

95th Congress }
1st Session }

JOINT COMMITTEE PRINT

77604709

DEPOSITORY

AMERICAN WOMEN WORKERS IN A FULL
EMPLOYMENT ECONOMY

A COMPENDIUM OF PAPERS
SUBMITTED TO THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC GROWTH
AND STABILIZATION
OF THE
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES



SEPTEMBER 15, 1977

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1977

91-686

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
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LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

SEPTEMBER 12, 1977.

To the Members of the Joint Economic Committee:

Transmitted herewith is a compendium of papers entitled "American Women Workers in a Full Employment Economy." This compendium was prepared for the use of the Economic Growth and Stabilization Subcommittee.

These papers supplement testimony at hearings of the Joint Economic Committee on economic problems of women held in July of 1973 under the chairmanship of the Honorable Martha Griffiths. Since then, the influx of women into the American labor force has accelerated and their progress toward economic equality with men has risen still higher on the national agenda. Today, more than ever before, the formulation of national economic policy requires both a stronger data base on women's employment, and a broader consensus on how to maximize their further contributions to the U.S. economy. I believe that these papers will be helpful to the members of the Joint Economic Committee and other Members of Congress in their assessment of these critical issues.

The 22 experts—economists, lawyers, sociologists, educators—who contributed to the compendium were selected and their views edited and summarized by Ann Foote Cahn, consultant. The views expressed in these papers are those of the authors, and do not necessarily represent the views of committee members or the committee staff.

Sincerely,

RICHARD BOLLING,
Chairman, Joint Economic Committee.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1977.

HON. RICHARD BOLLING,
Chairman, Joint Economic Committee,
U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Transmitted herewith is a compendium of papers entitled "American Women Workers in a Full Employment Economy." This compendium of papers was prepared for the use of the Subcommittee on Economic Growth and Stabilization in its investigation of structural labor force problems.

In July 1973, the Joint Economic Committee, under the chairmanship of the Honorable Martha Griffiths, heard testimony on the "Economic Problems of Women." In the interim, the influx of women into the American labor force has accelerated and their progress toward economic equality with men has become an item of far greater

national importance. Today, more than ever, the formulation of national economic policy requires a stronger data base for women's employment and a broader consensus on how to maximize their further contributions to the U.S. economy. We believe that this compendium has initiated this search for more information across numerous vital areas. The collected studies encompass topics ranging from structural job discrimination, underemployment, part-time work, education and career training, tax treatment of working wives, to international experience in meeting the needs of working women.

Twenty-two experts—economists, lawyers, sociologists, educators—were invited to contribute to this compendium. These authors were selected and their views edited and summarized by Ann Foote Cahn, consultant. We are indebted to the authors for giving so generously of their time and to Ms. Cahn for her supervision. The project was developed under the direction of Sarah Jackson of the committee staff, with the assistance of M. Catherine Miller, also of the committee staff. The views expressed in these papers are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of subcommittee members or the committee staff.

Sincerely,

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
*Cochairman, Subcommittee on
Economic Growth and Stabilization.*

SEPTEMBER 1, 1977.

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
*Cochairman, Subcommittee on Economic Growth and Stabilization,
Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: Transmitted herewith is a compendium of papers entitled "American Women Workers in a Full Employment Economy." This compendium of papers was prepared for the use of the Subcommittee on Economic Growth and Stabilization.

The Joint Economic Committee has involved itself with the economic problems of women since July of 1973 when hearings were held under the chairmanship of Martha Griffiths. These problems have become more complex over time and the steadily increasing number of women coming into the labor force has focused more attention on this phenomenon. It has become increasingly apparent that national economic policy for full employment cannot be developed without incorporating a solution to both the problem and the potential of women in the labor force.

For these reasons, we believe that the first step in policy development is a greater understanding on women's labor force participation, their economic progress and supportive social programs. We believe that this compendium has initiated this search for more information in a number of vital areas. The collected studies encompass topics ranging from structural job discrimination, underemployment, part-time work, education and career training, tax treatment of working wives, to international experience meeting the needs of working women.

Twenty-two experts—economists, lawyers, sociologists, educators—were invited to contribute to this compendium. These authors were selected and their views edited and summarized by Ann Foote Cahn, consultant. We are indebted to the authors for giving so generously of their time and to Ms. Cahn for her supervision. The project was developed under the direction of Sarah Jackson of the committee staff, with the assistance of M. Catherine Miller, also of the committee staff. The views expressed in these papers are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of subcommittee members or the committee staff.

Sincerely,

JOHN R. STARK,
Executive Director, Joint Economic Committee.

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SUMMARY

BY ANN FOOTE CAHN*

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I. OVERVIEW

Consideration of proposals for a national policy of full employment has led to an increasing awareness that insufficient attention has heretofore been given to the role of women workers and potential workers. In seeking to correct this relative lack of attention, a growing body of economic literature, of which this compendium is a part, has sought to spotlight the past, present, and foreseeable job role of American women, and those factors responsible for change. But events in the form of women's own activity—their extraordinary influx into the labor market—have outdistanced theory and intensified the need for more up-to-date understanding.

The single most outstanding phenomenon of our century [is the huge number of women who are entering the work force.] Its long term implications are absolutely unchartable in my opinion. It will affect women, men and children and the cumulative consequences of that will only be revealed in the 21st and 22nd century (Eli Ginzberg).¹

*Consultant to the committee.

¹Mr. Ginzberg is Chairman of the National Commission for Manpower Policy and Columbia University economist. New York Times, Sept. 12, 1976, p. 1.

Even the short-range consequences of women's massive entry into the work force are only beginning to be understood and addressed by society. The root causes of the phenomenon have become clearer, if only in retrospect: the psychological revolution in women's attitude toward themselves, toward men, and toward women's role in society; the change in women's lifestyles, as evidenced by their later age of marriage and childbirth, as well as reduction of the size of family; the desire of married women and men to have two incomes so as, in the case of many couples, to enjoy at least minimal living standards, and in the case of other couples, to achieve more comforts and conveniences; and the increase of separation and divorce, forcing women to be self-supporting.

With so many antecedents, it is not surprising that women's aspirations generate profound pressures of both a quantitative and qualitative nature for increased and improved job opportunities. These pressures are substantial in an economy which has set a limited goal of reducing unemployment somewhat below mid-1970's levels. For an economy that raises its sights to the achievement of full employment, the pressures become still stronger, more complex, and pervasive. Thus, the relationship tends to be reciprocal: women seeking job opportunity and equality urge a national policy of full employment in order to attain their economic goals, and for men to do likewise; once such a national policy is declared, it cannot be fully realized without upgrading women's lagging role in the job market.

The goal of this compendium is to view women's overall role in a full employment economy and then their particular problems in fulfilling that role. It begins with an overview by two economists; then continues with 15 chapters by economists, lawyers, educators, and other scholars, arranged in five sections: Overcoming barriers; support services and adjusted conditions; education and employment; key factors: tax treatment and media images; and international comparisons. In the description which follows, the views of the authors in the compendium have been summarized with only limited interpolation in the interest of communicating directly the tone and substance of their respective views.

A. Status of Women Workers

Essential to setting future national policy is an awareness as to women's current status in the labor market: why they work, what occupations and industries they work in, problems they encounter, and remedies that might help resolve the problems.

As of December 1976, 39 million women aged 16 and over were in the labor force. The proportion of the labor force between the ages of 18 to 64 who were women reached 56 percent. During the past quarter of a century, while the total labor force grew by about 31 million, women constituted more than three-fifths of the increase. In every age group, the proportion of women who are working has steadily risen. Particularly notable, the rate for married women with husbands present and with children under the age of 18 increased nearly 2½ times during 1950-75, while for those with children under the age of 6, the rate more than tripled.

Women's entry into the labor market has been facilitated by growth of the economy, and of service jobs in particular, but it has not been

achieved without difficulties. Unemployment among women has consistently averaged higher than for men during the past 30 years. In 1975 women's unemployment hit a post-World War II peak of 9.3 percent; it averaged 8.6 percent during 1976. Comparable figures for men were 7.9 percent and 7 percent, respectively. With substantial unemployment among both males and females, family incomes decline, poverty increases, public revenues drop and the Nation utilizes fewer resources to meet the needs of men, women, and children.

Women are motivated by a new set of aspirations and needs in their efforts to achieve equality with men. Economic independence is a basic goal for women. Psychological rewards are the "pull" behind their desire to work. Women—like men—gain increased self-reliance and confidence, have more power to influence events, and enjoy the satisfaction that comes from contributing their talents to the world at large. New social and economic realities are the "push" behind women's need for employment. In 1975, 42 percent of women workers were single, widowed, separated, or divorced and needed to support themselves and their dependents. An additional 28 percent were married to men who earned less than \$10,000 a year. A new sociocultural pattern has emerged: in 49 percent of all marriages, both spouses were working, as of 1975. Once employed, women are likely to want to continue working. A sample of employed women were asked whether they would continue to work for pay even if there were no economic necessity; 59 percent answered yes.

Because women are concentrated in a relatively few low-paying occupations and remain at the lower rungs of the job ladder, they continue to earn far less money than men; they earn less than 60 percent of men's earnings. For many years, the median earnings differential on the basis of sex was attributed in large measure to the discontinuity in women's employment. While this was a major factor in earlier years, when a large percentage of working women left the labor force after marriage to have children, the discontinuity of women's employment has decreased in recent years. There is markedly less difference in the worklife expectancy of the two sexes today.

B. Macroeconomic and Microeconomic Policies

The Employment Act of 1946 set forth a mandate "to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power." "Maximum employment" presumably means employment of those who want to work, and applies equally to men and women. "Maximum production" can be construed to mean that people of both sexes should be able to work in jobs where they will be most productive.

Even under the limited goals of the 1946 act, assessment of the intention of women to enter and remain in the job market has become essential to optimal economic planning. But the Bureau of Labor Statistics has consistently underestimated the growth in the female labor force: in 1973, the BLS projected a participation rate for women in 1980 that was already exceeded in 1974. Accurate prediction and planning are particularly important to women's employment prospects, which may be affected by future macroeconomic policy even more than men's prospects.

For instance, the latest Government figures indicate that women, teenagers, and blacks have benefited least from the decline in unemployment over the past 2 years, and experienced male workers have benefited the most. While the decline was approximately 40 percent among experienced workers, it was far less for new entry and reentry workers, primarily women and youth. Decline was 25 percent for full-time workers, only 7 percent for those seeking part-time work, again primarily women, and 12 percent for teenagers.^{1a}

What would be the effect on women's employment if a Full Employment Act were passed and fully implemented? A proponent, Mary Dublin Keyserling, projects that reducing unemployment to 4 percent by mid-1981 would add about 9 million job holders to the labor force over and above the number employed in 1976.

An estimated 60 to 65 percent of these jobs would be available to women, for women represent a very large part of the reservoir of potential workers on which a fully growing economy can draw. Unemployment among women, both as recorded officially and hidden, would be reduced far more percentage-wise than among men. Welfare outlays would diminish sharply, for many women now on public assistance would want employment and would be able to obtain it. Healthy rates of economic growth would also encourage wage gains for these now earning sub-subsistence wages, the majority of whom are women.

Would these sanguine projections be accompanied, it may be asked, by some adverse consequences for both men and women? Would further intervention by the Federal Government in the job market, entailing increased Federal spending and taxation, lead to a rising price spiral, an expensive rise in public employment and harmful dislocations in the private economy, as opponents counter?

Answers to these questions would require a definitive evaluation of full employment policy, per se, as it relates to all segments of the economy. For purposes of the present compendium, the focus is necessarily more limited—to consider some of the implications of future policy and, at this point, to examine job problems of women under present and past national policy.

To maintain economic equilibrium between inflation and unemployment, Isabel V. Sawhill suggests that national policy should not rely solely on fiscal and monetary policies. She supports a selective set of employment or income (wage-price) policies. On the employment side, these measures would target programs at those groups which have above average unemployment—women, teenagers, and minorities. With the possible exception of the latter, these groups have a common characteristic of a lack of recent labor market experience. In helping to overcome women's problems of transition from school or home to work, a broad variety of measures are needed: To provide new skills or upgrade old skills, to end job discrimination and to provide support services for homemakers.

Nationwide job policies should take into account the local and regional variation in both the number of jobs available and the number of jobs desired. On the demand side, women's participation in the labor force varies widely by State and by urban, suburban and rural sections. The chief but not sole cause of disparities in participation is the variation on the supply side, that is, differences in the local availability of jobs. A further factor on the demand side is the variation in projections of employment growth by regions for 1970-1985;

^{1a} "Jobs Rise Helps Males Most," the Washington Star (May 8, 1977), p. A5.

the range in growth rates is from a low of 21 percent in New England to 38 percent in the far west. In addition, projections of the occupational composition of employment in the future reveal disparities between the likely developments in specific job openings and the preparation and wishes of both men and women.

There follow now the principal findings and recommendations by the compendium authors on selective problems experienced by women.

II. OVERCOMING BARRIERS

Although the Nation is committed by law to job equality between men and women, there is still a wide gap between the goal and its fulfillment. Legal enforcement of programs against discrimination lags; other impediments to equality—economic, cultural, psychological—persist. De facto occupational segregation still restricts an overwhelming number of women to a narrow range of low-paying, dead-end jobs which are traditionally “female.” Underemployment is more characteristic of the female than of the male work force. Mothers’ and homemakers’ intermittent entry and reentry into the job market is penalized instead of assisted by society. Mature women face special problems in resuming a role in the labor force and would benefit from specialized support measures.

A. Legal Action Against Sex-Based Discrimination in Employment

Equal employment opportunity—without regard to sex—will not be achieved until judicial decisions more fully implement the provisions of title VII of the U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1964 and other laws and regulations against sex-based discrimination, and the responsible administrative authorities more adequately enforce the antidiscrimination provisions within their jurisdiction.

After more than a decade of title VII litigation involving sex discrimination in employment, widespread patterns of stratification, underutilization and disparate compensation continue throughout the Nation’s work force. One indicator as to the inadequacy of legal remedy is that from 1965 to 1975, only 13 percent of all sex discrimination court cases were awarded “class relief.” This is despite the fact that such relief is supposed to be awarded under title VII whenever a policy or practice has harmed a protected group by discrimination, necessitating relief to the class to make it whole. While deciding numerous cases concerning racial discrimination claims under title VII, the U.S. Supreme Court had decided but one case concerning a sex discrimination claim under title VII, as of December 1976.

During the past decade, in Federal District and Appellate Courts, express exclusionary policies have been repeatedly deemed to violate title VII, but subtler forms of sex discrimination and those based on statistical demonstrations of disparate treatment of women have received less even treatment by Federal courts. Mary C. Dunlap contends that, with some exceptions, “judicial standards governing disposition of sex discrimination cases have diverged substantially from standards developed in race discrimination cases under title VII,” i.e., a double standard is being followed. She feels that an overall improvement in the courts could be fostered by affirmative action in Federal

judicial appointments, to help overcome the disproportionate underrepresentation of women. (In 1975, the Federal bench had more than 600 judges. Just six of those judges, including 1 black, were women.)

Over and above title VII, there are a number of other Federal prohibitions against sex discrimination in employment, including the Equal Pay Act of 1963 (EPA), Executive Order 11246, and title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972. Despite various difficulties, major gains have come from private citizens bringing direct lawsuits. In contrast, Government agencies appear to lack commitment and are found to be inadequately enforcing the sex discrimination laws and regulations for which they are responsible, such as EPA and Executive Order 11246.

Under the Equal Pay Act, which is concerned with discrimination in compensation only, the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor can conduct investigations of employers' compliance with the Act, whether or not an employee makes a complaint. Although the Division's actions to date have been limited, the large sums of money found due to thousands of women, as for example in the American Telephone and Telegraph case, indicate the pervasive nature of sex discrimination in wage rates. As in the case of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission,² which administers title VII, the backlog of EPA cases awaiting action is unduly large.

Executive Order 11246 prohibits Federal contract funds from going to employers who discriminate in their employment policies and practices. One of its strong advantages is that it requires contractors to develop affirmative action plans. Its disadvantage is that, unlike title VII and EPA, individuals cannot sue directly, but must rely on the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, or one of the 11 Federal contract compliance agencies, to investigate complaints filed. The Government Accounting Office (GAO), which recently reviewed the enforcement efforts under this Executive order, has found them seriously ineffective. Virtually no Federal funds have been terminated because of sex discrimination practices.

Enforcement of title IX, which prohibits sex discrimination in employment or student programs or policies of educational institutions receiving Federal funds, also has been found by the GAO to be seriously inadequate. Since the Government is not carrying out its function, the effectiveness of title IX may hinge on whether individuals and groups can sue schools directly; several pending court cases will determine the answer to this question.

Early passage of the Equal Rights Amendment by the three additional States necessary to assure constitutional ratification is urged by Keyserling. Although it is difficult to foresee all the effects of a constitutional amendment, proponents of ERA feel that it will have a strong salutary effect, if only because of the psychological message it will carry—that is, sex-based discrimination must be eradicated.

On the congressional front, equal rights advocates seek to undo the decision of December 6, 1976, by the Supreme Court which struck down a lower court ruling that General Electric Co.'s exclusion of pregnancy and childbirth from disability income and sick pay violated

² See, for example, "The EEOC Has Made Limited Progress in Eliminating Employment Discrimination," a report to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, October 1976).

title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as written. Proponents of corrective legislation regard it as essential in order to close what they view to be a large loophole opened by the Supreme Court in title VII's prohibition against sex-based discrimination. If, for purposes of disability insurance or sick pay, pregnancy is treated any differently than a man's elective medical decision, proponents feel the result is to legitimize discrimination against women.

The insurance industry points out that if pregnancy expenses were uniformly covered, the resultant costs would be about 6 percent more than is currently being spent for disability income and sick pay plans. These costs would be borne directly and indirectly by both men and women.

B. Increasing Access to Nontraditional Jobs

Countermeasures are suggested against what is regarded as women's de facto job segregation in traditional jobs—a condition which limits women's economic and psychological satisfactions and lowers the total economic product of society.

Forty percent of employed women are still concentrated in 10 traditional fields—secretary, retail trade salesworker, bookkeeper, private household worker, elementary schoolteacher, waitress, typist, cashier, sewer/stitcher and registered nurse. In those 10 fields, women comprise 80 percent or more of the workers, except for retail trade sales personnel, where they make up 69 percent. Male employment shows much less concentration, with less than 20 percent of male workers in the 10 largest occupations. The tendency of women to cluster in a few selected occupations contributes to overcrowding, which in turn is a factor in relatively low wages.

A common characteristic of these occupations is that, with the exception of bookkeepers, teachers and registered nurses, they require comparatively little training; with easy entry, supply tends to exceed demand. A first step toward ending overconcentration is to improve guidance counseling and widen the range of job training. These efforts will not in themselves alter de facto job segregation; barriers may persist against women's entry into other fields.

Even in traditional "female" occupations, there is a lack of promotion opportunities. One study noted that two-thirds of all jobs in New York City municipal hospitals do not have educational or training requirements for entry, but neither do they have promotional possibilities. Analysis of 270 labor market segments in the occupational-industry matrix showed that only 38 had a considerable proportion of their jobs organized for promotion based on on-the-job training. Few of the 38 had many women employees.

A view of overall trends among the Nation's occupations does show that occupational segregation is beginning to give way—slowly. The rate of growth of women workers in occupations characterized as male intensive (75 percent or more of employment in the occupation is male) has been faster than in women's employment as a whole. But female entry has often occurred in shrinking or dying occupations which men no longer want. Among blue collar and lower level occupations where women have made large gains in their share, total and male employment have either been declining or increasing quite slowly.

In certain occupations where there is "sluggish" overall growth, with the number of male jobs increasing, if only slightly, the female proportion has risen, but the outlook for future growth of the field itself is limited. This includes such fields as upholsterers, furniture finishers, bartenders, recreation attendants, and lumber inspectors.

Strong growth of female employment in male intensive occupations is closely associated with rapid expansion of total employment in these managers rose approximately 2,000 percent between 1960 and 1974; the female share of employment rose from 9 percent to 21 percent.

Women moving from female intensive to male intensive jobs do earn more money than formerly, but tend not to earn the same amount of money as the men who are doing identical work. Thus, opening non-traditional jobs to women will not, of itself, lead to equalized earnings. Nor do all women want nontraditional jobs. Rather, the individual woman will make her choices based not only on pay, but on job satisfaction, educational background, working conditions, stability of employment, prestige, husband's type of employment and other factors.

For better educated women, the minimal goal of equal access to and participation in suitable jobs is still to be achieved. In male-dominated professions such as law, medicine, and accounting, the proportion of women has increased only slightly.

Occupational segregation is more likely to persist if full employment is not achieved.

Unless there is a much closer approximation to full employment, the failure to satisfy the demand for jobs in numerical terms will preclude any serious effort on the desegregation front, i.e., to provide the types of jobs which will meet the demand for greater similarity in the occupational distribution of men and women. (Beatrice G. Reubens and Edwin P. Reubens.)

C. Underemployment

The reduction of widespread underemployment, with its waste of human resources, will require governmental policies which enable women to obtain jobs that match their abilities and skills.

Underemployment is defined as:

An involuntary employment condition where workers are in jobs, either part-time or full-time, in which their skills, including formal and work experience training, are technically underutilized and thus undervalued relative to those of other individuals of similar ability who have made equivalent investments in skill development. (Gerald P. Glyde.)

There is no adequate measure of underemployment at the present time.

Employers' inaccurate perceptions and imperfect labor market information may contribute to bias against hiring women workers for jobs appropriate to their abilities. Employers may choose not to hire women based on an over-generalization as to women's weaker attachment to the labor force. The fact that many women do interrupt their job continuity does not constitute a justification for prejudice by an employer against all women. A women or number of women applying for a particular vacancy may have as strong or stronger labor force attachment than a particular male applicant or applicants.

Internal or within-firm hiring and promotion may likewise be based on employer misperceptions. Even though they may have equivalent skills, women "outsiders" competing with men "insiders" for job

vacancies above the entry level may tend to have their ability discounted. Women within a firm may also be discounted because of an employer's continued misconception of their anticipated "quit rate" and because of occupational segregation.

Four other factors contributing to underemployment are: The lack of suitable part-time work; intermittent home and family duties, which can result not only in a decrease of skills, but in women's loss of confidence to compete for jobs; the customary primacy of a husband's career, which may necessitate women's geographic moves; credentialism, although there have been few validations of a correlation between credentials and job performance.

Because of women's concentration in a more limited number of educational courses and occupations, and because of the increased entry of women into the labor market, they are less able to compete effectively as the demand for a given skill ebbs. Women (and men as well) become caught by the time-lag between the period that the market signals a decline in a particular type of job and the time that college students (or other trainees) begin to shift away from that particular career choice. Women who are already employed are less able to transfer to new fields because of job segregation, and they are less likely than men to invest in retraining because women's return on that investment will be smaller.

Recommendations for remedying women's underemployment tend to be the same or similar to those recurrently proposed throughout the compendium as remedies for a host of other problems—women's unemployment, inadequate access to vocational education, and apprenticeship, etc.:

1. *A full employment economy.*—Employers, finding it more difficult to hire qualified males, would turn to women and qualified minorities, and in doing so, would become more knowledgeable about women's work performance.

2. *Enforcement of antidiscrimination laws in hiring and promotion.*—Screening procedures which are genuinely related to job performance should be differentiated from those which are prejudicially discriminatory.

3. *Improved labor market information.*—This includes (a) more refined methods of forecasting demand and supply, so as to assure a better match between workers and jobs, and (b) improved identification of new and emerging occupations and more insight into the link between occupations and the transferability of skills.

4. *Gender-neutral career orientation.*—Counseling in the classroom from earliest school years on helps to improve women's awareness of the world of work.

5. *Increased on-the-job training to prepare workers for vertical job mobility.*—One aspect is cooperative education, which combines work experience and formal education.

6. *Paraprofessionalism.*—Relaxing rigid work rules enables individuals who lack graduate or postgraduate education to acquire skills to perform subprofessional duties under careful supervision.

7. *More and better part-time jobs.*—This is particularly important for professional and skilled women workers. Handicapped and older workers, as well, would benefit from shorter and more flexible work weeks.

D. Special Problems of Mature Women

Specific governmental policies are necessary to meet the employment problems of mature women, whose years of family responsibilities may entail a pattern of intermittent job entry, withdrawal, and reentry.

Mature women who have been out of the job market for a number of years face a particularly severe problem in finding suitable work. These women include: (a) Mothers who prior to raising children may never have been in the work force at all, or for only a few years; (b) those forced by abrupt circumstances—divorce, separation, desertion, death of spouse—to support themselves. When a woman suddenly becomes head of a family, the economic burdens may be overwhelming. The long range effects pervade American life. In 1975, 17 percent of children under 18 lived in a single parent home; 9 out of every 10 of these children lived with their mothers; 44 percent of these female-headed families were poor.

The increasing number of divorces makes more and more women economically vulnerable, particularly because almost half of those eligible for child support or alimony never receive it. Of those who do receive financial support, the mean amount meets only about half of a family's subsistence (that is, poverty level) needs. Only about 3 percent of all eligible female-headed families receive sufficient child support and alimony alone to put them over the official poverty level for their size family.

Both mature and younger women's difficulties in finding gainful employment under such conditions may have their origins in decisions they made long before marriage. From precareer on, women tend to underestimate their future labor force participation and to undercommit themselves to formal and on-the-job training. Black women are considerably more realistic than white women in anticipating their future labor participation, but young women of all races need substantially more guidance in preparing for their future lives.

When a mature woman seeks reentry, she may confront biases against age, which a mature man also may face. But her problems are compounded by the fact that if she has been a homemaker, some of her skills are likely to have depreciated during years out of the job market, and she may have been undertrained to begin with.

One way by which Government could assist reentry is by encouraging women to use the public employment service more fully, and to direct that such services reach out more effectively to women. Currently, only 29 percent of women, compared with 37 percent of men, use State employment services. Another method of assisting reentry is by means of a retraining subsidy, which could be funded from the unemployment compensation fund; this method has been used in some European countries for many years.

One type of assistance contemplated under displaced homemaker programs in 26 States aims at providing education, retraining, counseling and other job services for special groups of mature women, such as the divorced, widowed and separated. A pilot program is now being conducted in Oakland, Calif., under a 2-year State grant of \$200,000. The program is geared toward the homemaker who has lost financial support, is too young for financial aid, or too old or unskilled to find

work readily. Through workshops, the creation of on-the-job training opportunities, validation of volunteer work and contact with potential employers, the Alliance of Displaced Homemakers is helping many women become financially independent.

Other services to homemakers also bear consideration. One possibility is Sawhill's suggestion that husbands with homemaking wives might contribute to State unemployment compensation funds. Another is Grace Ganz Blumberg's social security proposal—to credit one-half of the husband's social security contribution to the homemaker wife's account. Either protection could be a valuable buffer against poverty of the homemaker who becomes "displaced" before or after 65.

Some European countries give broad categories of women, such as homemakers, mothers and mature women, preferential treatment in counseling, testing, training on-the-job and in the classroom, grants-in-aid for schooling, job placement and other services to help them secure suitable employment. Such aid, somewhat similar to veterans' preference in the United States, may include subsidies for training, books, relocation, entrance fees, maintenance costs, meals, and sometimes housing and family allowances.

Sweden's training program for women is particularly noteworthy. It is based on a government decision to cease recruiting foreign workers in favor of training and employing married Swedish women seeking to enter the labor market. Housewives who want to work report to their local labor office and are enrolled as unemployed; they are then entitled to unemployment benefits, counseling and testing services, which usually result in referral to training programs, with accompanying subsidies.

E. Minority Women

Minority women, facing heavier economic burdens than white women, may need assistance in coping with their added employment, unemployment, and underemployment problems.

Minority women are under greater pressure to be wage earners than white women, because minority men who are family heads have an average income that is lower than white men who head families. These men also have had about twice the rate of unemployment that white male family heads have had throughout the post World War II period. Black female-headed households are more numerous than white. Minority women are even more heavily concentrated in a handful of low-paying service occupations than white women. Most critical of all, the recorded unemployment rate of minority women was 79 percent higher than among white women, averaging 9.3 percent a year during the past quarter century.

Some improvements have occurred in the employment condition of minority women. The wage gap between nonwhite and white women is almost closed. Measured in 1975 dollars, the earnings of nonwhite women for year-round, full-time work increased nearly sixfold from 1969 to 1975. More advances can be expected in the future. Length of education for minority and white women is now almost identical. But the quality of education of black women (and men) as compared with that afforded white women (and men) is still an important factor in determining their respective life-long attainments. Very much in black women's favor is the realistic recognition of the likelihood that they will be working most of their adult lives.

F. Teenagers

Teenage females, especially minorities, experiencing the highest unemployment rate of any group in the Nation, need special assistance to begin productive careers.

In 1976, 19 percent of teenagers of all races and both sexes were officially recorded as out of work, but the rate was 37 percent for minority teenagers and 3½ percent higher for minority girls. These unemployment rates for youth are more understated than for adults because so many teenagers are discouraged from even applying for jobs.

One of the most significant factors affecting the likelihood of teenage employment is the employment status or lack of status of one or both parents. In a typically disadvantaged home, a son or daughter does not have the benefit of a helpful job role model if a father is unemployed, underemployed, or absent entirely, or if a mother has a low-paying job or is on welfare. Teenage deprivation, including serious unemployment, is associated with high incidence of crime.

One of the most critical events in the life of a young woman is the birth of her first child, which may cause her to drop out of school or the labor force, go on welfare, or abandon a career. Those and still earlier choices, as to sexual activity, contraception, and abortion confront an increasing number of teenagers.

Urban Institute research indicates that the availability of subsidized family planning services reduces the incidence of premarital pregnancies. Yet only about 40 percent of women estimated to be in need of subsidized family planning services actually obtained them in 1974. For these and the remaining 60 percent of women, widened career options at all ages may hinge on the availability of such services.

III. SUPPORT SERVICES AND ADJUSTED CONDITIONS

Because women sometimes face double or triple burdens as homemakers, mothers, and workers, they may need support services to help fulfill their multiple roles in society. The homemaker's work is "work," but society neither values it as such, credits her in various ways for her contributions, nor assists her, particularly when she desires to enter the formal work force. Quality child care at an affordable price is basic if the working mother is to meet her job responsibilities without neglecting her children. Work hours could be adapted to women's and men's needs through part-time jobs and flexible work hours. Occupational health problems, especially those affecting the pregnant woman and the fetus, deserve increased attention.

A. The Homemaker, the Family, and Employment: Some Interrelationships

A meaningful family life for the working couple may require support services to help relieve the special burdens of the wife/mother.

Until society abandons the view that "work" only includes paid activities, the homemaker will be denied the status to which she is

entitled and assistance which she may need. Affluent working parents can make and pay for their own arrangements to fulfill their personal and child care needs. But for millions of other working parents and especially for single parent families, public programs may represent a crucial difference in the quality of adult and child life.

In the homemaker's and the family's behalf, Nona Glazer, Linda Majka, Joan Acker, and Christine Bose recommend a broad series of support measures: Round-the-clock child care centers for children up to the age of 15 become more feasible if older children and retired people are involved in the caring process; Neighborhood Service Houses, rooted in the tradition of Settlement Houses, could offer multiple services, such as job reentry counseling, medical day clinics and medical transportation for children, house visitors to facilitate repair services, a distribution point for meals, tools and neighborhood bartering of services, psychological support at times of family stress, and referral to professional help; federally funded holiday camps for employed mothers, modeled after the family holiday camps in Norway, represent another innovative suggestion.

Legislation to set up these structures which Glazer et al. recommend would facilitate a change in the structure of national employment standards, they believe. Thus, the labor market would accommodate personal human needs, rather than the reverse situation which exists today. This would entail such measures as fostering mandatory overtime limits, flexitime, routine personal leave, paternity as well as maternity leave, and improved status and fringe benefits for part-time work.

Precedent for a national family policy is notable in France. Because it is concerned with social, economic, and other elements of family life, France provides a broad set of services for all families, not just the least fortunate. However, French policy is geared, at least in part, to increasing the birth rate so as to compensate for the ravages of war, a situation with which the United States is not faced. Because this country is starting to recognize that we must pick and choose more carefully how the taxpayers' money is spent, and because such family support programs are costly, one approach might be to set up pilot projects. This method of "sampling" potential new social programs, then adopting or discarding them, is widely and successfully used in Sweden.

B. Economic Aspects of Child Care

A full employment guarantee for women, if it is to be more than an empty promise, would make available a system of child care which is both economically efficient and effective in meeting the needs of young children and their parents.

The need for organized child care is indicated by the fact that in 1974, 42 percent of all children under 18—almost 27 million—had working mothers, with more than 22 percent of these children under the age of 6. Yet there are only 1 million spaces available in licensed day care programs for the almost 6 million pre-school children whose mothers work.

A wide variety of day care programs coexist: In the child's own home, in another person's home, by their own mothers at work, by

community, religious and/or business-run centers. Costs in day care centers vary widely, depending on the quality of the staff, their numbers, and education levels, the range of support services, the quantity and quality of food, the nature of the facility and equipment, and whether or not the center is designed to yield a profit. The fact that costs represent an overwhelming barrier to use of day care is confirmed by numerous surveys. Private enterprise is discouraged from increasing the supply of formal child care to meet the demand because of the small likelihood of a profitable return from any but upper income users.

Whatever the "mix" of a child care system, economic planning should take into account the high costs of quality child care and the facts as to parents' willingness or ability to pay. Satisfactory subsidized child care will, in Myra H. Strober's judgment, "require partial subsidization of even those families with incomes above the median."

Opponents of subsidization dispute the expenditure of public resources for care of children in families with median or higher incomes. Why, they ask, should a mother who chooses to raise a child entirely by herself and to forego any job income, neither receive nor expect a subsidy, while a woman who transfers part of the child-raising burden to society in order to earn her own income, be subsidized? Even as regards the children of lower income families, critics ask: should taxpayers spend, for example, \$5,000 a year to give two children subsidized day care so that the mother can earn perhaps \$7,000 to \$10,000 a year?

The arithmetic of each case varies, but day care supporters counter that the taxpayer's investment is repaid directly, if only in part, by the higher taxpaying ability of the working mother. More important, the intangible values of society are strengthened by providing freedom of choice—to work or not to work—to women who would otherwise lose such choice, and by assuring quality care for the coming generation.

Noting that the desire for children care is worldwide, Alice H. Cook compares European and other nations' practices. One of the issues is whether publicly supported child care should be administered by educational, labor or social service authorities—each of which tends to have a different approach to the child.

France provides free child care services for a greater number of 2 to 6 years olds (proportionately) than any other non-Communist country. It, in effect, starts its free education system at the age of two, instead of five, as the United States does. All French day care homes, no matter how small, are registered, inspected and licensed, and must adhere to established standards. All children who are placed in care—even with a close relative—are registered. An unusual service—a short-term nursery called *Halte Garderie* (Child Parking)—is available even to nonworking mothers, so that they can be free for shopping or leisure pursuits. France's system emphasizes care at the young formative ages, when assistance is most needed.

Sweden has the most all-inclusive and integrated program of pre-school and school-age childcare of any country in the non-Communist world; that is, it has the broadest range of services. Before and after

school care includes supervision of homework and play activities, hobby programs, free activities, breakfast, and midafternoon snacks when necessary. While Sweden relies on full-time formal day care centers, it also utilizes family day care to help parents who work irregular hours or need overnight care for children. Sweden's comprehensive care of sick children ranges from sickrooms at centers, to child visitor services to homes, and includes transportation of ill children. Sweden's system emphasizes total child care around the clock and throughout the year for all ages.

The Swedish program was planned by representatives of government, private and public social welfare, and employers' and employees' organizations. A plus in the Swedish system is that family day care mothers, who are under Government supervision, have 90-day training programs available to them, as well as such amenities as insurance coverage, vacations, and established wage rates. This gives recognition to the paraprofession of "family daycare mothering" and establishes it as a desirable category in the labor force.

C. Part-Time Work

Wives, particularly mothers, who choose to work should have the option of career-oriented part-time jobs. A similar option for men would provide greater flexibility in the sharing of parental and household responsibilities, and add to the quality of life.

Despite widespread interest, there is a lack of career-oriented part-time work. Practically all part-time jobs today are the lowest paying ones; virtually anyone taking part-time work today suffers substantial career and economic penalties, ranging from lack of opportunity for promotions to loss of fringe benefits. Yet the disadvantages of part-time work are less than those of dropping out all together, which results in depletion of skills, lack of confidence and an image in employers' eyes as lacking attachment to the work force.

Industry should be encouraged to rethink its own concepts of the workday and work continuity. While experiments in the 4-day week are increasing, most businesses have resisted part-time employment for a variety of philosophical and administrative reasons. Contrary to the general perception, part-time work need not increase the cost of benefits, because required statutory benefits can be offset by adjustment of optional benefits. Flex-time, which faces less resistance than part-time work, has been found to be mutually rewarding for both employer and employee, based on observations of a number of companies where it has been used.

Institutionalizing part-time work options—for both men and women—offers these benefits to society:

1. Children benefit. Their emotional and other needs are met by the availability of not just one, but both parents, at different times.

2. Parents benefit. The desire of both father and mother to share parental responsibilities is fulfilled.

3. Women benefit. The shorter workday makes it easier for a woman to work while she retains the psychological benefits of being a "good mother."

4. Business and industry benefit. The "magnetism" of part-time work can attract quality employees into the work force. Companies

may experience greater productivity and lower unit costs, due to reduced absenteeism, turnover, recruitment activity and overtime pay. Higher productivity may also occur because an employee can maintain a faster work pace for 4 to 6 hours a day than she/he can for 8 hours.

5. Labor and society benefit. The sharing of work opportunities would be facilitated in a society where the number of jobs available is not keeping pace with the growth in the number of potential workers. In addition, greater equality of opportunity is assured between men and women. Increased time away from work adds to the quality of life.

7. Taxpayers benefit. The burden of taxpayer-subsidized child-care centers is reduced.

Carol S. Greenwald urges structural changes in the occupational system, such as have already begun in Sweden. There, a parents' insurance system, replacing a maternity allowance system, makes it possible for both parents to alternate working part time for a given period after the birth of a child, without any economic or occupational penalty. Greenwald suggests that parental leave (in place of maternity leave) and part-time work options be required by the Department of Labor as part of the affirmative action program for Federal contractors. The absence of such provisions, she believes, is discriminatory in effect and is not required as a matter of business necessity, but is based on mere custom and convenience.

Critics view the proposed imposition on employers of mandatory part-time work as unjustified intervention in private enterprise. In their view, consequences may include arbitrary dislocation of efficient work schedules, elevation of personnel and other business costs, and the inflation of prices to the consumer.

D. Maternal and Other Health Needs

The topic of support services would not be complete without a brief consideration of women's health as affected by employment, a subject which is not covered by an individual paper within the compendium.

The influx of women into the job force and specifically into a broadened range of occupations has outpaced society's alertness as to the health implications to the woman worker, especially the pregnant woman and her unborn child.

Few issues represent more of a double-edged sword than that of proposed standards for women under the Occupational Health and Safety Act. On the one hand, rigid standards may result in automatic screening out of women applicants in a way which may be regarded as discriminatory; on the other hand, pregnant women (including those who are not aware that they are pregnant) may risk substantial injury to themselves and to their unborn children in hazardous work environments. The pregnancy-related dilemma faces women even in such traditional occupations as operating room attendant, dental assistant, radiology technician, and flight attendant, where scientific evidence has begun to question the safety of what had formerly been considered relatively healthy work environments. The issue is drawn more sharply as women enter into the chemical, mining, and other heavy industries, where dangerous substances have been suspected for some time and are now becoming increasingly recognized.

There is wide agreement that, at the very minimum, women should have the benefit of timely information before entering into such occu-

pations, or, if they are already so employed, as soon as scientific information on hazards is validated. It is obvious that men also are entitled to information concerning occupational health hazards.

Health poses a problem to the working woman in other ways, as well. Information remains sparse on the impact of workman's compensation on women; the problem of coverage of pregnancy under disability income and sick pay protection awaits congressional resolution. The female-headed family and two-worker parents are inadequately served by a health system which does not have flexible hours for child clinics.

IV. EDUCATION AND WORK

Improvement in the Nation's system of education and training of women could play an important part in achieving the goal of full employment. Career education is developing as a useful tool to aid women's and men's decisions at each stage of life. Vocational education could be a much more significant aid to women if they could share equally with men in its benefits. Similarly, the apprenticeship system, still largely closed to women, could add to the diversification of their work opportunities and the increase of their earnings. Subsidized training and retraining would enable women to strengthen their human capital.

A. Career Education

Career education can broaden and sharpen individuals' knowledge about both their own abilities and the labor market's opportunities, and can help them arrive at the best decisions about their work lives.

Women, in particular, benefit from career education, a concept which helps relate current learning to future careers. National tests indicate that 17-year-old girls—the age when career decisions are in the process of being made—have a less realistic understanding about careers and working than do boys of the same age. Another study of adults indicates that sex stereotyping within our society makes it increasingly important that career education be incorporated into our educational system in order to counteract these negative patterns. Substantial literature by both Government and individual employment specialists document the fact that career education can improve individuals' self-assessment and development as workers, their occupational awareness and preparedness for work, and their ability to put it all together through skilled planning and decisionmaking.

Lack of career-oriented education and training is one of the strong root causes of women's inability to establish themselves in upwardly mobile careers. Access to genderless-oriented education and training on an equal basis with men is a start towards providing full employment for women. Without it, all other support programs will not achieve their potential.

Recommendations to facilitate the growth of career education include the following:

1. Career education should become mandatory in all schools and encouraged in other community programs.

2. Community career education action councils should be established.
3. Career education concepts should be included as a standard part of the curriculum for educators.
4. Schools should become more flexible—with open entry and open exit—to serve the job needs of women of all ages.
5. Tax, and other reforms should be used to encourage the retraining and upgrading of women's working skills.

B. Vocational Education

Vocational education is booming, but present opportunities for girls and women are still limited to clusters of low-paying, traditionally "feminine" occupations, and little attempt is being made to open up nontraditional areas.

With almost 6½ million women and girls enrolled in public vocational classes in 1972, about 4 out of 5 were being trained in home economics and office practices. Few women are being trained for the 20.1 million jobs that estimates indicate will exist by 1980 in the better paying trades, industrial and technical jobs, and for which high schools offer entry level courses. These latter jobs, unfortunately, are viewed primarily as male occupations.

A 1974 report showed that 98.5 percent of all students in Wisconsin high school industrial classes were boys. In one city, the average expected wage for trades learned by girls was 47 percent lower than for trades learned by boys. At the postsecondary level, admission of women is hindered by inconvenient school hours and location, lack of child care facilities, and limited distribution of publicity about the programs.

Some of the following steps would be helpful in upgrading vocational education for women: Improvement in counseling based on more research on how females make career decisions; an introductory course on the changing career patterns of women, labor market projections and wage differentials of occupations; better literature and audio-visual materials—prescreened against traditional stereotypes; updating of counselors' knowledge and skills by summer institutes and in-service training programs; tours for young girls of vocational classrooms and industries; visits to schools by women workers in a broad range of occupations; simulated job experience kits for fields in which expansion is projected.

C. Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship, one of the most important doors to skilled and well-paid jobs, remains all but closed to women today because of deep-rooted custom and outright discrimination.

The reasons for the exclusion of women are multiple: Most apprenticeships are in male-dominated occupations which have historically tended to perpetuate barriers on the ground that the jobs are "unsuitable" for women; the stereotypes deter women from applying; jobs traditionally held by women are perceived to require less training and therefore are excluded from the apprenticeable trades.

Women account for only slightly over 1 percent of all registered apprentices. Over 415 different trades and crafts are apprenticeable,

according to Federal Government standards; the 21 construction trades account for approximately 64 percent. Thirty-six one-hundredths of 1 percent (0.36) of apprentices in the highly paid building trades were women in 1975. Among these key trades, only carpenters and electricians had more than 100 women apprentices at that time.

Why is apprenticeship important? It is a bargain for those high school graduates who cannot afford continued classroom education. They can earn a wage while simultaneously acquiring a skill leading to still higher income. Long waiting lists of hopefuls attest to the desirability of being accepted as an apprentice.

A forward step taken by the Manpower Administration is the apprenticeship outreach program, which emphasizes recruiting, counseling, and tutoring women for apprenticeships and which now covers 27 cities. Despite their potential promise, these programs achieved only "modest results"—according to a Civil Rights Commission study in 1974.

An improvement in the apprenticeship system would be to admit women exceeding the maximum age, as part of affirmative action. Overview of the program could be strengthened by correcting underrepresentation of women within the Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, which has 240 males and only 14 females. It should be borne in mind that recessions have an adverse effect on the numbers of apprenticeships, as it does on so many other programs which offer increased career opportunities.

D. Higher Education

The component of American society which might best show evidence of the results of women's increased aspirations is the segment that has documented and fostered those aspirations, namely, American higher education itself. Women's status as students and members of faculties in colleges and universities is not treated as a separate paper in the compendium, but the relative unevenness of women's progress in higher education is noteworthy of comment. The women's proportion among students in undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate institutes has continued to rise. By 1974 the proportion of women aged 18 to 19 going to college equalled the proportion of young men. In 1975, more women than men took the scholastic aptitude tests, the first time in the 49 years that the SAT's have been in existence. But, most important, the percentage—24 percent—of women among all faculty on academic year contracts remained the same in 1974 and 1975, while the percentage of women ranked professor, associate professor and instructor actually decreased. The average salaries of these professionals remained less than that of men.

Title IX, approved in June 1972, prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in educational programs which receive Federal funds, including recruitment and admission, financial assistance, housing, and hiring of professional faculty.

Title IX, plus other legislation such as the Medical Education Act, have been instrumental in opening the doors to medical and law schools and other graduate facilities. Upper level positions for women in management, government and the professions are vital because they serve

as role models for children and young adults to follow, they help change deep-seated negative attitudes in our society, and they place women in top echelon positions where they can help overcome other barriers that still remain.

On the other side of the coin, affirmative action programs required by title IX have been characterized by college administrators as a "mixed blessing" which has lowered standards, led to "reverse discrimination" against white males, and increased university paper-work and other costs.

V. KEY FACTORS: TAX TREATMENT AND MEDIA IMAGES

Reforms should be considered in both the tax and social security systems in the interest of justice for working as well as nonworking women. Another adverse and pervasive factor is media-disseminated stereotypes which may handicap girls and women at every stage of their intellectual and economic development.

A. Impact of the Tax System and Social Security on Labor Force Participation

Changes are required in the American tax and social security systems whose direct or indirect inequities may discourage women from working, or penalize them if they choose to work.

Three major problems in the tax treatment of the two-earner family are:

(a) The marriage penalty, which substantially increases the tax bill of the two-earner family. (b) The fiscal inequity of failing to differentiate between the traditional worker-housewife couple and the emergent two-earner couple, whose greater earnings are offset with increased but often nondeductible job-related expenses. (c) The work disincentive to potential second family earners, since the second family earner's first taxable dollar is effectively taxed at the first earner's highest tax rate.

Suggestions offered to overcome these difficulties include:

(a) A system of individual tax treatment of earned income, similar to Sweden's, or an option to married taxpayers to choose individual treatment of earned income, similar to that of England, Norway, and other countries. (b) An allowance to second earners to accommodate the working couple's higher cost of earning income.

In the social security system, Blumberg identifies the issues and offers several remedies:

1. Worker-housewife couples frequently receive substantially more benefits than two-earner couples, even though earnings and social security payments are equal. To achieve parity in determining benefits, Blumberg suggests that working couples should be permitted to combine their earnings up to the maximum taxable wage base (rather than as at present, computing benefits from the separate earnings of two bases).

2. The married working woman realizes little or no benefits from her social security payments because she can only collect from one account (usually her husband's). It has been argued that the married woman does receive benefits because her payments cover more than

her retirement benefits—her own disability, and survivor's benefits. If this is the rationale, then the married woman's contributions should be adjusted downward to reflect the actual coverage she is purchasing.

3. There are inequities in the calculation of "replacement income" for women. Retirement benefits are computed by averaging earnings for all years except the lowest five; employed wives and working mothers may have been home for child rearing and homemaking for a cumulatively longer period than 5 years. Some countries have treated women's absence from the labor market because of pregnancy and child rearing as "covered employment," and credited the married woman's account with some ascribed earnings.

4. In the event of divorce, many nonemployed wives and mothers lose their dependent status and are deprived of their social security eligibility; thus, older housewives may be left entirely without retirement income; younger housewives may not have a basis for an adequate average earning record.

A comprehensive solution offered by Blumberg is equal apportionment between husband and wife of all spouse's contributions based on wages. In her opinion, this would "more profoundly reflect the view that marriage is an economic partnership: * * * that each spouse has an interest in all income generated during a marriage, and that the housewife does make a valuable economic contribution to her family".

B. Effects of Mass Media Stereotypes on Women's Employment

Efforts should be made to reduce sex bias in the content of mass media if a constructive self-realization of women is to be encouraged.

While women's role in society and in the labor market has experienced vast changes in the past quarter century, the mass media's unrealistic portrayal of that role is an impediment to women's equality. One television study showed that commercials mentioned 43 different occupations for men, only 18 for women. When TV shows reveal someone's occupation, the worker is most likely to be male. Women's magazines have traditionally focused on women as homemakers, rather than as workers, but have recently become more responsive to change. In the Nation's newspapers, news of food, fashion, weddings, and society—not jobs—has tended to dominate the women's pages. A substantial body of research suggests particularly profound effects of media stereotyping in restricting the horizons of young women; these effects may well deter girls from undertaking career-oriented education or training programs. The mass media may also exert a conservative force among adults, which prevents affluent and other women from seeking employment and discourages women who must work from seeking better jobs or higher goals.

Gaye Tuchman recommends a complete analysis of the effect of mass media upon women and minorities. She also suggests Federal Trade Commission restrictions on sex-typed advertising during children's viewing hours; banning sex-role stereotypes under the National Association of Broadcasters Code; Federal Communications Commission denial of renewal of station licenses if program stereotyping is found; and priority given to affirmative action programs in the mass media.

CONCLUSION

Full employment is a moving target; it takes a growing number of jobs to provide for a growing labor force, and women are currently the prime movers of the target (Isabel V. Sawhill).

The targets are moving as well for government and for all other institutions—business, labor, education, and social sciences—as they respond to women's rising economic aspirations. To the authors of the compendium, the achievement of women's equality in a full employment economy is the logical and necessary culmination of the phenomenon of their massive entry into the labor force and of the rights to which they are entitled under law. The authors note that even in the absence of a full employment goal, the success of macroeconomic growth policies is affected to a greater degree than ever before by the Nation's ability to estimate, to plan for and to accommodate the intentions of women workers and potential workers. Noninflationary, cost-effective microeconomic policies could help open up career opportunities for groups with special needs, such as mothers with infants and small children, displaced homemakers and mature women, and teenagers—especially minorities.

A fundamental reality of this era is that women's economic progress has already attained an inner momentum which will intensify their quest for job satisfaction and equality. Traditional acceptance by women, as well as by men, of substantial unemployment and underemployment is likely to give way to a consensus for national policies which will make better use of all human resources. Whether or not these policies become embodied in a full employment goal, as such, increased effort may be anticipated to end sex-based discrimination and de facto job segregation, to improve women's education and training so as to foster self-fulfillment in jobs, and to expand support services, especially for the homemaker and working mother.

To achieve these and other objectives, the specific recommendations within this compendium carry direct and indirect price tags, as yet largely unknown. But the failure to assure women's optimal economic role also entails costs of both a tangible and intangible nature to women, men, and to all society.

Part I. OVERVIEW

WOMEN'S STAKE IN FULL EMPLOYMENT: THEIR DISADVANTAGED ROLE IN THE ECONOMY—CHALLENGES TO ACTION

By MARY DUBLIN KEYSERLING*

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Women in the United States have an immense stake in the achievement of full employment.¹ In a shrinking economy women suffer high rates of unemployment considerably in excess of those experienced by men. Inflation rises and inflicts an especially hard blow on women. Poverty increases, family incomes decline, and business earnings fall. These developments and the resulting reduction in public revenues lessen our Nation's capacity to meet the needs of its people. Women, whether wage and salary earners or full-time homemakers, are affected by the consequences to a disproportionate extent.

The highly disadvantaged position of women in the American economy today exists despite the fact that their participation in the labor force has advanced rapidly during the last two and one-half decades. In 1940 they represented 29 percent of all workers. By 1976 their proportion had increased to 41 percent. While they have comprised more than three-fifths of the growth in the civilian labor force during this period, they have moved increasingly into the lesser skilled, lower paid jobs. Despite the fact that national legislation directed toward the elimination of discrimination in employment on the basis of sex, among other grounds, has been on the statute books for more than 10 years, the relative employment status of women has shown little improvement in some respects and has actually deteriorated in some more significant ways.

*Consulting economist in private practice in Washington, D.C. She was the Director of the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, 1964-1969.

¹ Full employment in this paper is based on a level of employment consistent with the reduction of unemployment to an overall rate of about 3 percent. This is treated as the "frictional" level of unemployment, that is, those unemployed are primarily wage and salary earners moving from one job to another. This paper assumes that a reasonable and feasible target for the reduction of unemployment is to lower the overall rate of unemployment from 7.7 percent in 1976 to 4 percent by mid-1981 (about 3 percent for adults aged 20 and over) and to 3 percent within a year or two thereafter.

Experience during the post-World War II years clearly indicates that existing employment inequities strongly resist redress when economic growth rates are slow or the economy declines. When the economy moves into high gear and there are ample numbers of jobs available for those seeking them, gains for women—and for all Americans—are very great indeed. This is not to say that strong and specific efforts to eliminate employment discrimination are not needed in periods of economic expansion; they clearly are. But such efforts have a better chance of achieving their objectives when job opportunities are on the increase.

A review of where women are in the labor force and of recent trends during times of economic advance and decline sheds a revealing light on why full employment is of signal importance to them.

I. WHERE WOMEN ARE IN THE LABOR FORCE

As of December 1976, 39 million women, aged 16 and over, were in the labor force—a number which had more than doubled since 1950 and nearly tripled since 1940. Nearly half of all women, 16 and over, were employed or actively seeking work. Of those between the ages 18 and 64, the proportion was 56 percent.

Between 1950 and 1976, the total labor force grew by about 31 million. Women constituted more than three-fifths of this increase. With five recessionary interruptions, the economy expanded, although not nearly enough, over this period as a whole. The number of jobs was growing and women entered the job market in rapidly increasing numbers. Of major significance has been the very substantial rise in the proportion of women aged 25–64, particularly those with children, who sought employment during the quarter century. Among those aged 25–34, there was a 68-percent increase in their labor force participation rates between 1950 and 1976. The rate of increase for those aged 35–64 was also very rapid, as is shown in table I.

TABLE I.—LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF WOMEN, BY AGE GROUPS, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1976, AND PERCENT CHANGE 1940-76 AND 1950-76

Age (years)	1940 ¹	1950	1960	1970	1976	Percent change	
						1940-76	1950-76
Total, 16 yrs and over.....	28.9	33.9	37.8	43.4	47.3	+63.7	+39.5
16 and 17.....	13.8	30.1	29.1	34.9	40.7	+194.9	+35.2
18 and 19.....	42.7	51.3	51.1	53.7	59.0	+38.2	+15.0
20 to 24.....	48.0	46.1	46.2	57.8	65.0	+35.4	+41.0
25 to 34.....	35.5	34.0	36.0	45.0	57.1	+60.9	+67.9
35 to 44.....	29.4	39.1	43.5	51.1	57.8	+96.6	+47.8
45 to 54.....	24.5	38.0	49.8	54.4	55.0	+124.5	+44.7
55 to 64.....	18.0	27.0	37.2	43.0	41.1	+128.3	+52.2
65 yrs and over.....	6.9	9.7	10.8	9.7	8.3	+20.3	-14.4

¹ Data for 1940 are for March of that year; for other years, annual.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C.

