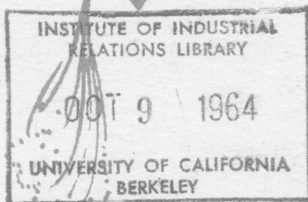
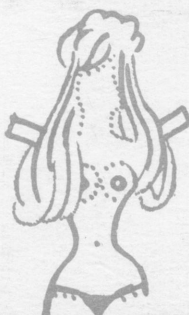
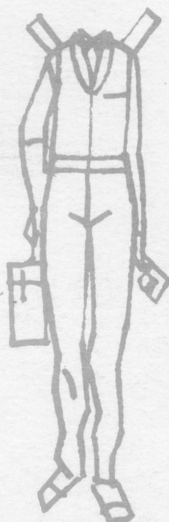


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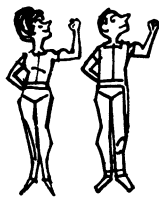


WOMEN & WORK by Marjorie B. Turner



WOMEN & WORK

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By

MARJORIE B. TURNER,

Edited by Irving Bernstein . .

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS(Los Angeles)
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Foreword

THE INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS of the University of California was created for the purpose, among others, of conducting research in industrial relations. A basic problem is to reach as large an audience as possible. Hence the Institute seeks through this series of popular pamphlets to disseminate research beyond the professional academic group. Pamphlets like this one are designed for the use of management, labor organizations, government officials, schools and universities, and the general public. Those pamphlets already published (a list appears on the preceding page) have achieved a wide distribution among these groups. The Institute research program includes, as well, a substantial number of books, monographs, and journal articles, a list of which is available to interested persons upon request.

The problem discussed in this pamphlet—women at work—is of great and growing importance. At the present time one in three persons in the American labor force is a female. The number of working women, both absolutely and relatively, has been rising and is expected to rise further in the future. This trend raises a host of

questions—for employers, for unions, for public policy, and for women themselves. These questions are the subject matter of this pamphlet.

Professor Marjorie B. Turner teaches labor economics at San Diego State College. She holds the Ph.D. in economics from the University of Texas. She is the author of a previous title in this series, *Absenteeism*. By her training, her experience, and her sex Professor Turner is qualified as author of *Women and Work*.

The Institute wishes to express its gratitude to the following members of the reading committee which reviewed the manuscript: Professors Melville Dalton, Fred Massarik, and Frederic Meyers, all of UCLA. The cover and illustrations are the work of Bill Tara. Mrs. Anne Cook assisted with the editing. Mrs. Betty Wolkonsky typed the manuscript.

The viewpoint is that of the author and is not necessarily that of the Institute of Industrial Relations or of the University of California.

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I. Introduction

WORK, FROM THE POINT of view of the modern Western economy, is the performance of a service in anticipation of a monetary return. This wage or salary represents the economic value of the work and of the worker, and presumably is determined through individual or collective bargaining in a free market. Effort that is not compensated through a monetary payment in some form, regardless of its social importance, has no economic value placed upon it. (The statistical exception is the unpaid family worker on a farm or in the family business.) Women who exert all their energy in housework in their own home, in rearing their own children, and in uncompensated community service are not considered to be working at all. Only those who clean others' homes, rear others' children, in fact, render services for pay, are "workers." Only those who seek paid jobs are participants in the labor force.

1. IS IT "NORMAL" FOR WOMEN TO WORK?

An implicit assumption underlies many studies of women and work in the Western world—that the

“normal” state is for women to be non-earners of money. This assumption is defensible only from a narrow point of view—if Victorian values are firmly entrenched, if upper-class attitudes provide the norm, if single women and low-income women do not provide the norm, and if the empirically verified relationship that wives’ participation in a city’s labor force varies inversely with husbands’ incomes is of great significance.

Future studies may have to find new norms, in view of the increased labor force participation of women. This pamphlet is based on the assumption that some labor force attachment at some time is normal for American women. Indeed, eight of ten women do work at some time or other.

2. WOMANPOWER AS A RESOURCE

In Sir Thomas More’s sixteenth-century Utopia, every woman as well as every man had an occupation. What was to More a utopian idea of the organization of human resources becomes a necessity in wartime. Even cold war effort increasingly depends upon a fuller utilization, particularly of scientific and professional manpower. Professional, technical, and kindred workers, who represented less than 3 per cent of the labor force in 1870 (2.8), more than 8 per cent (8.2) in 1950, and more than 11 in 1960, will rise to more than 14 per cent in 1975. Many of these must be women, for women clearly constitute one area of our unused human resources. The National Manpower Council has estimated

conservatively that women make up more than half the professional manpower reserve. At other levels, non-participation in the labor force may be less crucial, particularly during prolonged periods of underemployment of human resources. However, since there are probably as many women of superior intelligence as there are men, an increase in society's need for intelligent, capable, well-trained persons must increasingly tap the reservoir of "womanpower."

Some, Kenneth Boulding, for example, object to the whole idea of "manpower" or "womanpower" as an unfortunate oversimplification of life and society. Not only this, Boulding thinks this "manpower" abstraction, particularly when coupled with a society overdeditated to national defense and security, leads inevitably to a "*solution* in terms of a monolithic, military, communistic type of society" in which allocation is by conscript or police power.

In the search for new norms for female participation, it will be well to keep Boulding's warning in mind.

3. WOMEN AND WORK BEFORE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

One of the persistent myths of our time is that women are new to the labor force. Elizabeth Hutchins, writing of English women in 1915, denied that there had been a "decline and fall of women from a golden age." There is evidence that primitive women may have invented the textile industry, agriculture, and the taming

of small animals. Early British records even show equal pay for equal work on the part of sixteenth-century men and women thatcher helpers.

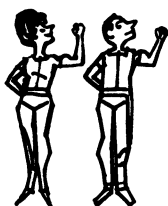
According to Charles and Mary Beard, the participation of women in every phase of life and labor was absolutely necessary for the development of a European civilization in America. The English women of the seventeenth century brought with them their lively interest in industrial, political, and religious activities. Neither women of the trading class nor of the landed families were idle. A granddaughter of Oliver Cromwell was director of a salt works, and women were pawnbrokers, moneylenders, shopkeepers, shipowners, and clothing contractors for the army and navy; they were bakers, butchers, brewers, innkeepers, as well as spinners and weavers. Other women came to the colonies as articles of commerce—to be sold as wives—or as indentured servants, willingly or unwillingly to work in the fields of the new country.

New England's cottage industries producing broadcloth, mostly by women in their homes, had a surplus for export by the early 1700's. The lives of these women were profoundly affected by the development of the factory system. The new methods occasioned their leaving the security of their homes for factories where they were easily exploited. While at one time the weaver had trudged many miles from cottage to cottage to procure his yarn from the women and had even had to resort to gifts to encourage diligence, the new inventions of the spinning jenny, waterframe, and Crompton's mule revolutionized spinning and eventually ended cottage

industries. By the nineteenth century (1839) there were more women than men employed in the English cotton industry. In the Lowell, Massachusetts, mills alone, 7000 female operatives were employed.

Nor is the woman worker in the American city a twentieth-century phenomenon. A U. S. Bureau of Labor investigation in 1889 studied 2364 such women in New York City and determined that nearly 95 per cent of them earned less than \$500 a year, their average income being \$329.25.

The frontier may have had an impact on women's participation in the labor force of the United States, but whether the westward movement reduced their participation by removing them physically from occupational access or rather opened up new opportunities, such as becoming a Harvey girl, is not clear. The frontier passed with the arrival of the twentieth century.



II. Women in the American Labor Force

I. OVER-ALL VIEW OF THE LABOR FORCE

The striking characteristic of the U. S. labor force of this century has been its stability as a proportion of population. This has been true in spite of the great changes in the internal composition, that is, the declining male participation and the rising female participation rate. Clarence Long, of the National Bureau of Economic Research, tried to discover whether the decrease in participation by males was systematically related to the increase on the part of females. Some circumstantial evidence suggests that the drop in participation rates among men over 45 years of age may be due to some extent to the entry of better-trained women who are available at somewhat lower wages. Also, the decline in the participation rates of young males, and their longer school attendance, might be related to this same competition, or perhaps to the help of working women in paying the cost of their education.

However, other difficult questions remain. Real income has risen significantly. Why haven't people left the labor force? There are two possible explanations: one,

that twentieth-century man's desire for goods rises as rapidly as his real income; the other, that in fact workers have increased their leisure through working fewer hours.

Actually some identifiable groups have temporarily reduced their participation rates, notably Negroes, including women, and the foreign-born. This may be due to improved economic status which allows the group to adjust *toward* the average rate of over-all participation.

In some cities remarkable changes in labor force participation rates—either significantly upward or significantly downward—took place between 1940 and 1950. This might be explained by the migration of workers toward cities where job opportunities and pay are most satisfactory. Migrating, they leave behind those with relatively low propensities to work.

As for women in this over-all picture, Long hypoth-



esizes that the increases in female participation are due to the release of women from home associated with the reduction in the birth rate, a rise in the female survival rate, and a shortening of the work week; the expanding employment opportunities for the female at the same time that she attained more education; and incidentally or marginally, the extended use of household appliances. The temporary decline in the participation rate of Negro and foreign-born women, as noted above, is probably explained by the rise in economic status of these groups, allowing Negro girls to remain in school longer. (See appendix tables 2 and 5.)

It has been suggested that what is operating is a long-term trend: the all-important position held by women before the Industrial Revolution took production out of the home is now being restored by the current advances in technology which permit women to leave the home for outside production activity.

2. WHY DO AMERICAN WOMEN WORK?

The reasons women work are no more complex than those of men. Women work to assure physical survival, for personal motives, and because of external factors. Long has examined these economic and non-economic factors at some length. He found that marital status, possession of children, husbands' earnings, and education are more important determinants of whether women work than mere availability of work or level of earnings. Thus, though the general reasons for working are the same, certain factors such as marital status are

more decisive in determining whether a woman works than in the case of a man.

a. *Physical survival.* Many women who work must do so. Many are unmarried, with dependents, either children or close relatives, and thus are forced to work. In 1963, 4.6 million women in the labor force were heads of families.

b. *Personal motives.* Like men, a woman may work to be able to consume or display, to achieve wealth or status, to avoid boredom or loneliness. She may work because she enjoys her job, or she may simply desire to earn at least minimum Social Security benefits.

A study by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan found that two fifths of their population reported that both the head of the spending unit and the wife were covered by Social Security; this coverage may have been an important reason for her working. In surveys made by several unions a quarter of the women members who were married and separated, or divorced, gave the education of their children as one of their main reasons for working. It is characteristic of our attitudes toward woman that we ask why she works at all, rather than why she chose one type of employment over another.

3. CHANGING PARTICIPATION RATES OF WOMEN

To say that women are and always have been participants in economic production is not to deny certain changes which have taken place, particularly during the twentieth century.

a. *Long-run upward trend.* In most Western countries female participation in the labor force has risen faster than the proportion of women in the population. Since 1890, there has been a gain of about 17 per decade for every 1000 women 14 years of age or older in the United States. In 1890 the participation rate was 18.3 per cent; in 1959 it was nearly twice that (35.2).

