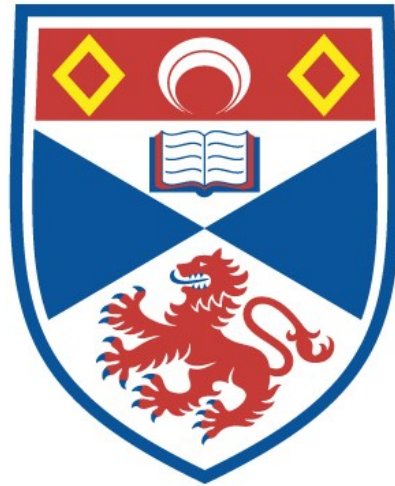


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This thesis entitled:

THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN : EVOLUTION, PATTERN AND  
COMPOSITION. WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE  
UNITED KINGDOM.

is submitted for the degree of  
Bachelor of Philosophy of the  
University of St. Andrews



Date: November 1971,



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7036

STATEMENT OF QUALIFICATION.

(Mrs.) Annie Hassan Fahmy Khairy, Expert (Grade II) at the Ministry of National Planning, Cairo, U.A.R., graduated in 1958 as B.Com. in the Honours School of the Faculty of Commerce and Financial Science, from Ein-Shams (Heliopolice) University. She was appointed in October 1958 in the "Companies and Public Corporation Unit", Ministry of National Planning, Cairo. In 1960 she joined the "Input-Output Table and Productivity Analysis Unit".

She was admitted as a research student to the University of St. Andrews in April 1967, under general ordinance No.12. She completed the requisite number of terms residence in June 1968.

Date: November 1971.

DECLARATION.

I declare that the thesis is a record of research work carried out by me, that the thesis is my own composition and that it has not been presented previously for any other degree.

The research was carried out in the Department of Political Economy of the University of St. Andrews.

Date: November 1971.

CERTIFICATE.

This is to certify that Annie Hassan Fahmy Khairy has devoted the requisite number of terms to the full-time study of her thesis, "The Employment of Women: Evolution, Pattern and Composition, with Special Reference to the United Kingdom." She has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance 61 and Ordinance 50 of the University Court of St. Andrews and is therefore qualified to submit the accompanying dissertation for the Degree of Bachelor of Philosophy.

Supervisor  
Department of Political  
Economy.

Date: July, 1970.

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Date: July 1970.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN : EVOLUTION, PATTERN AND  
COMPOSITION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE  
UNITED KINGDOM.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION.



CHAPTER 1INTRODUCTION.

The progressive utilization of woman-power, in almost all industrialized countries, and the structural changes in their occupations, are undoubtedly the most outstanding post-war phenomena in the sphere of the economy. The age and class composition of the female labour force have not only altered, but its centre of gravity has changed from domestic and unskilled industrial employment to white collar occupations. This development is of great structural significance with regard to the supply of the working population because women, and especially married women, constitute the main reserve of the labour force, and are thus of major economic significance.

Industrialization has had undoubtedly a profound impact upon women's work, and the attitude of society towards their employment.

Economic growth results in a continuous decline of the importance of agriculture relatively to other sources of employment. Hence, other industries are continuously recruiting labour from the agricultural sector. In the subsistence economy production is located in kinship units and there is little differentiation between economic roles and family roles as all reside in the kinship structure and the market systems are underdeveloped. Women's role and function in the underdeveloped societies is largely determined and set by the

norms and customs of these societies. However, their contribution in the economic life is mainly in agriculture or the handicrafts industry. On the other hand, women's contribution to the labour market in the industrial societies has greatly evolved. Under the impact of industrialization, technological and social developments, women have penetrated, in growing numbers, the economic fields formerly the preserves of men. As increasing specialization and increasing higher standards of education, schools and training institutions of various kinds were made available to women, more non-manual jobs have been opened to women.

Moreover, the traditional patriarchal family (extended family) has been gradually replaced by the small modern family. The availability of mechanical aids to housework has also made it possible for housewives to undertake paid employment outside the home.

But ideology has roots of its own, and the degree of its pervasiveness in a society may still direct the attitude of society towards women's employment. It tends to encourage a preference for some occupations rather than others; for teaching rather than engineering, for nursing rather than science. The degree of such bias will vary amongst the regions; often it will leave its imprints on the woman's employment pattern. For the industrialized nations of Western Europe and Central Europe, ideology has profoundly changed and the acceptance of it by these societies was, in itself, an aid to a more effective role played by women in economic life.

On the other hand, changing the ideologies and values of the past to modern Western ones have been relinquished by other societies such as Africa and Asia. Thus, in a country like Japan though reaching a high stage of industrialization but still cherishing the ideologies and prejudices of the pre-industrial society, women's social status and economic role have not achieved the eminence of that of their Western sisters. Women's employment pattern in Japan is both a cause and an effect of these ideologies.

The social consequences of acceptance of the new modern ideologies towards employment of women together with the economic advancedness of societies can be judged from changes in women's role in economic life in countries such as the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom.

Foremost among these changes are two points. Firstly, the greater employment of women on skilled and professional occupations. Secondly, the absorption of the labour market of large numbers of married women who re-enter gainful employment after bringing up their families. In many industrialized societies married women constitute over half the volume of female labour force.

The role of women in the labour market, their participation rate and the development over the years, are the main purpose of this study.

The thesis is divided into three parts.

Part one sets the study against a wide background. It presents a sketch of the role of women in an international setting, the developments, in general, in their participation rates since the turn of the century, and it highlights the effects of industrialization upon women's participation in the labour market. It also outlines the role of women in highly industrialized societies and the underdeveloped ones.

Further, it points out the role of women in three industrialized countries, Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, and the main forces of change, and exhibits the nature and direction of women's employment changes in these societies.

Part two is devoted to a detailed examination of the changing pattern of women's employment in the United Kingdom since the turn of the century. It deals with two specific periods. The first period indicates the trend in the employment of women from the turn of the twentieth century until the end of the Second World War. The female occupational pattern is being traced throughout this period pinpointing the influence of the two World Wars on their contribution to the labour market.

The second period exhibits the role of women in the economy during the post-war years, their participation rates, their occupational structure, and their composition. These are examined with special reference to some of the main reasons for the limited role of women

in certain spheres of economic life.

In order to throw some light upon the attitude of employers towards women's employment, the author has carried out a survey among seven firms, five in Scotland and two in Manchester. The author also visited Employment Exchanges and Youth Employment Offices in Scotland to discuss with the Managers, the problems facing employment of women and young girls in industry.

Part three of the study presents the main conclusion.

PART ONE

THE BACKGROUND.

CHAPTER 2.  
WOMEN AND WORK IN AN  
INTERNATIONAL SETTING.

CHAPTER 2WOMEN AND WORK IN AN INTERNATIONAL SETTING.2.1 The Changing Position of Women.

The position of women workers in economic life has changed profoundly since the turn of the century. The proportion of women in the total labour force in the great majority of countries has increased slightly and there have been remarkable changes in the characteristics of their participation in economic life and their role in society. Over the world as a whole, women are entering into industries and services where they represent a conspicuous proportion of the labour force, and leaving agriculture where even today the great majority of them are still employed.

This changeover in the pattern of women's employment follows and reflects the process of industrialisation. The technological advances have brought a growing and wider range of occupations within the scope of women's work, at all levels of skills and responsibility, than in the past. The expansion of women's work has varied in degree from one region to another, but is, nevertheless, general in trend. In the world as a whole, 27 out of 100 women are economically active. Female workers also constitute about a third of the world's labour force.

When considering women's participation rate in the labour market, a number of factors have to be borne in mind. As the "economically



active" population generally indicates that section of the population which produces goods "housework" is not usually considered as an economic activity unless it is undertaken for pay. Thus, women predominantly engaged in housekeeping in their homes are not enumerated in the total labour force. Furthermore, the category of "unpaid family workers", which is much higher in the female economically active population than in that of men, is another source of discrepancy. The "unpaid family workers" category consists largely of females who do a specified amount of work with or without pay in an economic enterprise (farms, handicrafts, shops, etc.) operated by another member of the household. Among other countries which record such a category, there is a lack of uniformity in the definition of family workers - a category which includes elements both of the economically active and the non-economically active population - as is the case in most European countries. In other countries such an economic role is not recorded in the labour market itself, e.g. Egypt.

Obviously such quasi-participants in the labour force are most numerous in economic activities where the family as such retains functions of production other than self consumed services.

Thus, the concept of economically active female population depends largely on how the category of family workers is defined in the various countries. Due to such variations in concepts and statistical procedures, the comparability of general activity rates for females

among regions is subject to some reservations.

With respect to direct compensated female participation in the labour market, it will be affected by the degree of industrialization, economic conditions, employment opportunities and institutional factors prevailing in the regions.

Consequently, the female contribution to the total labour force of the regions manifests a remarkably high variability. It varies from a maximum of over 40% of the economically active population in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. to a minimum under 15% in Latin America. The participation of women in economic life is also high in Western Europe. Women represent a third of the total labour force; 29 out of every 100 women of all ages are economically active. In North America, although women's activity rate is 3% less than that for Western Europe, their proportion in the labour force is similar, i.e. a third of the total.

As women's participation in the labour market is highly influenced by the organization of the country's economy, the female participation ratio will be higher in countries where they are engaged in both the industrial and agricultural activities than in others where their employment depends largely on the openings in the non-agricultural sector.

In North America, Oceania and certain European countries, e.g. Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the U.K., where female workers are, by and large, concentrated in industrial activities, their activity

rates will be influenced by the opportunities offered to them, and the requested qualifications. In other countries such as Japan, Russia, Poland and, to a lesser extent, Denmark and the Federal Republic of Germany, a great proportion of women are employed in both agriculture and industry. This results in a higher activity rate for women in the labour force in these countries than in other highly industrialized countries (40% and 49% for Japan and Russia against 34.8% and 37.7% for the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom in 1961)

With regard to developing countries, the participation rate of women is greatly affected by traditional factors which favour or inhibit women from undertaking work in the agricultural sector. These countries fall into three categories:

(1) Countries where women's participation rate is markedly higher than in some industrialized countries where there are 40% or more of the total female population in paid employment. This is due to the fact that in these countries, e.g. Turkey, Haiti, Nepal, Nigeria and Thailand, women are strongly represented in the agricultural sector where their entrance in the labour market starts at an early age. By contrast, in the industrialized countries the longer period of education and training postpones the entry of women into gainful employment. Another contributory factor is that in agricultural communities the process of retiring is usually more gradual.

(2) Countries where women's contribution in the labour market is moderate - where between 20 to 25% of the total female population

are economically active. A large proportion of these females are engaged in agricultural activities where they make up 30 to 40% of the total working force (Algeria, India, Malaya, Morocco and Tunisia).

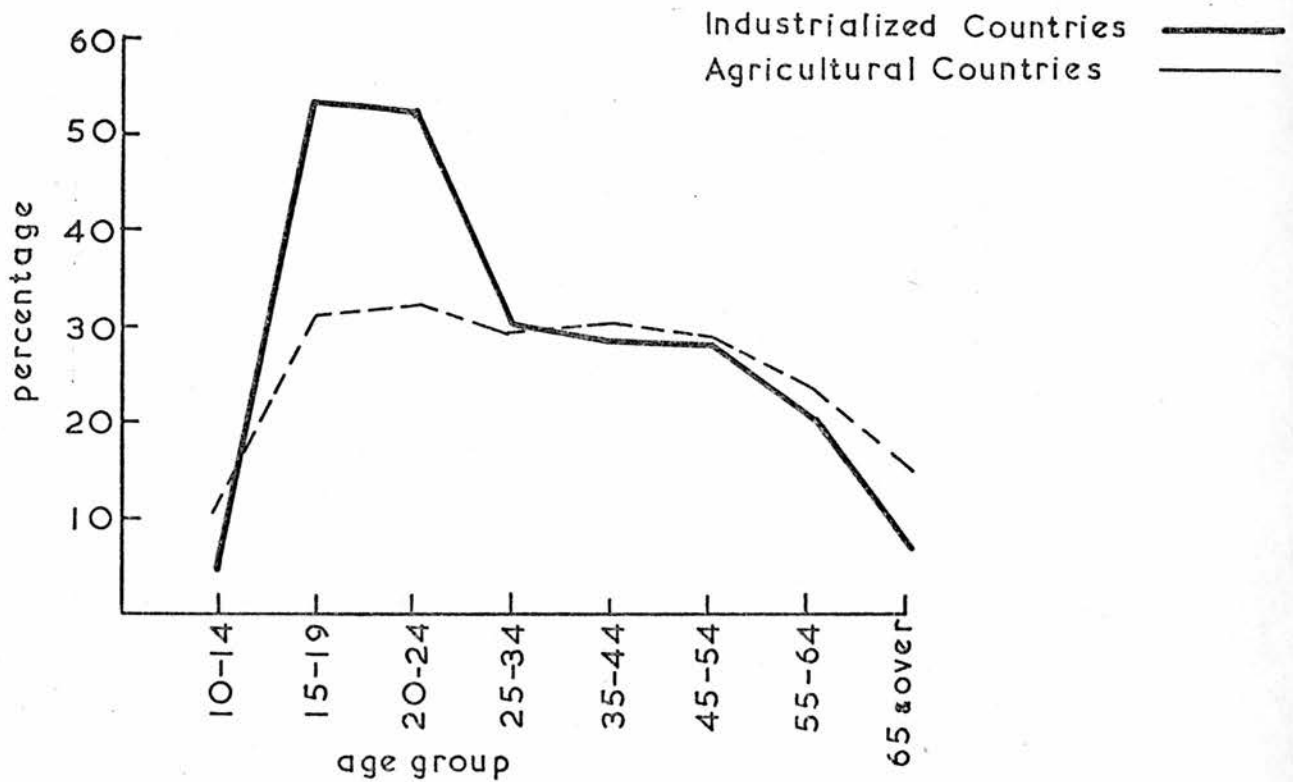
(3) Countries where women's activity rate is very low. Less than 15% of the total female population are economically active. Their contribution in the agricultural sector is also low despite the agricultural nature of these countries' economies. This is found in the majority of Latin American countries and a large number of African and Asian countries where they represent less than 10% of the agricultural working population. They are chiefly engaged in handicrafts and domestic service occupations.

## 2.2 Women's Activity Rates.

### 2.21 Women's Activity Rates in Relation to Age and Degree of Industrialization Among Certain Regional Groups.

The most noteworthy fact that emerges from figure (2-1) is that female rates at the youngest and the oldest ages are higher in underdeveloped countries than in industrial countries. This is largely due to the fact that working conditions in agriculture and related activities permit the recruitment of children at an early age, and the retirement of women at an older age.

This employment condition is rarely found in urban industry. Moreover, in economically advanced countries there is a greater investment in the education of the young. As may be expected under



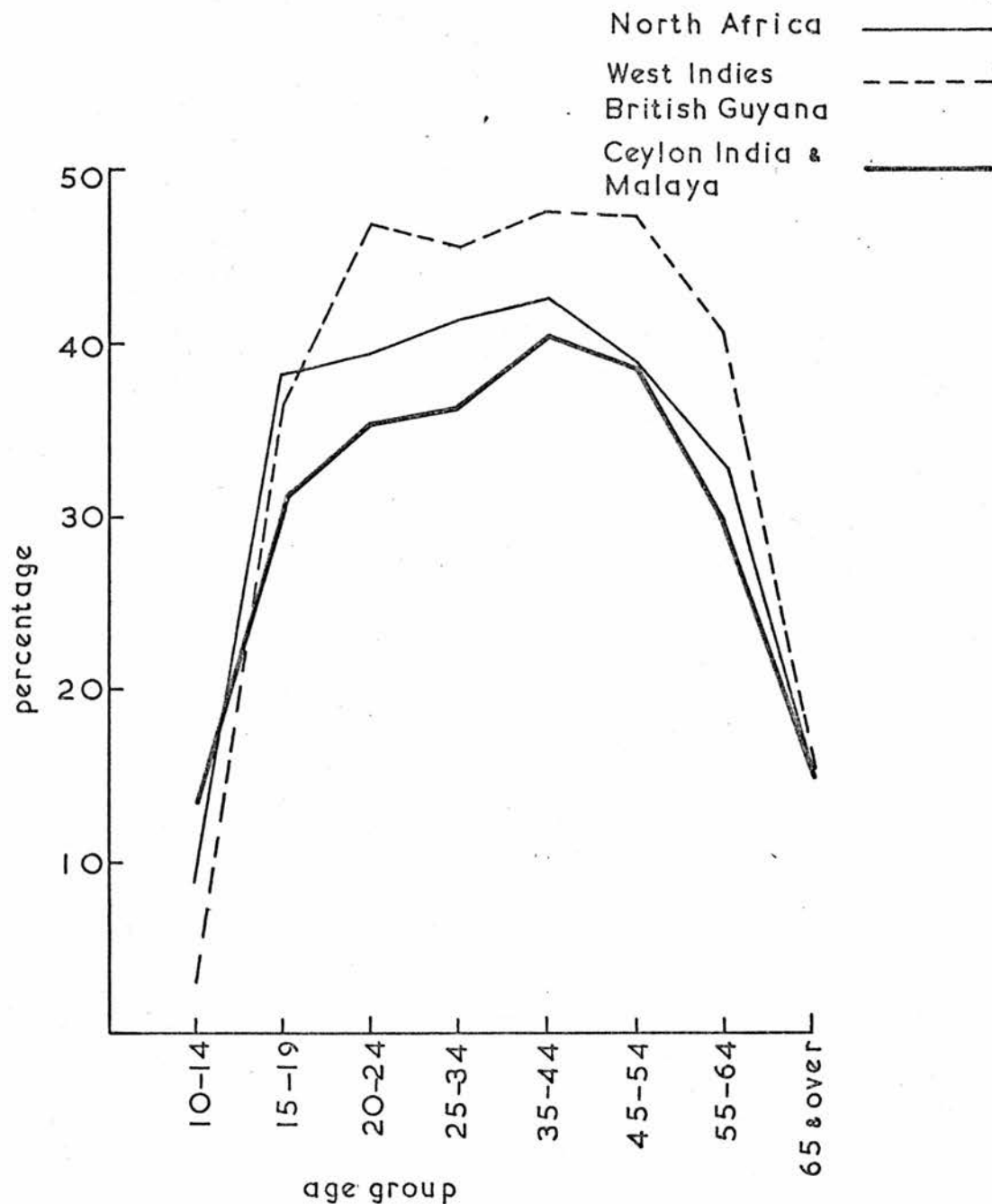
AVERAGE AGE SPECIFIC ACTIVITY RATES FOR FEMALES IN INDUSTRIALIZED AND AGRICULTURAL COUNTRIES

these circumstances the gainful employment of females has a later start than that in underdeveloped countries.

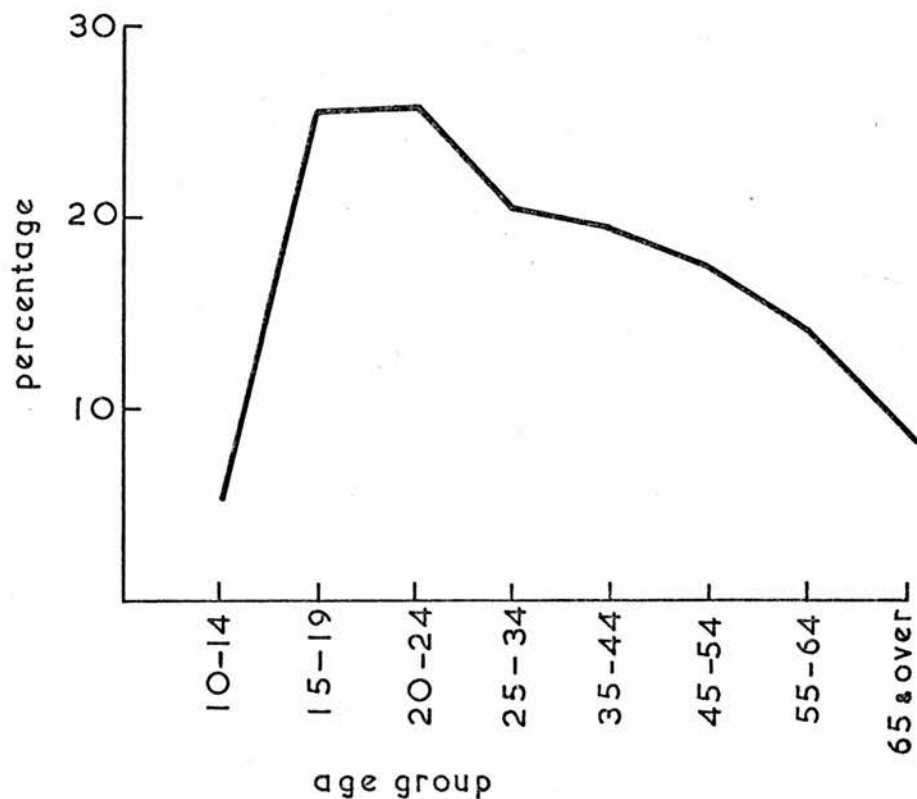
Two patterns of women's activity rates in relation to age emerge. One which is typical for highly industrialized countries indicates the entrance of large numbers of girls in their late teens into gainful employment in which they continue working until their marriage. This is exhibited by the sharp decline in female's activity rates after the age of 20. The activity curve starts to rise again after the age of 35 but falls off sharply after the age of 55 and very few women in the industrialized countries remain in employment after the age of 65 (figure 2-1).

The female curve of activity for most of the underdeveloped countries (agricultural countries) indicates little variation from the late teens to approximately the age of 50. As much of the productive work is carried out in household enterprises in the majority of these countries, changes in women's marital status or their commitments for the care of children do not imply their discontinuation of employment.

It should be noted, however, that the pattern of activity rates is not always similar in all countries belonging to "industrialized" or the "agricultural" group. As shown by graphs in figure (2-2), the curves for North Africa, the West Indies and three countries of South Asia, have similar features to the curve for the group of agricultural countries, though they are more economically advanced.



AVERAGE AGE SPECIFIC RATES FOR FEMALES  
 IN NORTH AFRICA WEST INDIES & BRITISH  
 GUYANA AND CEYLON INDIA AND MALAYA  
 (PERCENTAGE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE AMONG  
 FEMALE POPULATION IN GIVEN AGE GROUPS)



**AVERAGE AGE SPECIFIC RATES FOR FEMALES  
IN 'LATIN AMERICA' (a)**

**(PERCENTAGE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE AMONG  
FEMALE POPULATION IN GIVEN AGE GROUP)**

(a) Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, El Salvador,  
Panama and Venezuela.

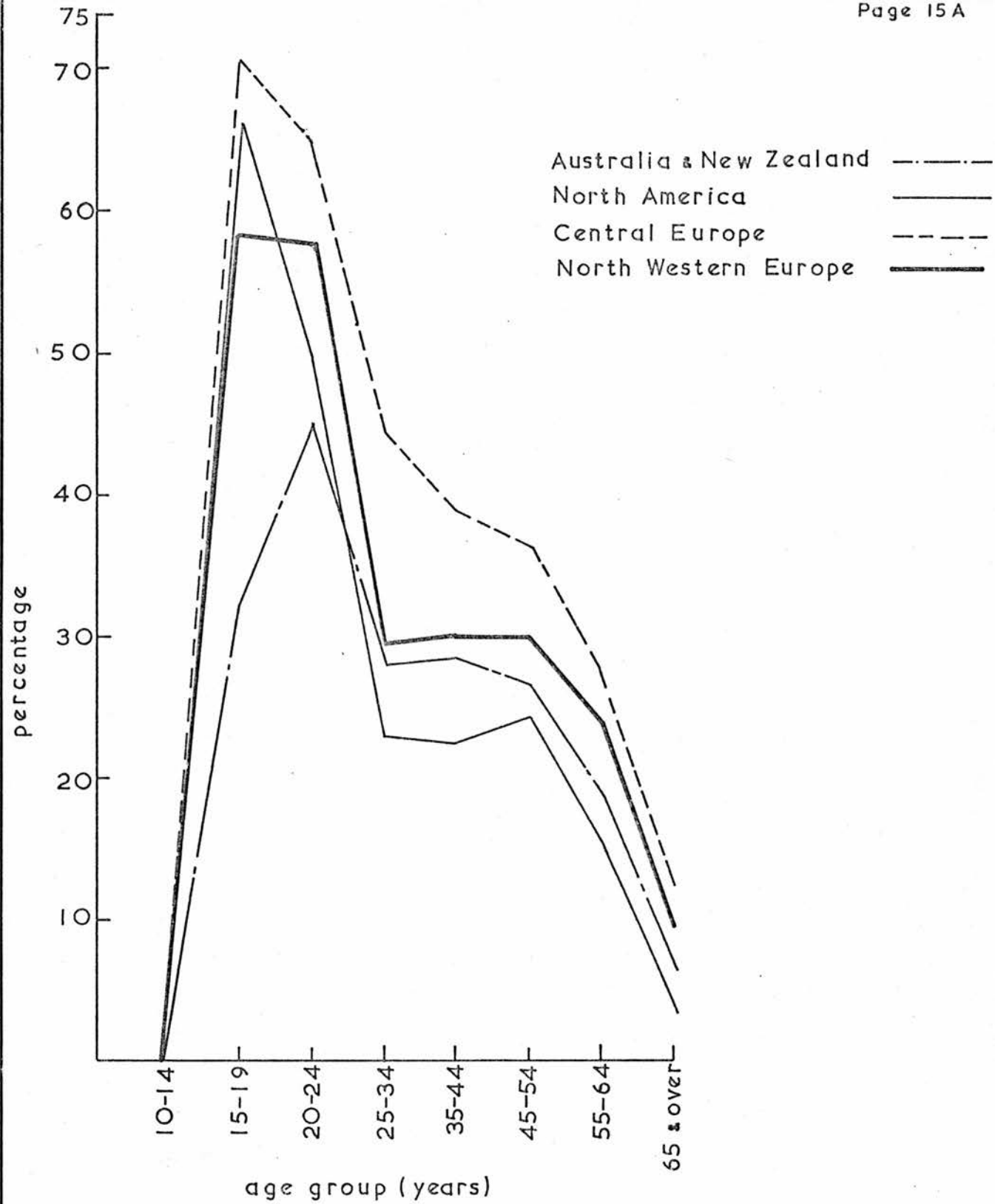


But, in India, Ceylon, Mauritius and the former British Guiana, female activity rates display a slightly different pattern to the general agricultural group curve. Female activity rates show a rise from the age of 20 to the age of 40 instead of remaining on a plateau.

Another pattern for female activity rates emerges for some of the Latin American countries. It appears to be intermediate between the patterns of underdeveloped countries and those of the highly developed ones. The female activity rates for these Latin American countries, indicate that the peak activity rates are reached in the late teens and early twenties. The rates start to decline until about the age of 30 after which they remain on a plateau until about the age of 45 and then decline gradually to the end of the working life, (figure 2-3).

With regard to the highly industrialized countries of North America, North-Western Europe, Central Europe and Oceania, female activity rates rise to a peak around the age of 20 then drop sharply until about the age of 30. The patterns in the different countries after the age of 30 indicate some disparity (figure 2-4). In Austria, Belgium, Canada, Eastern Germany, Hungary and the Netherlands, female rates continue to decline after the age of 30.

In other countries such as Denmark, England and Wales, and Switzerland, female activity rates show a slight increase from the age of 30 until the ages of 40 or 50. Female activity patterns with a definite secondary peak emerge for countries such as the U.S.A. and to



AVERAGE AGE SPECIFIC RATE FOR FEMALES IN NORTH AMERICA, NORTH WESTERN EUROPE, CENTRAL EUROPE, AUSTRALIA and NEW ZEALAND. (Percentage Economically Active Among Female Population In Given Age Group)

Source: See Appendix A - Table-A-2

Fig. 2.4

a marked degree in Australia, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden. This is due to the re-entrance of women aged 35 and over in the labour market when their children have grown up.

In the United Nation's survey among 91 population groups in 1962, it was found that "although there are large variations among countries in the level of the female activity rates at critical points in the age span, for the majority of countries included in the study, it was possible to identify the activity curve as belonging to one of the four major types",<sup>(1)</sup> as mentioned above.

#### 2.22 Trends in Women's Activity Rates.

The most marked feature of women's activity rates during the first half of the twentieth century for the countries in Table (2-1), is that they do not indicate any uniformity in trend. Canada and the United States are the two exceptional countries where women's activity rates among females of working age (15 years and over), was upwardly progressing during each decade (1910-1950). In Canada, the proportion of female labour force rose from 16.2% in 1910 to 24.1% in 1950, and in the United States it increased from 23% in 1920 to 29.7% in 1950.

For a fuller understanding of the statistical data for female activity rates for the countries as shown in Table (2-1), it should be noted that the shifts in age composition of the population was unfavourable to a rise in the female activity rates in some countries. The impact of this shift is revealed by the comparison between the

- a Census dates were 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947 and 1954.
- b Census dates were 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941, and 1951.
- c Census dates were 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1951.
- d Census dates were 1911, 1921, 1931, 1936, 1946 and 1954.
- e Census dates were 1926, 1936, 1946 and 1951.
- f **Activity rates relate to the population aged 14 years and over.** Census dates were 1909, 1920, 1930 and 1947.
- g Census dates were 1911, 1921, 1936, 1945, 1951 and 1956.
- h **Female** activity rates from the 1930 census of Sweden and the 1910 and 1921 censuses of Switzerland have been omitted because they show implausibly high activity rates at the older ages, particularly beyond age 65.
- i Census dates were 1930, 1941 and 1950.
- j Data from the 1910 census, which are not comparable with the results of the other censuses are omitted.
- k In computing the standardized activity rates the age distribution of the following census years were taken as standards: Australia (1947), Brazil (1940), Canada (1941), England and Wales (1931), France (1936), Ireland (1946), Japan (1940), Netherlands (1947), New Zealand (1945), Panama (1940), Sweden (1940), Switzerland (1941) and United States (1940). It should be noted that the standardization procedure adopted eliminates the effects of changes in age structure of a given country's population over the period studied, but it does not eliminate the effects of differences in age structure between countries.

TABLE (2-1).

TRENDS IN ACTIVITY RATES FOR FEMALES 15 YEARS  
OF AGE AND OVER, SELECTED COUNTRIES: 1910-1955  
 (PERCENTAGE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE AMONG  
 FEMALE POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER)<sup>(2)</sup>

Country	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1955
	<u>Unadjusted Rates</u>					
Australia <sup>a</sup> .....	25.0	23.7	24.6	-	25.0	26.3
Brazil <sup>b</sup> .....	-	-	-	14.6	14.6	-
Canada .....	16.2	17.6	19.6	20.7	24.1	-
England & Wales <sup>c</sup> ...	35.5	33.7	34.1	-	34.9	-
France <sup>d</sup> .....	49.8	52.2	46.7	43.8	46.5	38.2
Ireland <sup>e</sup> .....	-	-	32.6	33.3	31.3	30.9
Japan .....	-	53.4	49.1	52.2	49.5	50.6
Netherlands <sup>f</sup> .....	26.4	25.7	26.6	-	26.7	-
New Zealand <sup>g</sup> .....	26.7	26.5	25.2	26.3	25.0	26.0
Panama .....	-	-	-	21.2	23.3	-
Sweden <sup>h</sup> .....	-	35.7	-	31.4	30.0	-
Switzerland <sup>hi</sup> .....	-	-	37.7	32.7	33.7	-
United States .....	-	23.1	24.1	26.3	29.7	-
	<u>Rates Standardised for Age Structure</u>					
Australia <sup>a</sup> .....	21.7	21.5	23.0	-	25.0	27.5
Brazil <sup>b</sup> .....	-	-	-	14.6	14.6	-
Canada .....	15.4	17.1	19.3	20.7	25.2	-
England & Wales <sup>c</sup> ...	33.2	32.5	34.1	-	39.0	-
France <sup>d</sup> .....	48.9	51.5	45.8	43.8	46.5	39.4
Ireland <sup>e</sup> .....	-	-	32.2	32.9	31.3	31.8
Japan .....	-	53.6	49.0	52.2	49.3	50.4
Netherlands <sup>f</sup> .....	25.6	24.3	25.4	-	26.7	-
New Zealand <sup>g</sup> .....	23.6	24.0	23.6	26.3	25.9	26.8
Panama .....	-	-	-	21.2	23.5	-
Sweden <sup>h</sup> .....	-	34.2	-	31.4	31.6	-
Switzerland <sup>hi</sup> .....	-	-	35.5	32.7	31.5	-
United States .....	-	22.2	23.5	26.3	30.4	-

unadjusted rates and standardized rates, which eliminate changes in age structure over the time period studied.

Rates standardized for age structure increased by 6 points for Australia, England and Wales, and 3 points for New Zealand over the periods for which data are available, whilst the unstandardized rates for females over the age of 15, for these same countries, remained approximately constant. This is due to the fact that the relative numbers of women under age 25 in the population fell while the percentages of women over the age of 45 rose. Although the impact of the shifts in age composition did not affect the female rates drastically, in some others these changes were largely responsible for the small decline in the activity rates for Irish women and for the stability of the Netherlands activity rates, which otherwise would have risen slightly.

With regard to France, Switzerland and Sweden, the activity rates of females indicates a downward trend for the same period. These statistics, however, were affected to a great extent by the changes in the definition of economically active population used in the censuses.

In general, the activity rate of women during this period (1910-1950) rose in countries where it was low or remained constant where initially it had been high.

The second half of the twentieth century showed a faster increase in woman's contribution to the economic life. In the United States

and Canada, the participation rate of women rose from 29.7% to 36% and from 24.1% to 28% respectively during the period 1950-1960.

As regards Belgium, every fourth woman is a worker and women economically active represent 27% of the total labour force. Moreover, in France and the Federal Republic of Germany, every third worker is a woman, and in the United Kingdom females gainfully employed increased by 12.7% during the period 1950-1960. In Sweden, the National Market Board claimed a marked increase in the number of women workers, and in 1960, they constituted about 30% of the total labour force. In Switzerland over one fourth of the total female population in 1960 were in gainful employment, and accounted for 30% of the work force.

Such upward trends in the activity rates of women are also notable in the Eastern European Countries. In Czechoslovakia, the number of economically active persons rose by 164,000 and women accounted for 75% of that increase. In Hungary, they represented one third of the total labour force compared with one fourth in 1949. Also, in Yugoslavia, the female proportion in the work force was 27% in 1958, compared with 23% in 1952.

Such changes in women's activity rates was also manifested in the developing countries. In India, the proportion of women which had been steadily declining during the first half of the twentieth century, rose from 23% to 28% between 1951 and 1961. Furthermore, in the United Arab Republic, the participation work rate of women rose

to 6% in 1960, compared with 3.5% in 1950<sup>(3)</sup>.

There are also expectations that larger numbers of women will be entering the labour market in the forthcoming years.

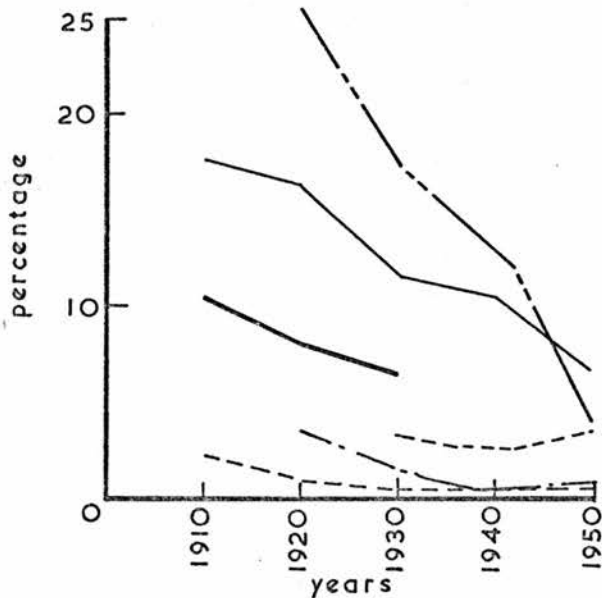
There has been a change in numbers, and the percentage of females in the labour force. In general, the trend towards the extensive utilization of women has occurred in industrialized or rapidly industrializing countries, and it represents an outstanding development in the employment of women in economically advanced countries.

#### 2.23 Trends in Activity Rates in Relation to Age.

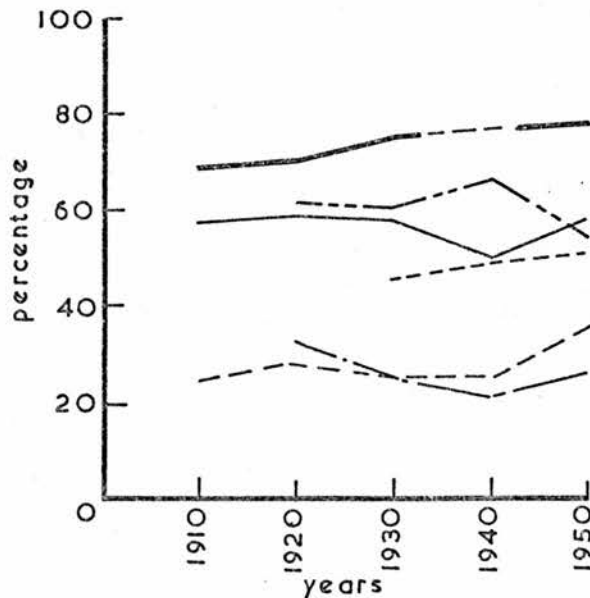
During the first half of the twentieth century, trends in the age specific activity rates (the percentage of economically active population of a given age group) of females in all countries shown in Table (2-1) indicate a more varied pattern, than that for trends in the activity rates of females of 15 years of age and over. It is apparent from the graphs in figure (2-5) that there had been a constant downward trend in the activity rates of the youngest and the oldest age groups, i.e. girls 10-14 years of age and women 65 years of age and over. The trend was downward for all years, apart from the period 1940-1947, where there was a sudden upward trend because of the Second World War, that led the extensive employment of women and girls to replace men in the labour market. In Ireland, the percentage of children working remained approximately constant during the period 1920-1950 (3.3%), whereas in Canada, Japan and the United States, there was no marked drop in the activity rates of women in the



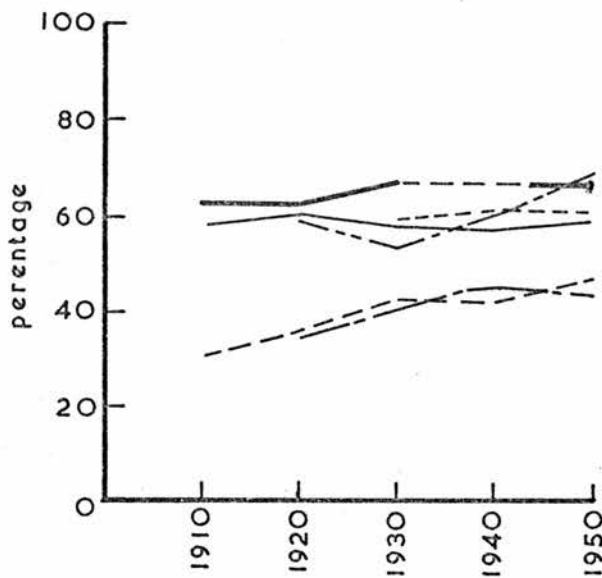
Canada	-----	Ireland	-----
England and Wales	—————	Japan	-----
France	—————	U. S. A.	-----



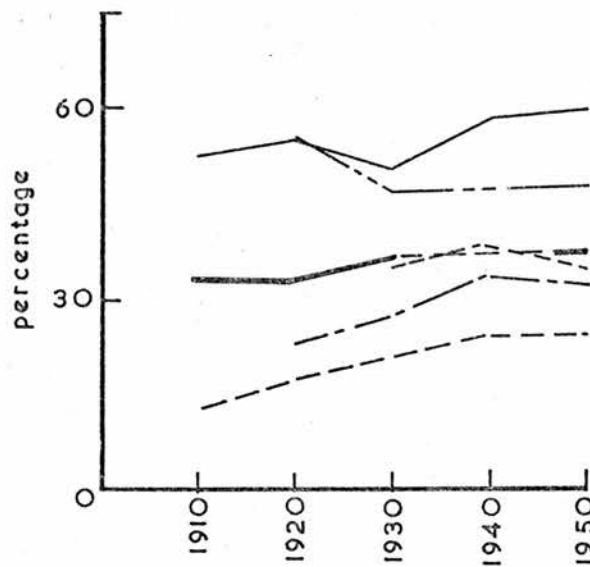
AGE GROUP 10-14



AGE GROUP 15-19



AGE GROUP 20-24

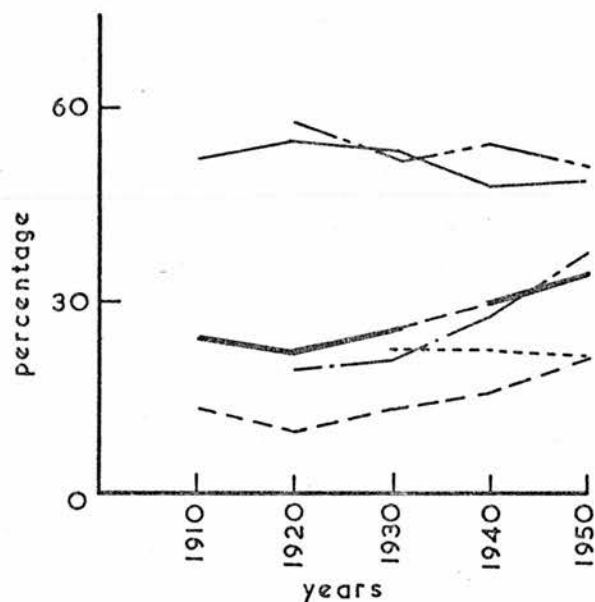


AGE GROUP 25-34

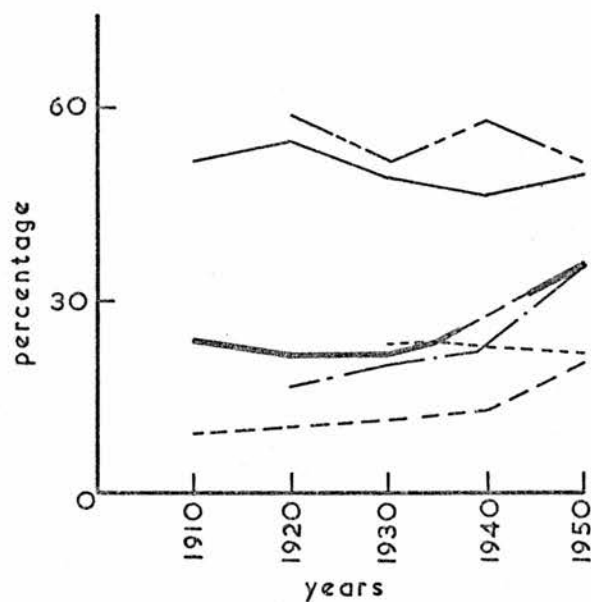
TRENDS IN AGE SPECIFIC ACTIVITY RATES FOR FEMALES  
SELECTED COUNTRIES 1910-1950

Canada, England and Wales  
 France

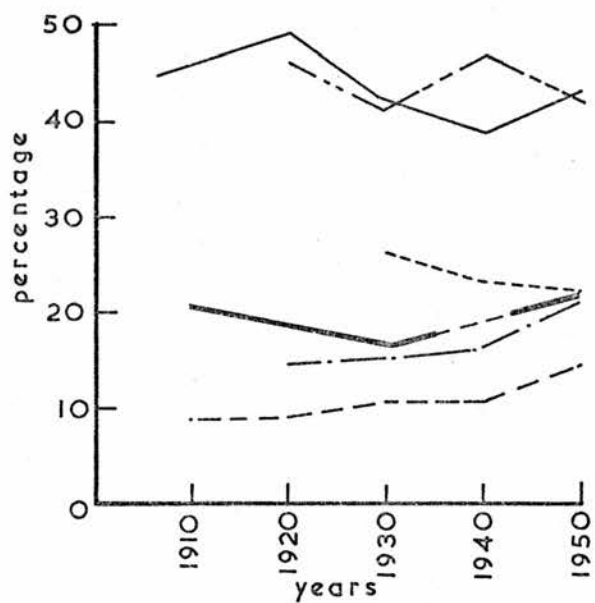
Ireland  
 Japan  
 U. S. A.



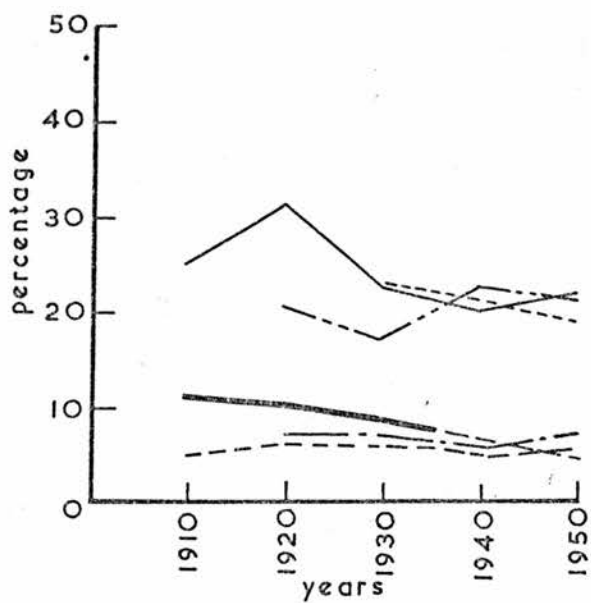
AGE GROUP 35-44



AGE GROUP 45-54



AGE GROUP 55-64



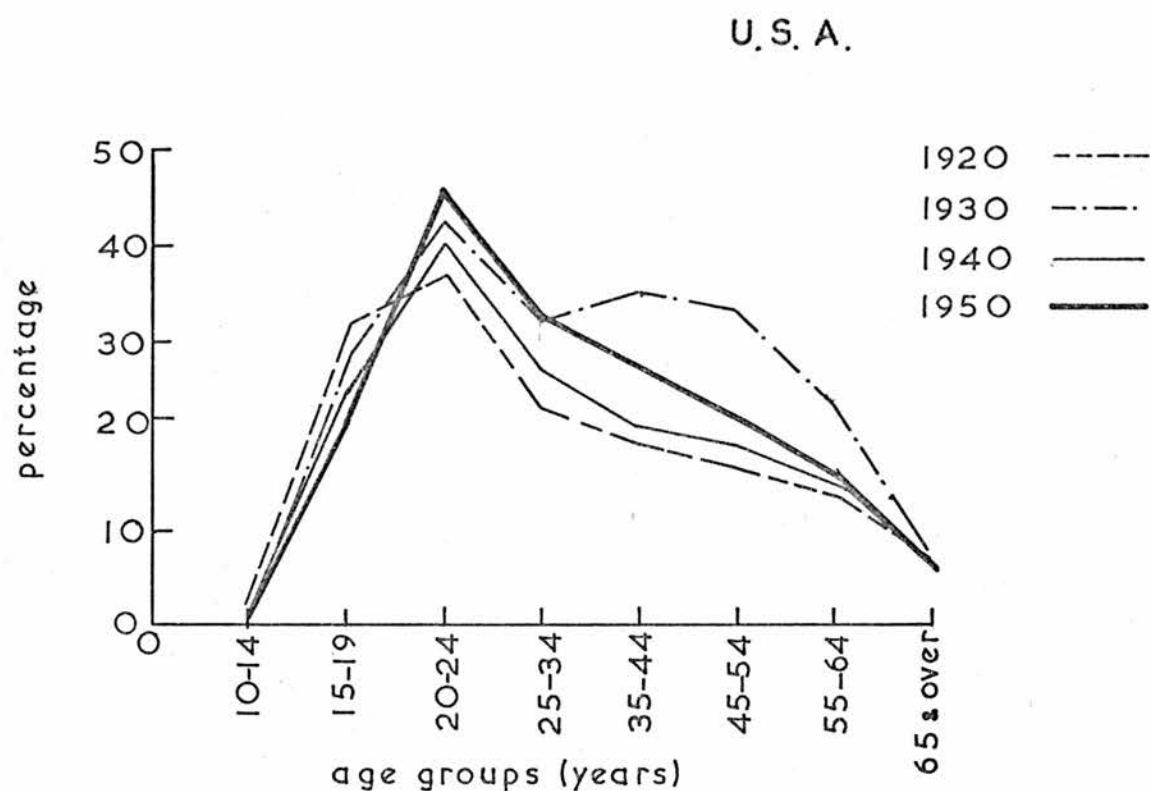
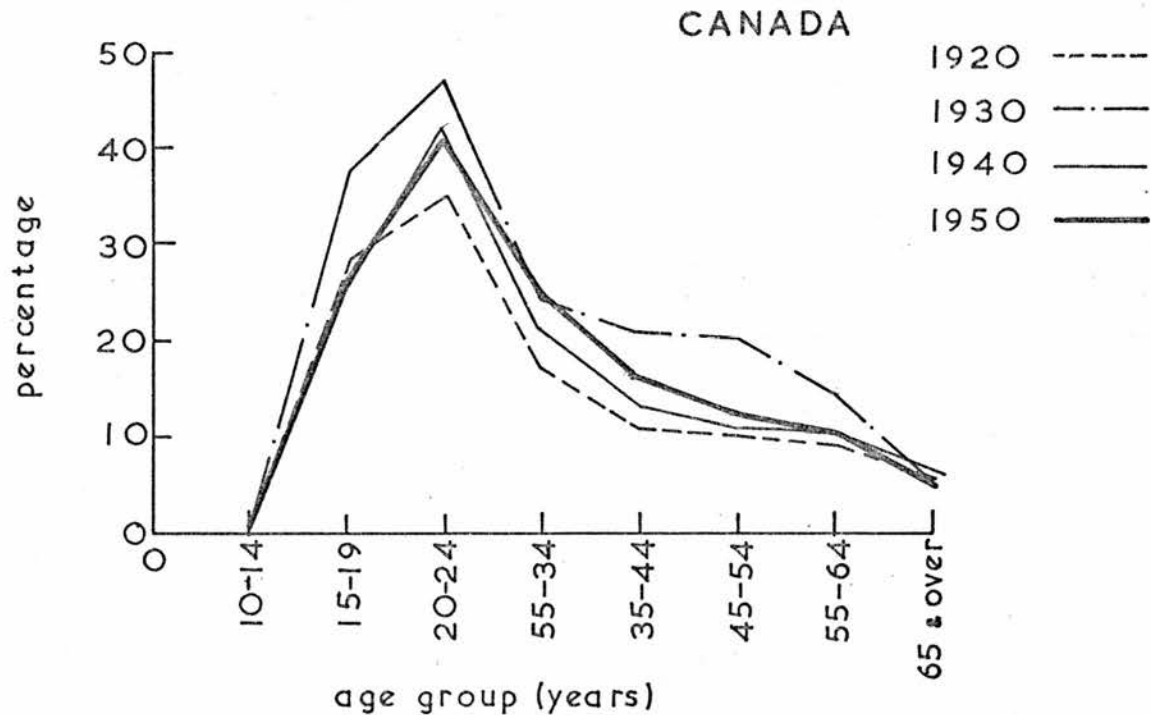
AGE GROUP 65 and OVER

TRENDS IN AGE SPECIFIC ACTIVITY RATES FOR FEMALES  
 SELECTED COUNTRIES 1910-1950

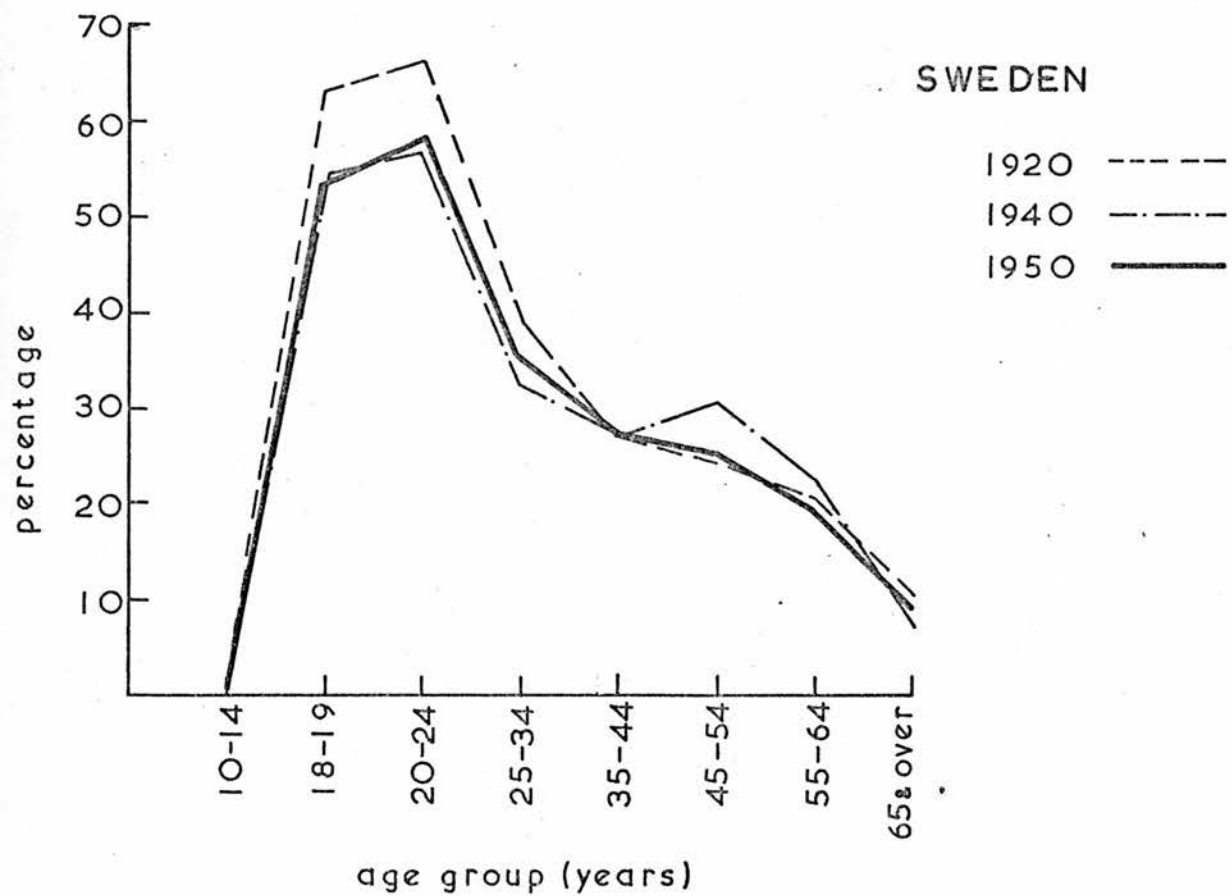
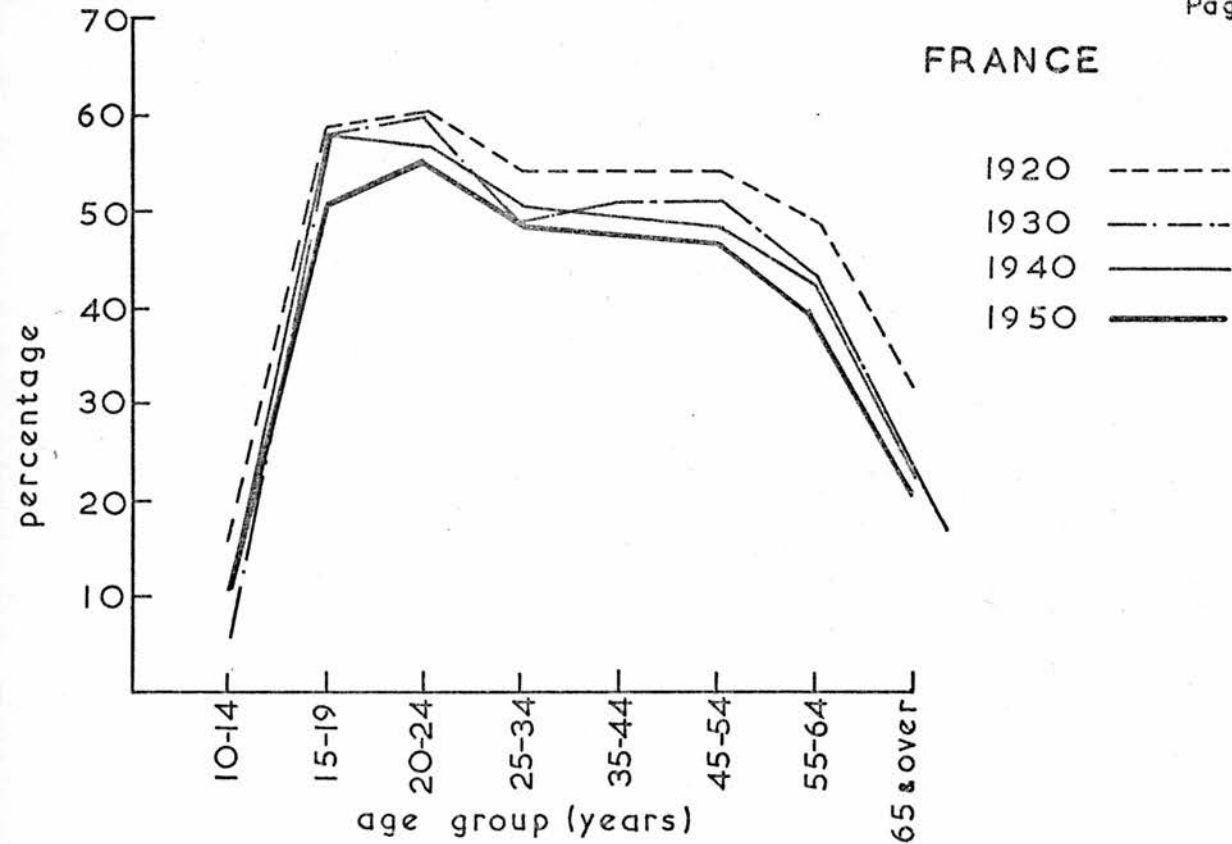
older age group (65 years and over). Nevertheless, the rates for women in this age group, for both Canada and the United States remained the lowest among all countries, (5.1% and 7.9% respectively).

The most conspicuous rise was in the employment of older teenage girls in countries such as Canada, England and Wales, Ireland, and New Zealand, whereas in Japan, Sweden and the United States there had been a decline in the rates of girls in the same age group. In New Zealand the activity rates of girls aged 15-19 years of age rose from 46.3% in 1910 to 64.5% in 1950, whereas in Sweden it declined from 63.5% in 1920 to 54.3% in 1950. These changes are closely associated with trends in education, age at marriage and the availability of jobs for which young females are in demand in the countries. In the majority of the countries where the activity rates of older teenage girls showed an upward trend, women aged 20-24 years also increased their activity rates. In New Zealand, the activity rate of women aged 20-24 years of age rose from 46.5% in 1910 to 52.8% in 1950. In Sweden it declined from 66.5% in 1930 to 57.3% in 1950<sup>(4)</sup>, (see figure 2-5).

With regard to females in the age group 25-34, the general trend in the percentage working was also upward in countries such as Australia, Canada, England and Wales and in the United States, but it was halted in recent years. On the other hand, there was a continuous decline in female activity rates in the same age group (25-34) in a number of countries including France and Japan, over most of the period (see figure 2-5).



TRENDS IN AGE SPECIFIC RATES FOR FEMALES  
OVER TIME (PERCENTAGE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE  
AMONG FEMALE POPULATION IN GIVEN AGE GROUP)



Substantial increase in the activity rates of women in the age group 35-64, occurred in the majority of highly industrialized countries. The greatest increase, however, was in the middle of this age span, i.e. between 45 and 55 years of age. On the other hand, there was no increase in the percentage working at these ages in some countries such as France, Ireland and Japan.

From the analysis of trends in age - specific activity rates it is obvious that the youngest and oldest age groups followed a pattern of declining activity rates. At all other ages with the exception of the age group 25-34, where no specific pattern emerged, there was a general upward trend. This trend was especially pronounced among women between 45 and 54 years of age, that indicates the re-entrance of married women into employment.

These changes in the age-specific activity rates for women are indicated in figure (2-6) which exhibits the changing forms of activity curves for women in four selected countries. For all these countries, the major changes are of recent origin. Thus, the secondary peak in activity rates after the age of 40 appears as an exclusive development since the Second World War. Before the war the general pattern was one of gradually declining activity rates with increasing age throughout the span from 30 to 60 years.

### 2.3 Factors Affecting the Pattern of Female Employment.

The employment of women, as mentioned before, is highly influenced by a complex of social and economic circumstances. Thus, the pattern

of women's employment differs between regions in accordance with their degree of industrialization. However, the plausible notion that women's work participation increases with economic development is subject to some reservation. Some countries remain backward despite the high level of participation of women, e.g. Turkey, while others achieve a high level of productivity with relatively little female participation.

"In the course of economic advancement especially in countries where there is already a high participation rate, the decline of employment in the subsistence sector may be faster than the growth of female employment in the modern sector, so that the total participation rate falls. In the long run the economy benefits primarily from the upgrading of women's work in the modern sector. Thus, the more accurate impression is that the participation of women in certain kinds of paid work outside the home increases with economic development"<sup>(5)</sup>. But, since the trend of economic development is toward large scale economic units, the entrance of women into paid employment in developing countries depends largely on the speed of adjustments in the family life and work.

The female participation rate cannot be explained by the level of economic development alone, however, the propensity of females of working age, especially married women, to enter the labour market is strongly influenced by institutional variations. Traditionally, and this is hardly less true in modern industrial communities, a married

woman's first responsibilities are her home and family. Her main roles have been and remain, those of a wife, a mother and/or homemaker. Moreover, the expectation of single girls to assume these roles, undoubtedly influences the character and the extent of their economic activities. Consequently, the level of women's participation rate in the economic life depends largely upon the compatibility of their economic and family roles. In general, the highly developed countries have the largest proportion of the population (male and female) of working age (15-65 years) in the labour market, whereas the underdeveloped countries have the lowest rates and the semi-industrialized countries come in between.

### 2.31 Industrialization and Employment.

Industrialization has been a major source of both the quickening rate and the geographical spread of rapid change in the contemporary world. Particularly following the Second World War, economic advancement became a subject of political policy in countries already highly developed, and especially in regions lagging behind the economic development of Western Europe and the United States.

Industrialization has many wide and pervasive effects in shaping the form and function of the society. The influence of economic institutions in a mass production society is more than a mere local phenomenon.



Industrialization involves, for example, extensive mobilization of the "factors of production" including new supplies of capital, new power sources, technology embodied in capital goods and equipment and new types of labour, including workers with skills different from those required in the pre-industrial economy.

Economic growth, moreover, moves through different stages. According to W.W. Rostow's view, an economy moves from a traditional stage through a take-off period to sustained growth, maturity and a stage of high mass consumption<sup>(6)</sup>. Development implies changing emphasis within an economy, and this is evidenced in the shifting distribution of labour among the major kinds of activity. This association between the movement of labour and the advancement of the economy is interpreted by Colin Clark. He classifies industries into three groups:

- (a) primary industries, that refer to agriculture, fishing and forestry or the combination of both of them;
- (b) secondary industries, that is mining, manufacturing, and public utilities such as gas and electricity;
- (c) tertiary industries which refer to all other activities such as transport, distribution, public administration, entertainment and so on.

Colin Clark claims that as an economic progress is made, the proportion of labour force in secondary industries grows till it reaches a certain stage and then either stops or declines somewhat, while the proportion in tertiary industries grows steadily<sup>(7)</sup>. On the other hand, Arthur Lewis regards industrialization as the process of gradual transfer of labour force from a pre-industrial sector to a capitalistic sector. In his view, the backward economies of the underdeveloped countries have a large subsistence sector operating alongside a small capitalistic sector<sup>(8)</sup>.

Labour in the subsistence sector is abundant and under-employed, with a marginal product which is negligible or zero. In this respect, the supply of labour to the second sector (capitalistic) is perfectly elastic. During the process of industrialization the proportion of labour force engaged in agriculture starts to decline and that engaged in non-agricultural industries increases. Thus, economic development in its labour aspect is seen as a task of transferring the working force from agricultural to industrial or commercial employments, involving, once development is initiated, either the retraining and reallocation of individuals, or in a general process of changeover generations, the training of new generations for work in other than traditional employment.

Historically this has been one of the best established generalizations concerning structural changes related to industrialization in the majority of countries where per capita income grew

significantly. Agricultural workers comprise less than one fourth of the work force in the more advanced countries of Europe, North America and Oceania, the percentage having declined persistently during the last 100 years and continuing to drop in all countries where marked improvement in real income has occurred. In the United States more than 50% of the work force in 1870 was attached to agriculture, forestry and fishing, approximately 7 million of the country's less than 14 million being so engaged. During a period of rapid population growth in the next forty years, the numbers of such workers increased to about 12 million but declined in relative importance to about 30% of the work force. Since World War I, with marked gains in output per man and per acre resulting from progressive advances in technology, the agricultural labour force decreased in absolute and relative size. By 1950 fewer than 8 million persons representing less than 13% of the labour force were engaged in agriculture and by 1961 the proportion had declined to 8% of the total labour force.

This trend was also witnessed in Japan where the share of agriculture of the total labour force was reduced in the course of industrialization from 72% in 1870 to less than 30% by mid 1930. In Russia the percentage of workers in agriculture declined from 81% in 1926 to 57.8% in 1939.

## 2.32 The Change Towards Urbanization.

The change in the economic structure from the agrarian to the industrial, is usually accompanied by the concentrating of labour and population in non-agricultural pursuits in densely settled, relatively large aggregates with numerous consequences for the mode of life: "the reason is largely the economy of scale in non-agricultural pursuits permitted by a technology that separates the productive process from land area, an economy that produces increasing optimum - scale units as the technical means in transportation, communication and organization grow more effective. This economy of scale also means that pari-passu with urbanization there is a marked change in the scale and nature of the managing unit, whether for organizing economic activity or for organizing social activity at large - from the individual firm to the corporation, from private enterprise to public organization - as the complexity of problems and their impact on society as a whole increase"<sup>(9)</sup>.

Economic progress thus results in the spread of urban industrial systems which create vast urban regions. These regions contain a series of central cities, suburbs, real-estate developments and industrial establishments. As cities grow in size they tend to diversify their manufacturing because their larger hinterland populations can support a wider variety of manufacturing. Further, there is a tendency for an increasingly heterogeneous population to demand a greater variety of goods and services. With rapid

communication and transportation, the isolation and self-sufficiency of villages are steadily eroded. As agriculture becomes more and more incorporated into the commercial industrial system, the distinction between rural and urban communities both physically and socially tends to diminish. The "country-bumpkin" finally disappears and many rural areas become incorporated into metropolitan complexes. In some Western societies such as Germany, England and the United States, cities run into one another over stretches of hundreds of miles. Since industrial plants are located in the cities, in the periphery, in the suburbs and even beyond, the commuting range of workers of all occupational levels tends to increase.

Industrialization and urbanization are thus followed by the growth of the size of industries, in terms of the volume of labour force recruited. In 1955, manufacturing plants hiring over 1,000 employees in the U.S.A. constituted less than 1% of all plants. Nevertheless, the number of employees recruited by these plants constituted about one third of all those employed in manufacturing. This trend towards large scale bureaucracies is also manifested in the growth of non-manufacturing industries such as those concerned with communication, utilities, Government, education, trade and other services, all of which demand an increase in their manpower requirement.

It is significant that the ratio of rural and small-town population to urban population in the world declined from 6.4% in 1920

to 3.0% in 1960. The outstanding point is that in the more developed regions in the world, the level of urbanization (percentage of total population in urban areas) rose from 27% in 1920 to 44% in 1960, while in the less developed regions the percentage of urban population only increased from 6% in 1920 to 16% in 1960.<sup>(10)</sup> However, it should be pointed out that the growth of urban population is not achieved solely by the migration of the population from the countryside to existing towns. In many cases, small villages grow in size and are classified as urban areas as in the United Kingdom.

Although industrialization and urbanization are accompanied by an increase in the rate of employment, this is not equally applicable to women's employment. In Jan L. Sadie's study about demographic aspects of labour supply and employment, he states that four industrially induced stages in the female labour force participation might be distinguished, assuming that ad initio there is no cultural bias against the work of women outside the home.

a) During the first stage, when the economy is predominantly agrarian female labour force participation rates are high, regardless of marital status.

b) In the second stage, secondary industry starts to develop followed by urbanization. Although small-scale house industries begin to proliferate, facilitating the employment of women, the development of some modern establishments may militate against women's employment. This is largely due to the preference given to

men who may otherwise be unemployed. Also, family responsibilities hinder married women from entering employment outside the home. Economic needs may force some women to resort to employment in domestic service.

