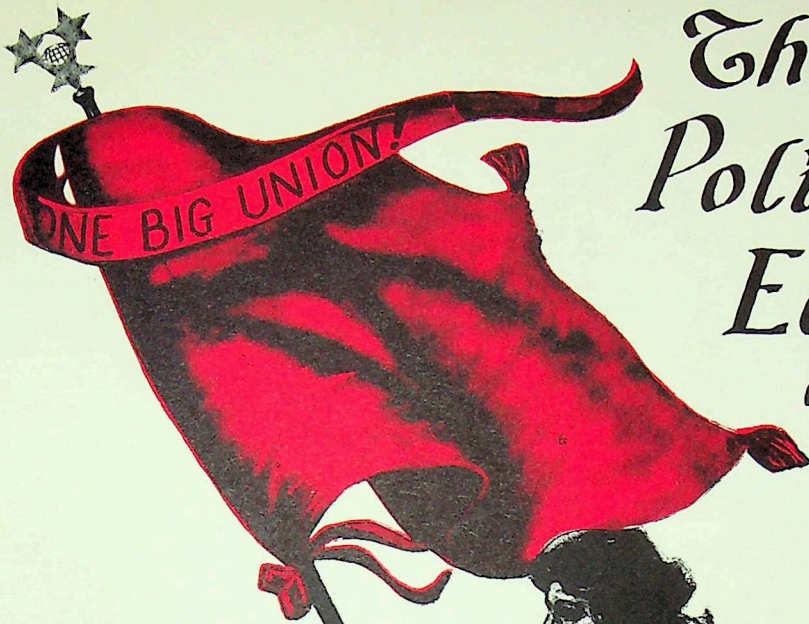


The Political Economy of Women



THE REVIEW
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ARTHUR MARETT

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**The Political Economy
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THE REVIEW OF RADICAL POLITICAL ECONOMICS

July, 1972

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COVER - from "The Rebel Girl" an IWW songsheet, 1915.

Note

"The Political Economics of Women" is a special issue of the Review of Radical Political Economics. In keeping with the goals of URPE we have published original articles and book reviews, photos and poems that contribute to the development of a radical political analysis of society and assist individuals and groups working for a radical change in American society. Because we are Feminists we have insisted that the definition of political economics for women be as broad as our life experience. Since this is our first attempt to put together our research and thoughts on the political economics of women we hope to hear from readers with critical analysis and suggestions for future issues.

There are many other sources of information available to help in creating a Feminist perspective on political economics. We did not have space for several fine papers including Laurie Nisonoff's "Bread and Roses" (available from URPE Literature Clearing House, URPE 2503 Student Activities Building, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104.) and Caroline Shaw Bell's analysis of unemployment data and their current use to denigrate the position of women (Wall Street Journal, March 15, 1972.) we recommend the Women's Free Press, Know, Inc., P.O. Box 10197, Pitts., Penn. 15232 for reading lists, pamphlets, syllabi, etc., and also the Women's History Library, 2325 Oak Street, Berkeley, Ca. 94708.

We thank Mary Harsch for typing devotedly; Al Ferrari and Bill Siebert of Glad Day Press.

In sisterhood we are,
Sarah Diamant, Jean Rosenberg, Susan Graetz

Ithaca, N.Y.



Martha Zweig

All winter
bare branches
show like the snow bones with
stars in the twig fork, moon working through and through,
and what we have to
be gets clearer and clearer

WOMEN'S WORK

Nowhere is woman treated according to the merit of her work, but rather as a sex. It is therefore almost inevitable that she should pay for her right to exist, to keep her position in whatever line, with sex favors.

Emma Goldman, 1911

I wish to acknowledge that, in so far as this paper is of use, the credit is due to the women I have known in the women's movement, to whom I am grateful for far more than I can say.

February 1972

Note on terminology

The word "we" is usually used in academic prose to mean either a) "one, a human being" as in "We must all eat to survive" or b) the author/s and or readers, as in "We have seen (supra. p. 567) . . ." or "We have investigated..." In both cases, however, "we" is frequently used to reflect the views of men, the predominant view of society; it is a conformist term, an expression of solidarity with the in-group, with the status quo, as in "We realize, of course, that women are basically weak," or We have all read de Toqueville and yet . . ."

When I, as a woman, use the term "we" to refer to women, it is open to possible misinterpretation if the context is not perfectly clear. Sentences such as "We are frightened of accidental pregnancy" mean different things depending on whether the "we" refers to all human beings or to women; in the former case, the sentence conjures up a picture of a primitive society awed by the mystery of pregnancy, while in the latter case it means that pregnancy will mess up women's lives. For men, who have assumed that their views are the views of society, the problem is not apparent. To me it is.

I have therefore, regretfully, used the word "they" to refer to women. I hope this explains to my sisters what might otherwise seem an unfriendly and distant approach.

I have also referred throughout to the houseworker as "she" (justifiably) and to the wage-earner (in section II) as "he" (less justifiably). My purpose in that section is to make clear that housework is no less work than the work done by men; it makes for simpler reading, as well, given the sexist bias in our language.

In this paper I want to discuss the structure of women's work, both paid and unpaid. I am limiting my analysis to women in present-day United States, leaving until the end of the paper an account of the effects of the Women's Liberation Movement on this work. It is not a complete analysis, since it needs to be redeveloped in a historical framework in order to understand the dynamic forces operating, a task which is necessary for the formulation of strategy within the

movement. It should therefore be understood as an empirical study, a statement of the situation of women in America, and hopefully, a useful way of approaching a complex subject.

I will start with women's work within the home and then deal with their work outside the home (in the labor force), since I have found it more useful to approach women's work outside the home via their work in the home rather than by comparing it with men's work in the labor force. In order to discuss the work within the home, I will first analyse the contract under which such work is done, the marriage contract, to see why women choose to marry. Work within the home will be divided into housework, child-rearing, and building the husband's ego. Finally, the implications of the analysis for the movement will be discussed.

I. THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT

Marriage is a contract which is, theoretically, entered into freely by a man and a woman. However, for women there is little choice involved--they may choose whom to marry, but they will not willingly remain unmarried. An analogy may be useful. Members of the working class may choose their employers, but they will not remain unemployed if they can help it, and they cannot be independent since they own no capital. This analogy may help in dealing with possible objections. Yes, some people do choose to be unemployed, and of course, some jobs are better than others, and unions do have bargaining power and may even put firms out of business, but the basic relationship between labor and capital remains a coercive one.

In 1969, 36% of women aged 20-24 were single, 11% of women aged 25-29, and only 6% of those aged 30-34. Most women marry. The reasons they marry come under four headings, sexual, psychological, social and economic. In each case, the argument will be put in the form of empirical statements which hold today, but which are not, and need not be universally true. Policies which break the sequence of causation which leave women little option but to marry are implied throughout. This does not imply that no-one would choose to marry when these sequences are broken. Two people may well choose to live together in an arrangement similar to that of the family today, but the choice would be a free one.

a) Sexual needs

Sexual desire must be dealt with. Our society deals with it by accepting sexual relationships, but only if they are heterosexual. In some cultures marriage is a prerequisite for sexual intercourse, particularly for women. In these cases, the connection between sexual needs and marriage is direct. Increasingly, however, premarital sexual intercourse is accepted. In many cases the unavailability, expense, and unreliability of contraceptives for women, and the irresponsibility of men leads to pregnancy. The legal and financial difficulties of getting an abortion mean that women will have children. The problems of having, let alone keeping and bringing up an illegitimate child, are so great, that marriage will be a good alternative, and a woman (and her father) will put considerable pressure on the father of the child to get him to marry her.

It should be noted that this is one of the few cases in which women are able to bring any pressure to bear on men, and there are many cases in which a

woman will deliberately get pregnant in order to force a man to marry her. The risk she takes in doing so is considerable, and in itself indicates the importance a woman places on marriage. For if she fails to get married, she faces great difficulties. The economic problems will be dealt with in the section on economic needs; here it is important to add that her chances of marriage are considerably reduced once she has a child, even if she has economic support for the child.

The problem of premarital pregnancy has become increasingly important since the second world war. Whereas in 1950, there were 14 illegitimate births per 1000 unmarried women aged 15-44, in 1967 (the most recent date for which figures are available) the number had risen to 23. For women in their 20's, the rate doubled. The breakdown of these figures by race gives us some help in pinning down the causes, although the absolute figures are unreliable. Starting in about 1960, the illegitimacy rate for black women began to decline; for women aged 20-24 the rate fell 24% between 1960 and 1967; for women aged 25-29 it fell 31%. For white women on the other hand, the illegitimacy rate in the same period rose 13% for both age groups. These differences cannot be accounted for by change in marriage rates. Combined with other material indicating that contraceptives began to influence the birth rate around that time among married women, this indicates that while contraceptives were reducing illegitimacy rates for black women, for white women the increase in premarital intercourse outweighed the effect of the availability of contraceptives. The rates, it must be remembered, are annual, and with the years a woman is "at risk" increasing (due to earlier sexual experience and later marriage) the probability of an unmarried woman becoming pregnant is increasing fast. The "sexual revolution" is an expensive revolution for women.

Hence sexual needs are forcing many women into marriage through pregnancy. Although there are still women who think pregnancy is a risk worth taking because of the possibility that it will lead to marriage, many other women take the risk because that is the price they pay for sexual relations.

Psychological needs

As a result of growing up in a patriarchal family, and a patriarchal society, women develop certain character structures (in the Reichian sense) and have certain (neurotic) needs. Take for example women's need for male dominance and male approval.

Matink Horner's work on women's avoidance of success and other similar studies show that women put in academic competition with men tend to score far less than they do on their own, and that women who feel themselves to be succeeding are likely to become depressed. ("She knows there's no success like failure, and that failure's no success at all.") One must distinguish this unconscious holding back of effort from the conscious realization that women should never appear to be more intelligent than their men friends. Women not only act inferior to men, they have little choice except to do so; in some sense they are inferior, when judged by behaviour.

Women's greater dependence on others, a trait noticeable in girls by the age of five, has two effects. One is that women tend to be more conservative than men, in the sense of being less likely to hold extreme views (regardless of the content of the views). They are therefore more likely to accept the ideology of the ruling (male) class, including the notion that their place is in the home.

The second effect is, that in addition to wanting the approval of society for their actions, they also want the approval of individual men. To be "a man's woman", i.e. to be wanted in male company, is a sign of success, and to marry is proof of success.

It is necessary to emphasize again that the choices women make and the behaviour they adopt are not simply a rational calculation on the part of people who understand where power lies, but is a result of needs which they have. Freudian theory has made it clear that actions, which on the surface seem irrational, may be a rational way of dealing with unrealised needs, although they may not lead to the satisfaction of the actual needs. Although this is a general phenomenon, affecting all exploited people, the women's movement has dealt with this problem, both in theory and in action, more thoroughly than any previous movement. For women, the need to understand the force of psychological needs is clear.

c) Social Needs

A young woman's friendships are centered around men. If she is not going out with men, she is going out with other women to meet men. Previous engagements with other women are broken at the last minute if a man should ask her out. In order to avoid being lonely, she must have a man-friend. As she gets older, more and more of social activity is designed for couples. There is no independent social activity among women. When other women marry, their interests diverge from hers; the married women have some friendships among themselves, but their interests are in children and family life. In a social gathering, she may talk to the married women, or to the married men, in which case she must face not only the fear of their wives which may be expressed in jealousy or hatred, but also the dubious privilege of becoming "one of the boys" or a sex object.

If she goes out on her own, or with other single women she may be laughed at or pitied. Single men do not have such great difficulties. Since men, when married, make it clear that they are sometimes glad to be away from their wives, there is a congenial atmosphere in bars and clubs for single men, the ones who have avoided being "tied down." And conversation is of interest to both the single and the married.

Thus while the unmarried man remains a bachelor, the unmarried woman becomes an old maid. This fear of loneliness is sufficient to cause many women to marry.

d) Economic needs

A woman who is not married will suffer as a result of her low income. Whatever class she is from, she will fall in status and will not be able to live in the same style she was brought up in. In addition to a physically lower standard of living, she will be at a disadvantage in her leisure activities, since she will not be able to keep up financially with her cultural peers who are married. She will also find herself doing work which is far worse than that done by her male childhood friends.

The relevant statistics are hard to find. One must distinguish between part-time and full-time work, since some married women choose to work part-time,

and their incomes cannot be averaged with the incomes of single women who have to be self-supporting. However, there is considerable discrimination against women in the form of providing work only on a part-time basis (part-time workers can reduce the cost of labor to an employer when work varies over the day, as in restaurants, or over the year; fringe benefits are also less proportionately for part-time workers). There are women working part-time who would prefer to work full-time and who are hence underemployed. If we take full-time rates of pay, we must distinguish between single and married people. Married women are restricted in work opportunities, and the figures available are for money income, which includes transfer payments, such as welfare, alimony and child support. The data for single people is available in the form of money earnings, but this poses its own problems. Men's incomes tend to rise over their lifetimes more than do women's, due to barriers to promotion for women, with the result that the difference in average income between single men and women (which is heavily weighted by the young unmarried income recipients) understates the difference in the economic prospects of single men and women. What is needed is material on the incomes of single, self-supporting individuals by age. The following table gives an indication only of the economic problems of single women. (Bear in mind the difference between money income and money earnings). The data is for 1968.

	Women	Men
Median money earnings of full-time year-round workers	4818	8226
Median income of unrelated individuals	2239	4086
Median income of families headed by:	4477	9096*

*This figure is for families with man at head, and families with both husband and wife present. With the wife working the median family income is \$10,686, if she is not working, income is \$8215.

The problems of women with children and no husband are even more acute. Even including alimony, child support, and welfare, a family with children headed by a woman is very badly off. Excluding welfare, the percentage of families below the poverty line in 1969 was 43% for female-headed families, compared with 10% for male-headed families. And one should note that in 1969, 11% of people in families were in families headed by women. (Incidentally, the poverty levels as defined in 1968 regard the poverty level for a female-headed family as \$10-160 less than for a male-headed family--presumably to reflect differences in food consumption, on which the poverty levels are based. (See U.S. Census, 1969.)

Economic motives are therefore important in explaining why women choose to marry. There is, it is true, the option of never leaving the parental home. The difficulties of this may be great--one of the reasons often cited for marriage is to get away from home--and when the parents die, the problems of adjustment may be enormous.

Summary of section on the marriage contract

Sexual, psychological, social, and economic needs combine to lead women into marriage. The ways in which they do so, and the relative importance of the categories changes over time, but the four categories will continue to operate in some way or another until we have reached a healthy, happy, and free society. This is not to say that they will continue to force women into marriage,

let alone that marriage will satisfy these needs. So far, all that has been argued is that at present women see it to be in their own self-interest to marry; from this it follows that they devote time and energy to making themselves attractive to men, and to please men, regardless of their own needs and desires. Once married, a woman is bound by a contract. If she breaks the contract she can be dismissed and can find herself in the situation of a single woman again, although she is more likely to have children by then. The next section will discuss the duties of a wife implied by the marriage contract.

II. THE DUTIES OF MARRIAGE

The duties of marriage will be divided here into three categories: housework, child-rearing, and ego-building, with the last category including sexual relations. These three categories correspond to the physical care of children and husband (housework), the personal care of children, and the personal care of the husband.

A. Housework

Women are responsible for the planning, and play a major role in the execution of the jobs of cleaning, tidying, shopping for household supplies, cooking, laundry, and repairs. The extent to which men share this work depends on class (increasing in the higher classes), and on whether the woman is earning money outside the home. But at the most, men assist in the execution of work; women retain responsibility for the planning of work and for its completion. I want to analyse housework in fairly conventional categories--social conditions, skill required, hours of work, and work status--in order to emphasize that housework is merely a particular form of work. The fact that it is unpaid will be dealt with later.

i. Conditions of work. The work is not regimented. A house-worker can set her own pace, work hard for short periods of time, break for coffee when she wishes--advantages that many workers in the labor force would like to have. Remembering the resistance which 18th and 19th century workers put up to the factory system, precisely because they valued these aspects of domestic labor, one can understand why people envy the houseworker her "freedom."

It is important to distinguish here between the woman who works outside the home during the day, to whom these advantages are real ones, and to whom the sheer quantity of work is the problem, and the woman who is full-time houseworker, with or without children. To the latter, the freedom within her job is of little use, since she works alone, and has no-one to enjoy breaks with, let alone community festivities which were so important in previous centuries. In fact, the lack of regimentation has disadvantages for her--there are no incentives to speed up work, and it takes longer to do than is strictly speaking necessary (see also the section on hours of work).

The lack of companionship at work is a serious problem on its own. The opportunities for social contact are also decreasing; for example, daily shopping in a small neighbourhood is giving way to weekly shopping at a supermarket, and the chances of meeting friends have diminished. Apartment buildings are unfriendly places to live, and parks are unsafe. The full-time houseworker is isolated.

ii. Skill The skill required for the houseworker is an organisational skill,

not one of specialization. Since most jobs in this society depend heavily on specialization, the fact that individual tasks of work tend to be unskilled leads people to dismiss the entire job as an unskilled one, which it is not. Women learn, partly from their mothers and partly from practice, to do many things at once-- to wash dishes while waiting for the kettle to boil, to feed a baby with one hand and write a shopping list with the other, to pick up dirty clothes on the way from one room to another. These are unwritten, personal skills. Hence it is hard, if not impossible for a houseworker to delegate work. She can delegate tasks, such as shopping, but she cannot instruct people to do her work of coordination. In the case of shopping, she must either write a list, since she alone knows all the extra things needed in the house, or she can check what has been bought so that she can buy the extras herself; she cannot delegate the whole of what is involved in shopping.

It should be noted that the development of these skills may make other skills harder to acquire. Having trained herself to be able to think of many things in short spaces of time, she may be unable to then keep her mind on any one thing for very long, she may become "scatty." Some of the skill will, however, be useful outside the house. She may be more considerate of other people because she does not get carried away by conversation and forget to notice how people are reacting to a situation.

While organisational ability is perhaps most important, there are also skills involved in many of the houseworker's tasks. Cooking, in particular, may involve great skill, as may methods of arranging things so that they are near-by when needed.

iii. Hours. For women with children, particularly very young children, the problem is that the hours of work are immense, and the job is physically exhausting. There is some sympathy in our society for a woman looking after infants, but there is less sympathy or understanding of the problems of women whose children are at school.

In 1835 Sir Andrew Ure defended the practice of employing young children in factories in his book The Philosophy of Manufactures. He argued that the children were not overworked and cited as an example one kind of work children did in which during each minute, the children were unoccupied for three-quarters of it. During this 45 seconds, he observed, the children "have absolutely nothing to do, but are seen in an easy attitude." Houseworkers must find the remark that they "do nothing but lounge around all day" equally absurd.

A houseworker is "on duty" during almost all her waking hours, and "on call" when asleep. There is no definite "time-off" and no vacation (let alone paid vacation), since the family vacation seldom relieves her of all responsibility. There are no long periods of time during which she can relax. In addition, the fact that the job has no defined standards, combined with women's dependence on approval, leads to a situation in which housework is literally never finished. For the woman with lighter responsibilities, this factor may lead to her working as hard as the woman with young children. Betty Friedan argues that many women could do the work required of them in one-sixth of the time that they now spend on it.

The labor-saving devices available have led, not to a saving of labor, but to a raising of standards for housework. The "spring-cleaning" of a century ago

is now done once a week, instead of once a year. As packaged foods have become available, time-consuming gourmet meals are expected. The manufacturers of cake mixes have found that it is more profitable to require that eggs be added by the houseworker than to put the eggs in the mix. In general, the houseworker continues to work full-time, regardless of the tools available or the number of people she is looking after. Since she must, in many cases, remain in the house, she is frightened of being "useless" there. If she has a job outside the home, she is frightened of "neglecting" her family.

None of the above is, however, meant to imply that the job of a houseworker is not, in itself, time-consuming. My roommates and I--a family of four--tried to estimate the time we spend on housework in our four-bedroom apartment. Allowing $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours for cooking and washing up dinner dishes, 1 hour for breakfast, $\frac{1}{2}$ hour for lunch per day, and 9 hours cleaning, 2 hours shopping, 4 hours laundry per week, the basic requirements are 36 woman-hours a week. Clearly, if the family of 4 included children, considerably more time would be taken up in caring for them. Moreover, there is much time spent in odd jobs--shopping, tidying, repairing--which my "family" cannot estimate; we do those sorts of things naturally! In addition, we are a rich family and housework takes much longer if you are poor, in particular the shopping, cooking, and repairing.

It is a complicated matter to estimate the hours of a houseworker--she has a complicated job, made more complicated by the fact that it is seldom seen as a job at all. Her two other jobs--child-care and husband-care--have not been included in this analysis, nor has any work she may do outside the house. The numbers of women with outside jobs will be considered later. Here I will just note that 29 million women in this country have children under 18, and that 3 1/2 million of these women have no husband. A further 22 million women are wives or heads of families with no children under 18.

iv. Job Status. The status of housework is low, particularly among the middle and upper classes. In the working classes, the work is recognized as important, although not as important as work for money. Three types of arguments must be analysed, that the work is unproductive, that it is degrading, and that it is women's work.

The argument that the houseworker is unproductive comes from the fact that many houseworkers do small, essentially unimportant, bits of work during the day, that they continue to work as long as there is work to be done. In one sense, houseworkers are less productive than workers in the labor force--they will work as long as their "output" is positive, whereas a worker who is hired at a certain wage rate will only work up to the point where his output per hour is worth as much as his wage per hour; after that, his employer will not find it worthwhile to pay him, given that he would have to pay him at the same hourly wage rate that he paid for the previous hours' work. Thus, the argument goes, the houseworker is on average less productive than the wage earner.

The analogy is, however, flawed. Within the present wage-system the work week is fixed in terms of hours, and the employer's decision is not whether an individual worker should work for an extra hour, but whether an additional worker should be hired or not. This decision depends on whether the total work of the additional worker is worth the total wage that worker has to be paid. Within the work week, there is clearly variation in a worker's productivity, with some hours of work less productive than others. Hence the fact that during some of her

working time, the houseworker does work with little value (for example, dusting a table that is only slightly dusty) does not mean that her work is necessarily less productive than that of a wage-earner.

The wage-earner sells about 8 hours of his day to his employer. The houseworker may sell up to 24 hours to her husband. Beyond this we cannot go, since we do not have any acceptable means of evaluating the work done.

The second reason which is given for the low status of housework is that the work itself is degrading. The planning involved in housework is clearly not degrading--the buying of goods and services, the management of any institution, whether a water-purifying plant or an automobile factory are all respectable occupations--but this aspect of work is not recognized; when people say housework is degrading, they mean that the execution of household jobs is degrading. There are three reasons for this.

- a) The work has the lower status associated with lower-class jobs, which in turn is due largely to the low money income associated with them. In the money scale used to measure the value of everything in our society, housework, which is unpaid, is at the bottom of the scale.
- b) The work is done on a small scale, and people admire size. It doesn't involve advanced technology and people admire technology. They deduce that the job is unskilled, and they do not admire unskilled workers. In short, housework is pre-industrial work in an industrial society.
- c) Housework is regarded as shit-work in the literal sense. People think that anything which involves bodies, particularly shit, is degrading. The psychological reasons for this are complex, but they are nothing to be proud of. (One might note that the anal character is connected with the prudential, calculating, hoarding homo economicus, and that according to Norman O. Brown, money is also shit--hence "filthy lucre," "stinking rich" and "rolling in it.") Certainly our society is more extreme in its concern with shit than most societies, if concern over smells is any index.

The third connection between housework and low status derives from the fact that it is women's work, in that all but a very few women in the United States do housework. There is therefore no particular merit in any particular woman doing it. However, there is more to it than that. All jobs in which women predominate have low status (except for child-bearing, which will be discussed in the next section). The low status is attached not only to the jobs themselves--nursing, teaching, social work, clerical work--but to any jobs associated with them, such as teacher training colleges. It is not simply a matter of pay (male ministers may make less money than female teachers), or of the work done ("superior" restaurants have waiters, not waitresses); it is also that women per se are regarded as inferior.

Housework is work with long hours, low status, and no pay. It is part of the job of being a wife and mother, and can only be fully understood as such. But it is also work like other work--the concepts of productivity, hours of work, conditions of work, are relevant concepts, and the fact that the work takes place within the home is no reason to exclude it from detailed analysis such as is regularly applied to capitalist industry.

B. Child-Rearing

There are some people who object, either explicitly or implicitly, to an analysis of the work involved in bringing up children, on the grounds that it is enjoyable work, done for people, not capital, and hence unalienating labor. Yet while most people find that the work has its rewards, there must be few who would deny that it is also hard work, and that it could be more enjoyable if the problems of child-rearing were dealt with.

First it must be said that in so far as children are unwanted, pregnancy itself might be considered work. Among women with children under 18, one-eighth give birth to children during a single year. For all women over 18, 5.3% were involved over the year 1969 with either giving birth or pregnancy complications. The recent decline in the birth rate due to the availability of contraceptives indicates that many of these pregnancies involved the time and energy of women who would rather not have had children.

In so far as the work involved in bringing up children goes, much of what was said about housework applies here, and I will only deal with the new aspects of child-rearing in this section.

i. Conditions of work. Children tie women down. They restrict even more women's limited opportunities for meeting and talking to people, for developing an independent life. Moreover, although children can be loving, interesting, and good company, they are not adults, and the pressures of having to act in a special way with them for long periods of time can have a stultifying effect on women's minds. I would not want to spend such long periods of time with foreigners whose language I do not speak, people who are permanently stoned, religious enthusiasts, economists, or any group of people whose specialty is not of overwhelming importance to me. I like to be with my peers--sexual, political, cultural for much of the time, while spending some time developing new interests and new friends. Nobody should be required to spend every day of every week with children. Added to this is the problem that when a woman's husband comes home from work he is often not much company--either because he is tired, or because he is not interested in the sorts of things she wants to talk about--children, the house, the contact she has managed to have with other people (known as "gossip"), i.e. her life.

ii. Skill. Studying books on child development, even if they are good books, does not necessarily make people good parents. The psychological health of parents, which is in turn dependent on their upbringing, is of paramount importance. If parents are sexually repressed, their children will tend to be sexually repressed. If parents stick to orthodox sex roles, the children will learn to behave in ways "appropriate" to their sex.

