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**WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT
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AND DENMARK**

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WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

IN THE

UNITED KINGDOM

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I. THE PATTERN OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

(1) The National Pattern

a) Working Population

At the end of 1972, the working population of Great Britain numbered approximately 25 million. Out of this total, 9 million were women. This means that, today, women comprise over 36% of the total working population of Great Britain and almost 38% of the working population of the United Kingdom.

TABLE 1

WORKING POPULATION
GREAT BRITAIN
DECEMBER 1972

Employees in Employment	22,149,000
Employers and Self-Employed	1,791,000
Total in Civil Employment	23,940,000
Unemployed	745,000
Total Civilian Labour Force	24,685,000
H.M. Forces	372,000
Working Population	25,057,000
of which: Males	15,922,000
Females	9,135,000

Source: D.E. Gazette August 1973, p. 787

In numerical terms women already occupy a position of importance in the labour market.

But their importance acquires an even more significant dimension when one examines the part they have played in the increase in the total British labour force over the last 20 years. In 1951, working women comprised only 32% of total manpower; in 1971 this percentage had risen to 36.1%. For the same period, the overall percentage growth in the number of working men and women did not exceed 6.8%. Thus, virtually most of the increase in the total working population in the past 20 or so years can

be attributed to the dramatic increase in female employment. It is also worth noting that this upward trend is expected to continue for quite some time. The long-term projections recently worked out by the Department of Employment, estimate that the proportion of economically active women in the national labour force will rise to 37.8% by 1986.

Consequently, any future significant expansion of labour supply in the U.K. must come from women, insofar, of course, as male workers' productivity does not or cannot be improved.

TABLE 2
ESTIMATED WORKING POPULATION OF
GREAT BRITAIN 1951-86

	<u>1951</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>%</u>
Working population	23,239	100.0	25,153	100.0	26,032	100.0	26,804	100.0
Males	15,798	68.0	16,050	63.8	16,262	62.5	16,680	62.2
Females	7,441	32.0	9,103	36.2	9,770	37.5	10,124	37.8
Females married	3,194	13.7	5,819	23.1	6,758	26.0	7,200	26.9
Females other	4,247	18.3	3,284	13.1	3,012	11.5	2,924	10.9
Married Females as % of working popu- lation		13.7		23.1		26.0		26.9
As % of total females		42.9		63.9		69.2		71.1

Source: Social Trends No. 2, Table 17, p. 61. Department of Employment Gazette, August 1971

It must be remembered, however, that the D.E.'s long-term projections include part-time as well as full-time workers. The point is worth noting in view of the growing proportion of women who favour, and are expected to do so in increasing numbers, working on a part-time basis.

As a matter of fact, most of the growth in female employment in the last 10 years has been due to the increase in numbers working part-time, with relatively little change in the numbers working full-time: in the manufacturing sector, where female employment declined during this period, the numbers working part-time actually increased. According to D.E. analysts,

this points to a fairly large scale movement towards the creating of part-time jobs as industry adapts itself to attract more and more housewives into the labour force¹.

TABLE 3

a) PERCENTAGE GROWTH IN PART-TIME FEMALE WORKERS
SOURCE: L-RETURNS - COVERAGE: MANUFACTURING

1950: 11.8	1958: 11.9	1966: 17.7
1951: 12.2	1959: 11.9	1967: 17.0
1952: 10.5	1960: 13.2	1968: 17.7
1953: 9.7	1961: 13.7	1969: 18.9
1954: 10.3	1962: 13.8	1970: 19.7
1955: 11.4	1963: 13.8	1971: 18.7
1956: 11.8	1964: 15.0	1972: 18.3
1957: 12.0	1965: 15.9	

b) PERCENTAGE GROWTH IN PART-TIME FEMALE WORKERS
SOURCE: NEW EARNINGS SURVEYS - COVERAGE: ALL INDUSTRIES

September	1968:	27.8
April	1970	30.5
April	1971:	31.3
April	1972:	32.1

Altogether, there are approximately 2.9 million females engaged in part-time employment in Great Britain. In manufacturing, they represent 22% of all female employees, which is nearly twice as much as 20 years ago. In the tertiary sector the proportion is even more substantial i.e., 45%, or nearly half the total female population employed in the service industries.

b) Matrimonial Status and Employment

Another point of interest within the pattern of growth in female employment is the continued increase in the number of married women joining the work force. Whereas in 1911 under one in eight of working

¹Department of Employment Gazette. November 1973.

women were married, married women now comprise 60% of all the female labour force, and it is expected that this figure will rise to 71.7% by 1986.

The bulk of this increase comes from the re-entry into the labour market of women who seek a second term of employment after a 'ten year gap' spent in looking after their families. The re-entry of older married women has had, in turn, a marked effect on the age distribution of women at work. Women in the age-group of 40 and over, where married women outnumber single women by 3 to 1, now form nearly half of the female work force.

The trend towards greater numbers of married women remaining or becoming economically active is also noticeable among younger women who increasingly continue to work until the birth of their first child. The practice of 'retirement on marriage' is fast becoming a thing of the past in the U.K.

c) Activity Rates by Age-Groups

Despite the significant rise in the proportion of women available for work, the present potential supply of female labour has only been partially tapped. As can be seen from the table below, the overall activity rates of women in the U.K. still oscillates around the 40% mark, which confirms the earlier assumption that there are substantial sources of labour reserves among the female working population.

TABLE 4

U.K. ACTIVITY RATES - FEMALE EMPLOYEES AT MID-YEAR

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>
Aged 15 & over	40.5	39.9
Aged 15 - 24	67.3	60.4
Aged 25 - 44	44.2	45.7
Aged 45 - 59	48.7	51.7
Aged 60 & over	10.4	10.2

Source: Regional Abstract of Statistics, No. 8, 1972, Table 26, p. 28.

As one might expect, the highest proportion of women at work or actively seeking work is to be found in the 15 - 24 age-group: over 60%. Their participation rate in 1971 did, however, drop by 7% below the figure for 1966. This is a reflection of the trend towards earlier child-bearing age and of the movement towards increasing opportunities for full-time education after school-leaving age.

Not surprisingly, activity rates fall sharply in the next age-group, i.e., 25 - 44 years old. This is a group in which family responsibilities take precedence over economic activity and lead the majority to withdraw, for a time at least, from employment. But it is significant that in 1971 the participation rate of the group reached nearly 46% as opposed to 44.2% in 1966. The reason for this can probably be attributed to a proportionately larger rise in the activity rate of those women closer to the upper limit of the age range. It is quite likely that, for the group as a whole, the trend towards a higher rate of employment will be accentuated in the near future as the age of married women re-entering the labour market drops progressively from the '40's' to the 'early or mid-30's'.

The 45 - 59 age-group shows both the highest activity rate (51.7%) and the largest increase (3%) in comparison with the figure for 1966 (48.7%), thereby confirming the new tendency for more and more married women and mothers to return to work.

The activity rate for women aged 60 and over is still declining; from 10.4% in 1966 to 10.2% in 1971. Some care must be taken, however, in the interpretation of these figures as they include women in their late 60's and over, who, by reason of age and/or infirmity, may be unable to work. The true activity rate figure is likely to be much higher and more comparable to the one relating to the 60 - 65 age range. The decline in the rate, on the other hand, is typical of today's pattern of higher living standards and better pension schemes.

Care must also be exercised when interpreting the level of activity rates amongst other age groups. The Department of Employment admits that

they are somewhat unreliable as various factors - such as the reluctance of women to register at employment exchanges when they are not eligible for state unemployment benefits - tend to underestimate the numbers of women available for work. Data on participation rates must, therefore, be taken as orders of magnitude rather than exact proportions.

Whatever confidence limits are applied to the accuracy of the sources of information on the subject, the fact remains that women activity rates, particularly those of the more mature age-groups, are definitely on the increase. This upward trend has been backed, for the most part, by a similar development in the field of part-time employment: The proportion of women working on a part-time basis has increased in line with the increasing activity rates of women¹.

In 1966, more than 80% of all the part-time female workers were married and within this overall percentage, more than 90% were 35 years of age or older. A recent analysis by the D.E. on the economic activity of wives and mothers, further indicates that whilst only 37% of working married women with no dependent children work part-time, this percentage increases to 53% for working mothers with one child, to 62% for those with two children, and 67% for those with five children. To put it in another way, 44% of part-time married women workers have no dependent children, 25% have one child and 20% have two children².

d) Home workers

Because of domestic responsibilities, the present inadequacy of facilities for the care of children and the lack of part-time work, many women anxious to work have no option but to do so from their residential home. Some seek paid work at home to relieve boredom or to continue to practise a professional skill, but in fact, the vast majority does so for financial reasons.

There is, however, very little information available about women who work at home. Their recruitment and payment tend to by-pass completely the Department of Employment. In theory, home workers are supposed to register with the local authorities, in practice there is very little registration and the full extent of home working is virtually unknown.

1 Department of Employment Gazette. Op.cit.

2 Census of Population, 1966

In her 'Survey of Women's Employment' (1968)¹, Audrey Hunt did attempt to obtain some information about the position of residential women workers. The evidence from her findings is not, however, extensive enough to justify any firm conclusions. Yet, concern is growing about the pitiful working conditions and incredibly low pay of women who do assembly work in their homes. There is also concern about their safety and health arising from the use, in a limited space, of potentially dangerous machinery, undertaken without the protection of the Factory Acts or the supervision of factory inspectors.

The Trade Union Congress has expressed strong dissatisfaction at the neglect of home workers and want the Department of Employment to look at the whole problem of home working. But the official view is that since an enquiry, undertaken in 1966, found that conditions relating to home work and out-work were much improved, there was no need for a further survey².

The Select Committee on the Employment of Women also heard evidence which led them to 'recommend to the D.E. to undertake an enquiry into the conditions under which home work is carried out, to obtain reliable figures on the evasion of registration and to ensure that this registration is properly enforced in the future'³.

e) Self-Employed

Reliable information on the volume and the occupational profile of self-employed women is very scant and data available remains somewhat suspect.

From official figures, there were at the end of 1972 some 1,820,000 persons classified as employers and self-employed. Women accounted for 361,000 of them, or 20% of the total. It would be, indeed, of great interest to know how many of these women are, in fact, employers of labour on any significant scale or how many hold higher professional positions, such as, solicitors, doctors, architects, where self-employment is quite usual. Some estimates put the proportion of women in architecture at 4%, that of

1 Audrey Hunt 'A Survey of Women's Employment'. Government Social Survey.
2 Women Workers 1972. Report to 42nd Annual Conference of TUC.
3 Sixth Report from the Expenditure Committee. House of Commons. Session 1972-1973.

women chartered accountants as 1%, and that of solicitors at 3%. These estimates, however, cover the total amount of women to be found in the professions and include employed as well as self-employed women. The only firm conclusion that can be reached is that women form a low percentage of the overall self-employed population in the U.K. and a minimal one in the professions.

(2) The Regional Pattern:

a) Regional Distribution

TABLE 5

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF
FEMALE EMPLOYEES IN EMPLOYMENT (JUNE 1972)

	<u>Female Employees</u>	<u>Females as % of</u> <u>Total Region's</u> <u>Employees</u>
South-East	2,960,000	38.9%
East Anglia	238,000	38.2%
South-West	494,000	37.3%
West Midlands	812,000	36.3%
East Midlands	510,000	36.8%
Yorkshire & Humberside	728,000	36.9%
North-West	1,085,000	38.2%
North	457,000	36.1%
Wales	332,000	35.1%
Scotland	816,000	39.2%
Great Britain	8,435,000	37.8%

Source: Department of Employment Gazette, May 1973

Analysis of the regional distribution of women in employment shows distinct differences in the numbers of women at work in the various standard regions of the U.K.

Yet, despite these large discrepancies in the volume of regional employment, a fairly uniform pattern emerges as to the percentage share of female employees within the region total labour force, regardless of the part of the country in which they work.

Areas of higher employment than average are to be found essentially in the South-East and East Anglia and Scotland while those with lesser averages include the West Midlands, the North and Wales.

b) Regional Activity Rates

Further useful information on the position of economically active women in the regions can be obtained through a close examination of the levels of regional activity rates which measure the proportion of women of working age who are either employed or registered as available for work. These are detailed in the table below.

TABLE 6
ACTIVITY RATES ALL FEMALE EMPLOYEES U.K.
MID-1971
BY ECONOMIC PLANNING/STANDARD REGION

	(%)				
	<u>Aged 15 & over</u>	<u>Aged 15-24</u>	<u>Aged 25-44</u>	<u>Aged 45-59</u>	<u>Aged 60 & over</u>
United Kingdom	39.9	60.4	45.7	51.7	10.2
Great Britain	40.0	60.5	45.8	52.1	10.2
North	37.0	60.1	43.8	43.4	7.5
Yorks & Humberside	38.7	58.1	45.1	49.7	9.8
East Midlands	39.4	62.0	41.5	52.9	9.7
East Anglia	35.1	57.6	39.3	45.6	8.3
South-East	43.0	63.5	49.6	55.8	12.3
South-East England*	42.3	63.0	48.7	55.0	11.9
South-West	32.5	53.5	38.0	44.0	7.7
West Midlands	42.7	60.7	46.4	56.3	11.6
North-West	41.7	59.4	48.8	57.0	10.4
Wales	30.8	50.8	36.6	39.0	6.1
Scotland	40.6	61.3	46.0	52.2	10.1
Northern Ireland	35.4	59.8	41.8	35.1	6.6

*'South-East England' is a grouping of South-East and East Anglia Standard regions.

Source: Regional Abstract of Statistics No. 8, 1972, Table 26, p. 28.

The overall average activity rate for both the U.K. and Great Britain is around 40%. Significantly higher than average activity rates are found

in the regions of the South-East (43%), West Midlands (42.7%), and the North-West (41.7%). These high rates reflect the more favourable industrial structures of the South-East and West Midlands which are the regions with the greatest demand for industrial and clerical labour. The South-East, of course, contains London which is the major national source of employment in manufacturing, service trades, and administrative work. The occupational and industrial pattern of women's employment will be discussed later. Suffice it to say at this point that the tertiary sector is a particularly large source of female employment. The remaining regions with a rate higher than average are the North-West and Scotland. A partial explanation for this situation lies in the existence of thriving textile and food industries which, by tradition, employ great numbers of women.

Lower activity rates than the national average are found in the Northern region (37%), Northern Ireland (35.4%), the South-West region (32.5%). The concentration on heavy industries such as coal mining and ship building provides fewer openings for female employment. Northern Ireland, Wales and the South-West region all have under-developed industrial structures with a high level of agricultural employment and a lack of opportunities in manufacturing or the service industries, apart from those geared to tourism. Shortage of work for men in these regions with much higher unemployment rates than the prosperous Midlands and the South-East of England find their counterpart in less demand for female labour. Demand, too, tends to be seasonal, particularly in the tourist areas of the South-West and Wales. Further, the large agricultural sector makes it difficult to establish the true position as many women classified as housewives, and thus economically inactive, may in reality be assisting their husbands in the running of a farm. On this point one could remark that such assistance may be due to lack of alternative opportunities and could, in itself, be a sign of under-employment.

The remaining region, Wales, has by far the lowest female activity rate (30.8%). This is partly a reflection of regional economic factors and partly the nature of industrial activities in the area. Large sections of the region depend on heavy industry, such as coal-mining

and steel production, for their economic well-being. These are male dominated basic industries, with few jobs for women except in clerical and catering occupations: and, as mentioned earlier, it is light manufacturing industries and the tertiary sector which are major employers of women.

Examination of variations in levels of participation within the regions, provides features of interest with regard to the dispersion of women in terms of age-groups. For example, in the 15 - 24 age-group, the South-East region (63.5%), and East Midlands (62%) have higher than average rates, whilst East Anglia (57.6%), the South-West (53.5%) and Wales (50.8%) have noticeably lower rates. This, in fact, fits in with the preceding picture for all age-groups.

In contrast to its lower-than-average overall activity rate, Northern Ireland (59.8%), ranks very close to the national age-group average of 60.4%. This may be accounted for by a higher demand for younger women employees than the overall regional rate would suggest.

In the 25 - 44 age-group the regions with top female activity rates remain, as may be expected, the South-East (49.6%), and perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, the North-West (48.8%) and Scotland (46%). In the case of the latter two, the high participation rate is most likely due to the traditional employment of married women in the textile industry, and, more recently, in the food industry. The East Midlands (41.5%), East Anglia (39.3%), the South-West (38%), Wales (36.6%) and Northern Ireland (41.8%) all show markedly lower-than-average activity rates for this particular age-group.

Two interesting points arise here: one concerns Northern Ireland and the reduction in the earlier discrepancies between regional age-group activity rate and group national average; the second relates to the sharp gap between the East Midland rate and the national rate.

Finally, in the 45 - 59 age-group lower than average activity rates are found in the North (43.4%), East Anglia (45.6%), South-West (44%), Wales (39%), and Northern Ireland (35.1%). Higher than average activity rates are found, again, in the South-East (55.8%), West Midlands (56.3%) and North-West (57%) regions. As explained above, these higher figures are essentially a reflection of the industrial structure and employment opportunities in these particular regions.

(3) The Industrial Pattern

a) Industrial Analysis

The picture that emerges from an industrial analysis of female employees in employment is one of heavy concentration in a relatively limited number of industries. Moreover, this concentration is in industries where wages tend to be low and where the ratio of skilled to semi and unskilled workers is much below the average.

In June 1972, 22.6 million people - of which approximately 8.5 million (39%) were women - were employed in Great Britain. Out of this total of 8.5 million 23% found employment in the 'professional and scientific services' (education, health ...), 17% in the 'distributive trades', 12% in the 'miscellaneous services' (catering, laundries), 30% in 'all manufacturing industries', and 0.8% in 'agriculture, forestry, fishing'.

Thus, all in all, three major service groups account for over 50% of all female employees in employment. Within the 'manufacturing industries' group, the food, drink and tobacco, engineering (particularly electrical engineering), textiles, clothing and footwear industries have the heaviest concentration of women employees: altogether 19% of all female employees in employment.

The character of the general pattern becomes even more apparent when particular industries are grouped according to the proportion of women they employ.

i) Industry Groups with Less than 9% of Female Employees:

	Females as % of all employees in each industry group	Females as % of all females in industries and services	Female Growth 1959-1971 (000)
Mining	4	0.2	- 7
Ship building	6	0.2	+ 1
Construction	7	1.0 = <u>1.4</u>	+ 23

ii) Industry Groups with 10 - 19% of Female Employees:

Metal manufacture	12	0.8	- 3
Mechanical engineering	16	2.2	
Vehicle manufacturing	13	1.2	- 12
Timber & furniture	19	0.7	- 4
Coal & Petroleum products	13	0.1	
Gas, electricity & water	17	0.7	+ 20
Transport & communications	18	3.3 = <u>9.0</u>	+ 38

iii) Industry Groups with 20 - 29% of Female Employees:

	Females as % of all employees in each industry group	Females as % of all females in industries and services	Female Growth 1959-1971 (000)
Bricks, pottery, glass, cement, etc.	22	0.8	- 6
Agriculture, forestry	20	0.8	- 26
Chemicals	29	1.6 = <u>3.2</u>	

iv) Industry Groups with 30 - 39% of Female Employees:

Metal goods not else- where specified	30	2.2	- 8
Paper, printing & publishing	33	2.4	+ 4
Instrument engineering	36	0.7	
Other manufacturing industries	38	1.5	+ 20
Public administration	33	5.6	+136
Electrical engineering	39	4.0 = <u>16.4</u>	

v) Industry Groups with 40 - 49% of Female Employees:

Leather goods	42	0.3	- 5
Textiles	46	3.4	-180
Food, drink & tobacco	41	4.1 = <u>7.8</u>	- 13

vi) Industry Groups with 50% and Above of Female Employees:

Insurance, banking, finance & business services	53	6.0	} +117
Miscellaneous services - catering, cleaning, etc.	55	11.7	
Distributive trades	56	17.1	+ 75
Professional & scientific services	67	23.1	+677
Clothing & footwear	74	4.1 = <u>62.0</u>	- 55

Another feature of the industrial fate of economically active women is that, of all manual workers, relatively few women are to be found in industries where pay is high; conversely, in industries where most women are concentrated the pay for men tends to be low. Only one woman out of eight compared with nearly one in three men, is employed in the seven out of twenty-seven industries where men's average earnings are highest; more than half of all women employed, compared with a quarter of the men, are

in the seven industries where men's average earnings are lowest. In the non-manual sector women are more strongly represented in industries where men's earnings are high, e.g., insurance, banking and finance and professional and scientific services. Moreover, about 40% of all women in non-manual employment are in the public sector - i.e., the professional and scientific category, e.g., teaching, nursing and public administration - where equal pay has been in operation for a number of years¹.

b) Dispersion by Age-Groups

With regard to the dispersion of women by age-groups, Table 7 confirms the declining trend, mentioned earlier, currently affecting the younger members of the working women's community. It also reveals a much larger than average proportion of young girls employed in the distributive trades as against a preference by insurance, banks and the "Professional and Scientific Services" for the more mature women.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTIONS WITHIN
BRITISH INDUSTRIES OF FEMALE EMPLOYEES 1971

	<u>Under 20</u>		<u>20 - 39</u>		<u>40 - 59</u>		<u>60 & Over</u>	
	1959	1971	1959	1971	1959	1971	1959	1971
TOTAL, All industries & services	16	13	41	39	37	41	6	7
Distributive trades	23	21	40	32	33	39	4	7
Insurances, banking, etc.	25	18	44	53	26	25	5	5
Professional & scientific services	7	5	43	41	43	47	7	8
Miscellaneous services	11	11	33	35	45	41	11	13

Source: Department of Employment Gazette, June 1960, June 1972

1 First Report on Equal Pay (1972). Office of Manpower Economics. HMSO

Although the proportion of the under 20's dropped in all sectors included in the above table, the decline seems particularly marked in banking and insurances, and in professional and scientific services.

Contrary to popular belief, married women are, relatively, evenly distributed throughout the industrial and service sectors of the British economy. Nearly 64% of them are concentrated in the Index of Production Industries while some 63% enjoy some kind of economic activity in the service sector.

TABLE 8

ANALYSIS BY INDUSTRY OF WOMEN IN EMPLOYMENT (MID 1971)

<u>Industry Group</u>	<u>Women Employees (000's)</u>	<u>Married Women (000's)</u>	<u>Women as % of Total Employees in Industry</u>	<u>Married Women as % of Total Women in Industry</u>	<u>Women in Industry as % of Total Women Employed</u>
Index of Prod. Industries	2,780	1,774	25.4%	64%	32.4%
Distributive Trades	1,471	877	55.6%	60%	17.1%
Insurance, Banking, Finance & Business Services	516	271	52.3%	53%	6.0%
Professional & Scientific Services	1,967	1,323	67.3%	67%	22.9%
Miscellaneous Services	1,008	652	54.5%	65%	11.7%

Source: D.E. 15th Annual Review of Women in Employment

c) Part-Time Activities

There are, on the other hand, considerable variations in the pattern of dispersion of married women engaged in part-time activities. Married women, it will be recalled, form well over 80% of the total female part-time population. According to the Census of Employment figures, part-time female employees numbered 2,877,000 in June 1972, of whom:

- 891,000 were in professional and scientific services
- 602,000 in the distributive trades
- 849,000 in the remaining service industries
- 454,000 in manufacturing.

So, all in all, female part-timers form about 44% of the female labour force in professional and scientific services, 43% of that in distribution, 26% of that working in insurance, banking, finance and other business services. They also form 48% of the work force grouped under the heading 'miscellaneous services' (excluding domestic service), and 27% of that engaged in public administration and defence.

The comparable figure for manufacturing amounts to just over 20%. But while the overall trend in the employment of female part-timers has moved consistently upward, the levels still vary considerably between particular industries.

As is shown in Table 9, the highest percentage lies with the food, drink and tobacco industry, 32%. The next highest percentage is to be found in electrical engineering (20.7%), with the ship building and timber industries joint third. Surprisingly, two manufacturing industries which employ large numbers of females and also have a predominantly female labour force, namely 'clothing and footwear' and 'textiles' do not employ particularly high proportions of part-time females when compared with other manufacturing industries. In 1972, both had percentages of 13.9 and 16.9 respectively, well below the manufacturing average of 20.1%.

TABLE 9

PART-TIME FEMALE EMPLOYEES AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL
FEMALE EMPLOYEES 1972: GREAT BRITAIN

<u>Industry order (1968 standard industrial classification)</u>	June 1972 Census of employment	June 1972 L-returns	April 1972 New Earnings Survey
All industries	34.5		32.1
<u>Manufacturing industries</u>	<u>20.1</u>	<u>18.3</u>	<u>22.0</u>
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	40.3		40.2
Mining & quarrying	19.0		24.4

TABLE 9 (cont.)

<u>Industry order (1968 standard industrial classification)</u>	<u>June 1972 Census of employment</u>	<u>June 1972 L-returns</u>	<u>April 1972 New Earnings Survey</u>
Food, drink & tobacco	32.3	30.3	35.2
Coal & petroleum products	17.4	13.3	7.1
Chemicals & allied industries	18.7	17.6	19.4
Metal manufacture	19.0	16.2	17.4
Mechanical engineering	17.3	15.2	18.7
Instrument engineering	17.3	15.5	20.0
Electrical engineering	20.7	20.1	21.1
Ship building & marine engineering	20.2	16.1	31.1
Vehicles	12.6	11.4	12.8
Metal goods	22.9	21.3	26.2
Textiles	16.9	15.3	18.4
Leather, leather goods & fur	19.5	16.9	19.9
Clothing & footwear	13.9	11.7	17.6
Bricks, pottery, glass, cement, etc.	15.8	13.6	14.1
Timber, furniture, etc.	20.0	15.2	24.0
Paper, printing & publishing	19.6	16.8	20.4
Other manufacturing industries	25.6	23.4	25.9
Construction	30.3		30.9
Gas, electricity & water	20.5		19.2
Transport & communication	19.0		18.1
Distributive trades	42.5		39.3
Insurance, banking, finance & Bus. Serv.	26.1		22.5
Professional & scientific services	44.1		40.2
Miscellaneous services	48.4 ¹		47.9
Public administration & defence	26.6 ²		24.7 ²

1 Excludes private domestic service.

2 Excludes HM Forces.

(4) The Occupational Pattern

a) Range of Occupations

Despite the notable increase in the rate of female employment over the last 20 years, women have continued, in the main, to work in a range of jobs which have largely been their traditional preserve¹.

As it has been noticed in the analysis of the distribution of women by industries, female employees tend to congregate in a relatively limited number of economic sectors. An examination of the pattern of distribution by occupation confirms the above point, but it also reveals that not only are women 'well ensconced in administrative, technical and clerical areas' but that within the occupational framework they tend, even when they work alongside men, to be employed at a lower level of skill than their male counterparts.

An enquiry into the type of work performed by women in manufacturing industries was carried out in 1968 by the Ministry of Labour. This showed that 29% of employees in manufacturing were women, but that the vast majority was employed only in less skilled and less responsible areas. Thus, women form 91% of canteen staff, 62% of clerical and office staff, 45% of other production workers but only 5% of skilled production workers, 1% of field maintenance workers and 4% of managers and superintendents².

TABLE 10

FEMALES AS PROPORTIONS (%) OF ALL EMPLOYEES
IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES BY OCCUPATIONAL
GROUPS MAY 1968

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Administrative Technical and Clerical Staff</u>	<u>Skilled Manual</u>	<u>Semi-skilled Manual</u>	<u>Unskilled Manual</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Food, drink & tobacco	40%	21%	59%	44%	41%
Chemicals & allied industries	33%	4%	27%	31%	27%

1 Equal Pay - First Report by the Office of Manpower Economics. HMSO. 1972.

2 Opposition Green Paper 'Discrimination Against Women'. November 1972.

TABLE 10 (cont.)

Industry	Administrative Technical and Clerical Staff	Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled Manual	Unskilled Manual	TOTAL
Metal manufacture	27%	6%	11%		12%
Engineering & electrical goods	30%	2%	50%	25%	27%
Engineering	30%	1%	32%	20%	19%
Electrical goods	30%	4%	66%	34%	38%
Ship building & ship repairing	20%	0.2%	0.5%	8%	5%
Marine engineering	26%		5%	12%	10%
Vehicles	24%	0.4%	14%	14%	13%
Manufacture of metal goods	38%	4%	49%	35%	33%
Textiles	40%	45%	63%	40%	50%
Leather, leather goods & fur	44%	38%	40%	46%	41%
Clothing	59%	84%	96%	60%	80%
Footwear	47%	57%	55%	51%	54%
Bricks, glass, cement, etc.	31%	3%	11%	14%	15%
Pottery	45%	51%	64%	59%	54%
Timber, furniture, etc.	36%	11%	45%	15%	19%
Paper & board making, etc.	37%	21%	52%	28%	35%
Printing & publishing	40%	23%	65%	26%	31%
Other manufacturing industries	39%	10%	48%	47%	38%

Source: Statistics on Incomes, Prices, Employment & Production, No. 28, Table E.13. See Note * (for both Table 10 and Table 11).

* These percentages have been calculated from Table E.13 of 'Statistics on Incomes, Prices, Employment and Production' No. 28, March 1969 (HMSO). They relate to employees in manufacturing industries in May 1968 and in establishments with 11 or more employees. They show the proportions of females (full-time and part-time) of total male and female employees, and include apprentices, others being trained and juveniles.

TABLE 11
FEMALES AS PROPORTIONS (%) OF TOTAL EMPLOYEES WITHIN
SPECIFIC UNSKILLED MANUAL JOBS, MAY 1968

<u>Industry</u>	<u>All unskilled Manual</u>	<u>Warehouse Stores etc.</u>	<u>Road Transport</u>	<u>Canteen</u>	<u>Labourers</u>	<u>Others</u>
Food, drink & tobacco	44%	46%	0.7%	93%	24%	60%
Electrical Goods	34%	20%	0.5%	91%	7%	50%
Manufacture of metal goods	35%	42%	2.2%	92%	7%	48%
Textiles	40%	44%	0.8%	96%	9%	50%
Leather, etc.	46%	42%	4.5%	100%	10%	60%
Clothing	60%	48%	3.0%	97%	20%	71%
Footwear	51%	48%		98%	6%	62%
Pottery	59%	80%		96%	2%	56%
Printing & Publishing	26%	15%	1.0%	88%	9%	48%
Other Mfg. industries	47%	40%	0.3%	93%	3%	62%

A similar exercise undertaken by Audrey Hunt during her inquiry into the extent and nature of female employment repeated earlier findings of a low female representation in the more skilled occupations: 'Nearly two-thirds of working women were employed in jobs classed as non-manual. The great majority were employed in jobs at a low level. Only about one woman in twenty was employed in a managerial capacity, and the majority of these were managers of smaller establishments. In some industries the proportion so employed was less than one in a hundred ... In many industries the biggest single group was of junior non-manual workers. Only a minority of women manual workers claim to be skilled except in the printing and paper group. The ratio of skilled to semi-skilled and unskilled was higher than the average in textile and in the miscellaneous group described as 'other manufacturing industries' and was appreciably lower than the average in food, drink and tobacco manufacture, transport, miscellaneous and public administration.'¹

¹ Audrey Hunt, 'A Survey of Women's Employment'. Government Social Survey. HMSO 1968.

TABLE 12¹

DISTRIBUTION (%) OF FEMALE EMPLOYEES IN MANUFACTURING
INDUSTRIES BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP MAY 1968

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Administrative Technical and Clerical Staff</u>	<u>Skilled Manual</u>	<u>Semi-Skilled Manual</u>	<u>Unskilled Manual</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Food, drink & tobacco	24%	9%	23%	44%	100%
Chemical & allied	48%	3%	18%	31%	100%
Metal manufacturing	52%	26%	23%		100%
Engineering & elec. goods	38%	2%	48%	13%	100%
Engineering	50%	2%	33%	15%	100%
Electrical goods	28%	2%	59%	11%	100%
Ship building & ship repairing	70%	2%	1%	26%	100%
Marine engineering	72%		5%	23%	100%
Vehicles	53%	1%	28%	18%	100%
Manufacture of metal goods	24%	3%	51%	22%	100%
Textiles	12%	27%	45%	16%	100%
Leather, leather goods & fur	19%	40%	18%	23%	100%
Clothing	10%	66%	16%	8%	100%
Footwear	13%	61%	18%	9%	100%
Bricks, glass, cement, etc.	45%	5%	17%	33%	100%
Pottery	14%	44%	17%	25%	100%
Timber, furniture, etc.	38%	28%	14%	19%	100%
Paper & Board making, etc.	22%	14%	44%	20%	100%
Printing & publishing	44%	39%	6%	11%	100%
Other manufacturing industries	24%	5%	41%	36%	100%

Source: Stats. on Income, etc. No. 28, Table E.13.

1 Quoted in John A. Greenwood's paper 'Some Problems in the Implementation of an Equal Pay Policy'. Industrial Educational & Research Foundation. Research Paper No. 2.

Findings from the 1970 Census and relating to women's participation in the U.K. labour force are not yet available, but enlightening, and still broadly valid, information can be drawn from the 1966 Census.

At April 1966, out of a sample representing over 80% of all women in employment:

- Some 2.5 million women were in occupational locations where men contributed to less than 10% of the labour force e.g., typists, secretaries, office machine operators, domestic servants, sewing machinists.

- Around 1.7 million were in jobs where less than 25% of employees were male workers e.g., shop assistants, restaurant and kitchen staff, electronic assembly and light clothing operatives.

- Approximately 2.2 million work in areas where the proportion of male workers is below the 50% mark, e.g., clerks, cashiers, school and college teachers, cooks, textile spinners, weavers and printers.

- Although less than 600,000 women were in occupations where men dominated, a substantial number of them were employed as store-keepers, machine tool operators, agricultural workers, laboratory assistants, technicians, etc.

b) Occupational Bias

The recent results of the 1972 New Earnings Survey suggest little basic change in the range of occupations of working women. A cursory look at the distribution pattern within the three broad categories of 'skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled', re-emphasises the strong occupational bias in favour of men and the marked degree of inflexibility in the employment of women. It is this picture of inflexibility and of wide discrepancy between the occupational structure of female employment and that of male which has led some Labour Economists to conclude that 'discrimination against women is less a matter of discrimination in pay, as such, than of unequal opportunities for promotion within industries'¹.

1 John A. Greenwood. Op.cit.

TABLE 13
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYEES
BETWEEN OCCUPATIONS IN APRIL, 1972

<u>Great Britain</u>	<u>Occupation Group</u>	<u>% of all employees</u>	
		<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
1	Managers	6.2	1.0
2	Supervisors & foremen	5.7	1.8
3	Engineers, scientists, technologists	3.0	0.1
4	Technicians	3.2	0.8
5	Academic & teaching	2.6	5.2
6	Medical, dental, nursing & welfare	1.0	7.2
7	Other professional & technical	3.3	0.7
8	Office & communications	8.7	30.3
9	Sales	4.4	10.1
10	Security	2.5	0.3
11	Catering, domestic & other services	2.1	20.4
12	Farming, forestry & horticultural	1.8	0.4
13	Transport	6.9	0.4
14	Building, engineering, etc.	26.7	4.3
15	Textile, clothing & footwear	1.9	6.7
16	Other occupations	19.8	10.2
	All occupations	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Summary of groups 14 to 16			
	SKILLED	25.9	5.3
	SEMI-SKILLED	13.1	8.5
	UNSKILLED	9.3	7.4

Source: New Earnings Survey 1972

In the professional occupations discrimination also appears to prevail in quite a number of areas. Figures available indicate that with

the exception of teaching and nursing, women's representation in the professions remains, to this day, negligible: under half of 1% of working women.

TABLE 14
WOMEN IN SELECTED PROFESSIONS (MID-1960's)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Women</u>	
		<u>Number</u>	<u>% Total</u>
Architects	17,000	692	4.1
Chartered Accountants	37,000	400	1.1
Solicitors	24,000	700	2.9

Source: Dr. M. Rendel, Equality for Women. Fabian Research Series 268, 1968.

Supervisory and management jobs provide no better representation of women. More often than not women will only act as supervisors of other women, a situation which imposes severe limitations to their promotion opportunities. And, in true management jobs 'women tend to be in support roles rather than in line or general management; the staff manageress or the buyer, not the store manager; the scientific or market researcher or the system analysts, not the manager of the works'¹. At April 1972, female supervisors accounted for 1.8% of all employees compared to 5.7% for males. The differential was even more striking in managerial occupations, 1% and 6.2% respectively.

c) Part-Time Occupations

The growing popularity of part-time work with female employees explains to a large extent the skewness of the occupational curve towards the service industries as opposed to the production industries. It also provides part of the reason for the predominance of female employees in unskilled occupations. Not only are women less likely, in the present social context, than men to hold senior positions but female part-timers are even less likely to hold highly skilled jobs than full-time female employees.

1 PEP Report "Women and Top Jobs".

The most recent data available, at the time of writing, is the New Earnings Survey for 1972. Table 15 shows quite clearly the main areas in which women working on a part-time basis tend to cluster, e.g., catering, domestic and other services (42%), office and communication (17%), sales (14.3%), medical, dental, nursing and welfare (6.4%). On the other hand, occupational areas covering jobs of a managerial, supervisory or technical nature, are nearly void of any female representation: managers (0.3%), supervisors and foremen (0.3%), engineers, scientists and technologists (0.001%), technicians (0.3%).

TABLE 15

DISTRIBUTION OF PART-TIME FEMALE EMPLOYEES BY MAIN OCCUPATION GROUPS AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL PART-TIME FEMALE EMPLOYEES

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>% Part-Time Female Employees</u>
1 Managers	0.20
2 Supervisors & foremen	0.30
3 Engineers, scientists & technologists	0.00
4 Technicians	0.30
5 Academic & teaching	3.00
6 Medical, dental, nursing & welfare	6.4
7 Other professional & technical	0.3
8 Office & communications	16.8
9 Sales	14.3
10 Security	0.4
11 Catering, domestic & other services	42.1
12 Farming, forestry & horticultural	0.5
13 Transport	0.2
14 Building, engineering, etc.	2.7
15 Textile, clothing & footwear	3.9
16 Other occupations	8.6
Summary of groups 14 to 16	
SKILLED	3.1
SEMI-SKILLED	5.2
UNSKILLED	6.7

Source: New Earnings Survey 1972

d) Absenteeism and Labour Turnover

It is commonly maintained that employers' bias towards favouring the recruitment of male workers arises out of the wide assertion that not only do female employees tend to be absent from work more often than their male counterparts, but that they also tend to change jobs more frequently.

This assertion, as to the lack of reliability of women workers, is the subject of considerable controversy in the U.K. Some will accept that, because of the plurality of their family commitments, women are bound to show a greater propensity than men to be absent from work and change jobs. Others will refute this and dismiss the notion as traditional male distaste for feminism. Thus, in her 'Survey of Women's Employment', Audrey Hunt reports that 'half the working women had been in their present job for more than three years. The evidence indicates that married women are at least as likely as single to remain in one job for long periods and that qualifications, skill and responsibility encourage women to remain for longer periods in their jobs.'

Margherita Rendel also supports the theory that women are not inherently less stable employees than men. In her evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Lords, on behalf of the British Federation of University Women, she had this to say about the myths pertaining to 'women's excessive absenteeism and abnormally high rate of turnover': 'It is claimed that women have higher rates of turnover and absenteeism than men. In fact there are no figures for this country which are strictly comparable between the sexes. Rates of absenteeism and turnover are affected by many factors. It is well established that low paid workers have higher rates of absenteeism and turnover than higher paid workers, that poorly trained and educated workers have higher rates of absenteeism and turnover than better trained workers. There are also differences in the incidence of absenteeism as between different regions of the country and as between different industries. Since men and women are not equally represented in all industries and are not employed in equal proportions in all regions of the country, the differences in rates of absenteeism

probably reflect the differences in the degree of employment of men and women and their distribution in different industries and regions, rather than differences between the sexes'.