When 1940 is used as the base year for comparison with 1976, the labor force participation rates for women aged 35–64 had more than doubled.

Before World War II, the peak rate of labor force participation was for women aged 20–24, 48 percent of whom were workers. By the

age of 25, a large proportion of women had already married and the responsibilities of child rearing removed many from the job world. The labor force participation rate of those aged 25-34 was 26 percent lower than among those aged 20-24. It declined another 17 percent among those aged 35-44, and still another 17 percent for those aged 45-54. This continuous decline reflected the greater difficulties of home management than in more recent years, the absence of child day-care facilities, the insufficiency of jobs, and the strong prejudice against hiring middle-aged women, among other factors.

After the war, labor force participation rates for women aged 25-34 continued to be lower than for those aged 20-24, although to a diminishing degree from 1950 onward. By 1976, women aged 25-34 were 12 percent less likely to be in the labor force than those aged 20-24. Throughout the post-World War II period, the labor force participation rates of women over age 35 have continued to increase.

During the past two and one-half decades, the labor force participation of married women with husbands present grew more rapidly than that of other married or single women; it increased nearly 90 percent between 1950 and 1976. The rates for married women with husbands present and with children under the age of 18 increased nearly two-and-a-half-fold during this period; for those with children under the age of six, the rates more than tripled (see table II).

TABLE II.—LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF WOMEN, BY MARITAL STATUS, IN MARCH 1950, 1975, AND 1976 AND PERCENT CHANGE, 1950-76

Marital status	1950	1975	1976	Percent change, 1950-76
Married women, husband present.....	23.8	44.4	45.0	+89.1
With children under 18 yr.....	18.4	44.9	46.1	+150.5
With children under 6 yr.....	11.9	36.6	37.4	+214.3
With no children under 18 yr.....	30.3	43.9	43.8	+44.6
Other ever-married women.....	37.8	40.7	40.9	+8.2
With children under 18 yr.....	54.9	62.4	63.8	+16.2
With children under 6 yr.....	41.4	55.0	56.2	+35.7
With no children under 18 yr.....	33.7	33.2	32.8	-2.7
Single women.....	50.5	56.7	58.9	+16.6

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," series P-50, No. 29; and U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Special Labor Force Reports," Nos. 13, 130, and 183 and BLS unpublished data for 1976.

A. Earnings and Status

Most women work for the same reason as most men; they need the money. As of March 1976, 43 percent of all women in the labor force were single, widowed, separated or divorced, and worked to support themselves and their dependents. More than an additional quarter of all women in the labor force were married women whose husbands had earned less than \$10,500 in the previous year, or less than what was regarded as needed to meet the minimum requirements of a family of four. Thus, for 7 out of 10 working women, employment is a compelling economic necessity. A large majority of the remaining women also work because they desire to improve their families' economic opportunities.

While a majority of women of working age are now job holders, they are heavily concentrated in the lower-paid, lesser-skilled posi-

tions which women have traditionally held. In 1975,² somewhat more than a third of women job holders were in clerical and kindred occupations, and nearly a fifth were in the service trades, excluding private household employment, with median annual earnings in 1974 for year-round, full-time work of \$7,562 and \$5,414 respectively. About an additional fifth were sales, craft and kindred workers, and operatives, with median earnings in these three fields combined for year-round, full-time work in 1974 of \$6,100. About 16 percent of working women were in professional and technical occupations, with nearly half of them concentrated in three fields traditionally held by women, also relatively low paid: elementary and preschool teachers, registered nurses, and health technologists and technicians.

Because of women's concentration at the lower rungs of the occupational ladder, their median earnings for year-round, full-time work in 1975 were only \$7,504, or only 59 percent of the \$12,758 median earnings of men for year-round full-time work. Of all women employed year-round and full-time, 22 percent earned less than \$5,000. This compares with fewer than 7 percent of men. At the upper end of the earnings scale, only 4.5 percent of women earned between \$15,000 and \$25,000; the percentage of men in this income bracket was six times greater. Fewer than one-half of 1 percent of all these women earned \$25,000 or more; the percentage of men in this bracket was 20 times higher.

Women's occupational status is very different from that of men. While in 1975 they comprised 40 percent of the labor force, they were 99 percent of all secretaries; 98 percent of all household workers and nurses; 96 percent of all dressmakers, sewers and stitchers; 85 percent of all elementary schoolteachers; 77 percent of all those in clerical occupations; and 58 percent of all nonhousehold related service employees. About three-quarters of all women workers were in these occupations, generally characterized by relatively low average earnings.

Women remain poorly represented at the more privileged end of the occupational ladder. In 1974, they were 6 percent of all lawyers and judges, 10 percent of physicians, 14 percent of all chemists, 20 percent of computer specialists, and 31 percent of all college and university teachers, to mention a few examples.

Even within the professions underrepresented by women, they were concentrated at the lower end of the scale, and some trends have actually been regressive. For instance, in colleges and universities in 1974, women were 9 percent of all full professors—down from 10 percent in 1959–60; they were 15 percent of associate professors—down from 17.5 percent in 1959–60; they were 24 percent of assistant professors and 45 percent of all instructors. These last two ratios were higher than in the base year, but these gains did not compensate for the declines at the higher levels, so that, overall, women lost salary ground relative to men. At each of the teaching levels, the average compensation of women was lower than that of men—the difference of all ranks combined averaging 18 percent lower for women.

Another illustration of disparities affecting women is employment in the Federal civil service. The Federal Government might well be

² The 1975, rather than 1976, occupational data are used in this connection because, at the time of writing, data with respect to median earnings in 1976, by occupation, for year-round, full-time work, were not yet available.

expected to be the pace setter with respect to affirmative action employment policy, being charged by an Executive order to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex. But an analysis of Federal civil service reports indicates that the mandate is far from fulfilled. Women in 1975 were only 35 percent of total white collar Federal employees—about the same proportion as in 1968, and considerably lower than their proportion in the total labor force. Their number in the civil service failed to keep pace with their growing role in the general economy; such progress as they have made at the top, in recent years, has been very slight. In 1975, women were only 2.7 percent of all those in the three highest grades—GS 16, 17, and 18—up from 1.5 percent in 1968. They were only 4.3 percent in the next two highest grades—GS 14 and 15—up from 3.4 percent in 1968.

Not only is the overall occupational position of women inferior in relation to that of men; women's relative position in the labor force has been deteriorating in recent years. The comparative median earnings of men and women in year-round, full-time employment were used above as a meaningful index of relative economic status. Comparison of these figures over a period of time shows relative retrogression. Median earnings of women in year-round full-time work were 59 percent those of men in 1975. While this ratio averaged the same in the 1960's, it was considerably lower than the 63 percent average for 1955–59 and the 64 percent registered in 1955. The wage gap was \$3,081 in 1955 (measured in 1975 dollars). It was \$5,254 in 1975, or 71 percent larger.

B. Work Discontinuity and Work Life Expectancy

For many years it was argued that the median earnings differential on the basis of sex could be attributed in large measure to the discontinuity in women's employment. This was clearly a major causal factor in earlier periods when a large percentage of working women left the labor force after marriage to bear and rear children. However, while the discontinuity of women's employment has been diminishing very rapidly in recent years, the differences in relative earnings of men and women have increased.

Recent studies show that the worklife expectancy of women has continued to lengthen significantly, while it has edged downward for men. As is shown in table IV, women's worklife expectancy at birth rose from 6.3 years in 1900 to 12.1 years in 1940, or nearly doubled; by 1970 it had almost doubled again to 22.9 years.

TABLE IV.—LIFE AND WORK EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH, SELECTED YEARS, 1940–70

Expectancy	1900 ¹	1940 ²	1950 ²	1960 ²	1970
MEN					
Life expectancy.....	48.2	61.2	65.5	66.8	67.1
Work expectancy.....	32.1	38.1	41.5	41.1	40.1
Nonwork expectancy.....	16.1	23.1	24.0	25.7	27.0
WOMEN					
Life expectancy.....	50.7	65.7	71.0	73.1	74.8
Work expectancy.....	6.3	12.1	15.1	20.1	22.9
Nonwork expectancy.....	44.4	53.6	55.9	53.0	51.9
Women's worklife expectancy as a percent of men's.	19.6	31.6	36.3	48.6	57.1

¹ Data for 1900 are for white persons in death registration States.

² Figures adjusted to remove 14- and 15-yr-olds from the labor force to be consistent with 1970 (1900 is not comparable).

Source: Howard N. Fullerton, Jr. and James J. Byrne: "Length of Working Life for Men and Women, 1970," Monthly Labor Review, February 1976, p. 32. (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C.).

By 1970, the work expectancy of men at age 20 was 41.5 years; for women who were divorced, widowed, or separated it was somewhat higher—42.3 years; for single women it was nearly the same—41.2 years.

At age 35, the large majority of women in the labor force in 1970 had a work expectancy that varied relatively little from that of men, as is shown in table V.

TABLE V.—WORKLIFE EXPECTANCY OF MEN AND WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE AT SELECTED AGES AND BY MARITAL AND CHILD STATUS FOR WOMEN, 1970

[In years]

Age	Men	Ever-married women			
		Single women	No children ever born	Women in labor force after birth of last child	Divorced, widowed, and separated
20.....	41.5	41.2	34.1	(²)	42.3
25.....	35.9	36.4	29.2	(²)	37.4
30.....	32.3	32.6	24.3	(²)	32.6
35.....	27.6	28.5	20.8	26.8	27.8
40.....	23.2	24.0	17.6	21.2	23.0
45.....	18.9	19.4	13.4	16.3	18.3
50.....	14.8	15.0	12.0	11.9	13.6
55.....	10.9	10.9	10.6	8.2	9.0
60.....	7.4	7.1	8.9	5.0	6.7
65.....	5.7	4.4	6.6	4.5	5.3

¹ Includes mothers. Women in these marital statuses were also included in the tabulation for the 2 previous columns.

² Not applicable.

Source: Same as for table IV.

With employment discontinuity sharply on the decline for women and with worklife expectancy markedly on the increase, it is clear that a large number of other factors contribute to the relatively disadvantaged position of women in the labor force. Many women are willing to settle for lesser-skilled, lower-paid jobs because their training, education, and attitudinal conditioning have not prepared them realistically to anticipate their employment commitments. Stereotyped vocational guidance and training, which have not adjusted to the new realities of women's worklives, tend to move women into jobs they have held traditionally. There is continuing discrimination against women in hiring and promotion. In periods of declining employment, women and minorities are generally the last hired and first fired, largely because seniority systems prevail over the dictates of affirmative action employment policies. This separation from jobs affects earnings and promotion potentials.

II. THE IMPACT OF UNEMPLOYMENT ON WOMEN

Unemployment affects women to a far greater degree than men. It has averaged 25 percent higher for them during the years 1947-75. In 1975, officially recorded unemployment among women reached a post-World War II peak of 9.3 percent and averaged 8.6 percent during 1976. The comparable rates for men were 7.9 and 7 percent, respectively. These sex differentials are considerably larger than the official figures indicate; when job hunting becomes harder, women are more

likely than men to abandon the search because there are fewer jobs available to them. When they do, they are no longer counted among the unemployed.

During the post-World War II period, the impact of unemployment on women, relative to that on men, has been intensifying. From 1947 through 1959, unemployment averaged 11 percent higher for women than men, and in the subsequent years, 1960 through 1976, averaged 31 percent higher.

In addition to its higher incidence, unemployment among women has become a more serious problem for a growing number of families who are increasingly dependent on women's earnings. The proportion of families headed by women rose 43 percent from 1950 to 1976—from 9.3 to 13.3 percent. Furthermore, women's earnings had become far more important to husband-wife families as the labor force participation of wives had increased from 24 to 45 percent—a rise of 89 percent.

III. WOMEN'S INCREASING STAKE IN FULL EMPLOYMENT

Women workers accounted for a considerably larger proportion of the unemployed during the most recent recession than in earlier economic downturns; the increase in their vulnerability is disproportionate to their expanding role in the labor force. In the two economic downturns of the 1950's, as unemployment peaked in 1954 and 1958, women's unemployment represented 34 and 33 percent of total unemployment, respectively. In 1961, another year of high unemployment, women represented 36 percent of the total, somewhat higher than their percentage of the total labor force, which was then 34 percent. In 1976, women comprised 46 percent of all those unemployed, at a time when they were 41 percent of the total labor force. As earlier stated, because of prejudice and seniority system priorities, women find themselves among the last hired and among the first fired when the economy slackens. Equal employment obligations go by the wayside.

Another factor of major concern is the rising incidence of poverty³ among women. During the past 7 years of low economic growth, two recessions and acute unemployment, poverty has been on the increase, with women suffering disproportionately.

The years 1961–68 were characterized by continuous economic expansion. Real GNP advanced at the average annual rate of 4.6 percent a year. The total number of people suffering the hardships of poverty declined from 39.9 million in 1960 to 25.4 million in 1968, or by 36 percent.

From 1969 to 1975, with economic growth interrupted by two recessions, real GNP increased at the average annual rate of only 1.7 percent. The number of those in poverty rose from 24.1 million in 1969 to 25.9 million in 1975, or by 7.5 percent. The number of persons in families in poverty headed by women declined from 7.2 million in 1960 to 7 million in 1968; the number increased to 8.9 million in 1975, which is 27 percent higher than in 1968. In 1975, more than half of related children under the age of 18 and in poverty were in female-headed families.

³ The official U.S. Government figure for the poverty threshold of a nonfarm family of four was \$5,820 in 1976. Telephone conversation with the Bureau of the Census.

Black families headed by women and in poverty suffered more acutely than those headed by white women. The number of their families rose from 700,000 in 1968 to 1 million by 1976, or by 43 percent, compared with a 36-percent increase in the number of poor families headed by white women.

Low economic growth and resulting unemployment in the period 1969-76 actually reduced living standards. Measured in dollars of constant purchasing power, the average weekly earnings of nonsupervisory workers in private nonagricultural employment were lower in 1976 than 1969. Despite the fact that in 1975 a larger proportion of families benefited from women's earnings than in 1969, the median income of all families, measured in constant dollars, was actually lower.⁴

Rampant inflation was a basic element in these living standard declines; post-World War II experience clearly indicated that excessive price rises are now closely associated with high unemployment and low economic growth rates. From 1947 to 1953, the annual rate of real growth averaged 4.9 percent. Unemployment averaged 4 percent during the period and declined to a low of 2.9 percent by 1953. Consumer price rises averaged only 3 percent a year, and in 1953 these prices were less than 1 percent higher than in the previous year.

Similarly in 1960-68, a period of relatively healthy economic growth, unemployment declined continuously from a high of 6.7 percent in 1961 to 3.6 percent in 1968, with price increases averaging less than 2 percent a year.

In contrast, during the years 1969 to 1976, unemployment rose from 3.5 percent to a peak of 8.5 percent in 1975 and remained at the high level of 7.7 percent in 1976, with an average of 5.8 percent for the period; consumer price rises averaged 6.5 percent, or more than three times the rate of advance registered in the preceding 8 years. Prices increased 11 percent in 1974 compared with 1973, were 9.1 percent more in 1975 (when unemployment reached the highest level since the Great Depression) than in 1974, and advanced by another 5.8 percent in 1976.

These comparative trends indicate that a full employment policy does not necessarily have a serious inflationary impact. When our productive resources are underutilized, the unit cost of many products rises, sales shrink, and many industries raise their prices in an effort to reach profit targets nonetheless. When economic expansionary policies are implemented and fuller use is made of plant capacity, productivity gains increase, unit costs fall and sales rise. These developments reduce inflationary pressures.

IV. THE HIGH VULNERABILITY OF MINORITY WOMEN

Minority women are far more vulnerable than white women to economic downturns. Not only is their labor force participation higher; their unemployment rate has averaged about 80 percent above that of white women over the last 26 years. A larger proportion have dependents and their median earnings are lower; as a result, a much greater proportion experience the hardships of poverty.

⁴ The 1976 family income data were not as yet available at time of writing.

Of the 39 million women in the labor force in 1976, 5 million, or 13 percent, were nonwhite (of whom 90 percent were black). For many years, their labor force participation rates have been higher than for white women. In 1950, 47 percent of minority women were in the labor force, compared with 33 percent of white women. This difference has narrowed markedly in subsequent years. By 1976 the labor force participation rate for minority women was 50.2 percent, while that of white women, which had risen far more rapidly, was 46.9 percent. The difference in these labor force participation rates in 1976 would undoubtedly have been greater had minority women not been far more affected by unemployment, both reported and hidden.

During the period 1950-76, recorded unemployment of minority women was 79 percent higher than that of white women, averaging 9.5 percent a year, compared with 5.3 percent. It should be stressed that official unemployment rates are understated to a greater degree for minority women than for white because the higher the unemployment rate for any group, the more likely are its members to give up the job search when times are hard. Thus, larger proportions of them are omitted from the official unemployment statistics.

The greater financial responsibilities of minority women are another factor which undoubtedly would have lifted their employment rates faster had more jobs been available to them. The average income of nonwhite males who are family heads is lower than that of white males who head families; this fact puts added pressure on minority wives to seek employment. Median income of black males who headed their families was \$11,389 in 1975, compared with \$15,094 for white male family heads, or about 25 percent lower; it was \$10,925 for male family heads of Spanish origin, or 28 percent lower than for white male heads of households. Nonwhite heads of families suffered about twice the rate of unemployment experienced by white male family heads throughout the post World War II period.

Furthermore, a far larger and more rapidly growing proportion of nonwhite women than of white women head their families. In March 1976, about a third of all nonwhite families were headed by women, compared with 1 out of 10 white families. The respective proportion had been 21 percent and 9 percent in 1955.

Despite these comparative differences, the occupational pattern of minority women has been improving. In 1955, 55 percent of all employed minority women were in service occupations; this proportion had dropped sharply to 35 percent by 1976. In the latter year, a much larger proportion of minority women were in the more economically advantaged white collar jobs; the proportion had risen from 24 to 46 percent over this same 11 year period.

But there are still marked occupational differences between minority and white women. While 35 percent of minority women were in the service occupations in 1976, this was 86 percent higher than the proportion of white women in this category. And while 46 percent of minority women were in white collar jobs, this compared with 66 percent of white women. These differences, among others, indicate the continuing need for the intensification of efforts to eliminate discrimination on the basis of race as well as sex.

Occupational differences between the two groups of women may be expected to narrow to a greater degree in the years immediately ahead.

This is indicated by the fact that the gap between the occupational status of white and minority women, aged 16-34, is much less than that among women 35 years of age and older. This reflects progress, especially with respect to relative educational opportunities. There is now virtually no difference between the median years of school completed by white and minority women workers (12.5 and 12.3 years, respectively, in 1974). Only 15 years ago, there was a difference of 2.8 years. The percentage of black young women enrolled in college increased nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ fold between 1964 and 1974, while that of white young women a little more than doubled. There is still much to be done, nevertheless, to assure the equalization of education with respect to quality.

Despite remaining inequities, there has been a very important gain made by nonwhite women in recent years which should be stressed. Although, as previously indicated, the gap between the median earnings of men and women for year-round, full-time work has been widening, the gap between the earnings of white and nonwhite women workers has been closing rapidly. In 1939, the median year-round, full-time earnings of nonwhite women were 38 percent those of white women. By 1975, the ratio had risen to 96 percent, reflecting diminishing racial differences in the relative occupational opportunities of the two groups of women. Measured in 1975 dollars, the earnings of nonwhite women for year-round, full-time work increased nearly sixfold from \$1,267 in 1969 to \$7,237 in 1975.

V. UNEMPLOYMENT AND TEENAGERS

No group has a larger stake in full employment than teenaged youth. During 1976, 19 percent of 16-to-19-year-olds were officially recorded as out of work, or nearly one out of five. The rate was 37 percent for minority teenagers, with the rate for minority girls being $3\frac{1}{2}$ percentage points higher than for boys. These rates are even more seriously understated than those for adults, because the doors of employment opportunities are more tightly closed against young people than others. A large proportion of them see no point in pounding the pavement futilely in search of nonexistent jobs, and hence go uncounted among the unemployed.

Officially recorded youth unemployment has grown worse during the post World War II years. In the 1950's, it averaged 11.3 percent; in the 1960's, 14.9 percent; during 1970-76, 16.8 percent; in 1976, teenage unemployment was 24 percent higher than in 1970 and 56 percent higher than in 1950.

To be a minority teenager and female has added greatly to the hazards of unemployment during the past 25 years. Their recorded unemployment rose from 15 percent in 1950 to 31.2 percent in 1965, and to 39 percent in 1976. During the past 26 years as a whole, the unemployment rate for minority girls averaged 25 percent higher than for minority boys aged 16 to 19, and was more than double that for white girls in that age group.

Including those no longer actively searching for a job, at least one out of every two nonwhite teenage girls who need and want jobs remains out of work at the present time. This is a miserable way to enter

into adult life in this the richest Nation in the world, a country fully capable of providing jobs for all. The consequences of years of idleness are appalling to consider, not only for young women, but for society as a whole. Rising teenage unemployment is closely associated with rising juvenile crime rates and higher rates of teenage pregnancy and illegitimate births. To deprive these young people of the chance to use their abilities, to earn income, to get a foothold on the ladder of economic opportunity, and to feel needed, is a tragic and unconscionable human waste our Nation can no longer afford nor continue to tolerate. It will take years for many young people to recover from this current period of intensive job deprivation. Many may never do so.

VI. SOME CHALLENGES TO ACTION

If national economic policies were adopted to reduce unemployment to 4 percent by mid-1981, (3 percent for adults aged 20 and over) about 9 million jobholders would be added to the labor force, over and above the number employed in 1976.

Based on trends during the post-World War II years, an estimated 60 to 65 percent of these jobs would be available to women, for women represent a very large part of the reservoir of potential workers on which a fully growing economy could draw. Unemployment among women, both as recorded officially and hidden, would be reduced far more percentagewise than among men. Welfare outlays would diminish sharply, for many women now on public assistance would want employment and would be able to obtain it. Healthy rates of economic growth would also encourage wage gains for those now earning subsistence wages, the majority of whom are women.

Women would benefit by increased employment not only for themselves, but also for unemployed husbands and secondary members of their families. Higher gains in real wages would also occur in a fuller employment economy, as distinguished from a highly unemployed one.

Optimum real economic growth (about 6 percent annual average, 1976-80), would sharply reduce unemployment, and higher real wages would soon bring a large proportion of those now living in poverty well above the poverty line.

When workers are in growing demand, women will have far better opportunities to compete for promotion and for entry into the labor force at higher levels. While the achievement of full employment would help greatly to redress current inequities, strong nondiscriminatory employment policies would need to be written into whatever job development programs were to be enacted to achieve recovery goals.

Improvement in a number of specific areas would do much to advance women's employment—both qualitatively and quantitatively—whether or not we achieve full employment. The most important areas include antidiscrimination measures, child care, part-time work, changes in social security laws and the equal rights amendment.

A good start would be to implement more effectively the antidiscrimination legislation and orders which already exist. This includes title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Executive Order 11246 as amended by Executive Order 11375 to eliminate employment discrim-

ination by Government contractors, the Age Discrimination Act of 1967, the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 which requires nondiscriminatory employment policy for qualified handicapped individuals, and other measures against job discrimination in specific occupations and industries. Amendments to title VII in 1972 created an Equal Employment Opportunities Council to develop agreements and consistent policies for the large number of Federal agencies involved. Some significant gains resulted, but there is still cause for concern about continuing functional overlap and inadequate implementation.

The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission which administers title VII has fallen far behind in processing complaints of discrimination. It is reported that a backlog of more than 150,000 cases has piled up, with the average complaint pending for more than 2 years.

Numerous investigations of alleged irregularities and mismanagement are in process. It might be more useful to appoint a special Presidential Commission to make an all-inclusive review of the present practices under title VII and other antidiscrimination laws and regulations with a view to recommending consolidation of responsibilities and elimination of overlapping functions.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission, it should be noted, has recommended the consolidation of all Federal equal employment enforcement organizations into a single new agency to be called the National Employment Rights Board. It would have both litigative and administrative authority to enforce one law banning job discrimination in the private sector on the basis of sex, color, religion, age and handicap. Since legislative review and rewrite is clearly essential, this should be given a high order of congressional priority.

The elimination of employment discrimination should be far more vigorously pursued in both the private and public sectors. There are many agencies in the Federal Government which have poor records regarding the hiring and promotion of women. Monitoring of current practices, which has become lax, should be improved. The Congress itself should examine equality for women employed within its own jurisdiction and should take early corrective action. Strong and effectively monitored guidelines to eliminate sex discrimination in connection with revenue sharing are also needed.

Child care is a second area of importance in lowering barriers which limit the work opportunities of women. An increase in Federal appropriations could improve and expand day care services for the children of working mothers; subsidies would help bring these services within the reach of women in the lower and moderate income brackets. The Federal Government has an obligation to children and their families to improve standards of both federally funded and non-funded day care facilities. Every child has a right to be protected against the hazards inherent in seriously substandard out-of-home care.

Greater availability of part-time jobs and flexible work hours is a third area of importance to women workers. This would expand employment opportunities for many women who are presently full-time homemakers, as well as for the elderly and the handicapped. It is vital that the Federal Government itself serve as a pace setter and provide an example to private employers in these areas.

A fourth challenge to action is the need to amend the social security system to assure equity for women and men. One existing inequity affects working wives who contribute to the social security system and earn their own benefit rights. On retirement, they are entitled to those benefits, or to half their husbands', whichever is larger. Often the earned benefits are smaller. In such cases, women's contributions to the system give them no greater entitlement than wives who have never been employed. Women workers have reason to feel they are entitled to more because of the contributions they have paid. Furthermore, even if a working wife's earnings entitled her to a benefit somewhat larger than she would have received as a dependent, she will have paid a disproportionately high tax for that extra amount.

Another type of social security inequity concerns a retired man and wife, both of whom have worked. They may receive less in benefits than a single earner family in which the breadwinner had the same total earnings and paid no more in social security taxes. Still another example is a retired man and wife, both of whom have worked, but who may have paid more in social security taxes; nevertheless, they receive less in benefits than a single earner family which had lower total earnings.

Early passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in the three additional States, necessary to write the amendment into the Constitution, would greatly assist in lowering remaining discriminatory barriers, and is a major national goal.

Reference was made earlier to the fact that women workers in a severely slack economy become the subject of conflicting pressures between the seniority system on the one hand and equal employment rights on the other. The seniority system provides very essential protection to all workers. It should not be weakened, although affirmative employment action must be vigorously pursued. It has become increasingly clear that the full reconciliation of seniority protection and affirmative employment action can only be achieved when there are sufficient jobs for everyone. There is no adequate solution in rationing scarce jobs, but only in achieving jobs in abundance. Full employment is thus vital.

Other targets for action include education and training, vocational guidance, the rights of homemakers and credit and insurance practices.

Continuing high levels of economic activity would enlarge our national capacity to meet human needs. If measures are enacted to assure the achievement of close to full employment by mid-1981, more people will have jobs, more people will earn more money, workers, businessmen, farmers, all people will prosper. Accordingly, our governments, Federal, State and local, will take in more in revenues without increased tax rates. If we achieve the needed rate of growth in the economy averaging annually about 6 percent during the 4 years 1977 through 1980, GNP over this period would be about 440 billion 1976 dollars higher, and total man- and woman-years of employment would be about 9 million higher. Consequently, Federal receipts at existing tax rates would be about \$150 to \$180 billion higher during the same 4-year period. Coupling this with the reductions in Federal outlays for unemployment insurance and other unemployment-related costs, it is easy to see how much more would be available for the great

national priority programs which mean so much to women, among others.

Women especially have a tremendous stake in translating this potential into actuality. A small part of a gain of this magnitude would finance a large part of the national health insurance program we so urgently need. It would make possible significant increases in social security. It would go far toward improving housing and community development. Polluted land, air and water could be improved; increased outlays for education, day care and income supports for those in need and unable to work would be possible. All this and much more would be feasible—including balancing the Federal budget by 1980 or 1981.

One final point should be made. Unfortunately, a number of people appear to have taken the position that women entering the labor force should be regarded as "different" from men. Instead of focusing on how to provide more and better jobs for women, they argue that women—and teenagers too—are less in need of jobs than men, less serious about obtaining them, and less constant in holding them when attained. Consequently, these people argue that we should accept a higher percentage of overall unemployment than years ago, when the ratio of women to men holding jobs was much lower than today.

This position is demeaning to women. Whether women need jobs less than men, or relate differently to the labor force, is not demonstrable and is entirely beside the point. On social, moral and civil grounds, anyone able, willing, and seeking to work has the right to work. This is good for the individual and good for our society. On purely economic grounds, we should overcome all objections to and fear of genuine full employment. The need of our economy and our people for goods and services will far exceed even our great capabilities for the foreseeable future. Desirable increases in income and living standards through private economic expansion have no arbitrary limitations. Public goods and services in high priority areas are woefully short of pressing needs. Our international obligations continue to demand a large share of our total national product. For many years to come, we will continue at best to have less than we legitimately aspire to. The theory that contrived scarcity is the way to restrain inflation or to balance the Federal budget has been tried and has failed. We must commit ourselves, and especially our national policies, to a new era of abundance, justly shared.

We have the means and the knowledge to assure jobs for all who need and want them, to end recurrent recessions, and to eliminate discrimination and inequities in employment, as well as in other aspects of our national life. We need only the will and the galvanizing of the national conscience toward these ends.

MAJOR SOURCES OF STATISTICAL DATA USED

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ON THE WAY TO FULL EQUALITY

BY ISABEL V. SAWHILL*

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Women have a long way to go before they achieve equality with men. Nevertheless, they are on the way, and it is quite certain that the tide will not be turned. Motivated by a new set of aspirations and needs, they are seeking a more favorable position in the social structure, often challenging or modifying the fundamental nature of that structure in the process. Society cannot help but respond. It is the nature of the response that is in question.

Perhaps the major prerequisite to equality is economic independence. With economic independence comes the power to influence events, greater self-reliance, and the satisfaction of contributing one's talents or resources to the world at large. These are the psychological rewards which are pulling women toward more autonomous roles. At the same time, a new set of social and economic realities is also pushing them toward greater economic independence. These realities include a rising divorce rate which means that women cannot necessarily rely on marriage to provide lifelong economic security, an increasing lifespan beyond the childrearing years which leaves older women underemployed at home, and the increasing pressure to have two earners in the family in order to achieve a more adequate standard of living.

These developments have profound implications for both individuals and social institutions, especially the institution of the family. Public policies need to be shaped with these fundamental and far-reaching changes in mind. In what follows, I have attempted to lay out a variety of the policy issues which need to be addressed. The discus-

*Senior research associate, Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.

sion draws heavily on work recently completed by a group of my Urban Institute colleagues who are studying the issues.¹ It centers first on employment policies. But since women's role in the labor market cannot be viewed in isolation from their role within the family or the polity, it then goes on to ask what role policy should play, if any, in meeting a number of other challenges. These challenges include (1) the need to find new ways of dealing with the pressures facing the two-earner family, (2) the need to redesign a variety of existing laws and practices which assume women are men's dependents—laws which have been rendered obsolete by women's new commitment to work outside the home, (3) the need to simultaneously provide dignity and financial security for homemakers and (4) the need to help younger men and women make more informed choices about marriage, childbearing, and careers—choices which will greatly affect not only their own lives, but also the kind of society which emerges in the next century.

I. EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

It is, of course, possible that women's steady march out of the home and into the labor force is a short-lived or reversible phenomenon. How much momentum is there to this trend? When will it level off—as eventually it must? While no one can say with any precision what the future will hold, there are reasons for believing that the rate at which women participate in the labor force will continue its upward trend. First, there has been a remarkable shift in attitudes about women's roles. To take just one example, the proportion of female high school graduates who agreed with the statement "it is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and the family" fell from 75 percent in 1970 to 55 percent in 1974. Among female college graduates, this proportion fell from 46 percent in 1970 to 21 percent in 1974.² In addition to such shifts in ideology, there have been a number of longer run demographic and economic changes which are also likely to affect the number of women seeking to enter the labor market. One such shift is in the timing of births and deaths. Women born in the 1880's could expect the marriage of their last child to coincide with their own or their spouse's death around age 56 or 57. Women born in the 1940's can expect their last child to marry before they are 50 and their own lifespan to extend well into their seventies.³ Thus, the "empty nest" is a relatively new phenomenon, but if fertility rates continue to decline, the nests of the future will be still smaller and could empty out even faster than at present.

In addition, approximately 1 out of every 3 members of this more recent generation (i.e., women currently in their thirties) can be expected to end their first marriage in divorce.⁴ And, even if they remain married, the pressure to contribute their own earnings to fam-

¹ These colleagues include Ralph Smith, Nancy Gordon, Kristin Moore, and Carol A. Jones, who are the "hidden authors" of this paper. The views expressed here, however, are my own and do not represent the opinions of the Urban Institute or its sponsors.

² Karen Oppenheim Mason, John Czojka, and Sara Arber, "Change in U.S. Women's Sex-Role Attitudes, 1964-74" (University of Michigan, August 1975).

³ Karl E. Taeuber and James A. Sweet, "Family and Work: The Social Life Cycle of Women," in "Women and the American Economy," Juanita M. Kreps, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976).

⁴ Paul Glick and Arthur Norton, "Perspectives on the Recent Upturn in Divorce and Remarriage," *Demography*, vol. 10, No. 3 (August 1973).

ily income will increase as the standard of living which a two-earner family can enjoy becomes more common and invites greater emulation. By March 1975, 49 percent of all husband-wife families had both spouses in the labor force.⁵ In short, the old assumptions that every male job can support a family and that every female can count on being a wife and mother for a lifetime have weakened. Thus, even where women have not been touched by the promises of feminist ideals—and many have not—they are increasingly faced with the challenge of earning their own living or of contributing to family income. Once in the work force, many may find the psychological as well as the financial rewards of working compelling. When a sample of 443 employed women was asked if they would continue to work for pay even if they had enough money to live as comfortably as they'd like for the rest of their lives, 59 percent said they would remain in the labor force.⁶

Given these trends, the question facing policymakers is whether the increasing number of women who need or want to work outside the home will be able to find employment. The answer depends on both the overall level of demand in the economy and the extent to which the composition of that demand meshes with the composition of the available labor force. Employment policies have a major role to play in determining the outcome.

A. Macroeconomic Policy

Looking first at the overall level of demand, what are the chances that it will be sufficient to absorb a growing labor force? One idea, which appears to be an article of faith among much of the public, is that there are a fixed number of jobs in the economy and that if women get these jobs, men will suffer. This concern is reminiscent of the debate in the early 1960's about technological unemployment. It was argued then that machines were replacing human labor and that this would lead to chronic unemployment. Similarly, the new popular wisdom argues that as women move from home to marketplace, there will be a glut of workers competing for a limited number of jobs. How much truth is there to such contentions?

Unless one has lost all faith in the ability of monetary and fiscal policy to generate a growing number of jobs to match the needs of a growing labor force, then, at a general level, such fears seem to be misplaced. At the same time, there is some basis for these concerns. First, it is true that rapid changes in the number of people seeking jobs are likely to overtax the short-run capacity of labor markets to absorb them. Even when there is a sufficient number of jobs in the aggregate, the difficult process of matching existing vacancies with the characteristics of job seekers is bound to leave some workers unemployed and some employers with unfilled vacancies. One cannot use an English

⁵ This statistic excludes families in which the husband was not employed. U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, "Employment and Training Report of the President" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), table B-3; Howard Harge, "Families and the Rise of Working Wives—An Overview," Special Labor Force Report 189, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976).

⁶ Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, and Willard L. Rodgers, "The Quality of American Life: Perceptions, Evaluations, and Satisfaction" (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1976).

teacher as a computer programmer, or vice versa. Second, future increases in the rate at which women participate in the labor force may not be correctly anticipated, and if underestimated, the result may be inadequate macroeconomic stimulus and a shortfall in aggregate demand.

Full employment is a moving target; it takes a growing number of jobs to provide for a growing labor force, and women are currently the prime movers of the target. If past trends can be used as a guide, then 6 out of every 10 net additions to the labor force over the next decade will be female. But this is a conservative estimate. The rate at which women have been entering the labor force has been accelerating. Between 1947 and 1965, their participation rate rose from 32 percent to 39 percent. During the past decade alone, their participation rate has risen another 7 points, to 46 percent, or as much as in the preceding 18 years.⁷ And, during the recent recession and recovery, participation rates remained higher than would have been predicted on the basis of behavior during past downturns, catching most economics and macroeconomic planners by surprise. In fact, the unexpected rate at which women have continued to enter the labor force appears to have been partly responsible for the failure of the unemployment rate to fall more quickly during the recovery from the 1974-75 recession.⁸ One thing which is clearly needed, then, is better forecasts of the size of the female labor force in order to prevent costly mistakes in macroeconomic policy. That need is currently not being met. The main source of labor force projections is the Bureau of Labor Statistics. These projections have consistently underestimated the growth in the female labor force. For example, in 1973 BLS published a set of projections that includes a participation rate for women in 1980 that was exceeded in 1974.⁹

As an example of what could happen, suppose that policy planners were to extrapolate the growth of the female labor force on the basis of trends observed during the late sixties and early seventies.¹⁰ Under these conditions, the female participation rate is predicted to be 51.5 percent by 1980, and a 6 percent rate of growth in real GNP would bring the aggregate unemployment rate down to 4.5 percent by the end of the decade. If, however, there were a million additional women wishing to work (bringing their participation rate up to 52.7 percent by 1980), with the same growth in aggregate demand, the unemployment rate would be 4.9 percent instead of 4.5 percent by 1980. Our research suggests that the "extra" unemployment generated by this unexpected labor market participation would probably be more or less equally shared between men and women since many men would be displaced by the availability of a much larger supply of female workers. The lesson to be learned from this hypothetical calculation is

⁷ "Employment and training report of the President," 1976, table A-1.

⁸ Ralph Smith, "Unemployment and Labor Force Growth" (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, October 1976).

⁹ D. F. Johnson, "The U.S. Labor Force: Projections to 1990," Special Labor Force Report 156 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1973), and C. T. Rowman and T. H. Morland, "Revised Projections for the U.S. Economy to 1980 and 1985," *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 99 (March 1976), pp. 9-21.

¹⁰ The hypothetical set of calculations reported here were worked out by Ralph Smith, using the Urban Institute's labor market model. For details see Ralph Smith, "The Impact of Macroeconomic Conditions on Employment Opportunities for Women," prepared for the U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, series on "Achieving the Goals of the Employment Act of 1946—30th Anniversary Review" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, Jan. 3, 1977).

clear; more accurate forecasts of the size of the female labor force is one prerequisite to the effective implementation of macroeconomic policy.

1. EFFECT OF FEAR OF INFLATION

But let us assume that the growth in the potential female labor force (that is, the number of women who would want to work if the economy were at full employment) will be anticipated with some success and turn our attention instead to the adequacy of aggregate demand. It is, of course, the fear of inflation which largely inhibits the full utilization of macroeconomic measures to achieve or maintain full employment. While inflation can impose hardships on certain groups and lead to economic distortions, the costs of a sluggish or depressed economy may be even higher—both in terms of the lost output which idle workers could be producing, or in terms of the human costs associated with loss of income, impaired self-esteem, and disappointed aspirations. We know that these latter costs are unevenly distributed. What portion of the costs is borne by women? Some answers have been provided by my colleague, Ralph Smith.¹¹ His findings can be summarized as follows. During the 1974–75 recession, the number of people unemployed rose by 3.6 million; of these 38 percent were women and 62 percent were men. In addition, it is estimated that another 0.9 million people would have been looking for work had job prospects been more encouraging. Adding these discouraged workers to the unemployed gives an estimate of 4.5 million people left jobless by the recession. Of these, 40 percent were women and 60 percent were men. Since women held 39 percent of the total jobs in the economy at the start of the recession, it does not appear that they suffered disproportionately. Rather, one could conclude from these figures that the recession was an equal opportunity disemployer.

Smith's analysis indicates that the main reason women did not do worse is because the recession struck hardest at industries and occupations in which few women are employed. Jobs in the construction and durable goods industries declined substantially; neither industry had many women on their payrolls. The major sources of jobs for women—retail trade and services—were least affected by the recession. Had the recession struck all industries with equal force, about 500,000 more women would have lost jobs. So a more pessimistic interpretation is that the recession was an equal opportunity disemployer only because of the occupational segregation of the labor force. In terms of maintaining their share of jobs in each industry or occupation, women failed to do so. Our research suggests that this was more because women entering the labor force had difficulty finding jobs rather than because women already employed were laid off in large numbers.

Women's employment share rose, of course, in some industries, but declined in others. The most notable decline occurred in the durable goods manufacturing sector. In that industry—where massive layoffs occurred and where seniority rules prevailed—women lost about 100,000 more jobs in 1975 than they would have if the employment losses had been proportionate to previous employment.

¹¹ Smith, "The Impact of Macroeconomic Conditions."

2. IMPACT OF RATE OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY ON WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS

Smith has also looked at the likely impact of the rate at which the economy recovers from the recession on women's employment prospects for the rest of the decade. He compares two alternative recovery paths, which correspond to the two sets of macroeconomic assumptions used by the Congressional Budget Office to make budget estimates through fiscal year 1981.¹² Under path A, which assumes a 6-percent growth rate in real GNP, the unemployment rate would fall from 8.5 percent in 1975 to 4.5 percent in 1980; under path B, which assumes a 5-percent growth rate in real GNP, the unemployment rate would still be above 6 percent in 1980.

As indicated in table 1, a relatively sluggish recovery would have more impact on the male than on the female unemployment rate.¹³ Under path B the male unemployment rate would be 2.1 percentage points higher and the female unemployment rate only 1.4 percentage points higher than under path A. But a comparison of their jobless rates—which measure both discouragement and unemployment—leads one to quite a different conclusion. Under path B, the male jobless rate would be 2.3 percentage points higher and the female jobless rate 3.3 percentage points higher than under path A. What these numbers mean, in short, is that if fears of inflation or other factors lead to a timid application of macroeconomic policy and if this retards the recovery, many women who would have otherwise worked will not have the opportunity to do so. Some, but by no means all, of these women will join the ranks of the unemployed. The rest will join the ranks of discouraged housewives, students, welfare recipients, early retirees, and just plain dropouts from the system. For the individuals involved, the financial and emotional toll entailed is difficult to estimate, but likely would be considerable. For society as a whole, there would be a loss of output and of the tax revenues which additional growth produces.

TABLE 1.—EFFECTS OF ALTERNATIVE MACROECONOMIC SCENARIOS ON MEN AND WOMEN
[Effects of rapid (6 percent) versus slow growth (5 percent) in real GNP; assuming past trends in the labor force participation rates of women continue in the future]

	Path A rapid growth	Path B slow growth	Percentage point difference
Estimated unemployment rate for 1980:			
Female.....	5.4	6.8	1.4
Male.....	3.8	5.9	2.1
Total.....	4.5	6.3	1.8
Estimated jobless rate for 1980:			
Female.....	6.2	9.5	3.3
Male.....	4.1	6.4	2.3
Total.....	5.0	7.7	2.7

¹² "Five-Year Budget Projections, Fiscal Years 1977-81" (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Budget Office, Jan. 26, 1976). These are not predictions of future economic conditions.

¹³ Working women's share of the gains from the recovery will depend, as already indicated, on the extent to which the proportion of women seeking to participate in the paid labor force continues to rise. It will also depend on their success in entering new fields, as discussed in the next section of this paper. The estimates presented in table 1 abstract from these two kinds of changes; they are based on a labor market model which implicitly assumes that past trends and patterns in the employment of men and women will continue.

B. Microeconomic Policy

Even assuming a more healthy recovery along growth path A, the overall unemployment rate would still be 4.5 percent by 1980 and considerably higher than this among women and other disadvantaged groups. However, any attempt to push the unemployment rate still lower by macroeconomic means alone would probably involve an unacceptable degree of inflation. In fact, these inflationary pressures may well reassert themselves long before even this low level of unemployment is achieved. It will be important, then, to supplement fiscal and monetary policy with a more selective set of employment or income (wage-price) policies. One can more successfully navigate between the Scylla and Charybdis of inflation and unemployment if an appropriate set of structural measures can be designed and implemented. On the employment side, these measures need to be targeted at groups with above-average unemployment rates: Teenagers, women, and minorities. With the possible exception of minorities, one characteristic these groups have in common is a lack of recent labor market experience. Rather than moving from one job to another, these groups must make the more difficult transition from school to work or from work in the home to work in the market. That this is a much more important reason for female than for male unemployment is indicated in table 2. Moreover, during periods of relatively full employment, people attempting these transitions usually account for about half of those who are out of work. In 1973, for example, when the total unemployment rate was 4.9 percent, the proportion of the unemployed who were new entrants or reentrants to the labor force was 46 percent.¹⁴ Granted that this transition is difficult, that it affects women more than men, and that it becomes an increasingly important factor for unemployment as economic conditions improve, what can be done about the problem?

TABLE 2.—1975 UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY REASON FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

	Adult male	Adult female
Total unemployment rate.....	6.7	8.0
Lost last job.....	5.1	4.0
Left last job.....	.6	1.1
Reentered labor force.....	1.0	2.6
Never worked before.....	.1	.3

Source: "Employment and Training Report of the President," 1976, table A-25.

1. TRANSITION PROGRAMS FOR INEXPERIENCED WORKERS

One approach would be to establish special employment programs for inexperienced workers—programs designed to ease the transition into the labor force. For example, special apprenticeships at below-market wage rates might be established in a wide variety of fields. The lower wages would provide an incentive for employers to hire and train inexperienced workers. The Government's role could be confined to certifying the training component and duration of the programs, encouraging their development (perhaps through demonstration pro-

¹⁴ "Employment and Training Report of the President," 1976, table A-25.

grams or modest subsidy of development costs), and removing possible barriers to the payment of below-market wages, including in some cases, wages below the legal minimum. This proposal has much in common with the idea of creating a youth differential in the minimum wage, except that it incorporates a more explicit training component and is targeted at all inexperienced workers, not just teenagers. Older women entering the labor force after a lengthy absence might be prime beneficiaries, for example. As with the minimum wage proposal, however, some concern would undoubtedly be voiced about the possible displacement effects for experienced workers and more thought would need to be given to the eligibility requirements for entry into the program and its possible direct and indirect effects.

If properly structured, special apprenticeship programs could also help women to acquire the necessary on-the-job training to break into new fields. Certainly, women's future employment prospects are likely to depend as much on the composition of demand as on the overall rate of growth in economic activity. Thus, we need to know which occupations are likely to expand most rapidly, and whether women will be ready to move into nontraditional fields. The existing occupational segregation of the male and female work force has been well documented. It is the primary reason for women's lower pay and may also increase their unemployment. Although some of the segregation may be related to women's less continuous work history, a great deal of it appears to be a direct result of cultural stereotypes which affect both employers' and women's attitudes in a mutually reinforcing fashion.

2. JOB SEGREGATION AND PRICE STABILITY

To understand the importance of this issue for the future, assume for simplicity that the economy is divided into just two occupations; one (which we can call M) is reserved for men and the other (which we can call F) is reserved for women. Now assume that 5 out of every 10 new job openings are in M and 5 in F, but that 6 out of every 10 new workers coming into the labor force is female. Clearly, this would lead to an upward pressure on male employment and wage rates and a corresponding downward pressure on female employment and wage rates—unless women seek jobs and are permitted or encouraged to work in the male sector. Moreover, since the upward pressure on male wage rates is likely to be greater than the downward pressure on female wage rates (because of institutional rigidities which inhibit employers from cutting wages), such imbalances are likely to increase wages and prices, even before all resources are fully employed. Thus, occupational segregation makes it more difficult to simultaneously achieve full employment and price stability through macroeconomic measures.

The above scenario assumes that female jobs will not expand as rapidly as the female labor force. The reverse is also quite possible, but since the great majority of new workers will almost certainly be women, the demand-supply balance is likely to favor men unless there is rapid growth in the female sector of the job market or significant new job opportunities for women in nontraditional fields. Whatever the case, both a well-functioning economy and greater equality for

women require breaking down the sex-typing of occupations. There will be debate about whether this is best accomplished through affirmative action programs, through counseling adolescent women, or through a general shift in socialization practices which affect even very young children, but probably all three will need to play a role. The time frames in which they will be effective are, of course, very different.

Affirmative action programs may have the smallest direct impact but one which is at least immediate. Unfortunately, the effectiveness of these programs has been undermined by administrative inefficiency, the inadequacy of resources committed to enforcement, and a misallocation of these limited resources to the processing of individual cases rather than to rooting out endemic patterns and practices of discrimination.¹⁵ If implemented properly, the longer run effects of these equal opportunity programs are potentially great. The kind of incremental progress which is currently taking place under their auspices becomes the basis for a cumulative and more fundamental change in attitudes.

3. JOB SENIORITY

Finally, it is important to note that the level of overall demand and the composition of employment interact in a number of important ways. We have already seen that women did not fare too badly during the recent recession because of their occupational and industrial distribution. As they move into male-dominated industries which are more cyclically sensitive, the operation of seniority systems in these industries will put a much larger fraction of the female labor force in the unenviable position of being the first to be laid off. One way to reconcile the current conflict between seniority and equal opportunity goals is to find alternatives to the use of seniority systems, such as staggered layoffs or across-the-board reductions in hours and pay for all employees. This has been tried quite successfully in a number of companies or local government agencies.¹⁶

Such arrangements not only seem fairer from an equal opportunity perspective but offer a number of other possible advantages as well. Employers may find that reductions in time worked enhance hourly productivity, and unless offset by higher costs for mandated fringe benefits, or the lower productivity of less experienced workers, this could even reduce unit labor costs. Employees, for their part, may find that shorter hours, even at less pay, dovetail well with their own preferences for leisure over income or with competing demands on their time, such as child care responsibilities or continuing education. In the past, cyclically induced declines in hours worked have been a principal catalyst for a secular decline in the length of the standard workweek.¹⁷ The recent UAW settlement with the Ford Motor Co., points up the growing demand for a shorter workweek. In this case, shorter hours are being demanded with no cut in pay. Over the long run, such settlements ultimately mean less total output, and thus, less

¹⁵ Barbara R. Bergmann, "Reducing the Pervasiveness of Discrimination," in "Jobs for Americans", Eli Ginzberg, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976).

¹⁶ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "Last Hired, First Fired: Layoffs and Civil Rights," draft report, October 1976.

¹⁷ Juanita M. Kreps, "Some Time Dimensions of Manpower Policy," in "Jobs for Americans", Eli Ginzberg, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976).

real income for the workers involved. But workers do not lose their jobs in the process, and this is an important point, because there is growing evidence that it is one's employment status rather than one's income which is most highly correlated with such things as a positive outlook on life, social integration, good health, and family stability.¹⁸

One reason there is a critical need to find new strategies for dealing with the equal opportunity implications of seniority based lay-offs in periods of high unemployment is because relatively little new hiring takes place when the economy is depressed. And, since affirmative action has traditionally operated through the hiring process, progress for women and minorities is likely to be slowed, halted, or even reversed if few or no new hires are taking place. In short, even the best enforced affirmative action programs will not be terribly successful in a no-growth economy.

To summarize, women's move toward greater economic independence depends on the simultaneous pursuit of two goals. First, there must be a commitment to full employment and a growth rate adequate to absorb all those who wish jobs. And second, there must be a commitment to eliminate occupational barriers which lower women's earnings and employment opportunities and contribute to inflationary pressures. Pursuit of either of these goals in isolation from the other is likely to frustrate women's progress toward equality in the labor market. Their progress toward equality will also depend on the extent to which needed adjustments in, and redefinitions of, traditional sex roles occur and on the wisdom with which public policies impacting this broader area are designed. It is these policy issues to which I now turn.

II. WHY EMPLOYMENT POLICIES ARE NOT ENOUGH

Although more employment opportunities are a necessary prerequisite if women are to achieve greater economic independence, they are not sufficient. Public policy must deal with the continuing reality of an uneven division of responsibilities between men and women for home and family life. It must also cope with the dislocations which a rapid change in the actual or perceived status of women imposes on individuals, laws, and social institutions. More specifically, the attention of the Congress and others might usefully be directed to four areas.

First, we could develop policies which might help the growing number of two-earner families cope with their dual responsibilities at home and at work. Second, we could modify existing laws and policies which are obsolete because they assume female dependency as the norm. Third, we might simultaneously retain or design new policies which would protect those individuals (mostly older women) who disproportionately bear the costs of past discrimination or of having earlier adopted a socially approved pattern of dependency. Finally, we cannot ignore those younger women, especially among the poor and less well educated, whose life chances continue

¹⁸ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit.; M. Harvey Brenner, "Estimating the Social Costs of National Economic Policy: Implications for Mental and Physical Health, and Criminal Aggression," U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976).

to be constrained by their own often unintended or uninformed investments in more traditional roles, including very early child-bearing, early marriage, or choice of an overcrowded "woman's" field, including "occupation housewife." Some discussion of these issues is an essential part of the policy debate surrounding the increased commitment of women to work outside the home. This commitment, and our evaluation of it, hinges on the ability of individuals and institutions, especially the institution of the family, to make the needed adjustments.

A. Coping With Dual Responsibilities at Home and at Work

As long as women have two jobs—one at home and one in the market—while men have only one, it will be impossible for women to compete on an equal basis with men in the labor market. A great deal of research has been devoted to showing the impact of women's more discontinuous and limited work experience, their constrained geographic mobility, and the shorter hours they work on their earnings and occupational status. Moreover, time budget studies suggest that women have less leisure, on the average, than men because of their dual responsibilities. And, perhaps most importantly of all, we need to be concerned about what will happen to children as fewer and fewer of them can count on the full-time care of one parent.

There are a number of possible solutions to the problems engendered by the double burden of job and family which so many women now face. One is greater male-female sharing of housework and child care, with the division of responsibilities reflecting the true preferences and abilities of the individuals involved rather than being culturally predetermined. A second is a trend toward smaller families, increased childlessness, and a general deemphasizing of home-centered activities. A third solution involves delegating the care of children and other household tasks to more specialized institutions: schools, day-care centers, commercial cleaning establishments, restaurants, and so forth. A fourth possibility would be to monetize the work which presently takes place within the family, perhaps providing salaries to all those who care for young children, as is currently done in Hungary, or providing vouchers which can be used for child care within or outside of the home. Finally, new ways of organizing work in the market—such as more flexible or shorter hours, more conveniently located workplaces, and less emphasis on transferring employees to new geographic locations—could help to meet the needs of two-earner families. In the confines of this paper it is not possible to even begin to lay out all the alternative policies which might be developed in these areas, their costs and benefits, and their ultimate impact on social institutions and people's behavior. Much more thought needs to be devoted to these questions. But it is important that all possible alternatives be looked at before social policy coalesces around any single approach or fails to recognize the need for multipronged strategies. One alternative, of course, is to do nothing new on the policy front. This alternative has its own set of implications—neglected children? declining fertility? lower female labor force participation? greater responsiveness of private markets?—which also need to be explored.

B. Modifying Existing Policies Which Are Based on Outmoded Assumptions About Sex Roles

The number of policies and practices that have fallen into this category are legion, although many are currently under attack or have been recently changed in response to feminist demands, new legislation, or challenges in the courts. Examples include fringe benefit and pension policies, child custody and support decisions in contested divorces, jury and military service, protective labor laws, credit granting practices, and so forth. Of particular significance, however, because they directly affect the economic position of all individuals and families, are our social security and income tax laws. Although these laws do not discriminate against women per se (except in the case of a few minor provisions) they are structured in a way which favors families in which there is a homemaking spouse over those with husband/wife earners. Thus, individuals who do not pursue a lifetime of marriage to one person, with each spouse performing his/her traditional roles, are generally penalized.