C. E. Persons found that between 1900 and 1910 the number of women wage earners in the U.S. increased by 43 per cent, although the percentage of total workers who were female rose only about 2 per cent. He also found a shift in female occupations away from domestic, agricultural, and factory work toward sales, clerical, and bookkeeping occupations in trade and transportation. He attributed much of the change to the development of large-scale business and to a continuing transferral of work from the home to manufacturing or trade. In his opinion, the change did not mean that the total amount of effort on the part of women was greater, but only that their work was increasingly compensated by wages.

More recently, the increase in labor force participation by women is due largely to a rise in the number of married women, particularly those over 35 years of age, who re-enter the labor force. (See appendix table 1.)

b. *War.* The United States was in World War I less than twenty months. According to the National Manpower Council, this was long enough to modify traditional patterns of female employment temporarily, but too short to produce permanent changes. Probably the only effect that remained was the alteration of the sex composition of high school faculties. Thus manpower

shortages of World War I did not lead to any heavy reliance on womanpower. This condition prevailed also in World War II even as late as the spring of 1942. An early effort to register trained women for possible use as scientific and specialized personnel met with general disfavor at the congressional level.

Before World War II was over, however, women who had never worked before, and who had probably never intended to work, rendered essential services, often in occupations traditionally filled by men. Their willingness permitted simultaneous mobilization of men and expansion of war industries without a general labor conscription act. The changeover is illustrated by these figures from a California aircraft assembly plant:

	<i>Total Employees</i>	<i>Women</i>
November 1940 . . .	14,000	0
November 1941 . . .	20,600	300
December 1941 . . .	24,600	900
April 1942	25,700	3,600
November 1942 . . .	24,000	13,000

By April 1945, 19.5 million women were in the labor force as compared to 13 million in 1940. Even during the Korean conflict, the willingness of women to work permitted a spurt in industry.

c. *Depression and recession.* It has been suggested that the depression of the thirties greatly accelerated the increase in the number of women wage earners. By 1937, nearly 32 per cent of the nation's gainful workers, including those seeking work, were women, up from 25 per cent in 1930. Studies of recent recessions, however,

have revealed no evidence that the labor market participation of wives is responsive to a particular spell of unemployment. Indeed, the Department of Labor has found that the growth of labor force rates since the early 1950's has been greater during boom periods than during recessions. The increase in labor force participation by women during the Great Depression may have been merely a part of the long-run increase so characteristic of twentieth-century America.

d. *Controversial aspects.* At times of postwar adjustment or during periods of unemployment, women's participation in the labor force becomes a controversial issue. After World War I public speakers and men's labor leaders took the stand that women should relinquish their jobs regardless of the resulting hardships. At such times, people generally speak of the Sanctity of Motherhood.

The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor worked diligently against such pressures after World War II. The Bureau's new cry was that "full employment" meant women as well as men. Twenty-five years of study had convinced many that the vast majority of women workers sought employment for reasons of economic need.

Part of the antipathy toward women working in periods of unemployment may be due to the fact that women tend to hold jobs while men are losing them. J. B. Parrish thought this was explained by (1) the location of women principally in those industries having secular upward trends, (2) their location in industries having the least cyclical decline, and (3) the creation of

jobs, through machine refinement, for which women are particularly well adapted.

Another aggravation during the Great Depression was the phenomenon of many women seeking work when their husbands lost their jobs. Some, at least, were successful. In view of social attitudes, women finding jobs when men cannot raises a clamor.

e. *The women's reserve.* The London *Economist* has cited the "Reserve Regiment of Women" as the source of labor which permitted extra output in the nominally "fully employed" British economy of the postwar period. The British Trade Union Council believes that the unemployment figures generally understate unemployment by the amount of women who are would-be workers but fail to register. Married women, especially, fit very untidily into the classification of "civilian labor force." Clearly there is much "hidden unemployment," particularly among married women.

That the American labor force has its women's reserve is demonstrated by the experiences of two wars and the postwar boom. The increase in women employed in periods of boom supports the thesis that employment opportunities for women are a major factor in determining their proportion in the labor force.

Can it be that the wartime and boom participation rate of women represents not only patriotism but also their fundamental desire to take their place in the labor force?

III. Women and the Labor Market

FROM THE TIME of entry into the labor force, the distinguishing features of present-day women's employment experience are discontinuity of work and occupational concentration.

1. DISCONTINUITY OF LABOR FORCE ATTACHMENT

This is distinct from job turnover. Women enter the labor market, often as part-time workers, during their high school years. Upon marriage or, more recently, upon the arrival of the first child, they leave, perhaps to return again after the children are in school or no longer at home. This discontinuity of labor force participation is due only in part to personal preference or public social attitudes. As a country we have failed to provide a realistic alternative, except during wartime. Then we did provide nursery schools, at least, for the children of working women.

a. *Part-time work.* Probably some of the discontinuity is simply "hidden unemployment" of those desiring, if

not seeking, part-time jobs. Indeed, society loses the valuable services of many highly trained women through the failure to provide such employment. The clearest labor demand by the American woman today is for part-time work at all occupational levels. This demand is especially urgent among women under 35 years of age who have skills which, without use, may be lost.

b. *Return to work among older women.* Probably the most significant postwar development in the labor market behavior of women has been the return to full-time work by older women as their children grow up and their homemaking responsibilities decline. The return to the labor force was so marked, according to the *Monthly Labor Review*, that by 1950 women between the ages of 35 and 65 represented a greater proportion of the labor force than of the population as a whole. Women return to occupations of every sort, including service, sales, clerical, and managerial. Some women over 45 years of age become private household workers.

Older women face even more employer bias than older men. The experience of some employers, however, has been so satisfactory that they actively seek older workers as more stable and responsible than young girls.

Many older women returning to work must accept jobs at a lower status and pay than their abilities would warrant. Some have lost skill and competence. Where the maintenance of proficiency is most important—as in professional, managerial, and skilled occupations—it is also most difficult. Once again, the part-time work which women with home commitments desire, and which might permit skill-maintenance, is not usually available.

Whether a woman can re-enter the labor force at or near her exit status is, finally, a function of demand. For teachers and nurses, re-entry has been possible in recent years.

c. *Woman's dual role.* The discontinuity of labor force participation by women is clearly rooted, not in woman's perversity or flighty nature, but in her cultural role and her very biological being. Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex* has described with great power the complex biological processes of the female and the physiological toll taken by childbearing. She demonstrates that the length of maternal servitude is not derived from biology, but is socially determined.

Whether biological or social, woman's role is indeed dual in our society and largely accounts for her occupational pattern of discontinuous attachment to the labor force. Single women do not exhibit this discontinuity of attachment. (See appendix table 1.) Sweden and the Soviet Union have recognized the need of the married working woman and her children to aid and protection, and also "the right of the working woman to marry and have children."

2. OCCUPATIONAL CONCENTRATION

To most generations there have been jobs which were "women's" jobs. The present generation is no exception. The National Manpower Council has found a concentration of high school girls in clerical studies. Those who enter the labor market after graduation often are employed as secretaries, stenographers,

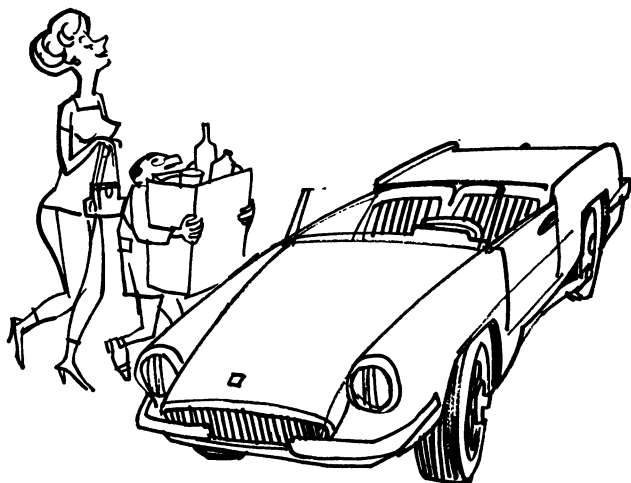
and typists. The majority of women completing college enter professional and related occupations, especially teaching, but also nursing, recreation, social work, and so on. The young woman who does not finish high school may be a farm worker, an operative in manufacturing, a service worker, a private household worker, or a saleswoman.

This occupational concentration is a fact which contrasts strongly with the initial work experience of young men. Without greater evidence to the contrary, it is largely a self-imposed concentration or acceptance of the now traditional occupations, at least among college graduates, who presumably have more choices open to them. In many cases, young college women may deliberately choose to train for occupations where discontinuity of job holding is an accepted practice, as in teaching.

a. *The sex label: a cultural factor.* "Sex labeling" seems to have a major influence on the distribution of jobs between men and women. It affects not only the initial work experience of a woman, but also her chance of promotion.

The sex label is a stable but not unchanging cultural factor in the labor market. Growth in the employment of women has, at least to some extent, been through their entering occupations heretofore exclusively male. An example is the virtual capture of clerical positions by the female. Even the executive secretarial position, the apex of the clerical pyramid, is now more often held by a woman than by a man. Her entrance into federal government employment dates from the Civil War,

when the Secretary of the Treasury discovered that his daughter could well replace men needed in the field. She was given long shears, about half pay, and the job of cutting money, a meager but important beginning for federal careers for women.



The real question is whether women have special characteristics which make them suitable employees for some jobs and not for others. Certain demonstrated average differences exist between the physical attributes of men and of women. How relevant are these to individual cases? Clearly some women are larger and stronger than some men.

Women who have been doing stoop farm labor in Texas have appealed to the Department of Highways to lift its ban against the hiring of women for roadside

clean-up. These women are seeking jobs somewhat lighter than those they have been filling. They have been barred from roadside jobs because of alleged unsuitability for women. The Soviet and Chinese societies have demonstrated to amazed Westerners how physically able women workers can be, an example not to be envied, but one which may help us to think more rationally about women and their capabilities.

Other than sheer physical strength, apparently there is no real evidence that there are sex-linked characteristics or aptitudes which suit women for some jobs and not others. Differences found between men and women are largely the product of such cultural factors as background, interest, and experience. In individual cases, generalizations are hardly reliable.

b. *Resistance to women in some jobs.* The resistance to permitting women to hold jobs labeled "men" has very little to do with whether women are qualified and able to hold such jobs. In studies made in wartime, neither the U.S. Air Force, the British armed forces, nor the Women's Bureau found real differences in women's performance in mechanical and technical work and lathe operation in comparison with men of similar aptitude.

The important giveaway is that the sex label is not consistently applied, even within a given country. The same job may be considered female in one region, city, company, plant, or department, and male in another. Although the label is often viewed as permanent, substitution of females for males may take place without difficulty, especially in periods of manpower shortage. The resistance that does occur comes from the existing work

force, employers, or perhaps customers, and varies markedly with members of different socio-economic or occupational groups. Paradoxically, some women support and even applaud the label which excludes their sex. Resistance may be strongest in occupations where job status is significant or where new women workers represent a direct threat to the job security of men.

