatedly ignored the prohibition of night work and received a fine of CZK 9,500 (a yearly wage of an ordinary industrial male worker) without any impact on his activities. The inspectors agreed that fines were only

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66 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1922* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1923), 15.
67 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1933* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1934), 52.
68 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1922* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1923), 145.
69 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1932* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1933), 48.
70 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1933* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1935), 44.

effective if their amount could ruin a company and they could not be successfully rolled into production costs. An extreme form of the fight with official supervision within this context is documented from the Slovak town of Nitra from 1936. After repeated interventions by inspectors against the persistence of night work in bakeries, the bakers started an aggressive campaign in the professional press and then, as a protest, they ceased to bake white pastries for two weeks. They lodged a complaint with the provincial government and the Department of Commerce. In this conflicted situation, it was typical that, as a single and sufficient solution, they demanded that the fines imposed should be lower.[71] In the ministerial archives we have a relatively large number of individual applications for reductions of fines. The state administration proceeded very restrictively. Reductions of fines were only granted in very rare cases, where there were serious social reasons on the part of the offender. The full abolition of the penalty was only achieved in a few cases where the entrepreneur concerned had gone bankrupt in the meantime and the fine could no longer serve as a deterrent in future.[72]

In the 1930s, despite the Great Depression, a more aggressive approach can be seen on the part of the inspectorates. As a last resort, in the case of recidivists, a temporary ban on business operations began as a penalty. This ultimately proved to be the only functional instrument even in the case of the aforementioned Brno baker, who had not heeded the repeated impositions of fines. It was only when he was suspended from working for half a year by an official decision that he became willing to cooperate.[73]

However, the increased level of repression did not seem to solve the problems of non-observance of the prohibition of night work, stemming mainly from competitive struggle. We have a somewhat resigned statement from a 1936 report of the inspectors: "It seems that the resistance of the bakery owners against the prohibition of night work in the production of baked goods has not changed." This was evidenced by the high number of denunciations that the inspectors had to address, although by that time 18 years had elapsed since the passing of the applicable law.[74]

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71 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1936* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1938), 37.

72 National Archives Prague, coll.: Ministerstvo sociální péče [Ministry of Social Care], box no. 1834.

73 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1932* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1933), 48.

74 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1936* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1938), 37.

As confirmed by several reports from the inspectors in the 1930s, the pursuit of self-regulation through collective bargaining or civil philanthropic activities had proved more useful than imposing criminal sanctions. A report from 1931 presents the case of Mladá Boleslav in central Bohemia and Užhorod in Carpathian Ruthenia, where the hitherto high number of complaints was eliminated, thanks to cooperation between inspectorates, trade unions and employers' organisations. In these towns, the partners negotiated the voluntary control of bakeries by committees which consisted of master bakers and workers. However, such successes were the exception rather than the rule. In Brno, where there was already a similar committee by the end of the 1920s, it was disbanded owing to pressure from the employers in 1930 and was not restored. In Kroměříž in 1931, similar negotiations ended without a result.[75] On the contrary, in Moravian Ostrava in 1921, the bread producers filed a petition with the Ministry of Social Welfare to allow the production of pastries from 4 a.m. When the application was rejected, the bakers agreed with each other and subsequently with their workforce that the law would be universally respected. And indeed, no further complaints were made.[76]

The possibilities of a functional, consensual solution were by means of local government, in which the actors agreed upon the adherence to certain rules without state coercion. Similarly, a good experience was noted by inspectorates with special civil corps for the protection of working youth, which were formed on the initiative of the Ministry of Social Welfare after 1931 as an affiliated component of the trade inspectorates. They were focused mainly on the protection of apprentices. These civic activists gathered information about breaches of the law in the training of apprentices in enterprises, and then created incentives for inspectors to intervene. The Pilsen corps, in 1935, drew attention to 17 cases of night work. The formation of the corps was consistent with the tendency to expand the participation of citizens in the exercise of social protection of the population. Therefore, the inspectors' report from 1935 also acknowledged that in addition to these corps, the ministry had allowed an increase in the number of posts in the auxiliary service from 6 to 32. The employees in these positions were recruited mainly from the ranks of the workers, and largely focused their atten-

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75 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1931* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1932), LX.

76 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1921* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1922), 110.

tion on small-scale production, where the exercise of the inspectors' supervisory powers was harder than in mass production.[77]

5.4 Conclusion

In terms of general statistics, night work in interwar Czechoslovakia was a marginal phenomenon. For example, if we consider the data from 1934, the violation of working hours affected only 0.3% of employees. Most of the cases involved night work, and the overwhelming majority of those impacted by the stricter legislation always comprised women (84.9% in that year, while men accounted for only 15.1%).[78] Of course, we can assume that the identified cases accounted for only the tip of the iceberg, and the practice of working hours violations was far more widespread. Also from the press of that time, in which minimal attention was paid to the issue, we can conclude that society did not view night work as a serious problem. The historical study of this topic is, in my opinion, interesting for another reason. Firstly, attitudes towards night work open the door to an understanding of what people then considered normal, and how, for example, they defined the limits of individual liberty or assessed the gender characteristics of certain work activities. Secondly, the study of the theme is fascinating in view of a comparison with today's practice, as some tactical practices remain constant in the capitalist economy: the typical use of the argument of competitiveness, or voluntary cooperation of employees with employers against the regulations if both sides consider such procedures to be mutually economically advantageous. And thirdly, the topic points to an enduring tension between the principles of technocracy and democracy, where protective measures often have to be introduced against the will of those for whose benefit they are intended.

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77 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1935* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1937), 116–17.
78 *Zpráva o úřední činnosti živnostenských inspektorů v roce 1934* (Praha: Ministerstvo sociální péče, 1935), 60.

Malte Müller

6 Disrupted Times: Continuous Shift Workers in Societal and Sociological Debates Between Boom and Crisis (1945–1975)

In an article published in 1974 in *Der Gewerkschafter*, the magazine for functionaries of the IG Metall, the trade union for metal and steel workers, titled "The Adulterers," the author examines the marital problems of a piece worker and his wife.[1] The author quite clearly blames the working hours and the work tasks. The marital problems arose with the husband's job as a piece worker in a local factory. He had increasingly developed a bad temper, restlessness, insomnia and depression, sometimes turning violent, often being unbearable towards his wife and children. But, at the same time, his work provided a good income. This allowed the family to buy a new car every other year. This was a somewhat typical story, representing the ascent of many German workers during the postwar boom period. While the income is good, the monotone industrial tasks he has to perform have a negative impact on his state of mind and his family. The article thereby addresses some important issues: first, many workers had to stay in their job positions because of economic reasons, and put these reasons before their health and family life. Second, the work environment, work tasks and working hours impacted their life far beyond the factory floor. Third, there is no habituation effect, the worker does not get used to the involved stresses, so the problems do not stop but rather persist and increase over time. Lastly, the article shows that these problems were noticeable. There was, albeit sporadic, acknowledgement of such issues. Even though the mentioned story was not from the steel industry, his problems, as will be shown, were just as present in the everyday life of continuous steel workers.

Research into these matters had not been around for long, as the article stated. Indeed, the article in *Der Gewerkschafter* claimed an inherent lack of scientific studies on work-related problems for the individual's social life.[2] Indeed, for some time shift working conditions seem to have been a mystery. The German newspaper *Die ZEIT* had voiced hopes ten years earlier that with 1½ million shift workers alone in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), scientists

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1 W. Bruckner, "Die Ehebrecher," *Der Gewerkschafter* 1 (1974): 36–37.

2 Bruckner, "Die Ehebrecher."

would look towards the special constraints of shift working systems on the every-day life of workers. The article was aptly titled "Reverends stop praying if they have to live the life of a shift worker."[3] Even though free time contingents had been expanded since the introduction of the 42-hour week for continuous shift workers, the free time could often only be used for reproduction purposes. The article also spoke of a dissocialising effect of shift work. The shift worker lived a life that was apart from that of most other people within society.

In this chapter, I will focus on continuous shift work within the iron and steel industry of the Ruhrgebiet, a highly industrialised district of NRW.[4] The focus will be on continuous shift workers and their working conditions, socio-logical studies of shift work within the iron and steel industry and debates around shift work as a problem, especially from the standpoint of the IG Metall. The chapter will first examine the introduction of continuous shift work and its characteristic by looking at conflicts arising from the defence of the work-free Sunday at the end of the 1950s. The general framework set in place in the 1950s remained the standard work time arrangement until the 1980s. The continued reduction of weekly working hours in the German iron and steel industry, as well as the introduction of the 5-day work week, and the overall increase of hol-idays to six weeks within the steel industry were great successes from a union standpoint but also created a continuous rift between working hours and times of leisure of continuous shift workers and non-shift workers. This rift was only to expand, especially during the prolonged struggle for the 35-hour work week during the 1980s. Even though sociologists and occupational health researchers repeatedly pointed towards the struggles of continuous shift workers and prob-lems created through the monetary incentives given for shift work, unions and companies failed to solve the problems created by this kind of work. Instead, continuous shift work remained unchanged for at least 30 years. Economic con-straints felt within the steel industry in the 1970s and 1980s can serve as one explanation. Another connected reason can be seen in the loss of jobs in this

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3 D. Kantowsky, "Pfarrer beten nicht mehr . . . wenn sie als Schichtarbeiter leben müssen," *Die Zeit*, 1964, 8.
4 The iron and steel industry in the Ruhrgebiet employed 333,815 people in 1957, while the coal industry employed nearly 500,000 people in 1957. The Ruhrgebiet can be viewed as a powerhouse of West Germany after World War II. This was about to change in the following decades. First, the coal industry went into decline, and then in the 1970s the iron and steel industry. In 1999, both industries together employed roughly 100,000 people. Today all coal mines within the Ruhrgebiet have been shut down, and the steel industry employs around 30,000 people. Correspondingly, the Ruhrgebiet was transformed from a powerhouse of West Germany into a troubled region with higher than average unemployment figures, compared to those of NRW and the overall federal numbers.

sector during an overall rise in unemployment. Working conditions therefore were not even at the top of the unions' agenda that had to focus on preserving jobs within the steel industry.

6.1 The Introduction of the Continuous Shift Work System

The HOAG steel mill in Oberhausen was the first production site in Germany to introduce a new shift system in 1951. The technical director of the steel mill, Rudolf Graef, who had visited the US and European production sites in 1951, suggested implementing continuous shift systems based on those he had witnessed abroad at HOAG. It was supposed to be an innovation compared to the then norm of a three-shift system in the hot production facilities (Heißbetriebe) and working hours of at least 53 hours per week. Without a regular fourth shift, extended free times were not possible. Workers had to change from one shift, that is early, day or night shift, to the next without extended recuperation time in between, especially after night shift periods. Often the shifts would change weekly or bi-weekly, so every week one had to get used to a new shift. On Sundays, production was prohibited between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. by German law. Necessary repair and maintenance works, though, were allowed to be carried out. Half shifts were employed to carry out these tasks, which often lasted longer and involved more personnel than was officially planned for within the shift schedules. This meant that some workers, after having already worked at least six shifts so far, had to work an additional half shift on Sundays. Many workers were aggressively nudged to partake in these overtime shifts, stripping them of recuperation times they direly needed. Overall, this, in unison with the highly demanding work within steel mills, created catastrophic working conditions for steel workers within the continuously producing parts of the steel mills. While the rotation of shifts remained, the new continuous system with four shifts, as proposed by Graef, allowed for longer leisure times in-between shift changes and significantly reduced working hours.

Workers joined the steel mills and their harsh shift systems for the better than average wages paid within the steel industry and especially so in the shift systems, since workers would receive extra pay for the harsh environmental working conditions and for working night and Sunday shifts. It was difficult to find equally paid jobs for mostly unqualified labourers who were less demanding. Even in 1979 this additional tax-free income would amount to an additional

income of roughly a fourth of pre-tax wages.[5] In the course of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, this compensation system lost its convincing touch, though, at least for German workers. There was a noticeable shift within the work forces working within hot production sites of steel mills, and especially within this rotating shift system that included night shifts. More and more foreign workers occupied these positions.[6]

In a study by Otto Neuloh, a social and industrial scientist who helped to found the social research centre in Dortmund (Sozialforschungsstelle Dortmund), Rudolf Braun and Erich Werner in 1961 stated in hindsight, this system needed to be reshaped. The extensive working hours meant that workers were chronically overstrained, regularly working six days a week and, because of the rotation of their shifts, never having a completely free Sunday. Apart from their holidays, workers never had a work-free time of more than 24 hours. Workers coined the free time on Sundays as the "sleep Sunday" (Schlafsonntag). Between the end of their last night shift on Sunday morning at 6 a.m. and the start of the next early shift on Monday morning at 6 a.m., they were only able to take rest. This left them with only a few hours they could actively spend with their families, especially as the last Saturday shift was often described as the most strenuous of the week.[7] This shift system had taken its toll on workers. Invalidity and occupational accidents had soared in the first years of the post-war boom and the shift system was a major contributing factor. Shift workers within the iron and steel industry in hindsight stated that they had not led a real life, had not been real humans and that the never-ending work cycle had dulled them. It had led to premature ageing and disability. It was also attributed to high levels of occupational accidents, especially on Sundays. The half shifts that worked on Sundays carried out the necessary repair works together with temporary workers, who were not used to the working environments in the steel mills, contributing to an increase in accident rates.[8]

In comparison, the new model that Graef, the technical director at HOAG, developed for the production facilities at his company was seen as a major improvement. It greatly improved work time arrangements for those employed

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5 E. Werner, N. Borchardt, R. Frielingsdorf, and H. Romahn, *Schichtarbeit als Langzeiteinfluß auf betriebliche, private und soziale Bezüge* (Opladen, 1980).

6 T. Hettinger and B. H. Müller, *Hitzearbeit. Belastung und Beanspruchung in der deutschen Eisen- und Stahlindustrie. Schriftenreihe Humanisierung des Arbeitslebens*, Vol. 67 (Düsseldorf, 1985).

7 O. Neuloh, R. Braun, and E. Werner, *Die Durchlaufende Arbeitsweise. Sonntagsarbeit im Urteil der Stahlarbeiter* (Tübingen, 1961).

8 Neuloh, et al., *Die Durchlaufende Arbeitsweise.*

within continuous shift systems. But even though management and workers' councils opted for a test run, workers, as well as the board of the IG Metall, were opposed to its introduction. Within the German system of corporatism, this was a problem. While laws set minimum standards, binding tariff agreements that employers and unions had to negotiate set the actual working standards. They were the means to change overall working times within the steel industry. Union representatives also made up half of the supervisory boards of steel companies, as was mandated by the Montanmitbestimmungsgesetz (Montan codetermination law). Within the set rules of tariff agreements, workers' councils had to give their approval to work time arrangements. This meant that as long as the IG Metall was opposed to this new model, it could not be successfully implemented within the broader tariff system of the steel industry. So why, if the proposed mode of continuous shift work was an improvement, were workers of the IG Metall as well as churches initially opposed to these new continuous shift systems? And why did company representatives favour it?

The new system as proposed by Graef initially included the introduction of a 45-hour work week with full pay compensation, a rotation system covering 7 weeks and guaranteed free times between the rotating shifts of 80 and 56 hours once in 7 weeks and 32 hours for the other shift changes. The reduced work times together with the extension of the production times would require employing more workers.[9] This would have meant an overall work time reduction for the involved shift workers of around eight hours per week and would have resulted in prolonged work-free times in-between shift changes.

Still, steel workers were initially more than sceptical of the proposed shift system. Their opinion only shifted after a first trial run had started. In advance of these, two votes were held, one in February 1952 and another in May 1952, to extend the duration of the test run. The acceptance expressed through these votes rose from 57.1% to 62.3%. A more indicative figure for the rising approval was the development of sick leave during the test run. It fell markedly within the production site of Martinswerk I, where the trial took place, while remaining stable in Martinswerk II, where workers had initially refused to adopt the new system. As a result of this test run, HOAG went on to optimise the system and came up with a final plan in the summer 1952: a 42-hour continuous operation plan was introduced, cutting overall working hours per week by another 3 hours.

It was made possible by implementing another, fourth shift crew. This allowed for a continuous production around the clock in three shifts on every day of the week while also reducing the working hours significantly by over ten hours per

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9 Neuloh, et al., *Die Durchlaufende Arbeitsweise.*

week (compared to the aggregated working hours of at least 53 hours before the introduction). The system splits the workers into four crews that had to serve the three shifts per day, simultaneously guaranteeing a free shift for the fourth crew. The individual shift crews would go through 7 days of night shifts, 7 days of day shifts and 7 days of morning shifts. They had free times in between these shifts.

The shift schedules could be calculated for months in advance, allowing workers to plan accordingly. The continuous production during the entire week and the introduction of a fourth shift crew had therefore allowed a drastic reduction of overall working hours, enabling steel workers for the first time in post-war West Germany to actually enjoy regular extended work-free times.[10] At the same time, the system allowed for a continuous production, increasing production volumes, reducing maintenance and repair costs and reducing sick leave times of workers for HOAG. This seems to have been a win-win situation for all those involved.

Therefore, the workers' initial resistance to this proposed system has to be explained. It stemmed from an inherent distrust towards management. Workers found it difficult to believe that a 25% cut in working hours would not result in a somewhat similar cut in wages. In essence, they believed the proposed shift system to be too good to be true. Only the positive experiences made by the test crews convinced other crews. More and more workers at HOAG went on to demand the introduction of the new, improved shift system. While Neuloh et al. attributed this to the inherent internal scepticism or even "traditional mistrust" towards changes made from above that every worker was said to harbour,[11] this seems to have been a rather sensible strategy from a worker's standpoint. After all, so far managements had failed to improve their working conditions. They had been forced to work on Sundays and often had to do double shifts if repairs required this.

Within public debates of continuous shift work, there seems to have been a lack of information paired with a marked unwillingness of certain actors to acknowledge the marked improvements' continuous production systems offered for shift workers. The new system was labelled as a 7-day work system, but the Catholic Church said that such a system that was morally wrong could and should not be seen as economically viable, since it was strongly opposed to any work on Sundays.[12] This sentiment was then used by communist groups who furthered it to accuse the involved workers' councillors as supporters of an exploitative American

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10 Neuloh, et al., *Die Durchlaufende Arbeitsweise*.

11 Neuloh, et al., *Die Durchlaufende Arbeitsweise*.

12 Karlheim, C. 2006. "Katholische Kirche und Sonntagsarbeit. Entwicklungslinien am Beispiel der Eisen- und Stahlindustrie." Mitteilungsblatt Des Instituts Für Soziale Bewegungen 36: 29–43.

system. Even the board of the IG Metall initially labelled the plans of HOAG as a "Kulturschande" (cultural stigma).[13] The framing of the new shift system, therefore, was from the outset in a state of unbalance. The original title of the system had highlighted the continuous production and work and not reflected the work time improvements. This labelling was used to suggest that workers suddenly had to work on Sundays within the new work regime. In reality, of course, most of the workers who have changed into a continuous shift system had not known a work-free Sunday in years. The initial debate of 1951/52 showed vividly that those leading it had failed to consider the actual working realities of the time.

Since the initial debates and statements of 1951/52 union members and worker councils had lobbied for a change of the negative stance the IG Metall had initially taken, they demanded the introduction of the continuous shift system for all production processes within the hot production sites of steel mills. These were, in essence, the production steps that were directly connected to the blast furnaces. As the shift system gained some track and the results were deemed sufficiently positive for employers as well as employees, the tariff partners in NRW agreed to the introduction of this system within the steel industry in December 1956. Over 4 years had therefore passed since the initial test runs. The tariff agreement limited continued production to the blast furnace-related sites. But the tariff agreement also made clear that the system could only be introduced if the state government agreed and put forth an exemption of the general rule that Sundays were work free, something that the German constitution (Grundgesetz) guarantees in article 140.

The intervention of the state government in favour of a tariff agreement that at least in part bypassed the constitution led to an intense day of debating in the German federal parliament, the Bundestag. The critique that the conservative parties voiced in this debate was aimed at the reasoning for the exemption. The basic argument was that an exemption was unconstitutional, that Sunday was a holy day and that any infringement upon it would endanger its holy character, thereby reducing the time families had together. This was in line with critiques church groups and representatives had voiced. The conservatives went on and accused tariff partners and the state government of giving purely economic reasons for the continuous shift system. This, they said, could facilitate further exemptions, thereby opening the flood gates for the deregulation of the sacred Sunday.[14]

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13 Neuloh, et al., *Die Durchlaufende Arbeitsweise.*

14 Große Anfrage der Fraktion CDU/CSU betr. Gesetzliche Beschränkung der Sonntagsarbeit (Drucksache 3236). In Bundestagsprotokolle, 2. Deutscher Bundestag – 203. Sitzung, Bonn den 10. April 1957, 11508–45.

The spin was clear: compared to discussions of sociologists, occupational medicine, unions and companies, conservatives aimed at a different level. They used the debate to show themselves as defenders of morals, religion, the churches and families. Improvements the new system provided for employees were either negated or mostly ignored. Social democrats and the social democratic Minister for Labour and Social Affairs of NRW, Heinrich Hemsath, were in favour of the new arrangements. They stressed the workers' situation within the old system and the benefits this new system provided. In the end, the debate yielded little more than colourful rhetoric. In the following years, the conservative government did not regulate shift working systems or Sunday work any further. A status quo was preserved with marked out positions for conservatives and social democrats.[15] No legislation was passed to affirm or to forbid the newfound systems that the government of NRW had affirmed. It took another 4 years for a regulation, known as the "Stahlnovelle," to be put before the Bundestag that exempted a finite number of hot production processes within the iron and steel industry from the provisions made in the Grundgesetz. This can be regarded as the a posteriori affirmation of the provisions agreed upon by union and employer representatives.

While the public debate of this new continuous shift system had focused on Sunday work and a feared dam break caused by this system that could possibly undermine the protected Sunday, the actual and groundbreaking improvements this system meant for workers could easily be overlooked. Shift workers had so far been mostly ignored. German laws were quite unspecific in regard to weekly working hours and limitations set for shift work. There was a limit to the work hours per week (set at 48 hours) and the constitution expressly guaranteed work-free Sundays, but as shown by the average working hours of steel workers before the introduction of the continuous shift system, both rules had not taken effect. That the conditions of shift workers in the steel industry were debated in the Bundestag was only due to the introduction of continuous shift systems and their possible implications for the role Sundays should play in German society.

The continuous shift systems must be seen as a clear improvement, with a regulated 42-hour work week with clear schedules and guaranteed free times, including at least 13 work-free Sundays within a 72-hour work-free time. As a consequence of the broad discussion on Sunday work and shift work, Neuloh, Braun and Werner evaluated the whole process afterwards. Not only did they talk with workers who had worked the old system and the new one, as well as their employers and immediate superiors, but they also talked with their families, trying to evaluate the impact

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15 Große Anfrage der Fraktion CDU/CSU betr.

this new work regime and Sunday work in general had on their family life. The results were clear: the new system guaranteed actual and, to some degree, usable free time. It allowed for an actual routine for shift workers and protected them from excessive overtime. This also meant that families would now be able to plan their life much better, even though this life was still in most parts dictated by the shift schedules. The study furthermore proposed ways of adapting the continuous shift system to fit within an improved legal framework to double the number of work-free Sundays per year. Within the proposed model, workers could have 26 work-free Sundays per year. The sociologists, therefore, had a marked impact on the legal framework of the shift system and its practical implementation. They also expanded the scope of sociological studies, factoring in the effects working hours had on the social and family lives of workers and posing questions which will be further examined in this chapter: how does shift work impact the social lives of workers? What are the health risks of shift work? How can a shift work system be optimised to meet the demands of all that are taking part in it?

6.2 The Normal Work Week, Work Time Flexibility and Shift Workers

Besides his studies on shift workers in steel mills and the optimisation of continued shift work schedules, Neuloh focused on general societal implications such systems had. He coined the term "Abendgesellschaft" (evening society) and used it to problematise the fact that most forms of social, cultural and societal interaction took place after the end of the work day or on the weekends. Club memberships, meeting up with friends and family, educating oneself and getting engaged with politics and other pasttime activities were highly dependent on shared free time in the evening and on weekends. While many if not most could participate in the evening society, series difficulties could arise for continuous shift workers, if they wanted to participate. An early shift forced them, depending on the distance they had to travel to work, to get up well before 5 a.m. Work started at 6 a.m. and workers would often turn up at the factory gates 15–30 min earlier than their shift started, to get changed, reach their actual work stations and organise the handing over with the previous shift in time.[16] Returning from these shifts,

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16 ThyssenKrupp Archiv (TKA), TNO/3484, Schreiben der Personalabteilung Arbeiter, Oberhausen, 9.7.1956, Betr.: Kartenstempelung.

workers often took a nap in the afternoon, allowing at least some time for evening activities before turning in for sleep to get some rest before waking up in the middle of the night again. During their midday shifts, workers of course did not have to wake up early, but this also implied returning home way after 10 p.m., the end of the shift. Any evening activities had most likely already taken place. During night shifts, workers were often so exhausted that any activities that went beyond taking a walk or doing grocery shopping were out of question. The shift times made it near impossible to partake in evening society without giving up much-needed resting times.[17]

This situation was anchored further through the introduction of the so-called "Normalarbeitswoche" (normal work week). The 40-hour work week and a work-free weekend were introduced in many work areas through tariff agreements. Since the introduction of the continuous shift systems in steel mills the IG Metall had gone on to reduce the overall working hours for steel workers. Between 1957 and 1967, the official working hours had been reduced from 48 hours per week to 40 hours, while guaranteeing full wage compensation.[18] This was a huge success. The combined efforts to reduce working hours and implement a 2-day weekend were met with no substantial resistance and were not fought over. There had been a broad consensus between occupational medicine, which favoured the longer resting period during the weekends, society, which saw the chance for further past-time activities and family time, and even employers, who at least were not objectionable to a 40-hour week and only demanded enough time to adjust their production.[19] As a result of these changes that would also take hold of many more industries and other work areas, activities could be further focused on the work-free weekends or evenings. Saturday could now be considered the weekday for many activities involving friends and family. For continuous shift workers, this was only partially true. Their 7-day cycle followed a different logic. Their weekend, that is a prolonged free time longer than 36 hours, or 1½ days, would shift with every rotation and was not fixed to the societal weekend.

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17 O. Neuloh, "Sozialisation und Schichtarbeit," *Soziale Welt* 1 (1964): 50–70.

18 G. Scharf, *Geschichte der Arbeitszeitverkürzung. Der Kampf der deutschen Gewerkschaften um Verkürzung der täglichen und wöchentlichen Arbeitszeit* (Köln, 1987).

19 A. Franz, *Kooperation statt Klassenkampf? Zur Bedeutung kooperativer wirtschaftlicher Leitbilder für die Arbeitszeitsenkung in Kaiserreich und Bundesrepublik* (Stuttgart, 2014); A. Franz, "Kulturelle Möglichkeitsräume betrieblicher Zeitgestaltung. Vorschlag einer neuen Perspektive auf die Arbeitszeitsenkung im Kaiserreich und der Bundesrepublik," in *Der Faktor Zeit. Perspektiven kulturwissenschaftlicher Zeitforschung*, eds. K. Patzel-Mattern and A. Franz (Stuttgart, 2015), 109–38.

The reduced work times, furthermore, meant that continuous shift workers were working an extra 2 hours per week. This was due to the arithmetic necessary to divide a 168-hour week into four equally big portions. In the end, the 42-hour work week could only be enjoyed because it was not measured per week, but per year. In reality, continuous shift workers worked for 7 days at a time, resulting in a 56-hour work week, followed by a work-free period of time that ranged between 1½ and 4 days. Instead of reducing the working hours per week the workers' 2 hours of average weekly "overtime" was compensated in the form of 13 additional free shifts per year and not by monetary means. The tariff agreements therefore allowed for a disparity between continuous shift workers and other (shift) workers within the production sites. Workers, such as continuous shift workers, who had to regularly work night shifts were therefore implemented as a somewhat deviant, special category of workers within the general workforce.

The agreement also stated that as long as the yearly amount of time spent working averaged 40 hours per week, the actual work week could be extended, in this case by 2 hours per week. The additional 13 free shifts per year were incorporated within the yearly shift schedules, often bundled up with other free times such as holidays. This was in line with the findings of occupational medicine which favoured free time bundled up to extended time periods, allowing for more effective times of recuperation and thereby reducing work-related diseases. Within the shift systems, workers therefore had little control over their time budgets. They could not just take a day off, but had assigned free times planned out for them months in advance. While such arrangements were meant to increase the predictability of their work and free time, this also inhibited their ability to find solutions that were more on par with their individual preferences. These arrangements cemented a permanent rift between the free times of continuous shift workers and other workers within the steel mills, since, while the latter group could now regularly enjoy a fixed free weekend, continuous shift workers only had every other Sunday to their disposal, with free shifts often being given during the week and not the weekends. Given that one still lived in an evening society, the value of free time during the week was seen as reduced since these times often could not be actively used for past-time activities. While many workers could now enjoy the normal work week and a normal work day, shift workers were to a certain degree excluded from this normalisation process. This again constituted them as a group that diverged from general society. They not only had to regularly work on weekends but also

during the night and within production sites that can be described as having the harshest working conditions found within the steel industry.[20]

Aside from work time reductions, another change was introduced into the West German work sphere. The idea of flexible working hours, emanating from a company in Ottobrunn near Munich, soon gained traction in media reports and was further popularised by companies, employees and manufacturers of electronic punch clocks.[21] Representatives of these companies claimed that flexible work time arrangements would soon dominate the workplaces in Germany. This would allow workers to finally take charge of the distribution of their work hours during the day. These prognostics turned out to be rather over-optimistic, but still there was a solid increase of flexible work time arrangements, especially since employees urged their companies and workers' councils to introduce such arrangements. While the IG Metall did acknowledge the improvements these systems could bring it also warned that this could, if left unregulated, actually have a negative impact. Union functionaries were warned in *Der Gewerkschafter*, the functionaries journal of the IG Metall, that companies could force their employees to work overtime during times with a good order situation and then would force their workers to take days off during times of economic downturns.[22] While such discussions and new work time regimes are interesting, most workers within production sites would never be able to enjoy them. Their working hours were determined by the needs of the production processes, especially in the capital-intensive steel industry.

Continuous shift workers were at the extreme end of rigorous and fixed work time arrangements. Shift plans were handed out for months if not a year in advance. Flexibility, therefore, was not an issue. Within the old work time arrangements, flexibility had meant that workers would be nudged, if not forced, to do overtime when this was deemed necessary. The inflexible shift plans, in this sense, protected workers from company exploitations. Workers within continuous shift systems were able to plan in advance and knew exactly when they could meet friends and family.[23] Flexible work time arrangements within the steel industry were almost exclusively introduced for office workers. They were often paired with new regimes of work time monitoring, such as

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20 R. Rudat, *Freizeitmöglichkeiten von Nacht-, Schicht-, Sonn- und Feiertagsarbeitern* (Stuttgart: [u.a.], 1978).

21 W. Roth, *Praxis-Report Gleitzeit. Handbuch der Zeiterfassung. Vor-und Nachteile flexibler Arbeitszeiten* (Schwenningen, 1975).

22 H. Dürrbeck, "Wem nützt die gleitende Arbeitszeit," *Der Gewerkschafter* 12 (1970): 444–45.

23 Neuloh, et al., *Die Durchlaufende Arbeitsweise*.

electronic punch card systems.[24] Flexible working hours of office workers furthered the drifting apart of work time arrangements within steel companies and society. Both measures, continuous shift systems and flexible working hours, were introduced to increase production times while also granting additional freedoms to workers and employees. Flexibility went on to dominate tariff conflicts in the 1980s. Employers wanted to expand production times to secure the optimal usage of facilities; this would, as they argued, guarantee jobs amidst the unemployment crisis the federal republic was facing in the 1980s.[25]

In a study published in 1975, Joseph Rutenfranz, an international expert on shift work, and Erich Werner analysed continuous production processes and shift work within them. In their opening remarks, they pointed to an increased interest in shift work and its consequences for workers. This was attributed to the rift between normal working conditions and the abnormal working conditions of shift workers: "All work under unusual conditions is being viewed especially critical by the public these days."[26] The introduction of the normal work week also had another effect, while it cemented the differences between continuous shift work and "normal" working arrangements, it also seems to have increased the awareness for abnormal working hours. At least Rutenfranz and Werner[27] thought so and described the rise of public interest with shift work as a logical consequence of this rift, since everything that was abnormal in the work week was now seen more critically and the continuous shift systems present within the steel industry were something quite apart from the norm.

Within the economic downturn the steel industry had to face since the mid-1970s, the IG Metall opted for measures to decrease the work times further. While this general goal was a consensus, the actual way to get there was discussed intensely. Some delegates argued for a decrease of the lifelong work time, opting for more possibilities to stay in school longer and retire earlier, with others arguing for an increase of resting times per hour or extended holidays of 6 weeks. Some delegates were highly opposed to any all too concrete demands, fearing that this would hinder the union to address urgent other fields that might require change. As Fritz Schweppe, a delegate from Düsseldorf, put it, the proposed demand for a 35-hour week that was being debated was a rather arbitrary demand: "Only illusionists would assume that other

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24 D. Süß, "Stempeln, Stechen, Zeit erfassen. Überlegungen zu einer Ideen- und Sozialgeschichte der 'Flexibilisierung' 1970–1990," *Archiv Für Sozialgeschichte* 52 (2012): 139–62.

25 Süß, Stempeln, Stechen, Zeit erfassen.

26 J. Rutenfranz and E. Werner, *Schichtarbeit bei kontinuierlicher Produktion. Arbeitssoziologische, sozialpsychologische, arbeitspsychologische und arbeitsmedizinische Aspekte* (Dortmund, 1975).

27 Rutenfranz and Werner, *Schichtarbeit bei kontinuierlicher Produktion.*

necessary changes to weekly working times could be advanced in negotiations," if delegates were to pass such a claim (IGM Protokolle 1977, 317).[28] The fear of delegates such as Fritz Schweppe was that future tariff negotiations would be all but consumed by the 35-hour week. Even though others argued against these fears in favour of a clear, public goal for the next years, there was a clear difference in the argumentation. While delegates such as Schweppe voiced concerns in regard to actual workplace improvements, or as Hans G. Opitz from Bremen pointed out on the struggles shift workers faced if they wanted to get engaged in union work, many of the delegates who argued in favour of the 35-hour week put their focus on its implications for the job market. The economic and especially the job crisis within the steel industry had a clear impact on union policies and discussions, leaving less room for discussion on the quality of work. For many of the delegates, the preservation of jobs and expansion of the job market took centre stage. The 35-hour week would have the biggest impact in this regard, as they argued. These were the voices that carried the proposal with a slim majority of only 14 delegates at the union convention with 540 delegates participating in the vote (IGM Protokolle 1977).[29] This started the hard-fought struggle of the IG Metall for the introduction of the 35-hour week within the steel and metal industries. The narrow outcome of the convention as well as the difficulties the IG Metall faced when they actually tried to mobilise their members to vote for a strike during the tariff clashes with the employers show that the paths towards securing jobs in the old industries remained contested within the union.

Still, during the first clash with employers in 1978/79, the IG Metall did not forget those workers who were forced to do regular night shifts. The union had identified this group as especially endangered. At the end of a first big confrontation with employers who had seen broader strikes and corresponding lockouts of workers, two things were introduced in 1979: first, 6 weeks of holiday for all tariff workers, and second, an additional amount of free shifts for all workers who had to regularly work on the night shift. These additional six free shifts per year were granted because of the proven additional burden of their regular shift work. But even though these terms were improvements and welcomed by workers in general, they failed to address one of the central points of concern Neuloh had already pointed towards in the 1960s. Additional free shifts and holidays would not change the exclusion especially of continuous shift workers from the evening society. This shows that while work time arrangements for shift workers had improved since the 1950s, other problems had not been solved. No attempts had

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28 IGM Protokolle 1977, 317.
29 IGM Protokolle 1977.

been made to significantly reduce the required amount of shift work within the steel industry once continuous shift systems had been introduced. New production facilities were planned within the provisions of the continuous shift system and were not tailored towards medically established facts concerning long-term implications of continuous shift systems and night shifts in particular. Instead, the fears of conservatives and the churches had been confirmed: no one wanted to go back to a system without continuous production. Steel mill companies were facing massive financial losses because of an overproduction crisis within the European steel market. Unions and workers feared job losses if they earnestly acted against improvements of efficiency and production output, and state and federal legislators undertook no attempts to reorganise work time regulations.

6.3 The Sociology of Shift Work

Meanwhile, sociologists were undertaking further studies of shift work and its effect on workers and their families. The 1970s saw an increase of attention towards shift work in factories. As Rutenfranz and Werner claimed, the increased interest resulted from general questions raised by the public and concerning work patterns that were not part of the normal workday and week.[30] But, with over 3 million shift workers in West Germany in the mid-1970s, shift work was far from unusual anymore.[31] Instead it was gaining substantial ground in the work sphere with many companies expanding their shift systems.[32] At the same time, the government had started a broad array of research projects on the humanisation of the work sphere (Humanisierung der Arbeitswelt). This kick-started many sociological and occupational health studies of the working world in the 1970s.[33] The governmental goal of these projects had been to address occupational hazards and improve the working conditions in the face of broader approaches towards automation, modernisation and the negative impacts these processes could have for workers. Shift work appeared as a central part of a

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30 Rutenfranz and Werner, *Schichtarbeit bei kontinuierlicher Produktion*.

31 H. Ahlheim, "Grenzen der 'Flexibilisierung.' Die Erforschung von Schichtarbeit und Körperzeiten im Rahmen des HdA-Programms," in "*Humanisierung der Arbeit*," Aufbrüche und Konflikte in der rationalisierten Arbeitswelt des 20. Jahrhunderts (Bielefeld, 2019), 161–84.

32 D. Bethge, "Arbeitsschutz," in *Geschichte der Sozialpolitik in Deutschland seit 1945*, Vol. 5, 1966–1974, ed. H. G. Hockerts (Baden-Baden, 2006), 280–330.

33 S. Müller, "Das Forschungs- und Aktionsprogramm 'Humanisierung des Arbeitslebens' (1974–1989)," in "*Humanisierung der Arbeit." Aufbrüche und Konflikte in der rationalisierten Arbeitswelt des 20. Jahrhunderts*, eds. N. Kleinöder, S. Müller, and K. Uhl (Bielefeld, 2019), 59–88.

general flexibilisation of work times in the face of this rise of automated production processes.[34] At the same time, new laws on employee participation, the Works Council Constitution Act of 1972, stated that working conditions should be designed on the grounds of assured results of labour sciences.[35] This scientific knowledge of "good" and "humane" working conditions had to be established first. This increased interest in the working spheres and the increased funding opportunities paved the way for a wide array of published and unpublished studies.[36]

With regard to continuous shift systems studies not only looked at shift schedules but also had to take into account that people working in these rotation systems had some of the most demanding workplaces.[37] This again made conclusive results of the impact of the actual shift system harder to come by, especially as some studies, such as the cited study by Hettinger and Müller, did not include night shifts in their empirical base. This was mainly due to their restricted resources and the additional work this would have meant. The causal relation between work-related health issues and continuous shift work had at least been contested. Many studies therefore pointed towards shift work as just one contributing factor within a range of workplace-related hazards.[38] Werner et al. highlighted in their introductory remarks that the workplace-related burdens mattered: someone working at plant security faced different burdens compared to blast furnace crews.[39] More than 90% of workers within hot production stated that they thought their workplace caused health problems, while 70% claimed they suffered work overload. This was a major contributing factor in accidents during work.[40] Shift work was in this sense something that could increase the negative impact of demanding work stations on workers' health. Apart

34 D. Süß, "Der Sieg der grauen Herren? Flexibilisierung und der Kampf um Zeit in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren." In *Vorgeschichte der Gegenwart. Dimensionsn des Strukturbruchs nach dem Boom*, eds. A. Doering-Manteuffel, L. Raphael, and T. Schlemmer (Göttingen, 2016), 109–27.

35 N. Kleinöder, *Unternehmen und Sicherheit. Strukturen, Akteure und Verflechtungsprozesse im betrieblichen Arbeitsschutz der westdeutschen Eisen- und Stahlindustrie nach 1945* (Stuttgart, 2015).

36 Bethge, "Arbeitsschutz."; N. Kleinöder, "Humanisierung durch Arbeitssicherheit? Die Reform des Arbeitsschutzes als Ausgangspunkt des „Humanisierung des Arbeitslebens" zwischen 1963 und 1979/80," in *„Humanisierung der Arbeit". Aufbrüche und Konflikte in der rationalisierten Arbeitswelt des 20. Jahrhunderts*, eds. N. Kleinöder, S. Müller, and K. Uhl (Bielefeld, 2019), 91–108.

37 Hettinger and Müller, *Hitzearbeit. Belastung und Beanspruchung in der deutschen Eisen- und Stahlindustrie.*

38 Rudat, *Freizeitmöglichkeiten von Nacht.*

39 Werner, et al., *Schichtarbeit als Langzeiteinfluß auf betriebliche.*

40 Hettinger and Müller, *Hitzearbeit. Belastung und Beanspruchung in der deutschen Eisen- und Stahlindustrie.*

from other workplace-related burdens, there was also a general understanding that special problems arose from the need of shift workers to regularly sleep during the day. Day sleep brought with it an array of problems not just for the shift workers themselves but also for their families.[41]

Experts had in the twentieth century founded the field of sleep sciences. Within this field, a new understanding of sleep and its patterns had been created. As a result, sleep had been increasingly standardised. The findings suggested that there was an objective, good and proper way of sleeping for everyone. Despite all precautions taken, for example, through prolonged rest times in-between the rotation of shifts, there was a steep decline of performance during the night. Between 2 and 6 a.m., most workers hit a performance low. This led to an increased rate of accidents and a decrease of product quality during night shifts. Even within the seven consecutive night shifts in continuous systems, the body would not be able to completely adjust to the new wake and sleep cycle. Prolonging the shift periods was not seen as an option since this would make a social life of shift workers near impossible. Studies also pointed towards long-term negative effects of night shifts. These were normally not reduced over time but increased. Even during the night shift workers' internal clocks were synchronised through light, temperatures and their social surroundings.[42] Sleep and the inner clock therefore posed economic and health hazards for the production process and its workers, especially during the night. In the 1970s and 1980s, the focus on individual sleep patterns and on sleeping practices at home led to a further individualisation of sleep. On the one hand, this highlighted general problems people with sleep deficits faced, thereby problematising shift systems and the accommodation of workers. On the other hand, sleep was more and more seen as something that the individual was responsible for. A broad industry had developed providing solutions for those deprived of normal sleep: pharmaceutical companies sold sleep medication, self-pronounced experts produced a wide array of self-help literature and magazines provided practical tips for the self-optimisation of one's sleep. Sleep was therefore further commodified and a means to reach maximised performance levels. This raises the question of how much responsibility a shift worker could have for his sleep in a system where every aspect of his personal and social life was dictated by his work schedule.[43] This of course also included the personal living space.

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41 J. Rutenfranz, "Arbeitsmedizinische Aspekte des Arbeitszeitproblems und der Nacht- und Schichtarbeit," *Schriftenreihe Leistung Und Lohn* 93–94 (1979): 5–27.