The skill required for bringing up children to be healthy (morally, psychologically) is largely a matter of parents "being" rather than their "doing." Even in terms of physical health, the knowledge a mother got from her mother when a child plays a large part in determining her idea of a good diet. Yet mothers are held largely responsible for the way their children turn out.

They also hold themselves responsible, although this is apparently less true for working class than for middle and upper class mothers; working class mothers, according to Mirra Komarovsky (Blue-Collar Marriage, pp. 78-81) are more fatalistic, and make more use of the concept of heritability of temperament ("He

is a nervous child," or "He has his father's temper."). In so far as the parents unconsciously cause a child to develop in a particular way, the notion of heritability may be closer to the truth than the direct causation assumed by middle-class parents.

iii. Hours. When children are young, looking after them is a 24-hour job. After they go to school, there is a certain amount of defined time off, although not enough to make it easy to hold a full-time job. (Neil Smelser argues in Social Change and the Industrial Revolution that the state regulation of working hours for children and adults in nineteenth century England was designed to keep mothers in the home, against the wishes of the working class. It would be interesting to see if anyone was conscious of that factor in setting school hours.)

This "work" analysis neglects a more crucial aspect of the time spent with children. Children are a life-time's occupation for women. Women's energy, creativity, love and life are poured into children. But children grow up and go away, become independent and leave their "creators." Juliet Mitchell points out that the alienation involved may be worse than that of the worker whose product is appropriated by the capitalist: "Possessions are felt as extensions of the self. The child as a possession is supremely this. Anything the child does is therefore a threat to the mother herself, who has renounced her autonomy through this misconception of her reproductive role. There are few more precarious ventures on which to base a life." (Woman's Estate, p. 109) The basic contradiction in the mother's role becomes even more apparent when the child reacts against the possessive devotion of the mother by resenting and even hating the mother.

Child-rearing as a life-time occupation is thus dangerous, not only to the child but to the mother. It may be literally self-destructive. As long as the child is seen as an object created by the mother, rather than an autonomous human being to be cared for, as long as the mother is only allowed to be creative in child-rearing, the job will be an alienating one.

iv. Job Status. Looking after children has high status, but only for women. For men, it is degrading, beneath their dignity, or, to be more precise, unmanly. Moreover, for a woman not to want to look after children is somehow shocking. This is, then, a peculiar kind of status--compare the high status of a doctor regardless of sex, and which no-one is obliged to want.

One might more accurately say that looking after children does not have high status at all, but is rather regarded as a natural activity of women. Not to like the job is therefore unnatural, hence shocking. But why are women praised for doing the job?

First, because the work is important. Thus the person who does it is important. This explanation leaves unsettled why it is important only for women.

Secondly, this is what women are for--to produce and rear children. As such they are valued like mares, sows, ewes. When they are doing their job, they are useful.

Thirdly, the high status is a consolation prize, and a useful one to men. When men are under attack for exploiting women, one line of defence is that women are privileged because they have wombs, inner spaces (see for example Norman Mailer, Prisoner of Sex). This privilege is then extended to cover the privilege of

looking after children.

The respect for the child-rearer is part of a whole system of "privileges" which women have. Women are not oppressed in the same way as black people, for example; they are not at the bottom of many scales and at the top of none. There is a pedestal--they are respected and praised for many things, for greater sensitivity, for moral fortitude, for modesty. True, there are prices to be paid for all this--for "sensitivity" read "weakness and need to be controlled by men;" for "moral fortitude" read "double standard;" for modesty" read "willing to take a back seat and shut up." And any woman that is not praised for these kinds of things is damned--she is either a virgin or a whore.

In some sense then, one might say that the job of bringing up children has high status, but the status is of a different kind from most. It is sex-specific, it is compulsory, and the price is too high.

C. Ego-Building

In marriage, the wife has the obligation of building the status of the husband in three fields--sexual, economic, and social. Only sexual relations are legally required in marriage, but a woman who fails in the whole area, regardless of how good a houseworker and mother she is, will be divorced speedily.

i. Sexual status. Some women get pleasure from sexual relations, but large numbers get no pleasure at all. Juxtapose this with the number of men who get no pleasure--there are a few, particularly homosexual men who marry because of social pressure--and it is clear that for many women sexual relations are a duty of marriage. Women cannot refuse to be fucked, first because there is no protection against rape, but more important in practice, because the husband will leave. Moreover, the wife must not only be available, she must be appreciative, perform, because this is the most important way of building the husband's ego. His sexual status depends on his ability to please, to inspire awe, or whatever, and if he fails in fact to do so, the wife must pretend that he does. Sexual infidelity on the part of the wife is a serious blow to the husband's sexual status, quite apart from the possibility that she will bear another man's child; but if a wife "loses interest" in her husband, he will look elsewhere, and conventional morality may even support him.

The exact form which this marriage duty takes clearly varies over time. In the Victorian period, upper class women were not supposed to show any pleasure. Now the simultaneous orgasm is the ideal, and the multiple orgasm is beginning to come into fashion (rising standards of productivity?). Some form of ego-building through sexual relations occurs in all classes today (see, for example, Mirra Komarovsky, op. cit. Ch. 4), although there are clearly marriages in which the duty is also pleasurable.

ii. Economic status. The husband's role as breadwinner must be maintained. There are two ways in which this is done, through the husband bringing home more money than the wife, and through the denial of a money wage to houseworkers.

It seems that the lower the economic status of the husband, the less willing is he that his wife should work, despite the economic necessity of more money. In working class families, the man's primary role is that of economic provider,

rather than companion, and so it is understandable that his economic status is particularly important to him, while in upper class marriages, social status is relatively more important.

The assumptions made among, say, graduate students--such as that if anyone is to get a degree, it should be the husband rather than the wife, that the wife should follow her husband to the city he wants to work in, are defended on the grounds that a) the husband earns more, and b) the wife will not work later on because of her responsibilities to her children. The fear that the wife will be a better earner than the husband is probably also present.

The second way in which the economic status of the husband is promoted is through denying a wage to the houseworker. She may be given money to use for the house, and in addition may get an allowance of some amount, but it is not hers by right. The value of her work is not recognized in money terms, hence she is economically dependent on her husband. Since she does not pay half the rent, she has, strictly speaking, no right to decide where the family will live--although in practice the husband may delegate the responsibility, knowing that she will decide on the basis of what is good for him. The property that a family owns belongs to the person who put out the money for it--unless the wife was working, and paid in part for the asset, she has no claim over it. Hence, the fact that her work enabled her husband to earn money is irrelevant; in practice her work has no value. Alimony payments are simply a pension, redundancy payment, and do not compensate for the value of the work that a wife has done--in terms of advancing the career of her husband, and enabling him to accumulate assets.

Thus the idea of the husband as bread-winner is maintained. The wife is nominally dependent on him, and his economic status over her is assured.

. Social status. There are men who build their social status by cutting down status of women, by making jokes at women's expense, by taking out and show-off their "dumb women", and appearing witty and intelligent at their expense. A direct is the unwritten rule that a wife should not appear to be more intelligent than her husband (see the earlier notes on women's avoidance of success). I'll remember being told by a man-friend many years ago that I should not disagree with him in public--I thought then that he was being foolish, but I made reply.

A wife must be prepared to entertain for her husband, attend social functions with him, stand beside him on the political platform, never disgrace him in any way. In public at least, she belongs to him and "Caesar's wife ought to be above suspicion;" in this respect, every man is a Caesar. For a man to be called "hen-pecked" is a serious blow to his status, so in public a wife must be especially "supportive."

Part of a wife's job is therefore to cater to, support, and partly to create her husband's superiority to herself in sexual, economic and social terms. She must engineer her own defeat and his victory. Within that context, she may try to get the best deal for herself. In Richardson's novel, Pamela, a study of the new forms of love and marriage in the eighteenth century England, Pamela writes of her interpretation of the rules for a wife, as set out by her husband: "That if she would overcome, it must be by sweetness and complaisance; (that is by yielding, he means, no doubt). Yet not such a slavish one neither, as should rather

seem the effect of her insensibility, than judgement or affection." Her victories must be won by seeming to yield, out of respect and affection for her husband.

How conscious is this engineering? Deciding how best to attract a man, or how best to get a husband to do something is conscious in the sense that alternative tactics are explicitly considered (the content of much of women's gossip). But a large part of what goes on is not conscious. Women are not sex-conscious, in that they accept the ideology of the ruling sex which is not in their interest. Moreover, they are not conscious of what they are doing in the psychological sense of the word "conscious", as for example, when they want to be dominated.

Summary of section on the duties of marriage

Marriage is a lot of work. What do women get out of it, or to put the question another way, why do they stay married? Marriage represents security--a steady means of support (or at least as steady as the husband's jobs). There is always the danger, of course, that the marriage will end in divorce, and that danger is increasing. Alimony and child support are at low levels, and are hard to collect if, as often happens, the husband defaults on the payments. Then women are forced to earn a money income, as well as to continue the job of housework and child-rearing--once she has been married, the probability that she will have a child to support is great.

In addition, the reasons a woman marries in the first place are still present, although now she realizes the costs of marriage, as well as the advantages. When single, she wants to get married; once married she may wish she was single again (a popular theme in folk songs). Why then do women not tell their daughters about the costs of marriage--why don't they advise their daughters to stay single?

In the first place, it is hard for married women to admit, even to themselves that they have made a mistake. At the age of 50 or so, it is late to change things--they are probably better off married than divorced or separated. Secondly, women are isolated, and see things on an individual level, and their own cases as exceptional. They may thus warn their daughters against marrying a man like their father, or a man with a bad temper, or a man who is ungenerous, but they will not warn against marriage as an institution. Thirdly, and most importantly, they realize that for most people, marriage is the best available alternative, despite the work, and despite the risk.

III. WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME

In 1969, 43% of women were in the labor force, compared with 81% of men. Women constitute one-third of the labor force. For single women, the participation rate was about equal to that for single men, while for widowed, divorced, or separated women, the participation rate is two-thirds that for men in the same category. For married women with husband present, 29% of women with children under 6 are in the labor force, and 49% of women with children aged 6-17 but no children under 6. If the husband is unemployed the rates are slightly higher. Clearly work in the labor force is an important part of women's lives.

In the labor force women are exploited as are men. Here I will simply

examine the additional factors that must be taken into account in looking at this kind of work for women.

a) Relationship of outside work to work within the home

Within the home, women's work for money is not valued as highly as men's work. The husband, as mentioned earlier, retains the role of breadwinner, while the money earned by the wife is "extra" even if it is necessary for the economic survival of the family. She cannot derive the status from her work that men derive from theirs. Mirra Komarovsky, in her book Blue-Collar Marriage, describes how it is considered deplorable for a woman to boast that her earnings contributed to the payment for a car, since this insulted her husband, the breadwinner.

Although it has been found that a woman earning money can get her husband to do more of the housework, she retains the responsibility for the organization of it, and is still responsible for the execution of most of the work. A woman in the labor force may thus be doing 1 3/4 jobs compared with her husband doing 1 1/4.

The opportunity to get out of the house is, however, highly valued. For some women the net gain in money terms, after payment for child care, may be small, but the opportunities to meet people, to talk to other adults, to have a new interest outside the home are what matter. For working class women, the rejection of housework per se is not an important motive for taking a job. The satisfaction of doing a good job may also be important--contrary to upper class beliefs, unskilled work can be rewarding; many waitresses, for example, take great pride in their work.

The difference between part-time and full-time work is important. Part-time work, because there is less of it, may be able to be enjoyed for the variety it offers, whereas full-time work may be too exhausting to be enjoyable. One must distinguish the part-time waitress, from the full-time night office-cleaner (a job held by many women with young children, who can only be out of the house when the children are asleep.)

b) The relationship of work within the home to outside work

The most noticeable thing about work outside the home for women is the extent of job segregation, in unskilled and skilled jobs alike. There are many factors at work here and I want attention to four types of job segregation, which I think have been insufficiently distinguished.

i. Unskilled work For a long while I was puzzled by the seeming coincidence of women in factories doing women's work. Why should the ILGWU be 80% women? The explanation is through the fact that wages are very low. (I am going to leave aside until later the large question of why women take the low-paying jobs). In the garment industry, there are no barriers to entry. The level of fixed capital involved in the industry is low; production is not automated, since styles change too fast; the amount of formal training required is small and there are no promotion prospects. The industry is therefore highly competitive, and in addition is particularly susceptible to foreign competition from countries with lower wage rates. The wages in the industry are therefore extremely low, and women take these wages.

The connection with the fact that the work is women's work is that this

type of work was only transferred from domestic industry to capitalist industry recently, for precisely the reasons given above--low capitalization, little chance for automation. There is still a lot of sewing done within the home--an electric sewing machine can cost as little as \$50, but the limited opportunities for division of labor were sufficient to lead to industrialization. It is not coincidental that women do this kind of work.

Other menial work comes under this category, such as office-cleaning, copy-typing and other jobs which could be done at home. Jobs which are done at home, such as selling magazine subscriptions by phone, some typing, various handicrafts, all pay women very low wages. The number of women who can only work at home (whether because they look after children, or because they cannot afford to pay someone else to) drives down the wages of home-work, and keeps the wages of work which could be done at home low. Job segregation across the whole of the employment field ensures that women compete for jobs with other women, and hence also receive low wages.

ii. Women employed as women There has been much discussion of the fact that women have jobs in which they are personal servants to individual men. The secretary is the standard example, although receptionists, nurses, and research assistants all come into this category. The functions women perform are wife-like functions, such as ego-building, and housekeeping (tidying up, answering the phone, getting coffee), and the function of being a sex object. Women are, as a result of their socialization, more efficient in these kinds of jobs than men would be.

A peculiar characteristic of these kind of jobs is that the benefit from such work goes not only to profits, but to the individual man being served. A secretary will deal, not only with business work, but with her boss's social appointments outside office hours, and with his family (remembering birthdays, covering up sexual affairs, booking vacations etc.). She will also serve as a "whipping boy"--someone a man can vent his anger and frustrations on, or demand a smile depending on his mood. To some extent, of course, this may contribute to his efficiency at work and hence she may be functioning as an employee of the firm or organization he is in, but she is also a personal gain for him--one of the perks of a job. She is partly employed by him, in so far as he would demand a higher salary if he did not have a secretary. Thus she is not an employee of the firm in the same way other members of a bureaucracy are--she has, in effect, two employees, and she not only does the work of a wife, she is in a similar contract to a wife.

An extension of this argument can be used to explain the employment of women as waitresses. A male customer is buying, not only the service of having his food brought to him, but a smile, an opportunity to flirt. In this case, the notion of two employees is institutionalized in tipping--which may account for half or more of take-home pay.

One should note that as women get older, they may become less employable in such jobs. They can, however, switch to playing the role of mother, thereby becoming threatening to wives, while fulfilling other needs of men.

iii. Segregation as a result of male policy Some lucrative jobs are formally barred to women. Both unions and professional organizations may restrict entry to men, or may have a small quota of women. The government may make policy decisions which limit work to men. In the teaching profession, the question of whether men or women should be employed in elementary education was a matter for debate

in the nineteenth century. Women were employed partly because they could be paid less, but also partly because of a decision that schools should be an extension of the family rather than a downward extension of the adult (male) world, performing a disciplinary function. The reversal of this trend may be due to the growing importance of discipline in today's schools.

iv. Segregation to ensure harmonious work relations In England recently several thousand people went on strike because a woman "foreman" (shop-floor supervisor, often a union member and generally identified with the workers) gave orders directly to two men, rather than telling a male foreman to give the orders. This was felt to violate unwritten rules of conduct. From the firm's point of view, efficiency requires that production be organized in such a way that men give orders to both men and women, while women give orders only to women. The type of relations within a firm must reflect the type of relations within the home. Women's expertise may be recognized only if her expertise is within certain categories. Instead of thinking of production as an organization of capital and labor it is necessary to think of it as capital, male labor, and female labor.

This is true at virtually all levels of a bureaucracy--men's and women's jobs are not substitutable, as can be seen in the exceptional cases in which women do hold "Men's jobs". Not only do the men feel awkward in relating to the women on a business basis, the women also feel that their femininity, including their ability to be gentle and emotional (values which I, for one, want to hold on to) is threatened by the job requirements. In a study of women executives, many gave this type of reason for their unwillingness to accept promotion to higher levels. The importance of this lies perhaps less in the fact that women are barred from top executive positions than in what this says about the way in which business is run. Capitalism is a male institution, dependent on male values and male socialization.

c. Summary of section on work outside the home

Job segregation reflects segregation of roles within the home. Various mechanisms operate, but they are all based in the home. The implications of this are far-reaching. Strategies to deal with job segregation must recognize its origin; analysis of capitalism must recognize the sex structure of capitalism. Entry of women into the labor force may be limited by the sex structure of jobs (as Valerie Kincade Oppenheimer argues in *The Female Labor Force in the United States*) as much as by the nature of her work within the home.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Economic independence is hard; marriage is hard; economic independence is important, as are social, sexual, and psychological independence. It is hard to know where to begin. Perhaps a brief look at the gains of the women's movement so far will help.

Psychological independence is hard to get, but the consciousness-raising groups have made possible huge advances. The groups have also been important in providing a social life independent of men. Sexually, advances are being made. The Gay Liberation Movement has opened up a vast possibility for independence. For heterosexual women, the availability of contraceptives and abortion is increasing, although this is still an area where the advances benefit the better-off women rather than all women. On the economic front, it is increasingly respectable

to work, women are entering the labor force in large numbers.

Within marriage, the advances have been smaller, but there are signs that women are beginning to value themselves, and to take larger risks within marriage in order to make their lives tolerable. The fear of divorce becomes less as an alternative community opens up.

In general, there are more options open to women now, and there will be more as the movement spreads. The next stage, as I see it, is one in which the social relations of production will be changed to be more compatible with "the new woman" and, hopefully, "the new man." But this change will be inconsistent with capitalist control of production, and with male control of production. The women's movement will continue in its present direction of opening options and facilitating independence until there are no rulers left--no economic rulers, no sexual rulers, no social rulers, and until psychological development is consistent with a free society.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

I must apologize for the lack of references in this essay. I hope these notes will help.

The statistical material throughout is drawn from Abbott L. Ferriss, Indicators of Trends in the Status of American Women (Russell Sage Foundation, 1971). I have made extensive use of Mirra Komarovsky, Blue-Collar Marriage (Random House, 1962), and of Lee Rainwater, And the Poor Get Children (Quadrangle Books, 1960). A description of Matina Horner's work is available in Ms., preview issue.

On the distinction between domestic and industrial work, there is a brilliant study by Alice Clark, Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century (London, George Routledge, 1919). A good description of housework is given by Susan Edmiston, "What about Maid's Lib?" New York, June 28, 1971.

Juliet Mitchell's new book, Woman's Estate (Pantheon Books, 1971) has an excellent description of the debate between the "radical feminists" and the "abstract socialists" (to use her terms); I find myself nearer the radical feminist end of the spectrum than she is, but that is another matter.

Finally, I must note that much of my analysis comes out of the historical material I have been working with, such as Edmund Morgan, The Puritan Family; Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, Children in English Society; Phillipe Aries, Centuries of Childhood; Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Lady. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Women and Economics is still very valuable 75 years after it was written. For those interested, the reading list I prepared has additional material.

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Janice F. Madden

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT ON THE "WOMAN PROBLEM"

I wish to thank Professors Martin Bronfenbrenner, Frank DeVyver, and Marjorie McElroy for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper. The material in this article was prepared as part of a project under Grant No. 91-37-72-26 from the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, under the authority of title I of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended. Researchers undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment. Therefore, points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent the official position or policy of the Department of Labor.

To trace the history of thought on the economic role of women, one must research a rather diversified literature. The exposition of economic thought on the "woman problem" is not restricted to professional economic journals and treatises. In fact, if the subjects discussed in traditional economic publications are an index of the concerns of economists, there has been an evident lack of professional interest in the problem. Therefore, a history of economic thought on women has to be pieced together from comments in feminist writings, from implicit and explicit references to sex discrimination in the discussions of the economics of race discrimination and social class exploitation, and from political debates on equal pay legislation.

Early Feminist Literature

The earliest writings are entirely of the feminist variety, analyzing the relationship of the sexes. Prior to the extensive publication of recent times, three works stand out as the most significant non-Marxian treatments of feminism. These include: A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1796) by Mary Wollstonecraft;¹ The Subjection of Women (1869) by John Stuart Mill;² and Women and Economics (1898) by Charlotte Perkins Gilman.³

Mary Wollstonecraft's volume is mentioned primarily because it raises the first major objection by an English writer to the role of women in society. Writing in England at the time of the French Revolution, Mrs. Wollstonecraft was concerned that the French were speaking of human rights only in terms of the rights of men, not women. She builds a case for extending equal rights and treatment for women based on the same moral principles that are discussed in the writings of the Revolution rather than on any economic or sociological basis. She concentrated particularly on the need for the education of women and on the necessity for change in the substance of the marriage relationship.

John Stuart Mill's treatment of the status of women, the only major feminist work written by a male, is the first volume both to analyze intellectually the economic position of women and also to propose political action to secure sexual equality. He is the first to iterate a theme common through all feminist literature to follow--including the voluminous writings of the present.

The currently popular demand for equal earning power for men and women as a basis for any type of civil equality finds its early roots in the Mill statement:

The power of earning is essential to the dignity of women.⁴

The argument is that civil equality is meaningless if women cannot be economically independent.

In discussing the capabilities of women, Mill maintains that it is difficult to distinguish the natural attributes of women from those which are a product of the culture. Contending, therefore, that activities which are truly natural to women are indeterminate, Mill would be opposed to the protective labor legislation of this century:

One thing we may be certain of--that what is contrary to women's nature to do, they never will be made to do by simply giving their nature free play.⁵

It is not surprising that the author of Political Economy⁶ would touch upon some economic implications of the status of women. Mill's The Subjection of Women foreshadows the argument that laws dealing with women as a special situation do inhibit their earning ability, or in other words, their labor force participation.

Mill also made a contribution to the intellectual base of feminism in his discussion of the nature of woman's position in the family structure. Recognizing the influence of family status on women, he opposed all laws which automatically assume the male to be master of the household. His philosophical approach emphasizes the importance of family structure to any theory which explains female behavior.

Following the essence of the Mill approach, Charlotte Perkins Gilman's writing is entirely on the economic status of woman as it reflects on her overall position in society. Mrs. Gilman notes that the unique attribute of the female economic position is economic dependence. The value of a female's services is not connected with her standard of living. All that woman consumes bears no relation to her power to produce but only on the man she marries, how much he has, and how much he is willing to give her. Mrs. Gilman thus concurs with Mill that economic independence is vital to female dignity. This independence comes only with the acquisition of earning potential which links consumption with female productivity. Only on this basis can woman earn her share in the advance of the human race. Once again there is the implied emphasis on family status as a factor in determining the societal status of women.

The early feminist demands, however, were generally based on some sort of equalitarian thought, with a much more evident interest in the attainment of equality through the guarantees of civil liberties than through the acquisition of employment. The feminist movement quickly became the women's suffrage movement. Not until later in the twentieth century did the women's movement really embrace the demand for employment equality as a condition for equality of the sexes. The concern with sex discrimination in employment is, then, a relatively more recent concern of the movement.

Marxist Thought on Women

An exception to the apparent lack of concern with the economic inequality of women is found in the Marxist approach to the position of women. It is maintained that woman's economic status is a direct result of the capitalistic family structure. The Marxists have been largely influenced by Frederick Engels's The Origin of the Family (1884) which tells a story of the historical development of the family and the relations of the sexes as they were affected by the development of productive techniques. An understanding of the Marxist contribution requires a review of Engels's historical hypothesis.

Engels contends that there were three states in the development of marriage: group marriage, pairing marriage, and monogamy. Group marriage and matriarchy were characteristic of prehistoric times when land was owned in common by the tribe. Since the group marriage involved the two sexes in a common conjugal relation, maternity was the only certain relationship.

There was, according to Engels, an early division of labor between the sexes. The females engaged in agriculture and domestic production while the males hunted and fished. Women owned domestic tools, and men owned hunting and fishing implements. At death, the tools owned by the male were inherited by his mother's tribe, not by his children or by the tribe with whom he had formed a marriage. The woman's tools and children stayed within her tribe as did the land.

In these early stages, the female was dominant. All inheritance was through her so that all wealth remained in her tribe. She was the "center of life" in a group marriage.

As productivity increased, labor was able to produce more than was necessary for its maintenance. New labor forces were desirable. Prisoners of war and slaves were taken thus creating two social classes, masters and slaves, or Engels's "exploiters" and "exploited." At the same time that riches were expanding, changes in marriage and in the family were occurring. There was a gradual dwindling in the numbers involved in the group marriage. There was a continuous exclusion of nearer, than of more remote relatives from the marriage until only a pair remained. The bond remained weak and unstable, however, and the total household of the tribe remained communistic with the mother right (inheritance through the mother) and with matriarchy maintained. But a significant change had nonetheless occurred. A child could be identified with a father as a result of the pairing tendency. This ability of the male to identify his own offspring was occurring at the same time as the level of wealth was increasing. The wealth that was increasing (cattle, slaves, etc., which provided the necessities of life) was of the type which traditionally belonged to the male and was thus inherited by his tribe. So the simultaneous strengthening of the male economic position in the family and the tendency toward pairing enabled the male to revolutionize the method of inheritance. The mother right was replaced by inheritance through the father. Engels comments:

The overthrow of mother right was the world historical defeat of the female sex.⁸

Engels reasons that once inheritance was through the father, there was motivation for males to be absolutely certain of their paternity. Loose pairing relationships were replaced with monogamous marriage and women became totally subjected to men. The modern capitalistic family and patriarchy were born.

It is this quasi-historical description by Engels which formed the basis of the links between family structure, capitalism, and female oppression in Marxist feminist theory.