3. FACT, FICTION, AND HALF-TRUTHS

The National Manpower Council has found ample fiction but little factual information to characterize women employees further.

a. *Fiction: Women are high-cost employees.* It is true that when women are hired for the first time, it may be necessary to provide separate rest rooms and cleaner, more agreeable working conditions, or perhaps to reorganize the work in such a way that heavy tasks are reallocated. The Council concluded that such costs are negligible in the few cases where they occur. Employers believe costs are sex-linked when they are more probably occupationally-linked.

b. *Fiction: Because of labor turnover of women, investment in their training is wasted.* The grounds for this belief are weak. A study under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council showed that among groups of men and women comparable in terms of age, marital status, length of time in the labor force, and migration patterns, in a given period women held about the same number of jobs as men did. The real point is

that American workers, men and women, are highly mobile, especially in times of high employment.

Further, the SSRC study indicated that job-leaving by men and women is concentrated in particular occupational groups. Age and length of service are also significant determinants, for men as well as for women.

c. *Fiction: Women do not make good supervisors.* Where women have been utilized as supervisors of men and women, assuming careful selection, adequate training, and the support by their superiors necessary to any effective supervision, they have demonstrated their ability to perform this function, according to the Manpower Council.

d. *Fiction: The low occupational status of women is due solely to the reluctance of male employers to promote them.* On the whole, women are less desirous of and less well prepared for promotion than men. This situation may result in part from the pervading necessity of women workers to divide their loyalties between job and home. Furthermore, the discontinuity of their work careers often prevents their acquisition of as much seniority, experience, and skill as men. They also tend to enter occupations offering restricted opportunities for advancement, or to take factory jobs out of the lines of progression. Sex labeling takes its toll. Women remain unprepared for promotion, believing such opportunities are not available.

Moreover, women may fail to consider their attachment to the labor force a permanent one, regardless of how many years they work. Negro women, who constitute more than 12% of the female labor force, accentuate

the pattern of low occupational status because of both inadequacy of training and racial discrimination. Finally, given the nature of the labor market, it must be expected that untrained women as well as men will continue to fill jobs of low economic status, when they can find work at all.

e. *Fiction: All women share a relatively high sickness rate.* Women as a group show a greater tendency toward work absence than men. Not all women, however, share the same high illness rate. There are apparently significant differences in absence rates due to menstruation and illness among women in white-collar and manual work, women from different racial and ethnic groups, and older and younger women.

Certainly a high sickness rate is not peculiarly and permanently female. A Public Health Service study of worktime lost because of illness or injury between July 1959 and June 1960 showed an average of 5.6 days lost by women and 5.5 days by men. A U.S. Civil Service Commission study of sick leave records for 1961 also found little difference between men and women. What difference existed might be attributable to the fact that women federal employees are concentrated in the lowest salary levels, where absences are more common, to men as well as women.

f. *Fiction: Family status is unaffected by a woman's job.* Most psychologists and sociologists have assumed that the status of women workers is more likely to be a function of their husbands' or fathers' occupations than

of their own, but some believe that married women contribute to the status of their families in important ways.

For one thing, a wife's earnings will give access to status symbols such as schooling, housing, furnishings, automobiles, vacations, and so on, which are largely a matter of income. This may be important to the husband, especially when he is becoming established in a business or profession, or as a means of obscuring his own lack of financial success. On the other hand, her working may imply that her husband is not doing well in his work and thus may lower the family status.

The position the woman holds may have some status implications for her family. Often, her job status will be lower than her husband's, but the effect of this may be overcome by the additional income she earns for the family. On the other hand, she may have a white-collar job and her husband a blue-collar job. Especially for Negro women has there been a wider range of occupations open than that available to Negro men.

The labor force entry of more and more middle- and upper-class women of extensive education probably will bring about the achievement of equal job status with their husbands. In any case, the wife's participation in the labor force will remain a powerful determinant of family status.

IV. Women, Employers, and the State

AGITATION IN THIS COUNTRY for limitation of the women's workday began as early as 1834, when a trade union group in Boston said of the cotton mill owners that "they must be forced to shut their mills at a regular hour." But the strikes and petitions for legislation were directed at achieving the ten-hour day for all workers. Somewhere along the line, the general demands were tailored to legislation specifically for women. Whether this was, as some have said, a design to keep women from becoming competitive for men's jobs is not known. But the fact is that the employer of women has been subject to special regulation, and courts and students have long debated whether such legislation was an interference with woman's freedom to contract, or simply a recognition of the weakness of her bargaining power and consequent need of protection.

1. DOES LEGISLATION HELP OR HURT WOMEN?

Laws directed at the welfare of the working woman have cut more than one way. One woman lawyer

has alleged: "All the rules of law that deprived women of their most fundamental rights have been called 'protective.'"

A study made in the 1920's concluded that protective labor legislation had probably inhibited the expansion of employment opportunities for women. The suggested solution to this dilemma was to raise the status of all sublevel workers. The Women's Bureau still holds this view.

E. E. Witte, however, thought the whole argument largely a tempest in a teapot. Writing in 1927, he claimed that special labor legislation for women was not widespread and therefore had little impact, for good or evil, and had almost no effect on the general level of women's hours of labor, wages, and working conditions. Of the four kinds of labor legislation—prohibitory laws, laws requiring special equipment where women are employed, minimum wage laws for women, and laws on women's hours of labor—Witte considered the regulation of hours the most important in 1927.

The controversy over whether legislation has worked to women's favor or disfavor remains unsettled, even today. Re-examining in 1959 three of the best studies of the impact of minimum wages on the employment of women, J. M. Peterson insists that there were indeed reduced employment opportunities. Surely the Women's Bureau is correct—the appropriate tactic is to improve substandard conditions generally rather than only those of women. But what of outright discrimination on account of sex? Can it be cured by law?

2. EQUAL PAY ISSUE

Probably no issue has concerned women, or economists, more than the question of how wages for women could remain permanently depressed vis-à-vis men. In a free market economy, such a phenomenon could be explained only if the efficiency of performance was not really equal or if other costs such as excessive sickness absences were present. Economist after economist has studied this question without being able to show that either was generally true, except for some heavy exertion jobs. Why, then, were not women substituted freely for men, at least in those occupations where their efficiency value was greater?

P. Sargent Florence, a British economist, wrote in 1931 that the fundamental factor was "women's supply price curve," that is, there was always a certain amount of "self-low-priced" labor, but otherwise the gains to women would have to be quite high to get them to work and thus the advantages to employers of hiring women would disappear. David Schwartzman goes even further, arguing that the total supply of female labor is invariant with respect to wages.

Another factor accounting for nonsubstitution is the documented resistance of trade unions to the extension of greater employment opportunities to women.

Since World War I the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor has insisted that wage rates should be based on occupation, and not on sex. Their position on all social legislation is that characteristics such as sex

be initial costs such as the installation of rest rooms. The state law issue is further examined below.

The principle of unequal pay has died hard. Michigan and Montana in 1919 were the first states to pass a law carrying the principle of equal pay for equal work. Not until 1943 did any other states follow suit, and by 1949 there were only nine such laws. In 1963 only 22 states had such legislation. A federal equal pay bill was introduced in 1945 and in every session of Congress thereafter before it was finally passed in 1963. For whatever reason, the unregulated market had never adjusted women's wages to those of men.

The impact of the equal pay law will undoubtedly be studied by the Women's Bureau. Since more than half the women in the labor force work in the 22 states already having such legislation, it is not anticipated that the federal law will seriously reduce the employment opportunities of women. What is expected is that women's wages will be raised to the level of those of men working in the same plant and same occupation. Differentials in earnings due to seniority, merit, and nightwork will not disappear. But differentials based on minority group status or sex will be illegal. The occupation, not the sex of the worker, will determine the wage. What the free market never did for women, the law is attempting.

3. FEDERAL LAWS

Federal laws affecting women employees are of two kinds: those dealing directly with employee wel-

fare such as wages, hours, equal pay, and social security; and those extending protection to employees in their right to organize. None of these specifically mention women as a group to be treated separately. Even the equal pay law is drawn as a prohibition of wage differentials based on sex, and its remedies are available to men as well as women.

a. *Wages and hours.* In the wage and hour regulations certain exemptions have relevance to women in the labor force. Women working in small-volume retail or service (including laundry) establishments are not covered. Switchboard operators of few stations, harvest workers, hospital workers, seafood processors, all are unprotected. Domestic workers are not considered to be in interstate commerce and thus are dependent on state law, if protected at all.

Social Security laws, however, now include domestic workers and many others unprotected as to federal hour and wage standards. Assuming enforcement, a domestic worker regularly employed by one employer will be eligible at 62 at least for minimum Social Security benefits, almost regardless of her hourly wage rate, since coverage is mandatory for workers receiving \$50 in a quarter from one employer.

b. *The right to organize.* The federal protection of the right to organize and bargain collectively extends to certain important occupations of women, such as jobs in the textile and garment industries and office and clerical occupations, when these are not supervisory.

The specific exemptions affecting women particularly are those of domestic servants and agricultural workers

as defined in the Fair Labor Standards Act (an exceedingly complicated definition based partly on geographical proximity to markets). Although these occupations are of less relative importance today than in the past, low standards continue to prevail in them.

Nor do women professional employees have protection. Teachers, of course, tend to be beyond the reach of federal protection. But nurses and other personnel in nonprofit hospitals are specifically denied federal protection. The American Nurses Association has for some time been conducting a legislative campaign to change this. Whether such excluded employees can organize or not depends to a large extent on state law.

4. STATE REGULATION

There is great disparity among the states in the amount and quality of regulation of women's working conditions. In 1960, 33 states had minimum wages for women (19 laws were for women only); 20 had equal pay (13 for females only); 43 had maximum daily and weekly hours for women in one or more industries; 25 regulated the length of the meal period; 12 required a rest period; 21 regulated nightshift work of women; 19 regulated industrial homework; 26 had occupational limitations which applied to women; 46 had some regulation on seating of women employees; and 12 regulated the amount of weight a woman might be required to lift.

Other state laws important to women are unemployment insurance laws which deny benefits for specified periods during pregnancy and after childbirth, or when

a woman quits a job because she must move with her husband to a new location. The President's Commission on the Status of Women found that women employees predominate in several groups now excluded from coverage under unemployment compensation, including employees in firms with less than four workers, employees of nonprofit organizations, and domestic servants in private homes.

Welfare laws also affect women's participation and adjustment in the labor force. For example, in many states a mother receiving aid for her dependent children may not supplement this aid without losing her eligibility. Although the intention is proper care of the children, total disqualification would not seem to be the only solution.

Laws affecting female employees vary so greatly from state to state that generalization is difficult. California and Texas, both with sizable industrial as well as agricultural labor forces, will serve to illustrate some of the differences among the states.

a. *California.* The California legislative code extensively regulates occupations of women in industry, including those in trade and manufacturing; personal service (beauty shops, etc.); canning, freezing, and preserving; "homework"; public housekeeping (including restaurants, camps, clubs, hospitals, private schools and colleges); the laundry industry; and the amusement and recreation industries. Agricultural operations on the farm and with farm products and technical and clerical occupations are also regulated. About the only occupations common to women which are not covered are

public employment, including that in public schools, and service in private households.