Evidence derived from the findings of the New Earnings Survey, 1970, although admittedly somewhat imperfect, seems to confirm the basic validity of the above claims.

Altogether, 24.2% of full-time manual female workers, compared with 16.4% of full-time males, lost pay during the period surveyed by the N.E.S. In the non-manual area, only 4.7% of full-time females as against 2.7% of men, incurred the same penalty for one reason or another.

Of the differing reasons for loss of pay, apart from certified sickness, 'late arrival or early finish' accounted for 7.8% of cases of absence among full-time manual female employees and 0.4% among non-manual; 'voluntary absence' accounted for 6.2% and 0.8% respectively of cases involving loss of pay. 'Uncertified sickness' absences amounted to 3% for manual workers and a negligible 0.5% for non-manual females.

The same evidence indicates that casual absenteeism among male employees originates from the same main reasons and that the incidence of such practices is also far less significant among non-manual than among manual employees.

Thus, although the general results show an overwhelmingly higher rate of women absenteeism, the very low incidence of casual absences amongst both part-time female workers and full-time non-manual employees, does seem to give credence to the suggestions that 'incompatibility of the length and/or distribution over the week of working hours commonly accepted by the male labour force'¹, together with lack of job enrichment, rather than innate job instability constitute the main grounds for women's high rates of absenteeism.

1 John A. Greenwood, Op.cit.

TABLE 16

REASONS FOR EMPLOYEES LOSING PAY. N.E.S. 1970

Percent of employees losing pay for the reasons stated

	<u>Manual</u>			<u>Non-Manual</u>		
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females full-time</u>	<u>Part-time*</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females full-time</u>	<u>Part-time*</u>
Certified sickness	4.5	4.2	2.2	1.2	1.9	1.3
Uncertified sickness	1.3	3.0	1.5	0.2	0.5	0.7
Voluntary absence	3.9	6.2	3.9	0.4	0.8	1.7
Late arrival or early finish	4.2	7.8	2.5	0.2	0.4	0.6
Holidays or other approved absence	1.7	2.1	1.9	0.5	0.7	1.4
Started or terminated employment during pay period	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.5
Interruption of work	0.1	0.2	0.1	(-)	(-)	(-)
Industrial dispute, worker directly involved	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	(-)
Industrial dispute, worker indirectly involved	0.3	0.2	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
Other reasons	0.6	1.4	2.0	0.1	0.3	1.1
All reasons	16.4	24.2	14.0	2.7	4.7	6.7

* Women aged 18 or over; (-) means less than 0.05.

Source: New Earnings Survey, 1970.

High rates of female labour turnover are also noticeable in official statistics, but although this is unquestionably true overall, it may not be as true for every individual industry and occupational group.

Table 17A gives estimates of labour turnover for particular groups of industries based on the findings of the 1972 New Earnings Survey. The data refer to the percentage of employees who had remained with their employer for less than 12 months at the time of the survey. Table 17B provides similar information but classified this time by broad groups of occupations.

TABLE 17A

LABOUR TURNOVER ESTIMATES BY INDUSTRY GROUPS
% WITH THEIR EMPLOYER UNDER TWELVE MONTHS

<u>Above 20%</u>	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>
Construction	25.4	Construction	28.8
Miscellaneous services	25.1	Miscellaneous services	28.4
Leather	22.4	Distributive trades	27.7
Distributive trades	20.9	Insurance	25.9
		Clothing	24.5
		Timber	23.5
		Other manufacturing industries	22.7
		Food & drink	22.2
		Professional & scientific services	20.7
		Chemicals	20.2
<u>Between 10 & 20%</u>			
Timber & furniture	19.1	Metal goods not specified	19.9
Clothing & footwear	16.2	Paper, printing	19.6
Professional & scientific	15.7	Engineering & electrical goods	19.2
Agriculture	15.4	Public administration	18.5
Other manufacturing industries	15.3	Shipbuilding	18.5
Textiles	14.9	Textiles	18.5
Metal goods not specified	14.6	Gas, electricity	18.2
Food & drink	14.5	Transport	17.6
Insurance	14.5	Agriculture	17.3
Bricks, pottery	12.4	Metal manufacture	16.9
Engineering & electrical goods	11.6	Bricks	16.9
Public administration	11.2	Leather	16.4
Shipbuilding	11.1	Vehicles	14.2
Paper, printing	10.6		
<u>Under 10%</u>			
Transport	9.3		
Chemicals	8.7		
Metal manufacture	8.0		
Vehicles	6.7		
Gas, electricity	5.8		
Mining & quarrying	4.7		
All manufacturing industries	11.6	All manufacturing industries	20.3
All non-manufacturing industries	15.9	All non-manufacturing industries	23.5
All industries & services	14.0	All industries & services	22.5

Source: New Earnings Survey 1972

The main facts that emerge from Table 17A, are as follows:

- Non-manufacturing industries seem to have a much lower retention rate than manufacturing industries. For the period under consideration, labour turnover rates were 23.5% for women and 15.9% for men in the first instance, as against 20.3% and 11.6% respectively in the second.

- Among the ten industries in the top range of high female turnover rates, six are the largest employers of women workers. For example, miscellaneous services, distributive trades, insurance etc. ..., and the clothing industry, with turnover rates ranging between 24.5% and 28.4%, all have a work force with a proportion of women well over 50%. The food and drink industry, and the professional and scientific services, with more than 30% of their employees being female, also suffer from turnover rates above 20%.

- Two of the industries with the lowest record in female retention rates also show a very poor record in their turnover rates for male employees, e.g. miscellaneous services (25.1%), and distributive trades (20.9%).

- The statistical 'hiccup' which has given pride of place in the turnover league to the construction industry, an unimportant employer of female labour (less than 9% of its total work force), is probably due to the highly seasonal character of the industry's activities and the ripple effect on female employees of the high labour turnover rate (25.4%) among male workers.

TABLE 17B

LABOUR TURNOVER ESTIMATES BY OCCUPATION GROUPS
% WITH THEIR EMPLOYER UNDER TWELVE MONTHS

<u>Above 20%</u>	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>
Catering	29.4	Sales staff	31.8
Sales staff	23.2	Medical	25.9
Medical	22.1	Office & communication	22.7
		Catering	22.1
		Textiles	21.4
		Other occupations	20.9
<u>Between 10 & 20%</u>			
Textiles	17.3	Building	19.7
Building	15.8	Other professional & technical	19.2
Other occupations	14.6	Medical	18.1
Farming	14.4	Technicians	17.4
Other professional & technical	14.2	Farming	16.7
Office & communication	13.1	Engineers	15.3
Transport	12.8	Transport	15.1
Academic	12.7	Security staff	15.0
Security	10.8		
<u>Under 10%</u>			
Technicians	9.9	Managers	8.9
Managers	8.1	Supervisors	6.9
Engineers	7.1		
Supervisors	5.1		

Source: New Earnings Survey 1972.

The picture in Table 17B justifies somewhat the statement made by Dr. Rendel to the House of Lords Select Committee. For both males and females, turnover rates in unskilled occupations are higher than those found in semi-skilled and skilled occupations. The rates and scope of job changes remain, however, much wider in the case of women employees. For instance, there are only three groups where the rate of occupational turnover for male employees exceed 20%. In the case of female employees, these amount to six. The top turnover rate for males is 29.4%, that for females is 31.8%. At the opposite end, four male groups enjoy a turnover rate below 10%; only two female groups, managers and supervisors, enjoy a comparable rate of stability.

One interesting aspect of the findings is that concerning females in non-manual occupations; whereas the figures for males in non-manual occupations point to a lower rate of turnover than that for manual occupations, those for female employees reveal a complete reversal: 20% of female employees in non-manual occupations stayed less than a year with their respective employers, compared with 18.1% of manual women workers. Comparable results also emerge from the findings of the 1971 survey, perhaps indicating, thereby, the beginning of a trend towards greater mobility in non-manual feminine occupations.

II. WOMEN'S WAGES AND EARNINGS

Until comparatively recently, it was generally accepted that women should earn less than men. Today there is less general acceptance of this discriminatory state of affairs. Yet a brief examination of earnings levels over the last 20 years or so shows quite clearly that women's earnings have constantly been, and still are, markedly less than men's. But before looking at specific situations, one should note that some important factors influence total earnings of women and these must be borne in mind when attempting to make meaningful comparisons with men's earning levels.

On the whole women work shorter hours than men, even where their standard hours are the same. This is because women have less inclination and less opportunity to work overtime and also because they are more likely to have time off during their working week. Women's absences from work are not always directly related to their own state of health or any of the other usual reasons for absenteeism. In many instances women's absences are determined by pressures arising out of their domestic responsibilities and family commitments.

In addition, women in normal jobs work less shift-work, particularly night shifts, than men. This difference stems from the legal restrictions placed on women doing such work by the various Factory Acts introduced in the 19th century to protect female and juvenile labour.

The practical effect of shorter overall hours is, of course, less payment even at normal basic rates. That of less overtime and less shift-work is less payment at enhanced or premium rates of pay.

In April 1973, average hourly figures for full-time men (21+) manual workers in all industries was 46.7 per week. The corresponding average for full-time women (18+) manual workers was 39.9. In the non-manual occupations, men worked 38.8 hours in industry generally, whereas non-manual women workers averaged 36.8 hours a week.

Finally, women's earnings are further influenced by occupational factors, the incidence of which tends to perpetuate the 'earnings gap'.

a) Average Earnings and Average Rates

The most significant feature of the movement of women's pay and earnings over the last 20 years is that despite the increasing importance of women in the labour force during that period, the relationship between the average earnings of women and men on manual work has remained remarkably constant.

TABLE 18

FULL-TIME MANUAL WORKERS: AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS
AND HOURS WORKED IN ALL INDUSTRIES COVERED
(MEN AGED 21 AND OVER, WOMEN AGED 18 AND OVER)

U.K. <u>October</u>	<u>AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS</u>		October 1950 = 100
	<u>Men Index</u>	<u>Women Index</u>	<u>Women's earnings as % of men's</u> %
1950	100.0 (£7.52)	100.0 (£4.12)	55
1955	148.3	140.0	52
1960	193.2	180.1	51
1965	260.5	233.0	49
1970	373.0	339.6	50
1971	411.3 (£30.93)	383.5 (£15.80)	51
	<u>AVERAGE HOURS WORKED</u>		<u>Women's hours as % of men's</u>
1950	100.0 (47.6)	100.0 (41.8)	88
1955	102.7	99.5	85
1960	100.8	96.9	84
1965	98.7	92.6	82
1970	96.0	90.7	83
1971	93.9 (44.7)	90.2 (37.7)	84
	<u>AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS</u>		<u>Women's earnings as % of men's</u>
1950	100.0 (£0.16)	100.0 (£0.10)	62
1955	143.8	140.0	61
1960	187.5	180.0	60
1965	262.5	250.0	60
1970	381.2	370.0	61
1971	431.2 (£0.69)	420.0 (£0.42)	61

NOTE: Figures in brackets show actual values.

Source: D.E. Gazette. Office of Manpower Economics.

As Table 18 shows, women manual workers' average weekly earnings only varied between 55 and 49 percent of those for men from 1950 to 1971. Indeed, the variation is even smaller if one confines the examination to the period since 1960.

Turning to average hourly earnings and thereby limiting to some extent the differences caused by much greater male overtime and shift-work earnings, the female percentage of male earnings has been larger but yet more stable at around 60 percent.

In contrast to the overall earnings figures, average basic weekly and hourly rates for women manual workers have followed closely the pattern of men's rates. Table 19 shows this movement.

TABLE 19

MANUAL WORKERS: INDICES OF BASIC WEEKLY
AND HOURLY RATES OF WAGES,
NORMAL WEEKLY HOURS

U.K. <u>Date</u>	<u>Index of basic weekly rates of wages</u>		<u>Index of basic weekly hours of work</u>		<u>Index of basic hourly rates of wages</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
October 1955	138.3	137.4	99.9	99.8	138.5	137.7
October 1960	169.3	170.5	97.0	97.6	174.6	174.6
October 1965	207.3	213.0	92.1	92.1	225.2	231.3
October 1970	280.4	284.8	90.3	90.0	310.7	316.4
October 1971	312.5	329.7	90.1	89.8	347.1	367.0

Source: Department of Employment Gazette.

Since 1970 the index of women's basic hourly and weekly rates has moved ahead of that for men, increasing in the period 1970-71 by some 16% for women compared with about 11.5% for men.

Again, if one looks at the unskilled categories of manual workers in particular industries, as shown in Table 20, one does find a significant increase in the ratio of women's to men's rates.

TABLE 20
COMPARISON BETWEEN HOURLY RATES OF
UNSKILLED MEN AND WOMEN IN
VARIOUS INDUSTRIES

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Women's rates as % of men's</u>			
	<u>1939</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1969</u>
Heavy chemicals	58.8	67.3	73.4	74.8
Engineering	53.8	72.3	80.4	89.6
Wool textiles (Yorks)	61.2	66.4	66.8	67.1
Textile bleaching	62.4	66.0	70.5	70.9
Leather tanning	59.4	71.2	79.5	77.7
Tailoring	62.5	72.3	74.7	76.0
Baking	64.4	71.7	71.7	74.4
Laundries	55.2	66.7	72.8	77.6

Source: J.R. Crossley 'Collective Bargaining, Wage Structure, Labour Market' in E.M. Hugh-Jones' edition of Wage Structure in Theory and Practice, 1966, and Standard Time Rates of Wages and Hours of Work.

It is interesting to note that this long-term movement began sometime before the introduction of the Equal Pay legislation and must therefore reflect the emergence of earlier changes in attitudes and bargaining strategies across a broad spectrum of British industry.

However, having said all this, if one returns to the much less encouraging picture of relative stability in the earnings ratio of manual men to women workers, it is clear that whilst steady progress is narrowing the gap between male and female basic rates, even before the 1970 Equal Pay Act, the problem of the earnings gap remains.

The non-manual field again finds a stable differential between women's and men's earnings. Table 21 illustrates this.

TABLE 21

SALARIED EMPLOYEES: AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS

U.K.

<u>October</u>	<u>Clerical & analogous employees (Public sector, insurance and banking only)</u>			<u>All salaried employees (all industries covered including production industries)</u>		
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Female as % of male</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Female as % of male</u>
	<u>£</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>%</u>
1955	10.22	7.05	69	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1960	13.11	9.84	75	19.10	10.15	53
1965	16.15	12.48	77	25.53	13.71	54
1970	22.58	17.49	77	36.12	19.59	54

NOTE: Small differences in coverage were introduced in 1959 and 1963.

Source: Department of Employment Gazette.

For all administrative, technical and clerical employees, average weekly earnings for women have remained close to 54% of male earnings since 1960. In the late 1950's the movement towards equal pay in the public sector brought about an improvement of some six points in the differential for clerical workers. But since 1960, the differential has remained relatively stable.

Disparity between men's and women's earnings has constantly been less marked amongst clerical employees than amongst 'all salaried employees'. This is no doubt due to the more varied range of types of non-manual workers included in the broader designation of 'all salaried employees'. As has been previously discussed, women in industry tend to occupy the less skilled and less responsible positions. Thus, few women are draughtsmen, a relatively well paid white-collar occupation. Equally, relatively few women are in the more senior management or supervisory jobs. These differences of skill, grade and status are also present in the more routine clerical jobs, but they are much less discriminatory in their effects.

Differentials between both average weekly earnings and average hourly earnings and differentials between basic wage rates and earnings are also much less marked among non-manual workers of both sexes than among manual workers. This arises from the more standardised length of the working week in non-manual type of jobs and the subsequent lesser impact of overtime and other premia on final wage packets.

b) Other Terms and Conditions of Employment

The Equal Pay Act 1970 not only relates to pay and earnings but also covers non-wage terms and conditions of employment. This is reasonable as the real reward for undertaking employment in financial terms extends beyond the immediate wage-packet to cover sick pay, pensions and holidays. It is unfortunate, however, that pensions are excluded from the scope of the 1970 Act as women frequently have less favourable schemes than men, especially in manual occupations.

So far as sick pay schemes are concerned, which are within the terms of the Act, almost 50% of all men in full-time manual employment in manufacturing industries are covered by sick pay schemes, but the coverage of women is only about 33%. In the non-manufacturing sector the coverage is more nearly equal.

Table 22 shows the position for both sick pay and occupational pension schemes.

TABLE 22

PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYEES COVERED BY SICK PAY
SCHEMES & OCCUPATIONAL PENSION SCHEMES, BY
INDUSTRY GROUP, APRIL 1970: FULL-TIME MANUAL
& NON-MANUAL ADULT MEN & WOMEN

Great Britain

	<u>Manual Men % Covered by:</u>		<u>Manual Women % Covered by:</u>	
	<u>Sick Pay Schemes</u>	<u>Occupational Pension Schemes</u>	<u>Sick Pay Schemes</u>	<u>Occupational Pension Schemes</u>
All industries & services	64.9	49.9	47.9	19.0
All manufacturing industries	49.0	51.1	33.7	16.7
All non-manufacturing industries	81.4	48.7	73.2	23.1

TABLE 22 (Ctd.)

	Non-		Non-	
	Manual Men	% Covered by:	Manual Women	% Covered by:
	<u>Sick Pay Schemes</u>	<u>Occupational Pension Schemes</u>	<u>Sick Pay Schemes</u>	<u>Occupational Pension Schemes</u>
All industries & services	93.0	78.0	89.5	50.4
All manufacturing industries	92.8	77.2	89.4	34.1
All non-manufacturing industries	93.1	78.5	89.6	54.8

Source: New Earnings Survey.

As far as holidays are concerned in both manual and non-manual, working women, as indicated in Table 23, have shorter holidays than men. This disparity may partly be accounted for by length of service, as holiday entitlements are conventionally related to and are a reward for long service.

TABLE 23

PAID ANNUAL HOLIDAY ENTITLEMENTS (OTHER THAN BANK OR PUBLIC HOLIDAYS OF FULL-TIME ADULTS, BY OCCUPATION, APRIL 1970)

Great Britain

	<u>% With Entitlements in Working Days of:</u>					
	<u>Up to 10</u>	<u>11 - 15</u>	<u>16 - 20</u>	<u>21 - 25</u>	<u>26 - 30</u>	<u>Over 30</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Manual</u>						
Men	14.8	64.2	17.2	2.8	0.3	0.4
Women	15.0	69.5	12.4	2.1	0.3	0.4
<u>Non-manual</u>						
Men	3.8	30.2	35.1	16.8	4.3	9.6
Women	8.6	39.9	27.3	9.0	3.6	11.0
<u>Total</u>						
Men	11.2	53.1	23.1	7.4	1.6	3.5
Women	11.1	51.4	21.5	6.3	2.3	6.9

Source: New Earnings Survey.

c) Progress Towards Equal Pay: The above analysis has been concerned, in the main, with an examination of the underlying trends which have affected the pattern of movements in women's basic wages and earnings before or shortly after the enactment of the 1970 Equal Pay Act (1). The picture that emerged was one of progress in basic wages as against one of striking stability in average earnings.

Over three years have elapsed since the introduction of the Equal Pay Act. Three years during which the dynamic nature of women's role and potential in society should have taken its toll of entrenched attitudes and prejudices. The questions which, therefore, need to be raised at this point are: how far have basic wage rates continued to move towards equality, and have average earnings finally begun to move in the direction of equality?

The main source for the analysis of the pace and extent of progress made towards implementation of the Equal Pay Act is the detailed survey carried out by the Office of Manpower Economics on behalf of the Secretary of State for Employment and published in 1972 (2).

Although the O.M.E.'s investigation only extends up to the end of March 1972, its findings throw some interesting light on the results achieved so far. Quoting from the report, the main conclusions read as follows:

At industry level, most of the national agreements for manual workers and wages council orders have included some movement towards the removal of discrimination in rates of pay. Yet, only a few industries have committed themselves to the stamping out of all discriminatory practices in planned phases. The majority have either given larger increases to women than to men or taken other steps to, at least, reduce percentage differentials.

In addition, there were still at the time of the enquiry a significant number of collective agreements, affecting over 400,000 women in which the differential remained very wide - over 20 % - and in which no changes had yet been made with a view to implement the Act. With regard to white-collar workers, substantial progress has been recorded in the private sector (3).

-
- (1) The Equal Pay Act was enacted in May 1970 and comes fully into force on 29 December 1975. It has as its main purpose the removal of discrimination between men and women in regard to pay and other terms of employment. It also requires elimination of discrimination in collective agreements, wages council orders and employers pay structures.
 - (2) First report on the implementation of the Equal Pay Act 1970. Office of Manpower Economics. HMSO 1972.
 - (3) For white-collar workers of the public sector, most employees have achieved equal pay before the Act and no regressive trend was noted.

At company level, the O.M.E. Report envisages severe problems of implementation in the case of small companies (with less than 100 employees) which are not subject to collective bargaining or wages council orders. A special survey of a representative sample of 200 small companies found that of these, only four had made plans to implement equal pay. Ignorance of the Act seemed to be the primary reason for this; of the minority of managers who were aware of the existence of the Act, very few regarded it as having any practical application to their own company. The complex and elaborate nature of the O.M.E. exercise cannot be repeated within the framework of the present study and one will have to await the next O.M.E. report on the national position to gain a new comprehensive picture. Some attempts have been made, however, to assess the current progress from more recent data. Table 24 provides up-to-date information on earnings in monetary and percentage terms, together with the pattern of increases in earnings between April 1972 and April 1973.

TABLE 24
AVERAGE EARNINGS OF FULL-TIME ADULTS WHOSE PAY
WAS NOT AFFECTED BY ABSENCE

	<u>Full-time men aged</u> <u>21 and over</u>			<u>Full-time women aged</u> <u>18 and over</u>		
	<u>Manual</u>	<u>Non-manual</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>Manual</u>	<u>Non-manual</u>	<u>All</u>
<u>Average gross weekly earnings</u>						
<u>April 1973</u>						
Including overtime pay	£ 38.1	£ 48.1	£ 41.9	£ 19.7	£ 24.7	£ 23.1
Excluding overtime pay	31.9	46.7	37.5	19.0	24.4	22.6
<u>Average gross hourly earnings</u>						
<u>April 1973</u>						
Including the effect of overtime pay and overtime hours	81.7p	121.6p	94.3p	49.6p	66.2p	60.5p
Excluding the effect of overtime pay and overtime hours	79.2p	121.7p	93.7p	49.1p	66.1p	60.3p

TABLE 24 (contd)

Percentage increases in average earnings between April 1972 and April 1973 based on the matched sample)

<u>Gross weekly earnings</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%
Including overtime pay	16.5	13.1	14.9	16.4	13.9	14.6
Excluding overtime pay	15.1	12.8	14.0	16.2	13.7	14.4
<u>Gross hourly earnings</u>						
Including the effect of overtime pay and overtime hours	15.2	13.1	14.2	16.1	13.9	14.5
Excluding the effect of overtime pay and overtime hours	15.2	13.1	14.2	16.1	13.9	14.5

Source: Department of Employment Gazette October 1973 (1973 New Earnings Survey)

As in previous years, the overall picture remains one of continuing wide differences between male and female average weekly earnings. Male earnings, excluding overtime-pay, averaged £ 37.5 for all workers, while the corresponding figure for women did not exceed £ 22.6. This gap in monetary earnings is to be found also in the hourly earnings series and reflects the influence of the various elements entering into the composition of the pay packet of men of the one hand and that of women on the other. But more important, within the context the context of remedying the inequality of the past, are the proportional percentage increases in male and female earnings during the twelve month period. Using hourly earning figures, which exclude the effects of overtime pay and overtime hours, one finds that for manual workers, increases amounted to 15.2 % for men and 16.1 % for women, while for non-manual workers, percentage gains totalled 13.1 % for men and 13.9 % for women.

Thus, it can be concluded that there has been a relatively greater increase in women's earnings as compared to men's during the period under review. Yet it must be admitted that the difference is not striking and could, with some justice, be regarded as a merely marginal improvement. The significance for women workers of this general stability in the distribution of earnings, which is very likely to survive the attainment of formal equality in pay, is that, as they are one of the largest groups among the low paid workers in the U.K., the vast majority of them will continue to earn much less than most men. An examination of percentage increases in average hourly earnings obtained within the framework of some selected national collective agreements shows a slight improvement in the position detailed in Table 24. Women's increases in average hourly earnings were on the whole larger than those for men with three exceptions:

- one on the private sector, i.e., cotton and man-made fibres
- two in the public sector, i.e. the general and clerical division of local authorities' staffs in England and Wales; the clerical and executive staff of the post office.

TABLE 25

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGE INCREASES IN AVERAGE
HOURLY EARNINGS (EXCLUDING OVERTIME PAY AND
OVERTIME HOURS) BETWEEN APRIL 1972 AND
APRIL 1973. FOR PARTICULAR MAJOR COLLECTIVE
WAGE AGREEMENTS AND WAGES BOARD AND COUNCIL ORDERS

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>NATIONAL AGREEMENTS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR</u>		
Engineering - Manual Workers (U.K.)	13.9	15.5
Clerical workers (U.K.)	12.3	14.9
Food manufacturing industry J.I.C. (Manual)	10.6	15.5
Cotton and man-made fibres spinning and weaving (manual)	14.9	14.0
Retail co-operative societies (G.B.) (Manual & non-manual)	12.2	16.7
<u>NATIONAL AGREEMENTS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR</u>		
Local authorities (England & Wales) administrative, professional & technical staff	16.9	18.9
General & clerical division	19.5	17.9
Manual workers N.J.C.	16.6	21.5
National Government Civil Service - clerical grades	2.3	2.9
Government industrial establishments (non-manual)	12.0	17.2
National Health Service Nurses & midwives Whitley Council (Manual & non-manual)	6.3	9.3
Ancillary staff Whitley Council	6.7	7.2
Post Office Clerical & executive grades (Non-manual)	14.2	12.8
Manipulative grades (Manual)	5.3	6.5
<u>ALL WAGE BOARD AND COUNCIL ORDERS</u>		
Manual	15.4	16.3
Non-manual	18.3	17.6

Source: New Earnings Survey 1973
Tables 18 & 20 Department of Employment Gazette,
October 1973.

Percentage increases achieved during the same twelve month period through agreements with all Wage Boards and Council Orders were more satisfactory for manual women workers than for non-manual women. In the latter case, men, again, benefitted more than women. But as figures in Table 25 represent an aggregate of the earnings of a large number of Wages Council Orders affecting many areas of the economy it is difficult to indicate with any accuracy where progress has been good, poor or non-existent. Much information on the pattern of comparative percentage increases for employees in the same industry group is also to be found in Table 26. In addition to overall figures for all industries and services, Table 26 contains relevant data from specific industries, selected for analysis, because of their importance as employers of female labour.

The overall figures show that women have gained more than men in 'all industries and services' and in 'all manufacturing industries.' In both cases, the gains were greater for manual workers than for non-manual workers. In non-manufacturing industries, however, one finds that whilst non-manual female workers' earnings increased at about the same rate as males, manual women workers' earnings grew at a markedly slower rate than their male counterparts. The significance of this is important as it would mean that it is in the area where most women work that the least progress is being made towards the attainment of equal pay.

Examination of the situation in the specific industrial groups confirms the above analysis i.e. notable increases for women in manufacturing industries, in particular in those industries where they form significant proportions of the total manual labour force; lesser increases in most of the non-manufacturing industries.

TABLE 26

PERCENTAGE INCREASES IN AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS (EXCLUDING OVERTIME PAY AND OVERTIME HOURS) OF MEN AND WOMEN EMPLOYED IN THE SAME INDUSTRY GROUP IN BOTH APRIL 1972 AND 1973

<u>Full-time- Manual Workers</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Food, drink and tobacco	13.3	17.6
Electrical engineering	13.1	16.0
Textiles	15.0	16.7
Clothing and footwear	13.9	16.2
Distribute trades	14.8	15.5

TABLE 26 (contd)

Miscellaneous services	15.2	17.4
Professional and scientific services	12.0	13.3
Public administration	15.7	15.8
All industries and services	15.2	16.1
All manufacturing industries	14.0	16.8
All non-manufacturing industries	16.4	14.8
<u>Full-time Non-manual workers</u>		
Distribute trades	16.0	16.1
Insurance, banking, finance and business services	15.6	17.5
Professional and scientific services	13.6	13.6
Miscellaneous services	13.9	16.2
Public administration	11.3	8.8
All industries and services	13.1	13.9
All manufacturing industries	12.2	14.6
All non-manufacturing industries	13.6	13.7

Source: New Earnings survey 1973. Tables 34 36 38 and 40
Department of Employment Gazette, November 1973.

d) Regional Earnings: As will be recalled from Table 24 the national average for gross hourly earnings (including overtime payments) in Great Britain in April 1973 was as follows:

	<u>Manual</u>	<u>Non-manual</u>
Males	81.7p	121.6p
Females	49.6p	66.2p

Analysis of the data provided by Table 27 reveals sizeable regional variations. The data collected are based on averages of gross hourly earnings for each standard region of Great Britain, Gross hourly earnings figures have been chosen because they minimise to a large extent the effects of the different length of the working week for men and women. Unfortunately, in this instance, overtime payments are not excluded from hourly earnings, and consequently, reduce somewhat the validity of any male/female comparison, particularly among manual workers where overtime is more common.

TABLE 27
A REGIONAL ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S EARNINGS
AVERAGE GROSS HOURLY EARNINGS OF FULL-TIME
ADULT MEN AND WOMEN APRIL 1973
(WHOSE PAY WAS NOT AFFECTED BY ABSENCE)

Region	Full-time manual men aged 21 & over	Full-time non-manual men aged 21 & over	Full-time manual women aged 18 & over	Full-time non-manual women aged 18 & over
	<u>New Pence</u>	<u>New Pence</u>	<u>New Pence</u>	<u>New Pence</u>
South-East	83.4	131.4	52.1	72.6
East Anglia	75.1	111.6	48.8	61.2
South-West	77.1	114.8	46.1	61.6
West Midlands	87.6	118.6	49.9	64.1
East Midlands	79.5	111.2	50.2	62.7
Yorkshire & Humberside	79.2	112.2	47.5	60.6
North-West	80.6	116.1	49.6	62.2
North	82.6	114.9	47.4	60.0
Wales	83.8	114.2	47.5	64.4
Scotland	79.5	114.2	48.5	62.2
Great Britain	81.7	121.6	49.6	66.2

Source: New Earnings Survey April 1973. Table 57, Department of Employment Gazette, November 1973.

With regard to women's earnings, the picture is one of significant regional differences with the prosperous South-East region leading for both manual and non-manual workers, the West Midlands as a runner-up, and the East Midlands as a close third. The apparent prosperity of the South-East is really a reflection of the much higher earnings prevalent in the London area. Indeed, if one excludes London from consideration, one would find that the remainder of manual and non-manual women employees in the South-East region receive earnings slightly below the national average.

Particularly noteworthy is Wales where the earnings of manual workers are among the lowest (47.5 pence) whilst those of non-manual workers (104.4 pence) are very close to the national average.

The other regions where average earnings, although lower, are very close to the national average for manual women workers are: the North-West (49.6 pence), East Anglia (48,8 pence) and Scotland (48,8 pence). Those furthest from the average are the North (47.4 pence) and the South-West (46.1 pence).

A different pattern appears if the distribution of gross hourly rates for non-manual activities is examined. Although the regions with the highest rates are still the South-East (72.6 pence), the West Midlands (64.1 pence) and the East Midlands (62.7 pence), there are some changes in the others. East Anglia (61.2 pence) now lies eighth, Yorkshire (60.6 pence) ninth, and lastly the North (60 pence).

The analysis of regional differences between the hourly rates for men and women is of some interest. Wales shows both the greatest and the smallest gaps. In regions of heavy industry with high unemployment, manual jobs are reserved for members of the "stronger sex". The female labour force remains an essentially marginal force concentrated in underpaid secondary jobs. On the other hand, the differences affecting non-manual jobs, compared with other regional gaps, are very slight.

The position of women manual workers is also far from equitable in the West Midlands and the North where comparisons between the hourly earnings of men and women show a difference ranging from 74 to 76 %. Similar large gaps characterise non-manual jobs in the Northern and North-West regions.

The two regions with the smallest gaps, in respect of hourly pay for both manual and non-manual jobs are the East Midlands and South-East Midlands.

III. FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

(1) Demography

a) Life Expectancy

One of the most significant demographic changes which has taken place in the U.K. over the last 80 years or so remains the marked increase in life expectancy in the population as a whole. Progress in this field has favoured women more than men and the gap is still widening. Today, women's life expectancy in the U.K. exceeds 73 years, while the average for men is 68.

The table below illustrates clearly this evolution:

TABLE 28

GREAT BRITAIN

	<u>Males</u>					<u>Females</u>				
	<u>1901</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>
Further number of years which a person can expect to live:										
at birth	48.1	58.4	67.9	68.5	68.5	51.8	62.5	73.8	74.7	74.7
at age 5 years	55.5	60.0	64.9	65.2	65.2	58.0	63.0	70.5	71.1	71.1
10 years	51.4	55.7	60.1	60.4	60.3	54.0	58.7	65.6	66.2	66.2
20 years	42.7	46.7	50.4	50.7	50.7	45.4	49.7	55.8	56.4	56.4
30 years	34.5	38.1	40.9	41.2	41.1	37.1	41.0	46.1	46.7	46.6
40 years	26.8	29.5	31.5	31.8	31.6	29.2	32.5	36.5	37.1	37.1
50 years	19.7	21.6	22.6	22.9	22.7	21.7	24.1	27.4	28.1	28.0
60 years	13.4	14.4	15.0	15.2	15.0	14.9	16.4	19.0	19.7	19.6
70 years	8.4	8.6	9.3	9.5	9.3	9.2	10.0	11.7	12.3	12.3
80 years	4.9	4.7	5.2	5.5	5.3	5.3	5.5	6.3	6.9	6.8

¹ These figures have been obtained by weighting the separate expectations for England and Wales and for Scotland in proportion to their Census populations and make no allowance for any future improvement in mortality after the date at the head of the column. The Scottish expectation for 1901 are unofficial ones published in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society (Vol. LXVII, p. 470).

Source: Social Trends No. 3, Central Statistical Office, HMSO 1972, p. 105.

The increase in life-span has gradually brought with it new demographic and social pressures, the extent of which have not been fully recognised. Very few provisions have as yet been made to meet the requirements of an increasing number of economically active women who have now a longer active life with, in many a case, pressing needs for a longer working life. Old-age pensioners are still very much on the periphery of the social framework and women's retirement age is still fixed arbitrarily at 60.

b) Death Rate

Another important trend in the pattern of demographic changes has been the decline in the death rate.

In 1901, there were 17.1 deaths for every 1,000 members of the U.K. population. In 1911, this rate was reduced to 14.8 o/oo; in 1931 to 12.6 o/oo. It now averages 11.6 o/oo.

TABLE 29

EVOLUTION OF THE NATURAL DEATH RATE

	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Deaths per 1,000:										
Crude death rates (persons all ages)	17.1	14.8	12.4	12.5	12.6	12.0	11.8	11.9	11.8	11.6
Males aged										
Under 1	185	162	100	80	36	26	22	21	21	20
1 - 4	22	18	11	8	1	1	1	1	1	1
5 - 44	6	4	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1
45 - 54	19	15	12	11	9	7	7	7	7	7
55 - 64	35	30	25	24	24	22	22	22	21	21
65 - 74	70	62	58	58	59	55	54	56	54	52
All ages	18	16	13	13	13	13	12	13	12	12
Females aged										
Under 1	147	131	76	60	28	20	17	16	16	16
1 - 4	21	17	10	7	1	1	1	1	1	1
5 - 44	5	4	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
45 - 54	14	12	9	8	6	5	4	5	4	4
55 - 64	28	23	19	18	13	11	10	11	11	10
65 - 74	59	51	46	44	38	32	29	29	28	27
All ages	16	14	12	12	12	11	11	11	11	11

Source: Social Trends No. 3, 1972.

The most striking feature in the decline of the natural death rate is the sharp reduction in the infant mortality rate. Sixty years ago it still stood at 185 o/oo for males and 147 o/oo for female infants. By 1971, it had been brought down to 20 o/oo and 16 o/oo respectively. The sharpest reduction

took place between 1931 and 1951. The introduction of the National Health Service, which brought medical facilities within reach of the whole population, women in particular, no doubt played a leading part in the improvement of pre- and post-natal care.

Other consequences of this decline are most specifically related to women in that, firstly, it has freed them from the burden of excessive child bearing. Nowadays, women no longer need to bear a large number of children in order to ensure that at least some of them reach maturity. And, secondly, it has substantially altered the sex ratio towards an increase in the number of males.

c) Sex Ratio

In 1901, there were approximately 19.7 million females in Britain as against 18.5 million males¹. At June 1971, the proportion was 28.6 million as against 27.1 million. The continuing rise in the proportion of men to women is expected to be maintained. The long-term projections for the year 2011 envisage more males than females in all age groups below 59, though in the older age groups the position is reversed, owing to women's greater longevity.

This continuous process of alteration in the sex structure has already had, and is bound to continue to have, profound effects on the traditional matrimonial relationship of the U.K. population, such as:

- i) an increased likelihood of marriage for nearly all women. Already, the late 19th century matrimonial problems of the 'surplus women' for whom there were simply no potential husbands available, no longer exists.
- ii) An increased probability that the status of bachelor may be forced upon a larger number of men. Should such a situation actually occur, it could have serious effects on the current pattern of life in the British Isles.

1 The position is slightly different in Scotland. In 1901, unlike the rest of England and Wales, there were more males than females in the lowest age groups. In 1966, females outnumbered males in the 20 - 39 age group. This is attributed to a slightly higher ratio of male to female births and a slower decline in the death rate.

TABLE 30
SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION
(UNITED KINGDOM)

	Census Enumerated			Mid-Year Estimates			Projections					
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<u>Total population (millions)</u>	18.5	20.4	21.0	22.1	23.3	24.4	25.7	27.1	28.2	29.5	31.0	32.7
By sex:	19.7	21.7	23.0	24.0	24.9	26.1	27.3	28.6	29.6	30.7	32.0	33.6
Males												
Females												
All persons	38.2	42.1	44.0	46.0	48.2	50.6	53.0	55.7	57.7	60.3	63.1	66.3
<u>By age groups and sex:</u>												
Under 15 years	6.2	6.5	6.2	5.6	5.1	5.8	6.3	6.9	6.9	7.3	7.6	7.8
- Males												
- Females												
15 - 29 years	5.2	5.4	5.3	5.8	5.8	5.3	5.1	5.8	6.5	6.9	7.2	7.4
- Males												
- Females												
30 - 44 years	3.6	4.8	4.3	4.5	5.5	5.5	5.3	4.9	6.3	6.6	6.7	7.1
- Males												
- Females												
45 - 59 years	2.2	2.7	3.4	3.8	3.9	4.5	5.1	4.9	5.5	5.9	6.4	6.4
- Males												
- Females												
60 - 74 years	1.1	1.3	1.6	2.0	2.5	2.6	2.9	3.4	4.7	4.7	5.4	5.9
- Males												
- Females												
75 & over	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1
- Males												
- Females												
<u>Percentage of population:</u>												
By age group:												
School age or under (0 - 14)	32.5	30.8	28.0	24.3	21.0	22.5	23.3	24.2	23.2	23.6	23.5	22.8
Working ages (15 - 64/59)	61.3	62.3	64.2	61.1	67.2	63.9	62.1	59.8	60.0	60.1	61.5	62.0
Retirement ages (65/60 & over)	6.2	6.8	7.9	9.6	11.8	13.6	14.6	16.0	16.8	16.3	15.0	15.2
<u>Sex ratio (males per 1,000 females)</u>												
All ages	937	937	915	920	933	934	941	947	952	960	969	975
Under 45 years	955	957	928	949	990	1008	1027	1038	1039	1039	1040	1040
45 years & over	866	869	877	852	819	808	810	810	813	824	846	867

Source: Social Trends, op. cit. p. 59, Table 3.

d) Marriage

The pattern of marriage and remarriage has also undergone substantial alteration during this century: More people than ever are marrying and more couples than ever are doing so at a younger age.