Two noted feminists of the modern era have effectively criticized the development of Engels's thesis. Both Simone de Beauvoir⁹ and Kate Millett¹⁰ credit Engels for his innovation in thought in attacking the notion of patriarchy as the natural condition. Both also criticize his superficiality in explaining how the turning point of all history, the move from matriarchy to patriarchy, actually came about. Though Engels admits ignorance of the historical details of the passage from female control to male control, he does not even suggest a plausible explanation of how the overthrow of the mother may have occurred.

The present writer further questions the motivation for the move from group marriage to pairing. No evidence on the gradual "dwindling in numbers" of those involved in marriage is suggested.

Nonetheless, Engels's thoughts have had a profound influence on the Marxists. The writings of Frederick Engels, Karl Marx, August Bebel, and V. I. Lenin¹¹ all condemn the family as a capitalistic institution based on the desire to preserve property rights. It is accepted by all these Marxists that the institution of marriage and family is the source of the exploitation of women and must, therefore, be eliminated in the socialist society.

The most famous Marxist treatment of the status of women, August Bebel's Woman and Socialism, expounds upon the development of the family and the relation between the sexes suggested by Engels. Though historical documentation is more detailed, Bebel still leaves unanswered the questions that de Beauvoir and Millett were later to raise.

Bebel and Engels use their imaginative anthropological history of the oppression of women from the institution of private property to unite the female cause with the revolution of the proletariat. Both are exploited as a result of the historical development which is now exemplified in capitalistic institutions. Therefore the fate of woman and socialism are inherently intertwined in Marxist thought. There was some disagreement among the Marxists as to the method by which the abolition of the capitalistic family structure would liberate women. While the need to liberate women from degrading private household work was universally accepted, there was division on the question of the sexual freedom of women, or more to the point, whether the liberation of women implies abandonment of capitalistic sexual mores in favor of free love. Bebel and Engels supported the libertine position, while Lenin, who more significantly affected the policy of the Soviet government, opposed any such attitude.¹²

The aspects of Marxist thinking which are pertinent to the economic status of women are of more relevance to the present study. The Marxists affirm even more strongly than Mill and Gilman that equality of the sexes cannot be established until women have earning potential. Mill, in particular, felt that even if women were given the opportunity to work equally with men, most would elect to remain full time wives and mothers. He was insistent that women only need be given the alternative of economic independence as a form of bargaining power and that they need not actually avail themselves of that opportunity to obtain equal status with men. But the Marxists disagree. They maintain that given a choice between house-

work and market work, a woman will concentrate upon outside work. For example, Bebel writes:

Woman can be emancipated only when she can take part on large social scale in production and is engaged in domestic work only to an insignificant degree.¹³

In a similar tone, Lenin stated:

Owing to her work in the house, woman is still in a difficult position. To effect her complete emancipation and make her the equal of man it is necessary for housework to be socialized and for women to participate in common productive labour. Then women will occupy the same position as men.¹⁴

It is only with actual participation in socially productive work that women achieve dignity. Such work is made possible by the advent of industrialization, which reduces the physical strength requirements for a job, and by socialization of household tasks, i.e. community kitchens and day care centers. Only if women are equally able to engage in production, only if the exploitation of household work is eliminated, are women the equals of men.¹⁵

Marx and Bebel both accept the fact that under capitalism the advance of industrialization successfully brought increasing numbers of women into the labor force. But these women are viewed as a secondary labor force by the capitalists. Marx¹⁶ maintained that the value of labor power was determined by the labor time necessary to maintain the worker and his family. Mechanization, by decreasing the physical requirements for a job, enables women and children as well as men to work. Every member of the family is in the labor market, spreading the value of a man's labor power over his entire family. This depreciates the price of labor, and the capitalist employs the entire family for little more than he previously paid the family head. Without the elimination of capitalism and the socialization of the family, industrialization raises the degree of exploitation of the proletariat and of women.

It is necessary that industrialization be accompanied by the introduction of a system of socialist ownership of the factors of production if we are to eliminate exploitation of the total labor force, both male and female. It is also necessary to eliminate the motivation for the monogamous marriage that subjects women to men. Thus the Marxists set the following requirements as necessary to the liberation of women:

1. Industrialization, which opens up jobs for women by decreasing the importance of physical strength requirement.
2. Social ownership of the factors of production, to eliminate the motive for the exploitation of labor. The capitalist is motivated to industrialization as an excuse to hire the entire family of the worker at their subsistence rate rather than just the male worker alone at the same rate.
3. Communistic households, to liberate women from private household drudgery and subjection to their husbands.

These conditions require a new system; they cannot be met by capitalism. To the Marxists, exploitation of women is inherent in capitalism.

Cynthia B. Lloyd

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN MODERN ECONOMIC LIFE
Economics 10 Spring, 1972

Purpose: To analyze the economic aspects of women's changing role in the labor force, and in the home.

Texts: Kreps, Juanita, SEX IN THE MARKETPLACE; AMERICAN WOMEN AT WORK (Paperback, Johns Hopkins Press, 1971)
Oppenheimer, Valerie, THE FEMALE LABOR FORCE IN THE UNITED STATES (Population Monograph, #5, University of California, Berkeley, 1971 paperback)
U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, HANDBOOK ON WOMEN WORKERS, Bulletin #294 (available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S.G.P.O. Washington, D.C. 20402, \$1.50)

Paper: Students will be required to write a 15 page paper on a subject of their interest which will be due the last day of classes; Friday, May 12. In place of a midterm, students will be required to give a class presentation or a progress report on their research. Paper topics must be approved by March 14 at the latest.

Readings: All required readings should be on reserve in the Barnard library. Recommended readings (*) should be found in the Barnard library or in the Business library at Uris Hall. Full citation for the readings will be found in the supplementary and more complete bibliography.

I. Introduction

A. Traditional Economic Division of Labor

Gilman, WOMEN AND ECONOMICS, Chap 1, pp 1-22
Boserup, WOMEN'S ROLE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
Chap 1, pp 15-35; *Chap 5, *Chap 8.

B. Allocation of Time

1. Over the Life Time

Myrdal & Klein, WOMEN'S TWO ROLES, Chap 1-3, *8

2. Over the Day

Girard, "The Time Budget of Married Women in Urban Areas"
in OECD, EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN, pp, 105-214

II. Labor Force Participation

A. Historical

Oppenheimer, THE FEMALE LABOR FORCE IN THE US, Chap 1,
Smuts, Robert W. "The Female Labor Force: A Case Study in the Interpretation of Historical Statistics"
JOURNAL OF AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, March, 1960
*Smuts, WOMEN AND WORK IN AMERICA (Paperback, N.Y., 1959)

B. Current

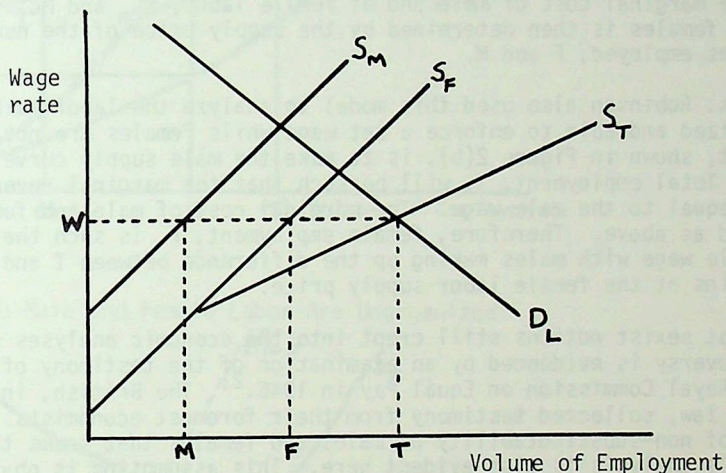
Kreps, SEX IN THE MARKET PLACE, Chap 1,2, & 5
Oppenheimer, THE FEMALE LABOR FORCE, Chaps 2-5
*Women's Bureau, HANDBOOK, Chap 1
*Hedges, "Women Workers and Manpower Demands in the 1970's" MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW, June, 1970
*Waldman, "Changes in the Labor Force Activity of Women" MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW, June 1970
*McNally, "Patterns of Female Labor Force Activity," INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, May, 1968
*Mincer, "Labor Force Participation of Married Women" NBER, ASPECTS OF LABOR ECONOMICS.

relative salary was less than their relative productivity. There would be no mixed occupations as long as female work was cheaper. The limited willingness of males to work at lower wages would not be reflected in their earning higher wages, but in smaller numbers being employed at the going lower wages.

This can be illustrated with the simple supply and demand diagram of Figure 1. Let S_m , S_f , and S_t represent respectively the supply of male workers, the

Figure 1

Competitive Wage Determination in a Mixed Occupation



supply of female workers, and the total supply of workers of both sexes to the mixed occupation. Following from the assumption that females are equally efficient in a mixed occupation, D_L represents the demand for labor based on the value of the marginal product of labor. The market clearing wage level is at the intersection of the demand and total supply curves. Both males and females earn a wage rate of W . Total employment is T , divided into F females and M males such that if $S_m < S_f$, then $M < F$. No employer would be motivated to hire males at a wage above W . If S_m is completely above W such that no males offer their labor services, only females are employed and this is not a mixed occupation.

Whether Edgeworth realizes that his argument is incompatible with perfect competition is ambiguous. At the outset, he does state that in perfect competition all workers receive the pecuniary value of their output. Yet the above argument is advanced for a situation of perfect competition. He does seem convinced that males and females are inherently unequal in what he calls secondary and tertiary¹⁹ characteristics that make the employment of females less profitable than the employment of males. In other words, males and females do not do equal work; discussion of "equal pay for equal work" is therefore irrelevant. Edgeworth must be judged guilty of either poor economics or of a sexism on the basis of this exposition. Given the year and the social custom of the time in which the article is written, sexism seems more likely.

Joan Robinson,²⁰ like Edgeworth, analyzed pay inequalities in the labor market from the supply side. She resolved Edgeworth's confusion between the

assumption of perfect competition and the divergence of the wage level from the value of the marginal product of the worker by assuming a monopsonistic labor market. In such a market, the supply curve differences are apparent to the individual employer such that his demand is determined by labor supply conditions as well as by the marginal revenue product of labor. As shown in Figure 2(a), Mrs. Robinson assumes that the supply functions, S_m and S_f , are different for males and for females. MRP represents the marginal revenue product of labor; there is no demand function for labor since demand is a unique point for any given set of labor supply functions. The efficiencies of males and females are still assumed equal, but now the demand for labor is responsive to conditions of labor supply. The amount of labor employed, T , is such that the marginal cost of the total amount of labor employed, MC_t , is equal to its marginal revenue product and to the marginal cost of male and of female labor, MC_m and MC_f . The wage of males and females is then determined by the supply price of the number of males and females employed, F and M ,

Mrs. Robinson also used this model to analyze the labor market when males are organized and able to enforce a set wage while females are not organized. The effect, shown in Figure 2(b), is to make the male supply curve S_m perfectly elastic. Total employment, T , will be such that the marginal revenue product of labor is equal to the male wage. The marginal cost of male and female labor will be equated as above. Therefore, female employment, F , is such that MC_f is equal to the male wage with males making up the difference between T and F . The female wage remains at the female labor supply price.

That sexist notions still crept into the economic analyses of the equal pay controversy is evidenced by an examination of the testimony of economists before the Royal Commission on Equal Pay in 1946.²¹ The British, in considering an equal pay law, collected testimony from their foremost economists. But the assumption of non-substitutability of males and females that seems to run through Edgeworth's analysis is also evident here. This assumption is obviously implied²² by the phrasing of the question analyzed. It was stated:

...that it is regarded as a matter of public policy to preserve something like the pre-war balance of numbers, viz; approximately 1 man and 2 women in the (teaching) profession...²³

Most of the discussion revolves around the overcrowding hypothesis. Hubert Henderson, A. C. Pigou, and David Ross all are supportive of the Fawcett-Edgeworth analysis in their testimony. The clearest exposition of the hypothesis and of its implications for the labor market structure is contained in Pigou's Memorandum to the Commission. Like Edgeworth, Pigou observes that there are male occupations, female occupations and a very small number of sexually mixed occupations.

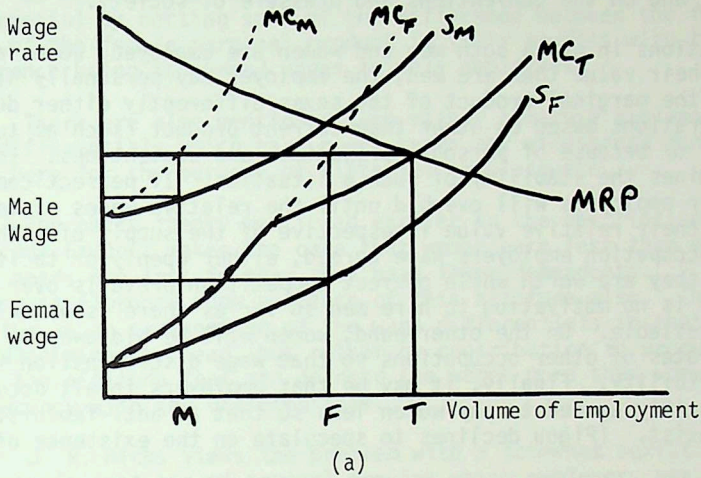
Letting I, II, III... represent respective occupations, with m_1, m_2, m_3, \dots males and f_1, f_2, f_3, \dots females employed in each occupation, and further setting v_1, v_2, v_3, \dots equal to the ratio of the value of the marginal man's product to that of the marginal woman, it will be assumed that all males are identically productive, differing only with females who are also identically productive as a group. If W_m is the male wage and W_f is the female wage, occupations where:

$v > W_m/W_f$, only men are employed; and

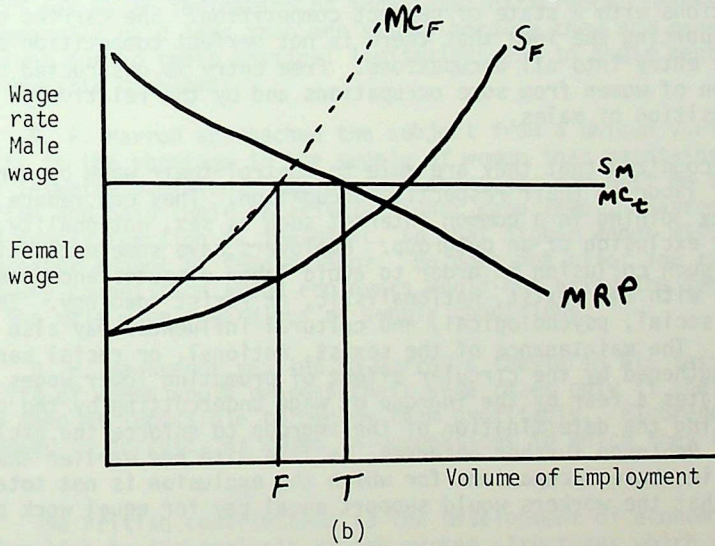
$v < W_m/W_f$, only women are employed; and

Figure 2

Monopsonistic Wage Determination in a Mixed Occupation



Both Male and Female Labor Are Unorganized



Male Labor is Organized

Source: Joan Robinson, The Economics of Imperfect Competition, (London: MacMillen and Co., Ltd., 1934), pp.301-304.

$v = W_m W_f$, the employer is indifferent between the sexes.

The determination of v depends on the numbers of men and the numbers of women in each occupation, on the demand for the output of the occupation, on the employer's predilections, and on the conventions and pressure of society.

If in the occupations in which both men and women are employed, women are paid less relative to their value than are men, the employer may personally have evaluated the value of the marginal product of the sexes differently either due to productivity considerations based on other than current product (such as turnover rates of each sex) or because of personal prejudices and conventions. The market structure determines the stability of such a situation. If perfect competition prevails, other employers will overbid until the relative wages of men and women are equal to their relative value irrespective of the supply of either. If in this particular occupation employers have agreed, either openly or tacitly, to pay women less than they are worth while perfect competition prevails over all other occupations, there is no motivation to hire men so far as there is an unlimited supply of women available. On the other hand, women will be bid away by the more competitive wage rates of other occupations so that wage discrimination is not an equilibrium possibility. Finally, it may be that employers in all occupations have openly or tacitly agreed to pay women less so that an anti-feminist convention is said to exist. (Pigou declines to speculate on the existence of such a taboo.)

Joan Robinson also testifies to the inconsistencies of the observed wage and productivity relations with a state of perfect competition. She carries on the Pigou analysis supporting the idea that there is not perfect competition since women do not have free entry into all occupations. Free entry is obstructed by the arbitrary exclusion of women from some occupations and by the relatively stronger bargaining position of males.

Workers have recognized that they are able to control their wage by controlling the supply of labor to their respective occupation. They can reduce competition for jobs by joining in a common interest such as sex, nationality, or race to justify the exclusion of an outgroup. Employers have some motivation to become partners to such collusion in order to avoid labor disputes and because they may have sympathy with the sexist, nationalistic, or racist ideology. The weight of historical, social, psychological, and cultural influences may also be in the same direction. The maintenance of the sexist, national, or racial barrier to free entry is strengthened by the circular effect of prompting lower wages for the excluded which creates a fear by the ingroup of wage undercutting by the outgroup, further increasing the determination of the ingroup to enforce the exclusion of the outgroup. Mrs. Robinson further observes, in line with her earlier analysis discussed above, that in those occupations for which the exclusion is not total, it would be expected that the workers would support equal pay for equal work provisions.

The balance of bargaining power between workers and employers also affects the relative wages in different occupations. Mrs. Robinson argues that, generally speaking, female laborers are less organized than males. This may be due to a temperamental inability to organize as a group, an inherent difficulty in organizing occupations in which women are employed, or a generally accepted view of both men and women that only men should earn "union rates."

Hubert Henderson comments that male occupations are, in fact, those in which men have established enough bargaining or monopoly power to resist the employment of women effectively.

D. H. MacGregor suggests that employers are motivated to maintain the differential by netting some of the difference between the female wage and the value of the female marginal product in their profits with the remainder of this difference being increased wages to male employees.

There are also mentioned some rather abstruse explanations of the sexual wage differentials which have never known any widespread acceptance, but will be noted here for the purpose of historical completeness.

The needs theory mentioned earlier in the description of the thoughts of Millicent Fawcett makes the case that women earn less than men because their relative needs are less in that they have fewer dependents. F. Y. Edgeworth and P. Sargent Florence show evidence of this attitude also. This theory is discredited as an explanation of the wage differentials in that wages have never been determined by need, but rather by contribution to production.²⁴ Nonetheless, the attitude that men do need the wages more than women may explain social complacency with the differentials.

J. R. Hicks views the problem with a somewhat sexist orientation, claiming that sex is just one of several proxies which employers use to estimate the efficiency of workers. The case for an equal pay law thus depends on the effectiveness of sex as an indication of individual efficiency. Hicks maintains that women are generally paid less than men simply because they are generally considered less efficient due to their physical limitations and to their mental pre-occupations with domestic problems.

R. F. Harrod approached the subject from a unique vantage point. He argues that it is the shortage in the supply of women that maintains their labor market in an inferior position. Due to this shortage, men must be brought into the occupation and paid their relatively higher wage level. Harrod views the female labor supply function as inelastic, so that higher wages will not bring forth any greater amount of female labor. He does not offer any explanation, however, as to why competition among employers would not bring the female wage up to par with the male wage regardless of supply conditions.

D. H. MacGregor replied to Harrod's thesis in his testimony, claiming that scarcity of women would depress their wage rates only if their supply was so small as to make it impossible to employ them profitably. MacGregor contends that there is indeed no scarcity of women in occupations in which they are substitutes for men.

The British contribution to the development of economic thought on the woman problem lies in the analysis of the market structures which are consistent with a divergence between relative wage and relative productivity.

The Economics of Discrimination

The thrust of most recent thought on the subject of discrimination has almost totally abandoned the condition of an imperfect market for the assumption of perfect competition. This is in large sum due to the fact that the current

generally accepted theory of discrimination is that developed by the "Chicago School" economists.

The definitive study of the subject is Gary Becker's Economics of Discrimination.²⁵ The emphasis of the work is clearly on race discrimination (as are most of the contributions surveyed in this section), but it is maintained that the analysis is applicable to the case of sex and religious discrimination.²⁶

Becker defines discrimination quite restrictively. He considers discrimination to occur when there are differences in relative payments to factors as compared to their relative efficiencies. In effect, he restricts the problems of discrimination to a problem of wage discrimination, paying little attention to any role discrimination may play in relative differences in productivity itself.

Decker defines a discrimination coefficient (DC) which is a measure of the case for discrimination, so that if π_i is the wage rate of a "discriminated against" factor, the employer behaves as if $\pi_i (1 + d_i)$ were the net wage rate, the fellow employee acts as if $\pi_i (1 - d_i)$ were his own wage rate, and consumers act as if $p(1 + d_k)$ were the unit price for the commodity produced by this factor. The DC's in this case are d_i , d_j , and d_k which represent non-monetary costs incurred by the discriminators while associating with the minority groups. The monetary equivalents of these costs are $\pi_i d_i$, $\pi_j d_j$, and $p d_k$. These DC's interact with the distribution of individual differences in tastes, the market structure, and the quantitative significance of the "discriminated against" to determine a market discrimination coefficient MDC. The MDC, a measure of the proportional difference in wage rates, is quantitatively measured:

$$MDC = \frac{\pi_w - \pi_n}{\pi_n}$$

where π_w and π_n represent the equilibrium wages of the discriminators, W, and the discriminated against, N, respectively.

Becker's main premise is that discrimination is a restrictive practice that interrupts free trade between two independent societies, capital intensive W and labor intensive N. It is assumed that technology is the same (i.e., identical production functions) so that there is trade only in the factors of production. If there were no discrimination, that is if free trade existed, the following conditions would hold:

1. Payment to each factor would be independent of whether it was employed in N or W.
2. The price of each product would be independent of whether it was produced by N or W.
3. Each factor would receive payment equal to the value of its marginal product.

When discrimination exists, the discriminating society is willing to pay a premium, comparable to a tariff in international trade, to avoid association with the society discriminated against. This premium is the above-mentioned discrimination coefficient, the size of which measures the extent of discrimination. As with tariffs, discrimination holds trade below free trade levels reducing output through

an inefficient distribution of resources.

This premise is not completely descriptive of sex discrimination. For this reason, the model should be reformulated. There is no evidence that either male or female "society" is relatively more labor intensive or capital intensive. Becker's analysis implies that female society must be labor intensive for discrimination to be effective against female workers.²⁷ It is highly unlikely that the capital-labor ratio is significantly lower among women than among men. As for capital, the fact is that women are estimated to own (but not necessarily control) over half of U.S. wealth.²⁸ It is also known that the female worker has more human capital (education) invested in her, on the average than does the male worker.²⁹ And, as to the labor component of the ratio, women represent only 37 percent of the labor force.³⁰ Question may be raised as to the extent of female control over all this capital. If female capital is effectively controlled by males, then the assumption of the independence of males and females fails. If females control their capital, then the assumption of labor intensity fails.

The amount of sex discrimination permitted in the Becker model would be further minimized if it is assumed that commodity trade is allowed and different production functions exist. Commodity trade could help alleviate discrimination. If a society is labor intensive, it specializes in labor intensive products decreasing the possibility of employer discrimination but causing further market segregation.

The Becker model is theoretically limited by its assumptions to explaining minimal amounts of wage discrimination based on sex. But empirical studies have found sizable levels of such discrimination.³¹ This suggests the need for a new or at least a modified theory. A more detailed look at the reality which is being abstracted into a model suggests the basis for that model. Female and male societies are not independent. Many women are dependent and subjected to men by means of marriage and family laws. Therefore, it is not only through economic exchange that men can influence the economic status of women. Any analysis of sex discrimination should consider this dependence between male and female society which was emphasized by the earlier writers. It does not appear that pure competition characterizes the market for female labor.

Milton Friedman³² utilizes the results of the Becker development in the chapter on "Capitalism and Discrimination" from his Capitalism and Freedom. Consistent with the thought of the British economists, Friedman argues that discrimination tends to increase as monopolistic powers increase and is least likely to occur in perfectly competitive situations which provide motivation to separate economic efficiency from irrelevant characteristics.

There follows the "Chicago" assumption that divergences from atomistic competition are not significant in any market. Therefore, Friedman maintains that costs of any discrimination are partially borne by the discriminators in higher costs or lower wages. To make the decision to discriminate on the basis of race, or sex, is like demonstrating any other preference or taste in the market. Discrimination by race or sex is less a problem to Friedman than a simple manifestation of a taste or a preference.

Further developments of the Becker model suggest that the loss to society from discrimination may be shifted to the victims of that discrimination.

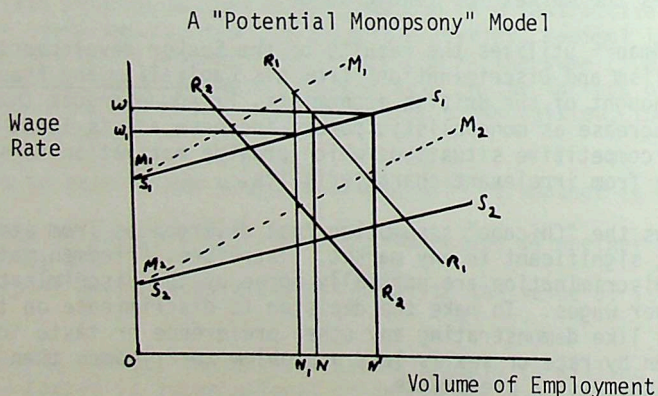
Anne Krueger³³ demonstrates by simple mathematical deduction that total

income for Becker's N and W societies is maximized if the marginal products of capital and labor are equal in both. Maximizing W income alone, that is taking a partial derivative (rate of change of W income with respect to the rate of change of W capital exported to N) rather than a total derivative (rate of change of total income, for both W and N, with respect to the rate of change of W capital exported to N), indicates that the marginal product of capital in the W sector should be lower than the marginal product of capital in N. W income is maximized, therefore, by having a lower price of capital in W than in N. Becker's DC₅ insure such a result. This derivation seems to imply an assumption of less than perfect competition, however, since W must be looking at an offer curve. As with a cartel, it is in the interest of any single W capital owner to equalize his marginal products in both N and W though the W group can gain from an inequality. Krueger never explicitly discusses the implications of monopoly power in her analysis, but she does attempt to justify the incentive for such power. She argues that such behavior by W capitalists is indicated if they have a personal taste for discrimination, if they aim at increasing the income of the W society rather than W capitalists income only,³⁴ or if the relative marginal products of capital in N and W vary due to the allocation of publicly owned capital with W controlling the decision-making process.

