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**WOMAN POWER:
A NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SURVEY
OF THE WORKING WOMAN**

Working Paper No. 44

by

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and
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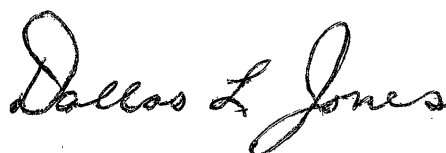
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Foreword

Sex discrimination is one of the important economic and social problems of our time. This discrimination has resulted in a tremendous waste of human resources. Myths regarding the nature of working women have contributed to these problems. It is only in recent years that we have become more aware of the costs and injustices involved in perpetuating sex discrimination. The purpose of this publication is to explore in a general way the extent, causes, and impact of sex discrimination. It is clear that further research is required into this matter and it is hoped that these papers will not only provide a starting point for such research but will also generate the effort to carry it out.

Both papers in this publication are the result of term projects in two industrial relations courses in the Graduate School of Business Administration: Seminar in Collective Bargaining, and Comparative Industrial Relations Systems. The first, by Susan Jorgensen, deals with sex discrimination in the United States. The paper is especially valuable in providing factual data concerning working women and the extent of sex discrimination in the United States. The second paper, by Gertrude Casselman, provides a survey of sex discrimination in other countries. Not only does it place sex discrimination in the United States into a world-wide perspective, but it gives some insight into the manner in which other countries deal with the problems of working women. Together, these papers provide a valuable starting point for the student or faculty member interested in learning about sex discrimination or pursuing research into the area.



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**WOMAN POWER:
THE UNDERUTILIZED HUMAN RESOURCE**

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Introduction

What is certain is that hitherto woman's possibilities have been suppressed and lost to humanity, and that it is high time that she be permitted to take her chances in her own interest and in the interest of all.

-Simone de Beauvoir-

The publicity given the Women's Liberation movement has generated much emotionalism and sensationalism. New stereotypes are added to the old: bra-burners are categorized opposite the "happy homemaker" fighting to keep shirts, toilets, and sinks sparkling white. Men are "male chauvinist pigs," and women acquire "castration complexes." It appears that the basic socio-economic issues have been forgotten.

The intent of this paper is to examine the economic and social conditions of the women in this country. These factors are fundamental to the feminist protest. The union and management response to the issues raised by women will be studied. The paper will attempt to assess the factors perpetuating the underutilization of women in the work force and to point out mechanisms which limit full development of their potential. Finally, changes for both management and unions will be suggested.

The suggestions made in this study recognize a wide spectrum of concerns. Above all, the changes are justified in the interest of women as citizens and as individuals. They are also required in

the interest of society--its development and utilization of a human resource and its realization of equality and freedom for all peoples.

WOMEN WORKERS: A HUMAN RESOURCES PROBLEM

Women in the Labor Force: An Overview

Recognizing that the 31 million women workers "are not auxiliary but an integral part of the work force," as Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur A. Fletcher recently stated, an understanding and examination of the utilization of this substantial portion of the nation's human resource is urgently needed. Such an information program is of vital concern to the achievement of optimal manpower development for the nation, for various employment sectors, and especially for women themselves.

As of January 1970, 42 per cent of American women of working age were working or looking for work. These 31 million women represented 37 per cent of the total work force. Three out of four working women held full-time jobs. In January 1920, the year in which women were granted the right to vote and the Women's Bureau was established within the Department of Labor, women workers constituted a quarter of the present women's work force-- 8.2 million, 23 per cent of the women of working age.

Women have been the fastest growing labor force since World War I. Without a doubt they will continue to constitute a large share of the civilian labor force with the long-term trend indicating an increasing proportion of women in the working ranks. All groups are involved--young and old, black and white, low and high income, married and unmarried. "In brief, since the participation of women in the labor force has not been a response of women living in any one period, nor a response of women in any particular economic or social situation, the long-term outlook is that women will continue to furnish a large share of the civilian labor force."^{1/}

In the early years of this country's history, the contribution of women to national productivity was made almost exclusively in the farm and cottage industries in the form of domestic work. The need for food and clothing was met through household activities such as canning and sewing. As industrialism moved these activities from house to factory women became factory workers. Today women are also involved in white-collar work--especially clerical and service.

A comparison of the general characteristics of today's woman worker with her 1920 counterpart indicates some interesting and important changes. In 1920 she was generally single, about 28 years of age, and usually anticipated marriage--in part to release her from the tedium of a lower-skilled job. In 1970, 62 per cent of the working women were married. There are more working mothers than ever before who provide a substantial contribution to the family income. Half of the working women are over 29 years of age.

The pattern of labor force participation for the average woman is of particular interest. Today, the typical married woman's working life follows an "M" pattern; that is, the participation of women reaches a peak after graduation from school, goes down during the childbearing and childraising years (approximately ten years), and climbs up again as the children become older. (See Fig. 1.) Thus, the major elements affecting the work patterns of women are marital status and the presence of children and their age. This ten-year gap becomes critical as women miss advancement opportunities and are less in touch with changes in their respective fields.

Percentage of Women
in
Labor Force

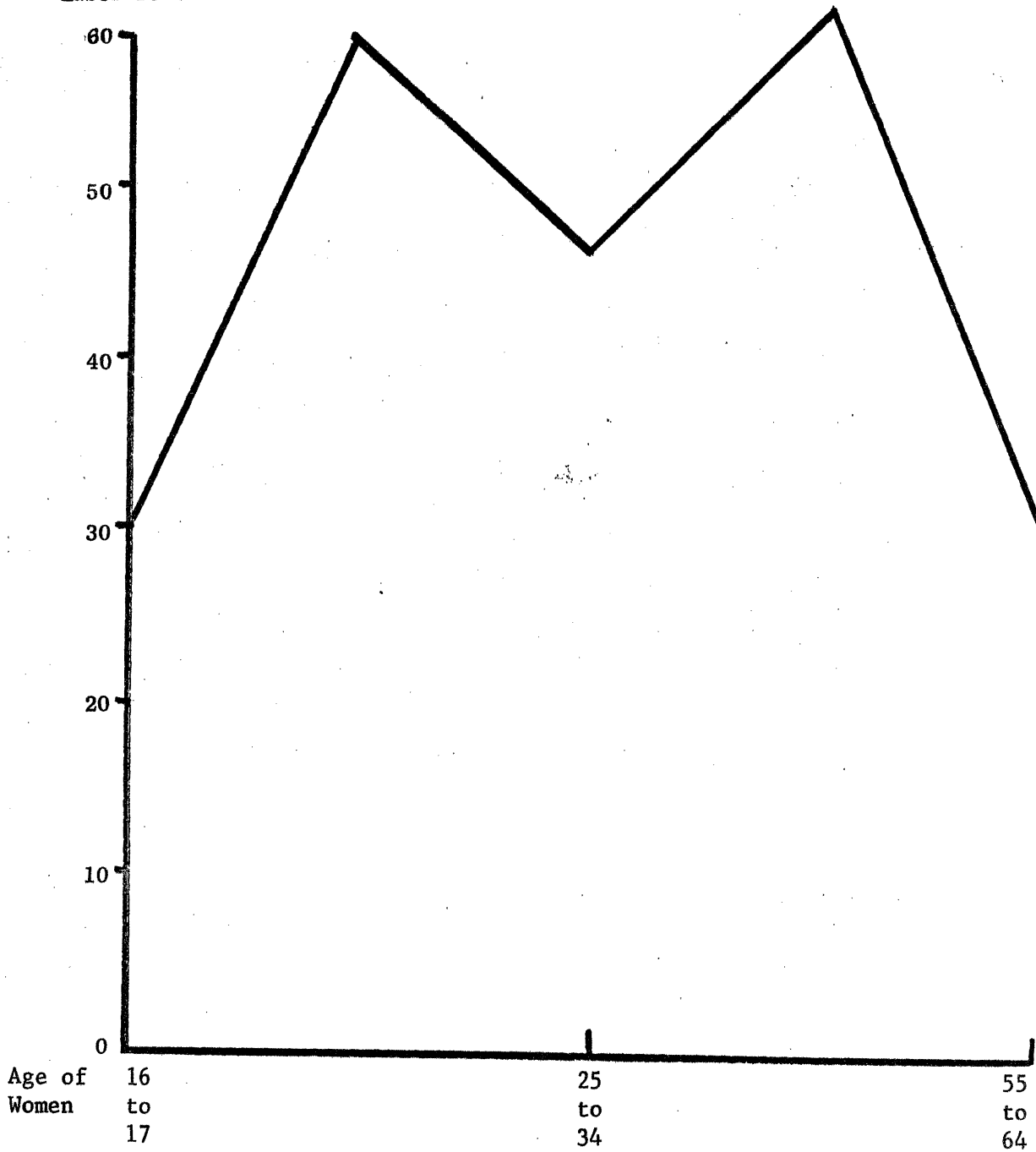


Fig. 1. Pattern of labor force participation for women.

Source: Monthly Labor Review, June 1970, p. 11; Issues in Industrial Society, II (Jan. 1971), 38.

Economic reasons are most frequently cited as the factor encouraging involvement of women in the labor market. Few face the option of working solely for personal fulfillment. A study by the Department of Labor in January of last year demonstrated that at least half of the women took jobs in response to economic need. This factor was most prevalent if the woman was in a low income grouping; it was also a primary consideration if the person was widowed, divorced, separated, or unmarried. The statistical breakdown as of March 1968 is as follows:^{2/}

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total	28,788,000	100.0
Single	6,357,000	22.1
Married - husband present	<u>16,821,000</u>	<u>58.8</u>
with husband whose income (1967) was:		
below \$3000	2,338,000	8.1
\$3000 - \$4999	2,153,000	7.5
\$5000 and over	<u>12,313,000</u>	<u>42.8</u>
Married - husband absent	1,413,000	4.9
Widowed	2,483,000	8.6
Divorced	1,704,000	5.9

Even with this general overview of the woman worker, various considerations for manpower development and optimal utilization of human resources appear. Given the high proportion of working mothers whose contribution to family income is vital, the discussion of child-care centers can no longer be ignored. "Mothers with young children find severe problems in working, for the United States is the only industrialized country in the world which does not have a system of publicly supported day-care centers for children of working mothers..."^{3/}

The M-shaped participation curve for women prompts questions of the underutilization of older women and the need for continuing education programs.

The considerations that the simplest statistical summary encourage become even more dramatic when we examine further breakdowns and comparisons.

Women in the Labor Force: A Closer View

The statistics for women reveal a shameful story. Federal reports show that in 1968 both black and white women with some college education earned less than black men with a grade school certificate. Women earn about 60 per cent of the median income of men and are concentrated in low-paying, low-skilled occupations. Their share in professional and technical occupations has deteriorated since World War II. In the same occupational groupings women hold jobs of lower rank. Women are underutilized in relation to their educational achievement. In 1968, the unemployment rate for women was 4.8 per cent, compared with 2.9 per cent for men.

In 1920, when the Women's Bureau was founded, its primary emphasis was to correct the exploitation of women workers. The concern was to establish safety standards, to eliminate the long working hours, or to remedy poor working conditions. This concern has shifted towards the eradication of the serious inequalities still existing in the labor market which result in the underutilization of women workers. Barriers denying women the freedom to prepare for and enter employment suited to their individual interests and

abilities do exist; advancement and recognition of their full capabilities is incomplete and inadequate.

The following discussion will indicate the aspects of this underutilization. The topics of occupational concentration, income inequities, and educational discrepancies will be included. Such an examination offers evidence to encourage a more effective use of this particular national resource.

Occupational concentration

"Although more than 250 distinct occupations are listed in Bureau of the Census tabulations, half of all women workers were employed in only 21 of them... ."4/ Comparatively, 50 per cent of the men employed were found in 65 occupational groups. The escalation of the number of women workers is not reflected in professional, technical, or even industrial jobs; women are found disproportionately in white-collar and service categories. The concentration is largest in the clerical field with the categories of domestic service, teaching, nursing, and retail sales showing less concentration. Thus, despite the increased reliance of the American economy on women in the labor force, many jobs in new occupational fields have not been opened to them.

Clerical, sales, and service work are perhaps, as a recent governmental report states, "the least rewarding and the least rewarded occupations."^{5/} These jobs are lower paying and require lower skill. The concentration of women in low-paid occupations is shown in Figure 2. There is an increasing trend in women working in the jobs requiring less skill. In 1969 women

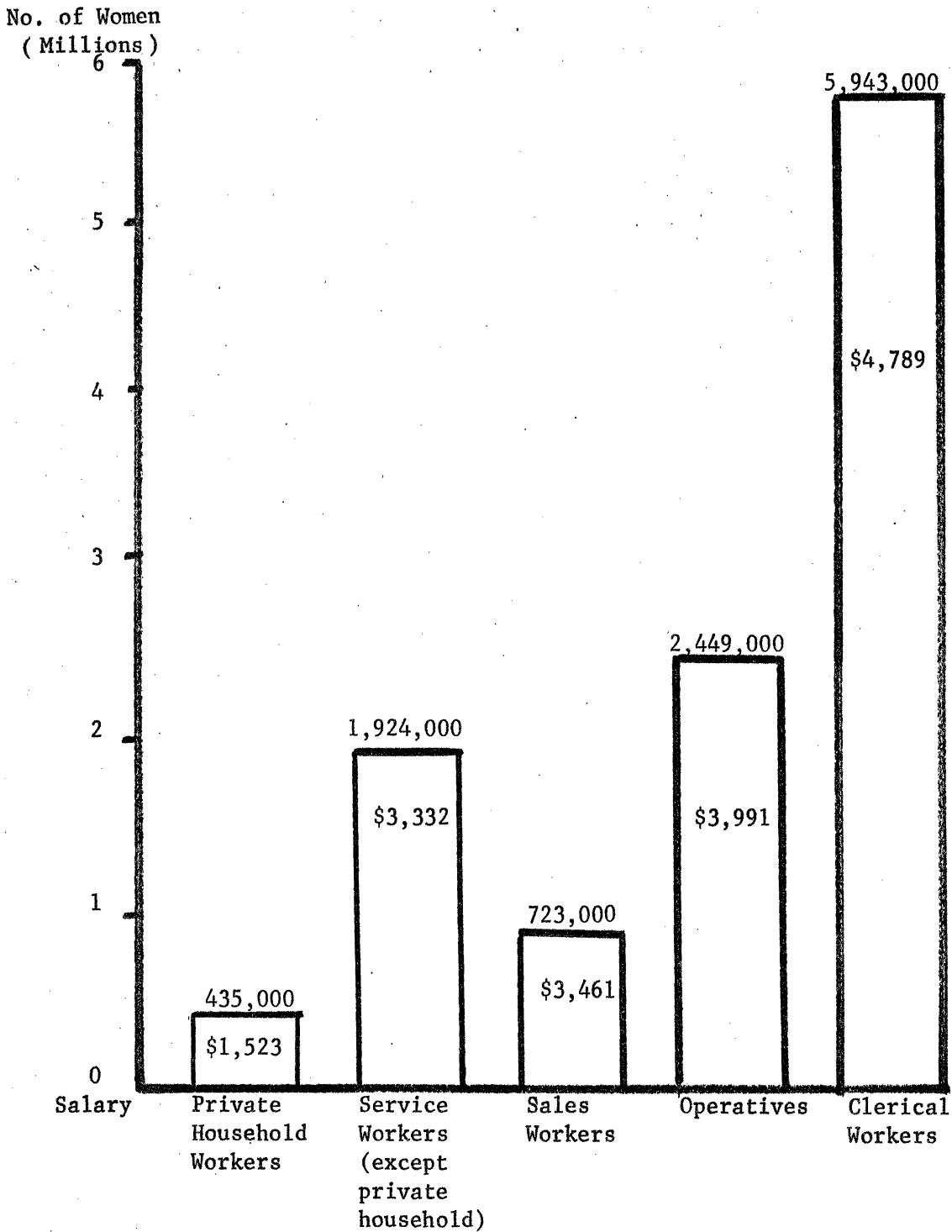


Fig. 2. Year-round, full-time women workers, by selected occupations and median wage or salary income, 1968.

Source: U.S., Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics Special Labor Force Report No. 120; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census Current Population Reports, p-60, No. 66.

comprised 59 per cent of all service workers (excluding private households); the comparative figure for 1940 was 40 per cent.^{6/}
(See Figure 3.)

A highly developed nation such as the United States requires a labor force that is responsive to changing opportunities. The continued concentration of women in a very narrow range of occupations runs counter to that concept. Thus, in the national interest alone the evident occupational concentration is not safe or efficient. "In sum, the occupational dispersion of women, long desirable on the score of improving skill levels and earnings, has become urgent in view of the manpower outlook for individual occupations in the 1970s."^{7/}

Professional and technical employment

In contrast to the increasing proportion of women in the lower skill occupations, women in the professional and technical occupations are a smaller proportion of all workers in those fields today than before World War II (see Figure 4). In these categories women are especially found in certain traditional areas: teaching, nursing, social work, library work, home economics, and medical laboratory work. These professions are traditionally "women's professions." In total they account for approximately two-thirds of all professional women (see Figure 5).