Specifically excepted occupations are managerial, creative, or licensed professionals (law, medicine, teaching, accounting, etc.); telephone operators whose duties as operators are incidental to other duties; graduate or student nurses in accredited schools and hospitals; and performers.

These and other exceptions are clearly intended to support women's competitive ability to hold jobs. For instance, the prohibition of hours in excess of 8 a day or 48 a week does not affect workers in industries where perishable foods are being processed, or in licensed laboratories. Special orders, however, are issued on hours worked by performers, cannery workers, hotel and restaurant workers, and the like. The exceptions to the minimum wage are in the interest of entry workers, including women eighteen years of age or over; minors; and physically handicapped persons working under permits granted by the Industrial Welfare Commission.

Enforcement of the labor code and the promotion of wage earners' welfare are functions of the State Department of Industrial Relations, supplemented by such bodies as the Industrial Safety Board and the Industrial Welfare Commission. Written complaints are not necessary to initiate an investigation, since in most instances the administrative agency is empowered to prevent violations. However, any employer who discriminates against or discharges an employee because of a complaint is guilty of a misdemeanor.

California regulates the facilities for all employees extensively. In some instances there are special provisions for women: seating for female elevator operators; limitations on lifting weights and carrying heavy objects up and down stairs; provision of meal periods; rest periods; dressing and rest rooms; elevator service to the fourth or higher floors; suitable covering for cement floors. These regulations are directed toward the health and safety of female workers and the protection of their minimum wage, which is to be also an equal wage for equal work. Possibly these requirements do make the cost of hiring women somewhat higher than it would be in their absence, but the standards are not extraordinarily high and apparently have not resulted in substitution of men for women. Probably these regulations have simply resulted in better working conditions for all workers. Voluntary compliance is widespread.

Since 1961, public employees have had the right to participate in the activities of employee organizations of their own choosing unless forbidden to do so by the legislature. Public agencies may not discriminate against those employees who do join. This protection is intended to strengthen merit and civil service methods of employer-employee relations rather than to replace them. Consequently employees are also protected in their individual bargaining rights.

California's Fair Employment Practice Act safeguards the opportunity of persons to seek, obtain, and hold employment without discrimination on account of race, religious creed, color, national origin, or ancestry, but not on account of sex. The California guide to lawful

and unlawful pre-employment inquiries is not concerned, therefore, with the question of sex.

b. *Texas*. The paucity of regulation of working conditions in Texas is dramatized by the absence of any administrative body comparable to the California Department of Industrial Relations or the Industrial Welfare Commission. The Texas Bureau of Labor Statistics may collect facts and the Industrial Commission may investigate disputes, but no broad-powered agencies exist to promote the welfare of workers generally.

Texas has no minimum wage law, a 75-cent minimum wage law having failed to pass the 1963 legislature.

Certain minimal standards of health and safety are provided, presumably to be enforced by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, who may enter a factory upon the written complaint of two or more persons. The remedy is to give notice of the facts to the county or district attorney, an elected official. No protection is afforded those registering such complaints.

The regulation of hours of females establishes a 9-hour day and a 54-hour week, but the exceptions are numerous. Executive or outside sales employees, hospital employees, clerical and food processing employees are all exempt. Female bank employees may work no more than 12 hours per day, and this only within a 54-hour week. In textiles, a 10-hour day and a 60-hour week are permitted, and in laundries an 11-hour day in a 54-hour week is legal, if double time is paid for hours in excess of 9. Even these provisions go out the window during national emergencies in industries covered by federal law.

About the only other special legislation for women has to do with seating, toilets, and washrooms. Female Texans must be provided with suitable seats for use when not engaged in active duties of their employment! Even these chairs may be removed in times of national emergency.



As for toilets, every covered industrial establishment must be equipped "with sufficient water closets, earth closets, or privies" in the proportion of one to every 25 males and one to every 20 females. Apparently these must remain, even during national emergencies.

It is unlikely that what special legislation there is for female employees in Texas seriously affects either their working conditions, the cost of hiring them, or their inherent right to make free individual contracts.

Texas has no specific legislation protecting employees in their right to strike. Although "the inherent rights of a person to work and bargain freely with his employer,

individually or collectively" are recognized, state law forbids any official or group of officials of the state, or of a city, municipality, county, or other political subdivision, to enter into a collective agreement with a labor organization. Indeed, such officials may not even recognize a labor organization as the bargaining agent of public employees. Presumably teachers are affected by this provision.

Texas regulates unions and union-security clauses extensively, having been one of the first states to pass a "right to work" law in 1947.

In legislative aspects Texas remains true to her pioneer tradition of being "Hell for women and oxen."

5. LAWS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Women have received special legislative attention in all societies. European countries have generally had more prohibitory legislation, more childbirth protection, and more maternity benefits than have been afforded in the United States.

In the Soviet Union, women have extensive protective legislation. They enjoy the "right to work," that is, to hold a job, the right to equal pay on a job, and special rights during pregnancy, nursing, and motherhood. For instance, if during pregnancy a woman must be put on a lighter job, she will nevertheless receive her old, higher rate of pay. She is entitled to paid maternity leave of 56 days before and 56 days after a normal birth, and may combine this with her ordinary annual leave without penalty. Nursing mothers are permitted special

breaks for nursing, and these count as working time and are fully compensated.

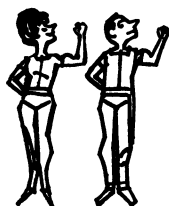
By 1968, all Soviet workers expect to have a 30- to 35-hour work week with at least 12 days' annual vacation. Supplementary maternity and family allowances as well as nurseries and kindergartens are available. The present plan includes an expansion of the boarding schools, the public kitchens, and the manufacture of laborsaving devices. Soviet women represent 43 per cent of the nonagricultural labor force, and outnumber men in teaching and in the medical profession.

Whether protective legislation promotes or is the result of the high participation rate of women in the labor force must be seen in the light of other facts. There were only 82 males to every 100 females in the Soviet Union in 1945, but the great expansion of the number of women working had apparently taken place even before the war. Between 1928 and 1938 their number doubled. Alex Inkeles believes this increase was due mainly to a need to supplement family income, and it occurred largely before the expansion of the kindergartens and communal services. This was a period of serious overcrowding in housing and of great dependence on the babushka, or grandmother, for child care.

That an ideological premium is placed upon the equal participation by Soviet women in the affairs of society is well documented. By giving women on collective farms concrete opportunities for training and advancement as well as direct payment for services, the socialist regime is supposed to have been successful in gaining the support of the village women.

Protective legislation similar to that in the Soviet Union exists as well in democratic Sweden. There it is more child-centered, but it includes the right of the working mother to maternity benefits, nursing time, and re-employment after maternity leave. Women employed in government service, banks, insurance companies, and the large business establishments have for some time received a major part of their salary during their four months' maternity leave. Yet women in Sweden constitute a much smaller part of the nonagricultural labor force (26% in 1950) than do Russian women. And without this protection, a larger proportion of married women work in the United States than in Sweden.

Surely the point is that such legislation is only a small factor in determining the labor force participation rate of women. Its major role in a democratic society will be the protection of family status and of children.



V. Women in the Professions and Management

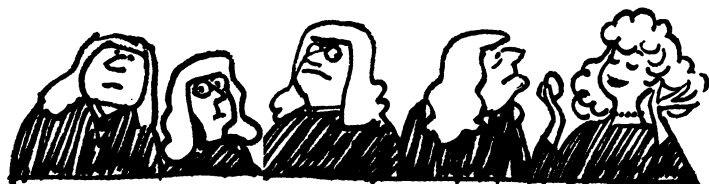
MUCH IS WRITTEN but, in fact, little is to be said regarding women in the professions. Why? Because outside teaching and nursing there are few American professional women, in either absolute or relative terms. Furthermore, in spite of the growth in labor force participation of women, the concurrent gains in the professional and technical occupational group, and the high level of educational attainment of women, between 1950 and 1960 women generally made smaller gains in professional employment than men, relatively as well as absolutely. (See appendix tables 3 and 4.) Only in teaching and nursing, their traditional professions, have their numerical gains outstripped those of men.

More than thirty years after women achieved the right to participate as citizens, a National Registry of Scientific and Technical Personnel indicated that only 7 per cent of those registered were female. When Lee Graham asked *New York Times Magazine* readers "Who's in Charge Here?" he found the answer was an emphatic "Not Women!" Moreover, in those professions where women predominate, earnings are significantly lower

than in occupations requiring similar training and education.

1. THE GAINS WOMEN HAVE MADE

There are some gains, of course. One writer claims that there were no women lawyers in the United States until the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1940, 2.4 per cent of the lawyers were women, and by 1950, the figure had increased to 3.5 per cent, where



it remains today. This is indeed a gain, but is modest in comparison with the Soviet statistic, for instance, that in 1957 32 per cent of the legal profession of the USSR were women.

In the engineering profession, 1.2 per cent of engineers in the United States in 1950 were women. In the Soviet Union 36 per cent of all scientific personnel were women. As of 1962, 3 per cent of the seats in state legislatures were held by women; in the Soviet Union 26.4 per cent of the Supreme Council of the USSR and 32.3 per cent of the federal republic councils are women.

Yet American women have generally fared better at the state than at the federal level. Two of 100 U. S. senators and 11 of 435 representatives are women. Only two women have held cabinet rank, and no woman has

ever served on either the Supreme Court or the courts of appeals. Of 307 federal district judges, only two are women, according to the President's Commission on the Status of Women.

Nor are American women prominent among the top business executives. In 1956 *Fortune Magazine* carried an estimate that not more than 5000 women could be found among the quarter million "real" executives in the United States. When women did advance in industry, it tended to be among the small or middle-sized companies. For example, although 60 per cent of the employees of American Telephone and Telegraph are women, only one woman was in A.T. & T.'s central executive group.

However, a study of graduates of the Harvard-Radcliffe Program in Business Administration documents broadening opportunities for women in business. Accepted careers for women with no apparent limit on advancement are those of personnel directors, administrators of community agencies, department store executives, and educational administrators.

Though the over-all picture of women in the professions and executive positions is not impressive, this is not a unique American condition. The report of an international conference on "The Status of Women Around the World" revealed that much was yet to be done in bringing women into the professions of architecture, engineering, law, and science in both the underdeveloped and the Western nations.

The Soviet statistics on women's participation in law and science, though seemingly unquestionable, appear

to be virtually unique. Are women in Western nations so abused, or is a minor role in some professions their own behavioral choice? Actually, in the United States, taking women as a separate group, a slightly higher proportion of working women are in occupations classified as professional, technical, and kindred than is true of working men. (See appendix table 3.)

The American picture is not expected to brighten rapidly. Women are earning only 1 in 3 of the B.A.'s and M.A.'s awarded by American institutions of higher learning, and only 1 in 10 of the Ph.D.'s. This represents a loss of ground as compared with the 1930's, when 2 of 5 B.A.'s and M.A.'s and 1 of 7 Ph.D.'s were earned by women. No one suggests that discriminatory barriers have been erected in universities to establish such a pattern.