That the discriminating society may actually increase its income because of discrimination was first suggested in the monopsony models of Joan Robinson.³⁵ While most American work on discrimination has not developed in these terms, the contributions of Martin Bronfenbrenner, Lester Thurow, and Barbara Bergmann suggest monopsonistic market structures. The economists discuss discrimination affecting the supply side of the labor market as well as the demand side.

Bronfenbrenner's analysis, published prior to Becker's Economics of Discrimination, is clearly in terms of a monopsony labor market. He develops a discrimination model for a monopsonistic labor market with and without unionization.³⁶ This analysis is similar to Joan Robinson's. Bronfenbrenner also deals with a "potential monopsony" concept which is defined as monopsony power that is not

Figure 3



Source: Martin Bronfenbrenner, "Potential Monopsony in Labor Markets," Industrial and Labor Relations Review 9(April 1956), p. 582

exercised actively, but is indicated by a system of rigid rules and regulations to solve market allocation problems.³⁷ This analysis is based on a queue theory of the labor market; that is, workers are evaluated by employers along a continuum in the order of their desirability. The number and quality of the workers on this continuum depend on the requirements that the employer sets. The specific set of requirements, therefore, determines the labor supply function. For example, in Figure 3, the employer may set job requirements so that his labor demands will be R_1R_1 and the supply of labor would be S_1S_1 or he may lower the requirements so that he demands R_2R_2 and selects his workers on the basis of a labor supply function S_2S_2 . This monopsony model is different from the Robinson model in that the employer has a role in determining the specific complex of labor demand and labor supply functions of which (R_1R_1, S_1S_1) and (R_2R_2, S_2S_2) are only examples. Assuming the employer selects (R_1R_1, S_1S_1) , in the usual monopsony model, total employment N_1 would be set so that the marginal factor cost M_1M_1 would be equal to the factor's marginal revenue product R_1R_1 , and the wage rate would be at the factor supply price W_1 . But, in the potential monopsony model, this power is not exercised due to non-maximizing behavior by the firm which could, for example, result from the bureaucracy of the corporate structure. Instead the employer selects a wage which is above the monopsony wage but which will allow personnel managers some latitude in screening applicants. In this case, the wage is set at OW and employment at ON , allowing an excess labor pool of NN' from which to draw applicants.

This model is particularly relevant to sex discrimination. An employer who hires for several types of jobs may view some jobs "men's work" and others as "women's work." He could set the requirements for male jobs at high levels such that the labor supply pool excludes females. He could then set a high wage so as to permit a large degree of selectivity and a large excess labor pool. For female jobs, he could choose very minimal requirements which shift the marginal product curve downwards and lower wages. He could also eliminate the excess labor pool by selecting a low wage level for the job. The company would hire anyone willing to work in the "women's jobs."

This formulation differs from the Robinson model in that females receive their marginal revenue products and in that the female labor supply function does not necessarily have to be more inelastic than the male supply function for females to receive the lower wages.

Lester Thurow³⁸ also argues that the discriminator may gain by discrimination. He proposes the same relative supply elasticity analysis as Robinson.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of Thurow is the case he builds for a power analysis of discrimination. He examines specific areas in which discrimination and racial supremacist power are operative such as employment, wages, occupation, human capital, and capital control. The approach is also noteworthy in its comprehensiveness. The theory attempts to explain exclusion of the minority from jobs for which they are qualified and the denial to the minority of opportunities to increase their qualifications, as well as discrimination which is demonstrated through lower pay for minorities for work as productive as that of the majority. Discrimination against women takes similar forms.

Barbara Bergmann³⁹ is the first American writer to cite some of the British discussion presented above. She revives the overcrowding hypothesis mostly in terms of race discrimination problems, but with some reference to the problems of sex discrimination. She assumes a one commodity economy with production

specified by a constant elasticity of substitution production function utilizing three factors: capital, female labor and male labor. With no discrimination, i.e., all jobs open to both sexes, labor would be distributed so that marginal products were equal in all occupations and all workers would be paid their marginal products. With discrimination, female labor is crowded into a small number of occupations forcing their marginal product to be lower than in male occupations. Thus employers may pay employees the value of their marginal product and still maintain a striking difference in wages.

Both a graphical interpretation⁴⁰ and a mathematical derivation⁴¹ is presented. Of interest in this presentation is the result that shifting females into the male occupation lowers the marginal product and therefore wages in the male occupation while increasing the marginal product and wages in the female occupation. This result is valid if the marginal product curves display the implied behavior. That is, the relative marginal product curves do not shift in relationship to the increased use of a complimentary (or substitute) factor. A more sophisticated model is necessary to analyze the effects of movement over occupational barriers if relative marginal product curves are themselves affected by such movement.

This theoretical analysis based on Joan Robinson's and F. Y. Edgeworth's analyses departs from the Becker-Krueger model in that there are no separate minority and majority societies, workers are all paid the value of their marginal products, and finally, the labor market discussed can no longer be classified as competitive.

Summary and Conclusions

I have attempted to survey some of the ideas that have (or should have) contributed to the modern economic analysis of sex discrimination. This historical survey indicates some aspects of a comprehensive theory of sex discrimination.

It seems that family status as well as the variables which influence family decision making must play a role in the analysis of sex discrimination, though such considerations are probably not significant for race discrimination. This consideration definitely distinguishes sex discrimination from the general case. It may make "male power" a more viable force in sex discrimination theory.

Likewise, careful attention should be paid to the consistency of assumptions about market structure with the market behavior which the theory implies. Are male and female "societies" in fact independent and engaging in free trade under conditions of perfect competition? Or, alternatively, is there a dominant male group which is able to assert power over a subservient female group by institutional means?

The analysis of discrimination is related to the definition of discrimination invoked. The basic premise of the analysis varies as the writer concerned herself (himself) with discrimination between equally productive workers in terms of wages or with discrimination which created entry barriers to high paying occupations. While perfectly competitive models explain some of the former discrimination, they are impotent in explaining the latter.

FOOTNOTES

1. Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (London: J. Johnson, 1796).
2. John Stuart Mill, The Subjection of Women (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1869).
3. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Women and Economics (Boston: Small, Maynard, and Co., 1898).
4. Mill, The Subjection of Women, p. 89.
5. Ibid., p. 48.
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7. Frederick Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, New World Paperbacks (New York: International Publishers, 1942).
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Duke University
Durham, North Carolina



WOMEN IN THE WAR ECONOMY--WORLD WAR II

The definition of the "proper role" for women in capitalist society began with an economic relation, and the social definition of that role grew to support and protect the economic relation. When the economic relation is disrupted and women find their way into the outside of the home work force, the social definition of woman's role contributes to the exploitation of her labor-power. The use of female labor in the war economy during World War II makes an excellent case study of the manipulation of the female work force and the relationship between the primary economic oppression of women and the social-psychological manifestations of that oppression.

The extent and nature of women's participation in the labor force during the war years changed greatly, but that change lasted only for the duration of the war. After the war most of the women lost their jobs and ended up back in the home. The great change in the actual role that women played in their society did not significantly affect the collective consciousness of women concerning the position traditionally given them; nor did it change society's attitude about the proper place for its women.

Women were manipulated as a group into a completely new role which required a completely new conception of themselves, yet they never changed their consciousness to fit that new role. The ideology of our society concerning woman and her position has not changed since the depression. Woman's primary duty was to be a wife and mother; her place was in the home. Even when it became necessary to recruit 4,000,000 new women into the labor force this feeling did not change. Women were never allowed to develop a consciousness as "worker"; even in the factory they were still "woman". The role of housewife was never challenged. Rather, another duty was added to that role. Working in the war industries became an extension of being a housewife and mother. This conception made it easy for women to be pushed out of the labor force and returned to being housewife/mother as her complete role,

Bringing women into the labor force temporarily during World War II was not an isolated incident in the history of American women. World War I proved that women could be effectively used as a reserve labor force in time of national emergency without a permanent effect on the desired composition of the labor force.

Before the first world war women in most countries held a medieval position; they had no political voice and no well-rooted place in industry. Women in the United States had not yet won the right to vote. The pressures of war production and the need to replace male industrial workers who had become soldiers necessitated the introduction of many women into the work force and a corresponding change in attitude about the capabilities of women as workers: "Thousands, ultimately millions of women emerged from 'forgotten woman' status, and began to assume a whole new range of responsibilities. In large measure they kept the wheels of industry turning, the business offices manned, the population at home fed and clothed." Women were needed for nursing and other services directly related to the war and also to fill civilian spots usually held by men,

For most women, however, this improvement was short-lived. "Some gains undoubtedly persisted. But comparing the wartime experience of women with their



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acceptability and prestige afterwards, what followed can only be called a relapse."³

The overall proportion of women gainfully employed did not change substantially in the years 1910-1920 despite the war period. The number of women working outside the home rose from 8,075,772 in 1910 to 8,549,511 in 1920--a gain of a little over 4%,⁴ but the percentage of women in the labor force dropped by .5 per cent. Clerical positions accounted for the largest increase. During the war the proportion of women in industry had increased substantially, but there was little encouragement given to training women to remain in those positions, and the increase was wiped out after the war,

Female membership in trade unions increased remarkably during this period, growing from 76,748 in 1910 to 396,900 in 1920 with most of the increase during the war years. This increase is most amazing when it is considered that women were centered in trades with little unionization with very few women workers in those industries with a generally high rate of union membership. The union policies with respect to women varied with different unions, but, in general, women were more easily admitted into unions in industries with a substantial female labor force while they encountered resistance in industries where women had been recently introduced.

Under war conditions the American Federation of Labor (AFL) restated its earlier position dating from 1883 in support of paying men and women equal wages for doing the same jobs, and in 1918 the AFL actively organized women for the first time requesting that their member unions amend their constitutions and admit women.

During the next decade, 1920-1930, women's employment increased in both numbers and relation to men's employment. In 1920, 8,549,511 women were working making up 20.5 per cent of the labor force; in 1930 women were 22 per cent of the labor force with 10,752,116 women working. Most of this increase was in clerical work with a general decline in the number of women working in manufacturing. Most of the gains were made during the prosperous period 1926-1930 as women flocked into clerical and white collar positions. During the depression, however, women were the first to be dropped from the labor market. Most women returned to housework and those who still worked remained in low paying, unprotected jobs.

As World War II drew closer it became more and more obvious that women would have to be used again both in new jobs opened up by the expanding war industries and to fill gaps left by men going to war. At the beginning of the war there were over 5,000,000 unemployed men; by the middle of 1943 only six hundred thousand of them remained without jobs. In December, 1942, there were twelve and a half million women working with almost all the available single women already employed. In July, 1943, the War Manpower Commission estimated that the armed forces and munitions industries alone would require four million additional workers before the following July. The only realistic reserve was housewives, many of them with dependent children.

The biggest assignment of the War Manpower Commission was to attract those women into the war industries. Most of them had been trained that the proper place for women was in the home, and that women were incapable of working in industry. Now they had to be convinced of their capabilities and of the pressing need for them to work. As Paul McNutt of the Manpower Commission put it: "Getting these women to go into industry is a tremendous sales proposition."⁵

Advertising for such a thing in wartime comes easily, however, and industry appealed mainly to patriotism and the need to support our boys overseas. Women were also attracted by the high wages offered to them in war industries, particularly the large numbers of women who were supporting families, or who were already employed in traditionally low paying "women's" jobs.

The big push in advertising was that the women working in the war industries would be personally contributing to the war effort. Every person was continually reminded that they were working to help defeat the Fascists:

The man who filled out my card at the United States Employment Agency, 9 Beacon St., Boston, was pretty sure I was making a big mistake. "Listen, lady," he kept saying, "with your experience you don't want a factory job. . . we can use you writing stuff for the government, maybe." And I kept saying that I didn't want to write stuff for the government . . . I wanted to make bullets or airplanes or something like that . . . something you can LOOK at, and autograph . . . from me to Adolf, poisonally.⁶

Much of the propaganda aimed specifically at women concerned the position of women in Nazi Germany. The incredible sexism of the fascists was brought up continually. If women didn't join in the fight to defeat fascism, they might again be subject to enslavement.

Women, let it be understood, have a double stake in the winning of this war. Citizens of the United States of America, and partners in the United Nations, they are in and a part of the common struggle to crush Fascism--the acknowledged Number One foe of the progress of women. No women are supernumerary. All must fight with their fathers, their husbands, their brothers, their sweethearts, to make certain that never again will dictators and aggressors such as Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito have the freedom to rise and persecute and enslave and murder first their own people, and then the peoples of other nations. The essence of Fascism is bullying individuals and whole races of people--and women and men alike must destroy this monstrous organism of fear and cruelty once and for all.⁷

Hitler's Germany was definitely an enemy of women everywhere. Early in its history the Nazi movement had seen the Women's Movement in Germany as something to be dealt with seriously. In 1928 feminism was a strong force in Germany with millions of women organized into a huge Women's Federation. The older women's organizations were not only feminist but also pacifist, internationalist, and socialist--a definite threat to fascist ideology. The National Socialists immediately began to infiltrate the Women's Movement, divide it and bring it into line with Nazism. By 1933 the Women's Federation had been completely taken over and co-opted by the Nazis.

Women in Nazi Germany had only one role: Motherhood. A woman's whole world must be her husband, her children, and her home; her duty was to bear children for further fascist conquests. To encourage this role women were expelled from professional jobs and quotas were set to limit the number of women in educational institutions. Women could hold no government offices. Contraceptives were outlawed

as part of an incredibly successful campaign to raise the birth rate.

This situation so repulsed the American woman that the fate of German woman became an effective propaganda tool to get women into the war industries. Most of these women were unaware that later in the decade they would succumb to a similar philosophy of their existence, although its manifestations would be much more subtle.

For whatever reason--high pay, patriotism, or adventure--women poured into the factories. The influx began even before Pearl Harbor and continued at an incredible rate. In March, 1941, there were 10,880,000 women employed outside their homes; by August of that year the number had grown to 12,940,000. Four million more had gone to work by March, 1944, and in August, 1944, over eighteen million women were working.

The greatest increase was in durable goods manufacturing. By June 1943, over 22 per cent of all women working were involved in such production. At the height of war production these industries had the highest percentages of women workers: communications equipment, small arms ammunition, electrical equipment, professional and scientific equipment, rubber products, and weapons under 20 mm. Women became welders and shipbuilders, they built airplanes and produced ammunition. They made complicated electrical equipment and riveted the sides of tanks. By the end of the war women were working in almost all areas of manufacturing.

Employers did not immediately see the need to hire women and were hesitant. As the essential need for women in industry became greater, employers began to change their attitudes: a survey taken in January, 1942, showed that employers were willing to hire women for 29 per cent of their job vacancies. In July, 1942, the same employers were willing to hire women for 55 per cent of vacancies.⁸ A government survey showed that if permitted "women can perform four-fifths of the almost three thousand occupations studied, and in the fifth of the jobs not now suitable for women, breaking them down into simpler operations would make hiring them possible."⁹ Necessity plus the fact that women were proving to be as capable or more capable than men in many industries eventually opened all industries to women.

The changeover from manpower to womanpower required many changes in industry and in the way that society dealt with its workers. The employment of women brings special problems and calls for new considerations on the part of management and unions. These problems range from providing proper training to initiate new workers, to arrangements for the care of children of working mothers, to a non-discriminatory attitude on the part of employers, male fellow employees, and unions.

Predicting that employment of women would skyrocket during the war years, the government began to set standards for industries employing women as early as 1940. The U.S. Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, in cooperation with the Labor Advisory Committee on Standards for the Employment of Women in the Defense Program which represented eight large unions, made the following recommendations:¹⁰ The physical characteristics of the jobs must be adapted to suit women's physique. Care should be taken to assure the safety of women and to assure continuous production. Women require special protection when hazardous poisons are used,¹¹ and the fine work that women do often requires special lighting. Care should be taken to provide seats, and clean and comfortable surroundings for the women workers. Women should be encouraged to wear practical clothing for safety and comfort. Minimum wage standards should be adhered to and the standards for prevailing wages should

be maintained. Training programs are to be provided for the new workers.

Many factories made many structural and procedural changes in their production lines in order to accommodate women workers. In some industries the machinery was reconstructed to fit the smaller reach of the average woman, and in others certain procedures on the production line were divided into more steps supposedly to fit them to women's abilities. It seems more likely that such further division of activities was designed to increase efficiency and speed up production rather than to adjust the work to a fictional differences in women's abilities. Many of the changes made were not necessary because women were slower or less capable but actually to attract more women into the factories with good working conditions. Charlotte Car of the Manpower Commission explains, "When women are on the job, this does not necessarily mean providing anything new, or fancy, or special, for women only. It merely means providing the same kind of conditions under which workers have always worked best. Today industry is providing these conditions for women, because their services are needed so badly."¹²

Nevertheless, these changes were paid for by the women themselves in the form of lower wages. Such a discriminatory attitude was written into government policy: "When, however, lower production or decreased performance standards must be established for women as compared to men, a proportionate adjustment of wages for women is compatible with the principle of equal pay for equal work."¹³

The cry of "equal pay for equal work" was brought up again during the war and again was ignored. Some improvements were made, however, and working women felt a substantial increase in wages. Much of this was due to relaxation or suspension of the laws regulating the hours of work for women. In September, 1941, the average weekly hours for work for women was 38.1 hours; in August, 1944, most of those women were working 41.2 hours per week. Women's employment extended into higher paying industries bringing an increase in average hourly wage. The sum total of these increases was an increase in the average weekly earnings of women in manufacturing industries from \$17.46 per week in 1939 to \$34.50 per week in November, 1944. The corresponding increase in men's wages was from \$30.77 in 1939 to \$57.70 in 1944.¹⁴ Women in manufacturing made the highest wage of all women workers; there was a much smaller increase in the earnings of female clerical workers. Women in service industries were still the lowest paid and the highest concentration of Black women was in this category.

The principle of equal pay for equal work was endorsed by government standards and by trade unions, but actual adherence to the policy was rare. Women were not always allowed equal opportunities with men, and unnecessary distinctions between "men's" jobs and "women's" jobs which allowed for wage differences still existed. "The rates for jobs which have historically been performed by women only, and which differ measurably from the jobs performed by men, are presumed to be correct in relation to men's rates in the plant, especially where they are of long standing, and have been accepted by collective bargaining."¹⁵ Both the differences in wage rates and the distinction in jobs are justified by age-old myth that women work only for pin money and that they are really supported by husbands and fathers. Studies done by the Women's Bureau show that 60 per cent of 155,000 working women surveyed contributed to the support of dependents, and 13 per cent of the 370,000 women surveyed were the sole support of their families.¹⁶ With so many men missing from the home scene more women than ever before depended upon their wages for survival.

For many reasons women were often reluctant to fight for equal treatment. They were new to the labor force and felt that their positions in the factories were not entirely secure. Women are generally not as mobile as men. Married women, especially, were afraid of losing their jobs and having to find another job farther away from home or to have to rearrange their home duties particularly child care around new working hours. Most women were not organized into unions, and the 6 per cent of working women who were union members found those unions reluctant to fight for their wages.

Many unions failed to recognize the danger in allowing women to work for less wages. Although the internationals may have endorsed the policy of "equal pay for equal work," many local unions did not put up a fight for women's wages. Discrimination against women in both women's traditional jobs and in "women's" divisions of mixed plants was also ignored. Neglecting the importance of equal starting rates for inexperienced workers also undercut women's wages. Neither male workers nor their unions seemed to understand that if companies were allowed to pay women less than men, all wages would be lower.

For most women this was their first job, and they needed training. Federal training programs set up in 1940 to meet the demands of war production were generally open to women; over two and a half million women received vocational training in public training programs during the first four years of the war. In addition to the government programs there was private vocational training. Many new employees received training on the job, and were paid for the time of training. The Policy of the War Manpower Commission on Women Workers stated that women should receive training on an equal basis with men, that they should be encouraged to attend Engineering, Science, and Management war training programs on an equal basis with men, and that female employees would be encouraged to get more training in order to upgrade their work status. For many women the training program was most important in building their confidence as well as their new skills.¹⁷

The biggest problem for working mothers and for those who wish to employ mothers is child care. If women are to participate in the labor force in any real way, child care must be provided. Adequate child care not only frees women's time for out of the home work, but it also makes it possible for women to work without worry for her children. A great social problem during the war years was "door-key" children--children who wore the keys to their houses around their necks because their mothers were working and would not be home when they got out of school!

In 1943 the Policy of the War Manpower Commission stated the need for "adequate facilities to be provided for the care of the children of working mothers," but they stressed that "facilities should be developed as approved community projects and not placed under the auspices of individual employers or employer groups."¹⁸ Paul McNutt of the Manpower Commission made this statement: "The first responsibility of women with young children, in war as in peace, is to give suitable care in their homes to their children. . . . If any such women are unable to arrange for the satisfactory care of their children at home during their working hours, adequate facilities should be provided for the day care of their children during working hours."¹⁹

The government did make some feeble attempts at helping to provide needed child care. For ten months in 1942 and 1943 the President allocated his \$400,000 emergency fund to states for the operation of child care centers. In June, 1943, Congress passed the Lanham act allocating more federal funds for the accommodation

of the children of working mothers.²⁰ Many states also passed legislation providing assistance for child care, and some factories actually opened child care centers for the children of their employees.

There is much in the literature of this period that documents the need for child care if women are to continue working, but there is little indication if the programs which were created were adequate. It seems as though most women found individual solutions to the problem. Some communities developed homemaker service; middle-aged women with no experience in industrial work would care for the children of younger women who were working in the war industries. This gave the older women a way to contribute to the war effort. Most of the labor was volunteer.²¹ The October, 1943, issue of Parents Magazine tells of another individual-type solution: two women both with husbands overseas lived together. They worked different shifts at the plant and alternated caring for the child of one of the women.²²

Providing or not providing child care is one of the most clever (and most effective!) ways a society can manipulate its female labor reserve. If the government and industry had whole heartedly solved the child care problem then they would have to have been prepared to give women continuing employment. "If we free women now from the care of children, it is like letting the stopper out of a bottle of carbonated water. Women will come pouring out of the home--permanently--and will never be satisfied to go back home once they get accustomed to a pay-check, to the satisfaction that comes from productive work, and above all if they know their children can be better cared for by professionals than by amateurs."²³

The question remains whether the government and industry actually did expect women to remain in the labor force after the war, or if woman's orderly retirement from the labor force was not only expected but pre-planned. Some of the women workers were positive that they would be able to remain: "We did not go back after the last war, and we are not going back after this one," said the female president of an Atlanta, Georgia, steelworkers local.²⁴ But she seems to be unusual. Most of the women were a little less sure? "What is the answer to the frequent question of women now engaged in mechanical work: 'Are we going to be thrown out when the war is over and the men drift back to their old jobs?'"²⁵

At the beginning of the war national polls indicated that ninety-five per cent of the women expected to quit work after the war, but as the war continued that percentage dropped sharply. All of the 80,000 women working in Chicago radio plants said that they wanted to remain at work; eighty-five per cent of women working in the automobile industry in Detroit wanted to stay in their factories; two out of three women workers nationally wanted to remain at their jobs.²⁶ These women in factory wanted to remain in order to continue to support themselves and their dependents, to supplement their family incomes, and because they liked working in industry at high wages. Women who had worked at other jobs before the war overwhelmingly wanted to remain in the factories. The feelings of most of the women were quite clear:

I hear on all sides that I should go back to the kitchen. That to me sounds like the stuff they were saying in Germany when Hitler went into power. Do they think I'm working just for fun or pin money? They should know that it's no easy task for a woman to take care of her husband and her young children and at the same time keep a job.

I am fearful with all these cutbacks that because I am a woman I will be among the first to go.

But now I am worried, too. Unlike most of associates, I am not entirely dependent on my salary, but I contend that I have a right to a job and a right to work. Will there be enough jobs to go around after the period of reconversion, and if not, will there be discrimination against women workers who are today one-third of the working force in our entire nation? Will I be deprived of the opportunity to continue to put my skill and education to use?²⁷

Although many women wanted to remain in the labor force, the simple fact is that they did not. Within one month after the war ended over 600,000 lost their jobs.²⁸ In July, 1944, there were 19,110,000 employed women in America making up 34.7 per cent of the labor force; in November, 1946, there were seven-teen million working women making up 28.9 per cent of the labor force.

A large number of women did quit their jobs because they wanted to, because their husbands had come home from the war, or because they felt that they were no longer needed. But large numbers of women had to be escorted out by labor practices which discriminated against them and by an ideology which required women to be in the home.

Discrimination against women designed to make it easy to get rid of them after the war began in the early stages of their employment: "Industry has no choice but to hire women, but postwar implications are already beginning to worry the thoughtful. Knowing they must restore the jobs of former workers who have gone to fight, managers are trying to hire the wives of these men, reasoning that these women will not be reluctant to yield their jobs to their own husbands. They are also trying to hire the wives of men already working in the plants on the theory that if and when payrolls are cut, the women will be willing to step aside."²⁹ Such underhanded practices were only the beginning of a large number of discriminatory practices which whether consciously or unconsciously designed made it obvious that female labor was only to be used for the duration of the war and that women were not being seriously accepted into the labor force.

Some of these practices have already been alluded to--for instance, not establishing permanent facilities for the care of children of working mothers, so that when the child care was no longer available women would have to quit their jobs and return. Society and industry never considered that women were in the factories as workers; they were always "women" who were working. This attitude leads directly to open discrimination and it allows the stereotypes of the feminine personality to be applied to working situations.