Numerous barriers exist for women aspiring to be professionals. Advancement is difficult; women seldom rise to the top. Even in the traditionally "feminine" professions this is generally true. The

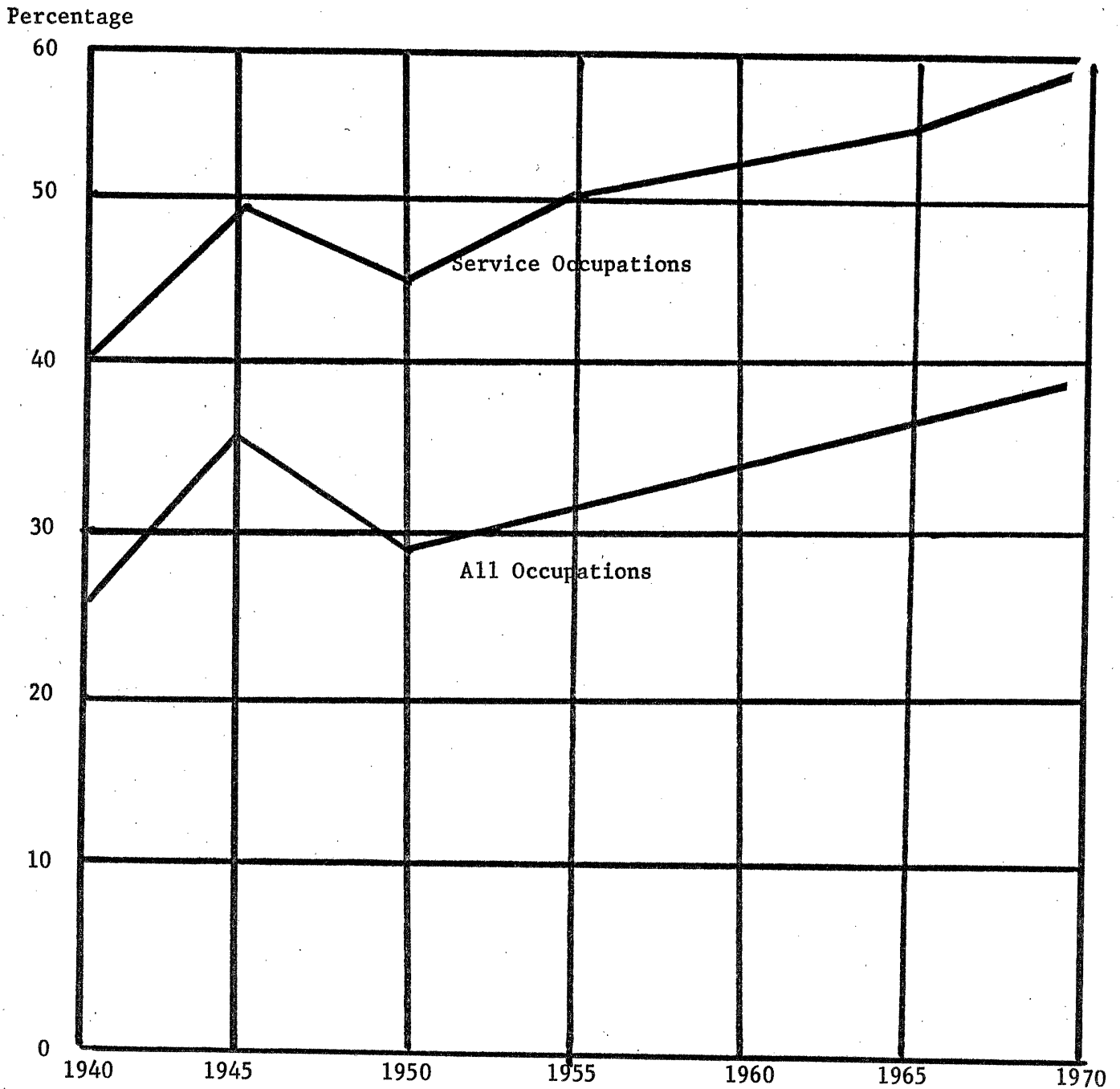


Fig. 3. Women as percentage of total employed, all occupations and service occupations, 1940-69.

Source: U.S., Department of Labor, Manpower Administration: "Manpower Report of the President--a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization and Training," April 1967 and March 1970. Bureau of Labor Statistics Monthly Labor Review, August 1967.

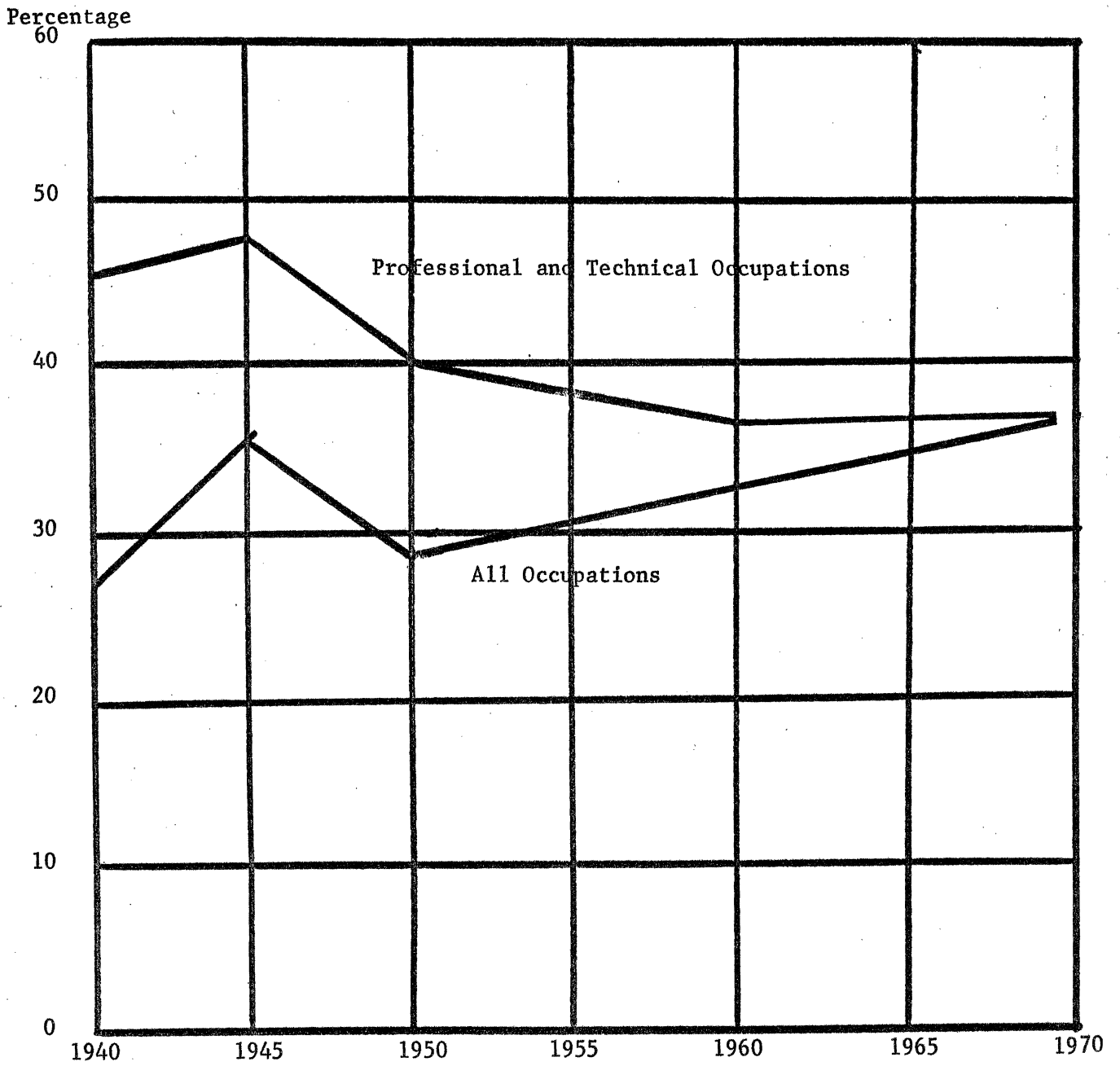


Fig. 4. Women as percentage of total employed.

Source: U.S., Department of Labor, Manpower Administration.

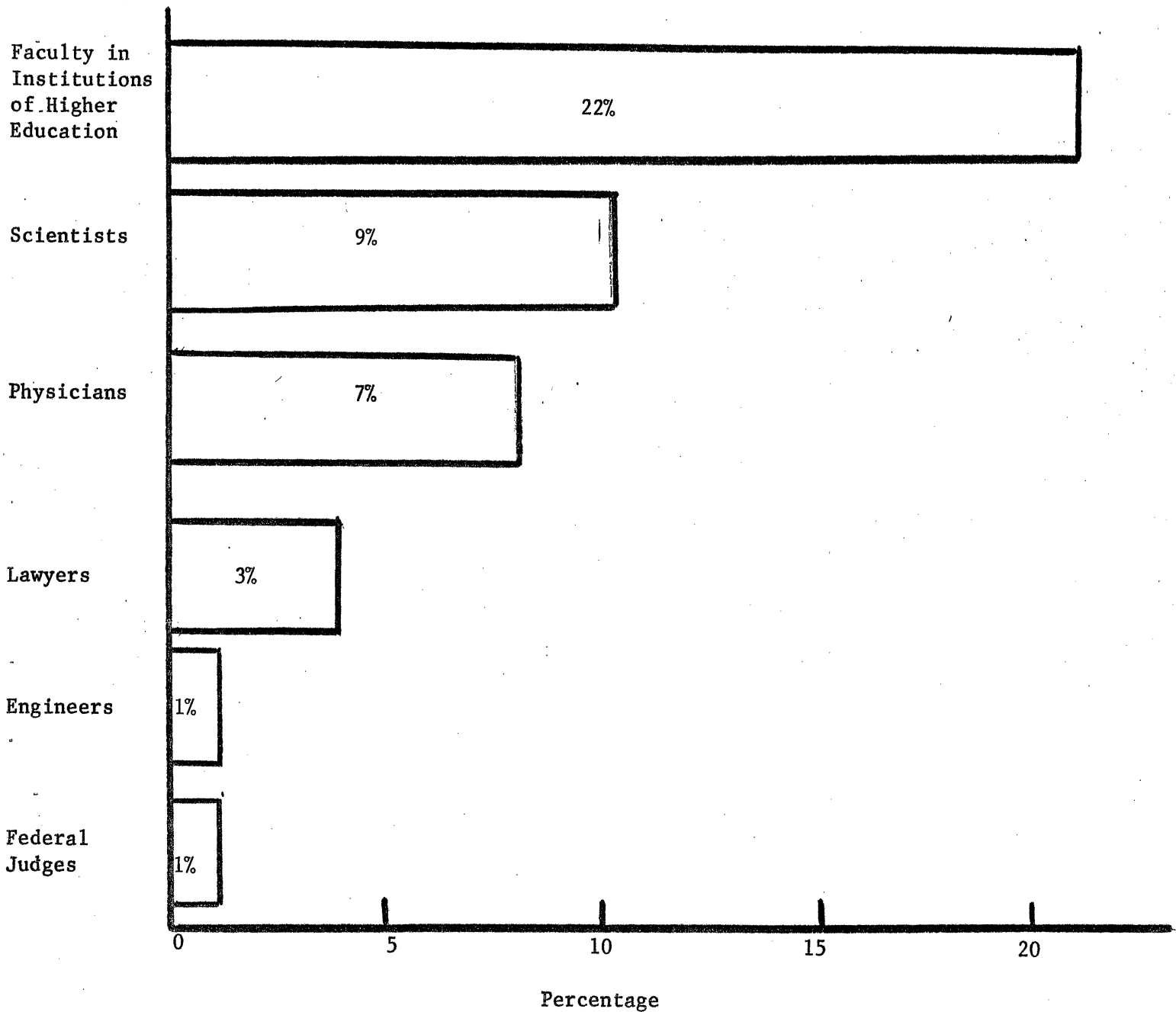


Fig. 5. Women as percentage of total employed, selected professions.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Education Association, Office of Education, National Science Foundation. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Occupational Outlook Handbook."

sex ratio of elementary school principals is particularly interesting. In 1928, 55 per cent were women; 1948, 38 per cent; and 1968, 22 per cent.^{8/} Early marriage, inadequate counseling, and societal pressures are factors contributing to a lower participation in college. Thus training or educating women for professional careers is low. "Most girls who do get into college are urged to study in order to support themselves if they have to. A frame of mind which is poor ... preparation for occupational participation."^{9/}

Similarly, the skilled trades lack proportionate women workers. In general, such work requires finger and hand dexterity as well as hand-eye coordination. These abilities are equally distributed between the sexes. However, only 3 per cent of the craftsmen are women. The opening up of these occupations offers women higher earnings than sales or service-type jobs as well as more challenging work.

In both professional and technical or skilled occupations, "sex-typing" is prevalent, and it has consequences for both men and women. For example, the "women's professions" together don't offer sufficient opportunities for those completing college and seeking employment in the 1970s.^{10/} A certain category of jobs become "feminine," discouraging complete career options for men--although the limitation is less for men than that faced by women. Nationally we face possible shortages in some occupations, abundances in others, and a suboptimization in the matching interests and skills with manpower needs.

Earnings gap

A comparison of the median wages of men and women indicates a sizable discrepancy. Although this gap has decreased in recent years, it is still wider than it was in the late 1950s. In 1969 the median earnings of all women working full-time jobs during the entire year was \$5,000. This was 60 per cent of the yearly median of men--\$8,277. The following chart from the Bureau of the Census comparing wages or salaries of full-time year-round workers illustrates this discrepancy:^{11/}

Year	Median Wage		Women's Median Wage as Percentage of Men's
	Women	Men	
1955	\$2,719	\$4,252	63.9
1957	3,008	4,713	63.8
1959	3,193	5,209	61.3
1961	3,351	5,644	59.4
1963	3,561	5,978	59.6
1964	3,823	6,375	60.0
1965	4,150	7,182	59.8
1969	4,977	8,227	60.5

Although the gap varies with major occupational groupings, it remains large. The following table of 1969 wages for full-time year-round workers offers a breakdown:^{12/}

Major Occupation Group	Median Wage		Women's Median Wage as Percentage of Men's
	Women	Men	
Professional and technical workers	\$7,309	\$11,266	64.9
Nonfarm managers, officials, and proprietors	6,091	11,467	53.1
Clerical workers	5,187	7,966	65.1
Sales workers	3,704	9,134	40.5
Operatives	4,317	7,307	59.1
Service workers (not private)	3,755	6,373	58.9

Yet another measure of the earnings gap is a study of the distribution of each sex in various income levels. Figure 6 shows the earnings of full-time year-round workers. Women are about three times as likely to earn below \$5000, with 20 per cent of the women earning less than \$3,000 in 1968, as compared to only 8 per cent of the men. At the other end of the scale, 3 per cent of the women as compared to 28 per cent of the men earned over \$10,000 in the same year.