2. WHY GAINS HAVE NOT BEEN GREATER

The reasons usually advanced for women's poor showing in the professions range from cries of discrimination to accusations that American women are either uninterested in or incapable of sustained career commitments. Both factors are clearly involved.

a. *Discrimination.* It seems likely that discrimination has been a real barrier to a woman's achievement of a medical education which would permit her to practice medicine or dentistry. Medical education in the nineteenth century was segregated education; at the University of Michigan, for example, duplicate lectures

were arranged on embarrassing subjects. Even now, discriminatory quota systems are allegedly operating in many medical schools.

As recently as 1962, the last *legal* barrier to equal opportunity for women in the federal service was removed. With few exceptions, applicants are now certified without regard to sex. Previously, a study showed that of the requests to the Washington office of the Civil Service Commission, 94 per cent at the three highest regular grades were for men only. At the behest of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, the Civil Service Commission asked that requests for certifications of one sex only be accompanied by reasons. Rather dramatically, the requesting agencies dropped the specification of sex.

Interviews with public employment service personnel, conducted under the auspices of the Commission on the Status of Women in 1963, revealed widespread resistance to the employment of women in accounting, engineering, science, and architecture.

b. *Characteristics of women.* Many people think that the characteristics of women themselves, or of their role in society, account for their poor representation in the professions. In their competition for a mate, which comes ever earlier in our society, women presumably lose their interest in education and in a career. Eli Ginzberg believes that this may be reflected not so much in grades as in the selection by women of easier courses in college and in their disinclination to make special investments as serious students. Early childbearing further diminishes a young woman's interest in or hope for

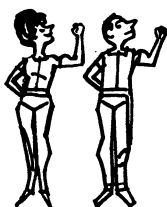
a career. Alva Myrdal has suggested that marriage represents one of the havens from competitive productivity.

Since work is especially competitive in business management and the professions, and since advancement often depends upon the willingness to travel or to relocate, these occupations may require too great sacrifices from women who still view work as supplemental to their major responsibilities of wife and mother. In short, in view of social custom, her own preferences, and the demands upon her, a woman may simply not aspire to professional status which requires long years of training in law, medicine, or the sciences. The National Science Foundation fears this condition will continue to inhibit entry into science, which now virtually requires the doctorate.

Another factor is that young women and even mature women are misinformed or uninformed regarding the probability of their working. It is possible that if intelligent young women understood the real world of work and knew about the women whose lives show that work and home are not necessarily conflicting goals, they would become interested in professional careers. Furthermore, as the president of Radcliffe College warns, girls need backing in their aspirations at crucial times, perhaps as early as the fourth grade.

In any case, the "silent revolution" of the role of women in paid employment is far from complete. Ginzberg cheers the passing of the old image of a woman's role as being limited to making an adjustment in marriage. Yet the new image is a blur. Early insight regarding the nature of the sex-labeled world is rein-

forced by advice from teachers and counselors. Ginzberg believes, however, that the changing world of work will inevitably have an important impact on woman's pattern of adjustment. Woman will come to realize that she, like man, lives in a world characterized by opportunity and choice.



VI. Women and the Union

ONE OF THE LEAST understood aspects of the working woman's life is her participation in unions. Historically women have been active organizers and militant members of labor organizations.

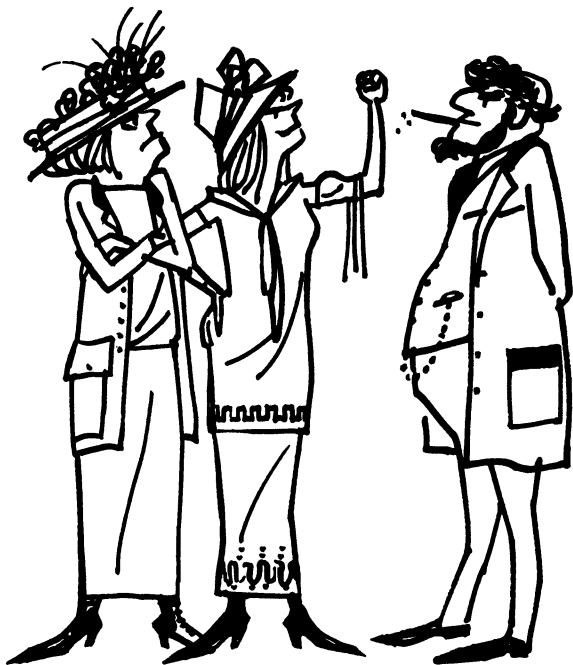
I. HISTORICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Alice Henry, writing in 1915 of the history of the American trade-union woman, documented the development of an understanding of trade unionism by women through their own organizations and through their cooperation with men.

a. *Before 1860.* Women of the early nineteenth century were both militant and flexible as to remedies. They used the strike or turnout, as it was often called, attempted peaceful negotiation, tried legislative petition, and fought for social reform on a broad base.

Their efforts were for the most part futile, although some turnouts were effective. Legislation enacted in New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania setting a maximum ten-hour day was unenforceable because of "saving clauses" which allowed employers to meet the

competition. Miss Henry notes that "the right to overwork and the 'right' to be overworked remained untouched by legislative interference" for fifty years thereafter.



Early efforts were sometimes spectacular. The 1836 strikes of the mill girls in Lowell, Massachusetts, captured the attention of the whole country. Nevertheless, a disheartening part of women's efforts to organize before 1840 was the want of continuity in the struggle. The leaders of the New York tailoresses were apparently

unknown to the leaders of the female labor reform association, or trade union, in Lowell.

Competition between men and women for jobs divided the labor movement. The Philadelphia Typographical Society was bitterly opposed to the employment of women or girls in the composing room in 1832. The Typographical Society in Washington claimed that women were used to break its strike in 1835.

The women's local unions that existed, however, often were affiliated with the National Labor Union. In addition, there were at least two state labor unions, in Massachusetts and New York, composed solely of women.

b. 1860–1880. Throughout the nineteenth century, women's organizations remained for the most part weak and short-lived. The immigrant male and female gave American women severe competition for jobs. In the 1860's the sweating system left the working woman almost too broken to organize. When the Civil War widows joined the ranks of home sewers, conditions worsened. Unions among these home sewers and female factory workers did exist from time to time. A notable example is the Collar Laundry Workers of Troy, New York, which was affluent enough in 1866 to aid striking ironmolders and bricklayers with gifts totaling more than \$1000. Even so, in 1869, after a desperate struggle, the Collar Laundry Workers Union went out of existence.

c. *The Knights of Labor*. The participation of women in the Knights of Labor in the 1880's is dramatized by the union work of Mrs. Leonora Barry, a widow with

three children. Mrs. Barry made extensive reports on actual conditions in the factories of that day. In a linen mill in Paterson, New Jersey, for example, women stood on a stone floor with water from a revolving cylinder flying constantly against the breast. Even in winter they had to go home with underclothing dripping because they were allowed neither time nor space in which to change their clothing. No wonder that during one eleven-month period Mrs. Barry received 337 applications for her help in organizing.

The 190 local assemblies composed entirely of lady Knights and most of the local women's unions eventually went out of existence.

d. *The American Federation of Labor.* Women also participated in the beginnings of the American Federation of Labor in the 1880's, acting as organizers for the AFL in the 1890's. As time wore on, women were less and less represented in AFL conventions by women delegates, a condition which Miss Henry attributes in part to the failure of men to recognize either the value of the women members or the necessity of organizing all working women.

2. SEX SEGREGATION WITHIN UNIONS

Participation by women in labor organization is significantly less than that of men. Policies of non-admission, either to the union itself or to the apprenticeship program of various trades, have contributed to this condition.

a. *The nineteenth-century picture.* The early unions were all organized on a segregated basis, though some

cooperation between men's and women's locals always existed. After the Civil War the labor movement generally remained segregated. Of the thirty or so national trade unions, only two, the printers and the cigar makers, admitted women to their membership.

In at least one trade, the printers, the admission of women was a learned wisdom. The employer had long taken advantage of the union members' refusal to work with female compositors. Employers simply trained girls in the trade on the sly and then substituted women for men at lower wages. The change in union policy was at the level of the national union. Many local unions continued to refuse to admit women.

The cigar workers came to the same conclusion as the printers. They determined to handle female competition through restrictive labor legislation rather than through nonadmission to the union. As in the typographical union, some locals continued to bar women from membership, often to their detriment, as many Bohemian women immigrating after the Austro-Prussian war were highly skilled cigar makers and easily organized.

By the twentieth century, ten other important international unions were not segregated as to sex: boot and shoe workers, hotel and restaurant workers, bookbinders, retail clerks, garment workers (two unions), tobacco workers, shirtwaist and laundry workers, textile workers, and glove workers.

b. *The national picture today.* Only a little over 3½ million out of 24 million women in the labor force (14.5 per cent) are union members. The participation of women varies from union to union. By 1958, of the 186

international unions participating in a membership survey conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 137 unions indicated that they had women members. Thirty unions reported a membership which included 25,000 or more women members. Unions reporting more than 100,000 female members were the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Retail Clerks International Association; Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union; International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America; Communications Workers of America; International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; and International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

There were no separate unions for women alone, though in 9 unions women constituted at least 70 per cent of the membership. In 82 unions their representation was less than 20 per cent, not counting those unions with no women members. Among unions with no female members are those of bricklayers, fire fighters, locomotive engineers, and plasterers.

c. *The situation in California.* A study by the California Department of Industrial Relations of 3274 local unions shows that 52 per cent of these had no women members in July 1961. Of the 1 per cent reporting that all their members were women, most were unions of government employees. In textiles and apparel, where women members outnumber men, only three unions reported 100 per cent female locals.

Seventy per cent of the California locals reporting no women members were in construction, transportation and warehousing, and government. Whether this is a reflection of discrimination, segregated locals in government work, sex labeling of jobs, or difficulty or disinterest in organizing women, is not clear. Thirty-five per cent of all California workers in nonfarm employment belong to unions, but only around 20 per cent of the women wage and salary workers are union members.

d. *Apprenticeship programs.* Entry into many trades which are highly unionized is ordinarily through apprenticeship programs. Formal programs are usually operated by joint employer-employee groups, under conditions approved by a state agency or the U. S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

Most of the approximately 300 skilled occupations having such programs fall into the classifications of building, printing, metal, and service trades. The Women's Bureau has estimated that in 1954 fewer than 1 per cent of the registered apprentices in seven reporting states were women. Presumably these few women are in occupations such as dressmaker, dental technician, fur finisher, fabric cutter, tailoress, and printer. In contrast, during World War II a number of women received training as welders and machine-tool operators.

The two reasons usually given for the fewness of women in apprenticeship programs are the physical requirements of the occupation and the length of training required. Another reason may be that many occupations that might interest women have not been

considered "apprenticeable" on rather arbitrary grounds.