More specifically, the social security system is plagued by two major problems. First, since the Social Security Act was initially introduced in the mid-thirties, the labor force participation of wives has increased threefold, with the result that more and more women are paying social security taxes. Yet most face the prospect of receiving benefits no larger or only slightly larger than had they stayed home and contributed nothing to the system. As the number of two-earner couples increases, it is likely that they will eventually gain sufficient political strength to rebel against what is essentially a subsidization of households with dependent adults by those without them.

A second problem stems from the fact that women who devote their lives to homemaking are not insured as individuals, but only as their husbands' dependents, putting them in a vulnerable position should their marriage end in divorce. If the traditional marriage is viewed as an equal partnership to which each spouse contributes valuable goods and services over some period of time, then they should both share equally in the retirement benefits provided by the husband's earnings over the same period. These retirement benefits need to be vested in the individual rather than being conditional on continued "employment" as one man's wife.¹⁹

On the income tax front, the principal issue is whether two couples, one consisting of two earners who receive \$5,000 per year and one consisting of one earner who receives \$10,000 per year, are equivalent for tax purposes. Currently, the tax system treats them as having equal ability to pay, ignoring differences in their work-related expenses or in their leisure time. It also tends to discourage wives from choosing market over nonmarket work, since only the former is taxed. Finally, because single individuals are eligible for lower tax rates than married individuals, two individuals who each have a career and thus benefit little from the income-splitting provisions of the current system, generally find that marriage increases their total tax bill.

A system of individually based income and payroll taxes—with no dependents' benefits—would go a long way toward removing the cur-

¹⁹ Some alternative mechanisms for achieving needed reform in the social security system are currently being explored by my colleague Nancy Gordon.

rent inequities between one- and two-earner families. It would, of course, create incentives for people to marry or live together to the extent that such living arrangements are economically more efficient (that is, to the extent that two or more people can live together more cheaply than they can live apart). Such incentives may be entirely appropriate. Just as the tax system should encourage efficient forms of business organization, so too it would encourage efficient living arrangements. We do not give tax breaks to people who have preferences for more expensive cars. Why then give tax breaks to people who, for reasons of privacy or autonomy, wish to live in the more expensive single person household?

On the other hand, an individually based social security and income tax system would remove some of the advantages now afforded families with a nonemployed spouse: dependents' benefits under social security and the partial subsidization of homemaker services which income splitting currently provides. In effect, income splitting means that the Government shares in the costs of supporting a dependent wife, as any affluent bachelor who takes on a nonemployed wife knows. Unless one wishes to encourage such dependency (perhaps because it is sometimes associated with the provision of child care services), then this subsidization is not appropriate. However, some grandfathering in of current benefits and some mechanism to insure the dignity and financial independence of the homemakers of the future—although not necessarily at public expense—deserves further exploration.

In conclusion, one of the challenges in reforming social security and income tax laws is to eliminate current inequities between one- and two-earner families while simultaneously maintaining some protections for those who have devoted some or all of their lives to homemaking. We turn now to a more extended discussion of the relationship between public policy and the status of the homemaker.

C. Protecting the Homemaker

Full-time homemaking is the ultimate form of occupational segregation; very few men have ever chosen this career. Perhaps if it were not such an overcrowded and sex-linked field, it would have greater value and prestige. In the meantime, one cannot ignore the needs of women who have chosen this occupation as their life's work.

As long as a homemaker remains married she presumably contributes her services to the family and shares in the standard of living which her unpaid work and her husband's earnings provide. The financial support which she receives is compensation for services rendered. In this sense she is being "paid," although her "salary" may be largely determined by the success of her husband and only loosely related to her own efforts. The relationship between the two will depend on the extent to which her own home-based efforts contribute to her husband's success and on the extent to which competition in the marriage market matches higher-earning husbands with more accomplished wives. Both spouses may agree that it is best for the wife to devote her time to child care and other home-based activities while the husband specializes in earning the family income. Normally, this arrangement works well, but problems can occur for a number of reasons. First, because the arrangements are informal rather than contractual, each spouse must depend

on voluntary compliance with the terms of the agreement. There is no legal recourse, except divorce, should either party be negligent in performing his or her assigned duties. This informality also tends to undermine the dignity and financial independence of the wife. Second, some husbands are not able to afford homemaking wives. As Carolyn Bell has reminded us, not every job can, or should, support a family.²⁰ And, as long as we have inequalities in earnings, this will continue to be the case. Where one income is insufficient, then it may be necessary for both spouses to work outside the home, leading to all the problems already discussed in connection with the two-earner family. A third and final problem occurs when women who have specialized in being wives and mothers find themselves "unemployed" in mid-career due to a husband's death, or more likely, as the result of a divorce or separation.

The climb in the divorce rate has been proceeding at an unprecedented rate. One result has been an enormous increase in single-parent families, especially those headed by women.²¹ Between 1970 and 1975 alone, the proportion of all children under 18 living in single-parent homes rose from 12 to 17 percent and most of this increase can be traced back to rising marital instability. Nine out of every ten of these children live with their mother, and 44 percent of these female-headed families are poor.²²

Policies are needed then to protect women and children from the financial consequences of divorce. Most women who have devoted themselves to a homemaking career will not be able to earn enough to support their families. The least fortunate may be forced to turn to public assistance, while the more fortunate may receive help from relatives or from their former husbands. But such support is not always forthcoming and it may be small in amount.

Based on new data from a national probability sample, we estimate that about 40 percent of the divorced, separated, and single women eligible to receive child support or alimony from the fathers of their children never receive such assistance. In addition, those who have experienced a history of some support, often receive payments irregularly or for a limited period of time.

Looking at just those women who have received support in a given year, the mean amount of child support and alimony income is about \$2,000 per family per year in 1973 dollars. Typically, this amount goes to support several children and meets about half of the family's subsistence (that is, poverty level) needs. In a given year, only about 3 percent of all eligible female-headed families receive enough in child support and alimony alone to put them above the official poverty level for a family of their size and composition.²³

Many women who have chosen to be full-time homemakers believe that divorce is unlikely (or always happens to someone else) and that

²⁰ Carolyn Shaw Bell, "Should Every Job Support a Family," *The Public Interest*, No. 40 (summer 1975).

²¹ Heather L. Ross and Isabel V. Sawhill, "Time of Transition: The Growth of Families Headed by Women" (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1975).

²² "Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1975," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 287 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, December 1975). "Household Money Income in 1974 and Selected Social and Economic Characteristics of Households," *Current Population Reports*, P-60, No. 100 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1975).

²³ Carol A. Jones, Nancy M. Gordon, and Isabel V. Sawhill, "Child Support Payments in the United States" (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, Oct. 1, 1976).

when it does occur, child support or alimony will be paid. The facts cited here suggest that the risks are higher than commonly believed. As in the case of social security benefits, there may be a need to develop new policies and mechanisms which insure that homemakers receive their fair share of the return on an earlier investment in marriage and a husband's career. In principle, life insurance, social security, and alimony or child support all help to protect the homemaker from the "unemployment" which divorce or death are likely to bring. Perhaps in the future, husbands who have homemaking wives will be asked to contribute to State unemployment compensation funds as well. Combined with education, retraining, counselling, and other services for the displaced homemaker, such protection could be a valuable buffer against the poverty faced by many female-headed families.

Not all women who head families are the victims of a death or a divorce. Many are younger women whose economic plight is the consequence of unwanted childbearing at an early age. In general, younger women who have not yet decided whether to be homemakers, to have careers, or to combine both, face a very different set of circumstances than older women and their situation calls for a different kind of policy response.

D. Creating Options for Younger Women

Although traditional roles and occupations are not to be disparaged if freely chosen, we know that young women often enter them with little preparation, and with almost no knowledge of the alternatives or of the consequences of their decisions. Far more easily than in the past, young women can choose a variety of lifestyles. They have greater freedom to engage in sexual activity before marriage; they also can continue their education to relatively advanced levels. They have more control over the size of their families and a much wider range of occupational choices. If they seize on some of these new opportunities, new options will be created for men as well. But with these new options come the need to make harder decisions about sex, marriage, childbearing, and careers, and to have better information about the consequences of various choices. Educators, the research community, Government agencies and others have special responsibility to make sure that the choices are both available and their implications understood. Furthermore, Government programs themselves should be scrutinized with a view to determining whether they bias people's decisions in particular directions and whether these biases are desirable. A young woman, for example, who receives a Government subsidy if she has a child out of wedlock but not if she marries, or has an abortion, faces what most people would consider an inappropriate set of incentives.

In general, the point is that one's life chances are often determined, or at least severely constrained, by decisions and events occurring at an early age. One of the most critical events in the life of a young woman is the birth of her first child. Depending on when and under what circumstances this birth occurs, she may drop out of school, leave the labor force, go on welfare, or abandon a career.

Because we believe these consequences are important, we are taking a close look at this whole area in research currently underway at the Urban Institute. Some useful information has already been compiled

by Kristin Moore and Steven Caldwell. One of their findings is that adolescent sexual activity is on the rise. Whereas about 64 percent of females born in 1950 engaged in sexual intercourse before age 20, 90 percent of those born in 1962 are expected to do so.²⁴ Unless offset by the increased availability and utilization of contraception and abortion, this will lead to more adolescent pregnancy and childbearing, much of it out of wedlock, with possible adverse consequences for the mothers, their children, and society. For example, pregnancy is the most frequent single reason that girls drop out of school. Data for 1972 indicate that 80 percent of the school-age girls who become pregnant leave school and never return to formal education. Although title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 forbids schools receiving Federal money from excluding pregnant students, the heavy financial and personal demands of child care often result in school-age mothers never completing their education. Naturally, the lack of education reduces the mother's earning potential and leads to greater welfare dependency. According to our best estimates, at least 60 percent of the children born out of wedlock between 1954 and 1972 and not given up for adoption were on AFDC (aid to families with dependent children) in 1973.²⁵

Contraceptive use among young and unmarried people is distressingly inadequate. Among teenagers surveyed in a 1971 study, fewer than half used a contraceptive the last time that they had sex.²⁶ Perhaps the recent Supreme Court decision that minors do not need parental consent to obtain contraceptives will change this situation. Our research does indicate that the availability of subsidized family planning services reduces the number of premarital pregnancies.²⁷ Unfortunately, only about 40 percent of the U.S. women estimated to be in need of subsidized family planning services actually obtained them in 1974.²⁸

All this implies that the public and policymakers need to acknowledge that teenagers are sexually active and in need of birth control services. Given the inadequate use of contraception, legal abortion may represent the best available option open to a woman with an unwanted pregnancy. For low-income women, financing of such abortions through Medicaid is essential. Recent court rulings suggesting that such financial assistance is their constitutional right are a welcome antidote to congressional backsliding in this important area.

Family planning and abortion are important not only because of their direct effects in preventing unwanted childbearing and its immediate consequences, but also because they preserve so many other options. Economic independence for a young woman means a chance to delay childbearing until she has acquired sufficient education and experience to make an informed and conscious choice and has the resources to support a child either with or without the help of a male

²⁴ Kristin A. Moore and Steven B. Caldwell, "Out-of-Wedlock Pregnancy and Childbearing" (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, September 1976).

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ John Kantner and Melvin Zelnick, "Sexual Experience of Young Unmarried Women in the United States," *Family Planning Perspectives*, vol. 4, No. 4 (October 1972), p. 8.

²⁷ Moore and Caldwell, *op. cit.*

²⁸ Alan Guttmacher Institute, New York, N.Y.

partner. It also means the right to know about the pros and cons of other alternatives, including careers in areas not open to women in the past. Whether such alternatives are available depends, in part, on the success of the employment policies discussed earlier. In this sense, we have now come full circle.

III. CONCLUSIONS

Without job opportunities, everyone's options are limited. As I write this concluding section, the overall unemployment rate is hovering around 7 percent. This is not a full employment economy by anyone's definition. We have seen that in the absence of a strong recovery we can expect a slower rate of female entry into the labor force in the future and continued high unemployment rates for both men and women as they compete for a limited number of jobs.

I can think of only two reasons for accepting these consequences. One is fear of inflation; but this is more an argument for developing selective employment policies than for doing nothing at all. The creative design and implementation of such policies should be high on the public agenda.

A second reason for tolerance of high rates of unemployment may stem from assumptions about the welfare implications of this unemployment. People do not view the unemployment of a married woman in as serious a light as the unemployment of a male breadwinner, or the plight of a teenager unable to find his or her first job as equivalent to that of an experienced worker who has lost a job. I do not believe we know as much about these welfare implications as most people assume. We do not have very good data on the income available to the unemployed, nor is income the only measure of hardship or of longer term debilitating effects, some of which are non-economic in nature. The result has been a tendency to look at unemployment rates by demographic categories and to assume that these categories provide good proxies for economic need. The discussion would be more useful if we had a better understanding of why some groups have higher unemployment rates than others and of the seriousness of these various types of unemployment for human welfare.

Finally, whatever their effects on the distribution of income and welfare, high unemployment rates and the discouragement of labor force participation which accompanies them, imply a loss of real output to the economy, with a corresponding reduction in the standard of living. Many women, especially, are underemployed within the home. They have some valuable domestic tasks to perform, but these tasks may not fully occupy their time or energies once their children are grown or in school. If there were more jobs available—especially jobs with flexible schedules—many of these women would work. No one knows the exact size of this pool of available resources. The women involved do not get picked up in the unemployment statistics, but they are underemployed. Such hidden underemployment represents a lost opportunity and thus imposes a burden on our entire society. We can conclude that a full employment economy would make available more jobs for women, with a corresponding higher standard of living for all Americans.

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Part II. OVERCOMING BARRIERS

THE LEGAL ROAD TO EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY: A CRITICAL VIEW

BY MARY C. DUNLAP *

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This article has a single aim: it proposes to assess the extent to which the Federal courts have implemented title VII of the Civil Rights Act, as applied to sex-based discrimination in employment, and through a critical eye it seeks to recommend ways by which the Nation may be brought closer to affording and enjoying equal employment opportunity without regard to sex.

Only the most uninformed or partisan observer of Federal legal developments in the area of employment discrimination over the past 10 years would venture to term the entire process either a stunning success or an abysmal failure. Instead, an accurate description of the outcomes of this process, centering upon legally initiated change in the direction of equal employment opportunity, must range the spectrum between these extreme characterizations of success and failure. We must look to the hazy middle, where the realities—landmark judicial decisions concerning discrimination in employment; thousands of discrimination claimants without the means of bringing their cases to court; overburdened bureaucracies charged with policing affirmative action; responsive institutions and recalcitrant ones—play across a screen of evaluative description.

At the center of our screen stand certain persistent patterns: Women workers remain disparately undercompensated, underutilized and underemployed. Simultaneously, a greater and greater percentage of women are seeking to join the labor force, and an increasing number of women work for necessities. Ethnic minority women continue to face double discrimination, resulting in the intensification of patterns of discrimination for these women workers. Changes wrought by anti-discrimination laws are virtually invisible in comparative studies of the gross statistical measures of sex-based discrimination.

*Attorney and teacher employed by Equal Rights Advocates, Inc., in San Francisco, Calif. A plaintiffs' counsel in several title VII cases, challenging a variety of employment practices for sex and racial discrimination.

Yet it is the view of this author that the consequences of anti-discrimination laws in general, and of title VII of the U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1964 in particular, have been formidable. Title VII phenomena will be the focus of this article's descriptive section, because these phenomena are so highly relevant to the issue: where does the female worker stand in the U.S. economy in 1976, insofar as her congressionally created legal right to be free from sex-based discrimination in employment is concerned?

I. SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT GOES TO COURT

Discrimination on account of sex appears in myriad forms, from overt exclusion of women from particular types of work and management levels, through somewhat subtler deprivations of equal opportunity purportedly or actually connected to pregnancy, child rearing, "averages" of size, strength and physical ability, and norms of pre-employment experience and conditioning, to employer retaliation against activist women who object to discrimination in employment. The vast majority of female white-collar workers are tracked into office and clerical work, and the vast majority of female blue-collar workers are tracked into the lowest paid and least responsible positions, often as unskilled laborers. After more than a decade of title VII litigation involving sex discrimination in employment, these patterns of stratification, underutilization and disparate compensation remain generally unchanged in the Nation's workforce.¹

One factor to be considered in any explanation of the great distance between the antidiscriminatory theory of title VII and socioeconomic reality for women workers consists of the actual results of title VII litigation involving sex-based discrimination. Let us take, for example, the frequency of class relief in discrimination cases brought under title VII. Case decisions reported² for the years 1965 through mid-1975 indicate that in only 13 percent of all sex discrimination cases have courts ordered any class relief, to wit, injunctions benefiting groups of workers, back pay awards to groups, and related remedies. (See table 1, below.) By contrast, 24 percent of all race-discrimination cases reported³ for this period resulted in court-ordered relief to classes. Nor has the rate of court-ordered class relief shown an increase in recent years, in either race or sex discrimination cases. (See table 1, below.)

Awards of class relief may well be the most accurate quantifiable indicator of the applied strength of title VII in the courts. This is because class relief is supposed to be awarded under title VII whenever a policy or practice of an employer, employment agency or labor organization has harmed a protected group by discrimination, necessitating relief to the class to make it whole. Reality differs sharply from this principle: class relief has been hard-won under title VII, and it is not frequent.

¹ "A Statistical Portrait of Women in the United States," Current Population Report, Series P-23, No. 58, pp. 26-46 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, April 1976).

² Volumes 1 through 9 of Commerce Clearinghouse's "Employment Practices Decisions" constitute the data base of tables 1 and 2 of this article. There is no publication that reports all title VII decisions.

³ See footnote 2, *supra*.

Table 1 illustrates this proportion about the relative infrequency of court-ordered class relief in sex discrimination cases, and about the general infrequency of class relief in both race and sex discrimination cases.

TABLE 1.—A DECADE OF TITLE VII LITIGATION: CLASS RELIEF¹ WON BY COURT ORDER²

Period of decisions ³	By type of case				By sex of plaintiff(s)			
	Race discrimination cases		Sex discrimination cases		Plaintiff(s) male		Plaintiff(s) female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1965 to early 1968.....	11	20	1	6	11	22	1	5
Mid 1968 to early 1970.....	20	31	3	12	16	31	3	12
Mid 1970 to mid 1971.....	14	30	4	24	15	31	3	19
Late 1971 to mid-1972.....	13	27	1	4	14	36	1	3
Late 1972 to mid-1973.....	11	20	6	18	13	24	4	11
Late 1973 to end of 1973.....	20	39	3	12	20	42	3	10
End of 1973 to mid-1974.....	8	17	8	19	8	20	8	17
Mid-1974 to late 1974.....	6	10	3	7	7	14	2	4
End of 1974 to mid-1975.....	8	25	6	14	8	22	6	16
Overall: 1965 to mid-1975.....	111	24	35	13	112	27	31	10

¹ "Class relief" quantified in table 1 includes every order containing an award of back pay to a group, or injunctive relief to a group, or goals and/or timetables or any combination of these remedies. 42 U.S.C., sec. 2000e-5(g) governs dispensation of these remedies.

² Because settlements made prior to trial are only reported on a sporadic basis, these figures cannot and do not include settlements made prior to trial. It must be emphasized that most title VII cases do not go to trial; the adequacy and effectiveness of consent decrees in sex discrimination cases is a subject worthy of thorough and separate review.

³ These dates in table 1 roughly correspond to the decisionmaking periods encompassed by vol. I through 9. See footnote 2, supra.

Perhaps in the first decade of title VII cases, Federal judges primarily have been engaged in defining "sex-based discrimination in employment," rather than in remedying it. It does seem that the first 10 years of this type of litigation have been absorbed in laying the basic boundaries of judicial interpretation of title VII where claims of sex-based discrimination in employment have been at issue. To assess the futuristic utility of title VII litigation as a means of achieving equal economic opportunity for women, an examination of these basic judicially laid boundaries and their legal and societal significance is required. In this assessment, let us begin with the first decade of title VII decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court.

A. The Supreme Court's Role: Long Rather Silent and Now Spoken

While deciding numerous cases concerning racial discrimination claims under title VII between 1965 and 1975, until 1976 the U.S. Supreme Court had offered its views in but one case concerning a sex discrimination claim under title VII, entitled *Phillips v. Martin-Marietta Corp.*, 400 U.S. 542 (1971).⁴ The title VII race discrimination decisions of the Supreme Court cover a wide array of significant issues, such as: When will a prima facie neutral employment practice be found to violate title VII's prohibition against racial discrimination?⁵ What must an individual denied employment show to prove

⁴ *Phillips* was decided in a per curiam opinion, remanding the case for a determination of the validity of the employer's claim that sex was a "bona fide occupational qualification" (b.f.o.q.) justifying exclusion of mothers of preschool children from its employ. Justice Thurgood Marshall wrote a concurring opinion, which endorsed a narrow view of the "b.f.o.q." exemption in *Phillips*.

⁵ *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*, 401 U.S. 424 (1971).

race discrimination? ⁶ When must back pay be awarded in title VII race cases? ⁷ Will an arbitrator's decision bar a race claim under title VII? ⁸ When may or must a court order an award of retroactive seniority to a class of minority persons under title VII? ⁹ What is the relationship of title VII's 1972 amendments to the Federal employment system? ¹⁰

Toward the end of the first decade of title VII sex discrimination cases presented to the Supreme Court, a group of cases ¹¹ reached the Court, culminating in the decision of *General Electric Co. v. Gilbert*, 45 U.S.L.W. 4031 (12/7/76) (hereinbelow, "*GE v. Gilbert*"). This group of cases raised essentially one issue: Does an employer's exclusion of its employees' disabilities arising from pregnancy, from the benefits of its disability insurance or sick pay program, constitute sex discrimination in violation of title VII? By a 6-3 majority, the Court in *GE v. Gilbert* held that General Electric's exclusion of pregnancy-related disabilities from its disability compensation scheme did not violate title VII, upon the reasoning that this exclusion does not discriminate against women, either overtly or in effect.

In a dissenting opinion, Justice John Paul Stevens observed in pertinent part:

. . . [T]he rule at issue places the risk of absence caused by pregnancy in a class by itself [footnote omitted] . . . By definition, such a rule discriminates on account of sex; for it is the capacity to become pregnant which primarily differentiates the female from the male.

45 U.S.L.W. at 4041.

Also in dissent, Justices William Brennan and Thurgood Marshall noted that, in order to reach its result, the majority had pushed aside the reasoning of six U.S. courts of appeals and of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (E.E.O.C.) and that the majority had "studiously ignore[d]" those parts of the factual record in *GE v. Gilbert* that contradicted its conclusion. *Id.* 45 U.S.L.W. at 4037-4039.

In order to comprehend the tremendous bearing of *Gilbert* upon the status of the female worker in the United States, two areas of the case's impact must be explored. The first area is specific to the central issue raised by the case—now that pregnancy and childbearing may provide legally respected bases for differential treatment of the female employee, whether because of the cost of equal treatment, because of the notion that pregnancy is a personal or family choice for which employers or male employees should not have to bear expenses, or for any other reason, a great loophole has been built into the foundation of title VII's prohibition against sex-based discrimination in

⁶ *McDonnell Douglas Corp. v. Green*, 411 U.S. 807 (1973).

⁷ *Albemarle Paper Co. v. Moody*, 422 U.S. 405 (1975).

⁸ *Alexander v. Gardner-Denver Co.*, 415 U.S. 36 (1974).

⁹ *Franks v. Bowman Transportation Co.*, 44 U.S.L.W. 4356 (1976).

¹⁰ *Chandler v. Rouddebush*, 44 U.S.L.W. 4709 (1976); *Brown v. General Services Administration*, 44 U.S.L.W. 4704 (1976).

¹¹ *GE v. Gilbert*, discussed *infra*; *American Telephone & Telegraph Co. v. Communication Workers of America*, docket No. 74-1601, 44 U.S.L.W. 3067; *Lake Oswego School District v. Hutchison*, docket No. 75-568, 44 U.S.L.W. 3285; *Liberty Mutual Insurance Co. v. Wetzel*, remanded on procedural ground, 44 U.S.L.W. 4350 (1976); *Nashville Gas Co. v. Satty*, docket No. 75-536, 44 U.S.L.W. 3254; *Richmond Unified School District v. Berg*, docket No. 75-1069, 44 U.S.L.W. 3459. After deciding *GE v. Gilbert*, the Supreme Court granted certiorari to review the decisions in *Satty* and *Berg*, *supra*, which involve issues of compulsory pregnancy leave and of employers' refusals to permit disabled pregnant employees to draw accrued sick leave benefits. 45 U.S.L.W. 3508 (Jan. 25, 1977). Thus, the full implications of *GE v. Gilbert* for other claims of sex-based discrimination in the pregnancy context presently remain unresolved.

employment. Pregnancy and childbearing historically have generated, or served to rationalize, a host of discriminatory policies and attitudes that burden the female worker.¹² Indeed, one of the deepest roots of sex discrimination is planted here: Since some women (and no men) become mothers, all women (and no men) may be reasonably viewed as temporary, economically unreliable and even whimsical participants in the world of nondomestic work; they are worthwhile as workers only until pregnancy (or even, only until marriage); the costs of equal training, promotions, and other employer investments are therefore wasted on them.

It is sensible to observe that this disparaging socioeconomic perspective upon the role of the female worker in this country's economy, given the force of law in the context of the Supreme Court's determination in *GE v. Gilbert* as to what constitutes sex discrimination under title VII, threatens to reverse every advance in the struggle of millions of women workers for equal employment opportunity through law. To give employers the legal option of minimizing the costs of their operations, on the circular ground that pregnancy renders all women a risky or expensive labor resource, legally re-franchises and reinforces the cycle of economic instability arising from employment discrimination against women.

If the Court had rejected the invitation offered by the employer in *GE v. Gilbert*, and if the Court had refused to return women to a legal position of presumed unreliability in the work force, then future uses of title VII would offer strength in the process of uprooting sex discrimination in employment of a magnitude comparable to title VII's strength in the process of uprooting racial discrimination in employment.¹³ If *Gilbert* had been decided in favor of those discriminated against, lower courts that have waffled or wavered from the straightforward purpose of title VII in sex discrimination cases would have received an unambiguous prescription and direction from the Supreme Court: Sex discrimination in employment can no more be legally defended by arguments about the expensiveness or hazardousness of affording equal opportunity than can racial discrimination in employment. Under *GE v. Gilbert*, the lower courts have received no such direction.

Examination of the second area of impact of *Gilbert*, closely related to the first, assures that the importance of the Supreme Court's decision in *Gilbert* has not been overstated so far. In *Gilbert*, the Supreme Court was called upon to determine whether the action of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, in promulgating a strong, decisive guideline mandating equal treatment of pregnancy-related disabilities by employers, should be given great deference by the Federal courts.

¹² A thorough account of the multiform nature of pregnancy-based discrimination against women was rendered to the Court in the brief amici curiae of National Organization of Women et al. on behalf of petitioner in the case of *Liberty Mutual Insurance Co. v. Wetzel*, see footnote 13, supra, in 1975.

¹³ This article contains several references to the stringently antidiscriminatory interpretations of title VII made by courts deciding race discrimination cases. These references go to decisions such as those cited in footnotes 7-11, supra. The author surely does not seek to imply by these references that all courts at all times have followed those strict principles in race discrimination cases, but only that those strict principles have received considerable articulation in judicial precedents, including a line of Supreme Court decisions in title VII cases. This line of decisions has been menaced by the shadow of *Washington v. Davis*, 44 U.S.L.W. 4789 (1976), but the basic rule of *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* (see footnote 7, supra) still appears to hold a majority upon the Supreme Court. Cf. *GE v. Gilbert*, 45 U.S.L.W. 4037 (concurring opinions of Blackmun, J. and Stewart, J.).

The Supreme Court's declaration that great deference is due to the EEOC's guidelines, presented in its decision of *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*, 401 U.S. 424 (1971), was tested for the applicability of this principle to sex discrimination cases in *GE v. Gilbert*. Now that the Supreme Court has invalidated the EEOC guideline that was at issue in *Gilbert*, the authority of other guidelines of the EEOC as to sex discrimination—guidelines that condemn sex stereotyping, narrow the "b.f.o.q." (bona fide occupational qualification) exception, prohibit marital status-related sex discrimination, and so forth¹⁴—has been severely undercut.

The necessary generality of the language of title VII itself, which provides little, if any, particularized guidance to courts in the process of defining discrimination, often has been given specific meaning in sex discrimination cases through judicial respect for and application of these EEOC guidelines. Yet the majority opinion in *GE v. Gilbert* points courts away from these guidelines, leaving Federal judges (and employers, employment agencies and labor organizations governed by title VII) with the highly troublesome historical standard of equity, to wit., "the length of their own feet," by which to determine what constitutes sex discrimination in employment.

Worse, the majority opinion points judges deciding sex discrimination cases under title VII into a labyrinth: Under *GE v. Gilbert*, these judges are instructed to look to equal protection decisions in order to ascertain what constitutes unlawful discrimination on account of sex, under 42 U.S.C. 2000e et seq. Since the Supreme Court's equal protection decisions concerning sex discrimination have been so marked by expediency, weakness, and lack of commitment to the principle of legal equality, a great majority of Federal legislators in 1972 saw the need for passage of the equal rights amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The court majority's gesture in *GE v. Gilbert* toward equal protection decisions as a touchstone for defining sex discrimination in employment must be viewed as a predominantly political and nonlegal message to Federal judges. This unsubtle signal reads: "If you want to find your way through (around) the forest of title VII cases, go lose yourselves in the thicket of equal protection precedents."¹⁵

B. Federal District and Circuit Courts: A Critical Look at Title VII's Application to Sex Discrimination Cases

The crucial implications of the Supreme Court's decision in *Gilbert* must not be permitted to overshadow a full assessment of lower court dispositions of sex discrimination cases litigated under title VII during the past decade. For it is Federal district and appellate court decisions that chiefly have written the chapters concerning sex discrimination in the book of title VII, since 1965.

Generally, where employment discrimination on account of sex has appeared to these courts in the form of expressly exclusionary poli-

¹⁴ The EEOC's "Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Sex" are published at 29 CFR sec. 1604.01 et seq. (1972).

¹⁵ Specifically, prior to the passage of title VII in 1964, the Supreme Court had not determined that any of the instances of sex discrimination against women in the employment sphere which were presented to it violated the U.S. Constitution. *Bradwell v. Illinois*, 83 U.S. (16 Wall.) 130 (1873); *Miller v. Oregon*, 208 U.S. 412, 28 S. Ct. 324, 52 L. Ed. 551 (1908); *Goetsart v. Cleary*, 335 U.S. 464, 69 S. Ct. 198, 93 L. Ed. 163 (1948).

cies—*e.g.* Leah Rosenfeld and other women shall not be agent-telegaphers for Southern Pacific because most women are physically incapable of performing this job¹⁶; Celio Diaz and other men shall not be flight attendants for Pan Am because customers prefer women¹⁷—such policies have been found to violate title VII. Likewise, where employment discrimination on account of sex has appeared to these courts in the form of overt reliance upon expressly sex-discriminatory State laws, title VII has been held to have been violated.¹⁸

Subtler, more implicit and more individualized forms of sex discrimination in employment, as well as situations in which the proof of discrimination derives from statistical demonstrations of disparate treatment of women, have received far more uneven treatment by Federal courts. While plaintiffs in sex discrimination cases consistently rely upon the strict rules that have been developed in race discrimination cases under title VII, courts do not necessarily follow. A few major examples should suffice to illustrate this overall pattern of judicial ambivalence toward nonobvious sex discrimination cases.

In a rare title VII decision ordering affirmative action in hiring and promotion on behalf of a class of female employees, the district court made findings that the employer's discrimination against women had been conscious, and that it had resulted in total exclusion of women from particular jobs.¹⁹ In 1976, the court of appeals vacated this trial court's order of goals and timetables for hiring and promotion of women, declaring that the trial court had not specifically found that enough women were qualified to justify the goals, and further proposing that there are differences between sex discrimination and race discrimination under title VII, such that:

... precedents from one area may not be freely interchangeable with those of the other.

Ostapowicz v. Johnson Bronze Co., 12 E.P.D. ¶11, 166 (3rd Cir. 1976).

The reasoning of the court of appeals in *Ostapowicz* is tautological, in that it does not say why this case should not be governed by race discrimination precedents. But, more important, for purposes of this inquiry, is the candor of this appellate court about its view of title VII as applied to sex discrimination.

Relative to comparable race discrimination cases involving discrimination in hiring, placement and promotions, the plaintiff females' case in *Ostapowicz* was compelling and strongly proved, by both quantitative and qualitative evidence.²⁰ Missing, at the level of the court of appeals that vacated the order of goals in *Ostapowicz*, was a sense of the absolute priority of eliminating sex discrimination in employment that courts of appeals have repeatedly²¹ recognized in race discrimination cases.

In another recent and illustrative decision, a district court was presented with statistical showings that the State of Wisconsin had distributed merit and incentive pay in a manner that greatly dis-

¹⁶ *Rosenfeld v. Southern Pacific Co.*, 444 F. 2d 1219 (9th Cir. 1971).

¹⁷ *Diaz v. Pan American Airways*, 442 F. 2d 385 (5th Cir. 1971).

¹⁸ See, for example, *LeBlanc v. Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co.*, 333 F. Supp. 602 (E.D. La., 1971); *Hays v. Potlatch Forests, Inc.*, 465 F. 2d 1081 (8th Cir. 1972); *Krause v. Sacramento Inn*, 479 F. 2d 988 (9th Cir. 1973).

¹⁹ *Ostapowicz v. Johnson Bronze Co.*, 369 F. Supp. 522 (D. Pa. 1973).

²⁰ Compare, for example, *Rios v. Local 638*, 326 F. Supp. 198 (S.D.N.Y. 1971); *Rowe v. General Motors Corp.*, 457 F. 2d 348 (5th Cir. 1972).

²¹ See footnotes 7-12 and 15, *supra*.

avored female employees. Despite the strength of the numerical showings of present discrimination against women employees by the State, the district court granted summary judgment to the State, holding that the plaintiffs must prove, and had not proved, that the State overtly had discriminated against women in the past. *Wisconsin N.O.W. v. State of Wisconsin*—F. Supp.—12 E.P.D. ¶11, 140 (W. D. Wis. 1976).

From these and other similar decisions in sex discrimination cases,²² it is fair to conclude that judicial standards governing disposition of sex discrimination cases have diverged substantially from standards developed in race discrimination cases under title VII.

At least one other 1976 decision brings this reality about judicial treatment of sex discrimination cases out into the open. In *Cramer v. Virginia Commonwealth University*,—F. Supp.—, 12 E.P.D. ¶ 10,968 (E.D. Va. 1976), the plaintiff was a male who sued under title VII because he had been denied employment as a professor because of his sex. The University's defense²³ claimed that it had hired two equally qualified women pursuant to an affirmative action program. Despite the plaintiff male's concession that the University had no improper motive in its action²⁴ and despite his failure to prove that his qualifications exceeded those of the women hired, the district court held in his favor, and declared that affirmative action "only perpetuates discrimination." By contrast, women who have brought title VII claims against universities and colleges for sex discrimination in academic hiring have almost universally seen their claims rejected,²⁵ no matter how strong, on theories such as the subjective sensitivity of decisionmaking in academic hiring,²⁶ and even upon the women's inability to show conscious or overt bias against them.²⁷ In short, whereas women have won virtually nothing in the academic discrimination arena through title VII, because of the express willingness of courts to give extraordinary deference to academic decisionmakers where women candidates have been rejected or passed over, the plaintiff male in the *Commonwealth University* case readily won, without having to meet the heavy burden of proof of discrimination laid down in title VII cases brought by women in academe.

This author urges that part of the answer to the question, "Why has title VII not been consistently applied to all types of discrimination made unlawful by this statute?" lies in the matter of militancy, and in the prevalence among many judges of a different gut feeling about sex discrimination than these judges have, or at least display, about

²² See, for example, *Causey v. Ford Motor Co.*, 382 F. Supp. 1221 (M.D. Fla. 1974), reversed in part, 516 F. 2d 416 (5th Cir. 1975); *Jurinko v. Wiegand Co.*, 497 F. 2d 403 (3d Cir. 1974).

²³ It should be emphasized that colleges and universities generally, which have widely resisted affirmative action, certainly are not the best defenders of such programs when challenged by white males such as plaintiff Cramer.

²⁴ Of course, the university's motive is not dispositive: an employer in good faith may still violate title VII. But the discrepancy between judicial treatment of this question in *Cramer* and in cases brought by women is noteworthy. See cases cited in footnotes 28 and 29, *infra*.

²⁵ The chief exception to this pattern of denials of redress appears in the granting of a preliminary injunction to a female professor bringing a title VII sex discrimination case in *Johnson v. University of Pittsburgh*, 359 F. Supp. 1002 (W.D. Pa. 1973). This case is still in trial, as of 1976.

²⁶ See *Faro v. New York University*, 502 F. 2d 1229 (2d Cir. 1974); *Green v. Board of Regents of Texas Tech Univ.*, 335 F. Supp. 249 (N.D. Tex. 1971), affirmed 474 F. 2d 594 (5th Cir. 1973); *Sime v. Board of Trustees*, 526 F. 2d 1112 (9th Cir. 1975).

²⁷ See cases cited in footnote 28, *supra*.

racial discrimination. Women are not ghetto-ized geographically or residentially. Women have not rioted and died in the streets of the United States, except as members of other groups. Women as women have not been the subjects, objects, and sometimes victims of voter registration drives, bus-burnings or school desegregation battles in and out of Federal courts. To deny that these events and processes concerning racism have had effects on the seriousness with which judges, including bigoted ones, view race discrimination in employment is to pretend that courts are run by machines, and not by human beings. This past seems, in this respect, at the very least a prolog to the obduracy of some courts being called upon to order an end to sex discrimination in employment.

The difference in majority judicial attitudes toward sex discrimination vis-a-vis race discrimination is well-illustrated by another set of title VII case developments; namely, decisions concerning the protesting worker.

Percy Green engaged in unlawful protests, including a lock-in of employees and a stall-in of cars, at a McDonnell Douglas plant. McDonnell Douglas refused to rehire Mr. Green.²⁸ The court of appeals, in deciding Mr. Green's title VII action for race discrimination and retaliatory treatment, declared:

“. . . if McDonnell's refusal to rehire Green rests upon management's personal dislike for Green or personal distaste for his conduct in the civil rights field, Green is entitled to some relief.” (4 E.P.D. § 7742 (8th Cir. 1972)).

Percy Green's plight then reached the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court held that Mr. Green must be afforded the opportunity in his title VII litigation to prove that the company's defense, that he was not rehired because of his unlawful protest activities, was a pretext for racial discrimination against him.

Protesting women certainly have not fared as well as Mr. Green in title VII cases, even when it is considered that he lost upon remand.²⁹

In several cases where female employees have spoken out against discrimination (in no case by stalling-in or locking-in), they have received a rude awakening in bringing their title VII cases. For example, there is Stella Fogg, who began work at New England Telephone in a department where all males were supervisors, and all females were underlings. Defendants' agents repeatedly told Ms. Fogg that the promotion she sought was to a position that could only be filled by a man.³⁰ The district court denied Ms. Fogg relief, stating in relevant part:

Mrs. Fogg had a knack for stepping on her supervisors' toes if they got in her way. She was an aggressive, ambitious employee determined to push her way ahead. She went over the heads of her supervisors in Boston by writing directly to the President of the Company . . . *Fogg v. New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.*, (5 E.P.D. § 8010 (D.N.H. 1972).)

Other title VII decisions that have adopted the legally circular but realistically devastating approach, that the plaintiff was not unlawfully discriminated against because she was too aggressive, teach an additional lesson. Some of these decisions, showing an injudicious

²⁸ *Green v. McDonnell Douglas Corp.*, 463 F. 2d 337 (8th Cir. 1972).

²⁹ *Green v. McDonnell Douglas Corp.*, 390 F. Supp. 501 (1975).

³⁰ *Fogg v. New England Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co.*, 346 F. Supp. 645 (D.N.H. 1972).

preoccupation with what constitutes a desirable personality on the part of a female rather than an attention to the issues of law and fact before them, have gone not against women claiming sex discrimination, but, instead, against black women claiming racial discrimination under title VII. See, e.g., *Thomas v. J. C. Penney*, — F.Supp. —, 9 E.P.D. ¶ 10, 130 (D. Tex. 1975) (Ms. Thomas, the first black sales clerk in the Beaumont, Tex., store, was found by the trial court to be “over sensitive, over aggressive in demanding what she considered to be her rights and thus demonstrat[ing] an attitude not conducive to harmony”); *Smith v. St. Louis Railway*, — F.Supp. —, 10 E.P.D. ¶ 10, 277 (N.D. Ala. 1975). (A plaintiff black female lost her race discrimination claim; the district judge noted that one of the facts against her was that she emphatically believed she had been discriminated against).

Thus, the double standard in judicial disposition of title VII cases is not solely explicable in the terms candidly offered by the court of appeals in *Ostapowicz, to wit.*, that proof sufficient in a race discrimination case may be insufficient in a sex discrimination case. The factor of the sex of the plaintiff, whether or not the title VII claim is actually based upon that factor, must be taken into account in understanding why title VII actions involving women often have not resulted in principled outcomes.

Emphatically, not all sex discrimination cases brought under title VII have been handled in the fashion demonstrated by the above discussion. A few courts have adamantly refused to apply different standards to sex discrimination cases under title VII than those developed in race discrimination cases.³¹ However, for purposes of this article, it is sufficient to point out the fact that this double standard has sometimes been utilized, and that vindication of legal rights of women workers is therefore a quite chancy venture.

If title VII is to become a reliable means of attack upon each of the many kinds of discrimination in employment against women that prevent women from receiving a full share of employment opportunities, the causes of this disparity in judicial application of title VII must be found and removed.

II. IN FULFILLMENT OF THE TITLE VII MANDATE: A PROPOSAL FOR IMPROVEMENT

There are many changes that need to be made if equal employment opportunity in the United States, without regard to sex, is to become a reality for all persons, and for women in particular. Congress can initiate and sustain prerogatives as to only some of these changes.³² The proposal of this author urges only those changes that Congress, and no other authority, can accomplish.

A. Need for Administrative Resources

The year 1976 saw the closing of Government-funded title VII projects across the Nation.³³ The problems of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission amount to nothing less than a vicious cycle. In-

³¹ See, for example, *East v. Romine, Inc.*, 518 F. 2d 832 (5th Cir. 1975).

³² For example, Congress has done much to commence and catalyze legal change toward nondiscrimination against women by passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. While Congress formally can do little to affect the State ratification process, it must prepare to construct the legislative means of enforcement of the ERA's guarantee.

³³ For example, the title VII project of the Lawyer's Committee in San Francisco, Calif., was forced by withdrawal of funds to close in August 1976. Other projects were closed before the end of 1976.

adequate resources in the EEOC have led to an inadequate work product, cited in justification of continuing legislative actions aimed at diminution of financial support to the EEOC. It appears that attorneys for EEOC and other governmental agencies have not been particularly successful in litigation where sex discrimination in employment is at issue. Table 2 shows this pattern.

TABLE 2.—RESULTS OF TITLE VII CASES LITIGATED BY GOVERNMENT ATTORNEY, 1965 TO MID-1975¹

	Plaintiff(s)		Type of case	
	Male	Female	Race	Sex
Total number.....	58	17	62	13
Procedural dismissal ² granted (percent).....	10.34	64.71	11.29	69.23
Procedural dismissal reversed on appeal (percent).....	8.62	5.88	8.06	0
Class certification denied (percent).....	1.72	0	1.61	0
Class certification denial reversed on appeal.....	0	0	0	0
Individual relief denied (percent).....	5.17	5.88	6.45	0
Class relief denied (percent).....	10.34	5.88	9.68	7.69
Denial of relief reversed on appeal (percent).....	18.97	0	17.74	0
Class certification granted (percent).....	60.34	0	56.45	0
Individual backpay granted (percent).....	0	5.88	0	7.69
Class backpay granted (percent).....	10.34	0	9.68	0
Individual injunction granted (percent).....	0	5.88	0	7.69
Class injunction granted (percent).....	63.79	0	59.68	0
Goal and timetables ordered (percent).....	20.69	0	19.35	0
Settlement with class relief approved (percent).....	8.62	5.88	8.06	7.69
Award of relief reversed on appeal.....	0	0	0	0

¹ See footnotes 2 and 6, supra.

² The category "procedural dismissal" as used herein includes all premerits dismissals of actions on FRCP rule 12 grounds, except dismissals of parties defendant based upon failure to name them in the EEOC charge.

Of course, funding is not necessarily the full answer to changing the pattern of losses shown in table 2. It is highly likely that the same simple lack of priority of ending sex discrimination that has impaired judicial forces (see section I, above) has rendered the EEOC and other supposed enforcers of legal prohibitions against sex discrimination in employment less than adequately dedicated to this cause.

B. Need for Counsel

Title VII provides that a court may appoint counsel to claimants of discrimination in appropriate cases. 42 United States Code, section 2000e-5 (f) (1). This judicial power is useless without a budget. The worker who is impoverished by reason of discrimination is usually unable to secure counsel; this group of people, many thousands of whom are women, actually have no rights under title VII until they have lawyers to represent them. Furthermore, even the middle-income claimant often cannot afford the tremendous litigation costs (attorneys, court reporters, statistical experts, production of documents) necessary to fight against discriminating institutions and corporations. Also, as long as the likelihood of success on the merits of a sex discrimination case is made unpredictable by the phenomenon of judicial reinforcement of discrimination (see section I, above), the discerning lawyer cannot afford to take these important, difficult cases of sex discrimination in employment upon the contingency that attorney's fees might be awarded to him/her under 42 United States Code, section

2000e-5(k). Finally, the amounts of such awards are nothing short of erratic, as much reflecting the variation in judicial dedication to the importance of title VII litigation as reflecting the uniqueness of this casework.

C. Need for Judicial Resources

Title VII litigation appears to constitute an increasing proportion of the Federal judicial workload. Reactions to this growth have included efforts to curtail the availability of class actions,³⁴ to impose new procedural barriers upon title VII claimants,³⁵ to restrict certain groups' access under title VII altogether,³⁶ and even to characterize discriminatory policies and practices as not legally actionable in order to prevent the hypothesized deluge of similar cases.³⁷ These judicial reactions become the beginning of a vicious cycle, as appellate courts must increasingly bear the escalating responsibility of reviewing such judicially engrafted inhibitions upon the force of title VII. Increases of human and financial resources to the Federal judiciary must be designed by Congress to match the court's title VII workload, if the law is to be enforced.

D. Need for Change in Judicial Appointments Policies

As a constitutional matter, Congress retains the power and responsibility of screening, and of accepting or rejecting, every appointee to the Federal bench. As a practical matter, this author is informed that these judicial appointments involve big-time wheeling, dealing, trade-offs, 2-for-1's, partisan bargains, and an array of other political strategies, between interested Senators and the President in particular. This progress is objectionable insofar as the focus of this article is concerned because of its result: female and minority candidates are disproportionately excluded from consideration in this process of divvying up the Federal bench.

As of 1975, to the best of this author's knowledge, there were five (5) female district judges and one (1) female Federal appellate court judge, out of over 600 on the Federal bench. Of these six (6), one was a black female. As four members of the U.S. Supreme Court observed, in *Frontiero v. Richardson* in 1973:³⁸

It is true, of course, that when viewed in the abstract, women do not constitute a small and powerless minority. Nevertheless, in part because of past discrimination, women are vastly underrepresented in this Nation's decisionmaking councils. There has never been a female President, nor a female member of this Court. Not a single woman presently sits in the U.S. Senate, and only 14 women hold seats in the House of Representatives. And, as appellants point out, this underrepresentation is present throughout all levels of our State and Federal Government.

³⁴ See, for example, *Rich v. Martin-Marietta Corp.*, 522 F. 2d 333, 341 (10th Cir. 1975). ("If classes were always limited as they were in this case, it would effectively make rule 23 a nullity. It is understandable that hard pressed trial courts would not consider this too unfavorable a result * * *").

³⁵ See, for example, *McDonald v. General Mills, Inc.*, 387 F. Supp. 24 (E.D. Calif. 1974), vacated in part, — F. Supp. —, 9 E.P.D. para. 9868 (E.D. Cal. 1974).

³⁶ See *Hackley v. Johnson*, 360 F. Supp. 1247, 1249 (at footnote 2) (D.D.C. 1973), reversed and remanded, 520 F. 2d 108 (D.C. Cir. 1975).

³⁷ See, for example, *Miller v. Bank of America*, 418 F. Supp. 233, 236 (N.D. Calif. 1976).

"* * * it would not be difficult to foresee a Federal challenge based on alleged sex-motivated considerations of the complainant's supervisor in every case of a lost promotion, transfer, demotion, or dismissal * * * [s]uch being the case, it would seem wise for the courts to refrain from delving into these matters * * *").

³⁸ 411 U.S. 677 (1973).

Whatever the details of the Federal judicial appointive process may be at any given time, qualified women overwhelmingly have been excluded at all stages. This author proposes that there is one and only one way to achieve full and fair inclusion of women on the Federal bench. Affirmative action, which should be understood as a series of sustained and concrete efforts at every stage toward the goal of a representative Federal bench, must be engaged in by those legislators having actual authority and influence over judicial appointments. In this regard, a relentlessly hard look must be taken at traditional evaluative sources of candidates, such as the American Bar Association, which is an organization that has only just begun to make efforts to overcome its own profound, systemic sex and racial discrimination. These indispensable steps toward overcoming the long history of discrimination against females and minorities in Federal judicial appointments cannot be effectively taken by any group save our Federal legislators.

There are few if any valid alternatives to the approach of express congressional intervention to achieve inclusion of women and minority persons in the Federal judiciary. Because jury trials generally are unavailable in title VII actions,³⁹ the litigative option of a jury trial for avoiding a biased Federal judge is essentially foreclosed in these cases; and, of course, the effectiveness of jury trials as a strategy of avoiding bias in court trials turns upon the debatable premise that a number of jurors will be likelier than a given judge to treat a title VII action without sex-based or other classificatory biases of their own. Nor do proceedings to disqualify sexist or racist judges from hearing title VII actions generally offer a feasible alternative for avoiding biased triers, both because of the political delicacy of such proceedings⁴⁰ and because of the sheer difficulty of proving bias in the event of a refusal by the court to disqualify itself.⁴¹

To the extent that judicial prejudice toward women, minorities, and other discriminated-against groups constitutes a psychologically deep-rooted phenomenon, surely the approach of affirmative action in judicial appointments can be criticized for its nonresponsiveness to some of those dimensions. The strongest of such criticisms is that those Federal judges already appointed will at best be encouraged indirectly to reconsider their biases, through contact with female and minority judges, and that even this ameliorative effect is neither certain⁴² nor controllable. As a related matter, the extraordinary and paradoxical⁴³

³⁹ Cf. *Curtis v. Loether*, 415 U.S. 189 (1974); but see *Albemarle Paper Co. v. Moody*, cited at footnote 9, supra. (dissenting opinion of Rehnquist, J.).

⁴⁰ The author believes that a motion to disqualify a Federal judge on the ground of bias is almost universally unwelcome, not only to the judge concerned, but to those who would have to hear that judge's title VII docket if bias were admitted.

⁴¹ If a judge refuses to disqualify himself (herself) for bias under 18 U.S.C. 144, another judge of the court may hear the evidence of bias. See, for example, *U.S. v. Garramone*, 374 F. Supp. 256, 258 (E.D. Pa. 1974), stating: "Sec. 144 contemplates a bias or prejudice stemming from religious, ethnic, sociological, or other similar extrajudicial grounds." One experienced Federal trial attorney, who will remain anonymous, reports: "To disqualify a Federal judge for bias against your client, you must prove that the judge burned your client in effigy for each of 30 days in a row." Perhaps the danger of forum-shopping via disqualification proceedings under sec. 144 accounts for this result; nonetheless, the implication for the problem at hand is inescapable.

⁴² The opposite effect may occur, to the degree that contact with the targets of bias can inflame or exaggerate that bias.

⁴³ Quite ironically, the only title VII action in which a motion for refusal has resulted in a written opinion, denying said motion, *Blank v. Sullivan & Cromwell*, — F. Supp. —, 19 E.P.D. par. 10,365 (S.D.N.Y. 1975), is before Judge Constance Baker Motley of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York; counsel for defendants therein grounded his motion to disqualify Judge Motley in part upon the fact that Judge Motley is a black female.

pressure upon some female and minority judges to resist any appearance of "compensatory" bias may stalemate the transition from categorical bias to individualized fairness for some time.

Finally, the criticism is well taken that the part of affirmative action in judicial appointments which goes directly to consideration of a candidate's personal biases is the most difficult part to achieve, and may be far more crucial to the realization of change than the "easier" part of goals and timetables.

Nonetheless, the proposal of affirmative action in Federal judicial appointments embodies a value that transcends all such pragmatic criticisms as to its mechanical difficulties and political feasibility. Were the United States judiciary made subject in its composition to the affirmative action principle, there is no question that Federal enforcement of antidiscrimination law, particularly through the judiciary, would be given the incomparable credibility and strength that arises from the authority doing unto itself that which it is doing unto others.

LEGAL REMEDIES BEYOND TITLE VII TO COMBAT SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

By MARCIA GREENBERGER* AND DIANE GUTMANN**

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That sex discrimination in employment has been a widespread practice is beyond dispute. That pervasive sex discrimination in the workplace is still a critical problem also cannot be questioned.¹ It is important, therefore, to assess the effectiveness of the existing legal remedies available to combat sex discrimination in employment in order to determine whether they adequately serve their intended purposes.

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act² has played a leading role as the vehicle through which courts have defined employment practices that are considered sex discriminatory, and through which courts have provided relief to those discriminated against. However, there are other Federal laws which prohibit sex discrimination in employment, and which provide alternate or supplementary options to title VII. In certain respects, these laws have advantages over title VII, either because of the sanctions they provide or because of the agencies charged with their enforcement. However, in order to review the effectiveness of these alternatives, it would be useful to describe these laws and their relationship to title VII.

A. TITLE VII OF THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

Title VII prohibits discrimination by employers in their employment practices on the basis of sex. It is interpreted and enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC).

*An attorney with the Women's Rights Project of the Center for Law and Social Policy in Washington, D.C., and a 1970 graduate of the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

**A 2d year student at the University of Pennsylvania Law School and a student intern at the Center for Law and Social Policy.

¹Women who worked at year-round full-time jobs in 1974 earned only 57 cents for every dollar earned by men. Just as startling, in 1974 women with 4 years of college education had lower incomes than men who had completed only the eighth grade. U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, Women's Bureau, "The Earnings Gap Between Women and Men" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976).

²42 U.S.C. sec. 2000e. A paper in this compendium prepared by Mary C. Dunlap, "The Legal Road to Equal Employment Opportunity: A Critical View," discusses the effectiveness of title VII as a remedy to sex discrimination.

The EEOC has the authority to investigate complaints, make a finding as to whether unlawful discrimination occurred, and if so, to seek a remedy in court. If after a specified time period EEOC has not investigated a complaint, a complainant may seek a "right to sue letter" from the agency, go to court directly and sue the employer. If successful, the individual discriminated against can receive relief for the discrimination suffered as well as reimbursement of the costs of the suit, including attorneys' fees. This right to court redress as individuals or through class actions, including the possibility of recovery of attorneys' fees if successful, has been the critical reason why title VII has been one of the most effective tools available.