Education determines the type of jobs available to an individual as well as the job level within an occupation. We would expect that where educational attainment is identical men and women would have similar incomes. Such is not true. Women with four years of college have a median income just over that of a man with an elementary school education. The following table will offer further comparisons of the median income in 1969 of full-time year-round workers according to years of school completed (persons 25 years of age and over):^{13/}

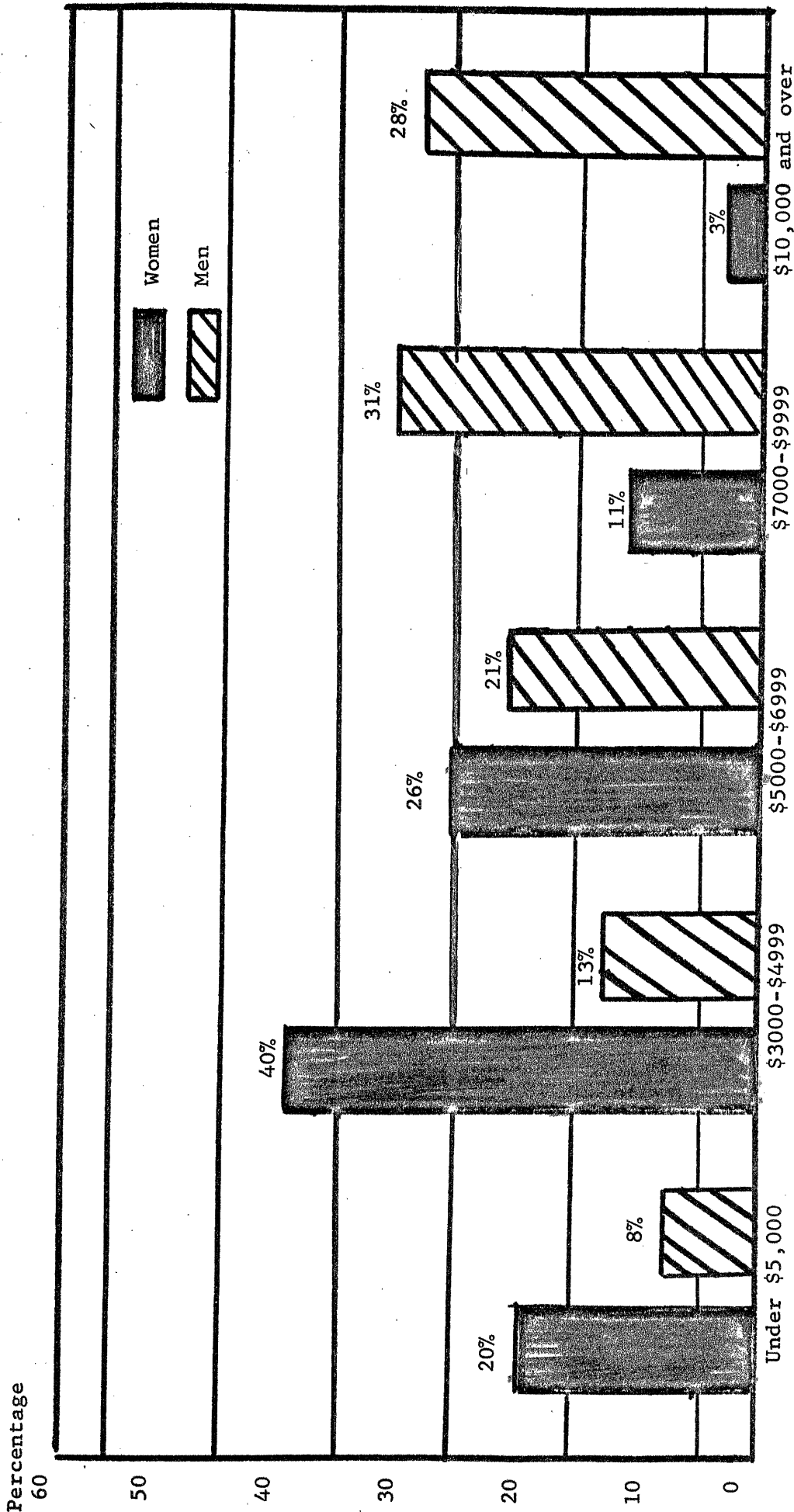


Fig. 6. Year-round full-time workers, by total money earnings and sex, 1968.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, p-60, No. 66.

<u>Years of School Completed</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women's Income as Percentage of Men's</u>
Elementary School:			
less than 8 years	\$3,603	\$5,769	62.5
8 years	3,971	7,147	55.6
High School:			
1 - 3 years	4,427	4,958	55.6
4 years	5,280	9,100	58.0
College:			
1 - 3 years	6,137	10,311	59.5
4 years	7,396	12,960	57.1
5 years or more	9,262	13,788	67.2

Thus, despite federal legislation guaranteeing equal pay and prohibiting sex discrimination, the gap between the earnings of men and women still exists. In addition to the enforcement of present laws, these studies indicate the necessity for employers to review recruitment and promotion policies and to give well-qualified women the opportunity to move into better-paying jobs.

Education and advancement

In the previous topic inequality was assessed in an educational attainment framework. Beyond that series of comparisons, it should be noted that the starting salaries of college graduates in specifically identified fields show the earnings gap (see Figure 7). Accounting shows the largest gap of those fields surveyed. Average monthly starting salary of men was \$832; the comparable amount for women was \$746.

Many women are underutilized in their jobs in relation to their educational achievement. For example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics report showed that 7 per cent of employed women with

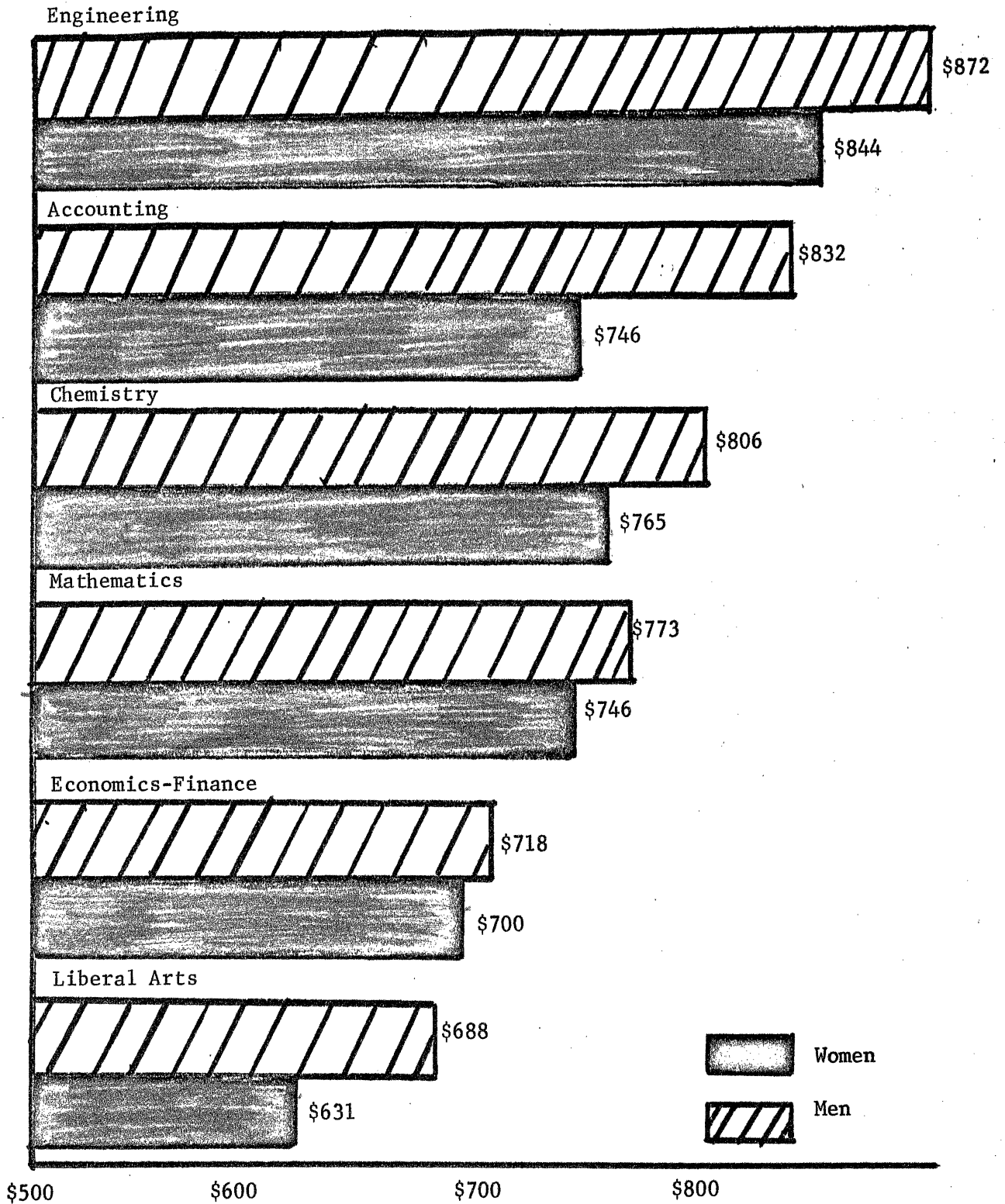


Fig. 7. Average starting salaries of women and men with bachelor's degrees, 1970.

Source: Frank S. Endicott, "Trenches in Employment of College and University Graduates in Business and Industry," Northwestern University, 1970.

five or more years of college education were sales workers, operatives, clerical workers, and service workers (see Figure 8).

Advancement for women within fields is generally slower than that of men. Women are found as associate professors. They are more likely to be in the lower categories of technical work. "... discrimination and, perhaps even more important, widely held prejudices that some jobs are feminine while others are masculine have artificially restricted women's jobs far beyond the limits set by job requirements or working conditions."^{14/} Another author assesses the discrepancies and barriers women face:

Thus, women are told in one breath that they lack the education and experience and in the next, that if they had it, they would not be hired because the work is "not suitable for them." When women are trained and hired for "male" jobs, they are often passed over when better jobs open up.^{15/}

Unemployment

A look at the unemployment rates also reveals inequalities. In 1969, 1.4 million women were unemployed, amounting to half of the total unemployment figure. The rate for women was 4.7 per cent as compared to 2.8 per cent for men. The following table of unemployment rates in 1968 and 1969 for persons sixteen years of age and over offers a more complete breakdown:^{16/}

<u>Age</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1968</u>
<u>Total Women</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>4.8</u>
16 to 19 years	13.3	14.0
20 years & over	3.7	3.8
<u>Total Men</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>2.9</u>
16 to 19 years	11.4	11.6
20 years & over	2.1	2.2

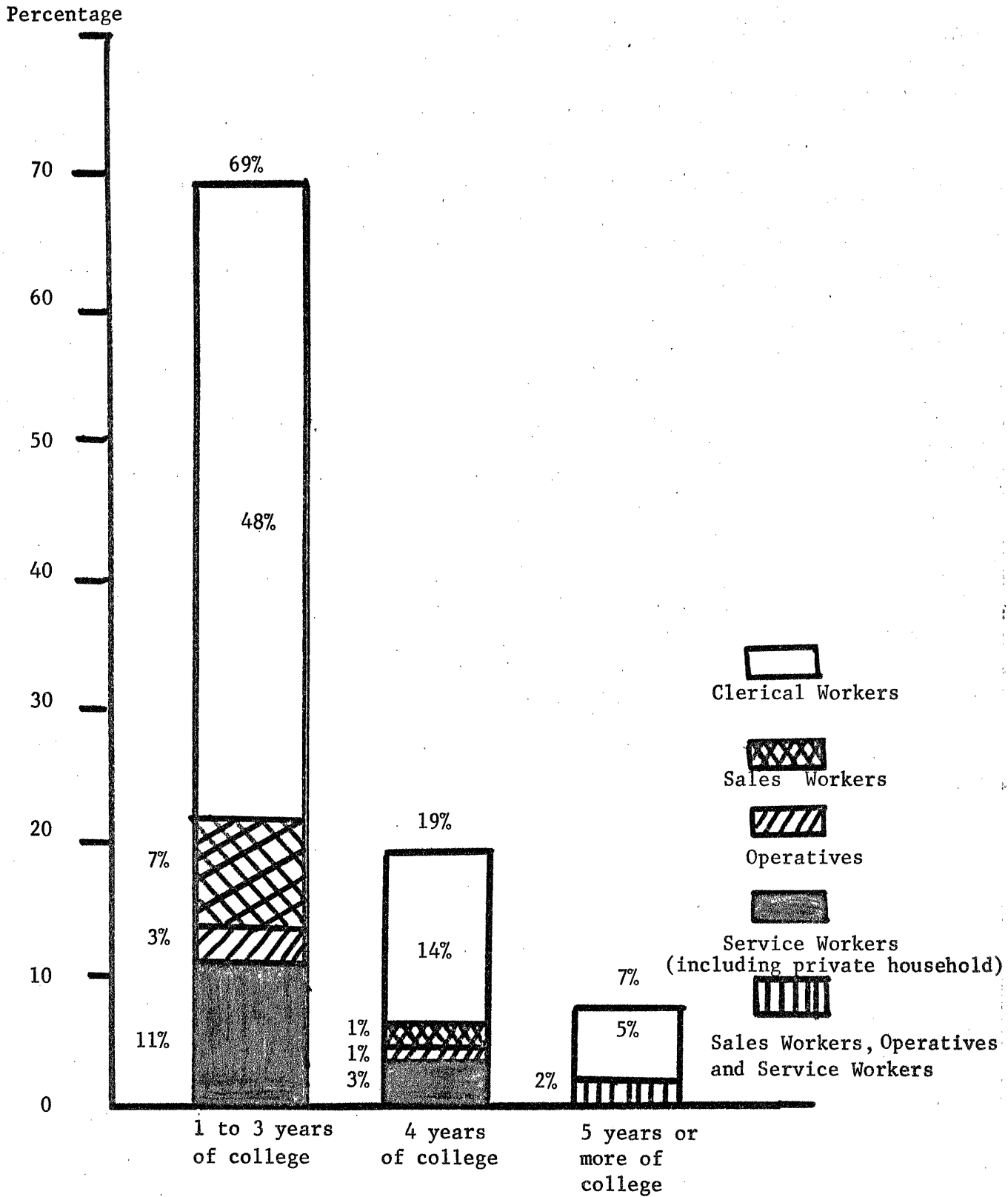


Fig. 8. Women with 1 or more years of college, employed in less skilled occupations, 1969.

Source: U.S., Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished data.

Unemployment among adults is most severe for women who are members of minority races. In 1969, the rate was 5.8 per cent; comparable rates for men of the minority races, white women, and white men were 3.5 per cent, 3.4 per cent, and 1.9 per cent respectively (see Figure 9).

Working mothers

For mothers who need and/or desire to work, participation and choices are limited by responsibilities and concern for the care of their children. Ph.D. career women may be able to make arrangements for preschool children, but the average working woman has a very difficult time finding and affording private services. With an increase in the number of women working--whether from socioeconomic reasons or from educational and social considerations--the question of child care becomes an important one for the community and the child as well as for the mother.

Eli Ginzberg, an authority in human resource development, assesses the particular problem of working mothers as follows:

But the fact that most women are loosely attached to the labor force--and prefer it that way--must not obscure the significant advances that women desire from an economy that operates at a high level of employment and where an active manpower policy is pursued that provides a great range of supportive services. The past years have seen the United States move ahead on both counts. Yet women remain handicapped in their search for desirable employment because as a nation we have not yet committed ourselves to the proposition that high level employment implies making jobs available for all women who would prefer to work and we are still conflicted about the responsibility of government to provide child-care facilities and without them many mothers with young children who would prefer to work, or work regularly, are

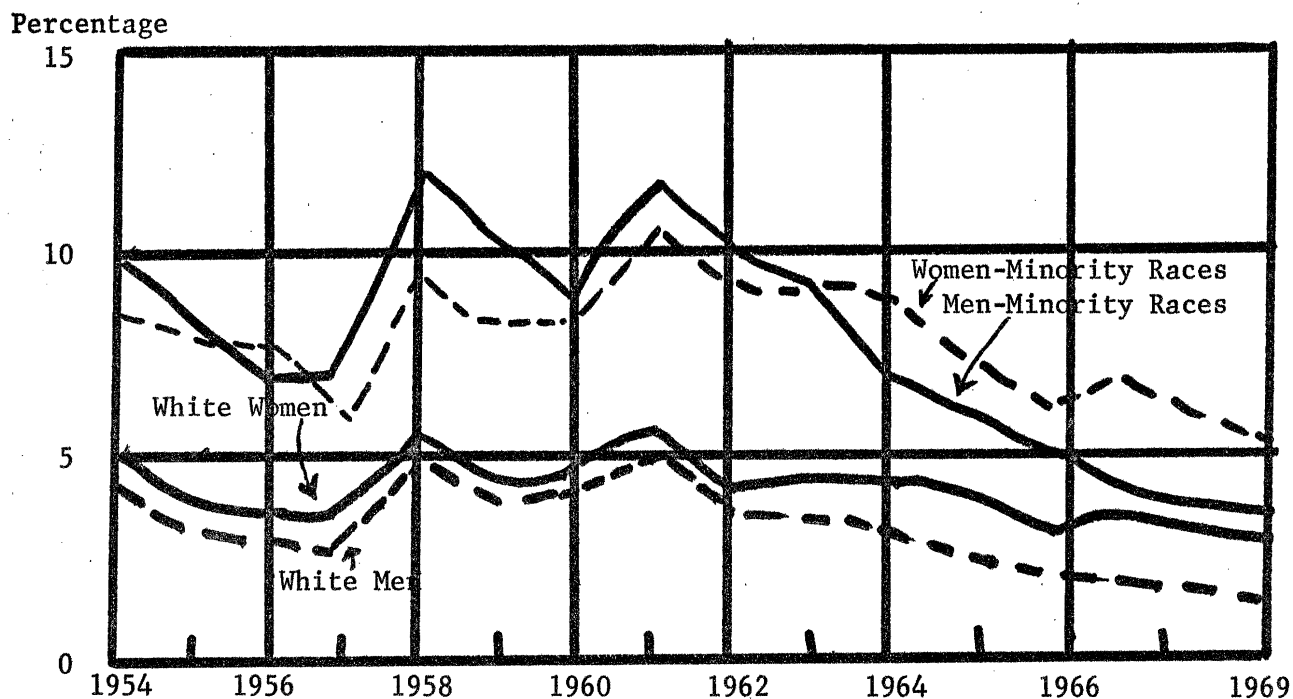


Fig. 9. Unemployment rates of women and men 20 years of age and over, by race, 1954-69.