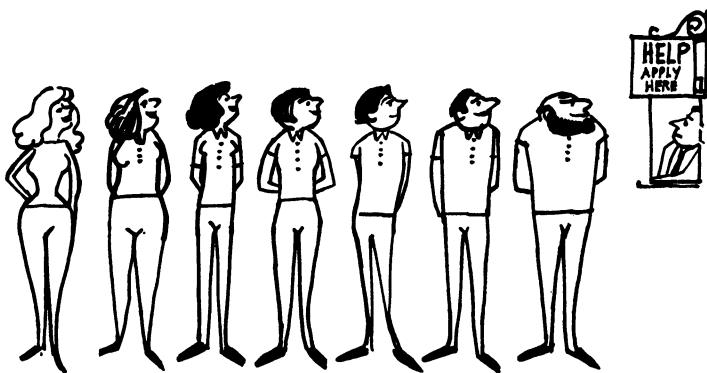
Women do not generally benefit from the publicly supported training programs for military personnel and veterans. However, 1.8 million women and girls were enrolled in federally aided vocational education programs in 1958-59, most of them in home economics classes. Where courses that are more occupationally oriented are offered, women respond eagerly to opportunities to become technicians, practical nurses, or other health workers. These courses have not been universally available.

In view of the eager participation of women in these educational programs, there seems little reason to believe that their nonparticipation in apprenticeship programs is due solely to female apathy.

e. Relations within the bargaining unit. Relations on the job between men and women in unionized plants may be affected or controlled through the basic collective agreements, supplemental agreements, and arbitration decisions. State law may represent a limiting factor.

In one case an arbitrator decided that a supplemental agreement spelling out that "a female employee can exercise her seniority as a catcher . . . or take the layoff" was controlling, even though this might create some administrative difficulties. (38 LA 164.) In an arbitration decision involving state law it was held that a female journeyman clerk could not use the contract provision protecting journeymen from layoffs while apprentices were retained, because state law prohibits female employees from lifting more than 25 pounds, and such work

was part of the apprentices' job. (38 LA 817.) Another arbitrator also ruled that due weight had to be given to state regulations governing the employment of female workers when bumping was in progress. (36 LA 599 and 36 LA 654.)



Sometimes jobs are divided on a sex basis and so maintained through a contract clause stating that "males may not replace females nor females replace males." An arbitrator decided that this rule applied also to the filling of a job vacancy and to a promotion even though the contract provision covering these situations read that the senior employee was to be given preference "provided he or she has the necessary qualifications." (38 LA 100.) Such a construction would generally limit opportunities for women. However, the most common bar to a woman's bumping a male or getting an open job which has had the "male" label is not the contract, but her physical characteristics, the dirtiness of the job, and the like. (34 LA 41 and 35 LA 657.)

On the other hand, males' opportunities are also limited by traditional beliefs. An arbitrator overturned one of these when he upheld the right of a senior male employee over a junior female employee to a job in the cafeteria. He rejected the contention that the "male animal suffers from natural handicaps to perform kitchen duties." (35 LA 268.)

Arbitrators' decisions sometimes go in favor of women. Noting that the contract made no distinction between male and female employees except through the specification of certain differential rates, an arbitrator ruled that this did not require that a job with a male rate should always be filled by a male employee. (36 LA 326.) When an art metal construction firm recalled men and not women, it was held that women employees' contractual seniority-recall rights had been violated, even though allegedly the union had surreptitiously agreed to bypass women permanently. (36 LA 458.) Nevertheless, protection of women's rights within the union agreement is at times inadequate or at least unnecessarily vague.

3. UNION GROWTH PATTERNS AND WOMEN

Union development in the United States has been characterized by long-run growth, periodic spurts of growth, and periodic declines from the highs. The participation of women in unions has generally followed the same pattern.

Long-run growth of labor organizations has been largely taken for granted, although recently some stu-

dents of the American labor movement have predicted that because of the shift from blue- to white-collar employment, and because the easily organized are already organized, future growth may be extremely slow.

When there have been spurts of growth, as in the 1880's through the ascendancy of the Knights of Labor, women have played a role. Again, with increased activity at the turn of the century, several new and important unions came into being, including the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in 1900. Union membership also spread among women at other rapid growth periods, which have been analyzed by Irving Bernstein as periods characterized by structural changes in American trade unions. Whether women shared equally with men in proportion to their labor force participation is not known.

Similarly, women's union membership has declined when men's has, but not necessarily in the same proportion. This was true of the period immediately following the zenith of the Knights of Labor and again during the twenties. Yet unions made up primarily of women fared no worse than those of men. When David Dubinsky took over the leadership of the ILGWU in 1932, the union was in poor organizational and financial shape. But so were other unions. The weakness of the union could hardly be attributed to the large proportion of female members.

The most recent California experience has been a steady decline in the ratio of union membership to non-farm employment. Since 1950, when a high of 43 per

cent of the nonfarm work force of California was organized, union membership has declined to about 35 per cent.

4. ARE WOMEN UNORGANIZABLE?

This question, in view of historical data, may seem preposterous. Yet it is a cliché that women are a “bar to unionization,” an “obstacle” to the spread of unionization, a “roadblock to union growth.”

But, as Bernstein points out, though women are not as highly organized as men and are, indeed, increasingly participating in the labor force, in fact we know nothing about the comparative propensity of men and women to join unions. The existing difference in the membership rate is largely explainable by the fact that women work primarily in industries and occupations into which unions have not made a deep penetration, for example, office, sales, and services. The men in these occupations are not highly organized.

Analyzing California data, Bernstein finds a modest secular rise in the rate of female union membership from 11 per cent in 1941 to 15 per cent in 1948 and 19 per cent in the decade 1950–1960. Recently there appears to be some stability, at about 20 per cent, in the proportion of women members in the state’s unions.

VII. Where Are Women Headed?

1. WHAT CAN BE EXPECTED?

Much about the future of women and work is easy to foretell. The projected growth of the labor force is to 94.8 million in 1975, of which 32.4 million will be women. In other words, more than 8 million women are expected to join the labor force in the next twelve years. Much of the increase will come this time from young women under 35, as contrasted with the large increase between 1950 and 1960 in the number of women workers over 35.

Women will continue to find somewhat wider employment opportunities. The kind of jobs they get will depend to a large extent on their educational interests and achievements. Women's union participation rate will follow the general pattern, perhaps with a gradually rising rate of participation.

One other thing we can be sure of: women's participation in the labor force will have an impact on every phase of our economic and social life. Exactly what the effects will be is not clear. When women joined the work force during World War II, they found they could lift almost anything—with the fork lift. Neither women nor industry have been quite the same since.

As the young, single woman came into the office at the turn of the century, her economic independence created new industries—ladies' garment and beauty shops and women's magazines, to name a few. The female attitude toward job satisfaction, which includes greater concern about such things as cleanliness of working conditions and pleasantness of social relations, has had a permanent effect on personnel management. Women have offered a real challenge to the human engineers who fit the machine or the job to the worker. Indeed, when the Soviets put a female untrained pilot in orbit around the earth, the human engineers had a day of real triumph.

Job redesign not only for women, but for all workers who have suffered discrimination or have been, as Solomon Barkin says, "relegated to the human scrap heap," is a technique of full employment. Redesign might include the proliferation of part-time opportunities or of professionally supervised volunteer activities. War experience in agencies such as the OPA offers patterns for combination paid-volunteer agencies, for service-needing but cash-short communities with unused human resources.

Many of the wartime improvements in rest rooms and lunch rooms, the additional safety practices, and the use of clothes suitable for the job are representative of the permanent impression women have made on industry. The continued substitution of levers and pulleys for muscles is to be expected.

One apparition *not* expected is the return of the old-style "career woman," the feminist who devotes her life

single-mindedly to her career. As Ginzberg notes, all the signs are against the emergence of a new feminist type. What women will seek and largely achieve is a truly dual role, where, for most, work will be supplemental to the major responsibilities of wife and mother.

This is not to say that women will live in an enchanted world of having their cake while eating it. Women, like men, must stand ready to pay the price for the choices which they make, a price that usually involves a sacrifice of alternatives. The only new aspect is that women have more such choices.

Family life patterns both affect and will be affected by the new opportunities for women in some unpredictable way. Will the Negro family remain mainly matriarchal as Negro women retire from the labor force? Will the white family remain patriarchal as the married woman goes to work? In the Soviet Union, it is said, the emancipation of woman has weakened the effectiveness of patriarchal power and lessened the father complex. Will American family patterns, different from the Soviet to begin with, change as the Soviet pattern apparently has? Again, we do not know.

Will the children growing up with working mothers be adversely affected? The studies so far cannot reasonably be used to suggest that the effects on such children will be dire. Much will depend on our social efforts, if any, to provide supplementary services.

2. SPECULATIVE ISSUES

Nothing else can be foretold with assurance. Will all the women entering the labor force find jobs?

Will discriminatory barriers to women's employment melt away? An unemployment level of more than 5 per cent, if sustained, means that the probable answer to these questions is no. Only under conditions of full employment will the answers be yes. Competition for scarce jobs inevitably perpetuates sex labeling—through union agreements if other means fail.

Women's desires and ambitions will also play a significant and somewhat unpredictable role. Will women take their places in the professions and in science? The National Science Foundation has stated that the key to the whole series of complex psychological, social, and economic factors which militate against a woman's having sufficient training for a career in science is simply this: women bear children and their role in our society centers on this function.

Whether women generally will surmount the barriers that exist, indeed whether they want to, is not clear. Two current social trends work against a heavy commitment to science on the part of women. The first is the lengthening of the educational period required for a science career. The NSF reports that the average age at which scientists earn a doctoral degree is 30 years. The other trend is that toward early marriage and the consequent decline in labor force participation of women in their twenties. Nevertheless, for women with the aptitude and desire to become scientists, there will be greater economic opportunity to do so. But will women take advantage of this?

A recent sociological study suggests that whether women work or plan to work is directly related to certain

conditions. The women studied were middle-class white women living in suburban housing, with children; the median income of their husbands was \$7900. Many of the husbands had a positive attitude toward outside employment for their wives and/or were willing to take care of the children and help with the chores. Women who had children of school age were much more likely to be working or planning to work than those with preschoolers. If before marriage a woman had been in an occupation requiring advanced education or specialized training, she was likely to be working or planning to work. Considerations found to be rather unimportant in determining these women's plans were debts of the family unit, plans to purchase big items, or the differential availability of employment. Whether these factors are important to women in other economic classes is not known.

In short, all that is known is that women will constitute about a third of the labor force. Whether they will be working, at what sort of jobs they will be working, and what the effects on society will be, are still matters of speculation.

3. ADVICE AND REMEDIES

Meanwhile, other than the prerequisite of full employment, what programs, approaches, and studies might facilitate the "silent revolution"?

Esther Peterson, director of the U.S. Women's Bureau, has cited these areas of social and economic need:

1) Improvement of earnings and working conditions for women in agricultural and domestic service. The women at the bottom of the wage scale tend to be excluded from coverage in protective social legislation.

2) Improvement in educational facilities, guidance, and counseling. This is critical for the worker of the future.

3) Development of services which conserve our human resources. These services include the care of children, of the aging, and of our homes.

Eli Ginzberg suggests that persons interested in the psychological aspects of womanpower might ask themselves these questions, among others:

1) Is there any effective way whereby young women in high school and college can be helped to appreciate that they will probably work throughout much of their lives after their children begin to grow up and that they should take this fact into consideration in their planning?