In 1901, 35.1% of males and 33.6%¹ of females in all age groups were married. By 1931, the rate had risen to 43.6% and 40.7% respectively. Recent estimates of social trends put the rate for 1971 at 51.9% for males and 49.3% for females. But the interesting point, as confirmed by the long-term projections in Table 31, is that the popularity of marriage is expected to increase still further over the years to come.

TABLE 31
MARITAL STATUS
GREAT BRITAIN PERCENTAGES

	Census			Mid-year Estimates			Projections				
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Percentage married in age groups:											
Males:16-19	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.7	1.4	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.5
20-24	16.7	13.9	17.3	13.6	22.4	30.9	35.7	35.3	35.4	34.9	34.7
25-29	53.2	49.3	53.7	51.5	63.5	70.1	72.6	74.4	74.6	74.5	74.3
30-44	77.4	76.4	79.5	81.7	83.7	84.5	86.2	88.1	89.1	89.0	88.8
45-59	80.7	80.5	81.7	83.1	87.0	87.3	87.2	87.7	88.3	88.2	88.2
60-74	67.5	67.1	69.6	71.1	76.6	80.4	81.6	81.3	81.4	81.5	81.8
75 & over	42.6	42.3	44.5	45.1	50.0	53.3	56.8	57.5	57.5	57.6	57.2
All ages	35.1	36.7	40.7	43.6	51.3	52.3	51.9	52.4	53.2	53.4	54.0
Females:16-19	2.0	1.5	2.3	2.3	5.1	8.4	10.0	11.1	11.5	11.5	11.4
20-24	26.7	23.9	26.7	25.4	46.5	57.3	58.0	60.4	61.2	61.2	61.2
25-29	57.2	55.1	56.1	57.8	76.1	83.6	84.2	85.1	85.2	85.3	85.3
30-44	73.2	73.1	72.3	73.9	81.9	86.8	88.8	89.8	90.3	90.6	90.6
45-59	67.3	68.0	69.3	69.6	72.6	76.6	80.3	82.7	84.5	85.0	85.4
60-74	42.7	43.5	45.5	47.5	48.0	49.8	53.3	54.9	57.6	58.4	60.1
75 & over	15.7	15.7	16.7	17.2	19.8	18.1	18.2	20.0	20.5	20.6	20.6
All ages	33.6	35.1	37.7	40.7	48.1	49.3	49.3	50.0	51.2	51.9	52.7

Source: Social Trends, 1972.

1 The apparent discrepancies in the numbers of men and women who are married are explained by the fact that not all marriages are between partners of the same age and by the fact that a higher proportion of marriages are terminated by the death of the husband rather than the wife.

Here again, the effects of a steady increase in the marriage rate combined with a younger average in first marriage ages has led to new norms in the pattern of women's work and home life. Not only do women in the U.K. tend to marry earlier, but they also tend to have their children earlier and more closely spaced, thereby considerably extending the scope and length of their working life. Nowadays, a working mother can expect an additional potential active life of 15 to 20 years before physiological factors will lay claims on her retirement. This recent phenomenon will undoubtedly accentuate the need for re-thinking present policies on the training of women, especially the retraining of married women who seek to re-enter the labour market.

TABLE 32

GREAT BRITAIN

	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
<u>Marriages</u>									
Total (thousands)	291	307	360	344	402	387	426	440	459
of which:									
First marriage for both parties	253	272	307	307	329	331	358	365	378
First marriage for one party only	28	25	40	28	51	36	42	46	49
Second (or later) marriage for both parties	10	9	13	10	22	21	25	29	32
<u>First Marriages - Per 1,000 bachelors</u>									
At age: 16 - 19	3	3	4	4	8	17	23	23	28
20 - 24	75	72	91	70	131	158	168	167	174
25 - 29	133	129	168	148	173	184	183	173	171
30 - 34	104	91	131	111	117	91	86	82	84
35 - 39	64	53	76	65	65	48	45	38	38
40 - 44	36	29	42	37	36	28	26	22	23
Average age of bachelors marrying (years)	27.2	27.3	27.6	27.4	26.8	25.6	24.9	24.6	24.4

TABLE 32 (Ctd.)

	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
<u>First Marriages</u> - Per 1,000 spinsters									
At age: 16 - 19	15	14	19	21	51	76	82	83	94
20 - 24	93	94	111	103	213	259	259	252	254
25 - 29	108	106	118	115	154	166	150	155	157
30 - 34	68	58	64	58	76	72	72	65	67
35 - 39	37	29	33	28	39	37	40	35	35
40 - 44	21	16	17	15	21	21	21	20	20
Average age of spinsters marrying (years)									
	25.6	25.6	25.5	25.5	24.6	23.3	22.7	22.7	22.5
<u>Remarriages</u>									
Per 1,000 widowed and divorced population									
Men aged:									
16 - 29	175	165	208	160	313	464	517	527	500
30 - 34	174	165	217	181	366	314	348	342	342
35 - 44	131	114	150	127	226	167	198	195	202
45 - 64	65	56	70	63	114	92	97	98	100
Women aged:									
16 - 29	140	142	159	126	294	333	358	366	379
30 - 34	96	96	102	88	180	227	203	193	193
35 - 44	48	46	50	35	83	72	96	94	99
45 - 54	15	14	17	13	26	28	31	34	35
Average age of remarrying (years)									
Men	45.5	46.2	46.5	49.2	46.5	49.1	46.7	45.7	45.1
Women	40.6	41.5	38.7	44.3	40.9	42.9	42.6	41.6	41.7

Source: Social Trends, 1972.

e) Fertility and Birth Rates

Like the death rate, the birth rate has been falling, though not evenly, since the beginning of the century. During the last few years, however, the downward curve has flattened out and the rate has settled down at around 16.2 o/oo.

TABLE 33

BIRTH RATES & FERTILITY RATES - U.K.

<u>BIRTH RATES</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Live births per 1,000:										
Crude birth rates (persons all ages)	<u>28.6</u>	<u>24.6</u>	<u>23.1</u>	<u>16.3</u>	<u>15.8</u>	<u>17.9</u>	<u>17.9</u>	<u>16.6</u>	<u>16.2</u>	<u>16.2</u>
Fertility rates										
Women aged:										
15 - 19	..	..	..	..	21	37	47	49	49	50
20 - 24	..	..	..	..	126	173	174	155	154	154
25 - 29	..	..	..	..	135	178	173	157	153	153
30 - 34	..	..	..	..	91	104	97	85	80	78
35 - 39	..	..	..	..	47	49	46	38	35	33
40 - 44	..	..	..	..	14	14	12	10	9	8
All ages (15 - 44)	<u>114.9</u>	<u>99.1</u>	<u>91.5</u>	<u>66.5</u>	<u>73.0</u>	<u>90.1</u>	<u>91.1</u>	<u>85.9</u>	<u>84.4</u>	<u>84.5</u>

TABLE 33 (Ctd.)

<u>LIVE BIRTHS</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Illegitimate as percentage of all live births	4.2	4.7	4.9	4.8	4.8	5.7	7.6	8.1	8.0	8.2
Percentage of legitimate live births to women married once only occurring within 8 months of marriage:										
Mother aged										
Under 20					55.0	56.5	54.9	58.5	57.8	56.9
20 - 24					12.2	10.5	10.7	12.1	11.5	10.4

The above rates are subject to small revisions when more accurate population figures become available.

Source: Social Trends, 1972.

In line with the trend to earlier marriages, the practice of early child bearing has tended to rise in the younger female age groups. Few women, today, have more children beyond the age of 30. As indicated in the above table, peak fertility rates are now located in the 20 - 24 age group, whereas throughout the sixties they were to be found mainly among the 25 - 29 year olds. In practical terms, all this means is that, presently, the average British woman has her child bearing function completed by the age of 30 and has had the time spent in pregnancy and lactation reduced to four years as opposed to fifteen years a century ago.

f) Family Size

As regards family sizes, the trend is positively towards smaller families. This is not a characteristic peculiar to British society but one which is prevailing in most highly industrialised countries. The causes can be traced back to the decline of the family as a unit of production, the improvement in medical care for young babies and children, the economic constraints of modern life on large families, and the liberal use of contraceptive methods.

As a result, it is estimated that the completed family size for marriages contracted in the late 1950's and early 1960's will reach an average of about 2.4 children. It is difficult to give accurate estimates of the number of children who will be born out of recently married couples but various surveys show that most desire no more than two or three children.

(2) Education

Although there is no formal discrimination against girls and, at least superficially, there seems to be equal opportunities for both sexes, education in the U.K. is strongly biased in favour of men.

Evidence of this may be seen in the many discriminatory practices directed, overtly or covertly, against the improvement of educational standards for girls and the widening of their occupational horizons. Too often, the problem of discrimination is reinforced by the deep-rooted attitudes among parents, teachers and girls themselves, that education is in some sense less essential for girls than for boys. So much so, that, where parents have to make a choice between giving a formal education to a son and/or to a daughter, more often than not the preference goes to the son; so much so that the rate of decrease of single-sex schools in England and Wales is much slower than it really need be because of substantial parental opposition to co-education. In 1971, according to the Department of Education and Science, over one-third of the 3.9 million pupils were still attending single-sex schools, many of these in the private sector.

The development of comprehensive education may accelerate the process of ensuring equality of educational opportunities for girls, provided, however, the present practice of differentiating between curricula for boys and curricula for girls is abandoned.

a) Cultural Bias

It is widely asserted that girls are more attracted to arts subjects than to the sciences and other quantitative subjects. Although this may be true in many cases, the phenomenon is not necessarily a reflection of girls' innate inability to cope with technological subjects. Large attendance in arts classes is probably the result of ignorance as to the variety

of career opportunities which are in fact open to girls, and of out-dated beliefs that art subjects are girls' traditional preserves. Lack of popularity for science subjects is more likely due to pressure 'from above' and shortage of facilities rather than an inherent dislike of the subjects by girls.

A survey by the Science Masters' Association¹, published in 1959, showed that 49% of all secondary modern girls' schools had all or part of their science teaching in rooms without proper facilities while 66% of these same schools had inadequate equipment. Another study² also showed that among grammar school girls taking 'O' levels, mathematics was the most preferred subject with other sciences, English language and modern languages the runners up.

Yet the fact remains that in 1971:

- 11% more boys took an examination in mathematics at CSE level², while 45% more boys took GCE 'O' level examinations in Science and/or other technical subjects.
- Some 60,000 boys studied math/science subjects at 'A' level as against 20,000 girls: a ratio of 3 : 1.

b) Leaving Age

On the whole, girls perform better at junior level and win proportionally more grammar school places. Problems for girls begin at the second school level and lead more girls than boys to leave at the minimum school leaving age⁴. In 1971, 44.1% left at this age, compared with 43.4% of boys. As will be noted from the table below, this differential has changed very little since 1967.

1 Referred to in 'Equality for Women'. M. Rendel - Fabian Research Series 268, 1968.

2 Veronica Roberts in 'A Career for Women in Industry'. Ed. Nancy Seear, 1964.

3 CSE = Certificate of Secondary Education. GCE = General Certificate of Education. 'O' level = Ordinary level. 'A' level = Advanced level.

4 School leaving age was raised from 15 to 16 in 1973.

TABLE 34

PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS STAYING ON
AT AGE 15 IN MAINTAINED SCHOOLS

	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Boys	47.0	50.8	53.6	55.1	56.6
Girls	46.1	49.9	52.9	54.6	55.9

Source: Statistics on Education, DES

c) Destination of School Leavers

Despite their better performance at all examination levels, a higher proportion of girls than boys abandon their school education with no formal academic qualifications. Little thought appears to be given to the consequence of such an attitude which, from all evidence, cannot but restrict their career prospects and ultimately confine them to the less skilled and less well paid jobs.

Another significant point in the pattern of movements of school leavers is the substantial drop out of girls with adequate school qualifications before reaching University level or other levels of higher education. At the end of the 1970-71 academic year, 315,000 boys and 280,000 girls left school. Out of this total, 80.6% of the male school leavers, as against 75.9% of the girls went straight into employment. The destination of the remainder was as follows:

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Universities	7.5	4.6
Colleges of Education	1.3	5.2
Polytechnics	1.9	1.3
Other Full-time Further Education	10.6	13.0

The breakdown of this overall movement is given in the table below:

TABLE 35

DESTINATION OF SCHOOL LEAVERS : ENGLAND & WALES

Percentages & Thousands

1970-71

<u>Percentages by academic qualification</u>	<u>Universities</u>	<u>Colleges of Education</u>	<u>Other full time fur- ther educa- tion</u>	<u>Employment</u>	<u>Numbers of leavers (thousands) (= 100%)</u>
Boys:					
3 or more A levels	67.6	2.3	13.4	16.8	30.4
2 A levels	20.2	8.1	33.4	38.4	14.8
1 A level	1.1	11.8	29.4	57.6	11.2
5 or more O levels	0.2	3.7	22.7	73.4	21.5
Other leavers	-	0.1	6.9	93.0	237.4
All leavers	7.5	1.3	10.6	80.5	315.3
Girls:					
3 or more A levels	57.2	13.5	14.7	14.7	21.0
2 A levels	11.1	35.3	25.8	27.8	14.5
1 A level	0.7	39.7	21.2	38.5	10.7
5 or more O levels	0.1	11.6	30.9	57.4	27.8
Other leavers	-	0.1	11.1	88.8	224.1
All leavers	4.6	5.2	14.3	75.9	298.1

Source: Social Trends, p. 128.

The point worthy of note in the analysis of the pattern of entries is the marked differential between the percentage of girls entering Universities, as against, firstly, that of boys, and secondly, that of girls entering Colleges of Education and other Institutions providing more limited forms of full-time further education.

The result of this trend is that girls are very much in the minority at Universities. At undergraduate level they form no more than 30% of the student population. At postgraduate level, the situation is even less satisfactory - 22.7%. But the remarkable fact is that the rate of increase

of female participation has been extremely slow over the last twenty years or so. In 1953-54, the proportion of girl undergraduates was already as high as 25% and the percentage of female postgraduates, 20%.

TABLE 36
UNIVERSITY STUDENTS - UNITED KINGDOM
ACADEMIC YEARS/THOUSANDS

<u>Number of Students</u>	<u>1953-54</u>	<u>1961-62</u>	<u>1966-67</u>	<u>1967-68</u>	<u>1968-69</u>	<u>1969-70</u>	<u>1970-71</u>
Full-time students							
Undergraduates:							
Men	52.6	71.4	112.4	121.0	127.1	131.2	133.9
Women	17.9	25.9	44.4	48.6	51.9	55.0	58.6
Total	70.5	97.3	156.8	169.6	178.9	186.2	192.4
Postgraduates:							
Men	9.8	15.8	25.8	27.9	30.0	31.1	33.1
Women	2.5	3.8	6.7	7.7	8.4	8.8	9.7
Total	12.3	19.6	32.4	35.6	38.4	39.9	42.8
Total undergraduates & postgraduates	82.8	116.9	189.3	205.2	217.3	226.1	235.3

Source: Social Trends.

In contrast to the low number of females attending University courses, more than three times as many women as men go to Colleges of Education and over 1.3 times as many as men go to Colleges of Further Education. In both types of education they come away with a qualification that is of lower standing than a degree and of more limited market value.

The position of female students deteriorates even further when probing into the distribution of course attendances at Colleges of Further Education. Further education in the U.K. is essentially oriented towards vocational qualifications. Specific studies may lead to recognised qualifications but their respective value is very much a function of both the type of course and the class of the establishment offering them. There are major colleges

and minor colleges. There are advanced courses and non-advanced courses.

In 1970-71, there were, overall, 1,328,000 students on courses leading to recognized qualifications at grant-aided establishments. Out of this total, 319,000 (24%) were women, and from this number only 36,000 (11%) attended advanced courses.

The rest, the great mass of the 'further educated' female students, is essentially confined to the lower end of vocational education, i.e. secretarial and other office training courses; dress-making, catering and other domestic arts.

TABLE 37

FURTHER EDUCATION : TYPE OF COURSE : UNITED KINGDOM

Thousands

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1970</u>		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Students at grant-aided establishments on courses leading to recognised qualifications:				
<u>Advanced courses:</u>				
University/C.N.A.A. degrees, Dip. Tech.	21.1	39.5	32.0	7.5
Associateships & diplomas of Scottish Central Institutions	3.2	3.3	1.4	1.8
Higher National diplomas & certificates	67.1	64.7	58.5	6.2
Other advanced courses	86.3	110.7	89.9	20.8
Total advanced courses	177.7	218.1	181.8	36.2

TABLE 37 (Ctd.)

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1970</u>		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
<u>Non-advanced courses:</u>				
Ordinary National diplomas & certificates	82.7	79.9	65.4	14.4
City & Guilds	543.3	567.9	504.1	63.8
GCE 'O' level	156.5	174.7	93.9	80.8
GCE 'A' level	61.9	84.6	49.2	35.5
CSE 'O' level	21.6	24.0	12.9	11.1
CSE 'H' level	8.3	15.2	7.1	8.1
Other non-advanced courses	188.7	163.4	94.6	68.8
Total non-advanced courses	1,062.9	1,109.7	827.3	282.4
Total students on courses leading to recognised qualifications	<u>1,240.6</u>	<u>1,327.8</u>	<u>1,009.1</u>	<u>318.7</u>

Source: Social Trends

d) Day Release

In 1970, some 628,000 employees were released for part-time further education under the 'Day and Block Release Scheme'.

This scheme is designed to allow young persons in employment to pursue studies of a vocational or general nature through release from work for a day/per week (day release), or for several weeks at a time (block release). On the whole, employers have shown considerable reluctance in granting such release facilities to their young women employees.

In 1967, according to the Department of Education and Science statistics, 9.2% of girls in employment under the age of 18 were given day release compared with 36% of boys. In 1969, the Department's figures showed comparative percentages of 10.4% for girls and 39.7% for boys.

In 1970, the position had changed very little (10.1% of girls and 38.8% of boys) and what change there has been remains weighted more towards boys than girls.

TABLE 38

PERCENTAGE OF YOUNG WORKERS UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE GIVEN
DAY RELEASE FOR FURTHER EDUCATION

(AS AT NOVEMBER, 1969)

<u>Industry of Employer</u>	<u>Young Men</u>	<u>Young Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	33.9	7.9	29.0
Mining & quarrying	51.7	25.7	50.2
Manufacturing industries: Food, drink & tobacco	19.4	6.6	12.0
Coal & petroleum products	72.0	27.0	52.4
Chemicals & allied industries	72.2	19.3	41.0
Metal manufacture	75.4	50.9	69.8
Mechanical engineering	81.8	27.9	68.9
Instrument engineering	55.3	16.2	38.8
Electrical engineering	89.9	7.7	46.7
Shipbuilding & marine engineering	62.8	25.1	58.3
Vehicles	73.8	23.2	60.1
Metal goods not elsewhere specified	21.4	6.9	16.5
Textiles	11.4	3.4	6.6
Leather, leather goods & fur	12.4	14.4	13.3
Clothing & footwear	11.3	2.1	3.8
Bricks, pottery, glass, cement, etc.	19.0	10.4	14.0
Timber, furniture, etc.	24.7	5.6	21.3
Paper, printing & publishing	39.9	3.7	20.4
Other manufacturing industries	29.2	8.5	18.1
Construction	49.4	10.6	46.5
Gas, electricity & water	91.3	30.3	72.9
Transport & communication	49.4	23.7	40.1
Distributive trades	6.7	2.3	3.7
Insurance, banking & finance & business services	16.1	2.3	4.9
Professional & scientific services	38.0	26.8	30.0
Miscellaneous services	40.4	21.8	31.1
Public administration & defence	100.0	89.4	95.0
Total	<u>39.7</u>	<u>10.4</u>	<u>24.7</u>

Source: Department of Education & Science.

The interesting point in the distribution of day release for girls is that the industries in which the lowest proportion of women are granted day release are those in which the highest proportion of women are employed¹. Thus, in the clothing and footwear industries only 2.1% of young women received day release; in the distributive trades 2.3%; in the textile industry 3.4%; and in the paper, publishing and printing industries 3.7%.

(3) Training

The training which women receive in employment is probably the most important single factor affecting their level of pay and their likelihood of promotion. Yet the figures of young persons entering into apprenticeships make it obvious that proportionately little formal training is received by girls. As in the provision of day release, so there is marked disparity in the provision of apprenticeships for girls and that for boys.

TABLE 39

GIRLS ENTERING APPRENTICESHIPS TO SKILLED OCCUPATIONS

	1970		1971		1972
	Number	%	Number	%	Number
All manufacturing industries	1,115	2.5	892	3.0	814
Distributive trades	908	17.1	766	12.0	804
Insurance, banking, finance ...	65	15.0	44	5.0	56
Professional & scientific services	1,128	40.9	1,082	43.0	1,137
Miscellaneous services	11,987	43.8	13,372	47.0	14,654
of which: hairdressing & manicure	11,136	97.7	12,690	94.0	13,989
Other industries	598	1.6	592	2.0	532
Total	<u>15,801</u>	<u>13.1</u>	<u>16,668</u>	<u>17.0</u>	<u>17,997</u>

+ Girls as % of industry's apprenticeships

a) Training Facilities

The lack of proper facilities with regard to the training of girls and women has long been recognised by the U.K. Government and a series of measures have been adopted in the course of the last decade to alleviate the seriousness

1 House of Commons Select Committee on expenditure. Session 1972-73.

of the situation. These measures have certainly helped to reduce to some extent the more 'blatant prejudices displayed by all too many firms'. The fact remains, nonetheless, that despite an overall expansion in training facilities, girls have not had a fair share of this¹.

The first substantial governmental move in that direction was the publication of the Industrial Training Act 1964 which aimed at ensuring an adequate supply of properly trained men and women at all levels in industry. Under the Act, Industrial Training Boards (ITB's) for various industries were established with responsibility for providing industrial training within each industry. To raise the necessary finance, each Board was empowered to raise a levy on employers by means of assessments based on the number of their employees (male and female). Grants repaying all or part of the levy were then made to employers in proportion to the amount of training done. There are now 27 Boards in existence, covering industries employing some 15 million workers.

It was hoped that the Boards would provide an incentive for more women to be trained, as the levy grant system would encourage employers to carry out their own training, rather than poach trained staff from other firms.

Contrary to expectation, the Act has failed to bring about any marked improvement in the opportunities for vocational training of girls and women. All surveys on the effect of the ITB activities on the number of girls and women being trained show that, although in many industries there had been slight improvements, the numbers were so small, in relation to the total number of women employed within each industry, as to be negligible. Four years after the introduction of the Act, a Government Social Survey² found that:

- Formal on-the-job training (defined so as to exclude both part-attendance at college and 'sitting next to Nellie') had been received for only about one type of work in six. Only one in

1 Evidence to the House of Lords Committee on discrimination against women.

2 A. Hunt 'A Survey of Women's Employment', Government Social Survey, SS 379, HMSO, London 1968.

fifty types of work involved an apprenticeship; only one in one hundred a learnership; and less than one in twenty involved training lasting more than six months.

- The most common period for training in manual occupations was between one month and three months. Furthermore, one in five working women said that they had training or qualifications which were not used in their present job. For about a half, this was a matter of choice, but the other half said they would like to obtain work in which their skills could be used.

- Considerable potential demand for training was found: one-fifth of working women and one-third of non-workers (who were likely to return to work) expressed a willingness to undertake some form of training, the majority of them for non-manual occupations. Three-fifths of the potential trainees were aged over thirty; over a half were responsible for children. One-sixth would be prepared to live away from home during training (mostly already in work); a half would be able to attend part-time training only, either in school hours or evenings.

Doubts have been frequently expressed as to the adequacy of the ITB's as a main instrument for the promotion of vocational training for women. As early as 1969, the T.U.C. voiced its disappointment at the results of the Act and suggested that to facilitate women's access to training:

- (i) A condition of the grant to private undertakings should be that a proper proportion of girls, as of boys, in the firm are given training;

- (ii) Special grants should be made to firms which train women outside the traditional range of women's work (especially at technician level) and to firms which provide retraining and promotional opportunities for women returning to employment.

Similar comments were also extended by other national organisations, such as the A.T.T.I., but there has been no response to these suggestions by the Government and little evidence of its willingness to give any extra stimulus or incentive to women's training in any of the Department of Employment's current developments. Even the 'Equal Opportunities Consultative Document' makes only the vaguest reference to training (pp 2.36) and has no proposals to include it in the legislation, to make day release compulsory, or even to provide for 'affirmative action' programmes by training organisations.

Concern has also been expressed at the current Government proposals to 'reduce the levy raised on employers to 1% of the payroll at a maximum and exempt completely employers providing adequate training'. It is feared that such a move could intensify employers' long-standing indifference towards the training of their female employees and in turn adversely affect the few schemes the Boards have so far been providing.

Under the Employment and Training Act 1973, one of the new Manpower Services Commission's 'executive arms' will be the Training Services Agency¹. This will be set up in April 1974 by 'hiving off' the training responsibilities of the Department of Employment. It will operate the Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS), co-ordinate the work of the Industrial Training Boards and promote training not covered by the Boards. The Manpower Commission also has a statutory responsibility to 'include arrangements for encouraging increases in the opportunities available to women and jobs for employment and training'.

Under the revised policy, the Government means to meet the training needs of the individual mainly through the Training Opportunities Scheme, 'a re-modelling of the current Vocational Training Scheme intended to provide training for 100,000 people per year as soon as possible and at least 60-70,000 by 1975, compared with the current achievement of about 17,000 per year. Women, as well as men, will benefit from this expansion,

1 The other being the Employment Service Agency.

as they have from the expansion of Government training which took place in 1971 - women in training in December 1971 numbered 1,115 compared with 542 in December 1970. Married women wanting to return to employment are specifically mentioned as one of the groups for whom the Training Opportunities Scheme is designed¹.

b) Retraining Opportunities

It will be recalled that for the U.K. as a whole, the 15 years, 1971 - 1986, are expected to see a dramatic increase of some 1.5 million in the number of married women at work.

The major problem which faces these women is that of a re-entry into the working world after a gap of between ten and fifteen years devoted to bringing up a family. The barriers to a smooth re-entry are legion: 'Many lack self-confidence in the adult world after a prolonged period spent principally with children. If they had possessed technical or other skills they are likely to have become 'rusty' or technological change has made them obsolete. Women with little or no education or training after school leaving age are likely to find it more difficult to learn new skills. Openings are more difficult for older workers and this applies equally to women as to men².

The specialised needs of women in their second period of employment are increasingly recognised by many organisations and Government authorities alike. But, very little sustained effort appears to be made to identify those specialised needs and subsequently to provide those retraining facilities which will ensure openings into occupations where older married women will be best suited. Encouragement to employers and expansion of retraining opportunities will have to come from the Government in a much more positive manner than in the past as there are strong possibilities that the dwindling of women's jobs may well be hastened by the implementation of the Equal Pay Act.

1 Letter of 18 May from the Department of Employment to the National Joint Committee on Working Women's Organisations.

2 Equal Pay and Equal Job Opportunities. Paper presented by Diana Jevda, USDAW, to the 17th Congress of FIET. 30 October - 2 November 1973.

(4) Access to Specialised Help and Guidance

a) State Employment Services

Career guidance is very much a topical subject in the U.K. as the whole future of the Employment Service in this country is under review following the recent publication of the Department of Employment's consultative document 'The Future of the Employment Services' and the resultant report 'People and Jobs'. The main point of debate is the Government's suggestion to remedy the present unsatisfactory arrangements by bringing the Youth Employment Service within a modernised general employment service and introducing a line of division between local authority services and a new general employment service.

At present, career guidance and job finding services for young people under 18, or at school, are provided by the Youth Employment Service (YES), which is quite separate from the Employment Service for adults. The YES offers a very important counsel to youth, but because of the non-mandatory nature of use being made of its services, the scope for its activities and influence remains somewhat limited.

Firstly, schools must invite a careers officer of the Service to come and give his service to school leavers. More often than not, this takes the form of a brief interview during the term in which the student leaves school. Secondly, parents and pupils alike tend to assess the value of these interviews in terms of practical results, i.e. an immediate job placement, whatever the school leaver's abilities or ambitions. This situation applies to girls in particular.

As it was indicated in evidence to the House of Commons Committee on Youth Employment Services: 'Although the careers officers try to persuade the girls to take an interest in jobs which are normally outside the usual run of jobs for women, it is extremely hard to get girls to widen their interests'. What was probably left unmentioned in that statement was the extreme difficulty of bringing about changes in outmoded educational attitudes towards girls of many parents and school authorities. The amateurish approach with regard to careers guidance for girls was re-emphasised by the TUC Women's Advisory Committee in the evidence it

submitted to the same House of Commons Committee: 'It is the opinion of the TUC Women's Advisory Committee that, at the present time, careers guidance is seldom regarded as it should be. It is certainly suspected that in many schools, career guidance for girls does not receive the same attention as guidance for boys. It would still be true to say that for girls it is not careers guidance but primarily occupational guidance and, even as such, it often fails in its purpose'.

Explicit recognition of girls' particular needs for specialised help and guidance is further expressed in one of the Committee's final recommendations: 'We recommend that a concentrated effort be made to make girls aware of, and interested in, the range of opportunities available to them'¹.

The inadequacy of careers advice received by girls leaving school is rarely supplemented at later stages of their working lives.

The Department of Employment is, at present, the Government department responsible for the State Employment Service, although responsibility for this is shortly (Autumn 1974) to be transferred to the Employment Service Agency of the newly created Manpower Services Commission, which will still be responsible to the Secretary of State for Employment.

There are over 1,000 local employment exchanges in Great Britain and jobs are found for 1,500,000 people each year. Women have not always made much use of the State service and the Department of Employment has been criticised in the past for showing insufficient awareness of the employment needs of women, or of making any effort to encourage them to use the services available. It is hoped that many of these criticisms will be met by the current reorganisation of the service.

Over recent years, many employment exchanges were segregated into 'men's side and women's side' as 'women were ceasing to use us because they didn't like the sort of atmosphere or situation in which they found themselves in our local offices'².

But, for the future 'if we, (the DE), can improve the atmosphere of our offices, if we find that for all sorts of reasons we need to use

1 Fourth Report from the Expenditure Committee (Session 1972-73): 'Youth Employment Services'.

2 House of Commons Expenditure Committee (Session 1972-73), p. 2.

more smaller offices rather than fewer larger ones, we may well come off this segregation policy'.

The policy document 'Into Action' issued by the Department of Employment at the end of 1972 set out plans for modernising the Employment Service. Although this document contained no specific mention of women's specialised needs it is intended that the reorganisation plans should benefit them equally. By separating out the unemployment benefit paying section, by increasing the number of employment offices, by making their premises more attractive and by providing 'job display' self-service facilities, it is hoped that many more women will be attracted to use the service instead of being repelled by the old 'dingy back-street dole image'.

Officially, the Department of Employment does not regard it as its function to encourage women to work, but from now on more attention is to be paid to the needs of job-seekers through specially trained employment advisers. In particular, greater attention is to be given to guidance for the older woman seeking to return to work. In districts where there is a labour shortage, local offices shall be encouraged further to develop schemes whereby women can be approached at their best convenience and be told of job opportunities. Already, a few local offices provide play areas for the children of mothers who are seeking advice and information. In addition, many make a point of knowing what local child care or other provisions are available to help the married woman returning to work.

Another attempt to improve help and guidance facilities is to be found in the Occupational Guidance Service. This service is open to adults who are choosing, or contemplating, a change of occupation and feel they would benefit from expert advice. At present, such facilities are only available in 44 towns and cities, but it is hoped that the near future will see an expansion of the scheme into many other urban areas. Experiments are going on to establish the latent demand for such services and to pave the way for the general use of Vocational Assessment Tests by guidance officers. Eventually, it is planned to associate the Occupational Guidance with a proposed advisory service for young people .

Finally, there is a separate Professional and Executive Recruitment Service (fee charging to employers) which is also being extended. So far few women use it: partly, it has been suggested, because of a psychological distaste for signing on weekly and partly because, perhaps, of the number of men only vacancies.

In general, the Department of Employment agrees that not enough is known about the number of women seeking jobs. For a variety of reasons many of them do not register with the service when they leave a job. Many prefer to make use of informal networks of family and friends, of local advertisements, or even of private agencies if they seek a new job. Nor is the Department of Employment always fully informed of the vacancies available in a locality. Some women's organisations would like the notification of vacancies made compulsory on all employers, but the Department of Employment reject this, on the basis of past experience, as unworkable in practice.

b) Private Employment Agencies

The continued spread of private fee-charging employment agencies, many of which specialise in clerical work - that is, mainly in women's employment - is frequently criticised by the TUC, by welfare organisations and often by employers. Criticisms are made on the grounds that private agencies compete with and detract from the State Services. They attract girls into jobs for which they may not be suited, encourage high job turnover; and push up the price of labour. The agencies claim that they do offer guidance in matching people to jobs and further argue that they fulfil a need in the provision of temporary work which is hardly covered by the State Employment Service.

Although temporary jobs offer no opportunity for promotion, nor any benefits such as holiday entitlement or sick pay, many women do not, at certain stages in their lives, want the commitment involved in a permanent job and the choice facing them may be between temporary work and no work.

Some 70% of the temporary work force fell into this category, according to the Federation of Personnel Services and the NCUMC in evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee. Since it was obvious that 'there exists a large demand for temporary work' the Committee recommended that the Department of Employment should run a recruitment campaign for temporary workers and prepare a register of such work.

The Department of Employment in Great Britain will still retain a general responsibility for manpower policy after the implementation of the Employment and Training Act 1973. It will still have a special section for dealing with Women's Employment and its current research project on this is likely to be completed in 1974. If the Equal Opportunity Bill is enacted, the responsibilities of the Department for promoting equal opportunity for women may well be increased, although these may be given to a new Equal Opportunity Commission to implement.

(5) Conditions of Employment

a) Legal Restrictions on the Employment of Women

Special legal provisions relating to women only are few in Britain, outside the taxation and social security system. The existing restrictions are mainly found in the Factories Act 1961 (and associated regulations), and the government has proposed to repeal or amend these in respect of women aged 18 or over in the Equal Opportunity Bill¹.

The Factories Act 1961 limits the hours during which women and young persons² may be employed in certain classes of employment; mainly manual work in factories³.

1 'Equal Opportunities for Men and Women', Consultative Document.

2 'Young Persons' are persons over the compulsory school age (ceases after 16th birthday) who have not reached the age of 18 years.

3 Full details are available in 'Health & Safety at Work'. Department of Employment booklet, No. 23, HMSO 1973; and 'Hours of Employment of Women & Young Persons Employed in Factories: A Report', HMSO 1969.

In general, the hours worked are limited by law to nine hours a day and forty-eight hours a week, with a small allowance of overtime. Night work and work on Sundays is normally prohibited, but shift work on weekdays between 6 a.m. and 10 p.m. may be authorised in certain circumstances. The Secretary of State for Employment has power to grant exemptions (renewable annually) upon application by individual firms. Exemptions are normally granted if the conditions are suitable and the workers concerned have no objection.

Most of the heavy labour in industry is left to men, although this is by custom and not by law, except in the coal industry where, under the Mines and Quarries Act 1954, it is illegal to employ women as underground workers. It is also proposed to repeal this legislation under the Equal Opportunity legislation. In fact, most modern British laws concerning welfare, health and safety in factories apply to everyone regardless of age and sex.

The proposal to abolish the existing legal restrictions on women's employment has been debated for many years. As the Department of Employment pointed out¹ most of these restrictions 'were imposed at a time when social and industrial conditions were vastly different from what they are today' and it has been suggested that these now stand in the way of higher productivity, greater industrial efficiency and the economic advancement of women.

The Trades Union Congress, however, has in the past argued that repeal of restrictions might lead to further exploitation of women, that women will still be expected to do the additional job of running the home, and that until the Equal Pay Act is implemented, repeal would provide employers with a supply of cheap labour for night work. There is, among many trade unionists, a dislike of a 'blanket' repeal of protective legislation, and a preference for the flexibility of the present 'exemption after consultation' system, as well as concern for greater protection of the safety and health of all employees.

1 Department of Employment evidence to the House of Lords, Vol. I, p. 4, para. 11.

On the other hand, the DE point out that current practice shows that over the country as a whole, women's hours of work are often less than the statutory maximum, at least, as settled (like those of men) by agreement between the trade unions and the employers' associations concerned, while their actual hours in practice are not (like those for men) generally extended by overtime working. The average time worked by women of 18 years of age and over, in all the manufacturing industries and in some of the principal non-manufacturing industries, is about 38 hours a week.

In Northern Ireland, too, the Houghton Committee were divided on the advisability of altering the protective legislation on hours of work for women. 'Some of us felt that if women were to receive equal pay and ... opportunity, they should no longer be sheltered behind this kind of protective legislation. The analogy, too, was drawn with the nursing profession where round-the-clock working has always been the rule. The majority of us felt, however, that the prohibition should remain, arguing that industrial conditions were vastly different from those in hospital and suggesting that although shift work might initially be on a voluntary basis, it might eventually tend to become a condition of employment'¹.

In certain areas of public service, for which the Home Office is responsible, such as, police, the prison service, fire service, probationary and after-care service and immigration service, there may be no legislative discrimination between the sexes (except that the Prisons Act 1952 requires the appointment of a female governor of a female prison), but it may be found that the administrative regulations by which the services are run are frequently drafted in terms of a 'male person' and certain assumptions are made as a matter of customary practice.

b) Legislation Relating to Pregnancy

The only other class of legislation specifically restricting women's employment relates to their actual, or potential, child bearing capacity.

1 MAFE Houghton Report. Op.cit. para 111.

The safety legislation restricting the employment of women on dangerous or harmful materials falls in this category. There is no restriction relating to women not working in factories.

There is also no legislation, outside that relating to the conditions on which maternity benefit is payable, beyond the Public Health Act 1936, s. 205 (relating to England and Wales) and the Factories Act 1961 s. 181 (relating to Scotland) which prohibit an employer from 'knowingly' employing a woman within four weeks of the birth of a child: an employer who does employ a woman during this period is liable to a small fine but no prosecutions under either Act appear to have taken place for many years¹.

Women in Great Britain have, therefore, no legal right to protection in employment during pregnancy, no legal right to maternity leave and there is no obligation on the employer to keep a woman's job open after her confinement.

In most cases, absence for maternity leave is regarded as a break in employment. This affects pension and various other rights based on continuity of service. The government have proposed that the Equal Opportunities Bill should remedy one of these anomalies, whereby a woman absent on maternity leave may lose her entitlement to 'redundancy payment' which requires a two year previous employment qualification. It does not propose to give women a right to reinstatement in their jobs after maternity leave.