Source: U.S., Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, "Manpower Report of the President: A Report on Manpower Requirements Resources Utilization--Training," Mar. 1970.

unable to do so. In the years ahead we must perforce, confront and resolve the basic issue of whether the nation has an obligation to provide opportunities for employment for all women, like all men. If the decision is affirmative we will have to take the implementing step of providing adequate child-care facilities.^{17/}

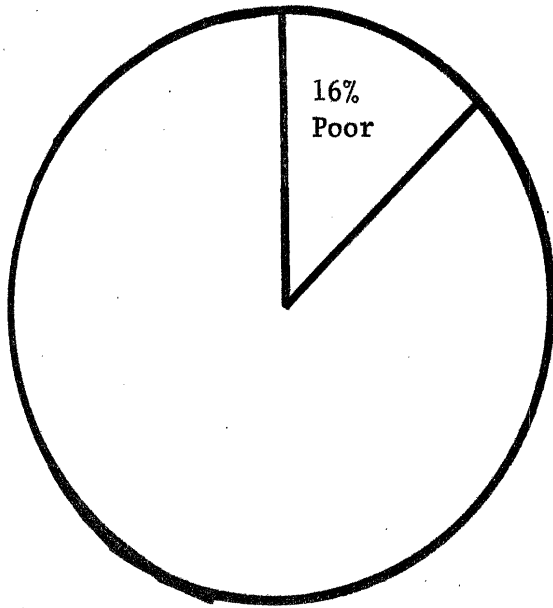
It should also be noted that where families are headed by a working woman, the incidence of poverty is high. In 1968, of the families headed by a woman worker 45 per cent of the minority families in that category lived in poverty; of the white families, 16 per cent. To compare, families headed by a white working man found 4 per cent in poverty groupings, and where the head was of a minority race, 16 per cent were classified as poor (see Figure 10).

An Evaluation of Women in the Labor Force

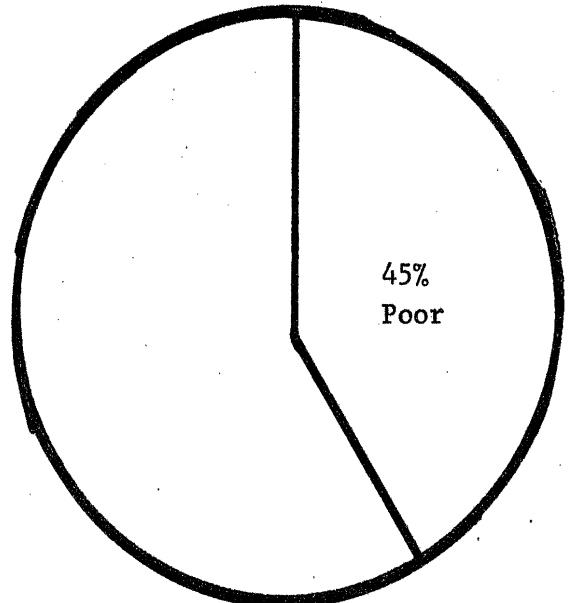
"Despite gains on many fronts--the increased number and proportion of women who work, of those who work full-time full year, of those whose earnings place them in the \$10,000 bracket or above, in the number and proportion who are acquiring valuable deferred benefits both public and private--despite these and other gains most women tend to remain peripheral workers, employed in the least attractive jobs, earning lower wages than men, and with poor career prospects."^{18/}

The profile suggested by the statistics certainly does not indicate full utilization and recognition of this sector of the labor force. One out of three workers is female. Three out of five women workers are married. They are concentrated in a limited number of occupational groupings--lower paying and generally

Families Headed by a Female Worker

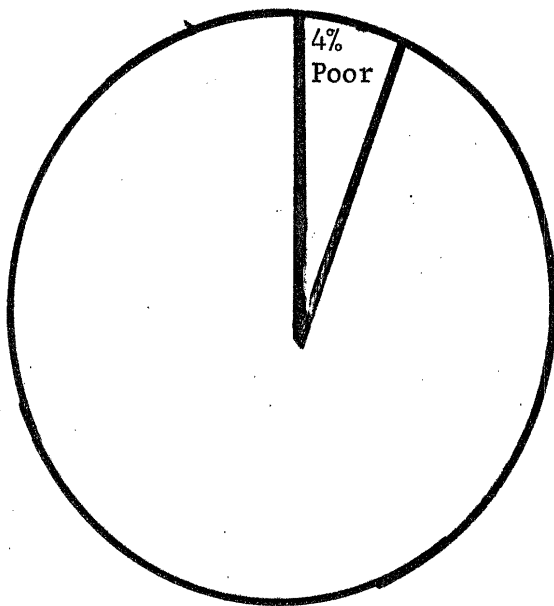


White Families (2,386,000)

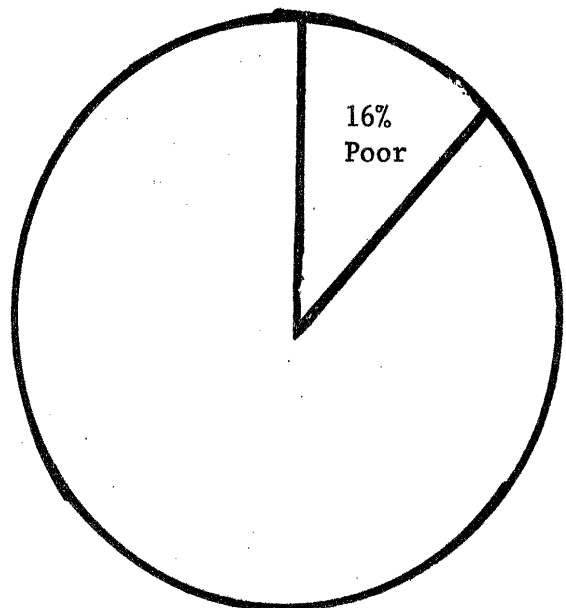


Families - Minority Races (850,000)

Families Headed by a Male Worker



White Families (36,322,000)



Families - Minority Races (3,245,000)

Fig. 10. Percentage of families living in poverty in 1966 whose head worked during year, by sex and race.

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, p-60, Nos. 66 and 68.

dead-end, routine jobs. Wide wage differentials exist for women as compared with men: women earn 60 per cent of men's wages in the same sector. Women are more likely to be in non-unionized employment and are employed disproportionately in industries exempt from federal and state fair labor standards. A significant minority are household heads responsible for their own support as well as that of their children.

Economic progress has brought both benefits and difficulties. Women feel the difficulties disproportionately and remain underutilized in respect to their possible contribution to the nation and to their own personal development. Jack Barbash, industrial relations authority, remarks:

... we seek compatibility between the material advantages of industrialism and the needs of human development. The changing status of women is a problem with reference to the latter. Industrialism, while freeing woman from the home, may in effect be depriving her of fulfillment as a woman. 19/

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II

SOURCES OF UNDERUTILIZATION OF WOMEN WORKERS

Myths and Mechanisms

The exclusion of women from responsible jobs, from jobs with good pay, and from jobs with advancement potential can be traced in large part to stereotyped generalizations about women. Basically these stem from two notions: women are inferior to men, and a woman's place is in the home. Others follow: women are emotional, dependent, and gentle; women work for luxury income; no one wants a woman employer; women can't do heavy physical work; women are absent more frequently than men and their turnover is greater than that of men.

These attitudes prompt both blatant and subtle discriminatory practices. Cases of sex discrimination and unequal wages still occur, although both are illegal. More subtle forms include strict maintenance of protective legislation regarding wages and hours as well as discrimination on the basis of seniority. The latter might seem logical except for the fact that men who leave jobs when drafted into the Army are guaranteed by law their jobs as well as any salary increases and promotion that they would have received in the interim. Women leaving work to bear children generally lose their seniority.

Most discrimination is based on antiquated concepts which have little validity or relevance for today's woman. Others merely ignore the capabilities of the individual and view the person strictly defined

by sexual typings. The notion about marriage as a barrier to job performance obviously should be invalid by this time: a majority of women in the work force are married. The idea that women work for luxury income has also been shown to be fallacious; women work primarily out of economic need.

The conception that women are absent more often than men is also a myth. One study by the Health Information Foundation of the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business in 1960 found that the average days lost because of chronic illness in a year was 3.1 for men and 2.6 for women.^{1/} A Public Health Service report in the late sixties found 5.6 days lost for women as compared with 5.3 for men.^{2/} Findings such as these emphasize the importance of judging work performance on the basis of individual achievement rather than on non-factual assumptions associated with women workers.

Where an employer's statistics on absenteeism show a higher rate for women, it may be because the women employed are in clerical and other low-paying jobs. A study by the Civil Service Commission is significant: it found that time off for illness diminished as the employee's salary and responsibility increased.^{3/} Similarly, a French study demonstrated that women in lower levels on the occupational scale were more irregular in attendance than those with higher-level jobs. Highly skilled women with responsible positions were seldom absent--even those with children.^{4/}

For both men and women, the lowest turnover rates occur among skilled, professional, and managerial workers. Given the concentration of women in unskilled occupations, job tenure is generally

shorter as there is little opportunity for advancement. The difference in the turnover rate between men and women is still not significant, as indicated by the following table compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on a quarterly basis in 1968:^{5/}

<u>Type of Turnover</u>	<u>Rate per 100 Employees</u>	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Accessions (hires)	5.3	4.4
Separations (total)	5.2	4.4
Quit	2.6	2.2
Layoff & other	2.6	2.7

What are the results of judging work performance and potential on the basis of sex rather than individual achievement? What have been the consequences of applying sex differences in employment arbitrarily on the basis of outmoded notions instead of rationally on the basis of real differences in the few situations where sex considerations are truly relevant? For the country, it has been a waste of human resource potential. For industry, it has been an underutilization of productivity.

The consequences of sexist attitudes for women have been devastating. Underutilization of human resources and wasted potential productivity result in the suffering of indignity as well as in lower pay. The inequality of opportunity for a woman can further undermine her self-confidence and potential. Sex discrimination is seldom overt; thus if a woman fails when seeking a promotion, she cannot be certain whether she failed because of her sex or because she overestimated her capabilities. Feelings of inferiority may develop, destroying the potential she originally had. In all, any self-esteem and individual development are depressed.

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III

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

An Overview

The laws and litigation regarding discrimination in employment are many. The federal measures of particular interest to women include the following: (1) The Equal Pay Act of 1963, which requires equal pay for equal work regardless of sex; (2) Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which states that discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin is an unlawful employment practice; and (3) Executive Orders 11246, as amended by 11375 and 11478, which refer to federal contractors, subcontractors, and government employment.

A discussion of the legal framework will focus on these laws as well as on state legislation. Particular emphasis will be given to questions involving protective legislation and proposed equal rights amendments.

Equal Pay Act of 1963

The first specific federal legislation against sex discrimination was the Equal Pay Act of 1963 which amended the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). Basically the act provides men and women equal pay for equal work. Also known as the "equal pay for women provision," the act states that "no employer ... shall discriminate ... between employees on the basis of sex by paying wages to employees ... at a rate less than [that which he pays] the employees of the opposite sex ... for equal work ..., except where such payment is made pursuant to (iv) a

differential based on any ... factor other than sex."^{1/}

The act's coverage is coextensive with the minimum wage coverage under the FLSA, establishing equal pay requirements for approximately half the jobs in the United States. The act is administered by the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor. Measures designed to remedy violations of the act include: (1) private suits by an employee to recover wages and back pay, (2) criminal action by the Justice Department in cases of "willful violation," and (3) suits by the secretary of labor to collect pay.

The results have been costly and varied. Women have recovered a substantial amount in back wages. By April 1970, the Wage and Hour Division had declared numerous instances of violation. Over \$17 million in unfounded wage differentials have been awarded. In a few cases, men have also benefited from the provisions of the Equal Pay Act. A San Francisco bank now gives overtime pay to men in those job categories where the act has encouraged a closer and more realistic scrutiny of jobs and pay rates.

Schultz v. Wheaton Glass Company is the landmark case regarding this legislation. The suit was brought by the Department of Labor in 1966 and questioned whether the difference between the work of men and women selector-packers was such as to constitute a "factor other than sex" in the computation of wages. The company failed to show any economic value attached to the "snap-up" work attributed to the men selectors. In short, they failed to prove that they were paying women lower wages on any grounds other than sex. The women were awarded one-quarter million dollars in back pay.

The finding of the case hinged on the phrase "equal work." Did this mean identical jobs or similar jobs? Resolving this question, the Wheaton case established an important principle: the designation "equal work" does not require that jobs be identical, but only that they be substantially equal to permit compensation under the act. The case also set other guidelines: (1) there must be a rational explanation for any wage differential; (2) the burden of proof falls on the employer; and (3) the employer's past history, if any, of unequal pay practices is an important consideration as to whether there is a violation of the act.

The act also encourages investigating weight restrictions for women, a factor used by union and managements to justify a lower wage for women workers. Investigations have revealed that in most circumstances the lifting of heavy objects is not the reason for the wage differential. It has been found that although some male employees in an establishment may do a great deal of heavy lifting, other men who seldom, if ever, do any are still paid the same rate.^{2/} Thus if there are state protective restrictions on weight lifting as well as hours, rest periods, and other conditions of employment, these will not per se justify a wage differential unless men are in fact performing additional duties.

The major drawback of the 1963 act is not its enforcement but its coverage. It applies to every employer with employees subject to the minimum wage under the FLSA. Thus it exempts migrants, domestic workers, employees of nonprofit organizations, teachers, and other classes of jobs where a substantial number of women are found. The law does not

prohibit wage differentials based on a seniority system or a merit system nor does it cover hiring or promotion.

In the final analysis, the Equal Pay Act is an important initial step to promote economic rights for women. Writing the court's opinion in Shultz v. Wheaton Glass Company, Circuit Chief Judge Abraham L. Freedman saw the act as a move "to overcome the age-old belief in women's inferiority and to eliminate the depressing effects on living standards of reduced wages for female workers and the economic and social consequences which flow from it."^{3/}

Civil Rights Act: Title VII

Approved on July 2, 1964, Title VII of the Federal Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination in private employment based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin as regards hiring, upgrading, and all other conditions of employment. Interestingly enough, the sex category was not in the original draft: it was added by Howard Smith (D-Va), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, to elicit opposition to the act.^{4/}

Title VII is administered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), a five-member bipartisan group appointed by the president. The act covers employers of at least 25 employees, labor unions with 25 or more members, and employment agencies dealing with employers having 25 or more employees.

The unlawful employment practices designated by the act are numerous. Employers may not discriminate with respect to compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment on the basis of sex.

Any classification of employees which might tend to deprive an individual of opportunities or status on the basis of sex is illegal. Labor organizations may not exclude or expel an individual on the basis of sex. Any limitation, classification, or segregation of membership which tends to limit employment opportunities or status on the basis of sex is illegal. Similar practices on the part of employment agencies and joint labor-management committees which discriminate in employment on the basis of sex are likewise unfair employment practices.

The major exception to these practices is when sex can be established as a bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ) which is reasonably necessary to the normal operation of the business. The problem of what constitutes a BFOQ is raised by various state protective laws. Such legislation (including restrictions on the employment of women in certain occupations, the lifting or moving of objects in excess of a set standard weight, and the hours of employment) by its very nature requires different treatment of individuals on the basis of sex. The question is whether and when this legislation is in conflict with Title VII.

On August 19, 1969, the EEOC issued revised guidelines to clarify this question. Specifically, Section 1604.1 (b) addresses the issue:

- (1) Many States have enacted laws or promulgated administrative regulations with respect to the employment of females. Among these laws are those which prohibit or limit the employment of females, e.g., the employment of females in certain occupations, in jobs requiring the lifting or carrying of weights exceeding certain prescribed limits,

during certain hours of night, or for more than a specified number of hours per day or per week.

(2) The Commission believes that such State laws and regulations, although originally promulgated for the purpose of protecting females, have ceased to be relevant to our technology or to the expanding role of the female worker in our economy. The Commission has found that such laws and regulations do not take into account the capabilities, preferences, and abilities of individual females and tend to discriminate rather than protect. Accordingly, the Commission has concluded that such laws and regulations conflict with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and will not be considered a defense to an otherwise established unlawful employment practice or as a basis for application of the bona fide occupational qualification exception.^{5/}

Numerous cases involving sex discrimination have reached the courts. In general, only in a few instances has sex been established as a bona fide occupational qualification. Elsewhere Title VII has superseded state protective legislation for women, and restrictive covenants have received close scrutiny by the legal authorities.

The actions by the EEOC have been many. Cases which have occurred prohibit employers from restricting the separation of male and female jobs, from guaranteeing different hours for each sex, from bypassing women in training programs, or from refusing to promote women because of greater contact with men. With regard to marriage, an employer can no longer fire a woman employee when she marries, refuse to hire a woman with preschool children, or summarily dismiss a woman who becomes pregnant without considering her reemployment.^{6/}

In summary, the law has generated many changes. A survey by Prentice-Hall listed the following as frequently mentioned policy alterations: approved maternity leave, the inclusion of husbands as dependents under insurance plans, job-posting without sex distinctions,

equalized retirement ages for both men and women, and male-female seniority lists elimination.^{7/} Title VII has been and continues to be a positive contribution to the utilization and development of woman power.

Executive Orders

Executive Order 11246, as amended by Executive Order 11375 on October 13, 1967, prohibits discrimination in employment by federal contractors and subcontractors and on federally assisted construction projects on the basis of race, sex, creed, color, or national origin. The amendment requires the contractors and subcontractors to institute an affirmative action program designed to insure hiring without discrimination. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) of the U.S. Department of Labor administers the order.