The assumption that women never work to support families but merely to fill up extra time or to earn "pin money" for little luxuries or to meet men is most damaging to women workers. Especially in wartime a large percentage of women worked to support themselves and their families. The idea that women don't really need the money is a perfect rationale for paying them lower wages. The stereotype exists of a woman who does not take her job seriously. The actual position she holds is unimportant to her long as there are other benefits: "The average feminine worker in office or shop aims at a state of existence in which she can see more of men and see men more intimately."³⁰

She really doesn't care about advancement, or upgrading, or getting high salaries or any of those things that real workers want:

Having no consuming interest in job, but just a general interest in doing something they are less "choosy" in the job they select. This is one reason it is often easier for a woman to get a job; she will take the first thing that looks good to her--and more jobs are likely to have this appearance. . . .Another way of stating this is that the average woman is more acceptable to a wide variety of jobs. If her boss, as the twenty-one year old private secretary said, is "lovely to work for," she cares not too much about the work may be. . . .Usually looking forward eventually to having some man support her, the typical woman worker can be said to be unambitious. This makes her emotionally well suited to the thousands of jobs that cannot hold out an inducement or promotion or responsibility. How her boss treats her and the working conditions are the important things in her estimation.³¹

Lower wages for women were further justified by the expensive changes which were made in factories, supposedly slower rates of production, the lower capabilities of women workers, and a higher absenteeism rate. Much of this centered around analyses of the biological differences between men and women: "It is not lack of opportunity to develop muscles that keeps the average woman from meeting the strength requirements of a job that most men can easily pass, any more than it is opportunity that accounts for the difference in strength between the hen and the cock, the mare and the stallion, or the pleasure car and the truck."³² These attitudes prevailed even after government studies proved that women were capable of doing almost all the jobs that men could do if they were given proper training and the opportunity to do so, and after studies showed that women were actually doing the jobs at rates and levels of ability equal to and surpassing men workers.

The fact that women tire more easily is often cited as is the higher rate of absenteeism in women: this is explained by differences in hormones, the fact that women are "born anemic," or the "menstrual phenomenon." There are hormonal differences between men and women, and women are affected by the menstrual cycle, but these differences do not affect the stamina, speed, or ability to work of women. The higher rate of absenteeism, and the fact that women may have a tendency to be tired on the job more often than male workers is actually to be explained by the social phenomenon that most women work two jobs, that after an eight to ten hour shift at the factory they are still responsible for home duties. This situation has not changed for working women today, and employers still ignore the social causes and blame it on the qualities of "woman."

Not only management but unions often didn't realize the special situations of women workers. Unions were reluctant from the beginning to allow women as members and once having realized the necessity to admit women they often did not attempt to help them. Women, in general, did not greatly participate in unions when they were members. They were new to the labor force and often didn't understand the ideals and practices of unionism. The extra burden of home work also made it difficult for women to fully participate in their unions. At the same time many women complained that their unions did nothing to help them, particularly when it came to demanding equal pay. By the end of the war some more progressive unions were beginning to develop programs specifically for their female; other more

reactionary unions admitted women to membership only for the duration of the war, or organized special locals for women only for the period of time covered by war production, thus assisting in the quick exit of women after the war.³³

Both unions and management participated in establishing seniority policies which openly discriminated against women workers. Seniority is generally accepted by both employers and unions as a guideline for laying off and rehiring workers. Seniority lists are kept in industries to record how long each employee has been working; those who have been working for the least amount of time are the first to be laid off and the last to be rehired. From the beginning women were handicapped in seniority because they were new to the labor force, but other policies aggravated the situation. Some contracts called for separate seniority listings for male and female employees, with men always given priority over women in employment. Other union agreements contained provisions limiting the seniority privileges of women and particularly the employment of married women to the duration of the war. In other plants the seniority privileges of women only applied to traditional women's jobs after the war; women who were transferred from "women's" jobs to "men's" jobs specifically to meet war needs continued to gain seniority on their old jobs. But many women had no old jobs to return to, and the number of "women's" jobs would never meet the demand.

Those women who managed to retain jobs after the war were very often returned to lower paying "women's" jobs in manufacturing or channeled into clerical which also meant a cut in wages:

A certain proportion of women continued to hold jobs considered "men's" jobs. Whereas at the height of the war production every woman employed in nearly all the plants was doing "men's" work, the proportion of these was considerably lower (12.6 per cent) in October, 1945. According to the survey, women are now replaced at jobs requiring heavy lifting, and at jobs which had to be simplified to enable women to perform them. Welding, punch and drill-press operated jobs, traditionally considered as "men's" jobs, which women took over during the war, are being returned to men. . . . It is also fairly generally reported that men are replacing women on night shifts. . . . On the other hand in only 3 out of 143 manufacturing plants visited, will all women actually lose their jobs. In 9 plants they will be transferred to similar jobs requiring the same degree of skill; in 15 plants those who are replaced by men will be transferred to other jobs. But many of these jobs are of the type known as "women's" jobs and the rates of pay will be lower than those received on war jobs.³⁴

By the middle of 1945 there was an army of unemployed women workers trying to find work. A survey taken in Detroit showed that seventy-two per cent of the women who were recently laid off wanted work but weren't able to find any. The situation was particularly crucial for Black women.

Employers realized that the women would want to continue working and that in many ways they would be desirable employees, but in general, that they would be unable to continue to employ women to the same extent as during the war years. Henry Kaiser, a top executive with an industrial firm, was quoted as saying that he believed that fifty per cent of his female employees would want to stay on the jobs and that he would like to keep them but "unless business is booming, and there

is plenty of credit" he could not keep that many.³⁶ Bell Aircraft Corporation with a war time percentage of over fifty per cent female employees in manufacturing expected to have to reduce their plant production considerably and "this will very likely preclude postwar employment of women except for a small percentage."³⁷

Many companies realized that the only place for women in future employment with their companies was in clerical work. Brewster Aeronautical Corporation expected to reduce its male/female ratio considerably. During the war women had made up forty-six per cent of their work force, but "in the airframe industry in the future, it would seem entirely reasonable to assume that women have the best opportunity in the clerical field and in the field of counseling."³⁸

Although some women managed to keep their war time employment and other women found other less desirable positions, many women who had worked during the war at good high paying jobs were now unemployed workers. What were these women supposed to do now? From Fred G. Crawford of the National Association of Manufacturers we get the answer: "From a humanitarian point of view, too many women should not stay in the labor force. The Home is the basic American unit."³⁹ And what are they supposed to do with the skills they developed in the war industries, and with the new life styles they had become accustomed to? "They'll be better wives and homemakers. They'll know how tired a man is when he comes home. They will know what it means to earn money; it means hard work. They will have learned the value of time, and how to budget it; their new knowledge of the value of system and order will be reflected in their housekeeping."⁴⁰

A young soldier sent this letter to the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor in 1945: "Wishing you success in your work, and hoping for the day when women relax and stay in her beloved kitchen."⁴¹ The soldier's letter sums up the attitude towards the work of women during the war. They came when they were called to serve their country and take over for our boys fighting fascism; they worked hard (for women) and learned some things about the system; now they will cheerfully go home, to their beloved kitchens and assume the proper role of the American woman.

The role that the woman should play in the postwar world was summed up by Gertrude Williams in her book Women and Work published in 1945. Women had come to the aid of their countries during the war. In many ways the things they were forced to do during the war was unfortunate, but these things will pass: "We do many things during a serious emergency that we would not wish to make into regular practice, so we must not take it for granted that everything introduced now will continue after the war."⁴² The work that women usually do in society, being wives and mothers, is often underestimated because it is done without payment. "But the way to express our sense of the most important work that women do in society is not to pay them to do less important work; it is to recognize the unique contribution that wives and mothers make to the community and give them the opportunity to do it properly."⁴³

The work of a mother can only be accomplished by a full time mother. Society should recognize this and begin to assist in this task, "but much more important than these material aids is a shift in social values--the recognition of the wife and mother as a full and responsible member of the community, in virtue of her work as housewife and not because she does an industrial job for a wage."⁴⁴ "In wartime no one disputes the complete partnership of women in communal life and there is unstinted appreciation for her contribution to war industry.

But rearing babies through happy childhood to independent maturity is even more important than wiring airplanes, and is a very much more absorbing and exacting task."⁴⁵

This doesn't mean that the women should only pay attention to the home. She also has a responsibility to her husband and children to link up the home with society: "The woman who accepts the home as her career cannot contract out of her communal responsibilities."⁴⁶ A woman's chief job is to rear a family but she should have some involvement with the outside world both to help her in rearing that family and so she will have something meaningful to "fall back" on after her children have grown.

Now it is time for women to go back to the home, but it is very important that society give that job the recognition it deserves. Since women left the labor force after the war, society has been mostly concerned with giving the role of "wife and mother" that recognition, and in reminding women all the time that what they had experienced during the war was merely an unpleasant temporary duty. Their home is their most desired work place; being a woman the ultimate profession.

This idea was certainly not a new one to the American woman. It actually had been the dominant attitude since the beginning of the depression in the United States. Feminism as a social movement died to a large extent after women won the right to vote in 1920. It was not revived during the war, but many of its old demands were brought up (equal pay, child care, women in unions), and the possibility of the existence of masses of dissatisfied women after the war was certainly a reality. Women who found a new degree of freedom from working outside their homes as well as a new degree of economic independence were now back in the homes or working at lower wages and in worse jobs than during the war. In order to avoid discontent these women had to be sure of her place.

There are two major theoretical influences on the social definition of women popularized in the late 1940's. The psychological theories of Freud were becoming widely accepted in the United States and used in many sorts of social analysis. In many ways Freud was used as the basis of the sexual revolution which purported to release human beings from their sexual inhibitions and thereby bring them a measure of liberation, but Freud's theory of femininity only serves to trap women into their traditional roles and rationalize the exploitative relationship between the sexes. In 1947 a book entitled Modern Woman: The Lost Sex by Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia F. Farnham brought Freud's theories on women to the public and profoundly affected American society, by blaming most of society's ills and particularly the misery of modern women on the doctrines of feminism.

By applying Freud's theories on male-female sex differentiation to sociology and anthropology, functionalism and its most popular theorist Margaret Mead completed the definition of the American woman. Although Margaret Mead's feelings about the role of women in society are not always clear and often seem to contradict themselves, her writing during the forties and the lesson the public learned from them is that all over the world woman's role is wife and mother.

The image of woman and the proper relationship of women and men created by these popular theories is simple. Men and women are different in form and function. That is the way it is supposed to be and that is the way it is. Under no circumstances should they attempt to switch roles; those women who try and take a male role are misguided individuals suffering from a desire to be men and their influence

should not be allowed to reach the average well-adjusted woman. Women are made to be somebody's wife and somebody's mother; if they must work their occupations should be some close mother substitute like teaching or nursing, but they should never forget that their ultimate fulfillment comes from motherhood.

This view of women firmly entrenched in the American public directly after World War II and existing practically unquestioned for fifteen years is summarized by Adlai Stevenson in an address at Smith College in 1955:

This assignment for you, as wives and mothers, you can do in the living room with a baby in your lap or in the kitchen with an opener in your hand. If you're clever maybe you can even practice your saving arts on that unsuspecting man while he's watching television. I think there is much you can do about our crisis in the humble role of housewife. I could wish you no better than that.⁴⁷

The American woman changed quite a bit during the defense decade. In 1942 she made small arms ammunition and dreamt that each bullet went directly to Hitler. In 1947 she was back in the home finding fulfillment as someone's mother. In the beginning of the war women who had never worked before outside the home found a new style of life and a new feeling about themselves by participating in production, and women who had always worked to support families found better, high paying jobs which made their lives easier. After the war they were told that they had only one vocation--Motherhood--and many of them lost their jobs, and the rest reverted to prewar low paying jobs.

The myth that women don't like to work outside the home, that they do find complete fulfillment in housekeeping and child-rearing is wrong and is always proven wrong in history. Women flocked into the war industries because they wanted to help defeat fascism, and because they were attracted by high wages, but also because they wanted to work. "Ever since I was a kid in Minnesota, I've wanted to drive one of these big trucks. It was one of my fondest dreams when I was a seamstress."⁴⁸ "I am doing it because I love it. I am doing it because I am a mechanic by blood, by wish, and by design. And by training."⁴⁹ These aren't isolated feelings; they can be found in all accounts of women working during the war. They are backed up by the overwhelming percentage of women who wanted to remain at their jobs after the war.

Production line work is hard work, most clerical work is hard work, and women find a no less alienating relationship to their labor in these positions than men do in theirs. But this doesn't compare with the isolation, the boredom, and the alienation of individual housework for the average woman. Society creates its own characters; it has to work the hardest to convince women to accept the role that society has for them. Woman is kept in her place by certain economic policies and strictures on her employment which make it possible for her to be manipulated in and out of the labor force when necessary. This is done within the superstructure of an ideology which tells women that they are supposed to love being housekeepers and mothers and that if they as individuals feel like rebelling, they are victims of a terrible social illness.

Only in times of war production can our economic system support full employment of its people; women were not the only reserve labor force to be used during World War II. Blacks found new opportunities only to lose them after the war; Mexicans were imported to be used as farm labor when the original farm laborers went

to factory jobs. Because capitalism cannot employ all women as fully paid workers it has to keep them doing housework and keep that housework in a state of feudal production. Those women who do work outside the home suffer double oppression as women workers.

Only when women are allowed an existence outside of the home will they find liberation; nor will they be completely liberated if their labor is exploited in the way of all workers in our society. This requires massive changes in production. For women it requires that the work they have always done in the homes be converted from private production to public production. For all workers it requires the existence of a system of production based on human needs rather than private profit.

Footnotes

1. Helen Favener, "Prepare for Peace," Independent Woman, December, 1940, p. 394.
2. Ibid., p. 395.
3. Quoted from Dr. Alva Myrdal who wrote the report of women in World War I for the International Federation of Business and Professional Women. Ibid., p. 395.
4. The War and Women's Employment, International Labour Office, p. 159. Unless otherwise noted all statistics come from this study.
5. "The Margin Now is Womanpower," Fortune, February, 1943, p. 101.
6. Nell Giles. Punch in Susie! A Woman's War Factory Diary, p. 4. This is a collection of articles written for the Boston Globe in 1942 and 1943. Nell Giles went to work in a factory and wrote a daily column of her experiences.
7. Susan B. Anthony, II. Out of the Kitchen: Into the War, p. 3.
8. Theresa Wolfson, "Aprons and Overalls in War," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Sept., 1943, p. 47.
9. Anthony, Ibid., p. 48.
10. "Standards for Employment of Women in Defense Program," Monthly Labor Review, September, 1940, pp. 564-567.
11. I questioned this fact and tried to verify it but was unable to. I think it came out of the male chauvinism of the person who wrote the study.
12. Quoted in Anthony, Ibid., p. 82.
13. War and Women's Employment, p. 218.
14. Ibid., p. 207.
15. Quoted from the National War Labor Board Division of Public Information, press release, December 29, 1945. Ibid., p. 223.
16. Anthony, Ibid., p. 114.
17. I found several books written by women who went to work in war industries during the war. All of them told the story of their personal experiences. Some of the more subjective impressions in this paper come from these accounts. The accounts used were: Constance Bowman, Slacks and Calouses, Josephine Von Mollos, I Took a War Job, Nell Giles, Punch in Susie!, Augusta Clawson, Shipyard Diary of a Woman Welder, Ann Pendleton, Hit the Rivet, Sister.
18. "Policy of War Manpower Commission on Women Workers," Monthly Labor Review, April, 1943, p. 669.
19. "The Margin Now is Womanpower," Ibid., p. 224.
20. War and Women's Employment, p. 234.

21. "Homemaker Service as an Aid to War Effort," Monthly Labor Review, April, 1943, pp. 913-914.
22. Jane Lynott Carrol, "Raising a Baby in Shifts," Parents Magazine, October, 1943, pp. 20, 77+.
23. Anthony, Ibid, p. 133.
24. "Margin Now is Womanpower," Ibid., p. 224.
25. Josephine von Miklos, "Girls in Overalls," Parents Magazine, March, 1943, p. 23.
26. A.G. Mezerick, "Getting Rid of Women," Atlantic Monthly, June, 1945, pp. 79.
27. Ruth Young and Catherine Filene Shouse, "The Woman Worker Speaks," Independent Woman, October, 1945, pp. 274-275.
28. "Postwar Labor Turnover Among Woman Factory Workers," Monthly Labor Review, March, 1947, p. 411.
29. "Margin Now is Womanpower," Ibid., p. 224.
30. Donald A. Laird and Eleanor C. Laird, The Psychology of Supervising the Working Woman, pp. 27-8.
31. Ibid., pp. 167-168.
32. Ibid., p. 43.
33. Some unions established special policies for working women which greatly assisted their female members. For instance, United Electrical, radio, and Machine Workers (UE) made attempts to solve the community problems of women workers as well as in-plant problems. "Childcare programs have been supported in different parts of the country, special recreation arranged for women on the second and third shifts, efforts taken to change hours of stores so women could do shopping, and aid given in housing and transportation problems. An official states 'one can generally say that we have decided that any problem of a member was not too big or too little for the union to concern itself with.'" War and Woman's Employment, p. 242.
34. Ibid., p. 261
35. Mezerick, Ibid., p. 81
36. Ibid., p. 81
37. Pauline Arnold, "Where Will the Postwar Chances Lie?" Independent Woman, October, 1944, p. 319.
38. Arnold, Ibid., p. 319.
39. Mezerick, Ibid., p. 81.
40. "They Learned About Women," Reader's Digest, September, 1944.
41. Mezerick, Ibid., p. 79.
42. Gertrude Williams, Women and Work, p. 11.
43. Ibid., p. 125.
44. Ibid., p. 125.
45. Ibid., p. 126.
46. Ibid., p. 126.
47. Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, p. 61.
48. "Margin Now is Womanpower," Ibid., p. 224.
49. Miklos, Ibid., p. 21.

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Toby Brooks

The Vertical
To Marcia and Esther and two unionized women out West

Why do men outside union halls stand at attention? They do you know. I met a steep wall of men last night--my brothers in the carpenters union were getting a bad deal. A few women, for a few reasons went out to their meeting. We did, and still do feel solidarity with their problems. But we women met a column of men, vertical as the building they flanked, and nothing was exchanged.

As I approached, it was all perpendicular. There stood a group of men, full of their height; flat thighs and bellies going straight up; even the fat bellies appeared to go up straight; shoulders way off and unreachable; faces and brows completely out of my range. Would a six foot tall woman feel differently within the vertical of men? I doubt it.

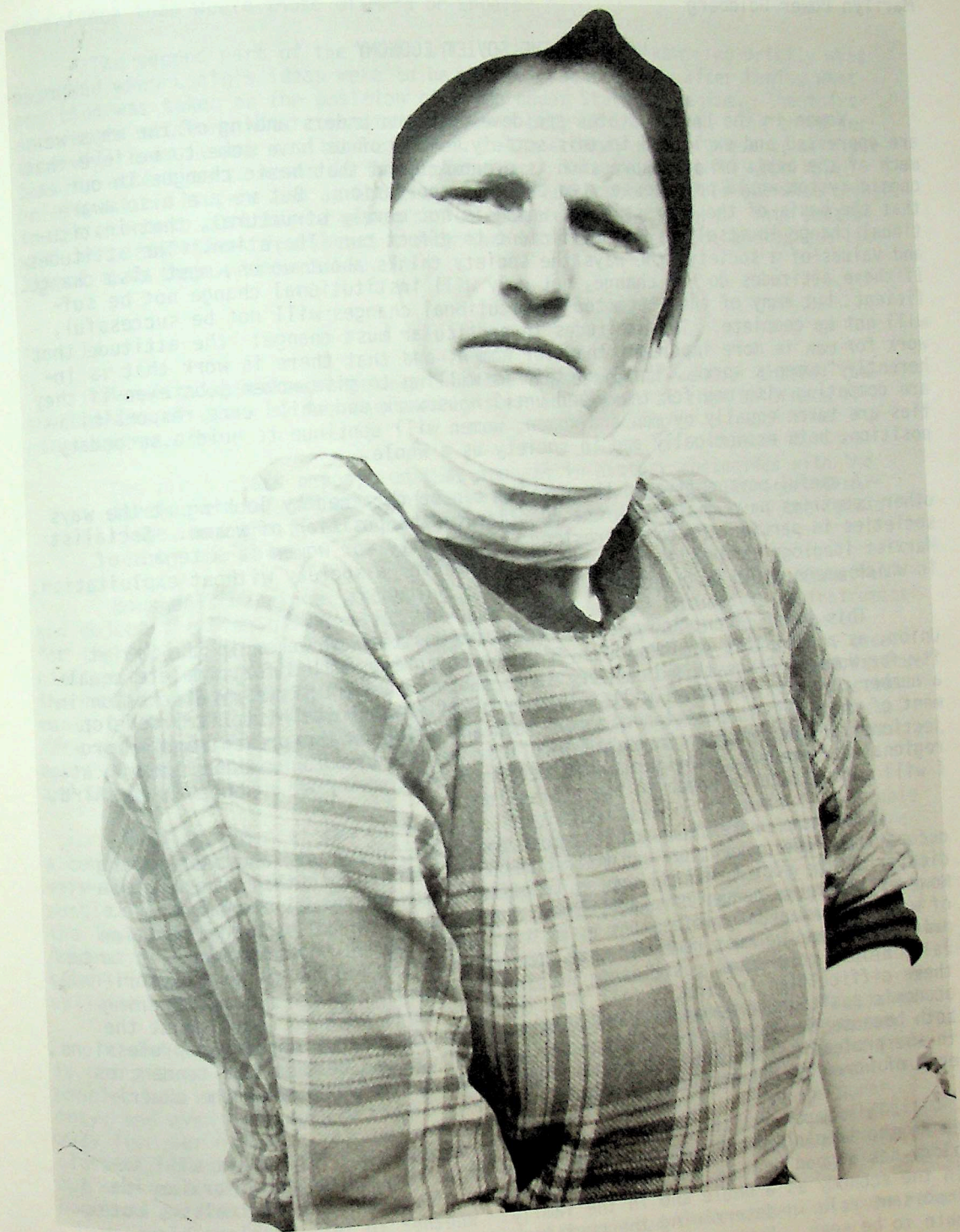
Often the men are silent as they stand there, upright. Heads nod up and down as they exchange their experiences. Sometimes they repeat the signal words to which the group gives its assent, choruslike.

When I talk with women, we reach each other in many sided ways. Our eyes and brows make contact and all the waves go back and forth. Her feelings form a lattice for my ideas and her ideas can make a circle around my feelings.,we use words mostly as we cross. We have our nods of assent, sighs, groans but still it's mostly words; and all the waves go back and forth,

Meanwhile, there stands the other half of our species in their
Union halls; legion halls
army lines; bread lines
beer halls and authority lines
All vertical.
Why are men in groups like neat slats on a fence?

Oh women can charge into the line and push leaflets at them--even--even thrust in a few words--but it's all a hatchet action. The verticals respond, "Yes, ma'm" or "Sure, babe" and then resume the posture. I'm learning not to expect many verticals to turn themselves into inclined planes.
A few women have had inclining fathers, husbands, lovers.
A few women have never, ever had either
A very few women have met a man whose verticalness did make a neiche for friendship.
But the neiches are rare and if we wait for those neiches to turn the walls to ladders, we will never begin our work,

I have no choice. I must continue to move with my women's waves and I expect that they will be detected by the men in Local I.



WOMEN IN THE SOVIET ECONOMY

Women in the United States are developing an understanding of the ways we are oppressed and exploited in this society. Many of us have come to believe that much of the basis of our oppression is economic, and that basic changes in our economic system would be necessary to end that oppression. But we are also aware that the basis of the oppression of women is not merely structural, that institutional change in itself is not sufficient to affect our liberation. The attitudes and values of a society, the ways the society thinks about women, must also change. If these attitudes do not change, not only will institutional change not be sufficient, but many of the attempted institutional changes will not be successful, will not be complete. Two attitudes in particular must change: the attitude that work for men is more important than for women; and that there is work that is inherently "women's work". Until society is willing to give women jobs even if they are competing with men for them, and until housework and child care responsibilities are taken equally by men and women, women will continue to hold a secondary position, both economically and in society as a whole.

A useful perspective on the problem can be obtained by looking at the ways other countries have dealt with the question of the position of women. Socialist societies in particular are interesting, as equality for women is a tenant of Marxist ideology, and as socialism holds a hope for a society without exploitation, in which women could be liberated.

This paper, then, looks at the economic position of women in the Soviet Union, as a socialist country which from the beginning called for complete equality for women. Since this is a very large subject, I will limit my discussion in a number of ways. First, I will talk only briefly about the historical development of the economic position of women, concentrating on the present and my projections for the future. Second, I will discuss the question without looking at regional differences; my figures will refer to the country as a whole. And third, I will concentrate on women in the professions.

Since the professions are the most desirable, pleasant, and best-paying occupations, the proportion and distribution of women within them may be an indicator of the society's willingness to afford women an equal economic role. However, there is danger of exaggerating the equality of the economic position of women by using the professions as an indicator. To be a professional is to be privileged, and we must remember that women in the intelligensia have historically held a more equal position in Russian society than other women. Bearing these difficulties in mind, I feel that there is still much to learn about the economic position of women in the Soviet Union by concentrating on the professions, both because the data is quite clear for this group, and because the tendencies in the professions do turn out to be significant and reflective of the experience of women of all economic levels.

This paper will be divided into four sections. The first part will examine the ideological background of the Soviet position on women. Marxian ideology has a good deal to say about the position of women under capitalism, both in the economy as a whole and in the family. Whether in fact ideology plays an important role in determining the position of women in the Soviet Union will remain to be seen. Most of this section of the paper will be devoted to examining Lenin's views on women, as his views would relate more specifically to the Soviet

experience than would those of Marx or Engels.

The second part of the paper will be historical, examining briefly what happened when Lenin's ideas were to be put to practice and, after Lenin, what position was taken on the position of women under Stalin's regime. The third and fourth sections will constitute the main body of the paper. The third section will examine the position of women in the economy at the present, with particular attention to women in the professions. This section will also look briefly at child care and at housework. The fourth section will ask what changes in the economic position of women can be expected in the future. This section will be speculative, looking at trends that have been observed, and at the likelihood that they will continue.

Part I:

Marxists have long been aware of the oppression of women. Indeed, the subjugation of women by men was seen by Marx and Engels as the first form of class oppression:

The first class opposition that appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonisms between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression coincides with that of the female sex by the male.