The TUC Women's Advisory Committee have made several studies of maternity leave. Their 1969 report concluded that:

'women would only wish to return to work within weeks of the birth of her child where there were severe economic difficulties. The most important issue, therefore, was to ensure adequate social security allowances to maintain a mother and her child. The

1 This was the finding of the TUC Women's Advisory Committee See 'Women Workers 1969'. TUC, 1969.

Advisory Committee did not support the principle of legislation to prohibit the employment of women following child-birth, but took the view that if there were legislation it should include a clause enabling a woman to return to work if it were proved this would not be injurious to her health or that of her baby: in the case of still-birth it might be important not to place any obstacle in the way of the woman returning to employment.

The Advisory Committee considered it to be important to ensure that pregnant women should be protected while they remained in paid employment and supported those parts of the ILO Convention (95) which said that pregnant women should not work unduly long hours, or at night, or on work prejudicial to their health such as heavy weight lifting, pulling or pushing; standing for long periods; or working with machines which vibrate. Pregnant women should also be able to transfer to other less arduous work without reduction in their basic pay.'

Attention was also drawn to the likely effects of the journey to and from work.

The TUC was concerned that very little information was available about the effect of working conditions on the health of pregnant women and argued that there should be a comprehensive occupational health service, large enough to deal with the problems of the pregnant woman worker. Proposals were consequently put forward¹ to the Department of Employment in 1970 for paid maternity leave and for pregnant women to be given time off work with pay, as a right, to attend ante-natal clinics during the whole period of pregnancy.

The reply of the Employment Secretary to the TUC proposal emphasised the problems of framing and enforcing legislation to protect pregnant women, and argued that the social security benefit system was adequate to enable women to refrain from working. It was also pointed out that the Industrial Relations Act would protect a pregnant woman from unfair dismissal.

1 See Women Workers 1970, p. 33; Women Workers 1971, p. 12.

The Department of Employment also reminded the TUC that it was open to unions and employers to make more favourable arrangements themselves. The TUC General Council drew the attention of all affiliated unions to the desirability of including maternity leave arrangements in collective agreements, and to let the TUC have copies of them. At the present time, there are not many in the private sector, but in the public sector they are more widespread. The TUC Women's Advisory Committee carried out a study of these and published a statement of 'best practice'¹. This recommended that maternity agreements should cover all women workers with more than twelve months service; that they should grant eighteen weeks leave; and that they should give full pay for four weeks and half pay for fourteen weeks. Further proposals included restrictions designed to ensure that the woman resumed work after maternity leave; the exclusion of maternity leave from sick pay entitlement calculations; and protection for the health of the post-natal mother as well as paid leave for attendance at ante-natal clinics.

Other analyses of public sector schemes have been made by the NCUMC², which, in their evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee³, noted those of the Civil Service, the Post Office and certain local authorities which made maternity provision for all women employees.

A recent study of seventeen public sector authorities by Incomes Data Services⁴, showed that there was, however, considerable variation between the schemes, in the benefits provided, in the eligibility for them and in the amount of detail: some were very precise leaving much to management discretion, while others were very detailed covering a wide range of possibilities such as that of the Civil Service.

1 Women Workers 1972, pp. 10 - 11.

2 The National Council for One-Parent Families.

3 Op.cit. p. 151.

4 Incomes Data Study No. 58, Maternity Leave, October 1973.

In the private sector, Incomes Data examined seventy-four companies and found only eighteen with written policies. Of these, six provided maternity pay for varying lengths of time and entitlement to it ranged from one year to five years of service with the company. Some calculated leave against sick leave entitlement and all had some 'discretionary' elements. Even national companies, such as Ford, Heinz, Kellogg, Rowntree-Mackintosh and Shell U.K., were among the companies with no formal policies.

In fact, the study concluded that 'to have a formal maternity policy is the exception rather than the rule' in Britain today. The study found eight companies with informal and unwritten policies operating on a discretionary basis, but forty-eight companies said they had no policy, even if a few had allowed occasional unpaid leave to certain employees who had requested it.

Opposition to introducing maternity leave was found to be based on the fear that the organisation would be disrupted by large numbers of women requesting maternity leave. In fact, the majority of companies operating schemes said very few women took advantage of the provisions. This was partly due to the lack of facilities for children's day care, and companies in areas with closer-knit families reported large numbers of women returning to work after a short break.

The Institute of Personnel Management undertook on its own account a survey of some of their members in 1971 when the 'majority of the participating companies said that no leave of absence was granted and employment was normally terminated thirteen weeks before the anticipated date of confinement when the maternity allowance became available - employees could reapply for a position when they were ready to resume work'¹.

1 'Special Leave Allowance' IPM Information Report 9, November 1971.

This opposition to maternity leave was expressed by those who argued that 'maternity leave could reduce job opportunity for women, since employers might be reluctant about placing a woman in a skilled job if they knew they had to keep it open for her for three months while she was away having a baby'. Some, not necessarily employers, would also maintain that it is socially undesirable to encourage mothers to take full-time employment while leaving their babies with relatives or 'au pair' girls.

The question of maternity leave is obviously one which is receiving greater attention and research both by companies and unions at the present time, especially the National Union of Teachers and the General and Municipal Workers Union. However, an Incomes Data also noted, it still tends to be pushed to one side in the final negotiations of collective agreements.

Occupational schemes whereby employees may take time off to nurse a sick child without loss to their continuity of employment are even more rare than maternity schemes, except that this may be done at the employer's discretion in individual cases. One enlightened scheme is that of the General Post Office under which employees only receive a very small proportion of salary during such leave but job, pensions and increment rights are safe-guarded.

(6) Equal Opportunity of Access

a) Social Attitudes

Statistical evidence, as provided in the earlier part of this study, amply demonstrates that discrimination against women exists in this country on a wide scale at all levels of employment. The sole interaction of economic factors does not, however, fully explain the extent and persistence of past and present discriminatory practices. Deep-rooted sociological factors have also played, and are still playing, a major role in influencing the orientation of the occupational pattern of women in employment.

Despite significant improvements in education and job opportunities for women, British society has been rather slow in adapting its traditional social attitudes to fast changing demographic, technological and economic trends: '.... discriminatory attitudes as are demonstrated by employers are not some peculiar viciousness of employers as employers, but simply reflects the nature of a feature of British society which is, whether one likes it or not, discriminatory and which is a style of society that seems to be just as acceptable to very many women as it is to very many men'¹.

General acceptance of discrimination stems, by and large, from deeply ingrained attitudes which still regard the care of the home and of the family as the most important female task. Even at present, a man's status and respectability are still defined by his job, whereas a woman's depends on her freedom from it.

These time-honoured stereotypes of women's role and feminine attributes have, in turn, exerted a powerful influence on the attitudes and behaviour of parents, women, men and employers.

A firm belief exists among many parents and others, that it is a waste of time, effort and money to educate girls further than 'they need to be'. Consequently, girls face, throughout their upbringing and adolescence, a constant process of social conditioning to a role in society which severely limits their subsequent role in the occupational field. Girls' horizons in consequence are already likely to have been restricted by social pressures before they begin to decide about a career. It is not universal, but it is not unexpected for a careers officer to see parents who believe that the career of their son is infinitely more important than that of their daughter'².

1 Institute of Careers Officers' evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee on the Anti-Discrimination Bill, p. 116.

2 Institute of Careers Officers' evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee on the Anti-Discrimination Bill, p. 113.

The conditioning to lower aspirations has, unfortunately, the damaging effect of creating in the minds of girls the misconception that their role in society is essentially a supporting one: competing with boys is outside socially accepted norms and girls, therefore, must not indulge in it. More unfortunate, is the fact that this precept follows girls throughout their adult life and ultimately leads them to a lack of inclination to compete with men for available job opportunities for fear of infringing those social norms. Apart from drastically curtailing the range of openings, fear of 'unfeminine' behaviour brings out in many girls and women a feeling of apathy towards their own career development. The problem was well evidenced by Audrey Hunt in her 1968 social survey. Her findings on the subject revealed that 'it was only the highly educated women who placed a high value on the opportunities for promotion, training and using skills' aspects of a job. One may wonder whether this is not a reflection of the subscription by many women to the myth that women in responsibility are mainly 'neurotic and overbearing females who work out their frustrations on their unfortunate subordinates'.

Conservative social attitudes on the part of women remain widespread in the U.K., but it would be somewhat naive to 'generalise about women as if the entire sex reacted in a uniform manner to work opportunities. There can be little doubt that in both World Wars many women greatly enjoyed the opportunity of learning new skills and tackling unfamiliar and responsible work'¹. It would also be unfair to ascribe solely to men's parochial attitudes, the perpetuation of built-in prejudices against the promotion of women to higher echelons of employment or to newly available opportunities. There is, in fact, abundant evidence that 'increased career opportunities for large numbers of women have not always been helped either by the attitudes of the very few women who have been successful in achieving promotion

1 Nancy Seear. Position of Women in Industry. Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations. Research Paper 11, HMSO, London, 1968.

in competition with men. Far from promoting opportunities for other women they may, in fact, block them'¹.

Husbands' attitudes to wives working are still largely determined by the social concept that the male is the head of the household and therefore the sole bread winner. For many men in a wide range of occupations, the sociological and psychological adjustments necessary as a result of increasing financial pressures on the family resources are only made with great difficulty. This is often more traumatic than the adaptation to the sharing of some of the domestic chores. In fact, some husbands refuse to recognise the new situation and take refuge in some sort of lofty male attitude without much consideration for the additional commitments befalling the female partner. Others attempt to minimise the psychological impact by introducing fine distinctions between the causes which have led to a change in their wife's traditional role. One study of managers and their wives found that a distinction was made between a wife working of her own volition and one working because of financial necessity. Only in the latter case did the husband feel obliged to assist with domestic work².

As employees themselves, many men fear the competition of women in their own labour market. This is particularly true in the skilled trades where, as in the professions, restriction of labour supply has always been a factor in the maintenance of a strong bargaining position. This fact accounts for much of the long-standing trade union resistance at lower levels to the entry of women.

Employers' attitudes in regard to working women, their training and promotion opportunities on equal terms with men, are more based on doubts about women's commitment to work than on their lack of capacity. One strong

1 Nancy Seear. Op.cit.

2 J.M. & R.E. Pahl, *Managers and Their Wives*. Allen Lane, 1971, p. 135.

and familiar argument against recruiting women is that relating to their higher costs of employment, due to their propensity for absenteeism and frequent changes of occupation. This is borne out to an extent by official statistics but may be as much a function of the level of work done as of sex: casual absenteeism is rather unusual among women doing responsible and interesting work. Another forceful objection is that of acceptability to colleagues. Yet in a study of eight large companies it was found that almost every job mentioned as unsuitable for a woman was actually being performed by a woman in one other company. A third reason usually put forward is the existence of special legislation protecting certain manual women workers, the effect of which is to increase the cost and inconvenience involved in their employment. This protective legislation may shortly be altered, should the 'Equal Opportunities' Bill ever see the light of day.

b) Working Women's Attitudes

Notwithstanding what has been said above, large numbers of women do go out to work in Britain but there have not been many systematic studies of their attitudes.

The most comprehensive survey on the matter remains that commissioned by the Department of Employment in 1966 with a view to elucidating the reasons why women, particularly married women, enter the labour market and to what extent their decision might alter with circumstances¹. The figures below are, therefore, based on information that is seven years old, but the attitudes to work they record are unlikely to have altered substantially during the intervening period.

Domestic responsibilities are still perhaps the major factor governing women's attitude to work. Nearly one-third of the housewives who went out to work had domestic responsibility for at least four persons, including themselves, and the extent to which women can successfully combine the

1 A. Hunt. A Survey of Women's Employment. Op.cit.

roles of worker and housewife obviously influences their attitude to employment. Most women do their own catering and housework, and the help they received, according to the survey, was as follows:

Working Housewives

No help received	27.3%
Help received from husband	54.8%
Help received from children, all ages ..	26.3%
Help received from others in household..	7.5%
Help received from neighbour	0.9%
Paid help	6.5%

Preliminary results of the 1971 Census (1% sample) show that one in six women (one in five in 1960) are also the chief economic supporter of the household.

Among the women in the sample who were working, the four most frequently named attractions for going out to work were:

Financial attractions	80.8%
For company	39.5%
To dispel boredom	29.5%
For independence	11.5%

A majority of working women also expressed satisfaction with their jobs:

Very satisfied	55.4%
Fairly satisfied	37.3%
Not very satisfied	5.4%
Very dissatisfied	1.2%
Dont know	0.7%

All women were asked which were, or would be, the three aspects of a job which most appealed to them. The answers were:

Easy travelling distance	65.3%
Pleasant working companions	65.1%
Good working conditions	59.3%
Understanding management	32.4%
High wages or salary	30.4%
Opportunities to use skills	19.5%
Opportunities for promotion	11.9%
Opportunities for training	10.3%
Dont know	1.0%

This table reveals a different order of priorities from that of male workers, for whom pay and security rank higher.

Smaller and more detailed studies in the electronics¹, clothing², food and pottery industries throw further light on the relationships between such variables as age, marital status and stage of the family cycle - and women's attitudes and expectations of work. The degree of family commitment again frequently appears as crucial and part-time workers are often among the most satisfied since their expectations are low: 'convenient hours', 'proximity to home' and 'friendly atmosphere' are valued more highly than the level of pay or interest of the work. Full-time women workers in the different studies vary in their satisfaction with pay but are generally critical of the boring work, lack of consultation and irksome management control systems.

1 A.B. Hill, R. Wild, C.C. Ridgeway: 'Women at Work'. 1969.

2 Economic Development Committee for Clothing - 1973. Employees' Attitudes and their Effect on Labour Turnover in the Clothing Industry.

c) Job Segregation and Categorisation

In most industries at present, rates of pay are classified according to various categories, such as, young persons; unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled male or female; male clerical; female clerical, etc. This often corresponds to segregated areas of work, at least in the manual grades. The Equal Pay Act may not make much difference, therefore, if there are no women doing 'the same or roughly equivalent' work to a man: the name of the 'women's' pay grade will be changed, perhaps to Grade 1, and the rate of pay will be raised to that of the current lowest male rate, but job segregation will remain. Some firms are attempting to avoid increases to the lowest male rate at this time, for this reason. Others are fixing the lowest rate at a level below which a man would be willing to work, or are moving men out of the lowest grades.

Evidence to Parliamentary Select Committees¹ also shows that firms which are using job evaluation, and implementing Equal Pay for Jobs 'rated as of equal value', are doing it in such a way as to ensure that women's jobs are not rated equally with men's. This can be done by giving lower points or 'weighting' to 'female' skills, such as, dexterity and more to physical strength job requirements. Alternatively, men's jobs are renamed even if involving the same work, e.g., women remain 'shop assistants', men become 'warehousemen'. 'To get women's jobs classified as being of a high grade ... is where the problem begins'².

Thus, while work may not be classified as 'women's grade' it will remain so and the difficulty of moving out of that grade into another may be even more difficult than at present, unless women are able - and willing - to make use of procedures under any Equal Opportunity legislation.

1 House of Lords I, Edward Bishop Evidence, p. 190, para. 3. House of Commons Select Committee on Expenditure, p. XV.

2 Evidence of National Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations to House of Commons Select Committee, p. XV, and p. 82.

Thus, although the intention may be that a common job evaluation should help progress towards regarding jobs, as such, rather than a man's job or a woman's job, this will obviously take a long time. An example of the strength of existing attitudes and practices may be found in a recent study¹ at a food manufacturing factory where the men on night shift were paid an additional allowance and had more days off while, in return, most of them performed the tasks that were done by women on the day shift. These men felt that the night allowance was, in part, a payment for performing 'women's work' and they expected their shop stewards to use this as an argument in bargaining despite management's counter-claim that they should be paid less as the girls on days performed the same tasks more efficiently.

Non manual work is somewhat less rigidly segregated but, except in journalism, jobs demanding typing skills are almost always regarded as 'women's work'. The Civil Service has probably gone furthest in opening up all non-industrial grades to men and women equally.

d) Promotion Prospects

It has already been shown that social attitudes and interrupted career patterns make promotion difficult for many women.

Examples of promotion problems are found in all grades of employment and have been abundantly documented in Evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee. The Report picked out some examples of this: in the Civil Service in 1970, only 9% of the top 'administration' group were female, for instance, although positive attempts are now being made to increase women's opportunities and to ensure that 'fitness for the job' is the only criteria for promotion. In the medical field, a very small proportion of hospital consultants are women, but more recent figures show a slight increase in the numbers of women obtaining registrar posts in certain categories. Promotion prospects for women may even be deteriorating

1 Benyon and Blackburn, op. cit., 1972, p. 22.

in some respects. For example, nursing has traditionally been a women's profession (95%), with scope for promotion, but now under hospital reorganisation, men are often appointed as 'Chief Nursing Officers' and replace traditional 'Matrons'. Other new senior hospital administration posts are more highly paid and usually filled by men.

In teaching, too, where women are in a majority (maintained schools: 42% men to 58% women) in the lower graded posts, the ratio of women to men is 76 : 24, while in the higher grades it is 40 : 60. Again, with the move towards bigger and more co-educational schools, the trend is for the majority of headships and senior posts to go to men. There is a similar dominance of men in university echelons; in 1971, 11% of university teachers and 44 out of 3,281 professors were women.

The problems, generally, of obtaining promotion in other professional posts can be gauged from the small numbers of women in the professions. In public life, too, women play a very small role - very few are elected as Members of Parliament, or as representatives on important public boards.

Nationalised industries, so far, have differed very little from private industry in the small number of women in top management, although British Steel is now adopting a positive policy aimed at identifying and promoting female talent. Seear, Robert and Brock writing in 1964 said 'prejudice runs like a scarlet thread through all the patterns of this study: prejudice against putting women in positions of authority'. The House of Lords Committee also found that 'women may be appointed as clerical, production and sales supervisors of women's sections in industry and commerce, but

they are often treated less responsibly than male supervisors and it is rare for promotion to go further; it is even rarer for these positions to be a step on the ladder up line management as they still are for some men'. In banking and insurance, where there are large numbers of women, few rise to management posts.

The Institute of Personnel Management has shown concern over this and advises its members to give particular attention to the career development of women personnel officers with scope to reach the important posts in Industrial Relations and Management Development and not be confined to recruitment, training or records. It also suggests ways in which female talent should be identified and promoted throughout the company.

Journalism is another area where many women are employed, but on newspapers very few gain senior editorial posts and, in broadcasting, whether appearing in public or working on the administrative side, few reach senior positions¹.

(7) Facilities for Working Mothers

Increased participation of married women in the economic life of the nation has not, unfortunately, been accompanied by a proportional increase in adequate child care facilities. The present provisions for day nurseries, nursery schools and other social amenities are far from being adequate. Yet, there is an enormous demand, both actual and potential, the major part of which is left unattended. The Yudkin Report², for instance, estimates that approximately 750,000 children are in need of child care and nursery facilities.

1 See Evidence of Women in Media, NUJ, and Also Women in the BBC in Women in Top Jobs, Part III.

2 An enquiry carried out by a working party, chairman, Dr. J. Yudkin, for the National Society of Children's Nurseries.

a) Facilities Available for Under Five Year Olds

There is no coherent and unified system of facilities for under five year olds available in Britain. Existing provisions consist mainly of:

- Nursery schools, nursery classes
- and day care facilities.

Because of differences in official data presentation, comparisons between the various parts of the United Kingdom are difficult to make. For this reason, and in the interest of brevity, tables included all refer to England or England and Wales. Nonetheless, the situation shown is considered to be reasonably representative of the other parts.

i) Nursery Schools and Classes

Nursery schools, where the concentration is on care and education, are either maintained (i.e. state-run or grant-aided) or independent. An official tag of recognition can be attached to those independent schools which are accepted by the authorities as 'efficient'. Both types of institutions fall under the aegis of the Department of Education and Science. The number of pupils which attended nursery schools in England in 1971 and 1972 is shown in Table 40.

TABLE 40
NURSERY SCHOOLS

<u>Pupils aged 2 - 4</u>	<u>January 1971</u>	<u>January 1972</u>
<u>Full-time:</u>		
All maintained schools	260,109	278,972
Direct grant schools	695	609
Independent schools recognised as efficient	5,500	5,954
Other independent schools	10,697	10,543
All schools ¹	<u>277,001</u>	<u>296,078</u>
<u>Part-time:</u>		
All maintained schools	58,171	72,152
Direct grant schools	620	611
Independent schools recognised as efficient	3,854	4,076
Other independent schools	9,583	9,158
All schools ¹	<u>72,228</u>	<u>85,997</u>

1 Excluding special schools

Source: Statistics of Education, Schools, HMSO, 1972.

In addition, the state system provides nursery classes on the same sites as primary schools, but with separate staffing and facilities. The main expansion in nursery education has come from the proliferation of such classes. The marked growth in attendance, especially in part-time attendance, between 1971 and 1972 is well shown in Table 41.

TABLE 41
NURSERY CLASSES IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

<u>Children aged 2 - 4</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
Full-time	29,849	30,366
Part-time	<u>33,737</u>	<u>42,988</u>
	63,586	73,354

Source: Statistics of Education, Schools, HMSO, 1972.

ii) Day Care Facilities

Day care facilities, where the emphasis is on caring rather than on education, can be classified as follows:

- Day nurseries, i.e. local authority and private day nurseries
- Registered premises and registered persons
- Pre-school playgroups
- Home helps

Local Authority and Private Day Nurseries

Local authority day nurseries provide a day care service for priority children from six weeks to five years of age. They are normally open for ten or eleven hours on five days a week for fifty or fifty-two weeks of the year. Standards of accommodation and care are laid down by the Department of Health and Social Security. Day nurseries are staffed in an approximate ratio of 1 : 5 by trained

nursery nurses. Charges may be made but should not exceed, in principle, a sum based on the actual cost plus a fair proportion of central administration costs. When fixing charges, local authorities have to keep in mind the means of the persons concerned. On the DHSS's own admission, there were at the 21 March 1972, 466 local authority day nurseries providing for 22,574 children¹. This contrasts with a demand for priority children alone (i.e. principally those with one parent only and at work), estimated at approximately 85,000 places.

Local authorities are also responsible for the registration of private nurseries and have a duty to see that certain standards are maintained. There are, at present, 853 private institutions registered with local authorities and providing day care for 23,000 children. These are essentially children of middle and upper-income parents who can afford this type of child care. Private nursery fees vary but may run as high as £8.00 to £10.00 a week. In addition, hours of opening are somewhat limited from 9.00 a.m. to 4.00 p.m., which is of little help to the average working mother whose working hours are more likely to extend to 5.00 p.m. or 6.00 p.m.

Registered Persons and Registered Premises

The other main form of full-day care is provided by child-minders who, as a group, have flourished in recent years because of the shortage of day nurseries. Child-minders are private persons, usually women, who provide both all day and sessional care for children under five in their own home against financial reward.

There are 24,331 registered child-minders in Britain providing full-day care for 55,334 children. These people are generally selected among women who have successfully reared children of their own or who

1 Memorandum to the House of Commons Select Committee on the 'Employment of Women' by the Department of Health & Social Security, Session 1972/73.

have child care qualifications. The Department of Health is very concerned about the standards of the service provided, but in spite of all the precautions and increased controls, it is quite likely that a substantial number of registered child-minders do not provide care of as high a standard as could be desired. The problem, however, lies more with the widespread development of illicit child-minding. Illicit child-minders are unregistered and, consequently, evade all controls from government inspectors or local authority social workers. This makes child-minding more hazardous, particularly so in overcrowded urban areas.

Registered premises

Registered premises include those premises registered under Section I of the Nurseries and Child-minder Act 1948 for the care of children, amended by Section 60 of the Public Health Act 1968. They do not include factory premises used by some employers for the provisions of creches and other child care facilities.

In terms of total numbers, factory nurseries are relatively unimportant, catering for only 2,156 full-time and 250 part-time children. In addition, the majority of them are concentrated in areas of high female employment. For instance, of the 71 factory nurseries located in England and providing all-day care, 21 are in the textile areas of the North West. In the public sector, where female employees are also found in abundance, there is a growing demand for the development of office-based day care facilities. Thus, 77 day nurseries have been set up in hospitals in England and Wales for staff children. At the Cardiff office of the Inland Revenue, an experimental day nursery has been recently set up to look after the children of their civil servants.

Trade Unions are somewhat divided on the subject of office or factory-based day care facilities. Their main objection is that by tying the provision of day care to that of job continuity, coercive pressures could be exerted over employees in relation to their children. They also argue that it is not the responsibility of employers to provide such amenities

but that of the community. Most unions, however, accept the shortcomings of the present situation and would like to see both forms encouraged. Some, even suggest that employers should be granted special incentives.

Pre-school Playgroups

Pre-school playgroups are private organisations¹, some of which are registered under the 1948 Act, run on a neighbourhood basis and staffed by voluntary helpers. Many groups are affiliated to the Pre-school Playgroups Association which claim 7,500 members (groups and individuals) caring for 275,000 children. The actual number of children is difficult to estimate since attendance records are not required, except for those groups registered under the Act.

The movement represents, in fact, the most remarkable expansion in pre-school British education since the middle of the last decade.

b) Facilities for Over Five Year Olds

Very little attention appears to be given to after school and holiday activities for older children of working mothers. Holiday camps, even those privately organised, are few in number and very few schools allow use of playground facilities during the vacations. Some local authorities are now showing concern over this and attempt to encourage the development of 'play leadership' schemes in schools and parks in the summer. British school holidays last about 6 weeks in the summer, 4 weeks at Easter and 3 weeks at Christmas. The provision of school meals or canteen facilities is normal in most schools during term time, but very rare during the holiday periods yet it is of vital importance for working mothers. This is probably the most pressing problem and an urgent reassessment of the situation is no doubt urgently required.

c) Future Developments

The latest White Paper on Education², which sets out the educational

1 Initially formed by middle-class mothers to remedy the lack of provision for pre-school children, the idea spread to other areas with even greater needs.

2 Education: A Framework for Expansion, HMSO, 1972.

policies for the next decade, envisages the extension of part-time education to the great majority of children aged three and four and that of full-time education to 15% of them. To achieve this target the contribution of private nursery schools and playgroups will be taken into consideration and building programmes of £15 million each will be authorised during the years 1974/75 and 1975/76. The proposals, although widely welcome, have also attracted criticism on the grounds of insufficiency.

On the subject of day care, the DHSS memorandum to the House of Commons Select Committee¹ recognises that 'present provisions for the full-day care of priority children leaves a considerable unmet need' but goes on to point out that 'with each local authority day nursery place now costing in the order of £1,000 to provide and £500 each a year to run, the gap will take many years to close. Further, limitations of building, finance and staff are such that day nurseries cannot in the short-term be an instrument of substantial expansion in the full-day care field although within resources available and competing priorities, a continuing modest expansion should be achieved'.

(8) Financial Incentives and Fiscal Constraints

It is frequently contended that 'social security is about women'². Women are certainly in the majority as recipients of benefits, but the differential way in which the system works interacts significantly with the pattern of employment.

One of the basic assumptions of the Beveridge Report 1942, on which Britain's social security is based, was that married women should be classified as 'dependents' and be entitled to most social security benefits only on the basis of their husband's insurance. The justification for treating women, in particular married women, differently from men was founded on grounds of their legal status (which still remains secondary

1 Op. cit.

2 Houghton, Paying for the Social Services, IEA, 1968.

and inferior to that of a man) and conjecture about their economic status, i.e. that they were not normally in paid employment. As has been pointed out recently, this assumption about women's economic status is more out of date now than when it was originally made¹.

A major reorganisation of the social security and taxation system is now taking place in Britain, involving a co-ordination of the two systems into one, but the Social Security Act 1973 (due to come into force April 1975) perpetuates this basic assumption, despite considerable pressure on the government by women's and welfare organisations to change it. Nor does the proposed equal opportunity legislation seem likely to alter anything.

a) National Insurance Contributions

At the present time, flat rate and graduated rate national insurance contributions are paid for by employees and employers weekly. To qualify for the full rate of benefit any employee must:

- i) have paid at least 26 contributions as an employed person (class I) or self-employed (class II) since becoming insured;
- ii) she must have paid, or been credited with, at least 50 contributions in the appropriate contribution year.

To get any benefit she must satisfy the first point. There are also special rules for school leavers and other new entrants to insurance.

Married women who select not to pay contributions, or persons earning under £7.00 a week, or working less than 8 hours, pay only a contribution of 4p a week to cover industrial injury contributions.

b) Unemployment and Sickness Benefit

Benefits paid to men and single women are £7.35 per week (from October 1973), while married women who pay the full national insurance contribution receive only £5.15. As most married women opt to pay only the married

1 See Labour Party Green Paper op. cit. p. 20 and H. Land 'Women, Work and Social Security', Social and Economic Administration, July 1971, p. 185-8.

woman's contribution they are not eligible for benefit and, thus, have no incentive to register as unemployed.

TABLE 42

UNEMPLOYED REGISTER : ENTITLEMENT TO BENEFIT

8 FEBRUARY, 1971

<u>Benefit</u>	<u>Men</u> <u>000's</u>	<u>Single*</u> <u>Women</u> <u>000's</u>	<u>Married</u> <u>Women</u> <u>000's</u>	<u>Boys &</u> <u>Girls</u> <u>000's</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>000's</u>
Receiving unemployment benefit only	225	28	19	10	312
Receiving unemployment benefit & supplementary allowance	80	5	1	4	90
Receiving supplementary allowance only	145	16	3	7	171
Others registered for work	101	13	16	18	149
Total	581	62	39	39	721

* Includes widowed and divorced women.

Source: L. Lloyd, Women Workers in Britain, 1972.

TABLE 43

RATES OF BENEFIT

<u>From October 1973</u>	<u>Single Women (18-60 Years)</u>	<u>Married* Women (18-60 Years)</u>
Unemployment benefit	£7.35	£5.15
Sickness benefit (first 6 months)	£7.35	£5.15
Invalidity benefit (after 6 months)	£7.75	£7.75

* Benefits may be raised to £7.35 in certain circumstances, essentially where the woman is the breadwinner.

Source: Department of Health and Social Security.

Further increases can be claimed for adult dependents, although there are different rules for a married man and a married woman: a married woman can only claim a husband or male relative as a dependent if he is incapable of self-support because of physical or mental incapacity. Similarly, a married woman living with her husband cannot receive an increase in benefit on behalf of her child unless her husband is incapable of self-support.

Earnings related supplements to sickness or unemployment benefits may also be paid at a maximum of £7.00 (up to January 1974) to those receiving flat rate benefit and having reckonable earnings of a minimum amount.

The earnings limit or 'disregard' (£2.00 at February 1973) was shown in evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee to operate very harshly for unsupported mothers. It was difficult for such mothers to get part-time work at such a low level of earnings: they either had to work full-time (with all the problems of child care) and do without benefit, or stay at home and attempt to live on the benefit alone. It was urged that the earnings 'disregard' be raised to £4.00, or related to the number of children¹.

Widowed mothers have an allowance for themselves and for each child, free from earnings rule or means test. They, therefore, have a freer choice of working full-time or part-time or irregularly, in accordance with family needs. The difference in degree of dependence on supplementary benefit is much marked between widows with dependent children and 'other mothers', deserted, unmarried, separated or divorced.

Under the Social Security Act 1973 it will no longer be possible in future to base contributions for benefit on the number of weekly contributions paid in a year, or through a working life. Instead, it will be based on an 'earnings factor' derived from the amount of contributions paid in relation to the amount of earnings on which these contributions have been paid.

The present structure of unemployment and sickness benefit will remain, adapted to the new earnings related contributions and will consist of two parts:

- i) a flat rate element
- ii) and an earnings related supplement.

1 House of Commons, op. cit, p. xxvi & p. 140 -157, 161.

The first contribution condition for short-term benefits (unemployment, sickness, maternity) is that the 'earnings factor' based on contribution of the appropriate class actually paid in any one tax year since age 16, must be not less than 25 times the lower earnings limit for that year.

The second contribution condition for these benefits is that the earnings factor, based on contributions paid or credited in the tax year relevant to the claim for benefit, must not be less than 50 (for maternity grant, 25) times the lower earnings limit for that year.

As an example, persons earning between £8.00 - £48.00 a week would pay 5.2% of earnings contribution.

Married women and most widows will still have the right to opt out of paying full contributions to the basic scheme. Then, they will contribute at a reduced rate of 0.6% of earnings for industrial injury benefit and towards the cost of the National Health Service. Self-employed people will pay Class II contributions at a standard rate of £1.68 per week, but at the start of the scheme there will be a lower rate for women, beginning with the existing women's rate and rising to the full rate over five years. Married women and widows will be entitled to choose whether or not to pay Class II contributions.

Under the new scheme, contributions will be collected under the PAYE tax system, not by separate insurance stamps. Benefits will also be paid as tax credits.

The proposed tax credit system will simplify the present system whereby the state 'pays out' with one hand and 'claims back' with the other, but there have been various criticisms of the likely effects of the proposals on women:

i) Family Allowance

This is, at present, normally paid direct to the mother at a rate of 90p per week for 2 children under 19 years of age in full-time education,

and a further £1.00 a week for each additional child. However, there has been such strong protest over the proposal that this should, in future, be paid through the husband's tax credits that the government seem likely to continue the present system.

ii) Family Income Supplement

This was introduced in August 1971 to alleviate problems of poverty. It is a means-tested benefit in that benefit is payable to an amount not more than half the difference between the family's gross and the prescribed amount. Women have benefitted considerably from this, but the take-up rate has been much lower than expected and not enough is known, as yet, about it to offer explanations. Family income supplement is normally paid to the 'head of the household' only, however.

The proposed tax credit scheme will abolish Family Income Supplement and will exclude very low earners. Thus, those below the limit, part-time workers, and those living on Supplementary Benefit, at present, may be adversely affected¹.

c) Occupational Sick-Pay Schemes

In Britain it is deliberate government policy to leave it, as far as possible, to employers and employees to negotiate matters of benefit, above the state's minimum provisions. There is, thus, enormous variety in occupational sick-pay schemes both within, and between, the public and private sectors of industry. In general, the coverage of women by such schemes is considerably less than that of men. It will be recalled that in all industries and services, 64.9% of male and 47.9% of female workers are covered by some sort of sick-pay arrangements. Taking manufacturing industries only, the figures are 49% of male and 33.7% of female manual workers covered. On the other hand, 93% of male and 89.5% of female white-collar workers are in sick-pay schemes.

1 Evidence of NCUMC, House of Commons, op. cit. p. 144, para 22.

One study¹ of sick-pay provisions in forty groups of the public sector found that usually they covered all full-time workers. No distinction between men and women, in allowances or eligibility, was found, except in so far as women tend to be part-time employees, and occasionally minimum age or length of service qualifications may work against them.

Studies of sick-pay in the private sector², show that some national collective agreements at industry level have sick-pay provisions (not, for example, engineering), but this is not always obligatory on all employers or, may be of a minimum nature. What information there is on big company sick-pay schemes for manual employees, shows that most of them are more generous than public sector schemes. Where married women elect not to pay national insurance flat rate contributions, most schemes still deduct from benefit an amount equivalent to national insurance benefits as if full contributions had been paid. Sick-pay schemes for non-manual employees in the private sector do not usually distinguish women, but in those schemes that benefit senior managers or those designed largely at 'management discretion' they may be slightly less well covered.

d) Maternity Benefits and Allowances

At present, all women who are covered by their, or their husband's, insurance get £25.00 maternity grant. This can be claimed at any time from nine weeks before the baby is expected, up to three months after the baby is born. It is also paid for a still birth if a pregnancy lasted at least twenty-eight weeks, and for each child born at the confinement who is still living twelve hours afterwards.

1 Industrial Relations Review & Report, September 1971, 1973: Incomes Data Study, No. 26, April 1972, No. 47, February 1973.

2 Incomes Data Study, No. 30, July 1972 & No. 50, April 1973.

Those women who pay their own national insurance receive, in addition, a flat rate weekly allowance for up to eighteen weeks: this may start in the eleventh week before the baby is expected, but not earlier than the fourteenth week before. The allowance continues to be paid only as long as the woman does not go out to work. It can be increased by further allowances for dependents, but in most cases, maternity allowances do not carry direct earnings related supplements.

The rules of timing of maternity benefit claims are complex but allow certain flexibilities on account of variations in the expected date of confinement.

Under the Social Security Act 1973, a lump-sum maternity grant will be payable, based on the contribution record of the claimant, or her husband, as at present. There is also provision for a maternity allowance payable on the basis of the women's own contributions, as at present, but the conditions will be based on tax years as for sickness benefit. In future, maternity allowance will also attract earnings related supplement directly, instead of any entitlement to the supplement being derived from an underlying title to sickness benefit, as at present. Other rules for payment of benefit will be unchanged.

e) Domiciliary Services

Domestic help may be provided by local authorities in cases of extreme need, including confinement, but no allowance is made for these in benefits payable.

'Home helps' are provided by local authorities, basically for a social purpose, with priority related to the needs of the elderly. Their availability varies considerably in different parts of the country and it is possible that a local authority might make them available to attract persons with particularly needed skills out to work, such as, doctors or teachers. Even the possibility of making private arrangements for domestic help is very limited in some areas and women cannot usually claim tax relief on this expenditure.

The Labour Party Study Group¹, considered that a 'considerable expansion is needed of domiciliary services to help the man, or woman, caring for disabled or elderly relatives at home, including a far more realistic assessment for home helps which should be based on the dependent's income'.

f) Retirement Benefits

Pensions in Britain traditionally make a distinction between men and women based on actuarial assumptions that women live longer and should retire at sixty. Under the 1973 Social Security Act, all female employees will receive a pension at the age of sixty (male: sixty-five). This will consist of two elements:

- i) a guaranteed rate related to the contributions paid and the length of time the contributions have accumulated;
- ii) a profit sharing addition in the form of bonuses.

The amount will be similar to the present flat rate retirement pension of £6.75 (October 1973) for single women and widows. On the other hand, if a woman has not worked for one-tenth of her working life between sixteen and sixty years she will get a proportionately smaller amount. A married woman, who has opted out of paying full national insurance contributions at present gets £4.15 and for the future will get a similar amount, dependent on whether her husband has paid all his contributions.

Men and women will also be entitled to a second pension under the proposed scheme through either:

- a) the state reserve scheme
- or
- b) an occupational scheme.

1 Op. cit. p. 24, para. 6.21.

At the moment, the basic old age pension is increased by contributions to the government graduated pension scheme, but this will be scrapped in 1975.

a) The Reserve Pension Scheme

Proposed by the Social Security Act 1973, it is aimed at providing an earnings related pension for all employees not covered by a recognised occupational pension scheme.

Married women and widows will not have the right to opt out of paying full contributions to the reserve pension scheme at the rate of 1.5% of earnings (2.5% employer contribution), unless they are in a job covered by a recognised occupational scheme. Low wage earners, (less than £8.00 per week) will not have to pay compulsory contributions but may do so voluntarily so as to maintain their entitlement to basic pensions.

Since women retire earlier, and are expected to live longer, their pensions will be lower than those for men, even when they have paid in the same amount of money. They also usually earn less than men and are likely to have non-continuous employment: retired women will, thus, get less, based on less, for a longer period than men. Another disadvantage of the reserve scheme for all employees is that there is no tax relief available on the money paid into it.

b) The intention would appear to be to encourage private occupational schemes, but, at present, only 28% of women are covered by these (62% of men).

The legislation sets minimum standards for the recognition of occupational pension schemes and requires occupational rights to be preserved on a change of employment.