Executive Order 11478 is the counterpart which applies to federal employment and is administered by the U.S. Civil Service Commission. Both orders (11478 and 11246) prohibit discrimination in employment, upgrading, demotion, transfer, recruitment, recruitment advertising, layoff, pay and compensation rates, and training selection.

The guides developed by OFCC to implement the Executive Orders give an idea of the various manifestations of the antidiscrimination ruling. Contractors cannot (1) discriminate in wages, hours, etc. on the basis of sex, (2) advertise under separate sex headings (unless a bona fide occupational qualification can be shown), (3) distinguish between married and unmarried, (4) penalize women for time off for childbearing, (5) deny employment to women with young children unless

the same policy is employed for men, (6) maintain separate seniority lists, (7) classify jobs according to sex, (8) employ different retirement ages, and (9) deny women the right to a job which they are qualified to perform by relying upon a state protective law.^{8/}

Equal Rights Amendment Proposals

For the past 47 years unsuccessful attempts have been made to obtain an equal rights amendment. The most recent equal rights amendment passed the House 350-15, but died in the Senate, the key issue in its defeat being the protective laws. In general, labor organizations opposed the amendment (with the important exception of the United Automobile Workers). Myra Wolfgang, vice-president of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers declared, "What the dispute over the state protective law comes down to is that the women in lower-paying and marginal jobs and those with heavy family responsibility want the protective laws continued, whereas women in higher-paying blue-collar and professional jobs--most exempt from those laws anyway--consider them restrictive."^{9/}

Others see the equal rights amendment as one more step toward the realization of equality. Pay differentials between men and women are still substantial. Protective legislation may have been necessary around the 1920s when the primary concern was with worker exploitation and miserable working conditions, but such conditions certainly are not the same today. The reason for the sex restrictions has disappeared. Protective legislation is not relevant today; it serves only to perpetuate wage inequities.

How long it will take unions to rethink their policies will depend upon the pressures arising not only from

state and federal enforcement officers, but within the shop from employers, on the one hand, and from women workers, on the other. These pressures will gradually converge upon the bargaining table and on the resolutions themselves in new contract provisions, new norms in grievance handling, and a fresh approach to policy on protective legislation.^{10/}

The arguments by union members are reflected elsewhere. Many critics see the proposal as a very limited one. An extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers is seen by some as a priority. Enabling legislation for day-care centers is also a common topic. Others focus on changing the inequitable social security benefit system or attacking criminal laws, such as that of Arkansas, which can fine a woman up to three years for habitual drunkenness or narcotics use while men get 30 days.

"The Women's Equality Act of 1971" will be the next attempt at an equal rights amendment. It is more specific and more ambitious than previous equal rights amendments. Introduced by Representative Abner Mikva (D-Ill.), it will seek to enlist the Justice Department, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Internal Revenue Service and the Social Security Administration in its campaign. Among its provisions are the application of the Fair Labor Standards Act to professional women, the prohibition of sex discrimination in the sale, rental, or financing of a house, a revision of social security laws to pay benefits to husbands and widowers of deceased or disabled women workers, and the deduction of money used for child care as a business expense.^{11/}

Unfinished Business

The legislation concerning sex discrimination has done much to alleviate the inequalities faced by women, yet much remains to be done. The legal measures, as previously mentioned, do not cover all women workers. In some instances, the lowest paid, least skilled workers are left out, a large proportion of whom are women. An extension of minimum wage and social legislation would abate problems for those workers.

Besides the limited coverage of existing legislation, other areas perpetuating inequality remain. New legislation is needed. The varieties of state protective restrictions require close scrutiny. In most cases such measures are outdated; sex is seldom found to be a bona fide occupational qualification. Abortion reform is urgent and provisions for maternity leave are needed. The lack of day-care facilities is a major impediment for women--especially poor women. Without adequate child-care facilities, mothers cannot meet conventional working schedules. The impetus for change in these and other areas can come through legislation; the time is overdue.

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IV

THE UNION RESPONSE

Historic Involvement

Since the mid-1800s, women activists have fought with and against labor unions to improve their role in society. The history has been mixed--one of union support and of opposition.

Much of the early activity was in the textile and apparel industries. The first major attempt was the Female Society of Lynn and Vicinity for the Protection and Promotion of Female Industry; it received strong support from the Men's Cordwainers Union. The first national trade union was the Daughters of St. Crispin in the late 1850s. In 1872, these workers organized a strike against the "boss stitchers."

In other industries, misogynists ruled. The Cigar Workers petitioned the American Federation of Labor to oppose the employment of machiners--and women! This ill-feeling towards women can be partly attributed to management's use of women as strikebreakers against the union. The unions representing printing and publishing also had strong anti-women policies in the early years. In the 1880s women were admitted to the union and an equal wage policy was adopted--in a reaction to the growing number of women in the industry who were undermining the wage of union workers.

The Garment Trades Union is a different story: throughout history it has attempted to address itself to the women workers and their special problems. In 1900 the International Ladies Garment Workers Union

(ILGWA) was formed. A nine-week strike was led in 1910 which resulted in a favorable contract for the union; it outlawed subcontracting within the shop and work in the home. In 1914 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) was formed. Both unions provided language and education classes for their members.

Unions Today

In discussing the pattern and participation of women and labor unions today, four areas can be considered: (1) the proportion of women in the work force who are in unions, (2) the concentrations of women in particular unions, (3) correlations between the extent of organization and the participation of women workers, and (4) the representation of women workers among the ranks of union officials.

Union membership as a proportion of all women workers

While increasing in both an absolute and a relative sense, the number of women workers who are unionized has not kept pace with the increasing number of women in the total work force. A ten year comparison (1958-1968) illustrates this: In 1958, women in unions accounted for 3.1 million, about 18 per cent of total membership; in 1968, the 3.7 million members were 19.5 per cent of the membership. Overall, the number of women in the labor force grew from 32.7 per cent to 37.1 per cent of the total force in the same years. Thus, when the number of unionized women workers is expressed as a percentage of total women workers, a decline from 13.8 per cent to 12.5 per cent is shown. The following table documents these findings:^{1/}

Table 1. Women Civilian Labor Force Participation
and Union Membership (U.S. 1958 - 1968).

<u>Civilian Labor Force</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1968</u>
Total (million)	67.6	69.6	60.6	73.1	75.8	78.7
Women (million)	22.1	23.2	24.0	25.4	27.3	29.2
<u>Union Membership</u>						
Total (million)	16.8	16.9	16.4	16.7	17.8	18.8
Women (million)	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.4	3.7
<u>Women as Percent of</u>						
Total Civilian Labor Force	32.7	33.4	34.0	34.8	36.0	37.1
<u>Women Union Membership as percent of</u>						
(1) All Women in the Labor Force	13.8	13.3	12.8	12.5	12.6	12.5
(2) Total Union Membership	18.2	18.3	18.6	19.1	19.3	19.5

Concentrations of women in particular unions

A substantial share of the total number of unionized women workers consistently come from a small number of unions. About 75 per cent of all women members belonged to 21 unions with more than 50,000 members each. The unions included cover a variety of employment sectors--metals and machinery, clothing, communications, transportation, service, trade, and government. Except for the American Federation of Teachers, both blue-collar and white-collar workers are incorporated. Table 2 offers a more concise breakdown:^{2/}

Furthermore, the growth in the number of women members in recent years has been concentrated. Between 1958 and 1968, the increase was 600,000; about 50 per cent of this gain was attributed to only four unions--Retail Clerks International Union, Service Employees Union, United Automobile Workers, and the American Federation of Government Employees.

Organization and proportion of women workers

An observable inverse relationship can be seen between the proportion of women workers and the degree of organization of that industry.

In six industries in which 75 per cent or more of the workers are organized, women workers range from a negligible to a relatively small proportion of total employment. On the other hand, of five industries in which women make up at least half of those employed, only two (apparel and telephone) show a relatively high degree of organization--between 50 and 75 per cent; in one (leather), it is between 25 and 50 per cent and in two (finance and services), it is less than 25 per cent.^{3/}

Table 2. Women Members in Unions with 50,000 Women Members or More, 1958 and 1968.

Union	Number of Women 1958	Percent of Total Membership	Number of Women 1968	Percent of Total Membership
Total, all unions	3,274,000	18.2	3,940,000	19.5
Total, selected	2,408,000	26.0	2,964,000	26.3
AFL-CIO				
Bakery	-	-	52,300	32
Clothing	282,000	75	-	-
Communications Workers	153,200	60	178,800	50
Electrical (IVE)	111,300	40	113,500	35
Electrical (IBEW)	225,000	30	269,100	30
Garment, Ladies	332,200	75	364,000	80
Government (AFGE)	24,000	40	97,300	33
Hotel	174,500	40	146,900	32
Machinists	99,300	10	-	-
Meat Cutters	77,200	14	75,000	15
Railway Clerks	41,200	11	56,000	20
Retail, Wholesale	176,900	58	-	-
Service Employees	52,000	20	128,400	33
State, County	-	-	-	-
Steel	-	-	-	-
Teachers	33,000	65	99,000	60
Textile Workers	78,800	40	73,200	40
Unaffiliated:				
Automobile Workers	102,700	10	176,700	12
Teamsters	156,000	11	-	-
Telephone	54,000	60	51,500	97

No significant studies can explain this phenomenon. Assertions that women are less inclined to join unions due to the anticipation of marriage, their desire for luxury income, or general disinterest in possible union benefits such as security and representation are unfounded. A recent NLRB study with white-collar workers indicated that women in these areas did not differ from men in their preference for union representation.^{4/} Thus, evidence to assist in explaining this apparent trade-off between the proportion of women workers and the extent of organization within the employment sector is not found in the literature.

Women as union officials

Women within the union framework have not attained positions of authority and responsibility that would be implied by their numbers as union members. Between 1958 and 1968 there has been an increase from 32 to 38 women holding elective and appointive offices. This increase can be attributed to the addition of three positions in the directory listing of the Bureau of Labor Statistics--legal, legislative, and public relations activities.

Even those unions with a large proportion of women workers have few women officers or officials. In 1968, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the International Ladies Garment Workers each had one woman member on the national executive board. The United Automobile Workers had one woman on its board.^{5/} One of the last areas to be penetrated is the executive council of the AFL-CIO--an all-male domain. A look at a list of vice-presidents also reveals an absence

of female names. The ACWA had one woman among its 28 vice-presidents. None are found in several unions with substantial female membership-- the Communications Workers of America, Machinists, and Bakery Workers, to name a few. There is one woman vice-president in the UAW.^{6/}

In summary, the following comment seems most appropriate:

Thus, although women play a not inconsiderable role in shop and local unions, they are rarely found as officers of the international bodies, the joint boards, and district councils, and almost never appear on major negotiating teams or on national executive boards, national staffs, and among national officers. Moreover, union structure, with rare exceptions, provides no channels for mobilizing women to consider their special problems and to formulate policy on them. Even where they are in a majority, women play the role, and are assigned the status of a minority--moreover a minority still in that state of political self-consciousness where "tokenism" suffices to meet its demands.^{7/}

Work Issues For Unions

Unions can offer much to create a climate of acceptance for women as participants in the work force and to promote their utilization and development. Involvement can include the encouragement of caucuses within unions for further discussion and solution of problems faced by women workers and increased effort to unionize the many unorganized forces of women workers. Above all, unions must recognize and address the work issues of the woman workers:

Issues that face women at the work place include equal opportunity for entering occupations, seniority rights, pay, promotional opportunities, and the need for day-care centers. Under legal requirements, unions are required to bargain and represent all workers covered by an agreement, regardless of membership, race, or sex. In a number of instances unions have emphasized the

policy of equal treatment for women by including antidiscrimination and equal pay for equal work clauses in their agreements.^{8/}

Recently, major unions have discussed and acted on the special problems of their women members. The United Automobile Workers, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and the American Newspaper Guild have dealt with a variety of issues at their conventions, including attitudinal biases and the need for day-care centers. Both the UAW and the AFT adopted a revision in maternity leave policy and endorsed the equal rights amendment proposal, urging the AFL-CIO to change its opposing position. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have co-sponsored and opened child-care centers.

Innovation and change can come through union effort; much needs to be studied and improved. Legal coverage needs expansion. Innovation in recruitment, development, and promotion policies is necessary. Imaginative scheduling can be a promising development for many employment sectors. There is a need for continuing education programs. Adequate day-care centers are desperately required to ease the difficulties of working mothers. A close examination of protective laws and contract provisions is needed.

The union response to these areas has not been a consistent one. It may be helpful to briefly examine two topics of concern-- day-care centers and the proposed equal rights amendment. A discussion of these will help to illustrate the varied union involvements in areas of particular concern to women workers.

Day-care centers

In the clothing industry, a joint management-union effort to

sponsor child-care centers has been initiated. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Baltimore and the area employers in the men's clothing industry have now set up five centers. No federal funds have been used. \$3 million have been spent, with the cost to each mother being \$5 a week.^{9/}

Similar efforts can be seen elsewhere. Tioga Sportswear in Fall River has a center to accommodate 30-40 children; the company pays \$13 per child each week. Skyland Textile Company in North Carolina has a large enough facility to allow the enrollment of other children in addition to those in the company. In Roxbury, Massachusetts, a center costing \$15 a month has been set up through the Avco Economic Systems Corporation. Union activity has been a critical factor in the establishment of all these centers.

The examples of adequate child-care centers are few, but the need for them has been demonstrated. The increase in the number of working mothers--especially husbandless family heads and those in poverty groupings--makes the establishment of such centers necessary. Day-care centers have recently become a discussion topic for many unions, but few have actually promoted their development--with the notable exception of the ACWA.

Equal rights amendment

The controversy surrounding the equal rights amendment is evident within union circles. George Meany has voiced opposition on behalf of the AFL-CIO. Other unions opposing the equal rights amendment proposal and reaffirming protective legislation for women include the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, the International

Ladies Garment Workers, the International Union of Electrical Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and others. Those who have gone on record as supporting the equal rights amendment are most notably the United Automobile Workers, the Electrical Workers, the Butchers & Meat Cutters, and the American Federation of Government Employees.

The key issue in the conflict is the existence of protective legislation for women. In general, unions seem to be taking the view that traditional protective legislation provides genuine and desirable protection for unorganized women and in so doing sets a convenient floor of standards for organized women. They seek to preserve long-established and necessary standards and advocate that the protective labor standards be strengthened, not removed.

The problem, as the UAW women point out, is that these protective restrictions have served less to safeguard standards and more to perpetuate unequal pay. The differential between men's and women's salary or income, based solely on productivity, remains substantial. The equal rights amendment would remove the artificial exclusion of women from jobs offering more in terms of ability, interest, and pay. The requirements for jobs would be more honest and fair. For example, the qualification for a task involving a certain amount of lifting would be whether or not the individual could do the lifting--not what the worker's sex happened to be. Unions, as the UAW contends, must recognize the unfairness and discrimination implicit in protective restrictions based merely on sex criteria and promote the equal rights amendment in the interest of fairness for its members.

An Overview of Union Response

Unions have an obligation to represent the women workers-- to recognize and to act upon work issues which are of particular concern to women. That obligation has not been met. The record is not without merit; unions have promoted equal pay and anti-discrimination measures. But response in most other areas has been weak. Aside from the recent increase in the number of provisions for maternity leaves, contract provisions to alleviate and correct work inequalities facing women workers are rare. Few unions have even begun to consider the feasibility of day-care centers and means to establish them. Only in a few cases--notably the UAW--has the union structure been flexible enough to provide channels for women to mobilize in order to consider their special problems and needed union action in regard to them. Even in unions where women amount to a substantial number, few women are found in high union positions. National executive boards, national staffs, and district councils may have none. In summary, unions have not fully utilized the women workers within their own framework, and they have not fully represented and promoted the interests of women workers in the work place.

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V

THE MANAGEMENT RESPONSE

Implied in the Women's Liberation movement is more than a call for equal pay for equal work. It asks for a recognition of women as human beings whose aspirations should not be limited by sex, but by ability. Business is assessed by many as the most flagrant practitioner of sex discrimination.

The issue of roles strikes businessmen at two levels. First, it concerns their attitudes and practices toward those women within the management level. Second, the issue regards the outlook and treatment toward the women workers whom they manage. In both cases, business has been slow to recognize and act on the charges of sex discrimination raised by women.