Bourgeois marriage, according to Marx and Engels, meant the subjugation and objectification of the wife, who was treated by the husband as an instrument for the production of children. Women were doubly oppressed: they were exploited as a cheap labor force in the mills, mines, and other production, under the most terrible of conditions; and they were treated as possessions and instruments of production by their husbands, even among the middle and upper classes. Marx and Engels saw the liberating of women as requiring the end of both these oppressions, under socialism, through the involvement of women in public industry and the abolition of the monogamous family as an economic unit.²

Russian women at the time of the Revolution were in at least as miserable a condition as that described by Marx and Engels. In czarist Russia women were very oppressed, holding the most menial and lowest paying jobs at work, and essentially serving as slaves to their husbands at home. They had few rights under the law, and tended to be illiterate, constantly pregnant, and poverty-stricken. According to the Russian Orthodox Church, a wife's duty to her husband was "to submit (to him) as the head of the household, to live with him in love, honor, and unlimited obedience, to render all pleasure and devotion as mistress of the house."³

Old Russian proverbs indicate how little women were valued:⁴ "A chicken is not a bird--and a Baba (woman) is not a human being"; "I thought I saw two people, but it was only a man and his wife." A married woman could own no property, and even her wages belonged to her husband. It was illegal for her to run away from her husband; she could be jailed for the offense. Among the upper classes and essentially the intelligensia, women occupied a better social position; but the vast majority of Russian women lived under a heavy yoke of oppression at home and in their work.

From the beginning the Soviet regime recognized the problems of women and

the necessity of bringing them equality. This issue was apparently not of top priority in the minds of the Soviet leadership, however. Lenin, for example, referred to the problem of women mostly in passing, and seemed nettled at times by the insistence of Communist women such as Mollontai and Inez Armand on keeping the issue on the forefront, as well as rather prudishly disapproving of their insistence on the necessity of free love. There is one conversation with Clara Zetkin in 1920, recorded by her, in which Lenin sets out a fairly complete picture of his views on the role of a women's movement, and of equality for women, in the proletarian revolution.

Lenin recognized that women must be included in the endeavor of establishing socialism in Russia, both in the struggle for power and in the building of the society:

...we have to win over the millions of working women in town and country for our struggle and, particularly, for the communist reconstruction of society. There can be no real mass movement without the women.⁵

He understood that, in order to involve women in the mass movement, it was necessary to show them that the Party was aware of their particular oppression as women, and intended to work to end that oppression;

We must combine our appeal politically in the minds of the female masses with the sufferings, the needs and the wishes of the working women. They should all know what the proletarian dictatorship will mean to them--complete equality of rights with men, both legal and in practice, in the family, the state, and in society, and that it also spells the annihilation of the power of the bourgeoisie.⁶

Thus Lenin saw the liberation of women as being a necessary part of a truly revolutionary society. But there are problems with Lenin's view, problems which have come back to haunt the Soviet Union later. First, he thought that the proper way to organize women was to talk with them about their oppression as workers (housewives were not considered workers, as housework is not considered productive work in the Marxian definition), about the economic and class system, rather than about their personal, non-work lives, about sex and marriage. These subjects he felt should be avoided as having bourgeois tendencies, and he castigated Clara Zetkin for allowing them to become major topics of discussion in women's discussion groups in Germany. He doubted that sex and marriage could be discussed properly, "from the point of view of mature, vital historical materialism" without the "fullest Marxist mastery of a vast amount of material". He therefore urged Zetkin to see that such subjects took little of the discussion time:

Nowadays all the thought of Communist women, of working women, should be centered on the proletarian revolution, which will lay the foundation among other things, for the necessary revision of material and sexual relations.⁷

Lenin failed to see the necessary interrelationship of the two areas of the oppression of women: at work and in the home (as well as to recognize housework as work). To say that a division could be made, that it was possible to talk about exploitation in work without talking about exploitation in personal relations was to fragment the experience of women, to ignore a large part of

their oppression. Clara Zetkin expressed the need to know the interrelating nature of the two aspects of the oppression of women:

..where private property and the bourgeois social order prevail, questions of sex and marriage gave rise to manifold problems, conflicts, and suffering for women of all social classes and strata..Knowledge of the modifications of the forms of marriage and family that took place in the course of history, and of their dependence on economics, would serve to rid the minds of working women of their preconceived idea of the eternity of bourgeois society.⁸

The second problem with Lenin's view on the liberation of women is that he did not see that there might be a basic, deep-rooted conflict of interest between men and women who were communists. He recognized that many of the men did not have liberated views about women, that to have equality for women would necessitate some "educational work" among the men to "root out the old slave-owner's point of view, both in the Party and among the masses."⁹ But he didn't talk about, or appear to recognize the real, concrete manifestations of privilege men would have to give up for women to have equality, or the probability that more than education would be necessary to make them give up these privileges.

Underestimating the social and psychological aspects of the oppression of women, and failing to recognize the nature and strength of the opposition to their liberation among men, Lenin concentrated his program for the liberation of women on institutional and economic reform. He called for equality for women before the law and in education; participation of women in the government; and, to break down the oppression of women in the home, community kitchens, public dining rooms and laundries, creches, kindergartens, and children's homes. All these institutional changes are important and necessary, but they do not constitute a sufficient strategy.

That Lenin underestimated the magnitude and complexity of the problem of liberating women, and did not recognize the extent of male opposition their liberation would encounter, is indicated by the fact that it was at first thought unnecessary to form a separate women's organization. The need for a separate organization quickly became apparent, however, and in 1919 the Zhenotdely, or working and peasant women's department of the Communist Party was formed, over the opposition of some who labeled it "feministic."¹⁰ Even here there is the insistence on dealing with women only as they related to traditional concepts of the means of production, as workers and peasants, excluding the spheres of housework and personal relations. In practice, however, the Zhenotdely could hardly have dealt with some of the spheres without affecting all of them to some extent.

The Soviet Union has put into practice some of Lenin's institutional reforms, although, as we shall see, not sufficiently; but the problems of the oppression of women in marriage and in personal relations have never been recognized as objects of struggle. Because the problems of the oppression of women in personal relations, and of entrenched male privilege, have not been struggled with, many traditional manifestations of male privilege exist to this day, in work as well as in personal relations.

Part II.

The new Soviet regime dedicated itself to putting into practice its program

for achieving the equality of women. Between 1917 and 1927 a series of laws were passed, giving women formal legal equality with men. The new marriage laws required marriage to be based on mutual consent (this was important, as marriages were usually arranged by the parents), with both partners free to keep their own names. Free, legal abortion was declared every woman's right. Divorce was made very easy. The new regime also announced its determination to bring about the institutional changes discussed above. The 1919 program of the Communist Party said:

Not confining itself to formal equality of women, the party strives to liberate them from the material burdens of obsolete household work by replacing it by communal houses, public eating places, central laundries, nurseries, etc.¹¹

Young people began experimenting with forms of communal living.

The Zhenotdely sought to teach women about their new rights, to increase their political understanding and to prepare them to participate in the building of a socialist state. This was particularly important as few women had been involved in the revolution; most peasant women actually opposed the new regime. The main method of education used involved electing "Women's Delegates", one for every ten workers and one for every hundred housewives and peasant women. These women met twice a month with a trained party member, and were given a course in the structure and problems of the government, the position and rights of women, questions of education, cooperation and living conditions.¹² The delegates were also given practical experience with a local soviet, cooperative, or trade union organization. They were expected in turn to teach the women they represented.

By 1928 the Zhenotdely had offices in every region in the Soviet Union.¹³ They formed housewives into consumer and producer cooperatives. The producer cooperatives sold such home products as butter, cheese, and handicrafts. The Zhenotdely published fifteen simply worded women's magazines throughout the country, set up day care and eating facilities, organized women in the eastern regions to remove their veils, and defended women against such practices as forced marriage and wife beating. It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of the Zhenotdely in terms of how many women it reached, but for those women who had access to it, the Zhenotdely was an important focal point in their attempts to liberate themselves from the old, oppressive personal and economic relations.

The atmosphere of change prevailing in at least the urban centers in the Soviet Union brought havoc to the traditional family structure. Facilitated by the new divorce laws, many marriages were breaking up, as indicated by Trotsky in his book, Problems of Life.¹⁴

Family relations..those of the proletarian class included, are shattered...It is clear to all that some big process is going on, very chaotic, assuming alternately morbid or revolting, ridiculous or tragic forms, which have not yet had time to disclose their hidden possibilities of inaugurating a new and higher order of family life...

The husband, torn away from his usual surroundings by mobilization, changed into a revolutionary citizen at the civic front. A momentous change. His outlook is wider, his aspirations higher and of a more complicated order. He is a different man. And then he returns home to find everything there practically unchanged. The old harmony and understanding with the people at home in family relationships is gone.

No new understanding arises. The mutual wondering changes to mutual discontent, then into ill-will. The family is broken up.

The husband is a Communist. He lives an active life, is engaged in social work, his mind grows, his personal life is absorbed by his work. But his wife is also a Communist. She wants to join him in social work, attends public meetings, works in the Soviet or Union. Home life becomes practically non-existent before they are aware of it, or the missing of home atmosphere results in continual collisions. Husband and wife disagree. The family is broken up...

An old family. Ten to fifteen years of common life. The husband is a good worker, devoted to his family; the wife lives also for her home giving it all her energy. But just by chance she comes in touch with a Communist Women's organization. A new world opens before her eyes. Her energy finds a new and wider object. The family is neglected, the husband is irritated. The wife is hurt in her newly awakened civic consciousness. The family is broken up.

These trends were very disturbing to the Soviet leadership. Although the Soviets condemned the bourgeois family as a reactionary institution, most of the leadership believed the family was necessary for the stability of the new society. Bunacharsky, the Commissar of Education said:

We hate the bourgeois family, but from this the conclusion should not be drawn that men in the revolutionary movement should not have families, nor the woman bear children...The main kernel of society, which must be in the center of our attention, is the family...¹⁵

The dedication to radically changing the position of women was short-lived. In the ruined economy, the disruption it caused was very alarming to the Soviet leaders. At a time when they were attempting to consolidate their power, they did not feel they could risk the instability. Further, most of the work laws involving leave, limitation of hours, and child care could not be carried through under the economic conditions. The institutional development which was promised--nurseries, public eating places, laundries, housing--could not be provided because the regime simply could not afford to provide them. Male opposition to the placing of women in favored or supervisory positions also became apparent:

When such expenses of liberation as the cost of replacement of women's services and the competition of women for favored jobs became visible, the men in control hastened to put women back into their traditional place 'for the good of society as a whole'..Male factory workers objected to the employment of women in any but their traditional capacities.¹⁶

Under Stalin, the reaction against instability grew, and the progressive legislation was rescinded. Stalin wanted economic growth, and a stable family and social system which produced a stable, docile labor force was an important element in his plan:

Modern industry called for virtues of promptness, reliability, cooperativeness, and receptivity to direction on the part of workers--all virtues which the family can inculcate better than the state.¹⁷

Abortions were made illegal and divorce was made difficult and expensive. The hours at day-care centers were cut down to coincide with the hours of the working day. The Zhenotdely had been censured by the Communist Party in 1923 and again in 1924 for being overzealous, and under Stalin a massive propaganda campaign was launched urging women to return to their traditional roles. Girls were taught homemaking and childcare in school. Women continued to work in increasing numbers, largely out of economic necessity, but were also saddled with the full burden of housework and child care.

Since Stalin's death there have been some reforms. For example, abortions have once again become legal, and the number of child care centers and public eating facilities have grown (although they are still very inadequate). However, there has not been a return to the experimentation and active seeking of equality for women that characterized the early Soviet years. The attempt to liberate women, faltering as it was, never regained its momentum. At the present time, the role of women in the Soviet economy is determined primarily by economic expediency, within a context of male privilege.

Part III:

In looking at the economic position of women in the Soviet Union today, we must look at the sex ratio of the population. In the twentieth century, because of the two World wars, the civil war, collectivization and the purges, the population has been weighted in favor of women. Thus, in 1897 the sex ratio was 99 males to 100 females. By 1926 it was 94 males to 100 females. In 1939, after collectivization and the political purges, the ratio was down to 92 males to 100 females. World War II had the heaviest effect, virtually decimating the adult male population, bringing the ratio down to 74 males to 100 females. At the present time, the imbalance is beginning to work itself out, and is confined to the age group above 35.

Thus there has been a shortage of men in the Soviet Union since the 1920's, and especially after World War II. There has also been a labor shortage in general, both because of the low birth rate in the years during and after the war and because of the rapid growth of the economy. The result is a very high proportion of women in the labor force. In 1959 67% of urban women 16-59 worked, up from 40% in 1926. Among young women the proportion is even higher: in the age group 20-39, the peak child-bearing and rearing years, 80% of the urban women worked. In 1959 women were 49.4% of the labor force; they were 44.2% of the non-agricultural and 61.5% of the agricultural labor force.¹⁸

Most women in the Soviet economy are employed at low pay, low status work, often involving heavy physical labor. In non-agricultural blue collar work, 46.5% of the labor force are women. In the less skilled and heavier occupations, women outnumber men, especially in agriculture.¹⁹ Agriculture accounts for one-third of all women employed in the socialized sector, and women perform 58% of the physical agricultural work. If private agriculture is added to socialized, women are 73% of the unskilled, nonspecialized agricultural labor force. In non-agricultural blue collar work a general pattern seems to be women doing the hard physical labor, men supervising and operating the machinery:

'He' works on the cranes and the steamrollers and drives the passenger cars, but 'she', despite all legislative prohibitions, pushes wheelbarrows full of bricks and tamps asphalt by hand.²¹

We will now look at women in the professions in more detail, but it is important to remember that the majority of women in the Soviet Union fill the least desirable, lowest status blue collar and agricultural jobs.

I define the professions as those occupations requiring higher education or specialized secondary education. Women are quite a high proportion of professionals in the Soviet Union, much higher than in the United States. But their representation is highly skewed in the direction of traditionally acceptable women's professions: health and education. Thus in 1964, women were 49% of the students in specialized secondary education. In industrial subjects they were 34% of the students, in agriculture 37%, in health 87%, and in education 80%. In higher educational institutions they were 43% of the students, constituting 29% of the engineering and industrial students, 25% of the agricultural, 53% of the medical, and 64% of the educational and cultural students.²² This skewing of the professional distribution of women has remained essentially the same since the 1920's.

In the Soviet Union, education and health are traditional women's occupations. Although few women were doctors before the revolution, they served as midwives and practice folk medicine, and thus constituted the primary source of medical care for the majority of the population. Education and health also have a number of other characteristics in common. They are low status professions, not considered very important politically, and receive low wages. A doctor, for example, earns two-thirds of the wage of a skilled worker.²³ Engineering fields, in which women are the least represented, are the professions with the highest prestige.

Further, in all the professions, women tend to hold the lower positions, are rarely in a decision-making position or one where they give orders to men. Thus women are 32% of all engineers but 12% of plant directors; 73% of primary and secondary school teachers but 23% of school directors; 42% of scientists but only 2 of the 204 members of the Soviet Academy of Scientists are women.²⁴ Among the upper echelons of the government, women are as little represented as they are in the United States. In the new Central Committee, elected April, 1971, there are 244 members; of these 208 are identifiable as to sex by their names (some of the ethnic groups do not use suffixes indicating sex in their last names), and of these 6, or 3%, are women. Among the 155 candidates, 3, or 2%, are identifiable as women. An finally, on the central auditing committee, the least important of the three bodies, 8 of the 83 members, or 9% are identifiable as women.

To give a more specific idea of the position of women in the professions, let us look more closely at medicine.²⁵ The percentage of women physicians increased from 10% in 1913 to 75% in 1963. In the broader field of medicine and health, women held 88% of the positions. However, 70% of the women in medicine and health were medics, midwives, and medical nurses, accounting for 93% of the people in this field. Further, 14.4% of the women were physicians other than dentists, who were not heads of divisions, making up 82% of this category. Between them, these two lowest status categories of medicine and health account for 84.4% of the women, but only 25% of the men in the field. Medics, midwives and medical nurses, the category with the lowest status and level of skill, account for only 7% of the men.

When we look at the higher status categories, the picture is quite different. Men are 2.5 times more likely than women to be heads of divisions; they are 12% of the people in the field of medicine and health, and 27% of the heads

of divisions. Around 3% of the women are heads of division, accounting for 73% of these positions. Among heads of medical establishments, chief physicians, and deputy chiefs, the highest status and most responsible category of jobs, men are six times as likely as women to fill the positions; 43% of the positions are filled from among the 12% who are men. Women hold 57% of the positions, accounting for 2.3% of the women in medicine and health.

These statistics clearly illustrate the generalization made above; even in the professions in which women predominate, the higher positions tend to be filled by men. As Wilensky commented in relation to medicine:

Soviet medicine is like social work in the United States in the fifties and sixties: it provides for a young male minority the opportunity of a sky-rocketing administrative career.²⁶

Any study of the economic position of women must look at the distribution of labor within the home. If women participate in the labor force and also have full responsibility for child care and housework, their economic activity may represent double exploitation, not liberation. The program of the early Soviet Union involved freeing women from the drudgery of housework both by encouraging men to share the responsibility, and by socializing much of the work through public cooking and eating facilities, public laundries, and so on. Most of this program has not been realized in practice. Women in the Soviet Union in fact tend to do all the housework; it is still considered "unmasculine" and beneath a man's dignity to do cooking, cleaning, child care, or other housework. Thus women work a forty hour week, then come home and spend thirty more hours a week on "household and personal care." Men spend a third as much time on this category, have more leisure time, and get nearly an hour more sleep a night.²⁷ This inequality in work responsibilities and leisure time has been recognized by Soviet time-use studies, and is condemned as one of the heavy burdens of the past, with no moral justification. Yet, according to Blackwell:

..this recognition is not usually accompanied by exhortations that men workers in the household increase their share of domestic duties. Indeed, some writers have treated this inequality as 'unavoidable for the present' and as an extreme form of 'family cooperation' which maximizes the leisure time of the family as a unit.²⁸

The emphasis in the Soviet attempts to alleviate the problem of women's lack of leisure has been on reducing time required for household chores, rather than on challenging male privilege in the home. The reduction of time needed for housework would be accomplished by the establishment of public eating facilities, laundries, and child care, as well as the increased production of domestic appliances. In practice, however, such facilities remain extremely inadequate. Child care facilities, for example, can accommodate only 31% of the children in the relevant age groups, despite a high priority given to their establishment in the last decade (although, according to Mandel, child care facilities have been growing so rapidly recently that there are no reliable figures)³⁰.

In summary, this is the economic position of women in the Soviet Union at the present time. A very high percentage of them work, primarily doing the least skilled, least desirable work, often involving hard physical labor. Women are a much higher proportion of professionals than in the United States, but they are highly concentrated in the lowest status professions. Within the professions,

further, they tend to fill the lower ranks, and do not hold powerful, decision-making positions. Women have all the responsibility for housework and child care after they finish their regular work day. Not only do the men not share this work, but there are few facilities or modern appliances to make it easier.

Finally, it would be useful to look at popular attitudes toward women in the Soviet Union. As we saw in the first section, in czarist Russia women not only had few rights under the law, they were also often not valued or respected as people. They were frequently treated by their husbands as possessions, instruments of production. Such traditional attitudes die hard, and while women have been given legal rights, little has been done to break down their traditional social roles since the early days of experimentation. Popular attitudes are difficult to assess, and perhaps the idea is meaningless in a country as large and diverse as the Soviet Union, but in looking through the Current Digest of the Soviet Press, I have found indications of what at least some of the people are thinking about women.

In the first place, there seems to be a good deal of confusion in the press about what to think about women. They are frequently referred to as the "weak sex", as odd piece of double-think in a country where women do much of the hard physical labor. There are extended debates about whether chivalry is desirable, articles condemning the double standard and articles condemning the loose behavior of young girls. There have been a number of articles in recent years discussing who should do the housework, and whether women with young children should work. The letters in response to these articles are, I think, significant, first because of the opinions they express, and second, because it is unlikely such opinions would be openly admitted to were they seriously disapproved of by the regime.

The vast majority of the men expressed opinions that would not have been out of place at the turn of the century: that women belonged in the kitchen, that women didn't need leisure because they were incapable of doing anything creative. Often, even the language was reminiscent of the old proverb about the worthlessness of women:

Free a woman from the kitchen and you give her the freedom of a silly hen. Who needs such a woman? Woman is supposed to adorn the hearth just as flowers adorn the meadow.³¹

For the most part these letters showed no knowledge of or interest in Marxist ideology about women, or about the stated Soviet goal of equality for women. One attempted to integrate these concepts into his view of women, producing a statement not typical, but perhaps reflective of the double-messaged experience of Russian women:

Girls, for all your equality with us men, stay feminine, gentle, and weak (in the best, Marxist sense of this concept)...³²

Women's view of themselves and their work, as reflected in the press, also no doubt reflecting official policy, seems to be that work outside the home, financial independence, is totally necessary to their liberation:

Our labor is the most important and primary condition for our economic, spiritual and, indeed, any other type of liberation from the authority

of men and is the guarantee of our independence, our sense of our own value and freedom.³³

And again, in another article:

Any woman who has any self respect at all would not only dig ditches but do the dirtiest work...to have the right to spend the money she has earned as she sees fit.³⁴

Once again, as in the views of the men quoted above, there is no way of telling how prevalent this view is, but the fact that such conflicting views exist, and according to the Kuznetsova article, divide very sharply along sexual lines, points to some real contradictions in the Soviet policy toward women.

Part IV:

In this section we will look at trends in the economic position of women in the Soviet Union, and offer some speculative predictions about what will happen to their position in the future. In our predictions we will assume that the goal of equality for women will continue to be subordinate to a policy of economic growth within a context of continuing male privilege.

The percentage of women in specialized secondary and higher education increased steadily from 1926 until it hit a peak in 1945, when most of the young men were fighting in the second World War. Women then constituted 69.1% of the students in specialized secondary and 77.0% of the students in higher education. Since then the percentage has declined fairly steadily, and by 1950 the proportion of women in higher education was well below the 1940 level. In 1955 women were 52% of the students in higher education, equal to their proportion in the college aged population. By 1964 they were down to 43% in higher and 49% in specialized secondary education, below their proportion in the population.³⁵

There are a number of possible explanations for this decline. One is the possibility of a quota system limiting the enrollment of women. At Moscow State University in 1964, for example, the proportion of women admitted to the science faculties was substantially less than their representation among applicants. For the science faculties as a whole, women were 47% of the applicants and 35% of the acceptances. In mechanics and mathematics they were 43% of the applicants and 25% of the acceptances; in chemistry 70% of the applicants and 53% of the acceptances; in biology 68% of the applicants and 53% of the acceptances.³⁶ Dodge finds further evidence of preferential admissions for male students in a talk with a medical official who told him that, once a cut-off score on the entrance exam was determined, all men with that score or better were admitted, then the remaining vacancies were filled by women.

The admission of women to higher education was also limited by another factor. Up to 1957 admission was determined solely through the use of entrance examinations. In 1957 the policy was changed, and candidates were to be chosen not just on their academic qualifications, but also on their "worthliness". Applicants were required to submit a character reference from their party, Komsomol, or trade union organization. In 1958, representatives of these organizations began to be included on admissions committees. This responsibility was taken very seriously, and the Party and Komsomol representatives were often important

functionaries.³⁷

It is unlikely that many of these important functionaries are women, since only 20% of the party membership is women, and they tend to be concentrated in lower ranks. Although two-fifths to one-half of the membership of Komsomols is women, they are scarcely represented in the leadership.³⁸ The admissions committees, therefore, are likely to seriously underrepresent women, resulting in a probable bias toward male students. Another aspect of the policy of finding worthy students was the priority given to servicemen and people with several years of work experience, both of which bias the selection against women.

Assuming, as is apparent, that admission to higher education has been biased in favor of men, we must ask the question why this bias would have appeared in the late 1950's. and why it has continued. Although it is true that women have been much better represented in the professions in the Soviet Union than in the United States, this has occurred within a context of a sex ratio biased in favor of women and a severe shortage of labor, so that it is unlikely that women were taking desirable jobs away from men. As we saw in the last section, men held a disproportionate number of the top positions. It is likely that there were enough professional positions, and few enough men, so that men and women were not often competing for jobs.

However, by the late 1950's, the sex ratio had returned to normal for the college aged population. At the same time, as the changes in admissions policy indicates, there were more academically qualified applicants to higher educational institutions than there were places, so the institutions could afford to be more selective. Given the ability to be selective, and given the value of male privilege which still prevails in Soviet society, the admissions committees are likely to be reluctant to give positions in higher education to women if it means taking them away from men. The Soviet Union has not shown the commitment to the equality of women which would mean giving women good jobs when they are competing for them with men.

What, then, does this say for the future? If in fact the supply of professionals is beginning to catch up with the backlog in demand, the number of new openings for professionals is going to level off. In particular if, as is projected, the size of the work age population begins to level off and even decline by the late 1980's, the need for new professionals is going to be very limited indeed, especially in fields such as medicine and education. Therefore, the trend for women in higher education might well be continued decline, as priority is given to men for the diminishing number of professional positions.

Whether the proportion of women in the professions will in fact decline remains to be seen. The Five Year Plan released in 1971 has a stated goal of raising the number of men in medicine, and calls for a salary increase in both medicine and education, presumably to attract men to the fields. However, a look at recent statistics indicates that the proportion of women in higher and specialized secondary schooling has actually increased somewhat: from 43% of higher educational students in 1964 to 46% in 1967/68; and from 49% of specialized secondary in 1964 to 52% in 1967/68.³⁹

In any event it is clear that at the present time women do not have equality with men in the economy. The majority of women work at the lowest status, lowest paid blue collar work. Among professionals, they are concentrated disproportionately

in the lowest positions and the lowest status professions. The trend since the mid-1950's has been for the representation of women among professionals to decrease, and I would speculate that this trend will continue. Finally, not only do the vast majority of Soviet women work full time, they also are faced with full responsibility for housework and child care. Despite the stated intentions of the founders of socialism in the Soviet Union, women have not achieved equality.