On the whole, employment opportunities for women are fewer than in the agrarian economy, and lower and diminishing average female workers rates prevail. Marriage usually terminates women's association with the labour market.

(c) In the third stage when the rate of industrialization has reached a level sufficient to catch up with the supply of male labour, and the service sector auxiliary to secondary industry has grown and reached considerable proportions, while the demands made upon the classical administrative sector have increased concomitantly, the downward trend in women's activity rate is checked and reversed. In the above mentioned sectors, hours of work have been reduced considerably and part-time or full-time employment is offered to women. Female workers move away from domestic service to industrial employment. Women are able to enter or re-enter gainful employment after an interval of minimum or no activity due to child-bearing and family responsibilities.

(d) The fourth stage in which women's activity rate would be as high as in the first stage (agrarian) where marriage would not mean the withdrawal of women from the labour market. This stage is

only being approached in countries where the State as owner of the means of production, has actively intervened, as in the Soviet Union, to remove the obstacles to the employment of women<sup>(11)</sup>.

### 2.33 Changes in Occupational Structure.

Industrialization also influences the occupational structure of the working population. In changing the social organization of the work plant and the community, industrialization alters the activities of men, women and children of all ages.

The magnitude of the changes in the activities of different parts of the United States' population since 1870 can be seen in Table (2-2). The statistics for children under five show that during the urbanization and industrialization process, their proportion in the population tends to decrease. This is attributed to the lower birth rate and the survival of larger proportions of people to maturity.

Another conspicuous fact that emerges from this Table is the rapid decline in the proportion of children between five and fifteen years not attending school. This trend is typical of that found during the process of industrialization. In the U.S.A., this group dropped from 10.7% in 1870 to 2.6% in 1960. This decrease is offset by the growth in the numbers of persons attending school. However, the increase is not as large as expected due to the increasing age of the population which reduces the proportion of those below twenty years of age. On the other hand, the growth of the school population



TABLE (2-2)  
PRIMARY ACTIVITIES OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF THE  
U.S.A., 1870-1960. (PERCENTAGES)

Activity Group	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Children Under 5 ...	14.3	13.8	12.4	12.1	11.5	10.9	9.3	8.10	10.7	11.3
Children 5-15 not at school or gainfully employed..	10.7	6.8	6.8	6.7	3.8	3.7	2.9	1.7	2.9	2.6
Persons attending school.....	16.6	19.8	18.6	17.7	19.6	20.6	22.7	20.3	19.2	25.7
Housewives not gainfully employed..	21.3	21.9	21.7	21.6	21.2	21.5	21.3	22.0	21.4	19.2
Persons gainfully employed .....	32.4	34.7	37.2	38.3	40.6	39.6	39.8	40.1	39.9	38.1
Adults in Institutions .....	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.9	0.9	1.1
Not accounted for ..	4.4	2.6	2.9	3.1	2.8	3.1	3.4	7.0	5.0	2.0
TOTALS .....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology. The Sociology of Work Organizations. Second edit. Harper & Row Publishers, New York 1964, p.56.

is significant and is attributed mainly to industrialization as it calls for a general raising of educational levels and for an increasing proportion of skilled workers to perform complex technical and co-ordination functions.

The statistics in Table (2-2) also indicate that married women not in gainful employment constitute an almost constant part of the total population. This fact is explained by the increase in the older age groups accompanied by larger proportions of women to be married. Accordingly, the proportion of married women not in employment remains relatively constant. On the whole, the proportion of the population in gainful employment increased, though at a moderate rate over the years. The impact of industrialization upon the population's activities is also featured in C.M. Stewart's discussion about the degree of urbanization and patterns of labour force participation. He states that as urbanization advances, so the proportion of economically active population in agriculture declines. Also, that the transition from an agricultural to an industrial community changes the economic activities of women.

In his comparative study between Thailand and the United Kingdom where the proportion recorded as living in urban areas respectively were 12% (1960) and 79% (1951), he found that all the adult women in Thailand as well as the men were engaged in agriculture and produced little beyond subsistence. Few lived in towns and participated in manufacturing and urban activities such

as the provision of services. On the other hand, in the United Kingdom, there were less than one half of the female population of working age economically active and only a very few of those were employed in agriculture which has been predominantly a male occupation.

In Thailand women are customarily engaged in the agriculture sector. They constitute about half of the total work force in this sector, the majority of whom are recorded as unpaid family workers. This state of affairs is almost unknown in the United Kingdom<sup>(12)</sup>.

This highlights a conspicuous difference between the two kinds of communities in the employment conditions of women. It appears that mechanization on the land has the effect of transforming farming into a male occupation. Women either remain at home or enter paid employment outside the home if there is no customary objection to their work.

This pattern of women's employment is typical of the highly developed countries such as the United States, Australia and Canada. In these countries agriculture is highly productive and employs relatively few people. Also, young women in rural areas tend to migrate to towns where they find employment in shops, offices and factories.

Industrialization also brings a decrease in the number of labourers and an increase in the number of semi-skilled and skilled

workers. These changes are interpreted by Wilbert Moore as follows:-

"In an industrial economy technological change is exceptionally rapid, being both organised and institutionalised, and thus deliberate in a high degree. Its impact on the allocation of productive tasks, that is occupations, is multiple, and from an evaluative point of view, mixed. Negatively, technological change often results in the breaking up of skill obsolescence. Though the distinction is not always clear in practice, skill dilution is most commonly attributable to changes in productive process, and skilled obsolescence to changes and especially to substitutions in industrial products.

Less noticed by social critics but of crucial importance in industrial evolution, is a third change in occupational demand, namely the need for new skills and new skill combinations, which results generally in occupational upgrading. Within industrial organizations this process is reflected in the proportional shifts of production workers from unskilled to the semi-skilled and skilled; shifts from blue collar to white collar positions and from supervisory to technical personnel. The geometric shape of the organizations comes more nearly to represent a diamond setting on its point rather than by a pyramid sitting on a broad base<sup>(13)</sup>.

This shift from manual to non-manual occupations in non-agricultural occupations is characteristic of all industrialized countries. In the United States white collar workers in 1900

represented slightly less than one fifth of the total whereas today they are about two fifths. The rate of professionalization has even been more rapid. Professional and managerial workers roughly doubled after 1900 as did the sales workers while the proportion of office workers increased more than four times.

Many of these changes have been accompanied by a changing sex composition of occupational categories, as Dale Hiestand states:

"Technological changes are followed by significant alterations in the occupational structure, in the spatial, technological, social and other relationships between jobs and in the skill level required in many tasks. With so many institutional relationships changing, the sex and/or race levels attached to various kinds of work and different jobs may be less firmly fixed in the minds of workers and customers. At such a time employers may be able to shift to available supplies of under-utilized minority manpower with little or no objection from others"<sup>(14)</sup>.

Innovation in technology, which is frequently followed by changes in an industry's product also influences the degree of reliance upon female workers. Men are usually employed for certain jobs requiring physical strength or a high degree of skill. These jobs are always looked upon as men's jobs. On the other hand, women are employed on unskilled or semi-skilled tasks. Through the physical strength and skill requirements of jobs, technological changes influence the decision to recruit men or women for these tasks.

Some changes render the work in an industry lighter, cleaner and easier, and thus encourage the employment of women. For example, the switch in popular taste from cigars to cigarettes accompanied by increasingly automatic machinery led to the replacement of skilled male cigar workers by female workers to tend the machines.

Another instance of the effect of technological changes on the employment of female workers is one in which advances create entirely new kinds of jobs. These jobs have no definite sex label. In consequence, employers are free to employ who they think gives them the greatest advantage. As women are usually paid less than men, this could lead to assigning the jobs to women - a situation in which would tend to persist so long as the job remains unchanged.

Donald Dewy states that whenever new jobs are created through innovation or by establishing a new plant, "if negro workers are present in a shop from the opening day and if they are introduced under sufficiently favourable circumstances - almost any racial employment pattern can be developed"<sup>(15)</sup>. This is also applicable to women.

#### 2.4 Industrial Structure of Labour Force in Developed and Underdeveloped Countries.

The association between industrial structure and economic growth could be indicated by using the available index of economic

TABLE (2-3)

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, COUNTRIES GROUPED BY 1958 PRODUCT PER CAPITA, POST-WORLD WAR II YEARS.

	Groups of Countries by Per Capita GDP 1958					
	\$1,000 and over (1)	\$575-999 (2)	\$350-574 (3)	\$200-349 (4)	\$100-199 (5)	Under \$100 (6)
<u>Economically active as % of total population, last census.</u>						
1. Number of countries .....	14.0	6.0	11.0	17.0	24.0	12.0
2. Total .....	42.7	49.3	36.8	38.7	39.2	43.7
3. Male .....	62.4	67.0	56.6	56.8	58.7	58.3
4. Female .....	23.6	32.3	17.0	20.6	19.6	27.4
5. Female labour force as % of total labour force .....	28.1	33.4	23.1	26.6	25.0	30.0
<u>Major sectors: product and labour force, early 1950s.</u>						
6. Number of countries .....						
share in product % .....	16	5			12	
7. Agriculture and related industries (A) sector (primary) .....	17.4	20.5			46.0	
8. Mining, manufacturing, construction, utilities, transport and communication (M+) sector (secondary) .....	47.7	34.0			21.5	
9. Services (S) sector (tertiary) .....	34.9	45.5			32.6	
<u>Share in labour force, excluding unpaid family labour (%).</u>						
10. A sector .....	19.3	37.9			57.6	
11. M+ sector .....	46.2	29.8			19.5	
12. S sector .....	34.5	32.3			22.9	



TABLE (2-3) Contd.

Relative sectoral product per worker.					
13. A sector to countrywide .....	0.90	0.54			0.80
14. M+ sector to countrywide .....	1.03	1.14			1.10
15. S sector .....	1.01	1.41			1.42
16. M+ and S sectors to A sector .....	1.13	2.37			1.60
17. S sector to M+ sector .....	0.98	1.24			1.29
18. Index of intersectoral inequality .....	3.8	34.8			23.3
Distribution of GDP, more detailed structure, 1950s,					
19. Number of countries share in GNP (%) .....	16	7	10	16	10
20. A sector .....	14.0	33.7	15.1	32.7	39.8
21. M+ sector .....	50.9	29.0	39.4	28.6	22.8
a. Mining .....	2.4	1.7	10.6	4.6	1.5
b. Manufacturing .....	31.2	15.3	15.9	11.2	9.5
c. Construction .....	6.7	4.7	5.4	4.8	4.0
d. Electric, gas, and water .....	2.1	1.3	1.8	1.1	0.8
e. Transport, and communication .....	8.7	5.9	5.8	6.9	7.0
22. S sector .....	35.0	37.3	45.5	38.7	27.4
Manufacturing, 1953					
23. Engaged as % of total labour force (assumed to be 0.42 of population) .....	26.0	13.9	32.3	4.1	4.1
24. Value added per engaged, 1948 .....	5,707	1,389	2,262	567	567
Structure of manufacturing, late 1950s.					
25. Number of countries share in value added (%)	16	6	8	17	9
26. Food, beverages and tobacco .....	16.7	34.3	34.8	38.2	34.8
27. Textiles .....	6.3	20.2	6.4	10.8	17.6
28. Clothing and footwear .....	5.0	4.3	10.1	5.4	2.5
29. Wood products .....	5.3	4.0	5.8	7.2	5.3
30. Paper, printing and publishing .....	9.9	4.4	5.8	4.4	5.0
31. Leather and rubber .....	2.0	3.3	1.7	2.2	3.5
32. Chemicals .....	9.1	9.4	9.1	10.1	12.8
33. Non-metallic minerals .....	4.5	5.5	7.1	6.4	4.5
34. Basic metals .....	10.6	4.4	3.2	1.9	1.9
35. Metal Products .....	28.0	9.0	13.4	10.6	9.5
36. All other .....	2.5	1.2	2.7	2.8	2.6



TABLE (2-3) Contd.

Value added per engaged as relative of value added per engaged in all manufacturing.

37. Food, beverages and tobacco .....	1.27	1.15	1.16	1.34	1.15
38. Textiles .....	0.72	0.86	0.91	0.72	0.80
39. Clothing and footwear .....	0.56	0.60	0.53	0.56	0.56
40. Wood products .....	0.74	0.69	0.69	0.67	0.54
41. Paper, printing and publishing .....	1.16	1.14	1.05	1.86	1.35
42. Leather and rubber .....	0.95	1.13	1.06	1.00	1.67
43. Chemicals .....	1.72	2.03	1.59	1.80	1.71
44. Non-metallic minerals .....	0.96	1.08	0.85	1.00	1.00
45. Basic metals .....	1.19	1.60	1.69	1.36	1.46
46. Metal products .....	0.95	0.93	0.87	0.81	0.86
47. All others .....	0.83	0.84	0.80	1.33	0.81

SOURCE: Simon Kuznets, Modern Economic Growth, Rate Structure and Spread  
Yale University Press, London, 1966, pp.402-403.

growth such as national income per capita and observing the disparities in the industrial structure of the labour force and of the national income among countries.

In Table (2-3) Simon Kuznets classifies countries into six groups by per capita income in 1958 in U.S. dollars, ranging from countries with the highest per capita in group I (\$1,000 and over) and those with the lowest (under \$100) in group (6).

The economic sector is composed of the three major sectors:

- (1) agriculture and related industries such as forestry and fishing - the A sector;
- (2) the industrial sector (mining, manufacturing, construction, water energy and transport and communication) - the M+ sector;
- (3) the service sector that includes trade, finance and real estate, personal, business and professional services and Government - the S sector.

The main feature of the underdeveloped countries is the relatively high share of agriculture and related industries which constitutes between 40% and 50% of the total product. Conversely, in the highly developed countries it is only 14% to 16%. With regard to the industrial sector (M+), its share of the total product is less than a quarter in the underdeveloped countries,

against about 50% in developed countries.

The range of differences in the shares of the two sectors (A and M+) between developed and underdeveloped countries is related to some facts.

In the low per capita income of underdeveloped countries most of the output is channelled into household consumption, the largest proportion of which is allocated to foods and other prime necessities that are the direct product of the agricultural sector.

Since domestic output is the main source of supply for domestic needs in underdeveloped countries, the agricultural sector has a distinctly larger share in the total product than that of the developed countries (46% for underdeveloped and 17.4% for developed or 2.6 to 1).

With regard to the proportion of labour force engaged in the two sectors, a wide disparity is apparant between the underdeveloped and developed countries (see Table (2-3)).

In the underdeveloped countries there is an overwhelming proportion of the working force engaged in agriculture with quite small proportions in the (M+) sector, while the developed countries show an opposite pattern.

The statistics in Table (2-3) indicate that the share of the "A" sector in the labour force in the low per capita income countries is 57.6% against 9.3% for the high per capita income ones or 3.0 to 1.

On the other hand, the share of the (M+) sector in the labour force is 19.5% and 46.2% for the underdeveloped and developed countries respectively, or 1 to 2.4.

Further, product per worker in the "A" sector for underdeveloped countries is much lower than that for the developed countries. This stems from a number of reasons such as the slowness of production due to the backwardness of agrarian techniques, the continuance of population pressure on land, and labour being applied beyond the point of decreasing returns with consequent inefficiency and low productivity per head. On the other hand, in the developed countries agriculture using a small proportion of the labour force functions with higher efficiency and the per worker product is high. According to Colin Clark, who converted agricultural land to standard farm land, the supply of land per male worker in agriculture in a post World War II year, is only 0.057 square kilometers in Asia (excluding Japan) compared with 1.61 for the United States, Canada and New Zealand, and 0.069 for developed non-communist Europe. But the figure for Africa is 0.3, for Latin America 0.7, and although it is lower for Japan (0.42) that for the rest of Asia, agricultural output per worker in Japan is higher than in most of Asia<sup>(16)</sup>.

Despite the fact that manufacturing is an important branch of the economy, as it is the locus of modernization, its share of the total produce is very small and engages an even smaller proportion of the labour force. These features are demonstrated in Table (2-3) where

it is seen that the share of the (M+) sector of the total product accounts for more than a fifth, about 10% of which is allocable to manufacturing.

The major manufacturing industries in the underdeveloped countries are foods and textiles which together contribute over half of the total value added. Chemicals and metal manufacturers which account for over a fifth come next in importance. It should be noted that in many underdeveloped countries small-scale firms and handicrafts are included in manufacturing.

A different structure for manufactures emerges for the developed countries. Metal products alone accounts for over a quarter (28% compared with 10% for the under developed countries). The other branches within the manufactures whose shares are higher in the developed countries than in the underdeveloped countries are basic metals (10% compared to 2%); and paper and printing and publishing, (10% against 5%).

Nevertheless, consumer goods such as food, beverages and tobacco industries necessarily also play a great part in the economy of highly developed countries.

From the comparison between the highly developed and underdeveloped countries in Table (2-3), it is apparent that the underdeveloped countries are also behind the developed countries with regard to product per worker in the (M+) sector, though to a lesser

degree than that of the (A) sector. These disparities among the branches of manufactures indicate the differences in capital equipment per worker and the quality of labour force - the former explaining the high indexes of value added in food and related products, in chemicals and in basic metals, and the latter explaining the low indexes in textiles and clothing and footwear industries where the majority of the working force in all countries is composed of lower paid female employees.

Another disparity between underdeveloped and developed countries emerges in comparing product per worker in the (M+) and (S) sectors. Product per worker is higher in the latter than the former, but the differences between the S and (M+) sector are narrowest in the developed countries and widest in the underdeveloped countries (see Table 2-3). This is related to the fact that although some branches of activities in the underdeveloped countries, such as domestic service and services such as peddling tend to bring the product per worker to an extremely low level, this is offset by that in other activities, e.g. professional and government services that have a high value per product worker, due to the scarcity of the supply of such elements and their high incomes. Also, other services such as those of trades and money lenders may derive a per capita income that is a large multiple of the country wide average because of the high returns on scarce capital and the monopoly position of these groups vis-a-vis their customers or debtors. These factors are much less dominant in the highly developed countries.

It is obvious from the foregoing analysis that the distribution of the working population amongst the three sectors (A, M+ and S) in the countries is largely determined by their industrial structure and their degree of economic advancedness.

## 2.5 Participation of Female Labour Force in Major Branches of Economic Activity.

As mentioned previously, the increased employment of women in the non-agricultural sectors of the economy, is a characteristic feature of the present situation. Since the turn of the century, in most of the industrialised countries, women have been steadily abandoning agriculture as a result of technical changes that reduce manpower requirements and of the increase in more attractive employment in other sectors of the economy.

The shift from agriculture has been so extensive in some countries that the proportion of female workers is relatively small (the United Kingdom and increasingly so in the United States of America and Canada). This movement, however, has been slower in other countries. In the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan and the U.S.S.R., where the numbers of women engaged in the agricultural sector remains relatively high, there has, however, been a decline in their proportion in recent years. In the Federal Republic of Germany, women's proportion fell by 30% between 1952-1959. In Japan, it decreased from 61.7% in 1939 to 43% in 1959. In the U.S.S.R. women's proportion declined from 79.7% in 1939 to 55.3% in 1959. Thus, women are still

engaged in the agricultural areas on a large scale, despite the continuing advance of industrialization.

With regard to developing countries, there has been a shift from agriculture towards the service sector, in particular, and to a far more limited extent towards the manufacturing sector. Despite this fact, the agriculture sector still remains the main occupation of women.

#### 2.51 Industrial Employment.

In the comparison of the industrial structure of labour force of the more advanced and less advanced countries, it is deduced that as the primary sector (mainly agriculture) proportion of the working population declines that engaged in secondary (manufacturing) production increases. Industries in commodity production (manufacturing, mining, construction) increase sharply in importance as economic growth proceeds. But, this increase does not continue indefinitely. After a certain point, the proportion of the labour force engaged in these industries levels off and moves along on a plateau. In most highly industrialized countries, this plateau level is between 30 and 40% of the total labour force. However, in a few countries such as Britain, Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany it reaches approximately 50%.

As agriculture continues to decline in importance with the process of development, and the commodity production levels off, the slack in



the labour force is absorbed by service industries, i.e. trade, transportation and communication, public utilities, repair services, recreation and entertainment, professional and other personal services and the Government. Domestic service is the exception, as it declines with economic development. The wealthiest nations, as mentioned before have the largest proportion of the labour force employed in the service activities, as the proportion rises steadily as national income rises.

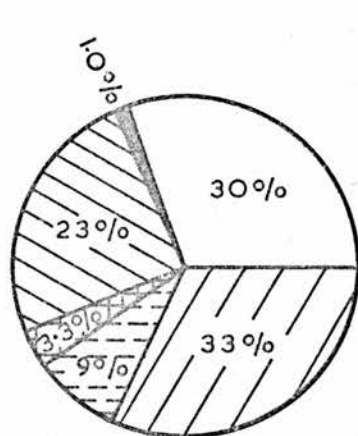
Economic development, however, has a differential impact on the participation of male and female labour force in the non agricultural sector.

In Andrew Collver and Eleanor Langlois' comparison of male and female labour force composition, in metropolitan areas, they remark: "the percentage of workers of each sex in manufacturing increases moderately with economic development. The percent of males in commerce remains constant or declines slightly, while the percentage of females increases substantially. The differences in the percentage of women in services are the most striking, the more highly developed countries have the smallest percentage of their female labour force in services. In summary, economic development is apparently accompanied by increasing proportions of all workers in manufacturing, a fall in the proportions of workers of each sex in services and replacement of male workers in commerce by females. The decline in the proportion of females in services is the most

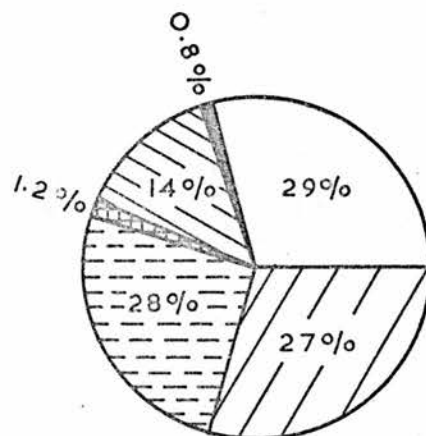
extreme change, because of the large share of private domestic service in the female labour force of the typical underdeveloped economy<sup>(17)</sup>.

Figure (2-7) indicates the industry composition of the female labour force for 26 countries in accordance to their level of development.

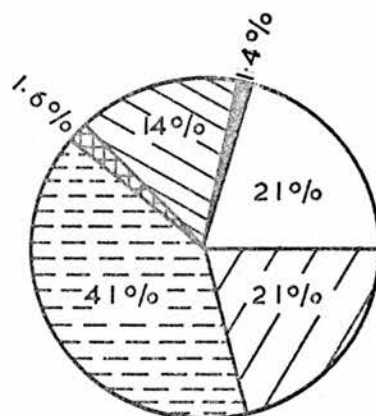
The fact that emerges from the illustrations in Figure (2-7) is that the proportion of females in all industries except services, increases at higher levels of development while that of services sharply declines. It appears that in the earlier stages of development more women leaving services (domestic services) enter manufacturing than enter commerce, while in the later stages of development the reverse is true. Thus, the major type of employment that reacts greatly to the process of industrialization is private domestic work. This is due in the main to the introduction of factory jobs which offer attractive remuneration together with shorter hours of work. In consequence, women shift from private domestic service to industrial employment. Also, with the process of industrialization, a number of products and services, for the supply of which a household retained servants, is now purchased outright. This relates to food, laundry, etc. In addition, there is the appearance of many labour saving devices on the market purchased by those who can no longer afford domestic servants, and encouraging more households to dispense with them at least as full-time workers.



Class I  
Highly Industrialised  
Countries (7)



Class II  
Developing Countries (10)



Class III  
Underdeveloped Countries (9)



INDUSTRIAL COMPOSITION OF THE FEMALE NON-  
AGRICULTURAL LABOUR FORCE OF METROPOLITAN  
POPULATION BY LEVEL OF ECONOMICS DEVELOPMENT

Similar increases in the female participation rate in the service sector (excluding private domestic) take place with industrial advancement. Figure (2-7) illustrates this fact. The mean participation of females in services excluding private domestic is 33 for highly developed countries compared with 21 for the underdeveloped ones.

The pattern of female labour force demand, however, depends on the opportunities offered to them in industry. In the more highly developed countries which have more diversified economies, women are hired on a larger scale in light industries. They are being increasingly recruited in industries such as chemicals, pharmaceutical, in the electrical and mechanical engineering industries and also in the electronic industries.

In the developing countries women are being employed in large numbers in textile, clothing, shoes and processing industries.

Commerce, banking and related activities are an appreciable source of employment for women in all developed countries. In countries such as Australia, France and the U.K. women in these activities comprise over 15% of the female population of working age (15-65).

It is apparent that industrialization brings with it a change in women's economic activities. It may be hypothesized that participation rates will increase with economic growth and that has

been the American experience. Nevertheless, "pre-industrial social patterns have lasting consequence and there are options in politico-economic regimes. Precise replication of historic changes may not be expected in some aspects of contemporary modernization because the experience of the past may be forthrightly adopted or rejected with resulting changes and consequences"<sup>(18)</sup>.

Thus, some differences in the progress of the participation of female labour force in the regions emerges. These are associated with custom and norms and the speed of adjustments in the family life and work.

#### 2.6 The Social Status and Employment of Women in Developed and Underdeveloped Countries.

Women's propensity to undertake paid employment is influenced not only by the economic advancement of the region, but also by their social position. The different forms of culture prevalent in the country and adjustments between family and economic organizations have far reaching effects on the level of women's participation rate in the labour market.

Undoubtedly, there is a marked disparity as regards the status of women in modern industrialized communities - the Western European countries, the United States and Russia, for example, and the underdeveloped countries.

## 2.61 The Position of Women in Developed Countries.

### 2.611 Status of Women

Women in the metropolitan population of the highly developed regions have achieved equality with men. They have become juridically "adult". They have attained democratic rights, access to education and opportunity for employment in almost all economic activities in all positions once denied to them. They can own property, attend colleges, make independent contracts though under certain conditions, and have equal inheritance with brothers. Married women at work have become more common and accepted, and many measures have been introduced to facilitate the careers of women.

The changes in women's status and the changes in family roles were mainly due to industrialization. Many kinds of technological developments have, however, had adverse effects on the format of the patriarchal family.

As new means of transportation and communication were invading the privacy of the family weakening its bonds and drawing off its individual members, other technological changes were gradually depriving the family of its productive function. There the advancement of industrialization demolished the self-sufficiency of the agrarian community, as technological advancement shifted most of the productive tasks out of the home to the industrial work place. This marked change in the social group structure, is defined as follows:

- " a) A progressive reduction in the size of the family from multi-generation families to that of one couple and their children.
- b) The diminished importance of relatives for companionship, collaboration and support. Social exchange and mutual obligations have been largely reduced to only the closest relatives.
- c) Anonymity amongst neighbours in large cities. Even in rural areas, however, there has been a decline in the importance of immediate neighbours as a result of automobile, mass media, the ecological differentiation in county centres and the progressive depopulation of such areas. "(19).

Undoubtedly, "machine technology" with its breaking down to many processes, allowed women to undertake many jobs which formerly needed physical strength and were specifically male work. But the factor of technological change, however, was not the sole responsible factor in giving woman her new position in society. "Industrialization introduced a liberal ideology based on the freedom of the individual and social mobility. With the development of a free labour market, the individual was hired for his own skill and ability to perform the job regardless of his family's social position. This was a change from status to contract. Women were no longer dependent on their

families, industrialization offered single women opportunity to live on their own and to pursue a career"<sup>(20)</sup>. Today it is possible in Northern Europe, Britain and the United States of America, for a woman to live and work independent of close family attachments without being suspect.

In the modern family of today, the wife has been gainfully employed before marriage and will generally pursue her career until the advent of childbirth, whereupon the mother will break her career possibly to re-enter the labour market when the children reach school age. The financial burden, income, decisional rights, and influence are all shared by husband and wife. The man helps with household tasks and both partners enjoy equal opportunity to participate in activities outside the home. Thus, married women in modern industrialized communities can and do combine housework and economic activity.

Also, high wages and the desire for a high standard of living together with the diminished household responsibilities acted together in attracting a larger proportion of the female population to paid employment.

Although the profound change in the status of women that has been occurring over the past century in all western societies, and most markedly in America, has given women a growing freedom from economic dependence upon their fathers and husbands, and with it



considerable liberation from the constraints that were imposed by the old sex norms and the subordinate position in law and in personal relations, men in general have staunchly resisted the invasion by women into their occupations. Many job categories are still regarded as male tasks. This view acts in counter fashion imposing limitations on women's employment opportunities and their chances of advancement.

Another point is that women's motivation to work is usually undermined because of the conservative notion which persists that the normal role of woman is still that of a wife, housewife and mother.

The acceptance of married women in employment is always somewhat constrained by the pervasive belief that women do not take their careers seriously because if married they will have to discharge their home commitments regardless of their jobs.

In Holland the Catholic Church officials prohibited employment of married women. This attitude persisted until 1959 in Government employment and is still maintained in provincial and municipal regions<sup>(21)</sup>.

There are also some countries that still hold firmly to the traditional conception of the role of woman as a housewife. The work she performs outside the house is looked upon as disagreeable, from which the family nevertheless benefits for the time being from

the economic point of view. This working activity is seen as a temporary phenomenon and this temporariness makes women's work such a precarious business. In Italy this "temporariness" spreads over to professional work at a higher level, even though it has been decreasing in recent years.

In Germany, many men and many women also, still believe that the nature of women disqualifies them from shouldering responsibilities outside the home, acting as supervisor or performing intellectual tasks. In Germany today, employers' attitudes and thinking are frequently dominated by old fashioned prejudice, a general dislike of change and possibly also by some fear of disturbance. Therefore, with rare exceptions, they hesitate to promote women. Also, many men in positions of authority, are convinced that to remain in subordinate posts is to the good of the women themselves and of the community at large, and to have a woman in a leading or otherwise highly qualified position, seems to be as revolutionary a thought as it was decades ago.

As regards the Scandinavian countries, although women have the same political rights as men, and a high degree of equality with men in almost all economic aspects of life, the labour picture is characterised by a sharply marked sexual division, particularly at the low and very high occupational levels. Certain jobs are considered suitable only for women, others only for men. In industrial establishments, the production departments are usually divided into

"women's" and "men's" and the great majority of jobs are designated "male" or "female". The same picture of segregation between men and women on the assignment of jobs is also true in service occupations, office work and commerce.

#### 2.612 Women's Occupations.

It is undeniable that there has been a change in women's scope of employment in these developed countries, and that they form a large proportion of the labour force.

Despite this development, women's occupational pattern differs substantially from that of men in the majority of the countries. Women are still found in the second rather than the first rank of most occupations. All the reports presented from different countries to the Council of Europe for Cultural Co-Operation in 1967, show more or less explicitly that the enormous increase in the employment of women has taken place mainly at the lower levels, with teachers and social assistants as the only exceptions<sup>(22)</sup>.

In most of these countries, the characteristics of women's occupational pattern is more or less the same; women are predominant in the semi-skilled and unskilled jobs in industry, e.g. in Germany, the unskilled and semi-skilled women make up 90% of the female labour force in industry against 10% who went through apprenticeships, while the ratio of skilled men to semi-skilled and unskilled workers is 50:50.

In Britain women are also clustered around the semi-skilled and unskilled jobs in industry. The conditions prevailing in the latter country is equally applicable in Sweden and most Western European countries. Another conspicuous feature of women's occupational pattern is that a large number of females are employed in jobs that have always been looked upon as feminine jobs such as nursing, domestic service, social work, teaching, and many types of clerical jobs.

In Sweden, according to the 1960 census, 71% of the female labour force are clustered around 20 occupations, e.g. clinical work, shop assistants, service occupations, etc. where they constitute between 58% to 100% of the total workers on these jobs. By contrast there is only 11.7% of all male labour force engaged on these job categories<sup>(23)</sup>.

As regards professional occupations, women in all countries are practising in almost all professions, but the proportion engaged in these occupations is substantially lower than that of men.

In Germany there are almost no women among the engineers in industry, women physicians are less than one-fifth of the total number. In France women practising engineering represent only 3.7% of all engineers; women doctors are only 8% of the total number of doctors and out of 6,639 lawyers in the Court of Appeals only 1,408 are women. The same situation is to be found in Britain. It is estimated that out of 17,000 architects, only 692 are women. Female barristers account for 8.5% of the total and only 0.06% of

all civil engineers are women. As for medical practitioners, women constitute 21% of the total while women teachers account for 58% of all teachers.

On the other hand, the statistics for women doctors in Russia provides a marked contrast to Western European figures. Women doctors in Russia constitute 75% of the total number of doctors and women engineers account for 29% of qualified (working) engineers.

The position of women in top jobs in all countries exhibits the restrictions which are imposed upon their promotion. Women are usually undertaking jobs of relatively low status and responsibility. Among top executives of private corporations, in the Federal Republic of Germany, there are almost no women, with the exception of those who have attained the positions due to inheritance of property. In higher grades of jobs in the German Civil Service, which is exclusively manned by university graduates, female workers constitute only 2 to 3% of the total number of employees. Moreover, women represent only 3% of all the judges and one woman is a member of the Federal Supreme Court. There are only 25 women judges in Sweden, 60 in Finland and 12 in Denmark.

Despite the fact that the proportion of women in the teaching profession is considerable in all countries (60% of all teachers in secondary education in Finland and their percentage in Denmark, Sweden, France and Belgium over 44%) the percentage of those teaching at higher levels of education is very low. The percentage of women

teaching at universities is only 3% in Austria and Switzerland, 5% in Finland, France and the Netherlands and 6% in the Federal Republic of Germany. Further, the proportion of those who gained the title of professor is even lower. Only 1% of all professors are women in the United States, and in Canada the proportion of women attaining the rank of full professor and "College Principal" is only 0.8% of these categories.

Also, it is all the more surprising that Russian women are rarely promoted to the leading positions in a number of party and Soviet organizations. Their number is substantially low in executive positions in either party or Soviet work or as secretaries of distinct committees. There is not a single woman among the first secretaries of the regional and town committees. Furthermore, women represent only 20.7% of the total number of the members of the twenty-second Party Congress.

In his speech at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party N. Krushchev emphasized the fact that women were rarely promoted to leading positions in a number of party and Soviet organizations. There are also very few Russian women in executive positions in either party or Soviet work, directors of industry, of collective farms and state farms. The role of women is still weaker despite the fact that the population in the U.S.S.R. has been accustomed to the idea of the social equality of women (24).

Women's occupational pattern in the Western world is largely defined along the traditional lines which regard men's and women's roles as two distinctive poles. On the one hand there are women with distinctive feminine patterns of activity and a life centred on the home and family. On the other there are men with their life concentrated on their careers.

But, this segregation in employment between men and women is not mainly due to the existence of male prejudice. The attitude of many women towards employment, especially married women, strengthens the belief that they are less committed to their jobs than men.

In Norway, although women have achieved greater equality with men than other Western countries, three quarters of the Norwegian housewives in one sample expressed their preference to stay at home rather than to undertake paid employment<sup>(25)</sup>.

In Chambart de Lauwe's studies in several countries, on the attitude of women as regards paid employment, he found out from the answers of French women living in a working class neighbourhood that half of them wanted to stay at home while 40% preferred to work outside the home. Also, in a larger sample 56% of women and men pointed out that women should stay at home<sup>(26)</sup>.

In Germany, 63% of all women asked if they would drop their jobs if they could, gave yes as an answer.

In another study in Germany, the data obtained revealed that the majority of women are only working because of financial pressures, and that 90% of women labourers in this group and 80% of salaried employees in the same group would leave their jobs if they were no longer under financial stress<sup>(27)</sup>.

Norwegian sociological research indicates that women, especially the younger ones usually look upon their work as temporary, expect to marry and retire from employment; they emphasize that there is no reason to struggle for future employment advantages as their principal role will be that of wife and mother<sup>(28)</sup>.

It is apparent that the scope of women's employment pattern though progressively changing, is markedly influenced by culture and traditions which still differentiate between the roles of men and women in the occupational sector of most of the Western societies.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that there are similarities in the overall pattern in women's employment in highly developed countries and that the differences in women's level of employment between these countries, which differ in social structure, religion and culture, are of very small significance.

#### 2.62 The Social Status and Occupations of Women in the Lesser Developed Countries.

In the metropolitan population of the underdeveloped countries the pattern of women's employment in the economy reflects several



types which are markedly different from the one characteristic of the highly modern industrialized countries (the Western world). This is largely due to the different economic conditions and culture prevailing in these regions.

The Latin American countries, for example, although regarded as a relatively homogeneous region, with certain factors common to all countries, exemplify in fact, real differences between the countries. Each differs from the rest in geographical, economic and social factors and the racial composition of the population. Consequently, the social position of women and their employment pattern will differ from one region to the other. The different rates of progress in women's rights and position is largely due to the circumstances of the past together with the present conditions. Prior to the beginning of the movement for emancipation, the social position of women in all these countries was an organic part of the feudal type of social organization imposed on these colonies by the Spanish conquistadors.

Following their independence these countries organized their judicial system in accordance with two sources; the pre-existing ruling situations and customs to which they gave legal form and the provisions contained in the Napoleonic law that is based on a Roman Law.

With regard to women's legislation, the countries that gained their independence covered old laws with a thin veneer of liberalism.

They kept the outlook of ancient Roman Law which regarded women as imbeciles because of their sex. Efforts, however, have been made towards improving women's social and legal status, through the modification of the old laws concerning social position of women, or the promulgation of new civil codes, asserting equality between men and women and granting them political rights. In Mexico, since the great legal reform that began with the constitution of Queretaro of 1917, all the codes in effect, and especially the Civil Code of 1928, followed the principle that men and women have identical rights. The Chilean Civil Code was modified in 1934 by eliminating the restrictions on the women. Despite these reforms, the position of women in society generally is still inferior to that of men.

The pace of economic development has not been even in Latin America and within each country. Just as the per capita gross national or domestic product of North and Latin America differs greatly, so it differs between Latin American countries themselves. The most marked feature of those countries is the growth and development of some highly urbanized segments of the society, without a corresponding change in the backlands, which has greatly accentuated rural-urban differences. This has been mainly due to the geographical concentration of manufacturing in the most prosperous regions. In Argentina, the principal concentration of manufacturing is in the Greater Buenos Aires region which contains almost a third of the country's population and possesses the most important packing houses,

textile plants metallurgical works and chemical firms. Smaller manufacturing centres are located in Rosario, Cordoba, La Plata, San Nicola (centre of the new steel industry in the province of Buenos Aires) and other principle cities. Also, in Chile the great majority of Chilean industrial establishments are located in and around the capital, Santiago. The proportion of the population living in urban areas is only 40% to 45% of the total population. Only 35% of Latin America's population are economically active, of which about 47% is in agriculture. The range in this percentage varies from a high of 85% in Haiti to a low of 25% in Argentina.<sup>(29)</sup> The agricultural country par excellence, which is the country with the highest level of living in Latin America, is the country with the lowest percentage of the economy in agriculture and vice versa .

The social position of women and their occupational pattern vary in the different countries and within countries. As is to be expected, there is a definite correlation between the occupations of women and the development attained by the economy of which they and their families form a part.

In the underdeveloped rural areas, familial and social organizations are generally semi patriarchal, with women subordinate to the men legally and socially. Agriculture is still the main form of economic activity in most Latin American countries, and much

of the gainfully occupied female population is employed in this branch of production. However, in a number of countries, Argentina, Costa Rica, Mexico and Venezuela, for example, the number of women workers in agriculture is rather small. In Columbia and Peru for instance, more women are employed in agriculture than in any other economic activity. Many of the women of the rural areas are occupied in a family undertaking as an unpaid family member; in these areas, women also engage in traditional handicraft work carried out by the family, for example, the manufacture of hand-woven carpets and shawls, panama hats (Ecuador), pottery (Bolivia), or lace (Paraguay). When in employment, a woman is usually engaged on domestic or agricultural tasks, particularly seasonal work on large estates (coffee, sugar cane, cotton or rice)..

In the cities and suburban areas where industry has begun to develop, the social position of women and their employment pattern is better since they enjoy more occupational and cultural opportunities. But as the great majority of married women in the urbanised areas do not enter gainful employment, those who work outside the home are mostly single. They undertake work in commerce. Many women work in offices, shops and stores and as typists, shorthand writers, clerks, and book-keepers. Women are also engaged in industry such as textiles, food, metallurgy, clothing and chemistry. A relatively high number of women, however, are employed on what is generally regarded as industrial home work, manufacturing consumer

goods (clothing, leather goods, gloves, for example) for which the female labour force has traditionally been employed.

Home-work, however, is widespread in Latin America as it offers women who are in need or have family responsibilities, opportunities to earn. In Uruguay, registered homeworkers numbered 50,000 between July 1952 and June 1953. In 1954, 150,000 women in the capital of Argentina were home-workers<sup>(30)</sup>.

But as the lag in the growth of employment in manufacturing is one of the features of present circumstances in Latin America, manufacturing is not absorbing the population which is flocking to the cities. Thus, large numbers of female emigrants are being forced into unskilled personal services or domestic work.

Despite the economic and social circumstances which greatly limit their participation, coupled with the small range of positions open to women, they have started to undertake progressively professional jobs. In countries such as Argentina, Mexico and Uruguay among others, they have access to a number of professional careers.

Teaching, however, is the profession which has attracted large numbers of women. Its daily schedule and long vacations make it easier than other occupations for married women to combine home and work. In Argentina, over 90% of primary school teachers and 50% of the secondary teachers are women. In Mexico women make up more

than 60% of the teachers.

Other professions, such as biochemistry, pharmacy and dentistry are also attractive to women. Moreover, in Uruguay, women excel in medicine and social welfare and in Mexico they do important work as socially conscious writers and journalists.

However, there is a relative paucity of women in almost all high rank positions. This is largely due to the fact that even women who study or work, would usually neither give up marriage nor postpone it for the sake of their professions.

In other underdeveloped countries in the Middle East and some parts of South Asia and Africa which follow the Moslem religion, the contribution of women to the economic activities depends largely on the attitude of people towards religion and the degree of economic development of the region.

The special status of women in these Moslem regions has strong economic consequences. Although Islam has elevated the position of women and improved her social conditions from the pre-Islamic periods, they are deprived in the majority of these regions from the rights Islam has given them. Islam recognises the Moslem woman as a juridical person in her own right. When she attains majority, she is able to contract to herself, to deal with her own property, to sell or retain her land or houses and to do business according to her own wishes without interference. Furthermore, her husband has no

legal claim to any profits she makes. But customs and the ignorance of many women about what are their rights, are responsible for their inequality with men and their subordinate position in society which is accepted as natural in many countries. The taboo, which is attached to women, and is symbolised by the veil, still prevents many middle class women from working outside the home. Also, early marriage and exclusive attention to husbands and children, is another factor to women's small rate of participation in the economic life.

With respect to the Arab countries, the social and occupational position of women is largely associated with the degree of modernisation and socio-economic development in the region. It ranges from the most tradition bound Saudi Arabia, Yemen and the Sheikdoms of the Arabian Peninsula to the most Westernized Lebanon, Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria.

Social changes due to the impact of industrialization have, however, involved inevitable changes in the status of women and religious thought. In Egypt, women gained their political rights in 1956. Syrian women have had the vote since 1949 and Lebanese women since 1952. In Tunisia, women first voted in 1957 in the municipal election and the Tunisian constitution in 1959 gave them the right to vote and to be elected to national office. Girls have also been given equal educational opportunities with boys <sup>(31)</sup>.

Nevertheless, the social and occupational position of rural women differs greatly from that of her urban sister. In the villages, the family is the traditional unit. In agriculture, women perform a vital function both in the fields, during harvest time and in such activities as dairying and poultry. Despite this fact, the share of women in agriculture is but rarely reflected in statistical returns which, as a rule, do not count women as separate gainfully employed persons in cases where they merely help the male members of their families in the fields. With the advent of industrialization, many girls leave the rural areas to work in the cities, though largely in private domestic employment.

In the urban areas, women enjoy better status in society, but the preservation of old family norms with which the problem of attitude toward religion is intrinsically interwoven, are still keeping many women in subordinate positions to men in the families. However, there has been a marked improvement in their conditions and their increasing participation in various fields of economic and social activity. Each year marks the opening of new jobs for women.

Office jobs such as clerical, typing, stenography and secretarial, have been undertaken by women for many years. In the civil service, women have been admitted and some of them have reached the highest ranks on the job scale.



They are also found in commerce, in industry and in all professions, as engineers, lawyers, doctors and scientists. But teaching is regarded by many as the most respectable occupation, even in Saudi Arabia where female participation in the working world as a rule is unacceptable.

It is true that the expectations of educated girls are of a short period of work followed by marriage and children; accordingly, the female participation rate in economic life is very small (6% in Egypt), as career women are usually those who are either relatively unattractive or too particular in accepting a suitor.

During recent years it has been increasingly accepted in these communities for married women to return to work although many husbands still disapprove of jobs where their wives would be under the supervision of males or have contacts with men, due to the suspicion that women are open to approach by other men. Furthermore, the prevailing common notion that "working women play around with men", has a prohibitive effect on the approval of many men to allow their daughters or wives to undertake gainful employment.

With regard to Pakistan, the same Islamic traditions are ruling society in a still more restrictive fashion. Although "Purdah" is expensive to maintain, its preservation enhances the social position of the family, while a career woman is looked upon with suspicion.

This attitude towards the seclusion of women in rural areas and to a lesser degree in the urban areas, deters many women from entering the labour market.

The pattern of women's employment shows a disparity between urban and rural areas. Whereas women in rural areas are poor and fully occupied with their homes, women in urban areas, mostly from the upper strata, have gradually become less restricted. Amongst them - though forming a very small minority - are doctors, lawyers and even ambassadors. As 85% of Pakistan's population live in rural areas, it is only a very small proportion of women who live in the urban areas (5 million women out of 38 million women). Consequently, while 67% of all men are in the labour force, only 4% of all women are so occupied.<sup>(32)</sup> The marked scarcity of women is greatly felt in some traditional women's occupations such as teaching, nursing and secretarial work.

The transformation in the position of Moslem women is, to a certain degree, both the cause and effect of the change of people's attitude toward religion, due to modernisation through world contact, which is motivating social progress.

Any variation in the status of Moslem women in those tradition bound countries, e.g. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, could only be attained by challenging old customs. Until these customs are challenged, little or no change in the life of Moslem women will occur.

## 2.7 The Effect of Marital Status Trends on Women's Activity Rates.

As has been pointed out earlier, trends in female activity rates for a certain number of countries - nearly all of them highly industrialized - showed a diversified pattern during the first half of the twentieth century. While it rose in Australia, Canada and the United States, it remained nearly constant in England and Wales, Ireland and New Zealand. Also, there was a downward trend in women's activity rates in Sweden and Switzerland.

It should be borne in mind when considering women's activity trends during this period that the ageing of the population tends to decrease women's total rates of participation in all these countries.

In addition, the changes brought about by the Second World War in the marital status distribution of women and in fertility, had inverse effects on their contribution to economic life. Women married at earlier ages and the numbers of single women decreased. The birth-rate increased significantly, in the majority of these countries, thus deterring many women from entering the labour market. In general, both the increase in the proportion of married women and the rise in fertility were greatest among young women in the age groups 15-30 years.

Despite these changes in marital status and fertility in the younger age groups, the activity rates of women of these ages continued to increase or remained constant in these countries. It

TABLE (2-4)

PERCENTAGES OF MARRIED WOMEN AMONG WOMEN  
AGED 20-24 YEARS AND NUMBER OF LIVE  
BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN OF THESE AGES,  
1930 and 1950.

Country	Percentage married among women aged 20-24 years		Live births per 1,000 women aged 20-24	
	Around 1930	Around 1950	Around 1930	Around 1950
Australia .....	31.0	57.5	99.1	197.7
Canada .....	36.6	51.2	137.3	188.5
England and Wales .....	25.7	48.0	93.0	125.9
Ireland .....	13.5	17.6	n.a.	n.a.
New Zealand ...	29.6	55.7	127.4	231.2
Sweden .....	19.5	39.8	83.1	126.0
Switzerland ...	17.3	25.7	64.4	108.9
United States of America ...	51.7	65.6	141.9	196.6

SOURCE: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, "Demographic Aspects of Manpower"; Population Studies No.33, Report I, New York 1962, p.46.

was only in France, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States of America, that a downward trend was observed though this was not significant. In the other countries the fall was not of great significance (see Table (2-4)). This is due to the fact that following the Second World War, there has been an expansion of many employment opportunities for women in many industrialised countries. Women entered employment during the war because of severe shortage of man-power in many activities. They acquired the skill needed for many jobs through training. Coupled with it was the abolition of the marriage-bar in a large number of employments, and the improvement of work conditions, which influenced many women to remain in employment either for more income or for the satisfaction of interests outside the home.

On the other hand, there was a marked expansion in the proportion of married women economically active over 35 years of age - where marital status and fertility made a less impact - in quite a few countries, e.g. the U.K. and the U.S.A.

In general, the trend in married women's activity rates has shown considerable increase during the post-war period.

In Australia the proportion of married women in the female labour force rose from one in nine in 1904 to one in three in 1954, in which year they constituted more than a third of the female labour force and 14% of all married women.

In Canada the participation rate of married women increased from 12% in 1953 to 21% in 1961. They presented over half the female labour force. In Denmark about 40% of all married women were in gainful employment in 1955.

In Germany married women constituted over two-fifths of the total female labour force in 1955. In New Zealand, between 1926 and 1956, the percentage of married women in the total labour force rose substantially from 8% to 32%. Similar upward trends in the participation of married women were witnessed in the U.K., Sweden, the Netherlands and Switzerland.

## 2.8 Factors Affecting the Employment of Married Women.

We have outlined in our sketch how in the course of a country's economic development changes take place in the composition of its labour force, its distribution between industries, occupations and geographical locations. Major structural changes occur as a result of changes in relative factor supplies, technology, organization, social and cultural factors, and the distribution for products with increasing total and per capita income.

One of the main impacts of industrialization on the component of labour force is that it draws large numbers of women into the labour market. This trend towards the extensive employment of women has occurred in industrialized or rapidly industrializing countries. It represents an outstanding recent development in the employment of women in economically advanced countries.

But the most interesting phenomena is that the spectacular part of the gain in female workers' rates has been in the rate for married women. This rapid increase in the trend of married women's activity rates is related to several factors.

One of the most prominent factors that have permitted the entry of married women into the labour market has been their release from domestic household functions. This is largely due to the smaller family of today.

The decrease in the fertility rates of married women is associated with several factors:

The great advances in medicine and health standard has resulted in the decline in mortality rates, especially infant mortality rates. With more children surviving, fewer births are needed to achieve a given family size.

The rising costs and diminished economic advantage of children in urbanized industrial society is another relative factor.

In rural families children assist in production at an early age and are a source of support for parents in their old age. In an urban environment children contribute less and cost more, especially after the establishment of universal primary education and the prohibition of child labour, both characteristic of advanced industrialization. Moreover, the extension of education to women, women's suffrage and their employment in occupations formerly reserved for males are objective indications of wider opportunity and higher status for them. Since the burden of pregnancy and child rearing are all women's burdens, these changes in opportunity and status have promoted the spread of birth control. The newer contraceptive techniques have been, of course, the means through which a husband and a wife control the number of their children.

The fall in the birth rate in Western societies is one of the biological facts of the twentieth century. The average family size of the mid Victorian family was 6.16 children. Nowadays (for women married in 1930) the average is 2.09 children. Only one family in eight has five children today compared with two out of every three Victorian



families .

The emergence of the pattern of a "two-phase" working life for married women is testimony to the combined effectiveness of family limitation and the school as the day custodian of children and youth.

It has also become increasingly common for girls leaving school or college to enter paid employment as a matter of course. With marriage and with the birth of children women withdraw from the labour force and return to it when family responsibilities are less time consuming. This is evident by the rising labour participation rates of married women over 35 years of age as mentioned previously.

Another contributory factor is the easing of housekeeping due to the transfer of much of the nation's production from home to industry, e.g., from the wash board to the commercial laundry. In addition, the development of widespread techniques that increase the productivity of housewives, has increased their free time to hold a job. Simultaneously there has been a relative and absolute expansion in the volume of jobs in the different sectors of the economy that can be performed by women due to industrialization and alterations in economic life since the turn of the century, especially since the beginning of the Second World War which have been great. The application of increasingly intricate and sophisticated technology to various processes of production have increasingly replaced physical labour by machines. From these changes came the need and the opportunity for many women to contribute in the labour market.

Despite these changes in women's employment in the various industries and occupations, several economic and domestic forces are apt to impair the inflow of married women in the labour market. With a view to clarifying the consequences of such forces on the supply side of married women in the labour market, it may be useful to review the determinants of labour force participation.

The reasons why particular persons from a given population enter the labour market may vary, though the dominant motive is to earn a living. But many factors have their effect in moulding the profile of the labour force such as age, marital status, family and domestic commitments, income and employment opportunities. The majority of persons who are recorded as being in the labour force, hold a job on a full-time basis. For most of these persons (or the families or consumer units that they represent) the income received from their employment is their main source of income. This is the usual behaviour for men who enter the labour market and leave on reaching retirement age. It would also be applicable for single women. On the other hand, there are some sections of the population who have lesser attachments to the labour force. Some may work on a regular part-time basis, such as some housewives, others may work full-time on a seasonal basis like the student with a summer job.

In view of the different degree of an individual's attachment to the labour force, certain categorization, based on the regularity of work habits and the basic dependence on income, has been recognized.

The primary labour force consists of the persons who are normally in the labour market usually as full-time workers. It includes heads of families and unrelated individuals, i.e., single, widowed or divorced people who have no other significant source of income.

The secondary labour force are those sections of the population who do not regard attachment to a job as their primary responsibility. "The secondary labour force draws upon the following groups for its membership: those women whose labour force attachment changes in one or more of several factors such as marital responsibilities, family income and types of job openings available; a relatively small number of men who are neither young nor old but who do not wish to work continuously and can get away with it, those young men and women who move into and out of the labour force while completing their education, and those handicapped and older persons who are employable but seek or hold only temporary employment<sup>(34)</sup>".

As it appears, certain relationship exists between the supply of primary labour force and the secondary labour force, the household behaviour towards the labour market has its implication on the supply of labour force.

The family unit is the supplier of primary and secondary labour force and is the consumption unit of all that is produced. Many households provide the labour force with one or more workers on a full-time basis, part-time basis or seasonal time basis. The collective nature of the household decisions of how much time of its members will be allocated to

remunerative employment is subject to a time constraint. Paid employment and the goods it will buy compete with alternative use of time spent on other activities (household chores, leisure, recreation, education, etc.). Such wants are all substituting for one another.

Against the returns accruing to the household unit must be set the costs of its operation (consumption). A household's accounts are always in balance, since they can always be equalized through the balancing of debts and savings. But as the composition of the household changes over time, those changes affect both income and consumption. As a household's decision to allocate the time of its members to gainful employment is inextricably bound up with its economic wants, the increasing demand of consumer goods which can only be obtained with wages and these wants to exceed the income earned by the primary worker, will motivate the supply of secondary workers (mostly wives) to the labour market to supplement the family's income.

In a family, an adult constitutes a complete consumption unit, a child a fraction of a consumption unit that increases with increasing age. Thus, the cumulative consumption needs of a family with children increases with the number and age of children. As the financial burden increases, the living standard of a family with more than one child will tend to decrease. It seems fair to assume that the wife will be more inclined to enter the labour market when the burden of financial support increases. But the burden of financial support is not the only factor that varies directly with the number and age of children. There is also

the work load in the home. The wife's propensity to seek gainful employment will increase with decreasing domestic work at home.

These factors can best be explained by the effect of the family life cycle on the participation rates of married women:

In the first phase of marriage, before the couple have children, the domestic responsibilities of the wife are not great. But the financial burden will tend to be high as a large proportion of income will be allocated on the household formation. Generally, the husband's income tends to be relatively low, thus favouring the tendency of the wife to undertake gainful employment.

During the second phase, when the couple have children both domestic commitments and the financial support will increase. The husband's income is likely to have increased. On the other hand, the increased housework will tend to reduce the propensity of the wife to enter the labour force.

During the third phase, when the children have reached school age, the burden of financial support will increase but the housework will decrease. Since the income of the husband rises in scale with the burden of financial support, there is a greater incentive for the wife to undertake gainful employment.

In the fourth phase when the children have left school and begin to support themselves, both the financial burden and the housework will greatly diminish. Simultaneously, the husband's income will have increased. In the event, not only the external obstacles but also the

economic incentives for the wife's return to work will decrease. The higher economic standard decreases the need for mothers to work. It could be assumed that households whose primary earners are low-income producers, are more likely to supplement secondary workers to the labour market in order to supplement their earnings. And this is apparent (See Table 2-5) when households are ranked by the primary workers, the labour force participation rate of wives increases as the income bracket declines.

Unemployment of large numbers of the principal earners, or their employment on "short hours" will lead to a transitory decline in their family's income. In order to make up this loss of income other adults in the family enter the labour force. However, this will largely depend on the availability of employment opportunities and also the importance of the lost income to the family.

The entry of secondary labour force (mostly married women) into remunerative employment due to the unemployment of the head of the family (main bread winner) has led to the additional worker hypothesis. This hypothesis asserts that during depression periods, when a number of men become unemployed, the loss of wages motivate the wives to seek employment in the labour market to maintain their standard of living. As the husband continues to seek other employment, the family now has an "additional worker".

However, if business continues to depress entailing a high rate of unemployment, there is a scarce probability for wives to secure a job.

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN, HUSBAND  
PRESENT, MARCH 1960, AND APRIL, 1951, BY PRESENCE AND AGE  
OF CHILDREN AND INCOME OF HUSBAND IN 1959 AND 1950

Survey Date and Income of Husband in Previous Year	All Wives 14 years of age & over	Wives 20-44 Years of Age			
		Total	No children under 18 years	Children 6-17 years only	Children under 6 years
MARCH 1960					
TOTAL	30	32	59	40	19
Under \$2,000.....	30	41	54	53	29
\$2,000 to \$2,999	32	37	64	48	24
\$3,000 to \$4,999	36	37	63	49	22
\$5,000 to \$6,999	36	29	60	38	17
\$7,000 to \$9,999	25	21	51	32	9
\$10,000 and over	16	15	a	19	8
APRIL, 1951					
TOTAL	25	28	53	33	14
Under \$2,000.....	29	36	55	42	21
\$2,000 to \$2,999	28	32	59	41	15
\$3,000 to \$4,999	25	26	52	33	13
\$5,000 to \$6,999	16	15	30	17	8
\$7,000 to \$9,999	7	5	a	4	5
\$10,000 and over	12	11	a	11	5

a The number of observations is less than the minimum required of sampling reliability.

SOURCE: Glen G. Cain, Married Women in the Labour Force, An Economic Analysis, the University of Chicago Press, p.3.

This may lead to the fact that both husbands and wives are recorded as unemployed members of the labour force. Thus inflating<sup>ing</sup> of the figures of the unemployed in the labour market. However, if husbands find employment, their wives tend to withdraw from the labour force. Thus, the loss of a job by the head of the family tends to make two unemployed workers, while his return to employment tends to diminish the labour market by one worker.

Professor Long, however, in his study of the labour force, has concluded that more people have been driven from the labour force by the unavailability of jobs in a depression period than have been brought into by the unemployment of the principal bread winner. But, further investigation has tended to cast doubt on its validity.<sup>(34)</sup>

Nevertheless, even if the additional worker hypothesis appears to be inapplicable to severe depression periods, it may still be valid for more normal economic trends when the main bread winner becomes unemployed (due to occupational obsolescence, declining industry, . . . ., etc.). It is expected that another adult in the family will enter the labour market to supplement the dwindling family income.

It should also be mentioned that in severe depression periods scarcity in employment opportunities for women could discourage additional workers from entering the labour market. This is referred to as the discourage worker effect.

Another factor to be mentioned which affects the supply of married women to the labour market is that they tend to be residentially immobile.



Their residence tends to be determined by the occupational exigencies of the principal bread winner (husband).

Thus we could certainly expect a higher rate of labour participation of married women where there are great demands for labour services in occupations and industries most inducive to female employment.

Conversely, in regions where female type jobs are few, the greater the competition, the more difficult for a woman to find a job and the lower the female labour participation rate is.

The factors explaining the labour force behaviour of married women are the subject of some studies. These researchers have conducted their studies through observations mostly from time-series data, or cross-section data.

With regard to cross-section analysis, the data are usually in the form of statistics for cities or metropolitan areas (a census year), or surveys of individual households. The empirical method used to estimate from these cross sections are the parameters of a single equation relating labour force rates of a given population group in the various areas to a set of independent variables. The major variables, based on price-theory considerations, are family income and wage rate (or full-time earnings) of the individuals in the group.

"The statistical models in these analyses are derived from a simple model

$$M = a + b_1 Y + b_2 W + e \quad (1)$$

where M is the labour-force rate, Y, the family income, W, the wage rate, and e, a set of other variables of possible interest, such as family size, education, or geographic area. In this model  $b_1$  is an estimate of the income effect, expected to be negative, and  $b_2$  is an estimate of the

substitution effect, expected to be positive. If  $Y$  and  $W$  are averages of groups in labour markets, they are likely to approximate "normal" or "long-run" levels of income and wage rate, and the coefficients,  $b_1$  and  $b_2$  measure long-run effects. Define variables  $y_t$  and  $w_t$  as short-run deviations of family income and personal wages, respectively, from their "normal", "full-employment" levels. Their inclusion in equation (1) makes possible a specific exploration of effects of short-term changes in economic conditions on participation rates. Equation (1) becomes:

$$M = a + b_1 Y + b_2 W + c_1 y_t + c_2 w_t + e \quad (2)$$

The coefficient  $c_1$  can be interpreted as the added-worker effect (per unit of cyclical income change) and  $c_2$  as the discouraged-worker effect (per unit of wage change). Strictly speaking, this interpretation is valid only if  $Y$  and  $W$ , as measured, do not show any cyclical variations. If  $Y$  and  $W$  are affected by cyclical fluctuation,  $c_1$  and  $c_2$  do not tell the whole story. Parts of the cyclical effects are then contained in the  $b_1$  and  $b_2$  coefficients.

Separate estimates of  $c_1$  and  $c_2$  are difficult to obtain in the cross section. However, an indirect estimate of the net cyclical effects on labour force participation may be obtained under the additional assumption that the cyclical deviations  $y_t$  and  $w_t$  are negative functions of the relevant unemployment rate  $u$  in the area. Then equation (2) can be written as

$$M = a + b_1 Y + b_2 W + b_3 u + e \quad (3)$$

If all these assumptions hold, the sign of  $b_3$  represents the direction of the net response of the labour force to cyclical differentials in

labour-market conditions among the areas. Whether such an interpretation is valid depends on the nature of the inter-area differentials in unemployment rates. As we shall see, these need not reflect only, or even primarily, cyclical differences."<sup>(35)</sup>

The first of these studies to be discussed is by Mincer. His specification for a regression model to using data for standard Metropolitan Areas (S.M.A.'s) in 1950 can be written as follows

$$m = b_1y + b_2w + b_2c' + b_4u + b_5e' + u \quad (4)$$

where  $m$  is the labour participation rate (in percentage) in 1950 of married women husband present.

$y$  is the median income (in hundreds of dollars) in 1949 of male family heads wife present.

$w$  is the median income (in hundreds of dollars) in 1949 of females who worked 50 to 52 weeks.

$c'$  is the percentage of families in 1950 with children under 6 years of age.

$u$  is the male unemployment rate in 1950.

$e'$  is the percentage of population aged 25 or over in 1950 with a completed high school education or more.<sup>(36)</sup>

TABLE (2-6)

## REGRESSION RESULTS.

	y	w	e'	u	c'	R <sup>2</sup>
Regression Coefficients	-0.62	1.33	0.12 <sup>a</sup>	-0.41 <sup>a</sup>	-0.24	0.62
Standard Errors	(0.21)	(0.11)	(0.27)	(0.53)	(0.61)	
Regression Coefficients	-0.53	1.52	-	-	-	0.51
Elasticities	-0.83	1.50	-	-	-	-

SOURCE: Mincer, "Labour Force Participation of Married Women", p.72

(a) The coefficients are not significant, by the criterion of a t value less than 1.96.

The observations for the regression were for the 57 S.M.A.'s in the North with a population of 250,000 or more. Mincer excluded the Northern areas as he desired to exclude colour differentials which needed to be studied separately.

Mincer's main finding is that the wage rate effect is nearly twice the size of the income effect in elasticity terms. This implies that the positive effect on work by the wife of wages earned by her outweighed the negative effect of the husband's income on her work. This stems from the fact that the effect of changes in market wage rates - the substitution effect - is different for wives than husbands.

The responsibilities of homework are a much more important substitute for the wife's time than for the husband. Rising income and rising wage entails a decline in market work for the husband and his leisure increase.

On the other hand, such rises lead to a decline in homework for the wife and increase both their leisure and market work. However, this generalization that the substitution effect is large for wives is only meant to apply to work choices in the context of a lifetime. The presence of young children in the family will have a conversely effect on the wife's labour participation. At other times, when even there is a temporary unemployment of the husband, that will tend to make homework a relevant alternative use for his time, will motivate the wife to undertake gainful employment.

Another feature of the results presented by Mincer is the insignificance of  $c'$ ,  $u$  and  $e'$ , the variables for income and wage rate provide nearly all the explanation.

Mincer, however, refashioned his previous model to handle disaggregated data, but then grouped the observations and analysed tables of all means to determine the income and substitution effects.

Mincer's data consisted of 6,766 white, husband-wife families, excluding cells where the husbands were self-employed or unemployed. The source was the 1950 survey of consumer expenditure of the Bureau of Labour statistics. The data on employment and earnings referred to 1949. This basic model was:

$$M_i = b_{i1} Y_{ip} + b_{i2} Y_{it} + b_{i3} W_i + V_i \quad (5)$$

where  $i$  refers to the group of the observations, and where Mincer separately reported income into a permanent component ( $Y_p$ ) and a transitory

component ( $Y_t$ ). There were 12 groupings based on the following characteristics of the husband: education (three groups), and presence of children under 16 years of age along with the age of the husbands (four groups). Mincer's separation of wives with children under 16 years of age and those without children under such age made it possible to check whether the income and wage variable might affect differently the wife's labour behaviour.

Mincer first estimated the following:

$$m_i = b_1 y_i + b_2 w_i$$

$i = 1, 2, 3, 4$  groups of wives (with or without children under 16 years of age; husband under or over 35 years of age).

$m_i$  = the proportion of wives who worked some time in 1949.

$y_i$  = the average earnings of husbands in the group.

$w_i$  = the average earnings of wives who worked. (37)

Mincer found that in three out of the four age dependency groups, the positive effect on work by the wife of waves earned by the wife outweighed the negative effect of the husband's income on her work. This was in accordance with his previous findings.

However, the wage effect was far weaker than the income effect in the group where young children were present. Mincer commented that the absence of goods substitutes for the mother's care of small children

suggests, a priori, a small wage effect.

Mincer also attempted to elaborate the effect of transitory component of income  $y_t$ . He regressed  $m_i$  on  $y_i$  and a second independent variable, "weeks worked by the husband". The partial regression coefficient of the last named variable,  $b_{mex}$  measures the effect of a change in weeks worked with total earnings  $y_i$ , kept constant. The  $b_{mex}$  partial were negative in nine cases out of twelve.

Mincer commented:

"Now a decline in weeks, keeping total earnings constant, means a corresponding amount of increase in earning power, which is offset by a transitory loss of income of the same amount. The change in the permanent component of income is expected to bring about a decrease in the labour force participation. The same change of the transitory component in the opposite direction is expected to stimulate an increase in market activities. This direction of the net outcome depends, therefore, on which income effect is stronger. Indeed, the negative sign of  $b_{mex}$  provides evidence that the effect of transitory income outweighs the permanent income effect". (38)

Mincer's findings indicated that the effect of transitory component of income exceeded the effect of the permanent component of income. This supports the contention that wives of unemployed husbands are more likely to enter the labour market. The , "added worker hypothesis" maintains that general unemployment motivate secondary workers (mostly wives) to undertake gainful employment more than it discourages

participation among them. Mincer pointed to the elasticity of the wage effect (equal to 1.50) and the elasticity of  $y_t$  (equal to -1.42) for the model group and suggested that they offset each other. (39)

In two other studies, the first by Cain and the second by Bowen and Finegan, the methodology, data and results are very similar. Thus the results will be discussed concurrently.