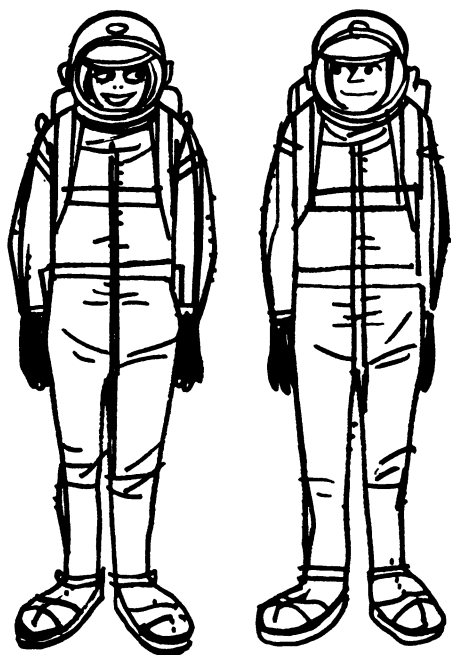
2) What kind of guidance and educational services can best help the increasing number of women who enter or re-enter the labor market in their late twenties or early thirties? What agencies should take up the challenge of providing the services?

3) Since women outlive men by an average of six to seven years, and marry men three years older than themselves, they must anticipate a period of widowhood of ten years. What changes can help older women adjust to this? Was the recent revision of the Social Security system which reduced the age of eligibility of women from 65 to 62 a move in the wrong direction?

Ginzberg especially urges that stereotyped psychological approaches be replaced by studies which take

into account the sociological and economic aspects of women's environment. Environmental conditions must have an impact on a woman's pattern of adjustment, and work is an institution with a pervasive influence on human behavior.

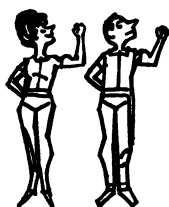
Personnel men, as well as psychologists, are advised to give up some of their opinions and take a hard



look at women's capabilities. Union leaders may well re-evaluate some of the entrenched attitudes toward women. Women might ponder their own circular dilemma of being too often unready and therefore incapable of advancement.

Americans generally might consider whether a large part of the secret of Russian achievements, including economic growth, is the role which the Russian woman has played in her society since the revolution. Her participation has been a function not so much of coercion as of a combination of necessity, opportunity, and legal protection of her femininity. Is the American woman any less necessary or less willing than the Soviet woman? Are her children less entitled to protection than the Soviet and Swedish children?

Finally, policymakers would do well to heed Arthur Goldberg's remark when he was Secretary of Labor: "We have utterly failed if, at this stage in our life, the general concept is that it is kind of a luxury to have women in the labor force. First the figures are against it, and secondly there *ought not* to be an argument about the right of anybody in the country who wants to work, man or woman."



VIII. Suggestions for Further Reading

IN VIEW OF the important managerial, social, and psychological issues raised by the silent revolution, the literature is far from rich.

Publications of the Women's Bureau, especially the annual *Woman's Handbook*, are useful sources of general factual information on women. The working papers of the Commission on the Status of Women and its Report to the President, October 1963, are full of ideas as well as facts. Another recent and provocative report is *The Potential of Women* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963).

Enormous research resources are required for the acquisition of labor force information. Most of this comes from the Department of Labor, the National Bureau of Economic Research, the Survey Research Center, and the National Manpower Council.

Governmental reports such as the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Special Labor Force Report No. 7, *Family Characteristics of Workers*, by J. Shiffman (1960), and Department of Labor publications such as the *Monthly Labor Review* and the annual *Manpower Report to the President* are invaluable, mainly for data and special short-term studies. See, for example, the discussion of

women's labor force participation in recent recessions in Robert L. Stein, "Married Women and the Level of Unemployment," *Monthly Labor Review*, 84 (Aug. 1961), 869-70, and the labor force projections in *Manpower Report*, 1963, pp. 111-18. Congressional hearings on the Equal Pay Act of 1963 are of special interest. These were held on April 2, 3, and 16, 1963, before the Senate Subcommittee on Labor.

California's Department of Industrial Relations publishes labor force information and invaluable reports on union membership, for instance, *Union Labor in California, 1961* (California State Printing Office, Jan. 1963).

Clarence Long's definitive study for the National Bureau of Economic Research, *The Labor Force under Changing Income and Employment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), gives extensive treatment to women. This is true also of the Survey Research Center study, *Income and Welfare in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), by James N. Morgan, Martin H. David, Wilbur J. Cohen, and Harvey E. Brazer.

The National Manpower Council publications, especially *Womanpower* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), are useful. The NMC policy and conference publications (Columbia University Press, 1953 and 1954) summarize the thinking at that time on scientific and professional manpower resources and their utilization. The National Science Foundation has added its voice through addresses by its officers before the Commission on the Status of Women. The National Education Association and the American Council of Education also

show a continuing interest, particularly in the American woman's professional status.

Significant journal articles concerned primarily with the labor market are Nedra B. Belloc, "Labor Force Participation and Employment Opportunities for Women," *Journal of American Statistical Association*, 45 (Sept. 1950), 400-10, and Thomas Mahoney, "Factors Determining the Labor Force Participation of Married Women," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 14 (July 1961), 563-77. Somewhat dated articles are J. B. Parrish, "Women in the Nation's Labor Market," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 54 (May 1940), 527-34, and Mary Anderson, "Postwar Role of American Women," *American Economic Review, Proceedings*, 34 (March 1944), 237-44. These and other economic journals are now indexed through the *Irwin Index to Economic Journals*.

Women and Work in America by Robert W. Smuts (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), which grew out of research on the Conservation of Human Resources Project, is broadly useful and has an excellent bibliography. Other authors who speculate on the dual role of woman in society are Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, *Women's Two Roles* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956). The National Manpower Council's *Work in the Lives of Married Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958) is also of interest in this regard.

Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (New York: Bantam Books, 1961) and Viola Klein's *The Feminine Character* (New York: International Universities Press, 1949) give insight into the biological and psychological nature of woman in her social environment.

Eli Ginzberg is clearly interested in womanpower in all its aspects, and his article on "The Changing Pattern of Women's Work, Some Psychological Correlates," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 28 (Jan. 1959), 313-21, is of considerable interest. B. Von Haller Gilmer surveyed journal literature before 1957 on the "Psychological Aspects of Women in Industry," *Personnel Psychology*, 10 (Winter 1957), 439-52, to the great advantage of those seeking either a survey or a bibliography. Other articles on psychological or sociological aspects of women at work may be found in *Psychological Abstracts*, published bimonthly by the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C. Among these are E. Ellis, "Social Psychological Correlates of Upward Social Mobility Among Unmarried Career Women," *American Sociological Review*, 17 (Oct. 1952), 558-63, which claims to confirm Karen Horney's theory that upward social mobility is likely to be an outgrowth of basically neurotic drives resulting from unsatisfactory early primary group relations; Mildred Weil, "An Analysis of the Factors Influencing Married Women's Actual or Planned Work Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (Feb. 1961), 91-96, which was reviewed in Chapter VII of this pamphlet; L. T. Empey, "Role Expectations of Young Women Regarding Marriage and a Career," *Marriage and Family Living*, 20 (May 1958), 152-55, which suggests a growing tendency for young women to view their roles as dual; M. Woolf, "Revolution and Drive," *Psychoanalytical Review*, 44 (Oct. 1957), 410-32, which reports the decline in patriarchal power in the Soviet Union; and M. H. Donlon,

"Women's Education Today," *Education Record*, 39 (July 1958), 246-52, which critically examines the belief that women do not profit by an education and are motivated only by economic and power drives.

A significant discussion of job redesign is provided by Solomon Barkin of the Textile Workers Union of America, "Job Redesign: A Technique for an Era of Full Employment," in *Manpower in the United States: Problems and Policies*, Industrial Relations Research Association Publication No. 11 (New York: Harper, 1954), ch. 3.

Historical treatment of women in industry is available in such generally useful works as Charles and Mary Beard, *Rise of American Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, College Edition, 1949); Barbara and J. L. Hammond, *Rise of Modern Industry* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1926); and John R. Commons and Associates, *History of Labor in the United States, 1896-1932* (New York: Macmillan, 1921-1935). Specialized histories such as Elizabeth Hutchins, *Women in Modern Industry* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1915); Edith Abbott, *Women in Industry* (New York: Appleton, 1909); Alice Henry, *The Trade Union Woman* (New York: Appleton, 1915); and Helen L. Sumner's *History of Women in Industry*, a report to a governmental body, may not be so widely available.

The law in history is interpreted in many articles, including E. E. Witte, "The Effects of Special Labor Legislation for Women," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 42 (Nov. 1927), 153-64, and Rebekah S. Greathouse, "The Effect of Constitutional Equality on

Working Women," *American Economic Review, Proceedings*, 34 (March 1944), 227-36. In addition to the Commons history volumes, Commons' and John Andrews' *Principles of Labor Legislation* (New York: Harper, 1936) is useful. The Commission on the Status of Women and the Women's Bureau have published useful comparative data. For the law itself, *State Labor Law Reports* (Bureau of National Affairs, Washington, D.C.) is invaluable. Arbitration cases referred to in this pamphlet are taken from BNA's *Labor Arbitration Reports*.

For the equal pay quasi-legal-economic issue, in addition to the hearings and the Women's Bureau comparative data, articles of some interest have appeared in journals mainly directed to economists over a long period: C. E. Persons, "Women's Work and Wages in the United States," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 29 (Feb. 1915), 201-34; P. Sargent Florence, "A Statistical Contribution to the Theory of Women's Wages," *Economic Journal*, 41 (March 1931), 19-37; Marguerite J. Fisher, "Equal Pay for Equal Work Legislation," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 2 (Oct. 1948), 50-57; E. H. Phelps Brown, "Equal Pay for Equal Work," *Economic Journal*, 59 (Sept. 1949), 384-98; and David Schwartzman, "A Note on the Supply of Female Labor," *Review of Economic Statistics*, 32 (May 1950), 159-61.

Among the many articles on union growth, two of particular interest are those by Irving Bernstein, "Growth of American Unions," *Labor History*, 2 (Spring 1961), 131-57, and "Union Growth and Structural Cycles" which appeared in the Walter Galenson and

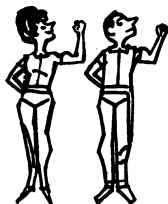
Seymour N. Lipset collection of readings, *Labor and Trade Unionism* (New York: Wiley, 1960).

An article of special interest on the Soviet Union is that of N. Tataninova and E. Korshunova, "Living and Working Conditions of Women in the USSR," *International Labor Review*, 82 (Oct. 1960), 341-57. Sociological insight into the Russian woman's role in the economy and society may be gained from any of three excellent books of readings: Alex Inkeles' and Kent Geiger's *Soviet Society* (London: Constable, 1961); Cyril E. Black, ed., *The Transformation of Russian Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960); and Samuel Hendel, ed., *The Soviet Crucible* (2d ed.; New York: Van Nostrand, 1963). Of special interest in the last named are an article by Alec Nove on the role of social welfare and one by Harry Schwartz on resource use in the USSR. John Gunther's *Inside Russia Today* (London: Hamilton, 1958) repeats the general story of women's work in all occupations and their achievements in the Soviet Union.