The liberation of women would require a tremendous amount of upheaval, both economic and social. A vast number of traditions and values would be called into question, involving a re-examination of such institutions as marriage, child-rearing, and the family as well as changes in the institutions more generally considered economic. The liberation of women would mean a prolonged period of instability and even chaos, down to the most personal levels. When the extent of this instability became apparent to the Soviet leadership, who had not anticipated it, they began to have second thoughts about the desirability of liberating women. They wanted to consolidate their power and achieve economic growth, and these goals were not consistent with an environment of continuing instability.

Few women participated in the revolution, and those that did participate did not see themselves as a united force making demands in opposition to the majority of the revolutionaries. Thus when the goal of liberation for women was redefined and limited out of most of its meaning, there was no way for women to effectively oppose the move; it is unlikely that most women were even aware of its significance. Without a force actively struggling for the liberation of women, there was nothing to keep the Soviet leadership from curtailing the change once its potential magnitude became apparent.

Finally, what step-by-step improvements in the position of women there have been, or will be in the future, do not seem to me to lead toward liberation. Women (and men) in the Soviet Union, as in the rest of the world, are still caught in a vast and insidious web of assumptions about what the role of a woman (man) should be, most of which go totally unchallenged. To break out of this way of thinking requires more than a series of small steps; it requires a leap, large, unsettling, chaotic. This is obviously not to say that there have been no improvements in the position of women since the days of the czar. But the distance is very great between Lenin saying:

Very few husbands, not even the proletarians, think of how much they could lighten the burdens and worries of their wives, or relieve them entirely, if they lent a hand in this 'women's work'.⁴⁰

and the vision of a Soviet woman in 1967,

Under the new order of things, the kitchen will belong to anyone who wants to eat.⁴¹

FOOTNOTES

1. Engels, in Woman Question, p. 21
2. Ibid., p. 40
3. Jessica Smith, p. 5
4. Ibid., p. 4
5. Lenin, p. 110
6. Ibid., p. 113
7. Ibid., p. 102-103
8. Ibid., p. 102
9. Ibid., p. 115
10. J. Smith, p. 47
11. Caroline Lund, introduction to Trotsky, p. 5
12. J. Smith, p. 48
13. Ibid., p. 60
14. quoted in Ibid., p. 99-100
15. quoted in Ibid., p. 92
16. Merkel, p. 176
17. Dodge, p. 2
18. Ibid., p. 44
19. Ibid., p. 160
20. Ibid., p. 183
21. Dr. M. Sonin
22. Dodge, p. 110, 112
23. Caroline Lund, p. 6
24. Ibid., p. 6
25. the following figures are from Dodge, p. 210
26. Wilensky, p. 240
27. Blackwell, p. 23
28. Ibid., p. 26
29. Feshbach
30. Mandel, p. 294
31. Kuznetsova
32. Komsomol Pravda
33. Kuznetsova
34. Libedinskaya
35. Dodge, p. 110 and 112
36. Ibid., p. 113
37. DeWitt, p. 245-46
38. Mark Field, in Brown, p. 15-16
39. Women in the Soviet Union, p. 45
40. Lenin, p. 115
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WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND CLASS STRUGGLE

This article is a synthesis of a lecture given to the Federation of Students of the University of Concepcion in October, 1971.

The majority of the considerations in this article are actually part of a consensus of people focusing on the problem from a leftist perspective. However, few leftists in Chile, up until now, have been preoccupied with promoting or stimulating serious discussion about the problems of the situation of women in the revolutionary process.

For this reason, and considering the relevance of the theme in the process that is now going on in this country, we have brought a discussion of "the woman question"--though we are not specialists in it--to the attention of Punto Final.

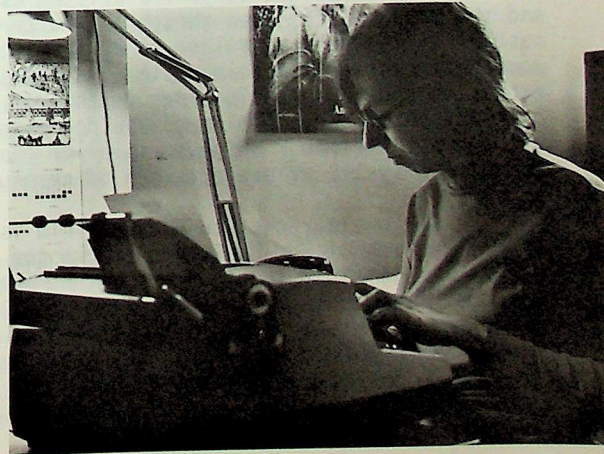
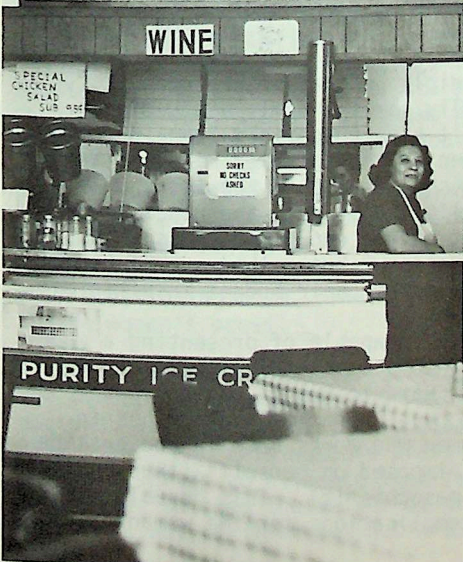
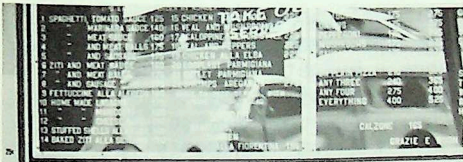
I. THE CONCEPT OF THE CHILEAN BOURGEOISIE AS EXPRESSED IN THE BOURGEOIS PRESS

The capitalist system, in developed as well as in dependent countries, has been incapable of promoting real women's liberation. Though the system has liberated women from the feudal yoke, it has also subjected them to new forms of domination. Capitalism has tried to go beyond the ancient patriarchal family, but in the nuclear family which has taken its place, women have again occupied a subordinate position; they have been relegated to exhausting, unpaid domestic labor. There have been attempts to incorporate them into the process of production, but the incorporation has been marginal and restricted; and in any case has resulted in double exploitation of women, since work outside the home is added to domestic labor. Moreover, it is the capitalist system more than any other that has made wide use of the concept of women as objects. Therefore, those who defend the bourgeois system have neither political, social, nor moral authority to call themselves "the defenders of woman."

The subject of women's liberation has become fashionable in the United States, in Canada, in various European countries, and little by little is becoming the order of the day in Chile. Up until now, the left has been but timidly preoccupied with the problem, aware of its importance every time the conservatism of large numbers of women is demonstrated--as in the "march of the empty pans" and the latest elections of January 16. The right is also preoccupied with the subject of women and in recent months has dedicated considerable attention to it in its press.

A revealing example of this is a supplement of the newspaper El Mercurio (June 30, 1971) which appeared under the headline, "Women's Liberation." The paper attempts to define its position, or rather the position of the Chilean bourgeoisie on the issue; and, lacking a historical perspective, is even unable to formulate a more progressive, more effectively reformist position that would actually serve its interests by expanding the existing system. An editorial signed by Ada Mongillo appears in the supplement. Clearly, the ideas expressed





by the writer correspond fundamentally to the ideology of the newspaper, representative of a specific class. At first glance the supplement is grotesque, but it is important in that it shows up the ideology of an exploitative system which, incapable of liberating women, clings to its decadent values and attempts to find in them justification for maintaining an oppressive system. Therefore, we will cite from this article to illustrate what "women's liberation" means to the Chilean bourgeoisie.

The article begins by asserting that

in a few years, when historians write about our times, they will give great importance to the conquest of space, but undoubtedly they will also emphasize what is obvious in the world of today--the liberation of women.

Women, "after recovering from secular backwardness in a short time (?), have gone further than men in more than a few domains." The article begins with the obvious: that our epoch will be one of women's liberation (and will be all the more rapidly as capitalism is destroyed). But is it a question of stimulating competition between the sexes? A certain coquettishness with a typically feminist tone is insinuated, a tone now fortunately overcome in the more serious women's movements.

The same "editorial" also mentions women's political ignorance and patriotic duties, makes reference to the passivity of women, and then suddenly enters into "another current theme"--the domestic budget--explaining that it is

a responsibility which in the great majority of cases falls on the woman. It demands extensive knowledge of economics and finances. It is almost impossible to balance a budget without knowing how to analyze possibilities and make important, exact calculations. The unforeseeable, as well as the unforeseen make management difficult and force one to improvise. And not uncommonly it is the woman who dedicates herself to banking gymnastics, with all the risks entailed.

Naturally these considerations seem incredibly cynical if one doesn't take into account that they were written essentially for the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, even though the latter doesn't have to perform "banking gymnastics." It would be vulgar to believe that women of the salaried middle class, women workers and campesinos--the great majority--should acquire knowledge of economics and finances in order to control their limited budgets and nonexistent bank accounts! The problem of the domestic budget of the exploited classes is not a problem of the "unforeseeable" or the "unforeseen," but rather one of tightness: the system of exploitation of surplus-value makes their budget insufficient.

It is clear that the bourgeoisie is totally incapable of presenting a modern conception of women; it sidetracks the issue into a completely irrelevant theme. It is clear that capitalism, no matter how hard it tries, has nothing more to offer to this superexploited social category. The article describes in the same breath the double exploitation of the woman who works both in and outside the home and the "double mission" that woman "has imposed on herself" (thus bestowing on the feminine sex the distinction of being masochistic). This "double mission," the article goes on, "often creates many complications for the woman (SIC),

so many that sometimes one questions whether this LIBERATION (?), won after much sacrifice, was worth the effort. . ." The article continues:

And here is where the so-called "women's press" should come on the scene with the obligation of helping women adapt to the evolution of a modern world requiring specialized knowledge that goes beyond what mother taught. (SIC!)

The editorial goes from banking accounts to the theme of preparation: "In order to use more and more complicated appliances, cleaning products, and new foods, one needs a series of skills." It ends by saying that

Tomorrow's press for women and the family will touch every possible subject on its pages, really open new horizons to women, and above all to housewives who rarely leave the narrow confines of the home.

It is clear that for the bourgeoisie, "women's liberation" means keeping women in the narrow confines of the home" as "housewives"; and the feminine bourgeois press will try to open "new horizons," bringing "every possible subject" to its pages to keep woman in her place and "modernize" her in her domestic duties only. We get an idea of these themes by running through the pages of the same feminine supplement of El Mercurio: On page 1, "Horoscopes"; page 2, "the fashion for next winter"; page 3, "Modern, fine lingerie"; page 4, "How to take care of a leather coat" and "Fashion news"; page 5, "Perfume and make-up throughout history"; page 6, "Beauty ritual"; page 7, "What comfort means to children" and "Brain damage and learning"; page 8, "New and modern clothing for your newborn infant"; page 9, "The four food groups" and "Chicken with lemon"; page 10, "What to do with left-over wallpaper"; page 11, "The indispensable and pleasing daily bath."

These are the issues dealt with in a supplement entitled "Women's Liberation"! These are the subjects that the bourgeoisie thinks should interest women! These are the issues of the feminine Press! And these are the most relevant issues not only of the "Women's Press" of El Mercurio but also of all the women's magazines sold in Chile (and in general in all capitalist countries). These are the subjects treated in magazines like Paula, Vanidades, etc., plus the typical stories on the lives of movie stars, that saturate the female world with the way of life of "the famous," of those who "conquered life"--which has nothing to do with the daily reality of the great majority, the ordinary woman.

In addition there are other subjects, such as advice to the love-lorn or pseudo-educational sections on relations between the sexes which tell a woman how to accept her condition as an object. Generally, the advice is based on "common sense," on the pragmatism of adapting to the circumstances one lives in without ever questioning them. There is always a somewhat cynical ring to the "advice" in the women's press.

The basic characteristic of the women's press is that it is directed towards the concerns of bourgeois and petty bourgeois women--the latest fashions, culinary recipes, wallpaper, and the routine, mediocre dramas of those who have time to live them. But this women's press also reaches working class women. It reaches them and serves to alienate them from their real world, the world of their class. It imposes on them the values of the dominant classes, makes them aspire to the bourgeois way of life. It has a different effect, of course. What good is knowing

how to use "more and more complicated appliances" if those appliances do not exist in worker and campesino homes? For the woman worker, this women's press provokes frustration, indignation, and plants the seeds of rebellion. For the daughters of workers, this press promotes prostitution, creates the illusion that prostitution is one way of gaining access to the products offered by the "consumer society." Obviously they don't get the products that way, but once they have begun a life of prostitution it is practically impossible to stop.

The "women's press," a very efficient weapon of bourgeois domination, contributes very effectively to maintaining woman as an inferior being; it helps restrict her to a small world of banalities, where she is a passive object and at the same time an active agent of bourgeois domination. It is unfortunate that this press is admired even by women who have access to culture--university students, for example, who never develop a critical attitude towards the "women's press." We would not say the same about the majority of women who are political activists; but we don't have much reason to be optimistic given the nonexistence of another kind of women's press.

II. THE PROLETARIAN CONCEPT AND THE TASKS OF THE MOMENT

According to Marxist ideology, the only way to end exploitation of women is to industrialize the domestic economy. That is impossible under the capitalist system and is only possible in a communist society, because the solution of the exploitation of women will come through a highly planned economy and a new orientation in production and distribution (for example, priority of production not of individual articles for each home--though this could occur in some form--but rather for a much broader range of public necessities such as laundromats, cafeterias, etc.) It means an urban revolution in architecture, where housing would contain more space for recreation and cultural activities than for domestic chores, which would be taken care of primarily by society and only secondarily in each home.

We must understand, then, the full range and complexity of the problem in order to plan short, medium, and long-range goals for the liberation of women.

Chile has not arrived at socialism and communism is a distant ideal. The order of the day must be, then, what can be achieved in the short and medium range, without losing sight of more long-range goals.

For the short run, the following goals:

1. The immediate abolition of all laws that oppress women.

In general the laws that relate to women have two characteristics: either they are directly oppressive, in that they preserve the subjugated position of women and deal with women as objects, or they protect women as weak, defenseless, inferior--again as objects. It is a question of demanding full judicial equality and full legalization of a series of rights, such as abortion, divorce (in which men already have an interest), and so on. Such rights already exist for women in many capitalist countries,

We must remember that legal solutions to these problems are always partial, limited, formal. Nevertheless, it is a step forward, achieved only after long struggle. As Lenin wrote following the victory of the Russian Revolution in 1919:

No democratic party in the world, in any of the most advanced bourgeois republics, has achieved in this respect in decades one hundredth of what we have done in our first year of power. We have literally turned over every stone of the shameful laws that establish the legal inferiority of women, that place obstacles to divorce and require odious statements, that proclaim the illegitimacy of natural children and investigation of paternity, etc. In all civilized countries numerous vestiges of these laws exist, to the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism. We have a thousand reasons to be proud of what we have accomplished in this respect. ("A Great Initiative," Selected Works, vol. II, p. 229-254, Ed. Progreso, Moscow, 1960).

This is the task of the Popular Unity Government, which, though it has already begun to confront the legal situation in relation to women, has moved slowly, timidly. If, on the other hand, the Popular Unity Government were to push forward its revolution quickly and boldly, the parties of the "center" and the right who claim to be the defenders of women and which are largely supported by women, would have to fall in line with the left or unmask.

2. Begin to implement effectively a series of measures such as the creation of a broad network of public services, day-care centers, all-day schools, laundromats, collective restaurants, etc.

These are the initial steps towards transferring primary responsibility for domestic services and child care from the woman and the family to society. This is very important because a) it will lessen the burden of domestic work; b) it will create conditions for eliminating the servitude of domestic employees; c) it will relieve the domestic budget; d) it will offer a broader, more complete, socialized education for children.

All-day schools, for example, besides offering children more adequate nutrition (lunch and dinner), a daily bath and transportation, free women's labor for productive work without women's having to subject themselves to these tasks. Ideally children could sleep in the schools when their parents have to go out at night to meetings or cultural activities, etc. No harm is done in having children stay sometimes in the schools, under the care of specialized personnel. That is much preferable to subjecting them to the frustrations of mothers who are eternal prisoners in their homes or to the care of domestic servants who because they are exploited and because they usually have no special education in child care often cannot care for the children well. Once again it is relevant to go over what Lenin wrote:

Do we give, in practice, the necessary attention to this problem that, in theory is undeniably important for every Communist? Obviously, no. Are we sufficiently concerned with the breakings-out of communism that have come into existence now in this respect? No, a thousand times no. Public eating rooms, day-care centers, and kindergartens are indications of this budding communism; they are simple, ordinary methods, without pomp, eloquence, or solemnity, that effectively emancipate women, effectively lessen and abolish her inequality with respect to men in her role in production and social life. These methods are not new.

They were created (as have been, generally, all of the material premises of socialism) by capitalism; but under the capitalist regimen they have been, in the first place, isolated cases, and in the second place--and this is particularly important--they have been either financial enterprises, with the worst features of speculation, of profit, of fraud and deceit, or they have been 'acrobatic exercises of bourgeois beneficence,' hated and scorned. rightfully, by the best workers. (op. cit. Underlined in the original).

Obviously the right will react to the above proposals with shouts of "They want to destroy the family!" But what family is the bourgeoisie referring to in their vehement effort to defend it? It certainly is not the proletarian family! They are referring to the bourgeois family, which does have problems, but of another kind. . . We must distinguish between the diverse kinds of families that exist--bourgeois, petty bourgeois, and proletarian. They are not alike; each corresponds to a respective class. Clearly the public image of the family and its fundamental values are those of the bourgeois family. "The dominant values are the values of the dominant class." The bourgeoisie tries to impose its values on the whole society so that the dominated classes and particularly the working class will encounter the image of the oppressor even among themselves, and thus identify with that image.

Without making a detailed analysis of the fundamental characteristics of various kinds of families, let's imagine for a moment three basic types of families, and try to bring out in each the role of the woman.

The bourgeois family is the one that unites around the table to eat--happy, calm, rested, their servants at hand. The family can afford as many servants as it needs (cook, nanny, housecleaner, gardener, chauffeur, etc.). The children, strong, well-fed, clean, educated in the best schools, etc., do not need any special public attention. The bourgeois woman, though it is true that she cannot escape her social category as object and her inferior position, does not experience the phenomenon of exploitation of her work in the home. On the contrary, she is served hand and foot. If she wants, she can work, whether in a career or for diversion. She exists to cultivate the trivialities of life, to show off the latest fashion, to "adorn" the house.

The petty bourgeois family tries to live in the manner of the bourgeoisie, but fails. The woman lives a drama trying to keep her house in the style of the bourgeoisie, but since she can usually have only one servant, she must super-exploit that servant (the petty bourgeois is generally a worse employer than the bourgeois) in addition to working hard herself in the home. If she has a job outside the home, her rhythm of work is intense. The petty bourgeois family has to scrimp in order to have a house, a car, a television, a refrigerator--all appliances that characterize the "modern way of life." The family has to dress well, vacation in the summer, send its children to good schools, etc. Time left over is for the hairdresser, the dressmaker, the stores. They live and function in their closed, mediocre, sterile world.

The class ideal is to climb on the social ladder; the petty bourgeois aspires to be bourgeois. The woman generally pins her hopes for social affirmation on and is only satisfied by her husband. Her ambitions become realized through him as, for instance, he gets promoted or attains greater professional prestige.

Since his aspirations are directed upwards towards becoming a part of the dominant class, the petty bourgeois is fearful of losing what he has obtained or what he thinks he can obtain. And fearing to become proletarian--which is what usually happens anyway--he becomes more and more conservative and attached to the status quo. In the woman these characteristics show up clearly: her economic dependence on her husband and her professional incapacity make her fearful of changes in the social structure and hence vulnerable to manipulation by rightist movements. Thus, the petty bourgeois women who participated in the unfortunate "march of the empty pans" in Santiago.

The proletarian family has radically different problems. The husband arrives home exhausted, the woman who has been working all day (in the house or at a job outside) must continue working to finish domestic tasks until late at night. The children, poorly fed, poorly educated, poorly dressed, must start working very young at any job they can find. The daughters learn domestic tasks at an early age so that they can fulfill their destiny as housewives. But the great majority never even become housewives. Their options for jobs are few: in a factory, or as servants or prostitutes. As the latter two they do not even have the right to bear children. For domestic servants, having children is traumatic; their employers throw them out, or keep them on with less pay, exploiting them even more. Abortion becomes a routine part of their lives.

The problem of domestic servants and prostitutes deserves special attention on the part of the Popular Unity Government. Medium range goals should be the elimination of the servile occupation of domestics; first, create the conditions that will enable that labor contingent to move into the spheres of productive life; and second, create conditions that will make domestic labor unnecessary (as explained above). Meanwhile, it would be immediately possible to regulate the work completely, to guarantee certain work hours and salary and thus relieve an incredibly exploitative situation.

It is true that the elimination of prostitution depends on a transformation of the socio-economic structure; that is, the elimination of the economic necessity that forces women to become prostitutes, and the transformation of cultural values to end the demand for them. Nevertheless, some immediate regulations should be put into effect to protect this kind of woman so long as she exists. It should be clear that the existence of this "profession" under a Popular Government, whose goal is socialism, is unacceptable. In Cuba, for example, the problem was solved within a few months, even before the stage of real socialism was begun. The task of incorporating these women into a productive life should be taken up now in Chile.

The conclusions we can draw from all the above considerations are the following: Though woman, in general, occupies an inferior position, her problems are directly related to the class she belongs to. The bourgeois woman, even though her condition is that of an object, because she is a woman, does not have the problems of the proletarian, who lives the phenomenon of double exploitation in her work. Nevertheless, there are some grievances in common between the proletarian and campesino woman, and the petty bourgeois woman. And though the problems are much greater for the proletariat, we must not lose sight of the importance of the petty bourgeoisie in Chile. This class must be included in the revolutionary movement that will recover rights for women. The revolutionary work of forming consciousness and organizing women--though fundamentally carried out among the proletariat--should be done together with the petty bourgeoisie.

III. THE FORM OF STRUGGLE NECESSARY FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The fight for women's liberation has nothing to do with feminism; it is in no way a struggle of women against men--an absurd and grotesque idea. The struggle for the liberation of women is political and revolutionary; it is a struggle against the capitalist system, which maintains and needs the oppression of women. The women's struggle is enclosed within the class struggle and must be directed by the working class through parties and vanguard organizations. Thus it is not a struggle of women for their liberation, but rather a struggle for the liberation of all exploited peoples, including women. This is the form the struggle should take; and in this form it is a struggle that all revolutionaries must join, men and women alike, though it is women who should push forward first.

All the political parties and organizations of the left in Chile must, then, commit themselves actively to the women's struggle. It is important to remember that in Chile the parties play a fundamental role in class struggle and that a struggle of that breadth must be guided and mobilized by the revolutionary parties, which up to now have not filled the role. Given the breadth and complexity of the class struggle, it is indispensable for forces to join together, not only on the level of a united front between parties, but also between classes, between sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and proletariat. Finally, we must insist once more that this struggle will really achieve its broad objectives only under the direction of the working class. The proletariat must commit itself to leading the fight.

In a wide mobilization around the problems of women and organizing women as a way to begin to find solutions, inevitably only the bourgeoisie can lose. Revolutionaries cannot forget this reality: working women have a double motive for being revolutionary, because they are exploited in their class and they are exploited as women. "When theory penetrates the masses, it becomes material strength." We must make known Marxist ideas on women. We must break through the prejudices on the subject that still exist in wide sectors of the politically active left; we must prove that the "machismo" that ridicules and refuses to confront the problems of woman is objectively a defense of bourgeois and counter-revolutionary values.

Translation: Leslie Krebs
Barbara Bayer



OPTIONS OF THE SINGLE PREGNANT WOMAN*

I am indebted to Ira Rosenwajke, Division of Biostatistics, State of Maryland, Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, for his advice and for making available to me unpublished Maryland statistics.

Presented at the Southern Sociological Association Meetings in New Orleans, April 1972.

Ready availability of abortion is not a solution to all the problems of women in the United States, but it is much more important to the liberation of American women, particular young American women, than many people seem to realize. Consider the options of the pregnant high school junior. If she marries, her immediate ability to continue school will depend on the financial resources of her and her new husband's parents and their willingness to support the young family. And what if the new marriage does not go well? With only 3 years of high school education, if she wants to leave her husband and support herself, what kind of a job will she be able to get? Will she be able to find a job which will provide enough for living expenses for her and her child and for adequate day care too while she is away working?

Or what if the pregnant high school junior does not marry? How many months of school will she miss during her pregnancy? What kind of arrangements can she make to care for the child after it is born? How will she support herself and her new infant? Will she be able to continue in school after the child's birth? How will her friends and parents treat her? What if the child is handicapped and needs special, expensive care?

Or what if she decides she would like to give the child up for adoption. Will she find an adoption agency willing to accept relinquishment of her child for adoption? Will the agency find an adoptive home for her child, if she does give it up?

For many young women these are all undesirable alternatives. For many, abortion would be a preferred way out of the situation.

What would happen if abortions were available free of cost and free of hassle to all the women who desired them? It is my firm belief that if this situation came about there would be a drastic decline in the birth rate, with part of the decline caused by abortions on married women and part caused by single pregnant women avoiding the unhappy choices of single parenthood, forced marriage, or relinquishment of a child for adoption.

But this is not a perfect world. And abortions are not available free of cost and free of hassle. But abortions are available to some extent to those who can afford them. It is the purpose of this paper to document that availability (and its absence) and show how the differential availability of abortion is affecting adoption and early marriages.

How available are abortions? Until 1967, all states had very restrictive

abortion statutes, and women who secured abortions either went abroad or had it done illegally here in the U.S.A. (Lee, 1969). A privileged few were able to get legal abortions here in the States (Duffy, 1971, 2-4).