Women as Managers

"Yes, we have no discrimination -- recent survey: 94 per cent of companies queried have management training programs 'open' to women, but only 74 per cent actually have women in these programs. Yes, we have no ... and on it goes."^{1/}

Discrimination in the professional market is a fact. It is manifest in three critical areas--choice, remuneration, and advancement. The earnings gap has been discussed previously. All levels of work reflect a substantial differential--even with a Master of Business Administration (MBA) credential. "Male MBAs from top graduate schools, for example, earned \$12,000 to \$12,500 in 1968,

\$13,000 to \$14,000 in 1969, and approximately \$14,000 to \$14,500 in 1970; while women MBAs were earning between \$1,000 and \$3,500 less. The starting salary gap has been recently narrowing, but the change is coming quite slowly."^{2/}

Choice has also been limited for women. This discrimination begins in the recruitment process. A survey conducted by the American Society for Personnel Administration and the Bureau of National Affairs (Bulletin of March 5, 1970) showed that of the companies conducting on-campus interviews "only 30 per cent go to women's colleges--as opposed to 63 per cent that go to men's schools and 97 per cent to co-ed institutions."^{3/}

Discriminatory attitudes and practices are prevalent even when women are interviewed by corporations. The experience of a recent woman graduate student of the University of Michigan's School of Business Administration is not unusual. Although her qualifications were excellent, she was informed by the representative of a major midwestern advertising firm that women were not hired for the "account executive" position, the job in which she was interested. More often the discrimination is subtle--such as a woman MBA who noticed that her resume form had "5'2" - 104 lbs" circled as opposed to job experience or grade point categories noted by the interviewer on the forms of the male applicants.

Once inside the corporation, discrimination continues. It is especially evident in the slower promotion pattern experienced by women. The Harvard Business Review conducted a survey of 2,000 executives--half of them men, half of them women. "The survey

disclosed what already had been common knowledge: 'There seems to be overwhelming agreement that only the exceptional, indeed the overqualified, woman can hope to succeed in management.'^{4/} Another survey by the Harvard School of Business found that 41 per cent of men executives studied had anti-woman attitudes and 6 per cent believed there should be no women at all in management positions.^{5/}

Thus few women are found at the top. They are the exception, not the rule. Muriel Siebert is the only woman to occupy a seat on the New York Stock Exchange. The vice-president of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith is Mary Wren. Dorothy Schiff is editor, publisher, and owner of the New York Post. Alice A. Beech is chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Beech Aircraft. Bonwit Teller's chairman of the board is Mildred Custin. Other women are found in top positions such as president of Wells, Rich, Greene, Inc., treasurer of Electronic Data Systems, board member of General Foods, executive vice-president and treasurer of First Wisconsin Trust Co., and president of Mattel.

A public relations man of a large New York bank offers a comment on women's attainment of managerial positions. The attitude he supports is a widely held one:

Even in a once exclusively WASP bank that now strains to find black and Puerto Rican managerial people, ... just mention women in management and you get a chuckle or extreme hostility. The idea of a woman in the board room or the executive suite, that will be the most difficult to change.^{6/}

Before more women will be found in top management and executive positions, more must be moved into other managerial levels and the channels of promotion must be opened up. Most companies have been unwilling to invest time or tuition for management training for women on the traditional excuse that women will leave for marriage or motherhood. Women will also find it difficult to contend with internal resentment by male competitors for the executive positions, a feeling often surpassing similar feelings about race. Not only is the attainment of high-level positions resented, but also the competitive means itself is not thought to be virtuous for women; women are encouraged to compete for men, but never with them.

Furthermore, as the experience of the blacks has shown, the corridor to the executive suite is "booby-trapped" with subtle social pressures, not easily dismantled by legislation or public relations. Multitudes of prestigious business clubs put women on a second-class footing with special entrances and limited access to dining rooms and functions where a professional woman could meet colleagues and clients.

"If I ever thought I'd want to join the women's liberation," said Mary Wren, the first and now the only female vice-president of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, "it was the time I went to the Sky Club and had to go through a separate entrance. I was never really bothered by the downtown men's clubs, although I never liked to be left out of a meeting from a professional standpoint, but this was an uptown club."¹

Whites only, men only; such conventions of exclusion damage human performance and inspire deep insecurity and alienation.

In assessing the factors militating against the financial and personal success of many talented women in the business community,

Susan Brownmiller, journalist and member of the New York Radical Feminists, adds an important qualification to the incorporation of women within the corporate structure:

One consideration that the women's movement is not asking, please note, is the establishment of special remedial training programs for the female sex similar to the rash of guilt-inspired programs set up by corporations for minority group members and the hardcore unemployed. Our situation is different from the black experience in this regard. Unlike blacks, white women have not been denied an equal education, except at the vocational school level (and we intend to work on that). We have merely been denied the opportunity to put our acquired skills and knowledge to good use.^{8/}

Management and Women Workers

"With the ever increasing influx of women into business and industry, many supervisors are running scared."^{9/} So begins a pamphlet written for managers who manage female work forces. It is published by the Bureau of Business Practices and is to aid managers (obviously male) in understanding and relating to the particular problems of women workers.

The pamphlet begins with an analysis of: "How much different are women?" One is informed that women "don't take kindly to criticism," "make more demands than men," "talk more than men," "are temperamental," and experience more absenteeism. Furthermore, "Isn't it reasonable to expect women to present an unusual disciplinary situation? Because it is true that many working women don't really have to work"

Recognizing these factors, the Bureau of Business Practices offers a list of "special considerations": (1) It is advisable to

keep in mind that women are more interested in people than in abstract ideas. (2) Don't assign heavy muscle work to women. (3) In discipline situations, remember that any hint of favoritism can trigger jealousy among the women workers. (4) Since women are not self-supportive, expect more absenteeism; therefore, make the attendance policy clear.

It is hoped that the Bureau of Business Practices had not had the final word; by now it should be obvious that their analysis is invalid. The pamphlet perpetuates all the myths about women workers --myths that maintain a system of inequities. Women, as previously demonstrated, work out of economic need. Their rates of absenteeism and turnover are similar to those of men. The pamphlet's advice that jobs involving lifting certain weights be closed to women is of questionable legality. This example of paternalism and chauvinism promotes the retention of women in lower-paying, lower-skilled jobs --an unrealistic and discriminatory situation which can eventually lead to greater worker dissatisfaction.

As suggested before, the attitudes and practices encouraged by such publications are prevalent. Perhaps new pamphlets will be devised to assess the real socioeconomic problems and offer innovative advice. The facts must be publicized to break down the myths. Suggestions of real substance must be brought forward--such as innovation in hours and scheduling, day-care centers, and programs of worker development and training.

A Challenge to Change

Though perhaps temporarily discouraged by the record of business, women are gaining confidence and determination as they shape their roles.

Recently, Robert Townsend added a new chapter to his already well-known book, Up the Organization. "How to Get the President's Job: Guerilla Guide for Working Women" encourages and reflects upon the increased efforts for self-determination. A favorite: "Take into consideration that good jobs are scarce and men are a dime a dozen."^{10/}

The challenge to business is clear. There is a choice between accepting and encouraging such individual development or attempting to operate under the narrow, biased view reflected in the Bureau of Business Practices communication. The challenge to management now is to determine how it can loosen up its male-centered organization in order to permit the development and participation of other persons in our society who wish to contribute to and be rewarded by managerial careers.

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VI

VIEWPOINT: WOMANPOWER FUTURE ACTION CONSIDERATIONS

Having examined the causes and conditions of inequality faced by women in job advancement, remuneration, and choice, we can see certain changes are essential. All sectors will be involved in correcting the artificial barriers faced by women.

A variety of innovative measures are required and legal alterations are needed. Programs of continuing education and schedules with greater flexibility may be devised. Day-care centers must be increased. In many aspects, unions and management can be active initiators of change; in others, willing contributors and advocates.

Legal changes

Passage of the equal rights amendment is urged as soon as possible. It would give women fuller status as citizens. The equal rights amendment would remove the sex qualification in present state laws, allowing the optimal placement of workers according to realistic qualifications. Further, it would remedy existing inequalities in certain state laws such as those regarding marriage, guardianship, dependents, property ownership, independent business ownership, dower rights, and domicile.

Other legislation is also needed. Changes in the social security provisions are necessary to allow benefits for widowers and husbands of disabled women workers, like those now given to widows and wives. (In 1970, wives contributed 40 per cent or more to the family income in the 25.6 per cent of the families with the wife working along with the husband.)^{1/}

An expansion of minimum wage and social legislation to other employment sectors and laws establishing a woman's right to abortion are also needed.

Education, training, scheduling

The opportunities for productive changes in the areas of training and development as well as scheduling are numerous. The opening up of training programs, in itself, will be a positive step to benefit industry and women. Programs of continuing education such as the Minnesota Plan can assist in counseling women who must leave the work force for a period of time.

A recent book, 4 Days, 40 Hours, edited by Riva Poor, explores the experiences of companies which have tried the 4-40 or some variation. Productivity, profit levels, overtime, salary changes, absenteeism, and other indices of efficiency are presented. Overall results indicate the desirability of a shorter work week. Such flexibility in the consideration of work schedules may prove valuable for management as well as its workers.

Proposed in some sectors are schedules involving shorter working hours for both men and women. A "newtime" proposal by author Marya Mannes promotes 9-3:15 jobs. She believes such scheduling will result in a 30 per cent savings in salary without sacrificing any professional qualifications. At the present time, a personnel agency in New York City, "Newtime," is pioneering this alternative to the forty-hour workweek. Joan Baeder and Ina Torton set up Baeder and Torton Newtime, Inc., to specialize in placement for the "25-hour" individual. Newtime is successfully solving a dual purpose--introducing business to an untapped market

and creating new kinds of flexible jobs to fit better individual needs.^{3/}

Child-care centers

Obviously some of the employment difficulties of women--lack of seniority and work experience, inadequate skills and vocational commitment, and job choice--are closely related to the work patterns imposed by family responsibilities. A woman may be able to choose a pattern that accommodates her duties, but the choice is determined frequently by the arrangements she is able to make for child care.^{4/}

The need for adequate child-care centers is obvious. There are expanding numbers of mothers entering the work force each year. Sociological studies increasingly indicate that the children of working mothers benefit from the mother's outside job, psychologically as well as economically. Child-care facilities are uncommon in the United States and this lack is a major impediment for women--especially poor women--seeking job training or employment.

A study made in February, 1965 by the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau (HEW) is most revealing. The 6.1 million mothers surveyed had 12.3 million children under fourteen years of age, of whom 3.8 million were under six years. During the work hours of the mother, 46 per cent of the children were cared for in their homes. For 28 per cent, the mother looked after the child while at work or worked only during the child's school hours. 18 per cent of the 12.3 million children were cared for away from home; however, only 2 per cent were in group care, such as day-care centers, nursery schools, and after-school centers. A significant 8 per cent looked after themselves.^{5/}

The findings emphasize the need for adequate child-care centers. Too many children--particularly preschool children--were in questionable care while the mother worked. The rarest arrangement was the center: in 1962, there were 185,000 licensed facilities; in 1967, 350,000. Where facilities exist, the cost is prohibitive for many.

All sectors--labor, private, and public--can be involved in various programs to implement centers for the benefit of the entire community. Employers, labor unions, and joint organizations can receive financial assistance for such facilities from the Bureau of Work Training (BWTP) under the Manpower Administration. Congress can expand programs in this area and allow increased income tax deductions for child-care expenses. Efforts at all levels are required to increase the number of centers and reduce the cost of obtaining their service for the working mother.

In the Interest of All

Such changes--legal reform, child care facilities, continuing education, new work schedules--will benefit all individuals. Women will be the primary benefactors since they will be free to determine their own lives. Men will realize greater options as professions lose existing sex stereotypes and as the economic burden of "breadwinner" is reduced. For business and union sectors, the change in attitudes and practices holds the promise of optimal utilization and development of human resources. Work will be matched better with individual interest and ability and can be expected to be more productive.

Changes involving politics, economics, and sex roles are feared by many. Beliefs and behavior will be closely examined. The

promise is a nation where men and women won't reverse roles but will be fully free to choose according to individual talents and preferences.

In an economic system based on merit, we all win.

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THE FEMALE BLUE-COLLAR WORKER:
HER WORKING CONDITIONS, UNION MEMBERSHIP,
AND SPECIAL PROBLEMS

AN INTERNATIONAL SURVEY

Gertrude Casselman

Introduction

Purpose

This paper is the result of an attempt to analyze and compare the situations of female blue-collar workers in various countries. Although historical, geographical, cultural, and economic factors cause these situations to differ from country to country, it is possible to create models representing those characteristics of a group of countries which are similar. At the same time, deviations from the models which appear to be unique and of particular interest are also discussed.

Limitations

Emphasis will be placed upon those matters pertinent to lower- and lower middle-class workers. Women in some white-collar jobs are included, however, since in many cases their job-connected economic and social problems are similar to those of female industrial employees. Problems of professional women, although they certainly exist, will not be discussed.

In the discussion of the "working conditions" of lower-class women workers, a very broad definition of the term has been employed. The conditions of employment involve influences which reach far beyond the factory walls. These influences include prevailing social attitudes, governmental pressure through legislation, and historical events, all of which help to determine whether a woman works, in what type of job she works, and so on.

Although union membership levels and activities in various countries will be noted, there is a scarcity of literature in this area, partly because union membership among women is low and because in most countries little stress is put on getting women to join or become active in the union.

I.

Industrialized Countries--High Participation

This section deals with those countries in which female workers represent at least one-third of the total work force. Since working conditions in the United States are being dealt with separately, they have been omitted from this section of the paper.

French Model

The French model describes conditions similar to those found in Austria, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. As indicated in the charts in the Appendix, the women in these countries constitute one-third or more of the work force. The highest level is in Austria where over 41.3 per cent of the work force (as of 1961) was female (Klein, 1965). In most countries, the majority of these women are married, and many of them work part-time. The percentage of working mothers with small children is low; however, the number of married women over 45, whose children presumably are grown, is quite large and is increasing.

Most of the blue-collar, or lower-middle-class women are concentrated in textile and clothing industries, domestic service, packaging plants, retail sales, and other occupations which require dexterity and quickness rather than physical strength.

In France there are also many women who manage their own businesses, but this is highly unusual in other countries. Most women work in unskilled or semiskilled positions, partly because they have less formal education and also because on-the-job training and apprenticeships are not readily available or are not considered proper fields for women. In the United Kingdom, for example, in the engineering and electric sector (which includes most manufacturing) 13,300 women out of 357,640 employed are skilled, compared to 589,038 skilled men in this area (Seear, 1968). In 1968, there were 5,400 girls in British apprenticeships versus 271,650 boys. In Austria, 57 per cent of the boys leaving school received vocational training as compared with 33 per cent of the girls.

The result is that the average salaries of women in these countries are about 70 to 80 per cent of men's salaries. The highest is in France, where women's salaries average about 85 per cent of men's. In Britain in 1969, half of all women earned less than five shillings (50¢) an hour (Economist, 6-14-69). The differential pay system is entrenched in British business procedure, although the principle of equal pay has been supported by the government. In some Commonwealth countries the official minimum wage for women has been set at a certain fraction of that for men (e.g., Australia, .75). In all of the French model countries the principle of equal pay has been supported in law, if not in practice. In Belgium, West Germany, and France, the government has passed laws to the effect that contracts including differential pay scales by sex cannot be extended. It is hoped that this will indirectly help to eliminate the differentials.

Also included in legislation in all of these countries, except Britain, is a specific period of maternity leave during which the woman is often provided with a portion of her former salary (by either the government insurance program or her ex-employer). Leaves usually extend from about six to eight weeks prior to childbirth until six to eight weeks afterward. West Germany's laws are the most liberal in this area: they include the provision that a woman's position cannot be permanently filled by another person if she returns within four months after childbirth. These benefits are often quite costly to the employer and have been cited as one reason employers may be hesitant to hire large numbers of women.

Union activities on behalf of women in the French model countries have been greater than in the U.S., but here also the stress is on protection through legislation. Special clauses in contracts to ensure the safety and well-being of mothers are much more common in these countries than in the U.S. In France, for instance, some collective agreements allow women two to twelve months' unpaid leave to care for sick family members. Most collective agreements containing special provisions for women extend government-granted maternity leaves for periods of up to one year, though usually without pay (Klein, 1965).

The proportion of women in unions in these countries is about 20 to 25 per cent, which is about the highest in the non-Communist world. With the exception of Sweden, union activities to educate women and integrate them into the work environment have been slight, although individual leaders in many unions are becoming aware of the potential for improvement in this sector.

Unique practices and conditions

The reasons for high participation levels in these countries are unique in each case. In England, for example, participation of women in industry has a long history, beginning in the earliest stages of the textile industry. Spinning and weaving were traditional female occupations, and when the Industrial Revolution mechanized these activities, the women were brought into the factory. World War II also brought many women into the workplace for the first time in both England and Germany. After the war, many widows and unmarried women were forced to take over jobs which had formerly gone to men.

In Germany, in addition to membership in unions, women have also established other organizations to lobby for themselves, such as the National Council of Women and the the Housewives' Association. There are a total of eighty such organizations, claiming a membership of over six million (Labour Gazette, 68, p. 220). In Sweden, a

women's council was established within the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions, consisting of 11 members who represent unions with many women members....Supporting this council at the local level are some 175 women's committees set up within local trades councils. In cooperation with the national council, these women's committees arrange courses and meetings in order to encourage women to participate in union affairs.

(Swedish Conference of Trade Unions, 1961)

II

Industrialized Countries--Low Participation

Dutch Model

Women in the Dutch model countries (the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Norway) do not work except under unusual circumstances.