However, title VII has had only limited success. In part, the effectiveness of the VII is hampered because EEOC has been unable to shoulder the major burden of securing compliance with the law. An insufficient budget and administrative ineptitude have been responsible for EEOC's inability to mount an aggressive enforcement campaign. Instead, enforcement has been left to the private individuals who have been discriminated against, through private lawsuits in courts. The provision of an award of attorneys' fees to successful plaintiffs has facilitated access to courts, at least to some degree.

However, private groups and individuals are ill-equipped to shoulder the enforcement burden alone. Those discriminated against are often unable, for financial and other reasons, to secure lawyers and to press their claims in court. In addition, the harassment and intimidation suffered by complainants is a further hindrance to their willingness and ability to go to court. Therefore, since EEOC plays such a limited role, and those discriminated against face serious obstacles in going to court for redress, very few instances of discrimination are ever exposed and remedied.

Moreover, because of the design of title VII, little incentive is given to employers to eliminate discriminatory practices before they are sued. In large part, this is because title VII remedies are mainly prospective in nature, with back pay as the major exception. There are no penalties available under the act. An employer therefore has little to lose by waiting to change discriminatory practices until forced to do so by a court. Back salary would have been paid by a nondiscriminating employer in any event, and any future changes ordered by a court presumably also would have been instituted by an employer seeking voluntarily to eliminate discriminatory practices. By waiting for a court to order back pay, the company has the use of the funds in the meantime. And, of course, there are good possibilities of settling a case on a compromise basis, or of a company's winning even if it has discriminated. This virtual absence of any sanction for noncompliance, coupled with relatively few cases ever brought to court, accounts for the relative ineffectiveness of title VII.

B. THE EQUAL PAY ACT OF 1963

The Equal Pay Act (EPA)³ passed in 1963, was the first Federal law to prohibit wage discrimination by sex, despite the fact that many such bills had been introduced prior to that time. Unlike title VII passed the following year, the EPA does not touch upon any area of employment discrimination outside the realm of compensation. Its enactment was deemed necessary in light of the fact that women, who

³ 29 U.S.C. sec. 206(d).

then constituted one-third of the labor force, were earning an average of only 60 percent of the average wage of men.⁴ It is, of course, a sad commentary that 14 years after the passage of the act, women now earn only 57 percent of the average wages for men.

The EPA mandates equal pay for equal work on jobs requiring equal skill, effort and responsibility that are performed under similar working conditions within any establishment. Such differentials are permissible, however, if based upon seniority, merit or incentive systems or any factor other than sex. Employers may not bring their establishments into compliance by means of lowering the wages earned by any group of employees.

EPA does not cover as large a number of employees as does title VII. However, the exemptions to coverage have been narrowed in recent years.⁵ Originally, 11 categories of employees were not subject to the act.⁶ Taking 1972 as a sample year, there were an estimated 2 million enterprises covered with more than 46 million employees affected.⁷ The EPA was amended by the Education Amendments Act of 1972 to include executive, administrative, and professional employees and outside salespersons.⁸ Moreover, in 1974, further amendments included additional State and local government employees, most Federal employees and others.⁹

Employees who feel they have a claim under the EPA may opt to bring suit for back wages,¹⁰ liquidated damages including double damages for willful violations,¹¹ attorney fees and court costs through a

⁴ Statement made by President Kennedy upon signing the EPA on June 10, 1963, cited in Albert A. Ross and Frank V. McDermott, Jr., "The Equal Protection Act of 1963: A Decade of Enforcement," 16 Boston College Industrial and Commercial Law Rev. 1-73 (November 1974) (hereinafter "Ross and McDermott article").

⁵ It has been estimated that three-fourths of the employed nonsupervisory workforce, excluding outside sales workers, and almost seven-eighths of the nonsupervisory employees, excluding outside sales workers in the private sector, were covered by the act. See "Minimum Wage and Maximum Hours Standards Under the Fair Labor Standards Act," an economic effects study submitted to Congress, 1977 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, 1977), p. 55.

⁶ Sec. 213, supp. 1975, enumerates 11 categories of employees who are exempt if they are employed "in a bona fide executive, administrative, or professional capacity"; "in the capacity of outside salesman"; by any retail or service establishment if more than 50 percent of the annual dollar volume for sales of such goods and services is made within the State; by an amusement or recreational establishment; by certain manufacturing retailers; in certain fishing and seafood operations; in certain types of agricultural activities; by a local newspaper; by a small independently owned public telephone company; as a seaman on a vessel other than an American vessel; or on a casual basis in domestic service to provide babysitting or companionship services for individuals unable to care for themselves.

⁷ John E. Burns and Catherine G. Burns, "An Analysis of the Equal Pay Act," 24 Labor Law Journal 92, February 1973.

⁸ Since 1972, investigations of the Wage and Hour Division showed higher education institutions owed some 3,000 employees, many professional, about \$10 million in back pay. Several institutions have paid more than \$100,000 in back wages to employees. However, not all of the back wages found due have yet been paid. "Equal Opportunity in Higher Education," biweekly newsletter, Washington, D.C., Education News Services Division of Capitol Publications, Inc. (Feb. 4, 1977), p. 8.

⁹ 1974 amendments to Fair Labor Standards Act of Apr. 8, 1974, Public Law 93-259, 88 Stat. 58, amending 29 U.S.C. sec. 201 et seq. (1970); in *Brown v. City of Santa Barbara*, 45 U.S.L.W. 2351, Jan. 14, 1977, U.S. district court, California, the court held that the 1974 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act (which applied the equal pay provisions to Federal and State employees) constituted a valid exercise of congressional power, notwithstanding the Supreme Court's earlier decision in *National League of Cities v. Usery*, 44 U.S.L.W. 4674 (1976). In *Usery* it was found that the amendments' extension of minimum wage and hour protection to State and local government employees constituted invalid Federal regulation of State governmental activities. The Court decided that the 1974 extension of the Equal Pay Act would not impinge on the States' sovereignty since "the argument that decision to discriminate in pay on the basis of sex is an essential and integral State function is both asinine and an affront to human dignity." 45 U.S.L.W. at 2352. See also *Christensen v. Iowa*, 45 U.S.L.W. 2086, Aug. 14, 1976 (U.S.D.C. N. Iowa), and *Usery v. Allegheny City Institution Dist.*, 45 U.S.L.W. 2251 (3d Cir.), Oct. 28, 1976.

¹⁰ It is important to note that back pay may be recovered for 2 years for nonwillful violations and 3 years for willful. In title VII, the limit is 2 years.

¹¹ Prior to the enactment of the 1974 amendments, sec. 16(c) prevented the Secretary from bringing an action to recover back wages in a case involving a question of first impression, essentially rendering the remedy of sec. 16(c) totally ineffective. Ross and McDermott, op. cit., p. 11.

private attorney. However, unlike title VII, no class actions may be brought. Alternatively, the employee may seek the assistance of the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor by filing a complaint with the Division. If merit is found, the Labor Department itself may go to court to seek an injunction to restrain continued violations and prevent withholding of back wages legally due.^{11a}

Moreover, the Wage and Hour Division is empowered to conduct investigations of employers' compliance with the Act, whether or not complaints were received. In contrast, the EEOC acts on the basis of complaints. There are currently approximately 1,000 compliance officers across the country, but it has been estimated that only 15-20 per cent of their time is devoted to enforcement of the EPA.¹²

Most of the compliance investigations conducted are not made in response to a complaint filed by an employee.¹³ These general, routine compliance investigations are key in allowing for an overall strategy for enforcement. In addition, they facilitate the ability of the investigator to keep complaints confidential, for an employer does not know whether or not the investigation stemmed from a complaint. As a result, harassment and retaliation are kept to a minimum.

Upon a finding by the Wage and Hour Division of a violation of the EPA, voluntary compliance is usually obtained, including an agreement to pay back wages. It has been estimated that more than 95 per cent of equal pay cases are settled out of the courts.¹⁴

Table I indicates the amounts found due by the Labor Department in 1969-1972.

As can be seen from this chart, as a result of the 1,115 establishments

TABLE I.—TOTAL NUMBER OF EQUAL PAY INVESTIGATIONS CONDUCTED BY U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

		Establishments	
Fiscal year:			
1969	-----		385
1970	-----		736
1971	-----		1,203
1972	-----		1,115
		Number of employees underpaid under the EPA	Amounts found due
Fiscal year:			
1965	-----	960	\$156,202
1966	-----	6,633	2,097,600
1967	-----	5,931	3,252,319
1968	-----	6,622	2,488,405
1969	-----	16,100	4,585,344
1970	-----	17,719	6,119,265
1971	-----	29,992	14,842,994
1972	-----	29,022	14,030,889
1973	-----	29,619	18,005,582
1974 (6 mo)	-----	16,507	11,043,833

Source: Memorandum of Morag Simchak, Chief, Branch of Equal Pay Discrimination, U.S. Department of Labor (January 1974). Ross and McDermott, op. cit. p. 10.

^{11a} Prior to the enactment of the 1974 amendments, section 16(c) prevented the Secretary from bringing an action to recover back wages in a case involving a question of first impression, essentially rendering the remedy of section 16(c) totally ineffective. Ross & McDermott, op. cit., p. 11.

¹² Telephone conversation with Mr. Michael McCarthy of the Department of Labor Standards Office of Equal Pay and Employment Standards, Apr. 20, 1977.

¹³ Burns, op. cit., p. 92.

¹⁴ Burns, op. cit., p. 95.

investigated in 1972, more than 29,000 employees were found to have been underpaid under the EPA.¹⁵

A well-publicized settlement leading to substantial wage adjustments in part under the EPA was that entered into with American Telephone & Telegraph. In 1970, the EEOC conducted an investigation of the employment practices of A.T. & T., and found race and sex discrimination in their nonmanagement employee programs. Because at the time the EEOC did not have the power to go to court, the agency petitioned the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to order the elimination of these sex and race discriminatory practices pursuant to A.T. & T.'s request for a rate increase. An extensive hearing was conducted by the FCC, and the Department of Labor joined the effort. In January, 1973 a settlement with A.T. & T. was reached whereby \$15 million in adjustments was to be paid to 15,000 employees discriminated against on the basis of race and sex. Moreover, an adjustment in wage rates estimated at \$23 million each year was agreed to. Finally, A.T. & T. agreed to adopt an affirmative action plan requiring serious modifications in their policies and practices.¹⁶ Questions have been raised, however, about whether A.T. & T. has been meeting the goals set forth in the plan.

A second aspect of the settlement took the form of a consent decree entered in U.S. District Court on May 30, 1974, covering management employees. The decree involved changing the wage structure for promotions, and it was estimated that approximately 17,000 employees (10,000 women) would receive wage adjustments of \$14.9 million under the change. Moreover, 7,000 employees (4,200 women) would receive \$7 million in back pay awards. This was the first major settlement reached under the 1972 amendments to the Equal Pay Act which extended coverage to professional and managerial employees.¹⁷

The large sums found due resulting from these investigations strongly indicate the pervasive nature of sex discrimination in wage rates and the need to reach all of the other establishments with a much more widespread campaign than the Wage and Hour Division has thus far waged. One distressing fact is that as of February 22, 1976, the Wage and Hour Division had a backlog of 1,800 complaints received under EPA but unresolved, as indicated in table II. It is hoped that a more vigorous enforcement effort will be undertaken in the future.

TABLE II.—COMPLAINTS FILED AGAINST ESTABLISHMENTS

Fiscal year:	Total	New coverage	Old coverage	Complaint backlog
1969.....	385	NA	NA	NA
1970.....	738	NA	NA	NA
1971.....	1,203	NA	NA	456
1972.....	1,122	NA	NA	432
1973.....	2,095	NA	NA	1,201
1974.....	2,864	NA	NA	1,487
1975.....	2,727	375	2,352	1,790
1976.....	2,311	253	2,058	1,860
1976 ¹	447	77	370	1,798
Sept. 21, 1976-Jan. 20, 1977.....	454	77	377	1,800

¹ Transition quarter, June 21-Sept. 20, 1976.

Note: Litigation—Over 1,024 cases have been filed since the act's effective date.

¹⁵ There have been amounts recovered under the Equal Pay Act pursuant to private suits as well. For example, in 1973 a settlement was reached pursuant to a case filed in the northern district of Indiana, *Burry v. General Electric*, whereby the company paid \$300,000 in back pay and agreed to a \$1 million increase in wages. Winn Newman, "Policy Issues," *1 Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 270, table 2 (spring, 1976).

¹⁶ Significantly, no changes in the employment policies related to pregnancy were adopted.

¹⁷ *The Spokeswoman* (July 15, 1974), p. 1.

1. Legal Interpretation of the Act

In order to establish a violation of EPA, a showing must be made that the "employer pays different wages to employees of opposite sexes 'for equal work on jobs the performance of which requires equal skill, effort, and responsibility and which are performed under similar conditions.'" ¹⁸ Failure to prove each of these elements results in dismissal since the act is brought into play only when the jobs in question are equal. That is to say, the EPA is not relevant to determine reasonable differentials for unequal work.

A significant amount of litigation has dealt with the meaning of "equal work." Equality does not require that the jobs be identical, but they must be "substantially equal," ¹⁹ even if the nature of the jobs makes it impractical for both sexes to work interchangeably. ²⁰ The doctrine of substantial equality was discussed by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in *Hodgson v. Brookhaven Hospital*:

As the doctrine is emerging, jobs do not entail equal effort, [and skill and responsibility] even though they entail most of the same routine duties, if the more highly paid job involves additional tasks which (1) require extra effort [skill and responsibility], (2) consume a significant amount of the time of all those whose pay differentials are to be justified in terms of them, and (3) are of an economic value commensurate with the pay differential. ²¹

It is important to note that the skill, effort and responsibility involved are to be determined by the actual demands of the position and not from the job classification or description. For example, where the employer justifies a higher male salary because he has some special ability which the female in the comparable job does not, a showing that the job does not in reality require that skill will result in a finding of an EPA violation. Following this reasoning the third circuit in *Usery v. Allegheny County Hospital*, supra, recently held that beauticians and barbers held equal jobs for purposes of EPA and were entitled to equal wages.

Many employers arbitrarily try to accord greater weight to physical effort required on the job than to skill, job responsibility and working conditions, but the court in *Hodgson v. Daisy Mfg. Co.* ²² struck down that reasoning as a means of characterizing jobs as unequal. That court also made it clear that "effort" entails both physical and mental labor, with neither automatically commanding higher wages if the degree of effort expended is comparable.

Another issue often raised concerns additional tasks performed by male employees and whether such tasks justify a higher salary. In order to justify the differential wage under such circumstances, the employer must demonstrate that every employee receiving the higher wage is performing the extra task and that everyone performing the extra task is receiving the higher wage. Further, the employer must show that the primary job functions of the two groups are somehow

¹⁸ *Corning Glass Works v. Brennan*, 417 U.S. 188, 195 (1974). Johnson, Janet A., "The Equal Pay Act of 1963: A Practical Analysis," 24 Drake Law Rev. 570, p. 591 (1975).

¹⁹ *Schultz v. Wheaton Glass Co.*, 421 F. 2d 259 (3d Cir.), certiorari denied, 398 U.S. 905 (1970).

²⁰ *Hodgson v. Robert Hall Clothes, Inc.*, 473 F. 2d 589 (3d Cir. 1973), certiorari denied, 414 U.S. 866 (1973).

²¹ *Hodgson v. Brookhaven General Hospital*, 436 F. 2d 719, 725 (5th Cir. 1970).

²² *Hodgson v. Daisy Mfg. Co.*, 317 F. Supp. 538, 544 (W.D. Ark. 1970), affirmed in part, reversed in part, and remanded per curiam, 445 F. 2d 823 (8th Cir. 1971).

made qualitatively different by the presence of the additional duty. Differential wages have been struck down when based upon extra jobs which do not in fact exist²³ or which consume minimal time and are of little significance.²⁴

In examining the employee's responsibilities (described as the "degree of accountability required in the performance of the job, with emphasis on the importance of the job obligation"²⁵), higher wages have been deemed justified for employees in supervisory roles or in positions requiring that they make decisions materially affecting the employer's business operations.²⁶ The EPA has also been held inapplicable where a group of higher paid employees had accident prevention duties²⁷ or security responsibilities.²⁸

However, even if unequal pay for an "equal" job is shown, the employer may still justify wage differentials if they result from a system of seniority, merit or incentive, or any other factor other than sex, provided the system is "a systematic normal system" based upon "objective, written standards."²⁹ The ascertainable criteria for these systems must be known, available and equally applied to all employees.³⁰

An employer must justify paying even one member of one sex at a different rate than members of the opposite sex performing equal work by showing that sex factors provided no part of the differential basis. For example, night shift workers might legally receive higher wages because of the undesirability of the work, even if the shift is comprised solely of one sex. However, if that shift also receives a higher base rate than the shift staffed by the opposite sex performing the same work or the sex-differentiated shift employees are the only ones on those shifts earning more than their corresponding day workers, a violation of EPA would occur.³¹

"Red circle" rates (higher rates legitimately paid to one set of employees because of some special circumstances which are not sex-related), may be permissible in recognition of prior achievement and experience if relevant to the job requirements and evenhandedly applied to both sexes. For example, they may be allowable for a bona fide training program, in which case the court will look for the existence of several factors:

In summary, the cases suggest that the courts look to the following factors as tests for the legitimacy of such programs: whether the trainee is aware of the program's existence; whether the employee is actually hired as a trainee; whether the work performed by the trainee and the regular employees is substantially the same; whether the program entails any instruction, courses or

²³ *Brennan v. Goose Creek Consolidated Ind. Sch. Dist.*, 519 F. 2d 53 (5th Cir. 1975); *Brennan v. Woodbridge School District*, 8 CCH Empl. Prac. Dec. 5719 (D. Del. 1974).

²⁴ *Brennan v. Bd. of Ed.*, 374 F. Supp. 817 (D.N.J. 1974). In *Brennan v. Owensboro-Davies Cty. Hosp.* (6th Cir. 1975), No. 73-1261, 10 EPD para. 10, 404, the court struck down a wage differential between nurses aides and orderlies upon finding that they performed much the same work. Although generally only orderlies set up traction and assisted in removing casts, these duties were found to have been performed "so infrequently that they did not render the jobs of aides and orderlies substantially different. The average additional portmortem work done by orderlies was deemed to constitute a "modest difference" which did not justify the existing wage differential. 10 EPD, p. 5709.

²⁵ 29 CFR 800.129 (1974).

²⁶ *Brennan v. Victoria Bank and Trust Co.*, 493 F. 2d 896, 899 (5th Cir. 1974).

²⁷ *Hodgson v. Daisy Mfg. Co.*, supra.

²⁸ *Schulz v. Ky. Baptist Hospital*, 62 CCH Lab. Cas. 44 (W.D. Ky., 1969).

²⁹ *Brennan v. Victoria Bank and Trust Co.*, supra.

³⁰ 29 CFR 800.144 (1974).

³¹ *Corning Glass Works v. Brennan*, supra at 204-205.

supervision; whether there is a written, formalized program; whether trainees are actually rotated through various jobs to get a better comprehension of the employer's business operations; whether rotation occurs due to completion of the training program rather than the employer's personnel needs; and whether the program is available to members of both sexes.³²

Temporary assignments may also serve as a permissible reason to pay an employee at a different rate than others performing the work, as is true for temporary or part-time employees, as long as the practice is applied without discrimination against either sex.³³

Differential wage treatment cannot be justified by claiming that it is costlier to employ women,³⁴ nor may employers rely on the "market force" theory that women will work for less money than men,³⁵ since it is just this sort of discrimination that the EPA was designed to remedy. It is not clear, however, whether an employer may, because of some "economic benefit," pay higher wages to one group of employees. In *Hodgson v. Robert Hall*, supra, the Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit allowed higher wages for all the male employee group in the men's department than were being paid to the female employees who worked in the women's department, in part because of the greater profits realized in the men's department and the fact that the court found the sex segregation was justifiable. The court held that under those circumstances wage differentials not related to actual job performance could be maintained for the economic benefit of the employer. The fifth circuit held differently, finding in a similar situation that the differential was based on sex, although there was no proof in that case that the men's department was more profitable for the employer.³⁶

The implications of the *Robert Hall* case are quite disturbing. If employers can look to profitability as a basis for wage rates, the effectiveness of the EPA in many circumstances might be seriously undermined.

2. Effectiveness of the Equal Pay Act

As can be seen by the number and size of back pay awards made under the EPA, the statute has had a significant impact on remedying discrimination in wage rates. However, the fact should be noted that as of January 1977 the Wage and Hour Division has found \$135,590,752 due but only \$29,562,135 has been restored, as indicated in table III.³⁷

³² Janet A. Johnson, op. cit., pp. 570, 596.

³³ 29 CFR 800.147 (1974).

³⁴ See U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, Women's Bureau, "The Myth and the Reality" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, April 1973) for discussion of absentee rates, work-life expectancy, and job rates.

³⁵ *Brennan v. Victoria Bank and Trust Co.*, 493 F. 2d 896 (5th Cir. 1974).

³⁶ *Hodgson v. City Stores, Inc.*, 332 F. Supp. 942 (M.D. Ala. 1971), affirmed sub nom. *Brennan v. City Stores, Inc.*, 479 F. 2d 235 (5th Cir. 1973).

³⁷ Although the moneys found due are only estimates of what is owed, and may, therefore, be inflated, the large disparity with the amounts actually restored is disturbing.

TABLE III.—EQUAL PAY FINDINGS

Fiscal year:	Number of employees underpaid under the Equal Pay Act	Amounts found due	Income restored	
			Employees	Amount
1965.....	960	\$156,202	NA	NA
1966.....	6,633	2,097,600	NA	NA
1967.....	5,931	3,252,319	NA	NA
1968.....	6,622	2,448,405	NA	NA
1969.....	16,100	4,585,344	NA	NA
1970.....	17,719	6,119,265	NA	NA
1971.....	29,992	14,842,994	NA	NA
1972.....	29,022	14,030,889	NA	NA
1973.....	¹ 29,619	¹ 18,005,582	1 17,331	¹ \$4,626,251
1974.....	32,792	² 20,623,830	² 16,768	² 6,841,443
1975.....	31,843	26,484,860	17,889	7,474,163
1976.....	24,610	17,952,212	16,728	7,881,502
1976 ³	2,402	1,487,464	1,765	650,217
Sept. 21, 1976-Jan. 20, 1977.....	4,930	3,503,786	4,297	2,088,559
Total.....	239,175	135,590,752	74,778	29,562,135
Sept. 21, 1975-Jan. 20, 1976.....	9,182	7,963,667	5,777	3,074,046

¹ Not included in these figures is \$6,300,000 paid under the Equal Pay Act by American Telephone & Telegraph to 6,100 of its employees. While the violative practice was originally disclosed by several wage-hour investigations, the resolution of the problem throughout the entire American Telephone & Telegraph operating system was secured through litigation by the Solicitor's Office but was not based on individual compliance actions. This amount is thus not included in wage-hour compliance action statistics.

² Not included in these figures is \$7,000,000 which the company agreed to restore to 7,000 employees. This is the 2d consent decree which was entered into with A.T. & T. covering equal pay violations at management level.

³ Transition quarter, June 21-Sept. 20, 1976.

Several explanations have been advanced concerning the mounting backlog of complaints. The answer lies in part in the fact that investigators have been given additional responsibilities, including age discrimination and the expanded coverage of the EPA and Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), yet the number of investigators has not been expanded accordingly. Moreover, the professional employment cases are more complex and more difficult for investigators to understand and resolve. Finally, there are those who raise the question that the commitment to enforce EPA may not be as strong as it should be.

Even if more vigorous enforcement were secured, the effectiveness of EPA will continue to be limited. A serious drawback of EPA is that even where virtually identical jobs are at issue, there are exceptions in the act which allow differences in wage rates if they are based on factors other than sex. Decisions such as that in *Robert Hall* underscore the limitations of EPA because of these exceptions.

Further, the EPA has no effect on the critical problem of women clustered in low-status, low-paying jobs where there are no male counterparts. And it should be noted that most women working outside the home work in such jobs. EPA does not provide a vehicle for moving women into nontraditional jobs, nor does it address the need to upgrade the status and pay of jobs traditionally held by women. For example, it has long been suggested that traditionally female jobs such as nurse or secretary have been undervalued in relationship to jobs such as "salesmen."³⁸ The EPA cannot be used to address this issue. It is

³⁸ In the State of California, a clerk-typist II must have a high school education, knowledge of office machines and equipment, grammar, spelling, and so forth. A warehouse worker must have the ability to read and write English; there are no educational or specialized skills required. Warehouse workers, virtually always male, make \$199 more per month than clerk-typists, a 97-percent female class. 7 "The Spokeswoman" 4 (Mar. 15, 1977).

precisely because the great bulk of women in paid employment work in "women's jobs" ³⁹ that the Equal Pay Act, even if enforced to its full potential, is of important but limited utility.

C. EXECUTIVE ORDER 11246

In 1964, the President issued Executive Order 11246 (32 Fed. Reg. 12319), which prohibits Federal contract funds from going to employers who discriminate in their employment policies or practices on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin. In 1968, the order was amended to include sex. Executive Order 11375 (32 Fed. Reg. 14303). For the most part, the employment practices prohibited by title VII are also prohibited by Executive Order 11246. Therefore its scope is broader than the Equal Pay Act. However, the employers covered are limited to those receiving Federal contracts.

The Executive order is enforced by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) within the Labor Department. OFCCP has in turn delegated enforcement responsibilities to Federal agencies which each focus on different industries.⁴⁰ The program is divided into construction and nonconstruction contractors.

The approach of this Executive order differs from that of the Equal Pay Act or title VII, in that the major remedy is not direct relief to the individuals discriminated against in the form of back pay, promotion, reinstatement or the like. Instead the sanction is termination of Federal contract funds ⁴¹ if the discrimination is not remedied. Of course, back pay, promotion, et cetera can be secured by OFCCP in order that the fund cutoff remedy not be used.

Moreover, Executive Order 11246 has a unique and critical aspect which could be its greatest strength. Pursuant to regulations issued under the Executive order, contractors must develop affirmative action plans in order to remain eligible for Federal contracts. With the development of and adherence to good affirmative action plans, enormous progress could be made in the eradication of sex discrimination in employment.⁴²

In addition, unlike title VII or the Equal Pay Act, there is no express provision under Executive Order 11246 for a private right of action, and there has yet to be established a clear right of individuals to go to court directly and sue the Federal contractor if it has sex-

³⁹ "Although the future may hold more options, the largest proportion of women with paid employment currently work in clerical/sales occupations. These typists, clerks, secretaries, and office machine operators comprise * * * 38 percent of those in the paid labor force.

⁴⁰ Twelve percent of all women are in professional, technical, and managerial jobs, but half of this group work in education or health fields, principally in teaching and nursing. Only 9 percent of women are members of labor unions." Barbara Bryant, "American Women Today and Tomorrow" (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, March 1977).

⁴¹ The 11 compliance agencies are the Atomic Energy Commission, Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, Department of Defense, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of the Interior, Department of the Treasury, Department of Transportation, General Services Administration, U.S. Postal Service, Veterans' Administration.

⁴² A further sanction is referral of the case to the Justice Department for suit.

⁴³ The whole operation of affirmative action plans is now being reviewed by the courts, in light of charges of "reverse discrimination." See, for example, *Cramer v. Virginia Commonwealth University*, 415 F. Supp. 673 (E.D. Va. 1976) for a case involving Executive Order 11246, presently on appeal to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

discriminatory employment practices. As a result, individuals discriminated against have tended to rely upon the OFCCP and delegated Federal contract compliance agencies to enforce the Executive order and to investigate complaints filed by the aggrieved individuals or groups.⁴³ The agencies can conduct investigations either pursuant to a complaint or their own plan of spot checks of contractors for compliance with the provisions of the Executive order.⁴⁴ It is expected that employers will agree to remedy discrimination under the threat of fund-termination.

Unfortunately, on the whole this reliance upon OFCCP for enforcement has been misplaced. Most of the compliance agencies have yet to develop vigorous enforcement efforts, and OFCCP has failed to exercise its authority to require that such efforts be made. Moreover, since there have been so few enforcement efforts, there has been very little case law interpreting the Executive order.

1. Enforcement of the Executive Order

A series of reports by the General Accounting Office (GAO) have reviewed the enforcement efforts under Executive Order 11246 and found those efforts to be seriously wanting.⁴⁵ Moreover, enforcement has been particularly inadequate in the area of sex discrimination.

For example, GAO has found that compliance agencies often did not investigate to see if discrimination was systemic and affected a class of employees. Similarly, they did not review whether there was a need for back pay.⁴⁶ It was not until March 1975 that OFCCP published proposed guidelines on back pay for affected class employees. Yet it is through back pay and class relief that the most effective remedies to discrimination can be achieved.

In addition, GAO has found that during fiscal year 1972-74, virtually all efforts of the OFCCP regional staffs were devoted to monitoring the construction program. Yet, the construction program is not geared to the problems of sex discrimination, and still only requires affirmative action through goals and timetables to be developed for race and national origin, not for sex.⁴⁷

⁴³ In a recent change in its regulations, OFCCP will not retain any responsibility for investigating complaints.

⁴⁴ Unfortunately, compliance agencies responsible for enforcing Executive Order 11246 do not have the same record of success in keeping the identity of complainants confidential as the Wage and Hours Division under the EPA.

⁴⁵ "EEO Program for Federal Nonconstruction Contractors Can Be Improved," MWD-75-83 (Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, Apr. 29, 1975).

⁴⁶ "Colleges and Universities With Government Contracts Provide Equal Employment Opportunity," MWD-75-72 (Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, Aug. 25, 1975).

⁴⁷ "Report to Congressman Jones on the Federal Equal Employment Program for Northeast Oklahoma Construction Projects Is Weak," MWD-76-86 (Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, May 28, 1976).

"More Action Needed To Insure That Financial Institutions Provide Equal Employment Opportunity," MWD-76-95 (Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, June 24, 1976).

⁴⁰ Gregory J. Ahart, testimony and prepared statement on the evaluation of the contract compliance program in nonconstruction industry, hearings, U.S. Congress, Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy, Joint Economic Committee, 93d Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, Sept. 11, 12, 1974). The Ahart article summarizes the findings of the GAO report, "EEO Programs for Federal Nonconstruction Contractors Can Be Improved," prepared for the U.S. Congress, Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy of the Joint Economic Committee, Apr. 29, 1975.

⁴⁷ *Advocates for Women v. Marshall*, Civ. Action No. 76-0862, presently pending D.D.C., challenges this omission.

The weaknesses in the enforcement program were summarized as follows:

At least two compliance agencies were approving affirmative action programs that did not meet department guidelines. Some agencies were reluctant to initiate enforcement actions and therefore they extended conciliation efforts with contractors beyond department time limits. Some compliance agencies did not always conduct the required preaward reviews. Of the 13 compliance agencies, 12 had not identified all contractors for which they were responsible, and most agencies were not reviewing an adequate portion of the contractors for which they were responsible. Ahart, *op. cit.*, p. 568.

Moreover, enforcement of Executive Order 11246 has not improved dramatically since the Ahart article and the GAO report dated May 5, 1975. A GAO report dated August 25, 1975, dealt with enforcement of the order by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) and was entitled "More Assurances Needed That Colleges and Universities With Government Contracts Provide Equal Employment Opportunity." The report concluded, for example, that sanctions for noncompliance were not initiated and affirmative action plans not approved. Significantly, in its published annual operating plan for fiscal year 1977, the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) in HEW—the Office charged with the responsibility of enforcing the Executive order—announced it would investigate virtually no new sex discrimination complaints filed under Executive Order 11246 and would conduct no general reviews of compliance with this order. 41 Fed. Reg. 41776 and the following (September 23, 1976). In short, OCR announced its enforcement of the order had come to a standstill.⁴⁸ And OFCCP had not secured any change in this policy. At the present time, there is a backlog of over 500 Executive order complaints. Finally, GAO prepared a report dated March 30, 1977, concerning the Office for Civil Rights in HEW. This report repeated the distressing conclusions of the earlier reports prepared.

There are several possible explanations for this total lack of enforcement of Executive Order 11246. OCR itself claims that it lacks sufficient resources to do a better job, an explanation which appears to lack credibility. Women's groups have been shocked to learn that during the last several years OCR has returned, unspent, millions of dollars to the Treasury. As of May 1977, there were over 200 authorized slots in OCR which were unfilled. These unfilled positions represented more than one-fourth of all OCR positions. Given these hard facts, coupled with lack of training of the personnel which OCR does have and the absence of established routine procedures for enforcement, it is clear that OCR has been either unwilling or unable to develop a serious enforcement effort of the Executive order.

GAO has also prepared a report on the enforcement of Executive Order 11246 by the Treasury Department against financial institutions dated June 24, 1976, and entitled "More Action Needed To Insure That Financial Institutions Provide Equal Employment Opportunity." The summary on the cover page of the report stated:

⁴⁸ A suit was filed and is currently pending against HEW and the Labor Department for failure to enforce the sex discrimination provisions of the Executive order against universities. *Women's Equity Action League et al. v. Califano et al.*, D.D.C. (Civ. Action No. 74-1720).

Treasury has made limited progress in insuring that financial institutions follow equal employment opportunity practices. The program's credibility has been seriously impaired by Treasury's record of nonenforcement—even in instances of financial institutions' deliberate refusal to comply with requirements.⁴⁹

2. Effectiveness of the Order

The unique aspect of Executive Order 11246 is its sanction of Federal fund cutoff and requirement of the development of affirmative action plans.⁵⁰ However, because individual lawsuits are not encouraged by the structure of the Executive order, enforcement of its provisions has depended upon the efforts of the OFCCP and the compliance agencies. As discussed above, Government agencies to date have been unwilling or unable to provide effective enforcement of this order. Since the Executive order was amended to include sex in 1968, virtually no Federal funds have ever been terminated or contractors debarred because of their sex-discriminatory practices. And because the sanction of the Executive order is for practical purposes never invoked, there is little compliance with it on the part of employers receiving Federal contracts.

That is not to say, however, that the Executive order has secured no gains for women at all. Some employers have been willing to develop effective affirmative action plans or enter into settlements providing some remedies for past discrimination. For example, under the Executive order in a settlement with the Veterans' Administration, McNeil Laboratories, a subsidiary of Johnson & Johnson, has adopted a maternity leave policy guaranteeing workers reinstatement without loss of pay, job status and seniority after childbirth, miscarriage, and abortion.⁵¹ However, until the Government indicates its willingness to impose sanctions when necessary, recalcitrant employers can continue to refuse to change sex-discriminatory employment practices without fear of losing Government contracts.

D. TITLE IX

Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972⁵² prohibits sex discrimination in employment or student programs or policies of educational institutions receiving Federal funds. The title IX regulations dealing with employment are very similar to those guidelines issued by the EEOC under title VII.⁵³ The sanction under title IX is similar to that of the Executive order—fund cutoff to institutions which discriminate.⁵⁴ Moreover, the problems with title IX are similar to the Executive order as well.

⁴⁹ See also report on the "Treasury Department's Contract Compliance Program for Financial Institutions," U.S. Senate, Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, 94th Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976).

⁵⁰ In the area of construction contracts, the failure to require goals and timetables for sex severely impairs this effectiveness.

⁵¹ The Spokeswoman, Mar. 15, 1977, p. 3.

⁵² 20 U.S.C. sec. 1681 et seq.

⁵³ In fact, the title IX regulations dealing with pregnancy-related disabilities are modeled after the guidelines struck down by the Supreme Court in *Gilbert v. General Electric*, 45 U.S.L.W. 4031 (1976). However, HEW has taken the position that the title IX regulations are valid, despite the *Gilbert* ruling.

⁵⁴ Its coverage with regard to educational institutions is broader in that it includes institutions receiving Federal funds of grants, loans, and so forth, in addition to contracts.

The agency charged with the primary enforcement responsibility for title IX is also the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) in HEW. Although title IX was passed in 1972, regulations implementing the statute were not promulgated until 1975. Until that time, virtually no enforcement of title IX took place.⁵⁵ Moreover, the most recent GAO report on OCR dated March 30, 1977, concerns the enforcement of title IX and indicates that the situation has improved little since 1975. And the GAO states:

In short, OCR does not have a comprehensive and reliable management information system which provides top-level officials with the basic data needed for making management decisions and improving the Agency's efficiency and effectiveness in carrying out its civil rights enforcement responsibilities. *Ibid.* at 6.

In short, although title IX prohibits schools from using sex discrimination in employment, little practical change has come from this prohibition. Moreover, a recent court case challenged the intent of title IX and whether its purpose was to prohibit sex discrimination in employment at all. In *Romeo School District v. Califano*, W.D. Mich. (April 6, 1977), the court held that title IX was intended to cover student programs, but not employment. HEW has indicated that it intends to appeal the case and to continue to apply title IX to sex discrimination in employment. It is expected that the *Romeo* decision would be overturned on appeal.

Given the serious problems of HEW enforcement of title IX, its effectiveness as a remedy to fight sex discrimination in employment may well turn upon whether there is a private right of action for individuals and groups to sue schools directly under the act. Attorneys' fees are available if such a right is found.⁵⁶ Courts are just beginning to consider the question.

In *Cannon v. University of Chicago*,⁵⁷ the seventh circuit held that there was no private right of action if a single individual was bringing suit rather than a class. However, the seventh circuit has decided to rehear the case, so that it has come to no final conclusion on the question. In *Piascik v. Cleveland Museum of Art*, 45 U.S.L.W. 2310 (N.D. Ohio 1976), the court did find a private right of action. If such private suits are brought, the effectiveness of title IX might be improved dramatically.

E. EFFECT OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

The impact of the passage of the equal rights amendment (ERA) on the elimination of sex discrimination in employment is difficult to project. Because the ERA applies to governmental action, its real potential is in the area of Government employment.

With passage of the ERA, any sex discrimination in public employment would be subjected to strict scrutiny by the courts.⁵⁸ As is

⁵⁵ See report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1974," vol. III, "To Insure Equal Educational Opportunity," January 1975.

⁵⁶ Civil Rights Attorneys' Fees Award Act of 1976 (Oct. 19, 1976), Public Law 94-559.

⁵⁷ *Cannon v. University of Chicago et al.*, Civil Action No. 76-1238 (presently pending), U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit.

⁵⁸ Presently, rather than requiring strict scrutiny and a compelling State interest, distinctions based on sex can be justified if they serve important governmental objectives and are substantially related to the achievement of those interests. In contrast, race and national origin discrimination are subjected to strict scrutiny. See *Craig v. Boren*, 45 U.S.L.W. 4057 (Dec. 20, 1976).

true with any other issues based on constitutional rights, individuals would have direct access to courts in which to press their claims.

One important issue limiting women's employment prospects—veterans' preference programs—might well be affected by the ERA. Veterans' preference laws are specifically exempted from title VII, 42 U.S.C. § 20003-11 (1970). Because so few women are accepted to serve in the Armed Forces, on the whole veterans' preferences tend to give men an advantage. Passage of the ERA might require that other means less detrimental to women be found to ease veterans' reentry into civilian life and reward service in the Armed Forces. For example, the veterans' preference might be extended to the veterans' spouses.

A further impact of ERA might be to press States to take affirmative acts to mitigate the effects of past discriminatory practices. Such plans could include experiments with more flexible work hours, education leave programs and the like.

F. CONCLUSION

In sum, there are a variety of Federal laws prohibiting sex discrimination in employment. Each has its own advantages and disadvantages. However, all of the laws require strengthening. For example, more stringent sanctions to correct discriminatory practices should be available under title VII. Furthermore, it is extremely important that existing laws either be interpreted by courts or expressly defined by Congress so as to require review of traditional female jobs in order to see whether they are rated fairly compared to traditional men's jobs.

Because most women who work outside the home do so in "women's" jobs, it is critical that the pay, status, and benefits of these jobs be assessed according to neutral principles. Should jobs requiring manual dexterity, often held by women, be paid less than jobs requiring physical strength, often held by men? Are the tasks performed by secretaries worth less than those performed by "salesmen?" To date, existing sex discrimination laws have not been used in any major way to address these questions. Yet, since most women are employed in these "women's" jobs, a fair resolution of these questions is essential.

Nevertheless, even with deficiencies in the design of the present laws, together with the problem of lack of resources to press cases, inability to find lawyers, and fear of retaliation, important gains have come from lawsuits of private citizens.

Unfortunately, not as much can be said for Government efforts to spearhead enforcement. In no case is the responsible Federal agency fully meeting the expectations of the law; it is not implementing regulations by aggressively bringing suits or seeking far-reaching settlements that will change sex-discriminatory employment policies of employers across the country. At the moment, we can point only to isolated Government victories. Yet the private sector cannot carry the burden alone. It is only with more vigorous, widespread and consistent Government enforcement and a willingness to use available sanctions that we will see widespread movement which will significantly change the employment picture for women.

DE FACTO JOB SEGREGATION

BY BARBARA B. REAGAN**

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I. IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROBLEM

Occupational segregation by sex exists when individual women are unable to make career choices freely, unfettered by subtle or implicit societal barriers. Such career choices include whether to work in unpaid production at home or in the workplace. Occupational segregation by sex also exists when employers have fixed perceptions of the role potential of women that give priority to women's sexual attractiveness or their motherhood or wifehood roles. As a result, employers treat all women working for pay as if they are secondary workers, weakly attached to the market, who only qualify for positions of lower status that are subordinate to those held by men.

The results of sexism in occupational segregation are fourfold. First, women tend to be segregated and crowded into certain "female" occupations such as primary and secondary teachers, nurses, secretaries, typists, office clerical workers, retail sales clerks, health technicians, waitresses, sewers, assemblers, and manufacturing checkers. Women are excluded or discouraged from going into some other occupations, particularly positions involving administration or supervision of men, top leadership and power. Second, within a given occupation, women tend to be concentrated in the lower levels. Third, women's work is less highly valued than men's. Fourth, the total economic product of society is lower than it otherwise would be if women with skills and ability were permitted to produce up to the limits of their capabilities.

In short, occupational segregation by sex currently results in the over-representation of women in the less favorable occupations. Even if equal pay for equal work is achieved, equality of opportunity will not occur simultaneously. This paper does not deal with the problems of attaining equal pay for equal work.

Before World War II and even as late as 1950, the world of work sharply segregated women into jobs that were "helping" positions for men, nurturing children, the ill, or the disadvantaged, or working

**Professor of economics, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.

in other people's homes. Women were expected to stay in the labor force only a short time or to be part-time or part-year workers. Jobs thought to be suitable for women were often extremely specific in job content, with little or no possibility of promotion and that could be filled by intermittent workers. Continuous job service and career development were not expected. Even fathers who aspired to college educations for their daughters talked about the value of young women getting some kind of skill certification as insurance against the possibility that something might happen to their future husbands.

II. MAJOR CHANGES IN THE WORK PLACE

Since World War II and particularly since 1960, we have become aware of two major changes in the workplace related to women and their employment. These changes have had ripple effects throughout society, but many rigidities in the world of work have remained.

The increased number of women in the American civilian labor force, which has been well documented,¹ is clearly one of the most far-reaching transformations of our history. From 1950 to 1975, the number of female workers has more than doubled. Since 1940, the number nearly tripled. Fifty-six percent of all women in the United States aged 18 to 64 years are now in the civilian labor force. The recent increase in the number of mothers with children under 6 who are working in the market place is particularly sharp.² It is difficult to imagine what the level of gross national product would be in the absence of the current rates of labor force participation of women, even allowing for alternate sources of labor supply, such as younger workers.

There are those, even today, who like to think of women workers as a residual labor force, to be called upon when needed on a temporary basis and sent back to the kitchen and the nursery when not needed. Such a view does not fit the modern aspirations of a work force with many women who see themselves as developing careers and working for much, if not all, of their adult lives.

The young woman of today is concerned about how she is going to develop as a whole person; whether she should marry and have children; how and whether she and her husband are going to fit together marriage, children, and two careers; how much she should invest in her own education, and what is the likely pay-off of such an investment. She has little doubt, however, that at some time in her life she will be interested in the opportunities available for paid employment.³ She then wonders what her chance to contribute to her family and to society will be. Will she find a society receptive to her making a contribution in a meaningful way that will permit her to maximize her potential? Even though she is questioning, her expectations of the

¹ "Employment and Training Report of the President" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 143, 213, and 228.

² The labor force participation rate of wives who had children under 6 years old doubled from 18 percent in 1960 to 37.4 percent in 1976: at the same time the labor force participation rate of all women aged 20 to 24 increased from 45 to 65 percent. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Jan. 12, 1977, unpublished data; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-50, No. 29 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office).

³ The worklife expectancy at birth for a female was 22.9 years in 1970, compared with 40.1 years for the male. Howard N. Fullerton, Jr., and James J. Byrne, "Length of Working Life for Men and Women, 1970," Monthly Labor Review, February 1976, p. 32. (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.)

market place are far greater than were those of her older sisters and her mother and aunts. The increase in women's labor market expectations is also a major transformation in our history.

The more education a woman has, the more likely she is to want to work. The increase in women's expectations is shown by the proportion of women going to college, the proportion of women who are college graduates, and the shifts in majors of women currently in college. In 1974, the proportion of women 18 to 19 years of age going to college was 33 percent, after a steady rise from about 15 percent in the early 1950's. In 1974, the proportion of men 18 to 19 years of age going to college was also 33 percent, but that represented a fall from the peak of 44 percent in 1969. The drop in college enrollment by men occurred after 1969 because the labor market took a downward turn during this period after more than 10 years of steady, substantial growth. Many young men decided to seek alternative career paths in the depressed labor market; in contrast, young women were not deterred from their desire for upward mobility by means of a college education, despite the depressed labor market.⁴

Rising expectations of young women are also shown in the changes in freshman career plans, in spite of declining labor markets. Increasing numbers of women, upon entering college, plan to major in fields that have been atypical for women. The proportion of first-year college women who planned to be business majors increased from 3.3 percent in 1966 to 8.5 percent in 1974. Similarly those young college women who said they planned to become lawyers increased from 0.7 percent of all women entering college in 1966 to 2.3 percent in 1974. The percentage of these women hoping to become doctors increased from 1.7 percent to 3.5 percent. The big changes were (a) the decrease in the proportion of young women planning to become elementary or secondary teachers, 34.1 percent in 1966 but only 11.9 percent in 1974 (a realistic view of the expected fall in demand for teachers); (b) the increase in the proportion planning to go into health services (including nursing but excluding doctors) from 11.9 percent in 1966 to 22.7 percent in 1974; and (c) the increase in the undecided group, from 3.6 percent in 1966 to 12.6 percent in 1974.⁵

Young women who realize that the market for teachers is depressed and likely to remain so for some time apparently are moving in large numbers to health service professions, other than doctors. At least, this is their first idea. This is not surprising, given the ideas of many

⁴ The data are quoted from current population surveys of the U.S. Bureau of the Census by Dr. Richard Freeman in "The Overeducated Americans" (New York City: Academic Press, 1976), pp. 33-38. He uses the data as part of the evidence he quotes to show that the work world is becoming better for women. I suggest this evidence better supports a finding that young women in the early 1970's have rising expectations that the work world will be open to permitting them to make maximum contributions in it.

It also should be noted that the proportion of college graduates who are women is slowly moving upward. It was 40.2 percent in 1963-64 and 44.4 percent in 1973-74. For the increase over the 10-year period, see table 237 in "Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1975" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census) and "Earned Degrees Conferred, 1972-73 and 1973-74, Summary Data." NCES 76-105 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare), p. 21.

⁵ Data from the American Council on Education quoted by Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 40. The proportion of women enrolled in medical school increased from 6 percent in 1960 to 18 percent in 1974, with the proportion of women in the first-year class in 1974 up to 22 percent. The proportion of women enrolled in law schools increased from 4 percent in 1960 to 19 percent in 1974, with the proportion of women in the first-year class in 1974 up to 23 percent. See John B. Parrish, "Women in Professional Training—An Update," *Monthly Labor Review* (November 1975), p. 50.

of their parents, teachers, and counselors that the realistic vocational interest of young women should be in supportive roles and in occupations requiring lower investment in human capital; nor is it surprising, given previously increasing societal needs for workers in health areas.⁶ Health professions other than doctors are a traditional area for employment of women; 93 percent of the nurses, dietitians, and therapists in 1974 were women. Movement from teaching to nursing or other health professions (excluding doctors) therefore does little to break down barriers to occupational segregation by sex.

The desire of women to move into law, medicine, and management does knock on those barriers.

III. DOCUMENTING JOB SEGREGATION

Given the sharp increase in numbers and proportion of women now employed outside the home and given the rising aspirations of women, the question then is whether there have been important shifts in the occupational distribution by sex. (1) Are women still crowded into the same "female" occupations? Yes. Sex typing of jobs is still dominant. (2) Is there movement of women into male-dominated fields? Yes, a little. (3) Do women have vertical mobility; have they moved into top-level positions of a given occupation and thus been able to demonstrate their ability to supervise men and to assume leadership roles? No, there is not much vertical mobility. One must therefore conclude, based on the above three factors, that occupational segregation is still very much present, in spite of legislation calling for an end to discrimination based on sex. As a result, only a limited number of jobs are available to women, and college trained women tend to be seriously underemployed.

The 57 occupations in which at least 100,000 women were employed in 1973 are shown in table 1. About 75 percent of all women workers were employed in these occupations. The 10 largest occupations in which more than 40 percent of all women workers were concentrated were secretary, retail trade salesworker, bookkeeper, private household worker, elementary schoolteacher, waitress, typist, cashier, sewer and stitcher, and registered nurse. Of the 10 largest, women comprised 83 to 99 percent of the workers in the particular occupation, except for retail trade sales workers, where women comprised 69 percent. Of the 57 largest, women made up more than 75 percent of the employees in 31 (or more than half) of the occupations. Male employment showed much less occupational concentration. The 10 largest occupations for men employed less than 20 percent of all men workers, compared with the 40 percent noted above for the 10 occupations employing the most women. The 57 occupations with the largest number of men employed covered 52 percent of all men workers; whereas the 57 largest occupations for women, as noted above, employed about 75 percent of the women.⁷

⁶ The expanding room for women in health service occupations may be diminished in the late 1970's by health policy developments which will result in a slowdown in hospital expansion and an improvement in wages and working conditions which will make health service jobs more attractive to white males. See Rashi Fein and Christine Bishop, "Employment Impacts of Health Policy Developments, forthcoming in a special report of the National Commission on Manpower Policy, Washington, D.C.

⁷ 1975 Handbook on Women Workers, pp. 89-92.

TABLE 1.—WOMEN EMPLOYED IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1973 ANNUAL AVERAGES

Occupation	Number (thousands)	Percent distribution of women	Women as per- cent of total employment
Total	32, 446	100. 0	38. 4
White-collar workers	19, 681	60. 7	48. 7
Professional, technical workers	4, 711	14. 5	40. 0
Accountants	162	. 5	21. 6
Librarians, archivists, and curators	133	. 4	82. 1
Personnel and labor relations workers	104	. 3	33. 7
Registered nurses	805	2. 5	97. 8
Health technologists and technicians	235	. 7	71. 5
Social workers	161	. 5	60. 8
Teachers, college and university	133	. 4	27. 1
Teachers, except college and university	2, 038	6. 3	69. 9
Elementary school teachers	1, 084	3. 4	84. 5
Kindergarten and prekindergarten teachers	185	. 6	97. 9
Secondary school teachers	565	1. 7	49. 5
Writers, artists, and entertainers	313	1. 0	33. 7
Managers, administrators	1, 590	4. 9	18. 4
Restaurant, cafeteria, and bar managers	160	. 5	32. 4
Sales workers	2, 240	6. 9	41. 4
Hucksters and peddlers	169	. 5	77. 2
Real estate agents and brokers	142	. 4	36. 4
Sales clerks (retail trade)	1, 551	4. 8	69. 0
Clerical workers	11, 140	34. 3	76. 6
Bank tellers	293	. 9	89. 9
Billing clerks	137	. 4	83. 0
Bookkeepers	1, 466	4. 5	88. 3
Cashiers	909	2. 8	86. 7
Counter clerks (except food)	266	. 8	76. 2
Estimators and investigators (n.e.c.)	164	. 5	49. 5
File clerks	245	. 8	86. 3
Keypunch operators	230	. 7	90. 9
Payroll and timekeeping clerks	143	. 4	72. 2
Receptionists	431	1. 3	96. 9
Secretaries	3, 037	9. 4	99. 1
Statistical clerks	204	. 6	68. 5
Stock clerks and storekeepers	120	. 4	25. 3
Teachers aides (except school monitors)	207	. 6	90. 4
Telephone operators	372	1. 1	95. 9
Typists	999	3. 1	96. 6
Blue-collar workers	5, 244	16. 2	17. 6
Craft and kindred workers	463	1. 4	4. 1
Blue collar supervisors	109	. 3	7. 5
Operatives	4, 482	13. 8	31. 4
Assemblers	600	1. 8	49. 7
Checkers, examiners and inspectors (manufacturing)	377	1. 2	49. 5
Clothing ironers and pressers	118	. 4	77. 1
Dressmakers and seamstresses (except factory)	131	. 4	96. 3
Laundry and dry cleaning operators (n.e.c.)	112	. 3	63. 3
Packers and wrappers (n.e.c.)	420	1. 3	61. 5
Sewers and stitchers	891	2. 7	95. 5
Textile operatives	240	. 7	56. 9
Nonfarm laborers	299	. 9	6. 9
Stockhandlers	130	. 4	17. 3
Service workers	7, 008	21. 6	63. 0
Private household workers	1, 330	4. 1	98. 3
Child care workers	532	1. 6	98. 3
Private household cleaners and servants	631	1. 9	98. 3
Service Workers (except private household)	5, 678	17. 5	58. 1
Cleaning service workers	707	2. 2	34. 1
Building interior cleaners	358	1. 1	54. 2
Lodging quarters cleaners	195	. 6	96. 6
Janitors and sextons	153	. 5	12. 6
Food service workers	2, 370	7. 3	59. 8
Cooks	555	1. 7	80. 8
Food counter and fountain workers	254	. 8	82. 9
Waiters, waitresses, and helpers	1, 082	3. 3	87. 6
Health service workers	1, 398	4. 3	87. 6
Dental assistants	112	. 3	98. 2
Health aides and trainees (excluding nursing)	150	. 5	82. 4
Nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants	790	2. 4	83. 9
Practical nurses	345	1. 1	96. 4
Personal service workers	1, 140	3. 5	73. 9
Child care workers	342	1. 1	95. 5
Hairdressers and cosmetologists	458	1. 4	91. 8
Farm workers	514	1. 6	17. 0

Source: Based on U.S. Department of Labor, "1975 Handbook on Women Workers," Bulletin 297 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 89-91.

The above statistics show that women are concentrated in selected occupations much more than men are. The concentration of women into these few selected occupations has resulted in these occupations being relatively crowded, as evidenced by the relatively low wages paid in them. There is a reserve pool of qualified women outside the labor force who would be willing to work in these female jobs if the wages were increased or conditions of work improved.

Another facet of this question is the growing concentration of women in "female" jobs during the last 15 years. The 10 occupations in which most women were employed in 1973 are listed in table 2. In some cases, summary data for a broader occupational group is also given in order to permit comparisons when the detail is not available. Because the data in this table are from different sources with slightly different definitions and are based on samples which are subject to normal sampling error, general comparisons should be made, rather than specific ones. (Dashes are used when data are not available.) Trends may be meaningful even though differences between the selected years are small.