42 Ahlheim, "Grenzen der "Flexibilisierung"."

43 H. Ahlheim, *Der Traum vom Schlaf im 20. Jahrhundert. Wissen, Optimierungsphasen und Widerständigkeit* (Göttingen, 2018).

Many workers within the steel industry had access to extensive company housing schemes with often significantly reduced rents compared to the general housing market.[44]

The study by Werner et al.[45] was focused on the long-term effects of shift work. It compared the working conditions of shift workers in the steel and chemical industries. Shift workers and retirees who had worked in continuous shift systems over a prolonged period of ten years or more were interviewed. The study was also interested in workers who had changed their workstation, asking workers what changes to the work system they desired. The study conclusively showed that the majority of workers took up shift work for financial reasons. It provided them a somewhat significant additional income. Workers who left shift work would on average lose between 400 and 600 DM (55% of those interviewed), while the average earnings of steel workers in continuous shift systems were between 2,000 and 3,000 DM. Continuous shift work therefore increased the income of workers before taxes roughly by a fifth. This financial incentive was the main reason workers remained in continuous shift systems, even though they knew of the detrimental long-term health effects the system had on them. 70% of interviewees claimed that they therefore wanted to leave continuous shift work when they turned fourty but only 15% had done so. Typical health issues shift workers faced in their own accounts included sleep disruptions (73%), stomach complaints (57.4%), indigestion (49.6%), anorexia (54.8%) and nervous disorders (77.4%). Nearly half of those interviewed saw the reasons for their health problems in the work time arrangements and 42.6% blamed their work activities. Two-thirds of those interviewed reported that their problems had arisen and increased over an extended period of time. Switching to other work stations or employers was further hindered by the lack of formal qualification, career improvements often based on long-term workforce membership and a lack of purely day shift jobs within the plants. Furthermore, compensation schemes for those willing or having to change to healthier workplaces were less than adequate. Most workers left shift work systems as a consequence of operational changes at their work stations and not because they chose to. The authors put this down to "a lack of change in consciousness in the face of changing technical requirements and concentration processes with all its consequences. The reaction mode remains reactive" with no sense of the need for higher degrees of job mobility and professional advancement.[46]

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44 I. Krau, *Wohnprobleme von Stahlarbeitern. Das Zusammenwirken von Arbeitssituation und Wohnverhältnissen in Duisburgs* (Frankfurt a.M., New York, 1980).

45 Werner, et al., *Schichtarbeit als Langzeiteinfluß auf betriebliche.*

46 Werner, et al., *Schichtarbeit als Langzeiteinfluß auf betriebliche.*

The possible loss of income paired with the overall rise of unemployment cre-
ated an atmosphere that inhibited attempts to leave the shift systems within the
steel companies. Even if someone wanted to change into a less demanding job and
was willing to lose some of his pay, there were hardly any opportunities to do so.
This was especially true for the Ruhrgebiet, where most of West Germany's steel
industry was situated. Unemployment figures here were significantly higher than
in other regions.[47] The most common path of leaving continuous shift systems was
either to retire or to lose one's job in the wake of plant closures. It was pointed out
that existing systems of compensation for workplace-related duress was a key fac-
tor in the unwillingness to change workplaces. These extra costs were negligible
for the companies, giving them hardly any incentives to reduce night shifts or en-
vironmental stresses.[48] The income losses the workers would face if they changed
their workplace were more than real. Continuous shift workers were often the sole
bread earners in their families. Their wives often did not work at all or only in part-
time jobs. The families were therefore mostly dependent on the income of the fa-
ther/husband. A change of the compensation system was therefore called for, even
if this was hardly a popular idea. The system was giving workers and employers
false incentives to stick to work regimes that were unhealthy for workers.

Turning the attention towards the home situation of workers, the study went
on to show that most shift workers were living together with their families in
mostly cramped living quarters, with shift workers also complaining more about
public transport to and from work. This, as the authors concluded, could be put
down to the working hours that public transportation schedules did not come to
terms with adequately, which could increase the time workers spent for their
way to work and back again, further diminishing their work-free times.[49]

The free time workers had was often spent within or close to their homes.
Most workers used their free time to recuperate, especially during their night
shifts. 32% of shift workers spent only some or none of their time on hobbies,
whereas the same figure for a control group was only at 16%, further proving
what Neuloh had already stated that shift work hindered workers taking up
past-time activities. More than half of the interviewed steel workers complained
about difficulties arranging their hobbies around their rotating shifts. But in-
terestingly it was also shown that there was no marked difference in club

47 S. Goch, "Wandel ist immer, wir bemühen uns, haben es aber schwer," in *Erinnerungsort
Strukturwandel*, eds. S. Berger, U. Borsdorf, L. Claßen, H. T. Grütter, and D. Nellen, Zeit-Räume
Ruhr. Erinnerungsorte des Ruhrgebiets (Essen, 2019), 459–79.
48 D. Bethge, "Arbeitsschutz," *Geschichte der Sozialpolitik in Deutschland seit 1945*, Vol. 4,
1957–1966, eds. M. Ruck and M. Boldorf (Baden-Baden, 2007), 195–233.
49 Werner, et al., *Schichtarbeit als Langzeiteinfluß auf betriebliche.*

memberships or party and union activities between shift and non-shift workers; therefore, as the authors said, shift work was not the main factor in the lack of public engagement. The societal conditions that affected all workers were seen at the core of this issue. The study concluded that the risk of social isolation was increased for shift workers, even though this risk was attributed to all industrial workers, their occupational burdens and a common educational disadvantage again being viewed as the common denominator. Even so, shift workers had an increased risk of social isolation and this risk was extended to their families. The schedules and activities of the whole family were often determined by the shift schedules of the husband and father. His well-being, his need for silence during the daytime while working the night shift, was put first and before the needs of other household members.[50]

Cramped and noise-sensitive living quarters were seen as the heart of problems for shift workers who need to sleep during the daytime. Even though nearly all workers (98.3%) had stated that they were satisfied with their living situation with no or just some reservations,[51] other qualitative studies went further and included interviews and time studies of shift workers and their families while also reflecting other studies on the stresses caused by the work in steel plants.[52] Ingrid Krau and Manfred Walz who had both worked within urban planning in Duisburg had gathered experiences in this matter since the mid-1970s. They had collaborated in a project on work and life conditions of continuous shift workers at the Krupp steel mill in Duisburg-Rheinhausen. They emphasised that in recent years the production had changed, often increasing the intensity of work, while workers had also been confronted with years of declining employment numbers, with many production sites closing down. This led to additional psychological stress on top of other typical stresses the hot production of steel mills caused for continuous shift workers.

The interviews with the wives of shift workers not only emphasised the problems shift work created at home but also shone a light on the long-term effects these working conditions had: "When he returns from the night shift, he at first cannot sleep at all. In the past he lay down and could sleep," as one wife reported. But with time her husband's body had declined, and sleeping became more and more difficult. The bodily decline was matched by the decreased desire

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50 Werner, et al., *Schichtarbeit als Langzeiteinfluß auf betriebliche.*

51 Werner, et al., *Schichtarbeit als Langzeiteinfluß auf betriebliche.*

52 Rutenfranz and Werner, *Schichtarbeit bei kontinuierlicher Produktion.*; I. Krau and M. Walz, *Wer weiß denn schon was Kontischicht bedeutet. Zum Zusammenhang von Arbeit und Leben außerhalb des Werktors: Kooperatives Forschen in der Stahlindustrie* (Frankfurt a.M., New York, 1986).

of her husband to go out and meet friends and family. His sole desire was to stay at home and rest.[53] Such descriptions were a clear marker for the strains the workplace put on shift workers. The strains at work had direct implications for the time spent outside of the factory, and this included the wife. If her husband was taking a nap or sleeping at home in preparation for the next night shift, her personal space was limited to the small kitchen. She had to avoid the other rooms of the apartment to not disturb her resting husband. Meeting friends at home during these day sleeping periods of the husband was out of the question, as was being on the telephone or doing household chores that caused noise.[54] All activities and the daily routines were therefore adjusted to the shift rotations of the husband and his regenerative needs.[55] The long-term effects of continuous shift work had also been expressed. The wives had noticed the premature bodily decline of their husbands. A decline, as the authors noted, was not matched by the wives, who seemed more agile and younger. Women in their 40s therefore had aged far less than their respective shift working husbands.[56] Many steel workers felt disproportionally old as they turned 40. They had arranged themselves with their health impediments and adjusted their everyday life accordingly. For them, "the reduced day-to-day life has become the norm,"[57] a sentiment one would not expect to hear from other, healthy 40-year-olds but would rather associate with retirees. These findings correspond with the opening story in this chapter. The *Gewerkschafter* had shone a short light on the impact of industrial work on family lives. Family life was strained by the rotating shifts, the recuperation needs of the steel worker and the social isolation of the entire family. Men who had been left by their wives also claimed that the shift system and its strains had at least in part been at the heart of their divorces. One even stated that he would quit the continuous shift system if his wife would consider returning, showing that at least he thought the work system was a major factor within his marital problems.[58]

Since there was no hope of actually abolishing the shift work systems prevalent in the steel industry, Walz and Krau sought to improve the quality of living quarters. They had not only interviewed steel workers and their families but also inspected their apartments and concluded that by improving the living standards, for example by noise proofing the sleep spaces and increasing the size of the apartments, the stresses caused by the shift work system could be

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53 Krau and Walz, *Wer weiß denn schon was Kontischicht bedeutet.*

54 Krau and Walz, *Wer weiß denn schon was Kontischicht bedeutet.*

55 Krau and Walz, *Wer weiß denn schon was Kontischicht bedeutet.*

56 Krau and Walz, *Wer weiß denn schon was Kontischicht bedeutet.*

57 Krau and Walz, *Wer weiß denn schon was Kontischicht bedeutet.*

58 Krau and Walz, *Wer weiß denn schon was Kontischicht bedeutet.*

significantly reduced. This was deemed theoretically possible since the steel companies in Duisburg owned 28,000 apartments and had furthermore acquired extensive occupancy rights for their employees in the area,[59] while at the same time employment figures within the industry were dropping. This would therefore open spaces that could be converted into adequate housing facilities for shift workers and their families.[60] Instead of only modernising their production facilities, the researchers argued for an improvement of the living quarters for a true humanisation of all aspects of their working realities.[61] These proposals that also aimed at involving jobless former steel workers in the remodelling of the housing facilities were well intended. Still, they show that, as Hannah Ahlheim put it, "the long helping and seemingly rational arm [. . .] had reached the private bedroom" and turned it into another aspect of the individual's life that was now being scrutinised in the struggle for the individual's optimisation.[62]

All in all, it seems that the sociological and medical sides of continuous shift work in the steel industry had been well explored by the mid-1980s. And still shift work persisted and expands until today, with no major attempts on the horizon to change this, especially since the steel industry was caught in a near-continuous economic and unemployment crisis.

6.4 The Persistency of Continuous Shift Work

In the face of these insights into the negative effects shift work had and a programme that was dedicated to quite literally humanising the working world, it is somewhat surprising to note that shift work systems were on the rise. The mounting scientific evidence concerning negative effects of shift work did little to change the handling of these systems on the shop floors. In the face of massive investments undertaken to modernise production facilities and to concentrate on the steel industry, shift time arrangements were not on the top of the agenda, neither for companies nor workers. This created the paradox situation

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59 Krau, *Wohnprobleme von Stahlarbeitern.*

60 Krau and Walz, *Wer weiß denn schon was Kontischicht bedeutet.*

61 W. Bierwirth, "Schichtarbeiter finden zu Hause keine Ruhe: Wohnen als Strafe," *Metall* 1 (1984): 18–19.

62 H. Ahlheim, "Der Betrieb und das Schlafzimmer. Die "Humanisierung" der Schicht- und Nachtarbeit in der Bundesrepublik der 1970er Jahre," in *Der Betrieb als sozialer und politischer Ort,* ed. K. Andresen, Studien zu Praktiken und Diskursen in den Arbeitswelten des 20. Jahrhunderts (Bonn, 2015), 213–30.

of shift work being discussed more broadly than ever before, while nearly nothing changed regarding the actual organisation of shift work on the shop floor level within the steel industry.

In an article published in *Metall*, the member's journal of the IG Metall, the risk of shift work was marked out, stating that 5 million people were living with this serious health risk. Shift workers died prematurely compared to non-shift workers. Their life expectancy was only at 63 years.[63] In comparison, the average 30-year-old male German in 1978 would be expected to live on for another 42 years – reaching an age of 72. In "The Graveyard Shift" *DER SPIEGEL* had come to similar conclusions and compared the reduced life expectancy of shift workers to that of Protestant pastors and higher state employees as well as entrepreneurs, who on average lived 14 years longer, reaching an average age of 77.[64] This was an appalling gap and shows the impact on working and living conditions as well as economic factors such as income had on the life expectancy of continuous shift workers. These lives were furthermore marred by severe illnesses and the aforementioned inhibited private lives. In essence, the *Metall* and *DER SPIEGEL* article subsumed the findings of a social democratic commission in NRW that had been studying the risks of shift work. The work group had concluded that the abolishment of shift work was the only way to get rid of all these negative impacts while admitting that this was a more than unrealistic path at the current time. The question, therefore, would rather be how to improve the work system and make it more bearable,[65] thereby returning to the agenda set by the humanisation programme.

In the broader public sphere, *DER SPIEGEL* went on to inform its readers, in the face of an impending strike by post office employees, that shift work was affecting 3.7 million workers. A number of 600,000 employees were working in continuous shift systems. Postal service employees were regarded as one of the largest groups working in continuous shift systems, but another major group was steel workers. Within the industry, the capital-intensive investments necessary to modernise production sites had increased the pressure to introduce ever-more continuous shift systems. This clearly put capital and return on investment first, and the workers' well-being second. The SPIEGEL article went on to claim that health matters were not the core problem in this expansion. Workers were more concerned with their family life. One worker stated that every third week, during his seven consecutive night shifts, the family had to tiptoe around the apartment.

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63 H. Hillgärtner, "Schichtarbeit. Über 5 Millionen Arbeitnehmer leben mit einem gefährlichen Risiko," *Metall* 21 (1978): 6−7.

64 "Die Friedhofsschicht," *DER SPIEGEL* 38 (1978): 253−56.

65 Hillgärtner, "Schichtarbeit. Über 5 Millionen Arbeitnehmer leben mit einem gefährlichen Risiko."

A colleague was cited saying "The family life is broken" and that for his children he had solely become "a reason, to be quiet."[66] Whereas in the old tube production sites of Mannesmann, the company the cited workers were employed at weekends had been work-free, the new, highly automated production facilities required an extension of such work systems, forcing proportionally more and more workers into them. Given the unemployment crisis and concentration processes within the steel industry, workers and their councils saw no alternatives to these cost-effective systems. Workers could either opt to stay in companies like Mannesmann and accept continuous shift systems or fear the loss of their jobs. Worker councils again were given the alternative of either agreeing or otherwise endangering the jobs of all those they represented if opposing these extensions of continuous shift systems. So even if unions opposed the extension of shift systems and high levels of overtime work, worker councils and workers were faced with a situation without an alternative.

During the prolonged job crisis, the fight of steel and metal workers for a reduction of weekly working hours was renewed. In the mid-1980s, employers had responded to the union agenda of further work time reductions with a call for a stronger flexibility of workers regarding work times. This in their opinion was an adequate alternative to general work time reductions with pay compensation. They deemed it irresponsible to demand such reductions during an economic crisis, endangering the jobs that had survived so far by further increasing the labour cost of production. Instead, they offered wage increases and additional off time for shift workers, a strategy that had worked in 1979. But apart from this proposal, shift work was not at the core of the conflict. In general, it seems that the discourse had shifted. Faced with two options, either expanding working hours or risking the loss of contracts, most union members on the shop floors and their worker councils seemed to opt for more flexible arrangements. The aforementioned economic factors and threats made by companies opened up rifts between the "union generals" on the board of the IG Metall and local worker councils that had opted for more flexibility without pay compensation despite established union positions.[67] The conflict surrounding shift work and work time reduction was therefore carried into union structures, causing a rift within the IG Metall, between functionaries on higher hierarchical levels and members or functionaries who were closer to the actual shop floors. A change of shift working systems was

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66 "Proteste bei der Post gegen Schichtarbeit: Wird gestreikt?" *DER SPIEGEL* 47 (1980): 30–50.

67 "Uns wurde die Pistole auf die Brust gesetzt," *DER SPIEGEL* 40 (1988): 24–42.

deemed difficult, since workers were often seen as rather conservative regarding their current work situation. A study commissioned by the Ministry for Youth, Family and Health concluded that while there were undisputed negative impacts of shift work on the personal health of workers, they often found it difficult to name the culprit. Rather, they exhibited a diffuse sense of frustration and discontent. Since no immediate change could be expected, workers had arranged themselves with the system. Faced with the question of what changes could and should be made, many reacted rather conservatively. Experimenting with new shift rotation schemes would therefore likely result in resistance, as the author concluded.[68] The initial experiments during the introduction of continuous shift systems at HOAG had at least shown similar reactions within the workforce.

6.5 Conclusion

At the end of the 1980s, shift work had hardly changed, even though there was increased public awareness and established scientific knowledge of the negative impacts shift work had on the health and social life of workers. While there had been brief periods in which unions, scientists and companies had strived to improve the overall working conditions, the situation changed markedly during the 1970s and 1980s. The economic downturn, felt especially in the steel industry, prevented any concentrated attempts to further regulate and contain shift work. The projects to humanise the working world had exhausted themselves in creating scientific studies of shift work with their results hardly being implemented in the existing working world. Rising unemployment levels in industrious regions like the Ruhrgebiet left workers fearing for their jobs. Time and again they had to fight to keep their mills running. Work time, for them, was not the key issue. The continued discourses on more flexible work times and weekly work time reductions were hardly relevant for the daily lives of continuous shift workers. As long as the established rhythm of the continuous shift system was not changed, for example by reducing the amount of night shifts done in a row, the negative effects in the shift routine were not being addressed. Politics and unions therefore failed the needs of shift workers by relying on a compensation system that while granting higher wages did nothing

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68 Rudat, *Freizeitmöglichkeiten von Nacht.*

to curb the extent of shift work. The fears of churches and conservatives voiced during the initial debates in the 1950s and 1960s came true, it seems: economic reasoning was determining the extent of these systems more and more while the well-being of workers and their families was of secondary importance.

Anja Katharina Peters

7 "Enter the World of Danger, Drama and Death!": The Perception of the Night Nurse in Popular Fiction (1970s–1990s)

Nursing, one of the few socially accepted professions for middle- and upper-class women in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and still a predominantly female profession, has long intrigued and engaged the public. A stimulus to their imagination is the legend of nurses as angels (e.g. the narrative around "the lady with the lamp" Florence Nightingale) or nurse as mother (e.g. Mary Seacole). On the other side, the "sexy nurse" is also appealing. It has been a popular carnival and Halloween costume for decades as can be proven easily by typing "nurse" into the search function on eBay. More recently, thanks to the popularity of hospital horror stories (e.g. Misery, Silent Hill and Shutter Island), the element of crime and horror has been added to depictions of nursing in the picture gallery,[1] even if the first two perceptions are certainly the most dominant ones. Popular fiction reflects those imaginings. Novels from all genres have often reproduced the stereotype of the submissive, obedient and angelic nurse, as recent analysis by nursing scientist, historian and sociologist Birgit Panke-Kochinke has shown.[2] The night nurse serves both attributions: she is the virgin and the vixen, the motherly figure who offers comfort and protection, and the available object of desire.

Like day shifts, the work of night nurses is far from romantic, but always physically and emotionally challenging. Elements of danger, drama and death are characteristic of nursing stories, and this is similar for night nurses, except that the veil of night intensifies the mystery and ambiguity. The fact that night nurses work out of sight, and beyond normal social surveillance, adds an intriguing sexual frisson to the narrative.[3]

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1 Cf. D. L. Brien and M. McAllister, "Friday essay: saints or monsters, pop culture's limited view of nurses," Published February 14, 2019, 7.08 p.m. GMT, https://theconversation.com/friday-essay-saints-or-monsters-pop-cultures-limited-view-of-nurses-107696.

2 B. Panke-Kochinke, *Krankenschwesternromane (1914–2018). Kontexte – Muster – Perspektiven* (Frankfurt am Main: Mabuse, 2019).

3 To observe how this perception of nurses works on actual professional nurses, see the statement of Professor emerita June Girvin, "I despair at the public's perception of nurses as selfless or sexed up. Stereotypes of the heroine and submissive handmaiden, for whom rigorous education is damaging, need to change," *The Guardian*, September 14, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/healthcare-network/views-from-the-nhs-frontline/2015/sep/14/despair-public-perception-nurses-stereotypes-nhs.

Some media forms like film and novels have been the object of nursing scientific or historical analysis.[4] All four papers were written with very different approaches – ranging from the liberal arts to social sciences, nursing science and literary studies. Taken as a whole, they all show a tendency to use the nursing topic as a template for diverse genres, mainly romance, and also stereotypes of nurses (angel, mother, whore, etc.) and nursing as a profession (nursing as a favour, as means to an end, e.g. marrying a physician, etc.). By contrast, historical nursing research has focussed more on biographies, associations and sisterhoods than the practice of nursing or nursing as labour. Thus, night nursing or night nurses have not been a prominent research topic in the last years. At the international nursing history conference in Florence, celebrating the International Year of the Nurse and Midwife 2020, no paper about night nursing was presented.[5] However, general research on the development of the nursing profession gives us an idea of the moral concerns about women working night shifts in hospitals, e.g., Sue Hawkin's prosopographical work on the development of nursing in the UK:

> In the Victorian imagination, an innocent conversation could easily deteriorate into something far more dangerous if concentration was allowed to lapse. St. George's [a hospital in London] had a complex set of rules governing communication between doctors and nurses, designed to avoid such lapses. Resident Medical Officers were prohibited from talking directly to nurses, even on the topic of patient care. Instead instructions had to be transmitted through the day or night superintendents, who were older women, and presumably less susceptible to moral degeneracy.[6]

Indeed, the profession of a night nurse is an issue of imagination, media and literature, and it is worthwhile to focus on how and which image of this profession is constructed. In 2013, theologian and anglicist Long argued that cultural studies is a relevant theoretical paradigm for the historical analysis of nursing: "If historiography describes *what* happened and explains *how* and *why* something

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4 Kunz, M. Das Bild der Krankenschwester in literarischen Zeugnissen der Kriegskrankenpflege im ersten Weltkrieg. Magister-Hausarbeit am Fachbereich Germanistik der Freien Universität Berlin, vorgelegt im Wintersemester 1990/91. Unpublished; D. Stanley. "Celluloid Angels: The Power Of Stories," in *Nursing research using historical methods. Qualitative Designs and Methods in Nursing*, ed. M. De Chesnay (New York: Springer, 2015), 105–19; B. Panke-Kochinke, *Krankenschwesternromane (1914–2018)*; Brien and McAllister, "Friday essay?".
5 C. Sironi and A. La Torre, eds., "Florence 2020 – International Conference on the History of Nursing, February 13–15, 2020," Conference Proceedings: file:///C:/Users/ANJA ~ 1.PET/AppData/Local/Temp/CONFERENCE%20PROCEEDINGS_5_maggio.pdf.
6 S. Hawkins, *Nursing and Women's Labour in the Nineteenth Century. The quest for independence* (Oxon – New York: Routledge, 2010), 25.

happened, culture studies analyzes how people tried to *make sense* of what was happening and how those forms of cultural production operated within a *cultural system*."[7] However, the pictorial portrayal of nursing and nurses has been relatively overlooked.[8] This absence is remarkable as many historical sources include pictures of all kinds, like postcards, advertisements, stock photos, private photography, illustrations in textbooks, children books, romance novels and comic books.

Therefore, this chapter focuses on one particular genre, the comic. Through the method of a qualitative textual analysis, this chapter questions how this widespread literary genre has influenced the public image of nurses and nursing with a particular emphasis on their portrayal as comic-strip heroines. In fact, comics and cartoons have been popular for centuries and comic books have belonged to popular culture for most of the twentieth and twenty-first century. Therefore, we may assume that this literary genre has influenced, and been influenced by, the public image and perception of nursing, nurses and – as a subcategory – night nurses.

7.1 The Night Nurse Stories

This chapter focuses especially on two comic book series produced by two big publishing houses in the 1970s–1990s. The first one, the "Night Nurse," was produced by Marvel in the early 1970s, while the second one, "Angie Night Nurse," was produced by BD adultes from the late 1980s to the early 1990s. Both series published four issues, and this paper focuses on the first issue of each series, that it compares.

While "Night Nurse" is published by an extremely popular Marvel comics publisher, "Angie" is much less popular, however shares with the prior some stylistic elements. By contrast, the main character here is the erotic antagonist to the proper and respectable Marvel nurses. While "Angie" was written and drawn by the same person and a man, the "Night Nurse" was created by a male

7 T. L. Long, "Nurses and nursing in literary and cultural studies," in *Routledge Handbook on the Global History of Nursing*, eds. P. D'Antonio, J. A. Fairman and J. C. Whelan (London, New York: Routledge, 2013), 37–54, 27.

8 For exceptions see M. Zwerdling, *Postcards of nursing: A worldwide tribute* (Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, 2004); M. McAllister and D. Brien, *Paradoxes in Nurses' Identity, Culture and Image: The Shadow Side of Nursing* (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

artist and a female writer, Jean Thomas, who was also involved in other Marvel series.[9]

The two series also address very different audiences: original "Night Nurse" series was developed for young women and later the main character Linda Carter immersed into the hugely successful Marvel universe of superheroes,[10] whose fans are predominantly male.[11] "Angie, Night Nurse" is a porn comic and was designed for the adult audience. And given that the large majority of users of pornography is male, it is probable that most readers of "Angie" are men, too.[12] Nevertheless, despite the fact that they are very different in sub-genre and appealing to different audiences, the always-female night nurse in her immaculate white uniform embodies the virgin and the vixen simultaneously.

7.1.1 Night Nurse

Published in 1972, the "Great First Issue"[13] of "Night Nurse" starts with a young blonde nurse crying in front of a large, urban hospital in an unnamed city in the USA. That nurse is Linda Carter. It is her graduation day and she is forced to decide whether to become a nurse or marry the man she loves. The following story tells in retrospective the events which have led to this moment. Three years ago, Linda met her two roommates at the start of nursing training at Metro General Hospital: Afro-American student, Georgia Jenkins, who came from a nearby poor neighbourhood, and ginger-haired Christine Palmer who came from a wealthy family but was cast out by her father because of her career choice. Over the first few pages, the comic shows the struggles of young student nurses as they encounter hard work and long working hours. In addition, Linda, Georgia and Christine do not like each other and tensions arise between them. Only when all

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9 Especially the "Werewolf by Night" and the "Spidey Super Stories" series. A further series, for which she wrote two issues, is called "My love," which seems to fit into similar categories like "Night Nurse" (compare Tab. 7.1), cf. https://marvel.fandom.com/wiki/Category:Jean_Thomas/Writer (September 26, 2019, 16:45).
10 Cf. D. Cassell, "Enter the world of danger, drama, and death . . . Night Nurse," *Back Issue* 95 (2017): 31–5.
11 Cf. C. Brienza, "Men of wonder: gender and American superhero comics," Published November 1, 2011, https://www.cam.ac.uk/research/discussion/men-of-wonder-gender-and-american-superhero-comics.
12 Kahle C. Pornhub: Geballte Daten zur Porno-Nutzung im Jahr 2014. Published January 8, 2015. https://winfuture.de/news,85308.html (September 26, 2019, 14:31).
13 Front page of the original issue. Thomas J (Writer), Mortimer W (Artist). *The Making Of A Nurse! Night Nurse #1*. New York: Marvel, 1972. Reprint 2015: 2–21.

hands are needed on the children's ward after an emergency and Linda comforts a small boy who is crying after his mother, do they realise that they are all similarly stressed and homesick and they become best friends.

Close to the end of their three years training, Linda is sent to a young and handsome patient, Marshal Michaels, who – after an appendectomy – is eager to work again as he has important business to do. The two of them meet again and fall in love. Marshal is wealthy and treats Linda accordingly. When he proposes to Linda, he asks her to give up nursing. Linda asks for time to think about his offer. Meanwhile, Christine reconciles with her father who is proud of her for staying her course, but also asks her to give up nursing and return to her old lifestyle. Georgia, however, visits her neighbourhood in her spare time, still wearing her nurse's uniform and tending to the needs of her community.

The plot culminates during a hot summer night, when there is a brownout in the city. While the poor neighbourhood around the hospital is dark, the hospital is brightly lit and the work continues, thanks to a generator in the basement. As this isn't the first time that this part of town has to deal with a lack of electricity and subsequent casualties, people start to question and challenge the system. Georgia discovers her brother and his mate Rock dressed as orderlies and carrying sacks. She believes their story that they have started to work in the hospital, but soon discovers that they are up to something. Linda sends Christine to call police and security and rushes with Georgia to the basement. There they not only find Georgia's brother Ben and Rock attempting to sabotage the generator but also discover that Rock has killed one of the hospital guards. They try to convince the men that dismantling the generator would harm many people from their own community, but Rock refuses to listen and doesn't care. He plans to hide a bomb and blackmail the hospital management and the mayor. When he threatens the student nurses, Ben interferes and gets shot by Rock. Georgia now tries to stop the bleeding to save her brother and Linda makes Rock stumble and lose the bomb. Rock still threatens her with his gun, but police arrive and rescue the women and Ben. Ben survives. The next morning, all three student nurses meet in Ben's room when the head nurse calls Linda to meet a visitor. It is Marshall who doesn't even listen to her experiences, but again pressures her to answer him, because he has to leave for business in South America. Linda tells him that she will not go and Marshall leaves. Georgia and Christine arrive at her side to comfort her and finally to lead her back into the hospital.[14]

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14 Thomas J (Writer), Mortimer W (Artist). *The Making Of A Nurse! Night Nurse #1*. New York: Marvel, 1972. Reprint 2015: 2–21.

7.1.2 Angie, Night Nurse

Published in 1989, this comic starts with a narrator introducing the context: "The intrigue which surrounds the staff of a hospital are little known to the public . . . Discover with Angie, night nurse, some of this intrigue."[15] A dark-haired student nurse, Angie, appears, dressed in a white nurse's uniform with a cap. She has to give medicine to a teenage boy who is sleeping. When she decides to take rest in the boy's room, she sees that he is awake and watching her. He is aroused and Angie satisfies him by mouth before she tells him to perform oral sex on her.

At 2 a.m., Angie passes a room labelled "Personnel only" and hears a noise inside. She catches two masked thieves who are stealing drugs. One of them throws her on the table and sees that Angie does not wear underpants. He rapes her, which – despite her aversion for the criminal – arouses her. When the rapist has left, Angie starts to masturbate which is watched by elderly Dr. Perkins who then performs oral sex on her.

After that, Angie goes to the changing room where the elderly head nurse finds her and reprimands her for wearing no underpants which is against the rules. Angie submissively asks her to be "kind," which leads to the head nurse telling her to be obedient to her wishes and performing oral sex on her.

When Angie walks down the hospital corridors, she remembers a holiday in Mexico, where a shaman sold her an elixir, which turned her into a nymphomaniac. A valet at her hotel was her first sex partner after drinking the potion. Angie tells the reader: "Since then, I'm never satisfied. I regularly need a man or a woman to relieve me. Fortunately, at the hospital I'm lucky . . ."[16]

During her routine inspection, she hears a noise coming from the boiler room and meets the rapist again. He hits her unconscious and binds her hands to a heating pipe. When Angie awakes, he unmasks himself and rapes her several times. Being characterised as a nymphomaniac who is never fully satisfied, Angie experiences an orgasm even under these circumstances. Afterwards, the criminal drugs her with the intention to kill her. However, Angie manages to escape in time and take an antidote. Angie then intends to find the criminal but meets the head nurse who sends her to another ward. There, Angie meets blonde and curvy Nurse Julie who is lesbian and seduces Angie. After Julie is

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15 Chris (pen name of Xavier Musquera, 1941–2009). *Angie, Night Nurse (Angie, infirmière de nuit)* (Paris: BD adultes, 1989), 1. Text in both comics is printed capitals, which is typical for comic books written in/ translated into English. Here, I transcribed it into normal print for better legibility.
16 Chris (pen name of Xavier Musquera, 1941–2009). *Angie, Night Nurse*, 15.

satisfied, Angie goes back to her ward. On her way, she meets the rapist again who is furious that she is still alive and chases her through the staircase. They fight in the laboratory and after she managed to blind him with some acid, he falls out of a window to his death. Angie then returns to a break room to treat her wounds from the fight. Dr Perkins appears and puts lotion on her skin, before having sex with her again. Afterwards, he hints that there might be promotion for her.

The next morning, Dr Perkins offers Angie work as a private nurse for a friend of his in his home. Angie accepts the job and moves to Mr Matthew's residence. There, she has to oversee his medication and sort his archive, which focusses on the inquisition and sexual torture. After a couple of days, she is introduced to his dungeon and his sexual desires. At first reluctantly and then willingly, she accepts the situation and serves as a slave to Mr Matthews and his guests, among whom Angie recognises the head nurse.

The next morning, she is paid extra for her service and receives an offer to work for a crippled cousin of Mr Matthews. Angie decides to accept this well-paid job instead of returning to the hospital.

7.2 Formal Analysis: The Image of a Night Nurse

While novels use the written word to stimulate the imagination of the reader, comic books combine the two media of written text and drawn picture, creating a nearly cinema-like effect on the reader.[17] The formal analysis of the two comics follows the guideline by Abel and Klein.[18] As this is not a linguistic paper nor does it derive from the science of art, but from nursing science, the chapter focuses on those links which might give the reader, who won't read the books in the original, an impression of the styles in which they are drawn.

The number of pages differs greatly: "Night Nurse" runs to 19 pages, which makes it a typical comic, whereas "Angie Night Nurse" consists of 157 pages, which locates the book within the category of graphic novel.

A characteristic element of all four issues of the series "Night Nurse" is the image vignette on its front page, which shows the portrait of a young blonde

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17 Cf. M. Krichel, "Erzähltheorie und Comics. Vortrag während der Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Comicforschung (ComFor) e.V. vom 17–18," November 2006, Universität Koblenz-Landau, http://comicforschung.de/tagungen/06nov/06nov_krichel.pdf.
18 J. Abel and C. Klein, „Leitfaden zur Comicanalyse," in *Comics und Graphic Novels. Eine Einführung*, eds. J. Abel, C. Klein (J. B. Metzler: Stuttgart, 2016), 77–106.

nurse with tears in her eyes. The front page of issue 1 of "Angie" depicts a brunette nurse who is opening her green nurse's uniform, revealing black sexy lingerie. The later three issues show similar motives. As the pictures look very different from the drawings inside the book, it is highly probable that another artist did them. The front page of the reprint of "Night Nurse," which was used for this analysis and contains all four issues of the series plus issue 58 of the "Daredevil Vol 2"[19] series,[20] shows a blonde nurse in white mini nurse uniform and sneakers running to help a badly injured Daredevil who is cared for by Jessica Jones, Iron Fist and Luke Cage.[21] The nurse (Linda Carter?) is crying: "He's hurt . . . hurt bad! I've to get to help him!" The subheading of the page says: "Torn from true life! More thrilling than tomorrow's headlines!" This front page stands in no relation to the original "Night Nurse" series but anticipates Marvel's later incorporation of the figure of the night nurse into their superheroes' series. The multi-coloured "Night Nurse" belongs to the Marvel universe and resembles in style their iconic heroes, which is no wonder as its illustrator Winslow Mortimer was also behind several Spiderman comics. The comic's base within the Marvel cast is even more highlighted through it being presented by Marvel's impersonation of comic book writer, producer and Marvel mastermind Stan Lee (1922–2018). A well-known stylistic element are bold type and sound words ("BANG!," "RINNG!"). Also typical are the speed lines, which give the story tempo and dynamics.

"Angie," by contrast, is strictly in black and white with the front page as an exception. It was drawn and written by Chris, which is the pseudonym of Spanish comic artist Xavier Musquera (1942–2009).[22] Musquera worked mainly for British, Italian and French publishing companies. Under his given name, he published several historical comics. "Chris" was the alias under which he published pornographic comics, mostly sadomasochism themed. His style is more naturalistic and detailed. He paid a lot of attention to facial expression and anatomic accuracy. The words are not highlighted; also, there are no sound words, but sounds made by the characters are transcribed. As the focus is very much on detail here, we find dynamic positions of the characters, but much less portrayal of speed than in "Night Nurse."

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19 "Daredevil" is another successful Marvel series. There is no connection between the original "Night Nurse" series and "Daredevil," which makes it even more interesting that Marvel chose their superheroes universe to pep up the reprint of the "Night Nurse" series.

20 B. M. Bendis (writer), A. Maleev (artist). *Daredevil Vol 2 #58* (Marvel: New York, 2004).

21 Also, superheroes from the Marvel franchises.

22 "Xavier Musquera/Chris (26 December 1942–9 December 2009, Spain)," https://www.lambiek.net/artists/m/musquera_x.htm (September 24, 2019, 17:22).

Time and the illusion of light and darkness work very differently in both books: the black and white comic strip of "Angie" is set in one night for the first half of the story and then stretches over several days in the second half. The outdoor hardly plays a role; contrast between light and darkness reflects the sceneries of room or cellar respectively dungeon, whereby the well-lit rooms also serve the characters' (and the reader's) voyeurism, whereas the basement is a place of danger as well as excitement.

The "Night Nurse," however, spans over three years during the first pages and then concentrates on one night in hospital. Here, bright colours in the upper picture area demonstrate daylight, private, live and fun, while a dark ceiling shows clearly that it is night, and both the hospital in general and its cellar are creepy. The atmosphere is one of underlying or open danger.

7.2.1 To Make the Night Nurse Attractive

The main attributes of the attractive night nurse can be drawn from work by Birgit Panke-Kochinke[23] who analysed 136 novels about nurses – including those featuring night nurses. She observed several key patterns. She constated that one of the most important attributes is the (night) nurse's age. In the analysed comics, Linda Carter, Georgia Jenkins, Christine Palmer and Angie (no family name mentioned) are all student nurses and so probably in the late teenage years or early twenties. The two head nurses are clearly mature or elderly while lesbian nurse Julie in the second analysed story might be in her twenties or thirties; it is indicated that she is sexually more experienced than Angie is. The young age of the student nurses adds to their attractiveness, as it underlines beauty as well as youth.

Name is another attribute. The three Marvel student nurses bear unflashy names (see above). The two BD adultes nurses have names, which are both internationally recognisable and pronounceable ("Angie" was published in France first) but also sound cute or like pet names. The two head nurses are called "Miss Brundage" (Marvel) and "Miss Allison" (BD adultes) without making clear whether "Allison" is the woman's first or family name. The title "Miss" clearly indicates their status as superiors. In the case of Miss Allison, it also resembles the title "mistress" which underlines the hierarchical structure in a sadomasochistic relationship. In "Night Nurse," an unnamed nurse is seen training the students. A further three unnamed nurses are seen in the first panel of "Angie." They are not

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23 B. Panke-Kochinke, *Krankenschwesternromane (1914–2018).*

important for the story itself and do not have names. The reader can therefore easily remember the main heroines.

The third crucial attribute of the (night) nurse is quite evidently her appearance. First, there is a significant difference between the student nurses and the ward nurse in both comics and the head nurses in their hair styles. Only the older and superior women tie their hair back in a bun. Georgia Jenkins wears her hair in a short afro and Angie and Julie short wavy hair, whereas Linda Carter and Christine Palmer wear their straight hair long and loose with a few soft curls in the hair-tips, Christina wearing a pony and Linda showing her forehead. The short haircuts are typical for the 1970s and 1980s and demonstrate youth and fashion-consciousness as do the hairstyles of Linda and Christine. These haircuts are considered sexy and modern. However, it is unlikely that in professional practise, a stern matron like Miss Brundage would have allowed student nurses to wear their hair open while on duty, as this would have been unpractical and furthermore unhygienic. The buns of the head nurses are more fit for a nurse, but also highlight both their age and austerity.

7.2.2 The Image of the Clothing

Another sign of appearance is clothing: the three Marvel student nurses wear light-blue nurse dresses with a white apron and white cap, while when outside in uniform they add a black cloak with red lining. As their head nurse wears a purely white uniform and in later issues the three young nurses also wear white only, the blue dress must be their student uniform. In addition, the missing black band on the cap shows their student status. They wear white flat shoes during work. In their spare time, the three student nurses wear clothes in bright colours, mostly mini skirts and dresses. Every time the young women are shown in their shared room in the nurses' home one of them is in underwear. So, there is a clear distinction between their work clothing, which is rather functional and respects the regulations, while in their free time, the authors of the comic strive to show them as pretty and sexy, young women who are interested in fashion. Finally, showing them in their underwear serves not only to attract the male public but also evokes that the reader has entered their intimacy.

By contrast, "Angie," which was written more than a decade later and in Europe, wears the same uniform as the senior nurse. While caps have been common in the USA for a long time, they were already becoming out of date in Europe in the 1980/90s; probably in the "Angie" comics, they were more an accessory to highlight the nurse motive. The "sexy nurse" costumes never go without a cap, even if hardly any nurse wears one nowadays. In addition,

Angie wears high heels, which have been forbidden in real hospitals for ages and underline her sexiness. Her underwear is of lace; she wears straps. Two of the unnamed nurses in the first panel (see above) wear aprons, indicating that they are doing actual nurses' work. In this comic, the nurse uniform works mainly as a fetish; attributes like the apron are needed to indicate when the uniform is indeed work attire.

Age and clothing clearly indicate the young nurses' status. While both comic titles refer to night nurses and raise expectations to read about trained nurses in action at least in the Marvel series, the stories reveal that the main characters in both books are student nurses, the Marvel nurses experiencing their last night shift before graduation day. Julie, to whom Angie gets sent for another sexual encounter, calls herself "a poor captive nurse locked up in a sterilized cage" and is described as having "a weakness for new students." However, in later issues, Angie seems to have considerable work experience and is sent to posts where she is the only nurse on duty. The only other main nurse characters in both comic books are the two head nurses. The status as student nurses adds to the image of youth and (sexual) inexperience.

7.2.3 The Image of the Job versus its Practice

The same applies for the workplace. Linda Carter, Georgia Jenkins and Christine Palmer work at Metro General Hospital, a large hospital in an unnamed town in the USA. Additionally, Georgia volunteers as a community nurse in her neighbourhood. Angie does the night shift in a big hospital; the country is not named. In the second half of the story, she is assigned to the private home of a patient, Mr. Mathews, somewhere in the countryside. Night as a regular work period during a rota does not play a role any more in the second half of the comic. As written above, the night setting highlights an atmosphere of imminent danger, excitement and a situation beyond control.

In terms of professional tasks, several book panels cover the training of the students in "Night Nurse." The young women are shown during their lessons, which seem to be mostly about medical topics, examinations and lab analysis. One panel shows a trained nurse tucking in an old woman. She tells the watching students: "The best medication you young nurses can give is TLC. Tender Loving Care!" When victims from a fire are brought to the hospital, "Nurses Carter, Jenkins, and Palmer" are called to take children to the burn ward. In the next picture, they are seen filling in charts and then Linda comforts a crying little boy. When Linda is sent to the room of Marshal Michaels, she helps him to get in his dressing gown. He leans heavily on her when he tries to walk for the

first time. Other panels show her carrying a tray to in his room. In fact, the character of Linda does not reveal much about the nursing profession itself to the reader. Her role here is rather maternal and caring than science-based expertise.