Cain's basic model is as follows:

$$M = a_1 Y_n + b_1 Y + b_2 W + a_4 C + a_5 T + V \quad (6)$$

where he relates market work supplied by married women (M) to:

- $Y_n$  income from non labour source.
- $Y$  husband's earnings.
- $W$  wife's wage.
- $T$  wife's tastes for market work relative to homework and leisure.
- $V$  an error term including some commodities such as domestic service, restaurants meals, capital goods used in the production of commodities and so on and where

$$b_1 = (a_1 Q + a_2)$$

$$b_2 = (a_1 M + a_3)$$

He interprets them as follows:

The coefficient,  $b_1$ , of the husband's wage contains an income effect,  $a_1 Q$  and a cross substitution effect,  $a_2$ , both are expected to be negative.



The cross effect stems from the likelihood that some (although probably small) alteration in the division of market labour supplied by the household will be made between the husband and wife as the husband's market wage varies *ceteris paribus*. The coefficient,  $b_2$ , of the wife's earnings similarly contains an income effect,  $a_M$ , presumed negative, and a substitution coefficient,  $a_2$ , which as an own-price effect, is expected to be positive. (40)

Cain defines the family income ( $Y_f$ ) as the return on the non-human capital of the family plus the maximum wage and salary earnings available to the family. As he restricts his model to those husband-wife families with no other adults present  $Y_f$  is defined as  $(Y_n + QY + MW_m)$  where  $Y_n$  is the return on non human capital and  $QY$  and  $MW_m$  are the husband's and wife's potential wage and salary earnings, obtained by multiplying the quantity of work supplied by the husband ( $Q$ ) and the wife ( $M$ ) by their respective wages.

The results of both Cain and Finegan are illustrated in Tables (2.7) and (2.8).

These results are impressive in that they show a strong negative effect of the presence of children under 16 years of age, on the participation of wives in the labour force. From Table (2.7.) for 1950 it is apparent that a 1% increase in  $c$ , the per cent of husband-wife families with one or more children under 16 years of age is associated with a 1.2% decrease in work rates of wives. The measure,  $c$ , that gives the per cent of families with children under 6 years of age, also

TABLE 2.7

REGRESSION RESULTS WITH TOTAL MARRIED WOMEN, 77 SMA'S IN 1950<sup>a</sup>

Linz Form <sup>b</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>	INDEPENDENT VARIABLES										
		Con- stant	γ	β <sup>1</sup>	β <sup>2</sup>	β <sup>3</sup>	β <sup>4</sup>	β <sup>5</sup>	β <sup>6</sup>	β <sup>7</sup>	β <sup>8</sup>	
1... A	.39	4.67	.31 (.18)	.72 (.26)	.60 (.20)	.79 (.27)	5.65 (.96)	-.42 (.10)	-.26 (.19)	1.37 (.41)		
2... A	.68	32.48	-.56 (.21)	.59 (.19)	.59 (.19)	3.76 (.80)	-1.06 (.25)	-.08 (.05)	-.54 (.21)			
3... L	.67	3.40	-.71 (.30)	.75 (.24)	.29 (.12)	.17 (.06)	2.60 (1.25)	-.39 (.10)	-.30 (.20)	1.41 (.41)	.07 (.05)	
4... A	.69	31.13	-.64 (.22)	.77 (.26)	.58 (.19)	2.60 (1.25)	-.39 (.10)	-.43 (.20)				
5... A	.62	38.02	-.31 (.21)	.98 (.23)		2.48 (.91)	-.35 (.09)	-.11 (.05)				-.13 (.03)
6... L	.66	2.84	-.44 (.29)	.97 (.21)		.05 (.02)	-.96 (.23)	-.11 (.05)				-.24 (.08)
7... L	.63	3.40	-.71 (.28)	1.00 (.22)			-.97 (.24)	-.15 (.04)				-.32 (.07)

<sup>a</sup> Dependent variable: labor force participation rate of married women, husband present.  
<sup>b</sup> A = arithmetic; L = logarithmic.  
 Definitions of independent variables (see Appendix A for sources, means, and standard deviations):  
 γ median income for male family heads, spouse present, 1949 (hundreds of dollars)  
 β<sup>1</sup> median income of females who worked 50-52 weeks in 1949 (hundreds of dollars)  
 β<sup>2</sup> median income of all females with income (hundreds of dollars)  
 β<sup>3</sup> referred to as non-labor income (hundreds of dollars). See Appendix A for full definition.  
 β<sup>4</sup> dummy variable for the region of the U.S.: "1" is a southern SMA; "0" otherwise.  
 β<sup>5</sup> median years of schooling completed of females, 25 years and older  
 β<sup>6</sup> male unemployment rate (in per cent)  
 β<sup>7</sup> per cent of husband-wife families with one or more children under 18 years of age  
 β<sup>8</sup> the per cent nonwhite in the SMA  
 and the per cent of labor force in industries employing mostly male workers (see Appendix A for full definition)

SOURCE: Cain, "Married Women in the Labour Force" p.54.

TABLE 2.8

DETERMINANTS OF INTERCITY DIFFERENCES IN LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION  
RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN WITH HUSBAND PRESENT, CENSUS WEEKS OF  
1960, 1950, AND 1940.

Determinants	1960		1950		1940	
<u>Dependent Variable:</u>						
$L_{MW}$ (per cent)						
Mean	31.3		22.9		17.9	
Standard deviation	3.8		4.0		5.6	
	b	t	b	t	b	t
	(s)		(s)		(s)	
<u>Independent Variables:</u>						
Unemployment (per cent)	-0.76 (0.18)	4.28*	-0.52 (0.18)	2.85*	-0.54 (0.11)	4.94*
Demand (see notes)	+0.75 (0.14)	5.48*	+0.79 (0.13)	6.01*	+0.76 (0.15)	5.02*
Supply (see notes)	-0.70 (0.26)	2.64*	-1.01 (0.35)	2.91*	-0.81 (0.36)	2.26 <sup>o</sup>
Female earnings (\$100/yr)	+0.37 (0.12)	3.04*	+1.05 (0.22)	4.71*	+1.47 (0.48)	3.05*
Husband's income (\$100/yr)	-0.25 (0.09)	2.66*	-0.52 (0.19)	2.81*	-1.70 (0.44)	3.85*
"Other" income (see notes)	-1.27 <sup>n</sup> (0.29)	4.45*	-1.09 <sup>n</sup> (0.36)	3.02*	-0.15 <sup>n</sup> (0.07)	2.05 <sup>o</sup>
Schooling completed (years)	+1.33 (0.34)	3.97*	+1.51 (0.31)	4.83*	+0.14 (0.43)	0.33
Children (see notes)	-6.08 <sup>n</sup> (2.23)	2.73	-0.24 <sup>n</sup> (0.11)	2.21 <sup>o</sup>	+0.19 <sup>n</sup> (0.10)	1.85
Colour (per cent nonwhites)	+0.09 (0.05)	1.66	+0.18 (0.06)	3.03*	+0.03 (0.06)	0.54
South (dummy)	+0.28 (0.93)	0.35	+1.76 (1.09)	1.61	+2.44 (1.58)	1.55
<u>Overall Regression</u>						
Number of observations	100.00		78.00		92.00	
Coefficient of determinant ( $R^2$ )	0.71*		0.76*		0.76*	
Standard error of estimate	2.18		2.09		2.95	
Intercept	52.40		47.60		44.20	
SOURCE: William G. Bowden and T.A. Finegan, "Labour Force Participation and Unemployment" in, <u>Employment Policy and the Labour Market</u> , ed. by Arthur M. Ross, University of California Press, 1965, pp.136-137.						

## Notation.

(Units of measurement are shown in parentheses following variables)

- b Net (partial) regression coefficient.
- s Standard error of the regression coefficient.
- t t-value of the regression coefficient (b/s).
- \* Significant at the 1 per cent level.
- ♠ Significant at the 5 per cent level.
- n Coefficient not entirely comparable with those for other years due to an important difference in the definition of the variable (see below). In cases of minor differences, this notation has been omitted.

## Definitions of Variables.

- $L_{MW}$ : percentage of married women with husband present who were in the census week.
- Unemployment: percentage of the civilian labour force unemployed during the census week, including persons on public emergency work in 1940.
- Demand: an index of the percentage of jobs in each city, open to women, based on the industrial mix of each city. (For details see Appendix)
- Supply: percentage of the total civilian population aged 14 years and older who were females.
- Female earnings: 1960 and 1950 - median income in preceding year of all females who worked 50 to 52 weeks that year; 1940 - estimated median wage-or-salary income received in 1939 by all females in the experienced civilian labour force who worked 12 months and earned at least \$100 of such income.
- Husband's income: 1960 and 1950 - median income in preceding year of all men married with wife present; 1940 - median wage-or-salary income in 1939 of all males in the labour force who received at least \$100 of such income.
- "Other" income; 1960 - mean income from nonemployment sources in 1959 per recipient of any kind of income; 1950 - median income in 1949 of all persons aged 14 years and older with income from non-employment sources only; 1940 - percentage of all families who received some income from nonemployment sources in 1939.
- Schooling completed: median years of school completed by all females aged 25 years and older.
- Children: 1960 - mean number of children under 18 years of age per married couple with one or more such children; 1950 - percentage of husband-wife families with one or more children under 6 years of age; 1940 - percentage of all families with a male head and with one or more children under 10 years of age.
- Colour: percentage of all married women who were nonwhite.
- South: a dummy variable, with "1" assigned to each city in the South. "0" to all other cities.

a negative sensitivity.

Both Cain's and Finegan's findings indicate a strong negative sign for male unemployment for the census years 1940, 1950 and 1960. This would lead to the assumption that the discouragement hypothesis, due to depressed business conditions in the long run, outweigh the additional worker hypothesis (the inclination of married women to work due to the sharp decline in the family due to the unemployment of the main bread winner). Finegan's findings indicate that in 1960, the net regression coefficient was -0.76, in 1950 it was -0.52 and in 1940 a level of overall employment of 1% above the average in a city was associated with a labour force participation rate for married women 0.54% below the all city average.

Cain's shows that for 1940 and 1950 the arithmetic coefficient of U is about -0.50. He comments "Thus a rise in unemployment rates of 2 per cent points, say from 4 per cent to 6 per cent, would be associated with a decrease of 1 percentage point in the labour force participation rates, say from 30 per cent to 29 per cent". (41)

Thus, both Cain and Finegan have rejected the added worker hypothesis and supported the negative effect of unemployment on labour participation of married women. They indicate that high unemployment rate suggests that a large proportion of bread winners are out of work or are working "short hours". Thus the income of households of these families where husbands are unemployed sharply decline. To make up for the loss of income, secondary workers (wives) tend to move in employment. But as

high unemployment is an unfavourable marker for the sellers of labour, wives seeking employment could expect great difficulty in finding jobs.

Finegan points out that "successful search for employment can entail significant economic and psychic costs - transportation, maintaining good personal appearance as well as the opportunity costs of not being able to work around the house and the psychic costs consisting of the frustration and loss of self-respect that can come from continually being turned down. It is entirely rational for a potential labour force participant to take account of these costs of entering the labour force and the prediction that, on this ground alone, higher unemployment will be associated with lower labour force participation is firmly grounded in the ordinary theory of economic behaviour."<sup>(42)</sup>

On the other hand, both the researchers found that there was a strong *net* negative effect of the husband's income on married women's participation rate.

Although Cain's findings for 1950 and 1940 indicate a larger wage effect (positive) than the negative income effect on married women's labour market, in 1960 the income elasticity is larger in absolute value than the wage elasticity.

The findings also indicate that the education of wives play a more positive role as a wage-effect proxy than it did previously. This could be attributed to the growing demands for female labour services in the white collar occupations where formal education attainment represents the skill demands and their being more pleasant and appealing work for women.

Another significant finding is the effect of female jobs availability in the regions on married women's labour participation.

To get a measure of this variable, Cain referred to it by ind, which he defined as the per cent of civilian labour force in an area which is employed in industries that are "heavy demanders of male labour". He indicated that the six industries so characterised had female employment percentages that ranged from a low of 2.4% in mining to a high of 15.9% in durable manufacturing. The variable, ind, had of course a strong negative effect on the labour participation rate of married women. The simple correlation between m, and ind, was -0.58.

Similar results were obtained by Bowen and Finegan. They comment

"The demand variable is a specially constructed industry-mix index which assigns to a city a higher value according to the greater concentration of employment in that city in industries which on a nation wide basis have a relatively high percentage of female employment. In short, it is a measure of female job opportunities".

"Washington D.C., for example, has a high 'femininity index' rating primarily because of the importance of industries which make extensive use of clerical employees. Pittsburg, on the other hand, has much more heavy industries and a much lower femininity index.

The expected positive relation between this special index of demand and  $L_{mw}$  is observed for all three census years and in each instance the regression coefficient was between five and six times as large as its standard error". (43)



Other studies were carried out on time-series data to explore the short run variations in employment demand on the size of the labour force. It should be mentioned that the quantitative studies which have been made are more descriptive than statistical. Some of these studies will be discussed.

The first one is by D.C. Long, his data were in connection with most decennial census since 1820. He also analysed the data for another four countries from the available census. In his findings he pointed out that demographic factors accounted for little of the rise in labour force participation of married women over time (i.e. nativity, age, farm and non-farm residency). But he also noted that the participation of married women in urban areas were higher than rural areas, due to the availability of wider opportunities for female employment in cities.

He found also that in 1940 and 1950 mothers of young children had much lower participation rates than wives without young children, but with or without young children, the higher the husband's income, the lower the participation of the wife in the labour market. He indicated that the weighted average for all income levels was about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 1 per cent smaller labour force of wives for each 1 per cent higher income group of husbands. This was supported by his data on wives classified by income groups of husband within a city or nation.

On the other hand, he noted from the data obtained for the increase of female labour force participation over time (1890-1950) that despite the



fact that the personal income per equivalent adult male employed nearly tripled, the participation of women in the labour market rose 199 to 284 - standardize for age and rural urban residence. (44)

Long also discussed the shifts to lighter work that resulted from technological advancement and demand changes. However, his most impressive work was done in an effort to measure the reduction of homework. His tables elaborate the reduction, in the wife's home work due to the shift to market goods and the adoption of labour saving devices in the home. The magnitude of such changes in female participation rate was not great.

In examining the effect of education on women's participation rate Long found positive relation (45).

With regard to unemployment, Long indicated that over time, more people were driven out of the labour force by the unavailability of jobs (or by the unrewarding and exacting nature of the only ones available to secondary workers) than were driven in it by the redundancy of family bread winners (46).

The other study is by Dernburg and Strand they apply multiple regression and simultaneous equations to the analyses of monthly data covering the period 1947 through 1962. Their basic model is

$$\left(\frac{L}{P}\right)_t = a_m + a_1 \left(\frac{E}{P}\right)_t + a_2 \left(\frac{X}{P}\right)_{t-12} + a_3 \left(\frac{1}{P}\right) + e_{t1}$$

The variables are defined as follows:

$\frac{L}{P}$  is the adult civilian non-institutional population recoded as participating in the labour force, or the labour force participation ratio.

$\frac{E}{P}$  is the "employment ratio", i.e. the per cent of the adult civilian non-institutional population employed and

$\frac{X}{P}$  is the "exhaustions ratio", i.e., the ratio of new unemployment compensation exhaustions to the adult civilian, non-institutional population.

The sign  $t$ , represents time measured in months and  $e_t$  is a residual error term. The intercept term  $a_m$  differs with the month of the year. The relationship between  $m$  and  $t$  is  $m = t - 12y$ , where, beginning with the initial period,  $t(1)y$  is the number of complete years that have elapsed prior to month  $t$ .

The sign  $a_1$  is expected to be positive, reflecting the discouraged worker effect.

The sign  $a_2$  is expected to be positive also reflecting that the rise in the exhaustion ratio will increase the pressure on secondary workers to enter the labour force<sup>(47)</sup>.

The study concentrated mainly on support of the discouraged worker and the added worker hypothesis, and that of the "offset hypothesis" which maintains that any inflow of additional workers is offset by an out-flow of workers so that on balance the overall participation rate remains constant.

The obtained estimates for the whole period and for the shorter period 1952-1962 were as follows:-

$$(1) \quad \left(\frac{L}{P}\right)_t = a_m + 0.8715 \left(\frac{E}{P}\right)_t + 12.347 \left(\frac{X}{P}\right)_{t+2} - 3492.2 \left(\frac{1}{P}\right)_t + e_{t1}$$

(.0308)
(.641)
(419.4)

$$R^2 = 0.8138 \quad S_u = 0.00227$$

$$\left(\frac{X}{P}\right)_t = b_m - 0.005488 \left(\frac{E}{P}\right)_{t-1} + 0.8631 \left(\frac{X}{P}\right)_{t-1} + e_{t2}$$

(.0346)

$$R^2 = 0.9219 \quad S_u = 0.000125$$

$$(2) \quad \left(\frac{L}{P}\right)_t = a_m + 0.9490 \left(\frac{E}{P}\right)_t + 12.669 \left(\frac{X}{P}\right)_{t+2} - 5326.1 \left(\frac{1}{P}\right)_t + e_{t1}$$

$$R^2 = 0.8766 \quad S_u = 0.00206$$

$$\left(\frac{X}{P}\right)_t = b_m - 0.004186 \left(\frac{E}{P}\right)_{t-1} + 0.8829 \left(\frac{X}{P}\right)_{t-1} + e_{t2}$$

(.00175)
(.0404)

$$R^2 = 0.9326 \quad S_u = 0.000115 \quad *$$

The results obtained show a significant confirmation of both the discouraged and added worker effects. The auxiliary equations relating

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\* The values in brackets beneath the regression coefficient are the standard errors of the respective coefficients,  $R^2$  is the coefficient of multiple codetermination computed by assuming the total unexplained variation to be the sum of squared residuals about the monthly, rather than the overall mean; and  $S_u$  is the standard error of estimate. (48)

the exhaustions ratio to the employment ratio allow an estimate of the net effect of changes in the employment ratio on the labour force ratio. The net effect coefficient is positive indicating a dominant discouragement effect. However, the researchers pointed out that "it was the exhaustions ratio,  $\frac{X}{P}$ , together with the recognition of the existence of a time lag between a change in  $\frac{X}{P}$  and the time at which its effect on the labour force participation ratio was felt, that explained differences in the way employment and labour force participation vary during different stages of the business cycle.

In order to detect each of the income and substitute effect, Dernburg and Stran removed the exhaustions ratio as an independent variable.

The following result was obtained:

$$(3) \quad \left(\frac{L}{P}\right)_t = a_{m1} + 0.3902 \left(\frac{E}{P}\right)_t - 0.2341 \left(\frac{l}{P}\right)_t + e_{t1},$$

$$R^2 = 0.4049 \quad S_u = 0.00405$$

This result shows once more support to the dominance of the discouraged worker effect for the period 1947-1962.

The substantive meaning of the results indicates that the combined effect of the additional worker and the discouraged worker explains the phenomenon that the initial fall in employment at the start of recession is accompanied by a sharper fall in employment than are comparable declines in employment during later stages of recession. The researchers

comment:

"The stationary form of the equations indicated that a fall in employment of 100 is, on balance, associated with withdrawal from the labour force of 38 persons. In view of our discussion of the cyclical timing relationships it is clear that, although the average withdrawal figure is 38, net withdrawal will exceed this amount during the early stages of recession, while during the later stages, the figure will decline below it. As a consequence of the fact that the initial fall in employment upon entering recession is matched by a sharp decline in the labour force participation, the initial decline in employment will produce a less pronounced effect on unemployment rate, as an indicator of cyclical activity, is characterized by a built-in lag such as tends to postpone recognition of the need for counter cyclical action. Subsequently, the participation due to the additional worker effect will raise the unemployment rate even in the absence of any further deterioration in business condition"<sup>(49)</sup>.

Mincer, in his study "The Response of Labour Supply to Demand Labour Force Participation and Unemployment", after reviewing the previous studies and analysing the errors and biases, came to the conclusion that a direct approach in which labour force behaviour of a group should be related to some index of the demand for labour which is statistically independent of the particular labour force movements. He made a preliminary survey of year to year movements. His main conclusion regarding the secondary workers (female white and nonwhite) was that from

1962 onwards increases in minimum wages in the U.S.A., coupled with the 1961 extension of coverage to retail trade which is an important employer of many secondary workers lead to the rise in the participation rate of secondary workers. Also, that nonwhite females showed peaks of participation inverse to the business cycle giving support to the additional worker hypothesis in conjunction with the other studies Mincer comments:

"In my study of labour force participation, women, I interpreted the additional worker effect as an alternative to dissolving, asset decumulation, or increasing debt in family attempts to maintain consumption in the face of unemployment and other income losses. I argued consequently, that such behaviour should be particularly discernible in families at low levels of wealth, particularly in view of capital market imperfections. Supporting evidence in that study and in the work of Cain strengthens this inference. In the present context this means the 'additional worker' is more likely to be a low-income person than the 'discouraged worker' ". (50)

The analysis made of labour behaviour of married women in these studies indicate the effects of some factors on their decision or the family decision to their entrance into the labour market.

All studies show that the participation rates of married women are consistent with the operation of the negative income effect. The higher the husband's income the less likely is the wife to work. Mincer's and Cain's findings are completely consistent with the theoretical

expectations of a negative income and a positive substitution effect. However, they are not inconsistent with the notion that whole family units may be spending more time on income acquisition (that is the active labour market) than at earlier dates.

Additional results from the analyses were that:

- (1) the effect of unemployment on the labour participation of married women was consistently negative;
- (2) the presence of children had a negative effect on married women's participation rate.

On the other hand, education had a positive effect on the participation rates of married women in the cross section, and the increase of both education and participation over time was consistent with it.

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CHAPTER 3

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN THREE COUNTRIES

JAPAN, THE SOVIET UNION AND

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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The greater contribution of women, and in particular married women to the economic life has long ceased to be a controversial phenomenon in almost all highly industrialized societies. The upward trend in a wider utilization of women-power is continuing and is growing in importance.

Nevertheless, the pattern of women's employment does not display a similar picture in all societies. The historical development, traditions and ideologies of each society have their effect on the direction of women's employment and the propensity of married women towards gainful employment.

A historical analysis of women's employment in Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, gives a clearer picture of the various stages in the development of women's employment from the onset of industrialization to the present day. Further, it elaborates the direction of changes and the effect of institutional factors on women's scope of work.

### 3.1 Japan.

#### 3.11 Tradition and Women's Status in Japanese Society.

The traditional position of the inferiority of women to men in Japan's society had been the major factor behind their absence from economic and social activities for many centuries.

Women only attained their legal equality with men at the end of the last World War in 1946. In recent decades, women made progressive adjustments to their new social positions as well as fuller use of the wider sphere of economic activities open to them.

Nevertheless, social changes in the status of Japanese women have not always been on a level with legal achievement. The traditional concepts about the inferior position of women to men have been so strongly established over the centuries that the contemporary Japanese society still cannot eradicate them entirely. In many areas of Japanese society, the actual status of women lags far behind legal attainments.

The major element in maintaining the low status of women, was the social characteristic of the Tokugawa Shogunate era (1564-1867) which emphasized the complete submission of women to men.

The feudalistic regime of the Tokugawa Shogunate succeeded in stabilizing itself for three centuries due to its rigid distinction between classes. The Shogunate's policy of seclusion from the Western world, and its success in keeping Japan in a state of

almost complete isolation, provided the favourable conditions for the full development of Japan's feudal system. It was within that system, that those patterns of life peculiar to the Tokugawa era, became completely crystalized and came to fashion all aspects of the life - economic, political, social and religious - of the people.

During this era a rigid and inflexible class structure was established. According to the social order of the Shogunate it was of major importance for people to know their position in society and to play properly the role assigned to them by fate in a society of hereditary status. With regard to women, they had to follow the norms that established their relation to men. Within that social system there were four distinctive classes. The Samurai (warrior), who was the soldier and ruler, constituted the upper class; the Hyakusho (farmers) who produced rice and taxes and was therefore honoured as the founder of the State and ranked second; the Shokunian (artisans) whose role was useful but subordinate composed the third class; and the Shoner (merchants) were the lowest class because they engaged chiefly in the pursuit of profit, and the views differed about their being merely necessary evil or something parasitic and corrupting. As a rigid marked line segregated each class strictly from the other, each group established its own way of life and the norms which governed it. The lower classes imitated, to a certain extent, the practises of the upper strata. Thus, the Samurai's social

patterns and norms characterised families in other classes, though with certain variations.

The main feature of the Samurai life was the rule that regulated the relationship between men and women in general and between husband and wife in particular. This sex norm was usually more thoroughly embraced by the upper layers of all other classes than those of the lower strata. The sex norm was based on the differentiation between the position of men and women; the institution of the "ie" (family). The Kacho (head of the "ie") held the superior position among the members of the family. He enjoyed all rights and privileges, whereas the "Shufa" (wife) and all other members of the "ie" occupied subordinate positions. According to the institution of the ie's norms, women were to accept their inferior status and abide with it, as a matter of course. This necessarily entailed that the male members be designated higher positions over females.

This inequality was exemplified by the inheritance laws. If a family had no male descendants, no female members were entitled to share in the family property. But the husband of the eldest daughter inherited the "ie" as an adoptive son or heir. "The segregation and inequality of the sexes was of significant importance to feudal society as the Japanese family was the last link in the chain of hierarchy that led to the Shogun and cloistered emperor. Moreover, the state administration did not extend by unbroken links to the family. Within the hierarchy of positions and of power,



there was an unbroken chain of obedience upwards and protection downwards"<sup>(1)</sup>.

In order to emphasize the inequality between men and women in the society, the Shogunate tried to give a moral basis to this discrimination. They attributed this concept to official Sayings of Confucianism, the principles of which were the most admired by the Samurai: its ethics strengthened the natural tendencies within the feudal society of Japan. Confucianism stressed human relationships and the creation of a more perfect society on earth through the proper regulation of these relationships in terms of specific obligation. These norms were diffused among people of the non-Samurai class through the institution of Tera Koya (private temple schools). The men who attended these temple schools observed this distinction rigidly, whereas those who were unable to attend this institution did not apply these strict segregations between the sexes.

Thus, there were certain variations in the status of women depending upon their social class and the region in which they lived. The large majority of towns during the Tokugawa era were castle towns. On the whole warriors (Samurai) constituted about half the population of these towns and merchants and craftsmen the other half.

The feudalistic morality which stressed the inferior status of women was strictly observed by the Samurai. Female members of the upper class accordingly were rigidly denied all human rights.

As the great majority of the Samurai class had no wars to occupy them, privileges that ranked them above the common herd combined with their contempt of money making and the few means of employment open to them, they became a poverty stricken class. They were therefore constrained to lean increasingly on the despised merchants who wielded the economic power. In such circumstances, many wealthy merchants managed to attain Samurai status by marriage or adoption into a Samurai family whose desperate economic condition overcame contempt for money makers. In consequence, merchants adopted many of the Samurai norms including sex norms and women were relegated to a very inferior position. By contrast, the position of women among the poor craftsmen who had neither money nor position was relatively better.

The Status of women among peasants, who accounted for over 80% of the total population of Japan, was far better than that of her town sister. This was due to the fact that the vast majority of peasants were extremely poor. In order to provide the Daimyo and Samurai with an income, they had to produce a large surplus of products. The burden varied in different parts of the country but it was usually an average of about 40% of the nominal rice crop (rice being the main crop). Furthermore, some peasants had to pay

rents to landlords<sup>(2)</sup>. Under these economic conditions the contribution of all members of the family to the farm production was necessary to subsist. Thus, women's work was equally important as that of men.

The "Meiji" restoration of 1868 came on the eve of the collapse of the Tokugawa feudalism regime. Although the Restoration proclaimed democratic reforms in Japan, the leaders decided to maintain the Japanese traditions and to speed up industrialization. However, distinction between classes was abolished which permitted more alliances among families of different classes.

Several attempts were made with a view to developing a new civil code giving women better social status. This was met by the overwhelming opposition of the conservative minded Japanese elements to changing the customs of family life in accordance with the Western individualistic system, as they claimed that the introduction of new ideologies would bring about the decay of ancient virtues. Consequently, the new civil code was permeated by Confucianism and the head of the "ie" was even given greater power. Thus, the code was oriented towards the intensification of the hierarchy and strengthening of family control over the individual. On the other hand, radical steps were taken towards giving girls equal educational opportunities with boys in 1872. But the spirit of Confucianism which stressed the complete obedience of women to men, was incorporated into education. The inequality between the sexes

continued to spread to a greater extent during that period. Thus, the status of women remained unchanged.

With the advent of industrialization and the recruitment of females, especially in the silk industry, women made great efforts to achieve better status. But they were defeated time after time, as they could not override the strength of the conservative opposition forces who were manipulating the society. It was not until the Second World War that radical social changes were made, enfranchising women. The emancipation of Japanese women was attained through the unexpected reforms introduced by the administration of the U.S.A. and her allies after the Second World War. These social reforms reached down to the family itself and to the relations between the sexes and age groups. The framework of the new constitution of Japan, promulgated in November 1946, adopted the fundamental equality of all Japanese subjects. It states:

"All people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations, because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin".

According to this article, women are to be treated without discrimination from men in all spheres of life - political, economic and social. Another article (No.24) states that,

"Marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and it shall be maintained through mutual co-operation with the equal rights of husband and wife as a basis".

This definition implies that the conjugal family, centred on husband and wife, is substituted for the patriarchial family. Moreover, a great deal of attention was paid to the democratization of education in the new constitution. The fundamental law of education was put into effect in 1947. Article 3 states that:

"All people shall be given equal opportunities of receiving education according to their ability and they shall not be subject to educational discrimination on account of race, sex, creed, social status, economic position or family origin".

In the sphere of employment, the labour standard law of 1947 provided that, "the employers shall not discriminate between women and men in the matter of wage"<sup>(3)</sup>.

Thus, on the basis of these new constitutional principles, women attained real equality with men as the new civil code removed the traditional concepts of the "ie".

It should be noted, however, that the process of modernization of Japan was not homogenous throughout all society. Although the new laws reflected a profound change in the attitude towards women, the authority so long vested in the head of the "ie" has not disappeared completely. The conformity to the new family laws

differs significantly from one part of the country to another and the deeply ingrained habits of conduct, restricting women to a submissive position, still persist in a few circles. Japanese women will not achieve full social equality with men unless these habits are changed.

### 3.12 Women in Economic Life.

The position of Japanese women, as pointed out earlier, was deeply entrenched in custom and very intimately intertwined and enmeshed in the patriarchial family system. According to the ie's prescribed notions, girls were to train themselves to become wives and mothers, and married women had to fulfill their domestic responsibilities. Consequently, girls and women were viewed with scorn if they undertook work away from home.

It was only with the advent of the textile trade around 1870, which was the most highly developed sector of Japanese industry, that women emerged for the first time as part of the employed labour force. In the year 1873, the number of women workers in factories was 404. Furthermore, there was the entrance of women into some professions. There were women teachers in 1875, women doctors and nurses in 1885, stenographers and telephone operators in 1889. However, it was only in these occupations that women workers were regarded as official employees enjoying the same prestige as men.

The number of female workers in the textile industries increased significantly in later years. By 1900, females in the textile industry numbered 260,000 against 160,000 men<sup>(4)</sup>.

Despite the entrance of females in Japan's labour market, its impact on the traditional attitude of the society towards women workers was not of great significance. This was largely due to the fact that 70% of the female workers were recruited from the rural areas. They were peasants' daughters, drawn from the lower classes whom the family could not support. As these girls had little or no education at all and received very low wages, their prestige remained very low.

Another factor which strengthened this attitude of contempt towards female workers was the existence of immoral institutions. These institutions had been in existence from the days of feudal Japan. It was an organized business and supervised by officials. The official recognition awarded to those engaged in it, provided stronger incentives to them to extend their activities and considerable inducements were given to young women to join it. This kind of work significantly depressed the position of working women in the society.

The outbreak of the First World War was a time for Japan's rapid economic growth. Since European supplies of machinery, ships, chemicals and ceramics were cut off from the Asiatic market in 1914,

there was a great impetus in Japan to produce industrial import substitutes both for herself and for the other Asian markets. In addition, she had already begun to exploit markets, such as China and America and to penetrate new ones such as those of India and South East Asia. With little war effort to support, Japan was able to accept orders for munitions from her allies. Thus, the country's foreign trade turned an annual average import surplus of 65 million yen into an export surplus of 350 million yen. In addition, the expansion of her frontiers stimulated the growth of heavy industries, metals, engineering and chemicals, which were to assume a major importance during the period 1920-1938. The number of factory workers rose by approximately 838,000 workers and was accompanied by a parallel increase in machinery installed in factory industry. There was also an expansion in the silk weaving industry. In the cotton industry the pre-war growth continued. The woollen and worsted industries were also given a sharp stimulus as a whole. The demand for woollen cloth for military uniforms increased and so the heavy woollen section expanded. Between 1914 and 1929, the output of woollen cloth rose from 1.6 million yards to 9.0 million yards .

Despite the continued industrial expansion of Japan, and the rise of the volume of labour force, women's participation declined from 49.3% in 1920 to 44.6% in 1930. This was largely due to the high preference for the employment of male workers in the expanding



heavy industries. However, the employment position of women improved significantly when Japan declared war against the United States and her allies. With the mobilisation of men in the forces it became imperative to employ all available women in offices and factories. Their job performance resulted in the opening up of new occupational fields to them and an increased respect for their capacities.

After the termination of the war in 1945, which ended in Japan's defeat, many large cities were completely destroyed together with a high proportion of industrial buildings and plants and the townspeople were short of food and other necessities of life. In addition, the Government and the banking system poured out funds lavishly for the reconstruction of the basic industries at a time when savings were negligible and resources scarce. These operations caused a violent inflation which raised the index of wholesale prices from 15 in April 1946 to 197 in March 1949 (1934-6 = 100), but in the same period wages rose only about 12 times as high as the post-war period. This substantial decrease in real wages endangered the economy of the household as the wage covered only 60% of the necessary cost of living<sup>(5)</sup>.

In view of such conditions, women whose husbands, fathers or sons, had been killed or had not been repatriated were in a depressing economic situation. In order to keep themselves and their families, they were compelled to seek paid employment outside

the home. Consequently, many women, irrespective of their class or origin, entered the labour market for the first time in their life.

The entrance of many educated women from the higher classes into gainful employment acted as a powerful impetus to changing the unfavourable attitude of society towards women workers. In addition, the successive legal reforms promulgated by the American occupation administration, as mentioned before, were a greater driving force towards that change.

The proportion of women who worked gradually increased from 45.1% in 1947 to 54.5% in 1957. This reflects a significant trend in the attitude of women as regards gainful employment. The number of women workers in secondary and tertiary industries surpassed those working in primary industries in recent decades. In 1950, women employees in primary industries constituted 62.3% of all the female workers, but in 1960, women in secondary and tertiary industries comprised 57% of the total number of women workers against 43% in primary industries. By 1963 a further shift took place; only 36.6% of the female workers were engaged in primary industries as compared with 63.4% in secondary and tertiary industries<sup>(6)</sup>.

### 3.13 Women's Occupational Structure.

In many respects Japanese women's occupational structure differs from that of other large industrial countries, e.g. the U.S.A. Japan has gone through industrialization at a much later period but also at a more rapid pace than practically any other country. Despite this fact, patterns of life and society's attitude towards the employment of women have not moved at the same pace. The real shift in women's occupational structure has only occurred during the decades following the Second World War.

Nevertheless, agriculture is still the main occupation for female workers. Despite the recent decline in their numbers in that sector, women still constitute the largest proportion of the agricultural labour force.

However, women have progressively increased their share in the non-agricultural sector, particularly in recent years. Of the total increase of the working population in the non-agricultural sector, women's share was 45.9% during 1965-1967, compared with 34.5% of the total during 1955-1959.

In the manufacturing industries their numbers increased substantially (4,120,000 in 1966 against 1,910,000 in 1950). Similar increases were witnessed in the wholesale and retail trade and the service sector, whereas in mining, where their contribution to the working force was already small, it declined sharply<sup>(7)</sup>.

### 3.131 Agricultural Employment.

The main employment of women before the Meiji restoration up till today has been agriculture. This is due to the fact that agriculture is undertaken as a family enterprise. As gainful employment it is consistent with the traditional Japanese family system for it involves co-operative family efforts rather than departure from household labour.

In 1930 agricultural areas still afforded the principal occupation of 14.1 million people or nearly half the labour force. Accordingly, the largest proportion of female workers were in the rural areas, whereas their lowest contribution in the economic life was in the large cities. In Tokyo prefecture, fewer than 30% of women aged 15-59 and fewer than 10% aged 60 and over were in employment. By contrast in Nagand (rural area) the proportion of employed women was the highest, 75% of those aged 15-59 and 36% of those aged 60 and over were in employment<sup>(8)</sup>. Although the number of women in the agricultural sector showed a slight decline in the following years, it still remained a near exclusive women's occupation. The two major reasons for their large share in that sector were:-

a) During the Second World War men were mobilised as soldiers or factory workers. Consequently, female members of the families had to undertake farm tasks. Their proportion during that period

increased substantially. It rose from 56.1% to 67.8% of the total female labour force.

b) The introduction of agricultural machinery, fertilizers and new diffusion techniques, created an increasing number of part-time households called "housewife farming families". In these households, male members are engaged in the non-agricultural sector, whereas women undertake farm work. However, most of them are married women.

### 3.132 Non-agricultural Employment.

In the early stages of Japan's industrialization, the availability of women as a substitute labour supply conditioned the industrial development of Japan. From the early Meiji period onwards, employers in textile industries needed cheap labour. Agricultural families needed extra income to subsist and they had daughters who were not needed on the farm. As factories were located in areas accessible to abundant labour supply (rural areas) recruiting agents reached agreements with farmers that involved wage labour of a period of years. These females were recruited as "apprentices" when they were between 13 and 16 years of age. They usually remained in employment for approximately five years either to help supplement family finances or else to build up a dowry for marriage, and then left employment for marriage. Their wages during this period were a pittance. The amount was usually paid in

installments to ensure the fulfillment of contracts. However, parents used to get the largest proportion of it. The employers assumed considerable responsibilities for the supervision over these young girls. They were housed in camping dormitories, given the essentials for livelihood and closely restricted in their movements. These girls living under strict supervision were little better than indentured labour, providing Japan with an extraordinarily cheap supply of labour. Despite these unfavourable employment conditions, the movement of girls to work outside the home represented a major force for change.

By 1900, about 342,000 workers were engaged in manufacturing industries, about 60% of them were in textile mills, 65% of the workers were women. In 1901, women constituted 73% of all workers in the cotton spinning factories, however, half of them were under 20 years of age<sup>(9)</sup>.

During the period 1920-1940, women's participation in industrial work declined partly because there was a preference for employment of men in heavy industries. On the other hand, there was a decrease in the number of female workers in spinning and weaving, in spite of the enormous expansion that had been made by that line of industry. This was largely due to the transformation from hand loom weaving to the electric power loom. Spinning mills also underwent significant technical improvements, side by side with the extension of factory regulation of night work and raising of the minimum age. Thus,

there was an inevitable decrease of women and children and the increase of male workers in these industries. But with the outbreak of World War II, their proportion started to increase, and Japanese women held a wide range of jobs and worked in war production factories just as Western women did during that period. By contrast, in the years following the end of the war, their proportion decreased until 1950. By 1966, there were about 22% of the total female labour force in manufacturing industries. Amongst female factory workers, textile workers still constituted the largest group, i.e. about one third.

Commerce and particularly the retail trade has been another major field for the employment of women since 1930. This is due to the fact that commerce, like agriculture, could be carried on with the minimum interference with household responsibilities, and family status. In Japan, retail trade was a family undertaking. As families shifted from agricultural employment in rural areas, to more remunerative work in urban areas in engaging in commerce, women were able to contribute to the family income while fulfilling their domestic commitments.

In 1930, the proportion of women who were engaged in commerce increased with general regularity from 6.9% in the cities below 5,000 total population to 38.1% in the great cities of 100,000 and over. Although their numbers declined during the post-war period, by 1950 women's proportion started to move upwardly again. In

1960, there were 2,899,300 women in the wholesale and retail trade or 17% of the total female labour force. However, the main characteristics of women who work outside the house was that the larger number of them were young and under the age of 25 and unmarried. In 1936, the average age was 21 years, in 1949 23.8, and in 1954 25.4 years. This trend reflects a remarkable movement in the attitude of young women towards paid employment<sup>(10)</sup>.

The other two main occupations of women since 1930, were significantly different in character: Government and professions on the one hand, and domestic service on the other. The increase of the proportion of women in the Government and professions reflects the rise of women in the occupational hierarchy, whereas domestic service signifies the distress of the poor, widowed and divorced. The number of women in the Government service and professions was only 352,000. They accounted for 3.7% of the total female labour force. However, only 16,288 women were Government officials and 40,013 in clerical occupations. Women in education accounted for 101,887 and there were 40,068 women in medical work. It should be noted that the vast majority of these occupations in the professions were the lowest on the job scale. Most women in that professional group and related workers were merely common clerks.

During the following three decades women workers in clerical occupations substantially increased. Women accountants and



typists have also been increasing. In the service sector, the majority of female workers are waitresses and housemaids. The number of private domestic workers decreased by about half of what it was in the pre-war period. But this decrease was offset by the the rise in the proportion engaged in hotels and offices. Despite the increase in number of female workers, in the professional and technical fields they represented only 4% of the total female labour force in 1955 of whom the greatest proportion were school teachers and the smallest were technical experts. Of all technical experts numbering 350,000 only 1,000 were women.

Japanese women are entitled to occupy public office according to the post-war legal reform. Nevertheless, few women are holding such office, especially managerial positions. Out of 100,000 Government workers in managerial positions, women accounted for only 1,000 or 1% of the total in 1960. The total number of persons in managerial positions in private firms was about 330,000. Women constituted slightly less than 4% or about 12,000 in number. It should be noted that the largest proportion of these women in managerial positions were chiefly in small business and trades<sup>(11)</sup>.

### 3.14 The Position of Women in Work.

Japanese women have undoubtedly achieved substantial gains in the economic activities since the Second World War. Nevertheless, their position in work compared with that of men is significantly

different. With regard to the position in work, all workers are divided into three classes; self-employed workers, employees (wage and salary workers), and unpaid family workers. The following table indicates the distribution of male and female workers among three classes.

TABLE (3-11)

EMPLOYED PERSONS BY CLASS OF WORKERS

JAPAN, 1966. (10,000 PERSONS).

Class of work	Total	Male		Female	
		Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total
Self-employed..	977	702	71.8	275	28.2
Employees.....	2,902	1,973	67.9	929	32.1
Unpaid family workers.....	964	243	25.2	722	74.8

SOURCE: Bureau of Statistics, Japan Statistical Year Book, 1966, Office of the Prime Minister, Tokyo, 1967, p.54.

The conspicuous fact that emerges from the above table is that the majority of the unpaid family workers are women. On the other hand, men constitute the largest proportion in both employees and self-employed classes. By contrast in the unpaid family workers, the proportion of men is only 25.2% of the total.

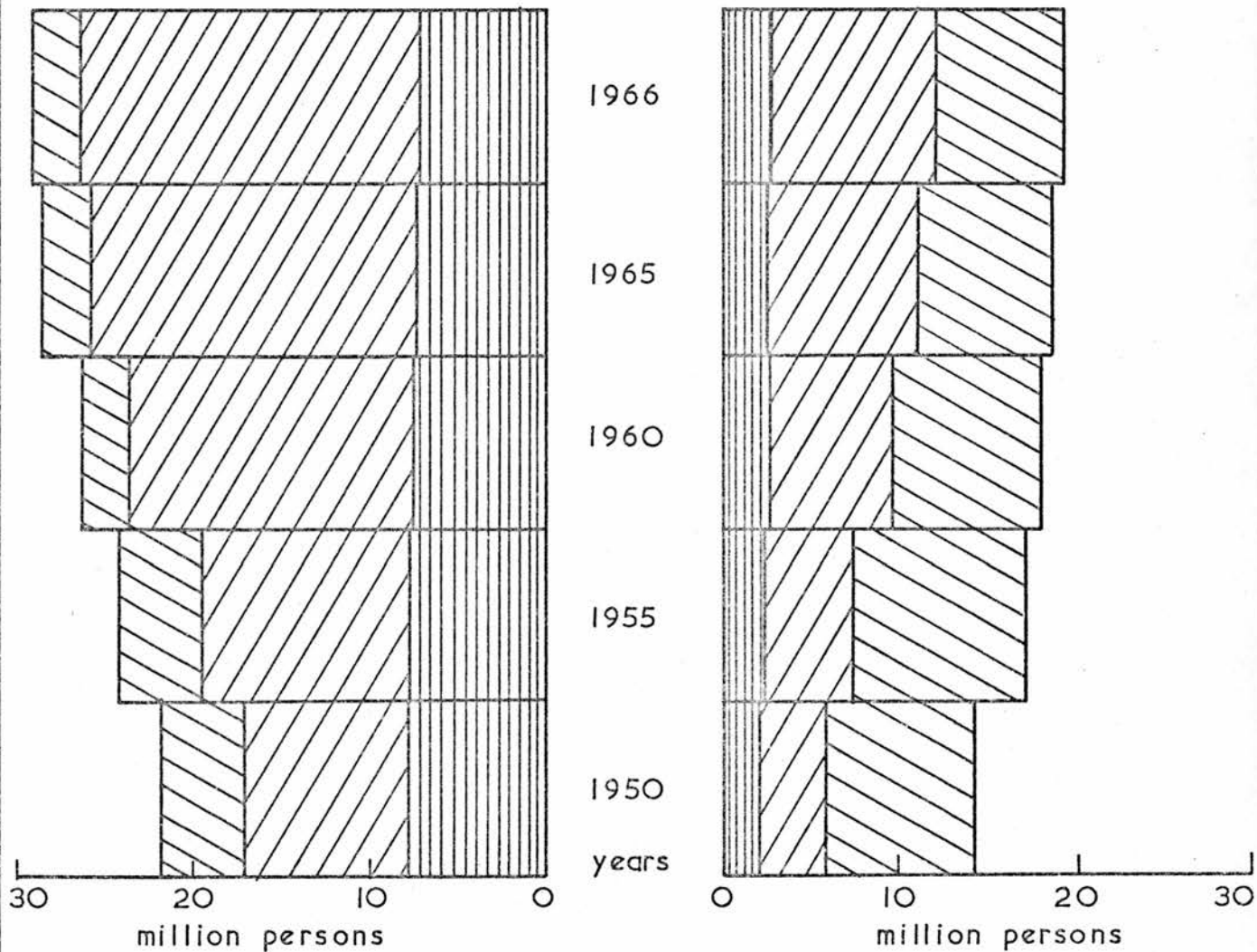
The proportion of female workers in these three classes differs considerably from that of men. Whilst women constitute the majority of the unpaid family workers class (74.8%), they only represent 32.1% of total employees. The lowest contribution of female workers is in the self-employed class. However, the distribution of the female labour force according to the class of work held has undergone considerable changes. This change in the number of workers in each class is indicated in figure (3-11). The most remarkable fact is that the largest gain of women over the years is in the employees class (wage and salaried workers). The next is in self-employed positions. Although the unpaid family workers class show a small decline in the number of women workers, it now ranks as women's second major occupation.




With regard to male workers, their largest increase was in employee class (wage and salaried workers). In the self-employed and unpaid family workers, the changes are almost negligible.

Despite these incipient changes in the occupational position of women, it is obvious that there is still a large proportion in the unpaid family workers class. However, the greater proportion of those so engaged are in agriculture. In 1960, about 80% of all women working in agriculture were unpaid family workers, whereas in industry, commerce and service, over 60% of all female workers were paid employees.

Male

Female



Self employed.   
 Employees.   
 Unpaid family workers. 

EMPLOYED PERSONS BY EMPLOYMENT CLASS, JAPAN  
1950-1966

It should be noted that the persistent element in the supply of unpaid family workers is the married woman. This largely reflects the persistence of the customs of the old economy in the agricultural areas and the village.

### 3.15 Marital Status and Economic Activity of Women.

Despite the fact that a substantial number of Japanese women are in employment, the ancient pattern of family labour and the attitudes as to the proper activities for women still influence their participation in the economy. This is due largely to the limited success in many circles in reconciling the traditional status of women with economic activities that are increasingly Western in type. In accordance with traditions, single women work outside the homes and receive wages while married women labour in unpaid family work.

The engagement of single girls in gainful employment, in factories, occurred under conditions that permitted protection and supervision alternative to those that parents provided, while the employment of married women was predominantly within the home, either that of farm labour, piece work from factories, family production or work in the family shop or store. Undoubtedly, the obligations of the family and familistic ideals had a far reaching effect on the role of women in the economic sphere. In 1930 as well as in 1920, married women constituted the largest proportion

of female workers in agriculture where there was a close integration of household activity and of gainful employment.

In commerce almost half the female labour force were married women. As in the retail trade, women could undertake paid employment, look after their children and home simultaneously.

On the other hand, single women were greatly under represented in agriculture. By contrast, they comprised over 60% of all women workers in manufacturing industry and about 60% of the total female employees in the Government service and the professions. In the service job category, single women constituted 87% of all the female workers.

This relationship between the marital status of women and employment remained largely the same during the Second World War. The shortage of manpower during the war period did not suffice to change the traditional attitude of Japanese towards employment of married women.

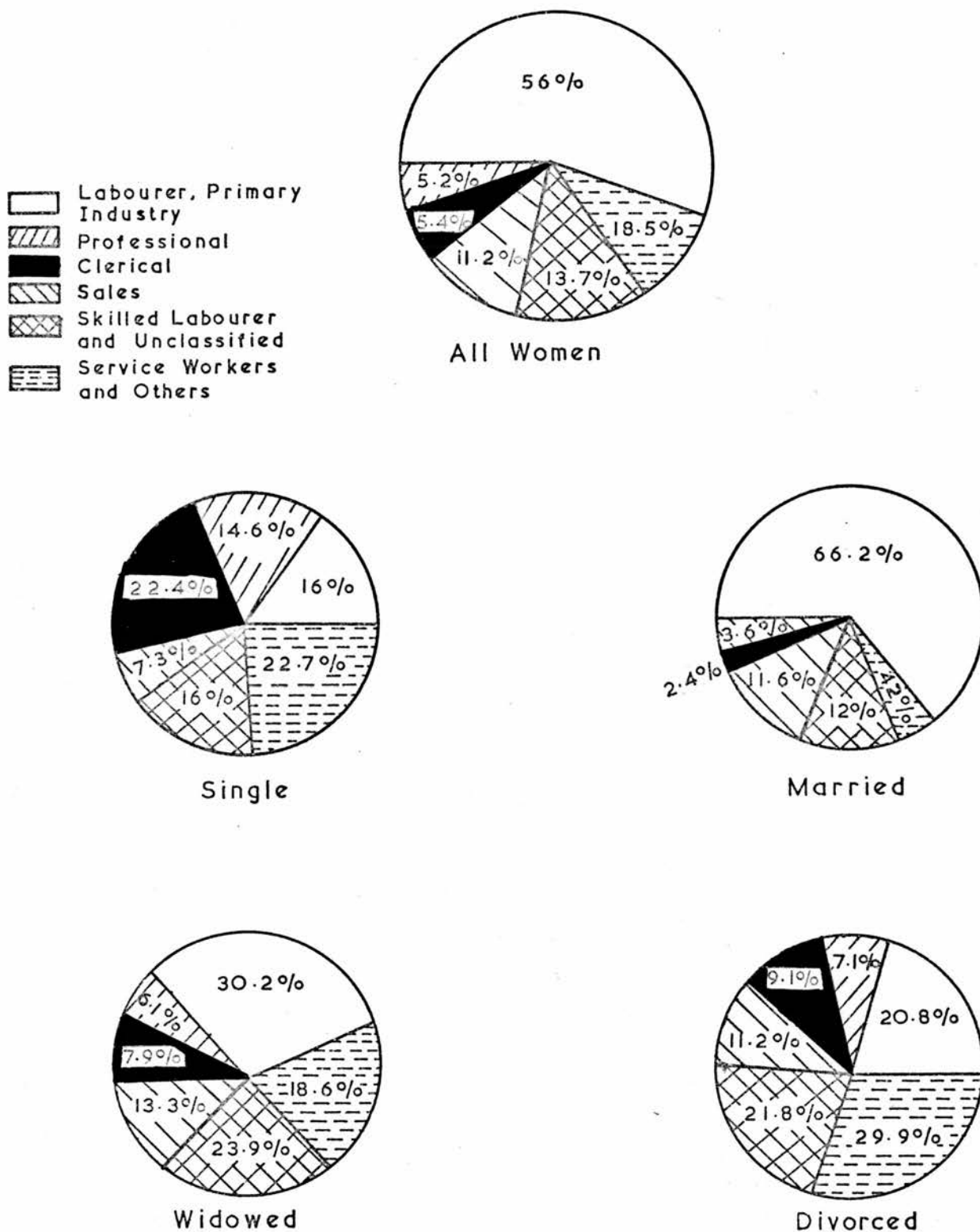
In 1940, 27.8% of the unmarried girls who were in gainful employment were in manufacturing industry, 15.4% in commerce and 12.7% in service industries. With regard to married women, 87% of the total were in agriculture or commerce, mainly the retail trade.

During the post-war years the volume of the female labour force increased and a wider scope of work opened up for them. Nevertheless, the economic activities available for married women remained

limited in scope.

By 1955, married women in the labour force were still concentrated in those occupations that could be undertaken without leaving the home. The economic activities of the single person, the widowed and the divorced, were more differentiated. Their patterns were those to be anticipated in accordance with the new Western experience for the single and on the ancient Japanese experience for the widowed and divorced.

The occupational structure of the female labour force participants in the age group 25-29 (Figure 3-12) indicates that the greater advances in the occupational hierarchy had been made by the single person. The married women laboured in agriculture and household and associated activities, whereas more than half of the widowed and over three-fifths of the divorced, served as casual labour or were engaged in the service. This is related to the fact that widowed and divorced were the disadvantaged classes of this society in transition. Although in rural areas duty required that a widow should be provided for, tradition decreed that in turn she worked in the household without remuneration. She was usually considered as a burden, whereas in the urban areas the widowed had to seek employment to care for their families. Factories would not hire them as the widow would be a permanent member of the labour force and so required paternalistic provisions for current welfare and old age security.

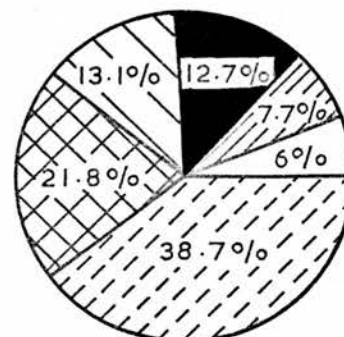
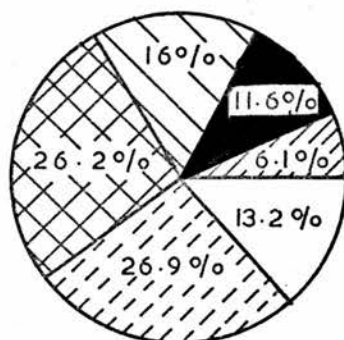
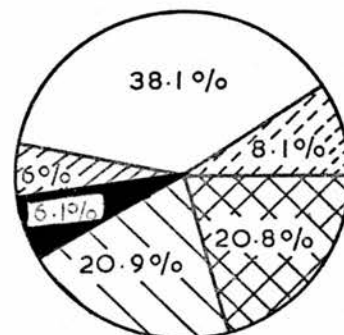
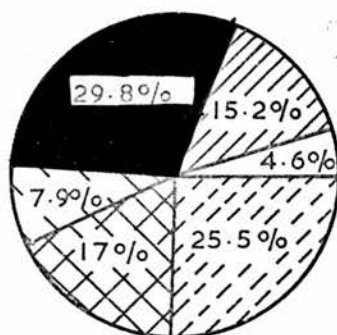
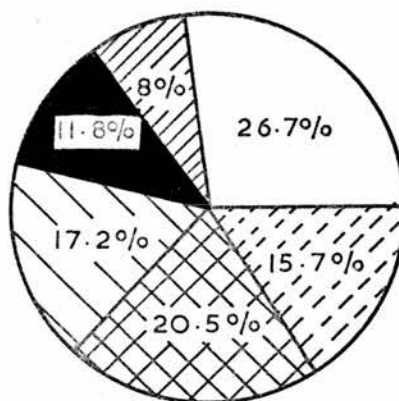


THE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE LABOUR FORCE AGED 25 29 YEARS OLD ACCORDING TO THEIR MARITAL STATUS. JAPAN 1955

Source: See Appendix B-Table B-2

Fig. 3-12





THE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE LABOUR FORCE AGED 35-49 YEARS OLD ACCORDING TO THEIR MARITAL STATUS - JAPAN 1955

Source: See Appendix B - Table-B 21

Fig.3-121

Nevertheless, there were appreciable proportions in all groups in the professional and technical occupations. Clerical work was prevalent, especially among the single people.

In the older age groups (34-49), the proportion of the single in agriculture declined whereas their share in clerical and professional occupations increased (Figure 3-12).

Married women were largely limited to agriculture, sales and casual labour. Widowed and divorced women were still utilized as casual labourers or in the service work. However, some 7% of the widowed and divorced women were in professional and technical occupations.

Although the process of industrialization in the Western world entailed a wider utilization of female labour force in developing industries, Japan has achieved its economic development with little participation from its female population in the labour force.

The cultural ideologies of the past in respect to the social position of women, and particularly employment of married women outside the home, slowed the pace of women's entrance into gainful employment, and still continues to account for their employment pattern.

### 3.2 The Soviet Union.

#### 3.21 The Position of Women in the National Economy.

The early participation of women in the labour market is a characteristic feature of the Russian economic life. Women have always constituted an important element in the Soviet labour force in contrast with other highly developed countries, e.g. the United Kingdom, and the United States. The high participation of women in the labour force is the product of several factors.

In the pre-Soviet and early Soviet periods when the country was primarily agricultural, women contributed all or part of the year to some kind of economic production. Prejudice and customs, however, barred them from entering certain professions and occupations. Although women obtained some gains prior to 1917, many professions requiring high qualifications and training remained a male preserve. Medicine and teaching were the only professions considered appropriate for women.

In the Central Asian republic, Moslem customs of early marriage and seclusion of women inhibited the contribution of female population in any economic activity except agriculture.

The communist party from its earliest days in power proceeded on the basis that the emancipation of women could only be achieved through their integration into all economic activities. With a view to eliminating the conservative attitude towards women, a number of

laws were passed establishing equal rights for men and women. Furthermore, there was the issuing of several decrees introducing equal pay for equal work for men and women, also those concerning maternity and child welfare and marriage and divorce together with a number of other decrees in respect to education and training.

On this subject, V.I. Lenin said: "The Socialist Republic of Russia swept away all legal trace of women's inequality without exception and immediately guaranteed women full equality under the law in this field. Not a single democratic party in the world, not even in the most advanced bourgeois republic, has done in decades so much as a hundredth part of what we did in our first year in power. We really razed to the ground the infamous laws placing women in a position of inequality." (12)

Furthermore, in order to ensure the practical emancipation and equality of women, many opportunities were created for them with a view to enabling them to contribute to the economic production.

The year 1928 marked a break-through in the life of a large number of women. The beginning of enforced industrialization required a great increase in the volume of industrial labour. In consequence, the female labour force began to penetrate into all branches of industry. Furthermore, the Second World War and the political purges which reduced the number of the male population of working age, increased the predominance of women in that age group from which the labour force is drawn.

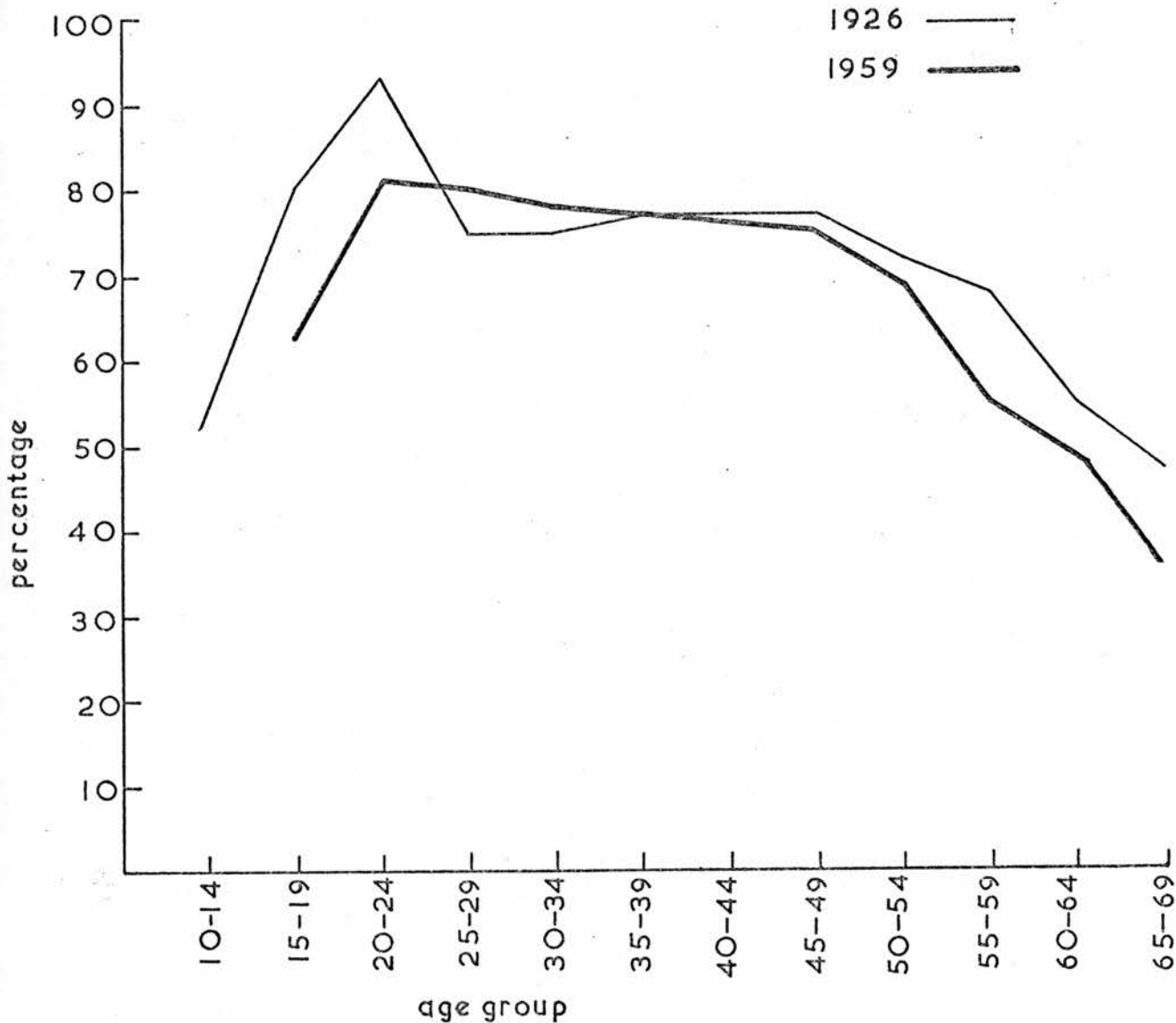
The number of women in the labour market increased significantly during the period 1926-1959 (from approximately 39 million to about 53 million women). Despite this increase in their numbers, their share in the labour force declined slightly. It was 51.4% in 1926, 45.1% in 1939 and 49.4% in 1959.

This slight decline could be attributed to two developments. On the one hand there was the movement of females from rural to urban employment which tended to decrease the overall participation rate. Also, the increasing years of training and schooling for the young and the earlier retirement of the older women from the labour force. On the other hand, there was a significant rise in the volume of urban female labour force which counteracted that decline.

The percentage of women in the labour force in general never dropped to the pre-war level. It became stabilized at a level of approximately 45% in industry and 49% for the national economy as a whole. This ratio has been maintained despite the gradual levelling out of the numerical disproportion between adult males and females.

### 3.22 Variations in Age Specific Activity Rates of Women.

In the primary economy of 1926, there was a high percentage of women in all age groups participating in the labour force. However, it should be borne in mind that if these rates (Figure 3-21) were to be converted to man-year equivalent, they would be reduced, especially for the younger and older women where work was seasonal. On the



AVERAGE AGE SPECIFIC ACTIVITY RATES FOR  
FEMALES ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE

(PERCENTAGE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE  
OF A GIVEN AGE GROUP)

basis of the sample data presented by L.E. Mints for 2,744 households in eleven regions of the Soviet Union in 1924 and 1925, it was estimated that in terms of man-years the contribution of adult women to agricultural labour was 30% less than that of men in the mid 1920s (13). Nevertheless, it is apparent that women were engaged in the Soviet economic life for at least part of the year.

The main feature of the pattern of women's participation during 1926, is that it rises rapidly to a peak of 93% for women in their early twenties, and then declines sharply to 75% for those in their late twenties. This was due to marriage and increasing family responsibilities which inhibited them from making a fuller contribution to the labour force. The participation rate of women in the age groups 29-49, remains at an approximate level of 75%, then there is a further sharp decrease for the participation ratios of women in the older age group. (Figure 3-21).

Despite the progressive industrialization and urbanization of the Soviet Union during the 1930s, the overall participation rate of women in the total labour force declined. The participation rate of those in the age group 10-15 declined from 59% in 1926 to 23% in 1939. This, as mentioned before, is the impact of the increase in school attendance in the upper grades. The older age groups suffered a similar decline due to earlier retirement from gainful employment.

By 1959 there was a significant rise in the rate of participation of women in almost all age groups. The most conspicuous feature of the participation of women in the labour force is the high ratio of those in the age groups 20-39 which covers almost the entire child-bearing and child-rearing span of a woman's life. The average participation rate for this age group in 1959 was 80%, a phenomenally high rate for a country as highly industrialized as the Soviet Union. In the United States by comparison, the participation rate of women declined from 45% in the age group 20-24 to a percentage of 33% in the following five year age groups before rising to 36%, 40% and 45% in the next three age groups until a peak of 47% was reached in the age group 45-49<sup>(14)</sup>.

This characteristic of the withdrawal of women from the labour force on the advent of marriage and rearing of children in the United States and the Western countries, is not paralleled in the Soviet Union. This is because Russian women do not allow house-keeping and family cares to occupy their faculties to the exclusion of everything else. Besides, housekeeping in Russia today is neither a wholetime nor a stimulating job. The State takes care that children shall not be an obstacle to a career by providing nurseries, kindergartens and children's institutes in which they probably receive better care and attention than the mother could give them at home. The absence of a male breadwinner, or the inability of the male family head to earn an adequate income, and



the extensive utilization of woman-power to meet the Soviet Union's comparatively modest per capita agricultural requirements, have also been responsible for the high level of women's participation rate at all age groups.

The main feature of Soviet women's participation rate is that it starts at a high level and remains high until the retirement of women from the labour force in the older age groups. Women usually begin retirement at the age of 55 from employment in the socialised sector, whereas in the heavy physical hazardous occupations they withdraw from the labour market at an earlier age - about 50 years of age.

It should be borne in mind that this high overall participation of women in all age groups is due also to the fact that a large number of women retire from the socialized regular employment to private subsidiary agriculture. Undoubtedly, the withdrawal of women from regular employment sharply decreases their contribution to the economy, as their work will be mostly seasonal. Despite this fact, the Soviet Government views the million women in the private subsidiary sector as a source of labour which could ultimately be drawn into regular employment in the socialized sector.

### 3.23 Women's Employment.

The statistics in Table (3-21) manifest the changes in the distribution of the female labour force over the various occupational

TABLE (3-21)  
PERCENTAGE OF THE FEMALE WORKERS TO TOTAL  
LABOUR FORCE IN SOME MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS,  
1926, 1939, 1959.

Occupational Group	1926 %	1939 %	1959 %
Workers and employers .....	31.3	34.1	46.0
Non-agricultural .....	(31.0)	(35.4)	(47.3)
Agricultural .....	(33.3)	(27.9)	(40.9)
Co-op handicraftsman .....	n.a.	22.7	71.4
Non co-op handicraftsman .....	26.7	50.0	50.0
Collective farmers .....	n.a.	54.3	56.0
Private farmers .....	49.9	65.1	90.0
Bourgeoisie .....	15.4	n.a.	n.a.
Employed labour force .....	46.8	46.9	53.7
Unemployed .....	40.0	n.a.	n.a.
Civilian labour force .....	46.8	46.9	53.7
Military .....	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total female labour force .....	46.4	45.1	51.9
Non-agricultural labour force ..	28.1	31.2	44.2
Agricultural labour force .....	49.7	53.8	61.5

SOURCE: Norton T. Dodge, Women in the Soviet Economy, Their Role in Economic Scientific and Technical Development, The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1966, p.44.