Occupational schemes will qualify for recognition if they satisfy the Occupational Pension Board of their financial soundness, and if they provide a minimum level of retirement pension, representing at least 0.7% (1% for men) of a woman's reckonable earnings throughout the whole period of recognised pensionable employment, where the scheme provides for periodic increases after pensionable age. If it does not do this, the minimum personal pension under the standard test must be at least 0.9% (1.25% for men) of reckonable earnings. There are also regulations about alternatives to the standard test in case of 'money purchase' schemes and 'final salary' schemes.

Certain minimum death benefits are laid down - generally at least half of the minimum personal pension. The rules for preservation and transfer of minimum benefits depend on whether more, or less, than five years service is completed. If a person has attained the age of twenty-six and completed more than five years service, the pension fund may be transferred by agreement, or it may stay in.

Women may, thus, still be differentiated by retiring age and life expectancy in private occupational schemes. Although this is not compulsory most schemes continue to do so and most company booklets explaining schemes do so in terms of a male person.

A man, too, can always secure a pension for dependents if he dies in service; a woman can normally only get a lump sum. No tax relief has previously been allowed on contributions to an occupational scheme if the scheme extends pension rights to widowers who have been dependent on their wives. This restriction is now being removed.

Some occupational schemes in Britain have different entry conditions for men and women. Some exclude women altogether. In general, this is an area in which trade unions are only now beginning to take a widespread interest and bringing within the scope of collective bargaining.

Matters related to 'retirement, marriage and death' are excluded from the requirements of the Equal Pay Act 1970 and the proposed Equal Opportunity Bill contains similar provisions, according to the government

consultative document. Since neither these, nor the Social Security Act 1973, are yet in force, there is still continuing pressure by many organisations for the retirement conditions for men and women to be identical. 'Both sexes should be able to retire at any time between the ages of sixty and seventy with appropriate adjustments to their pensions', proposes the Report of a Labour Party Study Group¹.

g) Tax System

The fundamental principle on which the taxation of the income of married couples is founded in Britain is contained in Section 354 of the Income Tax Act 1952, which provides that, as long as husband and wife are living together, the wife's income shall be deemed for tax purposes 'to be his income and not her income', i.e., the two incomes are added together and treated as one. The husband is charged on his wife's income and receives all the income tax allowances due to husband and wife on the total joint income (except the wife's earned income relief which is set against her own earnings only, and tax is deducted under PAYE in the normal way)².

One modification of the 'aggregation' principle was made in the Finance Act 1971, S.23 by which, where husband and wife jointly elect, the wife's earned income 'may be separately taxed as if she were a single person with no other income, on the condition that her husband receives the single person's allowance instead of the higher personal allowance. Whether this will reduce the total tax bill of a married couple will depend on their personal circumstances, but as a general rule, it will not unless they are liable to surtax and may not do so even then. This does affect assessment of the wife's investment income.

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- 1 Opposition Green Paper, Discrimination Against Women. Op. cit., para. 6.18, p. 23 - 4.
 - 2 Most of this and the following para. is from the Report of the Labour Party Study Group, p. 25, q. v. for further details and discussion.

It may, however, increase the likelihood of top-level qualified women returning to work, since as Seear remarks 'until this reform was introduced, a surtax paying husband might well cast an unappreciative eye on an absentee wife whose activities appeared expressly designed to increase his tax bill and to curtail his comforts'.

No alteration, of course, is made in the denial of the right of a wife to have the same privacy in financial affairs as her husband, as she has no right to know her husband's income.

Other personal relief, such as, tax allowance for children, are given to the husband, unless he authorises the tax office to set part of this against the wife's earned income or, in event of separation or divorce. A woman, to get the income tax allowance for children, has to prove she maintains them, a husband does not. The Labour Party Study Group's proposals argue that there should be taxation on the person receiving the income (regardless of sex or marital status) and that personal relief for domestic and family obligations should be given to the person actually fulfilling them, on the basis of real, not assumed, dependence.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. At the end of 1972, the working population of Great Britain numbered approximately 25 million. Out of this total, 9 million (36%) were women.
2. Most of the increase in the British labour force over the last 20 years can be attributed to a notable increase in female employment. In 1951, working women comprised only 32% of total manpower; in 1971 this percentage had risen to 36.1%. Further growth is expected to bring it to 37.8% by 1986.
3. The larger part of the growth has been due to the increase in the numbers of females working part-time, with relatively little change in the number working full-time.
4. Altogether, there are approximately 2.9 million females engaged in part-time occupations: they represent 22% of all women at work in manufacturing industries and about 45% of all those gainfully occupied in the service industries.
5. The proportion of women working on a part-time basis has increased in line with the increasing activity rates of women.
6. In 1966, more than 80% of all part-time females were married and within this overall percentage, more than 90% were 35 years or older.
7. Another remarkable feature of the pattern of growth in female employment is the continued increase in the number of married women in the work force. Married women now comprise 60% of all the female labour force and it is anticipated that this figure will rise to 71.7% by 1986.

8. Because of the large scale re-entry movement, women in the age group 40 and over, form, at present, nearly half of the total female work force.

9. Despite the significant rise in the proportion of women available for work, the present potential supply of female labour has been only partially tapped: the national average of women's activity rate still oscillates around 40%.

10. Women form a low percentage of the overall self-employed population and a minimal one in professions such as chartered accountants, lawyers, architects.

11. There are significant disparities in the numbers of women at work in the various standard regions of the United Kingdom. Yet, a fairly uniform pattern emerges as to the percentage share of female employees within the region total labour force, regardless of the part of the country in which they work.

12. Areas of higher female employment than average are to be found essentially in the South-East, East Anglia and Scotland, while those with lesser averages include the West Midlands, the North and Wales.

13. Significantly higher than average activity rates are found in the regions of the South-East (43%), West Midlands (42.7%) and the North-East (41.7%). Lower than average activity rates are found in the Northern region (37%), Northern Ireland (35.4%), the South-West (32.5%) and Wales (30.8%).

14. Females in employment are heavily concentrated in a relatively limited number of industries. Moreover, this concentration is in industries where wages tend to be low and where the ratio of skilled to semi-skilled and unskilled workers is much below the average.

15. All in all, three major service groups, i.e. the 'professional and scientific services' (23%), the 'distributive trade' and the 'miscellaneous services' account for over 50% of all female employees in employment.

16. Relatively few women are to be found in industries where pay is high. Conversely, in industries where most women are concentrated, the pay for men tends to be low.

17. Contrary to popular belief, married women are relatively evenly distributed throughout the industrial and service sectors of the British economy. Nearly 64% of them are grouped in production industries whilst some 63% enjoy some kind of economic activity in the service sector.

18. There are, on the other hand, considerable variations in the pattern of dispersion of married women engaged in part-time activities. Female part-timers - of which over 80% are married - form about:

- 44% of the female labour force in professional and scientific services
- 43% of that in distribution
- 26% of that working in insurance, banking, finance and other business services
- 48% of the female work force grouped under the heading 'miscellaneous services'.

The comparative figure for manufacturing amounts to just over 20%.

19. Despite the continuous increase in the rate of female employment over the last 20 years, women have continued, in the main, to work in a range of jobs which have largely been their traditional preserve. A 1968 Ministry of Labour enquiry shows that in manufacturing, women form 91% of canteen staff, 62% of clerical and office staff, 45% of

other production workers, but only 5% of skilled production workers, 1% of field maintenance workers and 4% of managers and superintendents. The recent results of the 1972 New Earnings Survey suggest very little basic change in this situation, confirming a widely held opinion that discrimination against women is, in the U.K., less a matter of discrimination in pay, as such, than of unequal opportunities for promotion within industries.

20. Female employees tend to be absent from work more often than their male counterparts. They also tend to change jobs more frequently. The main grounds for the high rates of absenteeism and turnover seem to lie in the incompatibility of the length and/or distribution of working hours together with lack of job enrichment rather than in women's casual attitude to work.

21. The relationship between the average earnings of women and men in manual work has remained remarkably constant over the last 20 years or so. Women manual workers' average weekly earnings as a percentage of men's moved from 55% in 1950 to 51% in 1971. Women's average hourly earnings as a percentage of male's showed also striking stability during that period: from 62% to 61%. All in all, the picture that emerges from a comparative analysis of the movement of wages and earnings is one of progress in women's basic wage rates as against one of continuing wide disparity between male and female average weekly earnings.

22. It is very doubtful that the legislation introduced to hasten the process towards equality of pay will achieve substantial results as only few industries have committed themselves to the stamping out of all discriminatory practices in planned phases.

23. The effects of a steady increase in the marriage rate combined with a younger average in first marriage ages has led to new norms in the pattern of British women's work and home life. Not only do women in the U.K. tend to marry earlier, but they also tend to have children earlier and more closely spaced, thereby considerably extending the scope and length of their working life. Few women, today, have more children beyond the age of 30.

24. Although there is no formal discrimination against girls, education in the U.K. is strongly biased in favour of boys. This stems from the deep-rooted attitudes among parents, teachers and girls themselves, that education is in some sense less essential for girls than for boys.

25. Substantial parental opposition to co-education has led to the situation where, in 1971, over one-third of the total U.K. pupil population were still attending single-sex schools.

26. Imbalances in the pattern of education and training of girls constitute a serious deterrent to the improvement of their educational standards and a limiting factor as to their career prospects. Despite an overall expansion in training facilities, only one girl in four receives training of any kind of one year or more.

27. Career guidance arrangements for girls and women are still very limited in scope and design.

28. Little effort appears to be made to identify the special needs of older women seeking re-entry in the labour market and subsequently to provide those retraining facilities which will ensure openings where older married women will be best suited.

29. Special legal provisions relating to women are few in Britain, outside the taxation and Social Security systems. The only other class of legislation specifically restricting women's employment relates to their actual, or potential, child bearing capacity.

30. Yet, women in Great Britain have no legal right to protection in employment during pregnancy, no legal right to maternity leave and there is no obligation on the employer to keep a women's job open after her confinement, most companies have no formal policies with regard to their pregnant female workers. In fact, to have a formal maternity policy is the exception rather than the rule in Britain today.

31. Despite evidence of improvements in education and job opportunities for women, discrimination seems to exist on a wide scale at all levels of employment.

32. Conservative social attitudes on the part of women remain widespread in the U.K.

33. Husbands' attitudes to wives working are still largely determined by the social concept that the male is the head of the household and therefore the main breadwinner.

34. Domestic responsibilities constitute the major factor governing most women's attitudes to work.

35. Full-time women workers' opinion varies in regard to their satisfaction with pay, but remains generally critical of the boring work, lack of consultation and irksome management control.

36. Increased participation of married women in the economic life of the nation has not been accompanied by a proportional increase in adequate child care facilities. Yet, there is an enormous demand, both actual and potential, the major part of which is left unattended.

37. Women's membership of trade unions is limited. About half of all male employees in the U.K. are union members, but rather less than one woman in five belongs to a union. The contrast is even greater among manual workers than among white-collar employees: just over 60% of male manual workers are trade unionists, compared with 28% among women manual workers. For white-collar employees the corresponding figures are 35% for men and 23% for women.

Total women's membership in unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress was 2,394,900 at the end of 1970, or 24% of overall TUC membership.

38. Women's active involvement in trade union affairs is also limited. There are very few women acting as shopstewards, and only a small number employed as full-time trade union officers, even in those unions with large or majority female memberships. The 1971 TUC Congress, for instance, was attended by 1,064 delegates from 137 affiliated unions: of these, only 50 - coming from 25 unions - were women.

39. Britain's social security system operates to a large extent on the basic assumption that married women are 'dependents' of their husbands and therefore may be entitled to most social security benefits only on their husbands' insurance.

40. It is deliberate government policy to leave it, as far as possible, to employers and employees to negotiate matters of benefit, above the state's minimum provisions. There is, thus, enormous variety in occupational sick pay schemes both within, and between, the public and private sectors of industry. In general, the coverage of women by such schemes is considerably less than that of men.

41. Old age pensions are based on actuarial assumptions that women live longer than men and should retire at sixty. Under the 1973 Social Security Act, all female employees will receive a pension at the age of sixty (male: sixty-five).

42. Taxation of married couples in Britain is based on the principle that, as long as husband and wife are living together, the wife's income shall be deemed, for tax purposes, to be his income and not her income. This, together with the existing structure of personal tax reliefs, is considered in some quarters outmoded, grossly unfair and a denial to the married woman to be treated as a person in her own right.

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WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

IN

IRELAND

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of the present study is to summarise the economic and social situation as it affects the employment of women in Ireland. A good deal of statistical material has been brought together so that background information on the size and structure of the labour force, wage rates, taxation, social welfare and similar topics may be available to those interested in evaluating the Irish situation at the time of this country's accession to the European Economic Community. Emphasis has been placed on the objective facts relevant to the topic, in the belief that attitudes and less tangible expressions of values are frequently influenced by the underlying economic and demographic constraints.

The Irish labour force is relatively small, and still fairly heavily concentrated in agriculture. There is an endemic problem of high unemployment and, until recently, net emigration. These facts must be kept in mind throughout this study of the female labour force in Ireland, and especially when comparisons are being made with the situation in other EEC member countries.

The study has been greatly facilitated by the existence of the Report of the Commission on the Status of Women (issued in December 1972). Frequent and extensive use has been made of the material in this source.

Other data have been drawn from the official returns of the Census of Population and the Census of Industrial Production. In addition, the results of a national survey on Women and Employment published in 1973 by Walsh and O'Toole have been used extensively.¹

¹ See the Bibliography for full references to this and other sources.

I. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT

In this section it is proposed, initially, to utilise Census of Population data on employment and activity rates. It must be understood that these data refer to 'principal occupation or calling' and hence, in the case of married women, tend to exclude part-time employment. Moreover, farmers' wives are not included in this concept of the labour force.¹

1. Level and Structure of Employment:

Out of a total Irish work force of 1.1 million in 1971, there were 288,000 working women. Just over 39,000 of these women were married, and another 25,000 widowed. As Table 1 makes clear, women are not a high percentage of either the total or the non-agricultural labour force; nor is their share of the total rising very significantly. Moreover, according to these Census data, less than 14% of the female labour force consisted of married women. The fact that only 3.5% of the total Irish Labour force consists of married women is the most striking feature of Table 1.

¹ There were 110,000 married farmers in 1966

TABLE 1

WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>
<u>Women as a percentage of the labour force:</u>			
a) Total labour force	25.9	25.9	25.7
b) Non-agricultural labour force	34.2	33.2	31.6
<u>Married women as a percentage of the labour force:</u>			
a) Total labour force	1.9	2.1	3.5
b) Non-agricultural labour force	2.9	3.0	n.a
<u>Percentage distribution of gainfully occupied women by marital status:</u>			
a) Total gainfully occupied:			
- Single	80.0	81.4	77.7
- Married	8.5	8.9	13.6
- Widowed	11.5	9.7	8.7
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
b) Non-agricultural gainfully employed			
- Single	86.5	86.2	n.a
- Married	8.6	9.0	n.a
- Widowed	5.0	4.8	n.a
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u> </u>

Source: Census of Population, 1961, 1966 and 1971
n.a = not available

In Table 2 it is shown that the proportion of women who are neither in the labour force, nor at school, is high. This is, in the first place, a reflection of the fact that the activity rate among married women is very low - only 8% were gainfully occupied in 1971.

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
BY LABOUR FORCE
STATUS

	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>	
	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>
<u>Aged 14 years of age & over:</u>				
At work	19.6	18.8	54.2	51.9
Out of work	0.5	0.6	3.0	3.7
Gainfully occupied	20.1	19.4	57.2	55.6
At school + student, higher education	4.8	6.1	5.1	6.4
Not in labour force or educational system	46.2	45.7	7.9	8.2
<u>Aged under 14 years:</u>	28.9	28.8	29.8	29.8
Total population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of Population, 1966, 1971.

However, among single women, the proportion not in the labour force nor at school is also fairly high. This is shown in Table 3: only 60% of single women aged 14 - 64 were 'gainfully occupied' in 1971, and 15% were in 'home duties' or 'not yet at work'. The overall impression conveyed by these figures is one of a relatively low level of economic activity among Irish women, especially married women.

TABLE 3

WOMEN AGED 14 & 64 CLASSIFIED BY LABOUR FORCE STATUS 1966 & 1971
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Single		Married		Widowed		Total	
	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>
Gainfully occupied	61.9	59.7	5.5	8.0	37.5	35.3	31.4	30.5
At school, student	19.1	25.5	-	-	-	-	8.2	10.4
Home duties, not yet at work, etc.	19.0	14.8	94.5	92.0	62.4	64.7	60.5	59.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of Population, 1966, 1971.

This tendency to remain outside the labour force may be explained in part, at least, by the high level of unemployment endemic in the country, and a general dearth of economic opportunities.

In the Tables below, details are presented on the proportion of each age group of the female population that is gainfully occupied. In Table 4, these rates are presented for the total female population, and in Tables 5, 6 and 7, they are cross-classified by marital status.

It may be seen from Table 4, that the overall participation rate has scarcely changed over the decade 1961 - 1971. There has been some increase in the proportion of young women aged 14 - 19 in the labour force,

when the calculation is made exclusive of the school-going population¹. Apart from this age group, however, the most striking impression conveyed by the data of Table 4 is that of almost total stability in female participation rates over the last decade.

TABLE 4
LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES PER 100 POPULATION
ALL WOMEN

<u>Age</u>	<u>1961</u> <u>(Census)</u>	<u>1966</u> <u>(Census)</u>	<u>1971</u> <u>(Census)</u>
14-19	46.6 (76.2)*	46.6 (81.5)	38.6 (84.1)+
20-24	67.2 (69.0)	66.8 (69.6)	65.0 (68.0)
25-29	38.7	35.6	34.6
30-34	24.0	22.2	21.6
35-39	19.1	19.0	18.9
40-44	19.2	17.9	19.3
45-49	21.0)	19.7	20.1
50-54	)	20.8	21.5
55-59	22.5)	22.4	21.8
60-64	)	21.2	20.7
65-69	18.9	17.2	15.9
70-74	15.0	13.0	10.9
70 & over	11.8	9.8	7.9
14-64	31.3 (33.6)	31.4 (34.2)	30.5 (34.1)

* Excluding those at school and students from population

+ Based on assumed age distribution of school population

¹ The proportion of girls in this age group at school rose dramatically between 1966 and 1971, following the introduction of a new scheme for financing second-level education.

The impression of stability is, however, deceptive, due to the changed proportions of married, single and widowed women in the population. The decade 1961 - 1971, saw a very rapid rise in Irish marriage rates and as a consequence, the proportion of the female population aged 14 - 64, that is single, declined from 54% in 1961 to 41% in 1971. Since single women are much more likely to be in the labour force than either married or widowed women of the same age, this fall in the proportion of the female population that is single would have led to a fall in the participation rate had there not been a rise in participation rates within the single, married or widowed population. That this was in fact the case may be seen from Tables 5, 6 and 7.

TABLE 5
LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES PER 100 POPULATION
SINGLE WOMEN

<u>Age</u>	<u>1961</u> (Census)	<u>1966</u> (Census)	<u>1971</u> (Census)
14-19	47.0 (77.1)*	47.1 (83.2)	39.0 (86.9)+
20-24	83.7 (86.6)	86.4 (91.2)	87.4 (93.6)+
25-29	78.8	83.8	87.6
30-34	70.1	75.9	80.1
35-39	64.4	70.1	75.2
40-44	61.9	65.5	69.9
45-49	56.5)	62.3	67.0
50-54	)	58.0	61.3
55-59	46.2)	53.3	55.3
60-64	)	44.9	46.3
65-69	31.9	32.8	31.9
70-74	22.7	22.1	20.3
75 & over	17.5	17.2	15.5
14-64	60.0 (71.1)	61.9 (76.5)	64.9 (80.1)

* Excluding 'at school' and 'students' from population

+ Estimated on assumed age distribution of school and student population

TABLE 6
LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES PER 100 POPULATION
MARRIED WOMEN

<u>Age</u>	<u>Census</u> <u>1961</u>	<u>Census</u> <u>1966</u>	<u>Census</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>Survey</u> <u>1971</u>
15-19	9.0	9.2	11.9	16.7
20-24	7.7	8.7	15.2	22.5
25-29	5.6	6.2	10.5	10.7
30-34	4.2	4.8	7.2	14.2
35-39	4.3	4.4	6.7	14.3
40-44	5.2	4.7	6.8	15.4
45-49	6.1)	5.7	7.1	16.8
50-54	)	6.0	7.5	
55-59	5.8)	6.2	7.1	13.6)
60-64	)	5.5	5.9)
65-69	3.7	3.7	4.2	
70-74	2.8	2.4	1.9	
75 & over	2.3	2.5	1.5	
15-64	5.4	5.5	8.0	15.3

TABLE 7
LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES PER 100 POPULATION
WIDOWED FEMALES

<u>Age</u>	<u>1961</u> <u>Census</u>	<u>1966</u> <u>Census</u>	<u>1971</u> <u>Census</u>
14-19	-	-	-
20-24	39.4	37.9	43.8
25-29	40.0	45.8	47.3
30-34	46.5	44.0	43.0
35-39	49.2	49.5	46.5
40-44	50.2	49.2	46.7
45-49	45.8)	45.8	44.4
50-54	)	42.8	40.4
55-59	36.8)	36.7	35.3
60-64	)	29.5	27.3
65-69	27.1	21.6	18.0
70-74	18.7	15.0	11.4
75 & over	12.3	8.8	6.4
14-64	40.8	37.6	35.3

It is evident that the proportion of single women not in the labour force declined considerably at each age between 1961 and 1966, and again, between 1966 and 1971. Despite this increase in participation, a considerable proportion of older women were not economically active even in 1971.

Among married women, the labour force participation rate also rose substantially, especially after 1966. However, this rate remains very low - being below 10% at all ages over 30 years. To some extent this may reflect under-enumeration in the Census of married women who work part-time, and for this reason in Table 6, the participation rates calculated from the 1971 survey of women in employment are also presented. According to this survey, considerably higher proportions of married women were in the labour force than is suggested by the Census data, and this contrast is greatest for women aged 35 and over. It is presumably at this age that married women tend to return to employment, frequently on a part-time basis. Even if the inclusive definition of the labour force used in the survey is adopted, however, less than 20% of married women aged 25 - 64 are classified as economically active.

Among widowed women, participation rates have fluctuated somewhat at the younger ages, due perhaps to the very small numbers involved. At age 45, and older, there has been a clear fall in participation rates, both from 1961 to 1966 and 1966 to 1971. This is due primarily to the decreasing number of widows in the agricultural labour force. A calculation of these rates for widows in the non-agricultural social groups revealed virtual stability between 1961 and 1966.

Looking to the future, it seems likely that the overall participation rate of women in the labour force will remain stable, with just under one-third of those aged 14 - 64 gainfully occupied.

As marriage rates continue to rise, and the proportion of single women declines, this stability of overall participation rates will probably be accomplished by a continuation of the decline in the proportion of single women outside the labour force, and a rise in the number of married women in the labour force. As time goes on, more and more of the adjustment will have to be borne by a rise in married female participation rates, because rises in single participation rates will yield fewer and fewer additional workers as the numbers of single women in the older age groups decline. (If the 1971 participation rate among single women aged 45 - 64 had been 80% instead of 57%, the result would have been only 14,000 additional women workers - a mere 5% increase in the labour force, despite such a dramatic rise in the single female participation rate). All of this analysis points to an economic-demographic environment that is favourable to increased labour force participation by married women in the years ahead.

These data are derived solely from Census of Population sources. In a survey of the Irish female population conducted in 1971, in which a more inclusive definition of 'economic activity' was used, it was found that a significant proportion of married women were engaged in part-time employment that would tend to be excluded from the Census definition of 'gainfully occupied'. This survey yielded the following activity rates:

(Economically active as a percentage of population aged 15 - 64)

	<u>Single</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Widowed</u>	<u>Total</u>
Full-time participation	65.3	5.7	18.3	24.3
Part-time participation	9.2	9.6	33.4	10.0
Total 'economically active'	<u>74.5</u>	<u>15.3</u>	<u>51.7</u>	<u>34.3</u>

The survey yielded rates of 'full-time participation' similar to the Census data, but revealed that almost twice as many married women were working part-time as were working full-time. This under-statement of married women's activity in the Census must be borne in mind in evaluating the evidence discussed above. The Irish Central Statistics Office is currently preparing to participate in the 1975 Labour Force Survey, to be conducted in all EEC member countries which will provide a standardised measure of activity rates.

2. Distribution by Occupation: In Table 8, the distribution of the male and female labour force is set out, using a mixed industry/ occupation classification. The greater importance of agriculture in the male, than in the female labour force, is apparent. This reflects (a) the fairly high proportion of farms on which no females are present (in particular those owned by bachelors - about 29% of the total) and (b) the Census convention of not classifying farmers' wives as 'gainfully occupied'. Table 8 also reveals the relatively small industrial base of the Irish economy, and especially, the low concentration of women in the various industries: 'textiles and clothing workers' is the only production occupation accounting for more than 2% of the Irish female work force. This, in turn, gives rise to a high concentration of women workers in clerical, service, professional and commercial occupations. The survey data on women in employment, revealed that the occupational distribution of part-time women workers was very similar to that shown in the Census data for 'gainfully occupied' women.

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATIONS, MALE & FEMALE
(PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL MALES/FEMALES 'GAINFULLY OCCUPIED')

<u>Profession</u>	Females		Males	
	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>
Agricultural & forestry workers & fishermen	11.4	8.8	37.9	31.7
Mining, Quarrying, turf workers	-	-	0.6	0.6
Electrical & electronic workers	0.7	1.1	1.6	2.2
Engineering & related trades workers	0.4	0.4	4.6	5.6
Woodworkers	0.1	0.1	2.5	2.7
Leather & leather substitute workers	1.2	1.1	0.6	0.5
Textile & clothing workers	8.3	8.5	1.3	1.5
Food, beverage & tobacco workers	1.7	1.8	1.4	1.8
Paper & printing workers	1.2	1.0	0.7	0.7
Workers in other products	0.9	1.1	1.1	1.4
Building & construction workers	-	-	1.6	1.9
Painters & decorators	0.1	0.1	0.9	1.0
Operators of cranes, etc.	-	-	0.7	0.9
Labourers & unskilled workers, n.e.s	0.3	0.3	11.1	10.6
Foremen & supervisors of manual workers	0.4	0.4	1.2	1.6
Transport & communication workers, etc.	4.1	4.1	8.3	8.7
Clerical workers	19.6	23.3	4.2	4.3
Commerce, insurance, finance workers	13.4	12.4	8.6	8.8
Service workers	20.4	17.5	3.2	3.6
Administrative, executive, managerial	0.3	0.3	1.6	2.0
Professional & technical workers	15.3	17.6	5.3	6.3
Armed forces	-	-	1.0	1.1
Occupation not stated	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.4
All occupations	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Source: Census of Population

When the occupational distribution of women workers is examined in more detail, some very pronounced patterns of sex-segregation become apparent. In a wide range of occupations there are virtually no women employed. This range includes all the skilled manual crafts (electricians, welders, plumbers, bricklayers, carpenters, fitters, etc.), as well as the unskilled manual occupations. Even if women are relatively important in certain industries, the skilled manual occupations in these industries remain almost exclusively male. This is true, for example, of the printing and electrical industries where women are a high proportion of the production workers, but are virtually absent from the skilled crafts (e.g. compositors or linotype operators; electricians or fitters). On the other hand, certain occupations are almost, by definition, virtually exclusively female. The following is a list of the main Census occupational groups in which women constituted a majority of the workers 'gainfully occupied' in 1971:

Women 90% or more of total:

Typists: Housekeepers: Matrons: Sewers: Embroiders: Machinists:
Maids, etc.

Women 75 - 90% of total:

Charwomen: Office Cleaners: Nurses: Telephone Operators: Waiters:
Waitresses

Women 50 - 75% of total:

Barbers: Hairdressers: Packers: Bottlers: Knitters: Knitting and
Hosiery Machine Operatives: Laundry Workers, Dry Cleaners: Other
Medical Workers: Makers of Tobacco Products: Professional Clergymen,
Nuns: Other Electronic Workers: Teachers: Spinners, Doublers, Winders
and Reelers (Textiles): Other Workers in Paper and Printing: Clerk:
Textile Workers: Boot and Shoe Makers (Factory): Chefs and Cooks:
Shop Assistants and Barmen: Hospital and Ward Orderlies, etc.

The percentage of the female labour force in these groups of occupations is, as follows:

Occupations where women were at least 90% of the total:	19.2
Occupations where women were at least 75% of the total:	29.6
Occupations where women were at least 50% of the total:	77.6
All occupations:	100.0

From an industrial viewpoint, the sectors most dependent on women production workers, are clothing, textiles, footwear, tobacco, paper and printing, biscuit and chocolate confectionary. It is evident that there is a negative correlation between the proportion of the industry's labour force that is female, and the capital per worker in the industry¹. Moreover, women tend to be classified among the 'other' (viz. non-craft) workers in the industries in which they are numerically important.

The professional occupation are of special interest, and the following table shows that women have gained much greater representation in some professions, than in others.

1 Of Geary & Walsh

FEMALES AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IN CERTAIN PROFESSIONAL,
ETC.. OCCUPATIONS
(1971)

Nurses	86.0
Teachers	59.6
Social Workers	42.7
Professional Workers (N.E.S.)	37.8
Pharmacists	34.1
Medical Practitioners	19.7
University Professors, Lecturers	17.5
Dental Practitioners	12.1
Judges, Barristers, Solicitors	7.7
Senior Government Officials	6.7
Directors, Managers, Company Secretaries	4.6
Surveyors, Architects	3.7
Accountants	2.4
Veterinary Surgeons	0.8
Engineers	0.1

The development of the Irish economy 1966 - 1971, may be studied from the viewpoint of its effect on the employment of women. Table 9, presents those occupations in which there was either a significant growth or decline in female employment (all occupations in which the number of women gainfully occupied changed by 500 or more are listed).

TABLE 9

GROWTH OR DECLINE OF WOMEN GAINFULLY OCCUPIED IN CERTAIN
OCCUPATIONS BETWEEN 1966 & 1971

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Growth</u>		<u>Decline</u>	
	No. (000)	% age of 1966 level	No. (000)	% age of 1966 level
<u>Agricultural Workers:</u>				
Farmers			4.5	19.5
Relatives assisting farmers			3.3	36.0
<u>Textile Workers:</u>				
Weavers, spinners			0.9	33.4
<u>Electrical & Electronic Workers:</u>				
Other electronic workers	1.0	50.8		
<u>Paper & Printing Workers:</u>				
Makers of paper, paper products			0.6	36.0
<u>Transport & Communication Workers; etc:</u>				
Telephone, radio operators	0.9	33.9		
<u>Clerical Workers:</u>				
Clerks	9.1	23.4		
Typists	1.2	7.0		
<u>Commerce, Insurance & Finance Workers:</u>				
Proprietors, managers in wholesale, retail trade			1.3	12.5
Shop assistants			1.8	6.6
<u>Service Workers:</u>				
Housekeepers, matrons, etc.			1.8	26.5
Chefs, cooks			0.7	21.0
Maids, & related workers			5.4	20.9
Laundry workers, dry cleaners			0.5	13.7
Hospital orderlies, etc.	0.5	44.6		
<u>Professional & Technical Workers:</u>				
Teachers	2.8	23.7		
Nurses	2.2	15.5		
Technical & related workers (N.E.S.)	0.7	96.8		

Source: Census of Population, 1971 and 1966

All occupations where the number of women gainfully occupied changed by 500 or more between 1966 and 1971 are included in this table.

The most important features are the rapid growth of the clerk and typist occupations, on the one hand, and the contraction of agricultural and service occupations (especially 'maids, etc. '), on the other. Very little change is evident in the production occupations, other than a decline in textile workers which was just offset by a growth of workers in the electronics industry. The number of women in wholesale and retail trades has also contracted and the numbers in professional, etc., occupations expanded. In general, these developments represent a redistribution of the female labour force from areas of low productivity and considerable under-employment, especially agriculture and distribution, to somewhat more productive clerical and professional occupations. The female labour force in the manufacturing industry grew by two thousand (or, 3%) between 1966 and 1971, and all of this growth appears to have been in clerical occupations. Most of the remainder of the growth in female clerical employment seems to have been in the insurance and financial sector, where the number of women at work grew by three thousand, or 51%, and in public administration, where the growth was two thousand, or 22.5%

From a longer, historical perspective there has been a steady rise in the proportion of jobs in the commercial, financial and public administration sectors held by women. This is illustrated in the following table*:

GROWTH IN THE PERCENTAGE OF CIVIL SERVICE, LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION, BANKING AND INSURANCE JOBS HELD BY WOMEN IN THE CENSUS YEARS 1936-66

<u>Census Year</u>	<u>Civil Service**</u>	<u>Local Government (Administration)+</u>	<u>Banking</u>	<u>Insurance</u>
1936	18.9	20.0	11.6	17.4
1946	25.8	15.5	18.6	22.8
1951	33.3	19.8	24.1	25.3
1961	35.2	26.5	31.1	30.2
1966	39.5	24.3	33.7	33.0
1971	42.1	24.8	42.5	35.5

** 'Other Government Departments' in Census of Population Volumes

+ Excluding Turf, Construction, Hospitals, Education, etc.

* Kindly made available by Noirin O. Bhroin

The evidence suggests that this growth in women's share of the employment in these sectors is largely due to an increasing proportion of the clerical positions being filled by women. The following illustrates the growth in the female share of the occupation 'clerk':

FEMALES AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL CLERKS (ALL SECTORS)

1936	37.1
1946	42.1
1951	41.6
1961	50.4
1966	52.9
1971	57.2

It has been seen (Table 1), that, according to Census of Population data, just under 9% of all women workers are married (1966). Some occupations deviate significantly from this pattern. In the tobacco industry, for example, only 1.6% of the women production workers are married. Similarly, only 4% of women clerks, typists, and transport and communication workers are married. Above average proportions of married women are found in certain occupations, such as, forewomen and supervisors (17%), administrative, executive and managerial workers (27.3%), and professional and technical workers (14.4%). In the survey referred to earlier, it was found that there was a high concentration of service workers amongst those married women who were working part-time. Moreover, a significant proportion of married women reported that they were self-employed in family businesses on a part-time basis (looking after shops, etc., running guest-houses, doing piece-work). Thus, although the occupational distribution of married and single women is broadly quite similar, there is a greater concentration of married women in self-employment, in service and professional work, and in supervisory grades, whereas single women are more concentrated in clerical and production work and in non-supervisory grades.

One striking feature of the widows classified as 'gainfully occupied' in the Census, is the fact that 56% of them are in agricultural occupations - there are about 15,000 widows living on farms in Ireland. If attention is confined to non-agricultural occupations, the distribution of widows is similar to that of married women, although widows are somewhat more concentrated in service occupations.

(3) Age Distribution: The age distribution of the female labour force reflects a predominance of young single women. Although age at marriage is still relatively late in Ireland, and a relatively high proportion of each generation never marry, the typical woman's career is:

leaving school at age sixteen or seventeen, working for six or eight years until marriage, retiring from the labour force shortly after marriage and re-entering later, if at all, only on a part-time and, perhaps, sporadic basis.

Consequently, the proportion of women workers who are in the younger age groups is very high - 45.6% were aged under twenty-five in 1966, compared with only 20.7% of male workers. In certain occupations, especially those dependent mostly on single women, the proportion aged under twenty-five was much higher - 57.7% of clerks/typists, 65.1% of shop assistants, 54.8% of waitresses, cooks, etc., 67.0% of 'makers of textile goods and articles'. Outside agriculture, where there is a large number of widows, the only occupational group in which the age structure of the female work force is similar to that of the male labour force is the professional and technical occupations, where 27.3% are aged under twenty-five¹.

The median age of men and women working in the various occupational groups in 1966 is set out in Table 10².

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- 1 The small category of 'proprietors and manageresses' is also notable for its much older age structure.
 - 2 Some data for 1971 are included. They show a slight fall in both male and female median ages, but no narrowing of the gap between the sexes in overall medians. The fall in the age of the workers who are widowed is due to the smaller number of widowed farmers in 1971.

TABLE 10
MEDIAN AGE OF FEMALE LABOUR FORCE CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION
(1966)

	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
<u>Agricultural Occupations:</u>	<u>57.3</u>	<u>47.9</u>
Farmers	63.6	54.1
Farmers' daughters, sons	23.0	24.1
Farmers' other relatives	48.4	50.7
Others	27.8	43.7
Leather workers	19.8	40.3
Textile workers	20.8	27.4
<u>Makers of Textile Goods:</u>	<u>21.1</u>	<u>35.8</u>
Dressmakers, tailors, etc.	31.1	-
Sewers, embroiderers, machinists	20.0	-
Others	20.5	-
Makers of food, drink, tobacco	22.9	37.3
Unskilled workers, n.e.s.	23.5	42.0
Other producers, makers & repairers	22.2	34.5
Transports & communication workers	23.4	38.8
Typist & shorthand typists	23.1	-
Clerks	24.2	34.7
<u>Commerce, Insurance & Finance Occupations:</u>	<u>27.2</u>	<u>39.9</u>
Proprietors & manageresses	56.3	48.1
Shop assistants & barmaids	21.9	25.8
Others	43.6	41.1
<u>Service Workers:</u>	<u>29.3</u>	<u>36.3</u>
Proprietors & manageresses of hotels, etc.	49.7	-
Housekeepers & matrons of schools, etc.	48.6	-
Waitresses, cooks & maids, etc.	23.7	-
Others	31.3	-
<u>Professional & Technical Occupations:</u>	<u>34.4</u>	<u>39.2</u>
Religious occupations	47.5	46.6
Teachers	34.7	38.3
Nurses, midwives & probationers	25.3	-
Others	33.2	37.2
Other gainful occupations	22.7	35.3
<u>Total gainfully occupied, all marital status:</u>	<u>28.0</u>	<u>41.1</u>

Table 10 (Continued)

Total Gainfully Occupied:

Single	23.9	28.4
Married	44.6	47.4
Widowed	69.4	64.2

Gainfully Occupied: Non-Agricultural Occupied

<u>Total:</u>	25.1	37.6
Single	23.7	24.3
Married	43.4	44.3
Widowed	58.1	60.2

<u>Total Gainfully Occupied:</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Single		24.0	27.8
Married		39.9	46.1
Widowed		60.8	63.3
Total		<u>27.4</u>	<u>40.8</u>

Source: Census of Population 1966, 1971

Outside agriculture, almost without exception, male workers are older than their female counterparts. The implication of these facts for seniority, promotion and salaries is very clear, and may be a major part of the explanation of the lower earnings of women. Only in 'professional and technical' occupations do men and women approach equality in age. In many of the unskilled or semi-skilled production and service occupations there is a gap of over fifteen years between the median age of women and men. However, as the last entries in the table show, the median age of males and females occupied in non-agricultural occupations are almost identical when compared within each marital status. It is, therefore, clear that the contrast in age between men and women is primarily due to the much higher proportion of women workers who are single. The fact that the normal pattern among women is to leave the labour force on marriage thus accounts for the low median age of the female labour force: this should be kept in mind in connection with male/female wage and salary comparisons.

4. Regional Distribution: The occupational/industrial structure of the female labour force give rise to certain regional concentrations of women workers. This is above all due to the location of most office employment in urban areas, especially in the capital city (Dublin). In 1966, the proportion of the labour force resident in urban areas (with a population of at least 1,500) was 62.1% for women, 43.4% for men¹. Thus, the Irish female labour force is predominantly urban, in contrast with the still predominantly rural male labour force.