As contrasted with the portrayal of Linda, her friend Georgia is given more opportunity to present herself as a skilled nurse to the reader: In her neighbourhood, she tends to a wounded teenager and feeds an old woman with soup. During the brownout, she treats several wounds and later in the cellar she tries to give first aid to her brother. Finally, it is not surprising that Angie does not demonstrate many typical nurses' tasks. As mentioned before, she enters the teenage boy's room to give him his medicine. Twice she is shown apparently doing her rounds. When the head nurse sends her to Julie, her superior says that she herself will replace her while she assists Julie, so Angie is obviously solely responsible for her ward. At Mr. Mathews' house, Angie has to supervise his medication. However, all of Angie's nursing tasks merely serve to create opportunities for sexual activities.

All these attributes reveal the issues of professional ethics. In 1953, the International Council of Nurses (ICN) agreed on a Code of Ethics. In its current version, it names four responsibilities of nurses in the preamble:

> to promote health, to prevent illness, to restore health, and to alleviate suffering and promote a dignified death. The need for nursing is universal. Inherent in nursing is a respect for human rights, including cultural rights, the right to life and choice, the right to dignity and to be treated with respect. Nursing care is respectful of and unrestricted by considerations of age, colour, culture, ethnicity, disability or illness, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, politics, language, race, religious or spiritual beliefs, legal, economic or social status. Nurses are valued and respected for their contributions to improving the health of individuals, families, communities and populations locally, nationally and globally. They coordinate services with those of other health care professionals and related groups. Nurses demonstrate values of the profession such as respect, justice, empathy, responsiveness, caring, compassion, trustworthiness and integrity.[24]

None of the nurses described in this paper are shown to participate in any prophylaxis, though Linda Carter and Georgia Jenkins are seen comforting a patient or neighbour, as is the unknown teaching nurse.

They also seem to treat all their patients equally. The hospital is described as being located within a poor neighbourhood, whose residents are treated there. However, there must be a barrier in class and wealth, as a text bubble tells the reader when the brownout happens: "But, even though the hospital is a symbol of another world, richer and more powerful than their own, they flock to it. There is no place else." When Georgia treats Mr. Toby, an old man from

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24 ICN 2021.

her neighbourhood who hurt his wrist when he fell down the stairs because of the darkness, he says to her (it was his wife whom Georgia fed earlier): "There's a lotta people gettin' hurt out there, Honey . . . The fat cats that run Metro General . . . the schools been hurtin' people for a long time. We pays 'em our sweat our blood . . . and we gets their scraps. Why is our part of town always gets 'browned out' like they call it. How come we're always the ones left in the dark? Why not Park Avenue for a change? You'd best leave this place, Georgia. We ain't gonna live in the dark anymore!"

In fact, Metro General Hospital is seen as part of the establishment by the people outside in a poor neighbourhood. Therefore, it seems that at least the differences in social status between the patients from the area around the hospital and the staff inside is being sensed by the patients. Still, at least Georgia clearly renders care to her community; she is the one who most obviously works according to the ICN Code of Ethics.

Among the elements of the ICN Code of Ethics, the second element is about nurses and practice: "The nurse carries personal responsibility and accountability for nursing practice, and for maintaining competence by continual learning. The nurse maintains a standard of personal health such that the ability to provide care is not compromised. (. . .) The nurse at all times maintains standards of personal conduct which reflect well on the profession and enhance its image and public confidence. The nurse, in providing care, ensures that use of technology and scientific advances are compatible with the safety, dignity and rights of people. The nurse strives to foster and maintain a practice culture promoting ethical behaviour and open dialogue."[25]

While the Marvel nurses clearly adhere to these rules, their BD adultes counterparts violate just as many. Right in the beginning, Angie seduces not only a patient but also a minor, therefore having an illicit sexual relation with a dependant. The same applies to the head nurse, the leading physician and Nurse Julie who all take advantage of Angie's professional dependency on them. They cannot be aware of her willingness of having sex with them; the head nurse threatens her with dismissal if she does not obey her. Each of them, including Angie, is ready to neglect the patients to satisfy their sexual needs. When her rapist falls out of the window to probable death, Angie does not even mention the accident to anybody. None of the hospital employees shows any empathy for the needs of the patients or of each other. These images are in contradiction to the practice of the profession.

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25 International Council of Nurses (ICN). The ICN Code of Ethics for Nurses. Geneva: ICN, 2021.

Also, the effects of shift work on the nurses are not discussed in "Night Nurse" #1. However, in issue 2, Christine Palmer announces that she is "glad to move in day-light again," after the now graduated nurses have been transferred to the day shift.[26] Angie thinks – and announces thereby to the reader – that she feels tired and needs a rest when she enters the boy's room and again before she remembers her holiday in Mexico. In "Night Nurse" issue 1, we only get to see dramatic night shifts, so there is no information of how the nurses perceive routine work during a night or how long the shift lasts. In "Angie," we see the protagonist walk down an apparently empty and quiet corridor, which gives the impression of a quiet shift, sleeping patients and not much to do. Apparently, she has ample time to engage in sexual activities without being missed on the ward. Julie is also obviously bored and underemployed.

In 1995, the state branch of Niedersachsen (Lower Saxony) of German service employees' union ÖTV (today ver.di) published a booklet about nurses and the night shift.[27] We cannot transfer his findings on patient-nurse ratio, qualification and tasks in a USA-inspired comic book like "Night Nurse" because the health and legal systems and within them the situation of nurses differ a lot. Also, we do not know in which country Angie works (however, the vacation in Mexico and the uniform seem to refer to the USA), but it is certainly not a Central-European hospital. Even so, the poll social scientist Peter Müßig-Trapp conducted among 130 German nurses provides information about the effect of night work that may be relevant. In his study, more than one third reported that their relationship with their partner was affected because of night shifts, and an equal number complained about restrictions to their social life. Most nurses (60%) worked alone, as Angie does. Those nurses, who did night shifts only, complained significantly more about irritability, neck pain, mood changes, nervousness and circulatory problems. Only in 2019 was night shift work classified as a probable carcinogen to humans.[28]

The effects on social life do not seem to apply for Linda, Georgia and Christine and do not matter to Angie. Negative health effects apart from tiredness (see "Angie") are not depicted. However, another finding of Müßig-Trapp seems to occur in the comic books: the fact that 40% of the sampled nurses reported feeling unsafe during night shifts and a quarter of those said that this caused tremendous psychological pressure. This relates to the numerous studies that have

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26 Thomas J (Writer), Mortimer W (Artist). *The Making Of A Nurse! Night Nurse #1*. New York: Marvel, 1972. Reprint 2015: 2–21.

27 P. Müßig-Trapp, *Krankenschwestern im Nachtdienst. ANSTÖSSE 3* (Hannover: ÖTV, 1995).

28 Y. Zhang and K. Papantoniou, "Night shift work and its carcinogenity," *The Lancet Oncology* 20, no. 10 (2019), https://doi.org/10.1016/S1470-2045(19)30578-9.

reported the increasing prevalence of violence perpetrated on nurses worldwide.[29] Assuming that violence in hospitals is indeed increasing rapidly and a new target of interest for researchers, it is highly probable that the numbers were much lower in the decades of the comics, so that the crimes described in the stories (which are important for the sequence of action) reflect more the imagination of authors and the expectation of readers than reality.

In "Angie," we read about and see a lot of sexual violence. The rapes are justified to the reader through Angie's thought bubbles, which reveal that she secretly enjoys the sexual intercourse. These thoughts and emotions make sense within a pornographic comic with a strong sadomasochistic tendency. Nonetheless, this justification is misogynistic and potentially dangerous because these nurse characters work as stereotypes; they are influenced by and influence the reader. Two-thirds of interviewed Austrian nurses experience sexual assaults while washing patients at least once a year.[30] In Germany, an estimated 67% of nurses (mostly female) have been sexually assaulted.[31] Again, this has not been researched in the context of night work, but night offers the opportunity for such assaults, especially when nurses are alone on the ward. Therefore, it might be beneficial to ask, whether patients who have read books like "Angie" might feel encouraged to attack nurses. A study by Belk concluded under reserve that comic books did indeed influence young readers. I did not find any recent studies about the possible effects of comic books on sexual and/or violent behaviour.[32]

In general, the comics show specific categories of night workers in the hospital: nurses (Julie, "Angie"), student nurses (Linda Carter, Georgia Jenkins, Christine Palmer, Angie, both series), head nurses (Miss Brundage, Miss Allison, both series), physicians (Dr. Perkins, "Angie"), orderlies (mistakenly Ben and Rock, later further men are seen in the background, "Night Nurse") and guards ("Night Nurse"). Some other nurses appear in the background of the comics, and in

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29 Cf. e.g. B. Babiarczyk, A. Turbiarz, M. Tomagová, et al., "Violence against nurses working in the health sector in five European countries – pilot study," *International Journal of Nursing Practice* 25, no. 4 (2019), https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/ijn.12744.

30 C. Depauli and W. Plaute. „Stopp! Ich möchte das nicht!" Sexuelle Übergriffe und Belästigungen. Die Schwester Der Pfleger 4 (2016): https://www.bibliomed-pflege.de/zeitschriften/die-schwester-der-pfleger/heftarchiv/ausgabe/artikel/sp-9-2017-wennpflege-zu-gewalt-fuehrt/33055-eine-fast-alltaegliche-erfahrung/.

31 E. Ivits "Belästigung am Arbeitsplatz. Unterschätztes Berufsrisiko: Warum Pflegekräfte so häufig Opfer sexueller Übergriffe werden," Published May 29, 2020, 10:11 Uhr, https://www.stern.de/gesundheit/pflegekraefte-haeufig-opfer-sexueller-uebergriffe-9275544.html.

32 R. W. Belk, "Effects of Identification With Comic Book Heroes and Villains of Consumption on Materialism Among Former Comic Book Readers," *NA – Advances in Consumer Research* 16 (1989): 414–19.

"Night Nurse," we see orderlies carry Ben away after he was shot. However, apart from this we do not get information about their work. We do not know what Miss Allison or Dr. Perkins do at the hospital at night, apart from seducing Angie.

Ben and Rock are obviously untrained and appear as porters. All other people working in the hospital seem to be trained. This applies to both books. The nurses are all women, which is not a stereotype, but conforms to reality; the only physician (Dr Perkins, "Angie") is a man, which in the late 1980s was a stereotype and follows a traditional understanding of professional gender roles. Male nurses are non-existent in this comic book and are similarly rare in other popular culture genres.

The only mentioning of the typical nurse's task in "Angie" is when Angie thinks "It'll soon be time to give the kid in 147 his medicine" and later that she has to "supervise the schedule of Mr. Mathews' pills." Before blackmailing her into having sex with her, head nurse Miss Allison reprimands her for not wearing "the regulation uniform."

7.3 Attractive Stories

To make the stories as attractive as possible, their authors often use several classical literary methods. One of them is to include an accident in the story. According to B. Panke-Kochinke, an "accident" is a typical event which serves as an element of alarm in nurse novels. This applies at least to the "Night Nurse," too, where we are surprised to encounter the fire and brownout. In "Angie," the moment of surprise might be found in the first rape by the burglar and the first meeting in Mr Mathews' dungeon. However, as the book is a porn comic, the content is predictable and offers surprise more in detail than in storyline.

Unsurprisingly, illness is another typical pattern of nurse novels. In "Night Nurse," the only illness referred to is Marshal Michael's appendicitis, which has led to his stay in the hospital and to meeting Linda Carter. Bandaging wounds and the handling of lab equipment and medicine symbolises that serious illnesses are treated in Metro General as does the need for the generator: "Hundreds of people in this hospital could die if we lost the power to run our equipment." Meanwhile, in "Angie," the ill teenage boy is the only patient we see; his diagnosis isn't mentioned, like Mr Mathews' isn't either later in the book. It is not illness that brings people together in this graphic novel. The hospital setting only serves as means to an end for a group of nymphomaniacs to act out sexually.

Another important trait of the stories is the crime. It forms the narrative curve of suspense. Actually, night crime is used by many authors to raise the

suspense and has been a reliable receipt to attract the attention of readers since at least the nineteenth century.[33] In "Night Nurse," it is the attempted extortion under threat of a bomb explosion, which leads to the murder of the guard and the shooting of Ben Jenkins. In "Angie," it is the breaking into the pharmacy and the attempted murder of Angie while the rape is not used in the sense of crime, but belongs to the sadomasochistic basic theme of the story, voluntarily transgressing moral categories. Furthermore, the reader knows from Angie's thought bubbles that she despises the rapist (and most of her sex partners), but secretly enjoys the experience.

According to Panke-Kochinke, camaraderie is another main pattern. In the Night Nurse series, after initial difficulties, Linda Parker, Georgia Jenkins and Christine Palmer form a close-knit group, while Angie seems to be unable and unwilling to bond with anybody. She seems to be slightly fond of elderly Dr Perkins, but thinks in derogatory terms of most of her other sex partners ("disgusting old woman," "bitch," "pervert").

Also extremely important is love: who loves whom? At first, "Night Nurse" seems to follow the classical pattern when the nurses fall in love with rich patients or (in later issues) aspiring young or experienced leading physicians. B. Panke-Kochinke concludes that nurse novels almost always follow this (apart from Angie's more atypical story) pattern – a man meets a woman (dominantly heterosexual narrative) and either both or one of them falls in love. Then, suddenly, one realises that it is love indeed. The man announces his feelings to the woman and love manifests itself in a proposal. Here, the nurse comics break with the norms of traditional nurse stories: At least for Marshal Michaels, it is clear that Linda Carter has to give up nursing as soon as she marries him. She decides to continue nursing and therefore against him. Christine Palmer's father does not regard nursing as a proper occupation for his daughter; in their social class, a young woman should stay at home, go to college or travel to Europe – probably in the tacit assumption of both father and reader that she will eventually marry. It is only Georgia Jenkins' mother who sends her daughter off expecting her to return and take care of her community. Love is no category in "Angie." Angie accepts sexual encounters because they give her pleasure and/or offer promotion or financial benefits. She prostitutes herself. Marriage is not mentioned at all in "Angie."

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33 See for example Mathew Beaumont, *Nightwalking. A Nocturnal History of London Chaucer to Dickens* (London, 2016); Dominique Kalifa, *Les bas-fonds. Histoire d´un imaginaire* (Paris, 2013); Eloise Moss, *Night Raiders: Burglary and the Making of Modern Urban Life in London, 1860–1968* (Oxford, 2019).

Love and marriage are no relevant concepts in "Angie," and all three student nurses in "Night Nurse" are willing to put family and love affairs aside for the sake of their profession: Linda Carter rebuffs Marshal Michaels, Georgia Jenkins is not ready to cover for her brother Ben and Christine Palmer risks being outcasted by her father. However, it would be wrong to read these stories as acts of emancipation and independence. The "Night Nurses" fit in to the narrative of nursing as a vocation which does not leave room for partnership, while for "Angie," nursing and the close relationship to patients and colleagues offer ample opportunity for her sexual activities.

Unlike in nurse novels, the essence of love is not relevant for this kind of nurse tales.[34] McAllister, Brien and Piatti-Farnell argue that argue that sexuality can be regarded as a kind of tainted love. However, love in nurse novels is described as a romantic feeling. Romance is very irrelevant for nymphomaniac Angie. Linda Carter does romantically fall in love with Marshal Michaels and remains heartbroken – her tearful face becoming the distinctive feature vignette of the series – but the friendship between the three student nurses is much more important for the story. Their camaraderie is marked by shared work and training experiences and fun, empathy, trust and support for each other.

Finally, language plays an important role. For this analysis, the English translation of "Angie, infirmière de nuit" was used, so the French original cannot be assessed. Both stories are written in standard American English. There are no accents or dialects, except Afro-American characters who speak in some kind of slang, which – in a racist subplot – indicates their lower social status. As Ben's pal Rock, who comes from the same neighbourhood, speaks standard English like the nurses, the racist attribution of text cannot be ignored here. Georgia speaks like the other nurses, but she has assimilated into their set and now stands outside her birth community. In "Angie" issue 1, we do not find any language elements like this, but in issue 4 ("Angie, prison nurse"), she performs live sex on a stage with an Afro-American (-French?) inmate who not only speaks some kind of Pidgin English, but also serves the racist cliché of the hormone-driven African man. A typical inclusion in each book are "spoken" texts and thought bubbles.

The text bubbles mark conversations between characters, while the thought bubbles give an insight into their motives, moods and actual opinions. Text fields provide the readers with context information. In "Night Nurse," most text is set in text bubbles and fields, which gives the story a lot of speed. The dialogues add

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34 M. McAllister, D. Brien and L. Piatti-Farnell, "Tainted love: Gothic imaging of nurses in popular culture*," Journal of Advanced Nursing* 74, no. 2 (2017): 310–17.

to the movie effect (see above). In contrast, Angie hides most of her true feelings. They are only revealed to the reader via thought bubbles. Given the genre-specific nature of "Angie, Night Nurse," text might be seen as not too relevant; the divergence of spoken text from thoughts is indeed relevant for the interpretation. They also add more dynamic to the story and give it a nearly cinematic effect.

When the nursing training at Metro General Hospital is described, we find medical or scientific terms ("compound fracture," "autopsy," "acid," "x-ray," "tongue depressor," "pharmacology") but hardly any nursing terms or statements except "As student nurses, you young women can expect to work harder than you have ever worked (. . .)," "assembling of the nurse's uniform" or the aforementioned "TLC. Tender Loving Care." This is interesting as nursing has developed into an academic profession in the USA since 1909 and was firmly established at universities in the 1970s with notable theorists and scientists developing the profession in the USA and influencing it worldwide. Christine's father offers her a college education if she quits nursing, but nursing was already a college-based education in the USA in the 1970s.

At least Christine questions the restraining atmosphere during her training when, during a quarrel with her roommates, she cries: "I'm sick and tired of you, both of you sitting in judgement on me like some sort of ghost of Florence Nightingale!" The author, Jean Thomas, must have been sure that her readers knew who Florence Nightingale[35] had been. This might be a clue that Marvel not only aimed at teenage girls as an audience, but also as young nurses or student nurses.

7.4 Conclusion

In the overall picture, the comics repeat and reinforce the traditional hierarchy of the hospital setting. Indeed, in "Night Nurse," we find intelligent and headstrong young women. They are eloquent and brave. However, in the character of Linda Carter, we get the personification of the all-American girl: white, blonde, middle-class, loving family, always wanted to be a nurse, falls in love with wealthy man, intends to marry. These are the traditional values of the

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35 Born 1820, died 1910. British social reformer, statistician and nursing pioneer. She is best-known for her efforts to enhance nursing in general and military nursing in particular. Her concept was strongly influenced by the French Sisters of Charity and the deaconesses' motherhouse in Kaiserswerth, Prussia. Nightingale is probably the most prominent person in nursing history.

audience "Night Nurse" was written for. Besides their commendable character traits, all three student nurses first and foremost fulfil stereotypes of nurses: they put the patients' safety first before safeguarding themselves, they are prepared to interrupt their spare time to rush to the hospital in an emergency, they are ready to work voluntarily and are willing to sacrifice their personal happiness to their devotion to nursing. Interestingly, egocentric Angie does the same. It is she who discovers the burglars and who investigates suspicious noises with no regards to her personal safety. When Dr. Perkins calls her and offers her the assignment as a private nurse, she immediately accepts the challenge. The overall message of this comic is that Nurse Angie is available, submissive and obedient at all times, which is a distorted version of the same stereotype.

In fact, despite their genre differences, "Night Nurse" and "Angie-Night Nurse" both work to the same literary conventions as other genres of popular culture. Both comic books present stereotypes of nurses as devoted and devout young women, chaste and desirable at the same time. Obviously, the authors and publishers proceeded on the assumption that their books would meet these perceptions of nurses by the readers and by publishing it were ready to reinforce them. Even though nursing had been a science-based profession for decades when the books were published, the publishing companies decided to sell a mass-compatible model of femininity (Marvel and a fetish (BD adultes)) instead.

The main characters of each comic, Linda and Angie, embody the tension that nursing experiences as it is represented in popular culture – on the one hand, it is idealised, and on the other hand, it is objectified. Both images are the subject of fantasy and reflect in their appearance contemporary wishful thinking of dream girls. In the context of a hospital at night, these young women are – apart from their head nurses – out of social control and exposed to crime and temptation. For both, there is danger, drama and death. The main difference between the characters is that the Marvel night nurses are the personification of "Madonna," motherly and saintly, but at the same time hardworking and poorly paid.[36] Angie, in contrast, is the "whore in nurse uniform"[37] who continues to care for others but has limited control over her base desires.

It would appear that, despite all efforts since Theodor Fliedner (1800–1864)[38] to turn nurses into asexual angels, prejudices, social conventions and fantasies

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36 Cf. M. Kunz, "Das Bild der Krankenschwester", 35.

37 M. Kunz, "Das Bild der Krankenschwester", 35.

38 Fliedner dressed his deaconesses in the attire of widowed middle-class women to give them a respectable appearance and allow them to work in external households without a chaperone.

still influenced the depiction of the night nurse in the second half of the twenti-eth century. In these texts, if nurses are experienced and assertive, they are inevitably old and stern and/or misuse their power to direct or discipline. The stereotypes are carried to extremes in the pornographic story. Night serves as a lens to intensify the themes of danger and sex. It is a context that carries a mystique and allure, allowing hidden stories about nursing to play out.

Marvel stopped "Night Nurse" after four issues and so did BD adultes with "Angie Night Nurse." It might well be that "Night Nurse" did not secure the expected audience. However, Linda Carter has reappeared in the Marvel universe in the 2000s, now a physician tending to wounded superheroes, but still calling herself "the night nurse":

> Linda Carter to Doctor Strange: "Thanks, but you're not the only doctor in the room. "Night Nurse" is just catchier than Night General Practitioner."
>
> Doctor Strange: I'm aware of your credentials, my dear. Brilliant young medical student once rescued by the City's costumed champions dedicates her life to their care, yes? A skilled physician, she secretly dreams of one day becoming a "super hero" herself, etcetera, etcetera.
>
> Linda Carter: "I have no interest in ever joining your little club, Strange."
>
> Doctor Strange: "Of course. I'm sure that cape is just part of your Florence Nightingale fetish."[39]

She conserved her attributes and, moreover, the writers have thus introduced a newer fantasy and misunderstanding about real-world nursing – that nurses have a secret desire to be doctors. The Night Nurse also appears in further Marvel series, with her uniform getting shorter and her bosom larger, while her comic partner in later issues, Doctor Strange, suggests that her name "sounds to be the title of an adult film."[40] In fact, the night nurses by Marvel and BD adultes differ less than their genres suggest.

39 B. K. Vaughan, M. Martin, and A. Lopez, et al., *Doctor Strange: The Oath Vol 1 #1* (New York: Marvel, 2006 and 2007).
40 B. K. Vaughan, M. Martin, and A. Lopez, et al., *Doctor Strange: The Oath Vol 1 #2* (New York: Marvel, 2006 and 2007).

Tab. 7.1: Themes of nurse roles in "Night Nurse" and "Angie, Night Nurse".

	Self-sacrifice/care	The heroine	Sex object	Romantic/ feminine	Intelligent	Strong woman	The dark nurse	The victim
"Night Nurse" (Marvel 1972)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
"Angie, Night Nurse" (BD adultes 1989)	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	?

+ Definitely
− Rather not or definitely not
? Debatable

Authoritarianism

Bridget Kenny

8 "Threatening Our Home Life": Shop Hours and White Women Retail Workers' Struggles Around Evening Hours in Johannesburg South Africa (1908–1960s)

A petition to Johannesburg retailers read,

> Wishing You and Your Family the Compliments of the Season and Lots of Happiness for 1962. However, as an employee in the commercial distributive trade I **protest** very strongly against your attempt to deprive me and my family of **our** happiness in the coming year, by threatening our home life with your proposed extension of trading hours in Transvaal. I ask you to withdraw your proposal.[1]

In late 1961, Mr R. S. Ferreira, a member of the Transvaal Provincial Council, made a proposal to suspend the Shop Hours Ordinance in the Transvaal Province of the Republic of South Africa to allow "all-night trading" and to abolish "uniform Saturday afternoon closing of stores in the Transvaal" province, the economic heart of the country centred around the city of Johannesburg. The National Union of Distributive Workers (NUDW), which organised white retail workers, objected to the removal of limits on trading hours.[2] In a coordinated national campaign with other

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1 "Wishing you and your family . . .," emphasis in original. University of the Witwatersrand Historical Papers, National Union of Distributive Workers (NUDW) archives, head office, AH 1494/Da 2.1 (hereafter AH 1494). Emphasis in original.
2 The NUDW also organised in different ways coloured and Indian workers, depending on the changing legislation over the decades under apartheid. Apartheid race categories included "coloured" (meaning broadly "mixed race"), "Indian" or "Asiatic" (meaning having historical origins from India), "European" or White (meaning having historical origins from Europe) and "African," "Native" or "Bantu" depending on the period (referring to one of the local African populations). I follow the practice in South Africa of referring to the categories when the differentiation is important, but to "black" as including all oppressed by the apartheid regime in terms of their "race." Official post-apartheid census classification maintains the following categories: Black-African,

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trade unions, and with support of other organisations, such as of smaller retailers, the NUDW succeeded in forcing Mr Ferreira to withdraw his motion.[3] The argument that won the day rested on the suasion of family time in the evenings. The 1960s marked the beginning of a new push by retailers to try to deregulate trading times as retailing expanded and competition increased in a rapidly growing economy.[4] The moral discourse of "home life" established a boundary with market time in this period.

It would not be until the 1990s in South Africa that evening trading became commonplace. The extension of trading hours, and by implication working hours, required to accommodate shopping time, became a defining condition of retail work globally by the late twentieth century.[5] Before then in South Africa, limits on night trading were secured through shifting arguments over the decades that reveal a chain of signifiers linking the meanings of work and leisure, street and home, worker and family, race and class respectability and gender relations to the temporality of the night, in ways which incorporated the white working class and, in turn, legitimated the settler colonial city as it grew.

This chapter examines shifts in debates around evening trading hours in Johannesburg and surrounding towns from the first Shop Hours Act in 1908 to the 1960s when "family time" held sway. It considers the regulation of evening trading to suggest how temporality, an under-examined dimension of city life

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Coloured, Indian and White. For a critique of ongoing racial classification in the post-apartheid period, see Gerard Maré, *Declassified* (Johannesburg: Jacana Press, 2014).

3 Union federations included the Trade Union Council of South Africa, the Confederation of Labour and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Organisations included Afrikaanse Handelsinstittut. Memorandum on Shop Hours, NUDW, 16 July 1962, p. 2. AH 1494/Da 2.2.

4 Bridget Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics, Race and Consumption in South Africa: Shelved in the Service Economy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 47.

5 Ann-Marie Kennedy, "The history of New Zealand shop trading hours," *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management* 38, no. 8 (2010): 625–40; Mikal Skuterud, "The impact of Sunday shopping on employment and hours of work in the retail industry: Evidence from Canada," *European Economic Review* 49 (2005): 1953–78; Alan Raucher, "Sunday Business and the Decline of Sunday Closing Laws: A Historical Overview," *Journal of Church and State* 36 (1994): 13–33; Imeldu Maher, "The New Sunday: Reregulating Sunday Trading," *The Modern Law Review Limited* 58, no. 1 (1995): 72–86; Julia R. Henly, and Susan L. Lambert. "Unpredictable work timing in retail jobs: Implications for employee work-life conflict," *Industrial & Labor Relations Review* 67, no. 3 (2014): 986–1016; Michael Lyons, "Shopping around: Extended retailing trading hours and the Retail Trade Industrial Tribunal in New South Wales in the 1980s," in *The Past is Before Us*, eds. G. Patmore, J. Shields, and N. Balnave (Sydney: The Australian Society for the Study of Labour History and the Business and Labour History Group, University of Sydney, 2005), 167–174; David A. Kirby, "Shops Act 1950: Restrictions on Trading," *Area* 16, no. 3 (1984): 233–35.

in Johannesburg, became a terrain of social control.[6] Specifically, the time of whites became fashioned as modern and metropolitan through setting boundaries for respectable work shifts and discrete leisure and family time. The time of blacks was maintained, by contrast, through despotic laws regulating mobility into and within the city, for instance through pass laws, curfews, residential segregation and labour restrictions.

The project of settler colonial modernity in Johannesburg became constituted through activating moral discourses to unify and regiment whites (while excising and dominating blacks). Much effort was spent affirming notions of the respectability of whites, and to wit, reforming the white working class and profligate poor whites.[7] The National Party won the general election in 1948, thereby ushering in the period of "apartheid."[8] In order to maintain its power, it sought to shore up its form of racial nationalism through support for white voters through various material means (education, welfare, employment, housing, etc.) and worked to deemphasise class differences among whites. Its success was not automatic, of course, and much has been written on the struggles over forms of contested and competing segregationist (describing the period before 1948) and apartheid ideology and discourse.[9]

This chapter examines the enduring struggle around extending evening shopping hours in Johannesburg and its surrounds from the first regulation in

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6 On struggles over the meaning of working time in colonial South Africa, see especially Keletso E. Atkins, *The Moon Is Dead! Give Us Our Money! The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843–1900* (London: James Currey, 1993).

7 Neil Roos, "Education, sex and leisure: Ideology, discipline and the construction of race among South African servicemen during the Second World War," *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 3 (2011): 811–35; Neil Roos, "Alcohol panic, social engineering and some reflections on the management of whites in early apartheid society, 1948–1960," *The Historical Journal* 58, no. 4 (2015): 1167–89; Jeremy Seekings, "'Not a single white person should be allowed to go under': Swartgevaar and the origins of South Africa's welfare state, 1924–1929," *Journal of African History* 48 (2007): 375–94.

8 Apartheid was the political platform and political, economic and social order defining South Africa under National Party rule, an authoritarian and white nationalist party, which held power from 1948 until the first democratic elections in 1994. It was based on the legal separation of "race" groups, the unequal provision of services and opportunities to groups of people on the basis of "race" and the disenfranchisement of black people.

9 Aletta J. Norval, *Deconstructing Apartheid Discourse* (London and New York: Verso, 1996); Dan O'Meara, *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934–1948* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983); T. Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Saul Dubow, *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919–1936* (London: Macmillan, 1989).

1908 to the 1960s. It focuses on tracing the shifting moral discourses around temporality and the night of retail workers, who included increasing numbers of white women over these decades. Competing claims made by managers, retailers, city and provincial councillors, unions, workers and members of the public drew the night as a "temporal frontier" (see Introduction to this volume),[10] marking the boundary to respectability.

This chapter argues that the store trading hours debate reveals the co-constitution of the space and time of the city through enduring struggles, especially by trade unions, for respectability of the white working class, where working class white women ambivalently featured. The lone white woman returning from work late at night did not feature in these discussions prominently, as it did in other contexts.[11] The night as a potential time of libidinal intersection, between men and women and between blacks and whites, was managed strictly in downtown Johannesburg, such that the lone white woman walking was erased from the scene. The figure of the white working woman in such debates was repositioned as an idealised mother and wife required at home in the evenings by the 1960s, which served to bolster the specific moral argument for controlling night time.

8.1 Streets, Shops and City Time: Colonial Urban Modernity

Elizabeth Wilson writes that turn of the twentieth century "urban consciousness" was "an essentially male consciousness."[12] That is, she explains, "Sexual unease and the pursuit of sexuality outside the constraints of the family were one of its major preoccupations. This in itself made women's very presence in cities a problem." They signified the "promise of sexual adventure" which was in turn "converted into a general moral and political threat,"[13] indexing both women's potential freedoms as well as men's fears and desires. Controlling women, then, for instance through restrictions on prostitution and movement,

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10 See also Murray Melbin, "Night as Frontier," *American Sociological Review* 43, no. 1 (1978): 3–22.

11 Joachim Schlör, *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London, 1840–1930* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998).

12 Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 5.

13 Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City*, 6.

became a mechanism for regulating the city.[14] These fears and longings, then, fuelled understandings of the night and night work.[15] Access to the downtown city streets by women in nineteenth century European and later American cities happened often through shopping, either as middle class consumers or as the working class shop workers attending to them. The entry into the city through the protected spaces of the arcade or the department store offered a form of controlled safety in an otherwise libidinal modern urban world, as Émile Zola described so evocatively.[16]

Johannesburg's night follows a related history but inflected through its specific colonial context. Johannesburg began as a mining town in 1886 with the discovery of gold. Its population grew rapidly following the news of its gold deposits, with migrants coming from across the world in search of work and their fortunes.[17] The railway lines opened in the 1890s, bringing settlers directly to the Transvaal from Europe via the ports and also supporting channels for what was called at the time "white slavery." Many European women made the passage to the Transvaal, and syndicates operated bringing women via London and New York to work in brothels in Johannesburg. Because of the skewed male working population, these prostitution rings and liquor syndicates found Johannesburg a profitable locale, and its downtown brothel district defined the city's night.[18]

Indeed, the success of these businesses raised property prices in town, pushing new residents outward to find housing. Already by the late 1890s, then, residents moved to "suburbs," neighbourhoods developed around the

14 Schlör, *Nights in the Big City,* 41–2, 180–205; Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City*, 5; Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 16; Susan Buck-Morss, "The Flaneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering," *New German Critique* 39 (Second Special Issue on Walter Benjamin, 1986): 99–140.

15 Schlör, *Nights in the Big City*.

16 Émile Zola, *The Ladies Paradise* (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1883] 1991); Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*. Translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Elaine S. Abelson, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores 1890–1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Felski, *The Gender of Modernity*, 16; Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City*, 5.

17 Charles van Onselen, *New Babylon: Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886–1914, Vol. 1* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982).

18 van Onselen, *New Babylon*; Keith Beavon, *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City* (Pretoria:UNISA Press, 2004), 59.

centre of town, designated with clear race and class identities from their start, establishing the geography of the city henceforth.[19]

The South African War, fought between the British and the Afrikaner settlers from 1899 to 1902, interrupted activities. After its end and in the lead up to the unification of the colonies into one country under British dominion in 1910, the new government particularly worked to redefine the settler colonial city from its early identity as a mining outback. The regulation of prostitution was one avenue to impose new controls on the city's character. At the start, the public prosecution of prostitution was not very strict even after the first Morals Law (Ontucht Wet) was drafted in 1897, until increased pressure was put on prostitution rings once the British took control, and after middle class public outcry. Thus, it was in the period from 1907 to 1910 that police acted to charge and deport convicted pimps and prostitutes, which had the effect of shutting down the brothels district in Johannesburg and moving prostitution to residential areas outside the city centre and to more individualised relationships.[20]

In this period, then, we get a sense of the city shifting, from one where vice gangs operated with power in controlling European immigrant women to service men in the mining town to one in which municipal and provincial control began to exact limits and as the town began to formalise and diversify its social structure.[21] In 1897, only 12% of (white) employees in the gold mines were married and lived with their families, but by 1902 this had increased to 20% and by 1912 to 42%.[22] The control of white women was very much part of the process of constituting the urban shape of Johannesburg, both through regulation and prosecution of prostitution and then through control of work and social reform.[23] Still, the forms that this took revealed nascent processes of class formation in these decades – with shifting relations between white elites and international capital interests in mining, an Afrikaner "rural bourgeoisie" and by 1908 increasing petit bourgeois and white working class populations vying for their positioning.[24]

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19 van Onselen, *New Babylon*; Beavon, *Johannesburg*, 59–61.

20 van Onselen, *New Babylon*, 103–162.

21 van Onselen, *New Babylon*, 103–162.

22 van Onselen, *New Babylon*, 147.

23 Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995); Elsabé Brink, "Man-Made Women: Gender, Class and the Ideology of the *Volksmoeder*," in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, ed. Cherryl Walker (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990), 273–92.

24 van Onselen, *New Babylon*.

As the city grew, retailing followed, offering another outlet for white women's employment. White women began working in downtown stores from the late 1800s, becoming a key workforce in shops from the early 1900s. Their employment expanded in grand department stores in the 1920s, with numbers increasing by the 1940s to form the bulk of the service labour force in such shops.[25] Their clientele were middle class white women and men. White men worked as sales assistants, supervisors and managers. Black men worked as manual distributive workers behind the scenes and doing deliveries. Black women did not work in downtown shops until the 1960s.[26] In these first decades, shop assistants were working class white "girls," mostly young and unmarried. They worked to help their families, but they also were not as poor as proletarianising rural Afrikaner women moving into garment manufacturing in and around Johannesburg at the time. To be a shop assistant meant they had to speak English, have some competency in numeracy and keep themselves neat and presentable, often in dresses of their own making.[27]

Like in other places where cities were seen to be a "laboratory of the modern,"[28] this settler colonial city emphasised its modern attributes. Johannesburg inaugurated its first electric lights in 1892, and its first electric tram ran in 1906,[29] replacing an earlier system of horse-drawn trams which itself had wide reach transporting its white residents into and out of the town centre.[30] I suggest that store trading hours regulation in Johannesburg was one effort toward domesticating the "noctural city."[31]

Retailing came to define its central streets in the first half of the twentieth century, and its sophisticated and global architecture characterised the city.[32] As one tourist brochure put it from 1924, "Johannesburg, the city of gold, the hub of South Africa, is modern in all that it attempts" (quoted in Rogerson and Rogerson[33]). Later publicity for the city highlighted its grand public buildings, such as the Johannesburg City Hall with its organ, the law courts, the public library, the

25 Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics,* 48–49.

26 Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics*, 27–59.

27 Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics*, 35.

28 Schlör, *Nights in the Big City*, 18.

29 van Onselen, *New Babylon*, 164.

30 van Onselen, *New Babylon*, 165–179.

31 Schlör, *Nights in the Big City*, 11.

32 Bridget Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics,* 29–35; Clive M. Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style: Architecture and Society, 1880s–1960s* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1993); Beavon, *Johannesburg*, 56–59.

33 Christian M. Rogerson and Jayne M. Rogerson, "Historical urban tourism: Developmental challenges in Johannesburg 1920–1950," *Urbani Izziv* 30, supplement (2019): 112–28, 116.

art museum and observatory, which hosted evening viewings from its latest-technology telescope, and its luxurious parks.[34] By the 1940s, city publicity was also touting Johannesburg's night: "The city's night-time economy was deemed special for its 'blaze of coloured lights spelling out a multitude of messages and attractions' and in particular its 'palatial cinemas' and the annual opera season in March-April" (quoted from 1948[35]).

By consequence the "street" itself took on different meanings in Johannesburg. By the first decades of the twentieth century, elite and middle class residents who lived in specific neighbourhoods outside of the city centre travelled into town in the evening to enjoy restaurants and entertainment. This time was separated from the workday of the city. The experience of Johannesburg night for these residents would have been more like moving from one interior to another closed space.[36] By 1910, the street itself, as we will see, was controlled through increasing racialised segregation, including prohibiting black residents from moving around at night, and policed authoritatively. Within this context, we turn to examine the debates over evening trading over the first half of the twentieth century, and specifically how they referenced white women in moral discourses to secure a clear temporal boundary with Johannesburg's night.

8.2 Moral Boundaries Constituted: White Labour Standards, Workers as Shoppers and Retailer Competition, 1908–1920s

The first piece of legislation stipulating trading hours dates from 1908 in the Transvaal Province. It specified hours for shops, and set exemptions for different kinds of merchants, based on the nature of the commodities dispensed. It recognised that different municipalities had different requirements. Sunday closing had been secured in a separate act a few years earlier, which prohibited trading on Sundays except for certain "necessity" provisions.[37] In general, the

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34 Rogerson, et al., "Historical urban tourism," 118.

35 Rogerson, et al., "Historical urban tourism," 119.

36 Schlör, *Nights in the Big City*, 25–26.

37 For Sunday trading restrictions, see e.g., Ann-Marie Kennedy Thompson, "*The New Zealand Sunday – Keep Sunday Free: An Historical Narrative of the Shop Trading Hours Legislation in New Zealand*" (2009); Neil J. Dilloff, "Never on Sunday: The Blue Laws Controversy," *Maryland Law Review* 39, no. 4 (1980): 679–714; Michael T. Bologna, "A Critical History of Connecticut Sunday Closing Legislation since 1955," *12 Conn. L. Rev. 539* (1980); Kenneth A. Sommer,

first regulations set closing times at 7 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. It established a Wednesday afternoon "half-holiday" from 1 p.m., but shops could trade on Saturdays until 9 p.m. Officially, shop assistants worked 54 hours per week.[38] In winter time, Johannesburg skies darken at around 5 p.m. and in summer around 7 p.m. The first regulation of trading hours, then, expected that shop workers' hours would indeed extend into the dark.

Store hours was an issue within other British dominions like Australia and New Zealand from the late nineteenth century, with legislation replacing voluntary agreements by the early twentieth century.[39] Early closing hour campaigns have been seen as a contribution to working hours campaigns.[40] The borrowing of colonial regulation from other British dominions meant that similar legal provisions were on offer in South Africa, including, as we shall see, the framing of the issue in terms of the working conditions of shop assistants. Furthermore, as Hyslop argues, before 1914 in South Africa, the constitution of a "white labourist ideology" which sought to protect white workers' jobs, conditions and access to welfare was

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"Sunday Closing Laws in the United States: An Unconstitutional Anachronism," *Suffolk University Law Review* 11 (1977): 1089–1115.

38 "Shop Hours: The Regulation Suspended," *Rand Daily Mail*, October 25, 1907, 4; J. R. Memo, NUDW Altman, "Shop Hours Legislation in the Transvaal," AH 1494 Da 2.4 1961–1969. Across countries, shop assistants worked long hours (Evan Roberts, "Gender in Store: Salespeople's Working Hours and Union Organisation in New Zealand and the United States, 1930–60," *Labour History* 83 (2002): 107–130, 112; Peter Bastian and Victor Quayle, "An Ambivalent Relationship: Thomas Caddy, the Drapers' Association and the Sydney Trades and Labor Council's Forgotten Cooperation over Early Closing," *Labour History* 110 (2016): 19–33, 24; Michael Quinlan and Goodwin, "Combating the Tyranny of Flexibility: Shop Assistants and the Struggle to Regulate Closing Hours in the Australian Colony of Victoria, 1880–1900," *Social History* 30, no. 3 (2005): 342–365, 345; Dora L. Costa, "Hours of work and the Fair Labor Standards Act: A study of retail and wholesale trade, 1938–1950," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 53, no. 4 (2000): 648–664, 649; Kennedy, "The history of New Zealand," 626).

39 Michael Quinlan, Margaret Gardner, and Peter Akers, "A Failure of Voluntarism: Shop Assistants and the Struggle to Restrict Trading Hours in the Colony of Victoria, 1850–85," *Labour History* 88 (May 2005): 165–82; Quinlan and Goodwin, "Combating the Tyranny of Flexibility," 342–65; Bradley Bowden, "'Harmony . . . between the Employer and Employed': Employer Support for Union Formation in Brisbane, 1857–90," *Labour History* 97 (2009): 105–22; Bastian and Quayle, "An Ambivalent Relationship," 19–33; Roberts, "Gender in Store," 107–30; By the 1880s, general unions of shop assistants provided an alternative organisational base for such campaigns in other settler colonies (Quinlan and Goodwin, "Combating the Tyranny of Flexibility," 342–365; Quinlan, et al., "A Failure of Voluntarism," 165–82; Bastian and Quayle, "An Ambivalent Relationship," 19–33).