TABLE (3-22).

## PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOUR FORCE, BY MAJOR

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND BY SEX, 1926, 1939 AND 1959. (U.S.S.R.)

Occupational Group	1926			1939			1959		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
	Workers and employers .....	11.4	14.6	7.6	38.9	46.6	29.4	55.5	60.0
Non-agricultural .....	(10.0)	(12.8)	(6.6)	(32.1)	(37.3)	(25.2)	(46.8)	(49.1)	(44.4)
Agricultural .....	(1.4)	(1.8)	(1.0)	(6.8)	(8.9)	(4.2)	(8.7)	(10.9)	(6.5)
Co-op handicraftsmen .....	1.8	2.4	1.0	2.5	3.5	1.3	1.2	2.4	0.2
Non co-op handicraftsmen .....	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2
Collective farmers .....	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	40.4	33.7	48.6	30.6	24.6	36.7
Private farmers .....	83.4	77.9	89.8	14.0	8.9	20.2	9.2	6.3	12.0
"Bourgeoisie" .....	1.5	2.5	0.6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Employed labour force .....	98.1	97.4	99.0	96.2	93.1	100.0	96.7	93.5	100.0
Unemployed .....	1.2	1.3	1.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Civilian labour force .....	99.3	98.7	100.0	96.2	93.0	100.0	96.7	93.5	100.0
Military .....	0.7	0.3	0.0	3.8	6.9	0.0	3.3	6.5	0.0
TOTAL LABOUR FORCE .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Non-agricultural labour force .....	15.1	20.3	9.2	38.8	48.5	26.9	51.6	57.3	44.7
Agricultural labour force .....	84.9	79.7	90.8	61.2	51.5	73.1	48.4	42.7	55.3

SOURCE: Norton T. Dodge, Women in the Soviet Economy, Their Role in Economic Scientific and Technical Development, The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1966, p.46.

groups. The conspicuous fact that emerges from these percentages is that the changes within the different occupational categories have not followed a uniform pattern. Whilst the share of women in the agricultural labour force as a whole, that was already high (49.7% in 1926) increased slightly to 61.5% by 1959, the largest increase in women workers has been absorbed by the non-agricultural occupations.

Table (3-22) also shows some significant shifts in the basic employment pattern for Soviet women. In 1926, only 9.2% of all female workers were employed in the non-agricultural sector. By contrast, 90.8% were engaged in agriculture. But, as a result of the labour demands of industrialization, the proportion of female workers in the non-agricultural sector increased to 26.9% and that in agriculture declined to 73.1% in 1939.

Further industrialization and the impact of the Second World War continued the upward trend in the proportion of the female labour force in the non-agricultural occupations. In 1959, 44.7% of employed women were in non-agricultural labour force and only 55.3% were in agriculture.

Thus, the significant change in the position of women was the shift from predominantly agricultural to non-agricultural work. This reflects the great economic and cultural transformation which has converted the Soviet Union from a largely backward agricultural society into a much more developed and complex industrial society.

### 3.24 Women Workers in Agriculture.

One of the most striking characteristics of the Russian economy is the employment in agriculture of a large number of women. In 1959, women constituted 54% of the total labour force in the socialized and private independent sector and 91% in the private subsidiary sector.

Agricultural workers, however, are divided into three categories. The bulk (31.7 million) were members of and contributed most of their labour to collective farms. Further, 9.8 million persons were engaged mainly in private subsidiary farming. Those were members of collective farm families, members of families of workers, employees in the State farm sector and those in other sectors of the economy who worked on private garden plots. Another 6.6 million workers and employees in agriculture were employed on State farms. Their position in work and the status of those State workers and employees ranked to the same level of those engaged in the other sector of the State economy but their main occupation was agriculture.

The last category of agricultural workers - individual peasants - almost disappeared. Only 92,000 individual peasant families were in the Soviet economy in 1959.

Women comprised 57% of the collective farmers, 91% of workers in private subsidiary agriculture, and 41% of the workers and employees in the farms and State agricultural enterprises.

Despite their large share in agriculture, women are still engaged on the "physical" agricultural work.

The position of women for the years 1926, 1939 and 1959, in these occupations has not improved as compared to that of men. Their proportion in 1926 was 50% and in both 1939 and 1959, it remained static at 58%. Despite this increase in the proportion of women employed on "physical" agricultural occupations, their numbers have declined to slightly over 55% of the 1926 level. This decrease, however, was in correspondence with the overall decline in the number of the working force in agriculture. It is to be noted that the large majority of women on this sector have a higher age average than in the other sectors of the economy. This is largely due to the migration of young girls and women from rural to urban areas to enter construction, trade, industry, and the professions. As the older women lack mobility, they remain to work in agriculture. Furthermore, women workers in this sector tend to be older than men in the "physical" occupations in agriculture. Approximately 42% of the total female workers in this job category are 40 years of age or older, against 35% of the men. By contrast, in the age group 60 and over, men are predominant.

### 3.241 Women on Collective Farms.

Prior to the Second World War, the proportion of female workers in collective farms was declining. In 1936, women constituted 61% of the labour force and 53% in 1938.

During the war their proportion rose to about 80%.

This was due to the transference of men to industry or to the forces. During the period 1948-1953, their proportion rose from 63% to 64% due to the outbreak of the Korean War. This ratio has declined to 56.9% in recent years.

Although women are predominant in the economic sector, their occupational structure differs significantly from that of men. In 1959 out of 14.7 million women in collective farms, 83% were engaged in physical labour and were non-specialized as well as unskilled, compared with 66% of the total male collective farmers. In occupations such as those of swineherds, milking workers and poultry workers, women made up more than 90% of all workers. The overwhelming proportion of women in collective farms (86.8%) undertook highly seasonal field work - planting, cultivating and harvesting of the crops. However, women do have a large share of the field team leadership which is basically a foreman type of occupation. In 1959, they constituted 87% of the total. With regard to managerial work, i.e. as heads of sub-farms and brigadiers, their proportion amounted only to 12% of the total.

### 3.242 Women in Private Subsidiary Economy.

Work in the private subsidiary economy is in the main in private garden plots, which are among the last remnants of private enterprise in the U.S.S.R. These plots which in 1961 occupied



only 3.3% of the agricultural area accounted for a substantial share of the total farm output, particularly of certain products such as potatoes (63%), vegetables (44%) and milk (46%). The importance of these plots lies in the fact that they provide a large section of the Soviet population with important food produce which would otherwise be unattainable.

These plots are usually cultivated by these groups: members of families of collective farms, State farm workers and other workers and employees. The first group comprises the largest proportion, which represented 58% of the total workers in 1959. The second group accounted for about 30% and the last one for approximately 12% of the total.

Female workers comprise the largest proportion in that sector. In 1959, they accounted for 91% of the total number of workers. It should be noted that about 46% of all women employed in the private subsidiary economy are 55 years of age and over. Some of these women continue to work for many years beyond the normal retirement age.

### 3.243 Women on State Farms and in Other State Agricultural Enterprise.

As has been mentioned previously, workers in this sector have the same status as workers and employees in industry, construction and other non-agricultural activities. They receive regular wages, are covered by social insurance and so forth. The majority



of those workers are also provided with private garden plots as collective farmers.

Women constitute a smaller proportion of the working force of this sector than that of collective farms. They amount only to 41%. Women workers in State agriculture, like those engaged on collective farms, are assigned to the less skilled jobs. Of the 2.7 million women employed in this sector about 2.3 million or 84% were undertaking physical labour in 1960.

More than 99% of the milking personnel on State farms are women, and over 90% of the total workers in swineherding and poultry raising. The smallest proportion of women are to be found in occupations requiring administrative responsibility (heads of sub-farms) or mechanical ability (tractor drivers). In none of these occupations does the proportion of women exceed 27%.

These three categories of agriculture discussed above, absorb over half the women in the labour force. In consequence, the majority of the Soviet women are still engaged in heavy, back breaking physical labour. Up till today, the rhythm and pattern of these women's lives has been little affected by the twentieth century.

### 3.25 Trends in Women's Employment in the Non-Agricultural Sector.

Women in the Soviet Union are now engaged in all fields of activities in the non-agricultural sector. As Justice Douglas has remarked on his visit to the Soviet Union:

"I saw women digging ditches, loading freight cars with rocks, shovelling dirt at the hydro-electric dam on the Ob River, laying concrete, using welding torches, pouring molten metal, operating overhead cranes in Siberian factories, cleaning streets, driving trucks, operating street cars, unloading baggage and express, serving as switchmen, flagmen and porters on trains, and doing every conceivable kind of work in the meat packing plants"<sup>(15)</sup>.

The widespread utilization of woman-power in the non-agricultural sector is the outcome of several factors which led to their employment in every walk of life.

During the Tsarist era, women predominated in the textile industry. By contrast the role of the female labour force was insignificant in metallurgy, machine factories, the coal industries and many others which began to develop very rapidly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But neither the textile nor industry as a whole could absorb the large numbers of women seeking employment. In 1897, 55% of the female labour force were house servants and 25% were labourers employed by kulaks (rich peasants) and landowners, whereas only 13% were employed in industrial

establishments or on building jobs and 4% in education and public health institutions<sup>(16)</sup>.

After the civil war when industry was rebuilt and developed in the first half of the 1920s, women again played their part in industry. In 1913, the number of women in the textile industry reached 360,000 out of a total number of 636,000 women industrial workers and only 2.4% in engineering and metal working. By 1928, at the start of the first Five-Year Plan, the total number of women in industry rose to 769,000<sup>(17)</sup>.

As the execution of the first Five-Year Plan depended on the recruitment of large numbers of workers to man the developing industries, the mobilization of hidden woman-power resources was inevitable. However, the issue was not only to draw women into industrial employment but also to raise their status. The controlling point of view was women's emancipation rather than labour market policy.

The authors of the Five-Year Plans considered woman labour from the point of view of woman's economic and social position. As the plan contemplated a significant expansion of basic industries which employed a small proportion of women, the ratio of the total female labour force was bound to decline relative to total labour force. To counteract this decrease, the planners recommended "intensified enrolment of women in various occupational divisions",

they stated:

"if the proportion of women employed in various occupational divisions remain unchanged, the different paces of the developing of several sections of the national economy would result in a decline of the prestige of women among the total wage earners. This would be quite unsound, we must make it our task to widen the scope of women's work everywhere"<sup>(18)</sup>.

In consequence, it became apparent that there was a necessity for promoting women's skill in order to raise their number on skilled occupations. Thus, vocational training programmes for girls were put into action. Also, there was an expansion of welfare institutions in order to reduce household tasks.

The maintenance of the ratio of the female labour force in the non-agricultural sector was not the sole achievement envisioned in the First Five-Year Plan. Planners aimed at raising the women's participation ratio in the labour force from 27% in 1927/1928 to 32.5% in 1932/33.

The bulk of the new female workers were to be drawn from among housewives, especially workers' wives. By recruiting them it was also hoped to lessen the high rate of labour turnover of male workers, as women were less inclined to change their jobs. Thus, if a married couple were engaged in the same firm the husband was more likely to stay.

In addition to these considerations, views were expressed about the importance of extensive utilization of the female labour force from the preparedness angle. As Solomon Schwarz points out,

"the utilization of urban woman-power was an alluring prospect. It permitted an increase in the labour supply without aggravating the housing and food shortages in the cities and, hopefully, reduced the high rate of labour turnover".

Schwartz also quotes a leading economic journal as stating in the early spring of 1931:

"Economic, Soviet and Party organs will have to consider that even in peacetime, the problem of women workers is of the greatest importance to the national defence, for the training of manpower takes time and vocational skill is determined not only by an apprenticeship but by practical experience on the job"<sup>(19)</sup>.

This increase was to be the highest in the production of capital goods. It was to reach 20.2% by 1932/1933 as compared with 10.3% in 1928/29. In consumer goods where employment of female workers was widespread, their ratio was to rise from 51.6% to 58.8% over the same period. With regard to the building trades, they were to increase ten fold, from 51,000 to between 500,000 and 550,000.

In commerce (hitherto a male domaine) the number of women employees was to rise from 105,000 to 321,000; in education from

390,000 to 942,000 and in communication from 27,000 to 98,000.

With a view to achieving their target, several measures were taken by the Government to encourage the industrial employment of women, namely:

- (a) drawing up a list of trades and professions to be reserved predominantly for women.
- (b) ~~co-operating~~ with other competent Government agencies to raise the quota of girls in all vocational schools and training classes.
- (c) drawing up plans for improving such social services as day nurseries, kindergartens and kitchens, which would ease the burdens of working women . (20)

Despite the fact that the number of female employees and workers significantly increased, their proportion in the labour force remained at 27.4% almost unchanged since 1927. Nevertheless, significant gains were made in industry, especially in those where women workers were unemployed. This trend continued under the second Five-Year Plan (1933-1937) which contemplated raising women's participation rate in the non-agricultural sector from 29.9% of the total employment by the end of 1932 to 33.9% of the total at the end of 1937.

The proportion of women employed surpassed the plan goals for the end of the year. In 1937, the ratio of the total female labour force in all the economic activities was 35.4%. In 1937, the proportion of women employed in industry was 39.8%, in construction 20.6%, in commerce 34.0%, in the health service 72.4%, and in education 56.6%. Women comprised 82% of the increment of the total working population between 1932-1937. (21)

This meant also that the absolute number of female workers and employers in that sector almost doubled during the period 1927-1937. Throughout this period women constituted a large proportion in industrial training schools, in some cases about 50%.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, women were mobilized on a large scale to substitute for male workers in many economic activities. During the first year of the war women comprised the majority of the labour force. Their proportion rose from 38% in 1940 to 53% in 1942. In industry the increase was from 41% to 52%, on the railways from 25% to 36%, in communication from 48% to 67%, in public utilities from 42% to 64%, and in trade from 37% to 55%.

The increased role of women was also reflected in various skilled occupations in industry, where few had been employed previously. The proportion of women operating steam engines rose from 6% at the beginning of 1941 to 33% at the end of 1942, women compressor operators rose from 27% to 44% and that of stokers from 6 to 27% for the same period.

On the whole, women were extensively utilized even in places where they had made small inroads, if any, in the past.

After the war, women constituted the main labour power resource due to the enormous loss of manpower in the war. In 1946, women constituted the larger proportion of the adult population of working age. They represented 58% of the population in the age group 16-34 and 62.8% of the age group 35-39. In consequence, the building up of the country had to rely heavily on woman-power.

As the main objective of Soviet economic development during the post-war period was the expansion of industry, women's contribution in that sector continued to increase at a rapid pace. The number of women in industry grew over tenfold during the years 1929 to 1964. Women not only continued to predominate in such industrial activities as the textile and clothing industries, but they raised their proportions in many other activities. In 1962, they constituted over 38% of the work force in the oil refining industry, almost 39% in machine building and metal working, approximately 44% in the paper industry and over 54% in the food industry. Women have also a strikingly high proportion in construction work. Their share increased from less than 7% to 29% of the total between 1929 and 1962<sup>(22)</sup>.



### 3.26 Woman's Occupational Structure.

#### 3.261 Non-Professional Occupations.

The main characteristic of women's occupational pattern is the large proportion of the female labour force engaged on unskilled work (physical labour). In 1961, 76% of all women workers were on manual jobs. In the agricultural sector, women are still being engaged on physical labour, e.g. hoeing, raking, loading and so forth. They represent two thirds of all unskilled workers. Moreover, if the number of female workers engaged in physical labour in the private subsidiary agriculture were added to it, the share of all female unskilled workers would rise to 73%. The predominance of women in the tasks requiring physical labour in agriculture reflects a number of historical influences.

Prior to the revolution and for many centuries before, women contributed largely to the unskilled seasonal agricultural labour. They laboured in the fields beside their husbands during the harvest, and other peak seasons of labour demand. With the advent of the revolution, many institutions were opened to women and men with a view to promoting their skill. Although many of them acquired the specialized skills under the Soviet regime, men have been the principal beneficiaries of these advances in agricultural technique. This is largely due to the larger number of men who attain the necessary training thus obtaining better jobs.

Furthermore, the large losses of males during the Second World War and the migration of men from rural to urban areas seeking better remunerative employment, shifted the burden of farm work to women.

With regard to the industrial sector women also constitute a large proportion of manual workers. From the Tsarist era, women already made up a high proportion of unskilled labourers in textiles and the needle trade. During the 1930s and the following decades, their number grew in a variety of other industries such as chemical, metal working and machine building. Furthermore, the war-time losses of manpower was so extensive that it led to the utilization of women on many physical occupations, usually undertaken by men, such as construction, metal and railways.

The employment of women on these jobs has persisted to this day. In the United States of America and other Western countries, women would hardly be found in such occupations.

This reflects the shortage of men in the Soviet Union and the determination of the regime to maintain high rates of growth with little regard for the social costs. If Russian women did not do this kind of work, men who are now engaged in more productive activities would have to replace them with a substantial loss to the economy.

### 3.262 Professional Occupations (Specialists).

Soviet specialists are people who have received special education, that is, a specialized high school or a University education. This word is correspondent with the term professional in the United States of America and the Western world. What distinguishes the Soviet Union is that all the specialists are State employees.

The growth in the number of women engaged on professional work has been considerably faster than that in the number of women engaged mainly on physical work. Between 1939 and 1959, the number of women specialists grew by 21%, whereas that of physical labour rose by 1%.

This upward trend in the proportion of women specialists is due to several factors.

By the early 1930s when Stalin consolidated his control of the State and inaugurated the First Five-Year Plan, he came to realize that new industries demanded a plentitude of scientists, engineers and technicians as well as a literate labour force. As the expansion of industries needed hordes of technically trained people schools and training centres were opened to produce them. In order to intensify the utilization of woman-power in industrial activity, the quota of girls in all vocational schools and training centres were to be raised. Women were also given equal rights of

education with men and equal opportunities for work. The proportion of women students in the higher professional educational establishments is characteristic of these developments. Women constitute 26% of those attending a higher agricultural institution, 31% in higher educational establishments which train industrial construction, transport and communication workers. Women also represent 50% of the students in the higher training centres of health, physical culture and sport. They also make up 63% of educational art and cinema workers. In the professional occupational fields, doctors and teachers are the most attractive for women.

Before the revolution only 10% of all doctors were women (excluding dentists), but the proportion had already reached 20% by the end of the 1920s. At the beginning of the war their figures rose to 60% and after the war to 75%. The percentage became stabilized at that rate. It should be mentioned that even in the national regions that were the most backward areas of Tsarist Russia, the number of women doctors is now very considerable. In the Kankh republic, the proportion of women doctors at the end of 1963 was 75%, in the Armenian republic 72% and in the Uzbek republic 65%.

In teaching the picture is more complex. Women form an overwhelming proportion of teachers in the primary and junior schools.

The lower the school grade, the greater proportion of women teachers. In 1959-1960, the proportion of women teachers in the general non-specialised primary and junior schools reached 70% of the total number of teachers. But in the first four grades they constituted 88% of the total, in the grades of five to seven 76%, and the grades of eight to eleven, 67%.

With regard to higher educational institutions women still have a very small share. In 1964, they comprised only 8.3% of academicians, corresponding members and professors, 19.1% of all associate professors and 29.0% of senior research workers.

The most significant phenomenon is the growth in the number of women engineers. The woman engineer in the factory has now become a daily occurrence. Prior to the war a remarkable number of women students in the higher educational establishments were trained as engineers. Despite this fact, women engineers in the factory were still an exception. During the war, however, a great deal of work had to be done by women engineers due to the shortage of men. During the decades following the war, especially the recent ones, a great deal of attention and priority was given by the Soviets to scientific and technical advances with special attention to rocket, missiles, aircrafts and nuclear weapons. In consequence, there was a tremendous expansion and improvement in scientific and technical education and in stimulating research. Women were greatly encouraged

by the State to enter these professions; thus the number of women engineers grew from 44,000 in 1946, to 460,000 in 1964. They constitute about 81% of the total number of engineers.

Soviet women also made several gains in other professional fields such as those of economists, statisticians, commodity specialists in agriculture and legal work.

Despite the increasing role of women in the professional jobs, they still have a very small share among the top echelon of leading personnel. They are still mostly engaged on the lower ranks of the managerial positions. In the agricultural sector, less than 2% of the chairmen of collective farms, directors of State farms and other State agricultural enterprises were women in 1956. Their position as regards these top jobs was no better than in the 1930s. As N. Krushchev remarked, "it is men who do the administering and the women who do the work"<sup>(23)</sup>.

With regard to industrial activities, women fare much better among top leading personnel. Women constitute 21% of the administrators and specialists in transportation, 42% in communication and 46% in trade and distribution.

The role of women in high managerial positions in the professions exhibits a similar picture.

In the educational field there has been a continuous decrease in the proportion of women directors in elementary and secondary schools

Although women are dominant in that field they represented only 39% of the teaching personnel in 1957. Three fifths of this ratio were engaged mainly in teaching - heads of departments, professors and associate professors, whereas among heads of institutions, deans and other academic administrators, their proportion was only 10% of the total.

As regards medicine and health, where women have outnumbered men, their proportion among top level administrative occupations was below their proportionate share.

In 1959 they represented only 57% of the heads of establishments, deputy chiefs and head physicians. Discrimination, however, accounts for the relatively smaller share of women in top jobs in this field. As Mark Field remarked about a survey of physicians referred to in the Journal of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Health:

"Among physicians holding a high rank, four out of five are men, when in the profession at large four out of five are women. Among male physicians, eight out of ten hold a high rank, but among women only half that number hold such a rank. The chances of a woman doctor being able to rise in the medical ladder appears to be somewhat poorer than that of her male colleague and her chances of being rated as competent as a man seem correspondingly small<sup>(24)</sup>.

The fact that emerges from this argument is that despite the more favourable employment opportunities opened to women by

comparison to the United States or any other Western country, their prospects for promotion are not equal to those of men; yet the role of women in the Soviet economy is enormous, and is unquestionably greater than those in any other industrial country. This is due to both ideological considerations and to historical developments which were peculiar to the Soviet Union or which they experienced in a greatly accentuated form. Most important, of course, were the "industrialization drive" and the severe loss of manpower as a consequence of World War II.

### 3.3 The United States of America.

#### 3.31 Trends in the Employment of Women.

The economy of the original thirteen States was primarily agricultural and most economic activity was carried on in and around the household itself. In addition to food, various types of raw materials, such as cotton and tobacco, were produced. Some agricultural products were produced in sufficient quantity to export. The United States was largely dependent on foreign trade for manufactured articles.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a relative scarcity and costliness of labour and a relative abundance and cheapness of land. However, agricultural methods and techniques brought from Europe had already been given the test of American



experience.

During the 1830's great improvements in transportation facilities took place such as the erection of an internal network of canals, turnpikes and roads. This movement was impelled by the demands of farmers for better transportation to market their products, the demands by inhabitants of coast towns for cheap food stuffs, and by exporters who wanted larger amounts of commodities at cheap prices. Simultaneously there was the eagerness of importers and Eastern manufacturers to widen their markets. In the South, cotton production was greatly stimulated by the invention and adoption of Eli Whitney's cotton gin; and cotton for many years remained the most important influence upon the varying rates of growth of the economy. Cotton was strategic because it was the major independent variable in the interdependent structure of internal and international trade.

Lands in the West were developed and helped to supply food to growing cities such as Boston and New York which were emerging as important manufacturing centres. On the other hand, America's dependence on foreign manufactured goods started to decrease.

It was only during the 1840s and early 1850s that the pace of industrialization accelerated. The North East became a manufacturing centre which was based on a wide range of finished commodities rather than being limited to a few highly developed

industries. The expansion of manufacturing was accompanied by the growth of cities, construction and development of transportation facilities. Similar development in the West and South took place, though at a slower pace at first. The continued influx of immigrants expanded the supply of the labour force and flow of foreign investments augmented the supply of capital. Without them the pace of economic development would have been slower.

By the end of the nineteenth century, cities were becoming ubiquitous and the country was rapidly shifting from a nation of farmers to a nation of urbanites. By 1890, one out of three Americans was a city dweller and cities of over 100,000 housed one of every six Americans<sup>(25)</sup>.

Nevertheless, nearly half of all American women still lived on farms in 1890. They performed jobs which depended largely on the kind of farm, its income, what other members of the family were able to do, the customs of the locality and many other circumstances. Women's work often provided not only the necessities of the household, but much of the case for developing the farm as well. With the urbanization, many rural families moved to industrial cities seeking employment. This movement affected men and women differently. Jobs in cities were available for men, but women continued to perform the same tasks they were doing on the farm. Most women and almost all married women stayed at home. However, women managed to earn money in many different ways.

As the majority of the newcomers to towns and cities were young unmarried men and women, whose families remained in the country or Europe, immigrants of low income families were most likely to take them as boarders. Among the 7,000 working class families studied by the U.S. Bureau of Labour, around 1890, nearly one-fifth had boarders<sup>(26)</sup>. Sewing was the next occupation undertaken by women working at home. Women also ran employment agencies and acted as laundress. There were about 200,000 laundresses, though the majority of them were Negro. Wives also provided laundry service as well as food for boarders.

Although the shift from unpaid to paid employment was a revolutionary aspect in the work of females, most women continued to work at home until the end of the nineteenth century. But, as technological progress made possible roundabout production and division of labour, specialization and economies of scale, opportunities for women to work at home were being significantly diminished as industries could make products, e.g. clothing, cigars, cigarettes on mass production. They could also perform many other tasks more efficiently than women. Moreover, the laws regulating or forbidding homework especially in the garment, tobacco and food industries, imposed further limitations on women's homework.

On the other hand, women were being recruited to factories though employed on semi-skilled and unskilled work. In 1890 there

were over a million women working in manufacturing industries. With the advent of the twentieth century the path for women who were interested in a career was much easier than it had been before. Women had already gained some political and educational rights. In the State of Wyoming, for example, women were given the right to vote in 1900. Women were also able to obtain medical training in medical schools.

Between 1880 and 1910, women in gainful employment had gained fourfold. These decades were the age of the "new women" as women were fighting for democratic treatment on the basis of equal educational and legal rights. With the outbreak of the First World War (1914-1918) women were being employed in every branch of machine shop manufacturing. According to the reports of 562 firms in 1919, over 58,000 women had been substituted for men in the different industries and 37,600 of these were in the metal trades<sup>(27)</sup>.

The 1920's witnessed a sharp and many-sided equalization of both the public and private status of women. Women gained the right to vote and educational equality with men. These changes were the driving force towards reducing the obstacles to their employment. During the 1920's economic conditions were favourable for the promotion of women's employment.

There was the restriction of immigration, and increased application of science to business. New machinery was introduced, development of mass production and scientific management and rapid expansion of research resulted in the greater productivity of labour. Industrial production almost doubled, the productivity per worker increased, and the national income increased from \$63 billion in 1922 to a height of \$88 billion in 1929 - an increase of about 40%.

Although the industrial expansion during this decade was widespread, it rested fundamentally upon the manufacture of automobiles and electrical equipment and the boom in building construction. It is estimated that approximately four million jobs were created directly or indirectly by the automobile.

The industrial labour force that had always drawn its manpower supply from the farm intensified this long-time trend during the 1920s. With the speeding up on technological changes and mechanisation, employment opportunities in industrial sectors were opened to women. Between 1920 and 1930, women employees grew in numbers by 26% as compared with a 15% gain for men in the same period. However, the depression of the thirties made the scale turn against them, and many were unemployed. In addition, many States reintroduced discrimination against the employment of married women. Despite this fact, the female labour force increased, because in order to replace their lost income, women undertook any job they could obtain. The proportion of female

labour force grew even faster between 1930 and 1940 than it had been, during the two previous decades, (see Table (3-31)). With the outbreak of the Second World War, women were again recruited in greater numbers.

The outbreak of the Second World War brought about significant changes in women's employment pattern. The United States had not been in the war many months before employers experienced delays in meeting urgent military demands due to their incapacity to expand their work force. The manpower position was further aggravated by the withdrawal of men from industry to join the services.

In order to meet the pressing labour requirements, women were recruited on a large scale to substitute for men. They were given the opportunity to enter pre-employment courses to secure training that might qualify them for more skilled and responsible jobs. Between 1940 and 1945, when the war-time labour force was at its peak, the number of women in the labour force expanded from less than 14 million to slightly over 20 million. World War II opened up new opportunities to women, primarily in industry. In many cases the work that women performed had no relation to their pattern of pre-war employment. A 1942 study by the Women's Bureau of 125 plants engaged in the manufacture of electrical instruments, aircraft engines, machine and metal parts and ammunition found women concentrated in assembling, machine operating, testing and inspecting and packing and wrapping (28).

Since 1947, women have accounted for most of the increase of the labour force. The statistics in Table (3-31) manifests the marked contrast between the share of 30% or less prior to 1930 and that of 50% or greater, which has prevailed since.

TABLE (3-31)

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NET GROWTH OF THE  
LABOUR FORCE BY COLOUR AND SEX, 1890-1960<sup>(29)</sup>

PERIOD	1890 1900	1900 1910	1910 1920	1920 1930	1930 1940	1940 1950	1950 1960
TOTAL .....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
WHITE .....	84	90	95	92	104	93	82
Male .....	67	68	72	62	46	41	27
Female .....	17	22	23	30	58	52	55
NON-WHITE ..	16	10	5	6	- 4	7	18
Male .....	10	6	5	5	- 3	3	9
Female .....	6	4	0	3	- 1	4	9

The period since 1947 has been characterized by a high level of economic activity, by substantial economic growth and by a marked improvement in the general standard of living.

Industrial production, as measured by the Federal Reserve Board index, increased by approximately 62% between 1947 and 1959. The volume of labour force rose from 58 million to about 66 million, thus increasing approximately by 13%. Employment in non-agriculture

establishments rose by a greater proportion than total employment, increasing by approximately 17% during the same period and reflecting the continuous shift from agriculture to industry. One of the most important reasons for this expansion which started in 1947, and the general conditions of prosperity and economic growth in the following decades, was the backlog of consumer demand for housing and various types of durable consumer goods.

The rapid growth of the population and the rising rate of family formation during the war years and the post-war period, tended also to contribute to a high level of economic activity and resulted in increased demand for goods and services. Moreover, the rapid rate of technological progress which resulted in improvements in the quality of products or in the introduction of new products also helped to increase consumer demand. During the post-war period, manufacturing greatly expanded; it was the source of about 30% of aggregate national income in 1959 compared with 25% in 1939. This expansion was followed by the growth in the size of firms which in turn provided a large source of employment. A study in 1957 indicated that the one hundred industrial corporations with the highest sales volume employed a total of over 5½ million employees. Their total assets were valued at more than 100 billion dollars, their total sales volume was approximately 125 billion dollars, and their net profits came to more than 8 billion dollars.



For this group of 100 industrial corporations, the average number of employees per corporation was over 56,000.<sup>(30)</sup>

With the growing economy and technological changes which spurred greater division of jobs and mechanisation, women's scope for work expanded. Women represented 32% of the total labour force in 1960 as compared to 24% in 1940. Between 1950 and 1960, although they represented one-third of all workers, they accounted for nearly two thirds of the increase in the labour force. It is expected that their participation rate will rise to 40.6% in 1980.

### 3.32 Employment of Married Women.

Married women's propensity to take paid work outside the home is still influenced by the attitudes of society towards their employment. The American custom indicates that the male head of the family should support his wife and children by his own efforts. Americans also hold the idea that mothers ought to care for their children during their early formative years. These attitudes have, no doubt, their effects on female participation in economic life. Although these conventions are deeply rooted, they have significantly changed to facilitate the entry of married, as well as single women, in the labour market.

Although married women entered gainful employment from as early as the 18th century or before, their labour was regarded as the most disgraceful reflection on the character of American freemen.

So the technological and economic forces were ultimately to prove stronger than the warnings and yearnings of those who opposed it, social adjustment was slow. At the close of the century the great majority of married women in paid employment were from the lower income groups in the population and it was taken for granted that wives were only working because their husbands were incapable of supporting their families.

Married women's entrance into the labour employment was, however, making some progress. The United States Bureau of Labour in 1910 stated that "the married women was by no means an exceptional figure in the industrial world"<sup>(31)</sup>, that in 24 out of 27 industries studied, married women constituted 10% or more of all women 20 years of age and over, and in some occupations the proportion ran up to two or three fifths of the total.

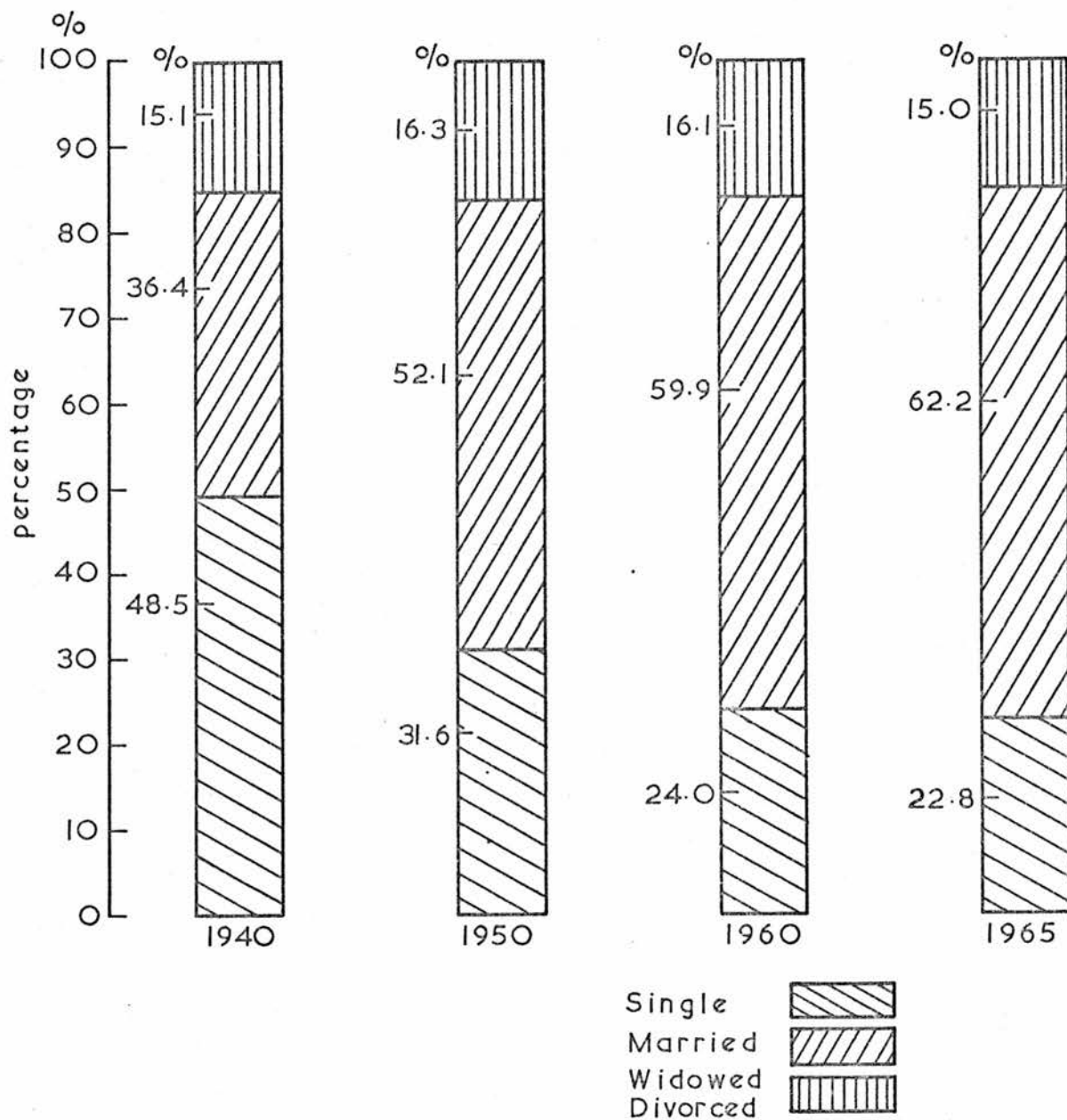
Twenty years after his proclamation that the employment of married women was an evil thing, Commissioner Wright recognised that:

"For under the hand-labour system she was used to home duties, to field drudgery, and to work necessary for the assistance of her husband or her father in the hand labour which he performed, and under that system she lived a narrow, contracted, unwholesome life in the lower walks of industry, and she was not known or recognised in the higher echelons, but with the establishment of the new system

the attraction to women to earn more than they could earn as domestic servants or in some fields of agricultural labour, or to earn something where before they had earned nothing, constituted them an economic force, the result of which has been that women have assumed the position and are obliged therefore to submit to all the conditions of a new economic factor<sup>(32)</sup>.

In recent decades there has been a phenomenal increase in the number of married women in paid employment. While in 1890 only 2.5% (white wives) were in gainful employment, they represented 11.5% of all married women in 1930. By 1940 the percentage was 17%, in 1950 it was 24% and in 1962 one-third of all white married women - and almost half of the non-white were in employment. Married women constituted over half the total female labour force in 1950 and 62.2% in 1965 (Figure 3-31). With marriage and with the advent of children, the participation rate of women naturally declines precipitously, especially in the age group 20-35. But marriage no longer removes a woman permanently from the labour force. Large numbers of married women usually at the ages of 35 years or more re-enter the labour market after longer or shorter intervals, in response to the financial needs of their families or for other reasons.

This steep increase in the employment of married women is partly due to the growing marriage rate and the younger marriage age



COMPOSITION OF FEMALE LABOUR FORCE BY  
MARITAL STATUS, U.S.A. 1940-1965.

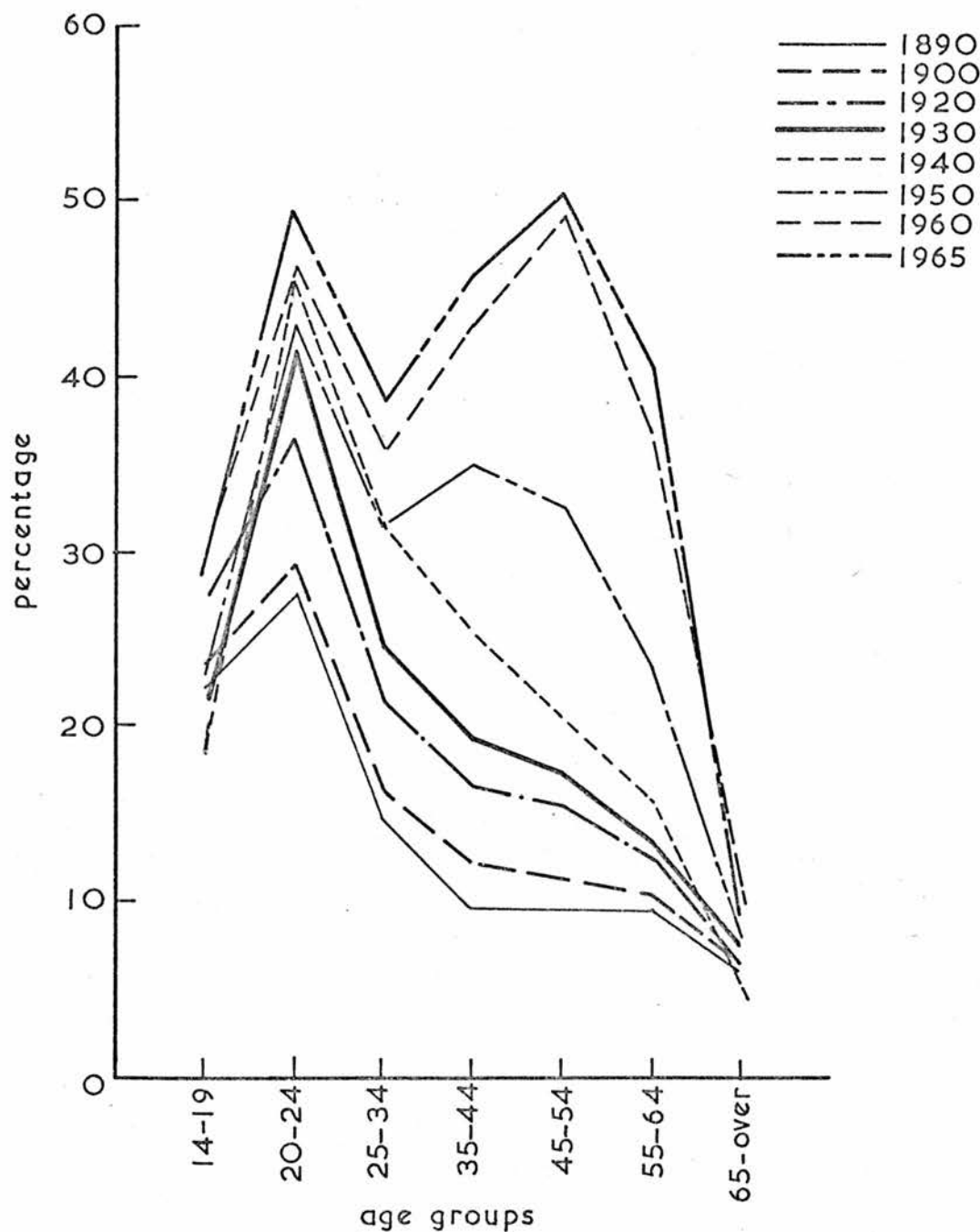
of women since World War II. It is also attributed to the relatively low level of single women's participation, especially in the younger ages which may account in a large-part for the marked sharp increase in the utilization of older women (see Figure 3-31). Also, the extension of nursery schools and kindergartens shortens the period of time during which child care precludes their economic activity or makes it difficult.

The relatively small share of single women in the labour force is due to the lower average marriage age and the widespread practice of high-school education.

More than two thirds of American girls in the age group 15-19 are attending school, and over one third of American brides are not over 19 on their wedding day. It is apparent that the majority of recruits to the female labour force are married women (12.3 million married to 5.4 million single women in 1962), despite the fact that the activity rate of married women is lower than all other groups (30.5% for married women compared with 44.1% for single women and 40% for divorced women in 1960).

### 3.33 Age Distribution.

Since 1890, the outstanding feature of the rising tide of women's employment has been the continuous increase in the number of women of all age groups. The only exceptions were the teenagers whose pattern of activity in the labour force has varied (Figure 3-32).



FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE,  
UNITED STATES 1890-1965

The war and post-war years greatly stimulated this increase. During the period 1940-1950, the large increase in the female labour force was due mainly to the growing participation of women in the age groups 35 and over, particularly those over 45 years of age. Nearly two out of every five working women in the United States belong to this age bracket. This could be attributed to the fact that the majority of married women over 35 years of age no longer have young children at home. With regard to women in the age group 20-35 years of age, despite the upward trend of their participation rate during the period 1890-1940, there has been a slight decline from 1940-1950. These are usually the ages during which women marry and bear children.

The shift in age composition of female labour force was great. In 1890 the median age of women workers was under 25 years of age, whereas in 1955 the median age was 38.5 and it was 41 in 1961.<sup>(33)</sup>

It is apparent that the rapid increase since 1940 in the employment of married women, especially in the older age groups, reflects the long-term social change of some magnitude.

### 3.34 Women's Occupational Structure.

In 1850 although the United States was progressively turning into an industrialized country, it was still predominantly agricultural. Almost two-thirds of the population lived in rural areas. By 1950 this proportion was reversed and two-thirds of the

population were living in urban areas. This change from a rural to an urban society has meant greater opportunities for women in the field of employment.

In 1890, out of 4 million female workers, about 20% were agricultural workers, whereas in 1950 only 5% of the female labour were engaged in that sector. This was due in the main to the introduction of machinery in agriculture which tended to displace workers from many jobs. Major declines in the employment of women have been in the "stooping jobs" category which occupied many women. Thus, women's work on the farm has become restricted.

The most significant change in women's occupational structure since the close of the nineteenth century is the shift from unskilled and semi-skilled manual work to clerical and sales employment.

Figures in Table (3-32) indicate that in 1900 about 85% of all non-farm female workers were engaged in domestic and service employment or in manufacturing and mechanical industries. Only about 5% were clerical or sales workers, whereas in 1950, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers accounted for only 44% of the total female labour force in non-farm employment. With regard to clerical and sales workers, female employees represented 37% of the total women workers in the latter year.



TABLE (3-32)

CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF WORKERS IN MAJOR OCCUPATION  
GROUPS, 1900 TO 1950, AND ESTIMATED COMPONENTS OF CHANGE  
BY SEX (DECENNIAL CENSUS LEVELS, IN THOUSANDS.)

Major Occupation Group	MALE			FEMALE		
	Change 1900 1950	Change due to		Change 1900 1950	Change due to	
		Change in no. of workers	Change in occupn. structure		Change in no. of workers	Change in occupn. structure
Professional, technical and kindred workers.	+2,274	+ 636	+1,638	+1,573	+ 909	+ 664
Farmers and farm managers .....	-1,196	+4,332	-5,528	- 191	+ 651	- 842
Managers, official and proprietors exc. farm .....	+2,834	+1,289	+1,545	+ 622	+ 161	+ 461
Clerical and kindred workers .....	+2,065	+ 528	+1,537	+4,290	+ 444	+3,846
Sales workers ...	+1,636	+ 857	+ 779	+1,190	+ 476	+ 714
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers .....	+5,112	+2,373	+2,739	+ 176	+ 159	+ 17
Operatives and kindred workers .....	+6,287	+1,952	+4,335	+2,026	+2,637	- 611
Private house- hold workers ...	+ 27	+ 42	- 15	- 68	+3,192	-3,260
Service workers exc. private houses .....	+1,880	+ 546	+1,334	+1,714	+ 752	+ 962
Farm labour	-2,332	+3,520	-5,852	- 215	+1,457	-1,672
Labour except farm & mine ....	+ 257	+2,768	-2,511	+ 8	+ 288	- 280

SOURCE: Gertrude Bancroft, The American Labour Force, Its Growth and Changing Composition, A Volume in the Census Monograph Series, Bureau of the Census, John Wiley & Sons Inc., New York 1958. p.38.

3.34| Manual and Domestic Work.

In industry, there have been significant changes in the kind of jobs held by women. In 1890, about 80% of all women in "manufacturing and mechanical industries" were textile or apparel workers, whereas in 1950, they represented only one-third of the total women workers. Innovation in technology undoubtedly opened to women new fields of employment previously closed to them. As machines took over heavier tasks, women were able to perform various jobs.

In 1960, more than a million women were employed in the manufacture of non-electrical machinery for office, stores, household machinery and general industrial machinery. In these various fabricating industries, women employees in 1960 comprised 18 in every 100 workers and 2 in 5 of all factory women.

With regard to domestic employment, it represented the largest field of women's employment in 1890. The statistics in Table (3-32) exhibit a sharp decline in the proportion of the female labour force engaged in that field. Technological changes, however, had a less revolutionising effect on the private household than on the farm. In 1900, 40% of all females in gainful employment (16 years and over) worked in private domestic service. This proportion dropped to 18% prior to the World War II and today, only one in ten is so employed. Despite this downward trend, domestic service work

remains and continues to be women's work. Out of every 100 workers so employed 98 are women.

In 1960, the number of baby sitters almost quintrupled in a decade. There were also 140,000 housekeepers, about 40,000 home launderers, and over a million women who were undertaking other domestic jobs. It should be mentioned that it was only during World War I that large numbers of women were drawn from that sector into factories where they got better wages. This exodus of women continued during the inter war period and it is only since the Second World War that there has been a marked decline in the proportion of women in this activity.

### 3.342 White Collar Sector.

The significant fact that emerges from Table (3-32) is that women have markedly increased their share in that sector. The female labour force made a greater contribution than white men to the growth of that field, especially in the 1910's, 1940's and 1950's. It was only in the 1920's that white women accounted for only one third of the net increment as compared to two-thirds for white men. Despite the fact that white women's share in the total labour force in that sector increased from 24% in 1910 to 41% in 1960 men still predominate in the majority of these jobs (56% of the total).

3.3421 Occupational Fields in the White Collar Sector.3.34211 Clerical and Sales Occupations.

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, stores and business offices, in contrast to factories, were almost exclusively masculine preserves. Prior to 1880, nearly all clerical and sales workers were men. However, with the invention of the typewriter and the telephone, and the changing technology of the offices, women were to be engaged on these jobs. By 1890, women held about 15% of the clerical jobs and office workers and over one-third of the sales workers were women.

The growth of women's employment in these activities has been significant since the beginning of the twentieth century. Women have provided the greater share of recruits for the increase of the clerical and sales work force. In 1910, they comprised only 28% of the total employees in this field, whereas in four of the five following decades they constituted between 60 to 70% of the net increment. Only in the 1920's did they make a smaller contribution, 39% of the net growth - which was an exception. The expansion of women's contribution in this field was largely due to the dominance of the corporate forms of business, and the growth of finance and of the wholesale and retail trades. These and related developments greatly extended the need for communication and record keeping.

With the constantly growing size of business, this field of employment expanded and has been the most important area of growth during the past half century. It has accounted for more than one-third of the net increase in the working population and has doubled its proportion of the total female labour force from 10% to 21%.

Since women are engaged on clerical jobs for lower wages than men, engaging them cuts the costs down. Also, the greater volume of the administrative work facilitates specialization and the subdivision of tasks contributes greatly to the employment of women, especially the young ones.

Nevertheless, women have not often undertaken jobs formerly held by men. As in manufacturing, new jobs were created which were allocated to women alongside the increased feminization of occupations such as bookkeeping and bank telling. The majority of these jobs required less degree of skill, knowledge, prestige and pay than the previous clerical jobs.

Women's share in sales jobs, in contrast to clerical jobs, has not increased as rapidly. Although women have directly replaced men in many sales occupations, they have been given the lower ranks on the jobs scale, whereas men are in positions with higher earnings and prestige (nine out of ten women in sales were employed by retail stores in 1950 and 1960. Another 5% sold real estate and insurance).

3.34212 Professional Occupations.

The professional work force as a whole, has grown at approximately the same rate as that of the clerical and sales work forces and even increased more rapidly during the 1950's. One-fifth of the increase of the total labour force is engaged on these activities and has more than doubled its proportion of the total working population from over 4% in 1910 to over 11% in 1950. Despite this fact, women's share in the growth of the professional labour force has been smaller in the recent decades than the earlier ones. They composed nearly half or more of its growth before the great depression in the 1930s, but have accounted for less than a third since. Their proportion in the total field increased through the first three decades and then declined until 1960. By contrast, white men have been a primary resource of labour supply for these activities (professional), representing one-third of the increment of the 1910s, one half of that of the 1920s and over three-fifths of that of the last two decades. Data in Table (3-32) indicate the fact that the continuous growth of male employees in the field is related to the many new types of professional jobs developed for men in the 50 year period. These are mostly engineering and scientific occupations which were, of course, the direct result of scientific and engineering research and development work for which men are preferred.

The greater part of the increase in female professional workers is due, in the main, to the growth of the work force.

In the United States as elsewhere, the most conspicuous increase in the number of women employed in any occupational group in this field took place among teaching and nursing workers. Because of the importance of both of these activities for women, a greater proportion of women than of men have been employed at each decade.

In 1890, a quarter of a million teachers represented the only other large group of women employed outside the home beside domestic and factory workers. They outnumbered men teachers by two to one.

During the twentieth century the State laws in 1907 regulated that teachers should be high school graduates. Much prejudice, however, was still hindering women's appointments on College and University faculties, and it was not until the years following the First World War that women were introduced into higher teaching positions, but by the academic year 1921-1922, nearly a fourth of the faculty of American Colleges and Universities were women.

Female teachers constituted a nineteenth percentage of all teachers in the public, <sup>and</sup> private elementary schools and two-thirds of all in secondary education. Their number continued to increase and especially after the Second World War. Their number

has risen almost 50% since the mid-century.

In April 1960, nearly 1,300,000 women were at work in the elementary and secondary schools. In fact, they made up 75% of all those employed in this activity and 45% of all professional women. By contrast, in the Colleges and Universities, men are predominant. In 1959-1960, women constituted only one-fifth of the 105,000 instructors and professors<sup>(34)</sup>.

With regard to nursing, although it has always been regarded as a woman's occupation, there was not many hospital nurses in the 1890s, for the greater majority of the 40,000 nurses, and midwives who had formal training used to take care of private patients in their homes. With the advances of medicine and the growing wealth of the country, the demand for private and hospital nurses grew rapidly but most of the qualified nurses continued to enter the field of private nursing.

During the great depression, the situation in nursing became grave, as people were unable to pay for minimal health services and, at the same time, many nurses had little or no work. The private patients became a scarcity. In view of the situation, public health agencies were compelled to extend their services to much larger groups. Nurses were directly affected by these changes and a noticeable shift was observed from freelance to organised nursing services and from private to public health nursing.



As a consequence, the number of graduate nurses in hospitals rose 700%, from 4,000 to 28,000. Their medical value became apparent, and this new system prevailed. Before the Second World War, the majority of qualified nurses were engaged in hospitals (over 100,000 women). With the continuous expansion of the health services, the demand for more nurses increased. At the mid-century there were more than 144,000 practical nurses (95% of them women), which represented an increase of 35% over 1940. In 1953, women nurses were being graduated from approved training programmes at the rate of 6,000 a year. By 1960, there were in the medical and health services as a whole, 775,000 women, or 27% of all women in professional positions<sup>(35)</sup>.

The employment of women in other professional fields has also changed since the turn of the century. In most of the traditionally male professions, women have broken through, but very slowly. Until 1940, men constituted 97% of the lawyers, dentists, architects, natural scientists and engineers, and 95% of the doctors. Although the numbers of women have increased since then, men still constitute 95% of the workers in the majority of these occupations.

Women are no more than 6% of medical practitioners, 4% of lawyers and 8% of pharmacists. In fact, there has been a decrease in all high level occupations which require long training. The

proportion of first professional degrees in law has declined from 6% in 1930 to 3% in 1959 and the proportion of women taking medical degrees remained at 5% since the 1920s<sup>(36)</sup>.

In the managerial and property occupations, women have significantly contributed to their growth. In 1910 they constituted 5% of the total number in the group and accounted for about 10% of the increase in the 1910s, 1920s and 1950s. Only in the 1940s did they comprise twice that proportion. Nevertheless, men have been and continued to be the overwhelming source of labour force. They supplied 85% between 1940 and 1950. Despite the slight decrease in preponderance of men in this sector, they account for 5 out of every 6 proprietors, managers and officials.

The growth in women's share in the total labour increment is due in the main to the marked increase in the number of female employees in the lower level white collar jobs. With the greater utilization of woman-power in clerical and sales jobs, many women demonstrated their ability to become supervisors and managers. It should be mentioned, however, that women's gains in that sector have been largely at the lower levels of management. They are mostly found in retailing, eating and drinking and personal service establishments.

In banking and finance they have made considerable gains; women constituted about 10% of the managers and proprietors in 1950

against less than 4% in 1920. In industry their proportion rose from approximately 0.5% in 1890 to 5% in 1950. In Government their percentage grew by 11% from 1910 to 1950.

It is evident that there has been an ever-increasing participation of women in the American labour force. For the first time in the United States' history, more women than men entered employment in one decade during the 1950s. Yet despite their increasing share in the total labour force, the employment of women tends to be restricted to those limited number of occupations and industries, which are traditionally regarded as being the province of women workers. It is also apparent that most of the growth in the volume of the female labour force has occurred at low and medium skilled levels rather than in the highly skilled and professional occupations (except those of nursing and teaching).

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PART TWO

THE UNITED KINGDOM.

C H A P T E R 4

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

IN THE UNITED KINGDOM (1900 - 1946).



CHAPTER 4THE CHANGING PATTERN OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT  
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM (1900 - 1946).4.1 Trends in Women's Employment.

The emergence of the female labour force in the British economy as an essential part of the industrial and social structure today, is the outcome of several interwoven factors, the process of industrialization, the economic growth of the country and the progress which took place in society.

It was only during the period 1832-1850 that women were being recognised as an integral part of the new machine age, which made it possible for them to achieve gradual gains as regards their status in the labour market.

During this period Britain relaxed the restrictions on the export of her machines to the Continent. The volume of trade expanded and Britain began to reap the benefit of the technological improvements made in an earlier generation. There was also the development in the public railway which facilitated the quick movements of goods, whilst in addition its demands for iron for rails and rolling stock enhanced the expansion of the steel and coal industries. Similarly, the development of the gas industry had a favourable impact on the iron industry in giving rise to a demand for iron for pipes, fittings and gas holders. With the growth of foreign trade, the shipbuilding industry was greatly stimulated and

the change to the iron ship, also affected iron and engineering industries.

Moreover, the succession of spinning inventions in the earlier decades, followed by Edmund Cartwright's power-operated loom which came into use in 1830, resulted both in the expansion of cotton growing in new lands, the Southern American states - and the rest of textile manufacturing in Britain. Lancashire and the American South expanded together, the one manufacturing the produce of the other. With the advent of the new machinery, there was the economy of mass production in spinning, weaving, dyeing and fabric printing.

This was also a period of great industrial reforms. The first factory Acts were passed in the cotton trade reducing the hours of labour of children and then of women from 14 hours in 1833 to 10 hours in 1850. The principles of factory Acts were then extended to the regulations of all other industries.

In addition, there was the promulgation of the Mines Act in 1842, that forbade the employment underground of females at any time.

These Acts were of vital importance towards protecting women and children and improving working conditions. But there was a redistribution of manpower from the 1800s onwards. Agriculture, which had given employment to about 35% of the occupied population

in 1801, fell to 16% in 1851, to 14% in 1870 and was down to about 8½% at the turn of the century.

Within manufacturing there were significant changes. During the 1860s the proportion of workers employed in manufacturing began to decline and from a peak of 32.7% of the total labour force in 1850 it decreased to 30.7% in 1881.

Textiles and the making of clothes represented the major cases of failure to keep up with the rate of growth of employment, present in the economy as a whole. This was largely due to the economies of the machines which displaced many hand workers in the manufacture of cloth. From employing about two thirds of the working force in industry in 1851, cloth and clothing requirements fell to less than half by 1881. The number of textile factory girls which doubled in the 1840s, hardly increased in the 1860s and 1890s<sup>(1)</sup>. As skilled male labour was in greater demand to operate the new machines which were rather complicated, opportunities for women were limited. But, despite the relative decline of women workers in textiles and clothing trades, these were becoming women's main industrial sphere of work. In textiles, men constituted over half the workers in 1841, by 1881 they accounted for merely one third.

As opportunities for industrial work declined, there was a movement of female workers away from factories to houses as domestic service workers, as it represented the great alternative for these

women. Also, there was a continuous decline in the number of male servants indoors due to operator demand for manpower by expanding industries, e.g. machine tool industry and outdoor domestic service. By 1881, over one in seven of the total working population was in domestic service, accounting for over 1.8 million persons, with women predominating.

The emancipation of women during the 19th century as wage earners outside their homes was the turning point in their perseverance towards full economic and social recognition. This was manifested by the determined efforts of the feminist and suffragette movements to break down all the forces that were hindering their progress. Nursing and teaching were becoming the two major occupations for middle class women.

Another significant factor in widening the scope of women's employment was the development which took place in education. When women were provided with higher levels of education, they attained the skill and training necessary for many professions and occupations, hitherto male domains. In 1872, the Girls' Public Day School Company was created to provide cheap and good day schools for girls. In 1878 the Maria Grey Training College was founded; Cambridge opened the triposes to women in 1881 and Oxford Colleges allowed women to sit for examinations in 1884.

Despite all these progressive achievements, women's share in the economic life by the dawn of the twentieth century was still largely confined to their traditional roles.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, changes in the British economy were rapid, and the redistribution of manpower continued. Agricultural employment declined to about 8% by 1911, while the total of manufacturing remained at about 30% of the total working population. But within this total the redistribution continued away from textiles which fell from about 18% in 1870 to about 13½% by 1911, and towards metals and engineering, which rose over the same period from about 7½% to about 10% of the total. There was also a movement of labour towards transport, commerce and distribution activities. This group's share of the total labour force grew from 13½% in 1870 to about 20% in 1911<sup>(2)</sup>.

Foreign trade was becoming much more widespread than it had been at the beginning of the century. Imports came from a larger number of countries and exports went to a larger number of countries. But, although cotton was still the main export commodity, there was less dependence on it.

At the turn of the century, food imports constituted 42% of the whole and were larger than raw material imports. By 1913 the share of raw materials increased to about 40%.

Thus, by 1913 the structure of the British economy that was based on high specialization in manufacture on imported materials and imported food had reached its fulfillment.

With regard to women's employment, domestic service was still the major paid employment for women. By 1911 35% of the total female labour force was engaged in domestic offices and services (including laundry). In the manufacturing industry sector, another two thirds of the total number of the female labour force were in the textile and clothing activities.

Although these two groups, which represented the traditional employment of women, were still accounting for the largest proportion of the female labour force, they were not, with the exception of the textiles, progressively increasing as fast as the female population.

In domestic employment, modern techniques were transforming the occupation of women within the sector. Outside domestic work was attractive to a larger proportion of women, due to the fewer working hours that allowed them more time for their home tasks. This shift of female workers towards outside domestic employment is reflected by the statistics in Table (4-1). It is apparent that although the largest number of women were in indoor (domestic employment), the percentage of the increase was extremely low, 0.8% against 99.2% in College Clubs, 58% in Hospitals and Institutions

TABLE (4-1)  
CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN  
GREAT BRITAIN - DOMESTIC OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Number		Change (+) %
	1901	1911	
Hotel, Eat-in house, etc. ....	45,711	63,368	+38.6
Other domestic indoor Servants Day Girls .....	1,285,072	1,271,990	+ 0.8
College Club, etc. ....	1,680	3,347	+99.2
Hospital Institution .....	26,341	41,639	+58.1
Caretakers .....	13,314	18,633	+39.95
Cooks not domestic .....	8,615	13,538	+57.1
Charwomen .....	111,841	126,061	+12.7
Laundry .....	196,141	167,052	-14.8

SOURCE: B.L. Hutchins, Women in Modern Industry, G. Bell & Sons Ltd., London 1915, p.87.

and 12.7% in charwomen. However, a new indoor domestic occupation was emerging which was that of the day-girl. This was undertaken by women in a similar way as outside jobs - limited hours worked daily.

With regard to laundry, the number of women employed was declining due to the fact of its being a progressive industry. This is, in turn, attributable to the introduction of machinery and labour saving devices and so forth.

As far as industrial occupations are concerned, the dressmaking industry showed a reduction in the volume of female labour force. Undoubtedly, this was a consequence of the availability of ready-made clothes which were rapidly improving. These types of clothes were in harmony with consumers' tastes for several reasons: their wide scale of variety, reasonable prices, instantaneous satisfaction of desire to acquire the article, (no time-lag involved), etc. Also, the improvement of factory conditions and the introduction of machinery which brought many processes within the capacity of women, as they no longer required strength, brought about a rapid increase in the proportion of the female labour force though much smaller in number than in the new occupations in the non-textile industries.

The increasing employment of women in the non-textile industries was certainly a remarkable feature in the developing trends in the employment of women. In 1914, women in the metal trades and those of the paper and printing accounted for 170,500 and 147,500 respectively, while those of the wood, china and earthenware, and chemicals were accounting for 44,000, 32,000 and 40,000 respectively. In spite of these increases, their proportion to total labour force remained relatively small<sup>(3)</sup>.

Another allied increase was in the sphere of commerce, due to the rapid expansion of consumer goods industries supplying the civilian population where skilled and detailed knowledge of a vast



number of different kinds of products was no longer needed. Women were also being employed in building, transport and engineering, though they were offered a limited range of jobs.

With regard to professional employment, women were largely represented in teaching and nursing, but the most significant increases in numbers and proportion were in the clerical occupations. The rise in the girls' "level of education" acted as the chief impetus in widening their scope within these occupations, but on the other hand, they were confined to the lowest grades in these occupations and only a very few attained a higher position.

The number of women doctors was more than doubled in 1911, as compared with that of 1901 because of the admission of women to Medical Universities. However, law, engineering and accountancy were professions remaining a male domain.

#### 4.2 Employment of Women During the First World War 1914-1918.

The role of women in the economy had been greatly affected by the advent of the First World War in 1914.

The withdrawal of large numbers of men from many industries to join the forces resulted in acute shortage in the labour force. Thus, the Government was faced with the necessity of adjusting to the ever increasing demands of industry, especially the munitions industries, where the output of equipment and weapons was already lagging behind the requirements of the expeditionary forces and

the newly formed contingents at home.

In order to satisfy the assessed requirements of the labour force, in particular skilled workers, the Government had to have recourse to dilution schemes by persuading employers to recruit women to the unfilled positions.

However, in order to fulfill the objectives of the schemes (dilution) many obstacles were to be overcome. The declaration of the war did not, however, automatically cancel every prohibition, explicit or tacit, which restricted the industrial employment of women.

The first problem was the reluctance of employers to utilize the female labour force, as most women did not possess the requisite grade of skill or experience to perform men's jobs.

The second obstacle, and the major one, was that of the rules of most of the Trade Unions which prohibited the employment of women in many occupations.

The Government realized that progress or dilution of labour was largely dependent upon the co-operation of both sides of industry and considered the practicability of training semi-skilled women to undertake - under supervision - some of the jobs upon which, traditionally, only skilled men were employed.

If the target was to be achieved successfully, the Government had to negotiate with the Trade Unions in order to modify some of their

restrictive practices. Accordingly, agreements were reached between the Government and the representatives of a large number of Trade Unions acting in concert, and also between other employers' or employees' associations, and their appropriate workers' Trade Union, defining for the satisfaction of men what the position should be with regard to the substitution of women for men on certain jobs.

At first the Trade Unions would only allow women on a very limited range of jobs and under certain conditions. The Amalgamated Engineering Union agreed to the employment of women on the following conditions:

- (a) that no work of skilled men would be given to female labour,
- (b) that all machines requiring adjustment of tools by the operators, either before or during the operation, would be operated by male labour,
- (c) that female labour would be restricted to purely automatic machines used for the production of repetition work (4).

But, as the shortage of manpower grew more intense the Government reached other agreements with the Unions, e.g. the Munitions of War (Amendment) Act 1916, which allowed for the women to substitute for men on condition that women leave these jobs on the return of the men. It was stated: "the employment of females is desired only to help

the country in its perilous conditions and no man shall be any worse off through the employment of females. Immediately on the termination of the war the further employment of more females shall cease, pending another joint meeting which shall determine the continuance and otherwise of such female labour<sup>(5)</sup>.

Furthermore, the rapid progress in the subdivision of many processes, the introduction of mechanical adjustments, and the upgrading of female workers by providing them with the necessary training, convinced many employers that they should utilize woman-power.

With the relaxation of Trade Unions regulations, women were being recruited to replace or supplement men in many activities.

During the first year of the war (1915), however, women substituted for men for the most part in transportation, in retail trade and in clerical work rather than manufacturing. In the manufacturing industries female workers were mostly engaged on processes slightly above their former level of skill in establishments where they had long been employed. The most marked change was the transfer of women from slack industries, e.g. textiles, to fill the expanding demands of war industries. The employment of women in the munitions industry where they performed both men's and women's work was the most significant feature of the second year of the war.

The increases in the number of female workers were not large until early in 1916.

By 1917 it was estimated that 1,392,000 women were directly replacing men in industry, the largest proportion being in the metal trades. Furthermore, the proportion of women workers to the total labour force rose considerably. Female workers in the metal trade accounted for 25% in 1918 against 9% in 1914. Women also increased their share in the chemical, food, drink and tobacco, china and leather industries. Even in industries where their numbers decreased, such as textiles and clothing, due to the transference of women workers to munitions industries, the actual proportion of the female labour force still showed a significant increase.

In commerce, Government, educational fields and health, and in certain personal services industries, such as restaurants and entertainment, their employment grew rapidly.

The substitution of females for males in many occupations transformed their occupational structure. Women were trained for many jobs that were thought of as "wholly unsuitable for women" and reserved for men, owing to the incapacity of women to perform them "completely and well", e.g. welding, spinning, weaving, etc.

Women proved that in many jobs they were not less capable than men in their performance. On this point the War Cabinet Committee also made the most unequivocal statement:

"Occupations with demarcation between men's and women's work or duties ..... cover the bulk of the occupations in industry proper. Though often the lines of demarcation are artificial, it is rarely that they do not exist. There are many cases where women's work in one district or in one factory, is that of men in another district or another factory"<sup>(6)</sup>.

Also, women demonstrated they were better than men in undertaking light work of a repetitive character or on that requiring special dexterity and delicacy of touch. This was stated by representatives of Engineering Employers Federation who said that "a woman will always beat a man on work of this character". It was also stated by employers in the hosiery trades: "On many machines, owing to their intricacy and delicacy, the women are superior to the men", and the same was stated in cotton weaving<sup>(7)</sup>.