5. Employment Status: In Ireland, as elsewhere, the proportion of the labour force that is self-employed has been declining. One reason for this is the contraction of the agricultural labour force: the vast majority of Irish farmers are the owners of their land, and

1 37% of the female labour force was resident in Dublin alone, which contained only 29% of the female population. This illustrates the relatively high activity rate among women in the Dublin area.

hired labourers are no longer an important part of the agricultural labour force. The fact that relatively few women are classified as 'gainfully occupied' in agriculture increases the proportion of women workers in the 'employee' category. The following table sets out the distribution of the labour force by employment status:

	<u>1966</u>		<u>1971</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Employers & own account workers	29.8	13.8	29.2	11.5
Relatives assisting	10.0	4.4	6.6	2.9
Employees	60.2	81.8	64.2	85.6
Total at work	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of Population Data

6. Unemployment: Mention has already been made of the endemic problem of high unemployment in Ireland. Two data sources provide information on this problem, the Census of Population and the Live Register (of persons claiming unemployment benefits or applying for unemployment assistance). Neither provides a satisfactory measure of female unemployment. According to the 1971 Census of Population, 3.3% of the female labour force were 'out of work' compared with 6.6% for males. According to Live Register data, the number of unemployed, as a proportion of the insured labour force, was 4.5% in 1971, compared with 8.7% for males. Thus, both sources show the female unemployment rate as about half the male. These measures of unemployment are, however, restricted and apply mainly to single women or insured women who qualify for benefits. Of the 1966 Census figure of 8,353 women 'out of work', only 403 were married. The 1966 unemployment rates for females by marital status were:

Single	3.3%
Married	1.6%
Widowed	1.0%

A higher unemployment rate among women would probably emerge if the figures were calculated on a labour force survey basis, such as used by the United States, for example, which would include among the unemployed married women who were willing to work if suitable opportunities were available. The survey carried out in 1971 revealed a very high proportion of married women giving 'no suitable jobs available' as the main reason for not working. This survey suggested that unemployment was very high outside the main urban centres, but quite low in Dublin. Despite the obvious problems of interpretation involved, the evidence suggests that lack of job opportunities, especially for married women, has tended to depress the female labour force participation rate. The survey also showed that over 10% of married women who were working less than twenty-five hours a week would have been working full-time 'if work were available'.

Despite this evidence of unemployment and under-employment among women, especially married women living outside the main urban areas, other evidence suggests that 'shortages' of women workers exist in certain occupations and areas. Frequent mention of labour shortages occur in surveys of the clothing, textile and shoe industries. We have seen that these sectors are heavily dependent on young, unmarried, female labour. The availability of this type of labour has diminished in recent years, due to rising participation in second-level education, falling averages at marriage, and rising marriage rates. Moreover, the expansion of non-factory job opportunities for young women who might otherwise have entered production occupations has further reduced the supply of labour to industry. Undoubtedly much of the impression of 'shortages' arises from a re-allocation of female labour between sectors of the economy, and the declining attractiveness of some of the traditional employments, rather than from a general tightness in the female labour market.

7. Absenteeism, Turnover, Labour Mobility: Precise data on these topics are difficult to obtain. The Survey of Women and Employment found that of those who were in the labour force twelve months previously, 16% of single women had changed job during the year, compared with only 4.7% of married women and 3.2% of widows. On the other hand, a high proportion of married women (25%) said that there were days, other than normal holidays, when they did not work: only 10% of single women said this applied to them, and 15% of widows. The greater job-stability of married women must, therefore, be evaluated in conjunction with an apparently higher rate of absenteeism. However, many married women appear to be in jobs where a high level of absenteeism is acceptable: this may be one factor accounting for their concentration in service employment and family businesses, as distinct from production work. There are no comparable data for males on which a male/female comparison could be based.

Details of geographical mobility among working women will not be available until the publication of the later volumes of the 1971 Census. It may be surmised, however, that there is considerable in-migration to urban areas of young, single women, in response to the concentration of female-type employment opportunities in these areas. Mobility among married women, on the other hand, is presumably entirely related to the husband's career and his mobility between locations.

One study of young women workers in an Irish textile factory found that adolescent women were confronted with an incentive scheme which they understood imperfectly and which was more appropriate to workers who had greater financial responsibilities and needs¹. These young women showed little involvement in their work and did not respond

1 c.f. Ni Bhroin.

to any great extent to the incentives offered for higher productivity. However, the typical worker in this study was aged seventeen, and the number of girls of this age at work in textile factories has been declining.

8. Wages and Equal Pay: Women working in Ireland generally earn far less than their male colleagues. This unequal pay has many causes: as we have seen, women are heavily concentrated in certain occupations and industries, and generally these are characterised by low capital/labour ratios. Moreover, we have stressed how much younger women tend to be than their male colleagues. It is also likely that a working woman of the same age as her male colleagues has had less continuity in her career and, hence, probably acquired less on-the-job training. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it is still the rule that women are paid at a lower rate than males for most jobs. Discrimination in rates of pay along sex lines is still not illegal, although the Report of the Commission on the Status of Women recommended the removal of all such discrimination and this principle has recently been accepted by government, trade union, and employer groups.

The more detailed data on male and female earnings are available for industries from the Census of Industrial Production. In March 1973, the average hourly earnings of industrial workers on adult rates in manufacturing industries were £0.74 for males, £0.43 for women - women earning only 58% of the male figure. In Table II, the rates are set out for the principal female-employing industries. It should be kept in mind that the discrepancy reflects the longer hours worked by men, and the different

occupational distribution of men and women workers, as well as the difference in the basic hourly rate for the job. There are only five industrial occupations for which male and female rates of hourly wages are published. Following are the ratios of female to male rates in these occupations:

Sugar, Confectionary & Food Preserving	66
Woollen Manufacture	61
Hosiery	63
Boot & Shoe Manufacture	71
Printing, Publishing, etc.	53

Although these occupations are not defined in detail, these data may be taken as indicative of the female/male ratio in basic rates of pay in Irish Industry in 1970. Data available for some clerical occupations suggest a similar range of differentials.

The Commission on the Status of Women Interim Report on Equal Pay (August 1971), recommended that equal pay for men and women should be introduced in the following circumstances:

- where women are performing the same jobs as men or where men and women are completely inter-changeable between jobs;
- where the jobs performed by men and women are of a similar nature but certain differences occur only infrequently, or are of small practical importance in relation to total job content;
- where it is established that the jobs performed by men and women are of equal value in that the demands (for instance, in relation to skill, physical or mental effort, responsibility and working conditions), made on a woman are equal to the demands made on a man in respect of the work each performs;
- where pay is differentiated on a marriage basis;

TABLE 11

RATES OF EARNINGS & HOURS WORKED, MARCH 1973

(ADULTS)

Industry	Earnings (Hourly) (pence)		Hours Worked per week		Wages Rates (Early 1970)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Jams, jellies, preserves, canned products	67.3	43.9	44.3	36.0		
Bread, biscuits & flour confectionery	69.9	47.6	47.0	35.5	38.8	25.6
Cocoa, chocolate & sugar confectionery	75.5	45.3	49.8	31.6		
Margarine, compound cooking fats	73.9	44.5	45.9	39.2		
Miscellaneous food (including fish)	54.0	38.2	46.8	31.8		
Tobacco	84.8	54.3	45.5	40.9	33.9	20.6
Woolen & worsted	66.2	44.5	44.4	40.6		
Linen & cotton	65.6	44.6	45.1	37.5		
Jute, canvas, rayon, nylon, etc.	69.6	42.8	43.4	38.2		
Hosiery	74.1	40.3	43.5	38.7	29.4	18.4
Boot & shoe (wholesale factories)	68.3	45.1	41.8	38.0	33.1	23.4
Clothing - mens & boys	71.4	42.6	40.6	39.0		
shirtmaking	60.9	39.3	41.9	38.6		
women & girls	64.7	41.7	42.1	38.0		
miscellaneous	64.6	37.1	39.7	38.0		
Made-up textile goods except apparel	62.9	42.3	46.8	37.1		
Paper & paper products	76.8	45.1	47.5	38.1		
Printing, publishing & allied trades	92.1	43.8	42.3	40.1	48.3	25.8
Manufacture of leather & leather substitutes	61.4	36.3	40.5	36.5		
Manufacture of electrical machinery	72.2	43.8	43.5	39.9		
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries	77.9	43.1	42.9	39.2		
TOTAL - manufacturing industries	74.2	43.2	44.6	37.9		
transportable goods	74.1	43.2	44.7	37.9		

Source: Quarterly Industrial I.S.B. Wages, Earnings & Hours Worked, 1970, Table 2

The recommendation suggested that equal pay could be introduced gradually, but that full application should be achieved by December 1977.

A detailed study of the costs of removing existing male/female pay discrimination was prepared for the Commission on the Status of Women. The estimated increase in the total wage and salary bill was in the range of 8.0% to 5.3% for manufacturing industry, which would occasion a net increase in the price level of about 3.0%. Certain sectors would be more severely affected than others - depending mostly on the proportion of total production costs attributable to female wages and salaries. The hosiery/clothing/shoes/textiles/printing sectors were clearly the most vulnerable. Detailed, although incomplete, discussion of the costs of equal pay were provided for certain non-industrial employments by the Commission. Substantial costs are involved in the teaching profession (£5.7 million at 1971 rates), the health services (£1.6 million), and the civil service (£1.9 million).

The Commission's recommendation for equal pay suggested 'equal pay for work of equal value'. It was recognised, however, that the assessment of 'work of equal value' is not a simple matter, and it was recommended that the government appoint an Equal Pay Commissioner to examine claims made under this recommendation of the Report.

Under the National Wage Agreement, concluded in July 1972, a first move was made towards across-the-board implementation of an equal pay policy. Clause 13 of this Agreement stated 'where it is agreed or established in accordance with this Agreement that men and women are doing the same or similar work or work of equal value the parties may negotiate an equal pay award of 17.5% of the difference between the existing female or single rate and the appropriate

male or married rate ...'. The Minister for Finance in his Financial Statement, 16 May 1973, welcomed this clause, and stated that these provisions of the National Agreement would apply in the Public Service from 1 June 1973. In a settlement affecting 9,000 bank officials, of whom half are women, equal pay by the end of 1975 was agreed to (November 1973).

In October 1973, a group of about one hundred women working as confectioners brought the first claim for equal pay under the newly-established procedure before the Equal Pay Commissioner. They claimed equality with their male colleagues, who currently earn £26.18 a week (basic), compared with £18.33 earned by the women. The claim was rejected by the Commissioner. In his view, there was sufficient differences between the work performed by male and female workers to remove this case from the range of situations covered by the equal pay policy accepted by the government. These differences relate to hours of work (men starting at 6.00 a.m., women at 8.00 a.m.); to the facts that men are usually general bakers as well as confectioners and that women are not required to lift as heavy loads as men. The Commissioner also found lower levels of skills and experience among most of the women, and he felt that this led to a narrower range of jobs being performed by them. He concluded that this difference 'is material in relation to job content and in terms of job requirements'. He did, however, concede that there were women in the industry who were performing jobs that 'would probably satisfy the criteria laid down in the National Agreement for an equal pay award'. The existence of such employees did not warrant the application of an equal pay award to the entire industry.

This ruling by the Commissioner is generally taken to indicate that claims for equal pay will not be successful on an industry-wide basis: detailed negotiation at the firm level, involving job-evaluation of the claimants' work, will be needed if the new policy is to affect any situations other than the rather limited range of occupations where there are separate male and female rates for exactly the same job.

On the whole, this first experience with equal pay illustrates the problems involved in any substantial reduction of the male/female earnings gap. The Commission on the Status of Women took the view that a considerable proportion of this gap was due to pure discrimination and that much of it could be removed without causing a substantial reduction in the level of female employment. Other commentators expressed the view that the element of pure discrimination in the male/female wage gap may be exaggerated, much of the difference being due to genuine economic considerations (especially the lower accumulation of on-the-job training by women workers and their more elastic supply of labour). These commentators also argued that in view of the concentration of many women workers in labour-intensive industries already struggling for survival against foreign competition, a rigorously enforced equal pay policy would have a severe impact on the level of employment in certain sectors of the economy¹. Most important of all, though, is the fact that an equal pay policy will of itself do nothing to reduce the occupational segregation of women workers into low-paying jobs. If anything a vigorously enforced equal-pay policy may even increase the degree of segregation. The report of the Commission on the Status of Women, on the other hand, does not seem to agree with the above conclusion. Paragraph 143 of the report states that "equal pay could significantly widen the range of job

1 See Geary & Walsh

opportunities open to women by directly or indirectly removing certain disabilities which affect them at present". In addition, the Minister of Labour has also indicated that he proposes to introduce further legislation to deal with discrimination against women in employment.

II. FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

1. Economic and Demographic Background: We have already indicated some features of the Irish economy that might militate against women entering the labour: the high emigration and unemployment rates, symptoms of a generally loose labour market, the importance of the agricultural sector, where married women are very unlikely to be counted among the 'economically active', and the relatively stagnant economic environment of the 1950's. In addition to these economic factors, three important demographic features may also have contributed to the low rate of labour force participation by married women, namely, the very low marriage rate and late average age of marriage, and the very high fertility of marriage, characteristic of Ireland until recently.

The fact that a large proportion, up to 25%, of each generation of Irish women remained unmarried throughout their lives, and that the median age at marriage for brides has only recently fallen below twenty-four years, has meant that the supply of unmarried women has been unusually abundant in Ireland. If we assume that almost all these women will seek employment, it is likely that the 'female type' jobs available will be preempted by them and that the job opportunities open to married women will be correspondingly restricted. One way of measuring this effect is to show the ratio of 'married females per one hundred males aged fifteen and over' in the EEC countries in the early 1960's.

Ireland	48.4
England & Wales	70.3
Belgium	69.7
Germany	68.2
France	64.7
Netherlands	65.6
Denmark	66.6

The exceptional position of Ireland is clear, and may contribute to the low activity rate among Irish women. The second factor mentioned above - the high fertility of Irish marriages - is also relevant to labour market entry by married women. Average family size in Ireland is large not merely by comparison with other EEC member states, but also compared with other predominantly Roman Catholic countries, such as, Spain, Portugal or Austria. In 1968, the number of legitimate live births per one hundred married women aged 10 - 49, was 190 in Ireland and only 119 in the Netherlands - the EEC country with the next highest rate.

There can be little doubt that both these factors, large family size and a relative abundance of unmarried women, militate against married women's labour force participation. The situation has been changing, however, especially as far as the ratio of married to unmarried women in the population is concerned. Age at marriage has been falling, the marriage rate rising, and adolescents are staying on longer at school. The reduction in the supply of unmarried women implied by these changes is illustrated by the following data:

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>
1) Unmarried women Aged 20 - 64 (000)	273.3	257.2	246.9
2) Total male population Aged 20 - 64 (000)	698.1	706.3	732.6
3) Ratio (1) . 1,000 (2)	391	364	337

The adult male population has grown by about thirty-four thousand, but the unmarried adult female population has fallen by twenty-six thousand. Thus, if the female labour supply were confined to the unmarried population, it is clear that 'shortages' of women available for employment would begin to be felt as a result of this trend. To some extent these shortages will become manifest in the growth of employment opportunities open to married women.

With regard to family size there is also evidence of change. Fertility of marriage seems to have fallen significantly in Ireland since the mid-1960's (a phenomenon noticed in many European countries, and generally attributed to the diffusion of the contraceptive pill). Although Census data which show the effect of these factors on completed family size are not yet available, it seems clear that a higher proportion of women will be finishing their child bearing before age thirty-five or over age thirty in the future than has been the case in the past. This development will undoubtedly tend to raise the proportion of married women seeking re-entry to the labour force.

2. Education

Irish girls and young women have traditionally stayed on longer in school than their male counterparts. This difference arises in part from the farming-orientation of the men. In Table 12, the basic educational data are set out.

A higher proportion of males than females terminated their education at the primary level (generally aged fourteen years), especially among those currently aged under twenty-five. The most important source of this difference is the higher proportion of girls going on to a secondary and secondary/vocational¹ education - 29.1% of men aged 20 - 24 compared with 42.4% of women. Thus, women in Ireland are more likely than men to have some secondary or clerical training. It is also of interest to note the generally lower proportion of women whose education terminated at the vocational level: it is mainly from vocational schools that skilled and semi-skilled manual workers are drawn, and relatively low proportions of either sex finish their education at this level.

1 This category includes clerical, secretarial and non-university professional training.

Certain features of the post-primary education obtained by Irish girls call for comment. In the first place, in 1971 only 16% of girls in secondary were in 'co-ed' schools: the normal pattern is sexually-segregated education. Secondly, there is a marked disparity between the courses taught to girls and to boys in secondary schools: boys are considerably more likely to take scientific subjects, especially at the honours level, girls more likely to take home economics, art and languages. The Commission on the Status of Women emphasised these disparities and recommended that the Department of Education 'should investigate means by which the number of girls taking mathematics and science subjects to Leaving Certificate level could be significantly increased' (para. 537).

Similar differences emerge when the courses taken by girls in vocational schools are examined: girls outnumber boys by over 10 to 1 in 'commerce, book-keeping, commercial arithmetic, etc.', there are no boys taking shorthand-typing, domestic science or cookery, needlework, etc. On the other hand, boys outnumber girls 10 to 1 in science courses, and there are no girls taking woodwork or metalwork. The Commission recommended that areas should be identified in which technical and skilled employment opportunities for women are likely to expand, and that girls should be encouraged to pursue the course options in the vocational schools relevant to such employment (para. 541).

Finally, at university level, there is a notable concentration of women graduates (and women staff) in the arts and social science faculties, with corresponding under-representation in science, engineering and the various professional schools.

This pattern of schooling among women is likely to produce a relatively abundant supply of clerical, secretarial and professional

workers, rather than production workers or operatives. Our earlier data on the development of the female labour force suggests that the growth in numbers of workers by occupation reflects these trends. It seems unlikely that Ireland will ever develop a very substantial factory-based female production labour force.

We have already noted that it is virtually unknown for women to become skilled craft-workers in Ireland. A recent report on the reorganisation of the apprenticeship scheme commented that '.....many employers have not even considered the training of women to skilled level as a practical proposition'¹. Moreover, not much urgency was attached to achieving any change in this area, as may be seen from the only recommendation relating to women:

AnCO (the national training body) would propose to discuss with the employer organisation and the trades unions concerned how any such discrimination that may exist could be removed in respect of the few girls likely to be interested.²

The situation regarding on-the-job training and retraining of women in Ireland has to be viewed against the generally not very developed situation in this area for both sexes. As the Commission on the Status of Women put it; "In general, women are recruited for special qualifications and skills which they have acquired prior to entering the organisation and there is little interest shown in developing their potential any further".³

1 AnCO, Chapter 15.

2 AnCO, p.34

3 Para. 198.

3. Unionisation: It is generally believed that women workers are less highly unionised in Ireland than men. About one-fourth of all trade unionists are women whereas almost one-third of all non-agricultural employees are women. The "Trade Union Information" (February 1972) estimates that 40% of women employees are in trade unions, other estimates put out about two-thirds of male employees the proportion of men who are members of trade unions. Moreover, the Commission on the Status of Women drew attention to the low degree of participation by women trade unionists in union affairs - only seven out of 230 full-time officials are women.¹ Cases where women form the vast majority of a trade union's branch members, but where the officials and organisers are men, are apparently not uncommon in Irish industry. Although the trade union movement is officially committed to equal pay and the ending of discrimination against women, there has yet to be any union-supported industrial action to achieve these goals. Moreover, the movement is, at present (December 1973), exerting pressure for the full implementation of the equal pay policy by the end of 1975.

4. Social Welfare Legislation:

Under the various Social Welfare Acts, men and women working in Ireland are insured against certain contingencies, such as, unemployment and disability. Insured persons are also entitled to 'contributory' pensions. The main exclusions from this scheme are: (1) non-manual workers earning over £1,600 a year: (2) persons employed by their spouse and (3) persons employed in certain casual or subsidiary occupations. Insurance of female domestic servants and female agricultural workers was introduced (on a limited basis) in 1966: since then, there is no significant difference in coverage between the sexes, although, obviously, the number of wives excluded

1 Para. 55

because they work for their husbands exceeds the number of husbands excluded because they work for their wives.

Employee insurance premia, or contributions are slightly lower for women than for men, £1.20 a week compared with £1.27. The scheme is not operated on an actuarial basis -- the benefits disbursed are announced by the Minister for Finance in his Budget speech, but also by a state contribution, equal to about one-third of the total in recent years. Hence, the 'contributions' are economically identical to a flat rate tax on income.

The benefits to which an unemployed person is entitled depends on the number of dependents to be supported. A single woman receives the same as a single man (£6.55 a week). A married man is entitled to £10.80, with additional amounts for each dependent child. A married woman, supported by her husband, is entitled to £5.35. A similar structure exists with regard to 'contributory' old age pensions. There is a slight asymmetry in the case where the wife qualifies, but the husband does not, for such a pension: their joint pension would be lower than in the case where a husband qualifies, but the wife does not. However, such cases must be rather rare.

More serious disparities arise in connection with the benefits to which widows are entitled. A widow who became unemployed from insured employment was not entitled to any unemployment benefit prior to 1953, on the grounds that she was already in receipt of a 'contributory' widow's pension. Since 1953, widows in this situation are entitled to unemployment benefits at half the rate payable to a man, or woman, without dependents. The Commission on the Status of Women felt that this use of a half-rate of payment was not justified and recommended that widows, who became unemployed, should receive the same unemployment benefit as a married woman. Such a change would give an unemployed widow

a total income, from widow's pension and unemployment benefit, greater than that received by an unemployed man with a dependent wife, but less than an unemployed woman with an insured, disabled husband.

Unemployed, or disabled, persons who exhaust their entitlement to benefits, normally payable for one year only, may apply for 'assistance'. The award of 'assistance' is subject to a means test and this greatly reduces the likelihood that a woman will qualify. Normally, a married woman is not considered eligible for 'assistance' unless her husband is disabled or has left her. Single women must have at least one dependent or have been in insured employment for one year out of the previous four to qualify for 'assistance' - a condition that does not apply to males. The Commission on the Status of Women recommended that this difference between the sexes should be abolished. In November 1971, the following was the distribution of the registered unemployed:

	<u>Claiming Benefits</u>	<u>Applying for Assistance</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males, aged under 65 (excluding farmers and their relatives)	24,156	16,713	40,869
Females	9,187	494	9,681
Total	33,343	17,207	50,550

Thus, whereas 27.6% of those claiming benefits, excluding farmers and men aged over 65, were women, only 3% of those applying for assistance were women. No doubt the main reason for this disparity is the belief that a wife is normally supported by her husband and, hence, assistance will be granted to the family only if he is unemployed and has exhausted his entitlement to benefits. On the other hand, a woman who has the requisite number of insurance contributions is legally entitled to benefits if she becomes unemployed.

Sandell has calculated that if the ratio of assistance recipients to benefit recipients among females were the same as among males, 'the female unemployment rate would be augmented almost 70%'. This would raise the female rate from 4.5% in 1971, according to Live Register data, to 7.6% - very close to the male rate¹.

Thus, the apparently lower unemployment rate among women may be largely due to the manner in which the Social Welfare Acts are administered.

It should be pointed out that flat-rate social insurance contributions (£1.29 a week for women) are equivalent to a fixed-rate tax on women who enter employment: these contributions could be a considerable proportion of gross pay for women working only part-time. The female rate of contribution is 95% the male rate, whereas average female weekly earnings in industry are only about 50% of male earnings: thus employee social insurance contributions represent 3.8% of average male earnings (September 1973) but they amount to 6.9% of average female earnings. Moreover, the lower rate of registered unemployment among women implies that the cost to the state of the female coverage in the social insurance scheme is probably lower than that of the male coverage.

5. Factors Affecting Married Women's Employment:

We have already explored the economic and demographic framework within which the question of labour force participation by married women must be considered. In this section, we shall turn to more specific issues relating to the employment of married women.

Perhaps as a reflection of the overall economic situation as it has been up to now, the general atmosphere in Ireland has not been very positive towards married women working outside the home.

¹ Sandell, p. 11

Article 41 of the Constitution of Ireland states "The state shall endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home". The exact force of this declaration is not very clear, but its bias in favour of the wife's home duties is evident.

Perhaps the most obvious area where the state impinges on the wife's decision concerning labour force participation, is through the income tax code. Single women are taxed identically with single men, but married men are legally responsible for making an income tax return in respect of their wives. There are no provisions for husband and wife filing separate returns. The only tax-free allowance given to a married women who works is her Earned Income Allowance, with a maximum value of £104.

If a couple's combined earnings do not exceed £2,000 a year, the wife will have up to £139 a year free of tax, and will be taxed at 26% on each extra pound earned. If the husband is earning more than £2,000 a year, the wife will have up to £104 a year tax free, and she will be taxed at 35% of each additional pound earned¹.

To illustrate the impact of this tax code on married women, the data on Table 13 may be considered. The point clearly emerges that, except when combined income is £2,000 a year, or less, the combined tax liability of a single man and woman is less than that of a married couple with the same pre-tax income.

This is generally felt as a grievance by married women in Ireland: the comparison with the more liberal treatment of working wives in Britain is frequently made. Moreover, the maximum earned income relief,

1 Since the average industrial earnings of adult males is now about £35 a week, or £1,820 a year, the typical case is now that the wife is taxed at 35% on each extra pound of income.

being set as a money figure, has not tended to keep pace with inflation and, hence, the taxation rate on the typical working wife is higher now than in the 1950's. The same point is, of course, valid of male earnings and taxation.

Two points should be made, if not in defence of the present code, at least in explanation of it. First, since technically husband and wife are taxed as a single unit, the allocation of the tax burden between the two partners is arbitrary and if a husband is willing to pay more in taxes (by shifting some of his Earned Income Relief to his wife), the wife will pay less: but the combined liability of the couple will not be altered. Secondly, the present code is progressive, in the sense that the average tax rate on the wife's income rises steeply as the couple's joint income rises. This is clear from column 9, of Table 13.

6. Maternity Benefit and Leave:

A small cash grant (£4.00) is payable to insured women in respect of a confinement¹. An allowance of £5.55 a week is payable for six weeks before and six weeks after a confinement to insured women. This allowance has the stated objective of 'relieving her of the necessity of working immediately prior and subsequent to the confinement'. However, this must be evaluated in relation to average female earnings (£19.00 a week): it is clear that there is a very substantial drop in income during confinement, even for women entitled to the maternity allowance. Moreover, there is no legal obligation on employers to grant maternity leave. The Commission on the Status of Women drew attention to the fact that many employers operate a 'maternity bar' allowing married women to remain in employment until they ask for maternity leave, at which time their employment is terminated. Very few employers appear to operate any system of paid maternity leave, over and above the State Maternity scheme.

1 An additional £4.00 is payable if the husband is insured.

The Commission advocated that a legal right to maternity leave of twelve weeks should be established, and that women whose employment is not covered by social insurance should also be entitled to this paid maternity leave (para. 265, 270).

The Reports of the Department of Social Welfare reveal that the following numbers of women received the maternity allowance:

1966/67	4,850
1967/68	5,160
1968/69	5,700
1969/70	6,000
1970/71	7,400

(These numbers are approximate: the report lists only the amount of money disbursed: the numbers have been calculated by assuming that each recipient obtained the full allowance for twelve weeks).

These data suggest that there has been at least a 50% increase in the number of women qualifying for maternity allowances between 1966 and 1971. In 1971, the total number of live births recorded was 67,000, so that over 10% of all confinements occurred to women covered by the maternity allowance scheme. It is not possible to conclude from this, however, that more women with young children are remaining in the labour force. Many of those qualifying for allowance may not return to employment after their confinement, but the growth in the numbers qualifying must reflect a growing tendency to continue working at least until the birth of the first child, as compared with retiring immediately after marriage.

7. Marriage Bar:

We have mentioned the existence of a barrier to the employment of married women by certain employers. There is no legislation making it illegal to specify that married women must resign from employment. The Commission on the Status of Women found that

TABLE 13

ILLUSTRATION OF EFFECTS OF INCOME TAX CODE (1973) ON MALE AND FEMALE EARNINGS

($\$$)

Case Col:	Pre-tax Earnings (Annual)			Tax Payable (including social insurance contributions)*			
	Man	Woman	Combined	Man	Woman	Combined	Man+ Woman+ Combined
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7) (8) (9)
A	1500	500	2000	351	86	437	198 439
B	1500	700	2200	351	138	489	268 507
C	2000	700	2700	483	138	621	268 682

* All income assumed earned. No allowances for children, interest, etc.

+ The allocation of the tax payable between the man and wife is arbitrary, since legally there is only one tax return, generally filed by the husband.

'in general, females employed in clerical jobs in service industries, banks, local authorities and semi-state bodies are required to resign from their employment on marriage'. (para. 252). The Commission described these practices as discriminatory and recommended that they should be abolished (para. 255). The Minister for Finance announced in his Budget speech (May 1973), that legislation was to be introduced in the near future to remove statutory prohibition on the employment of married women in the public service.

In July 1973, the Minister introduced the 'Civil Service (Employment of Married Women) Bill, 1973'. The main purpose of the Bill was to remove the restriction regarding employment in the public service that a 'female candidate eligible for selection shall be unmarried or a widow' and that women civil servants must retire on marriage. The Bill also provided that married women who served in the public service before marriage could be reinstated in their former positions where hardship considerations (e.g. desertion) warrant¹. The marriage gratuity formerly paid on retirement due to marriage is abolished under the Bill.

The Bill passed all stages with bi-partisan support. One objection raised during the debate was the possible effect on the employment prospects of young women in rural areas. Deputy Wilson expressed the fear that as a result of the Bill 'the girls in rural Ireland, who are far from the capital, where the largest concentration of civil servants is, will find themselves in a difficult position where employment is concerned'. In replying to the debate, the Minister expressed the view that there was 'no real need to fear that the employment opportunities for young people will in any significant way be jeopardised or minimised as a consequence of married women being entitled to remain in the public service'².

1 This type of reinstatement was already available for widows.

2 See Dail Debates, Vol 267, No. 7, 17 July 1973.

8. Pension Scheme:

Until recently, pension schemes have not been very common except among the largest private employers and in the public service. In the public service, single women who retired on marriage have been entitled to a 'marriage gratuity' based on length of service. In a recent survey of private pension schemes¹, it was found that a higher proportion of males than of females were covered by pension schemes. In a sample of fifty-seven private employers, the following proportions of employees were covered by pension schemes:

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Wage earners	67	27
Salary earners	78	41

The authors commented that pension coverage is less for females 'because (a) their withdrawal rates are much higher and (b) they have normally no dependents to be provided for on death' (p. 11). However, they found that qualifications for membership of schemes varied by sex: 'many employers do not include females until they reach the age at which their expectation of marriage begins to decline'. They found a higher average minimum length of service for qualification for females, especially among wage earners (p. 13). It was also somewhat more common for female wage earners to have their benefit based on a fixed amount for each year of service, instead of being calculated as a percentage of final salary.

9. Facilities for Married Women Who Work:

In view of the low participation rate among married women and the general back ground of the Irish economy, it is not surprising that there are very few facilities provided explicitly for the working wife in Ireland.

1 P.R. Kaim-Caudle & J. G. Byrne, Irish Pension Schemes, 1969, ESRI, Broadsheet 5, 1971.

State-run schools generally admit children aged over four, but attendance is compulsory only from age six to fifteen years. It is estimated that about half the children aged four attend school, and almost 90% of those aged five (Commission on Status of Women, para 314.). This high rate of attendance at an early age has probably reduced pressure in favour of a special system of infant schools designed to help the working mother.

There are some day nurseries, especially in the Dublin area. Grants are available towards the current expenses of these nurseries from the Eastern Health Board. In general, however, the existing network of such facilities is very small even in relation to the number of working mothers. A feature of the 1971 Survey of Women in Employment was the high proportion of working mothers who had no special arrangements for child care while working - being dependent on relatives or friends, or working at home or waiting until their children were at school before re-entering the labour force.

A similar picture must be painted of the situation with regard to recruiting, training or retraining married women who wish to go back to work. At present no state agency or government department is explicitly charged with special responsibility in these areas. This, once again, is a perhaps natural reflection of the historical scarcity of job-opportunities, not only for married women, but also for single women and men. We have seen how this situation is changing, and more jobs are being filled by married women who return to work after child bearing or who continue working throughout their married life. Of course, the Department of Labour, through its

placement service and National Manpower Service, is concerned with the matching of employers and job-seekers in female, as much as in male, labour markets. However, no special service exists to cope with the particular needs and problems of married women interested in working.

The recent increase in women's employment opportunities, combined with the apparent reduction in the availability of women for work, especially in production occupations, has led the Industrial Development Authority to stress male-employment creation in its efforts to attract foreign industries to Ireland. In the IDA Report for 1971/72, it was stated that 'we are currently selecting industrial development candidates which will produce goods employing predominantly men, have a low capital intensity, use local raw materials' (p. 27).

In 1972/73, the IDA's activities resulted in new job creation of the order of twelve thousand jobs in manufacturing industries. Of these, just under three thousand (or 25%) were for females, and this balance was described as 'in line with our target' (Annual Report, 1972/73, p.12).

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Working women represent only a very small part of the overall Irish labour force. Out of a national work force of 1.1 million in 1971, only 288,000 (26%) were women.
2. The proportion of married women is low but has risen appreciably since 1966. In 1971, only 3.5% of the total work force and less than 14% of the female labour force consisted of married women.
3. This situation may be ascribed to the relative abundance, until recently, of unmarried women who seem likely to be recruited by employers seeking to fill a "female job". But with rising marriage rates, falling age at marriage, and higher proportions of teenagers staying on at school, the availability of young single women for employment has decreased in recent years.
4. The level of economic activity among women is low in Ireland, especially among married women. The overall female activity rate stood at 30.5% in 1971, whilst that for married women barely reached 8%. In addition, the trend has scarcely changed over the decade 1961 - 1971. The tendency for Irish women to remain outside the labour force may be explained, in part, by the high level of unemployment, endemic in the country, and a general dearth of job opportunities.
5. Analysis of the industrial and occupational distribution of female workers reveals some very pronounced patterns of sex segregation. On the one hand, women tend to be highly concentrated in certain "female" industries, such as the services industries, teaching, nursing, food processing, tobacco textiles, clothing and electronics.

On the other, they are virtually excluded from the skilled manual crafts, and grossly under-represented in the higher professional occupations as in top management of industry and government.

6. The age distribution of the female labour force is characterized by a predominance of young single women. This is a close reflection of the working life cycle of the great majority of Irish girls. Although age at marriage is still relatively late in Ireland, and a relatively high proportion of each generation never marry, most girls leave schools at the age of sixteen or seventeen, work for six or eight years until marriage, retire from the labour market shortly after and re-enter it, if at all, only on a part-time and, perhaps, sporadic basis. Consequently, the proportion of women workers who are in the younger age groups is very high: 45.6% - compared with 20.7% only of male workers - were under twenty-five years of age in 1966.
7. The Irish female labour force is essentially urban, in contrast with the still predominantly rural male labour force. The main reason for this is the location of most offices of employment in urban areas, especially in the capital city, Dublin.
8. There are no satisfactory sources of information on female unemployment. Data available show the female unemployment rate as about half the male, but the figures apply mainly to single women or insured women who qualify for benefits.
9. Precise data on absenteeism, turnover and labour mobility are very limited and difficult to obtain. Many married women, however, appear to be in jobs where a high level of absenteeism is acceptable. There also appears to be considerable in-migration

to urban areas of young, single women, in response to the concentration of female-type employment opportunities in these areas.

10. Women working in Ireland earn generally far less than their male colleagues. In March 1973, the average hourly earnings of industrial workers on adult rates in manufacturing industries were £0.74p for males and £0.43p. for women. i.e. women earning only 58% of the male figure.
- 11.. The Commission on the Status of Women Interim Report on Equal Pay (August 1971) has recommended that equal pay for men and women should be introduced gradually in certain circumstances and that full application should be achieved by December 1977. A large body of opinion believes, however, that an equal pay policy will, of itself, do nothing to reduce the occupational segregation of women workers into low-paying jobs. If anything, a vigorously enforced equal-pay policy may even increase the degree of segregation.
12. In addition to the various economic factors which militate against women, in general, entering the labour force, three demographic features combine to restrict further the range of job opportunities open to married women. These are: the very low marriage rate, the late average rate of marriage and the very high fertility of marriage.
13. Irish girls and young women traditionally stay on longer at school than their male counterparts. This difference arises, in the main, from the farming-orientation of the men.
14. With regard to post-primary education, the normal pattern is sex-segregated education. In 1971, only 16% of girls attended 'co-ed' secondary schools. There is also marked disparity between school curriculae for boys and those designed for girls.

Similar differences emerge when the respective courses taken by girls and boys are examined. There are no boys taking secretarial or domestic science courses; on the other hand, there are no girls taking woodwork or metalwork.

15. At university level, the concentration of women graduates is very marked in the arts and social science facilities, with corresponding under-representation in science, engineering and the various professional schools.
16. There is a considerable shortage of facilities for the training and re-training of women in Ireland. On-the-job training schemes are practically non-existent as, in general, women are recruited for special qualifications and skills which they have acquired prior to entering the organisation and there is little interest shown in developing their potential any further.
17. Fewer women workers than men belong to trade unions. In fact, it is estimated that significantly less than one-half of women employees are in trades unions, compared with about two-thirds of male employees. Participation by women in union affairs is also limited: only 7 out of 230 full-time officials are women.
18. There is no legislation in Ireland making it illegal to specify that married women must resign from employment. This has led to the development of discriminatory practices by certain employers to evade the employment of women. In general, females employed in clerical jobs in service industries, banks, local authorities and semi-state bodies are required to resign from their employment on marriage.
19. Facilities provided explicitly for the needs of working mothers are very few and largely inadequate. A feature of the 1971 Survey of Women in Employment was the high proportion of working

mothers who had no special arrangements for child care while working.

20. Under the various Social Welfare Acts, men and women in Ireland are insured against certain contingencies, such as, unemployment and disability. Insured persons are also entitled to 'contributory' pensions.
21. A small cash grant (£4.00) is payable to insured women in respect of a confinement, and an allowance of £5.55p. is payable for six weeks after the confinement. But there is no legal obligation on employers to grant maternity leave. Indeed very few employers appear to operate any system of paid maternity leave, over and above the State Maternity Allowance scheme.
22. Perhaps the most obvious area where the state impinges on married women's decision to enter the labour force is through the income tax code. Single women are taxed in the same way as single men, but married men are legally responsible for making an income tax return in respect of their wives. There are no provisions for husband and wife filling separate returns. The only tax-free allowance given to a married woman who works is her Earned Income Allowance, with a maximum value of £104.
23. Legislation has already been initiated to remedy some of the more blatant discriminatory practices currently in use in Ireland, notably, on the ban on employing married women in the public service, equal pay and certain aspects of the social welfare code. In other areas, especially in relation to the taxation of married women, day care for children and movement towards less sex-segregation in employment, change has yet to materialise. At a time when male unemployment remains a serious problem and economic growth is threatened by

external factors, it is hoped that legislators will resist attaching too low priorities to the goal of equality in employment for women and press ahead with those much needed social reforms.

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WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

IN

DENMARK

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I. WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE

a) The Working Population: Working women do now, and will in the future, play a very important role in the Danish economy. Indeed, over recent years, when the number of working men has been declining, more and more women have been entering the labour market. Forecasts for the next fifteen years indicate that apart from immigration, women (married women in particular) will constitute the only major source of new labour. Thus, it is anticipated that they will make an increasingly important contribution to future living standards.