40 Quinlan and Goodwin, "Combating the Tyranny of Flexibility," 342–65.

very much a process and product of an imperial white working class[41]. I suggest that early store hours debate was wrapped up in wider white labourist efforts to secure working hours limits in South Africa at the time.

This was the period of "reconstruction" after the South African war, when new regulation was redefining city space and class formation was at play. Contestations over late trading hours, then, must be understood within this conjuncture. Three lines of argument describe the consternation around late trading during the first few decades of the twentieth century in Johannesburg: the working time of shop assistants, the shopping time of other workers and the selling time of competing shopkeepers. Through the 1920s, late trading was a sign of whether legislation worked, as an index of modern governance and control. The focus of discussion of late trading was around protecting shop assistants from shopkeepers infringing the law. As we will see, the issue of limiting late trading was understood primarily to be about regulating working hours, posed in terms of the long hours endured by shop assistants, rather than the danger of the night, or about competing commercial interests. While arguments sometimes referred to protecting white women workers from having to return home late at night, mostly the debate in these decades registered battles between politicians, businessmen and trade unions to control city space and time.

8.2.1 The Working Time of Shop Assistants, not the Safety of Women Workers

From the first ordinances, it was assumed that regulation of trading hours would suffice to limit working hours of shop assistants, which was the key focus in the first decades. When the Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council, a federation of unions in the region, sought a maximum of nine working hours per day and 54 hours per week, the provincial government responded that the existing framework provided sufficient protection: "In view of the fact that restrictions are already place on the hours of sale in shops by the regulations, it would be superfluous to regulate the employment of shop assistants at sales."[42] Thus, from the start, the regulation of trading hours implied the limit to daily and weekly working hours.

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41 Jonathan Hyslop, "The Imperial Working Class Makes Itself 'White': White Labourism in Britain, Australia, and South Africa Before the First World War," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 12, no. 4 (1999): 398–421.

42 "Shop Hours: The Regulation Suspended," *Rand Daily Mail*, October 25, 1907, 4.

In these early years, unions were particularly concerned about enforcement of the regulation. In 1910, a provision was added requiring mandatory attendance registers for all workers, which could be requested by inspectors or police. In subsequent years, many complained that registers were not kept accurately, that fines were minimal and that inspections were few.

The issue of shopkeepers staying open late was engaged, then, as a matter of the effectiveness of the legal processes of this new city. For instance, the Johannesburg Shop Assistants, Warehouseman and Clerks' Association wrote to the Secretary of Justice in 1911, arguing if investigation had occurred more swiftly, a case could have been built against Johannesburg retailers for working their shop assistants in the evenings. The union called for authority vested in the police and state inspectors to protect workers against storekeepers staying open late. It argued that the expectation that shop assistants themselves would complain was unrealistic given the threat of dismissal. On the contrary, the deputy commissioner of police restated the problem of enforcement was due to the "diffidence of the shop assistants themselves," but offered assurances that that "if any shop assistant who has worked more than 54 hours in any one week will come forward and lay his complaint at the charge office, I will be most pleased to institute proceedings."[43] Despite union efforts to strengthen enforcement of existing regulation, in this period the mechanisms placed the burden on shop assistants to complain over infringements, as the union critiqued.

Furthermore, in the deputy commissioner of police's response a telling elision can be detected from (daily) late hours to the total number of (weekly) working hours being the issue. The issue in debate about late trading was more often posed in terms of the total length of the work day and week, less so a concern around night work. In 1911, a letter from the Pretoria Shop Assistants' Association similarly complained about the long hours which "girls and boys" [shop assistants] were subjected to: they worked "a number of hours far in excess of the number prescribed by law."[44] Even when women workers were mentioned, in these years, debate about late trading centred on securing labour standards and invoking workers' rights.

The framing as a labour rights issue must be understood, I suggest, in the broader context of "white labourism."[45] In this period, the South African Labour

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43 Letter from deputy commissioner of police to secretary, Johannesburg Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks Association, December 7, 1911. South African National Archives, Transvaal Province (Hereafter TAB) LD 1503 AG3714/07.

44 Letter from Chas. Clark, Pretoria Shop Assistants' Association to the Minister of Justice, January 17, 1911. TAB LD 1503 AG3714/07.

45 Hyslop, "The Imperial Working Class Makes Itself 'White'," 398–421.

Party came to represent white trade union interests and articulated concerns around working conditions and wages of white workers, precipitating a general strike in 1913 in Johannesburg, partly around the eight-hour day.[46] Night trading was treated as a breach of the norms and values of working time, in the context of the development of a white working class in general and in new sectors as the city's economy diversified.

Thus, a member of the public complained in 1911 to the Attorney General about one store owner, who he accused of "nothing more or less than Shop Slavery." The complainant argued that the shop owner kept the employees at his shop in downtown Johannesburg from 8.30 a.m. to 11.30 p.m. and sometimes to midnight. He added, "Such employees being both males and females," and that these workers had also been compelled to work on Wednesday afternoon, their half-holiday.[47] Night work did indeed register as onerous; it was one indication of general poor working conditions and long hours. Yet there is curiously little commentary on how the Johannesburg night itself might bear on that set of quandaries.

While it was sometimes noted that evening hours also applied to women workers, there was little emphasis in these decades on women having to leave work late at night. The cases in the archive that refer to the danger to women at night, in fact, indicate the lack of traction in such a rationale.

For instance, one case from a tea room assistant, Miss A. B. Geddes, shows the apparent disinterest around women's safety at night in 1910. Tea rooms and restaurants were allowed to stay open later than other retail stores. As in the narratives above, Miss Geddes notes her long hours of work. She wrote to, as she called him, the "Inspector of White Labour," complaining of infringements of working hours by "Proprietors of several Restaurants in town" who were "compel[ling] their Assistants to sign eight hours when they are really working from ten to twelve hours per day." She continued, "I think that the Proprietors of Restaurants, and Proprietors of Shops, ought to be compelled to pay their Assistants a salary that they can live on, instead of the miserable pittance that they have to exist on at the present time."[48]

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46 Hyslop, "The Imperial Working Class Makes Itself 'White'," 404–5.; Paul F. Stewart, "Labour time in South African gold mines: 1886–2006" (Ph.D. Thesis, Sociology Department, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012), 118.

47 "Complaint against BP Davies: Contravention of Shop Hours Act 1908," Letter dated November 27, 1911 to Attorney General from W. H. Hovendon, TAB LD 1503 AG3714/07.

48 Letter to Mr Shanke, Inspector of White Labour, from A. B. Geddes, December 11, 1910, TAB LD 1503 AG 3714.07. The other quotes in this section from Miss Geddes are all from this letter.

She proceeded to recount her own experience in a restaurant in downtown Johannesburg:

> On the 19th November I went to work at the Marlborough Restaurant, Marlborough House, Eloff Street, I went to work at 7.30 a.m. and I left off at 3 p.m. Then I had to go back at 6 p.m. in the evening and work until 8.30, 10 hours per day. The following week I had to go at 3.30 p.m. until 11.30 but Mr. Kins the Proprietor would make us work until 12 o'clock some nights and on one occasion he kept me until 12.10 p.m. [sic, a.m.].

She worked both long and late hours, it seemed. She then went on to highlight the significance of night work to her as a women: "The last car had gone and I had to walk through the streets at that hour." But, her letter quickly continued, the main issue for her was underpayment and managerial treatment, where she was being forced to make "false entries" in the register and told to "sign eight hours" when she worked longer. As with the shop assistant unions, her complaint was framed around longer hours (not late hours, per se): "I reported Mr. Kins to the Police for employing me over hours but they have taken no action against him. Instead of 54 hours per week I had to work 64 hours 20 min."

The Acting Attorney-General of the Transvaal Province replied to Miss Geddes, explaining that proceedings were instituted against Mr Kins on this basis of her complaint, but he was too ill to appear in court on the scheduled date, "and thereupon, as the charge was not a serious one, the Public Prosecutor withdrew it."[49] Thus, despite Miss Geddes explicitly describing how she missed the tram and had to walk home at night, the complaint was dismissed as not "serious." The authorities apparently did not feel the impulse to protect these white women.

What makes the silence around an argument to protect women's safety more interesting is that in this period in Johannesburg public discussion was rife with uproar about "black peril," circulating in the same newspapers as arguments about limiting trading hours.[50] The discourse of "black peril," the fear of the threat of black men raping white women, dominated public forums in the decades from 1902 to the 1930s. "Black peril" was regularly featured in newspapers, novels and other commentary in this period and became grounds for political interventions around what was called the "Native Problem".[51] As one observer notes,

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49 Letter from Acting Attorney-General to Miss A.B. Geddes, January 9, 1911, TAB LD 1503 AG 3714.07.

50 For instance, "The Black Peril," *Rand Daily Mail*, May 5, 1908, 9.

51 Gareth Cornwell, "George Webb Hardy's the Black Peril and the social meaning of 'Black Peril' in early twentieth-century South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22, no. 3 (1996): 441–453, 442–443; Lucy Valerie Graham, *State of Peril: Race and Rape in South African Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Saul Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science,*

"The Black Peril was . . . a rallying point for English and Afrikaners in the post-Anglo-Boer War [South African war] years, it helped to constitute that *ethnie* – because what was at stake was the integrity of the white female body, mythologized by a frontier society as the last and most intimate frontier of all."[52] In 1907–1908 in the Transvaal, the "black peril" prompted calls for curfews in the evening for black residents. Black men had to carry passes, which defined and curtailed their mobility.[53] The curfews for black men were introduced in 1909 when curfew bells were erected at police stations across the Rand to warn natives who did not have special passes that they had five minutes in which to get to their sleeping quarters.[54]

The actual threat to white women's safety, as many have pointed out, involved small numbers of cases at best. "Black peril" has been treated as a moral panic by those writing about it, but one with lasting impact.[55] Yet the absence of this discourse in evening trading debates in this period is notable.

Sensibility, and White South Africa 1820–2000 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 211; see more broadly, John Pape, "Black and White: The 'Perils of Sex' in Colonial Zimbabwe," Journal of Southern African Studies 16, no. 4 (1990): 699–721; Jock McCulloch, Black Peril, White Virtue. Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902–1935 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

52 Cornwell, "George Webb Hardy's," 441; Indeed, the panic following the war in 1902–3 was partly provoked by white women returning to the Transvaal under conditions of dire poverty, entering sex work and taking on black clients. It led to various "Immorality Acts" (Cornwell, "George Webb Hardy's 442–443).

53 By the turn of the twentieth century, agriculture and mines, particularly, required larger labour forces, and these increasingly included low-paid black workers dispossessed of land and coerced to enter wage labour. The mines recruited black workers (on temporary contract) from surrounding areas to Johannesburg. Before the first labour legislation in South Africa, the legacies of slavery and colonial occupation dictated different legal statuses for white and black workers. The "Native Question" centred debate around how to control, limit and regulate access of blacks to employment, to representation, to residence, to ownership and to mobility in the context of settler colonialism. Pass books were one of these mechanisms of control, deriving from masters and servants law which criminalised the relation of employment of coloured and African workers after the end of slavery (Martin Chanock, "South Africa, 1841–1924: Race, Contract, and Coercion," in *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562–1955*, eds. Hay Douglas and Paul Craven (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 338–364).

54 "Curfew Bells," *Rand Daily Mail*, December 8, 1909, 8.

55 Jonathan Hyslop, "White Working-Class Women and the Invention of Apartheid: 'Purified' Afrikaner Nationalist Agitation for Legislation against 'Mixed' Marriages, 1934–9," *The Journal of African History* 36, no. 1 (1995): 57–81.

Evening trading was also understood as establishing a boundary of the law, in itself important to connote urban modernity. Storekeepers staying open later were viewed as a gross infringement of the law: they ignored regulations meant to order (and tame) the mining town, and that was the problem, at least for advocates of earlier closing.

Indeed, there was a limit to how late a store would reasonably need to be open, even on Christmas Eve. The matter was an issue of the power of the law to be enforced. Late trading itself came up against expectations of respectable urban temporality. For instance, in one set of correspondence, debate ensued over the possibility of allowing late trading on the days before Christmas. The Acting Chief Commissioner of Police requested approval from the Acting Secretary of Justice to allow stores to be open until 11 p.m. on Saturday December 23 when December 24 fell on a Sunday. The rationale for this exception was that the Act allowed late trading in general to 11 p.m. on December 24, and the police argued that "the idea is general among tradespeople" with the adaption that "this Saturday is the peoples [sic] shopping day of the year."[56]

The Johannesburg Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks' Association contested this exemption on the grounds that it contravened the Act and implied it was "a dead letter."[57] The union argued that the legislation either was not enforced or was subject to regular exemptions and contingent exceptions. In this case, the Minister of Justice agreed with the union and did not approve the shops be allowed to remain open "beyond the time provided by law."[58] The union's argument for the letter of the law held over late shopping.

These debates about the plasticity of the law continued over the months and years. Night work signified the propensity to overwork shop workers. Late hours meant long hours, with which the unions were ultimately concerned. The union pointed to blatant infringements by shopkeepers, for instance complaining of one manager who claimed "that his store would remain open up to 11 p.m. on Saturday night no matter [if] all other stores were closed." The same firm, it argued, worked assistants "an average from 66 to 80 hours a week."[59]

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56 Letter from A. Chief Commissioner, South African Police to A. Secretary of Justice, December 18, 1911. TAB LD 1503 AG3714/07.

57 Letter from Secretary, Johannesburg Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks Association to Secretary of Justice, December 19, 1911. TAB LD 1503 AG3714/07.

58 Memo, Urgent, to Secretary for Justice from Private Secretary, December 20, 1911. TAB LD 1503 AG3714/07.

59 Secretary, Johannesburg Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks Association to Secretary of Justice, December 28, 1911. TAB LD 1503 AG3714/07.

The police countered that it depended on evidence from workers themselves, which "for obvious reasons they are not prepared to [give]."[60]

By 1912, the Shop Assistants Association was in discussion with the Labour Party on ways to protect workers' conditions and were pushing for an amended Act "to enable such assistants to enjoy larger and more spacious lives than those involved in the daily jobs for which they were paid."[61] They argued for simplifying hours of week to accord with (white) workers' campaigns more broadly: "The easiest and simplest method of rectifying the position was to insist upon an eight hour day. That would enable inspection to be carried out with certainty and celerity."[62] The union lobbied political parties in the council for support for stronger working hours' restrictions in response to the difficulties of enforcement of earlier regulation.

In 1913 a Shop Hours Draft Ordinance for the Transvaal Province was tabled which changed trading hours, with some exceptions,[63] to closing at 6 p.m. on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, 1 p.m. on Wednesday[64] and 7 p.m. on Saturdays, except within the major municipalities including Johannesburg where they could be kept open until 9 p.m. It shortened the working hours of shop assistants to 52 per week and nine and a half per day, except Saturdays when they could work for up to 11 hours.[65] This amendment was an improvement of the 1908 Act and was inspired by the "copies of Shop Hours Acts from all parts of the world." The drafters regularised the half day holiday, weekday closing times of 6 p.m. and 9 p.m. on Saturdays across the major towns.[66] Standardising the times across municipalities was itself meant to contribute to the ease of enforcement. Enforcement would be through attendance registers, appointment of

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60 Memo, Acting Commissioner, Transvaal Police to Acting Secretary for Justice, December 22, 1911; letter from Acting Secretary for Justice to "Sir," December 29, 1911. TAB LD 1503 AG3714/07.
61 "Labour's New Allies, Meeting of Shop Assistants, Mrs. Wybergh on Underpaid Girls," *Rand Daily Mail*, July 29, 1912, 7.
62 "Labour's New Allies, Meeting of Shop Assistants, Mrs. Wybergh on Underpaid Girls," *Rand Daily Mail*, July 29, 1912, 7.
63 The exceptions to the regular hours included for chemists and druggists, dairies, hairdressers, tobacconists, booksellers, stationers and newspapers, bakers shops and shops for the sale of fruits, vegetables, flowers or sweets, and what were called "Kaffir eating-houses." Each of these kinds of "shops" had variously extended hours of opening, some later in the evenings and some with opening hours on Sundays.
64 With a request of a local authority by regulation, Wednesday could be substituted for any other day of the week for the area.
65 "Shop Hours Bill, Select Committee's Amendments, The Hours of Opening and of Work," *Rand Daily Mail*, September 3, 1913, 8.
66 "New Shop Hours Bill," *Rand Daily Mail*, September 6, 1913, 8.

shop inspectors and the police, who had the right to inspect at any time, and the fine for noncompliance was increased.[67] The revision to the ordinance emphasised both the overall duration of working hours and the issue of legal enforcement.

The boundary with the night was controlled through consolidating and standardising regulation to set trading times as a response to trade union concern over hours of work. The protection of white women, especially at night, barely featured, with the effort instead on defining shop workers' conditions within standards of white labour at the time and tightening enforcement. In what were global discussions of such legislation, the idea that a norm of working hours governing other cities mattered to Johannesburg law makers, seeking to assert its status alongside metropolitan cities. White working class hours would replicate those of other shop assistants across British dominion. Trading hours legislation would ensure that urban streets had a similar character of bustling workdays and busy Saturday downtown shopping trips.

8.2.2 The Shopping Time of Other Workers

Another argument used to contest trading hours was mobilised around the public's shopping time. In the context of the Transvaal in the first couple of decades of the twentieth century, however, the "public" was yet a clear and demanding stakeholder. In other places, like the United States, the power of middle class shoppers carried the day, and retail workers' hours remained longer than other categories of workers until the 1960s.[68] In South Africa, the shopping public attained its agency later and shopping itself was treated as activity to be controlled and managed. As we will see, the shopping time of consumers as a countervailing argument to workers' demands would only emerge in later decades.

More energised in trading hours debates at this time were invocations of specific categories of the shoppers, who formed the bulk of some retailers' customers. Mineworkers, it was queried, might have required later trading to buy their necessities after their work shifts.[69] However, the Transvaal committee considering the 1913 revisions defended not extending trading time after it was

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67 "Shop Hours Bill, Select Committee's Amendments, The Hours of Opening and of Work," *Rand Daily Mail*, September 3, 1913, 8.

68 Roberts, "Gender in Store," 107–30.

69 The key constituency of shoppers to be considered in the Transvaal at this time was not middle class women as in other contexts, see Erika D. Rappaport, "The Halls of Temptation: Gender, Politics, and the Construction of the Department Store in Late Victorian London." *Journal of British Studies* 35, no. 1 (1996): 58–83.

assured that (white) mineworkers had time to shop, as most of them finished "by 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and that gave them two clear hours in which to make their purchases."[70]

Black mineworkers worked approximately the same shifts as white mineworkers, in unskilled labour. They lived in dormitory compounds on the mines. Sales of many items to them were controlled through specific shops located at the mines. The licenses for these shops were valuable to those shopkeepers. In these documents, the committee heard how the "Reef" shopkeepers (that is the shopkeepers in the smaller towns stretching to the east and west of Johannesburg, following the gold seam or "reef") already had a captive market in the workers.[71] Black mineworkers were compelled to shop in Reef towns, through police intervention. These facts were quoted to justify earlier closing times: any requirements that black mineworkers might have to shop after their shift in Johannesburg were superseded by existing practices redirecting them to shop in local shops. Like their white colleagues, their shopping time was therefore assessed as adequate.

This discussion of workers needing to shop clearly had less to do with workers' consumption needs and more to do with the competing interests of local businessmen to maintain their markets. Shopkeepers referred to the public's desire to shop at specific times in their competition with each other. We

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70 "Shop Hours Bill, Select Committee's Amendments, The Hours of Opening and of Work," *Rand Daily Mail*, September 3, 1913, 8. The South African mining industry was defined around deep-level gold mining. It did not make use of continuous shifts or full calendar operations for mineworkers until the 1990s (Paul F. Stewart, "Restructuring labour time: Implementing alternative working – time arrangements on South African mines, 1991–2004," *South African Review of Sociology* 41, no. 2 (2010): 56–76, 57). During these early decades, working time was a major issue. Broadly speaking, African unskilled workers worked anywhere from nine and a half hours per day to 12 hours per day officially. Unskilled white (mostly Afrikaner) workers worked the same. African workers often started shifts earlier, sometimes as early as 3 or 4 a.m., as they lived in compounds on the mines. Skilled white artisans could work up to 56 hours per week. There seemed to be a three-shift system on many mines. Sunday work was prohibited but often infringed. In 1899, under Paul Kruger's government (before British rule), an eight-hour work day was introduced, but in practice was not implemented. Because of miner's phthisis, the duration of working hours underground became an issue, and many mines moved in the period around 1910–1913 to a single shift, although others continued with two to three shifts. The Mines and Works Act of 1911 established a 48-hour work week, which held until the 1990s. In 1913, miners were going down the shaft at 6 a.m. and returning before 3:45 p.m. (see Stewart, "Labour time in South African gold mines," 107–14; see also Elaine Katz, *The White Death: Silicosis on the Witwatersrand Gold Mines 1886–1910* (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press, 1994)).

71 "New Shop Hours Bill," *Rand Daily Mail*, September 6, 1913, 8.

turn now to explore how discourses around late trading, then, reflected battles between sections of commerce as processes of class formation constituted this settler city.

8.2.3 The Selling Time of Competing Shopkeepers

The battle between smaller town retailers (often smaller retailers) and Johannesburg central retailers (including larger retailers) reveals the terrain of struggle in the early decades of control of the city. Broadly speaking, smaller Transvaal town retailers were likely to represent Afrikaner commercial interests and large Johannesburg retailers were seen to be English commercial capital.[72] The boundaries of temporality became part of that struggle. This tussle took different forms in regards to store trading hours, but these debates show how retailers' competing interests marked major stakes in this period.

Divisions operated along several planes. First, as noted, the ordinance stipulated different trading hours for ordinary stores from tea rooms or restaurants, which could stay open longer. An outcry from some retailers of unfair competitive advantage contributed to proposed amendments in 1913: "Tea shops, under present law, were allowed to keep open until midnight, and it was stated that many café licences were taken out as a cloak to enable the licensees to sell goods after the ordinary closing times." Instead, the 1913 bill proposed that a business be defined by the most restricted goods sold. Some smaller merchants, on the other hand, complained that the new bill sought to standardise hours and provisions, thereby cutting into their market.[73] Thus, through late trading hours, we get an oblique view of battles around the character of the Johannesburg night. Restaurants and smaller eating establishments stayed open and sold some provisions. Shops, and the activity of shopping, were mostly contained to the day. Some smaller businesses wanted to continue to keep open longer to capture those coming into the centre of town for entertainment, to dine or to watch a theatre production, for instance, but by this period they began to lose out to larger retailer interests and to unions' forceful push.

Another line of dispute ran between Johannesburg retailers and Reef town stores, as we have seen. Stores located outside of Johannesburg wanted to ensure that their resident populations would shop locally, particularly on a Saturday. It had already become a tradition in this period for residents from across

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72 O'Meara, Dan. *Volskapitalisme.*

73 "New Shop Hours Bill," *Rand Daily Mail*, September 6, 1913, 8.

the region to travel into Johannesburg on a Saturday morning to shop, eat and parade in the streets of the big city. In 1914, smaller town shopkeepers requested Saturday afternoon closing.[74] They argued that it aligned with broad public opinion and worker and union interest; in fact, they sought to use the closing time to get people shop locally. The logic was that if stores could stay open until Saturday early evening, then regional residents would be more likely to make the trip to Johannesburg to spend the day shopping and enjoy their leisure into the evening. But, the regional retailers did not succeed and the Saturday uniform closing was not imposed.

The competing interests at stake in late hours get more complicated. In 1915, charges were laid against the chairperson of the Transvaal Provincial Council for soliciting a bribe from a member of the shop hours subcommittee to back smaller "shopkeepers and Kafir [African] eating-house keepers on the Rand" by supporting an amendment to the 1913 ordinance which would allow them to stay open until 8 p.m.[75] This group sold to the black mineworkers living in compounds around the mines, who would spend more if concessions stayed open later. The scandal highlights the competition between retailers: "the interests of the class of small shop-keepers and eating-house proprietors who trade with mine natives employed along the Reef"[76] were pitted against Johannesburg central retailers, who supported earlier closing times on weekday evenings, befitting the ebb and flow of downtown work temporalities.

The emergence of large department stores in Johannesburg in the 1920s, with a larger workforce including many women workers, altered the competitive terrain for retailers further.[77] In this period, large Johannesburg retailers sometimes became allies for unions seeking earlier closing times (see also Quinlan and Goodwin[78]), although they still opposed Saturday afternoon closing.

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74 "Saturday Closing, The Dorp Misrepresented," *Rand Daily Mail*, May 28, 1914, 10. See Marten Estey, "Early closing: Employer-organized origin of the retail labor Movement," *Labor History* 13, no. 4 (1972): 560–70 for an early history of US employer led early closing hours.

75 "Allegations of Bribery: Transvaal Shop Hours Ordinance," Cape Times, May 21, 1915. TAB GG 502 8.303A. One witness reported that Deys said to him "there is £50 for you, if you support what they [the Reef storekeepers] want."

76 Confidential letter to Colonial Office, London from Governor-General's Office, Cape Town, May 29, 1915, 3. TAB GG 502 8.303A.

77 Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics*, 47.

78 Quinlan, Michael, and Miles Goodwin. "Combating the Tyranny of Flexibility," 364; Gail Reekie, "'Humanising Industry': Paternalism, Welfarism and Labour Control in Sydney's Big Stores 1890–1930," *Labour History* 53 (1987): 1–19.

Other sets of discussions in the 1920s opposed larger Johannesburg department stores, which had come to an agreement to close earlier on weekdays – 5:30 p.m. on weekdays and 6 p.m. on Saturdays – supporting union backed amendments to the ordinance.[79] Shop assistants had by this time achieved a 48-hour work week, and eight hours per day, except Saturdays which was nine hours. The revised 1923 Ordinance, however, allowed later weekday hours to 6 p.m. and 7 p.m. on Saturdays. The large retailers warned that smaller shop keepers in Johannesburg therefore may indeed stay open to the full limit allowed by law, but that they would find it difficult to fit the shop assistants' hours into this schedule.

In 1927, another debate ensued about Saturday afternoon closing. An amendment was tabled through the alliance of National Party and Labour Party representatives for compulsory provincial Saturday afternoon closing. The 1927 revision stipulated store closing by 6 p.m. on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, 7 p.m. on Friday and 1 p.m. on Saturday.[80] It was supported by the "Reef towns" as in earlier moments. The revision was opposed by retailers in Johannesburg, Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and the Mayor of Johannesburg, as well as various others, who argued to maintain retailer choice.[81] Indeed, the amendment provoked much outrage from Johannesburg retailers, who threatened to adopt "passive resistance" against it. One shopkeeper expressed such sentiment to the office of the Governor-General, going above the Provincial Council: "Your Excellency, it is our rights we possess to buy or sell as much as we like from 6 a.m. Monday until 12 midnight Saturday and that no one has the right to interfere."[82] Their position was backed by a petition organised by retailers in support of full Saturday trading. These retailers, mostly Johannesburg concerns, called the passing of the amendment "Mussolini politics," claiming it represented only a third of retailers of the province.[83] They organised the Anti-Shop Closing Commission to repeal it.

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79 "New Shop Hours Act, How It Works, Usual Hours in the Big Stores," *Rand Daily Mail*, May 23, 1923, 10.

80 May 23, 1927.

81 "Early Closing on Saturday: A Johannesburg Protest," *The Star*, April 5, 1927, AH 1494/Da 14.2.1.

82 Letter to His Excellency, the Governor-General, Cape Town from P. A. van Yperen, Rietfontein, Pretoria, October 11, 1927, 1–2. TAB GG 521 8.1380.

83 Letter to His Excellency, the Governor-General, Cape Town from P. A. van Yperen, Rietfontein, Pretoria, October 11, 1927, 2, TAB GG 521 8.1380. This is likely a reference to Mussolini's consolidation of power, effected by 1926. The reference suggests that the shopkeeper had been following closely the press on Europe, as opinions on Mussolini in South Africa, even amongst liberals, were quite positive until the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 (Jonathan Hyslop, personal communication, June 17, 2020). See also, Jonathan Hyslop, "Anti-Fascism in South Africa 1933–1945, and Its

Their argument pushed Saturday afternoon shopping convenience for workers, in particular, and specifically argued it was a trade off with later evening hours during the week.[84] Challenging Reef owners, they argued that if consumers had to shop in their local towns, they would be paying higher prices, and the group claimed free market principles against what they framed as efforts to "restrict" trade.

Against this position, just as boisterously articulated was that of traders outside of Johannesburg, who blamed their colleagues, "a select lot of central Johannesburg merchant princes," for monopolising business.[85] As the debate around Saturday half-holiday heated up, it signalled the power of downtown department stores. In 1928, the amendment standardising Saturday afternoon closing was repealed and the half-holiday was returned to a voluntary decision by retailers, either Wednesday or Saturday.

Reef stores wanted earlier closing on Saturdays to compel local consumers to shop in smaller towns; stores selling to compound black labour forces wanted longer hours during the weekdays; smaller Johannesburg retailers wanted to stay open to the latest possible to get the business that larger retailers gave up by closing earlier on weekdays. Ultimately, though, Johannesburg merchants won out in this period by insuring Saturday afternoon and evening shopping, one of the busiest times defining leisure time of a growing settler city.

In this period, the working time of shop assistants was now posed more forcefully against the shopping time of other workers and increasingly against a more general figure of a (white) "shopping public." As Johannesburg grew as an urban centre, for its white settler population, shopping became a social activity, and store trading hours a battle ground, showing the growth and expansion of retailing and increasing competition among different segments of retailers. For retailers, trading time was a measure of access to markets, and the boundary of Johannesburg's night marked a battle by some retailers to maintain selling time. Yet, evening trading was being limited, influenced in these decades by trade union organisation around working hours in support of a white working class membership, and as retailers competed around selling time, trading off some time (weekday evening hours) with other time (Saturday afternoons).

Legacies," *in Anti-Fascism in Global Perspective: Transnational Networks, Exile Communities, and Radical Internationalism*, eds. K. Braskén, N. Copsey, and D. Featherstone (London: Routledge, 2020), 77–95.

84 "Early Closing on Saturday. A Johannesburg Protest Existing Conditions Satisfactory. The Commercial View Point," *The Star*, April 5, 1927. AH1994/da 14.2.1.

85 "Saturday Afternoon Closing: Readers' Views," Letter to the editor from H. D. Grant Mackenzie, Pretoria, *Rand Daily Mail*, May 11, 1927, 12.

8.3 "The Shops Are There for the People": The White Working Class, Leisure Time, and a New Shopping Public, the 1930s–1940s

In 1924, the first national industrial relations act was passed, the Industrial Conciliation Act, followed by the Wage Act in 1925, which set up a system of wage determinations in sectors without an industrial council. This legislation sought to incorporate the white working class into a new industrial relations system and formalised exclusions of black workers from the definition of "employee" and representation in recognised trade unions.[86] What this legislation meant for the Shop Hours Act was a conflict of jurisdiction between provincial ordinance and industrial councils (in the case of some shops like hairdressers and meat sellers) or the wage determinations, in the case of retail trade.[87] Because of this conflict, working hours for shop assistants were eventually removed from the Shop Hours Act to be covered by the labour legislation covering the sectors.

Yet, the issue of store trading hours continued to resurface in the 1930s and 1940s. In late 1936, the National Union of Distributive Workers (NUDW) formed by amalgamating the regional shop workers unions of the earlier period.[88] Within the context of regularising employment standards for white workers, then, the new national union of commercial and distributive workers began a campaign in Durban and Cape Town to end Friday evening and Saturday afternoon work.

In April 1937, the union called a plebiscite in Durban asking voters their opinion of Friday evening and Saturday afternoon closing. The NUDW Durban branch officer, Alec Wanless, reported to the national office that there were 10,106 votes in favour of early closing and only 894 against.[89] This was one of the first campaigns of the newly formed national shop assistants union. The "14 Points" the union put forward in support of a "yes" vote to close shops at 6 p.m. on Friday nights included, and I quote in full from the pamphlet:

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86 For further discussion see Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics*, 47; Chanock, "South Africa, 1841–1924" 338–64.

87 "A Hiatus in the Law, Shop Assistants' Hours of Work," *Rand Daily Mail*, August 18, 1936, 14.

88 Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics*, 47.

89 Letter from A. Wanless to Bill, National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, Durban Branch, March 12, 1937, AH 1494/Da 2.1.

1) Night work is universally recognised as being injurious to the health;
2) The majority of shop assistants are young women, the future mothers of the nation;
3) Many of these young women live in the outer areas and have to go home in the dark. Some live as far away as Umkomaas [a small town outside of Durban], which means they are away from home for 16 hours and more, and are on their feet most this time;
4) The employment of shop assistants for 12/14 hours on Friday and then 4/5 hours on Saturday is an uneven and unscientific utilisation of labour energy which is injurious to the physique;
5) The Union of Distributive Workers, like other unions, makes a study of those questions, and are deeply concerned with the wider aspects and general social welfare;
6) Friday night shopping has become artificial and is stimulated by special weekend or Friday night bargains, etc. This has developed through the evil of unfair trading which most shopkeepers are against;
7) Very little serious shopping is done on Friday nights. It has turned into a social parade, which could even be maintained if the shop windows were lighted, but without the necessity of shop assistants standing behind the counters, many of whom do nothing;
8) The only services considered essential after normal hours are: Catering, entertainment, policing, transport and vocational education. This does not include the selling of general goods;
9) A change in the shopping hours on Friday night would only cause a slight temporary inconvenience. The customers would soon become used to the change;
10) Improved methods of selling allow shopping to be done in less time. This causes displacement of labour which can only be remedied at present by shortening working hours. Shop assistants therefore are demanding a 44-hour week;
11) Carpenters, Bricklayers, etc., only work a 44-hour week now. When they were on a 48-hour basis, they were able to do their shopping without inconvenience. Since the hours have been generally reduced to 44 hours a week, it is possible also to lop off 4 hours from the shopping times without inconvenience;
12) The curtailing of hours on Friday would ensure a 44-hour week to shop assistants and avoid the faking of registers, etc.;
13) 90% of the shopping is done by womenfolk. Even if shops kept open till 10 p.m., there would still be the last-minute shopper;
14) The curtailing of hours on Friday night would not inconvenience the womenfolk to any extent. All that is required is the exercise of a little social discipline in the interest of all.[90]

This document represents a clear set of newly consolidated framings around store trading hours that would characterise the next decades: a focus on night work itself as injurious, specific reference to protecting white women, the delineation of the consumer and her time as well as reinforcing older arguments, like competition between retailers and improved labour standards. By the late 1930s,

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90 Pamphlet: "To the Public of Durban," April 7, 1937, National Union of Distributive Workers, Durban Branch. AH 1494/Da 2.1.

then, the new national union invoked the hazards of night work in terms of medical and health concerns of long and late hours. It emphasised the potential duress for its growing white female membership. It noted changes to retailing and competition. The NUDW posed its campaign explicitly within efforts to gain a 44-hour week for the sector. It remarked on a new named figure of the woman shopper, who required discipline. Thus, it also engaged with debates over the shopping convenience of the public, by posing the question as a trade-off between consumers' entertainment and the need for shop assistants to work. Finally, it invoked nationalism through emotive referencing of white working class inclusion through familiar language of the protection of white women, as well as the balance of the "the interests of all." It also referred to the international labour standard around the issue of "night work" for women.[91]

This period in South African history saw contestation within factions of Afrikaner nationalists, which would eventually lead to the electoral victory of the National Party (and apartheid) in 1948. As Jonathan Hyslop has explained, changes on the Rand in the 1920s and 1930s, including increasing black urbanisation, displacement and proletarianisation of rural Afrikaner whites, especially white women moving into industrial employment (such as textile, food, printing and chemical sectors) to assist families, altered class and gender relations. In 1934, the "Purified" National Party (GNP, or Gesuiverde Nasionale Party) won seats to become the opposition party in parliament. Politically these politicians used a right wing populism, particularly stoking fears around dangers to poor white women brought by black men (with access via employment, urban streets and interracial slum housing), which took form in national debate around prohibiting "mixed marriages."[92] Thus, the "new-found independence" of white working class women threatened white men within families and also was understood by politicians as a discourse to sway white working class and petit bourgeois voters.[93] While the NUDW officials did not support the Afrikaner nationalists, and notably did not use "black peril" language, it was drawing on sentiment that had

91 Christine Murray, "Women and Night Work," *Industrial Law Journal* 5, no. 2 (1984): 47–60; South Africa ratified the ILO conventions limiting night work of women in industry: Convention 4 of 1919 (SA ratified in 1921), Convention 41 of 1934 (ratified in 1935) and Convention 89 of 1948 (ratified in 1950). The Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act of 1941 prohibited night work of women in industry (Murray, "Women and Night Work", 47), accessed June 17, 2020, https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:11200:0::NO::P11200_COUNTRY_ID:102888.
92 Hyslop, "White Working-Class Women," 57–81.
93 Hyslop, "White Working-Class Women," 60.

become pervasive in this period in order to garner support for Friday night closing. White women, and their "purity," were an easily recognisable signifier.[94] It was combined here with referents to stabilising the white working class within the nation.[95]

In 1942, the Shop Hours Commission of the Transvaal Province considered amendments to the Shop Hours Ordinance yet again. In particular, unions and some retailers and Chambers of Commerce returned to the argument for Saturday half-day closing. The NUDW then called for a second plebiscite on the East Rand (east of Johannesburg), a white working class manufacturing region, to determine whether Saturday afternoon closing was "wanted by the public." In the 1942 campaign, Saturday afternoon closing was supported by Chambers of Commerce of a number of East Rand towns, while the Johannesburg Chamber was "one of the only chambers in the Transvaal to oppose Saturday-closing."[96] The trade union was supported by retailers in smaller towns.

Unlike in earlier debates pitting Johannesburg retailers against smaller town shopkeepers, the shopping time of the consumer became more central, as one commentator in support of Saturday shopping wrote: "The fact is that the shops are there for the people and not the people for the shops. Any plan which does not study first and foremost, the desires and the convenience of the public must act in the long run to the restriction of trade."[97]

Thus, an important shift can be detected in this period. Shopping had become an activity of entertainment and leisure. In the 1930s, the "poor white problem" was a focus of social reform and state subsidy in ways that sought to rehabilitate the white working class. By the 1940s, class stability and some mobility were

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94 Much has been written on how colonial and apartheid politicians and middle class reformers mobilised the figure of the "white woman" who stood for purity of the "nation" and hence required protection, at various moments of nationalist entrenching (Hyslop, "White Working-Class Women," 57–81; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin*; Lou-Marie Kruger, "Gender, Community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the Volksmoeder Discourse of Die Boerevrou, 1919–1931" (Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 1991); Brink, "Man-Made Women," 273–92; Cherryl Walker, "Conceptualising Motherhood in Twentieth Century South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21, no. 3 (1995): 417–437).

95 Saul Dubow and Alan Jeeves, eds. *Worlds of Possibility: South Africa in the 1940s* (Cape Town: Double Storey Press, 2005).

96 "Saturday Closing to be put to a vote," *Sunday Express*. Newspaper article attached to letter dated August 12, 1937 from A. Wanless to Bill, NUDAW. AH 1494/Da 2.1.

97 "Public Needs Should Come First," *Rand Daily Mail*, May 12, 1941; see also "Letter to the Editor," *Rand Daily Mail*, "Saturday Closing Hits Small Man," *Rand Daily Mail*, n.d. (c. 1941).

beginning to be felt because of trade union efforts to improve conditions.[98] A "shopping public" came to have a life of its own in these debates about trading time.

In addition, the opposing position as articulated by the union argued not merely for decreasing hours but referenced the experiences of fatigue and harms to workers' health, and critically claimed for shop workers the benefits of night life, leisure and family life. The NUDW framed Saturday afternoon as "the official half-holiday for the workers of South Africa" except the unlucky Transvaal shop assistant: "The result is that whilst practically all the other workers in different industries and occupations are off on a Saturday afternoon, their wives, friends and relatives in shops are off on a Wednesday afternoon, and can never enjoy the half-holiday together."[99] The poor shop assistant missed the "week-end outing in the country because his or her friends leave Johannesburg on a Saturday afternoon when she is compelled to work." The union then posed its argument within workers' rights more broadly within South Africa, with industries increasingly settling on a 45-hour week. The shop worker was missing out on this improvement and the benefits it proffered of leisure and sociability with her family and peers.

NUDW members "invaded" the Johannesburg City Hall committee room of the sitting commission carrying banners and placards demanding Saturday afternoon closing, testifying to their fatigue and health problems.[100] The union claimed shop assistants as interconnected with the shopping public:

> After all, who is the public? The mothers, fathers, brothers, friends and relatives of the shop assistants who would welcome the change so that they can spend their half-holidays together. Today the position exists where the husband, refreshed by an afternoon's outing comes home in the best of humour and is ready to enjoy a Saturday night's bioscope or any other means of entertainment. The wife, exhausted after a day's rush in some store, is too tired to enjoy such entertainment and too ill-spirited to be much of a companion to her husband. The same discord is struck on a Sunday morning, when often the wife is too tired and busy to accompany her husband to Church. If she had the Saturday afternoon in which to do her housework, she would then be free on a Sunday.[101]

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98 Dubow and Jeeves, *Worlds of Possibility*; Peter Alexander, *Workers, War and the Origins of Apartheid: Labour and Politics in South Africa, 1939–48* (Oxford: Ohio University Press, 2000).
99 The National Union of Distributive Workers, Johannesburg, Memorandum Requesting Saturday Afternoon Closing. AH 1494/Da 2.1.
100 "Employees' Views on Shop Hours," *Rand Daily Mail*, October 15, 1942.
101 The National Union of Distributive Workers, Johannesburg, Memorandum Requesting Saturday Afternoon Closing. AH 1494/Da 2.1.

The union demanded Saturday afternoon and 5 p.m. weekday closings. Its key arguments rested on healthy rest periods, weekend breaks and leisure, including sporting activity, evening time for movies and social life with friends and family, and a claim to a working class public who both worked and relaxed and deserved to do so with each other.[102] The union actively offered a version of the shopping public as white workers and city residents. The 1942 Commission did not accede to mandatory Saturday afternoon closing, however, as the vote was divided. In late 1942, in response, some of the largest and most elegant city department stores voluntarily announced closing times.[103] The space of the city solidified as its temporality became clearly differentiated between periods of work and leisure for all whites, with large Johannesburg retailers supporting this now. Inclusion of a unified white working class into a white nationalist country involved regularising such temporalities for white residents.

In 1949, compulsory Saturday afternoon closing was finally introduced in the Transvaal Provincial Council, this time supported by the National Party, newly elected to national leadership. As the NUDW reported, "The leader of that party very significantly said in the Council . . . that compulsory Saturday afternoon closing of shops was a social necessity."[104] Thus, it took the National Party to push through Saturday closing as a signal of its moral fortitude and support of family values. Protecting the evening and leisure time of white residents was part of this. Yet, the issue resurfaced again and again, with complaints already re-entering public debate in 1950.[105] In 1962, another commission sat to consider amendments to the Provincial Ordinance on store trading hours.