But, as many of these new jobs at which women excelled were men's work and the agreements provided that industry should return to the status quo ante bellum, women had to drop their gains by the end of hostilities.

#### 4.3 Employment of Women During the Inter-War Period (1919-1938).

When the first world war came to an end in November 1918, women workers were requested to leave their jobs and the majority of them left without demure. This passive attitude of women was largely due to the fact that most of them undertook work solely for patriotic

reasons and welcomed the first opportunity to go back to their home tasks. Even those who had enjoyed this new personal freedom retired from their war-occupations for the returning men as they thought that loyalty to those men undoubtedly came first and they had been on occupations which rightly belonged to men.

The immediate result of demobilization was to raise the issue of women's employment. Any lingering optimism as to the improvement of women's position in the labour market was soon to be dispelled, however, as the trade unions restored their old restriction upon women's employment except for the distributive unions. The Amalgamated Cotton Spinners prohibited women as spinners, or as piecers in certain districts. The textile union (hosiery) forbade women to work on cotton patent frames. They excluded women from branches of book binding. Also, the National Union of Railway men prohibited their work altogether except as cleaners and charwomen and so on ad infinitum.

Women had apparently flooded into industrial activities when they were most needed, but the flood ebbed as soon as peaceful circumstances allowed old conventions and long term factors to resume their dominance. Thus, many women who had trained for semi-skilled jobs and had proved themselves as competent as men, suddenly found themselves jobless. This state of affairs was aggravated by the trade depression which immediately followed the post-war boom.

The economic recession was preceded in the immediate post armistice period by an inflationary boom. The value of the United Kingdom exports and re-exports increased from £532 million in 1918 to £1,557 million in 1920. Boom conditions, however, were of short duration. After November 1920 prices fell. In 1921 export and re-exports values declined to £810 million and the percentage of trade unionist unemployed rose to 15.0.

From 1921 onwards, the industrial position steadily deteriorated. Although there was an increase in productivity between 1913 and 1929 of 35%, the total volume of manufacturing output rose by only 12%. Britain's exports of cotton to Far Eastern markets declined by 38% between 1913 and 1925. This was largely due to the increasing competition of the Japanese industry and because of the growing self-sufficiency of India as a cotton producer. Thus, the cotton industry suffered an almost continuous decline during the inter-war period. Also, the increased tariffs levied on woollen imports by Australia and America to protect domestic producers together with the growing self-sufficiency of the Far Eastern markets, resulted in the reduction in the exports of the industry by one third in the period 1913-1929.

Similarly, the output of iron and steel industries fell by 24% between 1913 and 1929 and the United Kingdom exports dropped by 15% during the same period<sup>(8)</sup>.



Since the population was also increasing during these years, this was followed by an increase in unemployment the volume of which reached 12.2% of the total working population. By 1929, two-fifths of this was concentrated within the contracted industries, i.e. coal mining, iron and steel, shipbuilding and textiles. During the industrial depression women were affected far more severely than men and for a longer time. The trades which had been most seriously hit were, for the most part, those which engaged large numbers of women: cotton, dressmaking and millinery. There were 36,000 women out of work in the cotton trade and 15,000 in dressmaking and millinery in January, 1922. Also, private domestic workers such as charwomen, office cleaners and even skilled domestic servants such as cooks became redundant, due to the economies the public was making.

In spite of the set-back to women's employment which followed the war, these years witnessed the rapid gains of women in both the economic and social life.

The Sex Disqualification Act of 1919 which proclaimed that a woman was not to be disqualified by sex or marriage from the exercise of any public function, opened many doors in the educational and professional fields to women. Accordingly, many professional societies admitted women to their membership for the first time, e.g. the Inns of Court, the Law Society, the Society of Incorporated Accountants, the Institute of Actuaries, the Royal Institute of

Bankers, the Auctioneers and Estate Agents, the Surveyors Institution, the Chartered Institute of Bankers, the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons and almost all the engineering institutions and societies.

In medicine the 477 women doctors of 1911 became 1,253 by 1921. In the Veterinary branch of surgery, the women though still very few in number, had increased from 2 to 24. Women Architects multiplied from 7 to 49, while there were 147 women Nonconformist ministers as against 3 in 1911. Also, in four occupations, those of engineers, barristers, solicitors and police in which no women were returned in 1911, the number in 1921 had become 46, 20, 17 and 278 respectively<sup>(9)</sup>. However, in the Professions, the largest increases in numbers of females, apart from teaching and nursing, were in the clerical positions in which women substituted for men on so large a scale during the First World War. Between 1911 and 1921, the volume of female clerical workers increased by 315% of the total number in 1911. Their increase between 1921 and 1931 was, however, slower (115% of 1921). Also, women made some headway as managers and administrators but their proportion was very low in the manufacturing industries.

In 1931, women constituted 57.9% of all managers in restaurants, 46.9% in the post office and 29.6% in hotels and public houses, whereas they accounted for only 9.7% in textiles, textile goods and leather goods, though they outnumbered men in these spheres by 9 to 1.

Despite the increasing numbers of women in the professions, their proportion to the total labour force rose only from 29% to 29.7% between 1921 and 1931. This was largely due to the set-back in women's industrial employment that was offset to a certain degree by the rise in domestic services (1,271,000 in 1921 and 1,472,000 in 1931).<sup>(10)</sup>

The year 1933 was a time of vigorous recovery in the United Kingdom, the capital goods industries were beginning to revive. Yet the export trades and other industries related to movements in world trade remained depressed despite the sharp revival in export volumes (by 13.8%) between the second and fourth quarters of 1933. The improvement in unemployment was marked, the monthly rate falling from 23.1% in January to 17.9% by the end of the year.

Industrial production that fell between 1929 and 1932 about 11% was recovering. The 1929 summit was surpassed in 1934 and at the peak in 1937, output 30-33% above that of 1929<sup>(11)</sup>. New industries were rising alongside the old.

The consumer durable industries were not the only sectors to expand rapidly in the recovery. Also large multi-product and well established industries such as chemicals were reinforced by the adhesion of new sections such as dyestuffs (where the volume of production increased by two thirds in the 1930s) and pharmaceuticals. Also industries such as building materials, and rubber which were

boosted by the expansion of the motor vehicles production and the increased demand for tyres experienced rapid expansion. The consumer goods industries such as cutlery, paper, hosiery, fruit and vegetables canning, enjoyed a recovery that was above the average due to the rising of real incomes.

Similar trends of growth were experienced in some non-manufacturing and service sectors. On the other hand, the staple industries of the inter-war period which include shipbuilding, coal mining, cotton and woollen textiles, iron and steel and mechanical engineering, are generally assumed to have remained depressed throughout.

The total employment rose steadily from 16,104,000 in 1931 to 18,879,000 in 1938. The increase in the proportion of female workers was slight in the manufacturing trades, but significant for all trades. In manufacturing sectors the percentage of female operatives actually declined between 1924-1935 falling from 33.5% (32.3% in 1930) to 32.7% of the total persons employed. For female administrative and clerical workers the corresponding percentages were 2.9, 3.6 and 4.1. For the total of all trades (manufacturing and non-manufacturing), the percentages for females increased in both branches, but the most marked increase was in administrative and clerical work.

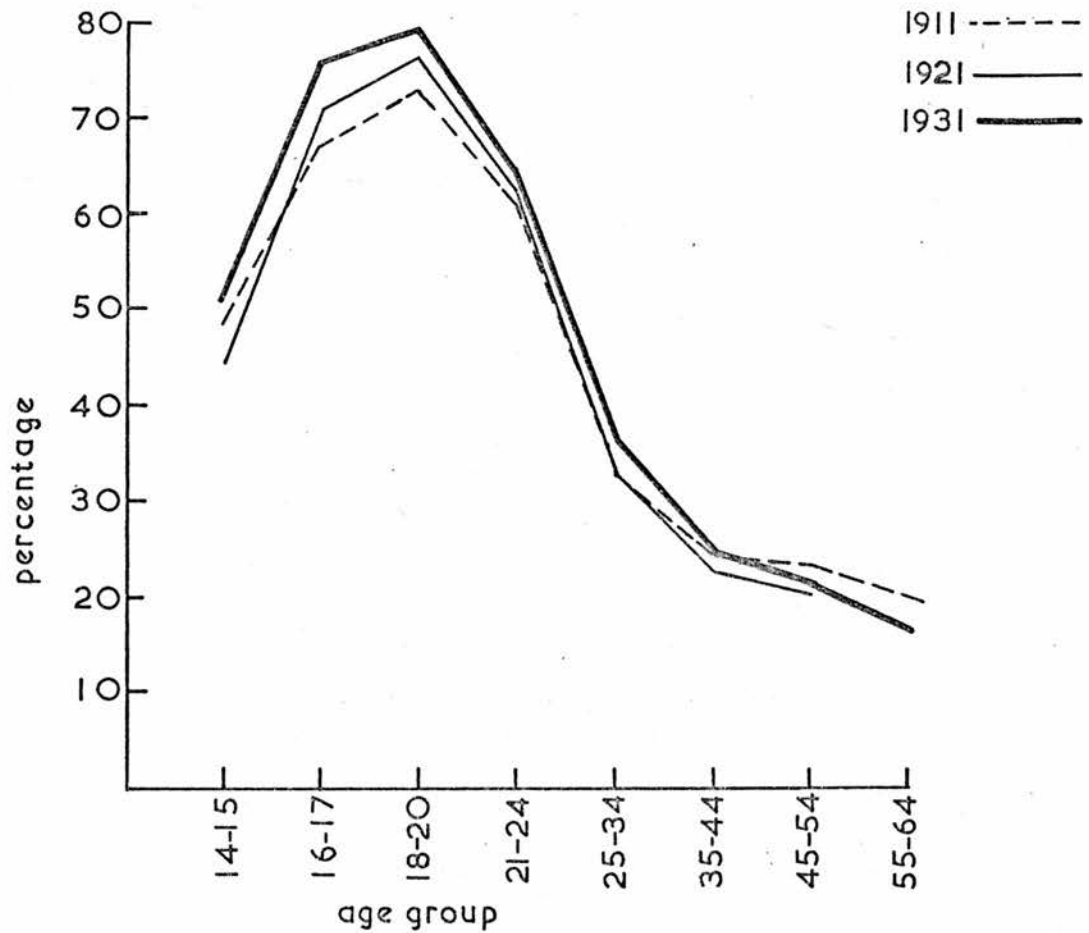
#### 4.4 The Impact of Marriage on the Employment of Women (1900-1938).

The developments in women's scope of work from the turn of the century to 1938, do not indicate revolutionary changes. Undoubtedly,

there had been increases in the number of females undertaking gainful employment over the years preceding the Second World War, because of the increase in the female population. In 1901 and 1911, there were in every 1,000 persons, 484 males and 516 females. In 1931, the female population exceeded that of men by more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million (over the age of 14), a fact which is of great significance when the "incidence of marriage" upon the employment of women during this period is considered. This is illustrated in the census of 1931: out of  $14\frac{1}{2}$  million men,  $13\frac{1}{4}$  million were in gainful employment, but out of  $16\frac{1}{2}$  million women,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  million were "occupied".

Thus, up to the beginning of the Second World War, the majority of working women consisted of girls and young women.

The fact that emerges from figure (4-1) is that the participation of women in the labour force reaches a peak below the age group 25. At 25 there is a break and a sharp decline. They display too, that an increasing proportion of young girls went out to work when they left school during this period. In 1931, 4 out of every 5 girls under 20 were at work, and 3 out of every 4 under the age of 24 were in gainful employment. The figures in the following Table throw further light on this feature of women's employment.



PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPIED WOMEN TO TOTAL  
NUMBER OF WOMEN IN DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS  
1911-1931 U. K.

TABLE (4-2)

NUMBER OF OCCUPIED WOMEN BY AGE GROUP

Age Group	1921	1931
14 - 15	366,038	356,041
16 - 17	573,879	600,469
18 - 24	1,815,017	1,986,450
25 - 34	1,184,809	1,364,307
35 - 44	724,834	802,639
45 - 54	531,335	613,323
55 - 64	328,384	386,693

SOURCE: Mary Agnes Hamilton, Women at Work, A Brief Introduction to Trade Unionism for Women,  
George Routledge & Sons Ltd. London 1949, p.9

It is evident from these figures that although the number of women workers in the age group 24-34 is high, their percentage drops sharply (see Fig. 4-1). In 1931, out of the  $5\frac{1}{2}$  million women in gainful employment,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  millions were under the age of 30 and more than half under the age of 25.

The significance of this fact is obvious. Marriage still remained a barrier to women's employment in a large number of industries. The clear exception is the textile industry, where it had been a long established tradition for women to continue to work after their marriage, or to come back to work if they wished to do so. Women used to break their careers as they married and in many

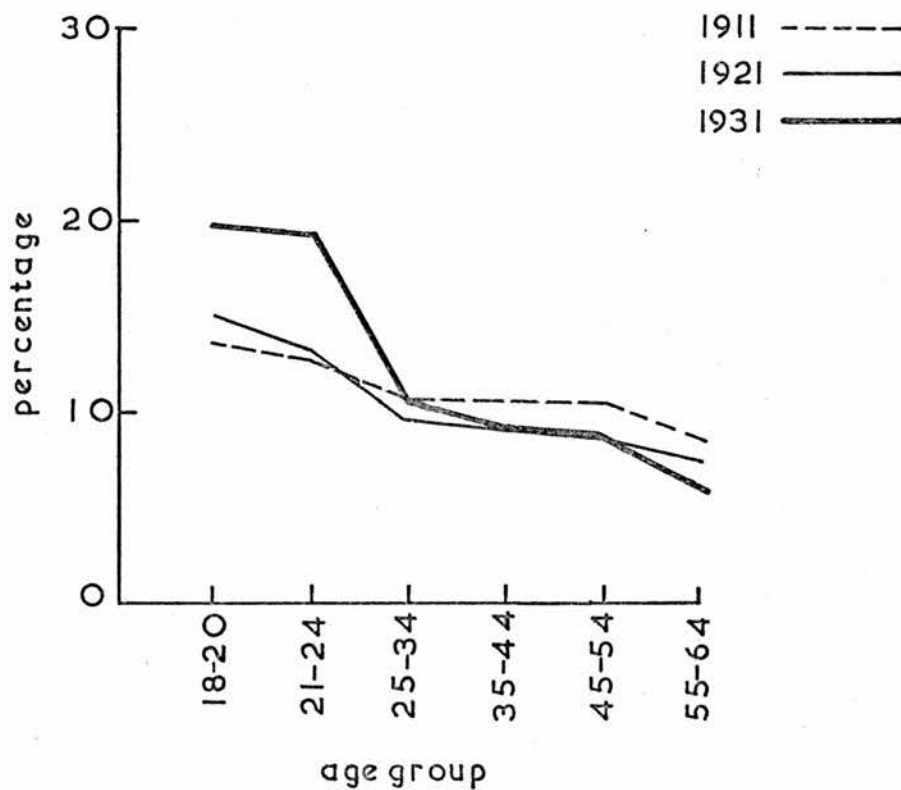
trades retirement from work was usually demanded by the employers, or customarily, they were expected to leave.

Although there had been an increase in the employment of married women, their percentage in the labour force remained very small. The overall percentage of employed married women to the total female labour force was 10.3% in 1911, 8.8% in 1931 and 9.7% in 1931. The highest percentage of married women to all married women (according to age groups) were to be found in age group 18-20 and 21-24 (see figure 4-2). Married women were, however, largely represented in industries where female labour force was dominant, e.g. textiles and shoes industries.

In 1921 and 1931, married women over 45 were to be found, to a greater extent in "other and undefined work", which was casual and domestic work and in charring. There were over 20,000 married women engaged in charring in the age group 35-45 and 19,000 in the age group 45-55 in 1931.

In the Civil Service the situation of married women's employment did not differ fundamentally, despite the effect of the Sex Disqualification Act in 1919. Regulations made by the Treasury in 1920, implied that all female candidates for any established post in the Service should be unmarried or widowed, and that women holding any such post should be required to resign their appointment on marriage. In some cases, married women employees were allowed to





PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPIED MARRIED WOMEN  
TO ALL MARRIED WOMEN IN DIFFERENT AGE  
GROUPS  
1911-1931 U. K.

continue the work if the Head of the Department made a recommendation to this effect.

The retirement of women Civil Servants on marriage, had been tackled by the "Tomlin Commission" which was appointed in 1929, to consider this matter and women's employment conditions. In general, the effect of their recommendations was strongly opposed by many officials who were in favour of retaining the marriage bar, regardless of the kind of work women were doing. In 1933, the marriage bar was lifted from only the higher grades where the number of women employees was extremely low, and this amendment depended to a very great extent upon the recommendation of the Head of the Department in which they were serving. The marriage bar, therefore, was still in force, as there was no obligation upon the employers to keep married women. Consequently, the voluntary application of the removal of the marriage bar was not effective as only eight women Civil Servants had retained their position on marriage between 1934-1938.<sup>(12)</sup>

The relatively small role played by women in this period (1900-1938) was largely a reflection of the traditional attitude of the public towards their employment, apart from the position of many men's organizations to their employment in certain industries. This could be illustrated as Miss Vera Britain says:

"By men's organizations both in industry and the professions women usually appear to have been considered a competitor to be relentlessly handicapped, rather than as a comrade to be welcomed and

encouraged. The general endeavour to keep women in a depressed condition, and to treat their work as incidental to industry, is still reflected in the number of processes forbidden to them in various trades, in the comparative limitation of opportunities in business and in the refusal, in the majority of professions, to promote them to higher posts and employ them after marriage"<sup>(13)</sup>.

#### 4.5 The Impact of World War II on the Employment of Women.

##### 4.51 The Position of Women in the Labour Market.

Although the demand for the labour force increased in many activities upon the outbreak of the Second World War, the proportion of the female labour force decreased sharply. This abrupt change in the condition of the employment market which was decidedly detrimental to the position of female workers was the consequence of the transition from peace to war economy. The state of war, however, carried a setback to civilian industry by curtailing production and by creating partial standstill in the export trade. Also, it dislocated many industries which relied upon rail transport because of the prior claim of national defence, and terminated the holiday season.

Since the majority of the female workers were employed mainly in a number of branches of industry such as hosiery, cotton, the distributive trades, clothing and hotel services, which had either to stop or slacken their activities, the reduction in the female

labour force was inevitable. The unemployment of women had risen by December 1939 to 399,756, compared with 356,000 in December 1938.

On the other hand, the conditions of war created numerous openings for women in the Civil Defence and Women Auxiliary Services. Furthermore, there was a considerable scope for the employment of women in industries connected with war efforts.

The manifestation of this new condition is to be found in the reply to a question in the House of Commons on 13th September, when the Minister of Supply stated that a large percentage of the semi-skilled work in munition factories might certainly have to be done by women<sup>(14)</sup>.

Owing to the intensive mobilization of men from every walk of life, for military services, many vacancies in industry and services had emerged. In order to keep up with the necessary production level, employers had to utilize the abundant labour force at their disposal. Therefore, the scale of female employment began to change favourably (end 1939-1940). By mid-1940, women (18 years and over) who remained unemployed accounted for 266,953, which although high, represented a decrease from 379,981 in January 1940.

Nevertheless, the increase of the female proportion in the labour force was mostly a recruitment on jobs they traditionally performed. At that time, the question of women substituting for male workers on their jobs was not considered to a great extent because of the

existence of open unemployment in manpower in the labour market. Consequently, the Ministry of Labour and National Service did not avail itself of most of its training centres for upgrading women employees to equip them with the required qualifications for semi-skilled and skilled jobs.

It was not until early in 1941, when war factories came into full operating and the available male labour force was exhausted that the Government came to appreciate the necessity of full scale recruitment of women of working age to staff the undermanned industries. This was pointed out unequivocally in the Seventeenth Report of the Select Committee on National Expenditure (1941-1942) which deals with merchant shipbuilding and repairs. The report stated that while there was no present overall deficiency of labour in the ship yards, shipbuilders had difficulty in maintaining the supply. In addition, if the programme were to be expanded, further measures would be needed to supply the workers, to recruit and train them, to use their services economically and to increase productivity.

As a shortage of riveters might prove a bottle-neck if shipbuilding were to expand, the report recommended that training schools for riveters should be set up in the main shipbuilding areas under the management either of the Ministry of Labour or of private shipbuilders using their own yards.

Since very few additional male workers were available for the industry, women were the only substantial source of labour force for trades other than riveting. The report recommended that the Ministry of Labour should make an inquiry into the employment of women in other heavy industries as well as shipbuilding, in order to decide what trades could be carried out by women and under what standards and conditions. It was suggested that a larger proportion of women between 20 and 30 years of age should be made available by the Ministry of Labour for shipyard employment. The selection, appointment and welfare of women in each yard should be in the hands of a woman welfare supervisor and shipbuilders should be urged to make such appointments from women trained through the Ministry of Labour's welfare supervision courses<sup>(15)</sup>.

Consequently, strenuous efforts were made to recruit large numbers of additional women workers. Subsequently, the growth of the female labour force (women 18 years and over) was accompanied by a decline in the number of women unemployed; by April 1943, they accounted for 22,390 by October 1943, 18,604 and by mid-July 1944, their number decreased to 11,037.

The growth of the female labour force reached its peak by mid-1943, when labour was fully mobilised. Out of 17 $\frac{1}{4}$  million women of working age (14 to 64 years inclusive) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  million were in the Auxiliary Services, full-time civil defence or industry. This excludes those employed in private domestic service. Also, about

900,000 of the female labour force were in part-time employment. Moreover, a large number of married women who had domestic responsibilities and were not included in the above mentioned figure, were helping in the war effort as members of various voluntary organizations, such as Women's Voluntary Service (about one million members).

From the beginning of the war to mid 1943 the number of women workers had grown by  $2\frac{1}{4}$  million. About 3 million single women aged 17-48 were in industry, civil defence and the forces, representing over 90% of all single women in this age group. The total number of married women and widows aged 18-40 with no young children, employed in the aforementioned activities was about 81% of the age groups (1,355,000 women).

Table (4-3) shows the changes in the numbers of women employed between mid-1939 and mid-1943.

This increase in the number of women in the services and industrial employment had only been made possible by absorbing unemployed women (about 271,000 women) and drawing female labour force from non-industrial activities. In addition, there was the transference of large numbers of female workers from the less essential industries, i.e. consumer goods industries, to the munitions and basic industries.

TABLE (4-3)

THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN COMPRISING THE TOTAL  
LABOUR FORCE IN THE MAIN INDUSTRY GROUPS

Industry Group	Mid 1939 %	Mid 1943 %
<u>Group I</u>		
Metal Industries .....	15.4	35.1
Chemical Industries .....	24.8	51.1
<u>Group II (Basic Industries and Services)</u>		
Agriculture, Horticulture, Fishing, etc. ....	6.9	16.0
Mining and Quarrying .....	0.6	1.7
National Government Service .....	22.8	47.8
Gas, Water and Electricity Supply .....	37.0	16.5
Transport and Shipping .....	4.1	16.8
Local Government Service .....	38.5	57.3
<u>Group II Industries and Services</u>	12.5	26.7
<u>Group III</u>		
Food, Drink and Tobacco .....	40.2	47.2
Textiles .....	60.0	64.2
Clothing .....	76.5	81.9
Boots and Shoes .....	34.5	40.2
Other Manufacturers .....	29.5	40.2
Building and Civil Engineering .....	1.2	3.6
Distributive Trades .....	34.6	79.4
Other Services .....	43.8	64.3
<u>Group III Industries and Services</u> .....	37.6	50.0
All Industries and Services .....	27.0	39.1
SOURCE: Great Britain Parliament <u>Sessional Papers</u> , 1946- 1947, Cmd. 7225, 1947, "Report of the Ministry of Labour & National Service for Years 1939-1946" p.128		



It is to be noted that the majority of these additional women were mobilised in 1942, and were in the age group 18-40. The utilization of woman-power was high, there were 7,120,000 women against 14,896,000 men, that is about 48 women for every 100 men.

The proportion of women industry increased to a significant extent, even in industrial fields where the employment of female labour had been extensive for a long time, e.g. textiles, clothing, distributive trades.

The figures in Table (4-3) manifest the outstanding increase that took place in the relative importance of the female labour in metal and chemical industries, in agriculture and horticulture, in transport and in national and local Government services. Despite the fact that the proportion of women in industries such as agriculture, mining, public utilities (gas, water and electricity), transport, building and civil engineering, had never been remarkable, mainly on account of the nature of the work, in June 1944, when employment was close to its peak, women made up a substantial proportion of the total labour force in the main industrial fields, ranging from 36.6% (metal and chemical industries) to 81.4% (clothing),

#### 4.52 Methods of Recruitment of Woman-power.

The policies that guided manpower mobilisation at the beginning of the Second World War were shaped by optimistic assumptions about the adequacy of the nation's labour force. These policies placed

primary reliance on the usual methods undertaken by the Ministry of Labour Offices and work of voluntary agencies to allocate the large number of unemployed people in industries.

However, by 1941, owing to the exhaustion of the available manpower and the pressing demands for labour force in war industries, it was evident that the provision for undermanned industries could only be achieved through women's employment.

In view of these special requirements of the economic system during the war period, the Government had to step forward and to take decisive action. Consequently, the Ministry of Labour and National Service had to exert its compulsory powers under regulation 58A of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1940. Also, by an order made under this act, the Registration for Employment Order, March 1941, the Minister of Labour was empowered to require the registration of men and women by age classes, or to require the registration of men and women with special skill e.g., engineers. Accordingly, women were required to register themselves at Ministry of Labour Offices. This was first applicable to young unmarried women who wished to work and with no family responsibilities with a view to meeting the demands for women who could leave their homes to work in congested munitions centres and the Women's Auxiliary Service.

Late in 1943, owing chiefly to the demands arising from the aircraft programme, it became necessary to extent the compulsory

registration to older women. With regard to married women, those who were engaged in domestic service were required to register for employment in their localities.

The recruitment of women in the U.K. was also effected by the National Service Act No.2, in December 1941. The purpose of this act was to enable the Ministry of Labour to provide an adequate supply of women recruits for the expanding women's auxiliary services.

In the important industries, in the professions, in clerical employment and in the distributive trades, the transference of women for war work was obtained under special arrangements negotiated with each industry and adapted to its special needs. By March 1942, following a decision taken by the Minister of Labour in agreement with the central advisory panel representing employers and workers in the retail trades concerned, all women aged 26-30 employed in business wholly or mainly engaged in retail distribution (other than the food and coal trades) were to be withdrawn<sup>(16)</sup>. Further arrangements were agreed upon for the release of women in the age group 31-35.

In the less important industries such as those dealing with boots, shoes, clothing, hosiery, textiles, furniture and pottery, substantial releases of men and women employees were obtained. Similar arrangements applied to clerical staffs including National and Government Service. Also, women students who were within the

scope of the National Service Acts and the Registration Order were eligible for call-up.

It was stated in these arrangements that 'mobile' women should be released for transfer to work of the highest urgency if they could be replaced by 'immobile' women available for full-time work near their homes only.

Although many of the younger women had been recruited as had many other women not liable for compulsory services, further female workers were needed in many activities. Under this Act, women were made liable to be called up for service in the auxiliary forces and civil defence forces as well as specified jobs in industry. Married women and women with children under 14 years living with them were exempted from compulsory service. However, women who were called up and did not wish to serve in the armed forces had the opportunity of opting between Civil Defence which included the National Fire Service and the Ambulance Service, and industry. Also under this act, women were liable to the same protection as regards conscientious objection and postponement on hardship grounds as applied to men.

#### 4.521 Withdrawal of Women from Less Essential Employment.

The redistribution of the female labour force among the various essential industries was another measure to lessen the overall manpower shortage in the U.K. Although several steps had been taken by the Government to direct mobilisation of women in the labour market,

the mobilisation of men, and the swollen demand for labour due to rapid expansion in war production, made it necessary to withdraw women from certain occupations and allocate them in accordance with the changing requirements of the situation.

#### 4.522 Control of Employment.

To ensure the full utilization of the large numbers of women engaged in war industries, and to prevent women changing their employment to less essential work, women were subjected to similar restrictions as men, under the Essential Work Orders. Employers were prohibited from engaging women other than through the Ministry of Labour and women were to obtain their jobs through local offices of the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

In administering for the war effort, these various measures affecting the mobilisation of woman-power, the Minister of Labour and National Service appointed in March 1941 a women's Consultative Committee to advise him on questions affecting the recruitment and registration of women and the best methods of securing their services for the war effort.

#### 4.523 Agreements with Trade Unions.

One of the major obstacles towards utilizing woman-power during the war was the restriction imposed by some of the trade unions upon women's employment in many activities. The Government realised that

the expansion of industries, such as engineering, to the extent desired could not be achieved unless arrangements were made for the relaxation of the Union's regulations and the "breaking down" of processes in order to achieve the greater employment of persons trained to carry out a narrow range of skilled operations. Therefore, in August 1939, an agreement was reached between the Engineering and Allied Employers National Federation and the Amalgamated Engineering Union under which certain relaxations were made in the existing trade customs to allow less skilled classes of male workers to be employed on work normally undertaken by skilled workers. Further agreements were reached on 11th September 1939 and also in March 1941, with the effect of simplifying the original procedure for registering and putting into operation changes of practice<sup>(17)</sup>.

These agreements were of great importance, as they were the forerunners of similar agreements between other engineering trade unions and employers and without them it would not have been possible to achieve the high proportion of dilution.

Also, deferrment of the war service was not granted to men whose work could be satisfactorily undertaken by an older or less skilled man or by a woman. Moreover, the opposition of employers to the employment of women on processes considered beyond their capacity was overcome by the issuing of illustrative pamphlets on the various range of operations performed by women.

#### 4.6 Dilution of Labour.

##### 4.61 Industrial Training Schemes.

The problems of dilution of labour stemmed from the severe shortage of skilled and semi-skilled workers required for expanding war production. In order to meet the industries' requirements of labour, the recruitment of the large numbers of unskilled women to substitute for male workers became imminent. Subsequently, schemes were developed by the Government in order to upgrade women employees with a view to adapting them to their new occupations in which they were not customarily employed.

It is true that this policy did not concern women workers only, since both male and female workers had to be trained within a short period for semi-skilled occupations. In the first years of the war women recruits had been mainly employed on repetitive tasks in industrial fields. It was not until mid-1943 when skilled and semi-skilled men were mobilised in the forces, that the urgent need to train women on semi-skilled and skilled jobs made itself felt.

Accordingly, Government training centres opened their doors to women with a view to providing them with the required standard of skill. But, with the introduction of great numbers of workers into industry, Government training centres proved after a few months, insufficient to train all workers needed for the mechanised army and for the war industry which was expanding at an accelerated rate.

Therefore, women were admitted to Technical Colleges, Technical Institutes and Polytechnics that were sponsored by the Government, to receive their training.

As the influx of unskilled workers to industries continued at increasing rates, both Government training centres and Technical Colleges were found inadequate to receive all workers in need of training. Subsequently, arrangements were also made with firms for giving training courses when they were not in full operation.

The introduction of a training within industry scheme was very successful and proved of great importance as regards promoting women's skill. It was found sometimes more convenient to give short intensive training to new recruits for very limited operations in the factories in which women were to be employed. It was also realised that instructions had to be given for many processes and this could be done, in most cases, only in the factories. The importance of the training within industry system was considerable, especially with the policy of upgrading workers to the limit of their capacities.

In addition to elementary training for industrial work given under the schemes mentioned above, other special courses were set up by the Ministry of Labour and National Service for the training of women workers who were in demand in other activities, e.g. light lorry drivers, cooks and domestic workers.



#### 4.62 Higher Grade Training.

As pointed out earlier, problems of skilled labour supply arose due to the increased requirements of various new machinery, together with the transference of skilled men to the forces.

As skilled labour was a war asset of major importance, special measures were taken swiftly by the Ministry of Labour and National Service to upgrade experienced workers for skilled positions, and more specialised training courses were provided under the Government Training Schemes. In order to equip female labourers for skilled jobs, they were frequently sent to Government Training Centres for further instruction. Also, arrangements were made for special short courses in a number of these centres.

With regard to women who were included in the Women's Technical Services Register, they were provided with courses to qualify them for technical appointments.

As the demand for draughtswomen increased, women were urged to undertake the draughtsmanship course.

Besides these training facilities for industrial workers, the Ministry of Labour and National Service in conjunction with the Scottish Education Department, initiated in August 1941, special part-time higher grade courses, e.g. in foremanship; only existing women supervisors and those who had not had less than six months' experience in industry were accepted in order to meet the increasing

demand of the necessary higher grade staff of women personnel (officers). The number of women who received training under the Government training schemes indicated that they were not a mere labour substitute of dubious worth, as many employers assumed. In the Birmingham area women were employed to cover aero-fuel tanks with layers of rubber which proved that women recruits could reach a high standard of efficiency within only ten weeks or so of enlistment<sup>(18)</sup>.

Moreover, the Government exhorted employers to promote the rapid development of processes and techniques in order to sub-divide and simplify the operations with a view to saving or easing labour. The breaking down of processes into their component parts made it possible for women to undertake jobs considered heavy for them.

#### 4.7 Some Effects of the Second World War.

Undoubtedly, the Second World War had brought about the profound changes in the social and economic background of society, which of course, exerted a fundamental influence upon women's operating area in the labour market. Many customary barriers were either removed or reduced and rules prohibiting employment of women in certain fields were relaxed at the instigation of the Government.

#### 4.71 Expanding Opportunities for Women Workers.

The profound alterations which were taking place in industry, were in connection with the expansion of many trades, and these alterations

spurred rapid development in techniques and policies that resulted in the simplification of many operations, which therefore did not require high grades of skill nor strength. Indeed, industry offered unusual opportunities for women in various operating fields. As a consequence, large numbers of women took over processes which had been previously done completely by men.

Coupled with the simplification of processes was the training of women workers. The implementation of the compulsory direction of work regulation made the State shoulder the responsibility for upgrading women employees.

In attaining the grade of skill needed for their new occupations and their ability in undertaking posts of responsibility, women proved that they had no less inherent capacity than men, e.g. in a large aircraft firm, women constituted the majority of the employees engaged in the manufacture of wooden structures. Women and girls who, when they were employed had no previous knowledge of the correct use of wood working tools, were given a short period of training after which they were capable of producing many of the large sub-assemblies from start to finish. The work also involved the fitting of the aircrafts' skins, metal fittings and perspex panels, and inspection of structures after they had been assembled. This work was formerly undertaken by men. Women proved that they did not require any more supervision than men and that despite this kind of work needing a high grade of skill, the output of women was quite

equal to that of the men they had replaced.

Women were also employed as skilled workers in the machine tool industry. Many examples could be given of women replacing men on their jobs as checkers, work with gauges or micrometers and also changing about on the different machines. This kind of work needed high precision and the operations were very varied.

In the heavy chemical industry where outdoor work was sometimes involved, women were found loading railway trucks and operating cement-mixers. In shops and sheds they operated heavy presses and other sheet-metal working equipment for the manufacture of steel drums, charged process pans with acid and filled trucks with these products.

#### 4.72 Welfare Facilities.

The improvement of factory conditions, due to various public regulations, is another aspect which facilitated many developments to provide women employees with a better working environment. The improvement in industry's milieu was, in part, a result of the Government's action in the productive apparatus as many firms came under its direct control during the war period. Furthermore, the employment of a large number of women who were suddenly supplanting men in various industries resulted in much more attention being given to the welfare side of the industrial work.

In many concerns, canteens and rest rooms were established, nursery services provided, and recreational facilities were introduced or extended. The general level of welfare was very greatly raised. Factory work, accordingly, became a more attractive avenue of work than it had been before the war.

#### 4.73 Mobility of Women.

The mobility of young women workers was another outcome of the war. Whereas before the war young girls restricted their search for employment within easy travelling distance from their homes, during the war the dearth of manpower had directed the mobilization of young girls for work in the armed forces and war industries. As a consequence it necessitated the dispersal of young girls to other parts of the country, far from their homes, to staff these industries which were in need of labour force. This breakaway from tradition acted as a stimulus to more readiness on the part of the younger generations to seek employment over a wider range than before.

#### 4.74 Employment of Married Women.

The breakdown of the marriage bar was an inevitable consequence of the Second World War. Industries as well as Government departments had to rely heavily upon women-power to build up its labour force. Normally women civil servants were required to relinquish their appointments on marriage, but during war-time, women who had married were permitted to continue in the Government service on a temporary

basis, and many such women remained with their own departments upon the end of the war.

Needless to say, the employment of married women during the war represented, in effect, a great break with tradition in Society.

As the mobilisation of the potential female labour force under the National Service Act of December 1941 included married women, certain measures had been taken with a view to utilizing them effectively. These are - firstly:

#### 4.741 The Introduction of Part-Time Work on a Large Scale.

As early as the end of 1941, there were already nearly a hundred industrial establishments in London successfully operating schemes for part-time labour. Part-time women workers were first employed in areas which suffered severe shortages of labour. They were recruited in war industries as additional labour supply, and also in less essential work in order to release men and women for war service. They undertook a variety of clerical jobs, in retail trades, on transportation work, in the clothing industry, in general and electrical engineering work and various other industries.

In June 1942, it was estimated that 250,000 women were employed on a part-time basis. They increased to 650,000 in August 1943, and to 900,000 by mid-1944. The Ministry of Labour and National Service, in encouraging employers to introduce part-time work, relieved both employers and workers from the payment of the unemployment insurance

contribution when the employment began on after 3rd September 1939.

As is true of other aspects of the employment of women (e.g. dilution of labour) during World War II, part-time work was beset with some obstacles. In munition industries where the operations were continuous, it was difficult to introduce the part-time workers into the schemes of full-time hours and, in particular, in the night shift which was unpopular with women with domestic responsibilities. Another problem was the high rate of turnover among part-time workers. Considering the fact that in most cases part-time workers were women with heavy domestic responsibilities, it was not surprising that any changes in their domestic circumstances might make it necessary for them to leave work for a time.

On the other hand, part-time workers proved to be most successful on simple manual repetitive work which could be learnt quickly and it was found that they could even achieve about the same degree of productivity as full-time workers, except in departments where a high degree of fatigue was involved.

Secondly:

#### 4.742 The Provision of Nurseries.

When special need arose for recruiting married women as workers the maternity and child welfare authorities were authorised to establish special day nurseries for children. However, the progress in the establishment of nurseries was handicapped by various

factors, e.g. lack of equipment and buildings. Other measures were operated in order to overcome the difficulties arising out of the shortage of nurseries or child care facilities.

In certain areas, children of working mothers were looked after by neighbours. This system was encouraged by local maternity and child welfare committees under a scheme for registered daily guardians. In accordance with this, some 9,000 daily guardians were registered. Also, many employers established nurseries on their factory grounds in order to supplement the facilities for the care of the children of working mothers.

The development of nurseries is a proof of the efforts which were made in this direction during the war. By the end of 1941, 200 nurseries for the children of women workers were in operation; in June 1942, the number rose to 540 and in February 1944, there were 1,500 registered war-time nurseries accommodating 70,000 children<sup>(19)</sup>.

#### 4.75 Increase in Women's Earnings.

Another allied factor of the Second World War was the increase in the general level of women's earnings. The investigation which was carried out by the Ministry of Labour in 1944, revealed that the increase in the average level of earnings was due to the combined effect of several factors:-



- (a) the increased rate of wages
- (b) fuller employment with longer working hours  
and more extended working of night shifts
- (c) extension of systems of payment by results  
and consequent output by the workers  
affected
- (d) changes in the proportions of men and boys,  
women and girls employed in different  
industries and occupations<sup>(20)</sup>.

The last factor had exerted a considerable influence upon the rapid increase of women's earnings in comparison with those of the men.

The outcome of the Ministry of Labour's enquiries on the average earnings in manufacturing industries and some of the principal non-manufacturing industries, was that during the period from October 1938 to January 1944, women's average hourly and weekly earnings in all industries studied rose by 89% and 96% respectively. The corresponding figures for men during the same period were 64% hourly and 79% weekly. The fact that the average level of women's earnings showed a marked increase greater than that for men was partly attributed to:

- (a) The relatively large number of women employed on jobs usually done by men.
- (b) In most industries in which women had been replacing men on a variety of occupations, especially war industries (e.g. engineering), agreements were concluded between Trade Unions and employers with a view to increasing women's wages, e.g. the agreement covering the employment of women between the Engineering and Allied Trades Employees Federation and the Amalgamated Engineering Union in 1941.\*

According to these agreements, women who were employed on jobs usually performed by men would be paid either the full rates for men on condition that they were capable of undertaking the work of the man equally well and without additional supervision or assistance, or a specified proportion of these rates if they needed additional supervision or assistance. In most of these agreements it was laid down that this proportionate rate should not fall below a certain proportion of the men's rates (usually 75 to 80%).

In consequence, the biggest increases in the average level of both the hourly and weekly earnings for women occurred in industries

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\* Other agreements were reached between the Engineering and Allied Trades Employers Federation and (1) Transport and General Workers Union (22 May 1940) (2) National Union and Foundry Workers (29 May 1940) (3) Electrical Trades Union (1940). (21)

where agreements had been reached for replacement of men by women - such as the metal, engineering and shipbuilding industries (105% hourly and 115% weekly), the Transport industry (114% for both hourly and weekly) and the treatment of non-metalliferous mine products (106 and 99% for both hourly and weekly respectively).

As regards industries where women had been customarily employed in large numbers, and in which their jobs were, by and large, the same during the war period, the increases in women's average level of hourly and weekly earnings, although significant, were substantially less than in the earnings of women who were working on men's jobs in other industries, e.g. in the textile industry women's average hourly and weekly earnings rose by 65% and 69% respectively, whereas the corresponding figures for the chemical industry (where women replaced men on their jobs) were 98% (hourly) and 100% weekly.

It is noticeable from the figures given in Table 4.4 that the increases in men's average weekly earnings were higher than those of their hourly earnings, which indicates that longer working hours were, in the case of men, a more influential factor of increase in earnings than they were for women. It is worth mentioning in this context that the increase in the average working hours worked by men for this period - Oct. 1938-Jan. 1949, was much greater than

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE INCREASES IN WEEKLY AND HOURLY  
EARNINGS BETWEEN OCTOBER 1938 AND JANUARY 1944

Industry	Men		Women	
	Hourly %	Weekly %	Hourly %	Weekly %
Iron, Stone Mining and Quarrying....	57	63	-	-
Treatment of Non-metallic from Mine and Quarry Products .....	60	65	106	99
<b>Brick</b> Pottery and Glass .....	63	67	73	80
Chemical Paint, Oil, etc. ....	57	73	98	100
Metal, Engineering & Shipbuilding ..	70	89	105	115
Textiles .....	60	71	65	69
Leather, Fur, etc. ....	54	62	55	49
Clothing .....	50	57	48	55
Food, Drink and Tobacco .....	52	59	65	61
Wood Working .....	78	59	75	79
Paper, Printing, Stationery, etc. ..	34	51	56	60
Building, Contracting, etc. ....	44	59	-	-
Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries .....	69	83	93	96
Transport, Storage, etc. ....	46	55	114	114
Public Utility Services .....	42	47	42	62
Government Industrial Establishments .....	62	79	84	88
All the above .....	64	79	89	96

SOURCE: Ministry of Labour Gazette, Vol.LIIII, No.8, H.M.S.O.  
London, August 1944, p.130.

that in the hours of women\* together with the fact that the longer working hours in excess of the normal full week, were paid at overtime rates and the extra overtime payments were included in the hourly earnings.

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\* Men's average working hours in January 1944, compared with October 1938 rose by  $4\frac{1}{4}$  hours, whereas in the case of women the increase was  $1\frac{3}{4}$  hours. (22)

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C H A P T E R 5

TRENDS IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

DURING THE POST WAR PERIOD.



CHAPTER 5TRENDS IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN DURING  
THE POST WAR PERIOD.5.1 Women and Work Outside the Home.

Women's contribution to the economic life completely changed its characteristics during the Second World War. Just as the depression years of the 1930's emphasized employment policies favouring men with families over married women workers, so manpower needs during the Second World War made the recruitment of women essential if the nation was to meet its war production targets.

The war period (1939-1945) not only witnessed a revolutionary and unprecedented expansion in the volume of the female labour force, but it also influenced the pattern of women's employment. In addition, it demonstrated the importance of married women as a major manpower reserve.

World War II also saw the entrance of women in many economic activities formerly reserved for men, the occupational shifts within the female labour force and the opening of special training centres to promote their skills. In addition, many trade unions' rules barring women's employment were relaxed, and there was the establishment of many institutions to provide care facilities for children of working mothers.

The recruitment of women on such a large scale into employment to help the country to overcome its manpower shortage greatly demonstrated their abilities in performing many tasks regarded as beyond their capacities. Needless to say, war time experiences of women workers, especially of married women, encouraged more positive attitudes towards work outside the home. Many of those who entered the labour market during this period looked forward to remaining in the labour force after the war. This change of attitude of women toward gainful employment was revealed in a survey of female workers carried out by the Ministry of Labour in 1943. Amongst all women workers who were interviewed about 60% wanted to go on working after the war, another 20% were in favour of continuing work depending on the circumstances, and 20% did not want to go on working<sup>(1)</sup>.

Another survey was carried out by the Ministry of Labour in 1947, among 2,807 women, 1,093 of whom were gainfully occupied, with a view to underlining the attitudes of women towards work and the difficulties preventing them from entering the labour market. In their answers to a question if women ought to undertake paid employment, 24% of all women interviewed thought that women should go to work, a further 64% stated that it depended on circumstances, only 7% were against employment outside the home, and 5% said they "did not know".

The answers of women workers to the same question indicated a more favourable attitude. 32% of all occupied women stated that

women should go out to work compared with 19% of unoccupied women. Marital status was not, however, associated with attitudes towards this question to any marked degree. 28% of occupied single women, were in favour of married women working compared with 37% of married women workers who believed this.

In the same survey, the husband's disapproval of women working was investigated as one of the approaches hindering them from undertaking paid employment. Only a very small proportion of unoccupied women (2%) mentioned it as one of the difficulties they would face if they were to think of working. However, amongst the occupied women only 20% of them stated that their husbands were against their work outside the home<sup>(2)</sup>.

Undoubtedly, the entrance of women into fields of employment previously barred to them resulted in changing conventional views about the types of work that are suitable for women and about their capacities for performing many occupations. The continuous increase in the numbers of women undertaking paid employment during the decades following the war has come about not only because of the many new opportunities that were opened to them, but also because more and more women have made a personal decision to work. From the turn of the century up to the beginning of the Second World War, women mainly worked before marriage and older women undertook paid employment, only if they were forced by adversity. Today, although

the majority of women work to support themselves and others, a growing number enter paid employment because they choose to do so.

The increasing contribution of women to economic life, however, must not obscure the fact that social values and attitudes still exert a pervasive influence upon their employment. The underlying belief in the innate inferiority of the female sex, their intellectual capacities, emotional traits of women, and their maternal functions, underline many employers' policies in recruiting female workers on many jobs.

In consequence, the share of women in many professions is still relatively small, e.g. engineering, scientists. This fact was discussed by the representatives of twelve countries in U.N.E.S.C.O. in 1960. They remarked:

"The fact that relatively few women have so far pursued certain careers must not be permitted to sway the educational administration's judgement unduly. This failure to pursue a certain type of occupation in the past may well have been due to a lack of suitable occupational opportunity or to prejudice and not to any inherent unsuitability of women for the careers themselves"<sup>(3)</sup>.

The prospects of women to reach top jobs still lag far behind those of men. The proportion of women who had reached the top in the work force as a whole is one woman for every two men. But among earners with PAYE incomes in the range from £2,000 to £2,999, men

have an advantage of twenty to one and at levels over £5,000 an advantage of fifty to one. Women in the United Kingdom as in other Western countries are expected to break their careers on marriage, to put their careers firmly second to their homes and are expected to develop attitudes and abilities appropriate to this. This present pattern for a woman has been consistent with taking up paid employment, but has not been easy to reconcile with the career commitment to reach and keep a top job.

Thus, despite the elapsing of several decades of emancipation, of equality of education and of the widespread utilization of woman-power in various fields of the economy, there emerged a marked discrepancy between the male and female occupational pattern. Also, a conspicuous unevenness and inequality on the salary level is still being exercised.

Broadly speaking women are clustered around jobs that need less skill and responsibility, while men are enjoying the positions of higher rank and status.

Hence, equivalence in occupational rank has not yet been achieved between male and female workers. Due to the sex division prevailing in recruitment policies, it is an undeniable fact that there are still two separate non-competitive markets for labour.

## 5.2 Women in the Labour Market.

During the two years following the end of the Second World War, the number of women in gainful employment substantially decreased. This decline was due on the one hand to the reduction in the size of women's auxiliary services and the munition industries, and the reconversion of other industries related to war production to peace production that absorbed a large proportion of the female labour force. On the other hand, there was the return of men from the services to their pre-war occupations that resulted in the displacement of further numbers of females employees. Coupled with these facts was the rise in the statutory school leaving age from 14 to 15 years of age which decreased the absolute number of single women of working age in the labour force, and an increase in the marriage and birth rate. By 1947, there were just over 6 million women in the labour force; a decrease of about 1.75 million since 1943. The number of married women in gainful employment shrunk to 18% of all married women. The proportion of single women remained unchanged at 92% of the total, despite the decrease in their absolute number.

As Britain was in a state of reconstruction after the war, there was the need to increase production for the export drive, to improve education, to staff health services and to meet consumption needs. In order to carry out their economic plan, the Government sought to utilize all available labour reserves. In consequence,

to meet industries' manpower demands, it was necessary to draw on the main reserve of labour force - woman-power. Thus, during the two years following the war (1947-1948), the Government appealed to women to stay at work. Also, intensive publicity campaigns were carried out by the Ministry of Labour with a view to inducing women to continue to work or to enter the labour market. Particular attention was given to women over 35 and while they were not urged to take a permanent job, they were exhorted to help the country round the corner.

The post-war position was, however, short lived. The shortage of labour, the rapid expansion of industrial production and the outbreak of the Korean war which involved Britain in a large scale rearmament programme, all contributed to draw greater numbers of women back into industry, this time without conscription. It should be noted, that despite the increase in the number of women in the labour force during the 1948-1950 period, their proportion of the employed population remained almost constant at 33.9%. This was mainly due to the increasing participation rate of married women over 30 in employment which offset the decline in the ratios of women in the younger age group and the ageing female population. However, the participation of female workers in the labour force began to move upwards by 1951. Between 1951 and 1961 the proportion of women working outside their homes rose from 1 in 4 to 1 in 3. This trend has continued up till today. It is worth mentioning

that during the last fifteen years the annual increase in the number of women working has consistently outstripped the growth in the male labour force. Well over one third of Britain's working population is female.

### 5.3 Employment of Married Women.

The main characteristics of the rising tide of women workers in the labour force is the growing number of married women working in paid employment. The high rate of participation of female labour since 1951 was only achieved through the attraction of more married women into employment, especially those over 30 years.

The Ministry of Labour Gazette in 1958, remarks:

"The available age analysis shows that the expansion of the female working population was achieved by the attraction into employment of large numbers of women over 30 years of age. In 1950, the total number of women employees between the ages of 30 and 50 was 2,603,000. But by 1956 the number in the same age group (i.e. 36-55) was 2,925,000, an increase of more than 300,000. As this was a net increase after the replacement of wastage, the gross recruitment of women of those ages into employment during the six years must have been considerably greater than 300,000".<sup>(4)</sup>

This trend is also revealed in Clark Legros' study of the employment of married women during 1952-1957. He found that during that period (1952-1957), the largest addition to the female labour

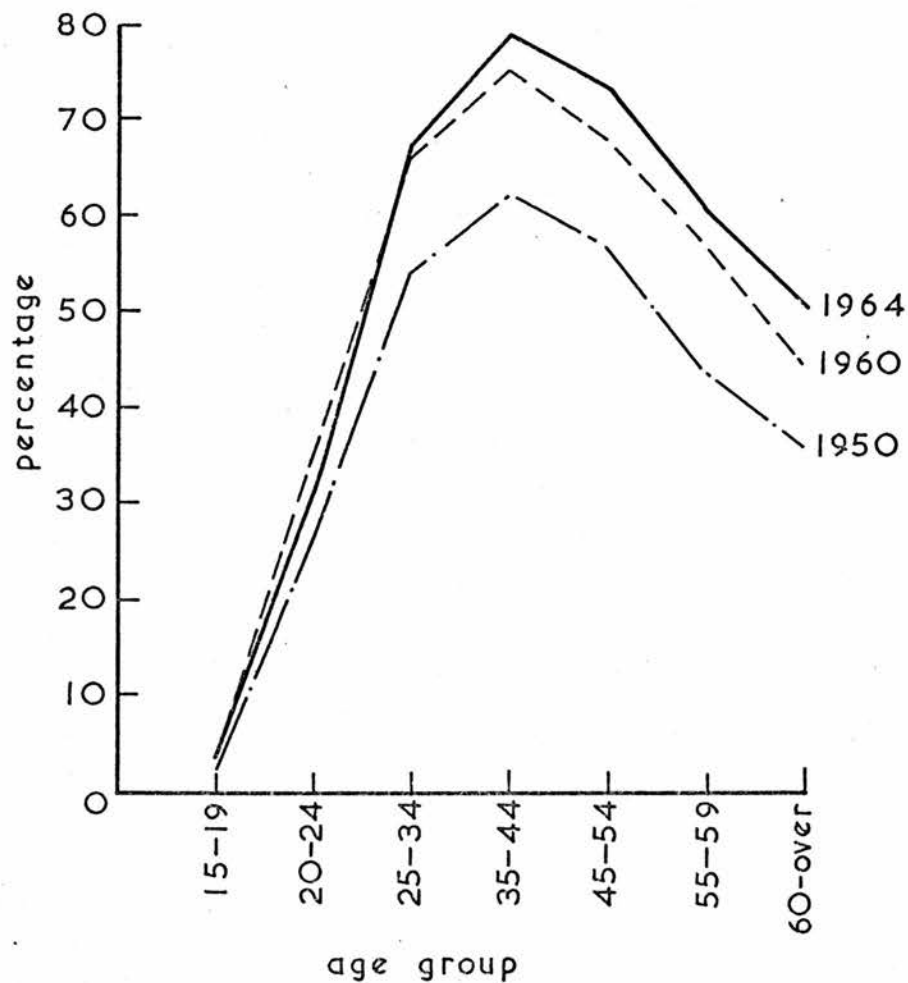


force was made by mature women. The net increase in the number of women of all ages was approximately 550,000, but over 75% of the net increment of female labour force was accounted for by women in the age groups (40-59). Furthermore, he concluded that nine out of ten of the additional women of these ages "must have been married"<sup>(5)</sup>.

This rise in the contribution of married women continued during the 1950s and 1960s at a rapid pace: While in 1950 they constituted 40% of the total, their percentage was 42% in 1952, 48% in 1955, 49.3% in 1957, in 1962 52.8% and 55.4% in 1968. The increase in the numbers of married women during the period (1950-1968) grew by over 50%.

Classified by age groups married women represented in 1965, 44.2% of all female employees age groups (20-29), rising to about 77.9% in the age groups (30-49). Thereafter the proportion gradually decreased to 66.9% and 53.3% in the age groups (50-59) and (60 and over). Part of this decline was due, however, to an increase in the number of widows and divorced women in the higher age groups not included in the latter figures (see Fig.5.1).

This widespread utilization of married women has become a characteristic feature of Britain's present economic life. Undoubtedly, the Second World War had been a major force in accelerating this social change. But it was not the sole responsible factor for the outstanding increase of the proportion



PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED WOMEN TO TOTAL WOMEN  
IN EMPLOYMENT IN DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS 1950-1965

of married women to that of single women in the labour force.

The reduced infant mortality, especially of boys, as they are the vulnerable sex in infancy, resulted in a surplus of men over women in the marriageable age (in 1961 every 100 spinsters had a choice of 125 bachelors). There has also been an increase in the proportion of women marrying, as well as their marrying at a lower average age. Three quarters of all brides marrying for the first time are under 25, while in 1911 the proportion was not much more than 55%. In consequence the proportion of unmarried women in the 25-54 age group decreased from 42% to 32%. In addition, the expansion of compulsory education to 16 from 1970-71 onwards, will reduce their numbers still further. The major resource of supply of female workers is becoming the married woman.

Another allied factor is the reduction in the birth rate which occurred in a way that enabled millions of females previously needed at home to enter the labour market. Coupled with these factors, was the labour saved in the housework with the extended use of household appliances. Almost all households are supplied with either gas or electricity and a water heater is fairly general. In Britain, three households in every four have a vacuum cleaner, two in five a washing machine and about one in three a refrigerator. Ownership of such appliances is spreading rapidly.

The Ministry of Labour in 1966 estimated that there will be "a continuing fairly steady growth in the numbers of married women, resulting in an increase of over one million to a total of 6 million by 1981"<sup>(6)</sup>.

#### 5.4 Age Distribution.

As has been mentioned before, the longest increase in the female labour force since 1951 was mainly achieved by the growing participation of mature women (30-59 years of age). The average age of working women has been moving upward since 1951. The largest proportion of women is no longer between the ages of 20-39, but is between 40 and 59 years of age. In 1964, the age distribution of the female labour force was as follows:-

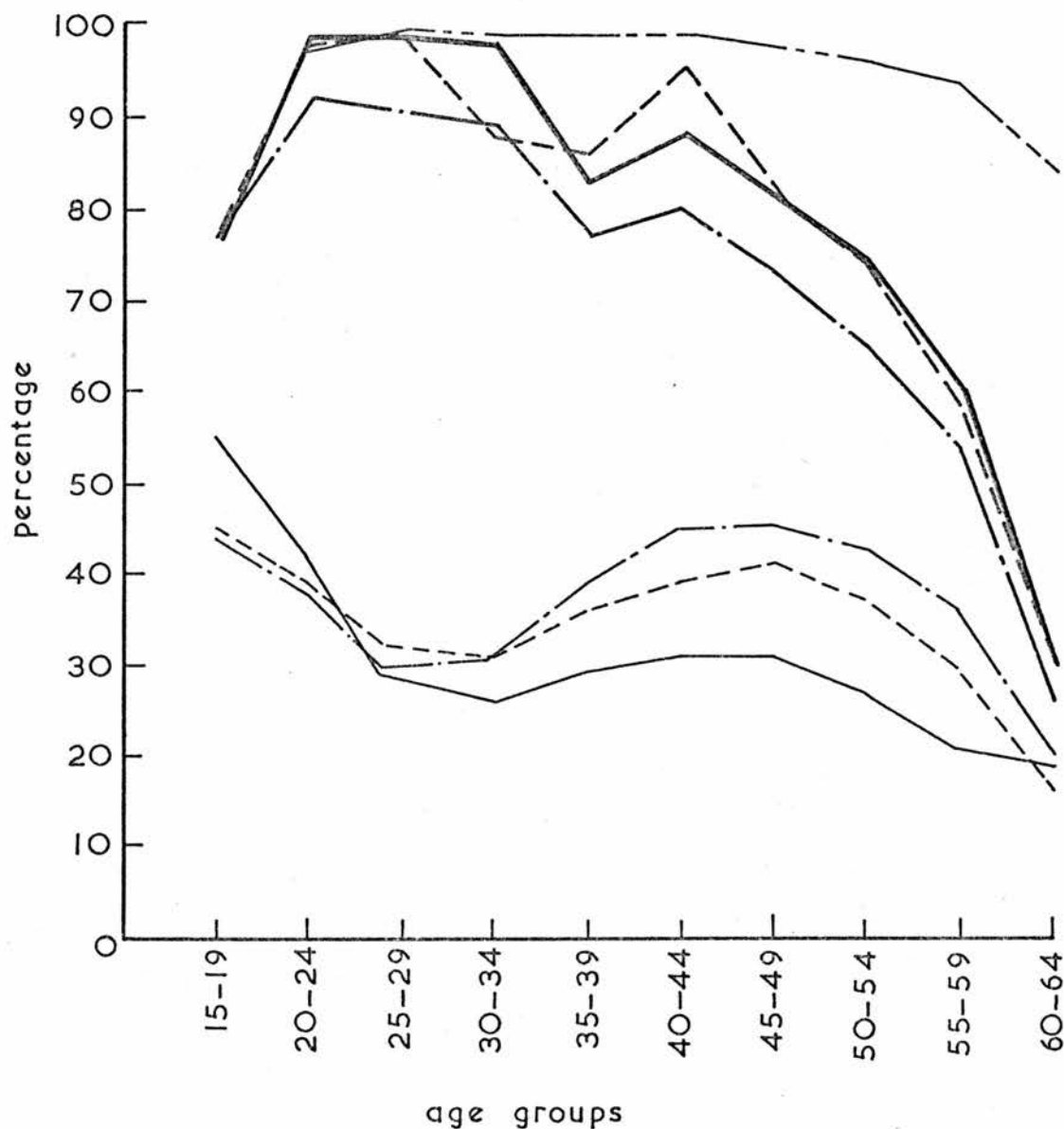
17% under 20 years of age  
 36% aged 20-39  
 40% aged 40-59  
 7% aged 60 and over.

However, in Britain, as in other Western countries, e.g. U.S.A. and France, the characteristic feature of female employment by age is the rising number of employed women until a first high peak around the age of 19. Their number starts to decrease rather steeply between the age of 20 and 34, and then moves upwardly again from the age of 35, until about the age of 50. Although the proportion drops quickly

with advancing age, there are now substantially more women in the labour force at all ages over 30 than there were a decade ago.

The large number of female employees in the younger age group (15-19) is due to the fact that many young girls when they leave school go to work. As long as they remain single most women are likely to work. Between the ages of 20 and 50 the proportion of single women at work is not substantially lower than that of men.

But an increasing number of single women will tend to marry. The effect of changing marital status will be reflected on the low proportion of married women employees between the ages (20-29). This is due partly to the retirement of many girls from employment when they marry and that most women desire to start a family soon after marriage. The steep decrease in the proportion of married women between the ages 25-34, is attributable to the fact that most married women within this age group are having or bringing up a family. Young children are mostly the overriding factor in making women housebound. Both their numbers and their ages have a strong bearing on women's ability and willingness to undertake gainful employment. In Viola Klein's survey among married women (housewives and workers) she found that twice the proportion of full-time housewives have one, two or more children under the age of five, compared with working housewives.



FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUPS AND MARITAL STATUS, PERCENTAGE IN EACH AGE GROUP GREAT BRITAIN 1952-64

See Appendix D-Table-D-2

Source: Ministry of Labour Gazette - H.M.S.O. London, Jan. 1964

Fig. 5.2

Another survey showed that the participation rate of mothers increases rapidly as the age of the child rises, through the 0-4 years.

The re-entrance of married women into gainful employment, when the children are grown up, is manifested in the continuous increase in their percentage between the ages 35-44.

The conspicuous fact, however, that emerges from the graphs in figure (5-2) is that despite the fact that married women constitute over 54% of the total female labour force today, their proportion to all married women population in all age groups is substantially lower compared to that of single women.

#### 5.5 Projection of Female Participation Rates in the Labour Force.

In the recent forecast of the Ministry of Labour in 1966, it was stated that "despite the fact that married women's activity rate is assumed to increase, their rate will remain below that of single, widowed and divorced women in the comparable age groups under 65. The increase in the proportion who are married thus has the effect of reducing the activity rate for females on the whole".<sup>(7)</sup> It is estimated that for married women under 25 years of age their participation rate will be declining from 39% in 1966 to 35% in 1971, due to increases in the proportion of young women undertaking further education. But this ratio is likely to be constant until 1981.

With regard to married women 25 years of age and over, it is estimated that the activity rate for those who were born between mid

1921 and mid 1926 is 48% in 1966 rising to 53% in 1971 and 55% in 1976. But for the following age group born between 1926 and mid 1931, the corresponding activity rates are higher, 52% in 1971, 56% in 1976 and 58% in 1981. For married women aged 35 and over continuing marked increases in activity rate were assumed.

As regards single, divorced and widowed women, a gradual decrease is expected for those in the age groups 45-54. However, it is estimated that the differences between the rates for married and other women will become much smaller during the forecast period.

Another projection made on the basis of data available for 1962, foresaw a lower rate for the younger age groups and higher in the older ones. These calculations were made on account of the trend towards a younger age of child bearing and towards an earlier return to work as children grow up<sup>(8)</sup>.

From the trends in women's contribution in the labour market and the recent forecasts, any substantial increase in the volume of female labour force will come through the recruitment of greater numbers of married women, especially over 30, who are now the only substantial labour reserve in this country. With the growing need in society for administrative, welfare and other services, with an expansion of the very types of work in which women have a better performance than men, it seems evident that more married women will be drawn into the labour market.



## 5.6 Regional Participation Rates of Women.

The participation rate of women in the labour force differs from one region to the other. Part of the reason for this has been the pattern of industry in different regions. Also, the movement into the area of industries which are large employers of women, has favourable effects on the growth of the female labour force.

Despite the fact that the participation rates of women in some regions, e.g. South Eastern and Midlands are substantially higher than in others, such as Wales and Northern Ireland, there has been an increase in the proportion of female working population in all regions (Table 5-1)).

This upward trend in women's participation rates, though in varying degrees, is largely due to the Government industrial policy. One of the major problems facing the Government before the Second World War was the security of employment opportunities for women. In 1937, there were only 25 insured women to every 100 men in these regions compared with 37 for the country as a whole. Thus, the Government, with a view to overcoming this deficiency and to tap some of these reserves of labour, encouraged many industries to locate themselves in the depressed region where there was surplus of labour. The most important contribution in establishing a location policy came from the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population in 1938. This commission approached location

TABLE (5-1)

REGIONAL ACTIVITY RATES FOR WOMEN  
INCREASE IN EMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE 1951

Area	1951 <sup>(a)</sup> %	1961 <sup>(a)</sup> %	Increase	1964 <sup>(b)</sup> %	Unemployment % in 1964 <sup>(b)</sup>
South Eastern...	36.2	41.3	5.1	41.7	0.5
South Western...	27.3	31.8	4.5	32.3	1.3
Midlands.....	39.9	41.9	2.0	43.3	0.6
North Midlands..	33.9	36.8	2.9	37.4	0.9
East and West Riding.....	36.8	39.1	2.3	39.8	0.8
North Western ..	41.0	41.2	0.2	42.3	1.2
Northern.....	28.9	32.9	4.0	33.6	2.3
Scotland.....	35.6	38.3	2.7	39.2	2.7
Wales.....	23.9	28.2	4.3	39.2	2.5
Great Britain...	35.4	38.8	3.4	39.5	1.1
Northern Ireland	33.0	33.8	0.8		4.5
Average.....	35.3	38.6	3.3		

SOURCE: (a) Ministry of Labour Gazette. Vol. LXXIII. No.2, H.M.S.O., London, Feb. 1965, p.109.

(b) Ministry of Labour Gazette Vol. LXXVI, No.7, H.M.S.O., London, 1967, p.551.

from the standpoint of social, economic or strategic disadvantages that attend the concentration of the industrial population in large towns or particular areas of the country. In their Report that was published in 1946, they concluded that an appropriate distribution was unlikely to be achieved under laissez-faire. They recommended the restriction of further development in certain areas (in particular Greater London) and the encouragement of a reasonable balance of industrial development between regions with suitable diversification of industry in each region<sup>(9)</sup>.

Furthermore, the white paper on employment policy in 1944, emphasized the industrial location policy as an important contributor to the maintenance of "full employment". To further this aim, the Distribution of Industry Act was passed in 1945, scheduling four "Development" areas. These areas were North Eastern, West Cumberland, South Wales and Monmouthshire, and Central Scotland. This act also stipulated the means by which the Board of Trade and the Treasury could assist new firms to establish factories or branch units in these areas. The Board of Trade could build factories and purchase land, make loans to industrial estate companies, reclaim derelict land and provide factories for improved basic services, e.g. communication, power.

Furthermore, the Government was empowered by the Act to restrict or prohibit the construction of factories in areas where serious disadvantages would arise from further industrial development.