TABLE 2.—PROPORTION OF EMPLOYED WORKERS WHO WERE WOMEN IN EACH OF THE SELECTED OCCUPATIONS FOR SELECTED YEARS SINCE 1960

Occupation	1975 ¹	1974 ²	1973 ³	1970 ⁴	1960 ⁴
All occupations.....	39.0	38.9	38.4	37.7	32.8
Nurses, dieticians, therapists.....		93.1	-----	94.4	96.0
Registered nurses.....		98.0	97.8	97.3	97.5
Teachers, except college.....	70.6	69.2	69.9	70.2	72.6
Elementary school teachers.....		84.3	84.5	83.6	85.8
Salesworkers, retail trade.....	61.6	60.9	-----	-----	-----
Sales clerks, retail trade.....		69.4	69.0	64.6	63.3
Bookkeepers.....		89.2	88.3	82.0	83.4
Cashiers.....		87.7	86.7	83.5	76.9
Secretaries, typists, and stenographers.....	98.4	98.4	-----	96.6	96.5
Secretaries.....			99.1	97.6	97.1
Typists.....			96.6	94.2	95.1
Operatives except transport.....	39.5	40.4	39.2	37.9	35.5
Sewers and stitchers.....			95.5	93.7	94.0
Food service workers.....	74.6	74.7	69.7	68.0	67.6
Waiters.....			82.9	88.8	86.6
Private household workers.....	98.0	98.2	98.3	96.6	96.4

¹ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment and Earnings" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, January 1976), table 18, p. 146. Employed persons 20 yr and over; annual averages of monthly data.

² Unless otherwise specified, 1974 data are from U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment and Earnings" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, June 1975), table 1, p. 7. Annual average of monthly data.

³ U.S. Department of Labor, "1975 Handbook on Women Workers" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 89-91. Annual averages of monthly data.

⁴ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, "Detailed Characteristics of the Population U.S. Summary" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), table 221. Employed, persons 14 yrs. old and over, pp. 718 ff.

As the proportion of women increased among all occupations in the last 15 years, the most numerous jobs for women remained largely, female jobs. Many of these female jobs have become even more concentrated with women as the market expanded, as in the case of retail sales clerking, bookkeeping, cashiering, secretarial and typing work, and food service work including that of waiter. In a declining labor market, private household jobs became more highly concentrated with women. Registered nursing and elementary school teaching positions showed little change, remaining highly concentrated with women. Most of the increase in women in the labor force has been absorbed through expansion of clerical and service worker jobs, which traditionally are "female" jobs.

A. Slow Movement Into Male Dominated Fields

Another aspect of recent changes in occupational segregation is whether women now are being employed in fields long considered male preserves; that is, higher paid professional and managerial jobs. The question arises as to what proportion is suitable to be selected as the norm for women's participation in an occupation—50 percent, the same proportion women have of all jobs (41 percent in 1976), or a looser definition based on free choice without barriers. As long as women are in low proportions in some fields, all we need to say is that barriers should be removed so that more women who wish to do so may move into the male-dominated fields. As long as the major direction for policy is clearly "more," we need not stop now to worry about how much more.⁸

Women are beginning to move slowly into male-dominated professions as shown in table 3.

TABLE 3.—PROPORTION OF EMPLOYED WORKERS WHO WERE WOMEN IN SPECIFIED MALE-DOMINATED PROFESSIONS FOR SELECTED YEARS SINCE 1960

Occupation	1974	1973	1970	1960
All occupations.....	38.9	38.4	37.7	32.8
All professional, technical.....	40.5	40.0	39.8	38.4
Accountants.....	23.7	21.6	26.0	16.4
Architects.....			3.5	2.0
Computer specialists.....	19.0	19.5	19.6	29.8
Engineers.....	1.3		1.6	.8
Engineering and science technicians.....		10.2	10.9	9.0
Lawyers and judges.....	7.0		4.8	3.4
Physicians, dentists.....	9.3		8.5	5.9
Religious workers.....	10.1		10.3	16.5
Clergymen.....			2.9	2.3
Teachers, college and university.....	30.9	27.1	28.4	23.7

¹ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment and Earnings," (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, June 1975), table 1, p. 7. Annual average of monthly data.

² U.S. Department of Labor, "1975 Handbook on Women Workers," Bulletin 297, (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office 1976) pp. 89-91. Annual averages of monthly data.

³ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, "Detailed Characteristics of the Population, U.S. Summary," (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1970), table 221. Employed persons 14 yr. old and over, pp. 718 ff.

The proportion of women in the total for all professional fields is highly influenced by the concentration of women in the high employment areas of primary school teachers and nurses. In the specific professional areas that traditionally have been male dominated, more women are being employed as accountants in 1974 than in 1960. Similarly, the proportion of women employed as college and university teachers has increased. Smaller gains have been made in law and medicine since 1960. Extremely small gains have been made in engineering, with possible regression since 1970.

The proportion of all women college graduates working in professional occupations fell from 81 percent in 1969 to 69 percent in 1974. This drop was related to the reduced chance of getting a teaching job in secondary or elementary schools; this reduced chance fell from 49 percent in 1969 to 43 percent in 1974.⁹

Women have also been moving slowly in the last 15 years into management positions, but there is still a long way to go as shown in table 4.

⁸ Kenneth E. Boulding and Barbara B. Reagan, "Guidelines To Obviate Role Prejudice and Sex Discrimination," *American Economic Review* (December 1973), p. 1050.

⁹ Richard Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

Interpretation of the data on women in management is clouded by the fact that a higher proportion of women than men counted in the management category serve as supervisors, rather than true managers. Furthermore, the earnings and promotion possibilities of managers are related to the size and market power of their firms. Women managers may be less likely than men to be with the larger, more powerful firms. Sharp increases have been made in the employment of women in such positions as bank officials and financial managers. The market has expanded from about 24,000 such jobs in 1960 to over 300,000 in 1970 and to over 500,000 in 1974, an increase that is related to the growth in branch banking. The growth of women's proportion of such employment from about 9 percent in 1960 to 21 percent in 1974 is one of the sharpest changes observed. Women also gained in positions such as sales manager and department head in retail trade as the number of such jobs grew.

TABLE 4.—PERCENT OF EMPLOYED PERSONS WHO ARE WOMEN IN SELECTED MANAGER JOBS BY YEARS

Occupation	¹ 1974	² 1973	³ 1970	³ 1960
All occupations	38.9	38.4	37.7	32.8
Managers and administrators except farm	18.5	18.4	16.5	14.7
Bank officials, financial managers	21.4	19.4	17.6	8.7
Buyers and purchasing agents	24.9	25.1		
Buyers, wholesale and retail trade	36.3		29.5	35.5
Health administrators			44.6	75.1
Officials, Administrators; public administration; n.e.c.	20.8		19.1	17.4
Restaurant, cafeteria, bar managers	33.9	32.4	34.1	32.5
Sales managers, department heads, retail trade	32.4	28.9	23.8	23.4
Sales managers except retail trade			3.5	<.1
School administrators	27.8	29.0	26.5	25.6
College			23.5	30.7
Elementary and secondary			27.1	25.0

¹ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment and Earnings" (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, June 1975), table 1, p. 7. Annual average of monthly data.

² U.S. Department of Labor, "1975 Handbook on Women Workers," Bulletin 297 (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 89-91. Annual averages of monthly data.

³ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, "Detailed Characteristics of the Population U.S. Summary," (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1970), table 221. Employed persons 14 yrs. old and over, pp. 178 ff.

Health administration is another occupational group with tremendous growth from 1960 to 1970; the number of jobs grew from about 7,000 to 84,000. In this group of jobs, however, men were employed in such large numbers that the proportion of women managers decreased from 75 percent of the health administrators to 45 percent in the 10-year period. Women also lost ground from 1960 to 1974 as buyers in wholesale and retail trade, as well as college administrators from 1960 to 1970.

Although not considered a separate occupational category, the number of women who are on the boards of large corporations is related to women's role in management. Data on the relative number of board positions held by women is incomplete. A listing of the women members of the boards of directors of 237 corporations in the United States was made by Business and Society Review in the winter issue of 1975-76.¹⁰ It was noted that appointment of women to boards of directors was just a trickle in 1972 and prior years, but increased more rapidly thereafter. Eighty of the women listed were appointed in 1975. Over

¹⁰ (No author), "Who Are the Women in the Board Rooms," a survey, Business and Society Review, No. 16 (winter 1975-76), p. 5.

the years, a few women were appointed to corporate boards because of family relationships to the men who founded or owned the businesses. Now additional women are being asked to serve because of their own accomplishments and knowledge. As company leaders begin to think about adding women as directors, they have a tendency to select women who already sit on another board, as indicated in table 5.

TABLE 5.—WOMEN IN CORPORATE BOARDS

	Number of women directors	Number of corpora- tions	Number of directors positions
Total.....	207	237	26
Women on more than 1 board.....	36		91
Women with family affiliation to founder or president.....	37	34	39
Boards with 2 to 4 women directors.....		21	46
Boards with 1 or more women who do not have family affiliation to founder or president.....		203	
Women on 1 or more boards and who do not have family affiliation to founder or president.....	170		

Source: With thanks to Dr. Alva Clutts, School of Business Administration, Southern Methodist University, for making these counts from the directory listing in *Business and Society Review* (Winter, 1975-76), and bringing them to my attention.

Of the 237 corporations who have at least one woman director, only 203 have women who are not related to the founder or president and only 170 women hold these positions. Obviously there should be more opportunity in the board rooms of many corporations for women with skills and experience to make a contribution.

B. Vertical Mobility

Once a woman has trained for a male-dominated field and obtained employment in an entry level position, occupational segregation by sex still exists unless women have vertical mobility comparable to that of men. In part, this is a function of on-job-training opportunities. Employers with limited perceptions as to women employees' promotability will be reluctant to make on-job-training opportunities available to them. Women may be excluded from informal networks. Sex discrimination can take many subtle forms that slow or deter women's progress up the professional or managerial ladder.

It is not enough for counsellors to urge a young woman to feel free to train for entry into a male-dominated field if her interests lie in that field. Active support systems, and attitudinal changes must also be made available if she is to have equal opportunity in the male-dominated profession or occupation.

Many of the "female" occupations have extremely limited channels for promotion. Many occupations have been fragmented into specific tasks requiring pre-employment training. Specific training for clerical or service tasks leads to permanent typecasting. Licensing and accreditation keep work groups separated and without promotional possibilities. For example, nurses' aides do not learn on the job how to be nurses; they have to attend school to do so.

About two-thirds of all jobs in New York City municipal hospitals do not have educational or training requirements for entry, but neither do they have promotional possibilities. . . .

Even in industries where promotional ladders are common, certain jobs were traditionally isolated. An example of particular interest involves telephone op-

erators. The American Telephone and Telegraph Co., in agreeing to affirmative action for enhancing equal employment opportunity, now provides for exit from this job by removing sex as a barrier to horizontal or vertical mobility. Since the plan cannot, however, create experience linkages between the operator job and other jobs, the company has to train the operators who move into craft jobs as if they were newly hired.

The point is important because it illustrates how closely the conditions for market protection are related to jobs rather than to the people who fill them. Equal opportunity as a strategy tends to increase the pool of eligibles in competition for the better jobs, but it does not make good jobs out of poor ones.¹¹

A study of labor market changes between 1960 and 1970, from which the above quotation was excerpted, arrives at the following conclusion: Among 270 labor market segments in the occupational-industry matrix, only 38 had a considerable proportion of their jobs so organized as to make possible promotion based on on-job training. The 38 occupation-industry segments were composed primarily of managers and sales people in finance, insurance, and real estate; professional, technical, and craft workers in public administration; professional workers in manufacturing and trade; managers in wholesale manufacturing, construction, agriculture, retailing, other consumer services, education, health, restaurants, and utilities; and craft workers in manufacturing, transportation, utilities, and other consumer services. These occupation-industry groups were among the higher paying groups. They provided only 11 percent of all jobs in 1960, but expanded to cover 16 percent of all jobs in 1970. The increase occurred primarily in public administration. Manufacturing and utilities had relatively declining employment from 1960 to 1970. These 38 segments with strong internal promotion ladders were not occupation-industry groups with many women employees.¹²

If the occupational groups in the above study were divided into categories based on average annual earnings, women would be concentrated in three of the four lowest paid categories, as of 1970. The proportion of women falling in the three lowest paid categories ranged from 65 to 76 percent. The earnings ratios for these low-paid groups ranged from 43 to 78 percent of the average earnings of all the groups. Perhaps most discouraging of all, the dominance of women in these three low-paid categories had increased from 1960 to 1970. The occupations in these groups were primarily office and nonoffice clerical work in manufacturing, nondurable retailing, finance, insurance, real estate and some service industries; technical work in health and product services; sales work in nondurable retailing; and service work in education, restaurants, and other consumer service industries.¹³

Women are subjected to typecasting in the labor market. They have limited occupational mobility, either horizontal or vertical. Consciousness of their occupational segregation is being raised, but barriers to their progress still exist.

IV. CAUSES OF JOB SEGREGATION

Why does occupational segregation by sex persist? Why are women continuing to enter traditional jobs for women instead of being hired in nontraditional jobs? Clearly, more women entering into traditional

¹¹ Marcia Fredman, "Labor Markets: Segments and Shelters," *Landmark Studies* (Montclair, N.J.: Allenheld, Orman & Co., 1976), pp. 42 and 43.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 42 and 72.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 71-73.

jobs makes it even more difficult to reduce barriers to employment of women in nontraditional jobs because of the continually larger numbers involved. Until sizable numbers of women throughout the economy—in business, universities, and Government—hold leadership and executive positions with policymaking responsibilities, occupational segregation by sex and sex discrimination will not be eliminated. The total economy and the society as a whole will be the loser, as well as the women and families involved. White men gain when they can restrict entry to their jobs, but women lose more than white men gain; thus society suffers a net loss.

Part of the explanation for discrimination must lie outside the field of economics; some employers continue to discriminate against women, even when it is in their economic interest to hire women for non-traditional positions. Some employers will not hire women in top-level positions even when women are “good buys”—that is, a woman who is currently under-employed in relation to her training and experience could be hired and her work upgraded with only a reasonable increase in pay. Economic incentives to the employer have not been enough to open up opportunities to more than a few highly qualified women.

Recent new laws against sex discrimination in employment are now on the books. However, lack of enforcement, slowness of judicial processes, subtle but strong retaliation against people who raise individual discrimination cases for discussion and judgment, the attitude of those in power that these issues are not serious all have tended to negate the effectiveness of antidiscrimination legislation. Only the persistent pressure of women activists has kept antidiscrimination measures alive. Recent efforts to end university obligation to enforce antisex discrimination measures represent a case in point of continuing pressure to undo even limited progress—a negative precedent if these efforts were to prevail.

Until our society finds ways to show that sex discrimination will not be tolerated, and powerful political leaders do more than make token appointments of a few women, the waste of occupational segregation will persist.

There are many reinforcing and interlocking factors causing occupational segregation by sex to persist. First, there is the cumulative effect of past discrimination. There is outright discrimination against individual women of skill and ability. There is also backlash, particularly today, from men who feel very insecure when women in the work world are in positions that are not subordinate to them. Most important numerically is the narrow perception that many men in positions of power have of the potential of women in the work world. Such men never think of women for management, executive, and leadership positions. These narrow attitudes are supported by institutions throughout our culture which have long and deep historical roots.¹⁴ They are based on attitudes that (1) woman's primary role is in the home, (2) her attachment to the labor force is temporary or secondary to the home, (3) she is interested only in intermittent work to meet rising costs in periods of inflation, or to earn just “pin money.” The recent expectations of women who have been entering the labor force attest to the

¹⁴ For detailed analysis, see Martha Blaxall and Barbara B. Reagan, editors, “Women in the Workplace, the Implications of Occupational Segregation” (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

opposite view. Many women are serious about their careers and their work role potential. They are interested in making the greatest possible economic contribution to their families¹⁵ as well as to the productivity of society. Women are dismayed at the negative attitudes,¹⁶ the institutional barriers, the waste involved when they are not permitted to develop their careers fully after investing in their human capital.

Many top male executives are completely blind to the sex discrimination involved in occupational segregation. They are so imbued with the rightness of the view that men should be in all the top positions that underutilization of women employees is beyond their current understanding. Even calling the issue to their attention may not result in immediate awareness. It takes repeated efforts and often personal involvement through wives and daughters before real insight occurs. This blindness is not limited to older men, nor to business leaders. Some political leaders, even relatively young ones, also lack insight, despite the fact that politicians should be particularly sensitive to current trends in women's role potential. Recently, a business executive was quoted in the press as saying that he asked his secretary if she felt discriminated against because of her sex. She said, "Of course not." As a form of proof, this is analogous to the Southern planter in the early 1930's who asked his black sharecropper if he liked his position. The answer was, "Yes, sir, Boss, and I appreciate it."

The increased awareness of many men in power positions of the moral wrong and economic inefficiencies in racial discrimination has provided a strong basis for extending and widening their view of the role potential of women. The surprise to women is the slow rate at which employers' views have changed and sex discrimination has ended. Women are also surprised at the strength of the backlash against women moving into higher positions, even though the movement is so infinitesimal.

Male executives today often fear "reverse discrimination" when in fact women really are not going anywhere in the top echelons. Examination of a business, government agency, or university may reveal this. Unless a male superior supports and pushes a female so as to open opportunities for her, she does not go very far up the ladder. Men think nothing of a male executive supporting and pushing a male protege. But when the protege is a woman of talent and skill, many men see this as undue favoritism, instead of a simple normal protege situation.

Some of the resistance against opening opportunities for women to move up the executive ladder in the world of work comes from men who themselves feel insecure and indeed are inadequate as managers. Unfortunately, in our culture there are still men who are unable to deal with women at work in positions other than subordinate ones. They are not willing to see women move into positions where in the future they might conceivably compete with them or their close male colleagues.

In the world of work, efficiency ratings are commonplace. It is time, in my opinion, to rate an executive on his ability to work with women and his willingness to open opportunities for them at top levels. If he

¹⁵ This is not a new attitude for women. It is just that the means have changed.

¹⁶ A male colleague of mine quips that the reason occupational segregation by sex persists is simple—the cost of a sex modification operation is so high.

is unable to handle this, his management ability should be appropriately downgraded. As with racial discrimination at work, inner feelings do not have to be monitored; actions do!

V. CONCLUSION: ECONOMIC FORCES AFFECT SEGREGATION

The future effect of efforts to end sex discrimination and reduce sex role stereotypes in the workplace may well depend on the general health of the economy and its growth rate, as well as on the strength of agents of change. Merely opening entry level positions in atypical fields for women, although useful, will not solve the problem. The policy of using women only when the economy needs them, and the blindness to role potential of women can easily block advancement of new entrants. Concurrent movement of women in top level executive positions and into the corporate board rooms is also necessary. At this point, the potential competition of women with men for top level jobs is very threatening to men. It is particularly threatening if the growth of the economy and thus the increase in the number of executive level jobs is low. Differing growth rates for the overall economy suggest different scenarios.

If labor markets expand through the second half of the 1970's, the rising expectations of women and the movement of women into the labor market may well shift former patterns and reduce barriers to women in the workplace. On the other hand, if labor markets remain depressed through the second half of the 1970's, the rising expectations of women workers may well come into sharp conflict with the realities of occupational segregation and the barriers to their occupational mobility. At least two alternate outcomes are possible with depressed labor markets. The ensuing conflict between women's expectations and the barriers to their occupational mobility may be enough to change the previously established equilibrium and to open greater opportunities for women. Such movement may be small. Nevertheless, a small amount of movement may be large enough to ease social tensions, even though full productivity gains are not realized.

An even more likely scenario in a slow economy with relatively high unemployment rates would be increased rigidities in occupational segregation by sex and decreased opportunities for women. This could be a reaffirmation of the old view that women are secondary workers in the labor market and male heads of families receive priority in employment. Economic forces will be a major determinant of the future opportunities for women.

WOMEN WORKERS, NONTRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS AND FULL EMPLOYMENT

BY BEATRICE G. REUBENS* AND EDWIN P. REUBENS **

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I. INTRODUCTION

The concept of full employment embraces the qualitative as well as the quantitative satisfaction of job needs. A full employment policy must therefore offer not only more jobs to accommodate all who wish and are able to take paid work; it must also offer a wider variety of jobs and a greater access to the higher level positions in the occupational hierarchy than are now available to women and other groups whose opportunities have been limited by societal factors. Occupational barriers which thwart the full utilization of capacities are antithetical to a full employment program and costly to individuals and the Nation.

In turn, progress toward achieving the quantitative and qualitative goals of full employment is likely to stimulate the labor force participation of women, accelerating the long-run upward trend and possibly establishing higher ultimate participation rates than might prevail without sustained full employment. Research on the labor force behavior of women, especially married women, has established that ris-

*Senior Research Associate, Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University, New York.

**Professor of Economics, City College of the City University of New York, N.Y.

ing numbers of job opportunities are associated with increases in female labor force participation rates.¹

A. "Reserve" Supply of Women Workers and Labor Demand

Beyond the absorption of the discouraged or hidden unemployed such as occurs in a recovery period of the business cycle,² sustained full employment would draw on the labor reserve of women who currently regard themselves as outside the labor market.³ Some indication of the size of the female labor reserve is given in 1970 census data on labor force participation rates for females aged 16 and over within each State, subdivided into the urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm population. A wide disparity of female participation rates emerges from this tabulation, and the chief, but not sole, cause appears to be differences in the local availability of jobs. Support for this interpretation arises from the fact that male participation rates within the same geographical breakdown also were widely dispersed in approximately the same pattern, although male rates were all consistently higher than female rates. The latter ranged from a low of 17.3 percent in the rural farm areas of North Dakota to a high of 55.9 percent in the totally urban District of Columbia. The other low female participation rates, not exceeding 24 percent, occurred in the rural farm areas of West Virginia, South Dakota, and Louisiana, while the other high rates were all in urban areas, and were highest in Alaska, Hawaii, and North Carolina, where the urban rates were 51.4, 50.3, and 48.8 percent respectively.⁴

One of the ways to measure the gap in jobs for women, which a full employment policy would have to fill, is to postulate that the female labor force participation rates established in the highest areas would prevail all over the country if a full-employment volume of jobs were available. For example, a female participation rate of perhaps 50 percent under full employment in 1970 (instead of the 1970 actual rate of 41.4 percent) would have resulted in a female labor force (aged 16 and over) 6.4 million larger than the actual 30.5 million in 1970, of whom 1.6 million were unemployed at census time.⁵ The total deficit of female jobs thus would have been 8 million. In fact, a female labor force participation rate of 50 percent is forecast by the BLS for 1985 in projections issued in 1976.⁶ Judging by past

¹ G. B. McNally, "Patterns of Female Labor Force Activity," *Industrial Relations* (May 1967); T. A. Pinegan, "Participation of Married Women in the Labor Force," in C. E. Lloyd, ed., "Sex, Discrimination, and the Division of Labor" (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975); J. Mincer, "Labor Force Participation and Unemployment: A Review of Recent Evidence," in R. A. Gordon and M. S. Gordon, editors, "Prosperity and Unemployment" (New York: Wiley, 1966); A. Tella, "The Relation of Labor Force to Employment," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* (April 1964).

² N. S. Barrett, "The Economy Ahead of Us: Will Women Have Different Roles?" in J. M. Kreps, editor, "Women and the American Economy: A Look to the 1980's" (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1976), p. 156; *New York Times*, Sept. 12, 1976, "Women Entering Job Market at an 'Extraordinary' Pace"; U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, news release (Sept. 15, 1976), "The U.S. Labor Force in 1990: New Projections."

³ C. G. Gellner, "Enlarging the Concept of a Labor Reserve," *Monthly Labor Review* (April 1975); A. D. Butler and C. O. Demopoulos, "Labor Force Behavior in a Full-Employment Economy," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* (April 1972); N. J. Simler and A. Tella, "Labor Reserve and the Phillips Curve, Review of Economics and Statistics (February 1968); W. Vroman, "The Labor Reserve: A Reestimate," *Review of Economics and Statistics* (October 1970).

⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population. "General Social and Economic Characteristics, U.S. Summary" (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1973), PC (1)-C1, table 163.

⁵ *Ibid.*, table 90.

⁶ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, news release (Sept. 15, 1976), "The U.S. Labor Force in 1990 * * *" table 1.

outdating of such projections, it is likely that this participation rate will be reached before 1985 even in the absence of full employment.

Our calculation of the female labor reserve may exaggerate the available female labor supply by assuming too great a uniformity across geographical areas in the characteristics and situation of the female population and in their potential responses to job opportunities. On the other hand, no allowance is made in this calculation for the stimulatory effects of quantitative full employment on female labor force participation rates in all areas, including those where the rates are now highest. Such a quantitative projection also omits entirely the potential boost to female participation rates which might result from a wider choice of jobs and access to the better-paid jobs as an inherent component of a full employment policy.⁷ Little is known about the ways in which a greater penetration of women into male-dominated occupations would affect female participation rates, since the major impacts might be on women already in the labor force.

On the demand side, the difficulty of achieving full employment in various parts of the country is suggested by projections of employment growth by regions for 1970-85; the range in growth rates is from a low of 21 percent in New England to 38 percent in the Far West.⁸ It is clear that a full employment policy would require programs to meet geographical variations in both the number of jobs available and the number of jobs desired. In the same way, projections of the occupational composition of employment in the years ahead reveal disparities between the likely developments in job openings and the preparation and desires of both men and women for entry jobs and for posts on an upward mobility track.⁹ Here again fine tuning may be necessary in the full employment program. In short, a combination of the quantitative and qualitative aspects of full employment policy implies a dynamic interplay between the supply and demand sides such that a stable full employment equilibrium is unlikely to be reached. Instead the best to be hoped for is a moving approximation in which the gap between demand and supply is minimized.

B. Some Major Questions

The challenge to policy is complex. Can enough jobs be created for all who would want them under the expansive conditions of full employment? Can enough attractive jobs be created to satisfy both men and women? Is the opening of more nontraditional jobs to women workers through occupational desegregation a sufficient measure to achieve equality with men? How adequately does an occupational desegregation policy meet the needs of various subgroups of women, especially those with low educational attainment and occupational status? Do black women have special perceptions of the issue? Finally,

⁷ F. D. Weisskoff (Blau), "Women's Place' in the Labor Market," Proceedings, American Economic Association (May 1972), p. 165; E. James, "Effects of Women's Liberation," in C. B. Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 387-391, app. 15.2.

⁸ L. A. Lecht, "Changes in Occupational Characteristics: Planning Ahead for the 1980's" (New York: The Conference Board, 1976), table 2.3.

⁹ Lecht, op. cit., pp. 16-21, 39-41; J. L. Norwood, "Norwood and the Workplace" Signs (spring 1976 supplement), pp. 278-281; M. F. Crowley, "Professional Manpower: The Job Market Turnaround," Monthly Labor Review (October 1972); Neil Rosenthal and Hall Dillon, "Occupational Outlook for the Mid-1980's," Occupational Outlook Quarterly (winter 1974); H. Wool, "Future Labor Supply for Lower Level Occupations," Monthly Labor Review (March 1976); J. N. Hedges, "Women Workers and Manpower Demands in the 1970's," Monthly Labor Review (June 1970).

can an occupational desegregation policy be framed entirely in terms of the needs of women, omitting a corresponding movement for men?

In this context, the discussion of women and nontraditional jobs will begin with concepts, definitions, and measurement. It is followed by a detailed review of changes in women's penetration of the male-intensive occupations from 1960 to the present, including a discussion of earnings and subgroups of women. The final section considers the policy issues surrounding increased female access to nontraditional jobs in relation to a full employment policy.

II. NONTRADITIONAL JOBS: CONCEPTS AND MEASUREMENT

Nontraditional occupations for women are not a fixed category, but vary over time and from place to place. For most purposes, nontraditional jobs at any given time may be defined as those in which women form a considerably smaller proportion of the workforce than their current share of the total employed population.

In the work settings where most women are employed, it is customary to make occupational distinctions which label certain jobs nontraditional for women.¹⁰ Whether or not the workplace is simply a replica of the social relationships of men and women in all other aspects of life, the result of job labeling within the firm has been to place men higher than women in the job hierarchy, as measured by status and salary levels, to give men supervisory roles over women at work, and to reserve for men most of the upward mobility within the enterprise. Questions of differential access to the higher ranks within an organization arise even where there is a gender-neutral occupation, such as secondary school teaching. From a broader perspective, girls are seen as receiving signals from society from an early age that male intensive occupations are not suitable for females. There is thus both a horizontal and a vertical aspect to the restrictions of women because of male-dominated occupations. The former involves limitations on original choice and preparation for an occupation, choice of firm, job assignment, and job changes. The latter concerns restricted upward mobility within the work organization or into more prestigious or better-paying firms.

This separation of men's work from women's has been sufficiently pervasive and observable, even in the inadequate national occupational data, to produce numerous theoretical forays into the causes and process. Drawing on the insights of one or more academic disciplines, the resulting theories have yielded a welter of views, not always consistent with one another. The divergencies among economists are notable, as recent reviewers of the literature indicate.¹¹

Empirical efforts also have been made to measure occupational differences between men and women, and to establish the trends over time, using a variety of indexes. One of the measures concerns occupational concentration by sex, showing the number of occupations in which a given proportion of the labor force of each sex is found. While

¹⁰ H. T. Schrank and J. W. Riley, Jr., "Women in Work Organizations," in J. M. Kreps, *op. cit.*

¹¹ F. D. Blau and D. L. Jusenius, "Economists' Approaches to Sex Segregation in the Labor Market: An Appraisal," *Signs* (spring 1976 supplement); C. B. Lloyd, "The Division of Labor Between the Sexes," in Lloyd, *op. cit.*; J. F. Madden, "Economic Dimensions of Occupational Segregation: Comment III," *Signs* (spring 1976 supplement); H. Kahne and A. I. Kohen, "Economic Perspectives on the Roles of Women in the American Economy," *Journal of Economic Literature* (December 1975), pp. 1256-1262.

occupational concentration appears to have diminished over the years for women, men are still distributed more widely than women over occupations, even after allowance is made for the larger number of men in the labor force.¹² Another measure focuses on the occupational dissimilarity between men and women. Called an index of occupational segregation by some analysts, this measure has shown little change over the years in the prevalence of a high degree of sex-labeling of occupations.¹³

Measures which identify male and female intensity of the detailed occupations are another way of assessing the trend in female penetration of nontraditional jobs. By all accounts, the proportion of women in male-intensive occupations has changed little since 1900. While the progress registered from 1960 to 1970 was small, it suggests a trend toward greater penetration by each sex into nontraditional occupations.¹⁴ A rather staggering figure can be extracted from the Bergmann-Adelman basic calculations on the distribution of men and women in male intensive occupations. If women had been represented in these occupations according to their proportion of the whole employed population, it would have been necessary to shift more than 10 million women into the male intensive occupations. By the same token, over 10 million men would have had to take up female intensive occupations in order to redress the balance in that sector and to find jobs in the 1970 economy.¹⁵

Another way of looking at sex polarization is by a tabulation of the occupations rather than their total employment. Depending on the base year chosen, the results tend to conform to those for employment.¹⁶ On the whole, the various measures cited here confirm that some slight changes have occurred since 1960 in the occupational distributions of both men and women, tending toward a reduction in the segregation.

Some find the existence of occupational separation of either sex obvious in itself. But for most, the objections to the existence of male intensive occupations arise from the evidence that men have higher rates of pay and total earnings than women. Consequently much of

¹² V. K. Oppenheimer, "The Sex Labeling of Jobs," *Industrial Relations* (May 1973); D. Sommers, "Occupational Rankings for Men and Women by Earnings," *Monthly Labor Review* (August 1974), pp. 50-51; J. N. Hedges, op. cit., p. 19; "Manpower Report of the President, 1974," p. 107; M. H. Stevenson, "Relative Wages and Sex Segregation by Occupation," in C. B. Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 182-187; V. K. Oppenheimer, "The Female Labor Force in the United States: Demographic Factors Governing Its Growth and Changing Composition" (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

¹³ E. Gross, "Plus ca Change * * *? The Sexual Structure of Occupations Over Time," *Social Problems* (fall, 1968); F. D. Blau, "Sex Segregation of Workers by Enterprise in Clerical Occupations," in R. C. Edwards, M. Reich, and D. M. Gordon, editors, "Labor Market Segmentation" (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1975), pp. 257-278; Council of Economic Advisers, "Economic Report of the President" (1973), p. 155; R. L. Oaxaca, "Some Observations on the Economics of Women's Liberation," *Challenge* (July/August 1976), p. 32.

¹⁴ V. K. Oppenheimer, "The Sex Labeling of Jobs," pp. 219-221; H. Zellner, "The Determinants of Occupational Segregation," in C. B. Lloyd, op. cit., p. 126; R. D. Roderick and J. M. Davis, "Correlates of Atypical Job Assignment" (Columbus: Center for Human Resource Research, the Ohio State University, 1972); B. Bergmann and L. Adelman, "The 1973 Report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers: The Economic Role of Women," *American Economic Review* (September 1973), table 1; F. D. Blau, "Sex Segregation —," op. cit., p. 257; C. L. Jusenius, "Occupational Change," "Dual Careers: A Longitudinal Study of Labor Market Experiences of Women," vol. 3, p. 22 (Washington: Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, R. & D. Monograph 21, 1975).

¹⁵ Bergmann and Adelman, op. cit., table 1.

¹⁶ M. K. Freedman, "Labor Markets: Segments and Shelters" (Montclair: Allanheld, Osmun, 1976), p. 87; J. L. Laws, "Psychological Dimensions of Women's Work Force Participation," in P. A. Wallace, editor, "Some New Perspectives on Equal Employment Opportunity and the A.T. & T. Case" (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1975).

the theoretical and empirical work has centered on explanations of these sex differences in earnings.¹⁷ Some studies maintain that the exclusion of women from male-dominated occupations is less responsible for wage rate and earnings differences than is unequal pay within occupations, as they are classified in national data. Other studies acknowledge the effects of simultaneous forces tending toward higher earnings for men.¹⁸

Whatever the theories and studies have shown in their disputatious presentations, public policy has been clear in its assumptions and goals. Responding to one of the strongest and clearest revolutions of rising expectations of this century, as embodied in the Women's Movement, Government action to permit increased entry of women into nontraditional jobs has been expressed in several pieces of legislation, notably the Equal Pay Act of 1963, title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, in affirmative action measures, in the Federal Contract Compliance program (Executive Order 11246 as amended by Executive Order 11375 in 1967), and in such actions as the Department of Labor's sponsorship of a specific program in suburban New York to train women for nontraditional jobs. State and local equal opportunity and human rights legislation and commissions also have been established. Without prejudging the efficacy of these measures which had little impact by 1970, we proceed to a detailed analysis of female penetration of male intensive occupations, drawn chiefly from census data which are comparable for 1960 and 1970.

III. FEMALE PENETRATION INTO NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS SINCE 1960

In 1960 about 2.7 million women were employed in male intensive occupations, and these in turn accounted for over 60 percent of all employment. Women in male intensive occupations constituted a small minority, 13.5 percent, of all women workers. (Table 1). They also accounted for only about 7 percent of total employment in the male intensive occupations at a time when women comprised 33 percent of all workers. Ten years later the 1970 census showed (table 1) just over 4 million women in the male intensive occupations, which accounted for 56 percent of all employment. Women in male intensive occupations constituted 15 percent of all women workers, only a little above the 1960 share. Similarly, women accounted for 10 percent of all the workers in male intensive occupations while they were 38 percent of the total employment.

¹⁷ H. Kahne and A. I. Kohen, "Economic Perspectives . . .," p. 1258; see also I. V. Sawhill, "The Economics of Discrimination Against Women: Some New Findings," *Journal of Human Resources* (summer 1973).

¹⁸ S. W. Polachek, "Discontinuous Labor Force Participation and Its Effect on Women's Market Earnings," in C. B. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 113; J. T. Addison, "Sex Discrimination: Some Comparative Evidence," *British Journal of Industrial Relations* (July 1975), pp. 263-266; B. Chipkin and P. J. Sloane, "Sexual Discrimination in the Labor Market," *British Journal of Industrial Relations* (November 1974), pp. 77-81.

TABLE 1.—EMPLOYMENT, ALL OCCUPATIONS AND MALE INTENSIVE OCCUPATIONS, 1960 AND 1970

	Occupations		Employment					
	Number, 1960 ¹	Percent distribution	1960		1970		Growth 1960-70	
Total (thousands)			Percent distribution	Total (thousands)	Percent distribution	Total percent distribution	Percent change	
Total employment ²	418		61,455.5		72,484.8		11,029.3	17.9
Total male employment ²	418		41,480.0		45,291.1		3,811.1	9.2
Total female employment ²	418	100.0	19,975.5	100.0	27,193.7	100.0	7,218.2	36.1
Females in male intensive occupations ³	266	63.7	2,693.8	13.5	4,083.2	15.0	19.2	51.6
Very male intensive (VMI) ³	203	(48.6)	(789.7)	(4.0)	(1,359.5)	(5.0)	(7.9)	72.2
Moderately male intensive (MMI) ³	63	(15.1)	(1,904.1)	(9.5)	(2,723.7)	(10.0)	(11.3)	43.0
Male intensive with SFP ⁴ by 1970.....	53	12.7	1,269.5	6.3	2,019.4	7.4	10.4	59.1
VMI with SFP by 1970.....	(25)	(6.0)	(123.6)	(0.6)	(304.0)	(1.1)	(2.5)	146.0
MMI with SFP by 1970.....	(28)	(6.7)	(1,145.9)	(5.7)	(1,715.4)	(6.3)	(7.9)	49.7
Males in male intensive occupations.....	266		34,746.4		36,806.9			5.9

¹ The total number of detailed occupations analyzed in this study. A few were excluded.

² 14 yrs. and over. Excludes "occupation not reported."

³ MI (male intensive) means that 75 or more percent of employment in the occupation was male; VMI (very male intensive) means 90 or more percent; MMI (moderately male intensive) means 75-89 percent.

⁴ 100 percent.

⁵ SFP (substantial female penetration) means a rise of 5 or more percentage points in the female share of employment in an occupation.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1970, "Detailed Characteristics of the Population, PC(1)-D1, U.S. Summary." (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973), table 221.

The pace of change was more rapid in the male intensive occupations than in others. But, against the goal of ending occupational segregation or achieving a share of women in each occupation equal to the share of women in the total employed population, the advance from 1960 to 1970 seems miniscule. Still, there are no guidelines on the proper, feasible or desirable rate of change in female entry to male dominated occupations. In the context of a long historical process, the 1960-70 developments may appear significant.

A. Measures Used

In order to analyze the changes since 1960 three measures have been used. The first two subdivide male intensity (MI) into very male intensive (VMI) and moderately male intensive (MMI). The third, measuring the degree of women's entry into male-intensive occupations, is called "substantial female penetration" or SFP. Male intensive occupations are defined as those where men held 75 percent or more of the jobs (or women held 25 percent or less) in 1960, a criterion derived from the male share of 67.2 percent in total employment. Of the 418 occupations, 266 were male intensive in 1960. (Table 1.) within this MI category, occupations with 90 percent or more male workers (203 of the 266 male intensive occupations) are designated as VMI (very male intensive). Occupations with 75-89 percent males, (63 of the 266 occupations) are called MMI (moderately male intensive). The next category would be gender-neutral occupations in which men and women are represented in roughly their proportions in total

employment; this category accounts for under one fifth of all employment. Female intensive occupations complete the list.

Within the MI occupations, the moderately male intensive (MMI), as compared with the VMI occupations, accounted for the greater share of employment in both 1960 and 1970. (Table 1.) While the rate of advance was higher for the VMI than the MMI, the latter's absolute growth was larger. In terms of the types of occupations in the two MI subdivisions and the progress made by women to date, the greatest challenge to female penetration lies in the VMI sector which contains more of the prestigious and well paid occupations. In fact, much of the anecdotal material about women who have invaded male bastions concerns the occasional breaching of a VMI wall, such as in coal mining, the military forces, the ministry, the Alaskan pipeline construction, or State parks.

In 1960 MI employment of females was predominantly blue collar and, within that group, largely centered in the lower level occupations. (Table 2.) While under half of the increase in MI employment from 1960 to 1970 was in the blue-collar occupations, the whole MI category in 1970 was still predominantly blue collar. A gradual shift is evident, since two of the highest rates of increase from 1960 to 1970 were in white-collar fields.

TABLE 2.—FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN MALE INTENSIVE¹ OCCUPATIONS BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1960 AND GROWTH 1960-70

	Females in MI ¹ occupations as percent total female employment 1960	Number of MI ¹ occupations 1960	Female employment in MI ¹ occupations, 1960 (thousands)	Growth 1960-70 (thousands)	Percent change 1960-70	Total employment (male plus female)		
						1960 (thousands)	Per- cent	Growth 1960-70 (percent)
All occupations.....	13.5	266	² 2,693.8	² 1,389.4	51.6	61,455.5	100.0	17.9
Professional, technical and kindred.....	8.2	62	8.2	18.8	118.0	6,986.0	11.4	55.0
Managers, administrators, except farm.....	59.7	34	18.4	8.9	24.9	5,625.8	9.2	9.1
Sales workers.....	15.8	10	9.7	9.2	49.9	4,637.4	7.5	13.6
Clerical and kindred workers.....	3.2	13	7.4	17.0	118.3	9,125.8	14.8	42.8
Craftsmen and kindred workers.....	77.0	78	7.9	14.4	93.6	8,944.8	14.6	11.8
Factory operatives, except transport.....	23.0	28	26.7	16.3	23.0	8,822.2	14.4	11.3
Transport equipment operatives.....	100.0	11	1.4	6.0	221.8	2,525.9	4.1	9.5
Laborers, except farm.....	95.7	14	6.1	6.3	53.2	3,321.8	5.4	-3.3
Farmers and farm managers.....	100.0	2	4.4	-4.0	-47.5	2,507.3	4.1	-46.4
Farm laborers and farm foremen.....	49.8	3	4.6	-1.5	-17.4	1,485.3	2.4	-37.8
Service workers, except private household.....	4.7	11	5.2	8.6	85.4	5,754.2	9.4	40.2
Private household workers.....		0				1,717.9	2.8	-36.6

¹ Male intensive (MI) means that 75 or more percent of employment in the occupation was male.

² 100 percent.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1970, "Detailed Characteristics of the Population, PC(1)-D1, United State Summary." (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1973), table 221.

The record of women in nontraditional jobs and a measure of their advance from 1962 to 1974 are covered to some extent in selected current population survey data on a year-to-year basis.¹⁹ Of the 441 detailed occupations reported, only 65 had sufficient consistency of

¹⁹ S. H. Garfinkle, "Occupations of Women and Black Workers," Monthly Labor Review (November 1975).

definition and reliability of trend to serve for analysis. And of these 65 occupations, 36 were MI, as defined here. Almost half of the latter had a more rapid rate of female penetration after 1970 than from 1962 to 1970, while an additional four occupations proceeded at the same rate of advance as previously. Some acceleration of penetration from 1970 to 1974 therefore may be assumed.

B. Effect of Recession

The onset of the recession led to many woeful reports and dire predictions that most women who had recently penetrated the male intensive occupations faced dismissal as "last in, first out." The full details will not be known for some time, but some preliminary information on employment changes from 1974 to 1975 suggests that in a number of MI occupations women fared better than men, either holding steady or increasing their total numbers in jobs as the men declined or at best held steady, while in other occupations women did no worse than men.²⁰ Among the specific occupations where there was a more favorable position for women than men in employment changes 1974-75 are: salaried managers and administrators (except farm), carpenters, other construction crafts, metal craft, drivers of motor vehicles, construction laborers, and farm managers.

Another group of occupations showing women no worse off than men in the recession employment changes included: professional and technical (excluding health workers and noncollege teachers), salesworkers (nonretail), mechanics and repairers, craft supervisors, transport equipment operatives (other than vehicle drivers), nonfarm laborers (manufacturing), protective service workers, paid farm laborers. These figures need to be supplemented by more detailed data, especially for individual establishments, and government employment at all levels. At present there is no general data base to support the view that women have suffered a major setback due to the recession, regarding employment in the nontraditional occupations.

C. Substantial Female Penetration and Total Employment Growth

In order to gage the growth over the decade 1960-70 of female employment within specific male intensive occupations, our measure of SFP (substantial female penetration) has been used instead of the percentage increase in female employment in individual occupations. The criterion for SFP is an increase from 1960 to 1970 of 5 or more percentage points in the female share of employment in an MI occupation. The choice of this criterion reflects the fact that the female share of total employment increased by 4.9 percentage points between 1960 and 1970 (from 32.8 to 37.7 percent). Since this overall increase would tend to raise the female share by a few percentage points in many specific occupations, the flat differential of 5 or more percentage points identifies those with above average performance. SFP by itself does not tell anything about the employment pattern for males in these occupations.

²⁰ Calculations from data in S. M. St. Marie and R. W. Bednarzik, "Employment and Unemployment During 1975," Special Labor Force Report 185, table 18 (Washington: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1976). See also a study by R. E. Smith of the Urban Institute, as reported in *New York Times*, Nov. 2, 1976; "How Women Fared During the Recession," *OECD Observer*, September/October 1976.

Female expansion in the 53 SFP occupations accounted for over half of the employment increase of females in all 266 MI occupations from 1960 to 1970. The larger part of that expansion was in the 28 MMI occupations. In fact, several occupations moved from their 1960 MMI status to gender-neutral in 1970 as a result of the penetration by women. According to our detailed examination, almost half of all 53 MI occupations with SFP were concentrated in two major occupational groups: craftsmen and clerical occupations, with the professional-technical group not far behind. But in terms of absolute growth in the numbers of female workers, clericals were in first position (accounting for nearly one-third of the whole SFP increase), professional-technical workers were second (just under one-fifth), next came operatives, then sales; transport and crafts each accounted for only about 6 percent of the whole.

Considerable interest is attached to the relation between the growth patterns of total employment (male plus female) and substantial female penetration (SFP). The preceding discussion, focusing on the growth of female employment in MI occupations, has postponed this discussion, but now asks: Does it make a difference whether rapidly growing female employment in a given occupation goes in tandem with increased male employment there, or replaces male employment? In investigating the female penetration of male intensive occupations, it is important to evaluate carefully the occupations with a net decline in employment where women have nevertheless established increased shares of total employment, either through a slower net decline than men or through increases in female numbers. It has been argued in the past that such takeovers by women in declining MI occupations are precursors to forming new female intensive occupations, with all of their earnings and status problems.²¹ Moreover, even in such declining occupations, women do not occupy many of the positions of responsibility within the enterprise.²²

With these points in mind, table 3 classifies the 53 detailed male intensive occupations with SFP into 4 categories, according to the rate of growth of overall employment. The result indicates that 21 of the 53 occupations and 56.8 percent of the growth in female employment are associated with rapid growth occupations (30 percent or more), while another 5 occupations and 15.8 percent of the growth are accounted for by occupations whose total employment increased at rates from 17.9 (the average) to 29.9 percent. The 11 occupations whose slow growth ranged from over zero to 17.9 percent provided only 24.8 percent of the female employment growth. Finally, the 16 occupations which had a decline in total employment, but still registered SFP from 1960 to 1970 (either through actual increases of female employ-

²¹ National Manpower Council, *Womanpower* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957); D. L. Hiestand, "Economic Growth and Employment Opportunities for Minorities" (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).

²² H. Wilensky, "Women's Work: Economic Growth, Ideology, Structure," *Industrial Relations* (May 1968).

ment, or through slower employment declines than males experienced), accounted for less than 3 percent of net female employment growth in male intensive occupations.

TABLE 3.—MALE INTENSIVE OCCUPATIONS WITH SUBSTANTIAL FEMALE PENETRATION¹ 1960-70, BY TOTAL GROWTH RATE OF OCCUPATIONS AND FEMALE EMPLOYMENT INCREMENT

	Rate of growth (male plus female) (percent)	Number of occupations	Female employment increment, 1960-70 (thousands)	Distribution of female employment increment (percent)
Total employment.....	17.9	53	749.9	100.0
All MI occupations with SFP: ¹				
Rapid growth.....	30.0+	21	426.0	56.7
Moderate growth.....	17.9-29.9	5	118.2	15.8
Slow growth.....	0-17.8	11	185.8	24.8
Decline ²	(³)	16	19.9	2.7

¹ MI (male intensive) means that 75 or more percent of employment in the occupation was male. SFP (substantial female penetration) means a rise of 5 or more percentage points in the female share of employment in an occupation.

² Since "managers, not elsewhere classified, self-employed, retail," one of the largest of the 16 occupations with a decline, was redefined in 1970 to count managers of incorporated family businesses as salaried, the 1960-70 change in this class may be overstated. C. B. Dicesare, "Changes in Occupational Structure of U.S. Jobs," Monthly Labor Review (March 1975), fn. 4.

³ Negative.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1970. "Detailed Characteristics, PC(1)-D1, U.S. Summary" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), table 221.

The distribution of occupations by growth patterns is uneven. The bulk of the blue-collar and lower level occupations where women made large gains in their share were occupations where total male employment was either declining or increasing quite slowly. Conversely, the most rapid growth category was almost entirely composed of technical-professional, managerial and clerical occupations, while the second-rank growth category with only five occupations in it had a mix of transport, crafts, and services.

The SFP occupations with overall employment decline suggest acceptance of females in shrinking or dying occupations which men no longer want. Among paperhangers, and telegraph operators, both male and female employment declined, but female dropped less than male, resulting in SFP. Contrasting with drops in male employment, female employment was stable among bootblacks, and increased among jewelers and watchmakers, shoe repairers, stonecutters, messengers, weighers, filers and polishers, and self-employed farm laborers. A more substantial female growth occurred among bakers and composers, where technological and organizational changes may have reduced the number of males and increased the females.

The list of SFP occupations in which the overall growth of employment was positive but sluggish also suggests an uncertain future—with a few exceptions, such as engineering and scientific technicians (chemical) and some categories of salespersons. Among the occupations where the female share rose by 5 or more percentage points but the male growth was small are several skilled crafts: molders, upholsterers,

drillers, sawyers, furniture finishers, bartenders, recreation attendants, and inspectors (scalers and graders, loggers and lumberers). Since craft occupations are absent from the two fast-growing SFP categories, it appears that some women penetrated into categories with a small growth potential. For particular individuals, the movement into such occupations may represent a gain, but care should be taken in regarding such penetration as an advance for women as a group. A closer look must be taken at congratulatory reports on erosion of sex stereotyping in crafts.²³ It is significant that the crafts with a strong growth of males did not have much increase in female employment.

By contrast, the rapid growth category with SFP contains such VMI (very male intensive) occupations as actuaries, operations researchers, urban and regional planners, bank officers, dental laboratory technicians, and other technicians (tool programmers). Several of these fields are new occupations, or have developed new branches of old occupations, and look for female workers, free from traditional discrimination. Among the MMI (moderately male intensive) occupations in this category are accountants, college teachers (mathematics), designers, advertising agents, real estate agents, bill collectors, expeditors, insurance agents, and radio operators. Several of these fields offer self-employment, or contractual arrangements on less stringent and often more lucrative terms than simple salaried employment. There also were instances of simple wage-employment; namely, mail carriers, shipping clerks, postal clerks, ticket agents, and opticians (lens grinders). Considering the rather high level of education/training required to enter and progress in many of the rapidly growing occupations, it can be seen that these male intensive occupations with SFP, which accounted for over half of the growth in all SFP occupations, offer openings for the better-educated women, a growing class in the labor force.

D. Highest Degree of Substantial Female Penetration

Table 4 shows the 21 occupations with the highest degree of SFP achievement (9 percentage points or more); 13 of these are MMI occupations, repeating an earlier finding that the occupations in which women already hold 11–25 percent of the jobs are more likely to show further increases than the VMI with a female share of 10 percent or less. The 21 SFP occupations in table 4 present a mixed picture in terms of the growth rate of the occupation as a whole. Three occupations with a substantial increase in the female share had a decline in total employment, and three had a slower growth of total employment than the average rate of all occupations (17.9 percent). Clearly the most favorable occupations for women were in the white-collar categories, with bank managers an outstanding example. Not only were women a fast-rising share of an expanding total, but most of these expansive occupations permit upward mobility and are relatively well-paid. By contrast, the “progress” of women among shoe repairers, weighers, bakers, and furniture finishers is attributable to male rejection of or ejection from such jobs.

²³ J. N. Hedges and S. E. Bemis, “Sex Stereotyping: Its Decline in Skilled Trades,” *Monthly Labor Review* (May 1974).

TABLE 4.—MALE INTENSIVE¹ OCCUPATIONS WITH LARGE INCREASE IN FEMALE SHARE OF EMPLOYMENT, 1960-70

	MI class ¹	Percentage point increase, 1960-70, in female share	Percent change in total employment, 1960-70
Actuaries.....	VMI	20	71.7
Tool programmers.....	VMI	14	47.6
Technicians, not elsewhere classified.....	VMI	18	856.4
Accountants.....	MMI	10	43.7
College teachers—math.....	MMI	13	137.6
Radio operators.....	MMI	12	60.5
Bank officers, financial managers.....	VMI	9	1,195.6
Sales-services and construction.....	MMI	11	13.1
Bill and account collectors.....	MMI	16	57.8
Expeditors.....	MMI	9	41.7
Insurance adjusters.....	MMI	15	71.5
Postal clerks.....	MMI	13	30.6
Ticket agents.....	MMI	15	33.7
Weighers.....	MMI	10	-8.2
Dental laboratory technicians.....	VMI	18	78.2
Furniture finishers.....	VMI	13	2.9
Shoe repairers.....	VMI	14	-24.4
Bakers.....	MMI	12	-2.7
Engravers.....	MMI	9	22.1
Bus drivers.....	VMI	18	29.9
Bartenders.....	MMI	11	9.9

¹ MI (male intensive) means that 75 or more percent of employment in the occupation was male; VMI (very male intensive) means 90 or more percent; MMI (moderately male intensive) means 75-89 percent.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1970. "Detailed Characteristics, PC(1)-D1, U.S. Summary" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), table 221.

E. Female Growth Areas Without Substantial Female Penetration

Many of the 213 MI occupations which did not show SFP had marked female growth during 1960-70 (10,000 or more additional females). And a majority of VMI occupations, starting from a small base, had a 60 percent increase or better in the number of females employed; the average increase for all MI occupations was 51.6 percent. A smaller proportion of MMI occupations had an above average increase. The failure of women to attain SFP in these 213 occupations resulted from a concurrent growth of male workers on top of a large male base in those occupations, many of which were expanding vigorously.

Among the specific occupations showing strong female growth in the non-SFP category are some self-employed and/or high-paying fields, such as computer specialists, engineers, lawyers, scientists, physicians, dentists, college teachers, technicians, public relations workers, funeral directors, federal inspectors, purchasing agents, sales managers, school administrators, stock and bond salesmen, and a variety of crafts. Thus, individual women may have improved their financial and career position, even though the sex-composition of these occupations did not change much or worsened. From the viewpoint of the individual woman seeking to enter MI occupations, it is of little consequence whether the female share is rising so long as jobs are open. A much more important consideration than the female share in the occupation, to which analysts pay undue obeisance, is the situation in the firm, the attitudes of management and fellow-workers, the opportunities for promotion or self-employment, and the equality of conditions between the sexes.

F. Women's Job Growth Versus Men's Job Growth

Another perspective on women's penetration into the male intensive occupations is obtained by relating the growth on the women's side to that for men. The outstanding conclusion is that a fairly limited area for women's penetration exists. If all of the growth between 1960 and 1970 in these occupations had been reserved for women, about 2.1 million additional jobs, taken from men, would have been available for women (table 5). This would have left 3.7 million women with no alternative but the female intensive sector, which actually made room for 5.8 million additional women between 1960 and 1970. The slow development of the male intensive occupations, and the increase in the number of young men and women qualified to enter them, pose the most serious threat to the occupational desegregation movement.