8.4 Disrupting Family Life: The 1960s

The union campaign in 1962, with which we began this paper, opposed the proposal by the Provincial Council member Mr Ferreira against "uniform Saturday afternoon closing" and "all night trading."[106] This time, the NUDW focused on the "increase in

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102 National Union of Distributive Workers, Memorandum for Shop Hours Commission, August 12, 1942, AH 1494/Da 2.1.
103 "Leading City Shops to Curtail Business Hours," *Rand Daily Mail*, September 18, 1942.
104 Memorandum of Objection on the Proposed Extension of Trading Hours, J. R. Altman, National Secretary, NUDW, July 9, 1962. AH 1494/Da 2.2.
105 Staff reporter, "Saturday Closing; Move to Revert to Old System: Traders Experience Heavy Losses in Business," *The Star*, February 9, 1950.
106 "Wishing you and your family . . .," AH1494/Da 2.1; Memorandum on Shop Hours, NUDW, July 16, 1962, 2. AH 1494/Da 2.2.

the employers' costs, <u>and consequently to an increase in the cost of living</u>"[107] which it argued would occur with extended trading, as well as on a rationale of protecting white women shop assistants from late night working hours. The NUDW still invoked the "shopping public," "which has become accustomed to the existing stable and uniform trading hours." The union suggested that "To extend the present closing hours limit would lead to a variety of opening and closing times of shops, with resultant confusion to the public."[108]

The NUDW drew on international precedent and research, quoting Australian retailers and international surveys that showed that "most civilised countries have fairly rigid resteictions [sic, restrictions] upon trading hours":

> The one prominent exception is the United States of America, where conditions, are however, vastly different from our own, and where vast metropolitan populations help to make night trading an economic proposition. But even in New York it is only the food shops (delicatessen) and tobacconists which are open 24 hours a day – the big general stores keep open later on three nights a week, but do not have all-night trading. In nearly all Western European countries, trading hours are limited by legislation to 6 p.m. or 7 p.m. daily.[109]

The public that was to be protected had become a general rhetorical figure. The NUDW asserted its own membership and their families as core consumers, like earlier, and it argued that other workers had time to shop:

> A very substantial section of the working community thus has ample opportunity in which to do its weekly shopping at its leisure on Saturday mornings, and has no need of later trading hours on weekdays. Even if a later closing hour were to be fixed, we are convinced (as we have seen from experience) that certain customers will still turn up only five minutes before the closing time, or will want to buy the odd produce of sugar or what-have-you <u>after</u> closing time. Like the poor, this kind of customer is always with us. As for shop assistants being expected to serve members of the public (especially their fellow workers) later than at present, what justification is there for this attitude?[110]

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107 Memorandum of Objection on the Proposed Extension of Trading Hours, J. R. Altman, National Secretary, NUDW, July 9, 1962, 2. AH 1494/Da 2.2. Emphasis in original.

108 Memorandum of Objection on the Proposed Extension of Trading Hours, J. R. Altman, National Secretary, NUDW, July 9, 1962, 3. AH 1494/Da 2.2.

109 Memorandum of Objection on the Proposed Extension of Trading Hours, J. R. Altman, National Secretary, NUDW, July 9, 1962, 3. AH 1494/Da 2.2.

110 Memorandum of Objection on the Proposed Extension of Trading Hours, J. R. Altman, National Secretary, NUDW, July 9, 1962, 4. AH 1494/Da 2.2. Emphasis in original.

The distributive trade could not, it concluded, be considered an "essential service" and if shop assistants had to stay late, "what about other service workers in the post office, building societies, etc."[111]

By the 1960s, as well, retailing had expanded, with many chains opening new branches and upgrading existing branches. This extension of retail investment was tied up with property development and new suburbs in the 1960s, with retailers extending to these new areas. These expansions required significant capital and encouraged ongoing capital concentration of many retailers.[112] Thus, the competitive terrain of retailing changed in the 1960s. South African retailers were attuned to global trends and in the 1960s, they reorganised bureaucracies, introduced self-service and returned to extended trading hours as mechanisms to outcompete a more complex field.[113]

The union fought against the growing power of retail capital. The emotive core of its argument was the effect on home life, in particular with respect to "married women" as guarantees of a solid domestic and family life,[114] not so much the protection of leisure time broadly, as in the 1940s, as the protection of the nuclear family and the shop assistant's role as mother and wife became central to the union arguments. By the 1960s, white women shop assistants were often married. The NUDW represented them by defending them as good mothers as their ongoing economic contribution belied the mobility of white working class families emphasised by the apartheid state.[115]

It also raised other concerns around policing and public order in city streets as unintended consequences of late trading, also in relation to protecting white women:

> Danger of assaults: Likewise, later trading would mean an increase in the physical dangers to many thousands of female employees going home at night. In this connection we refer to an appeal by the District Commissioner of Police (Western Cape) made in February 1962 to women not to be unescorted late at night. This appeal followed a number of criminal assaults upon women.[116]

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111 Memorandum of Objection on the Proposed Extension of Trading Hours, J. R. Altman, National Secretary, NUDW, July 9, 1962, 5. AH 1494/Da 2.2.

112 Bridget Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics,* 42–43.

113 Bridget Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics,* 43.

114 Memorandum of Objection on the Proposed Extension of Trading Hours, J. R. Altman, National Secretary, NUDW, July 9, 1962, 5. AH 1494/Da 2.2.

115 Bridget Kenny, "Servicing Modernity: White Women Shop Workers on the Rand and Changing Gendered Respectabilities, 1940s–1970s," *African Studies* 67, no. 3 (2008): 365–96.

116 Memorandum of Objection on the Proposed Extension of Trading Hours, J. R. Altman, National Secretary, NUDW, July 9, 1962, 6. AH 1494/Da 2.2.

Urbanisation accelerated in the 1950s and early 1960s, with particularly notable increases in black residents moving to cities for manufacturing work.[117] Phrased in terms of a generalised criminality of urban life, the union explicitly referenced the danger of the night and called for maintaining early closing to protect the safety of its white women members.

The union organised a consumer campaign to support resistance to the deregulation of store trading hours, calling on shop assistants as family members, as we saw at the start of the paper, charging Mr Ferreira with "threatening our home life."[118] Newspaper articles affirmed this moral discourse of white women's role as homemakers. One, "Mrs. I. Erasmus, shop assistant," was quoted: "Our married ladies are definitely not opening our way to work late hours. Our commitments are at home."[119] The efforts of Mr Ferreira to deregulate trading hours were not successful. Now, it was not the leisure of whites to go out to enjoy the city that moved lawmakers, but the argument to keep mothers and wives home in evenings.

In 1968, still another commission was convened to re-examine the issue of extended trading hours.[120] This time, the union found that retailers had begun to try to extend hours in suburban shops, as these began to expand, and to do so through hiring new black staff into service jobs.[121] The union observed that one major chain retailer "had decided, without consulting the Union, in order to combat the impact of the new wages on the Company, to extend trading hours of suburban branches in the whole of the Republic."[122] The retailer was attempting to open the stores until 5:30 p.m. The union reported in its minutes that this move was framed within other changes that retailers were making to lower costs, including hiring black workers at lower rates of pay, converting to self-service, and downsizing its workforce overall.[123]

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117 P. Bonner, "South African society and culture, 1910–1948," in *Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2, 1885–1994*, eds. R. Ross, A. K. Mager, and B. Nasson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 263–74.

118 "Wishing you and your family . . .," AH 1494/Da 2.1.

119 *Vaal Telegram*, August 1962.

120 National Union of Distributive Workers: Witwatersrand Branch Minutes, Branch Executive Committee, July 31, 1968. University of the Witwatersrand Historical Papers, National Union of Distributive Workers (NUDW) archives, Johannesburg records, AH 1601/Ca3 (hereafter AH 1601).

121 Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics*, 47.

122 National Union of Distributive Workers: Witwatersrand Branch Minutes, Branch Executive Committee, July 31, 1968. AH 1601/Ca3.

123 National Union of Distributive Workers: Witwatersrand Branch Minutes, Branch Executive Committee, 31 July 1968. AH 1601/Ca3.

In the late 1960s, the NUDW went on a campaign to capture public opinion against extension of trading hours, including media stories and radio interviews.[124] Members were agitated by the extension in some stores of a half hour later and the union reported they were willing to "to take strike action rather than work later."[125] A strike would have been an unprecedented action on the part of shop assistants by this time. The last strike had occurred in 1943 and the union and its workforce mostly negotiated through extending agreements and monitoring infringements of agreements in individual cases. By the late 1960s, however, retailers began to face pressures of growth and competition, and a white labour shortage as apartheid measures came to support working whites through education, protected employment, housing and welfare benefits. As a result, white women could get better jobs in the public service, and black women began to be hired for frontline service jobs.[126] Black women's time was not viewed as worthy of protection in the same way that white women's was. By the early 1970s, the NUDW began to trade off evening hours for new casual workers, at first students and later black workers, to protect the standard shift of its white women membership.[127]

This moment, then, when a new black workforce began to enter, was also the beginning of what would become a more concerted effort to deregulate trading hours and to deal with extended trading through introducing varied shift systems. As I have written about elsewhere, these flexible systems would play a new black workforce off the white women who did not want to work unsocial hours in the evenings or on the weekends.[128]

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124 National Union of Distributive Workers: Witwatersrand Branch Minutes, Branch Executive Committee, 21 August 1968. AH 1601/Ca3.

125 National Union of Distributive Workers: Witwatersrand Branch Minutes, Branch Executive Committee, 21 August 1968. AH 1601/Ca3.

126 Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics*, 47–49; By the late 1960s, Indian and coloured women could belong to segregated unions, which NUDW headed. African workers still were not designated "employees" and thus could not belong to trade unions which could represent them within the industrial relations system. African women had to carry passes to live and work in Johannesburg.

127 Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics*, 104–5.

128 Kenny, *Retail Worker Politics,* 47.

8.5 Conclusion

The chapter charts how the debates about evening trading hours shifted over the decades from 1908, when the first Shop Hours Act came into effect, to the 1960s, when the argument around white women's role as mothers and wives took full form. Ultimately, it shows that not only labour time but also the social time of embodied labour in relation to the temporality of Johannesburg defined what arguments unions, politicians, and the public used to push limits on store trading hours. The moral discourses around the boundary of working time and the night were tied into representations of white womanhood, but differently so across the decades.

Between 1908 and the 1920s, debate over store trading hours focused on the labour conditions of shop workers, the shopping time of other workers and the selling time of competing shopkeepers. In these contests, white women mostly appear as companionable members of the white workforce, in its efforts to standardise its working time. In this wider context, and despite emotive "black peril" language of threats to white women in the street, store trading hours debates rather indicate the boundary of the night as a limit to excessive working time for trade unions. We see different commercial capital interests vying for markets. These constituted relations shaped the forms of sociality of the settler city.

By the 1940s, a white working class had become more secure and the debate around evening trading revolved around asserting the importance of the clear separation of leisure from work time. Working class respectability would be obtained through a tempo of weekly breaks, night time entertainment and time with friends and family. In such moral discourse, white women shop assistants who had to work late hours prevented families from enjoying their leisure time, like other whites. Finally, by the 1960s, as consumption expanded, this boundary with the evening became ever-more rigidified through the moral value of family time, with white women as wives and mothers required to be at home to sanctify the family. Store trading hours would be extended, in the end, only when black women began to move into these jobs. Their time and their risk could be bargained away as retailers pushed to deregulate trading times.

Over the decades, "the shopping public" variously referenced categories of male workers who might have a need for basic goods, workers in general who also required leisure, or to a general abstract category whose behaviour was opposed to shop workers. As this shopping public came to have its own more secure class (and gender) outlines, it too came to push back against workers' time, particularly in retailers' arguments.

In Johannesburg, these debates around store trading hours suggest how the meaning and use of the "night" shaped the contours of the city and social space. The moral discourses of the temporality of the settler colonial city was bound into proving colonial modernity, through law and regulation, through the separation of discrete times of work and leisure, through the time of the market and the family. Race, class and gendered relations co-constituted the proof of its modernity, in increasingly rigidified lineaments. The stakes of regulating store trading hours was white working class respectability, taking form through the separation of work and leisure, street and home, worker and family, and day and night.

Lucie Dušková

9 The Socialist Image of the Night Shift and Its Practices (1945–1966)

Hello, Pavel, we don't go to the theatre,
At ten o'clock I rush to my shift.
What? You don't want me to catch a cold
and that night work is not for a woman?

See, I like the night shift.
The lights burn like a lit candle,
you don't really feel like it,
like you're in a factory at night.[1]
(*Noční práce* [Night shift], 1951)

In post–World War II Czechoslovakia, the (night) work became one of the key values. The night shift first became a need for the post-war economic recovery, then a tool for the subsequent economic and social transformation in the name of socialism, and finally an integral part of the economic maintenance. The starting conditions were given by a triple heritage: during the war, the Czechoslovak economy suffered from the excessive exploitation by the war industry. Second, during the last year of the war its infrastructure was heavily damaged by the war operations. And third, after the war with the expulsion of the German ethnic minority, it lost an important part of skilled workforce, while the end of the forced war-work sharply dropped the Czech and Slovak workers' discipline, and hence also their work productivity.[2] Nevertheless, the post-war economy required massive work mobilisation to secure the most urgent economic needs, such as the food and heating supplies for the upcoming winter, but also the medium-term needs, such as the key transport and industrial infrastructure.

Due to the lack of workforce, the Czechoslovak government decided to proceed to directive measures. Only six months after the end of war, the Czechoslovak

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1 Pásmo „Údernická směna" z prostředí závodu ČKD Sokolovo, in *Budovatelská estráda. Knihovna souborů lidové tvořivosti* (Praha, 1951), 13–4.
2 See for example Bradley Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation* (Lanham, 2004), 9–38; Lenka Kalinová, *Východiska, očekávání a realita poválečné doby: K dějinám české společnosti v letech 1945–1948* (Praha, 2004), 66–77.

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political elites decided to solve the problem by re-introduction of the work duty. First, a special presidential decree was set in October 1945.[3] The work mobilisation then took more concrete forms through implementation of the two-year plan at the beginning of 1947 which declared as one of its criteria the raising of work productivity by 10% compared to 1937. It also stipulated that this raising was to be done through the directive allocation of workers to the prioritised sectors and quantified the exact number of such workers.[4] Even if not explicitly mentioned, these measures implicated the possibility to introduce exceptional night shifts if required by the economic targets. Then, the first five-year plan, introduced at the beginning of 1949, intensified the pressure on the mobilisation of working forces, which stayed in effect practically for the whole communist rule in Czechoslovakia (1948–1989). The institution of planned economy led also to normalisation of two specific kinds of night work which appeared just after the war. First, it was the night work which emerged due to the trend of moving some shifts, or at least their parts, to the night hours to profit from lower electricity consumption.[5] Second, it was the night shift which emerged from the urgency to meet the deadlines of the economic planning and the given economic indicators. These kinds of night shifts got integrated into the first post-war labour code, which entered in effect on January 1, 1966 and with amendments remained valid until 1999.[6]

The problem was that these trends went in complete opposition to the previous efforts of the workers' movement and of the interwar Czechoslovak governmental politics (described in the chapter authored by Jakub Rákosník). Moreover,

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3 *Dekret presidenta republiky ze dne 1. října 1945 o všeobecné pracovní povinnosti č. 88/1945 Sb.*

4 *Zákon ze dne 25. října 1946 o dvouletém hospodářském plánu č. 192/1946 Sb., § 9. Zákon ze dne 9. května 1947 o některých opatřeních k provedení národní mobilisace pracovních sil č. 87/1947 Sb.*

5 *Vyhláška ze dne 6. prosince 1945 o některých přechodných odchylkách od předpisů týkajících se pracovní doby, mezd a platů při přesunutí pravidelné pracovní doby č. 504/1945 Ú.l.I; Vyhláška ze dne 7. ledna 1947 o přechodném přesunutí pravidelné pracovní doby z důvodů hospodaření elektrickou energií, č. 24/1947 Ú.l.I; Vyhláška ze dne 21. listopadu 1947 o opatřeních k zajištění plynulého zásobování elektřinou a topnou parou č. 1191/1947 Ú.l.I.; Vyhláška ze dne 30. října 1948 o opatřeních k zajištění plynulého zásobování elektřinou a topnou parou č. 2609/1948 Úl.I.; Nařízení ze dne 27. října 1949 o úpravě pracovní doby k usnadnění plynulého zásobování elektřinou a topnou parou v zimních měsících č. 226/1949 Sb., § 3, odst. 1–2; Vládní nařízení ze dne 20. června 1950 o úpravě pracovní doby k zajištění plynulého zásobování elektřinou, plynem a topnou parou č. 79/1950 Sb.; Vládní nařízení ze dne 6. března 1951 o úpravě pracovní doby k zabezpečení plynulé dopravy pracujících a zásobování elektřinou, plynem a topnou parou č. 19/1951 Sb.; Vládní nařízení ze dne 12. června 1959, kterým se mění vládní nařízení č. 19/1951 Sb., o úpravě pracovní doby k zabezpečení plynulé dopravy pracujících a zásobování elektřinou, plynem a topnou parou č. 30/1959 Sb.*

6 *Zákoník práce ze dne 16. června 1965 č. 65/1965 Sb., §87.*

the new power hegemon, the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, represented itself as the representant of the workers' interests while for most of the workers the night work had been perceived as a legacy of capitalism. Its limitation while maintaining the wages was seen as an important social convenience.[7] Therefore, despite authoritarian ruling methods, the communist party could not in principle just simply order the extra night shifts. So, the question was – how to make the workers voluntarily opt for such work?

This chapter investigates first the Communist party of Czechoslovakia strategies of motivating the workers for the night shifts between the end of the World War II and the implementation of the first post-war Labour Code in 1966. In parallel, it looks at several specificities of the communist argumentation and of the night shifts under the communist rule. The final section of the chapter is dedicated to the reception and practices of the night shifts among the Czechoslovak workers.

The task to positively motivate individuals for the night shift was given to popular culture and the mass media: posters, press articles, literature and cinema suggested the arguments for opting voluntarily for the night shift. Among them, the cinema addressed the largest public, so this text is mainly based on contextual analysis of the movies.[8] To grasp the historical context and the reception of the workers, the text also uses the legal texts, statistical data and documents provided by the political representatives dealing with the (night) work practices.

9.1 Three Types of the Night Shifts in the Socialist Type of Economy

First, it is necessary to define the three types of the night shift which characterised the post-war Czechoslovak economic system. The first type was the long-dated standardised night shift in non-stop operational sectors and in several other domains, which were defined by the acts and decrees of 1918–1919.[9]

The second type directly proceeded from the post-war urgency. The electricity infrastructure was not able to meet increased energy requests of the industrial

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7 See for example: Karl Marx, *Das Kapital* (1867) [online], https://www.marxists.org/cestina/marx-engels/1867/kapital/Kapital1.pdf, 135–65, 240–55.

8 They were important especially during the first five-year plan (1949–1953). The night shift was the main or secondary topic of approximatively 25% of Czechoslovak movies in 1949. In 1950, it was 50% and remained at the same level in 1951. In 1952, it dropped to approximatively 33%.

9 See more in the chapter by Jakub Rákosník.

sector, so to avoid large blackouts and to better lay out the consumption, especially during the winter months, parts of certain shifts were moved to the night hours to better spread the energetic consumption.[10] While just after the war this type of night work was rather an exception, it became a rule with the implementation of the first five-year plan in 1949. From then on, Czechoslovakia got fully integrated into the Soviet economic zone. Under these circumstances, as the most developed and unique industrial state, together with the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia would supply the industrialisation of the then forming Soviet bloc. For these purposes, it was set as the main producer of heavy machinery for the whole bloc.[11] This excessive strain automatically raised the pressure on the electricity network, leading to chronic blackouts.[12] Therefore, parts of shifts were moved to the night hours to better spread the energetic consumption.

The third type of the night shift also proceeded from the post-war economic urgency. Finally, it became specific for the centrally planned economy. It proceeded from the combination of the industrial burden, the rigidity of central planning and the lack of the technical modernisation. The prioritisation of heavy industry led to the demand for workforce in this sector, including the connected sectors of mining, material processing or building of electricity plants and factories. Moreover, the system of central planning often imposed unrealistic deadlines, while the financial allocations for the modernisation of production did not meet the real requests. In consequence, the deadlines were often met by using the extra (night) shifts which served to speed up the production. Therefore, the Czechoslovak production rhythms alternated periods of relatively standard work tempo and of accelerated and escalated activities. It was especially the extra night shift which the communist representatives could not unilaterally order. Therefore, it was the main matter of the propaganda movies.

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10 See note 6.

11 See for example Valentina Fava, "Between American Fordism and 'Soviet Fordism,' Czechoslovak Way towards Mass Production," in *The Sovietisation of Eastern Europe. New Perspectives on the Postwar Period*, ed. Balász Apor, Péter Apor and E. A. Rees (Washington, 2008), 47–64; Zdeněk Jirásek, *„Ocelová koncepce" hospodářství českých zemí 1947–1953* (Opava, 2014), 99–174.

12 Between 1948 and 1960, the electricity consumption by industrial sector more than doubled. *Stručný statistický přehled 1945–1960* (Praha, 1960), 43.

9.2 The Night Shift as a Patriotic Task

Premiering on September 2, 1949, one of the first work-propaganda movies *Pětistovka* (*Five hundred*) represents the night shift as the basic patriotic task.[13] The story is situated at the switchover between the two-year plan and the five-year plan, somewhere between March 1948 and April 1949. Sticking out of the heavy industry thematic, it turns around the production of the new type of motorcycle Jawa 500. However, the plot and the story are typical: the movie focuses on the conflict in the factory about the choice of the processing, such as what material should be used for the fabrication and what type of engine the motorcycle should have to be maximally performing. The factory staffs have to decide if they should use the American type flat wing made of English steel or the Czechoslovak type OHC, which is the successor of the pre-war type OHV, made of the Czechoslovak steel. High managers, led by an arrogant engineer who has all the attributes of the interwar capitalist captain of industry (expensive suit, smoking a cigar and drinking whisky), decide for the American procedure. This decision is supported by a chief designer who has the attributes of the war collaborator (German accent). But the rest of chief designers and all the factory workers support the Czechoslovak option. In their opinion, such a motorcycle will be cheaper and at the same time more performative.

As the central direction insists on the American option, the workers vote that they will fabricate both models, so that they can compare them during the test drives. However, this in practice means that they have to do a double amount of supposed work. As the deadlines are already tight, this task seems practically unrealisable. But the workers are so enthusiastic about the Czechoslovak model that they voluntarily opt for extra shifts. Thanks to these and to the common effort, dedication and the cooperation of all sections of factory – the design department, the grinding and welding workshops and the apprenticeship department – the workers manage to produce both models on time. During the test drives, it turns out that the Czechoslovak model is better than the American one.

In this movie, the night shift opens space where one can work on the national project which would otherwise stay unrealised. The workers did not give up their idea, but made sacrifices for it and fought for it. Moreover, it is this project that wins the final competition. The victory of the Czechoslovak production also proves its prestige, tradition and quality. It implicates that the Czechoslovak industry disposes of great specialists, fervent and skilled workers and

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13 Martin Frič, Josef Neuberg and František Vlček, *Pětistovka* (1949).

high-quality material and products. One can be proud of the Czechoslovak work and workers. The viewer could see here parallels with the pre-war events: in September 1938, the Czechoslovak government ordered a mobilisation of the army against the threat of German territory annexation of border regions. The mobilisation was withdrawn after the meeting between the German, Italian, French and British delegations in Munich at the end of September which approved the annexation. Faced with the perspective of a sure loss, the Czechoslovak government decided to give up the territory.[14] This chain of events led to the subsequent dismantling of Czechoslovakia. The rest of the territory was annexed by the Third Reich in March 1939. These events were a source of frustration and were deeply written in the collective memory. Therefore, a viewer could see the *Pětistovka* story as an alternative victorious history. As the Czechoslovak soldiers, the workers were also outsiders, who were not invited to a decisive meeting. They were also facing the superiority of the high management decision and a seemingly unrealisable task of the tight deadlines and double of work. But they didn't give up, cooperated, made sacrifices and finally proved they were right. The movie invites everyone to join the battle for the national product and to participate on the patriotic victorious tasks launched by the post-war industrial sector.

More political representations of the patriotic – or better said nationalist – meaning of the night shift appeared in the so-called sabotage movies. These movies usually showed the night as the time of threat by enemy agents coming to Czechoslovakia to sabotage the industry. Only working at night, or the night guard, could thwart this danger. This idea is illustrated for example by the movie *Případ Z-8* (*The Case Z-8*) which shows how workers of a smelter workshop in a metallurgical plant thwart a sabotage thanks to the exceptional night shift.[15] Similar stories concerned especially the mining industry, which had a highly strategical position in the communist economy.[16] This kind of movie emphasised national symbolism: saboteurs usually came from the city of Munich as a reference to the events of 1938–1939. So, the victorious thwarting of the sabotage during the night shift appears in these movies as an expression of the defence of the integrity of the state, of the vigilance and of the substitute of

14 See for example P. E. Caquet, *The bell of treason. The 1938 Munich agreement in Czechoslovakia* (London, 2018); Christiane Brenner, *Zwischen Ost und West. Tschechische politische Diskurse 1945–1948* (Oldenburg, 2009); Jan Tesař, *Mnichovský komplex. Jeho příčiny a důsledky* (Praha, 2000).

15 Miroslav Cikán, Bohumil Štěpánek and Jiří Marek, *Případ Z-8* (1949).

16 See for example: Vladimír Slavínský, Vladimír Borský, Vojtěch Cach and Otakar Kirchner, *DS-70 nevyjíždí* (*DS-70 don't start*) (1951); Václav Kubásek and Jaroslav Novotný, *Milujeme* (*We love*) (1952).

the military success. Like a soldier, the worker in these stories stays on his guard and does not take rest until the task is accomplished, or the enemy unveiled. The viewer could see in these movies the way of how to deal with frustration of the 1938 surrender.

9.3 The Night Shift as a Source of Happiness and a Basis for Building a Better World

The movie explicitly titled *Cesta ke štěstí* (*Path to happiness*), which premiered on October 19, 1951, tells a story of a young girl who decided to work as a tractor driver.[17] After several peripeties and despite her father's underestimation, she succeeds. One night she ploughs up her father's field, which finally convinces him not only that she is perfectly able to do that job, but also that he should join the collective farm. This night shift brings the father and the daughter together, changes the attitude of the father towards the collectivisation of agriculture, returns to the daughter her father's love and gains her professional recognition.

Besides this personal story, the propagation of night shift in the agriculture had more general ambitions. The movie transmits the message that there is a new kind of society arising in the countryside. It is based on the collectivised agriculture which is supposed to make the work easier and fairer. The essential instrument which can achieve this process is the tractor. The final clip of the movie shows the line of tractors ploughing the fields while a song plays: "The earth is ringing; 25 lively horses are going through it. There's a tractor driver on the Zetor, sharp eyes, sure hands. On the sea of air an airplane, tractor drivers of vast fields. [. . .] Even the earth hurts the farmer the whipped plough of the fields. The farmer worked like a dog, we'll plough the old boundaries. Old boundaries, old patterns, we'll settle into the tractors."[18] And besides its strength and rapidity, the tractor can ride the night thanks to the headlights. In the economical perspective, the collectivisation and the mechanisation of the agriculture symbolised by tractor was supposed to free people for the heavy industry, which at this time swallowed workforces by dozens of thousands.[19]

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17 Jiří Sequens and Roman Hlaváč, *Cesta ke štěstí* (1951).

18 For the English version of the song see: https://www.socialismrealised.eu/catalogue/girl-on-a-tractor/, quoted May 18, 2020.

19 Lenka Kalinová, *Společenské proměny v čase socialistického experimentu. K sociálním dějinám v letech 1945–1969* (Praha, 2007), 125–26.

Another example of how the night shift could bring happiness, but this time to the industrial workers, was shown in the already mentioned movie *Pětistovka* (*Five hundred*). What makes one happy is the success of the Czechoslovak motorcycle. Moreover, the worker's activity is a basis for a new society. United in the night shift to fabricate a national product, the workers transcend the material and physical difficulties of such work. This is explained in one movie scene when it comes to the situation when workers decide to enter extra shifts. One of them explains to another, who is still hesitating: "We are working on a new thing. One can't stand beside and wait that the others make it."[20] In this line of argumentation, one should be happy to be there at the right moment when a new, proper, world is created. This idea is further emphasised in another industrial movie *My friend Fabian* from 1953. The story takes place in the Ostrava industrial region where a new power plant is constructed.[21] At the moment when the director of the factory asks workers to stay at work during the Christmas holidays, he argues: "Young men, there are things that cannot be converted into [Czechoslovak] crowns. [. . .] I know, festive tables, women, children are waiting for you at home. Night shifts await you here. But I still believe you will stay. Because this is a great thing, a common thing which is going on here."[22] The night shift is a way to participate in the building of this great thing, which could not be reduced to money. Here, the mythical meaning of the night work as a tool to build a better world is concretised by taking part in the building of the energy sector.

This idea was however not introduced by the Communists, but by the president Edvard Beneš soon after the war. It was emphasised especially in his Christmas speech of 1946, where he promoted the work effort "as a mean to achieve the highest personal and collective happiness."[23] Nevertheless, with the first five-year plan, it gained intensity. The happiness coming from the occasion of being there when the new post-war world was built was presented as the satisfying remuneration, and a sufficient reason to enter into the night shifts.

Since the end of war, the industrial workers were also invited to join the Stakhanovite movement. This was named after the soviet coal miner Alexei Stakhanov (1906–1933), who on August 31, 1935 in less than 6 hours exceeded the daily planned targets by 14 times, which led to him being featured even on a cover of the American *Time* magazine. The movement challenged workers to

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20 Martin Frič, Josef Neuberg and František Vlček, *Pětistovka*, 00:22:16–00:22:22.

21 Jiří Weiss and Ludvík Aškenazy, *Můj přítel Fabián* (1953).

22 Weiss and Aškenazy, *Můj přítel Fabián*, 01:26:00–01:26:48.

23 See for example Edvard Beneš, President republiky národu, in *Osvobozené Československo. List československé armády*, issue 2/296, December 25, 1946, 3.

speed up production, or to work on more machines at the same time. This manner of work should help to not only fulfil the plan indicators, but specially to exceed them. All workers of the Soviet bloc were in general instigated to follow Stakhanov's example to exceed the standard working norms in the industrial sectors. The numbers were subsequently presented as the proof of the work productivity rise, and therefore of the progress of the state-socialist economy.[24]

9.4 Emancipation of Women

The meaning of the night work as a tool of female emancipation was present in the already mentioned collectivisation "tractorist" movie *Cesta ke štěstí* (Path to happiness). Another contribution to this topic was the comedy *Katka*, which premiered on April 22, 1950.[25] This time, the plot is situated to a textile factory in the central Slovakia. The main character Katka Jakubová comes from a remote village in the foothills of High Tatras. Despite her father's resistance, she runs away from home to work at the Tatrasvit city stocking factory where she is assigned to the hosiery workshop. At first, she is awkward and slow; she almost gives up and returns home. But then she realises that despite the initial setbacks she can be proud of her work because she produces something useful and tangible. In the company of other girls, who she lives with in a local hostel, she learns self-discipline, diligence, courage and, above all, healthy self-esteem. As she wants to increase her performance, she tries the technique of pulling stockings in the evenings in her room. In fact, she brings her work home and the job takes up her free evenings.

Despite Katka's awkwardness, thanks to other experienced workers, the hosiery workshop manages to complete the plan, and even to exceed it. But in the neighbouring knitting workshop the work is stalling. So Katka and her girlfriends decide to create a Stakhanovite brigade and to work extra shifts to boost the knitting workshop production. She wants to show the experienced workers, who don't stop making fun of her, that she is now perfectly able to do the job and work fast. Moreover, one evening, Katka invents a technical innovation, which in theory could accelerate the production. After a series of funny peripeties, the invention works. Katka receives a bonus and becomes a self-confident independent young woman with a very promising future.

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24 Rudolf Slánský, *Jak zajistit budování socialismu v naší vlasti. Referát na IX. Řádném sjezdu Komunistické strany Československa v Praze dne 26. května 1949* (Praha, 1949), 13–22.
25 Jan Kadár, Ivan Bukovčan, Vratislav Blažek, Maximilián Nitra and Jan Kadár, *Katka* (1950).

The night shift as the moment of female emancipation appears also in the movie with the explicit title *Slovo dělá ženu* (*A Woman as Good as Her Word*), which premiered on May 29, 1953.[26] The main characters here are a bachelor machine engineer Ludvík Zach, who underestimates women, and the emancipated lathe operator and poet Jarmila Svátková. Zach believes that a woman is not able to construct a functional machine, and in general that women are not able to do the same job as men. He spends his days and nights at the factory workshop assembling the bend of the rails. By his enthusiasm and by appeals for solidarity, he forces his co-workers to work at night as well. But the others have problems with their wives, who complain about having a double job – in the factory and at home – and about never seeing their husbands. In parallel, the female staff of factory would like to construct a dishwasher, which would largely help with the housework. But the mainly male management of the factory mock this proposition as unimportant. Furthermore, to prove to their wives that the housework is easy, the male workers decide to challenge them and do the housework. In parallel, the wives decide to join the same workshop as their husbands to spend at least some time with them, and to show them that they are perfectly able to do the same job. From then on, the time at home and at work are shared by the couples; the boundaries between day and night are blurred. Finally, under the experiences with the household, men recognise usefulness of the dishwasher for saving time. And thanks to cooperation between sexes during the ultimate night shift workers finally manage to complete both tasks – the bend for the rails and the dishwasher. Zach, in love with Jarmila, recognises female capacities. The night here is the moment when the engineer and whole factory management understand that women are equal partners both for work and for new inventions.

However, most of the movies about women's emancipation through the extra work avoid to directly showing the night shift. The principle here is to expose the women's night work indirectly or in a limited way.[27] In general, to show massively the image of a women working at night would mean the open avowal that the communist rule does not respect the ban given by the International Labour Organisation, renewed in 1948[28] and re-ratified by Czechoslovakia in 1950

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26 Jaroslav Mach, Jiří Karásek, Oldřich Nový and Jaroslav Mach, *Slovo dělá ženu* (1952).

27 For example, Katka works rather in the evenings and her night trainings take place in her hostel room, while female workers at the night shift in *Slovo dělá ženu* co-work with men.

28 *Convention concerning Night Work of Women Employed in Industry (Revised 1948) C089 – Night Work (Women) Convention (Revised), 1948 (No. 89)* [online], https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/-f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C089, quoted May 18, 2020; *Convention concerning the Night Work of Young Persons Employed in Industry (Revised 1948) (Entry into force: 12 Jun 1951) – C090 – Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention*

(in effect since 1951). To openly show the women's night work would mean that the communist rule was not able to respect its engagements.

9.5 Night Shift as the "Rite of Passage"

The movie *Karhanova parta* (*Karhan's crew*), which was based on a theatre play of the same name from 1949 and premiered on March 23, 1951, explains the principle of the deep transformation of a man through the extra-night shift.[29] The main characters of the story, the two sharpeners Karhan, a father and a son, work in a grinding workshop producing components for diesel engines for locomotives. There is a difference between the two men: while the father relies on his long-dated experiences from the craft, the son is searching for modern solutions.

The father is the prototype of the experienced worker, while the son represents the socialist inventor, another characteristic phenomenon of the socialist world of work. He spends his free evenings and nights in a small workshop he has set up in the backyard of the apartment building where the family Karhan lives. Here he draws and contemplates various inventions to speed up the production, and indeed comes up with a few. This young sharpener is basically the ideal of a new socialist man capable of combining high-level manual and intellectual work, as historian Igal Halfin shows in his analysis of the eschatological vision of Marxism.[30] Personified by the young sharpener Karhan, this connection seems perfectly logical. As a worker, he has experience with machines and therefore knows best how to improve their work. All he needs is diligence, concentration and opportunity.

As time passes and the factory needs to meet the plan deadlines, the father and the son have a conflict because of their different visions on how to proceed. While the father refuses the son's inventions, the son refuses his father's experience. In the end, during the ultimate night shift, it is revealed that the best way forward is to combine both. The night-time is the moment when mental and manual work meet, when creativity is put into practice: a new invention is born.

The night shift as the moment of transformation of person through the application of his or her proper invention was represented also in other movies. In the

(Revised), 1948 (No. 90) [online], https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEX PUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C090, quoted May 18, 2020.

29 Zdeněk Hofbauer, Jaroslav Hulák and Jan Kaplan, *Karhanova parta* (1951).

30 Igal Halfin, *From Darkness to Light. Class, Counsciousness and Salvation in Revolutionary Russia* (Pittsburgh, 2000), 39–84.

comedy *Bylo to v máji* (*One day in May*), which premiered on June 1, 1951, the experienced old-school worker invents a way of accelerating the fabrication of factory heating and therefore a way to finish the construction of a new factory.[31] In another story, taking place in the Slovak countryside *Lazy sa pohly* (*The countryside has changed*), which premiered on May 1, 1952, a night invention of a wood-cutting machine accelerator transforms a whole group of peasants into proud workers and unifies the local community.[32] The already mentioned Katka becomes through her invention an emancipated woman, etc. In these movies, the workers usually found out something, which at the last moment enabled them to fulfil the economic indicators. The problem with the plan deadline usually introduced the plot, while the night shift application of invention announced the story's climax and the transformation of the person and of the collective. Symbolically, it was a rite of passage, but in practice the mechanism of inventions went in phase with the periods of intensification of work just before the plan deadlines.

9.6 More Work Means Better Living

The last strong message of the night shift was that its existence in principle was a good sign. The movies constantly compared the socialist world of work and the liberal capitalist world of work, and especially referred to the 1930s Great Depression. When in the movie it came to the discussion of whether to opt for the night shift or not, the workers usually mentioned the problem of massive unemployment during the crisis which led many families to misery. They pointed out that they should be grateful for having work and that the need for the night shift was in fact a good sign because it meant that there was enough work, or even a stock of it for the future. The appeal for the night shift was thus a proof that things were moving in the right direction. Full employment was one of the basic objectives of the post-war regime, one of the basic principles of its self-distinction from the interwar liberal capitalism and one of the main evidences that this system was better.[33] Moreover, the socialist night work was represented as different from the capitalist version. It was not work for a capitalist owner, but for all of society. After the nationalisations of the big and middle industrial companies in 1945 and 1948, most factories belonged to the state except for a few small trades.

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31 Martin Frič, Václav Berdych, Josef Neuberg, and František, Vlček, *Bylo to v máji* (1950).
32 Paľo Bielik and Paľo Bielik, *Lazy sa pohly* (1952).
33 The 1948 Constitution also enshrined the right to work, however not the right to choose freely the occupation.

Therefore, working at night in the state sector meant, in the perspective of these movies, working for the common interest. It was constantly emphasised that people should value the fact that now they had a job.

The night shift as a sign of abundance of work related to its representations as an instrument of progress. This logic was based on the idea that more work meant more fabricated products and therefore better living. For example, in the movie *Karhanova parta*, one of arguments for the night shift is: "We simply have to produce more if we want to improve our living standards."[34] In fact, this extensive perception of work and quantitative perception of production was typical for the socialist economy. As the Czechoslovak industrial sector suffered from the excessive expectations and the unsatisfactory state of machines, these shifts in fact substituted the lack of the work productivity. While in the movies the factories were always modern, illuminated and clean spaces, equipped with modern machines, in practice, their state was often derisory. Many machines dated from the nineteenth century, so they were slow, outdated and often broke down.[35] This further slowed the production. The night shifts also often served for reparations, or to catch up the time lost when a machine broke.[36] The extensive manual work was supposed to substitute the lack of technological modernisation. In the work-propaganda movies, the modernisation was basically represented by a worker's invention. But the invention usually led to acceleration of work, not to any paradigmatic innovation of procedure. Or it enabled the fabrication of more products, but not the improvement of their quality or the broadening of their variety. The night shift in fact brought the workers to try to manually replace the machine production, which was in principle unrealistic.

9.7 Reception of Images and the Night Shift in Practice

In the movies, all the mentioned images mingled and referred to each other. In sum, the night shift appeared as a transcendental, meaningful and fulfilling activity. And in parallel, all movies emphasised that going to the night shift was one's free decision. Only then could the magical effect work.

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34 Hofbauer, Hulák and Kaplan, *Karhanova parta*, 00:22:55–00:23:02.

35 See National Archive (NA), fund KSČ – Ústřední výbor 1945–1989, Praha – Politické byro 1954–1962, sv. 225, a.j./bod 304; Roman Krakovský, *Réinventer le monde. L'espace et le temps en Tchécoslovaquie communiste* (Paris, 2014), 54.

36 NA, f. KSČ – Ústřední výbor 1945–1989, Praha – Politické byro 1954–1962, sv. 225, a.j./bod 304.

When asking about practical effects of these movies, one meets typical difficulty of evaluating the public opinion in the authoritarian regimes.[37] It is also necessary to distinguish between the popularity of the respective movie and the effect of such propaganda on one's behaviour.

The available sources show that most of the movies were met with positive responses from the audience.[38] Most of them were comedies, often with slapstick elements, with casts of popular comedians, movie and theatre stars (often since the 1930s) and young sex symbols, whose presence alone guaranteed attractivity. Moreover, they were shot by skilled moviemakers with rich experiences from the interwar film production, which guaranteed a good craft quality. If these components were missing, the movie was a flop.[39]

On the contrary, the impact of the communicated ideas seems rather mediocre. The movies could theoretically have had some influence in attracting workers to the night shifts, but more generally if one spent the whole day or night in the factory, mine, field or at the construction site, he or she hardly wanted to return through a movie story. By its principle, the cinema as an entertainment industry should rather provide escape from the everyday stereotype. Due to its comedic character and famous casting, the movies could work as a distraction, but due to the story placement, even this effect could not work in the long term. Therefore, the range of public response to the night shift appeals seems to depend rather on the strength of the post-war enthusiasm, on the communist party economic politics and on the time flow.

The enthusiasm from the end of the war and the passion for the upcoming post-war social and economic transformation were more likely the first impulse for the workers' initiatives. Already on May 8, 1945, the day of the official end of World War II, the mining engineers announced the foundation of the Stakhanovite movement in the Ostrava and Karviná coal districts. The movement soon

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37 See for example Thomas Lindenberger, "Tacit minimal consensus. The always precarious east German dictatorship," in *Popular opinion in totalitarian regimes. Fascism, Nazism, Communism*, ed. Paul Corner (New York, 2009), 208–22.

38 See for example: unsigned, "Od žiaľu a biedy k novému životu," in *Slovenka*, February 7, 1955, 13; Jaroslav Simandl, "K filmu Pětistovka (dopis Jaroslava Simandla býv. Mistra prototypové dílny „JAWA")," in *Svět motorů*, July 5, 1949, 357. For example, *Pětistovka* attracted about 1.7 million viewers, *Katka* over 2.5 milion and *Bylo to v máji* almost three million viewers. See Jiří Havelka, *Československé filmové hospodářství 1956–1960* (Praha, 1970), 205–07.