The earlier mentioned Myrdal and Klein book is especially rich in U. S. and European comparative statistics. Mrs. Myrdal's earlier study, *Nation and Family* (London: Kegan Paul, 1945), is of great interest to those thinking in the context of a democratic society about the social and family problems which are raised by the increasing tendency for married women to work outside the home. The Social Welfare Board of Sweden presents an authoritative, though now dated, account of social legislation in *Social Sweden* (Stockholm, 1952).

Issues of the London *Economist* periodically carry articles on women in Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The many comparative articles appearing in the *International Labor Review* are typified by the comparison of the employment of older women in five countries, 72 (July 1955), 61-77. A recent article by Ralph C. James, "Discrimination Against Women in Bombay Textiles," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 15 (Jan. 1962), 209-24, paints the women in Bombay textiles as militant, even violent, employees.

Actually, the important reading on women in the labor force is yet to come. It is to be hoped that more studies will be made of all the social, economic, and psychological aspects of the "silent revolution."



Statistical Appendix

TABLE 1

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF SINGLE WOMEN AND OF
MARRIED WOMEN WITH SPOUSE PRESENT, BY AGE, 1950 AND 1960

Age	Single women		Married women with husband present	
	1950	1960	1950	1960
Total all ages...	46.4%	42.9%	21.6%	30.7%
14-15.....	22.8	6.8	19.3	14.7
16-17.....		21.1		16.6
18-19.....		53.4		29.2
20-24.....	73.4	73.2	26.2	31.1
25-29.....	79.3	79.3	22.1	27.0
30-34.....	77.3	79.3	22.3	29.0
35-39.....	75.7	78.6	25.6	34.2
40-44.....	75.1	77.6	27.4	39.2
45-49.....	71.7	77.2	25.3	40.7
50-54.....	44.5	75.4	13.4	37.5
55-59.....		69.0		29.6
60-64.....		60.5		19.1
65-69.....		37.5		9.4
70-74.....		21.7		5.1
75 and over.....		9.8		3.1

SOURCE: U. S. Census of Population, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.

TABLE 2
LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN 1940, 1950, AND 1960, ACCORDING TO AGE AND RACE

Age	All women			White women			Nonwhite women		
	1940	1950	1960	1940	1950	1960	1940	1950	1960
Total all ages	25.8%	29.0%	34.5%	24.1%	28.1%	33.6%	37.3%	37.0%	41.8%
14-15.....	2.3	5.1	6.9	1.5	4.8	7.1	7.8	7.2	5.4
16-17.....	13.3	17.8	20.8	12.0	17.9	21.8	20.5	16.5	14.0
18-19.....	40.1	43.8	46.3	40.5	45.6	47.9	36.1	30.9	34.8
20-24.....	45.6	43.2	44.8	45.3	43.6	44.8	43.9	39.6	45.4
25-29.....	35.5	32.6	35.1	33.9	31.3	33.5	45.9	42.9	46.9
30-34.....	30.9	30.9	35.5	28.6	29.1	33.5	46.4	46.3	50.2
35-39.....	28.3	33.9	40.2	25.8	32.1	38.5	45.6	48.6	54.7
40-44.....	26.0	36.2	45.3	23.6	34.9	43.9	43.9	48.1	57.0
45-49.....	23.7	34.8	47.4	21.4	33.6	46.4	41.4	45.3	56.5
50-54.....	21.2	30.8	45.8	19.4	29.8	45.1	37.9	40.9	52.6
55-59.....	18.5	25.9	39.7	16.8	25.2	39.1	33.2	34.9	44.8
60-64.....	14.8	20.5	29.5	13.6	20.0	29.0	27.2	27.6	34.2
65-69.....	9.5	12.8	16.6	8.6	12.5	16.3	17.8	16.4	19.6
70-74.....	5.1	6.6	9.6	4.6	6.5	9.4	9.5	8.4	11.5
75 and over ..	2.3	2.6	4.2	2.0	2.5	4.1	4.4	3.8	5.5

SOURCE: U. S. Census of Population, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.

TABLE 3
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF DETAILED OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED, 1950 AND 1960

Occupation	1950			1960			Per cent increase or decrease, 1950-1960		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female			
Total employed.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	14.5	6.9	34.2
Professional, technical, and kindred.....	8.72	7.30	12.37	11.19	10.31	13.00	47.0	50.8	41.1
Farm and farm mgrs.....	7.64	10.31	0.74	3.88	5.49	0.56	-41.9	-43.1	.9
Managers, officials, proprietors, exc. farm.....	8.92	10.71	4.31	8.37	10.65	3.68	7.4	6.3	14.6
Clerical and kindred.....	12.32	6.51	27.31	14.40	6.94	29.72	33.8	13.9	46.0
Sales workers.....	6.92	6.33	8.46	7.18	6.85	7.85	18.7	15.8	24.5
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred	13.86	18.65	1.50	13.52	19.53	1.19	11.8	11.9	6.8
Operatives and kindred.....	19.81	20.05	19.19	18.41	19.88	15.38	6.4	6.0	7.6
Private household.....	2.50	0.18	8.48	2.67	0.14	7.86	22.3	-16.8	24.4
Service workers, exc. household.	7.61	5.85	12.17	8.42	5.98	13.44	26.7	9.3	48.2
Farm laborers and foremen.....	4.28	4.83	2.86	2.24	2.77	1.15	-40.2	-38.9	-46.2
Laborers, exc. farm and mine...	6.09	8.14	0.81	4.81	6.90	0.52	-9.6	-9.4	-14.0
Occupation not reported.....	1.32	1.13	1.80	4.93	4.57	5.65	328.5	332.3	322.4

Sources: U. S. Census of Population, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.

TABLE 4
PER CENT INCREASE OR DECREASE, 1950-1960, IN PROFESSIONAL,
TECHNICAL, AND KINDRED OCCUPATIONS OF
EMPLOYED MEN AND WOMEN

Occupation	Per cent increase or decrease		
	Total	Male	Female
Professional, technical, and kindred	47.0	50.8	41.1
Accountants and auditors.....	24.7	21.8	41.1
Actors.....	-37.5	-37.6	-37.3
Airplane pilots and navigators.....	92.2	93.7	-14.1
Architects.....	27.8	29.7	-18.4
Artists and art teachers.....	31.1	37.1	21.3
Athletes.....	-63.6	-64.3	-52.4
Authors.....	77.2	115.7	16.3
Chiropractors.....	10.9	16.7	-23.9
Clergymen.....	19.6	21.7	-31.2
College presidents, professors, and instructors (n.e.c.).....	42.2	44.7	34.0
Dancers and dancing teachers.....	25.9	- 1.9	37.1
Dentists.....	10.1	10.6	- 5.9
Designers.....	137.2	206.8	17.9
Dietitians and nutritionists.....	16.2	40.2	14.7
Draftsmen.....	60.3	61.8	39.4
Editors and reporters.....	41.7	42.7	39.9
Engineers, technical.....	63.6	64.3	11.0
Entertainers (n.e.c.).....	-26.9	-19.8	-44.3
Farm and home management advisers.....	9.1	14.0	4.2
Foresters and conservationists.....	22.4	23.4	- 6.3
Funeral directors and embalmers....	- 6.3	- 5.6	-14.8
Lawyers and judges.....	16.9	16.9	18.5
Librarians.....	50.9	90.3	45.8
Musicians and music teachers.....	24.6	8.3	40.4
Natural scientists.....	27.7	30.0	10.4
Agricultural scientists.....	27.3	27.6	23.3
Biological scientists.....	51.2	56.6	38.2
Chemists.....	11.8	13.5	- 3.6
Geologists and geophysicists.....	75.0	81.1	-27.3

TABLE 4—*Continued*

Occupation	Per cent increase or decrease		
	Total	Male	Female
Mathematicians.....	345.1	428.1	209.8
Physicists.....	87.8	92.5	20.2
Miscellaneous.....	-43.3	-39.1	-65.1
Nurses, professional.....	45.5	50.6	45.4
Nurses, student professional.....	-25.0	-49.1	-24.5
Optometrists.....	9.6	11.4	-19.9
Osteopaths.....	-23.6	-20.7	-39.7
Personnel and labor relations workers.....	86.7	81.3	100.2
Pharmacists.....	4.3	4.9	- 2.3
Photographers.....	- 2.3	4.0	-32.4
Physicians and surgeons.....	18.9	18.1	32.0
Public relations and publicity.....	63.5	40.7	257.8
Radio operators.....	69.8	67.6	91.4
Recreation and group workers.....	124.5	121.2	129.1
Religious workers.....	34.7	66.3	20.9
Social and welfare workers, exc. group.....	27.4	54.0	15.5
Social scientists.....	60.1	77.2	24.2
Economists.....	117.7	128.0	71.8
Psychologists.....	150.2	206.8	77.5
Statisticians and actuaries.....	18.7	28.5	1.2
Miscellaneous social scientists....	6.9	15.2	-10.4
Sports instructors and officials.....	70.3	53.0	122.9
Surveyors.....	70.1	69.7	79.0
Teachers: Elementary schools.....	48.7	132.1	40.3
Secondary schools.....	40.8	72.5	16.6
Teachers (n.e.c.).....	80.7	-12.5	435.6
Technicians: Medical and dental... ..	80.2	56.2	98.6
Electrical and electronic.....	679.2	643.1	n.a.
Other eng. and physical science..	101.8	114.7	43.0
Technicians (n.e.c.).....	253.2	309.4	144.7
Therapists and healers (n.e.c.).....	48.9	35.9	62.2
Veterinarians.....	10.5	15.4	-63.4
Professional and technical (n.e.c.)..	256.5	286.9	173.1

Source: U. S. Census of Population, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.

TABLE 5
LEVEL OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY FEMALES 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER IN 1940, 1950, AND 1960

	None	1-4 grades elementary	5 grades elementary or more	8 grades elementary or more	4 years high school	1 year college or more	4 years college or more
1940							
Total 14 years old							
and over.....	2.8%	10.3%	89.7%	72.7%	27.4%	9.1%	3.2%
White.....	2.4	8.0	92.0	76.7	29.3	9.7	3.4
Nonwhite.....	7.1	31.7	68.3	35.6	9.2	3.2	1.0
1950							
Total 14 years old							
and over.....	2.1	8.6	91.4	76.4	36.3	12.2	4.5
White.....	1.8	7.0	93.0	79.6	38.6	12.9	4.8
Nonwhite.....	4.6	23.6	76.4	47.9	15.7	5.4	2.0
1960							
Total 14 years old							
and over.....	1.8	6.2	93.8	81.7	41.5	13.9	5.0
White.....	1.6	5.1	94.9	84.0	43.6	14.7	5.3
Nonwhite.....	3.7	15.8	84.2	62.6	23.7	7.6	3.0

SOURCE: U. S. Census of Population, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.

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