At the end of the war, there was a substantial industrial demobilization of women, which was followed by the beginning of the great "homing" movement. This tended to decrease the participation of women in the regions. In the London and Southern Region by 1945, despite a small net increase in the number of women insured, the total proportion had fallen by 24% from the 1939 level. But by 1946 many firms in industries which were sharply reduced during the war needed to expand again to their former size when it was over, e.g. cotton and textile industries. Also, there were many new firms in modern industries such as light engineering, vehicles, electrical goods and small machine tools, together with heavy industries such as chemicals which were expanding. These industries were in search of premises so that they might expand and resume the awakening demands of a world at peace. In consequence, a large section of industry was mobile and susceptible to official pressure with regard to the location of factories. The scarcity of labour was acute in the South and the Midlands together with a high housing cost in London and the Midlands, which rendered these regions less attractive as industrial sites than they used to be. Manufacturers ambitious to expand were not averse from moving to regions where there was a large pool of unskilled labour supply, low rents and cheap service facilities. The economic conditions, therefore, favoured the Government location policy. Many firms in the new expanding industries such as the vehicles, precision instruments and electrical,

hitherto unrepresented in the development regions, were set up. The expansion of these industries was responsible for 40% to 45% of the increase in the total employment between 1939-1957. For example, the electronics, aircraft manufacturing, synthetic fibres, light chemical, office equipment and precision instrument industries between them enlarged their numbers by over 120,000. Also, the development areas' share of the electrical goods, clothing and vehicle trades expanded from 5.3 to 9.7%<sup>(10)</sup>. The employment of women in these regions increased to a marked degree as new occupational opportunities were opened to them. The ratio of insured women to men in the development areas rose from 31:100 in 1939 to 45:100 in 1951 to 47:100 in 1957, and to 48:100 in 1959.

It should be mentioned, however, that the shortage of male workers in some development areas during the war and the post-war years was made up by an increase in the female labour. It was particularly noticeable in the regions which employed the lowest proportion of women workers, i.e. in South Wales, West Cumberland and Wrexham development areas. Despite these upward trends in the contribution of female labour force in the regions, by 1961 unemployment though low by pre-war standards, was still higher in the majority of development areas than in the country as a whole. The rates of unemployment of women in 1961 for Northern Ireland was 25%, for Scotland 2.1% and for Wales 1.8%, compared with 1.1% for Great Britain.

This situation was largely due to the fact that the industrial drift to the South was by no means lessened. During the period 1951-61, the increase in employment (males and females) in the depressed areas (Scotland, Northern England, Wales and Northern Ireland), was less than a third of that in the rest of the United Kingdom. Another allied fact which contributed to the high level of unemployment in those regions (depressed regions) was that the location policy having achieved the substance of its aim in the early and middle fifties, was being executed less vigorously than before. The coexistence of two areas, one being the depressed with a considerable labour force unemployed and with low incomes, and the other the areas of intense economic development holding out great opportunities for new jobs, gave rise to internal migration, what is known as the "drift" from the North to the South. In order to encourage further industry into development areas and other regions suffering from unemployment, a new Act, - The Distribution of Industry (Industrial Finance) Act, was passed in 1958. This act not only empowered the Government to grant loans to industrialists who wished to set up factories in the scheduled development areas, but also to those contemplating production in a wide range of new areas where acute unemployment existed.

The Government also declared its intention of making increased use of its powers to restrict new industrial building in the

congested areas. In 1960, the Local Employment Act which superseded all previous Government measures with regard to industrial location, abolished all Development Areas and a new and extensive list of Development Areas came into being. The criterion for a district to be in the list was that in the view of the Board of Trade, a high rate of unemployment either existed there or was imminent, and was likely to persist. There was also the establishment of 15 new towns, e.g. Crawley, Harlow, East Kilbride, as industrial dispersion outlets from the London areas where many new firms were established. The industrial development in the depressed areas, and new towns offered women wider employment opportunities which was reflected by a rise of their employment ratios, (see Table (5-2)). In addition, the Government introduced into the Budget of April 1963, a number of financial stimulants to encourage firms more vigorously than hitherto to locate in the depressed areas. These were materialized by strengthening the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, which gave the Board of Trade power to prevent industrial building where it would not be consistent with the proper distribution of industry. Grants or loans to business were only given to those setting up in the new depressed areas. There was also the strengthening of the system of Industrial Development Certificate which was used to prevent industrial building in the congested areas.

The major achievements of these measures were the setting up of new factories in Merseyside by Ford, Vauxhall and Leyland, and in Scotland by B.M.C. and Rootes. This was a marked change in the regional distribution of the important motor vehicles industry, previously confined almost exclusively to Coventry and Oxford.

Despite these measures the rates of unemployment in the depressed regions remained on the average twice as high as in Britain as a whole. Thus, in order to reduce the geographical variance in the country, new measures were promptly evolved and put into operation. There was the passing of the Industrial Development Act of 1966 which designated all areas of high unemployment in the United Kingdom, as Development Areas. These Development Areas include most of Scotland, Wales, the Northern Planning Area, Merseyside (Liverpool Area) and most of Cornwall and North Devon. Also, the existing Board of Trade industrial estates were being expanded and new areas constructed notably in Lanarkshire and South Teeside. Private industrial schemes were being helped by the Board of Trade, particularly the Ford Motor Company at Swansea, Fireston Tyre and Rubber Company at Wrexham and I.C.I. at Ardue in Ayrshire<sup>(11)</sup>.

"The implications of these measures were a rise in the number and proportion of workers in these depressed areas. No doubt the movements of industrial activities to the depressed areas raised women's employment in these regions. Nevertheless, their participation rate



still remains below the country's average.

In 1966, the proportion of women aged over 15 working in Great Britain, was 40%, but it ranged from 22 to 55% between sub-regions.

The pattern that emerged is rather more complex than employment and unemployment in the regions. It is a reflection mainly of the differences in opportunities for employment. Thus, there are high rates in conurbations, a consequence of the concentration of shop and office employment there, and in areas with industries that have traditionally employed women. On the other hand, a low proportion of women at work is characteristic of areas where the traditional industries are predominantly male employing and employment in some industries have declined.

The Northern Region, for example, have mining and shipbuilding industries, Scotland and Northern Ireland have agriculture and shipbuilding industries, the North Western region has textile industries and Wales has mining. There has also been a tendency for the faster growing industries to be located in the Midlands and the South. The London and South Eastern regions, for example, have a relatively high proportion of female employees, in distribution, insurance, banking and finance, and paper printing and publishing. The Eastern and South Western regions have greater numbers of men than women in professional and scientific services, and the Midlands engineering industries which tend to employ large numbers of women.

However, differences in the industrial composition of individual regions have not been the sole reason why employment has grown faster in some regions than in others. A second factor has been that employment in the same

industry has expanded more, or declined less in some regions than in others.

An attempt has been made by M.F. Hemming, to distinguish between the "composition effect" and the "growth effect" on the employment rate for the total employees between 1958-1962. His findings indicated that the big differences in the increase of employment were a consequence of "growth factor" rather than the "composition factor". Therefore, the decline of some industries such as textiles does not seem to explain the persistence differences among the regions. In four of the "depressed regions", on the other hand, Hemming found that the unfavourable composition of industry was the more important factor. In Yorkshire and Lincolnshire and Wales, the rise in employment in individual industries was slightly faster than in the United Kingdom as a whole. He also pointed out that the above-average increases in employment in the Eastern and Southern Regions were almost entirely due to the rapid growth of individual industries. Similarly, the slow growth of individual industries was the main reason for the slow growth of employment in Scotland and the North Western regions.

In the London and the South Eastern region a favourable industry pattern was almost exactly offset by a below average increase in employment in individual industries<sup>(12)</sup>.

The industrial pattern of the region has undoubtedly a greater weight on the employment rate. This is more noticeable from the observation of the movement of industries into all regions.

A study of the Board of Trade in 1968, showed the following results:-

TABLE 5

MALE EMPLOYMENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL EMPLOYMENT IN  
MOVES BY PERIOD OF MOVE AND TYPE OF DESTINATION (13)

Period of Move	Peripheral Area %	South Eastern East Anglia %	Rest of U.K. %	U.K. %
1945-1951	56.4	65.2	59.4	58.6
1952-1959	61.5	63.7	67.8	64.1
1960-1965	67.8	62.7	65.2	65.9
1945-1965	60.5	64.0	64.0	62.2

It can be assumed from the above figures that in the United Kingdom as a whole there was a steady trend between successive periods towards a more male employing type of movement.

In general, wave of movement of industries which were providing employment was increasingly made in composition.

During the 21 years peripheral areas attracted a disproportionate amount of the following industry groups compared with their share of all movement: motor vehicles, man-made fibres, contracting textiles and clothing and footwear.

They received relatively less of the following: expanding chemicals, electrical engineering and instruments, mechanical engineering, metal manufacture, expanding metal goods.

It should be noted that married women constitute the largest proportion in the volume of female labour force in the regions. The increase in female labour activity rates during the period (1951-1966), came through the recruitment of greater numbers of married women.

The available data given by the Ministry of Labour for married women in the regions indicate that the lowest proportion of married women employees was for those between the ages 20-24. This is due to the withdrawal of many girls from the labour force on marriage or the advent of children. The decrease in the participation rate of women in the age bracket (25-34) is related to the fact that the majority of women within this age group are having or bringing up children. It was indicated in the previous chapter, both the number of children and their ages have an inverse correlation with the rate of married women's participation in the economy. As the number of children increases, the number of hours spent on household activities sharply increases. The economically active women compensate for this increased domestic demand by cutting down on the numbers of hours engaged in paid employment, or by withdrawing from the labour market. On the other hand, the largest increase has been made by married women between the ages 35-44, indicating the re-entrance of married women into gainful employment when the children are grown up<sup>(14)</sup>.

Bearing the above-mentioned facts in mind, we may assume that the responsiveness of female labour supply to market conditions in the regions represents that of married women.

Data limitations, however, does not permit sufficient analysis from the available statistics. As a thorough interpretation needs more information about the interrelations of work, wage rates and fertility about changes in work in the home and about the non pecuniary aspects

of market work, we will recourse to the conclusions of the studies reviewed in Chapter 2, in order to throw some light on the available observations.

We note from Tables (5.3 and 5.4) that during the period (1961-1966) the rise in income in households has been accompanied by an increase in female activity rates in all regions.

Mincer's and Cain's studies about the behaviour of married women in the labour force, explains the rising activity rates of wives by comparing the elasticities of wages and income. Their explanation was that as the earnings of men and women rose at about the same rate over time, the increase of married women's activity rates, is related due to the fact that the positive effect of rising wages on the labour supply swamped the negative effect of the rise in income.

But the rise of female activity rates in the regions came from the ranks of married women, mostly from those over 34 years of age. This would lead to the conclusion that the low labour activity rates of married women in the age groups 20-34 is related to the presence of young children at home. The absence of goods substitutes for the mother's care of children suggest, a priori, a small wage effect (or a large income effect). In other words, home wage was largest in these instances thus discouraging market work by wives.

SELECTED REGIONAL INDICATORS UNEMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYMENT.

	Unemployment Range		Employment		Male Employment		Proportion of Women at Work	
	1966	1967	1968	1966	1966	1961/66	1966	Change 1961/66
	%	%	%	000s	000s	%	%	%
<u>Regions Largely Coinciding with Development Areas</u>								
Scotland	3-4	3-4	3-4	2,190	1,370	- 2	40	+ 2
Wales	2-3	3-4	4-5	1,010	680	- 1	30	+ 3
Northern	3-4	3-4	4-5	1,340	880	- 1	35	+ 2
<u>Regions Partly Coinciding with Development Areas</u>								
North West	1-2	2-3	2-3	3,030	1,870	Nil	43	Nil
South West	1-2	2-3	2-3	1,360	870	+ 4	33	+ 2
<u>Regions Containing No Development Areas.</u>								
Yorkshire & Humberside	1-2	1-2	2-3	2,110	2,110	+ 2	40	+ 1
East Anglia	1-2	2-3	2-3	620	400	+11	34	+ 2
East Midlands	1-2	1-2	1-2	1,440	930	+ 4	40	+ 2
West Midlands	1-2	1-2	2-3	2,390	1,540	+ 5	44	+ 1
South East	1-2	1-2	1-2	8,070	4,990	+ 4	44	+ 2
Great Britain	1-2	2-3	2-3	23,550	14,900	+ 2	40	+ 2

SOURCE: Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Papers, April 1969, Cmd.3998, 1969, "The Intermediate Areas, Report of a Committee Under the Chairmanship of Sir Joseph Hunt", Appendix pp.214-218.

TABLE (5.4)  
REGIONAL INCOME PER TAX PAYING UNIT, 1949/50, 1959/1960 AND 1964/1965  
GROWTH PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN EMPLOYMENT 1959/1965

Region	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Income Per Tax Paying Unit			Percentage Increase in Money Income Per 1949/1950 1964/1965	Level of Income 1959/ 1965	Growth Percentage Increase in Employment 1959/1965
	1949/ 1950	1959/ 1960	1964/ 1965			
	£	£	£			
Scotland	380	674	937	147	low	Slow (2.7)
Wales	356	678	933	162	low	Slow (5.9)
Northern	369	986	927	151	low	Slow (2.4)
North West	380	709	960	153	low	Slow (2.7)
South West	374	694	968	159	low	Fast (10.1)
Yorkshire & Humberside	393	709	962	145	low	Slow (5.4)
East Anglia	373	669	951	155	low	Fast (11.2)
East Midlands	391	723	980	151	high	Fast (9.5)
West Midlands	395	752	1024	159	high	Fast (10.1)
South East	430	794	1085	152	high	Fast (9.5)
Great Britain	399	734	1007	152		7.6

NOTES: (1) Earnings are defined as Schedule E earnings, above £135 in 1949/50 and £275 in 1964/65.

(2) Tax units counts husband and wife as one, but the earnings of married women are not included.

SOURCE: (1) Inland Revenue Reports.

(2) Inland Revenue Reports for 1959/1960 and 1964/1965.

(3) Department of Employment and Productivity Data.

The observed comparison of labour force participation rates between male and female workers in the depressed areas, shows that unemployment of men due to the decline in industries has been offset by the increase in female workers activity rates. This ascertains the "added worker hypothesis" which maintains that in recessions, unemployment of main breadwinners (husbands) induces secondary workers (among whom wives are most numerous) to enter the labour force in search of jobs to supplement family income.

This, however, is in accordance with Mincer's findings of the strong effect of transitory income: that the household's decision about the allocation of time for remunerative employment among its members, when the husband becomes unemployed, will reflect the positive effect of the wife's market wage and the husband's currently zero market wage coupled with some positive home wage.

But it should be noted that both Mincer and Cain indicated that in severe recession periods, unemployment of the husband had a negative affect on married women's labour supply, resulting in a net diminishment of labour force participation among wives (p94 ).



### 5.61 The Elasticity of Supply of Time to Income Acquisition.

The total supply of labour in a country means it is the total number of hours of work that the population is willing to supply. The individual worker has a limited amount of time at his disposal. He can use his time in varying combinations for acquiring income and for leisure or non-working activities. The greater the number of hours devoted to acquiring income, the less leisure time retained and the higher income. As leisure time could have been used productively, its price is said to be the wage rate per unit of time devoted to acquiring income and the foregone value of the time used up. However, the doctrine of comparative advantage tends to dictate the allocation of domestic and market activities between husband and wife in their efforts to attain the combinations of income and leisure that best satisfy them at varying leisure prices.

As a rise in the wage is a rise in the price of leisure, two separate types of effects may result: (a) a substitution effect which will tend the use of time of leisure or other non-working activities, to decrease and (b) an income effect, which is determined in its direction. Since the rise in wage rate allows any given income to be acquired with less hours worked, the income effect may be negative, zero on balance or positive in terms of the change in hours worked. If the income effect is negative, that is when the worker is content with an unchangeable income, the rise in the wage rate will be a reduction in hours worked if the negative income effect more than offset the substitution effect.

In Figure (5A) income is measured on the vertical axis and total hours available in one day (or week) on the horizontal axis. The individual can now have any combination of income and leisure was to equalize the return that can be gained from his work to its uses.

If the individual allocates all his available time for gainful employment (OA), he will receive an income OAB. All points in the area OAB represent the combinations of income, work and other uses of available time to him. As the individual choice of income will be determined by a satisfactory combination of income and other uses of time, he locates himself, at P. At P, the price of leisure time is the wage rate per unit of time to acquiring income (marginal substitution of income for leisure). A rise in the wage rate to OC/OA means that there is a change in relative price of goods and leisure. Goods become cheaper relative to leisure as each hour worked results in more goods purchased than before, and each hour of leisure consumed is at the costs of more goods foregone. Thus, the individual chooses either: to allocate more time for work for the acquisition of higher income (and more goods) and reduce his leisure time moving to the substitution effect S, or to increase the number of his leisure hours (a fall in the length of work day) as the same amount of consumption goods can be obtained with less effort at work -- this is the income effect.

In Figure BD measures the equivalent variation of income, i.e. the increase in income equivalent to the wage increase in its effect on the individual's welfare. The individual would only move to R if income

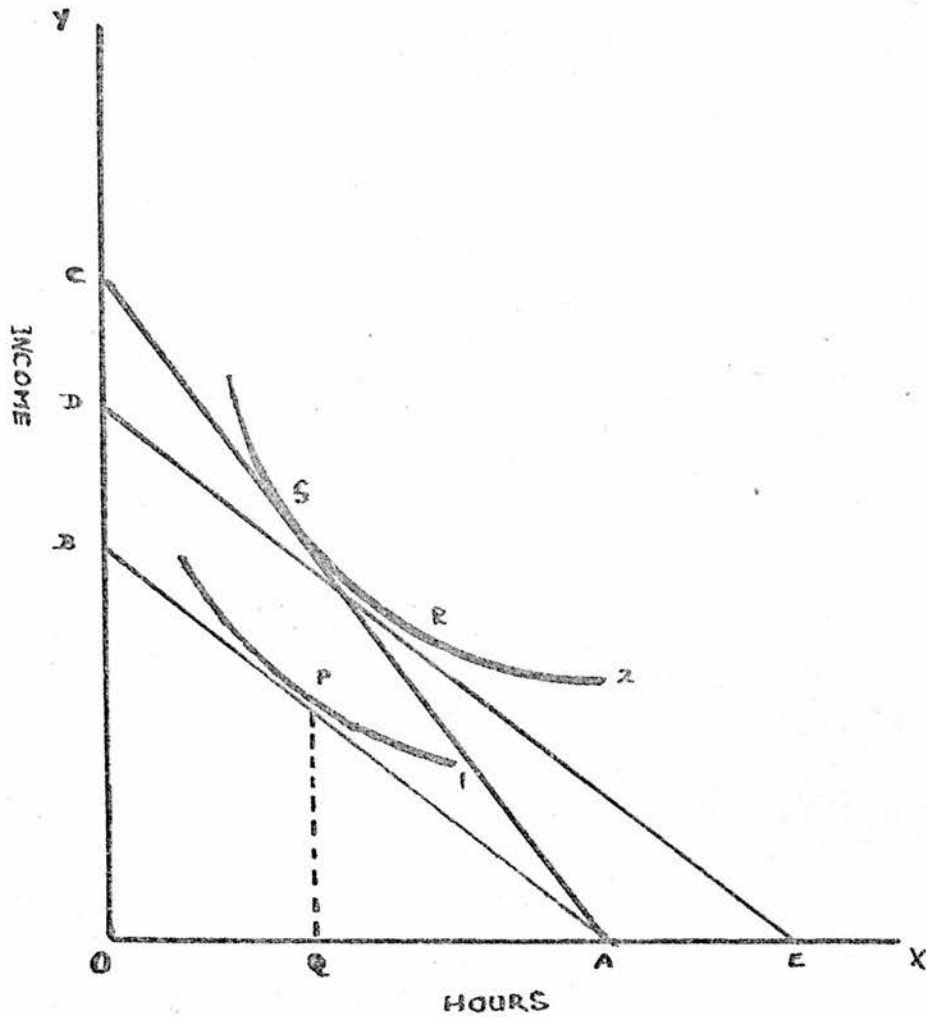


FIGURE: 5A INCOME AND SUBSTITUTION EFFECT OF WAGE CHANGE.

SOURCE: B.J. McCormick, "Wages", Penguin Book Ltd., London, 1969, p.38.

changes. It is apparent that the substitution and income effect tend to pull in opposite directions. The effect of the rise in wages will depend entirely on the individual's allocation of his own time to work in accordance with his own marginal rate substitution of income for leisure.

But leisure and income are not independent from each other, as leisure may include services rendered to oneself and one's family, such as decorating the house and cleaning the car. If wages tend to fall, the individual will allocate more time to the acquisition of income in order to maintain the level of consumption. The marginal utility of income rises as leisure falls. His choice would then be between leisure and income. However, the relevant income-receiving and labour-supplying unit may not be the individual but rather the household. We must also bear in mind that although the average work-week and work-year have declined over the years, the multiple wage-earner family has become more common. A decrease in the supply of effort by the husband has been accompanied by any increase in the supply of effort by the wife. Therefore, the average work-week or work-year ceases to be an accurate and sufficient indicator of the responses of the household to income movements and of the household time distributed between leisure and work, since it does not account for the tendency for women over time to become active labour force participant. This brings about another choice which is the non-market productivity. This may not be of importance to men, but for married women it includes services rendered at home such as child

care and the production of goods such as meals. As such services take time, time which often could have been used productively, the full costs of these activities would equal the sum of market prices and the foregone value of the time used up.

In G.S. Becker's<sup>(15)</sup> study about the theory of allocation of time, he sets out a basic theoretical analysis of choice which includes the cost of time on the same footing as the cost of market goods. He includes a new approach to changes in hours of work and leisure, the full integration of so-called "productive" consumption into economic analysis. He states that, in accordance with the traditional theory, households maximize utility functions of the form

$$U = U(Y_1, Y_2, \dots, Y_n) \quad (1)$$

Subject to the resource constraint

$$\sum_i P_i Y_{it} = I = W + V \quad (2)$$

where  $Y_{it}$  are goods purchased on the market,  $P_i$  are their prices,  $I$  is money income,  $W$  is earnings and  $V$  is other income.

This equation suggests that households combine time and market goods to produce more basic commodities that directly enter their utility functions (seeing a play, sleeping). These commodities are referred to as  $Z_i$  and written as

$$Z_i = f_t(X_i, T_i) \quad (3)$$

where  $X_i$  is a vector of market goods and  $T_i$  is a vector of time inputs used in producing the  $i$ th commodity.

In accordance with this formula, households are both producing units and utility maximizers. They combine time and market goods via the "production function" to produce the basic commodities  $Z_i$ , and they choose the best combination of these commodities in the conventional way by maximizing a utility function.

$$U = U(Z_1, \dots, Z_m) = U = V(f_1, \dots, f_m) \\ (X_1, \dots, X_m, T_1, \dots, T_m) \quad (4)$$

Subject to a budget constraint

$$g(Z_1, \dots, Z_m) = Z \quad (5)$$

where  $g$  is the expenditure function of  $Z_1$  and  $Z$  is the bound on resources.

Becker's direct approach to find measures of  $g$  and  $Z$  is to assume that the utility function in equation (4), is maximized subject to separate constraints on the expenditure of market goods and time, and to the production functions in equation (3). Thus, the goods constraints can be written as follows:-

$$P_i X_i = I = V + T_w \bar{W} \quad (6)$$

where  $P_i$  is a vector giving the unit prices of  $X_i$ ,  $T_w$  is a vector giving the hours spent at work, and  $\bar{W}$  is a vector giving the earnings per unit of  $T_w$ .

The time constraints can be written as follows

$$T_i = T_c = T - T_w \quad (7)$$

where  $T_c$  is a vector giving the total time spent at consumption and  $T$  is a vector giving the total time available.

Thus, the production functions (3) can be written in the equivalent form:

$$\begin{aligned} T_i &= t_i Z_i \\ X_i &= b_i Z_i \end{aligned} \tag{8}$$

where  $t_i$  is a vector giving the input of time per unit of  $Z_i$  and  $b_i$  is a similar vector for market goods.

But Becker indicates that the total resource constraint could only be given the sensible interpretation of the maximum money income achievable in the unlikely case when average earnings were constant. This approach is based on the assumption that the total resource constraint equals the money income achievable which will simply be called 'full income'. The 'full income' approach provides a resource constraint based on the fact that goods and time can be combined into a single overall constraint due to the fact that time can be converted into goods through money income.

Thus, if full income is denoted by  $S$ , and if the total earnings foregone or 'lost' by the interest in utility is denoted by  $L$ , the identity relating  $L$  to  $S$  and  $I$  is written as follows:

$$L(Z_1, \dots, Z_m) = S - I(Z_1, \dots, Z_m) \tag{9}$$

$I$  and  $L$  are functions of the  $Z_i$  because how much is earned or foregone depends on the consumption set chosen. The less leisure chosen, the larger the amount of income and the smaller the amount foregone. By using equations (6) and (8), Becker writes (9) as follows:

$$\sum_i P_i b_i Z_i + L(Z_1, \dots, Z_m) S \quad (10)$$

This basic resource constraint indicates that full income is spent either directly on market goods or indirectly through the foregoing of money income.

Becker further analyses the determination of hours worked. He considers that fixed proportions of time and goods are used in producing commodities.

In considering the effects of changes in income, earnings and market prices on  $T_c$ , time used on consumption, and thus on  $T_w$ , hours worked, Becker uses as a major tool of analysis differences among commodities in the importance of foregone earnings.

The relative marginal importance of foregone earnings is then defined as:

$$\alpha_i = \frac{L_i T_i}{P_i b_i + L_i T_i} \quad (11)$$

"The importance of foregone earnings would be greater the larger  $L_i$  and  $T_i$ , the foregone earnings per hour of time, and the number of hours used per unit of  $Z_i$  respectively, while it would be smaller the larger  $P_i$  and  $b_i$ , the market price of goods, and the number of goods used per unit of  $Z_i$  respectively. Similarly, the relative marginal importance of time is defined as



$$Y_i = \frac{T_i}{P_i b_i + L_i T_i} \quad (12)$$

If full income increased solely because of increase in  $U$ , the consumption of most commodities would have to increase. If all did, hours worked would decrease, for the total time spent on consumption must increase if the output of all commodities did, and as the time spent at work is inversely related to that spent on commodities.

A uniform percentage increase in earnings for all allocations of time would increase the cost per hour used by the same percentage for all commodities. The relative prices of different commodities would, however, change as long as foregone earnings were not equally important for all, in particular, the prices of commodities having relatively important foregone earnings would rise more". (16)

Becker, however, stresses that as well as all activities (including leisure) use both time and goods, the two determinants of foregone earnings are the amount of time used per dollar of goods and the cost of unit of time. This would solely be determined by time intensity only if the cost of time was the same for all commodities. But this varies among commodities and in different periods, e.g., the cost of time would be less for commodities that contribute to productive effort, traditionally called "productive consumption" (amount of sleep, food, etc.) as they contribute indirectly to earnings.

Becker also indicates that although time and goods have been assumed to be used in fixed proportions in producing commodities, substitution could take place. He states that as households minimize costs by setting the ratio of the marginal product of goods to that of time equal to the ratio of their marginal costs, a rise in the cost of time relative to goods would induce a reduction in the amount of time and an increase in the amount of goods used per unit of each commodity. This substitution towards goods would often include a substitution towards more expensive goods. An increase in the value of a wife's time may lead to her entrance in the labour force. She will only be able to do so by spending less time in cooking, by using pre-cooked food and less time on child care by using baby sitters or nurseries.

Thus, a rise in earnings would increase the quality of goods bought not only because of the effect of income but also because of the substitution of goods for time. On the other hand, a rise in income due to a rise in property income would not cause any substitution affect. Becker comments:

"..... a rise in earnings, compensated by a decline in other income so that fall income would be unchanged, would induce a decline in the amount of time used at consumption activities, because time would become more expensive. Partly goods would be substituted for the more expensive time - intensive ones. Both substitutions require less time to be used at consumption and permit more to be used at work"<sup>(17)</sup>.

The effect of changes in market wage rates, for married women, will be small and the supply of labour inelastic if good substitutions for their working time is lacking.

Long also discussed the impact of the shift over time from home goods to market goods by stressing the effect of income changes. A number of his tables demonstrate the labour mechanization of the home and the shift to market purchase of goods and services formerly produced in the home, all of which implies a reduction in the wife's home wage relative to other prices<sup>(18)</sup>.

## 5.7 Industrial Development and Employment of Women.

The break-through of women since the end of the Second World War in many new industrial activities reflects transformation in manufacturing industries as a result of technical change and their development. After the end of the Second World War it was manufacturing industries which expanded the fastest, while mining, building and utilities were lagging behind. Within the manufacturing industries the greatest progress was in metals, engineering and related industries. Others like paper, printing, textiles, and distribution which had had to contract during the war years were urged to expand. In general, industrial reconstruction was dominated by the capital goods and the export industries, largely because of the Government policies designed to save imports and re-equip British industry. Furthermore, there was a significant shift from some of the old industries to some of the newer. For example, the major producers in the aircraft industry developed for the most part out of established firms such as Vickers, long famous in the steel, engineering and shipbuilding industry, and Bristol Aeroplane Company originally manufacturers of tram cars. These transformations were accompanied by improved capital and better techniques.

The course of industrial change up till 1955, is indicated by the following statistics of selected main industries.

TABLE (5.)  
**CHANGES IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES.**

INDUSTRY	Index of Industrial Production (1924=100 base)			Average Rate of Productivity Increase %	
	Average 1936-38	1946	1950	1935-49	1949-55
Metal manufacture.....	139	157½	201½	1.2	3.3
Engineering shipbuilding.....	141	179	256	1.0	3.3
Electrical engineering					
Vehicles.....	215	245	339	4.0	3.9
Chemicals.....	143	210	289	2.7	6.2
Textiles.....	118½	86½	128	2.0	1.4
Clothing.....	130	85	110	0.3	2.0
Food, drinks & tobacco.	141	163	181	1.6	0.5
All Manufacturing	148	154	207	2.0	3.1
Building contracting...	174	132	157	-3.6	3.6
Gas, water, electricity.....	206	290	372	3.7	4.5
Mining & quarrying.....	92	71	80	-0.4	0.1
All Industry	46	149	195	1.3	3.2

SOURCE: Sidney Pollard - The Development of the British Economy, 1914-1950, Edward & Arnold Ltd., London, 1962, p379

Among the main industries which progressed was the iron and steel industry, though it had much lee-way to make up. This industry raised its performance by the establishment of new works as well as in the replacement of the old pack mills by modern continuous tin plate mills. Therefore, with the increasing supplies of steel as well as of other metals, the branches of engineering and metal goods industries were able to extend beyond their enlarged war time capacity. Among them the motor car industry emerged as one of the most important new industries. It expanded its production to 626,000 units in 1948 and reached 903,000 in 1950, excluding motor cycles. This was largely due to the fact of the much slower recovery of Western European industry. The machine tool industry also raised its output from £6½ million in 1935 to £47 million in 1951. However, the most spectacular development occurred in the electronic industry.

The chemicals and allied industries also continued to expand. The temporary eclipse of the main competitor, Germany, turned Britain from an importer to a large scale exporter.

On the other hand, consumption goods industries increased their output very modestly. This is attributed to the fact that domestic demand for their products was kept down by rationing and exports played a relatively minor part. Nevertheless, there were some significant structural changes.

In the textile industry, war time conditions had greatly reduced its output and the labour force. During the post-war period it enjoyed a brief boom, but the exports of cotton dropped again in 1952. The large continued contraction of the cotton industry was accompanied by the closing down of many firms and the adsorption of others by amalgamation with those that continued. The numbers of mills were reduced and much capacity was scrapped and not replaced. On the other hand, there was the rise of man-made fibres. Among other consumer industries the food industries were continuing to be transformed by canning and other methods of preservation and preparation. Paper and printing industries also experienced a significant post-war expansion.

From 1950 onwards there was a continuous transformation in the industrial structure accompanied by a substantial change in the industrial and geographical distribution of employment by the introduction of new technology and new products and by the replacement of some existing industries by others. The motor car industry and chemicals continued their expansion, which combined rapid technological progress with the displacement of old industries as well as creating new markets. The cotton industry, however, continued to decline and labour moved out of it.

The economic growth made wider demands for manpower. There was an increase in the labour force which was more rapid than the increase in the population. But, on the whole, the total supply of

labour was not very elastic during this period. Moreover, Britain was faced with the difficulty that there could be little transfer of labour from the land into industry, for at the end of the war the agricultural sector employed a very small proportion (4%) of the total labour force. With a view to meeting the industrial demands for manpower, women were activated to enter the labour force. Also, the technological changes within manufacturing industries created many jobs which could be easily undertaken by women. In consequence, women started to flock into many activities in greater numbers. Today they represent over a third of the working population.

Despite the fact that women gained substantial grounds in many economic activities which used to offer them few opportunities, e.g. engineering industries, they are still largely out-numbered by men.

The most conspicuous feature in the employment of women in manufacturing industries, is that they still constitute the largest proportion of workers in industries where they have always played a major role. In the textile industry, women comprise 52% of all employees, in spite of the decline in their numbers.

However, there have been two major shifts in the employment of women. The first change was the drastic decline in the numbers of women in the private domestic sector. Females in indoor domestic work represented 9.9% of the total female workers in 1931, 4.2% in 1951 and to 1.5% in 1961. By 1966 there were only about 173,000



women thus employed. The majority of these female workers were from Ireland or girls from the continent who come to learn English and soon return home.

On the other hand, there was the significant increase in the employment of women in the professional and scientific services. Women workers in that sector represent the largest proportion. In 1966, they constituted 67% of the total workers thus employed.

The main characteristic feature of the employment of women in industry is that the majority of the female labour force is in the service and distribution trades where they constitute the largest proportion of the working force (56% and 54% in both of them respectively). In every other category, except the textile industry, women are still in the minority.

#### 5.8 Occupational Changes.

In occupational as in industrial deployment, there have been changes caused by technical changes within industries leading to changes in skill coefficients and differences in the relative growth of industries.

The analysis carried out by Guy Routh on the impact of these changes (technological and growth) on occupations between 1921 and 1951, indicates that "changes in industrial distribution have worked strongly in favour of the use of more professional workers and clerks, whereas they have been almost neutral as far as skilled manual labour

TABLE (5-5)  
INDICES OF CHANGE IN THE PROPORTIONS OF EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
DUE TO (a) ALL CHANGES, (b) CHANGES IN THE RELATIVE SIZE OF  
INDUSTRIES, AND (c) CHANGES IN THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE  
WITHIN INDUSTRIES BETWEEN 1951 AND 1961

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	Percentages of Total Employment (to one decimal place)		
	1951 (1)	1961 (2)	1951 percentages applied to 1961 industry totals (3)
1. Farmers, working proprietors, etc.....	6.7	6.8	6.3
2. Directors, managers, administrative and... executive staff.....	3.3	4.1	3.3
3. Clerical and allied occupations.....	12.3	14.3	12.9
4. Scientists, engineers and technologists.....	0.9	1.4	0.9
5. Other (higher) professional and technical occupations.....	2.5	3.3	3.3
6. Industrial technicians.....	0.9	1.5	1.1
7. Other (lower) professional and technical occupations.....	2.3	2.8	2.7
8. Skilled engineering occupations.....	10.3	10.6	10.9
9. Skilled textile and clothing occupations.....	3.4	2.4	2.8
10. Transport and other skilled service occupations..	3.2	3.1	2.9
11. Other skilled occupations.....	9.4	8.8	9.3
12. Semi-skilled engineering occupations.....	2.4	2.2	2.6
13. Semi-skilled textile and clothing occupations.....	3.2	2.5	2.6
14. Semi-skilled sales and service occupations.....	12.4	12.2	12.4
15. Other semi-skilled occupations.....	9.5	8.4	9.2
16. Labourers and unskilled occupations.....	17.3	15.6	16.6
All Occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	Changes in percentages, 1951 to 1961, expressed as indices (to nearest whole number)		
	All Changes $\frac{\text{Col. (2)} \times 100}{\text{Col. (1)}} \text{ (4)}$	Changes in size of industries $\frac{\text{Col. (3)} \times 100}{\text{Col. (1)}} \text{ (5)}$	Changes within industries $\frac{\text{Col. (2)} \times 100}{\text{Col. (3)}} \text{ (6)}$
1. Farmers, working proprietors, etc.....	101	97	105
2. Directors, managers, administrative and executive staff.....	124	100	124
3. Clerical and allied occupations.....	116	105	111
4. Scientists, engineers and technologists.....	156	100	156
5. Other (higher) professional and technical occupations.....	132	132	100
6. Industrial technicians.....	167	122	136
7. Other (lower) professional and technical occupations.....	122	117	104
8. Skilled engineering occupations .....	103	106	97
9. Skilled textile and clothing occupations.....	71	82	86
10. Transport and other skilled service occupations.....	97	91	107
11. Other skilled occupations.....	94	99	95
12. Semi-skilled engineering occupations.....	92	106	85
13. Semi-skilled textile and clothing occupations.....	78	81	96
14. Semi-skilled sales and service occupations.....	98	100	98
15. Other semi-skilled occupations.....	88	97	91
16. Labour and unskilled occupations.....	90	96	94
		-	-

SOURCE: Ministry of Labour Gazette, Vol.LXXV, No.7, H.M.S.O., London, July 1967, p.542.

is concerned. These changes have tended to reduce substantially the proportion of semi-skilled and increase slightly the proportion of the unskilled. These changes were small between 1921-1931, but considerably higher between 1931-1951. They continued throughout the fifties"<sup>(19)</sup> .

A similar analysis by the Ministry of Labour in 1967, about occupational changes between 1911-1951, showed that there had been a decline in the proportion of labour force employed in manual occupations from 81% in 1911 to 72% in 1951<sup>(20)</sup>. Simultaneously, there had been a corresponding increase in the proportion employed in managerial positions, in administrative, in clerical, in professional and in technical occupations.

During the period 1951-1961, there was a further acceleration in the movement away from manual occupations (Table (5-5)). The proportion of total workers (male and female) in this occupation witnessed a decrease of about 66% by 1961. Within the non-manual occupational groups, there was, however, a remarkable change.

The clerical occupations grew at a much faster rate than total employment in the 1950's. Despite this fact, their rate of growth fell slightly compared with 1931-1951. It was superseded in the position of fastest rate of growth by the scientists, engineers and technologists and the industrial technicians group. The numbers and proportion of scientists, engineers and technologists in the

manufacturing industries and of the industrial technicians group in the service industries, virtually doubled.

However, among the manual occupations, only the skilled engineering workers increased during the 1950's, in manufacturing industries and the services. This was due to the growing numbers of motor mechanics, radio and television mechanics doing service and repair on the increasing stocks of durable goods held by consumers.

In his analysis Guy Routh concludes "for both lower and higher professionals, the growth of industries has been more potent than their proportions within each industry; for clerical workers and foremen the reverse has been true - it is their increased proportions within industries that have given the strongest impetus to their growth. For skilled workers, changes in the relative size of industries have been almost neutral while their proportion within industries has tended gently but consistently downward. For the unskilled, both influences were upward until 1931, after which their proportion within industries fell sharply"<sup>(21)</sup>.

The analysis of the Ministry of Labour indicates that in 10 out of 16 occupations (Table (5-5)) the strongest influence operating to increase or decrease the size of the occupational group was the occupation effect (changed proportion of that occupation within industries). Among these were the two fastest growing groups, the

scientists, engineers and technologists and the industrial technicians. This emphasizes the conclusions of Guy Routh, that technological changes stimulate growing demands for the most highly educated and qualified groups.

The continuous growth of the administrative managerial and clerical occupations has been largely due to intra-industry employment changes. This tends to support the proposition that industry in the twentieth century has grown more complex and increased the demands on managers and the accompanying clerical staff.

With regard to manual groups with the exception of the skilled transport and service occupations, the operation of the occupation effect within industries reduced the proportion employed in manual jobs.

From these analyses, it is apparent that the composition of the demand for labour has altered with technological progress and with changes in the structure of industry. The demand for professional, technical and other trained white collar workers has increased as industry has placed more emphasis on education, research, administration and distribution, and as service lines have expanded relative to goods production.

Despite these changes in the occupational structure, the growth of female workers between 1951-1961 of nearly 850,000 did not result in any significant extension of female employment into new occupational

groups. However, over one third of the increase in female employment occurred in the clerical occupations in service industries - both being traditional concentrations of female employment. In the clerical groups the overall proportion of women grew from 55.7% in 1951 to 60.1% in 1961.

The clerical group had been growing in all industries and this upward movement was accompanied by a distinct increase in the proportion of female employment in the group as a whole. In fact, the consistent occupational trend during the 1951-1961 period was the growth in the numbers of women in clerical employment in all industries.

With regard to manual occupations, there were conflicting trends in the employment of females. For the skilled occupations there was a decrease of 83,000 due mainly to a large drop in the manufacturing sector (textiles). However, this was partly offset by an increase in the service sector. Among semi-skilled occupation groups the proportion of women remained almost static. On the other hand, there was an increase in the unskilled occupations (120,000). This growth was caused by the increased number of married women taking part-time employment. They represented two-thirds of this increase. Among proprietors, managers and administratives, their proportions declined slightly.



In the professional and technical occupations (higher and lower) their place amongst total workers dropped, despite the increasing demands for a highly qualified labour force (Table (5-6)).

TABLE (5-6)

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN TO

ALL WORKERS IN INDUSTRIES AND SERVICES

Occupation Group		1951	1961
(1)	Proprietors, managers, administrative and executive staff .....	19.4	18.6
(2)	Clerical and allied occupations .....	55.7	60.1
(3)	Professional and technical (occupations (higher)) .....	33.9	31.1
(4)	Professional and technical (occupations (lower)) .....	46.4	43.2
(1-4)	Administrative, clerical and technical occupations .....	39.5	40.7
(5)	Semi-skilled manual occupations .....	40.5	41.0
(7)	Labourers and unskilled occupations .....	28.7	32.7
(5-7)	All manual .....	28.4	28.8
	All occupations .....	31.6	32.9
Ministry of Labour SOURCE: "Occupational Changes, <u>Manpower Studies No.6</u> ", H.M.S.O., London, 1967, p.33.			



### 5.9 Women in Occupational Positions.

The statistical profile of "woman-power" as it is deployed in various occupations, gives estimated ratios and numbers of women in different job categories.

Women's deployment today reflects yesterday's force: socio-economic factors, cultural attitudes and public policies at work in the past, have combined to produce the employment market as it is today. However, there has been a significant increase in the numbers of women workers and many restrictive rules barring them from entering certain professions or undertaking many jobs have been largely removed. Despite this fact, women's position among occupations differs substantially from that of men.

The statistics in Table (5-7) that analyses the distribution of manpower and womanpower by industry and grade of employment indicate that the range of job opportunities available to women are often quite different from those open to men. In Britain, as in other countries, there is a tendency to divide occupations by sex. Though some integration can be observed in some areas, the largest numbers of women continue to work in a relatively few number of occupations in which numbers of their sex predominate.

In 1966, there were 2,815,700 women working in manufacturing industries in Great Britain, compared with 5,995,200 men. Women

TABLE (5-7)  
DISTRIBUTION OF MANPOWER AND WOMANPOWER IN MANUFACTURING BY  
INDUSTRY AND GRADE OF EMPLOYMENT, MAY 1966

INDUSTRY GROUP	Administrative/Technical				Skilled	
	Clerical				Male	Female
	Male	Female	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
1. Food, drink & tobacco.....	101,990	8,890	60,120	8,890	96,160	4,940
2. Chemical & allied industries.....	116,830	4,170	57,870	4,170	75,990	470
3. Engineering & electrical .....	462,780	17,820	199,670	17,820	589,030	1,900
4. Other engineering.....	274,570	10,570	117,030	10,570	444,940	1,210
5. Other electrical.....	188,210	7,250	82,640	7,250	144,090	690
6. Marine engineering.....	6,260	90	1,900	90	17,350	-
7. Vehicles.....	168,330	2,950	53,800	2,950	254,510	120
8. Manufacturing and metal goods.....	68,050	5,410	40,090	5,410	127,990	870
9. Textiles.....	59,520	2,880	37,190	2,880	118,120	16,760
10. Leather goods and fur.....	4,460	940	4,060	940	15,850	2,410
11. Clothing.....	21,230	2,470	30,000	2,470	39,610	25,600
12. Footwear.....	7,360	580	5,970	580	27,410	4,060
13. Bricks, glass, cement, etc.....	37,030	1,650	17,570	1,650	54,170	300
14. Pottery.....	5,710	370	4,190	370	13,190	1,210
15. Timber, furniture, etc.....	30,940	2,830	18,650	2,830	122,410	2,320
16. Paper and board making, cardboard boxes.....	26,420	1,300	15,240	1,300	43,020	2,420
17. Printing and publishing.....	70,280	5,110	42,670	5,110	146,020	3,350
18. Other manufacturing industries.....	43,410	3,600	29,580	3,600	55,110	780
TOTAL .....	1,693,380	78,880	818,240	78,880	2,384,970	69,410

Continued

INDUSTRY GROUP	Semi-skilled				Unskilled	
	Male		Female		Male	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
1. Food, drink & tobacco.....	41,980	19,250	45,230	19,250	182,790	49,560
2. Chemical and allied industries.....	62,620	4,260	17,610	4,260	87,390	15,700
3. Engineering & electrical.....	276,960	52,190	219,660	52,190	237,620	27,720
4. Other engineering.....	171,340	13,030	69,180	13,030	161,130	15,290
5. Other electrical.....	105,620	39,160	150,480	39,160	76,490	12,430
6. Marine engineering.....	3,280	-	150	-	6,750	240
7. Vehicles	190,940	3,360	30,270	3,360	108,870	5,040
8. Manufacturing & metal goods.....	90,360	22,420	70,310	22,420	76,210	14,800
9. Textiles.....	81,970	29,220	133,760	29,220	86,190	13,340
10. Leather goods & fur.....	5,620	410	2,820	410	5,490	1,320
11. Clothing.....	1,100	4,150	36,040	4,150	16,050	5,370
12. Footwear.....	8,180	610	8,690	610	4,700	870
13. Bricks, glass, cement, etc.....	47,400	1,310	4,170	1,310	81,500	3,850
14. Pottery.....	3,750	380	4,010	380	4,650	1,260
15. Timber, furniture, etc.....	9,690	600	5,580	600	50,590	2,490
16. Paper & board making, cardboard boxes.....	26,520	5,990	26,680	5,990	43,250	5,050
17. Printing & publishing.....	4,990	960	4,700	960	35,420	5,010
18. Other manufacturing industries.....	52,810	13,620	35,730	13,620	38,890	11,660
<b>TOTAL .....</b>	<b>1,185,130</b>	<b>210,920</b>	<b>865,070</b>	<b>210,920</b>	<b>1,302,980</b>	<b>579,350</b>

SOURCE: Ministry of Labour Gazette, Vol.LXXV, H.M.S.O., London, Jan.1967, pp.16-30.

are employed in all types of industries, though a sharp demarcation line, differentiates between men and women's jobs.

5.91 Manual Occupations (Skilled, Semi-skilled and Unskilled).

The most conspicuous feature of women's employment on manual occupations is their concentration around semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. In industries mentioned in Table (5-7) only 29% of all female workers ranked as skilled, where the term skilled is applied to a job which necessitates six months of training or more to learn: whereas the corresponding proportion for men is 45% of the total male employees. But, this overall figure of skilled women workers (29%), conceals the fact of their near exclusion from most categories of skilled work in the majority of industries. About 60% of all those classified as skilled workers (full-time and part-time) are in the textile and clothing industries. By excluding those in the textile and clothing industries, the position of women worsens markedly. Only 19% of all women in the remaining industries thus rank as skilled workers.

This fact was also revealed by a previous analysis by the Ministry of Labour in 1964, about the employment of women in 17 main industries. Women on skilled jobs accounted for 21% of all female employees of whom 62% were in the textile industries. In the chemical and allied industries only 2.7% of all women received training for six months or more, whereas there were 22% of all male

employees on skilled jobs. Also, in the engineering and electrical goods industries there was only 2.5% of the total number of women on skilled jobs against 38.6% for male workers<sup>(22)</sup>.

The position of women has not improved in manual occupations. By contrast with the period 1911-1950, there had been a decline of 24% in the numbers of women in skilled jobs. This decline is mainly due to the decrease in their numbers in the contracting textile industries, which engage a large proportion of skilled female workers. On the other hand, the number of men rose by 11% largely because of the change in the industrial structure by which fewer workers were employed in textiles, but more were employed in industries such as metal, engineering and chemicals which employ largely men as skilled workers.

#### 5.92 Non-Manual Occupations.

##### 5.921 Clerical Occupations.

The growth of the proportion of women in clerical occupations is a characteristic feature of the occupational pattern of female workers since the turn of the century. The proportion of women among office workers increased between 1931 and 1951 from 46% to 60%. But, the general rate of increase slowed down significantly in the ten year period 1951-1961. It only increased to 65%. Their largest increase in clerical jobs was in the professional and scientific services, from

45% in 1921 to 77% in 1961.

The continuous trend in the concentration of female workers on clerical jobs in industry is also indicated by the fact that in 1966, 86% of all female employees on non-manual occupations were engaged in clerical and office work.

The demand for female clerical workers has been consistent with the growth in the complexity of business. The expansion in the volume of the administrative work, resulted in more specialization and sub-divisions of tasks, which in turn created many new routine clerical jobs. These jobs were gradually allocated to women, as it is the opinion held by many employers that women are more tolerant of routine, more meticulous and conscientious and possess a degree of manual dexterity which makes them the natural operators of the typewriter and adding machine. There is also reason to believe that the growing use of women in clerical work was encouraged because many employees found it pleasant to have their office graced by bright attractive young women.

Although in recent years many women have advanced from the routine work and relatively low wages, typical of most clerical jobs, to better paid positions, their progress is not always reflected in the names of their jobs for census purposes. Those engaged on better jobs are grouped together with other clerical workers.

Nevertheless, the majority of women engaged on clerical occupations are on the lowest grades of the occupational ladder. They are usually shorthand-typists, general clerks, filing clerks and so forth.

#### 5.922 Women in the Professions.

Although women have been fully emancipated for over a generation, they play a relatively small part in the professions and public life in this country. There are still fairly rigid notions about what is suitable work for men and women.

The most highly professionalized occupations have been historically almost exclusively the province of men. Thus, a sharp demarcation line divides the professions between tasks which are commonly thought of as "female occupations" and others that engage mostly men.

Nursing and teaching were the first professional occupations in which women secured popular acceptance as being compatible with their characteristics and they have continued to be viewed as feminine occupations. Since 1911, sex barriers have almost disappeared over the years in these two occupations. Not only are women now established in what were almost exclusively male professions but they came to dominate them. In 1951, more than 10% of the nurses were men, while men accounted for the entire increase in the number of teachers between 1911-1951. However, the number of women which had



been almost static during the same period, began to increase significantly in the last decade. Between 1951 and 1960, the number of women teachers rose by 21,000 or 22%. By 1966 women constituted 58% of all teachers. It does not follow from this overwhelming number of women teachers that men and women are equally represented throughout the school system and have the same chances of promotion and enjoy the same conditions of service. Two thirds of women are in primary schools, whereas men are dominant in the secondary schools. Furthermore, there are relatively fewer women in further and higher education. In 1960, they constituted only 12.5% of all university teachers. In the Universities in 1961/62, the proportion of women was 16% among assistant lecturers, 8% among senior lecturers, but only 2% among full professors.

With regard to other professions such as medicine, law, engineering and science among others, women are lagging far behind men. For example, women constituted only 15% of all medical practitioners, 3.5% of all judges, barristers, advocates and solicitors, 2.3% of all engineers and 10.3% of all technologists.

#### 5.10 Women in Top Jobs.

Since the end of the Second World War many formal barriers in the way of women who contemplated a career at a high level in the professions or in management have largely disappeared. Despite this fact, women remain heavily in the minority on all positions



that involve heavy responsibilities, wide influences or large salaries.

In a report prepared by Data Research Limited for the National Council of Civil Liberties, the observers commented that "although one worker in three is a woman, the number of top jobs held by women is negligible"<sup>(23)</sup>. Women tend to be in the support role rather than in line or general management, the staff managers or the buyers, not the store manager, the scientific or market researcher, or the system analyst and not the manager of works.

Though women are found in nearly all professions and branches of management, those who reach managerial levels are concentrated in a narrow range of activities. Of all women "Managers - large establishments" in England and Wales in 1961, two thirds were in a small group of occupations where they comprised 20-50% of all managers. This group included education, medical, services, retailing hotels and catering, laundries and dry-cleaning and miscellaneous services. Another fifth were to be found in industries such as textiles, clothing, food and paper, in wholesaling and in national and local government. In the remaining fields they accounted for one-seventh of female managers; in these other fields their proportion to men was 1 to 25 or 1-30 (see Table (5-8)).

TABLE (5-8)

NUMBER OF WOMEN MANAGERS AND THEIR PERCENTAGES  
OF TOTAL MANAGERS IN EACH GROUP  
IN LARGE ESTABLISHMENTS

	No. of Women		Women as per cent of all managers in each group.	
TOTAL	76,430		12.9	
of whom:				
Education.....	20,190	Selected public service groups:34,700	44.0	
Medical.....	8,170		53.8	
National Government.....	3,260		11.7	
Local Government.....	3,080		8.2	
Retail distribution.....	13,960	Selected distribution and service groups:23,560	24.9	
Wholesale distribution...	1,550		7.1	
Catering, hotels.....	3,280		39.0	
Laundries, dry cleaning..	1,890		41.2	
Miscellaneous services...	2,880		20.4	
Food, drink, tobacco.....	1,540	Selected distribution 8,980	7.3	
Engineering, electrical goods.....	2,550		4.9	
Textiles.....	1,390		7.8	
Clothing, footwear.....	2,010		15.2	
Paper, printing, publishing.....	1,490		7.8	
All others	9,190			3.8
<u>SOURCE:</u> General Register Office, <u>Census 1961 England and Wales</u> , Industry Tables Part II, H.M.S.O., London 1966, Table 13.				

With regard to women graduates, their largest proportion who reach highly paid positions, are to be found in two fields: teaching (including teaching and research in Universities and Technical Colleges) and medicine. Although some of these occupations, especially in medicine, offer women positions of power, it is usually power in a sectional or supporting activity. They are usually offered the position of a hospital matron rather than a managerial job over an organization or enterprise as a whole. The Institute of Directors has nearly a thousand women members, but they constitute only  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  of its membership and many of them reached their positions by marriage or inheritance rather than a direct line of promotion<sup>(24)</sup>.

Moreover, in medicine there are only about 3 or 4% of consultant posts which are held by women, and not till 1965 did the judiciary include a female high court judge. In the B.B.C. women hold only eight out of more than 180 senior posts. On the Boards of industrial or city companies women are hardly represented. This picture of masculine "directors in session" is also prevalent as regards the Boards of private enterprise.

Even in teaching where women predominate, there is a small number of women heads and a smaller number and proportion of women relative to men with special responsibility allowances. On these grades there are 50% of men but only 25% of women after seven years

service and 82% of men but only 55% of women aged 50 and over. This disparity is greater in the higher educational institution (2% of all professors are women).

The typical career cycle for the women graduate today is to work before marriage, to break her career for the advent and rearing of children, then to resume work at first part-time and, as the children grow up, to tend to undertake full-time employment. The gateway to success for women who follow that pattern to reach high positions is not altogether barred. The British Federation of University Women found that 5% of women graduates with interrupted careers reached salaries of £2,000 or more and a few reached £3,000. But the proportion of those whose salaries were £2,000 who had uninterrupted careers in the same sample was 15%, and 4% for those who reached £3,000<sup>(25)</sup>. Furthermore, in a sample by the London Chamber of Commerce, married women with interrupted careers accounted for less than a fifth of women executives. Over three fifths of the women in the sample were unmarried<sup>(26)</sup>.

Looking at the position of women in the occupational market, on the whole it is apparent that in the skilled and professional occupations, a certain division of labour between the sexes has developed along traditional lines. The statistics show that women still flock chiefly into a limited number of "feminine" occupations such as teaching and auxiliary medical services. That is besides the vast army of shorthand-typists and secretaries who are not

replacing men in a traditional field but performing jobs created by modern methods of business administration.

The pattern of women's occupational structure is obviously the complex outcome of a number of factors. Among these the opportunities offered to them by employers and prevailing social attitudes are no doubt important elements. As Viola Klein states: "the sex division in the professions, apart from teaching and nursing which seem to be largely feminine domains everywhere, differs in several respects in the countries observed. In France, and Sweden for instance, pharmacology and dentistry are becoming feminine fields of work. While in the United States a relatively large number of women are employed in finance, insurance and real estate, in Great Britain they have hardly made any impact at all in this sphere.

It seems clear, therefore, that the division of labour between the sexes is the result of existing local conditions and traditions rather than of psychological sex differences - it can hardly be maintained that women's professional choices are the outcome of some innate sex characteristics<sup>(27)</sup>. In consequence the resultant dilemma of working women is largely the creation of society.

The great majority of the population follows the conventional pattern which in turn influences the career decisions of boys and girls. Furthermore, the conventional attitude seems to be accepted

by employers in their recruiting policies. As employers are the decision-takers in recruiting and promoting women employees, their judgement and opinions are undoubtedly the determinant of the volume of employment, and the kind of jobs offered by their firms to the female labour force.

A study of employers' attitudes in this respect was carried out by the researcher. It covered seven firms, where the female employees constituted a great majority of the labour force employed. Five of these firms are situated in Scotland and the other two are in the Midland Region (Manchester Area).

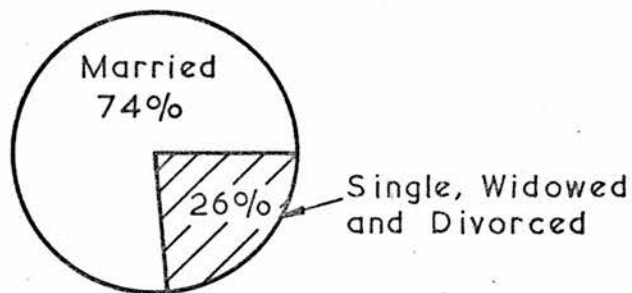
This study is an investigation to discover employer's recruitment policies, and the prominent factors promoting such policies.

It should be noted in this connection that the views on female employment were mostly those of men, as there was only one woman to be found holding a leading managerial position.

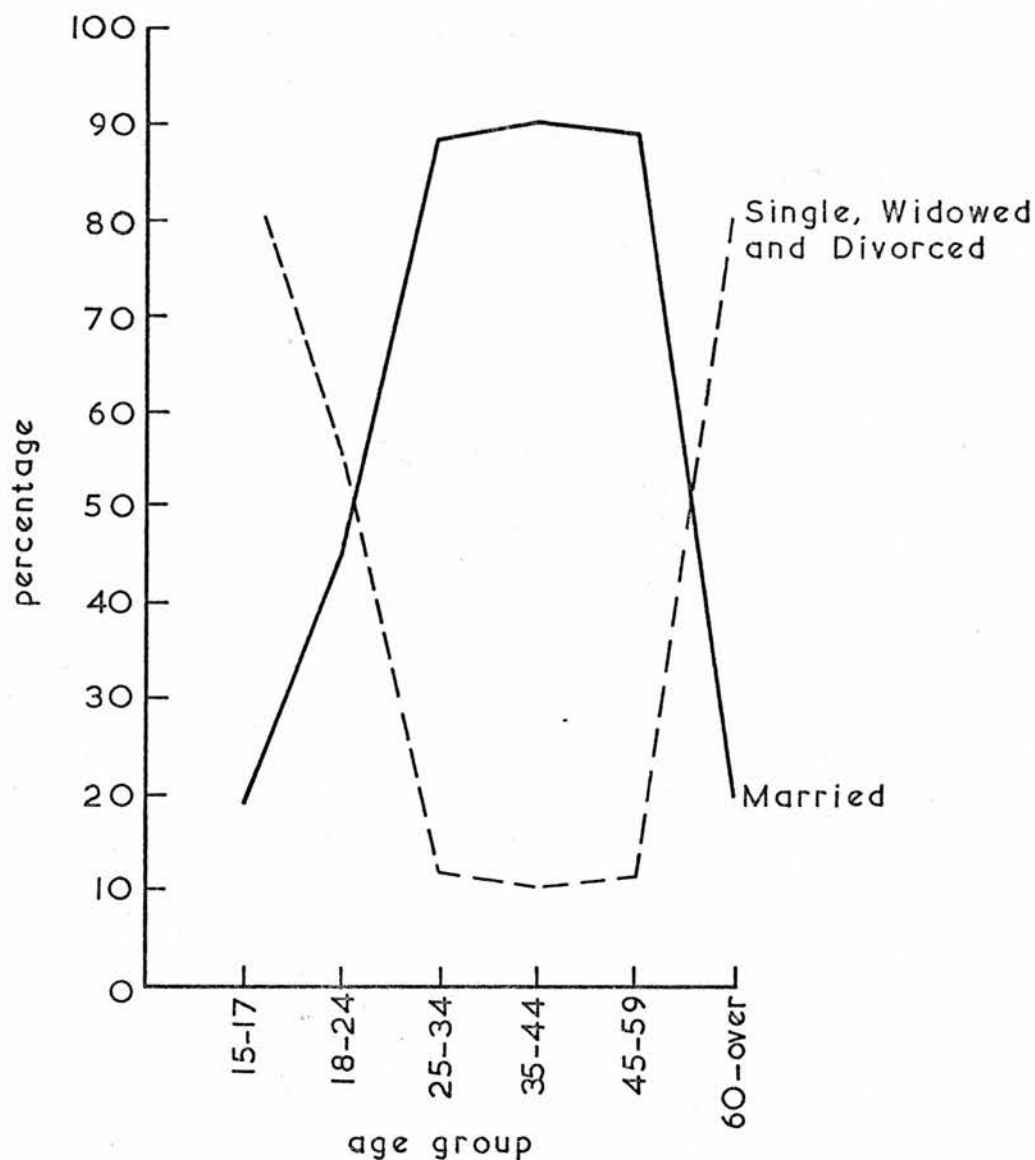
#### 5.11 The Firms, the Women and their Jobs.

The firms were as follows:

1. Paper mill (Scotland)
2. Textile (Scotland)
3. Textile - Head Office (Manchester)
4. Drink (Scotland)
5. Engineering (Manchester)



Composition of Female Labour Force in the Firms



PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN EMPLOYEES BY MARITAL STATUS TO TOTAL WOMEN EMPLOYED IN EACH AGE GROUP

6. Engineering (Electrical components) (Scotland)
7. Engineering (Scotland).

Female workers constitute about 57% of the total employees in all seven firms. Table (5-9) distinguishes between the ratios of women and men in different types of occupations. The most definite feature is the greater employment of married women in all firms studied - they constitute 74% of the total female employees. Another remarkable feature of women's employment pattern is their concentration around a limited number of jobs. Women are particularly notable for their scarcity as scientists, technologists and engineers, for the number of women on engineering jobs is nil, and there is a sprinkle of women scientists in only two of these firms. Furthermore, there is only one woman who holds a responsible managerial position.

#### 5.12 The Attitude of Employers Towards Female Workers.

The reasons given to justify a firm's recruitment of large numbers of women in many semi-skilled jobs was attributed to their being traditionally performed by women. They emphasized the fact that women were best suited for these repetitive tasks with their requirements of manual dexterity, speed and patience. Also, that these jobs were "feminine" jobs and men would not be considered for them.



With regard to the absence of women on many skilled technical and professional activities, e.g. draughtsmen or engineers, employers implied that the feminine lack of the necessary experience and training make women unsuitable for undertaking such tasks. It was also pointed out by the manager that no women had come forward to apply for such jobs, possibly because of their absence from the labour market.

The comments of employers upon the recruitment of females on supervisory jobs disclosed however, some gradation in opinions on this subject.

Some managers mentioned the resentment of men to women supervisors, others pointed out that they lack the experience necessary due to women's interrupted careers. Others mentioned that it was preferable to have female supervisors dealing only with women workers. However, the majority of these firms studied, employed female workers on supervisory positions, but women were excluded from the higher managerial positions, with the exception of one firm where one woman is to be found in the highest rank of management line. The relatively frail chances of women's promotion to higher positions stems mainly from the belief of employers that women lack the necessary qualifications, experience and characteristics to undertake such positions satisfactorily.

TABLE (5-9)

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AND MEN IN DIFFERENT TYPES  
OF JOBS TO TOTAL WORKERS IN EACH CATEGORY  
THE SEVEN FIRMS STUDIED.

	Men	Women	TOTAL
Development.....	99.93	0.07	100
Personnel & Training*.....	88.6	11.4	100
Sales Representatives.....	100.0	-	100
Medical & Clinical Services.....	-	100.0	100
Work Study.....	100.0	-	100
Personal Assistant to Director....	60.0	40.0	100
Accountancy.....	100.0	-	100
Engineering.....	100.0	-	100
Buying.....	98.7	1.3	100
Production Management.....	100.0	-	100
Publicity & Public Relations.....	84.0	16.0	100
Stores.....	97.0	3.0	100
Statistics Computers.....	56.0	44.0	100
Canteen.....	5.0	95.0	100
Canteen Management.....	-	100.0	100
Transport.....	100.0	-	100
Quality Control.....	62.0	38.0	100
Other Clerical Jobs.....	24.0	76.0	100
* This percentage includes supervisors and foremen as well as managers.			
SOURCE: Compiled from materials provided by the firms studied.			

Thus, it appears from the managers' views that there are some decisive factors behind the recruitment of women on certain jobs and their paucity on others. These are namely:

- 1) Traditional attitudes which limit the feasibility of introducing women into male jobs.
- 2) Lack of the necessary qualifications and comprehensive training which will qualify them for such jobs.

#### 5.121 The Strength of Tradition.

The majority of employers pointed out in their comments that the employment of women is frequently governed by traditional attitudes which established a division on grounds of sex in the job market, as to what jobs are suitable for women. These traditional attitudes, it was emphasized, exert their influence both on workers and at the top management level when employing women. The distinction between the occupations of women and of men appear from the occupational structure of employees in all firms studied, to be considerably sharper in certain professional, managerial and technical positions. Jobs are often closed to women in industry because it is taken for granted that they should be held by men, e.g. engineers, accountants.

Employers also stated that if women are placed in such activities they are likely to produce unfavourable repercussions,

not only among male supervisors and male employees, but also among customers. There was a universal agreement in the views of the employers that the assignment of most jobs to men or women has been an outgrowth of historical circumstances. Men have always had first choice of jobs, and certain activities have remained closed to women in industry because men have succeeded in preserving these jobs for themselves. Some employers in the firms concerned, offered examples of occupational fields in which there has been a comparatively rigid and often arbitrarily determined division of jobs within their plants, e.g. engineering, accountants, clerical services. By tradition in many cases these occupations are considered either male or female and it is this tradition which acts as the decisive force in assigning jobs to male or female workers. Although these preconceptions may no longer apply, the traditional division of jobs on the ground of sex, continues. The fact that a particular job has customarily been performed by a man or by a woman will usually exert a stronger influence than any other in determining to whom the job will be assigned when replacement is made.

According to the only woman manager's point of view, the pattern of recruitment of either male or female labour to many factory jobs is fortuitous. She cited the variety of practices in different parts of the country and the extreme changes which occurred during World War II to support her contention that there has been no logic in the distribution of jobs according to sex. She asserted that the

real fact was that it depended on "who gets there first". For example, the engineering industry considered welding a man's job until the war forced the employing of women.

When women demonstrated that they could undertake many jobs as well as men could, they were recruited to these positions. Consequently, the pattern of female employment underwent many changes. Such changes, however, have not always been permanent. When the war was over many jobs reverted to their former sex classification even though women had proved their proficiency.

It was also mentioned by employers, that certain cultural factors also influence their recruitment policies. The suggestion of the majority of employers that women should not engage in certain kinds of labour, e.g. mechanical work and that women should be given lighter and cleaner tasks has undoubtedly a far reaching influence on job assignments. However, some employers cited several exceptions to traditional job classifications to make it evident that some female workers are found in certain men's jobs such as: scientists in the textile firm, and one of the engineering firms, and the manager of the engineering firm (Scotland).

Some of the employers also emphasized that only unusual circumstances or high ability, or both, will enable a woman to hold a job usually performed by men, e.g. a leading managerial position. They stated that this occurrence may not affect the traditional

pattern, and that when replacements would be considered, management might consider keeping the job as that of a man. Employers obviously have not consciously thought of changing the sex label attached to many jobs. They said that "it will not work" or that "it will not be accepted by fellow workers". Also, it was pointed out that men will avoid jobs they regard as "feminine". These are usually jobs in which women constitute a high proportion usually 60% of the total employees.

The strength of conventional behaviour and local traditions with respect to job assignments was illustrated by many examples:

In the textile industry it was pointed out that weaving and spinning are traditionally women's jobs, while those undertaking skilled technical jobs are always men. Furthermore, all employers quoted that shorthand typists are women while accountants are males.

In Brock's survey among managers he finds that in some firms, jobs considered to be unsuitable for women, were undertaken by women in other firms. These jobs were those of personnel management, production management, scientists and the management of clerical services<sup>(28)</sup>. Thus, it seems that in many occupational areas, masculine prejudice operates very strongly and men's judgement of what women can do is further from reality.