39 BS: Film o vině a jejím odčinění, in *Lidová demokracie*, April 15, 1950, no page; unsigned, "Veľká príležitosť," in *Pravda*, May 12, 1950, no page. See also Pavel Skopal, *Filmová kultura severního trojúhelníku. Filmy, kina a diváci Československa, NDR a Polska, 1945–1968 – srovnávací perspektiva* (Brno, 2014), 212.

spread among the rest of miners.[40] The same enthusiasm certainly motivated the biggest Czechoslovak company ČKD workers' decision to accede exceptional night shifts in March 1948 to fulfil the two-year plan's deadlines.[41] A Prague artist, Vladimír Boudník, at the turn of the 1940s and the 1950s acceded voluntarily to the Kladno ironworks to "feel useful," as he declared in a letter to a friend.[42] It is also clear that some went to the night shift to live the solidarity and the comradeship, which could be developed during this time.[43] So, motives could be different and they could partially intertwine with the movies' arguments. Even though there are no exact statistics about the number of workers acceding the night shifts, it is possible to partly deduce from the overall indicator about workers implicated in the exceptional workers' initiatives such as the Stakhanovite movement. Here, the participation rate rose from 5% at the beginning of the year of 1949 to 30% at its end, while in 1952, when the movement culminated, the participation rate was 48%.[44] So, it is probable that the participation rate at extra night shifts could be analogous.

Some workers may have acceded the night shift for non-activist reasons also. In the night, the managers and upper functionary were not present in the workplace, so the workers could feel freer, more autonomous and more at peace. Some of them for sure enjoyed the night shift to better concentrate on their work, but many used this freedom for their personal purposes. For example, the already mentioned artist Vladimír Boudník also organised performances for his co-workers, employing the factory raw materials and machines.[45] In the movies, factories were populated by nice co-workers and there was no shortage of jokes and interesting stories. Indeed, working at night could be fun, but in unintended way. Drinking alcohol and playing cards were not exceptions. Some workers even had sex in the remoted corners of the workshop.[46] However, the evaluation of the impact of such practices would need more sources and would certainly deserve further research.

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40 Peter Heumos, *Vyhrňme si rukávy, než se kola zastaví! Dělníci a státní socialismus v Československu 1945–1968* (Praha, 2006), 42. See also: unsigned: "Noční směna na dole Partyzán Slánský'", in *Partyzán. Týdeník Sdružení českých partyzánů*, January 17, 1947, 4.

41 Roman Krakovský, *Réinventer le monde,* 39.

42 Vladimír Boudník (ed. Vladislav Merhaut), *Z korespondence I (1949–1956)* (Praha, 1994), 70.

43 Sophie Body-Gendrot, "Les nuit américaines," in *La nuit en question(s)*, ed. Catherine Espinasse, Luc Gwiazdzinski and Edith Heurgon (La Tour-d'Aigues, 2005), 221.

44 Heumos, *Vyhrňme si rukávy, než se kola zastaví!,* 41 and 46.

45 Vladislav Merhaut, *Zápisky o Vladimíru Boudníkovi* (Praha, 1997), 16–21.

46 Heumos, *Vyhrňme si rukávy, než se kola zastaví!,* 23; Bohumil Hrabal, *Jarmilka* (Praha, 1992), 88–151.

It is not clear if workers received any extra bonuses for their extra shifts. There is no word about them in the movies. Workers there get a bonus only for their invention: Katka gets money while the young Karhan gets a radio. In practice, workers certainly received bonuses for the regular night shifts, which were fixed in their contracts and collective agreements.[47] Then, when it happened that the part of working time moved to the night-time due to the problems with the energy supply, the worker had the right to a bonus of 25% or 50% of the pay for every hour worked at night.[48] But the extra night shift bonuses seem to have had no fixed rules. According to the labour law, workers had the right for the bonus only in the case when it concerned an "unattended" shift, which meant it was announced less than 48 hours in advance.[49] Given the deteriorated state of machines and the frequent breakdowns, and the upcoming deadlines, it is very probable that the need for extra night work was usually previsible, so announced with sufficient advance notice.

The communist representatives also tried to avoid paying the extra bonuses to workers by implementing the task work system.[50] This system stated the fixed payments by task no matter how much time was spent on it. This was advantageous for those who exceeded the norms and when the norms were set low. The problem was that the tendency was to rather raise these task norms, a reminder of the capitalist work system practices.

But even if one had a perspective to receive a bonus, it is not sure if it had any motivational effect. It seems rather that when the workers had the possibility, they used the night shift for the labour of those who were sentenced to forced labour.[51] They were usually from the margins of society, from the ranks of people arrested as vagrants or beggars, while others were young persons sentenced for some recklessness, for avoiding work duty, and political prisoners. These people were at the lowest position in the work hierarchy and literally were assigned to the worst jobs.

This effort illustrates the effort to avoid night shifts, despite the presented arguments or money bonuses. In fact, the effect of money motivation was

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47 NA, f. Ústřední výbor KSČ 1945–1989, Praha – Politické byro 1954–1962, sv. 278., a. j./bod 360/6.

48 *Vyhláška ze dne 22. listopadu 1949 o příplatcích ke mzdě za práci noční a nedělní, dojde-li k přesunutí pravidelné pracovní doby k usnadnění plynulého zásobování elektřinou a topnou parou v zimních měsících č. 1133/1949 Ú.l.l*; *Vyhláška ze dne 20. ledna 1951, kterou se mění a doplňuje vyhláška č. 627/1945 Ú.l.I, o úpravě mzdových a pracovních podmínek dělníků ve veřejné službě 64/1951 Ú.l.I.*

49 Jiří Chyský, *Příručka pracovního práva* (Praha, 1963), 82.

50 Kalinová, *Společenské proměny v čase socialistického*, 149–56.

51 Heumos, *Vyhrňme si rukávy, než se kola zastaví!*, 19.

limited, as the overloaded Czechoslovak economy failed to secure a corresponding supply of the products for basic daily use, or even any more specific goods. In the beginning of the 1950s, there was literally nothing to buy in the shops.[52] This situation was not only undermining the thesis of working for better living, but also the value of money.

The lack of everyday items and the raising of the task norms was progressively becoming an important source of workers' dissatisfaction and protests. When in 1951 the communist leaders decided to raise the economic plan's indicators by 40%, this measure met such a large resistance that the local workshop directors didn't even try to convince workers to accept it.[53] In parallel, voices criticising the accelerated rhythms strengthened. Already from 1945, some workers had been contesting the combination of labour and political propaganda. Many of them considered the accelerated working rhythms as incompatible with the standards of solid work, so important for the traditional industrial work culture. The Stakhanovite movement was increasingly criticised as comprised of heavily burdening machines, often leading to them becoming damaged, and as a waste of time, energy and raw materials, leading to mediocre and useless products.[54]

As the first five-year plan turned to its second half, and there were no signs of improvements in work and living conditions, it was becoming complicated to stay motivated. In many aspects, the life even worsened. The dropping motivation was reflected in the rising level of absenteeism, fluctuation and strikes, culminating during the spring of 1953. Most strikes took place in the metal industry, followed by mining, construction and the textile industry.[55] The leading strike forces were workers who possessed a piece of agricultural ground (kovorolníci). They complained about the lack of time to work their field or garden, whose products helped compensate for the lack of certain food supplies.[56] Workers also often complained that the night work perturbed their family and social life.[57]

Given these circumstances, the communist leaders decided to set a radical monetary reform with an extremely unfavourable exchange rate,[58] and which was

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52 Dalibor Státník, *Sankční pracovní právo v padesátých letech: Vládní nařízení o opatřeních proti fluktuaci a absenci č. 52/1953* (Praha, 1994), 22–31 and 71–96.
53 Heumos, *Vyhrňme si rukávy, než se kola zastaví!*, 29.
54 Heumos, *Vyhrňme si rukávy, než se kola zastaví!*, 35.
55 Heumos, *Vyhrňme si rukávy, než se kola zastaví!*, 22.
56 According to statistics, these workers constituted in 1956 more than one third of the total number of 1.3 million of Czechoslovak industrial workers. Heumos, *Vyhrňme si rukávy, než se kola zastaví!*, 30.
57 NA, f. KSČ – Ústřední výbor 1945–1989, Praha – politické byro 1954–1962, sv. 278, a. j./bod 360/6.
58 All persons had the right to exchange 300 crowns in the ratio of one new crown for five old ones, while above the amount of 300 crowns the ratio was set at 1:50. Wages, salaries and

kept secret until the final hours before its start on June 1, 1953. They presumed that it would reduce the amount of money among the population, and therefore erase the unrealised purchase power, as well as adapt income and savings to the limited supply of the market. In consequence, "the interest of workers in improving quality and increasing production" should be set anew.[59] In practice, the reform raised prices for staple food to 290% and for other consumer goods to 185% while the savings were almost deleted. It affected especially modest households, 41.15% of them formed by workers and employees in the metal and heavy industry and 38.5% formed by workers in agriculture. In sum, workers' real incomes dropped by 12% while the costs of living increased by 29%. Families with two or more children were the most affected with their standard of living dropping by more than one third.[60]

However, contrary to the expectations of the state leaders, the reform triggered protests that had completely missed the initial targets. Between June 1 and 5, 1953, at least half-day strikes took place in 129 factories throughout Czechoslovakia. According to historian Kevin McDermott, 11,601 workers from 29 factories entered into strikes in the Ostrava region alone.[61] According to Karel Bartošek, 6,490 workers from 32 factories stopped work in Prague and many others went on strike in the South-Bohemian cities Strakonice and Vimperk, and in the Slovak industrial plants of the cities Košice and Žilina.[62] Approximately 32,000 workers took part in the subsequent protests in the streets.[63] In the city of Pilsen, where the protests had the most strength, the workers occupied the town hall and the security forces managed to handle the situation only after the arrival of reinforcements from Prague.[64]

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pensions were also converted at 1:5, slightly increased depending on the category. See more: Drahomír Jančík, "Cesta k měnové reformě roku 1953: od maďarského modelu zavedení volného trhu k měnové reformě sovětského typu," in *Královéhradecko. Historický sborník pro poučenou veřejnost* (Hradec Králové, 2007), 249–68; Jakub Šlouf, *Spřízněni měnou. Genealogie plzeňské revolty 1. června 1953* (Praha 2016), 98–339.

59 Karel Bartošek, "Ouvrier et gréviste à Prague 1953. Témoignage présenté par Karel Bartošek," *Communisme: Revue d'études pluridisciplinaires* 1 (1986): 27.

60 Bartošek, "Ouvrier et gréviste à Prague 1953," 27.

61 Kevin McDermott, "Popular resistance in Communist Czechoslovakia. The Plzeň Uprising, June 1953," *Contemporary European History* 19, no. 4 (2010): 296.

62 Bartošek, Ouvrier et gréviste à Prague 1953, 28.

63 McDermott, "Popular resistance in Communist Czechoslovakia", 297.

64 Šlouf, *Spřízněni měnou. Genealogie plzeňské revolty 1*, 98–339; McDermott, "Popular resistance in Communist Czechoslovakia", 293–98.

Many protesters were sentenced for their activities,[65] but this didn't stop the movement. In July 1953, under pressure, the communist leaders withdrew a Measure Against Absenteeism and Fluctuation, which had been prepared since 1952 and was supposed to intertwine with the monetary reform. This measure was in effect for only ten days.[66] However, still in July, new wave of strikes broke out in the mines of North-western Bohemia. Then, in October, workers of a textile factory in the Eastern Bohemia city of Hořice declared the intent to enter "a collective vacation" instead of working the night shift and went to take part in the local dancing event. The following day, they launched a strike against the night shifts.[67] However, there are no exact numbers or statistics about the protests against the night shifts. Workers could also have had different and less direct strategies to avoid them. For example, some of them could officially register for the shift and then, thanks to the lack of control, leave the workshop unnoticed. The different cases and forms of protesting or avoiding the night shift deserve further research which could give rise to interesting local studies.

In sum, the year 1953 marked the turning point in the perception of the night shift. A significant part of the population, which constituted the basis of the communist party's support, rejected the intensification of the working effort and with it the symbolical meaning of the extra night shift. The year 1953 marked also the end of the image of the night shift as a moment of better world building, of a rite of passage or of woman's emancipation. The topic disappeared from the cinema production. It reappeared in the second half of the 1950s, but in much more civil way as a normal part of one's working life. In the movies from the end of the 1950s, the main characters go to the night shift because it is the duty connected with their job, not because they would decide to explore its magical effects.

The year 1953 marked also a relative end of the exploitation of workers. The death of Joseph Stalin and the arrival of Nikita Khrushchev at the leadership of the Soviet Union alleviated the run for quick industrialisation and with it the burden on Czechoslovak heavy industry production. In these circumstances, the Czechoslovak communist leaders decided to abandon the start of the second five-year plan. Instead, for the years 1954–1955, they announced so-called transitional economic plans which allocated more resources to the consumer sector. They also seemed determined to search for instruments which would return economic

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[65] In total, 472 workers were sentenced to forced labour for taking part in strikes. Many others were affected by dismissal from work, persecution of family members, etc.

[66] Státník, *Sankční pracovní právo v padesátých letech*, 149–62.

[67] Heumos, *Vyhrňme si rukávy, než se kola zastaví!*, 22–3.

prosperity to the state. However, in 1956 a new five-year plan was launched with practically identical indicators and mechanisms as the first five-year plan and this economic policy led finally to an economic collapse in 1962.

In parallel, to find workers for the night shift was more and more complicated, despite the introduction of a new system of financial bonuses in effect from 1960–1961 and a partial improvement of the consumer goods supply.[68] For example, according to data before these changes, in 1959 in the Ostrava region, approximately 65% of workers worked in the morning shifts, 20% in the afternoon and 15% in the night shifts. Of the night shift workers, around one third worked in non-stop sectors.[69] The rest was work on narrow-profile machines or maintenance and repair, work where the night shift would not be necessary in the case of the investments and modernisation, which were however unrealisable in the conditions of the centrally planned overloaded economy. This proportion did not change in the subsequent years.

Nevertheless, the number of workers on night shifts between the beginning of the 1950s and the year of the labour code approval in 1965 slightly rose. According to a 1965 Central Union Trade Union Survey based on the Škoda Works in Pilsen, the number of workers on night shifts in the early 1950s was not even 4%, while in 1965 it was 7.5%, with workers on the morning shift having dropped from 80% to 70%.[70] The composition and the reasons of workers for these shifts, however, remain a question.

9.8 Conclusion

In sum, during the first phase of the rule of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, to voluntarily join the night shift was presented as participation on a project which made sense. It looked like the moment worth of personal sacrifices, transcending all other targets and preoccupations. The reward for the night shift was in principle the pleasure from the success of fulfilling the economic plan, the knowledge that the results of one's work were useful for society, the satisfaction of being there when a new world was built, and the joy of

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68 NA, f. KSČ – Ústřední výbor 1945–1989, Praha – Politické byro 1954–1962, sv. 262–263, a. j./bod 347/6. The amount of 0.80 Kčs for 1 hour of the night work was largely insufficient to improve one's purchase power. It was too low to enable buying something different than quick consumer goods such as tea or rum (calculated according to the statistics of 1957).

69 NA, f. KSČ – Ústřední výbor 1945–1989, Praha – Politické byro 1954–1962, sv. 262–263, a. j./bod 347/6.

70 Heumos, *Vyhrňme si rukávy, než se kola zastaví!*. 29.

finding friends with whom one could share the feelings of solidarity and determination. However, due to the perpetual pressure, and no practical improvements of the living and work conditions, this magic was condemned to a failure. After the first crisis of the Communist rule in Czechoslovaki, the instruments of motivation and the tendency to raise the amount of the night work reminded of the similar processes on the other side of the Iron Curtain, even though it was for different reasons.

While promising the end of the night work, the communist economic politics led to its increase and even to normalisation of the shifts which were originally considered as occasional. Due to its incapacity to reform, the Czechoslovak economy did not extricate from the perpetual crisis, which among others led to this phenomenon.

Global Capitalism of the Twenty-First Century

Asya Karaseva, Maria Momzikova

10 Not Only Night Work: Time Difference, National Power-Geometry and Night Communications in Contemporary Far-Eastern Russia

10.1 Introduction

The burgeoning field of night studies renders night time as very distinctive from daytime in terms of social activities. The most popular night time practical counterpart is sleep. Night and sleep are often used interchangeably[1] due to the norm of consolidated night sleep born by modern industrialism in the nineteenth century.[2] The night also is understood as a special time of social life, as the studies of crime and the night-time economy show.[3] The boundaries of this time are culturally specific[4] and are not always directly determined by the

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1 Kevin K. Birth, "Time and the Biological Consequences of Globalization," *Current Anthropology* 48, no. 2 (2007): 215–236; Jonathan Crary, *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* (London, New York: Verso, 2013); Brigitte Steger and Lodewijk Brunt, eds., *Night-Time and Sleep in Asia and the West: Exploring the Dark Side of Life* (London, New York: Routledge, 2003); Robert Williams, "Night Spaces: Darkness, Deterritorialization, and Social Control," *Space and Culture* 11, no. 4 (2008): 514–532, https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331208320117.
2 Matthew Wolf-Meyer, "Where Have All Our Naps Gone? Or Nathaniel Kleitman, the Consolidation of Sleep, and the Historiography of Emergence," *Anthropology of Consciousness* 24, no. 1 (2013): 96–116, 98.
3 Jelle Brands, Tim Schwanen, and Irina Van Aalst, "Fear of Crime and Affective Ambiguities in the Night-Time Economy," *Urban Studies* 52, no. 3 (2015): 439–455; Dick Hobbs, Stuart Lister, Philip Hadfield, Simon Winlow, and Steve Hall, "Receiving Shadows: Governance and Liminality in the Night-Time Economy," *The British Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 4 (2000): 701–717; Andy Lovatt and Justin O'Connor, "Cities and the Night-Time Economy," *Planning Practice & Research* 10, no. 2 (1995): 127–134.
4 Jacques Galinier, Aurore Monod Becquelin, Guy Bordin, Laurent Fontaine, Francine Fourmaux, Juliette Roullet Ponce, Piero Salzarulo, Philippe Simonnot, Michèle Therrien, and Iole Zilli, "Anthropology of the Night: Cross-Disciplinary Investigations," *Current Anthropology* 51, no. 6 (2010): 819–847, https://doi.org/10.1086/653691.

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availability of daylight though darkness is an important part of it, as we will see also in this chapter. In urban settings, the infrastructure such as electricity or transport is crucial for defining these boundaries.[5]

Contemporary urban night and sleep is usually studied through the lens of global capitalism and not connected to the politics of the state. John Crary describes the night as a time of rest under increasing colonisation in the world of functioning around-the-clock: "24/7 steadily undermines distinctions between day and night, between light and dark, and between action and re-pose," creating a "zone of insensibility."[6] Simon J. Williams analyses politics of sleep in Europe in the era of "fast capitalism" with its intensification of work time and high priority of alert wakefulness at the cost of sleep deprivation.[7] Matthew Wolf-Meyer considers sleep disorders and practices of wakefulness management in the USA and points to the intensification and individualisation of work in America: "individuals and institutions are brought into parity with one another, with individuals bearing the brunt of American spatiotemporal rhythms."[8] These important studies reveal the actual tendency for homogenisation of the time and erosion of distinctions within the diurnal cycle through the extension of human activities within the actual form of capitalism. In these processes, digital communications play an important role of facilitator, promoter and instrument of such blurring of boundaries between day and night. However, the topic of digital communications has received only scant attention until now. One of the rare analyses has been done by Jonathan Crary,[9] who discusses digital media as a new form of surveillance and homogenisation of lives across the globe and despite the different time zones. Also, Simon J. Williams[10] refers to the condition of being "wired awake" in the system of fast capitalism but does not directly connect it to the necessity to communicate across time zones. Wolf-Meyer mentions that "the communications have relied not solely on communication technologies to bring people together but also on spatiotemporal coordination deployed by those in

5 Andrei Vozyanov, "Obshchestvennyi transport i politiki vremeni sutok: Ob ischezaiushchem vechere bol'shogo goroda," *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie* 3 (2019): 27–41, https://doi.org/10.31857/S086954150005296-5.

6 Crary, *24/7: Late Capitalism*, 17.

7 Simon J. Williams, *The Politics of Sleep: Governing (Un)Consciousness in the Late Modern Age* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 11–25.

8 Matthew Wolf-Meyer, "Natural Hegemonies: Sleep and the Rhythms of American Capitalism," Current Anthropology 52, no. 6 (2011): 876–895, 887, https://doi.org/10.1086/662550.

9 Crary, *24/7: Late Capitalism*.

10 Williams, *The Politics of Sleep*, 11–25.

power to preserve benefits at the expense of those workers in remote places"[11] but does not go into details.

While digital technologies provide technical resources for connection 24/7, they paradoxically lead not to erasing but to an increasing sense of time difference. In the digital era, time zones have arisen as both an obstacle to business and personal communications and an opportunity for genuinely global businesses. While IT researchers are concerned with the effects of time difference on work performance[12] and family relations,[13] sociologists and anthropologists analyse effects of global hierarchies of labour and look at radical cases of temporal regimes of office employees in corporations in the Second or Third World countries who have shifted to night mode.[14] Thus, the inequality within spatiotemporal coordination and, hence, being awake at night appears in these examples as the exclusive product of digital capitalism.

An underdiscussed part of this spatiotemporal entanglement is the role of a nation state. As pointed out by Benedict Anderson, the defining trait of a nation state is the experience of simultaneity through individual yet common practices of media consumption.[15] He also emphasised the importance of calendars and clocks for this experience and, following Walter Benjamin, qualified the time

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11 Matthew Wolf-Meyer, *The Slumbering Masses: Sleep, Medicine and the Modern American Life* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 2012), 195.

12 Anh Nguyen-Duc, Daniela S. Cruzes, and Conradi Reidar, "The Impact of Global Dispersion on Coordination, Team Performance and Software Quality – A Systematic Literature Review," *Information and Software Technology* 57 (2015): 277–294; Suprateek Sarker and Sundeep Sahay, "Implications of Space and Time for Distributed Work: An Interpretive Study of US-Norwegian Systems Development Teams," *European Journal of Information Systems* 13, no. 1 (2004): 3–20; John C. Tang, Zhao Chen, Cao Xiang, and Kori Inkpen, "Your Time Zone or Mine? A Study of Globally Time Zone-Shifted Collaboration," in *Proceedings of the ACM 2011 Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work*, 2011, 235–44.

13 Xiang Cao, "Connecting Families across Time Zones," in *Connecting Families: The Impact of New Communication Technologies on Domestic Life*, eds. Carman Neustaedter, Steve Harrison, and Abigail Sellen (London: Springer-Verlag, 2012), 127–139.

14 Shehzad Nadeem, "The Uses and Abuses of Time: Globalization and Time Arbitrage in India's Outsourcing Industries," *Global Networks* 9, no. 1 (2009): 20–40; Niklas Reese, ""We Are Living in a Different Time Zone": Transnational Working Places and the Concept of a "Glocalized Intermediary Class," *ASEAS – Österreichische Zeitschrift Für Südostasienwissenschaften* 1, no. 2 (2008): 34–58, https://nbnresolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-362596; Birth, "Time and the Biological," 215–236.

15 This is the first mention of the Anderson's book. We suppose the full title should be here: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised ed. (London: Verso, 2006) 22–36.

thus measured as "homogenous, empty time."[16] In this context, Alexis McCrossin demonstrated how clock time had become a state-provided public utility as well as a nation's symbol in the USA in the nineteenth century.[17] Historians and political scientists also have described the symbolism of time in vast centralised nation states. Johnathan Hassid and Bartholomew C. Watson proved the role of a unified time zone in China as a resource for symbolic centralisation.[18] Maria Rikitianskaia analysed the historical politics of time standardisation through different types of media in the USSR and Russia.[19]

However, while these and other historical works assert the association between nation state and the experience of clock time, contemporary social studies address it rarely. In fact, only scholars of transnational migration have analysed the practices of digital communication in the context of belonging to multiple nations and their time zones.[20] The mundane everyday rhythms and attitudes to time difference of nation state citizens living in the periphery of the centralised state with multiple time zones has not been described by social scientists yet. In this article, we aim to address the following issues: what does it mean for people to stay attuned to the simultaneity of the nation in the world of digital communications? What effort does it take? And how does it affect personal experiences of night time?

This chapter focuses on night experience and digital communications in a nation state on the example of the Russian Federation, especially the relations between its political and economic centre in Moscow and the remote areas of the

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16 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 23, 33.

17 Alexis McCrossen, "Conventions of Simultaneity': Time Standards, Public Clocks, and Nationalism in American Cities and Towns, 1871–1905," *Journal of Urban History* 33, no. 2 (2007): 217–253, https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144206294738.

18 Johnathan Hassid and Bartholomew C. Watson "State of Mind: Power, Time Zones and Symbolic State Centralization," *Time & Society* 23, no. 2 (2014): 167–194, https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X14521489.

19 Maria Rikitianskaia, "Synchronising the Nation: Media Networks and Russian Time Reforms of the 1920s and 2010s," in *Mediated Time: Perspectives on Time in a Digital Age*, eds. Maren Hartmann, Elizabeth Prommer, Karin Deckner, and Stephan O. Görland (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 257–272.

20 Peggy Levitt, Nina Glick Schiller, "Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society," *International Migration Review* 38, no. 3 (2006): 1002–1039, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00227.x; Loretta Baldassar, "Missing Kin and Longing to be Together: Emotions and the Construction of Co-Presence in Transnational Relationships," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29, no. 3 (2008): 247–266; Kathy Burrell, "Time Matters: Temporal Contexts of Polish Transnationalism," in *Transnational Ties: Cities, Migrations, and Identities*, eds. Michael Peter Smith and John Eade (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2008), 15–38.

so-called Far East. The analysis is inspired especially by the concept of "power-geometry" suggested by Doreen Massey. She affirms that the new networked conditions in the globalised world are "the very distinct ways" in which "different social groups and different individuals are placed . . . in relation to [the information and mobility] flows and interconnections."[21] This concept grasps the inequality of positions of different actors, however it does not consider national power hierarchies, which are actually crucial in the case of Russia. Therefore, we will use the term "national power-geometry," i.e. the distinct ways in which different social groups and individuals are placed in relation to the information and mobility flows and interconnections within a nation state.[22] And by doing this, we will show that in a national power-geometry of Russia technologies of synchronous communication have turned time difference into a very tangible matter affecting the night[23] activities in the Far East.

We consider two Far Eastern cities in Russia, Magadan (UTC + 11, MSK + 8) and Vladivostok (UTC + 10, MSK + 7).[24] Magadan is a city in the North-east of the country with a population of approximately 100,000 persons and is the administrative centre of the Magadan province. Vladivostok is a large city near the border with China. It has a population of 600,000 people and is the administrative centre of Primorsky Krai. Time difference between the capital Moscow located in the western part of the country and Vladivostok and Magadan is seven and eight hours, respectively. They can therefore illustrate the disparities and challenges given by the national power-geometry both in the south and north of the Far East.[25]

The distribution of employment options between the private and the public sectors diverges in these Far Eastern cities due to their different economic conditions. Magadan has the status of a Far Northern region which means its

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21 Doreen Massey, "Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place," in *Mapping the Futures*, eds. Jon Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putnam, George Robertson, and Lisa Tickner (London, New York: Routledge, 1993), 59–69, 61.

22 The question of whether Russia is the nation state is long debated due to the country's ethnolinguistic diversity. This focus ignores the media side of Anderson's definition of nation as "an imagined political community" (Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.) created by print-capitalism technologies. Here, we will concentrate on the imagined political community emerging as a result of work of digital media and communication technologies.

23 In Russian, as in English, two words are used for designating "night." *Vecher* stands for the end of the day, evening, and *noch'* means the dark part of the 24-hour cycle, night. In this article, we will use the term "night activities" for both evening and night practices.

24 Hereinafter, we will use the abbreviations MGD and VLD for local time in Magadan and Vladivostok, respectively.

25 We also chose these cities due to practical considerations of field access. Asya previously had done fieldwork in Magadan, and Maria had academic connections in Vladivostok.

inhabitants have additional bonuses to salary for work in a harsh climate, earlier retirement, longer vacations and shorter work week, specifically for women.[26] It is highly dependent on federal funding; more than half of the employees in city organisations worked in the public sector in 2015, according to official statistical data.[27] Vladivostok is a business hub in the Far East having multiple economic connections within the neighbouring Asian states and is more economically self-sufficient than Magadan. Here, only 38% of employees in city organisations performed functions in the public sector in 2015.[28]

We conducted field research in both cities in the spring of 2017 specifically focusing on how people deal with time-zone difference in the Russian Far East. We spent a month in each of the cities and used ethnographic methods such as in-depth individual and group interviews and participant observation as well as media analysis. In Vladivostok, Maria Momzikova interviewed 55 persons, and in Magadan Asya Karaseva talked with 72 persons. To unravel the scope of the influence of time difference on Far Easterners' lives, we searched for people of different occupations and lifestyles such as entrepreneurs, employees, students and retirees, aged from 17 to 80 years old. Mostly, our interviewees were qualified employees in non-managerial positions, including IT specialists, bank operators, specialists in public agencies, lawyers, operators in a mobile service provider, researchers etc. So, our probe covers most of the common occupations and activities of inhabitants of these areas.

10.2 National Time, Time Politics and National Power-Geometry in Russia

Russia is the most territorially vast nation state located in 11 time zones, from UTC + 2 in its most western region and Kaliningrad oblast' to UTC + 12 in the Far Eastern ones, Kamchatka krai and Chukotka autonomous okrug (see Fig. 10.1).

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26 "Labor Code of the Russian Federation," article 50, issued December 30, 2001, *Consultant plus*, accessed June 23, 2020, http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_34683/.
27 Baza dannykh pokazatelei munitsipal'nykh obrazovanii Magadanskoi oblasti. n.d. "Gorod Madagan. Srednespisochnaia chislennost' rabotnikov organizatsii (po 2016 god)," accessed November 3, 2019, https://www.gks.ru/scripts/db_inet2/passport/table.aspx?opt=447010002015.
28 Baza dannykh pokazatelei munitsipal'nykh obrazovanii Primorskogo kraia. n.d. "Gorodskoi okrug Vladivostokskii. Srednespisochnaia chislennost' rabotnikov organizatsii," accessed November 3, 2019, https://www.gks.ru/scripts/db_inet2/passport/table.aspx?opt=57010002015.

In Russia, the national time is the time of the capital, Moscow (UTC + 3). This status of Moscow time is not declared officially but implied through a reference "MSK +" or "MSK–" used to define the time in the other regions of Russia in the law "On timekeeping" and also the history of time zones representation in the country.[29] In the USSR, the centrality of Moscow time had long been asserted through time zone maps, which described time zones through designations such as " + 1" or " + 6" implying Moscow time as a point of departure, and radio time signals which announced time starting from Moscow and then calling time in the large cities in the other time zones sequentially.[30] Russian time zone maps still use this principle of time representation, and some radio stations broadcast in the Far East work in Moscow time. Until August of 2018, Soviet and then Russian railways had used Moscow time on the tickets and the clock-faces of railway stations throughout the country for many decades.[31]

The time regulation across the country has been the governance issue since the early days of the Soviet state and throughout the Soviet period.[32] In 1919, the government adopted the international system of time zones. The sets of reforms in the 1930s and 1950s connected the time zones to the state administrative division by elimination of time difference within the same republic or oblast'.[33] During the energy crisis in the 1980s, the government introduced summer time and changed time zones in some regions to save energy, causing public discontent in affected regions.[34]

While the size of Russian Federation has not changed much since the breakup of the USSR in 1991, the time became a state interest only in 2009 when then President Dmitry Medvedev announced the time zone reform in conjunction with digital modernisation of governance. Medvedev's federal time reforms included three waves in 2010–2014. In 2010, the government abolished two time zones, MSK + 1 (UTC + 4) and MSK + 9 (UTC + 12), moving the regions in these

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29 The example of such representations is our time-zones map (Fig. 10.1).

30 Rikitinskaia, "Synchronising the Nation," 257–272.

31 On the effects of the railway's time politics on everyday lives of workers and their families, see Kirill Maslinsky, "Uchitel' zheleznodorozhnoi shkoly (k tipologii sovetskikh pedagogiche-skikh soobshchestv)," *Antropologicheskii Forum* 16 (2012): 403–418; Vera Kuklina, Olga Povoroznyuk, and Gertrude Saxinger, "Power of Rhythms–Trains and Work along the Baikal-Amur Mainline (BAM) in Siberia," *Polar Geography* 42, no. 1 (2019): 18–33.

32 Rikitianskaia, "Synchronising the Nation," 260.

33 Vremia v Rossii. Wikipedia, accessed June 22, 2020, https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%92%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%BC%D1%8F_%D0%B2_%D0%A0%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%81%D0%B8%D0%B8.

34 John Löwenhardt, "Over Time: Time and Politics in the USSR," *Soviet Geography* 28, no. 9 (1987): 656–664.

Fig. 10.1: Time zones map of Russia, since December 2020. Created by Artem Borozenets on the basis of the sketch by Asya Karaseva and Maria Momzikova.

time zones closer to Moscow, MSK and MSK + 8 subsequently. In 2011, it passed the Federal law №107-FZ "On timekeeping" which secured the timekeeping in Russia as a state duty and cancelled daylight saving time, making previous summer time the new time across the country. The latter decision caused public discontent in many regions expressed in protest groups in social networks, on-line petitions, letters to authorities and even the rallies. In the autumn of 2014, the state, except seven regions, switched to the previous winter time (1 hour back) and returned to the 11 time zones model. Among the excluded seven regions, five did not change the clocks at all and two moved them 2 hours back, getting closer to Moscow time. This change was the last nationwide time alteration. Since then, time zones have changed only on a regional level albeit with the approval of the federal government. These selective changes led to different experiences and local meanings of the time reform in the regions. For example, Vladivostok did not have any change in time difference with other Russian regions, and the time reform there meant the earlier nightfall in summer. In Magadan in 2014–2016, the time difference with other Russian regions was reduced by an hour, which caused citizens' petitions and public discussions on the matter, and the time reform was more about how the change in the time distance heavily affected living and working everyday rhythms of its inhabitants.

The time reforms revealed the conflict between the state's extensive geography and high centralisation of its political and economic system in the digital era and hence the national power geometry. Top-down governance has led to a concentration of decision-making in the capital not only in state bureaucracy[35] but also in business activities[36] as all the corporations locate their headquarters in Moscow. The capital is situated in the western part of the country, and the time difference with the regions of the Far East amounts to six to nine hours, with the Far Easterners astronomically living ahead and waiting for decisions of their western superiors.

Meanwhile, in the post-Soviet decades the Far Eastern Federal district has been rendered as a classic example of remote territory which is "not properly linked to the dominant zone"[37] and hence seen in need for development. It has become the setting for all sorts of governance experiments through special political and economic regimes such as an export processing zone in Magadan, priority socioeconomic development areas in Yakutsk (Yakutia) and Anadyr' (Chukotka) or a regime of the free port of Vladivostok, and also because of its frontier position in terms of time zones. In the era of synchronous communications and digital governance, astronomy here has collided with politics, as an implementation of decisions made in Moscow starts in the Far East. The Far East's reputation of the remote area is partially confirmed by huge out-migration which even got its own name in Russian demographic studies, *zapadnyi dreif* ("western drift"), with the majority of migrants from the Far East moved to the regions of the Moscow time zone.[38] These governance and demographic asymmetries between regions in the western and eastern time zones reflect national power geometry.

10.3 National Time and Media

Being the national time, the Moscow time is represented symbolically through a variety of media, for example in the popular image of the chiming clock at the

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35 Vladimir Gel'man, "Leviathan's Return: The Policy of Recentralization in Contemporary Russia," in *Federalism and Local Politics in Russia*, eds. Cameron Ross and Adrian Campbell (Abingdon, New York: Routledge, 2008), 17–40.

36 N. I. Berzon, "Bankovskij sektor Rossii: Vyzovy, problemy i perspektivy," *Finansy I Biznes* 3 (2016): 35–46.

37 Edwin Ardener, ""Remote Areas": Some Theoretical Considerations," *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2, no. 1 (2012): 519–533, 532.

38 S. V. Zakharov, ed., *Naselenie Rossii 2013: Dvadtsat' pervyi ezhegodnyi demograficheskii doklad* (Moscow: Higher School of Economics Publishing House, 2015).

Spasskaya tower of Moscow Kremlin. Unlike clocks in nineteenth century USA where every public clock associated with the nation state power,[39] in the USSR and then Russia the Kremlin chiming clock has become the only visual representation of national time. It was widely used in different media, including covers of history textbooks, the pocket calendars and postcards. In the 1990s, the image was used in a title sequence to the news TV program "Vremya" ("Time") broadcasted on one of the main Russian TV channels, Channel 1.[40] Throughout many decades, it has been serving as the mandatory nationwide attribute of the annual New Year's celebration on December 31 on TV and postcards. The image of the Kremlin chiming clock has worked to affirm Moscow time as nation time across the Soviet Union and Russia.

Simultaneous media consumption is crucial for feeling a part of a nation,[41] and the very infrastructure of media shapes the actual experience. In the last two centuries, the media developed in multiple forms, from print technologies with their access tied to a particular time, as in Anderson's example of a morning paper, to digital technologies providing communication 24/7. In the early USSR, the radio played a huge role both in transmission of time signals[42] and informing on news. In late socialism, television became the main national media. Since the late 1960s, it has been broadcasting into all time zones, and the issue of inconvenient time of some TV shows for the citizens in the Far East appeared for the first time.[43] TV had remained the main media source until the late 2000s when the Internet started to take its place.

Television has made possible scheduling of the national shows and news on the same local time in every time zone, such as news programs "*Vremya*" ("Time") at 9 p.m. on the Channel 1 or "*Vesti*" ("Chronicle") at 8 p.m. on the Channel 2, or the President's New Year address at 11.55 p.m. on December 31. The right local time for these national TV shows is very important for the citizens as the aftermath of the previous[44] and recent time reforms showed. In Magadan, citizens reported that the change of timing of these national shows due to the technologically unsupported region's shift into another time zone made them feel excluded and offended. In the 1990s, new TV channels emerged

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39 McCrossen, "Conventions of Simultaneity".

40 R1991. n.d. "Evoliutsiia zastavok. Vypusk N°40. Programma "Vremia"". YouTube, accessed November 3, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X4aUvPYrYRw.

41 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 22–36.

42 Rikitianskaia, "Synchronising the Nation," 257–272.

43 Christine Elaine Evans, *Between Truth and Time: A History of Soviet Central Television* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2016).

44 Löwenhardt, "Over Time," 656–664.

in Russia, operating in Moscow time. They broadcasted new very popular shows, and some of our research participants, who were in their teens at the time, recalled how they rearranged their whole life schedule to be able to watch the show in the middle of the night.

In the late 2000s and 2010s, the new digital technologies have changed the media landscape and made possible live streaming of many events. The real-time participation in the national rituals such as the participation at the FIFA World Cup, Olympic Games, Eurovision and other soccer or hockey large competitions is the significant reason to stay awake at night for the Far Easterners. These events are often conducted in the western parts of the world and broadcast in real time. They are rare but important. Even people who otherwise have no connection to the west of the country know about them and try to watch them online. Some enthusiasts in both cities reserved seats in restaurants or sports bars to watch the game together. In Vladivostok, people mentioned one sports broadcast organised in the cinema hall at night. The watching of a broadcast can come amid vivid discussions of the game in WhatsApp group chats. This online participation in the national events during the night affects the next day routine, as people go to work or to study as usual while being tired due to the lack of sleep:

> Maria: Do you watch any [broadcasts]?

> Karina[45] (25, medical tourism manager, Vladivostok): Yes, I do. Well, basically some football matches. I love football, and I watch football matches . . . And this is getting less and less in recent times, because all this is at night, and nowadays you understand that, by watching it at 4 in the morning, you will not get up for work. (. . .) And when [I was] at the university, it was somehow easier, and classes started later. If you go to work, it's for 9 [a.m.]. But classes had started later, and everything else too. So, that's why, somehow, it was possible to stay up until 4 [in the morning], or so, to watch [football]. But now you end up trying to adjust yourself somehow, watching some replays . . .

By contrast, our interviewees especially emphasised the convenient local-time scheduling of other national rituals such as the Victory Day Parade at 10 a.m. Moscow time, the annual phone-in with the President at 12 a.m. or the Olympic Games when held in Asian cities. By doing this, they pointed out their time advantage over their compatriots based in the Moscow time zone and also indirectly admitted the unusual convenience of such an arrangement.

Thus, today national rituals in the form of huge sports or cultural events could be mediatised in real time, and when achieving simultaneity in a large

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45 All names are pseudonymes.

centralised nation state with multiple time zones, such as Russia, this becomes a more problematic and demanding matter for many of its citizens than it had been previously. If in the past decades television's simultaneity was adjusted to the local daily regimes, now digital technologies require the sacrifice of sleep for some citizens to enable online synchronous participation in the national rituals. The normalisation of unequal efforts for achieving national simultaneity by the Far Easterners reproduces the existing spatiotemporal hierarchy within Russia.

10.4 Non-Work Night Connections in the Far East

In recent decades, the everyday synchronous communications between the inhabitants of the Far East and the country's western parts have become intense and diverse due to rapid development of instant access technologies built in smartphones. These include calls, video chat applications (e.g. Skype), messengers (e.g. WhatsApp, Viber) and social networks with messaging functions (e.g. Facebook, Vkontakte, Instagram, Odnoklassniki). In the Soviet time, the communication technologies included the post, telephone and telegraph. The only synchronous tool among them, the telephone, was not a common thing as "the telephone network has traditionally been strongly oriented toward serving official and institutional rather than household needs."[46] The intercity telephone call could be performed only at the post office during restricted opening hours. So the asynchronous media such as telegrams and letters were popular for non-business interpersonal communications at a distance. By the end of the 1990s, the new options for distant communication emerged, such as mobile phones and the Internet, though the household telephones were also in active use. By the early 2000s, mobile phones became common in the western parts of the country[47] and the internet cafes were popular for going online.[48] In the 2010s, mobile Internet and smartphones became widespread in Russia, giving opportunities for instant access in multiple ways. However, the Internet prices and speed considerably differ across the country. In many places of the Far East, especially in the

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46 Robert W. Campbell, *Soviet and Post-Soviet Telecommunications: An Industry under Reform* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995), 15.

47 Markku Lonkila and Boris Gladarev, "Social Networks and Cellphone use in Russia: Local Consequences of Global Communication Technology," *New Media & Society* 10, no. 2 (2008): 273–293.

48 For ethnographic observations from Moscow Marcus Alexander, "The Internet and Democratization: The Development of Russian Internet Policy," *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 12, no. 4 (2004): 607–627.

northern ones, the prices are the highest in the country and the Internet speed is lower compared to the western parts of Russia due to predominantly satellite connection. For example, in Magadan broadband connection became available only in 2016. At the same time, the share of mobile internet users in the Far East was the largest after two metropolises, Moscow and Saint-Petersburg, in 2015.[49] This fact indirectly confirms the high engagement of the Far Easterners in the online communications and could be partly explained by the western drift and continuing connections between out-migrants and their friends and family at the place.