In November 1972, the population included 3.6 million persons aged between 15 and 74 years, of whom approximately 2.4 million were in the labour force. The other 1.2 million consisted of housewives (530,000), school children and students living at home (165,000), students living away from home (96,000) and pensioners (399,000). In 1960, the census showed a work force of approximately 2 million. So over the 12 year period, covered by Table 1, the labour market expanded by some 414,000 people (21%), due almost entirely to the increased participation of married women.

TABLE 1

THE DANISH WORKING POPULATION 1960-1972¹

	<u>Men²</u>	<u>Married³</u> <u>Women</u>	<u>Unmarried³</u> <u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
	(000)	(000)	(000)	(000)
1960 (Census)	1,448	245	315	2,008
1967 (Sept.) ⁴	1,478	499	356	2,333
1969 (May) ⁴	1,455	567	334	2,356
1970 (May) ⁴	1,462	588	330	2,380
1971 (May) ⁴	1,466	617	326	2,409
1972 (May) ⁴	1,458	632	324	2,414
1972 (Nov) ⁴	1,451	638	333	2,422

- Notes:
- 1 Age group: 15 - 74
 - 2 Including National Servicemen
 - 3 Including Domestic Aid and Helping Wives
 - 4 Figures from Employment Surveys.

In fact, the total number working is higher than these figures suggest, since many women, mostly self-employed, do not register their activities with the appropriate authorities and are thus not included in official statistics.

b) Activity Rates: One measure of the extent of participation in the labour market is the proportion actually working within any group - the so-called 'activity rate'. This measure is shown in Table 2 for men, married women and unmarried women, for the years 1967 to 1972. In each case it is confined to those aged 15 to 74 years. The results confirm the pattern evident in Table 1. Whereas the activity rate for men has shown a marked decline since 1967, that for married women has increased significantly.

TABLE 2
ACTIVITY RATE DEVELOPMENT - 1967-1972

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Married Women</u>	<u>Unmarried Women</u>
1967 (Sept.)	86	45	55
1969 (May)	84	48	54
1970 (May)	83	50	53
1971 (May)	82	52	52
1972 (May)	81	53	51
1972 (Nov.)	81	55	52

Source: Employment Surveys 1967 and 1972

Besides confirming Table 1, the changes in activity rates have important implications for the future structure of the labour force. The point is even more forceably brought home by a detailed analysis of the rate variations between age groups shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

ACTIVITY RATE DEVELOPMENT BY AGE GROUPS: 1967 & 1972

<u>Age</u>	<u>Men</u>		<u>Married Women</u>		<u>Unmarried Women</u>	
	<u>1967</u> <u>Sep.</u>	<u>1972</u> <u>Nov.</u>	<u>1967</u> <u>Sep.</u>	<u>1972</u> <u>Nov.</u>	<u>1967</u> <u>Sep.</u>	<u>1972</u> <u>Nov.</u>
15-19	66	53	37	58	56	45
20-24	87	81	48	67	83	75
25-29	95	92	44	64	92	85
30-34	99	97	48	64	74	88
35-39	99	97	51	68	94	82
40-44	98	97	54	65	81	84
45-49	98	95	54	64	85	77
50-54	96	93	54	56	63	72
55-59	93	88	40	46	63	53
60-64	85	78	29	28	38	34
65-69	57	45	12	11	9	14
70-74	23	15	8	4	2	4
<hr/>						
15-74	86	81	45	55	55	52
20-64	-	91	-	59	-	69

Source: Employment Surveys 1967 (Sep.) & 1972 (Nov.)

The declining male rate is apparent in all groups, but is particularly noticeable at both ends of the age scale - that is, amongst the youngest and those over 60 years. At the same time, the increased participation of married women extends to all age groups except those between 60 and 74 years. The picture for unmarried women is less clear, but it is significant that the overall drop in their activity rate was due, in no small measure, to declines in the three groups embracing those under 30 years, and especially to the 15 to 19 years category. This latter development is no doubt due, in part, to the increasing number of girls enjoying an extended span of formal education.

Certainly, on the evidence of 1972, it is true that both men and unmarried women are entering the labour market later than hitherto and then in decreasing numbers. It is also true that all three groups withdraw from the market at an earlier age than in the past. In the absence of a marked increase in the total population these socially desirable trends, must

ultimately lead to a reduction in the total work force, unless either the trends themselves are arrested or a greater percentage of the available population is induced to work.

But not withstanding the universal fall in male activity rates, it still stands at well over 90% for all groups between 25 and 59 years. Any sizeable gain must, therefore, be from the female population. Which section of this offers the greatest potential? Developments since 1967 meant that in 1972 the activity rate of married women was higher than that of their unmarried sisters. But the figure for the latter group was considerably depressed by the very low proportion (45%) of working 15 to 19 year olds. Indeed, in all other age groups, apart from the oldest, the activity rate for unmarried women was well above the corresponding rate for married women. If average activity rates are calculated for women aged 20 to 64 years, the following comparison emerges:

Married Women	59%
Unmarried Women	69%

c) Regional Variations: The data given in Table 4 shows that the only major variation from the national average is the above average importance of Copenhagen to unmarried women. A similar, but much less marked, divergence also appears for married women.

TABLE 4
REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOUR FORCE

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Married Women</u>	<u>Unmarried Women</u>	<u>Total Men & Women</u>
Copenhagen area	36	37	45	38
Sealand etc. (excl. Copenhagen)	11	11	9	11
Funen	9	9	8	8
Northwest Jutland	19	18	15	18
Southeast Jutland	25	25	23	25
Total %	100	100	100	100
Number of persons	1,451,000	639,451	333,722	2,424,181

Source: Employment Surveys 1972 (November)

Apart from the area immediately surrounding Copenhagen, there is little difference between the national average activity rate and that of any region. However, it is generally true that the less well developed area, the lower the activity rate. See Table 5.

TABLE 5

ACTIVITY RATE BY REGION - MEN & WOMEN: 1972

Copenhagen & Frederiksberg	66
Copenhagen county	72
Frederiksberg county	72
Roskilde county	73
West Sealand county	67
Storestrøms county	66
Bornholms county	64
Flyns county	66
Sjælland county	65
Ribe county	67
Vejle county	66
Ringkøbing county	69
Aarhus county	64
Viborg county	66
Nordjylland county	65
<hr/>	
Whole country	67

Source: Employment Surveys 1972 (November)

NOTE: Rate of participation calculated for the age groups
15 - 74 years only.

d) Part-time Employment: There can be no doubt about the importance of part-time work to married women: almost half (47%) of those employed work on a part-time basis. A study by the Danish National Institute of Social Research suggests that this proportion would be even higher given the opportunity, since many women now working full-time said they would prefer part-time employment

Table 6 below, shows the overall incidence of part-time employment, in percentage terms, for all workers and for the three groups discussed throughout this chapter. The rate varies between 15% and 20% around a national average of 17%, but there is no definite regional pattern except that the incidence of women workers appears higher in Copenhagen

and surrounding districts than elsewhere. It is in these areas that more opportunities for part-time work are believed to exist and where the employment of married women, whether full or part-time is highest. In this respect at least, the picture for unmarried women mirrors that of their married counterparts.

TABLE 6

RATE OF PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT BY REGIONS: 1972

	<u>Men & Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Married Women</u>	<u>Unmarried Women</u>
Copenhagen & Frederiksberg	19	6	50	19
Copenhagen county	20	4	54	20
Frederiksberg county	17	3	49	18
Roskilde county	18	4	49	13
West Sealand county	16	4	45	17
Storestrøms county	17	5	44	16
Bornholms county	17	5	47	12
Fyns county	17	4	46	13
Sjælland county	15	4	43	11
Ribe county	16	4	44	14
Vejle county	17	4	47	13
Ringkøbing county	16	4	42	12
Aarhus county	18	5	48	15
Viborg county	15	5	40	12
Nordjylland county	16	6	43	12
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Whole country	17	5	47	16

Source: Employment Surveys 1972 (November)

To some extent the definition of part-time employment used in the Employment Surveys is unsatisfactory. Here the classification rests on the respondents opinion of whether he or she works full or part-time. But a Danish National Institute of Social Research study revealed (Table 7) that almost half the women in the labour force worked eight hours or more a day. A further 16% worked between six and seven hours, yet these must be largely included in the Employment Survey's part-time category. It, therefore, probably understates the number who might justifiably be considered full-time workers.

TABLE 7
AVERAGE WORKING HOURS PER DAY BY SEX & OCCUPATION: 1972

No. of Hours	Salaried Employees		Unskilled Workers		Skilled Workers		Helping Wife		Self-Employed		TOTAL	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
5 hours or less	3	32	3	43	5	26	-	58	7	32	5	37
6 hours	3	6	1	7	1	4	-	15	4	0	2	6
7 hours	13	13	3	6	4	9	-	2	2	14	7	10
8 hours	52	40	63	32	68	46	-	2	20	18	54	35
9 hours or more	28	8	28	11	21	15	-	23	64	32	31	11
Don't know & unexplained	1	1	1	1	1	0	-	0	1	4	1	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	100	100
Pet. Base	365	327	270	244	259	46	-	48	36	22	1132	696

Source: OMNIBUS 1972

Salaried Employee: Funktionarer

Helping Wife: Medhjælpende Hustru

An analysis of hours worked by occupation and sex shows the incidence of part-time work to be markedly higher for women than for men irrespective of occupation. Unfortunately, the very small sub-samples in some female categories rule out depth analysis. However, it can be said that a relatively high proportion of unskilled women workers work part-time. There is some evidence too, to suggest that many 'helping wives' help out on a part-time basis.

e) Type of Occupation: The presentation of Table 8 below, suggests that married and unmarried women are equally likely to be in unskilled employment. But the married women breakdown contains a category from which unmarried women, by definition, are excluded. If this category (helping wife) is removed and the remainder recalculated on the base of 'all married women working for someone other than their husband', it can be seen that the married women is more likely to be an unskilled worker. The comparison is:

Married Women	40%
Unmarried Women	33%

TABLE 8
LABOUR FORCE DISTRIBUTED BY OCCUPATION
& SEX: 1972

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Married Women</u>	<u>Unmarried Women</u>	<u>Total Men & Women</u>
Self-employed	20	4	3	4	13
Helping Wives	-	11	17	-	5
Salaried Employees	33	51	46	61	40
Skilled Workers	20	1	1	2	12
Unskilled Workers	27	33	33	33	30
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: OMNIBUS 1972

Although this exercise increases the proportion of married women in salaried employment from the 46% shown in the table to 55%, the married women profile still compares unfavourably in this respect with unmarried women. Thus, it can be said that the unmarried woman generally enjoys a more favourable place in the work force.

f) Industries Employing Women:

In two sectors of industry 'public' sector and 'other professions and services' women far outnumber men. They also figure prominently in 'commerce' and 'manufacturing'

TABLE 9

LABOUR FORCE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIN INDUSTRY & SEX (AND FOR

WOMEN MARITAL STATUS)

	<u>Agriculture & Fishing Etc.</u>	<u>Manufacturing</u>	<u>Building & Const ruction</u>	<u>Commerce</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>Public Sector</u>	<u>Other Pro- fessions & Services</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Men	171,381	467,352	191,311	203,207	125,912	216,612	41,038	1,416,813
Married Women	59,108	122,278	11,784	114,119	21,956	249,235	57,583	636,063
Unmarried Women	4,132	64,221	2,050	59,152	12,614	142,037	44,404	329,610
TOTAL	234,620	653,851	206,146	376,478	160,483	607,884	143,025	2,382,486

Source: Employment Surveys 1972 (November)

For a more detailed breakdown of the rather diverse manufacturing classification it is necessary to turn to the Statistics Efterretninger 1973/74 which lists membership of unemployment insurance funds by specified industries. Comparison between this list and the total number of men and women employed in the various industries are shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10
FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT MEMBERSHIP IN MANU-
FACTURING INDUSTRIES

<u>Manufacturing Industry Specified</u>	<u>No. of Female Members of Unemployment Funds¹</u>	<u>Total no. (men & women) employed² November 1972</u>
Food, beverage, tobacco	20,700	100,000
Textile	8,500	23,000
Footwear & Clothing	14,800	40,000
Wood & Furniture	3,400	46,000
Paper & Graphic	5,900	56,000
Leather	600	3,000
Chemical	2,000	27,000
Stone, Clay & Glass	1,600	30,000
Iron & Metal	19,000	307,000
Other Industries	3,100	49,000

Source: 1 Statistics Efterretninger 1973/54, p. 1072

2 Employment Surveys 1972 (November)

As female membership of unemployment funds is low, the table may not give a true indication of the pattern of female employment. But if it does, then clearly female labour is heavily concentrated in three or four industries - food, beverages and tobacco, footwear and clothing, iron and metal, and textiles.

g) Union Membership:

Women are less likely to be members of a union than their male bretheren. Similarly, those in salaried employment, whether male or female, are less likely to be members than other workers.

TABLE 11
UNION MEMBERSHIP

	<u>% of Total</u>
All Workers	75
Male Workers	83
Female Workers	57
All Salaried Employees	58
Male Salaried Employees	71
Female Salaried Employees	44

h) Unemployment:

Judged by the position in July 1972, the middle month of a fairly representative year for Denmark, unemployment is low, particularly for the very young. Of the three categories covered by Table 12, the one most subject to unemployment is the unskilled male worker. Analysis of age groups, reveals that unemployment is something of a problem (although by no means severe), for those aged between 20 and 24 years, whether they are skilled or unskilled males, or females. Thereafter levels remain close to, or below, average until the age of 60 years when they begin to rise. This upward movement is more pronounced for women in the 60 to 66 year group than for men of similar ages.

TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY AGE GROUP & SEX (%)

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>18-19</u>	<u>20-21</u>	<u>22-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-54</u>	<u>55-59</u>	<u>60-64</u>	<u>65-66</u>	<u>67-69</u>	<u>70+</u>
Unskilled Male Workers:											
July 1970	1.2	0.3	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.6	2.9	4.4	3.4
July 1971	3.3	1.6	2.7	3.6	2.9	3.0	3.4	4.3	6.8	8.7	2.1
July 1972	2.8	1.3	3.8	3.8	2.5	2.2	2.7	3.8	6.9	11.5	1.3
Other Male Employees:											
July 1970	0.9	0.8	0.9	1.0	0.5	0.6	0.9	1.8	4.6	4.9	2.9
July 1971	1.7	1.9	2.1	2.5	1.3	1.3	1.7	2.8	5.7	6.7	2.2
July 1972	2.1	1.7	3.1	3.8	1.5	1.4	2.0	3.5	7.7	6.8	1.1
Female Employees:											
July 1970	1.4	0.9	1.9	1.5	1.2	1.1	1.8	4.3	6.4	3.9	4.7
July 1971	2.3	1.3	2.7	2.6	2.0	2.1	2.6	5.1	7.8	6.5	3.3
July 1972	2.3	1.0	2.7	2.5	2.1	1.8	2.6	6.6	11.5	4.9	1.0
All Employees:											
July 1970	1.1	0.7	1.3	1.2	0.8	0.9	1.2	2.1	3.9	4.6	3.2
July 1971	2.3	1.5	2.4	2.7	1.9	2.0	2.6	3.7	6.3	7.4	2.3
July 1972	2.4	1.3	3.1	3.4	1.9	1.8	2.4	4.0	7.6	8.3	1.1

Source: Bureau of Statistics 'Statistiske Efterretninger, 1973'

In all regions, except Bornholm, women workers are less likely to be unemployed than unskilled males. To some extent this is because fewer women are employed in occupations likely to be affected by weather conditions but is probably also due to the fact that they are more likely to withdraw from the labour market altogether when unemployed. Nevertheless, at the extreme, regional differences in female unemployment levels reflect the pattern for unskilled men - lowest in Bornholm, highest in North Jutland.

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY REGION & SEX (%)

	<u>Unskilled Male Workers</u>	<u>Other Male Employees</u>	<u>Females</u>
	May 1972	May 1972	May 1972
Copenhagen area	4.2	2.7	1.9
Sealand, (excluding Copenhagen)	3.7	1.6	1.9
Lolland-Falster	4.7	1.6	3.4
Bornholm	1.1	1.0	1.7
Fyn	4.6	5.5	2.8
South Jutland	3.5	1.9	2.9
East Jutland	3.4	2.4	2.5
West Jutland	3.4	1.7	3.0
North Jutland	6.9	3.2	5.4
Total	4.2	2.7	2.6

Source: Bureau of Statistics 'Statistiske Efterretninger, 1973'

Perhaps not surprisingly, Female unemployment is highest in those industries in which female labour is concentrated, notably, food, drink and tobacco (4.3%), leather (3.8%), and footwear and clothing (3.4%).

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY & SEX (%)

	<u>Unskilled</u> <u>Male Workers</u>	<u>Other Male</u> <u>Employees</u>	<u>Females</u>
	May 1972	May 1972	May 1972
<u>Industries & Service:</u>			
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	6.1	-	-
Manufacturing	2.1	2.1	3.0
Trade	3.5	1.7	3.2
Land transport	3.9	0.5	2.2
Sea transport	-	7.2	2.1
Hotels & restaurants	-	5.1	3.0
Other service trades	1.3	1.5	1.3
Other	6.4	4.7	3.9
Total	4.2	2.7	2.6
<u>Manufacturing:</u>			
Food, beverage, tobacco	3.5	1.3	4.3
Textile	-	1.8	2.3
Footwear & clothing	-	4.8	3.4
Wood & furniture	2.8	1.3	1.9
Paper & graphic	-	1.9	1.4
Leather	1.4	1.7	3.8
Chemical, etc.	2.1	-	1.7
Stone, clay & glass	2.3	0.4	0.4
Iron & metal	1.9	2.5	2.7
Other	2.0	2.7	1.6

Source: Bureau of Statistics 'Statistike Efterretninger, 1973'

Table 15, which lists the number of vacancies per 1,000 employees, shows no apparent shortage of vacancies for female labour. Indeed, in some particular industries, the proportion of vacancies open to women exceeds that to be filled by men by a substantial margin. The apparent paradox of relatively high unemployment levels and relatively high unfilled vacancies for females in manufacturing is interesting. Does it, one wonders, reflect the need for more part-time job opportunities?

TABLE 15

DISTRIBUTION OF VACANCIES PER 1,000 EMPLOYEES BY

INDUSTRY, SEX &

REGION

	<u>June 1972</u>	<u>July 1972</u>
<u>All industries</u>	3.2	3.8
Vacancies for men	3.2	3.7
Vacancies for women	3.1	3.8
<u>Manufacturing</u>	4.8	6.1
Vacancies for men	4.4	5.1
Vacancies for women	5.8	8.3
<u>Service Industries</u>	1.9	2.1
Vacancies for men	1.0	1.1
Vacancies for women	2.4	2.6
<u>Regions, Men & Women</u>	3.2	3.8
Copenhagen	2.9	3.6
Sealand, excluding Copenhagen	4.2	4.1
Lolland-Falster	4.2	4.4
Bornholm	7.2	8.5
Fyn	3.1	3.5
South Jutland	8.0	8.2
East Jutland	2.2	2.6
West Jutland	3.0	6.2
North Jutland	1.4	1.1

Source: Bureau of Statistics 'Statistiske Efterretninger, 1973'

1) Labour Mobility and Labour Turnover:

Movement between places of work is shown for 1972 in Table 16 below. According to this evidence, salaried employees change jobs less often than other workers, and women more frequently than men.

TABLE 16

NUMBER OF PLACES OF WORK IN ONE YEAR, BY OCCUPATION AND SEX (%)

<u>Number of Places of employment</u>	<u>Salaried Employees</u>		<u>Unskilled Workers</u>		<u>Skilled Workers</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
One only	87	86	83	78	81	78
Two	10	11	11	16	13	15
Three or more	2	0	4	5	2	2
Unexplained	1	3	2	1	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	365	327	270	244	259	46

Source: OMNIBUS, 1972

The higher rate of job mobility for women is mainly attributable to girls and young women (see Table 17), but just why they should change jobs more frequently than males of a similar age is not clear. Perhaps it is that a greater proportion of young men is engaged in professional training related to current employment. Perhaps, also, young women are less concerned with long-term career prospects.

TABLE 17
CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT BY AGE & SEX %

	<u>16-19 Years Old</u>		<u>20 Years Old & Above</u>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
No change in employment	84	58	83	84
At least one change	16	42	17	16
TOTAL %	100	100	100	100
Number of persons	81	57	784	534

Source: OMNIBUS 1972 (Tetzschner)

Turnover figures are indicated in Table 18. They show clearly a higher rate of turnover for manual workers than for salaried employees and a markedly higher rate for women irrespective of occupation. Comparison between 1973 and 1967 illustrates the general tendency for turnover rates to increase.

j) Absenteeism: Table 19 compares two January quarters, five years apart. It shows absenteeism to have increased among manual workers but to have declined among salaried employees. It also shows women to be more prone to absenteeism than men.

Copenhagen suffered from absenteeism more than other parts of the country and particularly amongst its female work force. The most common reason for absence was sickness. Approximately 75% of absent manual workers gave this reason, as did a significantly higher proportion (between 78% and 95%, depending on sex and region) of salaried employees.

Whereas Table 19 dealt with absenteeism as a percentage of specific work force groups, Table 20 shows the average number of days of absence per employee for the same groups.

Table 20 confirms the overwhelming importance of sickness as a cause of absenteeism and the above average propensity of women manual workers to be absent. However, as can be seen from Table 21, women in salaried employment, with one possible exception (accidents in the capital), are likely to be away for shorter periods than men when the cause is sickness or accident. When the cause is something other than these, the period is likely to be, at least, double that of men. Does this reflect the more enlightened attitude of some employees to the demands made on women by their domestic responsibilities ?

Studies in other countries have shown that domestic circumstances, education and age, have all been important determinants of the rate of female absenteeism. Unfortunately, no reliable information about the effect of these variables is available in Denmark, but it is reasonable to suppose they are no less important here.

TABLE 18

LABOUR TURNOVER IN OCTOBER, JANUARY & APRIL: QUARTERS 1967/68
& 1972/73

	<u>SALARIED EMPLOYEES</u>															
	<u>WORKERS</u>				<u>Men</u>				<u>Women</u>							
	<u>Capital</u>	<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>Provinces</u>				
	<u>New</u>	<u>Leaving</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>Leaving</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>Leaving</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>Leaving</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>Leaving</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>Leaving</u>				
Oct. 1967	12.5	15.9	8.5	11.9	19.8	22.9	11.2	14.7	3.3	3.8	2.7	2.7	6.8	7.1	5.1	5.8
Jan. 1968	12.8	14.0	10.1	9.3	19.3	20.7	14.0	13.4	3.8	3.3	2.6	2.7	7.5	7.1	4.7	5.5
Apr. 1968	16.8	14.4	11.7	9.3	20.5	18.5	16.5	13.9	3.7	3.4	2.4	2.5	6.2	6.6	4.0	5.2
Oct. 1972	14.0	15.7	12.0	12.3	19.0	19.2	15.7	15.6	2.7	3.1	2.8	2.4	5.1	5.5	5.2	5.8
Jan. 1973	16.1	15.7	13.0	13.2	20.9	19.0	16.9	15.9	4.1	3.5	3.7	2.9	7.6	6.0	7.1	5.5
Apr. 1973	18.5	14.6	15.7	12.4	22.9	17.3	20.4	13.6	4.0	3.6	3.7	2.7	5.4	5.5	6.9	5.8

Source: Employers' Confederation's 'Statistikken' 1973

Note: The number of new employees is related to the average of the number of employees at the beginning and at the end of a quarter. A similar calculation is carried out for employees leaving the enterprise.

TABLE 19

ABSENTEEISM AMONG MANUAL WORKERS & SALARIED EMPLOYEES BY SEX & REGION (%)

	Total Absenteeism		Absenteeism Caused by Sickness	
	January Quarter	January Quarter	January Quarter	January Quarter
	1968	1973	1968	1973
<u>Workers</u>				
Copenhagen area (Males)	6.0	8.7	5.1	6.6
Rest of country (Males)	4.5	6.5	3.9	4.8
Copenhagen area (Females)	10.4	14.9	8.3	11.4
Rest of country (Females)	8.2	11.9	6.7	9.1
<u>Salaried Employees</u>				
Copenhagen area (Males)	3.0	2.9	2.8	2.7
Rest of country (Males)	1.9	2.0	1.8	1.9
Copenhagen area (Females)	6.0	4.9	5.2	4.2
Rest of country (Females)	4.0	3.6	3.2	2.8

TABLE 20
AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS OF ABSENTEEISM PER EMPLOYEE:
BY CAUSE OF ABSENTEEISM

	MEN				WOMEN			
	Sickness	Accidents	Other Causes	Total	Sickness	Accidents	Other Causes	Total
<u>Workers</u>								
Capital	3.7	0.4	0.8	4.9	6.5	0.2	1.8	8.5
Rest of country	2.7	0.3	0.7	3.7	5.3	0.2	1.5	7.0
Whole country	3.0	0.3	0.7	4.0	5.7	0.2	1.6	7.5
<u>Salaried Employees</u>								
Capital	1.8	0.0	0.0	1.8	2.8	0.0	0.5	3.3
Rest of country	1.2	0.0	0.1	1.3	1.9	0.0	0.6	2.5
Whole country	1.4	0.0	0.1	1.5	2.2	0.0	0.6	2.8

Source: Employers' Confederation's 'Statistikken' 1973

TABLE 21
AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS OF ABSENTEEISM PER PERIOD & BY CAUSE
JANUARY-MARCH 1973 (%)

	MEN				WOMEN			
	Sickness	Accidents	Other Causes	Total	Sickness	Accidents	Other Causes	Total
<u>Workers</u>								
Capital	5.7	16.2	1.9	4.5	7.1	15.5	2.0	4.6
Rest of country	5.3	14.2	1.8	4.1	6.5	14.1	2.3	4.7
Whole country	5.4	14.9	1.8	4.2	6.7	14.6	2.2	4.7
<u>Salaried Employees</u>								
Capital	3.7	14.5	2.2	3.7	3.4	24.0	6.0	3.6
Rest of country	3.8	16.0	2.6	3.7	3.1	4.7	8.4	3.6
Whole country	3.8	15.3	2.3	3.7	3.2	13.7	7.3	3.6

Source: Employers' Confederation's 'Statistikken' 1973

k) Wages and Earning:

During the years 1969 to 1973, hourly earnings, excluding overtime payments, of manual workers increased steadily throughout Denmark, with women enjoying a greater rate of increase than men. Workers in the capital, whether male or female, benefitted to a slightly lesser extent than those in the rest of the country. The position is summarised in Table 22 and shown in more detail in Table 23.

TABLE 22
INDEX OF HOURLY EARNINGS, MANUAL WORKERS: 1969-73

	<u>January</u> <u>Quarter</u> <u>1973</u>	<u>January</u> <u>Quarter</u> <u>1972</u>	<u>January</u> <u>Quarter</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>January</u> <u>Quarter</u> <u>1970</u>	<u>January</u> <u>Quarter</u> <u>1969</u>
<u>Capital</u>					
Skilled Male Workers	156	141	125	108	100
Unskilled Male Workers	158	144	126	110	100
Females	166	147	126	110	100
<u>Rest of Country</u>					
Skilled Male Workers	158	141	126	108	100
Unskilled Male Workers	160	144	126	110	100
Females	168	148	128	112	100

Source: Employers' Confederation 1973

TABLE 23
ANNUAL INCOME (1968 - 1972) AT FULL EMPLOYMENT

	<u>1972</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1968</u>
	Kr	Kr	Kr	Kr	Kr
<u>Capital</u>					
Skilled Workers	56,000	51,700	46,000	41,900	37,800
Unskilled Workers	49,100	45,300	40,100	36,000	32,600
Total Men	52,200	48,200	42,700	38,600	34,900
Total Women	36,900	33,000	28,500	25,800	23,700
All Workers	49,800	45,800	40,300	36,500	33,000
<u>Provinces</u>					
Skilled Workers	46,500	42,800	38,200	34,800	31,400
Unskilled Workers	41,500	37,900	33,400	30,400	27,400
Total Men	43,400	39,700	35,100	32,000	28,900
Total Women	32,400	29,000	25,100	22,600	20,500
All Workers	41,600	38,100	33,500	30,400	27,500
<u>The Whole Country</u>					
Skilled Workers	50,100	46,300	41,300	37,600	34,000
Unskilled Workers	43,800	40,200	35,600	32,300	29,100
Total Men	46,300	42,700	37,800	34,400	31,100
Total Women	33,900	30,400	26,300	23,800	21,700
All Workers	44,400	40,700	35,900	32,600	29,500

Source: Danish Employers' Confederation

Note: Calculated on the basis of hourly earnings inclusive of all allowances

An important agreement reached in April 1973 (but too late to be reflected in the tables), provides equal pay for male and female manual workers. Thus, the degree of equality bestowed on women in salaried employment some years ago, is now offered to their hitherto less fortunate sisters.

Under the terms of this agreement, the DA-LO¹ Collective Agreement 1973, hourly earnings are related to the cost of living index twice a year (in January and July), and each worker receives an additional 40 øere per hour for every threepoint increase in the index. Because the same increase is given to all workers covered by the agreement, irrespective of sex or occupation, the average earnings of male and female skilled and unskilled workers should, theoretically, converge.

1 DA = The Confederation of Danish Employers

LO = The Federation of Danish Trade Unions

However, this is unlikely to happen because of the differential effects of the three factors influencing hourly earnings.

The Government's Economic Secretariate estimated an average hourly earnings increase, between October 1972 and October 1973, of approximately 17%, made up of a 5% gain from collective agreements, 7% from wage-drift, etc., and 5% from 'cost of living index' regulations. Thus, the effect of wage-drift is to prevent the theoretical convergence. Another factor likely to ensure that wage margins are more or less maintained is the wage system, covering a large body of skilled workers, which allows them interim wage increases.

Whether or not equal pay ever becomes the norm, the justification for actively seeking it is evident from the very unfavourable position shown in Tables 24 and 25 for women workers, whatever their age or occupation.

TABLE 24
TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MEN & WOMEN
DISTRIBUTED BY OCCUPATION

Personal Income	Salaried Employees		Unskilled		Skilled		Helping-Spouse		Self-Employed		Total Economically Active	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Below 40,000	24	79	72	94	56	97	-	69	26	55	47	84
40,000 - 79,000	61	18	25	1	42	0	-	0	33	18	41	10
80,000 & above	12	1	0	0	0	0	-	0	29	0	8	0
Don't know & unexplained	3	2	3	5	2	4	-	31	12	27	4	6
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	365	326	270	244	259	46	-	48	136	22	1,132 ¹	688

Source: OMNIBUS 1972

1 Note: inclusive of farmers

TABLE 25
SHARE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE WOMEN & MEN WHO HAVE TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME OF
LESS THAN 40,000 KR PER YEAR DISTRIBUTED BY
AGE

	16 - 19		20 - 29		30 - 39		40 - 49		50 - 59		60 - 69		70 - 74	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Less than 40,000 Kr. per year in %	98	97	56	88	29	85	31	82	48	78	50	66	64	33
Sample Size	86	60	265	218	249	132	201	131	193	106	123	38	11	3

Source: OMNIBUS 1972

II. FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN IN EMPLOYMENT

1. Demographic Factors:

a) Death Rate:

Over the last century there has been a substantial decrease in the number of deaths per 1,000 of the Danish population - from 24^o/oo at the beginning of the 1800's to 14^o/oo around 1900. The morality rate began to stabilise in the 1930's and now stands at just under 10^o/oo.

TABLE 26
EVOLUTION OF THE DEATH RATE BY AGE & SEX

Age	Men			Women		
	1901-05	1951-55	1968	1901-05	1951-55	1968
Under 1 year	146.4	31.6	17.5	115.3	23.8	13.3
1 - 4	9.8	1.4	1.0	9.6	1.0	0.6
5 - 9	3.2	0.5	0.6	3.2	0.3	0.3
10 - 14	2.3	0.4	0.4	2.8	0.3	0.3
15 - 19	3.5	0.8	1.0	3.8	0.5	0.4
20 - 24	4.7	1.3	1.1	4.4	0.6	0.4
25 - 29	4.7	1.3	1.0	5.0	0.8	0.6
30 - 34	5.5	1.5	1.2	5.6	1.2	0.8
35 - 39	6.6	1.9	1.9	6.3	1.6	1.6
40 - 44	8.2	2.8	3.1	7.0	2.4	2.3
45 - 49	11.1	4.6	4.2	8.8	3.8	3.2
50 - 54	14.7	7.6	7.1	10.8	5.6	5.0
55 - 59	20.2	11.9	12.7	14.7	8.7	7.4
60 - 64	28.4	18.9	21.1	21.9	14.3	11.6
65 - 69	44.2	29.8	34.5	36.0	24.4	19.2
70 - 74	65.5	49.2	51.9	55.7	43.5	34.0
75 - 79	100.8	81.2	79.2	88.6	76.2	57.5
80 - 84	172.7	134.2	127.3	150.7	126.4	103.9
85 & over	267.5	232.3	224.8	253.4	226.7	194.2
In All	15.6	9.3	10.6	14.1	8.6	8.8

Source: Wedebye, Befolningsforhold, Copenhagen 1971

The most significant decline in the death rate is that registered for infants and the younger age-groups. Decreases among the older age groups have been smaller and in the last twenty years, there has even been an increase in the rate of deaths of men aged 55 - 75. This was not the case, however, for women of the same age group.

It is not known whether the lower death rate for women might be attributed to difference between the sexes in reactions to living constraints, or simply, to biological factors. Consequently, it is difficult to forecast what influence, if any, the growing employment rate of women might have on their mortality rate, particularly in the late middle age group where responsibilities tend to be greater. At the moment, the average expected life span for females is 75.4 years for a child born in 1966-70, while that for males is 70.5 years¹, with married couples having a greater expectancy than single or divorced persons.

TABLE 27
INFANT MORALITY RATE
(Number of deaths per 10,000 live-born)

		<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Under 24 hours:	=	54	40
a) legitimate		47	36
b) illegitimate		102	67
24 hours - 27 days	=	70	50
a) legitimate		65	48
b) illegitimate		104	60
28 days - 1 month	=	8	8
2 months		3	4
3 - 5 months		12	7
6 - 8 months		5	3
9 - 11 months		3	3
Total under 1 year - 1971		155	115
Average 1966-70		184	128

Source: Statistical Yearbook 1973

b) Family Planning:

Denmark has always been liberal towards family planning. Financial aid has been granted to organisations whose purpose is to provide advice and information on sexual hygiene to the public. Doctors are also legally required to offer advice on contraception to women at their first post-natal examination visit.

1 Statistical Yearbook 1973.

Sex education is provided in primary schools and, in addition, advice on the use of contraceptives is available to the 15 to 18 year olds. Exceptions to the minimum age are made if the under 15 year old concerned is pregnant. Public advertising of contraceptives is now permitted, but they must be approved by the Public Health before being offered for sale. Contraceptives are sold primarily in chemists and special shops, but sheaths are also available from public slot machines, hairdressers and tobacconists. Most of the devices for women require medical instruction from a doctor and are obtainable by prescription.

A survey made in 1970¹, by the Danish National Institute of Social Research shows that most women are aware of one or more contraceptive means. The investigation also indicates that contraceptives have been used increasingly throughout the years and this seems to be a continuing development.

In October, 1973, 'free abortion' was introduced in Denmark. This means that any woman living in Denmark has the right to have an abortion within the first twelve weeks of pregnancy. After that period, special permission is required and certain conditions must be fulfilled.

There has been a considerable increase in the number of legal abortions over the last twelve years:

1960/61	4,000
1971/72	11,500

However, the number of illegal abortions fell from 6.4 to 2.3 per 100 pregnancies² during the same period. The new Act will undoubtedly have some effect on the number of legal abortions, indeed, impressions gathered from hospitals after the first two months of the new Act taking effect indicate a 50 to 100% increase.

1 Brun-Schmidt, Henning og Jytte Ussing: Nogle resultater fra fertilitetsundersøgelsen, Copenhagen 1972

2 The Danish Medical Journal, 1972: 134,47

c) Birth and Fertility Rates:

The number of live births and the rate of illegitimate births are shown in the table below.

TABLE 28
NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS 1967-72 & THE PERCENTAGE
OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

	<u>Number of Live-Born</u>	<u>Rate of Illegitimate Births</u>
1967	81,410	11.1
1968	74,543	11.1
1969	71,298	11.3
1970	70,802	11.1
1971	75,359	14.5
1972	75,663	16.2

Source: Bureau of Statistics & the Ministry of Justice

The decline in the number of births is steady until 1971 which shows a considerable rise over the previous year, as does the rate of illegitimate births. This rise may be due to the tendency among young people to 'co-habit' rather than marry legally.

The fertility rate pattern has changed over the years so that now the rate is higher in the 25-29 age group, whereas, up to 1970, the most fertile women were to be found among the 20-24 year olds.

d) Family Size:

With regard to size of family, Table 29 shows an average of 1.9 children per family for married couples and 1.5 for single persons.

TABLE 29

FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME (UNDER 18):
(JANUARY 1973)

	Families with: 1 child	2 children	3, or more children	Total Families with children	Total Children	Average Number of Children per Family
Bread-winner Married	237,858	251,096	134,001	622,955	1,188,578	1.90
Bread-winner Single	66,018	26,953	11,792	104,763	159,523	1.52
TOTAL Families with Children	303,876	278,049	145,793	727,718	1,348,101	1.85

Source: Statistiske Efterretninger 1973 No. 69

e) Pre- and Post-Natal Care:

Nursing and accommodation for child birth are free of charge in hospitals. During pregnancy, a woman is entitled to three free medical examinations by a doctor and three by a midwife. Most women take advantage of these opportunities.

Post-natal care includes free medical examination of the child by a doctor at the age of five weeks, five months, ten months, fifteen months and two years; then annually up to school age when the school physician takes over regular examinations. Children also receive the standard vaccinations without charge. The majority of parents do use these services for their children, although not obliged to do so.

In addition, the local Public Health nurse will pay visits to the home to advise on daily care and feeding of the infant during the first year. These visits are according to need, and are also free of charge. This service is not yet available in all areas but is very popular and fully used by those who have the opportunity to do so.

f) Maternity Leave:

In accordance with the Act of Salaried Employees and agreements between the State and the Union of Salaried Employees and the Public Employees and Civil Servants Union, a woman cannot be dismissed from her job because of her pregnancy, provided the employer has been notified at least three months prior to the date child birth is expected. She could still be dismissed with the usual notice, but the dismissal must be justified by lack of work or similar cause.

Under the Act of Salaried Employees, a working woman is entitled to five months leave with half her usual pay, but her inability to work must be substantiated.

Female wage earners who qualify under conditions regarding length of service, are guaranteed fourteen weeks maternity leave with a maximum weekly cash benefit of 90% of their usual pay.

A maternity benefit of approximately 800 D. Kr. was previously given to all mothers independent of income, but this benefit was recently cancelled to cut down on public expenditure.

g) Marriage and Divorce:

The annual number of contracted marriages has been decreasing over the past few years.

TABLE 30

NUMBER OF CONTRACTED MARRIAGES 1965-71

1965	41,693
1966	41,424
1967	41,158
1968	39,457
1969	39,158
1970	36,376
1971	32,801

Source: Statistical Yearbook 1973.

From 1965 to 1971, there was an average fall in the number of married persons of approximately 27%. The decline is highest among women 20-29 years old, and men between 20 and 35. The average age at marriage increased slightly to 24.8 for women and 27.4 for men in 1971.