In the light of this analysis that traditional preconceptions are still imposing limitations upon women's sphere of work. Such

discrimination and prejudices are sometimes conspicuous in their appearance: for example, a small survey carried out in 1963, showed considerable discrimination. The surveyor collected 626 appointment vacancy advertisements from two Sunday papers and wrote to 178 of the advertisers enquiring whether the occupation was open to a woman without giving any details of qualifications. The replies indicated that only 17% of all these vacancies were opened to women.

A number of replies manifested the most blatant prejudice and discrimination such as "it is not the policy of an advanced projects group to appoint women to senior technical positions", and "although the duties of the advertised post could undoubtedly be carried out by a suitably qualified woman, the activities to which this position will lead, ~~compel~~ us to appoint a man".

The jobs which were included in the survey covered a whole range of professional and technological posts, jobs for managers, accountants, personnel and work study officers, system analysts and programmers, personnel and work study officers, engineers, physicists, chemists, mathematicians, statisticians, valuers, architects, surveyors, medical practitioners, psychologists, planners, aircraft pilots, librarians, translators, teachers and social workers. There were posts in senior management, middle grade posts and trainee posts.<sup>(29)</sup>

This state of affairs was also revealed during the researcher's interviews with managers of Labour and Productivity Exchange Offices

both in Scotland and the Manchester Area. They stated that the majority of firms are diffident in employing women in positions of skill and responsibility. In Dundee (Scotland) it was pointed out that the only line of work in which women with some qualifications were in demand at the time of the interview was personnel line supervisors, management (in the workshop canteens) especially firms employing a large number of female workers. One of the managers commented that "it is usually much easier to find a job for an unskilled woman worker than a highly qualified one, custom and conventions are still barring women from highly skilled positions. These activities are still looked upon as a man's job. If the firms with vacancies in jobs such as technicians, engineers and accountants, have already got a male team, they will usually prefer to employ male workers and vice versa". Also, the Youth Employment Officers in both Scotland and Manchester emphasized that tradition and custom in the area as regards women's scope of work are the strongest factors which preclude many girls who have obtained the requisite qualifications for jobs such as apprentices in engineering industries, from obtaining this kind of job. One officer stated that the conventional idea of regarding these jobs as a man's job always acts as a barrier. He also mentioned that the resentment of male workers against girls being employed on the same job might prevail over employers and usually deter them from offering such openings to girls.



Another officer referred to his fruitless efforts in persuading many employers to employ a girl who trained as a mechanic. All firms he approached refused to offer the girl a job, both in the locality and the surrounding area. Different reasons were given such as "the working environment is not suitable for a girl, all workers being men" and "the language men use is very bad" and "it is not the place for a girl among them".

Finally, after a long period, he succeeded in obtaining a job for this girl as a junior clerk in one of the local firms. Thus, all her training as a mechanic was wasted and she had to start another course of training for her actual job.

Also, an evident segregation between men and women is manifested by the exclusion of women executives from dining rooms and all male luncheon clubs. Sometimes professional associations meet on separate premises, and professional women have been turned away from meetings and functions of their professional association for this reason.

Another example is given by Barbara Wootton about her exclusion from a dinner given for all London Magistrates. She was excluded on the grounds of her sex, although she was a Juvenile Court Magistrate of many years' standing. She also mentions that women members of Royal Commissions and Government Committees, have difficulty in preventing male members from conducting business unofficially from their

segregated Pall Mall Clubs, by ensuring that all lunch together<sup>(30)</sup>.

Other forms of discrimination are still found in many fields of activity. For example, the Foreign Office usually dismisses women from the Diplomatic Service on marriage and also, British Airlines dismiss air-hostesses on marriage. Moreover, women are still excluded from the priesthood of the Church of England.

Furthermore, it is often difficult for a woman to secure adoption as a parliamentary candidate. At Conservative selection conferences she may be asked whether she will be capable and fit "to do anything" next day after a six hour train journey; if she is married, why she is considering neglecting her husband, children and home, and if she is single, why she is not married.

During the period 1951-1964, only 5% of new Conservative candidatures were filled by women; 7% of labour candidatures were women. Only 6 to 7% of those candidates were in reasonably safe seats.

In September 1967, there were 19 Labour female Members of Parliament (5.5% of all Labour members), and 7 Conservative female members (2.8% of all Conservative members) making a total of 4.1% of all members. Seven women were then members of the Government including one member of the House of Lords. One of the Deputy Speakers of the House of Lords is a woman but there is no woman Parliamentary Private Secretary at present. It is worth mentioning

in this context that such an appointment is usually a leading step towards ministerial office<sup>(31)</sup>.

Traditional convention is apparently a deterrent to the employment of women in many occupations. However, opportunities for women are improving and old discriminations are being gradually eroded. Lloyds, where male foreigners are admitted but British women are not, has recently admitted the first woman, though on certain conditions.

#### 5.122 Education.

Women's educational level is an important factor bearing on their employment pattern. The near absence of women on many occupations in the United Kingdom indicates that the catchment area from which women professionals are drawn is small and far from representative of the potential talents of British women. In terms of intellectual capacity, many thousands of girls every year could profitably receive some form of higher vocational or even professional education. But many girls leave school early and enter what are, in effect, short term or blind alley jobs. Some choose types of training such as nursing, paramedical occupations and secretarial work, which do not realise their potential. The progressive drop-out of girls in schools has resulted in a marked disproportion between the sexes at higher educational levels.

The higher rate of loss of girls in schools reflects the view of parents and daughters alike. Every year scores of thousands make the decision to opt out of education and seek employment. Some do for economic reasons, some because their friends are leaving and they too feel the attraction of independence overweighing the value of further study; some lack home encouragement; and a large number view higher qualification of minor importance which will not be put in practical use as marriage is a landmark that looms ahead.

The wastage among girls begins usually in the sixth form, for there are very similar proportions of boys and girls who pass the G.C.E. ordinary level. In 1965, 6% of both boys and girls obtained eight or more passes, 17½% of girls and 18% of boys obtained five or more. But the Robbins Committee indicated that only 43% of girls with five or more O levels, against 61% of similarly qualified boys obtained A level passes, (1963).

Thus, there are comparatively fewer girls than boys seeking additional qualifications. In 1963, only 2.5% of the girls leaving school went to University, against 5.6% of the boys. The Robbins Report also found that only 7.9% of women, compared with 22.4% of men were receiving higher education, if part-time and full-time study was taken into account<sup>(32)</sup>.

Viewed from the pattern of entry in higher education, the divergence between sexes is marked. Girls are highly concentrated

in accepted feminine spheres of interest, e.g. arts, social administration, etc. (see Table(5-)). This disciplinary has remained almost constant in medicine and engineering and technology, due to the small increase in the total number of women entrants in these spheres.

The reason why there is a large proportion of women arts graduates from the universities and the few women with scientific qualifications at a time where there is an increasing demand for scientists and technologists is related to several factors.

A study by Veronica Roberts among 290 girls, indicates that the obstacles in the way of girls studying science subjects are not only the inadequate facilities, but also the inadequate science teaching staff, the lack of encouragement from school or parents and the ignorance of the careers to which science could lead<sup>(33)</sup>. These latter factors, however, are of as great importance as lack of facilities.

With regard to science teaching in girls' schools, it was pointed out in the Crowther Report in 1959, that schools do not, on the whole, provide the same opportunities for girls and boys: there are significant differences in the curriculum<sup>(34)</sup>.

The lack of adequate teachers undoubtedly limits the number of women candidates for places for science, mathematics and technology in the Universities and diverts many girls from undertaking

TABLE (5-10)

COURSES TAKEN BY FULL-TIME STUDENTS

	1965/66		1966/67	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Education.....	3,087	2,663	3,542	2,946
Medicine, dentistry and health.....	14,089	4,448	14,769	4,920
Engineering and technology.....	27,236	322	29,581	463
Agriculture, forestry and veterinary science.....	3,160	497	3,240	545
Science .....	35,492	9,835	37,675	10,884
Social, administrative and business studies.....	21,778	10,339	24,980	12,219
Architecture and other professional and business studies	2,267	562	2,593	436
Language other than languages.....	10,235	11,941	11,036	13,228
Arts other than languages.....	5,865	3,240	7,027	4,119
Music, drama and visual art.....	876	692		

SOURCE: General Statical Office, Annual Abstract of Statistics,  
No.106, H.M.S.O., 1969, p.116.

scientific careers.

This inadequacy for the provision of science teaching is also manifested by a survey by the Science Masters' Association which showed that 49% of secondary modern schools had all, or some part of their science teaching in rooms without proper facilities, only 19.6% of the schools had adequate facilities and that the Ministry has lower standards for girls' and mixed schools than for boys' schools.

Furthermore, the industrial fund which was set up in 1963, is for industry to provide funds for the improvement of such facilities in independent and direct grant schools. In spent over £3,000,000 on building grants and equipment to finance two thirds of the cost of approved expenditure undertaken by 210 schools which were being helped. Out of these 210 schools, 187 were boys' schools, 5 were co-educational schools and 18 were girls' schools<sup>(35)</sup>.

The absence of girls in the science side in the past has meant a shortage of female science teachers in the present and there is, in any case, an overall shortage of science teachers and laboratory facilities.

Many girls have reached higher forms of school without being able to develop their talents because of the lack of adequate teachers and equipment. These have reflected the traditional emphasis on "girls'" subjects and helped to perpetuate it. This continuation of

that process which starts at an earlier educational level is noticeable in examination statistics from ordinary level onward.

In 1960, at Ordinary level the numbers of passes in science represent about one-fifth of the total gained by girls and just over one-third of those gained by boys. At Advanced level, just over a quarter of the passes gained by girls were in science subjects compared with three-fifths of the boys' passes. The similar pattern has continued during recent years. In 1966, there were 60,918 boys who gained passes in mathematics and science in the Advanced level compared with 15,795 girls.

Graduates in 1966 in pure science and applied science constituted 2,845 women and 15,661 men accounting for a quarter of the total women graduates and over half of the men graduates.

Other problems that have a direct relation to the pattern of girls' entry into higher education, are also pointed out in Veronica Roberts' study. She states that a general aversion to industrial, applied scientific, traditionally male work, was expressed by the majority of sixth form girls who were interviewed. The girls were wary of entering into a situation in which they would have to push in order to win, and they did not consider engineering because advertisements specifically asked for men and that most of the scholarships offered by industry were for boys<sup>(36)</sup>. The following comment by the Ministry of Education lays some blame for this state of affairs in industry:



"There are, without doubt, many kinds of work involving mathematics, which could be done equally well, if not better, by women. At present industry in general has not considered this question seriously and few teachers are sufficiently convinced of the prospects to encourage girls to go on to advanced mathematics in the sixth form"<sup>(37)</sup>.

Veronica Roberts also states:

"There is little enthusiasm among girls for science-based careers and almost none for science-based careers in industry. The attitudes of girls of opposition or of indifference to careers in industry, in general, and to engineering in particular, is partly the result of a double social prejudice, a belief that such jobs are unfeminine", and "the aversion to industry of many parents - a view less common among middle class than among the working class"<sup>(38)</sup>.

In addition, there are certain limitations which restrict the number of women furthering their education. Most of the medical schools limit the number of women they admit to about 10%. Also both the College of Veterinary Surgeons and the Joint Committee of the four Secondary Association (of teachers) admitted to the Robbins Committee that women needed to be better qualified than men to obtain a University place<sup>(39)</sup>. It follows that the majority of girls going to universities are undertaking non-scientific courses.

The duality of role is most influential in determining a girl's choice of subject within the educational system. Although women may now have two roles, work is still subordinate to marriage.

In consequence, women tend to enter professions which will offer the lesser conflicts with their home commitments when they marry, i.e. teaching. A survey by a Working Party of the British Federation of University Women revealed that women favour teaching more than any other career because facilities for getting away from the job such as holidays, short hours of work, compatibility with marriage, were larger in the minds of the teachers to be, than of students choosing other professions<sup>(40)</sup>.

There is also the most important fact that teaching presents excellent opportunities for a return to work in middle life and good prospects for part-time employment unlike other professions, e.g. medicine. As Professor Kelsall's investigation shows, nearly half of the post-war trained teachers who at the time of his survey were not teaching, were expecting to return to the profession in the foreseeable future<sup>(41)</sup>. Other professions, engineering and technology do not offer an "in-and-out" career pattern. Consequently, girls who wish to take up part-time work after marriage avoid undertaking scientific based careers as they do not seem to fulfil this requirement.

TABLE (5-4)

## YOUNG PERSONS ENTERING EMPLOYMENT

- THE COUNTY OF FIFE 1966.

INDUSTRY	App.		Prof.		Clerical		Training		Other		TOTAL	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
	Agriculture, forestry, fishing.	28	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	94	6	126
Mining & quarrying .....	108	-	-	-	3	3	4	-	8	-	123	3
Food, drink & tobacco .....	13	1	-	-	4	12	-	4	41	25	58	42
Chemicals & allied industries..	3	-	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	5	3
Metal manufacture .....	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	6	2
Engineering & electrical goods.	93	-	-	-	5	24	4	5	9	12	111	41
Shipbuilding & marine engineering .....	172	-	1	-	9	5	-	-	15	-	197	5
Vehicles .....	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10	1
Metal goods not elsewhere specified .....	10	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	11	2	21	6
Textiles .....	19	-	-	1	1	10	7	62	31	111	58	184
Leather, leather goods & fur...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clothing & footwear .....	1	-	-	-	-	3	1	93	4	85	6	181
Bricks, pottery, glass, cement, etc .....	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	16	-	21	2
Timber, furniture, etc .....	12	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	23	-	38	1
Paper, printing & publishing...	26	-	1	2	4	23	16	11	55	90	102	126

Continued

INDUSTRY	App.		Prof.		Clerical		Training		Other		TOTAL	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
	Other manufacturing industries.....	17	1	1	-	5	13	3	-	12	4	38
Construction.....	168	-	1	-	4	25	-	-	30	1	203	26
Gas, electricity & water.....	14	-	-	-	2	5	-	-	3	-	19	5
Transport & communication.....	26	-	-	-	4	9	2	1	13	-	45	10
Distributive Trades.....	137	2	-	-	8	125	2	6	175	500	322	633
Insurance, banking & finance.....	3	1	4	3	17	58	-	-	-	-	24	62
Professional & scientific services.....	22	8	7	15	3	82	4	17	1	14	37	136
Miscellaneous services.....	128	62	-	-	-	50	2	18	47	49	177	179
Public administration and defence.....	65	3	3	2	35	98	22	3	18	4	143	110
GRAND TOTAL.....	1085	78	19	23	105	557	74	220	607	904	1890	1782

SOURCE: Fife County Council, Education Committee, Report of Careers Sub-Committee on the Work of the Youth Employment Service in the period 1/1/66 to 31/12/66, Part III Statistical Appendix p.3

5.123 Training and Retraining.

Another fact to be mentioned is that few girls leaving school before the age of 18 undertake any training or apprenticeships. In 1967, 6% of the girls against 36% of the boys went into apprenticeships. Two and a half times as many boys as girls went into employment offering training of at least twelve months' duration. Two-fifths of the girls went into employment, other than clerical work, offering no further training at all<sup>(42)</sup>. Furthermore, there was a small minority of girls who got day release. This is also exemplified by the figures in Table (5-11) for the County of Fife which exhibits juvenile new entrants to insurable employment by industry and job category in 1966. A comparison of the distribution of the new entrants among industries shows that only 4% of all girl leavers were apprenticed to a skilled craft and of these over 50% entered hairdressing, and 31% of the total obtained clerical employment.

In Nancy Seear's Cambridgeshire study, only 5% of all girls obtained an apprenticeship or learnership and 28% entered clerical work. Of the girls interviewed, 40% wanted clerical work but this was above the figure in the county who obtained it<sup>(43)</sup>.

This failure to provide more than negligible opportunities for a girl to learn a skilled trade was reflected also in a survey among medium sized firms in 1965, carried out by the Central Training Council's Commercial and Clerical Training Committee who found that in the case of office work where young girls under 21 constituted the majority, the proportion of trainees was quite small. For example, 5.5% of clerks were receiving training, 3% of office machine operators, and 1.8% of typists.

It was stated that on the whole training opportunities in industry for women are limited and that if girls wished to develop their knowledge and skill through college study, they generally must do so in their own time<sup>(44)</sup>. In the light of the findings of these studies, it is clear that there is a great waste of potential of talented girls.

Although the Youth Employment Service appears to be doing its utmost within the resources available to it, the girls' choice of job is still following the same pattern.

With regard to Government training centres, they provide training for forty skilled trades, mainly for engineering and construction industries. However, some women have taken courses in draughtsmanship, screen process, printing, retail bespoke tailoring and canteen catering. But the number of women trainees is very small and the Government training centres are occupied mostly with men. This fact was also manifested by the following figures for

Dundee City in 1966/1967.

TABLE (5-12)  
NUMBERS OF MALE AND FEMALE WORKERS ATTENDING  
TRAINING CENTRES, DUNDEE CITY, 1966/67

Years	Male	Female
1966	250	1
1967	285	1

The lack of opportunities to train offered to women was revealed by a survey among 300 young women graduates by the Employment Agencies Graduate Appointment Register and Graduate Girls. The survey indicates that the majority of those who left their jobs within six months or a year gave the reason as lack of opportunities for sponsored training, difficulty of getting a foothold on the managerial ladder and the inequality of initial promotion prospects which become increasingly unequal<sup>(45)</sup>.

The inadequacy of training opportunities for women is also manifested by the small numbers of female trainees in industry. In 1966, there were only 110 women training as scientists and technologists against 9,630 men whilst 350 were attending draughtsmanship courses compared with 17,450 men. Even in clerical and office work there were twice as many men trainees as women.

The lack of refresher courses or retraining schemes, is another point at issue. Many qualified women who retired entirely from work while their children were growing up and wish to return to their professions or careers may feel that they have lost the rhythm of it or their own self-confidence in undertaking such jobs.

The total number of women trained in the Governmental centres (commercial and technical colleges) in 1967, was about 3% of the total for all trainees.

In some professions, notably teaching, there are opportunities for retraining and many courses, part-time as well as full-time, are available but the proportion of teachers undertaking such courses remains relatively low.

As the pace of technological change accelerates, the gap between women who have been at least ten years out of a skilled or professional job and between a person who has remained in employment widens.

If training courses embracing all professions and occupations were available it would permit and encourage the re-entrance of many qualified women to cover the existing shortage of highly skilled labour.

#### 5.13 Opportunities for Promotion.

A distinct aspect of women's employment as has been noted, is the limited extent to which women are found in higher job levels. Although the exclusion of women is gradually easing, those who reach



the higher levels of sizeable organizations still tend to be exceptional cases or achieve their success within special fields more open to women than others.

In a study carried out by the Institute of Directors about women executives, it was revealed that although there was a surprising number of women directors of the large concerns, there were relatively few of them on the Boards. Amongst all women on the Board 33% came through marriage - or growing up into a family, 42% through their association with new firms, and 25% by promotion.

In the large companies over twice as many women got on to the Board by promotion as by marriage, but in small companies those who attained their position by promotion were only 40% and their ratio in medium sized concerns was 47%<sup>(46)</sup>.

In another survey, it was found that among the concerns that employ many women executives, distribution had an easy lead with advertising and publishing coming next, just ahead of textile fashion<sup>(47)</sup>.

The policies towards offering women promotion opportunities differ from one organization to another. In the Civil Service, women are offered, in principle, an open door. But, in the other organizations, there is a tendency to promote men to the higher ranks of professional and managerial leadership.

In a study by John Brock, managers in eight firms were asked about their reaction to the idea of a woman being promoted as their own boss. While no significant enthusiasm was shown for the idea, only 18 out of 65 managers expressed unqualified opposition. Another 25 were prepared to accept the position with the proviso that the women must be suitable which revealed considerable reservations (48).

Male employers have developed a number of explanations and rationalizations to account for the prevailing barrier against promoting women. Their decisions about utilizing women workers for higher level jobs have been shaped by conventional attitudes which generally lead to a decision to promote men.

It is commonly believed by employers that the special traits of women are inimical to successful functioning as managers or executives. Many employers hold the view that most women are unwilling to assume responsibility and that they seem satisfied with repetitive jobs.

In a Swedish study about the attitudes of employers towards women workers, many employers stated that women are not only unwilling to undertake jobs of responsibility but also lack the physical reserves or the organizational and leadership abilities which are required to manage large departments. Women are also said to be "too emotional to make good managers, too inclined to judge by personalities and too ready to intrigue, too little aware of the rules of discipline of

loyalty to a wider group and of the objectivity needed to run a large organization with success<sup>(49)</sup>.

It is usually assumed by employers, that women are concerned with supplementing family income rather than with a career. Also, that women are unable to give their work the priority in their lives that such high level positions require. Their home and family commitments force them to give secondary attention to their jobs. Even the professional woman who is married usually recognises a primary responsibility to her home and family, however eager she may be to pursue a career outside the home. Thus, women are less concerned than men about the limited opportunities for advancement offered to them.

During the researcher's visits to firms, it was mentioned by some employers that they did not employ any women executives as their buyers had sometimes to make some visits to extreme tropical climates for which women would not be suitable.

Positions such as "sales representatives" are considered incompatible with women's characteristics. Employers think that women prefer jobs with a fixed salary and shrink from the competition of selling on a commission basis.

Women's physical limitations also play an important role in restricting opportunities in industry. Some occupations such as those in transport require heavy lifting as a preliminary, and

women cannot reach the most advanced lighter work because humane considerations have denied them the necessary beginner's experience.

The most widespread complaint against offering female workers opportunities for advancement was women's interrupted careers. Employers interviewed expressed their reluctance to offer women jobs for which a sizeable training investment is required, due to their breaking up their career on marriage or starting a family. By contrast to men, they may not stay long enough to repay the initial cost of training them. Also, that the interruption takes them out of one of the most vital sections of the promotion race. "The age at which men who go through to the top are most likely to get their feet on the promotion ladder is not simply arbitrary. It is related to the normal speed of an outstanding man's development and to his need for wide, as well as long experience, before getting to the top. In the age bracket when the take-off is almost likely to occur, women tend to be absent from paid work altogether, or at any rate so limited in their commitment to it as to be out of the promotion race"<sup>(50)</sup>.

The 1961 census reports that in the age group 30-34, thirty two per thousand of occupied men were "managers of large establishments", but the percentage for women was only nine per thousand of all occupied women. Men as well as women who miss their first key step to the top in their twenties and early thirties find it hard to reach high positions, and women's risk of missing it is far greater than that of men.

Another factor which strongly influences the promotion of women, is that those who might be recruited too often lack the qualifications to enter the careers leading to high levels. This is particularly true of industrial work. A survey of the Directors of 82 companies showed that 61% had professional or academic qualifications of some kind. Three quarters of the qualifications identified were of a kind - in engineering, accountancy and law - which few women possess<sup>(51)</sup>. Another factor which militates against the promotion of women to top jobs is that by and large, they tend to enter occupations which offer restricted opportunities for advancement. Women are not likely to be employed in jobs which constitute the first step on a more or less well defined route of promotion leading to the top. The majority of women, University Graduates, for example, work as teachers, social workers or librarians where promotion is limited for both men and women.

The factory and service occupations, where most women are employed, offer even less opportunity for advancement. In the majority of manufacturing industries where women constitute a large proportion of the production workers, jobs are usually narrow in scope and workers have few opportunities to acquire the experience necessary to advance to highly skilled jobs.

There is undoubtedly a close connection between the concentration of women workers on jobs where promotion opportunities are rare and the attitudes of employers and women with regard to advancement. Some women do not expect to reach higher level positions, either because they believe that opportunities are not available or because they do not wish to advance. In John Brock's study he finds that

some women did not want any more responsibility (29 out of 70), though the majority of both science and arts graduates were keen on reaching more responsible jobs<sup>(52)</sup>.

Women, however, find the opportunities for promotion where the majority of their sex are employed. This could be attributed to the fact that there are few men employed qualified for higher level jobs. Thus, all head nurses and head secretaries are women because few men work as floor nurses. With increasing numbers of women acting as first line clerical supervisors, there seems to be a growing opportunity for them in higher supervisory jobs. In the majority of the organizations, however, a point is reached where further promotion would lead to the supervision of men. At this point and sometimes before women are likely to be passed over in favour of men. The same consideration usually limits the promotion of women to top staff positions in personnel, training and similar departments.

In view of these facts, the proportion of women on high level jobs will not rise, until a substantial number hold jobs at intermediate levels and a regular promotion ladder is thus established.

#### 5.14 Absenteeism and Labour Turnover.

One of the main shortcomings of women in comparison to men, is that they have high rates of absenteeism and labour turnover. This constitutes a serious difficulty in the way of bringing qualified

women into responsible employment as well as limiting the range of jobs for which they are engaged. It also bears heavily upon the decision of employers towards training women for the highly skilled jobs balance of the high relative cost when their continuity in employment is precarious.

5.141 Absenteeism.

Absolute figures are difficult to obtain, since the rates of absenteeism vary from one industry to another, between one occupation to another, between skilled and unskilled workers, between married women and single women and between men and women. Generally speaking, absenteeism is considerably higher among women than among men.

In a study on sick absenteeism in the United States during the period 1941-1950, it was found out that in 1950, men had 116.8 such absences (per year per 1,000 workers) due to sickness and non-industrial injuries, whereas the comparable rate for women was 258.4.

Another investigation about 300,000 workers employed in the U.S.A. and Canada who were enrolled in the Company's group insurance programme for hourly rated employees was carried out by the General Motor Corporation. It covered illnesses that began in the 12 months preceeding 31st July 1950, and that lasted longer than seven days.

This investigation showed that men lost an average of 4.2 days during the period studied - due to temporary off-the-job illness, against 14.8 days for women workers. During the same period, 87 out of every 1,000 hourly paid men workers had a non occupational illness lasting over 7 days. Such illnesses were nearly three times as frequent among insured male workers of 50 years of age and over as among younger men - 188 per 1,000 of the older men compared with 67 per 1,000 of the younger.

Women workers had a frequency rate of 239 per 1,000 or three times that of men. The younger group of women had a frequency rate four times as high as that of men. It was also found that the annual average lost time for men was two weeks less than women for the year studied<sup>(53)</sup>.

The findings of these investigations and similar studies indicate the common trend in peace and war time, women tend to have a higher rate of absenteeism than men. This trend is also present in other countries. The British Institute of Management Survey of absence rates found that the incidence for absence for manual workers was  $6\frac{1}{2}\%$  among women, more than one and a half times the rate among men.<sup>(54)</sup>

Another study by the Industrial Health Research Board of the Medical Research Council estimated that during war-time "lost time among men usually varies between 5 and 10 per cent of the possible



hours of work; among women it is often between 8 and 20 per cent. In most factories, women lost about twice as much time as men; and married women may lose up to three times as much as single women<sup>(55)</sup>.

The term "absenteeism" in industry, describes all absences for whatever cause, including absence by reason of sickness or accident and the so-called "voluntary absenteeism". The second category describes absence that is not related to sickness or injury. It may be due to several reasons such as fatigue due to long hours of work and travel, home and family responsibilities, housing shortage and resulting transport difficulties, shopping requirements, or it may have psychological reasons such as lack of incentive, lack of interest in the job and insufficient conviction of the importance of work.

Despite the fact that sickness rate among women is in itself higher than among men, the disparity in hours of work lost stems from other causes mainly related to home responsibilities. Professor Zweig says in this connection: "The point is the concept of voluntary absenteeism has little meaning when one is judging a woman's behaviour. If her husband, her child, or her parents-in-law are sick, is she not justified to stay at home as much as if she herself were sick? If her children are running wild because the school holidays have started, is she not justified in making proper arrangements for them? Or if her husband is on night shift or evening shift this week, she cannot leave him all by

himself in the house. The whole concept of voluntary absenteeism is a male's invention for judging males, but cannot be applied to women to the same degree"<sup>(56)</sup>.

As children contract illness more often than adults, and as they are the mother's responsibility, the rate of absenteeism of married women tends to be higher not only than that of men but also than that of single women.

In a study by the Industrial Health Research Board during the Second World War about absenteeism among workers, it was revealed that 16.3% of the women were responsible for about two-thirds of the time lost through sickness. Married women had 45% more absences and lost 65% more time on that account than single women. The percentage of married women with no sickness absence during the six months period studied was 38.4% compared with 54% for single women<sup>(57)</sup>.

Also, Dr. Anna M. Baetjer in her analysis of the American data in 1946, states that the greater sickness rate among women "would not seem due to the difference in sex susceptibility to disease since the mortality rate for males exceeds that for females at all ages" and sick absenteeism is "not limited to those diseases which are associated with the sex functions of women but occurs for diseases common to both sexes". She finds that "the chief causes of sick absenteeism were respiratory diseases which accounted for

about 50% of the number of cases and also of the number of days lost annually, and digestive diseases, which are responsible for almost 20% of the cases". Despite the high rate of women's sickness, Dr. Baetjer finds that the duration of women's absence is far shorter than that of men.

"The frequency of short-term illness", states Dr. Baetjer, "appeared to decrease with age, although the average number of days per illness increases. Since these two factors counterbalance each other, the annual number of days lost did not show any marked trend with age; except in the older age groups. This may be partly due to the fact that those women who are frequently ill are apt to stop working at younger ages, thus leaving a selected middle age group .... The employment of middle aged women, therefore, lowers the frequency and does not appreciably increase the annual lost time due to sickness". She also states that the frequency of absences due to sickness is less in women who had been employed longer "probably reflecting a selective process as well as age distribution".

Other causes to explain the greater sickness rate of women mentioned by Dr. Baetjer is that women take their minor illnesses more seriously than men. This is evidenced by the fact that the average duration of sick absence for women is shorter than that of men. In addition, she emphasizes that "many persons believe the excess sick absenteeism among industrial women is due to the fact that they frequently attempt to do two jobs at once, their work in industry plus their duties at home, which may demand heavy labour,

worry and interference with proper rest. Part of the excess of absenteeism among industrial women may be due to a less serious attitude toward their work, so that they take time off for minor ailments or report unjustified absence as due to sickness more frequently than men"<sup>(58)</sup>.

With regard to the non-industrial occupations, women have a lower rate of absenteeism than industrial workers, but it is again higher than among men. In the report of the Royal Commission on Equal Pay in 1946, it was revealed that the average sick absence of women above the rank of clerical officer was 15.8%, against 11.6% for men, whereas the percentage for women clerical officers was 17.3% compared to 15.4% for men. However, women in the lowest grades (Clerical assistant) had an average rate of sick absence of 22.2%. It should be noted that married women were not included in that study as before the removal of the marriage bar in 1946, they were not employed in the Civil Service.

In Sweden, studies were carried out during the inter-war period about the problem of absenteeism in the Civil Service. It was estimated that during a service period of 35 years, the average absences of women exceeded that of men, by about one year (860.85 days for men and 1,222.1 days for women). The survey also indicated that married women's average absence rate exceeded that of the single woman<sup>(59)</sup>.

In the Report of the British Royal Commission on Equal Pay among school teachers (1943-1944) it was estimated that the average rate of sickness absenteeism for men was 4.61% whereas that for all women was 3.09%. The rate for married women was 3.66% compared with 2.87% for single women.

However, it was revealed that the rate of absence of married women under "other causes" exceeded all other categories, rather than personal illness as is apparent from the following Table.

TABLE (5-13)

PERCENTAGE OF TEACHERS ABSENT EACH SCHOOL MEETING (1943-1944)

	Personal Illness	Other Causes	TOTAL
Single women....	2.57	0.30	2.87
Married women...	2.50	1.16	3.66
All women.....	2.55	0.54	3.09
Men.....	2.40	0.22	2.61
All teachers....	2.52	0.48	3.00
SOURCE: Great Britain, Parliament, <u>Sessional Papers</u> 1st Aug.1945-6th Nov.1946, Vol.XI cmd.6937, "Report of the Royal Commission on Equal Pay", Appendix IV, p.209.			

The distinctly higher rates of married women's absence could be related to family responsibilities.

In Pearl Jephcott's study at Peak Freans firm he points out that school holiday periods meant a drastic increase in absence of married women employees, and the desirability of women to take their annual holidays at a date that coincided with that of their husbands.

As the leave required frequently does not coincide with the firm's regular holiday period, the already high absence figure is still further increased. He concludes "the firm is careful to keep off key jobs those women whose domestic circumstances are likely to lead to considerable absence"<sup>(60)</sup>.

#### 5.142 Labour Turnover.

The same factors that affect absenteeism of women, also influence the turnover of labour which is much greater among women than among men, and which is a serious problem to employers of female labour. Labour turnover is calculated by multiplying the number of leavers by 100 and dividing by the average number of employees.

The figures given by the Ministry of Labour in 1964, indicate that the average duration of employment was 3.9 years for men and 2.2 years for women. The monthly turnover rate averaged 3.8 per 100 employed and more for women throughout the age range 18-65 but it was 2.4 per 100 employed or less.

From the point of view of a return on an investment training, the chief consideration is whether the worker will leave the employer, whether or not he or she also leaves the labour force. In the case of a man, he almost always takes another job but when a woman breaks up her career, she usually withdraws from the labour force as well. The available investigations indicates that on the average, women are more likely than men to quit jobs.

A survey in the United States, of the work experience of the labour force in six cities found that men held an average of 2.7 jobs and women an average of 2.5 jobs between 1940 and 1949. Younger workers tended to hold more jobs than older workers, but in each age group women held fewer jobs than men, largely because they spent fewer years in the labour force.

The main reason for the large wastage of labour among women applies by its very nature to the younger age group : many girls break up their careers on marriage or for the advent and rearing of children, or when their husband is transferred elsewhere.

In the same survey in the United States (in six cities) it is revealed that there is an indication that a large group of women remain in employment more or less continuously. Among women who were working between 1940-1950, one third had had only one employer during the decade. Among these, half had worked continuously and half had withdrawn from the labour force and returned to the same employers in the course of the decade<sup>(61)</sup>.

The study by John Brock also suggested that the turnover rate for women in higher positions - graduates and those earning over £800 a year - though higher than that for men was not sufficiently high to justify the view that "women do not stay". Over 50% of the women questioned had been working for over ten years and the majority expected to be with the same firm in ten to twenty years<sup>(62)</sup>.

In Jephcott's study in Peak Freans about the labour turnover in the firm for the whole of the factory women employees, he quotes the following:-

"Out of newcomer samples of 100 potential workers, 25 never started and 40 left within three months. Within six months a total of 57 had gone leaving 18 survivors, or 24% of those who actually began to work with the firm". The author notes that once a worker has stayed six months she is very likely to stay permanently<sup>(63)</sup>.

The British Institute of Management reached similar conclusions. Their study related to a light engineering works employing an evening shift of married women and a paint manufacturer employing both male and female workers. Even with a turnover of 90% to 100%, the authors found "a stable core of reliable operators beneath this shifting surface" and "As most of the labour turnover is among short service employees there appears to be a minority group who "float from factory to factory". Turnover figures can therefore be a totally misleading index of the quality of the labour force<sup>(64)</sup>.

Other findings of some recent studies indicate that there is a tendency for women in older age groups to remain in employment. D.B. Newsham studied labour turnover during and following training of middle aged women and men for new skills in about a hundred organizations in a wide variety of industries. He states that the turnover rate among women trainees is greater than that of men.



But that unlike men the survival rate of older women tended to be higher than that of young women during training and during the transition period from training to production as well as in the long run<sup>(65)</sup>.

Although there seems to be some justification for the reluctance of employers towards offering women opportunities for training or to engage them on jobs of responsibility, due to the high rate of absence and labour turnover among female workers, the studies indicate that women in the older age group (35-65) who re-enter in the labour market, return to stay.

A statement by the Manpower Council points out that the differences in turnover rate between men and women have declined "As more older women return and remain in the labour force, the differences which still exist are likely to diminish even further. The labour force turnover, as distinct from job turnover, is also likely to decline in the future. It will, however, remain much greater than that of men and, therefore, will continue to limit the work experience, seniority and promotion of women<sup>(66)</sup>."

#### 5.15 Care for Young Children.

One of the main obstacles confronting women, who desire to work, is the lack of adequate substitute care for children. This applies to women with children of school age as well as those with children under five.

Many women and especially younger women, want to work. In a survey about married women graduates, it is pointed out that six out of ten who were not at present employed would be working but for certain deterrents, e.g. lack of domestic help and lack of nursery schools<sup>(67)</sup>. Hannah Gavron found that 88% of the working class and 92% of the middle class wished to work but could only return to gainful employment when their children were older<sup>(68)</sup>.

The policy towards nursery provision of all types really dates from early post-war years, and it was only due to the demands of national crisis - the need for woman-power during the war and more recently, the need for women teachers.

During the two years following the end of the Second World War the provision of day nurseries fell from 67,749 places in 1945 to 41,063 places in 1948. But there was a temporary and small increase in 1949 due to a special drive to attract more female workers for the textile industries (882 day nurseries in 1948 to 910 in 1949 providing 43,395 places). The closure of these nurseries was part of a deliberate policy by the Government. This was indicated in a joint circular of the Ministry of Health and Education in December 1945:

"The Ministers concerned accept the view of medical and other authorities that, in the interest of the child no less than for the benefit of the mother, the proper place for a child under two is at

home with his mother. They are also of the opinion that, under normal peacetime conditions, the right policy to pursue would be positively to discourage mothers of children under two from going out to work; to make provision for children between two and five by way of nursery schools and nursery classes, and to regard day nurseries and daily guardians as supplements to meet the special needs (where these exist and cannot be met within the hours, age, range and organization of nursery school and nursery classes) of children whose mothers are constrained by individual circumstances to go out to work or whose home conditions are, in themselves, unsatisfactory from the health point of view, or whose mothers are incapable for some reason of undertaking the full care of their children". The Ministry of Health policy since, had broadly remained unchanged. By 1951 the Ministry in its report about day nurseries remarked:

"Authorities are increasingly inclined to the view that expenses of this order (about £100 per place per year) could be justified only where children in special need on health or social grounds were concerned, and should not be incurred where the question of day care arose solely from the mother's desire to supplement the family income by going to work"<sup>(69)</sup>.

After 1952, when local authorities were permitted to make charges towards the cost of providing care, a large number of

mothers withdrew their children and 259 day nurseries were closed between 1952 and 1955. By 1965, there were only 448 day nurseries providing places for only 21,396 children under five. The reduction of the day nurseries was expected to follow the decline in married women's employment. But, although there was the withdrawal of a large number of married women at the end of the Second World War, from 1951 to 1963, the number of married women in employment increased by 44%, while the number of places fell by about a third. The Local Authorities were thus compelled to establish priorities for admission to their day nurseries and often they only admitted children up to the age of two where the mother was the sole breadwinner.

On the other hand, the number of nursery schools expanded after the end of the war and has remained almost constant since 1953, as has the number of places. The State provides for the education of fewer than one in ten of children aged two to four in England and Wales. Furthermore, where these nursery schools exist the demand for places is always larger than can be met.

In a survey carried out by the National Union of Teachers among nursery schools, it was found that almost half of them had waiting lists of 100 or more names, and the average waiting list had 108, which was one and three quarter times the size of the average school's roll (61 pupils). It was also stated that the

average time lag between applying for and receiving admission to these schools varied between one or two terms and two years or more, and many children were never admitted<sup>(70)</sup>. Despite the Government's request in the 1944 Act for expansion in nursery education, few schemes were ever executed.

With regard to creches, only a few Local Authorities have organized such facilities, and many have none at all. In 1964, there were about 128 creches with an average attendance of 1,759 children per week.

The distribution of maintained nursery facilities in Britain varies from one Local Authority to another. In December 1963, Derby had 18.6 places per thousand of population under five, Huddersfield 12.6; Bristol 18.9; Southampton 1.2; Lancashire 12.8 and Staffordshire 3.0. As many as 27 County Boroughs and 37 Counties in England and Wales had no nursery places at all. 13 Counties and 13 County Boroughs had closed all their nurseries between 1948 and 1963<sup>(71)</sup>.

The decline in the State provision, together with the increase in the number of working mothers, resulted in the development of private schemes of provision for the care of children of working mothers.

Since 1946, factory nurseries were instituted in the textile areas where there was a heavy demand for a female labour force.

Although the Government pressed for the expansion of more nurseries, little has been done. Nurseries at the place of work are rare. In 1964, there were only 54 factory nurseries, against 101 in 1948. On the other hand, there has been a huge expansion in private nurseries which reflects the greater need of many working mothers for this facility. Places increased from under 7,000 in 1949 to 55,543 in 1965. These private nurseries cater almost entirely for middle class families who see the value of this type of care and can afford to pay for it. A study by the National Labour Women's Advisory Committee in 1966, on 450 private nurseries indicated that almost one-fifth were not for the use of working mothers.

The number of children in the care of registered child minders has grown from 1,703 in 1952 to 27,200 in 1965. Registered child minders are used almost entirely by mothers who go to work. Since this type of day care has expanded following the decline in maintained day nurseries, they tend to be concentrated in the areas of great need, e.g. in Birmingham the numbers have increased thirty fold from 74 in 1952 to 2,228 in 1965<sup>(72)</sup>.

Generally, facilities for the care of working mothers' children are not meeting the rising demand. Also, part-time workers cannot have priority for their children at a Local Authority nursery or school which may put women under the pressure of either complete withdrawal from the labour force until their children grow older or of undertaking full-time employment. The nurseries' hours (9 a.m.

to 5 p.m.) also come in conflict with shift hour work, and many women had to recourse to illegal baby minders where children are minded in over-crowded and dirty conditions.

The inadequacy of nursery facilities is considerable. The Plowden Report suggests that about half the three to four year olds and approximately 90% of four year old children would be likely to attend nursery schools if they were available. It estimates that 776,000 full-time places will be required by 1979<sup>(73)</sup>.

Clearly this lack of facilities is a great barrier in front of many women who wish to continue to work. Unless adequate facilities for the care of children under and over five are instituted, women will be committed to their homes and will lose their capacity for promotion through interruption of their careers.

#### 5.16 Part-Time Work.

Part-time work in Britain is employment ordinarily involving service for not more than 30 hours a week. Many women with family responsibilities are not working due to the limited availability of such employment in many professions and occupations.

Part-time employment is seen by many married women with young children or with children of school age as a means to supplement their family income. They could divide their time between gainful employment and housekeeping duties without undue strain.

TABLE (5-14)

PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES PART-TIME WORKERS OF  
ALL FEMALE WORKERS MID-JUNE 1969

Industry	Part-time %
Food, drink & tobacco.....	31.4
Chemicals and Allied.....	18.1
Metal manufacture.....	15.6
Engineering & electrical.....	19.1
Shipbuilding & marine engineering.....	16.5
Vehicles.....	12.4
Metal goods.....	23.1
Textiles.....	16.6
Leather, leather goods, fur.....	16.9
Clothing & footwear.....	10.7
Bricks, pottery, etc.....	12.5
Timber, furniture.....	15.3
Paper, printing, publishing.....	16.9
Other manufacturing.....	24.3
TOTAL	18.9
SOURCE: Employment & Productivity Gazette, Vol.LXXVII H.M.S.O., London, Aug. 1969, p.752.	



Employers, on the other hand, are chary of making arrangements for part-time workers, especially in industry. Some managers of the firms visited by the author who have been employing married women on part-time basis complained about the need for more time to be spent on training in relation to the total amount of work carried out; about the difficulties of production control created by a shift in the labour force and that planning was being complicated by the intrusion of part-time workers.

In the firms visited by the author many employers also stated that jobs could not be divided between two workers and that the cost of National Insurance stamps would be too high. Besides, the lack of discontinuity in part-time workers would act against hiring women on such jobs as foremen or supervisors.

The number of part-time jobs available is extremely small. In 1969 only 18.9% of all women employed in manufacturing industry were part-time workers, compared with 58% of all women employed in manufacturing industry who are married, this figure is very low. Within industry there are wide variations in the number who work part-time, varying from 31.4% of all women in food, drink and tobacco industries to 10.7% in clothing. Figures in Table (5-14) show that they are largely concentrated in consumer goods industries but there is a sizeable group in engineering and metal manufacturing.

Despite the slow pace of growth of part-time employment (12% in 1950 to 18% in 1969) it has spread in some professions and a large number of occupations, e.g. teaching, medicine, social work, computer programming, shorthand typists and telephonists. This was due, by and large, to the pressure of trained personnel shortage in these occupations, which were usually carried out on a full-time basis. Part-time workers (most of whom are married women) are employed for half days only, either in alternating rotas or to supplement the existing full-time staff.

Although industry has found it difficult to fit part-time workers into the established schedules of factories, it has found them useful as a supplementary work force during the peak periods (for example in canning factories during the fruit and vegetable season, in biscuit or toy factories before Christmas, etc.) and in occupations providing services in excess of ordinary working hours. Some firms have also been able to relegate some particular processes such as packing and finishing to part-time workers on special shifts.

The main feature of the employment pattern of part-time workers is their concentration in two main occupational groups - unskilled service occupations such as cleaning and related work including domestic service in institutions and private households on the one hand, and rather highly skilled technical and professional services such as health and teaching on the other. In September 1960 the

total number of part-time nurses and midwives employed in hospitals in England and Wales was 44,243, compared with 162,061 on full-time basis, that is a ratio of 1:3<sup>(74)</sup>. On the other hand, in Viola Klein's study, about 45% of all married women working part-time were undertaking jobs as domestic cleaners and canteen and school meals staff<sup>(75)</sup>.

In view of the desire of many married women to enter gainful employment, part-time work would solve such problems. Part-time employment has a number of advantages. It is not only a possible solution to manpower shortages as it has proved to be in recent years, but it also enables many skilled and highly qualified married women to keep up their skills until such time as they become available again on a full-time basis.

Furthermore, it has been pointed out that labour turnover for part-time married women is lower than the full-time worker. A study about the employment of married women in industry in 1960 pointed out that turnover rate for part-time married women in the offices was about 20% and 25% in the factory, whereas labour turnover among full-time married women was between 36% to 40%<sup>(76)</sup>.

Other employers have found that two women sharing a job between them give a higher level of performance than a full-time worker. Some schools and hospitals have been very successful in using part-time teachers and nurses.

The recent forecast for the required manpower in the coming years has clearly indicated the necessity of employing larger numbers of married women. Part-time work at present is very limited and is growing very slowly. More part-time jobs would certainly attract many married women, who find that a full-time job imposes too great a physical strain on top of housekeeping and looking after children. Also, considerable economic waste of benefits could be drawn from that untapped labour reserve by fully using their services.

5.17 Equal Pay.

No issue affecting the status of women is no more alive or complex than the increasing demand for "equal pay for equal work". In the past it was generally accepted that men workers should be paid significantly more than women. This was the situation in such different fields as factory employment, teaching and the civil service. But it is not a new demand. The feminist leaders at the beginning of the century raised the issue as a point of principle, and as part of their general case of sex equality.

The first authoritative pronouncement on the question of equal pay for women workers in the civil service and local government, came from the McDonnell (Royal) Commission of 1912-1915, the majority of whose members recommended that :

".....in so far as the character and conditions of the work performed by women in the Civil Service approximate to identify with the character and conditions of the work performed by men, the pay of women should approximate to equality with that of men". (77)

There were also small but articulate committees founded to promote equal pay for women. However, in the last decades the movement gathered sufficient support in the trade unions and in many other organizations for it to become an important question of economic and social policy. Today, the principle of equal pay for equal work is widely, if not universally endorsed.

If we take a closer look at women's earnings, the difference in pay between men and women is significant.

Although women's earnings have increased at the same rate of that of men over time and there has been a general narrowing of differentials, their pay is greatly below that of men (see Tables 5.15 and 5.16).

In a survey conducted by the Department of Employment and Productivity covering a random sample of 92,000 people, it was pointed out that for men, the lowest 10 per cent earned less than £15.10s., for women the figure was £8.8s. The highest tenth male earned more than £38.2s, the female more than £21.10s, respectively.

Further, half the full time men workers in Britain earned under £24 a week and three quarters under £30 a week. Nearly 8% earned under £15 a week, the lowest wage given being £10. A quarter of women in full-time work gets less than £10. Half the total were in the under £13 bracket, and just under three quarters would have been included if the ceiling was raised to £16.

The majority of women who receive equal pay are in the professions. They include doctors, dentists, teachers, solicitors, journalists, architects, non-industrial civil servants and the administrative, professional and technical workers employed by local government and the nationalised industries.

Equal pay does not extend to non-professional women employed by the professions and government organizations, such as manual workers in local

TABLE (5.15)

WOMEN'S AVERAGES AS PERCENTAGES OF MEN'S AVERAGES.

	1913/14	1922/24	1935/36	1955/56	1960
1A High professional	-	-	-	(75)	(75)
1B Lower professional	57	67	69	72	72
2B Managers and Administrators	(40)	33	38	54	54
3 Clerks	42	46	46	57	61
4 Foremen	50	57	57	61	59
5 Skilled manual	44	48	44	51	50
6 Semi-skilled manual	72	78	75	57	58
7 Unskilled manual	44	57	57	52	53
All (current weights)	54	57	56	50	54
All (1911 weights)	54	58	56	52	54
Unweighted average	50	55	55	58	58

SOURCE: "Guy Routh" Occupation and Pay in Great Britain, p.150.

TABLE (5.16)

## EARNINGS OF MEN AND WOMEN IN BRITISH MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

1956 - 1969 (1956 = 100)

year	Basic Weekly Rates		Basic Hourly Rates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1956	104.8	104.2	104.8	104.2
1957	110.0	109.7	110.1	109.8
1958	113.8	114.0	114.2	114.4
1959	116.8	117.0	117.3	117.7
1960	119.7	120.8	122.3	122.8
1961	124.0	125.3	129.8	130.7
1962	129.1	130.3	135.7	137.0
1963	133.8	135.7	140.6	142.8
1964	139.8	142.6	147.8	150.4
1965	154.7	149.4	156.9	160.5
1966	152.2	157.4	167.0	172.6
1967	157.9	163.5	173.8	179.7
1968	168.6	173.1	185.9	190.8
1969	177.6	180.9	196.0	199.9

SOURCE: Employment & Productivity Gazette, Vol.LXXVIII, London H.M.S.O., 1971, p.1207.



authority services. A very small minority of manual workers have equal pay such as bus conductresses, air hostesses, car delivery drivers, park gardeners, and a few war time "dilutees" for example, in engineering.

An examination of the main causes of unequal pay should help to identify some of the problems.

The Royal Commission on Equal Pay (1944-1946) came to the conclusion that the main cause was the difference in general demand for women and men in employment the majority of the commission members accepted the view that the lower general demand for women, and in consequence their lower pay levels arose from:

" ... the inferior physical strength of women, coupled with their shorter industrial life, their greater tendency to absenteeism and a certain relative lack of flexibility in response to rapidly changing or abnormal position."

Secondary causes were thought to be:

(1) Traditional attitudes. In particular conventions prejudices and restrictions concerning the field of employment for women.

(2) The assumption that at least where minima are concerned the man's wage must be sufficient to meet the cost of maintaining a family, while this consideration is not present so far as most women are concerned.

(3) Weaker trade union organizations.

However, three of the women members of the commission did not accept the majority view that the sex differential could be primarily accounted for by lower efficiency. They attached far more importance to bargaining power. They concluded that, in their view:

" ... so far as such a complex matter can be summarized in so few words, the main cause of the low earnings of women is their exclusion from a number of trades in which they would be efficient workers (given opportunity and training) combined with weak trade union organization".<sup>(78)</sup>

In the 28 years since the commission reported, the number of women in the working population increased by about 4 million (80%).

Despite the significant increase in the labour participation of women, since the end of the Second World War (in 1946 32% of the working population were women, their percentage now has risen to 39.5%), the majority of women are being employed on semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, in both manual and non-manual occupations.

The only significant change in the nature of women's employment in recent years is evidently the increase in the percentage of clerical jobs performed by women (their percentage rose from 60.2% in 1951 to 65.1% in 1961). It has been noted in previous chapters, that although conventions against employing women in certain industries and occupations have greatly disappeared, they have considerable strength still in the professional and skilled occupations and in the mind of male employers. This is reflected in the inadequacy of training opportunities for women in

industry, and the inequality of promotion prospects. These restrictions have not only led to women's exclusion from many fields of employment but also continued to exert a marked influence on the general level of women's pay.

Employers have always stressed that sex differential is justified on the ground of the high costs of employing women than those of men. These costs differences are based on certain facts.

Employers cannot normally expect to have as many years of service from a woman employee as from a male employee. Women usually withdraw from the labour force on marriage or for the advent and rearing of children. An employer looking for recruits for a job which requires continuity of service, regard this as an important factor separating women from men as potential recruits. Coupled with women's high rate of labour turnover is their high rate of absenteeism. Domestic responsibilities do without doubt increase the absenteeism of women at least while their children are at school, and the cost of employing "spare operators" is not insignificant.

In addition, legislations applying specifically to women under the Factories Act, assume that women workers cannot undertake excessive hours of work as men, and that as potential mothers they are in greater need of protection from risks to health and strains of overworking. Such restrictions have meant the exclusion of women from occupations such as certain processes connected with lead manufacturing or the manufacture of

glass. Women are also prohibited from jobs involving shift working and night work unless special permission has been obtained through the factory inspectorate.

Besides there is the minor point that an employer taking on women has to provide more in the way of facilities from them, for example, nurseries. These factors weigh heavily on managers' employment policies. They prefer, therefore, to employ women in jobs, where replacements can pick up the threads relatively quickly and this usually implies less responsibility and less payment. It should also be noted that the low remuneration of women in industry is also a consequence of the type of jobs they perform. Many women do not frequently come into direct competition with men in jobs in which the slogan "equal pay for equal work" has complete validity. For the most part, differences in average pay levels between men and women result partly from variation in the sex composition of the work force in plants and in jobs with different pay levels. For example, in the textile industry, where female labour is specially important, the majority of women employees are in occupations (battery hand, cloth inspector, spinner and winder) which requires less skill than the jobs typically held by men (card grinder, loom fixer, and maintenance machinist). Thus, inequality of pay is difficult to assess.

The low earnings of women is also a consequence of male trade unions oppositions to their entry into many occupations. Many men fear that their rates will be undercut if women were employed on the same jobs.

In its evidence to the Royal Commission on Equal Pay, the Trade Union congress said:

"We believe it to be beyond dispute that the relative rates of wages paid have been a substantial factor in determining the allocation of certain jobs to men and others to women. The Trade Unions have been compelled, not only to uphold, but to promote a clear demarcation between men's and women's work - where such demarcation was possible - in order to protect the men's and thus indirectly the women's rates of pay. Admittedly, there is something like a vicious circle involved in this situation, since the limited opportunities for industrial employment that were available to women have tended to crowd them into certain occupations. Nevertheless, it would be folly to expect such demarcation practices to disappear as long as a substantial gap between the rates paid to men and to women continues to exist throughout the greater part of industry". (79)

The males fear of unemployment has undoubtedly been a great factor in restricting women's employment in many occupations. An increase in the dependents allowances could bring about a reduced social obligation on employers to employ men rather than women for jobs that could be performed by either. Thus, the fear of unemployment would be increased and the resistance of men to more equal opportunities which would entail equal pay for women will grow.

One of the facts which has largely contributed to keep women's earnings at a lower rate than that of men is their weaker organizational and bargaining power over time. It has been increasingly recognized by all concerned that the organization of women into Trade Unions and professional associations and their active participation in the activities of these organizations at all levels is a fundamental requisite for the protection of their interests in all fields including that of wages. Despite this fact, the proportion of women in Trade Unions has remained at about half that of men over the past 30 years.

Year	Men	Women
1938	47.2	23.2
1946	70.1	32.8
1957	54.8	24.2
1967	51.2	25.7

SOURCE: Ministry of Labour Gazette:  
Vol. No 11 L, H.M.S.O. London, 1946. Vol. No 68, H.M.S.O. London  
1958., Vol. No L XXVI, H.M.S.O., London, 1967.

Progress in the direction of equal pay has undoubtedly been facilitated by increased concern of some Trade Unions with the equal pay question.

Another factor that militates against women's equality in payment with men is the widespread belief that a man's wage must be higher than the woman's because the needs of many families have to be met from his income, though the collary that the wife's place is in the home has almost disappeared.

The attitude of women towards selection of jobs has also contributed to their low earnings. Many women regard a job as a temporary measure until they married, and if they are married their wages are only a supplement to men's income. Bearing such facts in mind, women come into the labour market seeking jobs with less responsibility and those which do not require long courses of training. These jobs are usually very poor in pay and prospects promotion.

The collective bargaining approach to equal pay has proved to be particularly effective in coming to grips with problems in specific plants and occupations in which, irrespective of content, jobs done by women are valued at a lower rate than similar jobs done by men. The increase in wages of women in engineering can be quoted as an example, to illustrate how an attack on equal pay problems at the plant level through collective bargaining procedures has eliminated dual wage rates for men and women doing the same or comparable work.

The attitude of women workers towards taking little, if none, active part in Trade Unions, and women's organizations, has significantly slowed the progress towards "equal pay for equal work".

#### 5.17.1 Progress Towards Equal Pay.

The principle of "Equal pay for equal work" has been universally approved. The drafting of Article 119 in 1959 of the Rome Treaty, states "Each member state shall, in the course of the first stage, ensure and subsequently maintain the application of the principle of equal remuneration for equal work as between men and women workers.

"For the purpose of this article, remuneration shall mean the ordinary

basic or minimum wage or salary, and any additional emoluments whatsoever, payable directly or indirectly, whether in cash or in kind, by the employer to the worker, and arising out of worker's employment".<sup>(80)</sup>

The Rome treaty has been supplemented by a resolution adopted by the six governments of the EEC on the 30 Dec. 1961. This resolution laid down a three year plan for eliminating discrimination in stages by the 31 Dec. 1964. The Governments undertook "to refuse a confer kinding force on any collective agreements which, in spite of the instructions or recommendations of the Governments, do not ensure that the above time schedule is respected", and acknowledged that:

"the progressive application of the principle of equal pay for men and women aims at abolishing all discrimination in wages and " <sup>(81)</sup>

But, as most of women's work is segregated, the drafting of Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome, which interprets equal pay as "equal pay of equal work" makes it impossible to evaluate women's jobs since this depends on there being male rates for the same job.

As employers in the Common Market countries were taking advantage of the loophole, the EEC countries decided to adapt the convention No.100, which was adopted by the 1951 conference and since ratified by many countries. Article one states:

- (a) "The term 'remuneration' includes the ordinary basic or minimum wage or salary and any additional emoluments whatsoever, payable directly or indirectly, whether in cash or in kind, by the employer to the worker and arising out of the workers employment".



- (b) "The term 'equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value' refers to rates of remuneration established without discrimination based on sex. "

Article three states:

- "
- (1) "where such action will assist in giving effect to the provisions of this convention measures shall be taken to promote objective appraisal of jobs on the basis of the work to be performed.
- (2) The methods to be followed in this appraisal may be decided upon by the Authorities responsible for the determination of rates of remuneration or, where such rates are determined by collective agreements by the parties thereto.
- (3) Differential rates between workers which correspond, without regard to sex, to differences, as determined by such objective appraisal, in the work to be performed shall not be considered as being contrary to the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value.
- " (82)

The convention has so far been ratified by 65 countries including Belgium, Denmark, France, West German, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Spain and the U.S.S.R. The countries that have not so far ratified the convention include the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.

Although differences are now still in effect to determine "equal value" the experience of the United States steel industry proves that the ILO's policy is both practical and realistic.

With regard to the United Kingdom, movements towards equal pay is still a far cry for many lower paid jobs. The only significant progress has been made by Trades Unions has been in engineering, footwear and tailoring.

On the other hand, Income Data Services reported in February 1969 that all settlements negotiated over the previous 16 months had not materially reduced the differentials between men's rates and women's rates. The median differential established by the 100 settlements in this period was 24% of the men's rate.

The Labour Government, however, made proposals in 1969 for the introduction of equal pay for women for equal work by 1975. These proposals were set out in the Equal Pay (No.2) Bill which was presented to Parliament by Mrs. Barbara Castle, First Secretary of State for Employment and Productivity.

The Bill is based on the following objectives:

"to prevent discrimination about terms and conditions of employment between men and women and to achieve this by requiring employers to give equal treatment to men and women in the same establishment where:

- (i) they are engaged on the same or broadly similar work, or
- (ii) where a woman's job has been rated as equivalent to a man's job of a different nature from her own because of a job evaluation exercise, and by
- (iii) requiring that where terms and conditions of employment are set out in a collective agreement, employers pay structure, wages regulation order or agricultural wages order, these must not discriminate between men and women". (83)

In accordance with the Bill, the differential on minimum rates were to be eliminated in seven steps over a period of six years. There would have been an additional increase of about 3.3% at each step for the women.

But the main problem with the introduction of equal pay is calculating the cost of equal pay.

So far as women's rates in manufacturing are concerned, it seems that the elimination of sex differential would require about 25% increase on the average weekly earnings of women in these industries. Discussion about the cost problem has been concentrated on the size of total increase in women's pay involved.

The Government in 1966 estimated the cost as being between £600 million and £900 million a year. It was suggested that between 3 million and 7 million women might be affected, depending on the definition of equal work in industries. In accordance, the cost of implementing equal pay would be less than two years of total wage increases within the  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  limit of the national income policy yet. Further, the "Department of Employment and Productivity, after Government's contributions with the Confederation of British Industry and the Trade Unions Congress, carried out an inquiry into the costs of introducing equal pay in a number of firms in 13 selected industries. The inquiry covered 304 firms. In most of these firms, for some groups of workers at least, there were different basic rates of pay for men and women. Firms were asked to make their estimates of the direct costs (expressed as a proportion of wages bills) of introducing equal pay on the basis that women received equal pay. The enquiry was confined to adult women where women received the adult rate of pay from the age of 18 years and

men the adult rate from 21 years. Firms were asked to assume that women aged 18 to 20 would receive the adult male rate.

The enquiry showed that estimates of the direct cost of introducing equal pay varied widely between industries and between firms in the same industry. In general, direct costs were relatively highest in industries in which women form a high proportion of the labour force. Cotton spinning is an obvious exception, because manual workers in that industry already have equal pay. The increase in women's rates of pay and the proportion of women likely to benefit varied to some extent from industry to industry; but it was a much less important factor in determining the cost of equal pay than the proportion of women in the labour force.

Apart from those in hotels and catering and the retail trade, the majority of women in the industries surveyed were employed in semi-skilled manual work involving a fair degree of manual dexterity. Many such jobs were also traditionally "women only" occupations. Almost all industries had some jobs in which employers felt that women and men were not interchangeable, either because the nature of the work precluded such interchange or because of long standing practice. The extent to which men were currently or occasionally employed in semi-skilled jobs was, therefore, an important factor affecting the estimated direct cost in individual cases.

In heavy chemicals, heavy engineering, certain hotel and restaurant jobs and some retail outlets, employers considered that the women would

not benefit directly from equal pay as defined for the purpose of the enquiry. The same considerations applied to non-manual occupations; employers considered that women in typing jobs would rarely benefit directly, though women in some other clerical and administrative jobs would. Firms were also asked to indicate, in quantitative terms if possible, the consequential direct increases in labour costs other than wages and salaries and other than those of a statutory nature: for example, employers' contributions to company pension, welfare, etc. schemes for those benefiting directly from equal pay, but ignoring such items as payments of national insurance, redundancy fund, industrial training board levies and selective employment tax.

Many firms in all the industries approached, except cotton spinning, envisaged further costs in raising employers' superannuation contributions, rates of sickness pay, and payments under other company benefit and bonus schemes to the men's level for those women qualifying for equal pay. Where quantified, such costs were thought likely to be between 2 and 10 per cent of the addition to the wage bill, except in those industries where pension schemes were more rarely operated. (84) But the Labour government left office and no further steps towards equal pay has yet been taken by the Conservative government. It is perhaps pertinent to point out that the introduction of equal pay would entail the same wage packets for both men and women.

The 25% increase in average weekly earnings, mentioned before, would undoubtedly eliminate the differentials in average rates. Dependents

allowances are greater for males (married)\*.

Furthermore, men would not accept the fact that the increase for women should be at a higher rate than theirs, and an annual increase of 3.3% as suggested by the government, could amount to about double that of men.

Another implication is that "equal pay for equal work" could result in unemployment of women. Some employers may prefer to employ male workers on jobs regarded as women's work for their lower rates of absenteeism and labour turnover (women are assumed to be more costly workers than men, as mentioned previously). Male employees may also oppose the introduction of female workers on their jobs for fear of lowering their wage rate. But this could be proved wrong, as lower wages or salary rates for women are more likely to ~~lead to unemployment~~ *of many men*, for unless there is a shortage of labour, employers will prefer to employ workers who cost them less, and may therefore give priority to women at the expense of men. This can be illustrated by the troubles at Roberts Arundel factory in Stockport from 1966 onwards. Fifty one men earning about £20 per week were made redundant and replaced by women earning £10 per week working on the same machine.

Equal pay would not be just a matter of financial gain for women, but a gain for the community as a whole.

As pointed out earlier, the recent forecasts for manpower demands indicated that any substantial increase in the volume of labour force would come from the ranks of married women, especially who are now the only

\* Before marriage a man and woman get a personal allowance of £220 each. After marriage the husband can claim his own allowance of £340 and an extra allowance of £120. The wife can still claim her own allowance of £220, like any other tax payer her earnings above this are taxed at reduced rates).

substantial labour reserve in the country. The positive effect of a rise in wages on the employment of married women was also indicated. It seems evident that the introduction of equal pay will show large numbers of married women in the labour market to meet the demands of the expanding economy.

But the gain of the community would be much greater if

1) Women are offered equal opportunities for training as men, thus opening up new fields of employment which will make fuller use of their potential skills, talents and experience. For unequal opportunity is a cause of unequal pay.

2) Absenteeism and labour turnover of women can be reduced. This can only be achieved through raising the standard of women's education and their skill. Lower paid and less skilled workers have proved to have a higher rate of absenteeism than others, and opportunities for more responsible work could therefore help to reduce the level of absence.

3) There is a relaxation of legal restrictions on women's hours of work. There is no strong case for keeping legal restrictions on women's hours of work. So far as health is concerned, it has not been proven in modern conditions that there are any medical reasons which can support restrictions on women as compared with men. Employers would have to introduce more flexible hours and conditions of work in order to attract more women to industry.



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CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION



### CONCLUSION.

It is evident from the foregoing analysis that the changes in the female labour force composition and in its occupational pattern since the turn of the century, especially during the decades following the Second World War, have been of a fundamental character.

The process of industrialization and rapid technological advancements have reshaped women's economic role, not only in the highly industrialized societies, but also in the new developing societies that are struggling toward economic independence and industrial growth under institutional arrangements which differ markedly from those of the West.

Economic development when it occurs, entails a radical change of mode of production and mode of life.

In the typical pre-industrial economy, production is located in kinship units, subsistence farming predominates. Other industry is supplementary but still attached to kin and village, there is little differentiation between economic roles and family roles.

Similarly, exchange and consumption are deeply embodied in family and village. In subsistence agriculture there is a limited amount of independent exchange and consumption occur in the same social context. Under these conditions, market systems are under-developed.

With regard to the family system in the subsistence economy, that of the patriarchal family where authority is vested, in the male and thus the woman remains subordinate.



As the economy develops, there is the rise of manufacture, the immediate technical foundation of modern industry. Manufacture produces the machinery by means of which modern industry removes the economic functions of the family, and in so doing, profoundly affects the whole character and the social significance of the family.

We have outlined how the process of a country's economic development moves from a traditional stage through a take-off period to sustained growth, maturity and a stage of high-mass consumption. Development implies major structural changes within an economy, and this is evidenced in the shifting distribution of its labour force between industry occupations and geographical location.

The distributional movements that occur in countries in different stages of per capita income development were shown in broad terms. In particular, the agricultural sector comes to exact a decreasing claim on the country's labour resources as the country develops. Growth in productivity in agriculture combined with a slower rate of growth in the demand for agricultural products, as per capita income rises, bring a secular decline in the proportion of the country's labour force tied to the land. Growth in capital stock relative to the labour force over time facilitates rising worker productivity in all sectors. Capital per unit of labour rises, especially in manufacturing where capital-intensive techniques of production are encouraged by the economies that stem from large-scale production and assembly line processor. As income rises, demands for manufactured products also rise at a rate sufficiently

rapid to encourage continuing capital investment in the manufacturing sector. The service sector meanwhile expands as the growth of manufacturing in large-scale units necessitates the growth of transportation and distribution services. Communication and public utility industries expand as growth of manufacturing and trade create demands for power and, in turn, are facilitated by the cheaper sources of power which rapid growth allows. Urbanization proceeds, along with economic development and creates a demand for more services, e.g., education services. Growing demands for legal, financial and engineering services arise as economic organization becomes more complex and demands for increased per capita health, recreation, entertainment and personal services grow as per capita income rises.