In the era of digital technologies, social interactions are the most important reason to alter one's sleep schedule in the Russian Far East. For young people, engaging chats on social networks with dates or friends living in the west of the country can lead to postponing the sleep or even not sleeping all night long. Being awakened by the sudden non-urgent night calls from the western relatives and friends is usually met with sympathetic understanding by most of our interviewees (in comparison to work- or consumption-related night calls). In some cases, the Far Easterners can seriously adjust their sleeping regimes to the daily schedules of their relatives and friends in the west to keep in contact with them. Three Magadanians whose adult children moved to the Moscow time zone have changed their daily regimes. Two of them have started to go to bed earlier, around 9 or 10 p.m. (Magadan time) and then wake up earlier, around 5 or 6 a.m., to communicate by phone with their children who have the late evening of the previous calendar day, 9 or 10 p.m. (MSK). On the contrary, the mother of the man who moved to Kazan' (MSK) has started going to sleep around 3 a.m. (MGD), as they usually talk after his work day, between 6 and 7 p.m. (MSK) and 2 or 3 a.m. (MGD) consequently. Before he moved, she had gone to bed earlier, around midnight.

The other reason for staying awake at night brought by digital technologies is education. The political centralisation of the state shapes the educational policy. In Vladivostok, secondary school students participate in the federal academic competition because these results can help them to enrol into prestigious Russian universities located in the west of the country. They could complete the tasks only in the deep night since the tasks for this competition became available for participants simultaneously throughout the country.[50]

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49 "Razvitie Interneta v regionakh Rossii," 2016, report by Yandex, accessed June 23, 2020, https://yandex.ru/company/researches/2016/ya_internet_regions_2016.

50 Alina Kontareva, Alexandra Masalskaya, and Lilia Zemnukhova, "Lokal'noe vremia mirovogo IT: O vospriiatii vremeni russkimi programmistami v Rossii i za rubezhom," *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie* 3 (2019): 62–79, https://doi.org/10.31857/S086954150005294-3.

The online webinars are a popular self-education tool. They are mostly broadcasted from the western time zones and target Moscow time zone audiences. The webinars could be a mandatory part of professional skills upgrade[51] or a hobby such as cooking or photography. In the latter case, the webinars take place in the evening after work time in the Moscow time zone, and the Far Easterners have to stay awake late in the night or wake up specifically to participate in the online event. Though webinar recordings can be provided, they are not always available due to copyright issues. Another reason for online participation is a possibility to ask questions to a speaker or take part in a discussion. The radical example of online self-education is the case of the young male Magadanian who studied photography online at school based in Saint-Petersburg (MSK) which had its classes in the Moscow time evening. He had been waking up in the middle of the night once or twice a week during several months of training. We assume that the popularity of these webinars from the west of the country is strongly connected with the national power-geometry since Russia's western metropolises are also perceived as not only the political but educational and cultural centres.

The last reason to stay or become awake at night is consumption. Some internet shops make limited-time offers for the audience in the Moscow time zone, and Far Eastern consumers wait for the appropriate time to buy what they want. Several interlocutors admitted online shopping before going to sleep and being awakened by a confirmation call or WhatsApp message. The consumption-related night calls from shops, mobile operators and banks having their call centres in the Moscow time zone is perceived as the most annoying reason for night awakening.

> Asya: Have you ever been woken up at night [by calls] from any banks, online stores?
>
> Mikhail (26, IT specialist in a public agency, Magadan): Yes, they drive me nuts (*besyat*), I really want to ban them somehow. All sorts of shops, like, I don't know what to call them . . . well, these little, weird [shops] that sell any crap that you can buy on AliExpress. If they find out your number, they call and offer their services.

The technologically driven ability to connect instantly on a time-distance conflicts with sleep as both activities claim the same night time. The Far Easterners adjust their sleep schedule by shifting the sleep onset to the later time or by breaking up the consolidated night sleep. It is not easy for them as they detail the difficulties of staying awake and getting back to sleep after the end of a

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51 We will analyse them in the next part of the chapter.

disturbing event or checking their phones in the middle of the night due to anxiety of missing important messages.

> Ivan (29, specialist in a public agency, Magadan): Well, I also took part in such conferences at night a couple of times. And it's still . . . how to say it . . . challenging – because it's not enough that you participated [in this] at night. And when it ends, it's already, like, three or four in the morning[52] already. Yeah. It was an event. You sort of actively listened, wrote something, answered [questions]. And after it ended, they still have half a day there [MSK time], and they can do something. And because of this, you . . . It's hard for you to fall asleep. That is, you have thoughts, thoughts, thoughts, pondering of some sort (*obdumyvalka*), just some other moments coming. Well, and you need to fall asleep immediately . . .

To prevent disturbing night calls or messages, Far Easterners can use different techniques. For instance, the developers of a Vladivostokian website specialising in selling Japanese cars created an automatic warning about the time difference to block off the individual sellers from the disturbing night calls by potential western buyers. Sometimes Far Eastern consumers indicate their time zone in the comments to the orders in internet shops. A young Magadan journalist who has a WhatsApp chat with friends living in the Moscow time zone shared her habit of keeping the time of the last session on WhatsApp visible to let people know about her (un)availability. The popular techniques of digital availability management are switching off the smartphone sound or using the special non-disturbing regime. Still, many of our informants admitted not using it due to concern of not being available for their family members if needed or missing something important. Thus, they take the risk of being awakened by an untimely call from the western companions.

Nevertheless, sociality does not always win over biology. Sometimes the Far Easterners prefer sleep to other night activities (except work). The most easily withdrawn night time activities are national broadcasts, webinars and other online education tools.

> Stepan (About 25, web-designer, Vladivostok): Oh yes, there is also a problem with webinars (. . .) because Muscovites usually start webinars at nine in the evening, which is three in the morning for me (. . .) I remember when I participated in a webinar for the first time. I was very nervous because I did not know what it was. And I thought that, well, I'll have to interact with people somehow. And I just set the alarm, I thought, what if I don't get enough sleep, so I went to bed at ten in the evening to get up at three in the morning to participate in the webinar. When I realized how it works, I blew it off for sure, and now, at the most, I'll drop by at the beginning to ask: "Will this be recorded?" and just wait. I stopped [watching them] a long time ago. I realized that these things just disrupt my schedule.

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52 In Russian, 3 a.m. is literally "three in the night" and 4 a.m. is "four in the morning."

Some informants admitted turning down communication with their family members due to tiredness. A woman from Vladivostok reported postponing a phone conversation with her sister. "Well, I mostly suffered when, my sister started writing to me and asking me to call in the middle of her day, but it was already the middle of the night for me. Well, for me, the middle of the night is 12 a.m., I've already fallen asleep, because I am an early bird, and it's really hard, I just don't really have the strength to talk. So we rescheduled for the next morning" (Marina, 26, student, cosmetics distributor, Vladivostok). Those who are not able or do not want to adjust their sleep to the communication across time zones can diminish or cease contacts with their loved ones or even end the relationship. In Magadan, a young female manager in a mobile operator office reported the breakup with a boyfriend who moved to the west, after a five-month relationship on a time-distance.

Thus, in the Russian Far East, the range of possible reasons to alter sleep schedule and be awake at night due to the national power geometry is wider than just work. Though Far Easterners sometimes can prefer sleep to the alternatives, the very presence of other options still shapes everyday life there through social expectations of wakefulness, which keeps the inhabitants of the Eastern Time zones conscious about time difference with the western regions.

10.5 Work Communications: Two Nights of the Far East

The standard office workday in Russia lasts from 8 a.m. till 5 p.m. or from 9 a.m. till 6 p.m. Hence, when the workday in the Far East is almost over, inhabitants of Russia's western regions only start their work.[53] Due to the time difference of seven hours in Vladivostok and eight hours in Magadan, the time window for collaboration with the capital is only one or two working hours. To perform work tasks efficiently, communication partners have to be flexible. However, within the Russian power geometry, the situation translates into blurring the boundaries of the workday in the Far East as the employees have to work after hours, wake up amidst the night to undertake the job tasks or completely shift their work schedule to be able to connect with Moscow time zone-based partners

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53 Most work connections in the Far East take place within Russia, although some Far Eastern companies and official institutions have associates in other countries. It is more relevant for Vladivostok because the city is located close to Asian countries and has more IT companies, having a bulk of contacts with the international IT market.

during their work time. Here, the night time colonised by daytime is mostly evenings, i.e. time socially allotted for family life and leisure (cf. chapters by Kenny and Müller in this volume), though deep night intrusions also take place.

The development of digital technologies in the 2000s–2010s such as emails, videoconferences, webinars, software for intraorganisational communications and also messengers has significantly affected work routine in the Far East. While email is an extremely popular asynchronous telecommunication tool praised by many Far Easterners for its convenience for work performance, it does not substitute the synchronous telecommunications which cause night work under consideration. Webinars have become a mandatory form of in-service education for employees in many different spheres, from the mobile operator managers to public agency employees to vocational school educators. Sometimes webinars can be recorded and postponed, and sometimes they require online presence. Corporate video calls through special software have entered into the work routine in the large organisations and governmental bodies. These videoconferences are usually set at Moscow daytime and sometimes last deep in the Far Eastern evening. An employee from one of the Magadan public agencies spoke about one particularly long-drawn videoconference with Moscow superiors who he and his colleagues tried to stop by switching off the office lights and thus reminding their partners about their late evening. Though these communication tools made unnecessary the previous practice of exhausting one-day duty trips to Moscow and back[54] for high- and some middle-level civil servants, the need to be constantly digitally available could be perceived as a substantial health risk, as some informants point out.

The work after hours is the first and foremost consequence of technological connectivity for Far Eastern employees within Russian power geometry.

Asya: When you stayed late at work, how long was that approximately? For 2 hours, for 3?

Svetlana (55, IT-specialist in a public agency, Magadan): Well, at the latest, someone came at 9 [a.m., MSK], someone at 10 [a.m., MSK], that is, I already left at 6–7 o'clock [p.m., MAG]. But my friend stayed there to work, and she called me [and said that], she had come home at 8–9 [p.m., MAG] all last week. She could not get the ministry on the phone, no one answered. And she needs to resolve a problem. If she does not resolve it, she will be punished. Here, she is sitting and calling, and calling. There, nobody picks up [the phone], nobody. And that's how it is.

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54 A one-way flight from Magadan or Vladivostok to Moscow takes about eight hours, and people suffer jet lag, especially after returning back to the Far East.

Depending on the tasks to be completed, working late can be exercised at the office or at home: "If you understand that you cannot get it done by ten in the evening, then you go home. [. . .] And you are finishing it from home, and until the end of their work day [MSK time], until 2 or 3 a.m., you are trying to phone them, because, well, sometimes the prestige of your region (*territoriia*) is much more important than your sleep" (Liubov', 62, ex-employee in a public agency, Vladivostok). The employees usually stay at the office if they need special papers or soft- and hardware available only at the workplace. For instance, the employees of the Federal Tax Service in Vladivostok worked at the offices because they could not use software and documents outside the workplace due to security reasons. Technological ability to work from home is a matter of change. Interviewees from Magadan reported that before the start of broadband Internet operation in 2016 they sometimes came to their workplaces on the weekends and stayed late to do the job.

In cases when the synchronous communications with west-based partners were critical, our interlocutors or their acquaintances had their job schedules moved to the later hours in local time, starting the workday at noon. This was the case with the small IT company in Vladivostok who worked for the market in the Moscow time zone and had some employees there or with some divisions of the Magadan branch of one of the largest Russian banks when it directly reported to the Moscow office.

The radical form of night work intervention into the lives of Far Eastern employees is the sudden phone requests from the western colleagues who forgot or did not know about the time difference. These sleep-breaking requests in the middle of the night imply a Far Easterner to wake up and start completing the tasks immediately which some do and the others do not (see the quote above from Liubov'). However, sometimes Far Easterners themselves plan work communication for the middle of the night. A young freelancer from Vladivostok reported waking up at 4 a.m. to make a call to the western partner. The IT specialist in the public agency from Magadan looking for a job outside the region expressed readiness to have a Skype job interview with the organisation based in the Moscow time zone in Magadan night time if needed.

Evening and night overwork usually is not taken into account in the work schedules of Far Easterners, and they still have to start the workday at their regular time the next morning. While overtime work should be extra paid according to the Russian Labour Code,[55] people usually do not calculate their overtime

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55 "Labor Code of the Russian Federation," article 152, issued December 30, 2001, Consultant plus, accessed December 2, 2021, http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_34683/.

work, and none of our informants ever mentioned getting extra pay for staying late or being awakened at night. Some persons, usually the high-ranked employees, work on a schedule without fixed working hours and can get extra paid vacation days as a compensation.[56] Sometimes overwork could be negotiated if close colleagues agree to do the employee's part of work in urgent cases or some sympathetic western partners respect the Far Eastern schedule:

> Natalia (42, employee in a public agency, Magadan): In March, I worked with Moscow, with a [time] difference. We began to work at 10 [a.m.] Moscow time. This is our 6 p.m. So [we need] to provide [information] to the Ministry of Construction, I can even say [to whom], until 12 [p.m., MSK]. They did their utmost to finish work with me within an hour or two because they understood that it was evening and I should be released for the day, that we have a [time] difference with Moscow.

However, Far Easterners mostly perceive night overwork as their own responsibility and a norm. Even if they complain about the time zone ignorance of their western colleagues, they still feel themselves obliged to work at night.

> Maria: If the [loan] application is [too] large [to finish], can you just go home, turn off [your] phone?

> Elena (About 35, bank employee, Vladivostok): My conscience will not allow me to do this. Here, in principle, all of us are such conscientious employees, no one can permit oneself to do this, because first of all, it is work, everyone loves their work.

The communication across time zones with western partners impacts not only on night work. During their workday, Far Eastern employees have to remember about the night of their western colleagues. In contrast to the flexible Far Eastern night with freely adjusting sleep schedules, the western night is imagined as rigid and non-disturbing. Far Easterners almost always perceive it through the lens of consolidated sleep of the western partners, which cannot be broken up. According to our informants, nobody works in the west during the western night. The calls or emails from western partners in the first half of the Far Eastern day astonished our interviewees. The lawyer in a public agency in Magadan admitted she had been shocked by a call from a Moscow colleague at 10 a.m. local time (2 a.m. MSK).

To break up consolidated sleep of the western partner is considered a grave mistake. A young logistician told a story about her first day at work as an assistant director. The chief who was in Moscow then asked her to call at 11 a.m. She was unaware of the superior's location and called her at 11 a.m. in Vladivostok

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56 "Labor Code of the Russian Federation," article 119, issued December 30, 2001, Consultant plus, accessed June 23, 2020, http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_34683/.

(4 a.m. MSK). "Do not call me at night" was the cold reply of the director making her feel embarrassed. Far Easterners are proud of their temporal competence and the ability to count a proper time to call their west-based partners. This translates into expressions of respect for the night time of their western partners and can be identified in phrases like "we never call during the night time."

This idea of the impenetrable western night brings the pause into the Far Eastern activities, known under the names of "gap," "limbo" or "untimeliness" (*bezvremen'e*). The employees have to wait for data, approval of their actions or other decisions by their western colleagues. One IT entrepreneur from Vladivostok who created a smartphone application showing local news for Vladivostokians hired a content manager in the western time zone for uploading information about events during the Far Eastern night. But if the information uploaded contained a mistake, it could not be corrected until the end of the western night because the content manager was sleeping. Besides the pause in the business activities, the western night also means temporary lack of access to an organisation's technical system due to maintenance scheduled in the Moscow night or unavailability of competent support. The pause in the support service is especially visible in the IT field:

> Victor (27, head of IT in a public agency, Magadan): Moscow believes that they are the only ones that work. When do they need to carry out technical work? At night, right? Logically. That is, Moscow ended its work [day], they start maintenance at night, Muscovites go to sleep. But we have only just gotten up, and the website is like: "Maintenance, sorry." And that's it, and you're sitting, and you need documents to attach, to send, these platforms, auctions . . . You have tight deadlines, and the fines [for not meeting them] are big. And well, it's agonising.

The Far Eastern employees adapt to this pause by specifically scheduling working hours. In the first half of the day, they facilitate local tasks, while after 4 p.m. (VLD) or 5 p.m. (MGD) they start to collaborate with their colleagues from the Moscow time zone:

> Boris (40, logistician, Vladivostok): I'm saying, in fact, all the logistics in . . . the Far East . . . Everyone is tied up with Moscow. Anyway. And we . . . we somehow got accustomed to the fact that all the work of logistics specialists starts at 9 a.m. and ends somewhere around 1 p.m. – the operational activity. And the second cycle of work begins at 3 p.m. when Moscow wakes up. And then the solving of operational problems with Muscovites begins.

The similar scheduling applies for communication with closer western partners. The other logistician from Vladivostok had contacts with partners both in Moscow and Novosibirsk (MSK + 4, 3 hours behind Vladivostok time). In the morning,

he performed local tasks; in the midday, he communicated with Novosibirsk colleagues, and then, in the evening, he contacted Moscow associates. With such a schedule, employees feel more relaxed in the first half of the Far-Eastern day because their superiors from the west do not disturb them.

The pause ends in Moscow morning when the workday starts there, which does not always coincide with its official beginning. According to our interlocutors, Western partners can stay in traffic jams, come late at work, drink coffee or tea before starting to work, thus stretching the western night for their companions in the Far East. "This is the first thing in work, just with the Feds. Because [you wait] while they wake up, while they have their engagements, while they drink tea, and get to work. Yeah. Because often you just can't get through to them" (Ivan, 29, specialist in a public agency, Magadan). Discursively, the time difference in work relations with Moscow partners is often described by phrases such as "Moscow wakes up here at 4 p.m.," "while Moscow is sleeping" and "when Moscow wakes up." Of note is that there is no marked distinction of the beginning of the western night, probably because it starts when the Far Easterners sleep.

Thus, the western night is palpable during the Far East workday while the Far Eastern night can be considered as a pause only in communications with friends and relatives from distant time zones. However, in these cases, when messaging in chats can last for several days stopping only for nights, it implies both Far Eastern and western nights to be the natural breaks in non-work communication. The frustrating and work-slowing western night manifests the capital-centred national power geometry. The unprivileged position of the Far East as a remote region is especially pronounced when the reporting line between eastern and western partners is reversed. Even those Far Easterners who are higher in the organisation's hierarchy than their western colleagues or who are work-givers for the inhabitants of a region in the Moscow time zone have to wait for their western subordinates to be awakened and stay late or work at night.[57] As we showed elsewhere,[58] this power-geometry structures spatiotemporal coordination asymmetrically in the west-to-east direction not only in work relations. People in the

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[57] Recent open data research has proved statistically the unequal workload after hours between public procurement managers working in western and eastern regions of Russia. See: Asya Karaseva, Elena Veretennik, Ivan Bibilov, Julia Amatuni. n.d. "Overtime work in the public procurement system of Russia: open data analysis", accessed June 28, 2022, http://workhours.mast.eusp.org/.

[58] Asya Karaseva and Maria Momzikova, "Chasovye poiasa i sinkhronnye telekommunikatsii: Nezametnaia rabota po temporal'noi koordinatsii u gorozhan Dal'nego Vostoka Rossii," *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie* 3 (2019): 42–61, https://doi.org/10.31857/S086954150005295-4.

Eastern Time zones tend to tune up the schedule to their western relatives and friends, to know the time zone of the western neighbouring regions better than of the eastern ones. Moreover, Far Easterners reproduce this asymmetry during their trips to the western regions, when they can easily forget about the time difference and call their Far Eastern friends and co-workers at local night.

10.6 Conclusion

Being awake at night is usually considered in the context of a transnational digitised economy. While blurring boundaries between day and night seems to be a global condition in digital modernity, the context of a large centralised nation state with numerous time zones inserts important nuances. As we have shown, in Russia, the national power geometry heavily shapes night activities of those living in Far Eastern cities. As citizens of a nation state, Far Easterners find it important to watch live streams of national events and international competitions which are often set during an inconvenient night-time. In their work communications, they see themselves responsible for adjustment to narrow "communication window" with partners in the Moscow time zone and feel obliged to work late hours or even wake up by a call and perform job tasks immediately in the middle of the night. Personal communications with migrated friends and family members are also highly demanding in terms of time management as Far Easterners strive to consider the schedule of a partner in a different time zone. Online education and consumption are also affected by time difference since the majority of providers of such services target the audience based in the Moscow time zone.

The centralised nation state coupled with digital technologies takes its toll on the night experiences of the Far Easterners. The night time becomes vulnerable to interventions through phone and messengers from the country's west and requires careful availability management. Disruptive night calls affect not only night experiences but the next day routine as well since Far Easterners should go to work at their usual time despite the night occurrences.

However, within the Russian power geometry, not only does the centre's daytime colonise the periphery's night time but the centre's night time also colonises the periphery's daytime, as Far Eastern workers' idea of rigid western night and working practices prove. The representation of the western night as a non-negotiable time of rest when one should not be disturbed shapes the Far Eastern workday practices and ethics of communication across time zones such as waiting with patience for Muscovites to become available, withholding of

calls and preference for asynchronous communication tools (e.g. email). In contrast to the Far Eastern night time vulnerable to potential disruptions, the western night symbolises the consolidated time of unavailability and thus brings Moscow night time into the Far Eastern workday.

Living in conditions of not only symbolic[59] but very tangible centralisation, Far Easterners deeply internalise the national time. For example, they describe their actions aimed at attuning to the national time as effortless. They also see their time zone condition which forces them to adjust themselves to the time difference with Moscow as natural and explain it as an inevitable consequence of the country's vastness. At the same time, the moments of non-synchronising with the nation, such as the ill-timed New Year's eve President's address on major national TV channels during time reforms, are full of a sense of offense and reproach. Therefore, in the era of digital interconnectedness, achieving simultaneity for a nation turns out to be a deeply intimate and demanding process.

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59 Hassid and Watson "State of Mind," 167–194.

Simiran Lalvani

11 Delivering the Night-Time Economy Home: Nocturnal Labour and Temporalities of Platform Work

11.1 Introduction

Zomato, a digital food discovery and delivery platform, which has emerged as a part of the platform economy in the last few years, has a list of late-night restaurants to "banish those midnight cravings."[1] Swiggy, another popular food delivery platform, brags about catering to the latest late-night order of cheesy fries at 04:59 a.m. and earliest breakfast of chicken noodles at 05:00 a.m.[2] In the context of this late-night binging mediated via food delivery apps, this chapter seeks to show the impact of the platform economy on the night-time economy, experiences of gig workers and urban cultures.

Different terms like platform or digital capitalism have been used by scholars to signify the use of digital technologies and data in capitalism. Platform companies like Airbnb, Uber, Zomato, Swiggy and UberEats[3] presenting themselves as technological intermediaries that simply mediate exchanges. These companies engage "platform" or "gig workers," a term that covers a heterogeneous group of workers, crowdworkers who complete tasks on online platforms as well as offline, on-demand work like ride-hailing, food delivery and domestic work.[4] Platform work is positioned as breaking the shackles of traditional employment because workers can choose when to log in and how long to work. These promises have come under criticism from scholars and activists, as

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1 https://www.zomato.com/mumbai/late-night-restaurants, accessed March 20, 2019.

2 https://blog.swiggy.com/2020/12/22/stateatstics-year5/, accessed December 22, 2020.

3 UberEats India was acquired by Zomato in January 2020, see: https://economictimes.india times.com/small-biz/startups/newsbuzz/zomato-acquires-uber-eats-in-an-all-stock-transaction/articleshow/73465982.cms.

4 V. De Stefano, "The Rise of the 'Just-in-Time Workforce': On-Demand Work, Crowd Work and Labour Protection in the 'Gig-Economy'," *SSRN Electronic Journal* (2015). https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2682602.

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platform companies distance themselves from their role as employers[5] and shift the costs and risks of work onto workers.[6] Food delivery platform companies refer to their workers as "partners," as partner workers must bring their own motorbike or bicycle, and pay for petrol and repairs.

Before I examine the role of digital platforms in the night-time economy in urban India, I will briefly introduce how the night is a contested time and space and what digital technologies have been imagined to do. In India, amorality associated with the night has led to nativist parties demanding a ban on or leading violent vigilante actions against night-time leisure. All of these developments have led to women's access to public space a much-discussed subject in scholarship and public life in urban India. A gendered policing of leisure at night has had implications for middle-class women's leisure at night, livelihood implications for working-class women and the perception of working-class men. In 2005, the state of Maharashtra banned dancing in places where alcohol was served. In effect, this was a ban on dancing by bar girls and not on other elite spaces of night life.[7] Four years later, in the southern Indian city of Mangalore, a right-wing group attacked women for drinking alcohol in a pub at night which led to the formation of the Consortium of Pub-Going, Loose and Forward Women to resist such policing. Feminist scholarship like that of Shilpa Phadke has highlighted the nature of exclusion of women and working-class men from public space since they are both considered victims and perpetrators of violence, respectively.[8] In response, there have been several technology-led responses largely through the installation of CCTV cameras and crowdsourcing the marking of "unsafe" areas through apps like Safetipin that help make "safe and informed decisions about your mobility."[9]

I build off these socio-cultural and moral particularities of the night to understand how food delivery platforms engage with them and shape a techno-morality. Through this chapter and the case of food discovery and delivery platforms Swiggy and Zomato, I seek to contribute to two sets of literature. I contribute to the literature on the night-time economy by bringing attention to the role of digital

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5 Nick Srnicek, *Platform Capitalism* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2017).

6 A. J. Ravenelle, *Hustle and Gig: Struggling and Surviving in the Sharing Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019).

7 This moral panic around public decency extends back to the anti-*nautch* campaign in the nineteenth-century India. For more on the way globalisation dimensionalised this panic, see Sameena Dalwai, "Bans and Bar Girls Performing Caste in Mumbai's Dance Bars" (2019); Meena Gopal, "Caste, Sexuality and Labour: The Troubled Connection," *Current Sociology* (2012).

8 Shilpa Phadke, "Dangerous Liaisons: Women and Men: Risk and Reputation In Mumbai," *Economic and Political Weekly* 42, no. 17 (2007): 1510–1518.

9 https://safetipin.com/, accessed December 22, 2020.

technologies and nocturnal labour via platforms. From the particularities of the night and night work, I bring attention to slowness as another source of unpredictability beyond algorithms and extend the question of flexibility outside of the platform-worker relationship. Since platforms affect restaurant workers, hours of eating for customers, and urban cultures and practices, in addition to the lives of platform workers.

In the rest of this chapter, I first describe my methods and sample, and then initiate a conversation between the literatures on the night and temporality of platforms. After this, through my findings, I demonstrate how creatures of the night like dogs, drunken people and harsh customers, in addition to platforms, shape delivery workers' use and experience of time. Building from such particularities of the night, I draw two provocations from dusk for dawn or our understanding of platforms' temporal arbitrage. One, I show how platform work at night allows an examination of slowness that works as a glitch. Even though workers expected slowness, it was still a source of unpredictability beyond the algorithm. Two, platforms' mediation of night-time deliveries has implications for their delivery workers but also for food establishments and their workers.

11.2 Methods

The findings in this chapter are based on a qualitative, ethnographic fieldwork conducted in 2019 as part of the Studying Platform Work in Mumbai and New Delhi project.[10] My sample included food delivery workers delivering for Swiggy, Zomato, UberEats and other representatives of platform companies. These representatives included supervisory and managerial workers like team leaders, fleet managers and auditors who checked the grooming standards of workers. In addition to interviews with delivery and non-delivery platform workers, I spent time in places where food delivery workers congregated, such as the loading docks of malls, in streets lined with restaurants, etc.

I also conducted semi-structured interviews with delivery workers working directly with a variety of food establishments like restaurants, upper-caste South Indian owned *udupis* and fast-food chains. Informants' names that appear in this chapter have been pseudonymised.

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10 The *Studying Platform Work in Mumbai and New Delhi* report can be accessed from here: https://cis-india.org/raw/studying-platform-work-in-mumbai-new-delhi.pdf.

11.3 Techno-morality of the Night

In this section, I use the term "techno-morality" to explore how platforms engage with existing moral norms, livelihood and leisure practices at night. The night has been understood as a time of hedonism and experimentation with subjectivities.[11] For this reason, industrial employers disciplined workers by separating work and leisure through clock time to maintain supply and production.[12] Government regulation of workers' alcohol consumption at night ensured workers' productivity[13] and upheld work in factories even during the day. Alignment of workers' subjectivities, norms and practices at work and outside it was central to production and extraction of value through rationalisation in the Fordist production regime.

The fragmentation of the Fordist production system and decentralisation of production from the 1980s has had implications for work and leisure. Since the workday was more unclearly defined for more people, the night did not simply or straightforwardly threaten workers' productivity. These changes in the mode of production led to a refashioning of cities as centres of consumption, the promotion of night life and a 24/7 culture.[14] The scholarship has examined these changes through "night-time economy" and its relationships to the consumption of alcohol, leisure, youth culture and urban processes.[15] Additionally, the extension of work and life into the night has been understood to have had an impact on bodies' rhythms and the environment.[16] Geographer Robert Shaw's work has shown through the case of street cleaners how the night intensifies "flows and materials through and around bodies." Cleaners' nocturnal labour manages and controls these flows and materials.[17] How does an intensification

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11 Paul Chatterton and Robert Hollands, "Theorising Urban Playscapes: Producing, Regulating and Consuming Youthful Nightlife City Spaces," *Urban Studies* 39, no. 1 (2002): 95–116.

12 Edward Palmer Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," The Past and Present Society, no. 38 (1967): 56–97.

13 Tara Brabazon and Stephen Mallinder, "Into the Night-Time Economy: Work, Leisure, Urbanity and the Creative Industries." (2007).

14 J. Crary, *24/7 Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* (Verso, 2013); Brabazon and Mallinder, "Into the Night-Time Economy".

15 Chatterton and Hollands "Theorising Urban Playscapes," 95–116.

16 Oliver Dunnett, "Contested Landscapes: The Moral Geographies of Light Pollution in Britain," *Cultural Geographies* 22, no. 4 (2014): 619–36.

17 Robert Shaw, "Cleaning Up the Streets: Newcastle-upon-Tyne's Night-Time Neighbourhood Services Team," in *Infrastructural Lives: Urban Infrastructure in Context*, eds. S. Graham and C. McFarlane (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014), 174–96.

of "flows and materials through and around bodies" play out in the context of nocturnal food delivery work? How does this impact platforms' mediation?

In India, the hedonism associated with the night has had implications for which bodies get to work and have fun at night in public, as indicated in the introduction. For women, decisions about working at night were shaped by a mobility-morality discourse. This discourse tied women's mobility to the honour of their households – which kind of households would allow women to go out to work? So, there was an inverse relationship between women's mobility and the family's morality. However, this relationship was reconfigured as middle-class women worked the night shift in call centres. Employer provided transport facilities along with mobile phones enabled surveillance and eased families' and the state's anxieties about women's safety.[18] Yet women being out at night for work did not normalise their presence at night for leisure.[19]

In this context, ride-hailing platforms tamed the night by easing anxieties around the mobility-morality discourse. They did so through their technological affordances of tracking geolocation, allowing for a safe transit home. In this way, the promise of safety was especially tailored for middle-class women customers who shared their ride details with their friends and family or pressed the SOS button in case of an emergency. In enabling middle-class women's mobility, platforms also reproduced suspicion between working-class men and middle-class women and a class order.[20]

Food delivery platforms on the other hand enabled avoiding the question of transit or mobility at night. Their offer was a new kind of "safe" convenience of enjoying the night-time economy without leaving one's home. In Mumbai, food delivery platform companies extended the frontier of the night[21] by making food deliveries available later at night.[22] This was not as popular earlier since delivery workers' shifts were defined within the hours of operation of food establishments, with all workers in our samples stopping deliveries at 11 p.m. What happens to the

18 Reena Patel, *Working the Night Shift: Women in India's Call Center Industry* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2010).

19 Reena Patel, "Today's 'Good Girl:' The Women Behind India's BPO Industry," in *Women, Gender and Everyday Social Transformation in India*, eds. K. B. Nielsen and A. Walrop (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2014).

20 Anushree Gupta, "Ladies 'Log': Women's Safety and Risk Transfer in Ridehailing," Platypus blog by the Committee on the Anthropology of Science, Technology, and Computing (CAS-TAC) (2019). https://blog.castac.org/2019/08/ladies-log-womens-safety-and-risk-transfer-in-ridehailing/; Sneha Annavarapu, "Risky Routes, Safe Suspicions: Gender, Class, and Cabs in Hyderabad, India," *Social Problems* (2021): spab008. https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spab008.

21 Murray Melbin, "Night as Frontier," *American Sociological Review* 43, no. 1, (1978): 3–22.

22 Melbin, "Night as Frontier," 3–22.

mobility-morality narrative which ties women's mobility to the honour of their households when women food delivery workers engage in mobility as work? Elsewhere I have written about food delivery platforms opening up a male-dominated line of work by including women. Yet even during the day, women earned lesser per order and delivered in a smaller radius than their male counterparts.[23]

In this chapter, I illustrate how flows and materials through some consuming bodies or creatures of the night make nocturnal work viable and dangerous. Given this danger, food delivery platforms extended into the night selectively. Their extension was based on platforms' qualitative assessments of potential disruptions by "creatures of the night." Some kinds of customers living in certain neighbourhoods can be served safely by some types of workers while other kinds of customers, neighbourhoods and workers were too dangerous to serve. Such an assessment of risk and safety excluded women from working as delivery workers at night. Other than delivering food, what demands are made from nocturnal labour done by food delivery workers?

11.4 Platforms, the Workday and Night

Literature on the night in the previous section has shown how the night accommodated deviations from standards and turned them into a source of revenue. Here I suggest that digital technologies through tracking and measuring are similar to the night, since they turn deviation into a stream of revenue. At work, a continuous gathering of data and measurement are known to have made surveillance cheaper for distant employers.[24] Outside work, mundane activities like the use of Google, enabled technology companies to gather information about people's desires, preferences and "inner selves."[25] Such tracking at work *and* in leisure has enabled measurement of people's deviation from dominant standards and extraction of value from slotting people. This means that

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23 Simiran Lalvani, "Sexual Contracts of App-Based Food Delivery: An Examination of Social Reproduction Through Feeding and Being Fed in Mumbai, India," in *Platform Capitalism and the Crisis of Social Reproduction*, eds. M. Altenried, J. Dück, and M. Wallis (Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot and Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, 2021).
24 Jim Stanford, "Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on the Resurgence of Gig Work," *Economic and Labour Relations Review* 28, no. 3 (2017): 382–401.
25 Ken Hillis, Kylie Jarrett, and Michael Petit, *Google and the Culture of Search* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

deviation from norms along with alignment to norms are both sources of revenue.[26] So, if digital technologies and platforms, like nocturnal labour are always managing "flows and materials through and around bodies," then what can examinations of the night reveal about the temporal orders of platform work? In this section, I channel sensibility about the night-time into the scholarly discussions on platforms' impact on temporal orders and flexible work.

Scholarship on food delivery platforms' day time arbitrage has shown how it reduced workers' autonomy, created pressures of rushing, and having to cope with delays and disruptions. Aaron Shapiro, based on his research in North America, has argued that two strategies of temporal arbitrage have limited workers' flexibility to determine their own schedules. One, due to opacity of consequences of actions, workers were left guessing if rejecting an order might lead to their ID being blocked or them being deprioritised by the algorithm. Two, dynamic or surge prices ensured a spatio-temporal coverage of workers which in turn limited their self-scheduling decisions.[27] Julie Yujie Chen and Ping Sun in their study of food delivery workers in China argued that a real time tracking affordance contributed to a stratification between consumers and workers' time. Yet, platforms have enabled a negotiated temporality that opens up opportunities for earning and cooperation between workers.[28] Other studies have shown how this cooperation between workers was crucial to dealing with platforms' temporal arbitrage.[29]

Platform workers synchronised their own bodies and pace with that of others in the street and the algorithm. Synchronsing with the algorithm was a guessing game, due to information asymmetry. This meant that workers engaged with the platform company through a customer service type mechanism.[30] Sarah Zia has

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26 Marion Fourcade, "The Fly and the Cookie: Alignment and Unhingement in 21st-Century Capitalism," *Socio-Economic Review* 15, no. 3 (2017): 661–78.

27 Aaron Shapiro, "Between Autonomy and Control: Strategies of Arbitrage in the 'On-Demand' Economy," *New Media & Society*, 20, no. 8 (2018): 2954–71. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817738236v.

28 Julie Yujie Chen and Ping Sun, "Temporal Arbitrage, Fragmented Rush, and Opportunistic Behaviors: The Labor Politics of Time in the Platform Economy," *New Media & Society*, 22, no. 9 (2020), 1561–79. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820913567.

29 Simiran Lalvani, "Workers' Fictive Kinship Relations in Mumbai App-Based Food Delivery," Platypus blog by the Committee on the Anthropology of Science, Technology, and Computing (CASTAC) (2019). http://blog.castac.org/2019/07/workers-fictive-kinship-relations-in-mumbai-app-based-food-delivery/; Rida Qadri, "What's in a Network? Infrastructures of Mutual Aid for Digital Platform Workers during COVID-19," Proceedings of the ACM Human-Computer Interaction, 5, CSCW2, Article 419 (October 2021), 20 pages. https://doi.org/10.1145/3479563.

30 Alex Rosenblat and Luke Stark, "Algorithmic Labor and Information Asymmetries: A Case Study of Uber Drivers," *International Journal of Communication* 10 (2016): 3758–84.

suggested that ride hailing drivers developed an "algorithmic gut" to cope with this uncertainty.[31] This had bodily implications – ride hailing workers in Canada recalibrated their time to maintain the time of others like frequent business travellers.[32] Food delivery workers in Edinburgh had to be flexible, fit and legible to the algorithm to be able to get work. Karen Gregory and Jathan Sadowski have shown us how platforms govern workers' bodies through these virtues of flexibility, vitality and legibility and are biopolitical.[33] Marked by uncertainty, food delivery platforms' temporal arbitrage created moral dilemmas. Shapiro captured this through how workers make qualitative calculations through "qualculations" that used an affective style of reasoning.[34] Chen and Sun found moral dilemmas in the form of pressure on delivery workers to ride past a red traffic signal.[35] Platforms have also had implications on workers' use and experience of time which in turn influenced how workers navigated through the city. Scholarship on platform urbanism, has examined the relationship between platforms and cities.[36] This relationship between platforms and cities has been studied not only through economic-political questions of value production, but also through unexpected outcomes in the everyday. Agnieszka Leszczynski's glitchy vignettes of platform-urban configurations from Canada build on Sarah Barns' call to examine the mundane. Leszczynski has shown how glitches or indeterminacy and moments of rupture in platforms' frictionless imaginations point to less clearly determined possibilities.[37]

I go further in this direction alluded by existing scholarship about moral dilemmas created by platforms' temporal arbitrage and glitches. Through my findings, I show how slowness at night as a glitch, crinkled platforms' day time

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31 Sarah Zia, "Not Knowing as Pedagogy: Ride-Hailing Drivers in Delhi," Platypus blog by the Committee on the Anthropology of Science, Technology, and Computing (CASTAC) (2019). https://blog.castac.org/2019/07/not-knowing-as-pedagogy-ride-hailing-drivers-in-delhi/.
32 Sarah Sharma, *In the Meantime: Temporality and Cultural Politics* (Duke University Press, 2014).
33 Karen Gregory and Jathan Sadowski. "Biopolitical Platforms: The Perverse Virtues of Digital Labour," *Journal of Cultural Economy* 14 no. 6 (2021): 662–74. doi:10.1080/17530350.2021.1901766.
34 Shapiro "Between Autonomy and Control," 2954–71.
35 Chen and Sun "Temporal Arbitrage," 1561–79.
36 Jathan Sadowski, "Cyberspace and Cityscapes: On the Emergence of Platform Urbanism," *Urban Geography (*2020). doi:10.1080/02723638.2020.1721055; Aaron Shapiro, "Platform Urbanism in a Pandemic: Dark Stores, Ghost Kitchens, and the Logistical-Urban Frontier," *Journal of Consumer Culture* (2022). doi:10.1177/14695405211069983.
37 Agnieszka Leszczynski, "Glitchy Vignettes of Platform Urbanism," *Society and Space* 3, no. 2 (2019): 189–208. doi:10.1177/0263775819878721.

operations. Even though it was not a surprise, the night created a unique un-predictability due to a slower tempo of life paralleled by slower support from platforms. By looking at the workday from the night, I will show how nocturnal labour of food delivery workers had to cope with peculiar risks at a time when slowness was another source of unpredictability beyond the algorithm. At this time, platforms' day time support structures were expected to be slow and patchy. While slowness created momentary respite compared to the day, it also accentuated day time risks as platform support structures were slower too.

Platforms are not the first employers to extend the work day into the night. Sociologist Winifred Poster has shown how since liberalisation in the early 1990s, cities like New Delhi have emerged as "temporally stratified metropol-ises." Where in day time belongs to the locals and the labour of those working in call centres, airports and hotels at night service the lives of those in the Global North. Workers in these industries engage in a "reversal of time,"[38] losing time with family members due to their nocturnal labour that serves clients in the Global North.[39] Through my findings, I will suggest that food delivery and other platform workers, join the ranks of other workers engaging in a "reversal of time" in "temporally stratified metropolises." In addition to a reversal of time, I will show how practices and meanings associated with the night, Including the slow pace of life at night, paralleled by slowness in platform support, *accentu-ated* delays, disruptions and risks for workers. Even those outside the platform-worker relationship, like workers at food establishments synchronised their pace with that of delivery workers, customers and the city *through* platforms.

11.5 Findings

11.5.1 Platforms and Techno-morality of the Night

In this section, I show the peculiar risks of nocturnal labour posed by creatures of the night or entities who are understood to occupy the night like dogs and drunk people. Platforms assessed the risk posed by creatures of the night by anticipating the *types of consumers* who ordered at this time from *certain kinds of neighbourhoods*, as well as the *types of workers* who were understood to be

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38 Winifred Rebecca Poster, "Saying 'Good Morning' in the Night: The Reversal of Work Time in Global ICT Service Work," in *Research in the Sociology of Work* (Bingley: Emerald (MCB UP), 2007), Vol. 17, 55–112.

39 Divya C. McMillin, "Outsourcing Identities," *Economic and Political Weekly* 41, no. 3 (2006).

able to navigate these risks. Platforms acknowledged the dangers and inconvenience of delivering food at night for workers and offered them additional incentives (Rs 30–40) per order for orders delivered after 11 p.m.–12 a.m.

11.5.1.1 Creatures of the Night: Dogs, Drunks and Harsh Customers

Riding at night presented at least three types of risks from creatures of the night or those who were more likely to be found at night than during the day. One risk was that of being bitten by dogs which generally chase two-wheelers even during the day. At night, this fear was heightened because it was unlikely for workers to find any allies in passers-by who might help.