Social attitudes do not condone work for women except during the brief period between graduation from school and marriage. For example, in 1960, only 4.7 per cent of the married women in the Netherlands worked. A survey in 1962 indicated that even given ideal working conditions only 20 per cent would consider working.

In most industrialized countries included in the French model, participation rates show two "peaks"--from graduation to marriage and again after the children are in school. In Switzerland, there is no second peak--the participation rate declines steadily with increase in age. In 1960, 16 per cent of married Swiss women were employed. Two factors which help to account for this low participation rate are:

- (1) The schedule of working hours in these countries, which frequently include a long mid-day break, means that a married woman comes home late in the day and has to work into the night to finish housework.
- (2) The cultural standards for neatness make housekeeping more of a full-time job in these countries. The following table gives average workweeks for working women in Zurich. (Klein, 1965)

Average Workweeks For Women in Zurich

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>No. of Women</u>	<u>At Work</u>		<u>At Home</u>	<u>Total</u>	
		<u>Hours</u>	<u>Minutes</u>	<u>Hours</u>	<u>Hours</u>	<u>Minutes</u>
0	96	48	40	24	72	40
1	334	46	30	38	84	30
2	168	46	10	33	79	10
3 or more	51	46	45	34	80	45
Total (Mean)	649	46	45	29	75	45

In addition, the country's neutrality during both world wars prevented

that forced influx of women into the labor market which was a main impetus to breaking down traditional values in other European countries (Janjic, 1967).

Another reason for not working in these countries is that pay differentials are even wider than in the French model countries: women often receive only 50 to 55 per cent of men's salaries for the same work. Legislation for equal pay is either totally lacking (as in Norway) or not enforced. In 1951 Swiss federal legislators refused to pass equal pay legislation because "numerous branches of the economy would be burdened and their capacity to compete in world markets severely handicapped." (Janjic, 1967, p. 309.)

Needless to say, female participation in trade unions in the Dutch model countries is small, and little effort has been made to increase female membership.

Italian Model

Greece, Spain, Mexico, and industrialized South and Central American countries are included in the Italian model. Female participation in industry in Italy has been falling steadily since World War II, although increases in other sectors (especially clerical) have kept the percentage of women working above the 25 per cent mark. Other countries of this type also have participation rates which are inflated because they include women who work on crafts in their homes.

There are three basic reasons for the low participation rates in these countries: (1) limited industrialization, (2) a chronic oversupply of labor, and (3) ideological factors, such as religion and politics.

Generally, women come into industry when machines replace manual labor. With limited industrialization, physical labor still plays a part in many industrial activities and women are less able to occupy these jobs. With a chronic glut of labor, companies are organized on the basis of low capital investment and a large requirement for labor, which is a cheap resource. When wages are low, "women's employment does not entail sufficient financial advantage to offset the economic and social cost to the family" (Archibugi, 1960, p. 293)

Finally, the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, as well as the right-leaning governments of some of these countries, have been strongly conservative forces militating against employment of women:

Catholic social doctrine was erected as a bulwark for the defense of a craft and corporative society against the impact of an encroaching industrial and wage-earning society. (Archibugi, p. 301)

Doctrine is phrased, however, in moral and religious terms. Two comments by Pope Leo XIII illustrate the Catholic viewpoint: "Woman is by nature fitted for home work...." "It is feared that economic independence and the atmosphere of the workplace will have an effect on the moral, religious, cultural and civil behavior of women" (Archibugi, p. 302)

Italy has a fairly liberal government at the present time, but influences of the Fascist regime, including its negative attitude toward working women, are still in evidence. One author feels that "the long eclipse of radicalism, virtually from 1911 to the present day, is the historical reason for the still rather inhibited role of Italian womanhood" (Economist, 10-14-67, p. 142) Part of the ideological doctrines of fascism required the increase of the native population for political ends:

The population policy of the Fascist regime...helped to create a general climate which was more hostile to the employment of women than in any other western industrial country. (Archibugi, p. 305)

The protectionist attitude toward women which arose from the Church and conservative government influences resulted in legislation in these countries which also limits the number of women who work:

...few countries are as overloaded as Italy with enactments on the employment of women, and it is now one of the countries in which female labour involves the highest extra costs. (Archibugi, p. 299)

Unique practices and conditions

The Church and the government are very powerful forces in Spain, yet women in this country seem to have worked out systems which is more beneficial to them than in other countries of the Italian model. The Spanish equivalent of the feminist movement (called the seccion de mujeres--"women's section") is organized to (1) teach job and handicraft skills to women, (2) sell handicraft products through their own cooperatives, and (3) promote reform legislation regarding women.

In Spain, all factories employing women are required by law to maintain day nurseries staffed by public health nurses, the cost of which is divided between the manufacturer and the state.* Here again, however, high indirect labor costs for women employees have served to restrict their entrance into the labor market.

The turnover problem in the area of domestic service has caused an interesting employment situation. Since 1959, a female domestic servant who has been dismissed may live without expense in a residence provided for such cases by the servants' union until she finds another position.

*Similar but less stringent regulations exist in a few countries, but in most, provision of day care by the employer is on a voluntary basis.

III

Industrialized Countries--Full Participation

Russian Model

The Russian model consists of the Communist-bloc countries where communist ideology refutes the traditional "tyranny" of man over woman by the claim of absolute equality of the sexes: "Labour equality has been literally interpreted! There is no job women are not expected to handle. Women perform any job and take any responsibility, no matter how hard...." (Emphasis in the original, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 1956) Nearly 50 per cent of the work force is female (49.4 per cent in 1959: see Dodge), leaving a very small percentage of women who do not work.

Women's jobs cover nearly the entire gamut of occupations. Legislation prohibits underground mining work, yet the use of women in mines continues. Justice William Douglas of the U.S. Supreme Court wrote the following during a trip to Russia:

I saw women digging ditches, loading freight cars with rocks, shoveling dirt at the hydroelectric dam on the Ob River, laying concrete, using welding torches, pouring molten metal, operating overhead cranes in Siberian factories, cleaning streets, driving trucks, operating streetcars, unloading baggage and express, serving as switchmen, flagmen, and porters on trains, and doing every conceivable kind of work in meatpacking plants. (Douglas, Russian Journey, 1956, in Dodge)

The government provides maternity benefits which amount to about two-thirds of normal pay while off work and also pays all medical expenses. After that, however, the woman is usually on her own for child care. As of 1962, only 22 per cent of nursery-aged children (infants up to three years of age) and 16 to 25 per cent of those children three to six years of age could be cared for within the capacity

of public day-care centers. This is a result of the government's decision to stress economic improvement at the price of certain social benefits. "The regime chose to ... provide only the minimum (child-care facilities, cafeterias, etc.) to keep a large proportion of women in the labor force. As a result, most Soviet women continue to carry heavy domestic burdens in addition to their work responsibilities!" (Dodge, 1966, p. 3)

Although in 1960 Russian writers were predicting a 30 to 35 hour workweek by 1968 (Tatarinova & Korshunova, 1960), the vast majority of Russian women continue to work extremely long hours in monotonous, physically-tiring jobs: "...the bulk of Soviet women are employed in relatively unskilled work. The largest single group of women (in 1966) is to be found in unskilled field work in agriculture!" (Dodge, p. 3)

The USSR has been able to maintain its high female employment rate only with great effort:

From its earliest days of power, the Communist party has considered the integration of women into the economy of (its) republics, especially into industry, as one of its most important tasks....The main weapons in this struggle have been propaganda, agitation, education, and law. (Dodge, pp. 52-3)

Greatest success in employing women has been among middle and upper-class women and younger women of all classes. The most resistance has been encountered in the Moslem districts along the southern border of Russia.

As the participation statistics indicate, the government has thus far been fairly successful in keeping women at work. Social pressure has been one of the major factors in keeping them there. Women with small children have resisted to some degree, but "the Soviet Union has

succeeded in creating an atmosphere in which a woman feels apologetic if she does not work!" (Dodge, p. 53)

Unique practices and conditions

To the degree that pressure for economic development is high, women in the various Communist countries find themselves obligated to work. Thus, in China women who do not work, whether married or not, are rare. In East Germany the participation rate of women workers in 1966 was 46.7 per cent, more than 10 per cent higher than the rate for West German women. East German women were also found in many heavy, rough jobs which West German women are forbidden by statute from performing. (Economist, 12-24-66; Labour Gazette, 1967, p. 299)

In Yugoslavia, although there is a good deal of stress on economic improvement, government pressure is somewhat lessened as far as the type of work is concerned. Yugoslavian women are permitted to request a shift to part-time work if they are pregnant or feel they cannot handle full-time work. (Klein, 1965) Also, services such as laundry, dry cleaning, dressmaking, and clothing repair shops are provided for working women in order to lessen their domestic burden. (Klein, 1965)*

Greater deviations from the party line are found in the Moslem republics of the USSR, as mentioned previously. Moslem religious laws do not permit young, single women to come into contact with men. Where these laws are still followed "women tend to marry early, stay in the home, and have more children than women in other cultural environments!"

*Similar services are provided for female union members in France through union cooperatives.

(Dodge, p. 42) The government's efforts to combat these traditions have met with moderate success, and the current policy seems to be to try to sway the young women but ignore those older women who appear to be set in their ways.

IV

Less Industrialized Countries

High Participation: Japan

Japan could be included with the more industrialized countries except that many of its current problems are a result of an extremely rapid changeover from an agricultural-crafts economy, and in this respect it is much more similar to Africa and to other Asian nations than to Western Europe. Until World War II, Japan's factories included dormitory facilities where workers ate and slept while not on the job. Recruiters were sent by the factory owners to rural areas where they told highly imaginative stories to the naive families of young girls. If the girl expressed willingness to go (if she had any choice about it), her parents were paid a fairly large amount of money as her "wages." By the time the girl discovered what conditions were really like--long hours, poor food, primitive and unwholesome living conditions--her parents had usually spent the money received and she was forced to stay on until the debt had been repaid. (Matsuoka, 1931) Efforts had been made since 1911 to improve these conditions, but typically, the law and the practice were quite different.

By the end of World War II, such practices were very infrequent although wages continued to be very low. As of 1960, women constituted

40.5 per cent of the total work force, nearly half of these women being "family workers," i.e., farm wives or wives of shop owners. A reflection of Japan's phenomenal economic growth is seen in its female employment statistics: From 1947 to 1955, the number of employed women rose from 2.5 to 4.7 million, and by 1960, to 7 million. Most women work in textiles, food packaging, and electronic equipment companies. In the years 1955-60, the number of women employed assembling telephone equipment alone rose 24.6 per cent. (Int. Labour Rev., 1962, p. 32)

Generally, tight labor markets help raise the wages of women, but in Japan in 1960, women's wages were approximately 42.5 per cent of men's. A disproportionate number of women tend to be in unskilled jobs, but a more important reason for the wage differential is that rates are based largely on length of service and education. Since women often leave work after marriage, their length of service is shorter. Also, education is an expensive commodity in Japan and prevailing social values do not emphasize the woman's need for education.

Maternity benefits include insurance coverage during the allowed leave period (84 days) and up to 60 per cent of the former wage. There is no legal requirement for the payment of wages to women on leave, but the labor market is such that in 1960 37.6 per cent of the women on maternity leaves did receive full pay from employers. (Ibid., p, 36.)

Women constitute 26 per cent of trade union membership, a level comparable to that of industrialized European countries. However, women do not represent a majority of the members in most unions.

Recently some action has been taken to help the middle-aged

Japanese woman find employment. Many of these women have been brought up with the more traditional Japanese values, and the adjustment to the work environment is often difficult.

Low Participation: Pakistani Model

The Pakistani model includes all Moslem countries, India, most of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Low participation rates in these countries do not mean that most women are engaged only in housework. Agriculture is still the full-time occupation of most people, and women carry a good deal of this burden. However, in industrial areas women, though generally poor, do not work in industry. The reasons for this are many, but the chief reasons are: (1) religious laws frown on females' working, except in agriculture, and (2) the primitive division of labor is still strictly followed. Without labor-saving devices such as washing machines, electric ovens, and vacuum cleaners, housework and child care require a good deal more time.

Religious influence is an additional restriction for women in these countries. The Moslem influence noted earlier in the section on Russia is found also in Pakistan. "Current literature (1968)... suggests that religious and cultural values in Moslem countries not only limit female labor-force participation now, but may continue to do so throughout the process of development!" (Bean, p. 393) As the listing in the Appendix shows, female participation in the strongly Islamic countries of Pakistan and Egypt (6.8 per cent and 3.8 per cent, respectively) is among the lowest in the world.

Government practices and policies tend to reinforce these religious values in Moslem countries and, as indicated above, little change may be expected here. The most hopeful sign is that some factors which previously hindered women in Moslem countries are now helping them. Sex-segregated schools require large numbers of female teachers, and the fact that only female doctors are allowed to treat female patients has led to the practice of reserving 10 per cent of the medical school openings for women. (Bean, 1968)

Unique practices and conditions

Although the absolute number of women employed in Indian factories has been increasing, the relative percentage has been declining for many years. Whereas women constituted 6 per cent of the nonagricultural work force in 1901, in 1951 this was reduced to 2.8 per cent. Several reasons account for this decline: (Giri, 1969) (1) Much of the work that women used to do by hand is now performed by men operating machines; (2) women used to be employed in mines, but legislation has forbidden this practice; (3) equal pay legislation has reduced the number of female workers employers can afford to hire; and (4) the rising wages of males have enabled women who generally are not interested in working to remain at home. In India, as in other countries where social legislation has been passed to give women equal pay, maternity benefits, etc., employers have frequently stated that the ultimate result of these efforts to help women have cost many of them their jobs.

In India, as in other Moslem countries, widows and married women form the vast majority of female workers since custom forbids the

employment of unmarried women. This is a distinct contrast to the practice in Western countries where generally more than half of all unmarried women are employed.

Latin American countries, as mentioned above, usually employ women in agriculture and home crafts. The largest group of employed women are those in domestic service. The large number of available workers keeps wages low, and such practices as firing a woman who becomes pregnant (to avoid paying maternity benefits) do occur, though this practice is illegal.

Nearly all Latin American countries include equal pay clauses in their constitutions; women of these countries have less access to formal schooling and on-the-job training and therefore are concentrated in the unskilled job classifications.

African women probably suffer from more forms of discrimination and repression than any other group. The Western European and American woman is extremely liberated compared to her African sisters who still are subject to tribal laws. In many cases, she does not have any choice even with regard to who shall be her marriage partner and, until recently, polygamous marriage practices served as an excuse for slavery, i.e., one husband with 200 to 500 wives.

After these countries became introduced to Western ways, some practices like these died out, but many were allowed to remain. "'Respect for custom' has served as an excuse for a great deal of lazy indifference" (LaFaucheux, p. 17)--and has also enabled managers to reap certain economic benefits. However, most recently formed independent African governments have adopted equal pay, non-discriminatory policies--a step in the right

direction. Yet women are still found in the least desirable (by their own standards) jobs. Apparently this is a universal practice. In Europe, domestic employment is demeaning and consequently only women can be persuaded to accept it. In Africa, on the other hand, jobs as domestic servants are higher paying and more secure than most alternatives, and therefore these jobs are generally taken by men.

Some women are employed in small industries, and experience has indicated that women under thirty are better able to adapt to handling machinery and general factory conditions than are women who have lived for longer periods under primitive conditions. It is also felt that in many cases female workers are more conscientious and dependable than male workers because of their greater responsibility for their children.

There are exceptions to the "women at the bottom" principle in Africa. Among certain tribes, entrepreneurial behavior in women is acceptable, and women from these villages retail the textiles they produce. They have formed themselves into powerful "associations according to their particular interests and are real powers in politics (to such a point that there are governments which do not dare to claim the income tax justified by the size of their turnover)." (LaFaucheux, p. 21)

Protective legislation was instituted in most African countries while they were European colonies, but it is sometimes of dubious benefit. The ban on night work, a carryover from Western practice, is not nearly as important in the tropics as a ban on work during the hottest

hours near noon. Maternity benefits, while good in theory, are often paid to persons other than the mother who spend it on activities not designed for the child's benefit.

V

International Issues

A common question asked is, "Why have women waited so long to complain about supposed discrimination in pay, promotion, and other job-related areas?" One investigator supplies the following answer:

Custom and the expectations of one's social group are powerful forces. In other spheres of life, as the crime figures show, women do seem more inclined than men to accept and to conform to established social norms, and if at work they are expected to fill the least skilled, least well paid and least responsible jobs, then many of them no doubt never challenge the assumptions on which this position is based, accepting it, if scarcely with enthusiasm, yet certainly without protest. This conformist attitude is no doubt reinforced by the near certainty of marriage after a few years of employment, and also perhaps by the widely-held belief that men are not attracted to women with serious work ambitions. (Seear, p. 12)

Equal pay

Recent surveys in Britain have made it very clear just how widespread the practice of differential wage payment actually is, and public opinion finally seems to be altering in favor of adjusting wage scales more equitably. A recent article in the British weekly Economist included the following statement: "The Labour Party manifesto for 1964 contained the principle of equal pay for equal work. Of course, no one can quite agree on the meaning of the phrase, but even on the most limited definition, the Government has done next to nothing to fulfill that ambition!" (Economist, 6-14-69, p. 16) Of course with the conservative party now in power this drive for equal

wages may be stalled again.