G. Summary of Female Penetration Into Male Intensive Jobs

Overall, women did not do badly in their share of the increase in male intensive employment. Their rate of growth was 51.6 percent against 5.9 percent for the men (table 1). The men garnered in the male intensive fields a total of 670,000 more jobs than the females (table 5). What is significant, however, is the difference between the sexes in the distribution of the growth among the major occupational groups. Three comparisons stand out. First, in the male intensive occupations in the clerical field women made a real breakthrough, showing a larger absolute increase than the men in such occupations as insurance adjuster, postal clerk, dispatcher, production controller, ticket agent. This development indicates that women's penetration proceeds most rapidly in the fields where they have a strong position in related female intensive fields which are not cut off from the male intensive jobs by requirements of education, training, physical characteristics, or other segmenting influences.

TABLE 5.—GROWTH OF EMPLOYMENT IN MALE INTENSIVE¹ OCCUPATIONS, BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1960-70.

	Females	Males
Nonmale intensive—total.....	5,828.8	1,750.6
Male intensive ¹ —total.....	1,389.4	2,060.4
Professional, technical and kindred.....	260.7	1,356.7
Managers, administrators, except farm.....	123.1	237.0
Sales workers.....	129.8	236.3
Clerical and kindred.....	236.7	202.1
Craftsmen and kindred.....	199.8	843.5
Factory operatives, except transport.....	225.8	290.2
Transport equipment operatives.....	83.9	156.4
Laborers, except farm.....	88.0	-220.7
Farmers and farm managers.....	-56.0	-1,168.2
Farm laborers and farm foremen.....	-21.4	-368.0
Service workers, except private household.....	119.0	435.1

¹ Male intensive (MI) means that 75 or more percent of employment in the occupation was male.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1970, "Detailed Characteristics of the Population, PC(1)-D1, U.S. Summary" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), table 221. Excludes "occupation not reported."

Second, the continued increase of females in the laborer category while men show a sharp decrease, and the disproportionate female increase in the factory operatives group, confirm our earlier point con-

cerning the creation of new female ghettos in occupations and jobs which men are leaving, voluntary or involuntarily. Third, and most important for the equality for women, the distribution of male employment growth shows a high concentration in three occupational groups which include many of the best opportunities for high paid, supervisory, skilled, and professional posts. In these fields, professional-technical, crafts, and services, women's employment growth was far less concentrated. Thus, despite the small overall growth, men have continued to dominate the upward mobility channels.

H. Men at Lower Educational/Occupational Levels

It would be wrong to ignore the serious employment problem which these growth data reveal for men at the lower educational-occupational levels, particularly for minority males. Of course, such men can be directed into the female intensive sector and in fact the penetration of white and black males into female intensive occupations has increased. However, it is not proceeding as vigorously as the reverse movement of women because of lower earnings, lack of skills, and sex discrimination against men in the female fields.²⁴

Minority men face problems at most occupational levels in competing against white men, and the situation undoubtedly is exacerbated by the pressure from women, especially white women, to gain a larger share of the male intensive jobs. Data from the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission show that while the small decline from 1966 to 1974 in the share of white men in firms with 100 or more employees has been split among all of the other competing groups, it went especially to white women. A special case illustrates the tensions which may arise when white women invade a black man's job. Young, middle-class, suburban white women, usually just out of high school, have been taking stablehand jobs at the Belmont race track outside of New York City. Living at home, loving horses, these girls have been willing to work long hours for low pay. They are displacing or competing with black men for whom this is a job which must sometimes support a whole family.²⁵

Clearly, the male and female, and white and minority employment problems and goals must be considered together if progress is to be made by any group. In addition to the discrimination which women's advocates rightly charge, account must be taken of the overall slow growth of the occupations in which men have been dominant for so long, and a distinction must be made between the fast-growing upwardly mobile sectors and the others in setting goals for women's penetration.

IV. THE VIEW FROM THE SHOP FLOOR AND THE OFFICE

The national, cross-sectional data upon which the preceding analysis necessarily has relied deal only with the penetration of women into male intensive occupations. The data have not been concerned with the situation of individual women at various occupational levels as

²⁴ S. H. Garfinkle, *op. cit.*; Robert Levinson quoted in "Behavior Today" (Dec. 8, 1975), p. 636; New York Times, Nov. 5, 1975, "More Men Are Diving Into the Secretarial Pool"; H. Wool, "The Labor Supply for Lower Level Occupations" (New York: Praeger, 1976).

²⁵ New York Times, Sept. 18, 1976, "Women Stablehands Bring Change to Belmont's Barns;" Employment and Training Report of the President, 1976, table G-10.

they compare the appropriate female intensive and male intensive occupations in regard to ease of obtaining a job, stability of employment, opportunities for horizontal and vertical mobility, work environment (noise, cleanliness, physical setting, amenities, travel distance, neighborhood, safety), work conditions (hours, overtime, vacation, time off), pay rates and earnings and fringe benefits.

An examination of the options open to individual women indicates that labor market segmentation which separates men from women also divides women into groups. Despite the popular and academic literature on women's issues which argues that women as a class are oppressed by men as a class, women are not united in their needs, interests and attitudes. In regard to a choice of male intensive rather than female intensive occupations, divisions among women can be seen according to their educational and training level, work experience, age, race, material and family status, and place of residence. Whether or not women's attitudes reflect the implantation of ideas and values by a male-dominated society, subgroups of women have varying views and face different objective conditions in regard to male intensive occupations.

A. Racial Differences in Job Distribution Among Women

The National Longitudinal Survey of Women^{25a} studied movements between female and male intensive occupations and vice versa among employed women who were 30 to 44 years old in 1967. A measure, similar to our MI category, was applied to the jobs held by the women in 1967 and 1971. Between the 2 years, there was a small increase in the proportion of women employed in male intensive occupations at each of the three educational levels, with the exception that black women with exactly 12 years of education, presumably high school graduation, showed a marked decrease in the proportion in male intensive jobs.²⁶

In explanation of racial differences, the Longitudinal Survey hypothesizes that black women were more influenced by the lowering of racial barriers in female intensive occupations than by the partial removal of obstacles to entering male intensive occupations. It also notes that "black women held atypical jobs in 1967 which could reasonably be viewed as less desirable than those held by their white counterparts * * * they appeared to have been able to move (and desirous of moving) into typically female jobs which had previously been closed to them."²⁷

Furthermore, since black men are not seen as having a superior economic or political position, and indeed often appear to have even

^{25a} "National Longitudinal Survey of Women Aged 30 to 44," Center for Human Resource Research (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1967).

The National Longitudinal Surveys Study is used by several contributors to this compendium. It probes the relationship of factors influencing the work behavior and experience of four groups: women, aged 30 to 44; women and men, 14 to 24; men, 45 to 59. Focus is on the interaction among economic, sociological, and psychological variables that permit some members of a given age-education-occupation group to have satisfactory work experiences while others do not. The completed study will constitute a comprehensive body of data on labor mobility. The study has entailed six consecutive surveys of each group at 1-year intervals, except for the omission of the older groups of men and women in 1970. Following the last of these interviews in 1973, a series of two biennial telephone followup interviews was initiated for each group. A final personal interview will be completed in 1978. Ohio State University reports, which are based on Bureau of the Census data, are reproduced as manpower research monographs. Special analyses of the data are also published from time to time.

²⁶ Jusenius, *op. cit.*, ch. 2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

greater occupational problems than black women, the movement for sex equality in the marketplace has less appeal to black women than the concurrent and somewhat competing drive for racial equality at work.

B. Importance of Job Satisfaction

The likelihood that some women deliberately choose typical rather than atypical jobs raises some important qualifications on the general assumption that all progress for individual women lies in penetrating the male intensive occupations. For one thing, individuals do not measure progress by a single indicator and in some cases earnings are not paramount in the job decision. Data shows clearly that women who moved from male to female intensive jobs from 1967 to 1971 had the smallest percentage increase in hourly wage rates of all groups examined.²⁸ Data on job satisfaction give a partial explanation, since they "strongly suggest that the psychological rewards associated with atypical and typical jobs differ according to the educational attainment of the incumbents. Those atypical occupations open to women with 0 to 11 years of school appear to be less satisfying than typical jobs."²⁹ Superior job environment and working conditions and greater stability of employment in many typical jobs may offset the higher pay available on suitable atypical jobs. Certainly, place of residence as it affects the range of local job opportunities influences choice of job.

Evidence that many women choose female intensive jobs when a choice is truly available comes from the military forces. Although all noncombat jobs have been opened to women, they have not wished to be assigned to all of the jobs.³⁰ An analysis of the jobs of working wives, whose occupations have been found to be closely tied to those of their husbands, showed a substantial occupational shift between 1960 and 1970 toward some female intensive sectors.³¹

Admittedly, this is cross sectional rather than longitudinal data and the male intensive occupations are not clearly distinguished from the female. Nonetheless, upward social mobility, and perhaps economic mobility as well, has been achieved by many wives of men in the lower occupational strata through deliberate movement from male to female intensive jobs.

C. Influence of Marital and Family Status

The influence of living in a household with a husband present should not be underestimated as a factor in restraining women's enthusiasm for nontraditional jobs, especially at the lower educational and occupational levels (in 1975 wives living with their husbands constituted almost three-fifths of employed females).³² Thus, a frequently-made assumption may be invalid: namely, that most women in the labor market make individual choices about their occupations; instead, the

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁰ General Accounting Office, "Job Opportunities for Women in the Military: Progress and Problems," FPCD-76-26 (Washington, May 1976).

³¹ H. Hayzhe, "Families and the Rise of Working Wives—An Overview," Special Labor Force Report 189, table 5 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1976).

³² H. Hayzhe, "Marital and Family Characteristics of the Labor Force," Special Labor Force Report 183, table 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1976).

majority probably are involved in family decisions. Data which distinguish penetration into male intensive occupations by the marital and family status and age of employed women would be useful.

D. Effect of Working Conditions

Still another perspective is obtained from a consideration of the famous A.T. & T. agreement to increase, among other categories, the number of female telephone-pole climbers. Disregarding the census evidence that the number of females in this occupation had declined between 1960 and 1970 (from 824 to 785, against a male increase of over 11,000 workers to a total of more than 50,000),³³ or perhaps taking the female decline as evidence of company discrimination, the Government's agreement with A.T. & T. called for a level of female recruitment to this occupation which has been difficult to meet.³⁴ The pay advantage over telephone operator earnings is insufficient to attract many women, and the promotion opportunities are neither numerous nor glorious.

It is one thing to insure by law and administrative action that any woman can enter any occupation without sex discrimination, but it is another to draw up orders or agreements which declare that all male intensive occupations are desirable simply because women are excluded. Apart from the untruth, this approach suggests that male-female earning differences cannot be remedied in any other way. Reliance on this approach also confers an official approval on dangerous, dirty or monotonous occupations which men have been trying to improve, undercutting their efforts by the official insistence on recruitment of women who usually are more compliant workers.

It is fashionable to assume that the persistence of male intensive occupations results entirely from institutional rigidities and resistance on the part of employers, male workers, customers of the firm and others on the demand side. But there is considerable evidence, especially for women whose choice of male intensive occupations would be limited to nonoffice work, that many women prefer female intensive jobs and would rather strive for closing the earnings gap than changing their occupations.

E. Vertical Mobility in Office Settings

The situation is quite different for the occupational groups where both male and female intensive jobs are located in offices or similar settings. Women entering male intensive jobs usually have as good or better work environments, working conditions, security, pay and fringe benefits than they would have in female intensive jobs. At this level, women can qualify for entry into male intensive fields through specialized education which is provided in a more sex-neutral way than training in the workplace. Moreover, as previously reported, many of these occupational groups have been expanding rapidly. But the more important difference between women seeking male intensive occupations

³³ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population, 1970, "Detailed Characteristics. PC(1)-D1. U.S. Summary"* (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1973), table 221.

³⁴ Wallace, *op. cit.*

at the professional-technical and managerial levels and women at other occupational levels is the fact that the first group is more concerned with vertical than horizontal mobility opportunities.

V. EARNINGS

How do women in the male-intensive occupations fare in regard to wage rates and earnings? Three bases of comparison are relevant. One is the experience of individual women who move from female to male intensive jobs. From the National Longitudinal Survey of women aged 30 to 44 in 1967 and employed in 1967 and 1971, we learn that among all women in the survey, those who were in male-intensive occupations in both years had the highest absolute wage rates, whether they were black or white and at all education levels. Women who moved from female to male intensive jobs made the largest percentage gains in hourly wage rates from 1967 to 1971.³⁵ In a subsequent multiple regression analysis of the same group's 1972 wage rates, the women were divided into three skill groups according to the levels of education/training required and into female and male intensive occupations. Holding constant race, health, weekly hours of work, type of employer (public or private), region, size of local labor market, and collective bargaining coverage, Jusenius found that the sex label of an occupation was a significant determinant of wage rates in the low-skill and medium-skill categories but not in the high-skill stratum.³⁶

Another perspective comes from cross-sectional data in the census. Taking the occupations which were both male intensive and SFP, the median earnings for females in 52 of these occupations were matched to the deciles of all 1970 female median annual earnings by occupations as prepared by Sommers.³⁷ It is clear that the MI occupations which had a large increase in the female share of employment ranked fairly low in median annual earnings compared with all female occupations. While a tabulation in terms of the number of persons involved probably would give increased importance to the higher earnings deciles, it is significant that the occupations receiving half of the female increase in MI occupations were not particularly high on the annual earnings scale. Annual earnings may reflect the greater instability, turnover and layoff in male intensive occupations, offsetting the possibly higher hourly wage rate. Conversely, the latter is not adequate as a measure because of variations in the amount of work available over the year.

Of course, these census data show nothing about the earnings experience of the individual women who transferred to the MI occupations. Even more lacking is a longitudinal or cross-sectional comparative analysis in which the wage rates and earnings of women entering non-traditional jobs are lined up with those of comparable men already in such occupations. A further question as to women's earnings is the effect of joining unionized enterprises.

Occupational desegregation does not in itself insure that wage and salary differentials are eliminated, as Governor Ella Grasso of Connecticut told a recent convention of female banking officials.³⁸ From a

³⁵ Jusenius, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 31-33, 91.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, ch. 4.

³⁷ D. Sommers, "Occupational Rankings for Men and Women by Earnings," *Monthly Labor Review* (August 1974).

³⁸ *New York Times*, Oct. 3, 1976, financial section, "Bank Women Step Out Front."

blue-collar setting, Winn Newman of the International Union of Electrical Workers recounted the adjustments made by companies in their classification and wage systems in order to conform with legislation outlawing discrimination and yet to be able to continue to pay women less than men doing identical work. Far from resenting the wage differences between themselves and male workers, the women workers became angry at the union after it obtained a settlement which raised some but not all female wage rates; the comparison with other women's rates aroused far more feeling than the longstanding and greater advantage enjoyed by men.³⁹ Since one of the main advantages imputed to occupational desegregation concerns equality of earnings, the actual outcomes should be carefully investigated, particularly the subterfuges of title and classification which may be introduced by employers.⁴⁰

VI. POLICY OBJECTIVES AND OPTIONS

As an introduction to policy considerations, we present an overview of the chief findings on the penetration of women into male intensive occupations, based mainly on the analysis of comparable census data for 1960 and 1970 covering 418 usable occupations:

1. The rate of growth of female employment in male intensive occupations has been more rapid than in female employment as a whole, and almost nine times as fast as the increase of men in the male intensive occupations. But the initial female base in the male intensive occupations in 1960 was so small that at the present time women account for only around 12 percent of all employment in male intensive occupations, and almost 85 percent of all women workers are outside the male intensive occupations, mostly in female intensive occupations, with the others in gender-neutral fields. Such small advances suggest that the public policy measures to end occupational segregation have not been very effective, either because the measures have not been widely or well applied, or because they do not come to grips with the underlying causes of sexual polarization.

2. Within the male intensive (MI) occupations, about twice as many women are employed in the MMI occupations (where women are 11 to 25 percent of employment) as in the VMI occupations (where women are 10 percent or less). The greatest challenge for future female penetration lies in the latter group, which includes the most attractive and upwardly mobile posts.

3. The blue-collar type of occupations account for a majority of women in the male intensive sector, but the recent and future direction of change favors female employment in the professional-technical and clerical male intensive occupations. Much slower female growth has been recorded in managerial and sales occupations where little male growth in employment occurred.

4. Measurement of employment changes in the recession of 1974-75 for a substantial number of male intensive occupations indicates that women maintained their relative share of employment or improved on it in most of the occupations.

³⁹ W. Newman, "Combating Occupational Segregation, Presentation III," *Signs* (spring 1976 supplement).

⁴⁰ C. R. Martin, Jr., "Support for Women's Lib: Management Performance," *Southern Journal of Business* (February 1972).

5. Female penetration of male intensive occupations cannot be measured purely in terms of increases in the female share of an occupation's employment. It is true that the 53 male intensive occupations which had an increase of 5 or more percentage points in the female share from 1960 to 1970 accounted for over half of the total increment of women in the male intensive sector. But among these occupations the female share in at least 27 of the 53 occupations rose because of slow or negative growth of males in the occupation rather than great female advances. Moreover, in many other male-intensive occupations where women made great gains, measured by absolute or percentage increases of their employment, the female share did not reflect their progress because the absolute increase of males often was even larger. This was particularly true in the professional-technical and crafts occupations.

6. Strong growth of female employment in male intensive occupations is highly associated with rapid expansion of total employment in these occupations. The fortunes of men and women ride in tandem, and for both sexes the white collar and higher paid occupations have shown the greatest expansion. Conversely, the prospects for women whose numbers and share are advancing in some of the craft, operative and laborer occupations dominated by men are less promising because some of the occupations in which women's shares rose most are leveling out or declining in total employment. Promotion opportunities are more limited and contested, and new female intensive occupations may even be developing.

7. The combination of slow growth in some male intensive occupations with a limited number of promotion possibilities for women makes many women at the blue collar and lower white collar occupational level seek entry jobs and upward mobility through the female intensive sector. Many at this level also prefer the attainable female intensive jobs for reasons of social prestige, employment stability, work conditions, working environment and related factors which offset smaller earnings gains than could be achieved in male intensive blue collar occupations. Black women, disproportionately at the lower educational-occupational levels, may be particularly disinclined to compete with black men in the male intensive sector because they see them, not in the oppressor role sometimes imputed to white men by white women, but as victims, possibly worse off than black women.

8. Male intensive occupations in the white collar fields offer the same or superior working environments and conditions and higher earnings, than the related female intensive occupations. This feature leads to less conflict over choices than women face at the lower end of the occupational scale, and establishes clearer upward mobility patterns from female intensive to male intensive occupations. Because of segmentation of labor markets, groups of women have different interests and needs from one another, and some women have more in common with men at their own level than with women at higher levels.

9. The crucial issue for women is not desegregation in the horizontal sense; that is, the ability to choose among a wider selection of occupations at a given level. As the preparatory education and training undertaken by young women widens, this form of segregation will decrease further, admittedly more easily for those whose preparation

occurs in educational institutions than for those who rely on training connected with the workplace. Vertical mobility, movement into the higher ranks of an organization, and greater responsibility on the job are the nub of the problem. In terms of the fuller utilization of existing education and skills, the benefits to be obtained from promotion, and mobility opportunities within the work organization, women in the white collar occupations, especially the professional-technical and managerial groups, have a stronger position than other women, but still face keen competition from men, black and white, for the small pool of such jobs.

10. Individual workers pay rates have risen more substantially for women moving from female to male intensive occupations than for other women, and women in male intensive occupations have the highest absolute pay rates. But the male intensive occupations in which women made their greatest employment advances from 1960 to 1970 did not produce higher annual earnings on average than all females showed. Evidence is lacking on the vital point of whether women who move into male intensive occupations earn the same amount as men who perform identical work.

11. Viewed from the perspective of male employment growth in the male intensive occupations, the female absolute numbers and percentage increase appear substantial. Against a net female increase of 1.4 million jobs and a 51.6 percent growth rate from 1960 to 1970, males had a net increase of 2.1 million jobs and only a 5.9 percent rise. Indeed, the data suggest an approaching serious employment problem for males at the lower educational-occupational levels, especially for black males, unless they enter female intensive jobs. On the other hand, the male growth pattern indicates a continuing hold on the best jobs in both the blue collar and white collar worlds.

The relation of the findings listed above to a full employment policy is in one sense obvious. Unless there is a much closer approximation to full employment, the failure to satisfy the demand for jobs in numerical terms will preclude any serious effort on the desegregation front; that is, to provide the types of jobs which will meet the demand for greater similarity in the occupational distributions of men and women.

It is a premise of the series of papers in this compendium that full employment in the numerical sense can be attained and maintained and that the residual problems which beset women under full employment are the issue. In terms of the entry of women into the male intensive occupations, the full employment issue cannot be separated so neatly from the residual problems. For one thing, it may be anticipated that the labor supply of women will respond to full employment both by increases in the female labor force participation rate and by a heavier demand from women for the jobs which are male dominated. Moreover, there is no inherent reason why a successful full employment policy, as it is commonly defined, should produce a larger proportion of "good" jobs. The deficiency in the number of "good" jobs, even under full employment, and the rising expectations of many sections of the work force, not just women, may become as potent a source

of dissatisfaction as an inadequate total number of jobs. From this point of view, it is important to recognize the two separate issues of numbers of jobs and types of jobs. Public service employment may meet minimum needs for employment and income, but such jobs do not respond to the desire of women and other groups to obtain a larger share of the higher paid, more responsible and prestigious jobs.

The objectives of those who seek equality for women are often couched in terms of obtaining a share of women in each occupation equal to the share women hold among all employed persons. The more ambitious goal stipulates half of every occupation for women workers, based either on the share of population or on an anticipated rise in the female share of the work force. But even the aim which takes women's current 40.7 percent of total employment as its standard is questionable as the chief measure to achieve equality. Some champion it simply because it represents an approach to equality, but others, more numerous, believe that this is a primary method of bringing women's earnings closer to men's.

The magnitude of the changes required in both male and female employment need to be firmly borne in mind in discussing this goal. If it were to be achieved by a displacement of men, presumably leaving them either to take up female intensive jobs or remain unemployed, some 12 to 13 million men would have to be displaced. If, instead, the change was to be accomplished by supervising new hires so that only women were taken into the male intensive occupations (again a more drastic policy than is likely to be accepted because, among other reasons, women are not the only group whose goals have a high priority), it would take a great many years to achieve the proposed share in each detailed occupation.

Apart from the sheer size of the change which is implied, the underlying premises of this egalitarian goal need to be aired:

That a sufficient number of "good" jobs exists or will be created so that present and future desires of women can be considered apart from men's, and women, as a disadvantaged group, will not be in sharp competition with other disadvantaged;

That discrimination is the only or overwhelming cause of women's disproportionate representation in nontraditional jobs, ignoring questions of insufficient education, training and skills as well as the lack of desire of women to enter each and every male intensive occupation;

That the objective situation is more or less the same in female and male intensive occupations at every level, and that women have an equal desire for nontraditional jobs at every educational-occupational level and in every type of personal situation;

That earnings differences between men and women can only be remedied by changing women's occupations, overlooking other methods of bringing earnings closer together. In Sweden, which has no better an occupational distribution than the United States from the point of view of women, government policy and a high degree of unionization of women have brought the female manual workers' earnings to over 80 percent of men's—a ratio considerably higher than prevails in the United States.

Given the enormity of the change required to produce occupational equality, it would seem wise to approach it in a more diversified and selective way than is postulated in current legislation, court orders, agreements, and other procedures. A concentration on cases where employment is expanding and a body of women is ready, eager and competent to take up male intensive occupations would foster wider and better enforcement of existing measures. Meanwhile, a great effort must be made to improve the earnings in female intensive occupations so that more men will be interested in entering them and women will be content to remain in them. The goal of making the occupational distribution of women exactly like that of men is less realistic than an aim of changing the distribution of both sexes so as to reduce the discrepancies between them. The battle for the "good" jobs will not be settled by women proceeding on their own.

UNDEREMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN: POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR A FULL EMPLOYMENT ECONOMY

By GERALD P. GLYDE *

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I. INTRODUCTION

Women comprise a significant and increasing share of the labor force in the United States. In 1976, about 39 million women were in the labor market accounting for 41 percent of the total labor force. The labor force participation rate of women was 47.3 percent in that year. These statistics contrast sharply with those of a quarter of a century earlier.¹ Clearly, any serious public policy dealing with efficient and equitable utilization of human resources cannot ignore this increasingly important labor market group.

The official measure used to reveal underutilization in the labor market is the unemployment rate. On this score, women consistently have higher rates than do men. In 1975, the unemployment rates for women and men were 9.3 and 7.9 percent respectively. The comparable rates

*Assistant professor of economics, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa.
¹U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment and Earnings," January 1977 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1977).

for 1968, a year when the overall rate was low, were 4.9 percent for women and 2.9 percent for men.² These differentials in labor market utilization of women and men reflect a complex variety of economic, social, and cultural factors which result in different labor market paradigms for each. For example, a portion of the unemployment differential is accounted for by the high labor force exit and entry rates that women exhibit, compared to men. On the other hand, women tend to be relegated to relatively high turnover occupations.

Our unemployment statistics, although revealing, detailed and considered among the best in the world, tell us only a part of the story about differential rates of underutilization between men and women in the labor market. In short, these statistics are virtually blind to the issue of how well women (or any other group) fare within employment. Unemployment statistics naturally focus on those individuals who are not working but desire to and are available for work. In the case of women, the unemployment rate reveals perhaps only part of the problem of underutilization.

An important complement to unemployment data would be information on underemployment. Underemployment is defined at this point as a condition in which workers are in jobs where their acquired skills are underutilized relative to the job requirements. In absolute terms of human resource waste, the underemployment problem for women probably looms large in comparison to the unfavorable differential in unemployment rates that face women.

The intent of these statements is not to diminish the seriousness of unemployment. Having a job, even if the job does not utilize one's skills, is probably better than no job. However, public policy measures to attain full employment should consider the quality of jobs generated for various labor force groups, as well as the quantity of jobs provided for them. Full employment has a hollow ring if a large segment of the labor force is working, but unable to fully utilize its skills within employment.

A. Measurement of Underemployment

As yet, there is no adequate measure of underemployment. Researchers in the area of human resources recognize the need, however, to go beyond the concept of unemployment; it is increasingly clear that underemployment will be a source of continuing investigation. The following quotes express this need:

Indeed, in all countries—rich and poor alike—the study and reporting of underemployment as a measure of the quality of working life is bound to become increasingly important to the formation of public policy.³

There is a recognized need to improve the measurement of each of the several facets which affect the adequacy of employment for individuals.⁴

One major reason for inadequate measures of underutilization in the labor market is that underemployment is both conceptually and em-

² "Employment and Earnings," 1977, and "Manpower Report of the President" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, 1974), p. 253.

³ Bennett Harrison, "Education and Underemployment in the Urban Ghetto," *American Economic Review* (December 1972), p. 797.

⁴ Deborah Pisetzer Klein, "Exploring the Adequacy of Employment," *Monthly Labor Review* 96 (October 1973), p. 8.

pirically more elusive than is unemployment.⁵ To illustrate, consider the definition of underemployment provided by a Presidential committee: "Employment of persons at jobs that call for less than their highest level of skill and at wages less than those to which their skills, if fully utilized, would normally entitle them."⁶ This definition raises a number of questions. For example, what does highest level of skill mean? Does it mean potential skill or current skill, including both formal education and work experience? What does fully utilize mean? What numeraire would be used to determine the amount individuals would normally earn if their skills were fully utilized? Is it estimated that part-time workers should be included or excluded from the definition. These questions serve to illustrate some of the difficulties inherent in the concept of underemployment. A major empirical problem is that we are not able to identify skills adequately, particularly on-the-job training skills. There is also a paucity of detailed information on the skill content of jobs.⁷

B. Occupational Segregation

Women tend to be crowded into a limited range of female occupations and female educational programs, which cannot help but lead to underutilization of their talents, given the increasing supply of women labor market participants. Clerical, service, and professional occupations account for two-thirds of all women workers, with the clerical category alone accounting for one-third of the total of women workers. In the professional category, women are heavily concentrated in occupations such as nursing, library work, and elementary education.⁸ The educational programs that women enter tend to lead to limited occupational opportunities. For example, data from the U.S. Office of Education indicate that nearly three-quarters of all women enrolled in vocational training programs in 1971-72 were concentrated in consumer, homemaking or office vocational fields. In contrast, over one-half of male students were enrolled in technical, trade and industrial or agricultural programs.

Occupational segregation, which leads to excess supply conditions in these occupations, inevitably yields low returns on education for women; men, who have access to broader occupational opportunities, but who may in fact have no greater skills at job entry, gain higher agricultural programs.⁹

⁵ Several investigators have recently been engaged in efforts to identify and measure what may be termed "subemployment," which differs from underemployment. Although the details of these efforts vary, the intent of most subemployment measures is to capture the following dimensions of the labor market failure, and add these to the official unemployment measures, thus providing a more comprehensive view of the underutilization of human resources. First, subemployment includes the discouraged worker phenomenon, where individuals are not working and not actively seeking work; they desire work, but are not seeking it because of their belief that they cannot obtain it. Second, subemployment takes account of involuntary part-time work, where individuals are working part-time but desire full-time jobs. Third, subemployment includes persons who work full-time, but whose incomes are inadequate for minimal individual or family support. See Thomas Victorisz, R. Meir, and J. Giblin, "Subemployment: Exclusion and Inadequacy Indexes," *Monthly Labor Review* 98 (May 1975) pp. 3-12. Underemployment represents an additional dimension of underutilization in the labor market.

⁶ U.S. President's Committee To Appraise Employment and Unemployment Statistics, "Measuring Employment and Unemployment" (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 58.

⁷ See James G. Scoville, "Manpower and Occupational Analysis: Concepts and Measurement," (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1972).

⁸ Stuart H. Garfinkle, "Occupations of Women and Black Workers, 1962-74," *Monthly Labor Review* (November 1975), pp. 25-35.

⁹ See Shirley McCune "Vocational Education: A Dual System," "Inequality in Education" (March 1974), p. 30.

C. Focus of Underemployment

The sources of earnings differences between men and women are diverse, and not all of the differences can be said to result from underemployment. Women do not have the same skill distribution as men, either in terms of formal education or job experience training. Women's labor force patterns differ from men's, particularly during the early years of labor force participation, when skill accumulation through employment is so important. To the extent that women's skill development does, in fact, fall behind men is unfortunate and in many respects discriminatory. But lower level jobs taken by women reflecting this skill disadvantage are not what is meant by underemployment. The measurement of underemployment compares how well women's current skills are utilized in jobs relative to men with equivalent skills. Occupational and earnings distributions differences between men and women are the result of many voluntary and involuntary factors. The underemployment focus is on involuntary factors which prevent adequate utilization of skills.

The remainder of this paper is devoted to (1) a definition and clarification of underemployment, (2) causes of underemployment of women, and (3) policy implications for reducing underemployment of women. It is possible to discuss causes and policy implications of underemployment, even if it is not as yet quantifiable. The seriousness of a problem in the labor market is not determined by how easy it is to measure.

II. DEFINITION OF UNDEREMPLOYMENT AND QUALIFICATIONS

For discussion purposes, underemployment is defined here as an involuntary employment condition where workers are in jobs, either part-time or full-time, in which their skills, including formal and work experience training, are technically underutilized and thus undervalued relative to those of other individuals of similar ability who have made equivalent investments in skill development. Two major forms of underemployment—*intraskill* and *interskill*—can be distinguished. *Intraskill* underemployment occurs when particular individuals or groups of individuals within an identifiable skill group are less able to utilize their skills than is the average individual from this skill group. That is, they have the equivalent ability and occupational preparation as the comparison group, but some real or perceived characteristic of these individuals is the source of their underemployment, not the general marketability of their skill, *per se*. The source of this form of underemployment of women may be employers real or perceived cost of search to hire women, discrimination against women, or other barriers to labor market mobility which women face. These causes are explored in the next section of the paper.

In contrast, *interskill* underemployment refers to a condition where the average individual in a particular skill group is underutilized in employment as compared to the average individual from other skill groups where training investment costs are the same, but the nature of the occupational preparation differs. It is the nature of the skill that the underemployed individual possesses, not any personal characteristic, which causes the problem. Sources of *interskill* underemployment

of women include occupational crowding, a lag in labor market adjustment, retraining costs, and imperfect information.

Given the definition of underemployment suggested above, it is important to note a few of its implications.¹⁰ First, underemployment is an involuntary condition, just as unemployment is viewed as an involuntary phenomenon. Second, underemployment is restricted to the underutilization of human resources within employment, including both part-time and full-time employment. Women hold about 60 percent of all part-time jobs¹¹ given the limited range of skilled jobs in this sector, the probability of underemployment in part-time work is likely to be greater than in the full-time labor market. Third, underemployment focuses on how well current skills, not potential skills, are utilized. If potential skills were to be compared with job requirements, then almost every worker must be considered underemployed, since almost every worker could be more productive if given additional training. A measure of current skills should take account of both on-the-job experience and formal education. Job situation training is difficult to measure, but reliance on formal education as a measure of skill level will understate the true skill level of workers who have received substantial learning experiences in the labor market.¹²

Fourth, a worker is said to be underemployed if her current skills are technically underutilized and thus undervalued. Technical underutilization refers to a direct comparison between the skills of a worker and the skill content of her job, where the worker's skills exceed job requirements. In the absence of a direct measure, it is expected that technical underutilization would be reflected by the undervaluation of the worker's skills in the form of lower wages.¹³ Finally, underemployment is a relative concept. Individuals are underemployed relative to whom? The definition suggests that the numeraire would be based on the average wage of workers of similar ability who have made equivalent investments in skill development. Initial measures of underemployment might concentrate on wage variations across various labor force groups whose acquired skills are judged to be homogeneous.

III. CAUSES OF UNDEREMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

The diverse factors that may produce underemployment of women are explored in this section: (1) Discounting by employers of women's human capital at job entry; (2) labor market discrimination;

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of this definition see Gerald P. Glyde, David L. Snyder, and Anthony R. Stemberger, "Underemployment: Definition, Causes, and Measurement," Institute for Research on Human Resources (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University, 1975), ch. 3.

¹¹ "Employment and Earnings" (January 1976) p. 151.

¹² Jacob Mincer, "Schooling, Experience, and Earnings" (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1974).

¹³ There is some empirical support for the conceptual view expressed above. A recent survey of nearly one-half million individuals who graduated from college in 1972, and who were working full time, showed that the more directly that individual's jobs related to their education, the closer actual earnings were to the individuals' expected earnings. Over 50 percent of those individuals who stated that their jobs were directly related to their education stated that their pay was about the same as they had expected. Only 28 percent of those individuals who stated that their training was not directly related to their job stated that actual earnings were consistent with their expectations. For the first group, only 11 percent earned substantially lower pay than they had expected; however, for the second group, 35 percent earned substantially lower pay than expected. See U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Labor Market Experience of Recent College Graduates," Special Labor Force Report, No. 169 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974).

(3) other sources of intraskill underemployment, such as barriers to labor market mobility, inadequate range of part-time jobs, and weak labor force attachment; (4) interskill underemployment.

A. The Hiring and Promotion Process and Intraskill Underemployment

Because labor market information is imperfect and predicting the potential of job applicants is tenuous, employers may use a number of less than ideal methods to make informed decisions on matters such as the probable job attachment of applicants for vacancies. The fact that employers ask a considerable number of questions on application blanks, which provide them with socioeconomic data, suggests that they are interested in these variables to indicate the potential of the applicant. In considering an applicant's expected job performance, an important factor is the probability of quitting. In the majority of hiring situations, employers want workers who have strong job attachment. If labor costs were totally variable, employers would not be concerned about rapid voluntary turnover. In most work environments, however, workers represent both fixed and variable costs, and the former is often substantial.¹⁴ The cost of voluntary turnover to employers is, therefore, in part a function of hiring (search) and training costs.

1. JOB ATTACHMENT

Statistics are in fact consistent with the view that women, as a group, have less job attachment than men. For example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics has estimated that the monthly quit rate in manufacturing in 1968 was 2.2 percent for men and 2.6 percent for women.¹⁵ In January 1973, the median years of tenure on a current job was 2.8 years for women and 4.6 years for men.¹⁶ These statistics appear to validate the conventional wisdom regarding the weak job attachment of women and thus the inherent risk employers face in hiring women for meaningful, productive, interesting and rewarding work.

Upon reflection, however, these statistics are not of much use unless they are corrected for occupational differences. That is, a meaningful comparison between male and female job attachment should be made on the basis of comparable jobs. Although data on this basis are sparse, the point can be illustrated. In 1973, median years of tenure in a current job for nonfarm laborers was 2.1 years for men and 2 years for women. In food service occupations, men's tenure was 1.1 years and women's was 1.6 years.¹⁷ Quitting is a function of job characteristics, as well as worker characteristics, and women tend to be overrepresented in low paying, dead-end occupations which have high quit rates for both men and women. The irony is that high quit rates for women are caused, in part, by the nature of the jobs that employers make available to them; in turn, these high quit rates

¹⁴ Walter Oi, "Labor as a Quasi-Fixed Factor," *Journal of Political Economy*, LXX (December 1962), pp. 538-555.

¹⁵ U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "1975 Handbook on Women Workers" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 60.

¹⁶ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Job Tenure of Workers," Special Labor Force Report No. 172 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), p. A-17.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, A-17.

for women as a group are then used as justification for denying women access to good jobs. Qualified women will tend to be underemployed as long as employers generalize the view that women quit more readily than men. Their wages and return of their human capital will be less than that of men, as will the utilization of women's skills. Even if women have weaker job attachment, on average, than men, a significant proportion of women may have as strong as or stronger job attachment than the men with whom they are competing for particular job vacancies. In this case, inadequate labor market information or bias on the part of the employer is a cause of underemployment. If employers are correct, on the average, they may not wish to invest in further information to change their perception of the situation. In fact, given the cost of information, this situation, which could be optimal for employers, clearly results in underemployment for women.¹⁸

Discounting of women's human capital will cause them to end up at a lower level in the job hierarchy, which less efficiently utilizes their skills, and will provide them with less remuneration. This discounting may be based on fact or fancy; it is the perception of employers that counts.

2. WORK DISCONTINUITY

Women's human capital may be devalued in the eyes of the employer on other grounds than their quit rate. For example, if a female applicant's work history shows a number of labor market interruptions, her human capital may be discounted. Any person with a less desirable employment record, as perceived by the employer, may have his/her human capital devalued even if he or she is, in fact, endowed with equivalent amounts of human capital compared to the competitors for the vacancy. Obviously, there is considerable room for bias and error in this process, as well as for legitimate screening.

3. CREDENTIALISM

Another factor leading to underemployment of women is credentialism. In this instance, the employer requires the applicant to have a degree, diploma, or other certified skill. This screening device works against labor force members whose training is less formal and therefore more costly and difficult to identify. Women tend to receive formal training in a narrower range of fields than men. For example, nearly two-thirds of the bachelor degrees earned by women are in the areas of education, letters (mainly English) or social sciences (mainly sociology and history).¹⁹ The requirement of degrees or diplomas in particular fields clearly works against women. From the employers' point of view, screening in this manner is logical and appears to be widespread. While this use of educational credentials as a screening criterion may be appropriate in many circumstances, it would appear to hinder unnecessarily labor force groups who have less formal education but are nonetheless skilled, and those groups who have educational credentials in a narrow range of fields. This disadvantage faced by

¹⁸ This phenomenon is often referred to as statistical discrimination. See Robert Hall, "Prospects for Shifting the Phillips Curve Through Manpower Policy," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* (Washington, D.C., 1971), No. 3, p. 683.

¹⁹ "1975 Handbook on Women Workers," p. 204.

women leads toward an unnecessarily narrow range of job opportunities and attendant possibilities for vertical mobility within the labor market.

4. INTERNAL LABOR MARKET

Internal labor markets refer to job vacancies within the firm which are usually filled only by employees of the firm through promotion. Competition for internal labor market vacancies by the external labor market is restricted to so-called "ports of entry." These positions consist of jobs at the lower end of the job hierarchy; (there may be several hierarchies in a firm).²⁰ Women outsiders who compete with male insiders for job vacancies above the entry level may again have their human capital discounted, even when both groups in fact have equivalent skills. Ignoring the external labor market may not be an irrational move on the employer's part, since he has more information about the workers who have been employed within his firm than about other workers. This process may result in underemployment of women, however. If all workers at one time or another are faced with internal labor market barriers, then underemployment of this sort can be considered transitional.

One of the requirements of moving up in the internal labor market is strong attachment to the firm and to the labor force. Therefore those individuals who drop out of the labor force more often than the average will face a greater probability of underemployment. Members of those groups of workers who are expected (and perceived by the employer) to have high quit rates are less likely to be promoted and hence face the possibility of transitional underemployment becoming permanent. The internal labor market phenomenon, then, is another source of underemployment for women.

5. PROMOTION

Promotion consists of sifting the current stock of workers and giving one person a higher position. The promotion process causes underemployment when it is unable to place all equally qualified workers in positions that fully utilize their abilities. In fact, a well-organized promotion process may foster underemployment when an employer hires many more workers for entry level positions than can possibly be promoted. While many of the people in the "promotion pool" are underemployed, the company is assessing them in order to pick perhaps one for promotion to a position that will utilize his/her talents. This procedure may be rational for the firm, but it leads to underemployment among the workers. In particular, if women are viewed as more of a gamble for senior positions, qualified women will suffer more underemployment than men.

B. Discrimination and Intraskill Underemployment

A closely related cause of underemployment, which is difficult to separate clearly from the problem of inadequate labor market information and the cost of search, is labor market discrimination. Labor market discrimination may be viewed as occurring when employers

²⁰ For one of the best discussions of internal labor markets, see Peter B. Doeringer and Michael J. Piore, "Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis" (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1971).

make hiring and promotion decisions on the basis of nonproductivity related characteristics. Because the identification of productivity characteristics is imprecise, screening criteria that employers use in their employment decisions may be discriminatory in the following ways: (1) The criteria may be unrelated to work performance; (2) while the criteria may accurately reflect group averages, they may not be appropriate for a subset of this group whose employment prospects are being determined by the employer; (3) the criteria may reflect prejudice rather than any attempt to estimate productivity; (4) past inaccuracies in hiring and promotion decisions may be used subsequently to screen these individuals out of future labor market progression opportunities.

If an employer's screening criteria are even loosely related to work performance, or if biased statistical evidence is used as justification, it may be difficult to distinguish between prejudicial and informational hiring standards. Assume, for example, that an employer's experience indicates that the job attachment of women is less than that of men. Can he, then, legitimately discount all women's capacity for work? Or should this be interpreted as a form of prejudicial discrimination?²¹

Employment discrimination occurs when women, because of non-economic characteristics, receive lower rates of return on their human capital than do men who have the same productivity characteristics. This definition does not infer discrimination from unequal patterns of employment per se. Part of the unequal labor market status of women must be attributed to prelabor market discrimination, which results in unequal endowments of human capital, and to differences in labor market behavior. The isolation of that part of male-female differences in the quality of employment caused by discrimination is a difficult task. It is particularly difficult to identify all elements of human capital that are relevant to work performance, and to evaluate the productivity effects of differences in labor market behavior. These problems are compounded by the fact that the two sources of differentials in employment status may be related.

C. Other Causes of Intraskill Underemployment

A married woman, in particular, has a greater probability of experiencing underemployment than a man because: (a) she usually must leave her job if her husband moves, and (b) she usually cannot take advantage of better employment opportunities which require a geographical move on her part. Although family mobility is influenced by economic opportunity, it is the husband's job which usually takes precedence. The family move may maximize the husband's and family income, but the wife who was working prior to the move will be forced to take whatever employment she can find in the new location. Hence, there is a greater probability that the wife will be underemployed than is the case of the husband who has made a purposeful move.

²¹ At least two contributors to the discrimination literature imply that the distinction between "statistical" and "prejudicial" discrimination is a spurious one: "Discrimination is the process of forming stereotyped views that all members of a particular group are assumed to possess the characteristics of the group." F. Weisskoff, "Women's Place in the Labor Market," *American Economic Review* 62 (supplement, May 1972), p. 164. "Discrimination is no less damaging to its victims for being statistical. And it is no less important for social policy to counter." E. Phelps, "The Statistical Theory of Racism and Sexism," *American Economic Review* 62 (September 1972).

A family generally does not move in response to labor market opportunities for the wife. This phenomenon may be quite logical viewed in the family income context. Yet the consequences of this behavior lead to more underemployment for a woman than if she were free to pursue purposeful job mobility tied to her skill development.

Because of family responsibilities, many women desire or are limited to part-time work, as are older workers for other reasons. However, not many professional and skilled occupations provide part-time work options so as to make it possible for those who are professionally trained or skilled to utilize their skills and avoid underemployment. There appears to be little evidence to support the view that part-time workers are less productive than full-time workers. Professional and skilled part-time work would keep women in contact with "their type" of job and prevent skill erosion from taking place. There is no particular reason why career commitment cannot be part time for both men and women. In any case, the absence of part-time jobs to suit the skill distribution of workers often results in underemployment.

Another potential source of underemployment of women is weak labor force attachment. For example, women who leave the labor force for considerable periods may suffer an erosion of their labor market skill. The extent of this loss will depend on the nature of their skill. But, more importantly, with regard to underemployment, when they reenter the labor market, they may lack confidence to compete for jobs for which their current skills are, in fact, appropriate. The result would be underemployment, as it would be if employers overreact to the perceived skill loss of women who have been absent from the labor force for a considerable period.

D. Causes of Interskill Underemployment

Interskill underemployment is the result of a relative disadvantage in the marketability of a skill itself, compared to other skills which required equivalent investments to obtain. Persons who are underemployed for this reason are victims of labor market "gluts" which have their origins both on the demand and supply sides of the labor market. Given the concentration of women in a limited number of occupational and education fields and the increasing supply of women in the labor market, interskill underemployment is a more likely condition for women than for men.

Since the labor requirements of firms are a derived demand, the dynamics of markets for goods and services and the resultant adjustment processes are bound to favor certain skill groups and disfavor others. Individuals with skills appropriate to disfavored occupations are more likely to be underemployed than are individuals whose skills match the requirements of favored occupations. Layoffs in disfavored occupations, and the lack of new job vacancies in them, can be expected to reduce the marketability of individuals with skills appropriate to these occupations.

In terms of skill adjustment, the response of labor supply to shifts in demand is generally sluggish. Human capital investments, especially for older people, tend to be irreversible due to cost (time) factors. The

result of this immobility of skill in the face of declining demand will often be underemployment rather than retraining; the individual is "locked in."

Another cause of interskill underemployment is the lag between market signals that indicate declining demand for a skill and reaction to that signal, as revealed by relative declines in the number of graduates trained in that skill. A classic example of the inflexibility of supply in response to signals from the market is the teaching profession, especially elementary education, where women comprise a majority. Long after the peak in student enrollments passed in the late 1960's and indications of glut appeared, universities were still expanding programs to train elementary school teachers. The result was a significant excess supply of teachers, some of whom are now either out of the labor force or are still in the labor force but underemployed. To the extent that labor market forecasting can be improved to provide early warning of declines in demand and this information can be more rapidly transmitted to supply sources, the problem will be reduced.

Inadequate adjustment to changing demand and supply conditions in the labor market is compounded for women. They face not only the usual imperfections in the labor market, but also must contend with a segregated job market which excludes them from a vast array of job opportunities. Thus, with fewer alternatives, they are less able to adjust to changes in labor market conditions. However, it should be noted that if proportionately more women than men do not plan or desire continual labor market activity, investments by women in labor market adjustments will be less than for men, since the payoff from that investment will be less for women. One of the major difficulties in empirical research is sorting out factors which prevent women from making desired adjustments in the labor market from those factors which represent voluntary decisions on their part.

E. Consequences and Costs of Underemployment

The consequences of women's underemployment, whether of the intraskill or interskill variety, are perhaps self-evident. They include lower earnings for individuals who are unable to utilize their skills consistent with some norm. Since the accumulation of skills is continuous, those individuals who are underemployed will be at a disadvantage in terms of receiving on-the-job training or work experience which complements their skills. This disadvantage has feedback effects in the sense that their future eligibility for vertical mobility may be impaired. When acquired skills are not utilized in work and the condition is not voluntary, job dissatisfaction and alienation from work are likely outcomes. At a more aggregate level, underemployment represents an inefficient use of human resources. Education represents a highly subsidized industry; to the extent that women are not able effectively to utilize the major public investment made in them, society must bear the burden. This burden comes in the form of higher unit costs of production and the resulting higher prices. Less productive work means less tax revenues for governments, higher costs of welfare, unemployment insurance, and other public assistance programs that respond to labor market dysfunctioning.

IV. POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR REDUCING UNDEREMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

Attempts to reduce underemployment require a wide variety of remedial measures. The recommendations provided below suggest some ways in which the underemployment problem for women could be reduced, and areas where further research efforts are required. The ordering of priorities within an underemployment policy is likely to depend on the benefits and costs of the various ameliorative measures. Quantification of the problem would clearly provide a helpful guide. Several avenues for continued research are suggested. These would include: More refined measures of differences in returns to human capital investment between men and women with equivalent occupational preparation; additional quantitative work on discrimination and the role of information in the hiring and promotion process; more studies of how women are being integrated into specific occupations; and the development of indexes of occupational attainment in order to monitor the progression of women into traditionally male occupations. Other recommendations are provided below.

A. Full Employment

A basic requirement for reducing underemployment is to decrease unemployment. Those women workers who are underemployed have little prospect of overcoming it when there is an excess supply of labor in the job market. On the other hand, under conditions of full employment, when it becomes more difficult for employers to find qualified males for jobs, qualified minorities including women are more likely to be hired. That is, the cost of search for males under conditions of full employment will approach the cost of search for females, or may even exceed it. The use of unrealistic hiring standards and dependence on credentialism would decrease. Given that qualified women will be taken into more diverse occupations under a full employment policy, employers' information about women's performance on the job will increase; consequently, there will be less prejudicial discrimination in the future. Discrimination on the part of employers and male employees can also be expected to fall as women are integrated into traditionally male occupations. An additional ameliorative effect of full employment is that more revenues would be available to Government to attack other sources of underemployment of women.

On the other hand, with high unemployment, programs of many kinds tend to be restricted in scope and funding. In sum, both the private sector and the Government sector will be more receptive to minority labor force groups under conditions of full employment than under conditions where considerable labor market slack exists.

B. The Hiring Process

The screening process that employers use for hiring and promotion is a valuable source of labor market information to them. However, the line between legitimate use of screening and labor market discrimination is blurred. Yet it is often at the point of hiring where underemployment of women commences and occupational segregation begins. Inadequate empirical evidence in this area makes it difficult to

formulate government policy. Women's skills will continue to be underutilized if unequal treatment is experienced in the hiring or promotion process. Government policy should encourage the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in its enforcement of title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and in the resolution of the very difficult question as to which hiring standards or screening procedures are, in fact, related to job performance. This will necessarily lead to intrusion into the personnel policies of private firms, which may be justified, since those private policies have wide external social effects on women.

C. Labor Market Information

The imperfect labor market information which causes underemployment of women occurs on several levels; therefore policies to improve it should be addressed across a broad front. First, improved methods of forecasting demand for labor requirements of industry and supply of skills will result in a better match between women workers and jobs. Improved estimates at both the national and regional level would be helpful. Identification of new and emerging occupations, as well as more information on the link between occupations, are important. We need to know more about how occupations are linked in terms of transferability of skills among them, e.g., the use of an organizing skill in a political campaign to raise funds or to increase the membership of an organization. This information would assist in identifying the most flexible types of skill training and education.

Second, although we have extensive occupational information already, there are impediments to its efficient use. For example, there could be considerably more cooperation among education guidance counselors, labor market statisticians, and employers.

Third, there is a need for more detailed local labor market information to assist local vocational educators and prime sponsors who receive funds under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (1973). Given the trend toward decentralization, State and local areas should be responsible and accountable for education and training. This will require better local labor market information and cooperative planning among local manpower officials, employers, educational institutions, unions, and civil rights groups. The development of local planning models incorporating these elements should be encouraged to assist in identifying the costs and effectiveness of alternative strategies. At a minimum, this planning process would make it more difficult to exclude women from a wide range of both educational and occupational choices.

D. Counseling

Traditional educational counseling of women students does not appear to have had much demonstrable impact on widening the vocational choices that women make. Occupational crowding of women is in part due to the segregation of jobs in the labor market, but it also stems from pre-job educational choices that women make. The root of these choices is not easily understood, but it would appear that the emphasis on traditional counseling might better be replaced by "counseling in the classroom." This would commence in the early years. A major objective would be to improve women's awareness of

the world of work long before a career decision is made. This would require an improved awareness and sensitivity on the part of teachers in general. Since sex stereotyping in education and employment has its roots in early formative years, policies to reduce these effects should be directed toward the classroom long before more orthodox counseling takes place.

E. On-the-Job Training and Cooperative Education

An important source of education is on-the-job training, which is provided in many forms from simple work experience to highly formalized training. The purpose ranges from socializing newly hired employees in a particular organization to teaching real skills. One negative aspect of on-the-job training as a form of education is that it may be very specific and uncertified; therefore, it may be less transferable than in-school training. The most obvious positive characteristic of on-the-job training is that it provides learning experience at the workplace; therefore, other factors being equal, the probability is that an employee will end up working in the area of his/her training.

There is a need to look more closely at the effectiveness and cost of cooperative or work experience education programs. More information is required on how formal education and on-the-job training can interact. That is, what types of formal education lead to particular types of on-the-job training and how does this interaction influence earnings and employment outcomes. Cooperative education, where students combine work experience and formal education at the same time, provides a clear avenue for placing more women into diverse employment situations early in life. In this regard, more interaction between educators and employers to develop cooperative programs would be beneficial. (This includes 4-year institutions, junior colleges, vocational and comprehensive secondary schools.)

F. Paraprofessionalism

Paraprofessionals normally work under the supervision of a professional and perform tasks formerly reserved for the latter. An innovative expansion of paraprofessionalism could be expected to reduce underemployment in two ways: (1) upper level professionals would be permitted to spend additional time performing tasks which more closely reflect their particular expertise in that they would be relieved of many duties which can just as effectively be performed by other less highly qualified professionals; (2) persons capable of providing many professional services, but who are prevented from doing so by rigid work rules, leave underemployment behind when paraprofessional jobs are created to utilize their skills. A successful paraprofessional program would harness the concept of continuing or recurrent education and on-the-job training to create more flexible career ladders for those individuals who cannot or do not take the normal professional education paths. The advancement of paraprofessionals to full professional status would require action by the professions themselves, the education system, and government.

G. Part-time Work

Most jobs still require employees to work a standard workweek. The part-time labor market is restricted largely to unskilled jobs with the result that skilled or professionally trained individuals who take part-time jobs have a high probability of being underemployed. Women with family duties, older workers, and the handicapped could all benefit from innovative efforts to provide professional jobs on a part-time basis. Both private and public employers should consider the merits of flexible and part-time work schedules, so that they might take advantage of underutilized professionals. More enlightened work scheduling would reduce underemployment for many women and provide more satisfying jobs in the part-time labor market. In addition, the provision of high quality part-time work would prevent part-time workers' professional skills from eroding through inadequate use.

H. Nontraditional Education for Women

Increasing the range of educational choice for women will help alleviate underemployment. More emphasis should be placed on developing nontraditional careers for women. Many education and training programs that are currently considered to be "male" programs should encourage female participation. Expansion of opportunities could reduce underemployment in three ways: (1) by cutting down future occupational crowding, (2) by removing psychological barriers that women may have toward jobs and educational programs which have been traditionally male, and (3) by removing both current and future biases that males may have toward women in traditionally male jobs and educational programs.