This downward trend in the marriage rate is due, not only, to fewer young people marrying, but also to the low tendency of divorced persons to remarry. In 1969, 53^o/oo divorced women remarried and 49^o/oo in 1971. The decrease is higher among divorced men: 84^o/oo in 1969 and 71^o/oo in 1971¹. Another factor is that many young couples are 'co-habiting' instead of marrying legally.

1 Bureau of Statistics.

A representative sample consisting of five hundred unmarried men and women between 20 and 50 were interviewed in May 1973. The results shed some light on the co-habitation situation

Twenty-five percent of this sample live together with a partner of the opposite sex: of the one hundred and twenty-five, seventy percent have only been living together three years or less; and only fifteen percent have children. For the majority, co-habitation is only a trial period preceding legal marriage at a later date. Whether social benefits, more favourable to single persons, may influence couples to co-habit, rather than marry, is presently much debated.

Marriage does not affect a persons majority. Persons marrying before coming of age will still be under the custody of parents or custodian, as the case may be. On the other hand, no loss of majority is entailed in the act of marriage which is, perhaps, more pertinent to women. Females retain full rights to make decisions about their own affairs.

Danish Law also provides for joint ownership of all belongings to the partners, or acquired after marriage, unless special agreement is made by the husband and wife to exclude all, or part, of their possessions from joint ownership. In case of separation or divorce, the joint property is distributed equally between the spouses, or according to any special agreement made.

h) The Influence of Children:

Intuitively one would expect that women with children would be less likely to work than those without, and for the main child rearing years Table 31 justifies this expectation.

1 Unpublished study by the Danish National Institute of Social Research.

TABLE 31
WORKING & NON-WORKING WOMEN BY AGE GROUP &
PRESENCE & NUMBER OF CHILDREN
1972

Age Group		All Women	Without Children	Total	With Children		
					1	2	3+
16-19 years	TOTAL	100	100	(6)	(5)	-	(1)
	Working	65	66	(3)	(2)	-	(1)
	Non-working	35	34	(3)	(3)	-	-
20-29 years	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Working	62	82	51	67	37	37
	Non-working	38	18	49	33	63	63
30-39 years	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Working	54	73	52	53	52	52
	Non-working	46	27	48	47	48	48
40-49 years	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Working	54	59	52	57	48	49
	Non-working	46	41	48	43	52	51
50-59 years	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	(18)	(2)
	Working	56	49	33	30	(8)	(1)
	Non-working	44	51	67	70	(10)	(1)
60-69 years	TOTAL	100	100	(27)	(25)	(1)	(1)
	Working	16	17	(6)	(4)	(1)	(1)
	Non-working	82	83	(21)	(21)	-	-
70-74 years	TOTAL	100	100	(4)	(4)	-	-
	Working	5	3	(1)	(1)	-	-
	Non-working	95	97	(3)	(3)	-	-
All groups	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Working	47	46	48	52	44	48
	Non-working	53	54	52	48	56	52

Source: Adapted from ONMIBUS 1972

Note: Figures in brackets are actual numbers in very small sub-samples.

For those below 20 years and above 59 years, the sample size are too small for analysis purposes, but examination of the remaining groups reveals that up to a point the number of children a woman has, has a marked influence on whether or not she works, and that this influence varies according to her age. For all women aged between 20 and 59 years, the presence of one child certainly reduces their propensity to join the labour force. For those aged 20 to 29 years, two children in the household has a dramatic effect: whereas 67% of women with one child work, only 37% of those with two children have a job.

A similar, but less marked, pattern can be seen for the 40 to 49 years group, but for a woman aged 30 to 39 years, the number of children she has appears to make no difference. For all three groups, the influence of a third, or subsequent, child has no apparent effect on the working proportion. Unfortunately, data relating to age of children is not available, but it is interesting to speculate how far the pattern of Table 31 is determined by the presence of two or more small children in the household.

2. Education

a) The School System:

The period of compulsory general education for all children in Denmark was extended from seven to nine years in 1972. The schools are financed partly by the State and partly by local authorities.

The school system consists of the Primary School (grades 1 to 10); the Secondary School (forms 1, 2 and 3); and the Grammar School. Selection comes after the 7th grade of Primary School when the pupil may:

- i) Continue in the Primary School to complete the compulsory nine years, or carry through the tenth grade, after which an optional State controlled examination is held;
- ii) Enter the Secondary School and then from either the second or third form go on to the Grammar School. A General Certificate examination is held after completion of studies and is an entrance qualification for further education.

More girls than boys complete their general education schooling at all levels, as can be seen from the table below.

TABLE 32
SCHOOL LEAVERS BY GRADE FORM & SEX
1971/72

<u>Typical Age</u>	<u>Left School After</u>	<u>Number of Boys</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number of Girls</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Primary School</u>					
14	7th grade	2,703	8	1,673	5
15	8th grade	3,717	11	2,235	6
16	9th grade	6,858	19	4,619	13
17	10th grade	6,608	19	6,852	21
<u>Secondary Level</u>					
15	1st form	414	1	498	1
16	2nd form	344	1	377	1
17	3rd form	8,513	23	11,099	32
<u>Grammar School</u>					
17	1st form	464	1	497	1
18	2nd form	198	1	204	1
19	3rd form	5,541	16	6,707	19
TOTAL		35,360	100	34,761	100

Source: Role of Women in Economy, Ministry of Labour, 1973

The highest number of both boys and girls, tend to leave school after the Secondary School level. A considerably greater percentage of boys, however, leave school after completing the compulsory number of years. The majority of pupils who pass either State or Secondary level examinations embark upon some kind of occupational training.

As can be seen from the following table, most of the working population have only a primary school education, with the largest percentage of both men and women being skilled or unskilled workers.

The predominant share of general certificate holders are salaried employees. But, if a comparison is made between the total shown in Table 33 (5% each for men and women) and the 1971/72 figures for pupils leaving school after Grammar School (girls 19%: boys 16%), the indication is that a general change in the educational level is taking place and that in the near future, a much larger proportion of the population will have passed the Secondary or Grammar School level.

TABLE 33

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MEN & WOMEN, DISTRIBUTED BY SCHOOL

EDUCATION & OCCUPATION

School Education	Salaried Employees		Unskilled Workers		Skilled Workers		Helping Spouse		Self-Employed		TOTAL	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Primary School	48	50	93	87	85	83	-	79	73	77	75	68
Secondary School	36	40	5	9	11	15	-	19	21	18	19	25
Grammar School	13	9	0	2	0	2	-	2	4	5	5	5
Other & Unexplained	3	1	2	2	0	4	-	0	2	0	1	2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	365	327	270	244	259	46	-	48	136*	22	1128+	688+

Source: OMNIBUS 1972

Note: * Exclusive of farmers

+ Inclusive of farmers (only 1 self-employed female farmer)

The school curriculum is standard for boys and girls up to the eight grade. At this stage, a choice of studies is possible and differences in choice between the sexes reflect the influence of the accepted values of society. This orientation towards traditional type identification is also found in school books.

Statistics for all school children in the country show that at Secondary level, 81% of the boys choose mathematics against 69% of the girls: whereas, more girls choose a second foreign language: 64% as opposed to 50%. In Grammar schools, the sex difference is very pronounced indeed: 27% girls are in science classes and only 30% boys are to be found in language classes.

An example of optional subjects and choices made by a 1964 ninth year class is shown below:

OPTIONAL SUBJECTS - 9TH CLASS, 1964 (%)

<u>Boys</u>		<u>Girls</u>	
English	67	Type-writing	76
Type-writing	53	English	75
Physics	44	German	50
German	38	Home-economics	48
Mathematics	36	Accounting	36
Accounting	32	Needlework	35
Woodwork	31	Mathematics	22

Source: Governmental Commission Report No. 504, Copenhagen 1968

Apart from the most popular subjects (English and typewriting), there is a clear difference in preference between the sexes: boys choose physics, mathematics and woodwork, and girls home-economics and needlework.

It is also between the seventh and ninth grade level that boys' status aspirations become apparent. It is remarkable that among the youths who left school after the seventh, eighth or ninth grade, a much higher number of boys than girls go into vocational training, and that more girls than boys do unskilled work.

TABLE 34
SCHOOL LEAVERS BEFORE THE 10th GRADE BY SEX & OCCUPATION: %

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Unskilled workers	33	58
Apprentice or skilled workers	56	24
Attending courses	7	10
Neither working nor under education	4	8
TOTAL	100	100
Number of persons	616	423

Source: Ørum, Bente: *Kønsforskelle blandt skoleungdom, Copenhagen, 1973.*

Vocational guidance starts, in principle, **at** the Primary School level where it is the responsibility of school authorities to see that children are given adequate vocational guidance with assistance from the Public Employment Service, if necessary.

b) Further Education:

Selection made by males and females of the various types of further education varies to some extent.

Apprentice training is preferred by both sexes, but a much larger share of men (44%), than women (26%), have had this type of training. On the other hand, the second most popular category, short theoretical training, was chosen by more females than males: 10% as opposed to 3%. A relatively larger number of women, than men, also have received no training at all, 50% and 42%.

The distribution by age group (Table 36) shows that a relatively larger share of the 20 to 39 year olds have an academic or other formal type of education. Within this same age group, the number of persons with an apprentice training is also greater than in the somewhat older age groups. Those with no training are among the very young (16 - 19), and the share tends to increase in the older age groups as well. The breakdown between the sexes show the same pattern as Table 35; more apprentice trained men than women; and fewer men than women who have received either a short technical or theoretical education.

TABLE 35
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MEN & WOMEN, DISTRIBUTED BY TYPE OF TRAINING
& OCCUPATION

Occupational Training	Salaried Employees		Unskilled Workers		Skilled Workers		Helping Spouse		Self-Employed		TOTAL	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Academic	6	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	3	1
Long theoretical	11	9	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	4	4
Short theoretical	6	17	0	1	1	11	4	0	1	14	3	10
Short education	3	10	1	1	0	11	0	0	1	4	1	6
Apprentice training	53	33	12	9	73	59	0	0	58	41	44	26
Semi-skilled	1	2	1	2	2	8	0	0	8	0	3	3
No training	19	27	85	87	24	11	0	67	28	41	42	50
Unexplained	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	365	327	270	244	259	46	48	136*	22	1132+	688	

Source: OMNIBUS 1972

Note: * Exclusive of farmers

+ Inclusive of farmers

TABLE 36

WOMEN & MEN IN EMPLOYMENT, DISTRIBUTED BY AGE & PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

	16-19		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69		70-74	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Academic	0	0	1	1	6	0	3	1	3	1	2	0	0	33
Long theoretical	0	0	3	5	8	8	5	3	2	2	2	8	0	0
Short theoretical	1	0	5	12	2	14	2	5	4	12	2	10	0	0
Short education	0	0	2	9	2	7	1	5	3	6	1	3	0	0
Apprentice training	5	10	52	34	51	27	45	26	42	18	42	24	50	0
Semi-skilled	1	2	3	3	3	1	1	4	1	3	6	0	8	0
No training	93	88	33	36	27	43	43	56	45	58	45	55	42	67
Unexplained	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample size	87	60	266	218	279	132	202	131	193	106	123	38	12	3

Source: OMNIBUS 1972

An Adult Vocational Training Scheme exists which covers the training of unskilled workers for semi-skilled occupation. Special retraining schemes for skilled, as well as, unskilled workers and for groups of salaried employees who are unemployed, or may anticipate redundancy, are also available.

The planning and organisation of the training is, by and large, left to the two sides of industry. The government supervises the training and pays the greater share of the expenses. Government financial support includes not only grants to the cost of the course, but also compensation for loss of earnings. Trainees receive an allowance corresponding to the rate of daily cash benefit paid by the unemployment fund regardless of whether or not he is a member.

Private and government owned schools for the training of unskilled workers can accommodate just over 30,000 trainees per year. In 1972/73, approximately 20,000 people attended these courses: 15% of this number were women who attended courses in the traditional female occupations, such as, textiles, dressmaking and catering.

Very few women were attracted to the traditionally male occupations - building and construction, metal industry and transportation¹.

With regard to training of skilled workers, the number of trainees increased sixfold from the beginning of 1965 to 1969. The number in 1968/69 was 8,000². Information on the sex distribution of the trainees is not available, but estimates put it at two-thirds of males.

1 Uddannelse af specialarbejdere. Statistik 1972. Council of occupational education.

2 The Danish Labour Market. Published by the Ministry of Labour, Copenhagen 1972.

Apprenticeship training is the most widespread industrial training among men as well as women. This form of training has a long tradition and is regulated by a special Act. This Act requires a written contract between the employer and the person under the age of 18 hired to work in an acknowledged trade, or profession, before the apprentice takes the job. During the training period the apprentice attends classes in special schools and receives an apprentice wage from the employer.

The majority of females enter apprenticeships in the services industry, commerce and some professions.

TABLE 37

THE RELATIVE PROPORTION OF FEMALES ENTERING APPRENTICESHIPS:

1967/68 TO 1971/72 %

	<u>1967/68</u>	<u>1968/69</u>	<u>1969/70</u>	<u>1970/71</u>	<u>1971/72</u>
Commerce & Liberal Professions	62	60	61	62	60
Metal industries	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5
Building & Construction	2	2	2	3	2
Food & Beverage industries	3	2	5	4	8
Graphic & Paper	10	6	8	8	9
Service	78	74	74	82	80

Source: Uddannelse 9/73. Published by the Ministry of Education

Although the proportion of girls among the traditionally masculine apprenticeships is very small, a striking change in this situation is taking place within a new training scheme which is intended to replace the apprenticeship training method after 1978/79.

The Vocational Training Act of 1972 authorised the Minister for Education to prepare, on an experimental basis, various types of vocational training for young people who, after nine years of schooling, wish to undergo basic vocational training. Some experiments have already been carried out and all have in common that they commence at a certain school year during which basic information and, if appropriate, some practical training are provided. On completion of the basic training, the trainees undergo vocational training with the emphasis chiefly on practical training within the

particular field chosen by the trainee. This training is provided partly on-the-job, and partly in schools. The class attendance time may vary according to the type of employment. The trainees receive the usual apprentice wage during the theoretical and practical training.

The increase of females in other industries under this new training scheme is considerable, particularly in the graphic and paper industry, and in the food and beverage industries.

TABLE 38
THE FEMALES PROPORTION OF TRAINEES COMPARED
TO APPRENTICES %

	<u>Trainees in Experimental</u> <u>Vocational Training</u>		<u>Apprentices in Traditional</u> <u>Training</u>
	1972	1973	1970/71
Commerce & Liberal Professions	68	68	62
Metal industries	1	2	0
Building & Construction	6	5	3
Food & Beverage industries	39	55	4
Graphic & Paper	28	24	8
Service	64	68	82

Source: Uddannelse 9/73. Published by the Ministry of Education

c) Higher Education

The total number of persons who received a diploma in some form of higher education in 1970/71 was 8,460. Of this number 54% were women and 46% men. Some 3,000 of the total number completed their education at university level and of these 75% were males and 25% females.

The Statistical Yearbook (Denmark) 1973, allows a cursory analysis of the extent to which women pursue degrees in institutes of higher education in Denmark. Attendance is highest in the faculties of art among the universities. Women outnumber men in the language sections of the various business schools. However, no women obtain a doctors's degree. Although the number of females in

technical universities is practically nil, technical schools seem to attract a fair amount, and here again, there are more women than men in some factors.

TABLE 39

PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES IN SOME SELECTED FIELDS
OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION

	<u>1967/68</u>	<u>1968/69</u>	<u>1969/70</u>	<u>1970/71</u>
Ordinary Commercial diploma	58	58	59	58
Technical assistant	5	60	48	47
Laboratory worker	84	78	78	72

Source: Uddannelsen 3/73. Published by the Ministry of Education

3. Social Amenities and the Tax System:

a) Unemployment and Sickness Benefits:

Compensation for loss of income from inability to work because of illness is paid by means of a 'daily cash benefit arrangement'. All persons working in Denmark are covered by this scheme. A daily cash payment is made by the employer to the employee during the first five weeks of illness; after this period, the benefit is paid by the State. The rate is fixed at 90% of the average wage received during the four weeks preceding the onset of illness. The present (May 1973) fixed maximum amount is 696 D.Kr per week. Wage earners receive compensation from the first day of absence; self-employed persons are only covered after five weeks of illness. These latter may, however, make provisions privately to obtain coverage for the first five weeks. Persons who carry out domestic work in their own homes for at least one other person may also take private measures to participate in this scheme, even if loss of income cannot be substantiated.

The daily cash benefit scheme is also used for unemployment compensation, provided the person concerned is a member of an unemployment insurance fund. The amount paid is based on the same rate mentioned above. Unemployment insurance is administered by self-governing funds set up by employees' organisations and is financed by contributions from employers and employees with grants from State and local authorities. Although membership in these funds is voluntary, in principle, their close affiliation with unions produces the result that the great majority of union member workers, at least in industry, are insured against unemployment. However, as very few women belong to unions, it is more than likely that very few belong to unemployment funds. In fact, data available attest this point:

In November 1972, 970,000 women were employed, but only 180,000 were members of an unemployment fund (about 20%); whereas for men, 606,000 out of 1.4 million male workers were members (43%).

b) Pensions and Job Security:

A State old-age pension is available for all at the age of 67 and for women, single or married to a pensioner whose income is below the minimum level, at the age of 62. Widow's pensions commence at 55 normally, but are payable from the age of 45 if they have more than one child below the age of 16. There is also a disablement pension which is paid to all persons unable to work because of disablement above a certain minimum level, irrespective of their status as economically active, or not

The Labour Protection Act in Denmark does not have special rules for women. Its object is to prescribe regulations which aim at creating a healthy working environment for all, and which, at all times, take into account the technical and social developments in society. Thus regulations on health and welfare conditions at place of work; accident prevention; number and distribution of hours in the working day, are set forth in this Act. It also contains special regulations with regard to working conditions for children and young people.

c) Child-Care Facilities:

There are two types of facilities in Denmark for the care of small children - day nurseries for infants aged 0 to 3 years; and kindergartens for the 3 to 6 year olds. Municipal authorities are responsible for these and can either build and run such institutions themselves, or grant subsidies for construction by private organisations. The latter is very often the case. The capacity rate, (number of places in relation to number of children in the relevant age group) in 1972 was 5.6% for day nurseries and 22.5% for kindergartens. The present rate of increase for both day nurseries and kindergartens is 12 to 13% per year of the existing capacity. In addition, private homes offer fairly large accommodation - the so-called private day nurseries - and are also subsidised by local authorities.

TABLE 40

NUMBER OF PLACES AVAILABLE FOR CHILDREN & YOUTHS IN PUBLICLY

APPROVED DAY INSTITUTIONS & IN MUNICIPAL DAY NURSERIES

1960-1973

	<u>April</u> <u>1960</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1965</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1970</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1973</u>
Day Nurseries	4,228	4,680	9,132	15,199
Kindergartens	27,653	32,408	53,286	83,123
Private Day Nurseries	-	-	6,397	17,741
TOTAL	31,881	37,088	68,815	116,063
Day Centres for Youths (Aged 7 - 14)	8,762	10,239	15,211	20,830
TOTAL	8,762	10,239	15,211	20,830
TOTAL PLACES	40,643	47,327	84,026	136,893

Source: Material in the Child and Youth Welfare Organisation

School age children present new problems for the working mother as school hours are, in the first years, only three or four hours a day. Even for older children the hours will not normally exceed six per day. Some day centres for youths aged 7 to 14 have been established by local authorities and are located near schools. However, the capacity rate is very small, only 3.8% in 1972,

which means that a large number of children in this age group must look after themselves after school if parents have not been able to make other arrangements with family or neighbours. School holidays also present difficulties as children have six to seven weeks and parents only two to three weeks, plus the fact that parents must arrange to have their holidays at the same time as their children. This holiday time gap is eased in some suburban areas around Copenhagen where local authorities do make special arrangements to help parents. The cancellation of school meals some years ago adds another burden to the working parent. That it is a burden is evidenced by the findings of a recent investigation of a Committee for Information on Health Problems carried out amongst 6,000 school children from a provincial town. This investigation revealed that the nutritional quality of food brought from the home was very low and that about one-third of the children studied brought money to buy food rather than a packed lunch. It has consequently been proposed by some experts that school meals should again be made available.

Large differences in the provision of child care facilities exist among the individual municipalities. In 1972, less than one-third of the municipalities of the country had day nurseries, the largest number being in the Copenhagen area where, indeed, some institutions have spare capacity. Kindergartens, however, are found all over the country, but again, the greatest capacity, about 40%, is to be found in the Copenhagen area.

The following table is from a survey (1971) by the Danish National Institute of Social Research among the inhabitants in selected suburban areas. It includes information concerning the care of the working woman's youngest child only, in most cases under twelve years old.

TABLE 41

CHILD CARE IN 6 SURBURBAN AREAS

	<u>Copenhagen Area</u>				<u>Provincial Areas</u>	
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
Child takes care of itself	24	24	23	27	22	30
Child is at home	22	19	17	17	37	25
Kindergarten/Day nursery	41	39	46	42	27	14
Day care	10	12	12	6	8	16
Other	3	6	2	8	6	5
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	426	225	94	119	63	119

Source: Kuhl, Koch-Nielsen og Martini; Boligmiljøer i forstaden, Copenhagen 1972

Note: Youngest child of working mothers only.

In the Copenhagen areas an average of 40 % of working mothers have their youngest child in some kind of day care institution, while an average of only 10 % use wholly private day care facilities. The percentage of children left to themselves is fairly uniform in all areas.

Information concerning the sponsorship of the various types of child care facilities shows that the majority are private:

	<u>Owned by local authorities</u>		<u>Private (Non-Profit)</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Day nurseries	130	37.5	217	62.5
Kindergartens	542	31.0	1205	69.0
Day centres for youths	143	46.0	168	54.0

Source: Stat. Efter. 1973/19

d) The Tax System: Income tax is paid to both central and local government. The central government tax is progressive, whilst the local government tax is proportional. Everyone pays tax according to uniform tax scales, and in this respect no

distinction is made between married and unmarried persons, or families with or without children.

Legislation concerning taxation of income and capital is, however, still dominated by the concept that the wife is the subordinate partner in the marriage. In 1967 legislation dealing with tax at the source (pay as you earn), the husband is considered as head of the family, but the woman has obtained a far more independent position than before. In principle, joint taxation has been preserved, but the married woman is taxed separately on income for paid work from persons other than her husband and from a business of her own. This provision also applies to the unemployment, sickness benefit allowance, as well as pension schemes to which an employer has contributed. The wife's capital and the yield of this capital are, as hitherto, taxed to the husband.

When tax is assessed, each spouse is granted a personal deduction (Kr 5,400 in 1972). If the wife has a special income, she will receive one personal deduction, otherwise both deductions will be granted to the husband. If the wife/husband's income is less than the personal deduction, the balance of the deduction will be transferred to husband/wife. A very important fact is that all deductions resulting from interest paid on loans (including house mortgages) must appear in the husband's tax form.

In the calculation of the tax for a married women, a further deduction is granted for expenses connected with leaving children in other people's care for short periods, because of occupational work. This deduction amounts to 50 % of her income, but cannot exceed 2,000 Kr and is progressively reduced by 100 Kr for each 1,000 Kr in excess of a taxable income of 10,000 Kr. She ceases to qualify for the allowance when her income reaches 30,000 Kr. Also, an unused allowance in this case would be transferred to the husband.

Where the wife's work consists of assisting in her husband's business, or a joint business, the calculation of the tax for the husband can be made in a special way on request. In this instance, the total amount of tax is collected from the husband, but when the tax is calculated, the income is split between the husband and wife, three-fourths to the husband and one-fourth to the wife. The wife's share cannot, however, amount to more than 12,000 D. Kr. (1972). (In 1973 the amount is adjusted according to the price index).

When the tax is calculated in this way, each spouse will be granted a personal deduction. In addition, a married woman's allowance of 1,200 D. Kr. will be deducted from the wife's share of the income. This allowance is reduced by 100 D.Kr for each full 1,000 D. Kr by which the aggregate of income of husband and wife exceeds 30,000 D. Kr, and ceases to apply when the aggregate taxable income reaches 42,000 D. Kr, or more. Any allowance which cannot be utilised will be transferred to the husband. Both spouses are legally responsible for the accuracy of information submitted in the tax form.

Children must always be assessed independently, irrespective of age and regardless of whether they live at home or not. For practical reasons, it has, however, been decided that children under fifteen shall only be included in the assessment and send in an income tax return if they have had a taxable income in the income tax year concerned.

e) Family Allowances:

A family allowance is paid for children under 18 who are Danish citizens and residents. Exempted from this rule are married persons under 18 years of age and children placed outside their homes, i.e., rehabilitation centres, institutions for special care, child or youth care, etc.

Family allowances are divided into four categories and the amount is determined independently of the number of children in the family, or the income of the supporter:

- i) Ordinary family allowance which is paid for children of married persons (possible stepfather/mother).
- ii) Increased family allowance which is paid for children of single supporters (Unmarried and widowers, divorced and separated), and for children of persons receiving a disablement or old age pension. Supporters living under 'common law marriage' status are not regarded as single.

- iii) Special family allowance payable in addition to the ordinary or increased family allowance for children with one or both parents deceased; for illegitimate children for whom it has not been possible to determine paternity, or for whom no one has been ordered to pay maintenance, and for children whose parent, or parents, receive a disablement or old age pension, above the basic amount.
- iv) Extra family allowance which is paid to all single supporters, but only one allowance per household, i.e., regardless of the number of children.

Family allowances are adjusted according to the wage reduction index, and are paid quarterly in advance.

TABLE 42

FAMILY ALLOWANCES APRIL 1973 (D. Kr)

Ordinary family allowance	320
Increased family allowance	466
Extra family allowance	344
Special family allowance:	
- Orphans	1063
- Children of persons receiving the lowest disablement pension	318
- Other children entitled to family allowance	636

Source: Statistiske Efterretninger

It should be noted that family allowances are paid to the family irrespective of the mother's employment situation (i.e., the amount of allowance does not change if the mother is employed). Nor is a special allowance paid to mothers who stay at home with their children, but periodically a proposal is put forward that the State ought to pay such an allowance, the theory being to keep mothers at home and thereby cut down public spending on day care facilities.

4. Social Attitudes:

Whether or not there may be a consistent family policy and a uniform official attitude regarding the employment of women in Denmark is open to discussion. Family allowances and state support to day care institutions may be considered a welfare measure and/or an incentive to women to take a more active part in the labour force. It is noteworthy, however, that the discussion is no longer about the employment of women, nor of married women versus unmarried. The public debate concentrates upon the labour market participation of women with small children.

A 1973 survey by the Danish Gallup Institute provides an insight into the public stance on this subject. The respondents were asked to reply to the questionnaire, with the following in mind:

'At present there is much talk about the status of women in society - either housewives or employed. Imagine a married woman with no children under ten years, what would you consider most natural - that she completely dedicate herself to the work of a housewife; or that she is employed outside the home - part-time or full-time ?'

TABLE 43
GALLUP POLLS¹

	<u>At home</u>	<u>Part-time</u>	<u>Full-time</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Total	54	33	3	10	100
The capital	42	43	1	14	100
Suburbs of the capital	52	37	2	9	100
Provincial towns	55	31	5	9	100
Rural districts	58	29	3	10	100
<u>Sex</u>					
Men	54	32	3	11	100
Women	53	35	3	9	100

1 Data gathered by the Danish Gallup Institute and the results published in 'Berlingske Tidende'

TABLE 43 (Continued)

	<u>At Home</u>	<u>Part-time</u>	<u>Full-time</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Total</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Age</u>					
15 - 19	35	38	13	14	100
20 - 24	29	52	9	10	100
25 - 29	33	53	6	8	100
30 - 39	46	39	3	12	100
40 - 49	54	37	2	7	100
50 - 64	69	22	0	9	100
65 & more	65	22	1	12	100
<u>School Education</u>					
Primary School	58	28	3	11	100
Secondary level	45	42	6	7	100
Grammar school	33	50	4	13	100
<u>Number of Children under 15 years</u>					
No children	57	30	3	10	100
1 child	46	45	2	7	100
2 children	45	41	4	10	100
3 children or more	60	24	2	14	100
<u>Status of Housewife</u>					
Unemployed	63	25	2	10	100
Self-employed full-time	39	51	2	8	100
Self-employed part-time	36	43	9	12	100
<u>Political Affiliation*</u>					
Social Democratic Party	52	35	4	9	100
Social Liberal Party	60	34	1	5	100
Conservative Party	62	28	4	6	100
Liberal Party	64	25	1	10	100
Socialist People's Party	39	47	1	13	100

Note:* Social Democratic Party = Socialdemokratiet
 Social Liberal Party = Radikale
 Conservative Party = Konservative
 Liberal Party = Venstre
 Socialist People's Party = Socialistisk Folkeparti

This survey reveals a rather traditional attitude towards the status of women: only a small percentage of the population find it natural for a mother to be employed full-time outside the home. Men and women do not differ in their points of view and even among families with a housewife employed full-time, only 2% hold this view. More than half the population is of the opinion that the mother ought to stay at home the whole day. This attitude is most frequent in the less urbanised areas, among elderly people and among the less educated (these groups will tend to coincide to some extent). In families where the housewife is not employed outside the home, 63% feel that a mother ought to stay at home, whereas in families with a full or part-time employed housewife, 40% share this opinion.

The existence of children in the family does not seem to affect the attitude in any specific direction, as families with no children and families with three or more children are the most 'conservative'. This might be due to the fact that the families with no children are mainly elderly people.

Political affiliations correspond, to some extent, to attitudes taken in that supporters of the socialist parties tend to take a progressive view concerning mothers' employment, whereas those in favour of the more conservative and agricultural parties will take a more traditional view.

Another factor which undoubtedly influence both men and women in their opinion on working mothers is the amount of time spent in domestic chores in the home.

TABLE 44
HOURS OF DOMESTIC WORK DISTRIBUTED BY SEX & OCCUPATION

<u>No. of Hours</u>	<u>Women</u>		<u>Men</u>
	<u>Employed Outside Home</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Not Employed Outside Home</u>
1 or less	24		8
2	23		10
3	19		14
4	16		19
5 or more	17		48
% Basis	696		767
			1,132

Source: OMNIBUS 1972

It is obvious from these figures that there is little sharing between men and women of household activities. A study of 2,600 married women aged 15-19 made by the Danish National Institute of Social Research in 1965¹ shows that little change has occurred since then: it was found that married men on the average spent 10 minutes a day at domestic work and that they took part in only 0.7 out of 7 selected activities, whereas the married employed woman would spend two to three hours. In the same study, it was found that economic decisions in the family are made either by the husband alone, or jointly. In families where the wife is employed full-time, the joint decisions are more frequent.

1 Socialforskningsinstituttets publikation nr. 55, Copenhagen 1972.

TABLE 45
PROPORTION OF FAMILIES WITH VARIOUS TYPES OF DECISION-MAKING
REGARDING THE FAMILY ECONOMY BY WIFE'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS IN
1965 (%)

<u>Decision Structure</u>	<u>Housewife</u>	<u>Part-time Employed</u>	<u>Full-time Employed</u>	<u>Helping Spouse</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
Joint decisions	42	48	54	45	46	830
Wife dominated	13	20	20	13	16	283
Husband dominated	42	31	24	41	37	669

Source: Noordhoek, Smith: Gifte Kvinder i Familie og Erhverv.

It should be noted that information in this study on husband's participation in domestic chores was obtained from their wives; however, another study in which husbands were asked questions directly shows similar results.

A governmental commission on the status of women within the fields of politics and public administration underlines the enormous influence of family and social traditions on women's economic activity. The task of the committee was to determine whether men and women have equal rights - legally and in practice - in a number of areas within public life: and, if not, to make suggestions with a view to creating equality. The concept of equal position, in the opinion of the committee, is equal access to posts and employments as well as equal opportunities in the work.

The conclusions and recommendations in the various sections of this report give an overall impression of equal access but that women do not take advantage of the opportunities available, primarily because of strong ties of tradition and family.

In the political arena, women seem to have made more progress in increasing their number among Members of Parliament, than in advancement to ministerial posts. An examination by the committee of the number of appointed cabinet ministers distributed according to sex from May 1945 to Spring 1969 shows that of 264 appointments, 18, or 6.4% of these were women. A corresponding unweighted average of the percentage of female M.P's during the same period was 8.9%. Since women obtained the right to vote in 1915, the increase in the proportion of female M.P's was as follows:

From 1918 to 1939 - 2.1 to 2.9%

From 1945 to 1970 - 5.4 to 11.8%

The greatest difficulty for women is that relatively few are nominated to stand for election in the different political assemblies. The percentage is slightly higher, however, in local elections compared to parliamentary elections.

Much of the work in Parliament takes place in standing committees and in the second session of 1967/68, female M.P's occupied 15% of the seats which were primarily in the fields of social policy, education and culture. Whereas in those areas which are considered to offer the greatest possibilities for advancement, men are largely in the majority. This difference between the sexes is decreasing, though, as two female M.P's are members of the standing financial committee and one of these is her party's spokesman in financial debates.

On the local government level, women took more seats in the municipal councils than in the county council elections:

<u>Councils</u>	<u>1966 %</u>	<u>1970 %</u>
Municipal	9.7	10.5
County	6.3	9.0

The larger share of female members tend to be in the city area municipal councils. For instance, in the Greater Copenhagen area, women have occupied 25.7% of the seats compared to the outlying area of Jutland where the proportion was only 8.2%. Female representation in county councils is even smaller. Each of the 13 counties, into which Denmark is divided, has a mayor and of this number only one is a woman.

On the whole, women now exercise their right to vote to the same degree as men, with the more striking differences in participation in elections being in age groups and marital status, rather than between the sexes. The political parties' attitudes towards women varies to some degree. Two of the major parties had special 'women's programmes' until 1970. The object of this programme was to encourage women to be active workers in the party and to train them in that work. In one party the argument for abolishing the programme was an increasing public understanding of the equality of men and women and an inferior protection of men within certain legal fields. This has now been superceded by a 'Committee of Equality' which deals with equality within all areas of society and all groups and individuals.

The Commission on its recommendations, comments that society in general feel that women should take more active parts in public affairs to attain a par with men. This could be accomplished through more women seeking political qualifications and membership in party organisations. Another important factor, in the view of the Commission, is that men accept women taking part in politics and encourage them to do so. At the same time it is felt that men should adapt themselves to share in the household work and responsibility for children; that men and women have the same degree of responsibility in these matters; and that this might be emphasised through the various news media, as well as education work in the school. Another recommendation is that organisations which propose committee members and ministers who nominate members put women forward to a greater degree.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Women constitute a large and increasing proportion of the Danish Labour force. To speak of them as a marginal group is misleading. In November 1972, out of a total work force of 2.4 million, 971,000 (40%) were females. Economically active married women numbered 638,000 or 66% of the entire female labour force.
2. Forecasts for the next fifteen years indicate that apart from immigration, women, married women in particular, will constitute the only major source of new labour.
3. Whereas the activity rate for men has shown a marked decline since 1967 - from 86% to 81% - that for married women has increased significantly, from 45% to 55%. On the other hand, the activity rate for unmarried women has declined by three percentage points, from 55% to 52%.
4. Apart from the area immediately surrounding Copenhagen, there is little difference between the national average activity rate and that of any region. However, it is generally true, that the less well developed the area, the lower the activity rate.
5. There can be no doubt about the importance of part-time to married women in Denmark. Almost half (47%) of those employed, work on a part-time basis.
6. Except for the incidence of Copenhagen and its surrounding districts, there is no definite regional pattern of female part-time employment. Regional rates vary between 40% and 50% around a national average rate of 47%.
7. Although no legal or avert discrimination seems to exist to prevent women from joining the national work force and receiving promotions within it, Danish working women are still heavily concentrated in a limited range of industries and occupations.
8. Fewer women are members of a union than their male brethren. Thus 83% of all male workers, as against 57% of female workers, are trade unionists. Similarly, 58% of male salaried employees, as against 44% of female, belong to a trade union.

9. The level of unemployment is low in Denmark, particularly among the very young. Analysis by age groups reveals that unemployment is something of a problem although by no means severe, for those aged between 20 and 24 years, whether they are skilled or unskilled males or females. Thereafter, levels remain close to, or below, average until the age of 60 years when they begin to rise.

10. According to the evidence available, salaried employees appear to change jobs less often than other workers and women more frequently than men. Women also appear to be more prone to absenteeism than men.

11. Average hourly earnings are lower for women than for men, even for those in salaried employment where equal pay has been the rule for some years. The chances are that the effects of the wage drift and of other factors contributing to the disparities between male and female salaries will continue to inhibit progress towards true equality of incomes despite recent agreements to provide equal pay to male and female workers.

12. Over the last century there has been a substantial decrease in the Danish death rate, from 24% at the beginning of 1800's to 14% around 1900. The mortality rate began to stabilise in the 1930's and now stands at just under 10%. The most significant feature of this movement still remains the decline in the rates for infants and the younger age groups.

13. At the moment, the average expected life span for females is 75.4 years for a child born in 1966-70, while that for males is 70.5 years.

14. Attitudes towards family planning are very liberal in Denmark. Sex education is provided in primary schools and advice on the use of contraceptives is freely available to the 15 to 18 year olds. Public advertising of contraceptives is now permitted although approval from the Public Health Board must be obtained beforehand.

15. In October 1973, 'free abortion' was introduced in Denmark. This means that any woman living in Denmark has the right to have an abortion within the first twelve weeks of pregnancy. After that period, special permission is required and certain conditions must be fulfilled.

16. The fertility rate pattern has undergone some marked change over the recent years. It is now higher in the 25-29 age group, whereas, up to 1970, the most fertile women were to be found among the 20 - 24 years old.

17. From 1965 to 1971, there was an average fall of 27% in the number of married persons. The decline was highest among 20 - 29 years old and among men between 20 and 35. This downward trend appears to be due, not only to fewer young people marrying but also to an increasing reluctance on the part of divorced persons to remarry.

18. More girls than boys complete their general education schooling and, on average, girls stay longer at school than boys.

19. School curricula are standard for boys and girls up to the eighth grade. At this stage, a choice of studies is possible and differences in choice between the sexes reflect the influence of the accepted values of society.

20. Vocational guidance starts, in principle, at the Primary School level where it is the responsibility of school authorities to see that children are given adequate vocational guidance with assistance from the Public Employment Service, if necessary.

21. Apprenticeship is the most widespread form of industrial training among men and women. The majority of females enter apprenticeships in the services industry, commerce and some professions.

22. All economically active persons in Denmark receive compensation for loss of income as a result of illness or unemployment. This is done through the "daily cash benefit" scheme. Sickness benefits are automatic whilst unemployment compensation depends upon membership of an unemployment insurance fund.

23. A State old-age pension is available for all at the age of 67. There is also a disablement pension which is paid to all persons unable to work because of disablement above a certain minimum level, irrespective of their status as economically active or not.

24. Despite substantial efforts in that direction, facilities for the care of children are still in short supply. In 1972 the capacity rate, i.e. the number of places in relation to the number of children in the relevant age group, was 5.6% for day nurseries and 22.5% for kindergartens. School age children, also, present problems for the working mother as school hours are, in the first year, only three or four hours per day. Even for older children school hours will not normally exceed six per day.

25. Income tax is paid to both central and local government. The central government tax is progressive whereas the local government tax is proportional. The legislation is still, however, dominated by the concept that the husband is the head of the family and that the wife is the subordinate partner in the marriage.