With the advent of industrialization, a major change takes place in the structure of the labour force, this being the change of occupational distribution. Broadly speaking, the change is described in terms of the rapid growth of the white collar group of workers relative to the blue-collar group. The expansion of trade, finance and administrative sectors, has made far bigger demands on the expanding labour force. The growing educational, medical, legal and technical requirements of the population and of industry have encouraged and facilitated the growth of professional and technical work.

As the structure of the society changes from a society predominantly rural and agricultural to one predominantly urban and industrial, the old modes of social action in the society are modified. One result of

these processes is the changing status of women, who generally become less subordinate economically and socially to their husbands than they had been under earlier conditions. Above all, industrialization draws large numbers of women from farm and domestic employment to workshops, factories and offices. The growth of mass production and its breakdown of skilled work into repetitive semi skilled or unskilled work opened up new possibilities for employment for women. Besides the expansion of commerce, administration and the professional sectors has provided a whole lot of occupations for women.

This is apparent from the rapid increase in female labour activity rates over time, especially those of married women. One of the most important factors has been the decrease in the fertility of marriage which is preceded by a decline in the birth rate. With medical advancements and the rising standard of health and hygiene infant death rate declined and life expectancy lengthened dramatically. In addition, the high cost of rearing children in the cities and the abolishment of child labour, together with the spread of education have undoubtedly led to decisions to decrease the number of children wanted in a family. The widespread use of the new contraceptive methods have been the means to the limitation of family size.

The small number of children of the urban family has resulted in the lower claim on the wife's homework. This trend has been accompanied by the development of various social organizations to aid the family in the fulfilment of its principal function such as the creche, the kindergarten

and other pre-school agencies including the modern organization of 'baby sitters', which decrease the amount of time and energy involved in the business of homemaking. Moreover, the mass production of household appliances that penetrate within the home, reduce women's housework. The concomitant of these developments is the release of many married women from the home enabling them to participate in various kinds of economic activities outside the home. Also the expanding employment opportunities for females arising from the extensive development of clerical occupations and service industries and occurring pari-pasu with the extension of education to women qualified them for such jobs.

However, the behaviour of married women in the labour market is influenced by several factors. Cultural, biological and economical factors have their effects on married women's labour participation. The general expectation of a society is that the head of the family is the main breadwinner. As an economic unit, the household can be regarded as seeking an equilibrium in which work, leisure, consumption, savings and assets are optionally adjusted in terms of the family's preference system. Thus, households with simple wants will be satisfied with a more limited application of their time, to earning money. Whereas households whose wants exceed the income earned by the primary worker are likely to supply secondary workers (mostly wives) to the labour market in order to supplement his earnings. The family's demands for goods and services reflects the social pressures to which it is subjected - standards of living set for it by the general culture milieu as well as by those sub-groups it customarily associates itself with.

The increment to the total income of the family, earned by the wife can make it possible for it to satisfy such demands. But the entry of married women into the labour market is subject to time constraint. As homework is the most important type of work for the wife over most of her married life, the presence of young children would have an inverse effect on her propensity to enter gainful employment.

Several studies concerning the behaviour of married women in the labour market have been reviewed (Chapter 2). One of the principal findings about the increase rate of married women's labour participation over time involves the comparative sizes of the elasticities of wages and income. As the earnings of male and female have been rising approximately at the same rate over time, an explanation for the secular increase in work rates is that the positive effect of wage outweighs the negative effects of the rise in incomes.

Further, the presence of young children had a continuously negative effect on women's participation rate. This is due to the fact that when young children are present, the wife's time will not be easily substitutable for market work giving prevailing standard for the care of the children. Unemployment of the main bread winner in the family, has also shown a negative effect on the participation of wives.

Unemployment of some family members will reduce family income and thus encourage other family members to enter the labour force to make up this loss of income (additional worker hypothesis). But at the same

time, severe business depression creates an unfavourable market for those seeking employment. The persons entering the labour force could expect great difficulty in obtaining a job. They are likely to run into increasing costs whilst looking for a job, and the frustration of continually being turned down, in which case they withdraw from the labour market (discouraged worker hypothesis). Thus, the discouraging effect of depressed business conditions overpowers the stimulus to work caused by the unemployment of the main breadwinner.

On the other hand, education has a positive effect on the participation rate of women. This has shown up clearly in recent years. There has been a tendency for the more educated women to enter the labour force, at the same time that the participation rates for the less educated remained nearly constant. The importance of this career motivation seems to be increasing. But, of great importance for married women is the industrial structure of the regions. The availability of employment opportunities for women in a region will be reflected in their higher rate of labour participation. Conversely, in regions where heavy industries dominate and where female type jobs are few, the labour force participation of women will be low.

The broad trends in the participation of women in the highly industrialized societies such as the U.S.A. and the U.K. are indicative of the changes in the structure and function of the modern urban family. Whilst women in the highly industrialized societies have become emancipated and attained equal rights with men in political, educational and in employment opportunities in almost all economic fields, those in the under-

developed societies are still confined to a subordinate position with men both socially and economically. Their contribution to the economic life when permitted by society is usually in the agricultural sector or in the handicrafts industry. However, one cannot generalize as to the structural consequences of industrialization upon women's employment pattern as societies vary greatly in their attitude to the sexes. Implications of many traditional concepts of the past about the social position and economic role of women, in particular those of married women, that are deeply vested in the organization of some societies and conflict with the new modern ideologies continue to slow the pace of women's advancement.

Historical developments in the role of women in the economy of the countries studied do not support any generalization as to the trend of women's employment pattern. Whilst women's employment statistics for the United States of America and the United Kingdom exhibit a similarity in women's employment pattern and the composition of the female labour force, certain differences emerge for those of Japan and the Soviet Union.

In the United States of America and the United Kingdom, women constitute over a third of the total labour force and married women comprise over a half of this. Their pattern of employment since the turn of the century as in other highly industrialized societies, has been characterized by a reduction in domestic service, a relative decrease in industrial work (i.e. relative to the total number of workers) and an increase in the number of women in clerical, distributive and professional services. However, in both countries, women's contribution in the skilled and professional occupations is relatively small compared to that of men. It is apparent that despite the progress toward occupational equality, women's contribution to the



remains differentiation of employment between men and women which has developed along traditional lines. A great proportion of women workers still flock chiefly into a limited number of traditionally "feminine" occupations such as teaching and nursing, or are employed as shorthand typists and secretaries.

Another feature of women's employment pattern is that women's participation in the economic life is intermittent. They usually break up their careers on marriage or with the advent and rearing of children. Thereafter, they are likely to return to the labour force.

With regard to Japan, women's position in society and their role in the economic life is still influenced by the ancient pattern of family labour and the attitude of society as regards the proper activities for them. This is largely due to the non-conformity of the Japanese society with modern Western economic activities.

In accordance with tradition, Japanese single women can enter paid employment outside their homes, whereas married women engage in unpaid family work either in agriculture or in business, usually a family enterprise, which is inseparably linked with the family life. But in respect of their family life the position of rural women is no better than it was before the Second World War, for they are harassed by the old patriarchal family pattern which still persists in spite of the legal changes calling for a democratic family pattern. The patriarchal family is still considered best suited to carry out



small scale farming, the most common type in Japan.

Although women have progressively made some breakthrough in industry and the professions since the end of the Second World War, their employment pattern manifests great unevenness within the high degree of industrialization of Japan.

In the Soviet Union the pattern of women's employment reflects a sharp contrast to Japan and differs in many ways from that of the United States of America and of the United Kingdom. The participation rate of women in the labour force is considerably higher than in any other Western industrialized country. This is due to the fact that throughout the Soviet Union women are employed in all branches of economic activities (both the agricultural and industrial sectors). Moreover, a higher proportion of women is to be found in professions requiring university education, e.g. doctors, engineers, in contrast to other Western developed countries. The greater contribution of women in the labour market is related to historical and ideological developments and demographic factors peculiar to the Soviet Union. The numerical predominance of women in the working age sector from which the labour force was drawn throughout the years of the Civil War, the two World Wars and the purges which largely reduced the potential manpower, led to the heavy reliance of the State on woman-power for its industrial developments.

With a view to a full utilization of female workers to achieve the economic targets, women were given equal rights with men. In order to ensure the practical emancipation and equality of women, employment opportunities were created for them to exercise their right to work in any field of the economy in accordance with their desire and inclination. Hence employment in any economic field became open to women. Moreover, the State's widespread provision for substitute child care permitted a fuller and uninterrupted utilization of woman-power. Despite these changes in the pattern of women's employment, Russian women are less represented than men in top leading jobs.

In all countries studied, it is apparent that industrialization has contributed to promoting the employment of women. But the most significant factor in speeding up the changes in women's social status and scope of work was the Second World War. As the Second World War accelerated the development of mass production techniques, many skilled jobs were broken down into series of processes which enabled many women with little training or experience to undertake many tasks. Furthermore, there was the admittance of women to various numbers of training centres, and provision of educational institutions to promote their skills. But most important was the vacuum caused by the movement of men into the forces who otherwise would have been in the labour force and the heavy

demands on the economy for expanded output made employers realize that women could be substituted for men. Opportunity was knocking at doors long closed.

The entrance of women into fields of employment previously barred to them required changes in conventional views about the types of work which are suitable for women and about the capacities of women for performing certain occupations. This was followed by the abolishment of the marriage bar, and the admittance of married women into employment.

The employment of women has undoubtedly become an important feature of the social structure in all industrialized countries, and large and increasing numbers of married women form part of the labour force in all of them. This phenomenon has grown in importance in recent decades.

In almost all countries married women now constitute over half the female labour force. Another remarkable feature is that the average age of working women has increased, and the growth in the number of women employed in the "middle" period of life. In most countries the increases have been particularly marked in the age group between 35 and 50. This is concomitant with the fact that the main body of the new recruits to the female labour force are married women. Facts and figures emphasize the fact that women do not withdraw into whole-time domesticity. However, although these countries studied have

reached a high level of industrialization and standard of living and public opinion has changed accordingly, women's employment pattern remains markedly different from that of men. By contrast to men, women are mostly engaged on the unskilled, semi-skilled jobs and only a small proportion - apart from the Soviet Union - are in the highly skilled and professional occupations. Also, only a minority ever reach a position of high responsibility and skill. Despite the changes on the demand side, the woman is clearly of less value than a man for jobs requiring physical strength. Furthermore, since she is not expected to be primarily a wage earner, she is usually not as well educated or trained for skilled labour as a man. Yet another factor limiting her desirability as an employee (relative to a man) is the fact that earning a living is not usually her primary concern and her working life is controlled by her family's needs. Thus she will often change residence with the job movements of her husband and will quit jobs or be absent because a member of the family is ill.

These "basic" demand factors have begotten several labour market disadvantages for women, because women have not had the experience at many jobs that will disqualify them in comparison with men.

Furthermore, long traditions of not employing women in certain establishments or posts within them, create certain masculine social patterns among workers, which make difficult the entry of women.

Thus, in the professions, teaching and nursing, remain their chief employment, while all varieties of engineering, surveying and architecture, law and science are overwhelmingly masculine domains.

Looking at women's occupational pattern in the United Kingdom, it shows, as already quoted, a lower overall level of skill among women than men. It is also apparent that few women have so far pursued certain highly skilled and professional occupations. This pattern of women's employment in Britain is both a function of the social factors influencing the supply of female labour force, the type of education that girls receive, their expectation of marriage and the turnover of female labour due to marriage, and also a matter of the pattern of demand for labour in the British economy.

Although women have secured access to higher education and the professions, the proportion of those who avail themselves of the opportunity remains small and constant over the years. For, although emancipation set women the goal of competing with men in education and employment, it did not alter their enduring goal of success as wives and mothers.

As we have pointed out this factor bears heavily upon the girls choice of courses and their occupational destination. Also, the large numbers of girls who drop away at higher form of schools, explains the inevitable small proportion of girls who go on to higher education and professional employment.

The bias of girls towards the arts subjects, however, is not only due to their expectation of marriage and the process of occupational choice, but also due to a shortage of staff and of teaching amenities in girls' schools, so serious that girls who wish to undertake science-based careers may not have a proper opportunity or any opportunity at all in certain schools. Also, only a small proportion of girls attend vocational courses, or enter occupations which offer some kind of training.

It is obvious that neither in the educational system nor in employment opportunities are girls making the most of their natural talent; under-utilization of ability is the most disturbing conclusion one reaches.

If, therefore, it is desirable to make better use of the range of natural talent that girls possess - both to give them the advantages that more education offers and to provide a larger supply of trained women-power to meet the needs of the British Society in the coming decades, it seems urgent to consider first what should be done in the schools.

At present the continuous scientific technological and economic developments have increased the number and the variety of occupations requiring a high degree of scientific qualifications and technical skill, whilst there also remain unfilled opportunities for women in a number of fields that have traditionally been considered women's occupations, e.g.

teaching. If the expanding demand for teachers, nurses, welfare workers, and other semi-professional personnel is to be met, and if the new technological and scientific occupations are to be properly staffed, the wastage of able girls in the schools must be reduced.

The choice girls make should be one based on better knowledge of the prospects and the problems than is customarily the case.

The inadequacy of laboratory facilities and the shortage of science teachers are other difficulties to be overcome. It may require some unorthodox solutions - the pooling of teachers and laboratory facilities between schools that are in the same neighbourhood, the use of mathematics and science graduates engaged in other occupations as part-time teachers and the increasing use of women graduates in these subjects who can do part-time work but do not want full-time employment.

This problem has a direct relation to the pattern of entry into higher education. At present the increase in the number of girls entering higher education has resulted in a relatively greater concentration in the arts and social sciences and this is likely to continue until the schools have done their part in preparing girls for the alternative courses they might take.

Vocational training is another point at issue. Technical colleges should provide adequate places for girls as for boys so

that they can train as technologists and specialist workers for the growing range of skilled occupations. But this also assumes the willingness of girls to undertake such training, and the ability of employers to appreciate that women are suitable for such work. There should also be more attention paid to the further education of women in middle life.

The problem is of providing refresher or re-entry courses for women who have already acquired some qualification before marriage and then as their families grow up, wish to go back to work. However, a start has already been made in teaching. These women, in fact, prove an exceedingly good return in any investment in their further education, for they would enter the labour market with much better prospects of long-term employment than a girl fresh from College. Employers have generally found that older women are more stable employees: their turnover and absentee rates are lower, and they are unlikely to be lost to industry because of marriage or pregnancy.

Another problem of controversy concerning women's employment is the differentials in earnings between men and women and equal pay. Although women constitute over a third of the working population, only one woman in ten receives equal pay with men, mainly in the professions.

The majority of women workers do not come into direct competition with men. For much part, they are occupied in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs where there are fewer men or in industries where the work has traditionally



been done by women rather than by men. This has resulted in lower payments.

Lack of training opportunity and promotion prospects for women with ability have led to their exclusion from many higher paid jobs. As a consequence, women's pay has remained at a low level.

Contribution to these facts has been the weaker organizational and bargaining position of women which has constituted an obstacle towards equal pay and to the levelling up of women's wages generally.

Progress towards equal pay has been going at a very slow pace, though the cost of bringing it into effect has been said by several commentators that, on the estimates being quoted by the Ministry of Employment and Productivity, the economy should well be able to meet the cost of the increases if it were spread over a few years.

Rising market wages for women has been proven by several economists to result in a rising in the labour activity of women. Equal pay can also result in opening new employment opportunities, training, promotion prospects and make use of wasted abilities and talents.

From the man's standpoint, whether or not he believes in social justice for women, lower wage or salary rates for women are a threat to his own livelihood. For, unless there is an overall shortage of labour women would be preferred as potential recruits on many occupations for their cheaper wages. This element of job protection is a strong motive force in trade union support for equal pay. The recognition of a woman

to earn her living is a pre-condition of social equality with men.

Equal pay should be seen as the logical consequence of the economic emancipation of women, as the product of growing diversity of female employment and the growth of co-education and similar standards for boys and girls. It is a step towards the rationalisation and adjustment of the British wage system to a new situation. In this new situation, the productivity criterion has much more relevance, it conforms with market forces; it is amenable to calculations, it relates to the job rather than to a very high and inevitably anomalous estimate of needs.

In the case of married women, the point has been made that the projection of labour force indicated an increase in the demand for female workers (9 million) and that married women will constitute over 62% of the total female labour force. If this demand is to be met, much will depend on both the employers and the Authorities who will have to play their parts in making it easier for married women to go out to work while successfully fulfilling their domestic commitments.

An essential factor in any authority's policy designated to meet the needs of married women employees is that of child-care services. Better and more facilities must therefore be provided in order to improve the working and social conditions of working mothers. The facilities most needed are:-

- 1) Creches for babies and young children at places of work or in the locality, which are open for long periods (for the whole day).
- 2) Increasing the number of day nurseries to cater for children under five years of age.
- 3) Providing adequate facilities for children after school and during the holidays, for play, reading and homework.

Equally important is the change of employers' attitude of reluctance towards the employment of women especially married women in many occupations, an attitude which undoubtedly prevents the effective utilization of women power. They should be prepared to offer married women more favourable conditions of employment such as the provision of part-time work and more flexibility in the length and timing of hours they require. They should also be more active in providing nursery accommodation for the children of employees. Employers, in formulating their employment policies, should also offer women more opportunities for training and promotion.

Unless strong and effective steps are taken towards furthering the employment of women, giving them equal promotion and training opportunities with men and facilitating married women's employment, it is doubtful if any progressive changes in women's employment pattern will occur in the near future.

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APPENDICES.



A P P E N D I X A

W O M E N A N D W O R K I N A N

I N T E R N A T I O N A L S E T T I N G

TABLE (A-1).

(Refers to Figure (2-1) Chapter 2)

AVERAGE AGE - SPECIFIC ACTIVITY RATESFOR FEMALES IN COUNTRIES CLASSIFIEDACCORDING TO DEGREE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION(Percentage Economically Active Among  
Female Population of Given Age Group).

Age in Years	Degree of Industrialization	
	Industrialized Countries <sup>a</sup>	Agricultural Countries <sup>c</sup>
10 - 14.....	2.4 <sup>b</sup>	10.2
15 - 19.....	53.6	30.9
20 - 24.....	51.9	31.5
25 - 34.....	30.3	29.9
35 - 44.....	30.3	29.9
45 - 54.....	28.1	28.9
55 - 64.....	20.8	23.7
65 and over.....	7.1	14.3

(a) Fourteen countries having less than 35% of active males engaged in agriculture and related activities. These are: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, England and Wales, France, Palestine, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States of America.

(b) Excluding two countries where a minimum age limit of 15 years for enumeration of the economically active population was adopted.

(c) Twelve countries having 60% or more of active males engaged in agriculture and related activities. These countries are: Algeria (Moslems), Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, India, Morocco (indigenous), Paraguay, Philippines and Tunisia.

SOURCE: United Nation, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, "Demographic Aspect of Manpower, Sex and Age Patterns of Participation in Economic Activities", Population Studies, No.33, Report I, New York 1962, p.22.

**TABLE (A-2).**

(Refers to Figures (2-2), (2-3), and (2-4), Chapter 2)

**AVERAGE AGE - SPECIFIC ACTIVITY RATES FOR FEMALES IN**

Region	Number of countries	Age in Years									
		10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 & over		
North Africa <sup>a</sup> .....	3	8.6	28.2	39.3	41.3	42.6	38.8	32.9	14.8		
Canada & the United States..	2	0.6	32.1	45.0	28.0	28.4	26.6	19.0	6.4		
Latin America <sup>b</sup> .....	8	5.5	25.3	25.8	20.5	19.6	17.7	14.0	8.9		
West Indies <sup>c</sup> & British Guiana.....	4	3.4	36.4	46.8	45.2	47.6	47.4	40.8	16.6		
Ceylon, Indiana & Malaya.....	3	13.3	31.2	35.1	36.4	40.2	38.6	29.9	14.6		
North Western Europe <sup>d</sup> .....	9	3.3 <sup>e</sup>	58.1	57.7	29.3	30.0	30.0	24.0	9.3		
Central Europe <sup>f</sup> .....	4	5.8	70.6	64.6	44.6	38.8	36.4	27.1	12.6		
Southern Europe <sup>g</sup> .....	4	11.8	32.9	31.9	23.8	20.1	19.3	15.7	9.6		
Australia & New Zealand.....	2	1.1	66.0	49.6	23.0	22.6	24.2	15.2	4.2		

a) **Algeria (Moslems), Morocco** (indigenous) and Tunisia.

b) Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Panama and Venezuela.

c) Jamaica, Martinique and West Indies (U.K.)

d) Belgium, Denmark, England and Wales, France, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden & Switzerland.

e) Excluding two countries which adopted a minimum age limit of 15 years for enumeration of the economically active population.

f) Austria, Eastern Germany including East Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany and Hungary.

g) Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain

**SOURCE: "Demographic Aspects of Manpower, Sex and Age Patterns of Participation in Economic Activities" Population Studies, No.33, op.cit. p.23.**

TABLE (A-3)

(Refers to figures (2-5) and (2-6), Chapter 2)

TRENDS IN AGE SPECIFIC ACTIVITY RATES FOR FEMALES,  
SELECTED COUNTRIES : 1910-1955

(Percentage Economically Active Among Female Population  
of Given Age Group. Figures Relate to Census Years,  
which Differ for Some Countries from Dates Shown in  
Column Headings; in Such Cases Actual Dates are  
Specified in the Footnotes).

Country and age group	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1955
Australia <sup>a</sup> .....						
10-14.....	5.3	3.9	1.8	-	2.3	2.2
15-19.....	43.5	47.3	46.7	-	66.4	68.2
20-24.....	40.2	43.3	49.9	-	49.1	48.7
25-34.....	22.9	21.8	25.2	-	21.4	24.0
35-44.....	16.7	15.5	16.3	-	18.7	22.5
45-54.....	15.5	15.1	15.9	-	18.1	23.5
55-64.....	14.0	12.3	12.6	-	13.0	15.2
65 & over....	7.9	6.1	4.7	-	4.9	4.8
Brazil.....						
10-14.....	-	-	-	18.6	8.6	-
15-19.....	-	-	-	22.4	23.4	-
20-24.....	-	-	-	18.4	18.9	-
25-34.....	-	-	-	12.3	12.8	-
35-44.....	-	-	-	10.6	10.9	-
45-54.....	-	-	-	11.3	10.1	-
55-64.....	-	-	-	11.4	8.7	-
65 & over....	-	-	-	9.0	5.4	-
Canada <sup>b</sup> .....						
10-14.....	2.3	1.1	0.5	0.3 <sup>c</sup>	0.4 <sup>c</sup>	-
15-19.....	24.4	28.1	25.5	25.8	37.9	-
20-24.....	31.2	35.1	42.3	41.9	46.9	-
25-34.....	13.6	17.2	21.7	24.9	24.2	-
35-44.....		11.2	13.0	16.2	21.8	-
45-54.....		10.4	11.5	12.9	20.4	-
55-64.....	9.1	9.6	10.7	10.9	14.5	-
65 & over....	5.2	6.2	6.2	5.5	5.1	-
England & Wales <sup>d</sup>						
10-14.....	10.4	8.1	6.7	-	-	-
15-19.....	68.8	70.2	75.4	-	78.7	-
20-24.....	62.0	62.2	67.7	-	65.5	-
25-34.....	33.8	33.5	36.3	-	37.3	-
35-44.....	24.1	22.9	24.5	-	35.8	-
45-54.....	23.0	21.0	21.1	-	35.0	-
55-64.....	20.4	19.3	17.8	-	21.8	-
65 & over....	11.5	10.1	8.3	-	5.3	-

Continued ...

TABLE (A-3) (Contd.)

Country and age group	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1955
France <sup>f</sup> .....						
10-14.....	17.5 <sup>g</sup>	16.1 <sup>g</sup>	11.9 <sup>g</sup>	10.3 <sup>g</sup>	6.3 <sup>c</sup>	0.7 <sup>c</sup>
15-19.....	57.1	59.6	58.3	50.9	58.6	42.8
20-24.....	58.4	60.6	57.1	55.0	59.9	57.2
25-34.....	52.8	54.9	50.0	48.7	48.6	40.5
35-44.....	52.8	54.5	49.5	47.9	50.4	42.2
45-54.....	51.9	54.6	48.9	46.7	50.8	46.5
55-64.....	46.0	49.5	42.1	39.6	43.3	38.9
65 & over....	27.7	31.3	23.7	20.7	22.3	13.3
Ireland <sup>h</sup> .....						
10-14.....	-	-	3.3 <sup>e</sup>	2.7 <sup>c</sup>	3.3 <sup>c</sup>	3.9 <sup>c</sup>
15-19.....	-	-	45.7	49.8	51.4	55.3
20-24.....	-	-	59.5	61.9	60.8	64.8
25-34.....	-	-	35.4	38.1	34.4	34.4
35-44.....	-	-	22.1	22.3	21.3	20.7
45-54.....	-	-	22.3	22.0	21.2	21.2
55-64.....	-	-	26.1	23.9	22.0	21.8
65 & over....	-	-	23.4	21.9	18.7	17.0
Japan						
10-14.....	-	25.2	17.5	12.0	4.0 <sup>c</sup>	0.8 <sup>c</sup>
15-19.....	-	62.2	61.8	66.1	52.6	50.1
20-24.....	-	58.9	53.9	58.5	64.0	68.2
25-34.....	-	55.7	47.7	47.0	48.6	50.8
35-44.....	-	57.9	52.9	54.2	52.1	54.4
45-54.....	-	56.4	52.3	57.6	51.9	52.9
55-64.....	-	46.2	41.9	48.7	42.1	42.5
65 & over....	-	20.6	17.3	22.7	21.6	20.6
Netherlands <sup>i</sup> ..						
14-20.....	42.4	46.0	50.1	-	50.3	-
21-24.....	44.7	44.9	48.2	-	48.5	-
25-39.....	22.4	21.2	22.6	-	23.6	-
40-49.....	20.5	16.1	17.0	-	20.7	-
50-64.....	18.5	16.3	15.1	-	16.9	-
65 & over....	12.7	9.1	7.2	-	6.3	-
New Zealand <sup>j</sup> ..						
10-14.....	3.9 <sup>g</sup>	3.1 <sup>g</sup>	2.1 <sup>g</sup>	0.9 <sup>g</sup>	0.0 <sup>g</sup>	0.0 <sup>g</sup>
15-19.....	46.3	51.7	50.0	61.8	64.5	63.7
20-24.....	46.5	52.4	53.8	62.3	52.8	50.6
25-34.....	24.2	25.4	26.3	27.1	22.5	21.9
35-44.....	17.7	16.8	16.1	19.5	20.7	22.8
45-54.....	16.5	15.6	14.7	16.5	21.0	24.9
55-64.....	15.4	12.4	11.7	9.7	12.2	15.2
65 & over....	9.1	6.8	5.0	2.8	3.3	3.6

Continued ...

TABLE (A-3) (Contd.)

Country and age group	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1955
Sweden.....						
10-14.....	-	1.3 <sup>g</sup>	-	0.8 <sup>g</sup>	0.8	-
15-19.....	-	63.5	-	53.5	54.3	-
20-24.....	-	66.5	-	58.1	57.3	-
25-34.....	-	39.9	-	35.2	32.2	-
35-44.....	-	27.7	-	27.6	27.4	-
45-54.....	-	24.1	-	25.6	30.2	-
55-64.....	-	20.2	-	19.8	22.8	-
65 & over....	-	10.5	-	9.8	7.8	-
Switzerland <sup>k</sup> ..						
10-14.....	-	-	1.6 <sup>g</sup>	1.0 <sup>g</sup>	0.6 <sup>g</sup>	-
15-19.....	-	-	62.9	59.0	64.0	-
20-24.....	-	-	67.5	63.7	67.6	-
25-29.....	-	-	45.1	41.8	40.8	-
30-39.....	-	-	31.4	29.2	27.8	-
40-49.....	-	-	28.1	26.3	28.3	-
50-59.....	-	-	26.1	24.0	27.8	-
60-64.....	-	-	23.6	19.9	23.8	-
65 & over....	-	-	16.4	12.0	11.9	-
United States.						
10-14.....	-	3.9	2.8	0.3 <sup>c</sup>	0.8 <sup>c</sup>	-
15-19.....	-	32.6	25.8	22.4	26.7	-
20-24.....	-	37.5	41.8	45.6	43.6	-
25-34.....	-	23.7	27.1	33.3	32.0	-
35-44.....	-	19.2	21.7	27.3	35.2	-
45-54.....	-	17.9	19.7	22.4	33.1	-
55-64.....	-	14.3	15.3	16.6	23.6	-
65 & over....	-	7.3	7.3	6.0	7.9	-

a Census dates were 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947 and 1954.

b Census dates were 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951.

c The tabulation of the economically active population was confined to persons 14 years of age and over. In comparing the activity rates, active persons aged 14 were related to the population aged 10-14 years.

d Census dates were 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1951.

e The tabulation of the active population was confined to persons 12 years of age and over. In computing the activity rates, active persons aged 12-14 years were related to the population 10-14 years.

f Census dates were 1911, 1921, 1931, 1936, 1946 and 1954.

Continued ...

TABLE (A-3) (Contd.)

- g Data on the economically active persons under 15 years of age tabulated without subdivision, were related to the population aged 10-14 to obtain the activity rates. For New Zealand in 1921, 1936 and 1945, and for Switzerland in 1930 and 1941, the number of persons under 15 years of age was partially estimated.
- h Census dates were 1926, 1936, 1946 and 1951.
- i Census dates were 1909, 1920, 1930 and 1947.
- j Census dates were 1911, 1921, 1936, 1945, 1951 and 1956.
- k Census dates were 1930, 1941, 1950.

SOURCE: "Demographic Aspects of Manpower", Population Studies No.33, op.cit. pp.66-68.



TABLE (A-4).

(Refers to Figure (2-7) Chapter 2)

MEAN INDUSTRIAL COMPOSITION OF THE FEMALE NON-AGRICULTURAL  
LABOUR FORCE OF METROPOLITAN POPULATION BY LEVEL OF  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (26 COUNTRIES).

Development Class	Class I	Class II	Class III	TOTAL
No. of countries.....	7	10	9	26
Manufacturing.....	30	29	21	26
Construction utilities...	1	0.8	1.4	1.0
Commerce.....	23	14	14	17
Communication.....	3	1.2	1.6	2.0
Services.....	43	55	62	54
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

SOURCE: Collver, "The Female Labour Force", op.cit. p.379

TABLE (A-41).

(Refers to Figure (2-7) Chapter 2)

MEAN PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE NON-AGRICULTURAL  
LABOUR FORCE IN SERVICES.

Development Class	Class I	Class II	Class III
No. of Countries.....	7	10	9
All Services.....	43	55	62
Private Domestic Services....	9	28	41
Excluding Private Domestic Services.....	33	27	21

SOURCE: Andrew Collver and Eleanor Langlois, "The Female Labour Force in Metropolitan Areas", op.cit. p.380.



TABLE (A-5).

TRENDS IN THE RATE OF PARTICIPATION OF  
WOMEN IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BY MAJOR  
ECONOMIC SECTOR IN SELECTED COUNTRIES.

Country	Year	Percentage of Economically Active Women Among Total Female Population			
		All activities	Agriculture <sup>1</sup>	Industry <sup>2</sup>	Services <sup>3</sup>
Asia:	1930	33.0	20.1	4.6	8.3
Japan.....	1947	32.5	21.8	4.1	5.1
	1955	34.3	17.7	5.1	10.9
	1960	36.2	15.6	7.2	13.0
Europe	1934	30.5	10.0	7.0	12.5
Austria.....	1939	41.7	21.3	7.6	12.7
	1951	35.0	15.3	7.6	11.7
Denmark.....	1930	26.9	6.7	3.6	15.6
	1940	35.2	6.5	6.5	22.0
	1955	32.1	5.3	6.5	19.4
Finland.....	1930	38.9	25.5	3.5	9.0
	1940	43.7	26.7	5.4	8.8
	1950	38.4	17.5	8.0	12.5
France.....	1931	37.1	15.0	10.0	12.1
	1936	34.2	13.7	8.4	12.1
	1946	37.5	15.6	7.5	12.6
	1954	29.9	8.2	7.5	13.2
	1957	28.8	7.7	7.5	13.3
Germany (Federal Republic) .....	1946	30.1	12.7	6.5	10.9
	1950	31.4	11.0	7.9	11.4
	1960	33.2	6.8	11.1	15.3
Great Britain.....	1931	26.9	0.3	10.2	16.2
	1951	27.4	0.5	10.7	16.1
Italy.....	1930	24.0	11.1	6.3	6.6
	1951	21.7	8.4	5.7	6.2
	1961	22.9	6.9	7.1	8.5
Norway.....	1930	22.0	2.8	4.2	14.9
	1950	19.9	1.6	5.1	12.9
Sweden.....	1930	28.7	7.8	6.0	14.9
	1945	22.3	1.3	5.5	15.2
	1950	23.2	1.5	5.9	15.6
	1960	27.2	1.0	7.1	17.9

Continued ...

TABLE (A-5) (Contd.)

Country	Year	Percentage of Economically Active Women Among Total Female Population			
		All activities	Agriculture	Industry	Services
Switzerland.....	1930	29.0	2.4	10.9	15.7
	1941	25.9	1.4	9.3	15.0
	1950	26.2	1.2	9.5	15.2
	1960	27.5	1.2	10.1	16.2
Latin America:					
Chile.....	1930	13.4	1.2	4.2	6.5
	1940	16.8	1.6	3.8	11.3
	1952	18.1	1.4	4.5	11.5
	1960	13.8	0.6	2.8	9.8
North America:					
Canada.....	1931	13.3	0.5	1.7	8.8
	1941	16.4	0.4	3.3	11.1
	1951	16.9	0.5	4.2	11.9
	1961	18.7	0.4	3.8	14.4
United States.....	1930	17.7	1.5	4.0	11.9
	1940	19.6	0.8	4.2	13.3
	1950	21.8	0.8	5.4	14.7
	1961 <sup>4</sup>	26.1	1.0	5.2	18.0
Oceania:					
Australia.....	1933	19.3	0.6	4.2	12.9
	1947	19.0	0.6	4.9	11.8
	1954	19.0	0.7	5.4	12.9
U.S.S.R.....	1939	38.4	20.9	9.4 <sup>5</sup>	8.1 <sup>6</sup>
	1959	41.5	18.1	12.6 <sup>5</sup>	10.8 <sup>6</sup>

- 1 Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting.
- 2 Mining and quarrying, manufacturing, construction and electricity gas, water and sanitary services.
- 3 Commerce, transport, storage and communications, and public and private services.
- 4 Estimate.
- 5 Including transport and communications.
- 6 Excluding transport and communications.

SOURCE: International Labour Conference "Women Workers in a Changing World" op.cit., p.28.

TABLE (A-6).

TRENDS IN AGE-SPECIFIC ACTIVITY RATES FORMARRIED WOMEN SELECTED COUNTRIES:AROUND 1920 AND AROUND 1950(Percentage economically active among  
female population in given age).

	Country				
	Australia <sup>a</sup>	England and Wales <sup>b</sup>	Ireland <sup>c</sup>	New Zealand	Sweden
15-19 Years					
Around 1920....	4.1	15.2	9.4	5.5	4.7
Around 1950....	17.4	39.3	6.1	18.5	24.9
20-34 Years					
Around 1920....	3.4	10.5	6.1	4.4	4.8
Around 1950....	15.2	28.0	4.2	13.3	19.2
35-54 Years					
Around 1920....	5.0	9.1	6.0	5.4	4.3
Around 1950....	13.7	25.7	5.2	15.8	15.5
55 Years & over					
Around 1920....	4.6	6.6	4.7	4.1	2.0
Around 1950	4.9	8.7	4.5	5.6	5.4
a) Dates are 1921 and 1954. b) Dates are 1921 and 1951. c) Dates are 1926 and 1951. d) Dates are 1921 and 1956. 1921 data exclude Maori population.					
SOURCE: "Demographic Aspects of Manpower", Population Studies, No.33, op.cit., p.49.					

A P P E N D I X B

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN THREE COUNTRIES:

JAPAN, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

JAPANTABLE (B-1).

(Refers to figure (3-11), Chapter 3)

EMPLOYED PERSONS BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS.

Year	Total	Self- employed	Unpaid family workers	Employees
		Both sexes		
1950	35,720	10,100	12,980	12,650
1955	41,190	10,400	13,850	16,900
1960	44,610	10,330	11,510	22,730
1965	47,480	9,680	9,920	27,830
1966	48,470	9,770	9,640	29,020
		Male		
1950	21,640	7,990	4,180	9,480
1955	24,120	7,940	4,190	11,980
1960	26,480	7,600	3,090	15,780
1965	28,650	7,040	2,480	19,110
1966	29,210	7,020	2,430	19,730
		Female		
1950	14,080	2,110	8,800	3,170
1955	17,050	2,460	9,650	4,920
1960	18,120	2,730	8,420	6,950
1965	18,830	2,650	7,440	8,730
1966	19,260	2,750	7,220	9,290
SOURCE: Japan, Bureau of Statistics, <u>Japan Statistical Year Book 1966</u> , Office of the Prime Minister Tokyo 1967, p.54.				

TABLE (B-2).

(Refers to figure (3-12) Chapter 3)

PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL OF WOMEN (AGED 25-29)ACCORDING TO THEIR MARITAL STATUS. JAPAN 1955.

Occupation	All women	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100
Professional.....	5.2	14.6	3.6	6.1	7.1
Clerical.....	5.4	22.4	2.4	7.9	9.1
Sales.....	11.2	7.3	11.6	13.3	11.2
Labourer primary industrial.....	56.0	16.0	66.2	30.2	20.8
Skilled labourer and not classified.....	13.7	16.7	12.0	23.9	21.8
Service workers.....	8.2	22.8	3.9	17.8	28.9
All others.....	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.9	1.0

SOURCE: I. Taeuber, "The Population of Japan", op.cit. p.218.

TABLE (B-21).

(Refers to figure (3-121), Chapter 3)

PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF WOMEN(AGED 35-49) JAPAN 1955.

Occupation	All women	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100
Professional.....	8.0	15.2	6.0	6.1	7.7
Clerical.....	11.8	29.8	6.1	11.6	12.7
Sales.....	17.2	7.9	20.9	16.0	13.1
Labourer primary industrial.....	26.7	4.6	38.1	13.2	6.0
Skilled labourer and not classified.....	20.5	17.0	20.8	26.2	21.8
Service workers.....	15.1	25.2	7.6	25.0	37.3
All others.....	0.6	0.3	0.5	1.9	1.4

SOURCE: Irene Taeuber, "The Population of Japan," op.cit. p.218

TABLE (B-3).

EMPLOYED PERSONS BY INDUSTRY  
JAPAN.

Year	Total	Agriculture and forestry	Fisheries	Mining	Construction
			Both sexes		
1955	41,190	16,040	500	490	1,810
1960	44,610	13,910	580	510	2,360
1965	47,480	11,540	580	560	3,080
1966	48,470	11,140	590	330	3,290
			Male		
1955	24,120	7,810	430	440	1,620
1960	26,480	6,580	470	470	2,080
1965	28,650	5,320	450	320	2,690
1966	29,210	5,160	460	300	2,850
			Female		
1955	17,050	8,230	60	50	180
1960	18,120	7,330	110	40	280
1965	18,830	6,220	130	40	400
1966	19,260	5,980	130	30	450
	Manufacturing	Wholesale, retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate.	Transport, com- munication and other public utilities.	Services	Government
			Both sexes		
1955	7,560	7,150	1,920	4,500	1,190
1960	9,510	8,490	2,450	5,520	1,280
1965	11,570	9,560	3,040	6,270	1,450
1966	11,870	10,000	3,210	6,600	1,420
			Male		
1955	4,850	3,950	1,710	2,280	1,020
1960	6,230	4,700	2,140	2,740	1,080
1965	7,620	5,230	2,660	3,130	1,220
1966	7,750	5,440	2,800	3,240	1,190
			Female		
1955	2,710	3,200	220	2,220	170
1960	3,280	3,800	310	2,790	200
1965	3,960	4,330	370	3,140	230
1966	4,120	4,560	410	3,350	230

SOURCE: Japan Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Handbook of Japan 1967  
Office of the Prime Minister, Tokyo 1967, p.102.

TABLE (B-4)

(Refers to Figure(3-21)Chapter 2).

FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATIONU.S.S.R. 1926 - 1959.

Age	1926	1959
10 - 14.....	53	-
15 - 19.....	80	63
20 - 24.....	93	81
25 - 29.....	75	80
30 - 34.....	75	78
35 - 39.....	77	77
40 - 44.....	77	76
45 - 49.....	77	75
50 - 54.....	72	69
55 - 59.....	68	55
60 - 64.....	55	48
65 - 69.....	47	35
70 - 74.....	-	21
75 - 79.....	-	16

Compiled from: Norton T. Dodge, "Women in the Soviet Economy". op.cit. pp.35 & 37.



TABLE (B-5)

452.

(Refers to Reference No.15).

FEMALE LABOUR FORCE BY SOCIO ECONOMICCATEGORY BY BRANCH, 1959(1000)<sup>S</sup>

Labour Force Category	Number	% Distribution	% of Women
Total Civilian Labour Force.....	56,555	100.0	57.3
Socialized and Private Independent Sector.....	47,604	84.2	49.8
Branches of Material Production.....	38,342	67.8	47.4
Industry, construction, transport and communications.....	14,152	25.0	38.7
Agriculture.....	20,764	36.7	54.0
Collective farmers.....	17,992	31.8	56.7
Workers and Employees.....	2,713	4.8	41.0
Individual Peasants.....	60	0.1	65.2
Trade, public dining, etc.	3,178	5.6	61.5
Other Branches	248	0.4	35.9
Branches of non-material production.	9,204	16.3	63.7
Education, Science and Public health.....	6,928	12.3	70.7
Housing, Communal Economy, Administration, Finance Credit System.....	2,276	4.0	48.8
Unknown.....	58	0.1	30.4
Private Subsidiary Agricultural Sector.....	8,951	15.8	90.7

Compiled from: Norton T. Dodge, "Women in the Soviet Economy",  
op. cit. p.162.

TABLE (B-6)

(Refers to Reference No.15)

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN  
MAJOR OCCUPATIONS INVOLVING PHYSICAL LABOUR 1959.

Employment Categories	Thousands of Women	Percentage of Women
Total engaged in physical labour.....	45,501.1	51
Non specialised agricultural workers.....	15,932.9	66
Private subsidiary agricultural workers...	8,950.9	91
Specialised agricultural workers.....	3,809.8	38
Communal and household service workers...	3,343.3	67
Metal workers.....	1,304.0	15
Garment workers.....	1,171.6	90
Textile workers.....	958.3	85
Construction workers.....	905.4	18
Nursing (orderlies, nurses and nurse- maids).....	868.9	97
Public dining (cooks, waitresses and barmaids).....	703.7	90
Food industry workers.....	525.2	64
Railway workers.....	518.9	31
Power station workers.....	294.4	26
Construction materials industry worker....	290.2	54
Operators of materials handling equipment.....	263.0	44
Woodworking industry workers.....	246.9	18
Chemical industry workers.....	226.2	57

Source: Norton T. Dodge, "Women in the Soviet Economy",  
op.cit. p.182.

TABLE (B-7)

(Refers to Reference No.23)

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN TO TOTAL LABOUR FORCE IN SOME  
MENTAL OCCUPATIONS, 1926, 1939, AND 1959.

Occupation	1926 %	1939 %	1959 %
Total number (including private subsidiary economy).....	-	43	48
Total employed in primarily physical labour.....	-	45	46
Total employed in primarily mental work.....	26	34	54
Heads of State, administrative, party, Young Communist league, trade union, co-operative organization and other social organizations.....	6	12	26
Heads of establishments (industrial construction agricultural, forestry, transport, communications).....	1	6	12
Engineering - technical personnel.....	-	22	39
Engineers and Chief Engineers.....	2	13	32
Model builders, draughtsmen.....	-	46	56
Foremen (technical personnel).....	-	9	24
Technicians (excl. agro-zootechnicians and veterinary technicians).....	-	21	45
Coal-mining foremen.....	-	2	20
Agronomists, zootechnicians, veterinary personnel and foresters...	-	14	34
Chief doctors and other Head of Public Health Institutions.....	31	39	52
Doctors.....	40	61	79
Dentists.....	79	84	84
Pharmacists.....	-	93	95
Nursery Directors and training personnel.....	-	100	100
Scientific personnel, higher educational institution teachers, heads of scientific research institutions.....	31	31	38
Teachers in primary, 7 yr., and all secondary educational institutions and courses (incl. heads of primary school).....	63	55	73
Judges, procurators.....	-	14	23
Lawyers, legal consultants and other juridical personnel.....	-	13	36

Source: Norton T. Dodge, "Women in the Soviet Economy", op. cit. p.300.

TABLE (B-8)

(Refers to Reference No.23)

WOMEN SCIENTIFIC WORKERS IN HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1950, 1955, AND 1960

Position	Oct. 1950		Oct. 1955		Oct. 1960		
	No. of Women	Percentage Distribution	No. of Women	Percentage Distribution	No. of Women	Percentage Distribution	
Directors, Deputy Directors for Training and Scientific Work.....	95	0.3	96	0.2	109	0.2	
Deans.....	142	0.5	193	0.5	256	0.5	
Heads of Departments.....	1,550	5.5	1,983	5.0	2,083	4.2	
Professors.....	110	0.4	125	0.3	164	0.3	
Associate Professors.....	2,464	8.7	4,367	11.1	6,342	12.8	
Other Positions.....	23,951	84.6	32,632	82.9	40,448	82.0	
TOTAL.....	28,312	100.0	39,396	100.0	49,402	100.0	
							% Women
							5.3
							8.9
							12.3
							10.6
							24.4
							41.4
							33.6

SOURCE: Dodge, "Women in the Soviet Economy", op.cit. p.207.

TABLE (B-9)

(Refers to Figure (3-31) Chapter 3)

WOMEN IN THE U.S.A. LABOUR FORCE1940 - 1965 BY MARITAL STATUS

Status	Percentage of the Female Labour Force			
	1940	1950	1960	1965
Single.....	48.5	31.6	24.0	22.8
Married.....	36.4	52.1	59.9	62.2
Widowed & Divorced.....	15.1	16.3	16.1	15.0
TOTAL.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, <u>Statistical Abstract of the United States 1969, 90th Annual Edition</u> , U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., June 1969, p.220.				

TABLE (B-10)

(Refers to Figure (3-32), Chapter 2)

FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE, THE  
UNITED STATES, 1890 - 1965.

Age Group	(1) 1890 %	(1) 1900 %	(1) 1920 %	(1) 1930 %	(1) 1940 %	(2) 1950 %	(2) 1960 %	(2) 1965 %
14 & over	15.8	17.3	20.7	21.8	24.5	31.8	34.8	37.3
14 - 19....	22.3	23.8	27.5	21.9	18.7	23.6	39.1	37.7
20 - 24....	27.9	29.4	36.7	41.4	45.8	43.2	46.1	49.7
25 - 34....	14.5	16.8	21.5	24.9	31.8	31.8	35.8	38.5
35 - 44....	9.9	12.2	16.5	19.1	25.2	35.0	43.1	45.9
45 - 54....	9.8	11.3	15.4	17.3	20.8	32.9	49.3	50.5
55 - 64....	9.3	10.2	12.6	13.8	15.7	23.4	36.7	40.6
65 & over..	6.0	6.7	6.1	6.5	5.5	7.8	10.5	9.5

(1) Gertrude Bancroft, "The American Labour Force" op.cit. p.31.  
(2) U.S. Department of Commerce, "Statistical Abstract of the United States", op.cit. p.220.

TABLE (B-11)

458.

(Refers to Reference No.35)

EMPLOYED PERSONS, BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP AND SEX: 1950 to 1965  
U.S.A.

Major Occupation Group and Sex	1950 <sup>1</sup>	1955 <sup>1</sup>	1960	1965
TOTAL.....	59,648	62,997	66,681	72,179
White-collar workers.....	22,373	24,585	28,726	32,104
Percent of total.....	37.5	39.0	43.1	44.5
Professional & technical workers.	4,490	5,792	7,475	8,883
Managers, officials & proprietors	6,429	6,450	7,067	7,340
Clerical workers.....	7,632	8,367	9,783	11,166
Sales workers.....	3,822	3,976	4,401	4,715
Blue-collar workers.....	23,336	24,771	24,211	26,466
Craftsmen & foremen.....	7,670	8,328	8,560	9,221
Operatives.....	12,146	12,762	11,986	13,390
Nonfarm labourers.....	3,520	3,681	3,665	3,855
Service Workers.....	6,535	7,106	8,349	9,342
Private household workers.....	1,883	1,946	2,216	2,251
Other service workers.....	4,652	5,160	6,133	7,091
Farmworkers.....	7,408	6,537	5,395	4,265
Male.....	42,156	43,191	44,485	47,034
White-collar workers.....	13,549	14,305	16,596	17,964
Percent of total.....	32.1	33.1	37.3	38.2
Professional & technical workers.	2,696	3,608	4,768	5,602
Managers, officials & proprietors	5,439	5,454	5,967	6,229
Clerical workers.....	3,035	2,792	3,154	3,293
Sales workers.....	2,379	2,451	2,707	2,840
Blue-collar workers.....	19,727	20,925	20,573	22,314
Craftsmen & foremen.....	7,482	8,114	8,338	8,951
Operatives.....	8,810	9,235	8,652	9,620
Nonfarm labourers.....	3,435	3,576	3,583	3,743
Service Workers.....	2,685	2,657	2,918	3,287
Private household workers.....	125	42	45	57
Other service workers.....	2,560	2,615	2,873	3,230
Farmworkers.....	6,196	5,305	4,398	3,466
Female.....	17,493	19,807	22,196	25,145

Continued ...



TABLE (B-11) (Contd.)

Major Occupation Group and Sex	1950 <sup>1</sup>	1955 <sup>1</sup>	1960	1965
White-collar workers.....	8,824	10,280	12,129	14,137
Percent of total.....	50.4	51.9	54.6	56.2
Professional and technical workers	1,794	2,183	2,706	3,280
Managers, officials & proprietors.	990	997	1,099	1,110
Clerical workers.....	4,597	5,575	6,629	7,873
Sales workers.....	1,443	1,525	1,695	1,874
Blue-collar workers.....	3,608	3,847	3,637	4,153
Craftsmen & foremen.....	188	215	222	270
Operatives.....	3,336	3,527	3,333	3,772
Nonfarm labourers.....	84	105	82	111
Service workers.....	3,850	4,449	5,431	6,057
Private household workers.....	1,758	1,904	2,171	2,195
Other service workers.....	2,092	2,545	3,260	3,862
1) Based on first month in each quarter				
SOURCE: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the U.S., op.cit. p.222.				



TABLE (B-112)

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN  
IN NON-FARM WORK, U.S.A. 1890

Occupation	1,000	% distributed
<u>Professional Workers</u> .....	312	9.6
Teachers.....	246	7.6
Musicians, artists and teachers of music and art.....	45	1.4
Physicians & surgeons.....	5	
Actresses and entertainers.....	4	0.6
All other occupations.....	12	
<u>Trade &amp; Transportation</u> .....	228	7.0
Clerical Workers.....	113	3.5
Saleswomen.....	59	1.8
Retail Merchants.....	22	0.7
All other occupations.....	34	1.0
<u>Domestic &amp; Personnel Service</u> .....	1,668	51.6
Servants.....	1,217	37.6
Launderers.....	217	6.7
Labourers not specified.....	55	1.7
All other occupations.....	179	5.6
<u>Manufacturing &amp; Mechanical Industries</u> .....	1,027	31.8
Needle trades.....	580	17.9
Textile mills.....	224	6.9
Boots & shoes.....	34	1.1
Tobacco & Cigars.....	28	0.9
All other industries.....	161	5.0
<b>TOTAL NON-FARM</b> .....	<b>3,235</b>	<b>100.0</b>

SOURCE: National Manpower Council, "Womanpower", op.cit.  
p.119.

## CLASS OF WORKER OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SEX: 1955 TO 1968

(In thousands of persons 14 years old and over)

Class of Worker	1955 <sup>1</sup>		1960		1965	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employed in Agriculture....	5,487	1,243	4,678	1,045	3,729	856
Wage & Salary Workers.....	1,415	285	1,558	308	1,243	249
Self-employed workers.....	3,582	149	2,687	116	2,170	137
Unpaid Family workers	489	810	433	621	316	470
Employed in Non- Agricultural Industries...	37,803	18,661	39,807	21,151	43,304	24,289
Wage & Salary workers.....	32,934	17,119	34,689	19,287	38,434	22,331
In Private Households.....	254	1,962	288	2,201	334	2,214
Government workers.....	4,234	2,604	4,788	3,155	5,685	3,938
Other Wage & Salary workers.....	28,446	12,554	29,613	13,931	32,415	16,179
Self-employed workers.....	4,809	1,077	5,027	1,340	4,794	1,419
Unpaid Family workers.....	60	465	91	524	77	540

1) Data have not been adjusted to reflect change in definition of employment and unemployment adopted in January 1957

SOURCE: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the U.S.,  
op.cit. p.222.

TABLE (B-13)

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN FEMALE LABOUR FORCE IN OCCUPATIONAL  
SECTORS, BY RACE. U.S.A. 1910 - 1960

	1910- 1920	1920- 1930	1930- 1940	1940- 1950	1950- 1960
White Female Labour Force					
All sectors.....	20	27	21	44	27
Non-farm Total.....	23	30	24	43	30
White collar sector total....	74	42	17	62	35
Professional and Technical workers.....	39	46	5	27	48
Proprietors, managers and officials.....	29	55	58	68	7
Clerical and sales workers...	103	40	19	76	35
Manual and Service Sector					
Total.....	-6	18	33	22	22
Skilled workers and foremen..	4	-20	19	100	15
Semi-skilled workers, labourers and service workers.....	-6	19	33	20	22
Farm, Total.....	-7	-15	-41	76	-17
Negro female labour force, all sectors.....	1	113	-3	22	34
Non-farm Total.....	0.5	40	14	32	37
White collar sector, total...	42	51	29	138	110
Professional & technical workers.....	31	60	23	61	65
Proprietors, Managers and Officials.....	31	38	13	131	96
Clerical and Sales workers...	122	36	56	348	151
Manual and Service sector					
Total.....	-21	39	13	22	27
Skilled workers and foremen					
Semi-skilled workers.....	82	-27	73	334	375
Labourers and service workers.....	-2	40	13	21	26
Farm, Total.....	3	-26	-48	-29	-4

SOURCE: Hiestand, "Economic Development and Employment Opportunity for Minority", op.cit. p.16.

A P P E N D I X C

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

IN THE UNITED KINGDOM 1900 - 1946.

TABLE (C-1)

(Refers to Figure (4-1) Chapter 4)

PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPIED WOMEN TO TOTAL  
NUMBER OF WOMEN IN DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS

Age group.....	1911	1921	1931
14 - 15.....	48	44.8	50.8
16 - 17.....	67.3	70.8	75.6
18 - 20.....	73.8	76.2	78.9
21 - 24.....	61.9	62.8	65.1
25 - 34.....	33.8	33.4	36.3
35 - 44.....	24.1	22.6	24.1
45 - 54.....	23.0	20.9	21.0
55 - 64.....	20.3	19.3	17.8

SOURCE: Mary Agnes Hamilton, Women at Work,  
George Routledge & Son Ltd., London,  
1949, p.8.

TABLE (C-2)

(Refers to Figure (4-2) Chapter 4)

PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPIED MARRIED WOMEN TO ALL  
MARRIED WOMEN IN DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS.

Age Group	1911 %	1921 %	1931 %
18 - 20.....	13.5	15.0	19.5
21 - 24.....	12.9	13.2	19.2
25 - 34.....	10.6	9.9	10.4
35 - 44.....	10.6	9.0	10.5
45 - 54.....	10.5	8.8	8.7
55 - 64.....	8.8	7.5	6.6

SOURCE: Mary Agnes Hamilton, Women at Work,  
op.cit. p.11.

TABLE (C-3)

CHANGES IN INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN1901 - 1911.

Occupation of Female Labour Force	Number		Change (±) %
	1901	1911	
Domestic, Offices and Services.....	1,690,727	1,734,040	+ 2.6
Textiles.....	663,222	746,154	+12.5
Dress.....	710,961	755,964	+ 6.3
Dressmakers.....	340,582	339,240	- 0.4
Tailors.....	117,640	127,115	+ 8.1
Food, Drink and Lodging.....	229,518	474,683	+58.5
Paper, Books and Stationery.....	90,900	121,309	+33.5
Metal, Machines, etc..	63,016	101,050	+60.4
Commerce.....	59,944	126,847	+45.6
Increase of Female Population over 10...			+12.6

SOURCE: B.L. Hutchins, Women in Modern Industry,  
G. Bell and Sons Ltd., London, 1915, p.85.

TABLE (C-4)

467.

## CHANGES IN THE NUMBERS OF WOMEN DURING 1914-1918 AND

## THE NUMBERS OF WOMEN DIRECTLY REPLACING MEN IN INDUSTRY.

Numbers of Activity Women	1914	1918	Changes in Nos. ±	
On their Own Account Employers.....	430,000	470,000	40,000	Women directly replacing men in industry
<u>Industry</u>				
Metal.....	170,000	594,000	+424,000	195,000
Chemical.....	40,000	104,000	+ 64,000	35,000
Textile.....	863,000	827,000	- 36,000	64,000
Clothing.....	612,000	568,000	- 44,000	43,000
Food, Drink, Tobacco.	196,000	235,000	+ 39,000	60,000
Paper & Printing.....	147,500	141,500	- 6,000	21,000
Wood.....	44,000	79,000	+ 35,000	23,000
China & Earthenware..	32,000	197,100	+ 93,000	62,000
Leather.....	23,100			
Others.....	49,000			
Government Establish- ment.....	2,000	225,000	+223,000	197,000
<b>TOTAL INDUSTRY</b>	<b>3,178,600</b>	<b>2,970,600</b>	<b>79,200</b>	<b>704,000</b>
Domestic Service.....	1,658,000	1,258,000	-400,000	
Commerce.....	305,500	934,500	+429,000	
National & Local Government incl.				
Education.....	262,200	46,200	-198,000	
Agriculture.....	190,000	228,000	+ 38,000	
Hotels, Public Houses, Theatres.....	181,000	220,000	+ 39,000	
Transport.....	18,200	117,200	+ 99,000	
Others (incl. Professionals & Home Workers.....)	542,500	652,500	+110,000	
<b>TOTAL OCCUPIED</b>	<b>5,966,000</b>	<b>7,311,000</b>	<b>+1,345,000</b>	
NOT OCCUPIED BUT OVER 10.....	12,946,000	12,496,000	-450,000	
UNDER 10.....	4,809,000	4,731,000	- 78,000	
<b>TOTAL FEMALES.....</b>	<b>23,721,000</b>	<b>24,538,000</b>	<b>+817,000</b>	

SOURCE: Compiled from the Report of the War Committee, "Women in Industry, op.cit. pp.79-82.



**TABLE (C-5)**  
**NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO RECEIVED TRAINING UNDER GOVERNMENT TRAINING**  
**SCHEMES DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN 28TH AUGUST 1939 AND 1ST JULY 1945**

	In Training 28th August 1939		Admissions			Placed in Employment Passed to Further Training or Returned to Service Duty	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Government Training Centres							
Able-Bodied.....	4,383	102,941	151,366	254,307	112,332	83,440	195,772
Disabled.....	-	45	13,664	13,709	9,632	31	9,663
Higher Grade.....	-	6,776	8,492	15,268	-	-	-
Indians.....	-	-	787	787	787	-	787
Services.....	-	1,172	55,401	56,573	55,401	1,172	56,573
TOTAL.....	4,383	110,934	229,710	340,644	178,152	84,643	262,795
Technical Colleges, Commercial Schools and Other Establishments							
Able-Bodied.....	-	67,506	27,178	94,684	19,447	56,257	75,704
Disabled.....	-	214	1,553	1,767	888	119	1,007
Higher Grade.....	-	785	972	1,757	-	-	-
TOTAL.....	-	68,505	29,703	98,208	20,335	56,376	76,711
Residential Establishments (St.Loyes, Finchale Abbey and Leatherhead).....	-	195	1,999	2,194	1,267	136	1,403
Egham Industrial Rehabilitation Centre.....	-	-	821	821	740	-	740

Continued ...

TABLE (C-5) (Contd.)

	In Training 28th August 1939		Admissions			Placed in Employment Passes to Further Training or Returned to Service Duty		
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Part-Time Training at Technical Colleges								
Foremanship.....	-	-	20,222	-	20,222	12,043	-	12,043
Women Supervisors.....	-	1,135	-	1,135	1,135	-	683	683
Production Planning.....	-	-	10,172	-	10,172	5,524	-	5,524
Canteen Management.....	-	2,070	-	2,070	2,070	-	1,327	1,327
TOTAL.....	-	3,205	30,394	3,205	33,599	17,567	2,010	19,577
Coal Mining Centres								
G.T.C's.....	-	-	45,569	-	45,569	43,823	-	43,823
North Staffs, and Kent.....	-	-	2,904	-	2,904	2,821	-	2,821
TOTAL.....	-	-	48,473	-	48,473	46,644	-	46,644
Coal Mining Mechanisation Centre								
Sheffield - Course A.....	-	-	347	-	347	343	-	343
Course B.....	-	-	558	-	558	524	-	524
Course C.....	-	-	382	-	382	382	-	382
Upgrading.....	-	-	116	-	116	111	-	111
TOTAL.....	-	-	1,403	-	1,403	1,360	-	1,360
GRAND TOTAL.....	4,383	182,839	342,503	182,839	525,342	266,065	143,165	409,230

Continued ...

TABLE (C-5) (Contd.)

	Higher Grade Trainees Terminated			Completed Course Unplaced			Premature Terminations		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Government Training Centres									
Able-Bodied.....	-	-	-	5,161	2,072	7,233	38,256	17,429	55,685
Disabled.....	-	-	-	679	2	681	3,353	12	3,365
Higher Grade.....	8,492	6,776	15,268	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indians.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Services.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL.....	8,492	6,776	15,268	5,840	2,074	7,914	41,609	17,441	59,050
Technical Colleges, Commercial Schools and Other Establishments									
Able-Bodied.....	-	-	-	3,564	2,508	6,072	4,167	8,741	12,908
Disabled.....	-	-	-	258	32	290	407	63	470
Higher Grade.....	972	785	1,757	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL.....	972	785	1,757	3,822	2,540	6,362	4,574	8,804	13,378
Residential Establishments (St.Loyes, Finchale Abbey and Leatherhead).....	-	-	-	143	22	165	589	37	626
Egham Industrial Rehabilitation Centre.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	81	-	81

Continued ...

TABLE (C-5) (Contd.)

	Higher Grade Trainees Terminated			Completed Course Unplaced			Premature Terminations		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
	Part-Time Training at Technical Colleges	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,179	-
Foremanship.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	452	452
Women Supervisors.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,648	-	4,648
Production Planning.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	743	743
Canteen Management.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	12,827	1,195	14,022
TOTAL.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,746	-	1,746
Coal Mining Centres	-	-	-	-	-	-	83	-	83
G.T.C's.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,829	-	1,829
North Staffs. and Kent.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Coal Mining Mechanisation Centre	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4
Sheffield - Course A.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	-	34
Course B.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Course C.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Upgrading.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5
TOTAL.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	-	43
GRAND TOTAL.....	9,464	7,561	17,025	9,805	4,636	14,441	61,552	27,477	89,029

SOURCE: "Report of the Ministry of Labour and National Service for the Year 1939-1946" Cmd.7225, op.cit. pp.348-349.

A P P E N D I X D

TREND IN WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT DURING  
THE POST WAR PERIOD.

TABLE (D-1)

(Refers to Figure (5-1) Chapter 5)

PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED WOMEN TO TOTAL WOMENIN EMPLOYMENT IN DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS1950 - 1964

Age Group	1950	1960	1964
15 - 19.....	2	3.7	3.7
20 - 24.....	26	34.8	31.7
25 - 34.....	54	66.3	67.3
35 - 44.....	62	75.4	78.6
45 - 54.....	67	68.7	73.0
55 - 59.....	44	55.3	60.3
60 & over.....	36	44.7	50.8

SOURCE: Ministry of Labour Gazette, Vol.59, H.M.S.O. Jun.1951  
Vol.69, H.M.S.O. Jun.1961, Vol.73, H.M.S.O. Jun.1965.

TABLE (D-2)

(Refers to Figure (5-2) Chapter 5)

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUPS AND MARITAL STATUSGREAT BRITAIN - PERCENTAGE IN EACH AGE GROUP.

Age Group	1952		1960		1964		Males %
	Single %	Married %	Single %	Married %	Single %	Married %	
15 - 19	78	55	77	45	76	40	-
20 - 24	92	42	99	39	99	35	98
25 - 29	91	29	99	32	99	30	99
30 - 34	89	26	88	31	98	31	99
35 - 39	77	29	86	36	83	39	99
40 - 44	80	31	96	39	88	45	99
45 - 49	73	31	81	41	82	45	98
50 - 54	65	27	74	37	74	43	96
55 - 59	54	21	58	29	60	36	94
60 - 64	26	19	30	16	30	20	84

SOURCE: Ministry of Labour Gazette, Vol.LXXIII, No.1, H.M.S.O., London, Jan. 1965, p.3.

TABLE (D-3)

TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES ACCORDING TO GRADES

No. of firm	MEN				WOMEN				Total men and women
	Hourly rated	Staff	Total	% of all employees	Hourly rated	Staff	Total	% of all employees	
1	894	245	1139	76	281	98	379	24	1518
2	-	126	126	29	224	86	310	71	436
3	-	602	602	62	-	378	378	38	980
4	227	286	513	32	806	87	893	68	1306
5	206	75	281	33	555	25	580	67	861
6	19	265	284	51	116	162	278	49	562
7	158	645	803	28	1948	127	2075	72	2878
	1504	2244	3748	43	3930	963	4893	57	8541

Hourly Rated includes:      Unskilled Workers  
    Semi-skilled Workers  
    Skilled Workers

Staff includes:                      Clerical



TABLE (D-4)

476.

(Refers to Figure (5-3) Chapter 5)

TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYEES BY AGEGROUP AND MARITAL STATUS.

Age Group	Married	Married as % of Total	Single Widowed & Divorced	Single Widowed & Divorced as % of Total	Total Women Employees
Under 18	61	19	366	81	427
18 - 24	846	45	1,033	55	1,879
25 - 34	1,728	88	236	12	1,964
35 - 44	1,845	90	205	10	2,050
45 - 59	1,749	89	216	11	1,965
60 & over	51	20	205	80	256
	6,280	74	2,261	26	8,541



## 5. Salary/Length of Service/Marital Status (Women employees).

Length /Salary of Service (years)	£ 250 to 500	£ 501 to 750	£ 751 to 1250	£ 1251 to 1500	£ 1501 to 1750	£ 1751 to 2000	£ 2001 to 2500	£ 2501 to 3000	£ 3001 & Over	TOTAL
0- 5										
6-10										
11-15										
16-20										
21-24										
25-30										
31-35										
36-40										
41 & Over										
TOTAL										

NO DATA GIVEN BY FIRMS

## 6. Classification of men and women employees according to different types of jobs.

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women &amp; Girls</u>	
		<u>Full-time</u>	<u>Part-time</u>
Research			
Sales - Commercial			
Personnel			
Clinical Services			
Canteen Management			
Publicity, public relations			

6. (Contd.)

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women &amp; Girls</u>	
		<u>Full-time</u>	<u>Part-time</u>
Canteen			
Medical			
Information			
Sales Representatives			
Packaging			
Stores			
Statistic Computer			
Patents			
Production Management			
Production			
Work Study			
Personal Assistant to Directors			
Planning			
Transport			
Inspection			
Buying			
Accountants			
Others (Not mentioned above)			

7. Which job do you think is unsuitable for women?

Please state some of them.

8. What are the main obstacles and difficulties to promoting women to Management?

ex. Plenty of men available for promotion.

Tradition

Marriage & children - short industrial life - too expensive to train.

No woman qualified

Men would not respect them.

Shift work

Women are emotional

Other reasons not  
already mentioned

8. (Contd.)

Women are unambitious  
Prejudice  
No difficulties

9. Do you offer part-time employment for women? If not please state the reasons.

10. What kinds of jobs are usually held by part-time female workers?