Some of the arguments against equal wages for women contend:

- (1) Since women are physically barred from handling some jobs, their range of abilities is narrower, and hence, worth less to an employer.
- (2) Equal pay would be inflationary, and if unilaterally accepted, would weaken a nation's trade position by raising the cost of goods exported.
- (3) Women are more short-term oriented: they often work only until a specific sum is earned (or until they become pregnant) and then quit, leaving the employer to fill the vacancy. The wage differential is thus thought of as a price all women pay for their lower reliability as a group.
- (4) Women are generally not supporting a family, and thus lower wages for them are not a hardship since they do not need the money for the necessities of life.

All of these arguments have validity to a greater or lesser degree. However, a statement by two women psychologists at the University of Michigan gives the most objective representation of the problem and its possible solution:

We feel that the possibility of equal pay and equal opportunity will not exist (for women) until such time as women are relieved of the sole responsibility for their traditional tasks, because those responsibilities preclude equal commitment to work...Non-radical women's organizations which call for equal pay and promotion without demanding radical reform of the traditional role responsibilities delude themselves. (Bardwick & Douvan, p. 15)

Child-care centers

In Germany, where day-care facilities for young children are widespread, the women's organizations have been demanding Tageschulen,

places where children can do their homework and play under adult supervision until their mothers return from work. In Switzerland, such day schools exist, and children often spend nearly all of their waking hours either in school or in these day-care facilities.

Government regulations in Italy, Turkey, India, and Spain require that employers of more than a certain number of married women must provide day-care centers. In Italy, costs of large facilities are often shared by several companies. As of 1954, 41 per cent of French enterprises employing 500 to 1,000 workers and 59 per cent with over 1,000 workers had their own child-care services even though not required by law to provide them. However, there is some feeling among the women who work in these factories that the factory area is not an ideal environment for children, and that child-care facilities ought to be a public responsibility and should be located in residential areas. A group of European trade union representatives apparently share this sentiment: "Childrearing must be considered as a parental and social function and hence...extra costs should be borne not by the employer but by the community as a whole!" (OECD Observer, p. 26) If the community could be persuaded to finance day-care centers it would help to eliminate the employers' complaint that women require more expensive fringe benefits.

Part-time employment

For many women the solution to the job/home conflict has been to work only part-time, usually during school hours. This has proved to be a useful system for both employee and employer since (1) women can

keep up skills during child-rearing years and then come back to work full time when the children are grown; (2) it is more efficient for employers to have extra help available for peak periods and not have to "carry" them during slack times; and (3) housewives can maintain their usual housework schedule even though they are working.

There are many drawbacks involved in the present system, however, including (1) the fact that wages must be high enough to overcome the additional expenses incurred for child care, transportation, etc.; (2) promotion prospects for part-time women are extremely limited, causing some motivation problems; and (3) the fringe benefits are either less or non-existent for part-time workers, and frequently wage scales are lower.

Trade union attitudes toward part-time workers have been largely negative. In the opinion of many union leaders, "it is more difficult to organize part-time workers...and they constitute a threat to the effectiveness of union machinery and to the security and working conditions of those who work full-time!" (Labour Gazette, 67, p. 35.) Female union members also feel that a large influx of low-paid part-time workers may lead to the devaluation of women's work generally. One writer points to the experience of British dock workers as a model for the "decasualization" of the female part-time labor force. (Klein, 1965)

In the Netherlands, a tight labor market combined with anti-employment feelings on the part of many women has led to an innovative hiring plan by one Dutch manufacturer. One thousand five hundred recruiting letters which netted 120 replies were mailed from a hearing aid assembly plant.

Those women who responded were interviewed, trained, and allowed to pick a schedule (from 25 to 45 hours) that fitted in with their home activities. The sixty workers who were eventually placed have remained at work and their productivity levels compare favorably with those of full-time male employees. (Willebois, 1967)

Maternity benefits

Blue-collar women are almost universally allowed time off for childbearing, although in some underdeveloped countries women are still occasionally fired to avoid payment of maternity benefits. The range of benefits allowed is very wide--from the U.S. standard of no pay and generally only private medical coverage, to the complete welfare programs of West Germany and the USSR.

In some countries it is illegal to work within a given number of weeks of childbirth. This is usually the case if only limited maternity benefits are offered in order to keep the mother from working too much and endangering her child's health and her own.

Current maternity benefit practices are gradually meeting the minimum standards set at two International Labor Organization conventions (1919, 1950). Many countries have adopted these standards, and others have used them as guidelines. The ILO provisions include: (1) a minimum of six weeks' leave before and six weeks' leave after birth; (2) medical care insurance covering all costs incurred from the hospital stay; (3) cash benefits to substitute for wages during this period; and (4) job security during the three-month period away from work. A survey of twenty-one European countries in 1965 indicated that seven followed these standards, while all except one (Iceland) reported

some period of leave allowed for birth and other maternity benefits, (Klein, 1965)

The outlook, despite the efforts of the UAW's Women's Department and similar divisions in other unions, does not indicate too much change. According to one female union writer, "the hard fact in the late 1960s is that less attention is being paid by the unions today to the special needs and problems of their women union members than was the case earlier in the century. Women's pages in the union journals are devoted, where they exist, to syndicated columns on consumer problems and to recipes and household hints" (Cook, p. 131)

IV

Conclusion

What are the prospects for women workers in the future? Situations differ, of course, but some general predictions can be made: (1) As the world becomes more industrialized and less agricultural, the process of change from female farm worker to female industrial worker can be expected to continue. Although mechanization reduces the number of positions needed (as was seen in India), it also allows women in heavier industries to take jobs they were not able to handle previously. (2) The increasing number of women returning to work after children are in school will continue to rise, and this two-part career will become a planned pattern rather than something that just happens. (3) The proportion of wives who work will continue to rise as labor-saving devices give women more free time and women's liberation groups urge them to use it productively.

Whether it appears that women have been taken advantage of or not, there is little argument as to the effects of the systematic relegation of all women to the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. Not only is this practice inefficient, and, hence, expensive for the employer, it is also psychologically debilitating for talented female workers:

Men or women employed for long stretches below their capacity tend to do one or both of two things. They may be discontented, become militant troublemakers, or withdraw to another job (if one is available) or in a woman's case, back to housework. Instead they may settle down and adapt to lower-level work, but then are likely to lose the characteristics which qualified them for promotion in the first place: initiative, adaptability, and readiness for responsibility and change. (Political and Economic Planning, 1967)

APPENDIX

Table 1. Women as a Percentage of the Civil Labour Force^{1/} of O.E.C.D. countries, and Proportion of Working Women Who Are Unpaid Family Workers.

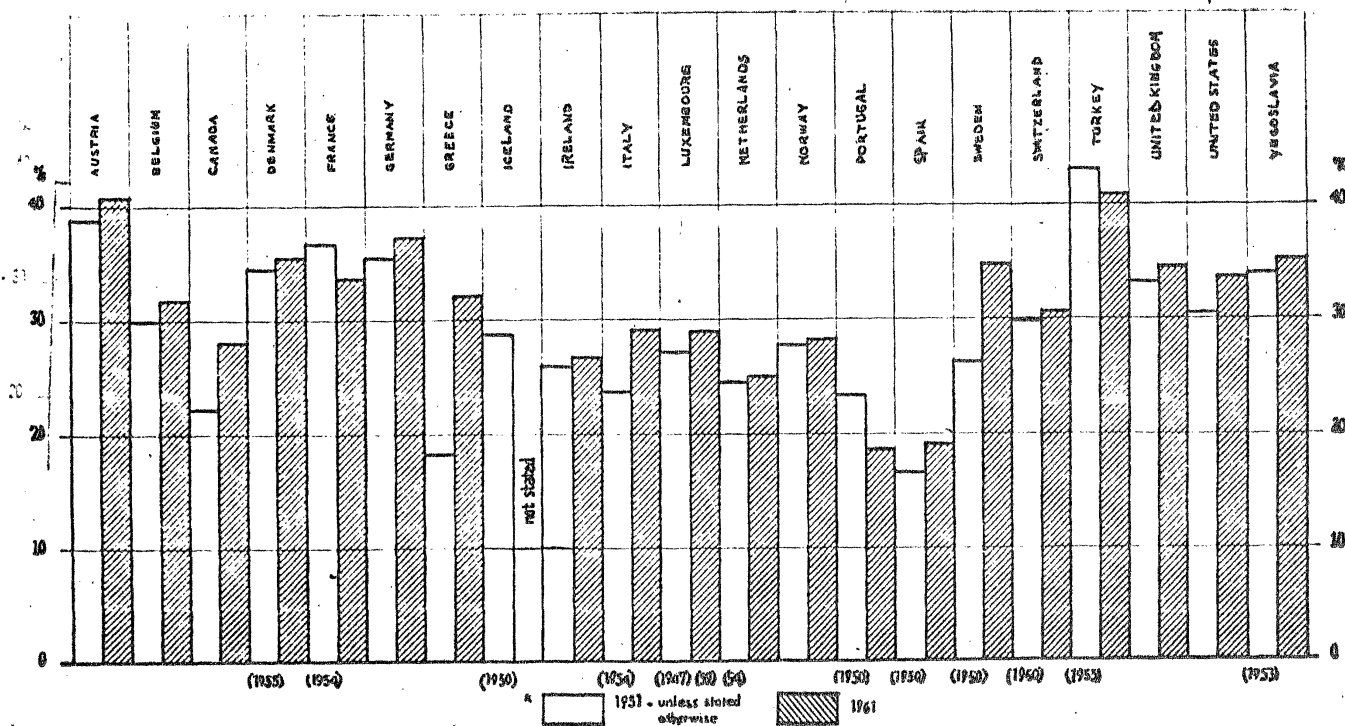
Country	Year	Women as % Civil	Unpaid Family
		Labour Force	Members as % Working Women
		1	2
Austria	1961	41.3	24.2
Belgium	1962	31.6	15.1
Canada	1962	27.1	5.1
Denmark	1962	35.3	
Eire *	1961	26.7	
France	1962	34.9	18.0
Germany (F.R.)	1962	36.9	22.3
Greece	1961	32.8	55.1
Italy	1962	29.0	24.3
Luxemburg	1962	20.0	
Netherlands *	1957	24.9	
Norway	1961	22.9	
Portugal	1960	18.4	28.2
Spain	1961	18.5	16.5
Sweden	1962	36.5	8.0
Switzerland *	1960	30.1	
Turkey *	1960	40.9	
United Kingdom	1961	34.4	
United States	1962	34.1	4.2
Yugoslavia	1961	33.4	25.7

(Iceland has been omitted because the latest available data were for 1950, when women represented 28.6 per cent of persons in civilian employment.)

1. In all countries except those marked * the percentages refer to persons in the Civil Labour Force, i.e. including men and women registered as "unemployed"; in the countries marked by an * the figures refer to persons "in civilian employment", excluding the unemployed. Differences between these two categories are, in fact, small but have to be mentioned to explain some discrepancies between percentages given here and published elsewhere. The "Civil Labour Force" is the more appropriate reference group, but corresponding data were not available for all countries.

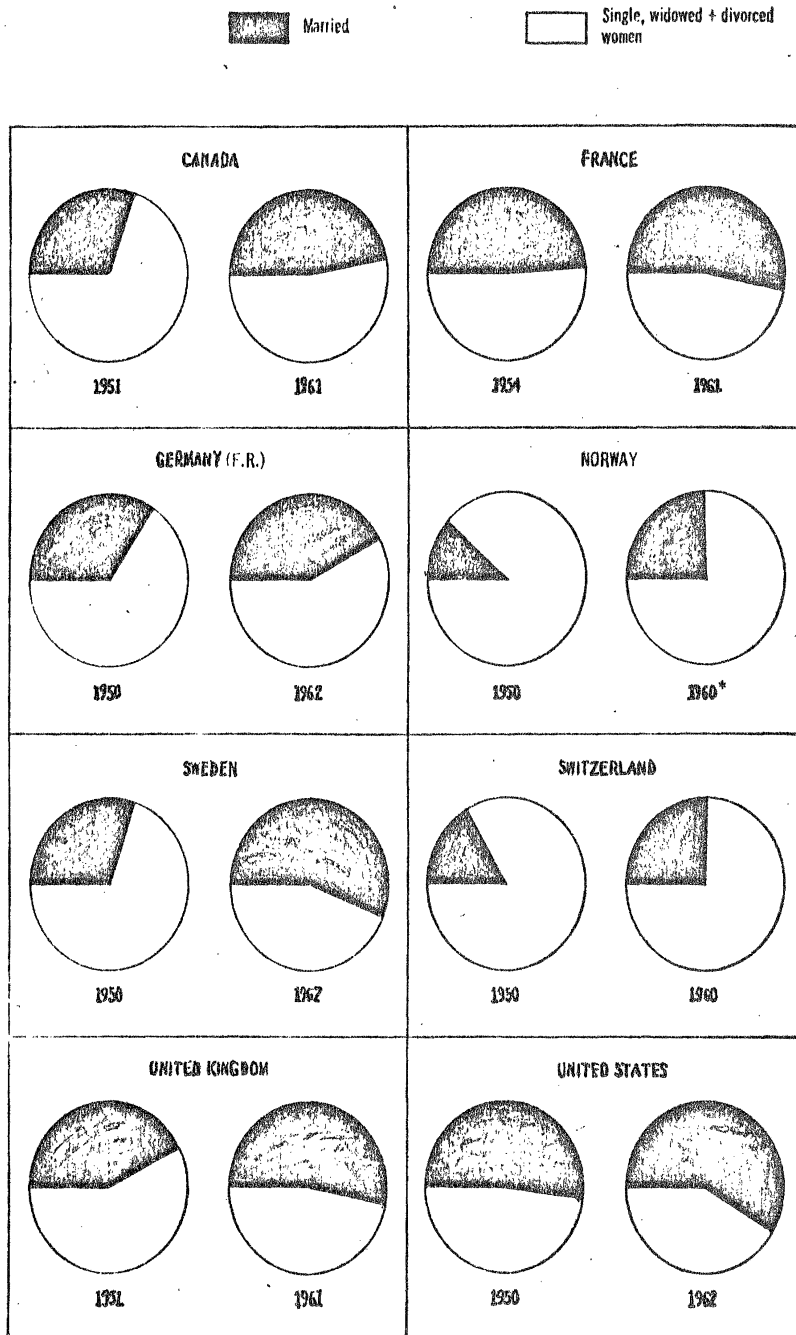
Source: Klein, 1965.

Table 2. Women As Percentage of Persons in Civilian Employment, 1951-1961.



Source: Klein, 1965.

Table 3. Proportion of Married Women in the Female Working Population.



* Excluding married women in "secondary employment".

Table 4. Working Women as a Percentage of the Female Population and of the Total Labour Force.

Country	Year	Female population (thousands)	Women in the labour force		
			Number (thousands)	Percentage of female population	Percentage of total labour force
Africa :					
Egypt	1947	9,575	649	6.8	10.0
Union of South Africa					
White population	1951	1,319	215	16.3	21.8
Others	1946	4,434	1,288	29.1	30.2
America :					
Canada	1951	6,910	1,169	16.9	22.1
United States	1950	75,864	16,501	21.8	27.5
Argentina	1947	7,749	1,283	16.6	19.9
Brazil	1950	26,059	2,508	9.6	14.6
Chile	1952	3,020	546	18.1	25.0
Colombia ¹	1951	5,649	701	12.4	18.7
Mexico	1950	13,094	1,138	8.7	13.6
Asia :					
India	1951	173,433	40,835	23.5	29.2
Japan	1950	42,388	13,982	33.0	38.5
Pakistan	1951	34,738	1,317	3.8	5.8
Philippines	1948	9,583	2,973	31.0	40.1
Thailand	1947	8,721	4,310	49.4	47.9
Europe :					
Austria	1951	3,717	1,299	35.0	38.8
Belgium	1947	4,312	821	19.0	23.6
Finland	1950	2,104	808	38.4	40.7
France	1954	22,285	6,663	29.9	34.8
Germany (F.R.)	1950	25,315	7,949	31.4	36.0
Greece	1951	3,911	511	13.1	18.0
Hungary	1949	4,781	1,204	25.2	29.0
Italy	1951	24,257	4,914	20.3	25.1
Netherlands	1947	4,834	944	19.5	24.4
Poland	1950	13,068	5,546	42.4	44.8
Spain	1950	14,507	1,709	11.8	15.8
Sweden	1950	3,535	819	23.2	26.4
Turkey	1955	11,873	5,225	44.0	43.4
United Kingdom	1951	26,107	7,144	27.4	30.8
Yugoslavia	1953	8,732	2,680 ²	30.7	34.1
Oceania :					
Australia	1954	4,440	845	19.0	22.8
U.S.S.R.	1955	—	—	—	45.0 ³

¹ The census figures exclude about 2 per cent. of population. ² Excluding persons seeking work for the first time. ³ Percentage of women amongst employees. No separate figures on the female labour force are available.

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