CONCLUSION

In the United States and in other countries, it took society many years to realize that individuals can fall into unemployment as unwilling victims; the Great Depression made this fact obvious. With the Employment Act of 1946, the Federal Government took major responsibility for preventing unemployment, a condition no longer deemed to be a reflective of inadequate individual motivation. In the same way, underemployment may result from factors beyond individuals' control. Inadequate transferability of skills because of limited options for midcareer education and training is one barrier that can turn transitional underemployment into a permanent condition. The development of education as a lifelong process would help remove this barrier by easing transfers between occupations and by certifying women for jobs for which credentialism would otherwise have disqualified them. Because women's education or job activities are more likely to be interrupted due to family responsibilities, recurrent education could be helpful in reducing future underemployment for them.

LIFETIME PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG MATURE WOMEN

BY STEVEN H. SANDELL * **

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The problems that mature women¹ face in the labor force are often a consequence of their family responsibilities. Interrupted work experience leads to low wages, reduced labor force participation, and high unemployment—the three most important labor market problems of mature women. The expectation of labor force withdrawal influences women's career choices and this, in turn, affects the amount of on-the-job training they receive and their pay. Thus, the impact of childrearing is felt not only while children are in the household, but before they are present and after they are no longer a direct impediment to labor force activities.

Government policies to improve the employment position of mature women should include vigorous enforcement of laws designed to prevent sex discrimination, a commitment to full employment, and programs that are specifically designed to help mature women increase their jobs skills and then find productive employment. The relationship between lifetime work experience and the labor market problems of mature women affirms the need for policies that insure equal treatment for women in the home as well as in the office and factory. Equality in aspects of life other than the labor market is necessary to produce a total improvement in the employment position of mature women.

Section I of this paper discusses the causes and consequences of the lifetime labor force participation pattern for women. Several

*Assistant professor of economics and research associate, Center for Human Resource Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

**The author would like to thank the Center for Human Resource Research for financial support for this paper. Rex Johnson and Pete Koenig for their research assistance, and Patricia Greene for editorial assistance. Numerous helpful comments were provided by Belton Fleisher, Tom Chirikos, and Herbert Parnes. Errors that remain are the author's own responsibility.

The original research on which this paper was based was prepared under a contract with the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, under authority of the Manpower Development and Training Act. Interpretations and viewpoints are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position of the Department of Labor.

¹For purposes of this study, the term "mature women" includes all women from age 30 through the end of their work lives, including never-married, married, previously married, with or without children.

aspects of unemployment among mature women are analyzed in section II. Interspersed throughout the paper and summarized in section III are the policy implications of the analysis.

I. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF MATURE WOMEN

Standard economic models used to analyze labor supply of married women view the decision to work in a family context.² Three alternative uses are available for the wife's time: Work in the home (e.g., cooking, child care, etc.); work in the labor market; and leisure. The allocation of the wife's time among these activities depends on her net market wage, other family income, her home productivity, and the family's preferences and tastes. The expected effects of some of these factors are discussed below.

The wife's market wage (net of direct costs of employment) is expected to influence her labor force participation. The higher the available market wage, other things being equal, the more likely a woman is to seek market work.³ Variables that reflect the ease or difficulty of obtaining a job (such as the area unemployment rate) change the net return to labor force participation by affecting the cost of job search and can often be considered analogous to the money wage rate in their effect. Likewise, nonpecuniary returns to employment are similar to wages in their effect on the participation of women. The wife's personal taste for market work and the views of her husband, both possibly conditioned by attitudes prevalent in society, affect the non-pecuniary return to market work.

The wife's home productivity is determined by her abilities and her family's demand for home goods and services which, in turn, depends on income and tastes. Although not often directly observable, home productivity might be assumed to be positively associated with the number of children in the household and inversely associated with the ages of the children. The higher her home productivity, the lower is the likelihood that the woman is in the labor force.

A. Barriers to the Full Labor Force Participation of Mature Women

The economist's framework is useful in examining the effects of skill depreciation, the presence of children and availability of child care facilities, and the husband's attitudes toward his wife's labor force participation. Implicit in the discussion of the employment problems of mature women are policy suggestions for lowering barriers to their full participation in the labor market.

Table 1 shows the length of work intervals and home time segments for women who were 30 to 44 years of age in 1967.⁴ A comparison of the data for mothers with those for childless women demonstrates that a very substantial barrier to full labor force participation is women's

² See, for example:

Glen G. Cain, "Married Women in the Labor Force: An Economic Analysis" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

Jacob Mincer, "Labor Force Participation of Married Women: A Study of Labor Supply," in "Aspects of Labor Economics," National Bureau of Economic Research (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 63-106.

³ Mincer, *op. cit.*, attributed the dominance of the substitution effect over the income effect of a higher market wage for the wife to the availability of many home work activities which can serve as substitutes for market work.

⁴ Estimates of an econometric model of the lifetime participation of married women are contained in Steven H. Sandell, "Lifetime Labor Force Participation of Married Women" (unpublished mimeo, Ohio State University, 1976).

assumed responsibility to care for their children. The availability of child care facilities would free women with very young children for market work. Day camps that would operate after school and on holidays, along with school lunch programs, would increase the labor force options of mothers of school-aged children.

TABLE 1.—YEARS OF WORK EXPERIENCE AND YEARS OUT OF THE LABOR FORCE OF WOMEN BY MARITAL STATUS AND RACE

Group	Interval means									Sample size
	h ₁	e ₁	h ₂	e ₂	h ₃	e ₃	Σe	Σh	S	
White, with children:										
Married once, spouse present.....	0.76	3.47	8.32	1.91	3.64	2.56	7.95	12.71	11.60	1,848
Remarried, spouse present.....	.55	2.52	6.11	4.39	5.24	2.65	9.55	11.90	10.35	308
Widowed.....	1.41	4.24	8.90	3.44	2.66	2.63	10.32	12.98	11.41	41
Divorced.....	.93	3.00	5.90	4.92	3.59	3.09	11.01	10.42	10.71	125
Separated.....	1.02	3.81	6.67	3.96	3.02	2.35	10.13	10.70	10.26	54
White, childless:										
Married once, spouse present.....	1.70	5.43	0	4.43	3.73	5.51	15.37	5.44	11.62	131
Never married.....	1.08	6.66	0	0	2.34	8.25	14.92	3.41	12.52	157
Black, with children:										
Married once, spouse present.....	1.17	1.86	5.67	4.15	4.21	3.75	9.76	11.06	10.08	525
Remarried, spouse present.....	1.28	2.02	4.79	6.69	4.82	3.83	12.54	10.89	9.71	146
Widowed.....	1.16	1.91	6.72	4.07	5.44	4.78	10.76	13.32	9.15	68
Divorced.....	.86	1.36	3.95	7.07	3.14	4.56	12.99	7.96	10.37	70
Separated.....	1.32	1.60	4.32	6.76	4.39	2.82	11.18	9.77	9.58	170
Black, childless:										
Married once, spouse present.....	3.22	5.02	0	4.32	3.05	5.93	15.27	6.27	11.56	41
Never married.....	3.43	7.61	0	0	3.73	6.89	14.50	7.16	11.32	44

Note: h₁—years not worked between school and 1st job; e₁—years worked between school and birth of 1st child (for childless married women, equals years worked between school and 1st marriage; for never-marrieds, equals years worked prior to current job); h₂—years not worked between marriage and 1st job after birth of 1st child; e₂—years worked after h₂ prior to 1967 job (for childless married women, equals years worked between 1st marriage and start of 1967 job); h₃—years not worked following 1st job after birth of 1st child (i.e., since returning to the labor force at the end of h₂); e₃—years on 1967 job which occurred after birth of 1st child; Σe—years worked since school; Σh—years of nonparticipation since school; S—years of schooling.

Source: The National Longitudinal Survey of Women aged 30–44, Center for Human Resource Research, (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1967). Also see Sandell and Shapiro, "The Theory of Human Capital and the Earnings of Women: A Reexamination of the Evidence" (unpublished mimeo, the Ohio State University, 1976).

Of course, the allocation of some child care responsibilities to the husband would lead to greater equality in the labor market as well as in the household. If home work were shared more equally between marital partners, their labor force participation rates could become more equal. Moreover, the words of husbands, as well as their deeds, seem to affect the labor force behavior of married women. Women who perceive favorable attitudes of their husbands toward their working have greater lifetime participation than other women.⁵

Since the women who command higher market wages are more likely than other women to work, it follows that increasing pay to mature women would augment their labor force participation. Thus, it is important to understand the determinants of women's earnings if Government policy is to be directed toward increasing the employment of mature women. Lower wages attributable to skill depreciation during the childrearing period implies reduced labor force participation subsequently. A recent study of women's earnings concluded that each year a woman spends out of the labor force, her potential wage is reduced by one-half of 1 percent.⁶ Thus, in table 1 the typical white married woman with children and spouse present had her potential

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶ Steven H. Sandell and David Shapiro, "The Theory of Human Capital and the Earnings of Women: A Reexamination of the Evidence" (unpublished mimeo, the Ohio State University, 1976), p. 5.

market wage reduced 15 cents in 1967. In other words, childrearing has the effect of reducing labor force participation after children are fully grown as well as when they are present in the household. It seems that mature women's labor supply would be increased if they were able to hold part-time jobs that facilitated the maintenance of job skills during the childrearing period. Of course, retraining programs for women returning to the labor force could have the same result.

B. Age Discrimination

The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 established the public policy of promoting employment opportunities based on ability rather than age for people who are over 40 years old. Since the labor force participation rate of women in this age group has increased dramatically since 1950, the question of age discrimination is a particularly important concern in examining their labor market problems.

Although Federal law prohibits discrimination by age in hiring, job retention, and compensation, this policy is often difficult to enforce. While the Employment Standards Administration of the Department of Labor has been successful in stopping many firms from using arbitrary age limits beyond which they would not consider a person for a particular job, other practices that adversely affect older women are more difficult to prevent. These include establishing minimal, formal educational requirements for certain jobs and promoting workers on the basis of seniority.

The common practice of choosing persons from within instead of hiring from outside the firm for high level positions impacts adversely on older women. Since intermittent labor force participation of these women is associated with shorter tenure within a particular firm, the likelihood of their job advancement is lower than for persons with the same total labor market experience but longer tenure at the firm. Thus, a policy of internal promotion can be viewed as de facto age discrimination against women.

Formal educational requirements or recruiting new employees through college placement offices can result in unfavorable treatment of older women workers. If the firm is not willing to consider a woman's life and work experience as a substitute for a formal education requirement, older persons who on average have less schooling than younger persons will find it difficult to obtain good jobs. When hiring requirements are flexible and if the employer recruits exclusively on college campuses, older women will not have information about the availability of certain positions and, thus, will not be considered for employment.

C. Incorrect Expectations and Employment Problems of Women

Training is profitable to a worker if the increase in earnings attributable to it is greater than its cost. Hence, the profitability and the receipt of training are positively related to the expected duration of future labor force participation. To the extent that underestimation of future labor force participation leads to a lack of interest in formal and on-the-job training, some women are faced with poor occupational opportunities when and if they do decide to enter the labor market. Unrealistically low expectations of future labor market participation

can create a self-fulfilling prophecy if these little-trained women are offered low wages and, hence, choose not to accept employment.

Two cohorts from the National Longitudinal Surveys⁷ (women 14 to 24 and women 30 to 44 years of age) are used to compare the labor force expectations (at age 35) of young women to the actual labor force experience of women who have attained that age. Table 2 shows the responses of the younger group of women to the question "What would you like to be doing when you are 35 years old?" It also provides the actual labor market status of women 30 to 44 years of age. Young women are categorized by expected education and older women by actual education completed at the time of the survey.

Although we will not attempt a thorough analysis of labor market expectations in this paper, the following results seem clear from the tables presented. Young women in almost all education groups seriously underestimate their future labor force participation as judged by the actual experience of older women. Many women who are currently facing difficulties in the labor market undoubtedly had such unrealistic expectations in the past. To the extent that current trends in female labor force participation continue into the future, the underestimates by young women today are even more serious than indicated in the tables. It is interesting to note that black women seem to underestimate their future labor force participation less than white women. Blacks between 14 and 24 years of age predict a labor force participation rate of 59 percent compared to an actual rate of 67 percent. Whites predict, at age 35, a rate of 29 percent compared to an actual rate of 48 percent.

TABLE 2.—WORK EXPECTATIONS AT AGE 35 OF YOUNG WOMEN COMPARED TO ACTUAL EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF MATURE WOMEN

	Education ¹				Total
	11 yr or less	12 yr	13 to 15 yr	16 plus years	
Whites:					
Percent young women expecting to work at age 35 ²	(4)	26.8	18.1	32.7	28.6
Percent of mature women in labor force ³	46.6	47.6	46.8	54.5	47.7
Blacks:					
Percent of young women expecting to work at age 35 ²	(4)	62.1	60.6	57.7	59.3
Percent of mature women in labor force ³	59.4	69.4	72.5	96.6	66.5

¹ Refers to expected educational attainment for young women, completed education for mature women.

² National Longitudinal Survey of Women aged 14 to 24 in 1968.

³ Excludes those answering "don't know," "not applicable," or "other."

⁴ Excludes those answering educational attainment of 11 yr or less.

⁵ Respondents from the National Longitudinal Survey of Women 30 to 44 in 1967.

A clear implication for policy may be drawn from these findings: women need more guidance in preparing realistically for their future lives. This guidance could be given in high school, through the media, or through the employment service. Young women should be made aware of the extended periods in the labor force that they will probably face during their mature years. They might then be more likely to seek training opportunities and to prepare themselves in other ways for eventual employment.

⁷ "National Longitudinal Survey of Women Aged 30 to 44," Center for Human Resource Research (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1967).

Ibid., "Aged 14 to 24," 1968.

II. UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG MATURE WOMEN

This section examines several facets of unemployment among mature women. First, problems related to the measurement of female unemployment are examined. The effect of labor force withdrawal and reentrance on the interpretation of the published unemployment statistics is discussed. Second, some important factors contributing to high unemployment among mature women are examined. Women's lifetime labor force participation patterns limit their training opportunities and their occupational choices, which in turn often increase the likelihood of their suffering unemployment. Finally, some preliminary findings from a recent study of job search behavior of mature women with recent work experience are presented.

A. The Measurement and Interpretation of Unemployment Rates

Considerable care must be used in interpreting the published statistics on unemployment of women because of the high incidence of labor force withdrawal and reentrance among this segment of the population. These statistical problems distort the magnitude of unemployment among several groups of women and thus disguise the causes and thwart proper prescription of public policy to reduce unemployment among women.

The Women's Bureau explains the difference between the unemployment rates of adult men and adult women in April 1974 as follows:

Entry and re-entry into the labor force accounted for 1.7 percentage point of the 4.6 percent unemployment rate for adult women, but for only 0.7 of the 3.6 percent rate for adult men. Were it not for the inclusion of unemployment caused by entry and re-entry, the rates for these women and men would have been the same—2.9 percent.⁸

However, the high unemployment rate for entrants and reentrants is in one sense an artifact of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' definition of unemployment. Women moving from "employment" as housewives in the nonmarket sector to paid employment are treated differently from persons who change jobs within the market sector. The former are always defined as unemployed while seeking other work, while the latter are counted as unemployed only if they are among the approximately 50 percent of job switchers who search for other jobs after leaving those they have had.⁹ If this ratio were applied to reentrants, the (adult) female unemployment rate would have been lowered 1.3 percentage points from 8 percent to 6.7 percent in 1975. Since males are less likely to have been "employed" in nonmarket work, a similar calculation reduces the male unemployment ratio only 0.5 percentage points to 4.6 percent. Thus, using this adjustment to the unemployment rates for reentrants (instead of not counting them among the unemployed at all, as is implied by the Women's Bureau's adjustment), the unemployment rate for (adult) females is 45 percent greater than for males.

Even if one considers the unemployment of a particular group of entrants and reentrants into the labor force as a temporary problem

⁸ U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "1975 Handbook on Women Workers," bulletin 297 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), pp. 67-68.

⁹ Peter J. Mattila, "Job Quitting and Frictional Unemployment," *American Economic Review* 64, No. 1 (March 1974), pp. 235-239.

and unimportant for policy purposes, it would be incorrect to draw the conclusion that a sex difference in unemployment does not exist. The adjustment procedure is asymmetric because it ignores labor force withdrawal, a phenomenon which is substantially larger for women. For example, in 1974, while 7.5 million women entered the labor force, almost 6.2 million withdrew.¹⁰ The comparable statistics for men are 4.8 million entrants and 3.9 million leavers. If one subtracts the number of labor force leavers from the total of entrants and reentrants, an adjustment for the net number of entrants can be made. With this procedure it is clear that the unemployment rate for women is substantially higher than that for men.

Women who withdrew from the labor force, even if they were fired from their previous job, are not counted as unemployed. We will demonstrate that the statistical bias caused by not counting "discouraged" workers as unemployed leads to a more significant understatement of the unemployment rate in typically female than in typically male occupations. This in turn has perhaps concealed the relationship between the occupational distribution of women and their "true" unemployment experience. While a number of researchers have shown that women are concentrated in occupations different from men and that the difference between male and female earnings is consistent with the "crowding" hypothesis, there has been little evidence that the occupational concentration is responsible for the higher unemployment rates of women. In fact, using the census' nine major occupational categories, two recent studies¹¹ found that if women had the same occupational distribution as men, the female unemployment rate would have been higher. However, this conclusion might well be altered if the high evidence of labor force withdrawal among married women were taken into account.

Since the typically female occupations require little investment in human capital, firms do not penalize women in these occupations for withdrawal from the labor force. For example, firms are not willing to pay large wage premiums to discourage typists from quitting. In other occupations, such as business managers, there is a considerable wage premium to encourage continued tenure with a particular firm. Since women who leave the labor force often have a weaker commitment to market work, they are more likely than other women to work in "female occupations." Furthermore, women who lose their jobs are more likely to withdraw from the labor force, rather than be counted as unemployed, if they previously worked in "female occupations."

Since the National Longitudinal Surveys' (NLS) data identify the previous occupation as well as the labor force status of women who have lost their jobs, an empirical test of this supposition is presented below. Table 3 examines the relationship between the proportion of women in an occupation and the likelihood that women in that occupation who exit from the ranks of the employed withdraw from the labor force (rather than report themselves as being unemployed). Column 1

¹⁰ U.S. Department of Labor and U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "Employment and Training Report of the President" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 213, 231.

¹¹ Marianne A. Ferber and Helen M. Lowry, "Women: The New Reserve Army of the Unemployed," in "Women and the Workplace: The Implications of Occupational Segregation." Edited by Martha Blaxall and Barbara Reagan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 213-232.

Nancy S. Barrett and Richard D. Morgenstern, "Why Do Blacks and Women Have High Unemployment Rates?" *Journal of Human Resources* 9, No. 4 (fall 1974), pp. 452-464.

shows that, among those women not working at the time of the 1972 survey, the propensity to drop out of the labor force instead of becoming unemployed is larger if the previous job has been in a typically female occupation. Column 2 shows that among women employed in 1967, a higher percentage of those employed in typically female rather than typically male occupations said they would drop out of the labor force if they were to lose their jobs. Thus, labor force withdrawal results in a systematic understatement of unemployment in occupations with high concentrations of women compared to those occupations where women work less frequently.

TABLE 3.—RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LABOR FORCE STATUS AND TYPICALITY OF OCCUPATION OF CURRENT OR LAST JOB

Typicality of most recent occupation ¹	Percent of women with recent work experience who were out of the labor force (1972) ²	Percent of working women who said they would leave the labor force if they lost their jobs (1967) ³
4 most typically female categories ⁴	87.0	36.0
4 least typically female categories ⁵	77.7	24.6

¹ The atypicality index measures the difference for each 3-digit occupational category between women as a percentage of all workers in that occupation and women as a percentage of the total experienced civilian labor force in 1970. (Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, census of population: 1970, subject reports, Final Report PC(2)-7A, occupational characteristics (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office), table 1 and John A. Priebe, Joan Heinkel, and Stanlee Greene, "1970 Occupation and Industry Classification Systems in Terms of Their 1960 Occupation and Industry Elements," U.S. Bureau of the Census Technical Paper No. 26 (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.)) Example: In 1970, women were 38.1 percent of the experienced civilian labor force; 4.6 percent of all architects and 97.5 percent of all professional nurses were women. Hence, the atypicality index or occupational code 013 (architects) is $-335 (46-381)$. The index value for code 150 (professional nurses) is 594 (975-381).

² Sample: White women, married with spouse present and worked 2 or more weeks in 1971.

³ Sample: White women, married with spouse present and with a job during 1967 survey week.

⁴ Atypicality index values +280 to +999.

⁵ Atypicality index values -380 to +77.

Source: NLS of women 30 to 44 in 1967.

B. Specific Human Capital and Female Unemployment

The term "firm-specific human capital" refers to training that increases the productivity of workers in their jobs only within the firm making the investment. The firm pays for the training and reaps a return derived from the difference between a worker's increased productivity and her posttraining wage.

The existence of firm-financed specific training yields important implications concerning the behavior of firms vis-a-vis women. The productivity increase associated with specific human capital creates a spread between the worker's output and the wage rate. Hence, a small decrease in productivity associated with a business downturn would be less likely to lead to the dismissal of an individual with specific training than one whose wage had been equal to her productivity.

Due to their intermittent labor force participation and "involuntary" migration associated with their husbands' dominating job opportunities, women's expected tenure with a particular firm is shorter than men's. Firms are less willing to make investments in women if the profitability of their investment is thwarted by women's quitting. As a result of profit-maximizing behavior of the firm and the lesser firm-specific human capital embodied in female employees, women will often be the first to be laid off when business becomes poor. However, employment opportunities would become available first for women

during cyclical upturns. The specific human capital phenomenon explains the greater cyclical sensitivity of female compared with male unemployment rates, and the greater job turnover of women partially explains sex differences in the level of unemployment.¹²

C. Job Search Behavior of Mature Women

According to the economic theory of job search, the unemployed worker chooses a "reservation" wage, below which she will not accept a job offer. The persons' job search strategy is reflected by the reservation wage. If the reservation wage chosen is too high, then the cost of the worker of earnings lost during the job search is greater than the extra earnings gained from finding the higher paying job. A reservation wage that is too low means the worker should have tried to find a higher paying job, since the earnings gain from that job would exceed the earnings foregone in additional unemployment. It was possible to investigate the labor market behavior of unemployed women using the NLS data. Information contained in these surveys allowed the examination of the determinants of reservation wage, the duration of unemployment, and the post-unemployment rate of pay for a sample of married women who were unemployed between 1967 and 1972. Preliminary results from the study indicate that unemployed women who have had recent work experience conduct their job search in a manner that can be considered to be rational from the point of view of economic theory.

The reservation wage reported by unemployed married women seems to be systematically related to the wage they received at their most recent job and the average wage received by employed women with equivalent education and labor market experience. Women whose husbands have high labor market earnings and women who receive unemployment compensation report higher asking wages than other women. Women who did not leave their previous job voluntarily reported lower reservation wages than women who quit. Furthermore, women adjust their asking wages downward as the period of unemployment lengthens. This continuous reduction, 1 to 2 cents per hour for each week of unemployment, could reflect the revision of expectations in the light of increased knowledge of job opportunities.

The conceptual framework used to study the duration of unemployment of married women is straightforward. By definition, a job will be accepted by an unemployed woman if the offered wage is greater than the job seeker's reservation wage. The probability of accepting a job within a certain time period is equal to the probability of receiving a job offer in that period multiplied by the probability that the associated wage offer is higher than the person's asking wage.

The preliminary results of regression analysis using NLS data indicated that: (1) Longer spells of unemployment were associated with greater divergence (in a positive direction) between the asking wage and the wage that women with similar personal characteristics received.¹³ (2) Women who lost their jobs experienced seven weeks more

¹² For a discussion of the relationship of employment stability and unemployment rates, see Stephen T. Marston, "Employment Instability and High Unemployment Rates," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 1 (Washington, D.C.: 1976), pp. 169-203.

¹³ Although women suffer a longer period of unemployment when they ask for higher wages, they are rewarded with higher paying jobs. In fact, the preliminary results seem to indicate that, based on financial considerations alone, the average married woman could profitably spend a longer period of time in job search activities and, thereafter, be rewarded with higher wages.

unemployment than women who had left their previous jobs voluntarily. (3) On the average, a 1-percentage-point increase in the area unemployment rate was associated with an additional week of unemployment for married women.

The last result emphasizes the interaction between overall economic conditions and unemployment among women. The analysis described here used a sample of married women who have worked for pay since 1966. For this group of women, the duration of unemployment (and, hence, their unemployment rate) is affected by the general conditions in the labor market. There would also be fewer involuntary job terminations in a more prosperous economy, so both the incidence and the duration of unemployment for women would be lower. These preliminary results indicate the propitious effect that Government commitment to full employment will have on those (married) women already in the labor force, in addition to the favorable effect it will have on the labor force participation among mature women.

III. CONCLUSIONS

To a large degree, the position of mature women in the labor market reflects their past acceptance of family and household responsibilities. Labor force withdrawal weakens both their employers' and their own incentives to invest in their human capital. These problems are compounded by sex discrimination.

While there is a role Government policy can play in alleviating employment problems faced by mature women, they will only experience substantial labor market equality with men when their home and career orientations are similar. Only after equal labor force experiences are realized by men and women in their 20's and 30's will they be treated as equals in their 40's and 50's. The most important role Government can play is to insure that today's young women are aware of the consequences of labor force withdrawal and lack of training.

Throughout the paper there have been allusions to specific labor market policies that could help mature women. These include making available day care facilities and retraining opportunities to women. Another important aid to mature women is to encourage them to use private employment agencies and the public employment services. The latter could be directed to cater to the special needs of mature women. Currently, only 29 percent of women who search for jobs compared with 37 percent of the men use the State employment service.¹⁴

Finally, the Federal Government should vigorously enforce laws that provide equal opportunity for women. There is ample evidence that women respond to economic incentives in their training and job search behavior. If the job opportunities and the wages of mature women have been reduced by discrimination, they have lower labor force participation and suffer more unemployment than in a truly egalitarian labor market.¹⁵ If women's treatment by employers and their labor force participation expectations are similar to men's, their labor market experience will be equal.

¹⁴ "1975 Handbook on Women Workers," p. 74.

¹⁵ See Sandell and Shapiro, *op. cit.* The difference in work experience accounts for only 25 percent of the male-female wage gap.

Part III. SUPPORT SERVICES AND
ADJUSTED CONDITIONS

(153)

THE HOMEMAKER, THE FAMILY, AND EMPLOYMENT

By NONA GLAZER, LINDA MAJKA, JOAN ACKER, AND CHRISTINE BOSE * **

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I. INTRODUCTION

Women's family lives and work lives are inseparable. A vicious circle exists in which the assignment by society of housework and child care to women, sex inequality ingrained in our mores, and the labor force experiences of women, interact continually to reinforce the worst features of each. On the one hand, the family responsibilities of women limit markedly their ability to earn a reasonable living in meaningful work. In the absence of support systems, they find it difficult to meet the formal requirement of work continuity in order to gain job promotions and salary increases; they find it difficult to have time for training or retraining outside the normal hours of the workday; thus, their work continuity and training opportunities are interrupted by family responsibilities and family crises. On the other hand, women's work experiences make it difficult for them to develop and maintain sound family lives. Women are concentrated in psychologically deadening low-skill jobs with low pay, often without fringe benefits. The economic deprivation and meaninglessness of the work sometimes combine to provoke concern about family responsibilities and economic problems.

Furthermore, women are notoriously underemployed. They often work in jobs which are well below the level of their abilities and formal education and experience high rates of unemployment. The very

*Nona Glazer is a professor of sociology; Linda Majka is an assistant professor of sociology. Portland State University, Portland, Oreg.; Joan Acker is an associate professor, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oreg.; and Christine Bose is an assistant professor of sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

**Appreciation is expressed to the Graduate School and the Sociology Department at Portland State University for clerical support.

existence of sex-typed jobs, which are accompanied by discriminatory rates of pay and low status, in turn contributes to the persistence of sex-stereotyping within family patterns, that is, assignment of the primary responsibility for home and children to women, because the rational economic decision for most families facing a choice is that the higher paid man should work outside the home and the lower paid woman in the home.

Today it is not a question, however, of whether or not women with family responsibilities ought to combine work in the labor force and work in the home. Rather, we must deal with the reality that millions of women do work:

In 49 out of 100 husband-wife families where the husband is employed the wife is also working.¹

Employed mothers with children under 18 years include 13.6 million women, representing 46 percent of all such mothers and 38 percent of all employed women.²

Among 7.2 million families headed only by women, and including 9 million children, 54 percent of the women were in the labor force.³

The employed wife contributes, on the average, about 25 percent of the family's income, and keeps a sizable proportion of families out of poverty, or just at the poverty line.⁴

The overall length of the worklife expectancy of American women has increased from 6.3 years in 1900 to 22.9 years in 1970, still below the average for men, but nonetheless a considerable number of years.⁵

We must recognize that the family has been accused over and over again of being the source of many social problems in American society. Yet, we have been unwilling to provide the basic essential services which would support an adequate family life and family stability in a complex, urban society.

Married women in the labor force and women heading families must be recognized as multiple jobholders. Multiple jobholding now has a very narrow meaning—"moonlighting"—which refers to holding a second paid job to meet regular expenses.⁶ Our failure to recognize housework and child care as work comes from the archaic view that work only includes activities that bring earnings. If our views of housework were revised to acknowledge that what the homemaker does is work, we would not continue to let employed women carry an undue burden without society's encouragement and aid. The everyday life of the average employed wife and mother is far different from the "ideal" lives of women who are married to men prominent in business, the professions, and government; unlike these latter women, 70 to 80 percent

¹ Howard Hayghe, "Marital and Family Characteristics of the Labor Force, March 1975," Special Labor Force Report 183 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1975).

² "Why Women Work," Women's Bureau (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1976) (July, revised), p. 25.

³ Beverly Johnson McEaddy, "Women Who Head Families: A Socioeconomic Analysis," Monthly Labor Review, 99(6) (June 1976), p. 16.

⁴ Donald Cymrot and Lucy D. Mallan, "Wife's Earnings as a Source of Family Income," Research and Statistics Note, No. 10 (Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Apr. 30, 1974), DHEW Pub. (SSA) 74-11701, pp. 10-11.

⁵ H. N. Fullerton, Jr., and J. J. Byrne, "Length of Working Life for Men and Women, 1970," Monthly Labor Review, 99(2) (February 1976).

⁶ Koop Michelotti, "Special Labor Force Report—Multiple Jobholders in May 1975," Monthly Labor Review, 98 (11) (November 1975).

of employed American women cannot afford to hire regular household and child care help or to purchase sufficient convenience foods and appliances to lighten the load of housework and child care.

We should recognize that the ability and willingness of women to enter the labor force rests upon the availability of support services to meet family needs. These support services should allow women to enter paid employment without risk to their own physical and mental well-being, without risk to the physical, moral and intellectual development of their children, and without risk for those who have spouses, to the continued stability of their marriages. We should point out that the provision of the variety of support systems outlined below would also contribute to the creation of additional jobs necessary for a full employment economy.

From the foregoing discussion, it is obvious that special support systems are necessary in order to make it realistically possible for women to be "able and willing to work." In addition, work available to women should be "useful and rewarding employment." Women have suffered too long from low-paying, dead-end jobs, without fringe benefits or long-term security; these types of jobs have basically been an additional hardship to bear, added to women's existing burden of repetitive, never ending jobs at home.

For purposes of discussion, the complex interrelations between family and work life will be separated into the following areas: employment, child care, housework, leisure, housing and community design. After our discussion of the problems, we have presented a set of principles, which should be embodied in legislation for the family, and suggestions for a support system which would be necessary to implement those principles.

II. EMPLOYMENT

The complex interaction between family and work life calls for adjustments in the terms of employment in order to meet women's needs. Under conditions of the existing labor market, women have higher rates of unemployment, lower incomes and low-skill occupational options.⁷ Even when they are full-time labor force participants, women have disproportionately constituted "the working poor."⁸ Equal pay and antidiscriminatory policies are vitally important, but they are not enough to end women's secondary status in the labor force. Ending the scarcity of work at the minimum wage level will relieve women of the effects of having to compete with so many other workers for low-wage employment, but it will not solve women's economic problems. The solutions must include (a) changing the terms of employment to make these compatible with women's (and men's) family responsibilities, and (b) increasing the absolute number of jobs available to women at the higher skills and professional levels.

Currently many, if not most, occupations depend on the social and domestic infrastructure provided by women as unpaid full-time household workers.⁹ Even when women work full time, they still bear a

⁷ McEaddy, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-9.

⁸ Elizabeth Koontz, "Women in the Labor Force" in 1972 report of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, "Women's Role in Contemporary Society" (New York: Avon, 1972), p. 187.

⁹ Marjorie Galenson, "Women and Work: An International Comparison" (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell, 1974).

disproportionate amount of responsibility for social and domestic functions at considerable personal cost.¹⁰ Although spreading the burden of such costs within the family by involving men (if they are present) will relieve some of the problems of multiple job-holding for women, it will not resolve the basic issue that the terms of employment for all workers have not adequately taken into account the requirements of workers' so-called "private" needs for family life and friendships. As long as women have traditionally supplied unpaid labor in the home, such requirements have remained outside the employer's accounting system. Families of full-time workers have traditionally received only the "leftover time," as the needs of fathers, mothers, and children are subordinated to the employment schedule.¹¹ When women and men both exercise their option to seek paid work, the continuity of social and family life requires adjustment of the hours of employment, time off from work, and increased earning capacity of jobs to provide a decent livelihood.¹²

An example of the kind of adjustment that might be made can be taken from Eastern European countries. Employed mothers in Poland, for instance, are likely to be with their children from 3:30 to 4:30 p.m. on, and in Yugoslavia from 4 p.m. on. In the United States, employed women usually must wait to see their children until 5:30 or 6 p.m. Thus, the leisure that mothers and children might spend together is curtailed by the work responsibilities of women.¹³ High-quality part-time work is an important factor in the adjustment of terms of employment.

Work in America has not enhanced the ability of people to act effectively on their own behalf or to influence the events and decisions affecting their own homes and persons through social means. In the face of scarcity of and competition for jobs, women and men have seldom been "free" to find the type of employment they prefer, and have thus experienced the powerlessness of economic pressures.¹⁴ Women have been observed to "prefer the semiskilled work at home to unskilled work in the market, but prefer skilled work in the market to either of these alternatives."¹⁵ Some evidence suggests they might also prefer the semiautonomous work at home to subordination on the job, but they prefer autonomy and participation in market work to either.¹⁶ The ability and willingness of women with family responsibilities to accept paid employment may depend on the extent to which the meaningfulness of work can be enhanced through the expanded utilization of ability and autonomy.

¹⁰ Nona Glazer, "The Class Position of Women: Housewifery," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociology Association, Sept. 1, 1976, New York City.

¹¹ Haythe, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹² White House Conference on Children, "Report to the President" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970).

¹³ Phillip J. Stone, "Child Care in 12 Countries," in Alexander Szalai and others (editors), "The Use of Time: Daily Use of Urban and Suburban Populations in 12 Countries" (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1972).

¹⁴ Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr., "Work Experience and Family," in James O'Toole, editor, "Work and the Quality of Life" (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1974), p. 354.

¹⁵ Isabel V. Sawhill, "Perspectives on Women and Work in America," in James O'Toole, editor, "Work and the Quality of Life" (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1974), p. 93.

¹⁶ Alice S. Rossi, "A Good Woman Is Hard To Find," *Transaction* 2, No. 1 (November-December 1964).

III. CHILD CARE

The core of family life and the center of the female role has been the bearing and raising of children. As the lives of women change, new patterns of carrying out this crucial function become necessary. The immediate need is for more adequate and more varied child care arrangements for children of mothers who are already working or

who want to enter the labor force.

The number and proportion of children with working mothers continues to rise.¹⁷ While the magnitude of the need for child care is difficult to estimate, in 1973 there were 25 million children under age 17 whose mothers were working.¹⁸ At about the same time, only approximately 575,000 children were receiving full day care in child care centers.¹⁹ While other forms of care, such as that provided by neighbors and relatives, are satisfactory for many children, there is no way to estimate the number of children receiving inadequate care. There is also no way to calculate the anxiety borne by mothers who must work and who must leave their children in less than optimal situations.

The problems of single mothers, another group which is growing rapidly in size, are particularly severe. "Over the past decade, female-headed families with children have grown almost 10 times as fast as two-parent families."²⁰ In the United States, 17 percent of all children under 18 live in a family where the father is absent.²¹ In 1973, 855,000 children under the age of 6 were in such families.²² As could be expected, mothers who head families are more likely to work than are those in husband-wife families,²³ so day care is especially important to them.

In 1973, there were an additional 14 million children under the age of 6 whose mothers were not in the labor force. Some proportion of these children would also need alternate child care if their mothers were to have full opportunity to prepare for labor force entry. Recent estimates of the reserve labor force provide some preliminary basis for anticipating the approximate number of homemakers who are potential workers.²⁴ These women should be added to the calculation of the magnitude of the need for child care.

More and better child care facilities are only part of the solution to the child care problems of women workers. Emergency as well as routine health care is needed for the children of working mothers. The frequent illnesses of young children often necessitate a mother's absence from her job. Further worktime is also lost in other child care obligations, such as attending to routine medical care and school problems. Some of these needs could be met if child care centers included clinic facilities.

¹⁷ Anne M. Young, "Children of Working Mothers," *Monthly Labor Review*, 96, 4 (April 1973).

¹⁸ "Children of Working Mothers" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, September 1973).

¹⁹ Pamela Roby, "Child Care—Who Cares?" (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

²⁰ Sawhill, *op. cit.*

²¹ "Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1975," *Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 287* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, December 1975).

²² U.S. Department of Labor, "Children of Working Mothers" (1973).

²³ Young, *op. cit.*

²⁴ Christopher G. Gellner, "Enlarging the Concept of the Labor Reserve", *Monthly Labor Review*, 98, 4 (April 1974).

The time demands of raising children, however, are extremely variable and are not amenable to highly organized solutions. Therefore, in the long run one of the greatest contributions to the solution of the problems of these time pressures would be the equal assumption by men of the responsibilities of parenthood. Sex equality in child care would not only lighten the multiple burdens of women, but would likely contribute to the sound development of children, who often have only a passing acquaintance with their fathers.

IV. HOUSEWORK

Doing housework, taking care of children, and carrying out assorted jobs for husbands are work just as much as leaving home each day for paid employment in an office or factory. To ignore this is to do a disservice to women in the labor force. These women, their children, and eventually all Americans suffer the consequences: harried, unhappy women; ill-cared for children; and angry, puzzled men. The reality of housework is that women's work in the home averages 56 hours per week for the full-time homemaker, actually up 1 hour per week since the 1920's;²⁵ and 26 hours per week for the employed wife/mother. Husbands and children barely increase their contribution to housework and child care when the wife/mother is in the labor force.²⁶ As a result, the employed woman with family responsibilities simply gives up most of her leisure to carry out the responsibilities of family life, as well as dropping certain household tasks. Moreover, husbands' participation in child care, when it does occur, is usually concentrated in playing with children, reading and taking walks, rather than the basics of feeding, bathing, and dressing children.²⁷

We realize that it may sound strange to hear women's activities in the home called work. Since women who do housework and child care receive no salary or wages, homemaking is not considered "work."²⁸ Economists have finally helped us to recognize the importance of women's work in the family by estimating the monetary value of homemaking. These estimates range from \$4,705 (1972) through \$8,200 (1968) to over \$13,000 per year (1973), depending on whether the work of the homemaker is considered equivalent to an unskilled, skilled, or a professional worker, respectively. For example, is child care comparable to babysitting at \$0.75 per hour, to a nursery school aide at \$3 per hour, or to the care of a child psychologist at \$30 per hour?²⁹

Some people have proposed that the solution to the problems of the employed housewife would be simply to pay women for being housewives; hence, women with heavy family responsibilities would not

²⁵ Joann Vanek, "Time Spent in Housework," *Scientific American*, 231, No. 5 (1974).

²⁶ Nona Glazer, "The Husband-Wife Relationship and the Division of Labor: The Reconceptualization and Extension," paper prepared for Ford Foundation/Merrill-Palmer Conference on the Family (Detroit, Nov. 9-12, 1975).

Joseph Pleck, "Men's Roles in the Family: Another Look," paper prepared for Ford Foundation/Merrill-Palmer Conference on the Family (Detroit, Nov. 9-12, 1975).
Kathryn Walker and William Gauger, "The Dollar Value of Household Work," *Cornell University Information Bulletin*, No. 60 (New York: Ithaca, N.Y., 1973).

Richard Berk, Sarah Berk, and Sally Berheide, "The Nondivision of Household Labor," paper presented at the Pacific Sociological Association (San Diego, March 1976).

²⁷ Alexander Szalai, *op. cit.*

²⁸ Ann Oakley, "The Sociology of Housework" (New York: Pantheon, 1974), p. 9.

²⁹ Nona Glazer, "Housework," *Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 1 (4) (summer 1976).

have to enter the labor force in order to gain income for themselves and/or their families. This is not a solution for the following reasons: First, wages provide income, but they do not remedy the isolating nature of the work itself, nor the negative attitudes housewives themselves have toward housework (but not toward child care).³⁰ Second, wages for housework would reinforce occupational stereotyping by freezing women into their traditional roles. Unless women and men are paid equally in the labor force and there is no division of labor by sex, women's work in the home will have no value. Third, since it is not clear what constitutes housework, and we know that housework standards vary greatly, it would be difficult to know how to reward it. Several methods have been calculated, but none appear likely to be successful. The methods are variously based on (a) opportunity cost of staying at home, controlling on person's age and education;³¹ (b) market cost or the income derived from an equivalent labor force job;³² and (c) willingness of spouse to pay. Fourth, pay for housework might place homemakers (mainly wives) in the difficult position of having their work assessed by their husbands, while in the case of single homemakers it is not clear who would do the assessing. (The idea of a Federal or other governmental regulatory agency inspecting the home to assess women's housework must be dismissed without any serious consideration at all, but income transfer payments to children of homemakers might be reasonable). Fifth, wages for housework, derived from spouse payments, overlook the contribution women make to the society (e.g., by training children to be good citizens), and assume that women's work in the home is only beneficial to their own families. Finally, payment for housework does not address itself to the basic reason why women with family responsibilities work: To increase family income over that which the employed husband/father makes. Also, single women with family responsibilities work because they are the family breadwinner.

It may seem puzzling that the hours of women's home activities have not declined because of the availability of many appliances (washing machines, gas and electric ranges, blenders, etc.) and convenience products (prepared soaps, frozen foods, mixes, dried foods, etc.).³³ The truth is that appliances tend to be energy saving rather than time saving and the convenience of appliances has encouraged a rise in the standards of housekeeping. Hence, women today spend more time than their grandmothers doing laundry, since family members demand more frequent changes of clothing today than in earlier generations. Husbands and children expect more varied meals. Advertising encourages women to devote an inordinate amount of time and money to waxing floors, creating rooms free of "odor-causing" germs and seeking to meet other extraordinary standards of cleanliness. Furthermore, the increasing concern with good nutrition, in the face of the exposure of dangerous additives in some commercially prepared food,

³⁰ Oakley, *op. cit.* Berk, Berk, and Berheide, *op. cit.*

³¹ Reuben Gronau, "The Measurement of the Output of the Nonmarket Sector: The Evaluation of Housewives' Time," *The Measurement of Economic and Social Performance* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1973).

³² Walker and Gauger, *op. cit.*

³³ William D. Andrews and Deborah C. Andrews, "Technology and the Housewife in 19th Century America," *Women's Studies*, vol. 2, No. 3 (1974).

R. S. Cowan, "Two Washes in the Morning and a Bridge Party at Night: The American Housewife Between the Wars," *Women's Studies*, vol. 3, No. 2 (1976).

and in the face of "junk" food, means many homemakers are now spending more time preparing foods which are not available in the marketplace, or which are only available at great costs.

Housework is further complicated by the assumption made by businesses, schools, stores, etc. that there is a full-time housewife in each home. This obviously is incompatible with the statistics quoted above that show one-half of all wives with employed husbands and most women who head families are in the labor force. Stores, home delivery services, repair services, schools, legal services, "after-school activities for children" and the like are available mainly from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. These hours are, of course, exactly the hours employed women with family responsibilities work.³⁴ Staggering the hours of the availability of goods and services is not necessarily a solution, because of the structure of these industries. Since women dominate in the retail and service trades, the burden of working evenings or weekends ironically falls most heavily on the very group which is in the greatest need of relief.

V. LEISURE

The world-famous French sociologist, Professor Joffre Dumazedier, observed: "In history the right to leisure has been defined in relation to the right to work and has been claimed by men."³⁵ By "work," Dumazedier was referring to paid employment in the labor force, something which not all women have, of course, and which may be part time or intermittent for many who do. Hence, women may be denied vacations because they fail to meet certain criteria for receiving paid vacations, as established by their employers. It is indeed easy to define leisure so that women are seen as having lots of it (whether they are employed in part-time or full-time work). This is done simply by defining leisure as all time not spent in paid employment. But we must consider leisure more realistically, and in less narrow economic terms. It is the pursuit of an activity for its own sake and for enjoyment. Leisure should also be refreshing to the person. The result of leisure is that people feel rejuvenated, invigorated and alive.

Let us examine the availability of leisure—time available for the fulfillment of well-being—for the average employed wife/mother. First, the average paid workweek for the employed women in the United States is around 40 hours. Equally important, women work long hours in the home. Despite the labor saving devices, working hours of the employed American housewife have not decreased in the last 50 or so years because of the changes in standards and consumption.³⁶ Thus, one can conclude that women have little opportunity for leisure, a component that should be an important facet in every individual's life.

VI. HOUSING

Most of the residential housing in the United States has been designed and located on the assumption that the woman is a full-time homemaker who cares for the basic needs of other family members.

³⁴ Viola Klein, "Synchronization and harmonization of working hours with the openings and closings of social services, administrative offices, and so forth," *Women Workers* (Paris: OECD, 1965).

³⁵ Joffre Dumazedier, "Sociology of Leisure" (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1974), p. 29.

³⁶ Jiri Zuzanek, "Society of Leisure or the Harried Leisure Class? Leisure Trends in Industrial Society," *Journal of Leisure Research*, vol. 16, No. 4 (fall 1974), pp. 299-301.

Supposedly, her husband also is available to help with heavier chores, make minor repairs and care for any outdoor areas. The exceptions to this set of assumptions about house care are the homes of the rich which provide living quarters for servants; special housing for particular groups such as "singles" complexes, which include a manager; housing for the elderly or handicapped which may be designed to meet their special needs.

Most of the designers and builders of housing and communities have generally failed to rethink housing and community living in recognition of the high percentages of all women who are in the labor force. Housing could and should be designed so as to fulfill the changing needs of women and their families, regardless of role changes throughout life.³⁷ As the U.S. Department of Commerce report indicates:

- Millions of homes are considered substandard where it is necessary for a mother to cope with inadequate cooking facilities, heat, sleeping quarters, as well as inadequate space where the family can spend time together.

- Millions of homes are overcrowded, putting additional psychological pressure on family members, and forcing children into the streets for minimal individual freedom and for enjoyment of their peers' company.

- Millions of residents cannot easily find necessary services in their immediate neighborhoods; medical services, quality affordable goods, wholesome recreational facilities are unavailable.

- Child care services and other activities relating to training and recreation for children are not available in the immediate neighborhood.³⁸

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LEGISLATION ON THE FAMILY

A. Principles

Legislation designed to support the family should embody the following considerations. Such legislation should provide family members with support systems—services, facilities—which will help develop healthy, independent, active children, promote the fulfillment of adults, and aid employed women and men in their desire to supervise and guide the training of the moral, intellectual, physical, and emotional development of their children. Since the primary responsibility for adequate family life has resided traditionally with the wife/mother, legislation must focus on the employed women with family responsibilities. However, the programs suggested are compatible with (a) supporting the involvement of fathers with their children; and (b) promoting an expanded relationship between fathers and their children. Furthermore, it is necessary to recognize that the identical services and facilities are needed, regardless of the employment status of women with family responsibilities.

Children are a special concern: Legislation is needed to provide services and facilities that would support children living with their own families until the completion of high school or comparable training, or a lesser age if that is preferable to the families concerned.

³⁷ Dolores Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright, "Architecture and Urban Planning," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 1, No. 4 (summer 1976), p. 930.

³⁸ "Marital Status and Living Arrangements."

Local control by parents and children, as well as the cooperation of the providers of the services and facilities, should be a central provision of the programs recommended. Methods of financing should include the extension of the principle of revenue sharing to local neighborhood bodies. Organizational structure should support client control of services, including work-based control of family-related facilities.

Women head of households have a special problem, since full employment may mean that burdens fall unduly on poor women who head families. As the sole adult in the family, these women may need support to participate in the labor force on a flexible basis, including support when they are out of the labor force for long periods, without sacrificing the benefits of full-time employment.

B. Family Support Systems

In recognition of the extent of single-family household heads, the extent to which "adult children" with dependent children return to their own parental households, and in recognition of cooperative living units shared by more than one family, the family is here considered to be a more or less permanent household which has the responsibility of daily living.

1. FACILITIES FOR FAMILY FUNCTIONS

a. Child care facilities.—Federally supported child care facilities should be established to provide 24-hour care, available when needed, for children from the age of 1 year to the age of 14 or 15. There should be support for different types of such organizations. For example, older boys as well as girls might be involved in caring for younger children in some centers. This could contribute to increasing the ability of men in the coming generation to feel at ease in caring for and being close to children. Some centers might use older retired people as part of the staff or involve parents on a cooperative basis. All of these methods have been tried in previous programs, such as Head Start. Child care experts, who have knowledge of this experience, would be used as consultants and staff, but the planning and on-going control would be in the hands of the clients/parents. The centers would be open to people of all economic levels and to nonworking as well as working mothers.

Child care centers can be located either in the community or at the place of work. The size of the community, the distance of the usual trip to work, as well as the length of the working day, may have a bearing on the decision about location. For example, work-located child care centers have some advantage for parents and children if job requirements are flexible enough so that parents and children can visit during the working day.

b. Neighborhood service houses: Neighbors in Community Helping Environments (NICHE).—Because of their working hours, employed women are often unable to carry on responsibilities of homemaking and child care easily at levels which insure ample guidance to children. This is especially true for women who earn low wages for they are especially unable to purchase services in the marketplace to substitute for their labor in the home. We urge the establishment of fed-

erally funded neighborhood houses, which are rooted in the long-established American tradition of settlement houses. The NICHE program would establish a house in the neighborhood which would provide the following services. The services would be especially in support of employed heads of families, but available to others in the neighborhood, too, in order to encourage the reactivation of the American tradition of local barter and neighborly service and concern:

1. The supervision of play and homework activities of children under 15 years of age;

2. House visitors who would be able, on a visiting basis, to supervise children under 11 years, and who might be available by telephone to children between 11 and 14 years who cannot attend school because of minor illness;

3. Clinic beds for the day for children who have an illness which precludes school attendance but is not so severe as to preclude travel to the clinic;

4. Transportation of children to needed medical and dental services, as selected by parents, for a regular program of preventive medical care;

5. House visitors who would be available to facilitate access to private homes by repair service people, delivery persons, etc.;

6. Neighborhood meeting places where the distribution of tools and bartering of services among neighbors could take place;

7. Distribution points for hot, prepared nutritious meals for families to take home to eat in the privacy of the family dining room;

8. Other neighborhood-based services, such as may be provided by an auxiliary Women's Center and Men's Resource Center which would provide support for women and men facing personal traumas, such as rape, battering, abuse, or job-connected race, sex, or ethnic discrimination, and other problems that now threaten the American family.

c. Women's Centers.—Federally financed women's resource centers would provide women reentering the labor force with counseling related to labor force participation as it affects family life; they would also provide women with vocational counseling, including the selection of appropriate programs for retraining. Since many women enter the labor force because of severe family distress (e.g., child abuse, divorce) which requires that they become breadwinners, the center would also provide psychological support of an informal nature, as well as referral service to an appropriate professional agency.

d. Holiday Camps and Weekly Leisure.—To meet the basic human needs for leisure, we recommend the development of federally funded holiday camps for employed mothers. This is based on the American fondness for family camping by more affluent families; the success of organized family camp retreats, as sponsored by sectarian organizations; and the long established federally supported system of family holiday camps in Norway. Low cost family camping as sponsored by the YWCA, Pasadena, Calif., and the YWCA, Portland, Oreg., could serve as models.

Facilities should be available in these holiday camps for (a) the supervision of children; (b) the purchase of low-cost, nutritionally sound meals so that women may enjoy actual relief from the year-

round jobs connected with family responsibilities. To meet the basic human need for regular leisure, we further recommend the provision of low cost or free child care supervision during the work week and on weekends. Neighborhood visitors and/or persons involved in a family support system would provide supervised activities during the weekly or yearly periods in order to free parents from worry about their children. (See section on Neighborhood Service Houses.)

2. EMPLOYMENT

a. Structure of Work.—Men, women and children in the families of fulltime workers have traditionally had to accommodate their personal human needs to the routine of jobs. Terms of employment have not been adequately responsive to the requisites for a humane social and family life. We urge the adjustment of national standards to shorten the hours of the work week (which have been constant for over 50 years) while maintaining the existing standard of living; to increase the numbers of jobs at every rank in the occupational structure; to improve the earning capacity of jobs at the lower income levels; and to institute flexi-time in hours of work and leave time. The following provisions are intended to support additional hiring and further the goal of full employment.

Changes in work hours and leave should include the following practices to take into account the necessity for workers to carry on a meaningful home life and ensure their social well-being:

1. Mandatory overtime limits should be established.
2. Flexible work hours should be instituted to allow individuals to reach an accommodation between the demands of work and the demands of home.
3. Routine provision of "personal leave" time for both women and men should be established to meet family and personal contingencies.
4. Paternity as well as maternity leave should be instituted to insure the opportunity for both parents—father as well as the mother—to be involved in care during the first year of a child's life.
5. The status and earning capacity of part-time work should be improved to allow people to pursue a meaningful personal and family life and to allow participation by both parents in the care of children. Workers in part-time jobs would receive full-benefit medical and dental care, and other normal fringe benefits such as vacation and pension rights. Income incentives should be provided for shared jobs. Hourly wage rates for part-time work should be raised substantially to reflect the fact that part-time workers are highly productive and are often expected to work with more intensity than full-time counterparts.
6. Career level positions with job security and pensions should be available for part-time workers. Tax advantages associated with full-time work should also be afforded to part-time work.

b. Content of Work.—Under conditions of scarcity of paid employment, women and men have seldom been free of discrimination and economic pressures in their choice of work. Single parents and

poor people with family responsibilities may, understandably, be reluctant to give up the semiskilled and autonomous work of home and family for unskilled, subordinate and inadequately paid work in the market. A Federal guarantee of the option to engage in useful work should reflect the fact that employed people require meaningful work. We recommend that Federal policies endorse a shift in work roles which encourage:

1. An assessment of the goal of constantly expanding the production of goods in the face of the growing awareness of the shortage of materials, and the recognition that material goods alone do not meet the human right to the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness;
2. Worker participation in planning;
3. Continual learning of new aspects of production of goods, and the delivery of goods and services by workers. This is to insure a means by which employees can represent themselves as consumers as well as producers at the workplace, and increase employee participation in decisionmaking on the job. Such matters as hours, distribution of tasks, internal leadership, recruitment, and methods of production and service have been found to be adaptable to employee determination.

c. Sex Equality in Employment.—We urge expansion of agencies to enforce equal pay policies and other practices which would end sex discrimination and sexual harassment. Eliminating scarcity of employment throughout the occupational structure is essential in order to overcome the segregation of women in low-skilled, low-paid jobs. Women require financial and family support networks if they are to be free to pursue education and training which would improve their employment opportunities; particularly important is Federal financing of education, which would provide women with support for everyday living and free child care.