Secondly, workers were more likely to encounter drunk consumers at night which created unique risks. Drunk consumers were dangerous because they could make outlandish demands and be unreasonable enough to force workers. One worker explained how a "writer type" man ordered food every night at around 3 a.m. from an upmarket housing complex. This man would be drunk every night and often would not be in a state to pay for his order. The workers who served that area were informed by the security guard at this writers' residential building to leave their phone numbers, so that the next morning this writer's mother or wife would call the delivery worker and arrange for him to be paid. Other than non-payment, some workers also spoke of drunk customers who made unwelcome sexual advances at them.[40]

Thirdly, the night was a time when the threat of being spotted by gangs or being mugged was amplified. Especially if workers were on cycles and could not speed away like their counterparts on motorbikes. A delivery worker who started work as a cyclist in the suburb of Andheri East explained: "I don't generally ride around loaded with cash because an incident has happened to me before this. Some people snatched money from me so I requested to be transferred out of Andheri East."[41]

Ayush, a fleet manager (platform representative who manages workers' complaints), explained to me that customers got "harsher" at night and have sometimes stolen cash from workers. He recounted an incident where a drunk customer ordered a chicken dish and then got angry at the delivery worker for bringing chicken to a vegetarian. Ayush cancelled the order when he received

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40 Interview with Ayaz, A Food Delivery Worker Who has been Involved in Unionising Efforts in Mumbai, May 2022.
41 Interview with Dipankar, A Cycle-Based Food Delivery Worker in Mumbai, April 2019.

the workers' urgent phone call. After this, the customer grabbed a cricket bat in one hand and with his other hand, he held the delivery worker by his collar. He then took the parcel and started eating in front of the worker. Ayush told the worker to leave and they marked the customer as "fake," which he explained resulted in such customers getting blocked.[42]

So how did platforms manage this risk? Some platforms added an emergency feature in the interface of the worker-facing food delivery app. This emergency feature allowed workers to call the police or the ambulance from the app directly. However, if workers were victims of any crime and needed to file a police complaint, they were sent to the police with other delivery workers who may have *pehchaan* (connections) in the police station. No representative of the company got involved. In the subsequent sections, I show how, beyond their app, platforms controlled who worked at night and where the orders came from.

11.5.1.2 Who Can Deliver Food at Night?

Platforms also curtailed who worked at night in two ways. A fleet manager at Swiggy told me that they made attempts to curtail the number of workers delivering at night through a list of senior riders or those who had worked for over one and a half years. Only these seniors were eligible to get incentives for working at night since they were understood to be able to handle the pressures of night work. However, the difficulty of working at night was recognised by workers too, not just platforms. Some workers mentioned that not everybody could do a night shift. Having said that, they had observed an increase in the number of people working at night.

The second way platforms managed risk at night was by excluding women delivery workers after 6 p.m. This excluded women from working at night, but it also assumed that men could secure their own safety despite increased risks. Despite opening up an opportunity for women in a male-dominated line of work and celebrating their presence, platform companies did not take the responsibility to secure women workers' safety at night. A fleet manager said it as:

"Some problems begin to appear at night. The orders that come in are mostly from fake customers, that's why we don't allow them [women] . . . if something happens to a woman, we will be held responsible, so we tell them to shut their apps by 18:00."[43]

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42 Interview with Ayush, A Fleet Manager at a Swiggy Hub in Mumbai, March 2019.
43 Interview with Ayush, A Fleet Manager.

This exclusion was seen in line with the practices of night shifts in other industries. Ketan, a male delivery worker, commented that it would be unusual for women to work at night in food delivery because they would have to drop themselves home: "You can go to any company, even big finance companies do not have women [working at night]. They start working from 6–7 a.m. And all these companies provide a bus and all but in this you've to manage transport yourself."[44]

11.5.1.3 Where Does the Night-Time Economy Get Delivered?

Food delivery workers explained how the decision to work at night was also influenced by considerations of the "area" in which they work. The demand for night-time orders was generally from areas with particular demographics like bachelors, struggling actors, artists etc. and required the infrastructure of food establishments.

Not all night-time demand was served. Platform companies demarcated certain areas as "black zone areas" from where no orders were accepted after 7 p.m. For customers ordering from these areas, the app shut down at dusk and they would be unable to see any available food establishments. If workers got orders from a black zone area after 7 p.m. erroneously, they were within their rights to cancel such an order. What were these black zone areas and how did platform companies identify these? Black zone areas in Mumbai included forested zones in the city (Aarey Colony) or areas considered notorious due to criminal activities. Some workers explained that they had heard that the platforms verified these areas in consultation with the city's police.

11.5.2 Slow and Out of Sync: Platforms' Temporal Arbitrage at Night

In the previous section, I described how platforms secure delivery workers' safety at night through the interface of the app and monitoring who works, but what happens to day-time support structures? In this section, I will show the peculiarities of the night, especially through a slower tempo compared to the day. Slowness of the night shaped platforms' temporal arbitrage, workers' experiences and had implications even outside the platform-worker relationship.

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44 Interview with Ketan, A Food Delivery Worker in Mumbai, April 2019.

The slowness of the city at night was paralleled by slower responses from platform representatives, team leaders and helplines depending on the platform. This meant that overall the night was as a time of expected exceptions to day-time support provided by platforms to their delivery workers. Swiggy had a physically present support system of hubs that workers visited to return cancelled orders or redress grievances. It seemed that the hub in my sample did not have permission to work through a night shift, and the police expected them to shut by 10 p.m. A security guard outside this hub told me that they pulled down the shutters after 10 p.m. because the police expected the hub to be shut through the night. Yet they worked till 4 a.m. after having opened at 8 a.m. The hub had this experience because it was originally in a residential building on the main road. The limited space outside the office meant that delivery workers' bikes caused traffic jams within the compound and routine conflict with the residents. This had also meant that the police had spotted it functioning through the night.

UberEats and Zomato did not have an office that workers could visit, so workers were trained to call helplines. Especially when they got into deadlocks with customers who did not budge. These situations generally required a swift intervention on part of a company representative who was imagined to be able to convince the customer with more tact than the worker. Swiftness was rare at night because of the long wait till workers were connected to call support workers. Virat, a delivery worker from Malad, northern Mumbai, narrated an incident when he delivered food at 2 a.m., and neither the customer nor he had spare change. Virat called call support and waited for several minutes since there seemed to be fewer people around to answer calls at that time. Eventually, he got through and they cancelled the order.[45] Similarly, if customers did not agree with workers' requests to go outside their building and collect their order from the street, workers called support from the platform company who would then convince the customer to please comply. This situation largely arose at night when workers sensed a threat to their safety upon arrival at the customers' location.[46]

Delivery workers anticipated such a slow tempo which would be burdensome, isolating and accentuated risks. Slowness on part of platforms' support at night accentuated workers' reliance on their relationships with other workers for timely support at night. If they received an order from an area they read as

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45 Interview with Virat, A Student of Commerce and Food Delivery Worker in Mumbai, March 2019.

46 Interview with Babban, A Food Delivery Worker and Now Ride-Sharing Worker in Mumbai, April 2019.

being risky, workers leaned on support of other workers and friends who rode pillion at night for an immediate sense of security. To facilitate a network of timely assistance, some workers had created WhatsApp groups for those delivering at night. These groups connected workers delivering in the same area even if they did not know each other: "if he has any issue and mentions it on WhatsApp then anyone who is nearby can reach there."[47] Reliance on kinship networks and commonsensical knowledge in the absence of reliable support from companies veered dangerously in the direction of reinforcing demonisation of already marginalised and vilified communities. Ketan and Yatin, delivery workers from Grant Road, recalled receiving a call asking for help from another delivery worker at night because he was being threatened by fraud customers from Mazgaon, a Muslim-dominated area in South Mumbai:

> We were like, at around 00:15 at night and got an order to be delivered to Mazgaon. One guy went to deliver and the Muslim guy who had ordered was fraud, all these addicts, they had ordered. When the worker reached, they told him, "See, the order is worth Rs 800, right? Take Rs 400 and cancel it." So he said, "No, I won't cancel it because it is worth Rs 800 so I'll have to take it to the hub." So they started threatening him and he called us and we reached to understand what is this bro's problem. We went there, called the manager and told him this is what has happened and got the order cancelled.[48]

Yet slowness was a refreshing change from the heat, traffic and rush associated with the day, and some night-time exceptions created by platforms were experienced as relaxing by delivery workers. For instance, after 11 p.m., workers did not necessarily have to return cancelled orders to charity efforts or the platform company's office. While platforms encouraged workers to return the food by the next morning, several workers reported that companies did not actually care about it being returned.

As food delivery workers joined other workers who engaged in a reversal of time in "temporally stratified metropolises," their interactions with their families and dinner time suffered too. Babban, a 35-year-old worker with two children, mentioned that he had not attended an open-house session at his children's school because he had to achieve a target number of orders set by the platform. He worked through the day and would often have to resume work after midnight to meet these targets. Because of this, his interaction with extended family was chiefly over the phone and his dinner time was often after 3 a.m.[49]

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47 Discussion with Food Delivery Workers Ayaz and Ayub in Mumbai, February 2019.
48 Discussion with Food Delivery Workers Ketan and Yatin in Mumbai, April 2019.
49 Interview with Babban, A Food Delivery Worker.

The extension of food delivery late into the night also pushed restaurant and mall workers out of sync in some ways. Since these workers had to recalibrate their schedules and practices to cater to platform-introduced demands of delivering the night home. Most food establishments had extended their hours of operation to cater to late-night deliveries, largely post 11 p.m., via food delivery platforms. This often meant that several food establishments would be out of pace with the flow of orders and their resources of materials and labour. Saqib, a former delivery worker for UberEats, explained to me why he disliked getting orders from a popular waffle shop at night. His explanation revealed the stress on workers who made waffles and their inability to push back against a pace of orders that they could not keep up with: "They [the waffle shop] end up taking two hours at night . . . They have two machines and they cannot handle the orders. If they shut the app, they have to pay a penalty to the company . . . ."[50]

The mall in my sample showed how the late-night delivery norm popularised by platforms extended fast-food workers' workdays, but the systems supporting such night work did not keep pace. The mall's internet used to shut at 11 p.m. This meant that point of sales systems would not be able to allot orders to in-house delivery workers. Workers at this fast-food chain then created a WhatsApp group where representatives from the call centre would post screenshots of the orders they had to deliver.

11.6 Conclusion: Provocations from Dusk to Dawn

In this chapter, I first showed the impact of platforms on the night and contributed to the night-time economy literature While ride-hailing platforms made the night "safer" through geolocation technologies of tracking, food delivery platforms enabled enjoying the night-time economy from home. In extending the night from the public to the private, platforms made assessments about "creatures of the night," or the kinds of consumers who might order late at night, from where, and who could do nocturnal labour of delivery. In this way, platforms' temporal arbitrage drew on meanings and practices of time that had gender, class, caste and other such dimensions. Therefore, I have argued that platforms' temporal arbitrage is techno-moral since it included assessments of the meanings and practices of getting food delivered at night.

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50 Interview with Saqib, A Food Delivery Worker in Mumbai, May 2019.

Second, I contributed to the discussion on platforms' temporal arbitrage and work day through two provocations from the night-time. We know from existing platform scholarship that the work day is marked by rushing, delays, disruptions and uncertainty due to algorithms. So I suggest through my first provocation that the slowness of the night is a source of unpredictability that is beyond the algorithm. Slowness as a glitch or a crinkle in day-time operations shows how the night *accentuated* day-time delays, disruptions and risks. Slowness was sometimes relaxing, other times isolating and risky since workers had to deal with dogs, drunks and harsh customers with only other workers and friends for support. Secondly, the night showed how platform mediation implied changes in the schedules and life of others outside the platform-worker relationship. Since it was not only delivery workers who were syncing different speeds, but also those working in restaurants, malls and consumers.

Epilogue: Sleeping at Night?

Hannah Ahlheim

12 Expanding the Limits. Towards a History of Working and Waking in Modern Societies

Editorial note: This text is only a slightly revised version of a talk given at the conference on the history night and shift work in Prague in 2019. During our discussions and after reading the compiled articles, we found that there are many links to almost all contributions in this volume. While the examples in this text come mainly from the history of Germany and the US in the twentieth century, others describe similar ideas, structures and developments in other societies and different systems.

We just want to point out some of these links and thoughts: for example, in the 1920s and 1930s, Soviet experts promoted the notion of a new and ceaselessly productive "man machine," too. The emergence of an entertainment industry and the spreading of new forms of computerised production are a global phenomenon as well as the increase of communication and travelling around the globe. The insight that shift and night work puts worker and employees in a kind of "apartheid" is true for different places and situations (cf. Fina, Kumar, Peters, Kenny, Karaseva and Momzikova, Lalvani in this volume). The idea of the "inner clock" made its way throughout the world. We hope that these examples that are a result of our collected research (and are mentioned in the brackets at the respective passages) prove the importance of studying the transnational history of night and shift work and can serve as a starting point for further investigation.

Every year, at the end of summer, a little bird starts its long journey along the North American west coast southwards from Alaska to Mexico: the white-crowned sparrow flies thousands of miles to spend the winter in a warmer region. The little bird looks quite ordinary. It is, however, an exceptional creature, a miracle of nature. During its seven-day-long trip, it seems to able to fly night and day for more than 200 hours without falling asleep.

This is why the white-crowned sparrow is a legend amongst sleep-researchers and "stay-awake-men." Its sleeplessness also makes the sparrow an intriguing "figure" when it comes to the history of night work. The bird embodies a dream of employers and employees, of workers, soldiers and party people: the dream of staying awake all night, even for several days. This is why the US Department of Defense,

for example, has spent large sums of money to study this little bird.[1] How can a living being stay awake, stay alert and stay effective for several days, without taking a break?

The urge to stay awake and to work all night has grown steadily over the last 200 years. The invention of constantly working and never-tiring machines, the spreading of electric light and faster and faster means of communication and of transportation has slowly dissolved the boundaries between night and day, between sleep and work. The fantasy of staying awake all night and the idea of optimising not only a day's but also a night's work has grown stronger from decade to decade (Cf. Paris, Fina, Kumar, Rákosník, Müller in this volume). Together with the possibilities and the necessity of staying awake and working at night, the conception of how human beings function – can function, should function or have to function – has been changing, too.

Thus, in this epilogue, I want to reflect on the intertwining of changing ideas and changing practices of staying awake and working at night and all night. I will think about the emancipatory dream of testing and expanding the limits on the one hand and about the impact of living and working at the limit on those who have to stay awake on the other hand. In order to illustrate this, I will take a reader on a – very fast – ride through the twentieth century and to five distinct places and situations in Germany and the United States of America.[2]

First, we'll make a short stop in the 1920s and 1930s. In those years, some scientific studies and experiments supported the fascinating idea of emancipating he human being from the rhythm of night and day. In the second leg of our ride, I will touch upon the years of World War II. It was in those years that the problem of night work became a major topic for scientists, for politics and for the workers themselves – not for the first time, of course, but to a hitherto unknown extent. The third leg will explore the fascination of "staying awake" in the 1950s and 1960s and a new culture of celebrating the night as a time for consumption, for partying and, thus, for working, too. In the fourth leg, we will meet German steelworkers in their struggle to handle their night work, and last but not the least, I want to discuss how new working arrangements have affected our idea of how the body, the human being itself, functions.

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1 Cf. Jonathan Crary, *24/7 Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* (London, 2013).
2 About the history of sleep, cf. Hannah Ahlheim, *Der Traum vom Schlaf im 20. Jahrhundert. Wissen, Optimierungsphantasien und Widerständigkeit* (Göttingen, 2018).

12.1 The Fantasy of Overcoming a Night's Sleep

In the 1920s, the idea of "scientific management" prevailed, forms of serial production became established and the tempo of the assembly line seemed to change the rhythms of work decisively. To be able to "manage" the new worlds of labour, experts began to think about "industrial fatigue" and the tiring effects of working together with – or against – the new machines every day. At the same time, the tungsten or "wolfram" light bulb made it possible to illuminate not only whole factory halls but also city centres, theatres, clubs and bars, and private homes. The illuminated "roaring twenties" saw new extremes of night life, of turning the night into day, and contested the boundaries between night and day – day by day and night by night.

Against this backdrop, the idea of a human being who was independent from the rhythms of night and day became more and more attractive – and more convincing, one could argue. Experts from several fields, such as biologists and psychologists as well as physiologists and occupational medicine researchers, thought now about the possibility of releasing humankind from the need to adapt to predefined rhythms and to sleep at night and to work during the day. According to a new and spreading concept of human sleep, the individual was free to choose his own bedtime all by himself, to live according to a freely arranged rhythm – and to work at night and sleep at daytime without any difficulties. A social study from Silesia in the German Reich claimed in 1930: "If occupation or duty requires it, a man can sleep during the day and be active at night, usually without any effects to his health."[3]

Yet, according to at least some experts in the 1920s and 1930s, humankind was not only able to detach from the rhythms of nature and stay awake at night – if needed and if wanted. The individual could also become more productive simply by sleeping less and, thus, working more hours in a day. In 1925, for example, eight students from George Washington University remained awake for 60 hours, supervised by their professor, Fred Moss. The result fit perfectly into the idea of using the 24 hours of the day more efficiently and according to one's own will. Moss stated: "Some persons just can sleep faster than others."[4] With a bit of training, he concluded, everybody could reduce the usual eight-hour sleep by 25% and be healthy and happy with only six hours of sleep per day, no matter if they slept at night or in the daytime. In Germany,

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3 Max Grünewald, „Hygiene des Schlafes," *Schlesisches Heim. Monatsschrift der Wohnungsfürsorgegesellschaft für Oberschlesien* 11 (1930): 283–85.
4 Newton Burke, "Is Sleep Just a Useless Habit? Scientists Seek to Reclaim the Hours Now Lost in Slumber," *Popular Science Monthly* (November 1925): 31.

too, this idea of "sleeping faster" was spreading. According to some German experts, one just had to omit one's own "luxury sleep" and focus on the "essential sleep," which was only about four hours long.[5]

Altogether, we can see that the fantasy of staying awake gained momentum in the 1920s and 1930s. This fantasy went hand in hand with the fact that more and more people actually could or had to work at night.

12.2 Staying Awake by Necessity: World War II

The liberating fantasy of being able to trick the laws of nature, to overcome the rhythm of night and day and the necessity of sleeping in general met its match, however, only one decade later, in the 1940s. Our second case study leads us to London in the summer of 1940, in the first year of World War II. In June 1940, just after the dreadful Battle of Dunkirk in Northern France and the difficult evacuation of British troops across the English Channel, a young soldier had arrived in a military hospital near London. His whole body was shaking, he could barely talk and he did not know who he was or where he had been. This young man was among the first who experienced the so-called "Blitz" ("thunderbolt"), an intensive bombardment by German warplanes that happened on many frontlines during the following years of the war. Resulting from this traumatic event, the young soldier suffered from severe "combat fatigue": he was trembling, he could not speak, he could not eat and he could not sleep.

The phenomenon of "combat fatigue," described by the British psychiatrist who was treating the young soldier saved from Dunkirk in 1940, became a severe challenge for the US military during the first major combat operations in World War II in 1942/43. After heavy fighting in Tunisia, but also in southern Italy, Sicily and Sardinia, the US army recorded hundreds of thousands of casualties. Among the returnees and patients was an unexpectedly high proportion of mentally ill individuals: about 30% of the wounded soldiers had to leave the front owing to psychological problems and psychosomatic symptoms. Like the young soldier in London, they showed signs of physical exhaustion, their entire physical appearance was marked by tension and anxiety, and they were speechless and sleepless.

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5 Emil Lenk, „Bedürfnisschlaf und Luxusschlaf," *Das Ziel. Wirtschaft und Freiheit* IV (1928): 791–93.

Given the large number of victims and their histories collected by the military doctors, the experts came to the conclusion that "combat fatigue" was developing "in fundamentally stable men and did not imply a lack of courage or desire."[6] This, however, was a new concept at that point of time: during World War I, the shell-shocked soldiers who showed the same symptoms were considered cowards and "effeminate," neurotic, ill and abnormal individuals. Differing from that view, British and American psychiatrists discussed "combat fatigue" now as a mere result of sustained battle action, of hunger and of the loss of sleep. They perceived it as a condition that could happen to every healthy and strong man under certain circumstances.

Let's go back to London in 1940 once more: the psychiatrist who was supposed to treat the young British soldier suffering from "combat fatigue" was helpless at first; finally, he decided to inject a dose of *sodium amytal*, a fast-acting barbiturate.[7] The soldier fell asleep immediately and remained so for several hours. When he awoke, he had stopped quivering, found his tongue again and acted almost "normal." What the British psychiatrist, William Sargant, tried as a "stopgap" in 1940 became a standard procedure of military psychiatry in the US Army from early 1943 on. Physicians and psychiatrists used the "deep sleep" cure as a therapeutic method. Sleep, explained a 1943 training film of the Navy to the field doctors, was simply the best antidote against "combat fatigue."[8]

So, what has this case study to do with the history of night work? I want to argue that we have to discuss the years of World War II as a decisive caesura in the history of night work and "staying awake." In the early 1940s, the US-American military acknowledged the importance of sleep for the ability to fight and to accomplish certain tasks. Resulting from the experiences of World War II, US-American and British experts as well as tired workers and soldiers perceived sleep now as a very basic need not only of the body but also of the soul of every human being, no matter their class or "mental" disposition. The decisive change in the perception of tired soldiers and their need for sleep becomes even more striking against the backdrop that the German military, for example, did not acknowledge the relevance of sleep for the individual performance at all. On the contrary, the German "Wehrmacht" did its best to prevent their

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6 Donald Hastings, Bernard Gleuck and David Wright, "Sodium Amytal Narcosis in Treatment of Operational Fatigue in Combat Aircrews," *War Medicine* 5 (1944): 368–72.

7 William Sargant, "Physical Treatment of Acute War Neuroses," *British Medical Journal* 2 (1942): 574–76.

8 Combat Exhaustion, *War Department Official Training Film, Army Service Forces, Misc. 1197* (Washington, D.C., 1943).

soldiers from sleeping with the help of a "chemical whip" in form of pills and drugs to keep soldiers, above all pilots, awake. The use of stimulants was also essential in the US military, of course. However, US experts implemented the new idea of "sleep"-awareness as another way of dealing with "fatigue" and mental breakdowns.

And what was true for soldiers was also true for workers. This meant that those who had to work all night and who suffered from sleep loss had to be surveyed and protected to keep them healthy and effective.

We can find this line of thought in the campaign to secure the sleep of "production soldiers" during World War II in the US. Especially for the US, World War II was a material battle, and the "production soldier" was an important part of the American war strategy. As early as the summer of 1942, just a few months after the United States had entered the war, around four million families were affected by night work. 40% of those employed in the defence industry lived "upside down," working all night and sleeping during the day. Every one of these "production soldiers" needed his sleep: a "sleepy war worker is inefficient and likely to harm himself and his machine, but is a big help to the enemy,"[9] as an expert in an informational booklet on industrial hygiene published by the US Department of Labor put it in 1942. While the German war industry exploited millions of sleepless slave workers without any rights, institutions such as the US Public Health Service organised poster campaigns to secure and promote the sleep of workers and soldiers.

As we can see, during the years of World War II, the physical and psychic state of night workers became subject to public campaigns, scientific research and work regulations in the US-American military and industry. There had been several attempts alternately to ban or optimise night work before, of course. Now, however, working all night had become a mass phenomenon at least for some years, and a new group of experts became established – night and shift work research was a growing field of study from then on.

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9 Arranging Shifts for Maximum Production, United States Department of Labor. Division of Labor Standards, 1942 (Regenstein Library Chicago, Nathaniel Kleitman Papers, box 25, folder 2).

12.3 New Cultures of Staying Awake: The Emergence of Entertainment Industry

Now we move to a different place and a different time – Times Square in New York City, in 1959.[10]

On January 20, 1959, at 11:14 a.m., one of the world's most famous stay-awake-experiments began in the middle of New York. Peter Tripp, at the time a famous radio DJ, had decided to stay awake for 200 hours (like the white-crowned sparrow). He spent his eight sleepless days in a glass booth in Times Square, regularly anchoring his daily show, "Your Hits of the Week." Many journalists, his mostly teenage fans, and every passer-by could watch him there, staying awake and fighting sleep. After the first 105 hours of this stunt, Tripp was "ready for bed."[11] Thereafter, he gradually lost his grip on reality, began hallucinating and fighting invisible enemies. By the end of his "wake-a-thon," the DJ was physically and psychically down and out: "He was a sick man,"[12] commented a psychiatrist who had been supervising Tripp during the event. But, in spite of all the physical and psychic obstacles, Peter Tripp reached his goal, finally going to bed on the morning of January 28, and after a few hours of sleep he awoke a healthy man.

The "Stay-awake-stunt" was a huge public event. Newspapers, radio stations and nationwide broadcasting programmes kept their audiences informed about Tripp's "wake-a-thon." Even today, almost every popular book and website about sleep-"stunts" mentions Peter Tripp, dubbing him the "Stay-Awake-Man," an inspiring example for every voluntary "insomniac." We can read the story about the "stay-awake-hero" as a fascinating and funny anecdote about a "freak" and his adventurous and crazy project. I argue, however, that the history of wake-a-thons is much more than that. It can also reveal how the perception and the appreciation of being "awake" changed over time.

Peter Tripp was only one of several DJs who performed a "stay awake stunt" in these years. Already in 1957, two DJs from Oklahoma had staged a wake-a-thon "on air." They did not sleep for about 168 hours. While Peter Tripp stayed awake in New York, DJ Dave Hunter from Jacksonville Beach did not

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10 Cf. Hannah Ahlheim, "Governing the World of Wakefulness. The exploration of alertness, performance and brain activity with the help of 'stay-awake-men' (1884–1964)," *Anthropology of Consciousness* 24, no. 2 (2013): 117–36.

11 Harold Williams, "Saga of Peter Tripp," handwritten manuscript, Regenstein Library Chicago, Special Collections, APSS collection, Box 1, Folder 4.

12 Disk Jockey, "Awake 200 hours. Takes to His Bed After Tests," *New York Times*, January 19, 1959, 29.

sleep for nine days, nine hours, nine minutes and nine seconds, and a few months later, DJ Tom Rounds from Honolulu topped Tripp's world record by spending 260 sleepless hours. In Detroit, a jobless ex-DJ reached his goal of 220 hours without sleep in the window display of a small record shop. It seemed somehow logical that of all people it would be DJs who performed a famous public wake-a-thon. The DJ was seen as symbolising a new youth and music culture and night life that was emerging around 1960. Magazine articles stated, for example, that Peter Tripp was the "kind of guy" who "liked Pepsi and cigarettes for breakfast,"[13] his usual sleeping hours were from 3 a.m. to 11 a.m. and he kept awake in Times Square by taking drugs such as Ritalin. In a way, the "Curly Headed Kid in the Third Row"[14] was challenging not only his own limits but also the rules of narrow-minded and conservative American society of the 1950s. Staying awake at night – and doing certain kinds of work at night – could seem like an emancipatory move on the way to a more liberal, pluralistic society.

Teenagers and party people were not the only ones who watched Peter Tripp staying awake, though. Several psychiatrists and physicians from the Walter Reed Army Institute for Research (WRAIR) in Washington, D.C., surveyed Tripp's wake-a-thon. They took the chance to collect data on a man who was deprived of sleep for more than one week. This had not been possible in any of their previous experiments, and they only knew about such situations as a form of torture allegedly used on US soldiers and pilots in Chinese jails during the Korean War and on the political prisoners during the Stalinist trials in the Eastern bloc.[15] Against this backdrop, the US Air Force was willing to place their glass recruiting box in Times Square at the disposal of Tripp's team, and the army experts gladly took the unique chance to scientifically observe a man's wake-a-thon over 200 hours for the first time in history.

Once more, the experiment proved that the loss of sleep reduced and eliminated the capacity to work, to act and to think like a healthy human being. In the end, Tripp satisfied all expectations by exhibiting "practically every symptom in the book":[16] he lost his mind for several minutes, showed signs of a

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13 Thomas Bartlett, "2010 The Stay-Awake Men, Opiniator. Exclusive Online Commentary from the New York Times," April 22, 2010, http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/04/22/the-stay-awake-men/.

14 Nate Haseltine, "Please Speak Softly-You May Be Sleeping. The Laboratory Casebook Headache Help," *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, June 29, 1959, E2.

15 See for example Artur London, *The Confession* (USA: Ballantine Books, 1971).

16 John Pfeiffer, "To Sleep – Ay, There's the Riddle. Science is beginning to find clues to a state in which we spend about a third of our lives," *New York Times*, May 3, 1959, SM 44.

schizophrenic episode and a nurse had to support him if he tried to stand up. However, Peter Tripp's "stunt" did prove something else, too: during the course of the entire wake-a-thon, the DJ had been able to conduct his radio show for at least two hours. Apparently, with the help of concentration and some medication (Ritalin, in this case), work could be done properly at least for some time even in a state of severe sleep deprivation. Peter Tripp stayed awake, but he still did his job. Furthermore, after a few hours of sleep, Tripp awoke a healthy man. Staying awake for a longer time did not kill people, and one could overcome the effects of sleep loss in a "normal" recovery sleep.

All in all, Tripp's stunt can be understood as a personal and, at the same time, public attempt to test and expand the boundaries of wakefulness – and to emancipate oneself not only from the laws of nature but also from the rules of the surrounding society. This attempt happened at a time when "staying awake" at night was becoming more and more present in industrialised societies. Today, "pulling an all-nighter" forms one of the most profile issues of the entertainment industry and is an inherent part of the much celebrated uncaging teenage experience (involving for example the gig economy, as depicted by Lalvani in this volume).

12.4 From Soldiers to Steelworkers: "Humanisation of Work Life" in the 1980s

After this short "trip" to New York in the 1950s, we move now to Germany in the 1980s. In those years, "working all night" became an important topic in Germany for workers, the unions and politics. We start in Dortmund, a German city in the middle of the industrial region of the "Ruhrgebiet," known for its mining and steel industry, where a small exhibition about "night and shift work" opened in October 1986. The show was part of an official research programme initiated by the German government in 1974 that was supposed to foster the "humanising of work life" ("Humanisierung des Arbeitslebens"). In the context of this programme, occupational health professionals, psychologists and sociologists conducted numerous studies on the social and health consequences of work: they hoped to find ways to improve working conditions in various situations.

The "humanisation" of night and shift work was a declared "key part"[17] of the programme. Since the 1950s, the number of night and shift workers had grown rapidly in the Federal Republic of Germany, mostly as a result of the auto-mation of production processes. The patchy data- suggest that by the mid-1970s, almost four million workers regularly worked according to special working time arrangements, while more than a million worked at night. Most night workers were to be found in the metal and mining industry, in the transportation and health sector, in post offices, fire departments and police stations. Shift workers were no longer a marginal part of German society, but a growing group of em-ployees coming from different branches and work places.

The makers of the exhibition in Dortmund, however, concentrated on a tra-ditional sector for night work: the mining and metal industry. This might reflect the fact that in Germany, the metalworkers' union (IG Metall) was the strongest and most important workers' organisation. The exhibition took place in IG Met-all's social centre, the Keuning Haus, and most of the engaged experts were members of the union. The exhibition team in Dortmund chose a very special centrepiece for the small show. In the middle of the room stood a bed, probably one of the most private things in any apartment of a modern industrialised soci-ety. This bed, as the catalogue tells us, "does not stand on the floor, but forms an oblique plane," making it a bed "in which one finds no peace."[18] Displayed on the surface of this bed was a typical shift plan for a rotating shift system (early shift, late shift, night shift).

The decision to choose the bed as the key object of the exhibition was the result of intensive research in the run-up to the show. According to the findings of research projects, shift work not only caused employees to suffer from sick-ness in both body and soul, but also influenced the arrangement of non-working time of family life and social relationships: the shift plan determined a shift worker's life "at home," and his or her working times clashed with the timely order of the society he or she was living in. Working night shifts even

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17 Cf. Friedhelm Farthmann, ed., *Landesforum Schichtarbeit. Bericht über eine Tagung der Ar-beitsgemeinschaft für Arbeitnehmerfragen (AfA) der SPD des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen am 27. Januar 1979 in Recklinghausen* (Bonn, 1979), 19. *Cf. also Hannah Ahlheim: Der Betrieb und das Schlafzimmer. Die „Humanisierung" der Schicht- und Nachtarbeit in der Bundesrepublik der 1970er Jahre*, in: Andresen, Knud et al. (Hg.): *Der Betrieb als sozialer und politischer Ort. Studien zu Praktiken und Diskursen in den Arbeitswelten des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn 2015), S. 213–230.
18 Deutsche Forschungs- und Versuchsanstalt für Luft- und Raumfahrt/Projektträgerschaft Humanisierung des Arbeitslebens (Hg.): „ . . . was Belastung ist, das merkst du erst richtig zuhaus." Kooperatives Forschen und kulturelle Praxis mit Schichtarbeitern und ihren Fami-lien. Ein Ausstellungskatalog (Sonderschrift zu HdA-Forschungsergebnissen) (Bremerhaven, 1986), 45.

reversed the "workday" into its opposite: in the second half of the twentieth century, a growing percentage of the German population had to organise their private lives according to their "worknights" (cf. Müller).

Thus, the main purpose of the project in Dortmund was to scrutinise the close connection between work and private life and the conflicts resulting from this intertwining. One way to explore the impact of night work on the private lives of workers was the attempt to involve the workers and their families as active participants. The Dortmund team conceptualised their research project as "cooperative" work, and more than 30 workers and their families agreed to be part of the research team. One of the adopted approaches that was intended to make it possible for them to contribute their experiences was a "Entwurfsseminar" ("sketching workshop"): the workers and their wives were invited to design plans for their flats – the actual one and an ideal one.

The pictures and drawings show us how the family members tried to resolve the conflicts in their everyday lives resulting from the night shifts. When the father comes home from work in the morning, he goes to bed in the couple's bedroom. From then on, the family members must avoid every sound and bustle. A pillow is covering the phone, the wife waits for the son to come home from school because he must not ring the bell, and even the turning of the keys produced too much of a disturbance. Once in his room, the teenage son spends the rest of the day quietly, listening to music or watching TV with headphones on. He is not allowed to invite friends to his home or make phone calls. Despite all these precautions, the father doesn't sleep well – there is noise from the street and from a nearby schoolyard. So, after only three or four hours of sleep, he moves on to the sofa in the living room. This means that the vestibule, that is connected to the living room by a door, is also a "taboo" zone for the whole day. Thus, the only room the wife can spend her time in during her husband's night shifts is the kitchen. "He hasn't got a clue what we do for him," she says in trying to describe her situation. "I am jittery myself the whole day; I feel that I get aggressive because of every little bit, if I think that it could wake him."[19]

This is a striking example of the problems arising from the inversion of working time and life "against the clock." What the family tried to express and to explain during the workshop was in accord with the findings of new research studies from the 1970s and 1980s. Problems with sleep and sleepiness were a leading syndrome of night and shift workers. During night shifts, the time for

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19 „ . . . was Belastung ist," 49.

sleep was reduced to only six or even four hours per day.[20] Night workers slept not only for shorter times, but they also slept more "lightly" – mostly because of the noise of everyday life around them. Resulting from this lack of sleep, the number of night workers suffering from gastric or heart diseases was clearly above average.

Yet the inversion of a "usual" daytime routine not only had an impact on their physical health. It also shaped their mental condition and the social life of the whole family. This was especially true for those who worked in the relatively new systems of "continuous shift work," as the team in Dortmund pointed out. Continuous shift work resulted from the automation and computerisation of production processes that made it possible and profitable to keep factories going 24 hours a day. In a continuous shift system, people were working for four to six days on the early shift, than had two to three days off before beginning four to six days of the late shift. After another two to four days of rest, four or five days on the night shift followed, and after a few days of rest, the whole rotation began again. Thus, within continuous shift systems, working time not only departed from the regular schedule of daily work, but it also differed from the system of a regular week with a free Saturday and Sunday. The shift plan was not compatible with any of the usual time schedules or rhythms of social life. Only by submitting completely to the rhythm of work could those working in "conti shifts" avoid severe "conflict situations,"[21] as the experts put it. They suffered from permanent exhaustion because of the loss of sleep, and the rhythm of their work also affected family life and the possibility of participating in any form of social or political life (Cf. Müller, Dušková, Kenny, Karaseva and Momzikova in this volume).[22] Those working according to a continuous shift plan had to live in a kind of subculture, which researchers from the Saarland University in 1979 characterised as a kind of "apartheid."[23]

These findings had decisive consequences for any attempt to change the situation. Assessing or improving working conditions meant that one had to take into account the private lives of workers, too. The "humanisation of work

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20 Joseph Rutenfranz, Arbeitsphysiologische Grundprobleme von Nacht- und Schichtarbeit (Vorträge/Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, N 275) (Opladen, 1978), 17.
21 Horst Wilhelm, „Schlaf- und Freizeitverhalten von Normal- und Kontischichtarbeitern in Abhängigkeit von periodisch wechselnden Schichtbedingungen" (Diss. Universität des Saarlandes, Saarbrücken, 1978), 229.
22 Wilhelm, „Schlaf- und Freizeitverhalten von Normal," 224 et seq.
23 Hermann Zayer, „Schlafproblematik von Schichtarbeitern in Abhängigkeit von psychosozialen Bedingungen und Persönlichkeitsfaktoren" (Diss. Universität des Saarlandes, Saarbrücken 1977), 33.

life" could not stop at the factory gate – or at the entrance to the hospital, the post office, the driver's cabin or the doorway to a bar. Any kind of night and shift work affected the private life, the health and happiness, and also the effectiveness of workers and employees. Therefore, experts began to assess, evaluate and optimise the private lives of shift workers, too. To decide if someone was able to do shift work, his or her physical state as well as psychological disposition and the arrangements of his or her family life should be tested and approved. The bed became a subject of public and political debate and scientific research. To optimise the intertwining of work and life, in many societies, experts as well as the public invaded the most private sphere of employees, around the clock.

12.5 Against the "Inner Clock": The Invention of "Chronohygiene"

The new interest in the effects of shift work not only produced a new understanding of what it meant to live and organise one's life "against the clock." Also, a new concept of an "organic clock" complemented the idea of a governing clock on the wall. According to a new scientific concept, the human body became equipped with an "inner clock" which regulated the individual "inner workday."

In the last part of my epilogue, I want to sketch out how the idea of an "inner workday" developed during the 1970s and 1980s.

My case study begins in the year 1979 with the blinking of an alarm signal in the control room of the nuclear plant known as "Three Mile Island" near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. On March 28, at 3 a.m., this alarm signal indicated damage to the cooling system. The four employees in the control room did not react adequately, and their failure together with severe technical malfunctions led indeed to a partial meltdown of the nuclear core in the following hours. "Harrisburg" stirred worldwide fear of the consequences of a new and dangerous technology, and it gave rise to new questions concerning the reliability of human working performance during the night.[24]

According to the findings of physiologists and occupational medicine researchers in these years, the performance curve of most individuals hit the bottom between 2 a.m and 6 a.m. During this time, performance and concentration

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[24] Cf. Stanley Coren, *Sleep Thieves. An Eye-Opening Exploration into the Science and Mysteries of Sleep* (New York, 1996), 241 et seq.

capacity decreased decisively – precisely when the incident in Harrisburg occurred. And thanks to the new discipline of "chronobiology", there was an explanation for this pattern: The experts stated that this "hole" in the quality of work performance was a result of the ever running "inner clock." This clock seemed to time the bodily rhythms of every human being, and it was set so as to call the individual to work in the morning and to bed in the evening.

The idea that every one of us has a regularly ticking and influential "biological clock" had been spreading in science as well as in the public since the 1960s. Researchers in several countries had shown that the human body followed a relatively stable rhythm of 24 hours. "[M]ore than 100 functions of the human body"[25] followed this rhythm, and these functions were responsible for, amongst other capacities, sleepiness, concentration and motivation. The 24-hour-rhythm was called a "circadian" rhythm – a rhythm "around the day." A new and striking insight of the first experiments was that the 24-hour rhythm of the body seemed to be "synchronised" by light and temperature, but also by social life, by meals, work, sleep, etc. As long as a worker lived in a society that was awake – eating, shopping, socialising – during daytime and sleeping during the night, his or her body was following this traditional rhythm. Thus, night and shift workers worked and lived not only "against" the rhythms of society but also against their "inner clocks" that called them to sleep in the evening.

The concept of the "inner clock" that presents a 24-hour-rhythm with time for work and time for sleep can explain the workers' sleep and health problems as well as the low security level of night work. This unchangeable "inner work-day," however, made night and shift work a challenge. The new time routines of an inverted or shifted work day called for new methods of identifying problems and managing the workforce. One had to observe external rules for working time as well as to consider the "inner time" of the working individual. Thus, in the 1970s and 1980s, the idea of a "chronohygiene"[26] of work was born. One had to manage the limits of staying awake in a rational and "scientific" way now.

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25 Wechselschichtdienst bei der Polizei. *Eine Studie der Gewerkschaft der Polizei* (Hilden, 1976), 33.
26 Cf. Gunther Hildebrandt, ed., *Biologische Rhythmen und Arbeit. Bausteine zur Chronobiologie und Chronohygiene der Arbeitsgestaltung* (Wien/New York, 1976).

12.6 Conclusion

We have seen that over the course of the twentieth century, the fantasy as well as the necessity of "staying awake" and "working at night" became more and more prevalent in modern industrialised societies. Already in the 1920s, the miracle of our sleepless little bird would have fascinated at least some of the experts in occupational medicine: In those years, the idea of being able to overcome the rhythm of night and day and to establish an arbitrary rhythm according to the rhythms of work and social life gained momentum. The fantasy of being able to "work all night" was not a threat – on the contrary: It promised a more efficient, more productive and developed way of living and working. And, even today, at least in some situations, "working all night" is still be seen as a means of (re)gaining control over one's own life and time, and staying awake can be seen as a way of emancipating oneself even further from the laws of nature and the rules of the society.

In most cases, however, working all night is not the free decision of the individual but an economic necessity. Furthermore, the experiences of World War II showed that the fantasy of overcoming the rhythms of nature and the need for sleep was just that – a fantasy. Soldiers as well as war workers suffered from lack of sleep, and night work impaired both their health and their working efficiency. This insight did not mean, however, that night work was abandoned. Quite the contrary. The number of night workers grew steadily until the 1980s, as the development of automatised and "flexible" production processes enabled and, above all, required factories and assembly lines, offices and logistics operations to keep running 24 hours a day, seven days a week. New time structures made the work day into a working night for a growing number of people.

Thus, in the 1970s and 1980s, shift and night work became a social, economic and political problem. Experts, unionists, politicians and workers themselves tried to find ways to optimise life "against the clock." These attempts to assess and improve the conditions of night work were, however, ambivalent already at their conception. They offered the possibility of bettering the life of workers and creating space for a happier and healthier private life. At the same time, one could argue that this trend led to subtle new forms of exploitation: even the time spent in the kitchen and in bed became part of a control system that regulated and regenerated the workforce. Furthermore, the new knowledge justified the assessment and exploration of the individual's inner world. Experts measured "inner rhythms" and analysed the individual's physical and mental dispositions. In a way, the attempts to optimise night and shift work merely contributed to a system that made human resources "available around

the clock,"[27] as one of the experts in Dortmund put it in 1986. Since then, we found new ways to optimise our rhythms of life: we can and we do survey our sleep and other body functions with the help of "scientific" gadgets. Apps on our mobile phones and fancy bracelets tell us if we have slept well enough, if we are fit for work, too lazy or sufficiently productive. They promise a better life and keep us "available" around the clock.

The history of night work is the history of limits. It is a story about attempts to expand and shift the limits of human efficiency, of overcoming the limits of nature and of testing those limits. It also reveals how difficult it is to define "limits" at all – how do we manage, find and describe "working time" when attempts to optimise working performance reach the individual "around the clock"? Last but not the least, it shows us quite plainly the limits of the "humanisation of work life." We can only hope that the white-crowned sparrow is keeping his secret regarding how to expand the limits of staying awake for a while – or even for good.

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27 „ . . . was Belastung ist," 98.

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