3. EDUCATION

(a) A Family training bill should be formulated, providing for a variety of educational measures to promote sex equality in child care and home maintenance. This could include a home training corps, in which all able-bodied youth would serve for 6 months between the ages of 15 and 19. They would have supervised participation in activities related to the support of the family in American society; work as aides in child care centers and as assistants in neighborhood service houses, where they could serve as parent surrogates and also gain experience in household tasks. Programs could also be funded in the schools to break down the age segregation which separates older from younger children. Involvement of older children in the care and teaching of younger children would help them learn how to be parents.

There should be increased efforts to alter sex role stereotypes presented in the mass media with the objective of developing an image of masculinity which includes the nurturing father. These efforts should include increased federal funding to monitor the media for sexist stereotypes, tax incentives and subsidies to encourage nonsexist program content and advertising, and funding for research on the social effects of sex role stereotyping in the media.

4. HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DESIGN

We recommend a housing policy, supported by Federal subsidy and encouraged by tax incentives, which would have as a primary goal the support of the family and the provision of a sound community for the strengthening of the family. Housing should maximize the basic family functions, including family shared activities. Neighborhood settings should recognize the combined employment and family responsibilities of both sexes by providing facilities and services necessary for fulfilling work and family roles.

(a) Establish a National Commission on Family-Supportive Housing and Community Design, instructed to assess housing, household equipment and community design as related to the participation by all family members in the daily maintenance of the household; the minimization of energy and goods for household maintenance; and the maximization of community cooperation.

(b) Establish local community design groups composed of employed mothers, feminist-informed designers and architects and local builders to develop designs appropriate for the cultural needs of local groups, according to living patterns of ethnic, minority, and single-parent family lifestyles, among others.

(c) Establish a federally subsidized program of tax incentives for the renovation of existing facilities and the building of new facilities which would meet the standards established by a National Commission on Family-Supportive Housing and Community Design.

Housing would be developed (renovated, and newly built) which would recognize the responsibilities of the employed wife/mother by emphasizing design to maximize the participation of all family members in housework, including meal preparation, housecleaning, laundry, as well as leisure time activities, by making spaces large enough for joint activities; to minimize upkeep by such means as finishing surfaces, traffic patterns, storage facilities, et cetera; to maximize child-parent interaction by designing spaces which include flex-equipment (for example, equipment accessible to children) and to allow the inclusion of children in ongoing activities (for example, space for cribs in kitchens), quiet-work and play space for children as well as adults; flexible apartment units, as tried in Sweden, which allow the family to change room size to adapt to the life cycle changes of family members.

Community organization would be developed which would recognize the responsibilities of combining employment, mothering and housewifery by emphasizing design: to provide space for child care within a short and safe walking distance; to provide space for neighborhood service houses; to provide mass transportation through the enlargement of existing systems and the development of small scale buses and mini buses.

5. FOOD SERVICES

Support for the working homemaker by the provision of nutritionally adequate and appetizing food for the family could be achieved through:

1. Increased attention by the Food and Drug Administration to the quality of food commercially available so that the homemaker will

not be forced to return to old methods of growing and preparing food in order to ensure proper nutrition for the family.

2. The provision of well-prepared, low-cost meals at convenient locations for families of working women. Ready-to-eat meals could be available at child care centers and at neighborhood service houses to be picked up and taken home at the end of the working day. Experience in providing such meals at child care centers in the Kaiser shipyards during World War II indicates that such services are feasible and would be utilized.

6. HOUSEHOLD SERVICES

Alternative ways of providing household services for working mothers, particularly single parents, should be tried and evaluated. Some services, such as laundry, might be recommercialized. Many services could be provided at low cost through the neighborhood service houses. For example, members of a Home Training Corps could do laundry, heavy cleaning and minor repairs. The neighborhood service house could develop equipment coops which would purchase large tools, such as lawn mowers and washing machines. This would have obvious conservation advantages. The neighborhood house could also serve as a center for the exchange of services. For example, repair of a leaking faucet might be exchanged for mending. Staff of the neighborhood service house would have the responsibility of facilitating the development of cooperation, wherever possible.

VIII. CONCLUSION

We urge the redevelopment of the human service programs which were developed in the 1960's and dismantled in subsequent administrations, for example, the expansion of Headstart programs; a reconsideration of the Child and Family Service Act of 1974; the restoration of a full lunch program for school children; et cetera.

Priorities in the development of family programs should be directed to low-income families and women heads of families who may, without support, experience more than their share of long-continuing social problems. However, except for the top income group of 10 to 15 percent of families, most Americans could benefit from all the systems.

We are fully aware of the enormous cost in tax dollars of the implementation of even a beginning of a family support system. However, the human costs—to women, to men, and especially to children—of failing to take seriously the alleged American belief in the family as a sacred and basic unit in society is far greater. Without a financial commitment by the Nation to the well-being of families, we can expect further marital problems and an increased unwillingness to marry and have children—trends already appearing among very young adults. We can expect increased problems among children, including drug and alcohol abuse, and further deterioration of American cities.

The American family is still considered the basic unit in society, responsible ultimately for all that is good, as well as all that is bad. We have continued unwillingly, however, to support the American family with little beyond pious platitudes. We are left with a question whose answer implies our moral bankruptcy: Why are we willing to spend tax dollars to prevent large multinational corporations from going under financially, but are unwilling to spend tax dollars to prevent the American family from going under, morally and physically?

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF CHILD CARE

BY MYRA H. STROBER*

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The substantial and relatively steady increase in the labor force participation of mothers in the post World War II period has been one of the most far-reaching economic and social developments in recent years. In 1976, 46.1 percent of all children under the age of 18 and 37.4 percent of children under the age 6 had mothers who were working or seeking work.¹

Traditionally the raising of children has been the job of women, particularly mothers, but also other female relatives. However, as more and more women, including mothers, have chosen to enter paid employment outside the home, the provision of extrafamily child care services has become an important national issue. This paper evaluates existing formal extrafamily child care arrangements, presents the economic arguments for Government subsidization of child care, describes a community-based satellite model of child care delivery and raises several issues with respect to the financing, ownership, and control of child care systems.²

I. EXISTING FORMAL EXTRAFAMILY CHILD-CARE ARRANGEMENTS: COST, UTILIZATION, AND (DIS)SATISFACTION

The discussion presented in this paper focuses on formal extrafamily child care, that is, those child care arrangements which take place in a child care center or in a family day care home. Foster homes, nursery schools and other schools open for only part of the day or year are not part of the formal care considered here. Moreover, informal care, that is, care which takes place in the home of a child's relative,

*Assistant professor of economics, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.

¹ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C., unpublished data for 1976.

² Several of the ideas presented in this paper may also be found in Myra H. Strober, "Formal Extrafamily Child Care—Some Economic Observations," in Cynthia Lloyd (editor), "Sex, Discrimination and the Division of Labor" (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), pp. 346-375.

or inside the child's own home by a relative, nurse or housekeeper is also excluded from our discussion. We shall first examine the cost of extrafamily child care, then go on to look at the demand for these arrangements and finally assess the satisfaction, or lack thereof, with the current child care system.

A. Cost

Extrafamily child care services are expensive. These services generally operate about 2,000 to 2,500 hours per year (8 to 10 hours per day, 5 days per week, 50 weeks per year). They typically require rather high staff/child ratios and often necessitate costly support services. The full cost of formal extra family day care depends upon the staff/child ratio, the education levels (and hence the salaries) of the staff, the range of support services (that is, transportation, parent counseling), the quantity and quality of food provided, the quantity and quality of plant and equipment, and whether or not the center is designed to yield a profit. The cost to parents depends upon all of these factors, as well as the extent to which the care is subsidized by the care-givers, community, agencies, the Government and/or the parents' own labor.

Studies for the 1968-71 period on the full cost of child care for children age 3 to 6 estimated a range of \$1,300 to \$2,400 for the average annual cost per child for full time care (8½ hours per day, 250 days per year).³ I recently obtained a rough indication of the current cost of high quality non-profit child care from the Child Care Mobilizer at Palo Alto Child Care (PACC). As of October 1976, in Palo Alto, Calif., full-time, full-year center care for infants and young toddlers (9 months to 3 years) costs approximately \$3,600 per year per child. This involves a staff/child ratio of 1:4. Full-time, full-year care in a licensed family day care home may be obtained for about \$2,500 per year. Such a home generally has a 1:5 staff/child ratio with no more than two of the children being under the age of 2. Full-time full-year center care for 3- to 6-year-olds, utilizes a 1:6 or 1:7 staff/child ratio and also costs about \$2,500 per year per child. Finally, the average annual cost per child for after school care plus full-time holiday and vacation care is \$1,500. This type of care employs a 1:8 staff/child ratio.

Many parents purchase less expensive and presumably lower-quality care. The National Council of Jewish Women Study (also known as the Keyserling Study) found that in 1972 the average annual fee in proprietary centers was about \$960 per child, in family day care homes about \$860 per child.⁴ The California Legislative Analysts' office found that in 1974 the average annual cost of 2,500 hours of care for a 3- to 6-year-old in a nonsubsidized center or family day care home was approximately \$1,300.⁵

³ See U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Children's Bureau, and Day Care and Child Development Council of America (CB-DCCDC), "Standards and Costs for Day Care," unpublished study (Washington, D.C., 1968), as quoted in Mary P. Rowe, "Economics of Child Care," in U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Finance, "Child Care," hearings on S. 2003, child care provisions of H.R. 1, and title VI of printed amendment 318 to H.R. 1, 92d Cong., 1st sess., Sept. 22, 23, and 24, 1971, p. 280; Abt Associates, Inc., "A Study in Child Care, 1970-71" (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); and budget of National Capital Area Day Care Association, Inc. (Washington, D.C., August 1968), cited in Gilbert Y. Steiner, "The State of Welfare" (Washington, D.C., 1971).

⁴ Mary D. Keyserling, "Windows on Day Care" (New York: National Council of Jewish Women, 1972), pp. 3, 142.

⁵ California Legislative Analyst's Office, "Publicly Subsidized Child Care Services in California" (Sacramento, August 1974), pp. 113-117, 123-125.

B. Utilization

Most working mothers do not utilize formal child care at all. Data for 1971 from the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) of women 30-44 years of age are presented in table 1.⁶ They indicate that about 56 percent of the preschool children of working mothers were cared for in the child's own home; 18 percent in another person's home; 9 percent in group day care; 7 percent by their own mothers, 3 percent by the child him or herself and 7 percent by "other" arrangements. Group day care in a home or center and family day care in a nonrelative's home provided 22 percent of the total child care arrangements for preschool children. The percentage of working mothers utilizing formal care for their preschool children appears to have remained the same over the 1965-71 period. However, the mix of formal care changed as the percentage using family day care homes dropped by about 3 percentage points, while the percentage using center care increased by 3 percentage points. Given the differences between the 1965 and 1971 samples, it is difficult to assess the significance of these changes.⁷

TABLE 1.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS USED BY WORKING MOTHERS AGE 30-44 (NATIONAL LONGITUDINAL SURVEY, 1971)

Child care arrangement	Age of youngest child	
	Less than 6	6-13
Total percent.....	100	100
Child cares for self.....	3	21
Care in own home.....	56	43
By relative (including father).....	32	37
By relative and nonrelative.....	16	1
By nonrelative.....	8	5
Care in another person's home.....	18	10
By relative.....	5	4
By nonrelative.....	13	6
Group day care home or center.....	9	2
Mother cares for child at work.....	6	10
Mother cares for child after school.....	1	10
Other.....	7	4

Source: Based on table 4.1 in Carol L. Jusenius and Richard L. Shortlidge, Jr., "Dual Careers: A Longitudinal Study of Labor Market Experience of Women," vol. III. (Center for Human Resource Research, Ohio State University, February 1975), p. 82.

Among working mothers' children age 6 to 13, 43 percent were cared for in their own home, 21 percent cared for themselves, 18 percent were cared for by their mothers either at work or at home, 10 percent in

⁶ Richard L. Shortlidge, Jr., "Changes in Child Care Arrangements of Working Women Between 1965 and 1971," in Carol L. Jusenius and Richard L. Shortlidge, Jr., "Dual Careers: A Longitudinal Study of Labor Market Experience of Women," vol. III (Center for Human Resource Research, Ohio State University, February 1975), table 4.1, p. 82. Additional analysis of the 1971 National Longitudinal Survey data will be forthcoming in Richard L. Shortlidge and Patricia Brito, "How Working Mothers Care for Their Children: A Study of Child Care Arrangements, Costs, and Preferences" (Center for Human Resource Research, Ohio State University).

⁷ The 1965 estimates may not be directly comparable to those for 1971. The 1965 data were obtained from a questionnaire added to the Current Population Survey (CPS) for February 1965. The median age of the women in the 1965 CPS sample was 36 as compared with 40 in the 1971 NLS sample. In addition, the 1971 data were collected in early summer while the 1965 data were collected in midwinter. For an analysis of the 1965 survey see Seth Low and Pearl G. Spindler, "Child Care Arrangements of Working Mothers in the United States" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968).

another person's home, and 2 percent in a group day care home or center. Only 8 percent of school-age children were in a formal extra-family day care setting. This 8 percent represents a slight increase over the 1965 figure of 5.5 percent.

The 1970 Westinghouse day care survey examined the child care arrangements of families with annual incomes of less than \$8,000 and at least one child age 9 or under.⁸ This survey revealed that about 10.5 percent of lower-income working mothers used child care centers and about 19 percent used family day care homes for their preschool children, while 50 percent used care in their own homes. Compared with the mothers of preschool children in all income groups in the 1971 NLS study, a higher percentage of the mothers of preschool children in the Westinghouse sample used family day care homes and child care centers, while a lower percentage used care in their own homes. Among the mothers of school-age children (6 to 14) in the Westinghouse lower income group, about 5.5 percent used formal child care. This figure was about 2.5 percentage points lower than the 1971 NLS figure for similar age children.

C. Level of Satisfaction With Existing Arrangements

Two questions arise with respect to the level of satisfaction with existing child care arrangements. First, are parents satisfied? Second, is society as a whole satisfied?

There are several pieces of evidence concerning parent dissatisfaction. First, it is clear that additional working parents wish to purchase formal child care. It is also evident that many are unable to purchase the kind of care they desire. When Westinghouse surveyed existing child care facilities, they found about 124,000 children on center waiting lists—an estimated 16 percent of total enrollment.⁹ The Westinghouse survey also reported that 63 percent of working mothers desired a change in the child-care arrangements of their preschool children; of those who desired a change, 60 percent wished to move to formal day care.¹⁰

The 1971 NLS study probed the latent demand for child care centers somewhat more precisely, by specifying a price for such care. NLS asked working mothers if they would be willing to use a day care center if it were available to them at a cost no greater than their current arrangement. Twenty-three percent of white women in the labor force with preschool children and 39 percent of such black women answered affirmatively. Yet only 9 percent of white working mothers and 12 percent of black working mothers were in fact using child care centers.¹¹

Moreover, when Westinghouse asked working mothers with family incomes under \$8,000 per year what they would be willing to pay for the child care arrangements of their choice, 16 percent indicated that they could pay nothing. Of those who could pay something toward

⁸ Westinghouse Learning Corp. and Westat Research, Inc., "Day Care Survey, 1970: Summary Report and Basic Analysis," prepared for Evaluation Division, Office of Economic Opportunity (Washington, D.C., 1971), pp. 175-180.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25. However, there were also 63,000 unfilled spaces available, indicating that "type of product," including location and price, are important to potential users.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹¹ See Shortlidge, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

child care, \$520 was the median annual fee which working mothers said they were willing to pay for the kind of child care they desired.¹² Mary Rowe's study, which includes higher-income families, suggests that less than 5 percent of families would pay more than about \$1,000 per year per child for child care services.¹³

There is also evidence of dissatisfaction with existing child care on the part of some nonworking mothers who find the absence of "affordable," reliable child care a significant barrier to their seeking work. However, the latent demand for child care among these mothers is extremely difficult to estimate. When center operators were asked by Westinghouse about the need for child care in their communities, 45 percent saw a need for care on the part of working mothers, and significantly, 34 percent perceived additional need on the part of nonworking mothers.¹⁴ However, when nonworking mothers themselves are asked about the importance of child care as an impediment to their working, interpretation of their answers is difficult; some women who say they are out of the labor force for child care-related reasons may also be out because of their preference to remain at home. In the Westinghouse survey, day care problems constituted 18 percent of the reasons given for not working.¹⁵ A high percentage of AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) mothers indicated that child care was a barrier to work. For example, a six-State study done in 1969 reported that 52 to 63 percent of nonemployed AFDC women indicated that they would like to work in a steady job, provided adequate child care were available.¹⁶ A recent study by Jack Ditmore and William Prosser estimates that the provision of free adequate day care services would probably raise the labor force participation rate of low income women by about 10 percentage points—32 to 42 percent.¹⁷ The smallness of this response is due to several factors: (1) the preference of some lower income women to remain at home even when good, free care is available; (2) the fact that for many of these women inadequate child care is only one of many job-related problems; and (3) the fact that even when child care is free, some AFDC recipients cannot earn enough to compensate for the combined loss of their AFDC grant, food stamps and Medicaid.

Given the cost figures discussed earlier it is clear that many families find it impossible to translate their desire for formal child care services into effective demand for those services. Although the majority of working mothers prefer noncenter care for their pre-school children, a substantial latent demand for center care exists. The price at which such a demand would become manifest is unclear. However, it should be pointed out that many of those who indicated a desire to use day care centers at a price no greater than that of their current arrangement were, in fact, paying a zero price for child care.

¹² Westinghouse and Westat, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

¹³ Rowe, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

¹⁴ Westinghouse and Westat, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. XVI. For this interpretation of the Westinghouse data, I am indebted to Vivian Lewis, "Day Care: Needs, Costs, Benefits, Alternatives," Studies in Public Welfare, Paper No. 7: Issues in the Coordination of Public Welfare Programs, prepared for the use of the U.S. Congress, Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy of the Joint Economic Committee, 93d Cong., 1st sess., July 1973, pp. 102-165.

¹⁶ Betty Burnside, "The Employment Potential of AFDC Mothers in Six States," Welfare in Review (July/August 1971), p. 18. The States included were California, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, New York, and Oklahoma.

¹⁷ Jack Ditmore and W. R. Prosser, "A Study of Day Care's Effect on the Labor Force Participation of Low-Income Mothers" (Washington, D.C.: Evaluation Division, Office of Planning, Research, and Evaluation, Office of Economic Opportunity, June 1973), pp. 43-44.

The issue of societal satisfaction with existing arrangements is even more complicated to assess. Clearly, the intersection of supply and demand in the formal child care market leaves many families unable to satisfy their desire to purchase formal child care. Private industry is unable to increase the supply of child care center slots because, given the price which families are willing to pay for child care services, private firms cannot profitably run centers of reasonable quality, except for high income users.¹⁸ To the extent that we regard formal child care as important, necessary and/or desirable, we should be concerned about most families' inability to purchase such care. To the extent that formal child care provides significant externalities, we should be concerned with the private sectors' underproduction of these services. It is my view that there are powerful arguments in favor of partially subsidizing formal child care services, thus increasing their production and utilization and insuring their equitable distribution.

II. THE CASE FOR SUBSIDIZATION OF FORMAL EXTRAFAMILY CHILD CARE

There are two major arguments in favor of government subsidization of extra-family child care—the equity argument and the externality argument.

The equity argument is that, in the interest of achieving a more equitable distribution of goods and services, there should be a redistribution of income toward certain groups. Subsidized child care would provide additional income or services to children of eligible mothers, to the mothers themselves and to potential employees of child care systems. If the level of subsidization were negatively related to family income, then lower income children and mothers would benefit to a greater degree than others.

The externality argument is that where private benefits are less than social benefits, private production is likely to be too small; Government should, therefore, encourage increased output until marginal social cost is equal to marginal social benefit. There are several important external benefits associated with expenditures on child care.

First, child care centers would yield external benefits by reducing parent absenteeism at work. At the present time, unreliable child care or unavailable sick child care is often responsible for parent absenteeism.

Second, any educational program produces external benefits and quality child care is no exception. Society would reap considerable returns from the early detection of children's mental and physical difficulties, from young children's exposure to alternative forms of information and a wider scope of experiences and from a child's early opportunity to enhance his or her self-confidence and self-esteem. We should consider carefully the possible social problems and hazards to future generations of citizens if adequate child care is not provided to youngsters.

¹⁸ For a discussion of the difficulties which proprietary operators encounter, see Joann S. Lublin, "Growing Pains," *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 27, 1972; and "Where Day Care Helps To Sell Apartments," *Business Week* (Sept. 30, 1972), pp. 60-61; "Dilemma for Working Mothers: Not Enough Day-Care Centers," *U.S. News & World Report* (Apr. 12, 1976), pp. 49-50.

Third, two kinds of external benefits are likely to ensue when women can choose to make market work a permanent feature of their adult lives. Higher rates of labor force participation by women would probably discourage procreation, thus increasing utility for all who find themselves already too crowded or fear excess population in the future. It is likely that women who are committed to labor force participation will develop tastes for "satisfactions" other than children. In addition, assuming that most women regard a certain amount of their own time as an essential, unsubstitutable input in the raising of children, the fewer hours a woman has available for her children (due to market work), the less likely she probably will be to dilute her quality of input by having additional children.¹⁹

Moreover, as women realize that it is feasible to combine family life with an uninterrupted worklife, they will plan more adequately for their jobs and careers. Work is already a substantial part of women's lives, but because the child rearing years frequently require an interruption of market work, women often make inadequate educational investments in themselves. A visible system of high quality extra-family child care would make it possible for women to invest more realistically in their own education and training and would thus allow society to employ its human resources more effectively. If the Congress wishes to guarantee full employment, this efficient utilization of women's talents becomes particularly important.

Also important in a context of full employment are several external employment and training benefits to be derived from government expenditures on formal extra-family child care. Since approximately 80 percent of child care budgets are for staff salaries, Federal expenditures on child care are, for the most part, employment creating. Moreover, many of the kinds of jobs to be filled at child care centers are of a paraprofessional nature, thus making possible the training and employment of precisely those groups, especially teenagers, who currently have difficulty in finding meaningful jobs. The opportunity for AFDC women to obtain training and employment as paraprofessional child care workers might well assist in the alleviation of welfare dependency. Finally, because the labor market for child care workers is relatively loose and rather competitive, expenditures on child care are likely to provide employment without generating inflationary wage pressures.

III. A COMMUNITY BASED SATELLITE CHILD CARE SYSTEM

If we accept the need for partial Government subsidization of child care, we are then faced with several important questions: (1) What kind of system should we design? (2) How should the system be financed? and (3) How should ownership and control be determined?

An ideal system, given a particular price level, would conform as much as possible to parents' desires. Given a particular quality level,

¹⁹ It is, of course, true that subsidizing child care would lower the price (in both money and time) of raising children and that the substitution effect of this price change would be negative (that is, a fall in price would result in an increase in the purchase of child care services). In addition, unless child services were an inferior good, the income effect of the price change would also operate toward increasing the quantity purchased. But purchasing more child services as a result of the subsidization of child care centers does not by any means imply increasing the number of children born.

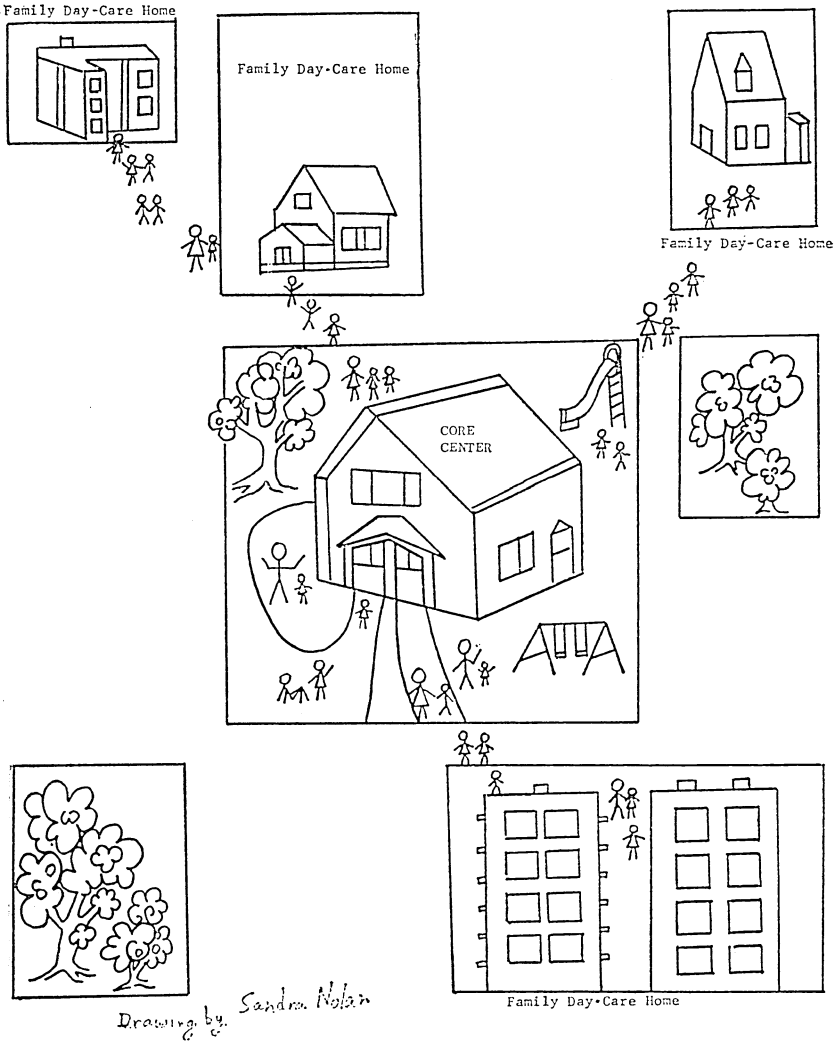
such a system would operate at the lowest possible cost. Finally, given price and quality, an ideal child care system would maximize external benefits. A satellite community system would fulfill these three criteria. Such a system is described in this section. In section IV, issues of financing, ownership, and control are examined.

At the present time families who use formal day care utilize either a family day care home or a child care center, but generally not both. On the other hand, children of nonworking mothers, especially middle-class children, frequently spend part of their day in a nursery school (which is often similar to a developmental type child care center) and part of their day in their own home with other young friends and siblings. The latter, of course, is quite similar to a family day care environment. The child care system proposed here would closely replicate for the children of working mothers the system of care now operating for the children of nonworking mothers. Thus, I would envision a care system where children spend part of the day in a core child care center and part of the day in a satellite family day care home.

The core center would accommodate anywhere from 25 to 100 or so children (not, however, all at one time) and would provide the major "educational" component of the system. As portrayed in figure 1, a network of satellite family day care homes would surround the center. Run by men and/or women family day care parents, these homes would care for 4 or 5 children for part of each day. Parents would take their children to a center in the morning, but pick them up in the afternoon or evening at a family day care home, or vice versa.

A community-based satellite system would provide care not only for toddlers but also for infants and school children under age 14. Infants could be cared for solely by family day care parents until such time as they were old enough to benefit from educational and social interaction at the core center. After school care for children 6 to 14 could also be provided by family day care homes. Indeed, the system could be designed so that, if desired, school age children and their younger siblings could be cared for after school in the same home. It would also be possible for core centers to provide after school programs and/or for such programs to be provided at elementary schools. In discussing child care delivery, it is important not to neglect the importance of adequate after school care for the school age children of working mothers.

Figure 1
A Community-Based Satellite Child-Care System



There are several advantages to combining family day care homes with a core center. First, such a system could lower the overall cost of child care. Each child would make less intensive use of the high cost services of professionals at the core center. Moreover, if children did not stay all day at a child care center, the staff/child ratios at the center could probably be lower than those now mandated. Presumably, nursery-school type ratios (for example, 1:10) could be used in the core center if some of the personal attention required by children came from the family day-care home; the latter facility would have a high adult child ratio (for example, 1:4), even though not all of the children would be preschoolers. Additional savings could also be effected

if child care centers did not have to be equipped with nap rooms, kitchens, and cooks. Children could have lunch and take naps in the family day care home. While transportation between the core center and satellite home would have some positive costs associated with it, these costs are likely to be offset by savings in personnel costs.

The second advantage of a community-based satellite child care system is that such a system would upgrade the quality of family day care homes and make it possible for family day care parents to develop careers as paraprofessional (or ultimately even professional) child care workers.²⁰ By developing specific ties between core centers and family day care homes, it becomes quite feasible for family day care parents to receive training from the child care professionals at the core center. Indeed, I would envision family day care parents actually working at the core center for several hours each week. Moreover, a supervisor from the center could periodically visit the center's satellite family day care homes, thus providing family day care parents with assistance and evaluation.

Finally, a community-based satellite system could solve the problem of sick child care. One reason why parents are frequently reluctant to rely on child care centers is because such centers seldom make arrangements for the care of sick children. When a child becomes ill, parents are understandably unwilling to call upon an unknown adult, whose qualifications they cannot assess, to care for their sick children. It is also obviously extremely difficult for parents to arrange for sick child care on very short notice (for example, an hour or so after the family awakens in the morning). There are several ways that a satellite system could handle sick care.

First, it would be possible to designate certain family day care homes as sick care homes. As long as the care-givers in these homes were given some training in caring for sick children and were familiar to parents and children prior to a child's illness, such a solution would probably work well.

A second alternative would be to provide for an infirmary at the core center. If such an infirmary required the complete isolation of sick children, it undoubtedly would be too expensive to incorporate into the system. However, if transmission of most children's illnesses occur before symptoms appear, it may be that most sick children can be cared for in core centers without requiring precautions against contagion.

A third possibility for the care of sick children would be to train a corps of sick care workers who could be sent to the homes of ill children. Again, these sick child care workers would need to be familiar to parents and children prior to illness. Upon receipt of a phone call from a user-family, the core center could arrange for the dispatch of these sick child care workers to the ill child's home.

These methods of handling sick child care are not mutually exclusive. A community-based satellite system might wish to employ all three models and utilize each, depending upon the age, length and type of illness of a particular child, and the costs of the various alterna-

²⁰ It would be possible to build a career ladder solely within the family day-care system, that is, without involving child-care centers. However, since centers already employ child-care professionals, centers seem a particularly good place to begin training family day-care mothers for the next rungs of a career ladder in child care.

tives.²¹ It should be pointed out that given the unwillingness (and inability) of most public school systems to care for working mother's sick school-age children, the need for sick child care is not required merely for preschoolers. Designating particular family day-care homes as sick child care homes would be a particularly useful way to care for sick school-age children.

IV. FINANCING, OWNERSHIP, AND CONTROL

Just as experimentation with new types of child-care delivery systems should be encouraged, we also should facilitate the investigation of various methods of child-care financing, ownership and control. A better understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of various models remains to be achieved. This section briefly outlines some of the issues to be resolved.

With respect to financing, it seems clear that most parents will have to shoulder a part of the cost of formal child care; since there are substantial benefits from child care which accrue directly to families, cost-sharing by parents appears to be warranted. There are important questions which require an answer: What proportion of the total cost of care will be subsidized? How will the subsidy vary by income level? How will the subsidy be administered?

The proportion of care to be subsidized depends upon the total amount Congress wishes to allocate to child-care services and on the price elasticity of child-care demand. However, it should be recognized that in the context of a full-employment guarantee, the demand for subsidized child care is likely to be rather high. As we have seen, there is already a latent demand for subsidized child care among women now in the labor force. As we move toward full employment, many women who are now discouraged workers will enter the labor force. Precession estimates of discouraged female workers indicated that in the first quarter of 1973, when the unemployment rate for women was about 6 percent, 400,000 women would have looked for a job had they believed they could find one.²² Many of these women will require subsidized child care if they seek work. If a full-employment guarantee is to be a reality for these women, Congress, when it considers the price of a full employment program, should also consider the costs for investment in new facilities and for ongoing partial child-care subsidization.

It is widely accepted that child-care subsidies should vary negatively with family income level. There is less agreement, however, on whether there should be a ceiling on the number of children subsidized in any one family. What does seem clear is that given the high costs of child care and the information cited earlier on parents' willingness or ability to pay, a satisfactory subsidization scheme may well require partial subsidization of even those families with incomes above the median.

At the present time, subsidization is achieved for low income families through a system of reimbursement to care-givers, and for low and middle-income families through a tax deduction. A closer relationship between family income and size of subsidy could be achieved

²¹ The costs of sick care alternatives are very difficult to estimate because of the paucity of information on frequency and duration of illness among young children.

²² U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment and Earnings" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, April 1973).

through a voucher system. Such a system could also relate the size of the subsidy to the number of hours of mothers' employment.

Unresolved issues also exist with respect to ownership and control. Suggestions range all the way from ownership and control by parent cooperatives to ownership and control by a Federal Child Care Corporation. Midway between these solutions lie the possibilities of ownership and control by existing school boards or by new State or local government agencies. Each of these suggestions has its merits and demerits; enabling Federal legislation should undoubtedly permit more than one approach. However, States and localities should recognize that changing back and forth among administrative systems is extremely costly. A particular approach needs to be adequately researched, utilized and evaluated before an alternative structure is pursued.

Moreover, no matter what the particular form of ownership and control, if the Federal Government provides the funds for subsidization, it should require a system of prior approval of child-care system budgets and a network of local planning and evaluation boards. Ideally these boards would consist of parents, child-development specialists, pediatricians, employer representatives with management expertise and local officials with knowledge of community resources; they could be city or county-wide organizations. The local boards would work with State agencies on matters of licensing and inspection; setting standards in conjunction with Federal regulations; assisting in locating appropriate core facilities or, if such were unavailable, in applying for capital grants from the Federal Government; aiding in recruiting of personnel; approving center-system budgets; working with existing community services, including local school boards; and providing for area-wide child-care center planning. Local boards are likely to be particularly important in urban and large suburban areas.

V. CONCLUSION

Any legislation which deals with the guarantee of full employment should deal with the provision of child care. First, the expenditures on child care provide jobs. Second, in the short run, without adequate child care, a full-employment guarantee is an empty promise for women. Finally, in the long run, the existence of a visible, high-quality system of child care will result in more realistic human capital investments by women, thus ensuring the full utilization of women's talents.

The increased labor force participation by mothers in the postwar period has made it impossible for the care of children to continue to remain entirely within the family. The challenge now at hand is to develop new methods of child care which are as economically efficient as possible, while still meeting the needs of young children and their families.

I have suggested that a community-based satellite child-care system might be one desirable way to organize child-care delivery. Given the likely cost savings of such a system, and its potential for upgrading the quality of family day care and providing training for paraprofessionals, the satellite system deserves a serious test. I have also suggested that we should experiment further with alternative methods of financing, ownership and control of child-care systems.

PART-TIME WORK

By CAROL S. GREENWALD*

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As the proportion of mothers with young children entering the paid labor force rises, society should reevaluate inherited conceptions of appropriate family roles and work modes. Family work structures may need to be modified so that the aspirations of women can be accommodated at the same time that adequate nurturing is provided for children. Society has a stake in insuring economic efficiency, freedom of choice for the individual, and appropriate care for children.

Since a majority of women with children under age 18 are now employed in the paid labor force, it is no longer appropriate to treat men as solely responsible for the economic welfare of the family and women as responsible for all other care. Just as both fathers and mothers are working outside the home to support the family, both parents must now assume the responsibility for nurturing activities in the home.

Legal and structural changes in the labor market may be required to allow greater flexibility in employment patterns so that both men and women can share the responsibility and pleasure of nurturing their children. Because of inflation and an increasingly higher standard of living, the income of working wives is essential to the economic maintenance of most American families.

The widespread adoption of part-time work options for both parents during the child-raising years would offer an excellent means of providing for the emotional and other child care needs of children, without sacrificing the careers of women or the efficiency needs of the economy. The acceptance and use of part-time work for men and women, coupled with the availability of public day care centers and other forms of child care, are necessities if women are to attain the economic equality with men envisioned in recent social policies.

*Commissioner of Banks, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Boston, Mass.

I. IMPLICATIONS FOR FAMILY AND WORK STRUCTURES

By 1971, the proportion of women workers had passed the highest level attained during World War II when women participated fully in the war effort. Women's work in the 1940's was facilitated by the opening of child care centers across the Nation. One of the most outstanding child care centers was operated by the U.S. Maritime Commission at the Portland, Oreg., shipyards of the Kaiser Corporation. Not only did the shipyard provide an attractive and wholesome place for pre-school children to play, it also provided a cooked dinner for the tired mother to take home to her family. These accommodations to the needs of working mothers ended with the war.

Since the 1950's and early 1960's, which were characterized by a lack of day care facilities and a pervasive attitude in society that women should limit themselves to being homemakers, a dramatic change has taken place in American family life. In the 1950's, it was unusual for mothers to work outside the home, especially if they had young children. Today, it is not at all unusual. In 1976, almost half of the mothers of school-age children were in the labor force, as were 37.4 percent of the mothers with children under age 6.¹ This change is not primarily a reflection of the break up of families; it has occurred mainly among women living with their husbands. It reflects the fact that younger women are no longer willing to limit their roles to that of wife and mother or to sacrifice their careers; it also reflects the fact that women in midlife with older children are interested in pursuing meaningful careers.

Approximately one-third of working mothers have tried to balance their home and work responsibilities by taking part-time paid employment. This has entailed substantial career costs for many women, since practically all part-time jobs now are the lowest paying ones in an occupational category. For example, in white-collar work, part-time opportunities are primarily as low-paid office temporaries or sales clerks. Even though career sacrifices are involved, part-time employment of adult women has grown almost twice as fast as full-time employment of women since 1966. The number of voluntary part-time workers in nonagriculture industries has nearly doubled, from 5.8 million in 1960 to over 11.3 million in March 1975, and consist primarily of white, married females. The majority are in sales and clerical positions.² Despite the evident desire among women for more opportunities for part-time employment, there is a dearth of good part-time jobs, for example, at a professional, upper-income level.

II. REASONS FOR UPGRADING PART-TIME WORK

The major demand for permanent and meaningful part-time work, as well as for more flexible scheduling of hours in full-time jobs, has come from women's organizations. The pressure for adjustments in the workday has even had an influence in Congress, where former Senator John V. Tunney and Congresswoman Yvonne Burke introduced legislation calling for part-time career opportunities. Massachusetts

¹ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C., unpublished data for 1976.

² "Employment and Training Report of the President" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1977), pp. 181-185.

passed legislation in 1974, based on the Tunney-Burke bill, requiring that in each of the next 5 years 2 percent of current full-time State positions be adapted to part-time flexible hours status.

Proponents of expanding the number and scope of part-time jobs feel that there are many benefits to be gained, both economic and non-economic: (a) Individuals who want to upgrade their education and skills so as to facilitate career mobility could be accommodated, simultaneously upgrading the overall quality of the labor force. (b) Women with young children would be able to maintain their labor market skills and knowledge and would not suffer the later difficult reentry problems which lead to high unemployment among reentering women. (c) Women who are not career-oriented would be able to work to supplement family income without carrying the burden of being both full-time worker and full-time homemaker. (d) Older workers and the handicapped who may be incapable of putting in a full workday could become self-supporting and self-respecting through part-time work, as they contribute to the economy.

III. COSTS

Employers sometimes argue that giving benefits to part-time workers increases the cost of employing part-time rather than full-time workers. Generally, this is not true. Hiring two half-time workers rather than one full-time worker obviously needn't increase sick pay and vacation pay. Similarly, prorating life insurance and retirement benefits would not add to the total costs. In other words, two half-time workers would share equally the benefits that one full-time worker is entitled to.

Many employers also cite social security and other payroll taxes as an argument against hiring part-timers. But the employer must pay social security taxes up to the first \$16,500 earned by each worker. Unfortunately, most jobs that women hold don't pay close to \$16,500. If each part-time worker earns \$8,250 or less, social security taxes for part-time jobs are no greater than for full-time jobs, so this argument loses much of its weight.

Employers also cite State taxes for unemployment insurance as another double burden. They pay these taxes as a contribution to the pool used for unemployment compensation. The tax is a percentage of each employee's salary up to a low base. In Massachusetts, the base is the first \$4,200 earned. So, if an employer has one employee earning \$8,400, the employer pays the tax only on the first \$4,200 of that \$8,400; but, if the employer has two part-timers each earning \$4,200, the employer pays the tax on each \$4,200 or \$8,400 total.

It's undeniable that double payroll taxes mean a greater expense for firms employing part-time workers. But if the firm also tends to require a lot of overtime work, a reshuffling of personnel and work schedules can actually save money. For example, if four workers earn \$4 an hour straight time for a 40-hour week and \$6 an hour overtime for an additional 5 hours a week, the total annual payroll for these employees would be \$39,520. If, instead, the four worked only 40 hours and a fifth person worked part-time for 20 hours, the annual payroll would be only \$37,440. In Massachusetts, the employer would have to pay \$364 in social security and unemployment taxes for the fifth employee,

but the additional social security tax on the four workers' overtime pay would be \$365. So in this case, paying overtime cost over \$2,000 more than hiring the part-timer.

Health insurance is also an additional cost for the employer but again not an overwhelming one. Consider the case of the Federal Reserve's health insurance plan, which is an exceptionally good one. The bank contributes \$21.61 a month for full coverage for single persons and \$47.70 a month for those under the family plan. If the bank were to designate 10 percent of its 1,500 full-time positions (two part-time workers for each position) or 300 jobs as available for half-time employees and if 200 of the new 300 half-time workers elect to take the family plan, the additional monthly expense would be only 23 cents an hour for these employees or 5.4 percent of their average wage. If the added expense is distributed over all the workers, it would be only 2 cents an hour per worker or one-half of 1 percent to cover half-time as well as full-time workers. For companies with less expensive health plans, the cost would be even less.³

IV. OPTION OF PART-TIME WORK

The option of working part-time involves a compromise among the needs of individuals, society, and business firms.

For men, part-time work is not yet fully socially acceptable, making it difficult for men to take the responsibility of caring for children. This is due to (a) the fact that men's jobs have been higher paying and therefore men have traditionally been the main support of their families, and (b) psychological inhibitions which have been handed down over the centuries. However, the very act of making part-time work options available to both parents—men and women—can help break down the barriers to parental sharing in the care of children.

Up until now, wives were always expected to and consistently did compromise their careers in order to care for children, but they are becoming increasingly reluctant to do so. Expanding part-time job opportunities may be a realistic short-run approach to providing useful and productive work for women within the present culture.

But part-time options should be structured so as to be equally available to men; only then will this work option become part of evolving structural changes in both the labor market and the family. Because changes in the labor market and the family are interrelated, one change cannot occur without the other; until both these changes take place, sex role stereotyping at home and in the labor market will continue unabated. Unless future patterns of child rearing are very different from today's, most women are likely to remain at a disadvantage relative to men in the job market. A sex-role revolution, in which men's domestic roles and employment patterns change as much as women's roles, appears to be necessary if full employment and equal work opportunities for women are to take place.

³ See Carol S. Greenwald and Judith Liss, "Part-Time Workers Can Bring Higher Productivity," *Harvard Business Review* (September-October 1973).

See Carol S. Greenwald, "The Way We Live Now—Part-Time Work: When Less Is More," *Ms. magazine*, 1976.

A. Flex-Time

Firms have been less resistant to adopting flexible work hours, that is, they have begun extending some of the flexibility that senior management has always had to lower echelons of management and to workers. While flexible work hours allow greater freedom for workers to arrange their workday to meet certain of their needs, it is only of limited help to parents. True, it solves some problems of parenthood, such as getting children to school in the morning if a parent can come to work at 9:30 a.m., or taking children to doctor's appointments on occasion, since missed work time can be scheduled later in the week, but it does not really handle the fundamental problem of creating time for parenthood. For a parent who has worked all day and is, therefore, as tired as any other worker in the evening, the saw about quality of time spent with children substituting for quantity is not realistic. Flexible work hours should be encouraged because it does ease some of the problems created by rigid work schedules and because it treats workers as real people with a variety of needs impinging on their lives, but it should not be seen as an answer to the needs of working women and their children.

B. Child Care

Since a high percentage of both mothers and fathers are now participating in the paid labor force, care of children is an important consideration. While surrogates can and should play increasingly important roles through the increased availability of child care centers and after school programs, parents must continue to devote substantial time to being a parent, for both the child's and the parent's emotional well-being. Society's interests coincide with those of families in creating facilities that allow parents greater flexibility in their work modes, while also providing time for parental responsibilities.

The organization of well-run child care centers represents an expensive but necessary solution to the logistics of child care for working mothers. Cost, of course, has not stopped the establishment of free elementary schools and should not stop the establishment of a sufficient number of child care centers and after school programs. Well-run child care centers have been carried out successfully in a number of foreign countries. France is particularly notable for its care of pre-school children; free facilities are available from the age of 2 and low-cost creches are available for younger children. However, considerable resistance to comprehensive child care still exists in the United States, especially for very young infants. A number of alternatives for handling child care should be available so that parents can choose the one most appropriate to their needs and preferences. One alternative to child care centers for young infants would be to permit parents to take a leave of absence or to provide part-time work opportunities without penalties to their careers.

C. Sweden's System

Many of the structural changes in the occupational system recommended in this paper have already taken place in Sweden. Men and women who wish to take part-time work during the child-rearing years (or any other time of their lives) can do so without incurring any type

of economic or occupational penalty.⁴ The Parent's Insurance System was introduced in January 1974 to replace a maternity allowance system. Parents now have a statutory right to 7 months paid leave and a further unpaid leave of 6 months. The paid leave can be divided between the parents as they see fit. They can take alternate months or even alternate half days, while both work part-time. The parent staying at home receives a sum per day which corresponds to the amount of sickness benefit, that is, 90 percent of income. Like the sickness benefit, parent's allowance counts toward a future pension, the entire parent's allowance system being part of the State social insurance system which is financed out of taxes and employers' contributions.⁵ It would appear that the parent's insurance system could similarly be fitted into the disability payments system of the American social security program.

The Swedish parent's insurance program has been in existence for only a short time. So far, only a small minority of fathers have availed themselves of it. In the fourth quarter of 1974, only a little over 2 percent of all new fathers with wives in gainful employment used the opportunity. They stayed at home an average of 24.2 days of the 7-month period.⁵

The parent's insurance system includes another feature which gives both parents the right to stay home from work on a temporary basis if a child is sick. Both parents can take turns and receive a daily sum corresponding to sickness benefit. The child must be under 10 years of age and the number of days must not exceed 10 per family per year. This aspect of the parent's insurance is used fairly extensively by fathers. In Massachusetts, State employees may annually use 7 days of their sick leave to care for sick members of their immediate family.

The present American disability insurance program under social security could easily be expanded to include a parent's insurance system modeled after the Swedish program. Establishment of statutory right under social security for a paid parental leave of a few month's duration, equally available to both parents, would be a major step in restructuring work opportunities for women.

The costs of instituting such a system need not be very large. Assuming that new parents receive for a 7-month period the average monthly benefit now paid social security recipients, the increased contributions necessary to fund the new benefits would be \$4.2 billion, which would raise the combined employee-employer social security tax rate from 11.7 percent on the first \$15,300 of income to 12.2 percent on this same income base.

In addition, new part-time employment opportunities could be started in Federal agencies as a model for the private sector to follow. Legislation similar to that passed in Massachusetts could require that in each of the next 5 years 2 percent of current full-time Federal positions be adapted to part-time status. In addition, such legislation would be likely to influence State and local government agencies and the private sector to follow suit.

Availability of parental leaves and part-time work options could also be encouraged by the Department of Labor as part of affirmative

⁴ Marianne Millgardh and Bert Rollen, "Parents' Insurance," Current Sweden Series, No. 76 (Stockholm: Swedish Institute, April 1975).

⁵ *Ibid.*

action programs for Federal contractors. Discrimination is defined in terms of the consequences of an employer's action; that is, the effects, and not the intent, of the actions. If any action that an employer takes has an adverse effect on the employment opportunities of any of the groups that are protected by title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (women are one of the protected groups), the employer must justify the necessity of continuing this discriminatory course of action. The employer must be able to prove that the discriminatory action is a matter of business necessity, that it is truly necessary to the safe and efficient operation of the business. When examined, many personnel policies turn out to be nothing more than convenient well-established ways of doing business, not particularly crucial, but unquestioned. Current maternity leave practices of firms, which severely limit leave and limit them to women, and the unavailability of part-time work options for men and women during child-rearing years, clearly have a discriminatory impact on women's employment. It would appear that a firm should be required to explore these options if it is to be in compliance with the law.

D. Concept of Work Day and Work Continuity

These changes in Sweden represent only a beginning in the structural changes needed within the labor market. The total concept of the workday and work continuity would benefit from a fresh approach. Is it really necessary and desirable that people have uninterrupted work records if they are to be considered serious, reliable and committed? The increasing desire of high status men for an improved "quality of life" that includes adequate leisure time may help facilitate profound structural changes in the world of work.

Firms have resisted part-time employment for a variety of philosophical and administrative reasons.

Philosophically, they have viewed part-time work as not legitimate, legitimacy being defined as what men do. One can't be serious about a job if one wants to work part time. Full time is defined as the amount of time men ordinarily work. However, what is considered full time is not an immutable fact of nature; there have been more changes during this century in the "full-time workweek" than there had been in the previous thousand years. In recent years, the hours of the day, the days of the week, days and weeks of the year, years of a working lifetime have all been considerably shortened. Even after World War I, the steel industry still had a 12-hour, 7-day workweek. With the office workweek at 35 hours, full-time work is closer to part time than it is to the standard 60 hour week before World War I. The concept of full-time has remained constant only in that it is the standard amount of time men work. Prof. Paul Samuelson has pointed out that in contrast to our "freedom in the spending of the money we earn, the modern industrial regime denies us a similar freedom in choosing the work routine by which we earn those dollars."⁶

Firms avoid part-time workers because it complicates administration. Top management people like to have access to employees when they need them. If executives are there, they want employees there.

⁶ Paul Samuelson, foreword in "4 Days, 40 Hours," Riva Poor, editor (Cambridge, Mass.: Bursk & Poor Publishing Co., 1970), p. 8.

This annoyance factor is important. It may be lessened if not eliminated when working part time is no longer a deviant pattern. Being a part-time administrator also conflicts with common notions about what supervisors and employees do on the job. The common picture is that the supervisor oversees the workers who would not work if the supervisor were not there. There is an out-dated notion here that if workers are not watched, they will not produce anything. There is also the notion that employees are incapable of taking any responsibility for their work. The assumption is that supervisors must be there to solve any unexpected problem at the very moment that it occurs. Part-time workers also complicate routine administrative problems, such as computing the payroll and establishing the fringe benefit package.

It is important to examine the real essential requirements of management, supervision, and professional work. Is input a necessary measure of output? Does its importance vary for different kinds of professional work? Do the supervision requirements of a research director and of a comptroller differ?

A common objection to part-time employees is that they are less committed, less productive, and inefficient workers. Almost by definition they must be inefficient because they lack the all-consuming dedication to their job that is almost a requirement of success in the corporation. Research-based data indicate that permanent part-time employees are more efficient, more productive, less frequently absent, and have a lower turnover rate than comparable full-time employees.⁷ Career-oriented employees who work less than full time should not be confused with office temporaries who have no long-term commitment to particular jobs.

A number of examples can be cited:⁸ The Smithsonian Institution has successfully used two part-time lawyers. The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston has paired a part-time department head and an economist, and has had a part-time assistant statistician. The Massachusetts Department of Banks has a part-time director of research, a part-time supervisor of examinations for equal credit compliance, and a staff of part-time researchers and individuals handling consumer complaints. By offering part-time opportunities the Massachusetts Banking Department has been able to attract people with high qualifications which exactly match the needs of the Department, despite the low salary levels in state employment. In areas like consumer complaint handling, the Massachusetts Department of Banks has found that part-time employees, because of the shorter hours, are able to maintain a greater sensitivity in handling consumer complaints than are full-time employees. Five public school systems which employ 500 job-sharing teachers have called the experience a success.

Flex-time also has been found to improve a work situation, rather than hinder it. The Massachusetts Department of Banks and the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission have both found it to be an important morale booster. Lufthansa employees in Germany have been found "to interact more effectively, assume greater initiative and

⁷ Marjorie M. Silverberg and Lorraine D. Eyde, "Career Part-Time Employment: Personnel Implications of the New Professional and Executive Corps," *Good Government* (fall 1971).

⁸ Robert I. Lazer, "Job Sharing as a Pattern for Permanent Part-Time Work," *the Conference Board Record* (October 1975), pp. 57-61.

responsibility, and be more aware of, and hence become more considerate of coworkers' time."

The Massachusetts State Department of Welfare in 1969 hired 50 caseworkers on a half-time schedule. An independent study made 6 months later by a consulting firm indicated that these social workers had 89 percent as many face-to-face contacts with clients as full-time workers, thus once again providing Parkinson's law that work expands to fill the time given to do it. Moreover, the turnover rate among the part-timers was only one-third of that of their full-time colleagues. Since their employer was paying them half a regular full-time salary, the State benefited.

So much for the oft-repeated statement that part-time help is expensive, inefficient help. It may be in some cases, but it certainly is not always. It is important to determine when it is and when it is not.

E. Benefits of Part-Time Work

There are many sound reasons why a company might benefit from hiring more part-time workers.

First, a great many talented, well-educated wives with child-rearing responsibilities will be attracted to part-time work. Offering part-time work thus gives the firm a personnel-management lever to use against competitors, especially larger ones, in attracting high-quality workers.

Second, the firm that broadens part-time job opportunities will probably experience greater productivity and lower unit costs, due to reduced absenteeism, turnover, recruitment activity, and overtime pay. The practical and psychological advantages of part-time work for employed mothers will be mainly responsible for the drop in all but one of these areas; the drop in overtime pay obviously results from not having to pay increased rates when part-time workers put in more than their usual hours. Productivity will also rise because one can keep up a much faster work pace for 4 hours a day than one can for 8 hours. The First National Bank of Baltimore found that productivity rose under flexible hours, as did the Mine Safety Appliance Co. of Pittsburgh.⁹

The institutionalization of part-time work for men and women while their children are young would constitute an important step toward the equalization of parental responsibility and the upgrading of part-time work. To do this, several conditions must be satisfied. Part-time and full-time workers must receive the same fringe benefits.¹⁰ Part-time work for child-rearing purposes might be treated similarly to sabbaticals, that is, part-time work years would receive the same crediting toward seniority, promotion, tenure, and salary adjustments as full-time work. Concerted efforts would need to be made to establish part-time work options in at least some prestigious occupations. Finally, men should be encouraged to work part time for some period of their work lives. The right to part-time work might be extended to 15 years per person as in Sweden, or 9 years as in France. Part-time work options will not eliminate the need for a system of child care centers, but it can be expected to reduce the need for them, and will enable parents and children to satisfy important emotional needs.

⁹ "Problems Cut by Flexitime," the Washington Post (May 22, 1977), D6.

¹⁰ See Carol S. Greenwald and Judith Liss, *op. cit.*, for a discussion of the costs of providing equal fringe benefits to part-time workers.

V. CONCLUSION

Achieving equality for women workers requires adapting administration to the rhythm of family life. Women are starting to insist on the right of women and men to be complicated, to work full time at certain periods in their lives and to work part time at others. Women are starting to request that the bureaucracy set as its goal not the reduction of complications, but the mastering of them.

Businesses are making job structures and the work week more flexible with such innovations as the 4-day week and flexible hours. Restructuring jobs to accommodate more part-time employees would be another step forward. Women want to pursue careers, but their lives and interests, like those of men, extend beyond the marketplace. Working part time during some periods of the life cycle is now a need of many women. It should, of course, be an option for every person, as joint nurturing of children becomes a widespread reality, and as increasing incomes make greater leisure possible. The women's movement is doing both women and men a great service of humanizing work by helping to establish the concept that working part time during part of the life-cycle is legitimate.