Since 1967, 11 states have revised their abortion statutes to a limited extent. Another five have fairly liberal abortion laws. And in three states abortion laws have been declared unconstitutional by Federal District Courts (Duffy, 1971, 2-3). All this has led to a considerable increase in the availability of abortions and a dramatic increase in the number of women taking advantage of this opportunity.¹ But of course this is not to say that all women who desire abortions are now able to get them. Most states still have very restrictive abortion laws. Women from these states must first find out where to go and then travel to another, less restrictive, state to secure an abortion. But even for residents of states where the abortion laws are less restrictive, securing an abortion is not all that simple. There remains a tangle of legal rules, hospital requirements, and medical practices which stand between the woman desiring an abortion and her attainment of it.² Single women under 18 must often have the written notarized consent of a parent³ and married women⁵ the permission of their husbands.⁴ Some states have residency requirements.⁵ A number of hospitals require letters from psychiatrists, attesting to the woman's psychological need for an abortion.⁶ And money can be a problem.

¹"Dr. Gary Berger, an officer for the abortion surveillance unit at the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, Georgia, said the Center had tallied 180,000 reported abortions in 1970 for the country and expected to receive reports on nearly 400,000 abortions for 1972."

²The following comments on abortion practices on the East Coast are drawn from my experiences as a volunteer in the Abortion and Health Information Service of D.C. Women's Liberation from April, 1970 until May, 1971.

³A 13 year old can get pregnant without her parents' consent. She can have a baby without her parents' consent. She can even give her baby up for adoption without her parents' consent. Why does she need her parents' consent for an abortion? To my knowledge, Maryland is the only state which does not require parental consent for an abortion on a minor.

⁴Why? In a good marriage the wife will want to consult with her husband. Why should a husband be able to force his wife to have a baby she does not want? And what about the woman long separated from her husband but never divorced? Why should she be forced to secure his consent in order to abort a pregnancy he had nothing to do with?

⁵States are proud and eager to become national centers for the treatment of cancer, heart transplants, and so on. Why is it they are so reluctant to becoming national centers for providing another service, abortion, a service desperately wanted by so many women.

⁶An expensive requirement designed more to protect hospitals from lawsuits than to give guidance to women, many of whom do not desire such guidance in any case. In Washington, D.C., these form letters were required up until a year ago and they were automatically given after a 5 minute consultation, usually costing around \$75.

Most doctors and hospitals require full payment in advance of the abortion. Current fees vary from \$110 to \$150 for the cheapest clinic abortion in New York City to \$600 and \$800 and higher for a hospital abortion performed by a private physician. And earlier, before competition among the New York abortion clinics became a factor, clinic abortions were much higher too.

In order to understand the hardship caused by clinics and hospitals requiring prior payment of the total cost of the abortion, we must consider the problem of payment in conjunction with the importance of timing with regard to abortions. The vacuum or suction method is the safest and best abortive procedure and must be performed before the 11th or 12th week of the pregnancy. For the purposes of abortion, the number of weeks pregnant is calculated by counting forward from the first day of the last normal period. The earliest a woman can find out for sure that she is pregnant is in the sixth week. Assuming that the woman finds out she is pregnant at the earliest possible moment, she then has a maximum of five to six weeks in order to:

- (1) decide for sure she wants an abortion
- (2) locate a clinic or doctor willing to perform the abortion
- (3) find the dollars necessary to prepay the total cost of the abortion as well as her transportation costs, if she is one of the many women living in states with restrictive abortion laws. This may not be too difficult a problem for the upper middle class wife with a solid bank account and health insurance which includes maternity and abortion. But what about the single 19 year old who has just started on her first job? Because she is single, she has no maternity health insurance. She has little in the way of savings. Being single and newly employed, she is not eligible for many types of loans. She must rely on friends.

⁷Unless a woman has a special medical problem, indicating that complications might occur during the abortion, the clinic abortions offer quite as good medical care as the hospital abortions and are considerably cheaper. For up-to-date information on where to get an abortion locally check your neighborhood underground newspaper for the phone number of a local referral service. Or try the local women's liberation group. Or Planned Parenthood in your area. The less "establishment oriented" the referral organization, the more likely they are to know the way around a rule which appears to be preventing you from getting an abortion. Commercial referral organizations are definitely to be avoided and are easy to recognize because they require that you pay before you get any information or appointment. For an up-to-date listing of selected New York State abortion clinics, send 25¢ to Abortion Rights Association of New York, 250 West 57th Street, Room 2428, New York 10019. Also try
in New York

--Manhattan Women's Center, 985 5th Avenue, New York 10021. (212)288-1825.
M-Th:9-12; F-Su:9-5. \$110.

--Women's Services, 424 E. 62nd St., NY 10021. (212)758-6100. M-Su:8-midnight. \$125 plus \$38 for a rhogam shot for Rh negative women.
Minors are accepted without parental consent.

in Washington, D.C.

--Hillcrest Abortion Clinic, 3230 Penn. Ave., S.E. Rm. 215. (202)581-4000.
\$150.

--Preterm, Eye St., N.W. (202)298-7300. \$150.

and family not all of whom are probably sympathetic. And sometimes she discovers that the nonprofit referral organizations are able to provide low cost or free abortions. Or if she is very lucky, she finds an abortion clinic which is willing to reduce its price once they know her situation. And remember the six week period is the longest possible time interval. Perhaps her period had been irregular and she had been using a foam contraceptive. It would not be unreasonable for her to wait until she missed her second period before having a pregnancy test. Now the time for maneuver has been diminished considerably. She now has at best four weeks, perhaps only two or three, to find out where to go and to get the necessary money to do so. If she delays, or is delayed beyond the 12th week, the cost of the abortion more than doubles and the health risk associated with the abortive procedure which must be used also goes up (Shegar, 1971: Table 3 and Tietze and Lewit, 1971).

It is difficult enough for the average single woman, but what about the welfare mother who already has a child, or the teenage daughter of a welfare family? How easy is it for her to get the needed information and money? Of course some poor women have been able to get abortions in spite of the many obstacles facing them. But for those involved in abortion referral, it is equally obvious that many, many more have not.⁸

Think of it this way. When abortion first becomes legal in an area, existing abortion facilities within hospitals are very limited, geared to the earlier period when legal abortions were done on a very restricted basis. It takes time for these abortion facilities to be expanded. In the meantime, doctors are deluged with requests for abortions from women who can pay full price for an abortion, whatever price the doctor chooses to charge. With women demanding more abortions than there are hospital facilities available to perform them, some rationing system must be used. Hospitals limit the number of medicaid patients they will take. Doctors do the same; or refuse to take medicaid abortion patients at all. The end result is that poor women, particularly in a period of transition (which incidentally can take 1 or 2 years longer) end up having illegal abortions or unwanted babies at the same time that their better off sisters are having legal abortions and the good medical care attendant with them. Once hospital facilities have been expanded and abortion clinics have been established, there is some hope that proportionately more of the poor women who want abortions will be able to get them, but this remains to be seen. Since black women are disproportionately among the poor, one would expect that black women would be able to secure proportionately fewer abortions than their white sisters. And because of this, consequences of the availability of abortions which are now affecting white women would not affect black women to the same extent. This can be seen most clearly in the statistics on the availability of children for adoption. But I must not get ahead of myself. The purpose of the first part of this paper has been to point out the difficulties and problems of the woman seeking an abortion. In the next part of the paper, I propose to discuss two probable consequences of the availability of abortion: a decline in the number of white babies available for adoption and a

⁸It is apparent to this writer that the only way that poor women will ever begin to have equal access to legal abortion as an alternative to an unwanted pregnancy is when abortions are available in the town where the poor live and can be paid for through medicaid. If the woman must travel to an out of town, out of state location, it may be theoretically possible for medicaid to pay for the abortion, but in fact it will be quite impossible.

decline in marriage rates for younger women.

For the person interested in predicting (or guessing) some of the effects of the increased availability of abortion, a very useful and suggestive table is the one produced as Table 1. In a study of first births occurring to American women, during the period 1964 to 1966, Kovar found that very large numbers of these births occurred to women who were single at the time of conception. And of course the younger the woman, the more likely it was that her first birth was conceived when she was single.

And what would be the probable consequence of an increased availability of abortion in this situation?⁹ Women (particularly young women) avoiding single parenthood, would be freed from unwanted, shotgun marriages and from the burden of bearing a child out of wedlock and giving it up for adoption. Let us first examine the situation with regard to adoption. From a study by Grow and Smith (1971:404) data are available on the numbers of children accepted for adoptive placement in 59 selected agencies in 1969 and 1970 by region and by race (see Table 2). Information on the availability of abortions in the different states can be used to categorize regions into those with less restrictive and more restrictive abortion situations (Duffy, 1971:1-3) and (Steele, 1970:1-6). The outcome of combining these two sets of data is presented in Tables 3 and 4. Table 3 suggests the close relationship between the availability of abortion and relinquishments of white children. Of the regions showing an actual increase in the number of relinquishments (or a very small decrease) of white children, 75 per cent were in areas with more restrictive abortion laws. Alternatively, of the 5 regions showing a fairly large decline in the number of white relinquishments, 80 per cent fell into the less restrictive category in terms of availability of abortion. And an understanding of the abortion situation in the two regions which are exceptions lends more plausibility to the hypothesis rather than less. For example, New England was classified as a more restrictive region because all of the states within that region have very restrictive abortion statutes. However, the population centers of the New England region are quite close to New York State and hence the absence of a residency requirement in New York makes it possible for New England women to make the trip to New York for abortions in numbers sufficient to have an impact on the numbers of children being born and relinquished to adoption agencies.

On the other hand, the East North Central Region was classified as having a less restrictive abortion situation because the Wisconsin abortion law had been declared unconstitutional by a Federal District Court in March of 1970. However, in fact, the abortion situation in Wisconsin is quite limited. For some time after the court decision, the State continued to actively oppose doctors giving abortions until in November, 1970 a federal court ordered Wisconsin prosecutors not to proceed with the abortion trials of any doctors under the state abortion statutes which had been declared unconstitutional. (Washington Post, November 19, 1970) But even this did not stop the harassment and the New York Times (May 2, 1971) reported that police under pressure from the Wisconsin State Assembly had closed Madison's first abortion clinic on April 19, 1971, and that by May 1, the

⁹This discussion focuses on the options of the single pregnant woman, but the author has no intention of implying that children conceived in wedlock are always wanted by their parents. Bumpass and Westoff (1970:1179) report that an estimated one-fifth of all births to wives living with their husbands between 1960 and 1965 were unwanted. See also Peabody (1971), Ryder and Westoff (1971), and Ryder and Westoff (1969).

clinic had not yet reopened. Under these circumstances it is not unreasonable to assume that few women in Wisconsin were able to get abortions in their home state during 1970 and that still less could Wisconsin serve as an abortion center for women residing in neighboring states with more restrictive laws.

Returning now to Table 3 we can see that if the East North Central Region (including Wisconsin) were recategorized as more restrictive and New England redefined as less restrictive, we would have a situation where all the regions showing a relatively large decline in white children relinquished would be also the regions where abortion was most freely available and alternatively that the regions where relatively more white children were being relinquished would also be the regions where abortions were relatively more difficult to obtain.

Turning to the situation with regard to relinquishments of nonwhite children, as displayed in Table 4, we can see that relinquishments of nonwhite children do not appear to be related to the availability of abortions at all. Taken as a whole, relinquishments of nonwhite children (Table 2) show an absolute and relative increase in all regions but two. In fact, two of the regions where abortions are most freely available (West South Central and Pacific) the number of nonwhite children accepted for adoptive placement has increased most dramatically. How can this come about?

In order to understand the figures on changes in relinquishments of nonwhite children, we must first look at the adoption situation in this country as a whole.

The most important point to understand with regard to adoption concerns the opportunities of women who might want to give up a child for adoption. People have a tendency to believe that every woman who wishes to give up a child for adoption can do so. This is simply not true. Agencies accept some children for adoption and do not accept others. The best documentation of this point that I have seen comes from a study done in Washington, D.C. in calendar year 1966. At that time, only about a half of all the white women requesting counseling (and considering relinquishment of their expected children) were accepted for at least one agency interview. Only a quarter of the black women contacting the agencies were given at least one interview (see Table 5). What happened to the women who were turned away? I do not know. Some of them probably made some private adoption arrangement. Others perhaps went to other cities and found adoption agencies there which were able to help them. Most of the women, particularly the black women, probably just resigned themselves to keeping the expected child. Now if a study similar to the one in Washington, D.C. had been done nationally in 1966, we would not expect that exactly the same figures would appear. But perhaps they would not have been too different either.

Overall, blacks represent about 11 per cent of the population in the U.S., but they have accounted for only about 5 per cent of agency adoptions in recent years (see Table 6). If we compare the ratios of nonrelative adoptions per 1000 out of wedlock births, the difference between whites and nonwhites is even more dramatic.¹⁰ The ratio is 43 per thousand for nonwhites and 555 per thousand for whites (see Table 8). Returning now to our comparison between D.C. and U.S. data, we can see from Table 8 that although the numbers differ, both in D.C. and in the U.S. as a whole the white ratio of adoptions per thousand out of wedlock births

¹⁰In 1966, 86 per cent of all children adopted by nonrelatives were born out of wedlock. (U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1969)

is roughly ten times that ratio for nonwhites.

Now there is no need to assume that black women will ever desire to relinquish proportionately as many children for adoption as white women do. There are strong cultural differences between the two groups. That is understood. But in order to follow my argument, the reader only needs to acknowledge that more black women have desired to relinquish their children for adoption than have been able to do so in the past.

Let me summarize the situation this way. For whatever their reasons, adoption agencies in the U.S. have been disproportionately involved in adoptions involving white children. To the extent, in fact, that many black women who have wanted to give up children for adoption have not been able to do so. Now enter the limited availability of abortion. White women who do not want to take on the motherhood role now have two options: abortion or adoption. Many of them are apparently choosing abortion with the result that there is an absolute decline in the numbers of white babies being accepted by adoption agencies. In the past, most black women who did not want the motherhood role have been forced to take it on anyway because they had no other choice. Now with the limited availability of abortion, some black women must be securing abortions too. But apparently not in the numbers that white women are. The result is that adoption, the option being abandoned by increasing numbers of white women, is the option which is opening up for black women as never before. Agencies which before were so busy with white babies and white adoptive couples that they had little staff time for trying to recruit adoptive homes for black children are now finding that they have staff free and are turning to that activity. Thus the strange result of the limited increase in the availability of abortions is that white women are choosing that option instead of adoption thus opening adoption agency resources to black women.

Another consequence of the increased availability of abortion which I wish to discuss briefly is a decrease in the numbers of marriages, particularly among younger women. Because of the limited availability of data, I put forward this consequence more as a hypothesis than as a proven relationship. But it is my opinion that it is only a matter of time before data will be made available which will permit us to demonstrate that this is exactly what is happening: that the more freely abortions are available, the more pregnant single women will choose to have abortions rather than to get married.

Why do I believe this is so? Because pregnancy appears to be a major factor in the decision to get married, particularly among younger women.¹¹ Overall first births occurred to women who had been married less than eight months. The proportion of first births conceived before marriage is highest with the youngest age group (ages 15-19), about 32 per cent, and declines to a low of less than two per cent for women aged 30-44 (see Table 1).

¹¹ The availability of abortion probably will also affect the willingness of the man to get married, as well as the willingness of his family and friends to put pressure on him. If abortion is a realistic alternative early in the pregnancy, then the woman's decision to continue the pregnancy is less involuntary and unplanned than it is when abortion is not an alternative. In other words, she is less the helpless woman who ought to be rescued from her predicament by marriage.

Calendar 1971 was the first year in the United States in which abortion was available to any woman who could get the cash to pay for the abortion and her transportation to an abortion clinic, i.e., 1971 was the first full year in which large numbers of women were not refused abortions because of limitations of space in hospitals and clinics. Thus I would expect that 1971 would be the first year to show a really dramatic decline nationally in the number of young marriages. National marriage statistics for 1971 will probably not be published until July of 1973. In the meantime, there are bits of data here and there which point to the marriage decline I am predicting. Thus, for example, Dr. Arthur C. Hollister, (*Washington Post*, January 11, 1972), chief of the California Public Health Department's Bureau, reports that while the population of California increased about 550,000 between 1970 and 1971, the birth rate fell by about 4 per cent and for the first time since 1954, the state experienced an absolute decline in the number of marriages performed. (*Italics added.*) There were about 168,000 marriages in California in 1971, about 4,000 less than in 1970.

The data on Maryland marriages are also suggestive. The abortion law in Maryland changed as of July 1968. However, the hospitals (no free standing abortion clinics are permitted under the Maryland law) were slow to take advantage of the change, and relatively few abortions were performed during the first months of Maryland's liberalized abortion law (see Table 9). Thus when the D.C. abortion law was declared unconstitutional in late 1969 and when New York's liberalized abortion law came into effect in July of 1970, a number of Maryland women found it less difficult to make the trip to Washington, D.C. or New York than to arrange an abortion in their home state. Seegar (1971) reports that 10,000 would be a conservative estimate of the total number of abortions performed on Maryland women during FY 1971. The real availability of abortions to Maryland women who could pay came in the latter half of calendar 1970. Thus with Maryland, as with other states, I would expect the sharpest decline in the marriage rates of young women to occur in calendar 1971. (Unfortunately, Maryland marriage statistics for 1971 are not yet available.) However, because some abortions were being performed in Maryland and D.C. throughout calendar 1970 and because of the availability of abortions in New York during the latter half of calendar 1970, I would expect that 1970 would be a year in which Maryland marriage rates, particularly for young women, would show a decline. And they do.

Overall the total number of marriages to resident Maryland brides increased by only 43 from 33,782 in 1969 to 33,825 in 1970. This marked the first time since 1964, the first year for which such data are published, in which the absolute number of marriages of Maryland brides increased by less than 900 (see Table 10).

Turning to a comparison of the age specific marriage rates for Maryland resident brides, we can see that the decline in the marriage rates is concentrated among women aged 22 and under (see Tables 11 and 12). The absence of a decline among women aged 16 and under is probably a reflection of the fact that during this period in Maryland a woman under 16 had to secure parental consent before getting an abortion.

The purpose of this paper has been to document some of the social changes occurring as a result of the increased availability of abortion. The first point to remember is that increased availability of abortion really means availability to those women who can manage to acquire the cash for the total costs of the abortion plus transportation to an abortion clinic and do so within a short period of time.

For those single pregnant women who are able to secure the money for the abortion and transportation, the availability of abortion as an option has meant freedom from single parenthood, freedom from the agony of relinquishing a child for adoption, and freedom from a forced marriage. Because so many white women who otherwise would have relinquished children for adoption are now getting abortions, adoption agencies, with unoccupied staff time, are now becoming more willing to accept relinquishment of the children of black women. Thus adoption, an option increasingly rejected by white women, is an option that is now opening up to black women,

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TABLE 1. FIRST BIRTHS BY LEGITIMACY STATUS AND IF LEGITIMATE WHETHER BORN WITHIN EIGHT MONTHS OF MOTHER'S FIRST MARRIAGE, BY RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER, 1964-1966 ANNUAL AVERAGE.

		PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FIRST BIRTHS**					
Color of Mother	Age of Mother at Birth of Child	Number of First Births* (in thousands)	Total	Conceived Outside Marriage		Legitimate less than 8 mo after first Marriage	Legitimate 8 months or more after first Marriage
				Total	Illegitimate		
All Mothers							
Age	15-44	1,183	100.0	33.2	14.8	18.4	66.8
	15-19	447	100.0	56.7	24.9	31.8	43.3
	20-24	530	100.0	22.4	9.3	13.1	77.6
	25-29	145	100.0	9.3	5.8	3.5	90.7
	30-44	62	100.0	11.8	10.2	1.6	88.2
White							
Age	15-44	1,012	100.0	27.3	9.6	17.7	72.7
	15-19	350	100.0	49.2	15.6	33.7	50.8
	20-24	476	100.0	18.5	7.0	11.6	81.5
	25-29	131	100.0	7.0	3.2	3.9	93.0
	30-44	55	100.0	11.9	10.2	1.8	88.1
Nonwhite							
Age	15-44	171	100.0	68.2	45.5	22.7	31.8
	15-19	97	100.0	83.8	58.6	25.2	16.2
	20-24	54	100.0	56.6	29.9	26.7	43.4
	25-29	14	100.0	30.9	30.9	-	69.1
	30-44	7	*	*	*	-	*

*1964-66 annual average of United States registered first births.

**1964-66 National Natality Survey.

Source: Kovar, 1970: Table C.

TABLE 2. CHILDREN ACCEPTED FOR ADOPTIVE PLACEMENT, 1969 AND 1970,
BY REGION AND RACE OF CHILD

Region	TOTAL			WHITE			NONWHITE		
	1969	1970	% Change	1969	1970	% Change	1969	1970	% Change
New England (7 agencies)	659	526	-20	577	469	-19	82	57	-30
Middle Atlantic (10 agencies)	1723	1513	-12	1300	1056	-19	423	457	+8
East North Central (18 agencies)	2470	2513	+2	2054	2082	+1	416	431	+4
West North Central (5 agencies)	662	648	-2	597	568	-5	65	80	+23
South Atlantic (5 agencies)	506	472	-7	427	385	-10	79	87	+10
East South Central (4 agencies)	839	914	+9	775	792	+2	64	122	+91
West South Central (3 agencies)	515	432	-16	474	314	-34	41	118	+187
Mountain (2 agencies)	276	327	+18	213	264	+24	63	63	0
Pacific (5 agencies)	3046	2599	-15	2656	2125	-20	390	474	+22
TOTAL (59 agencies)	10,696	9944	-7	9073	8055	-11	1623	1889	+16

Source: Grow and Smith, 1971:404.

TABLE 3. CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF WHITE CHILDREN ACCEPTED FOR ADOPTIVE PLACEMENT BETWEEN 1969 and 1970, BY REGION AND BY RESTRICTIVENESS OF THE REGIONAL ABORTION SITUATION.

Abortion Situation in Region (As of Feb. 1971)	PER CENT CHANGE IN NUMBER OF WHITE CHILDREN ACCEPTED FOR ADOPTIVE PLACEMENT**	
	Some Increase or Lesser Decrease +24 to -5 (4 regions)	Greater Decrease -10 to -34 (5 regions)
Per cent	100%	100%
More Restrictive*	75% East South Central Mountain West North Central	20% New England
Less Restrictive*	25% East North Central (Wisconsin)	80% West South Central (Texas) Pacific (Alaska, Hawaii Washington, Oregon) Middle Atlantic (New York) South Atlantic (D.C.)

*A region was defined as Less Restrictive if at least one state in that region had either of the following: (1) an abortion law which had been declared unconstitutional by Federal District Courts (Wisconsin, Texas, and the District of Columbia), or (2) a state abortion law which set no legal restriction on the reasons for which an abortion may be performed (Alaska, Hawaii, New York, and Washington). The Oregon law is also included in the less restrictive category because it incorporates the following language: "In determining whether or not there is substantial risk...account may be taken of the mother's total environment, actual or reasonably foreseeable." A region was defined as More Restrictive if either of the above conditions did not obtain. For further information on state abortion laws see Duffy (1971:1-3) and Steele (1970:1-6).

**See Table 2 in this paper,

TABLE 4. CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF NONWHITE CHILDREN ACCEPTED FOR
 ADOPTIVE PLACEMENT BETWEEN 1969 and 1970,
 BY REGION AND BY RESTRICTIVENESS OF THE
 REGIONAL ABORTION SITUATION

PER CENT CHANGE IN NUMBER OF NONWHITE CHILDREN ACCEPTED FOR ADOPTIVE PLACEMENT**		
Abortion Situation in Region (As of Feb. 1971)	Greater Increase +187 to +22 (4 regions)	Lesser Increase or Actual Decrease +10 to -30 (5 regions)
Per cent	100%	100%
More Restrictive*	50% East South Central West North Central	40% New England Mountain
Less Restrictive*	50% West South Central (Texas) Pacific (Alaska, Hawaii, Washington, Oregon)	60% East North Central (Wisconsin) South Atlantic (D.C.) Middle Atlantic

*See footnote 1 to Table 3.

**See Table 2 in this paper.

TABLE 5. STATISTICS RELATING TO SERVICE TO WOMEN CONSIDERING GIVING UP CHILDREN FOR ADOPTION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA IN 1966, BY RACE

<u>ROW NO.</u>	<u>WHITE</u>	<u>BLACK (OR NONWHITE)</u>
1. Recorded births to single women.	1804	4750 (nonwhite)
2. Requests to adoption agencies for counseling by women considering giving up children for adoption.	1362	522 (Black)
3. Women accepted by adoption agencies for at least one interview.	607	124 (Black)
4. Completed agency adoptions.	480	83 (nonwhite)
5. Completed nonrelative adoptions (including both agency and independent adoptions).	485	132 (nonwhite)
6. No. women accepted for an interview as a per cent of total requests.	45%	24%
7. Completed agency adoptions per 1000 requests for service by pregnant women.	352	159
8. Nonrelative adoptions per 1000 out of wedlock births.	269	28

SOURCES:

ROW 1. Table 8. Vital Statistics Summary, D.C. Biostatistics Division, Dept. of Public Welfare, Washington, D.C.

ROW 2 & 3. Table A. Unmarried Mother Registration Project Report 1966. Dept. of Public Welfare, Washington, D.C., April 1967.

ROW 4. Unpublished data, prepared by the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service, National Center for Health Statistics, May 1970.

ROW 5. Table 2. Supplement to Child Welfare Statistics-1966. Adoptions in 1966. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare.

TABLE 6. U.S.A. AGENCY ADOPTIONS, BY RACE,
1964 TO 1966 AND 1969

	<u>PER CENT</u>			
	White	Black	Other	Total
1969	90.6	4.9	4.5	100.0
1968	NA	NA	NA	NA
1967	NA	NA	NA	NA
1966	92.3	5.0	2.7	100.0
1965	92.4	5.0	2.7	100.1
1964	92.4	4.7	3.0	100.1

	<u>NUMBER</u>			
	White	Black	Other	Total
1969	60,400	3,300	3,000	66,700
1968	NA	NA	NA	61,900
1967	NA	NA	NA	63,900
1966	52,776	2,886	1,538	57,200
1965	48,860	2,635	1,405	52,900
1964	44,336	2,273	1,391	48,000

Source: Almost all the data are taken from the statistical series published by The U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare entitled Supplement to Child Welfare Statistics - (year): Adoptions in (year) for their respective years. The one exception is the breakdown by color for adoptions in 1969 which is from an unpublished memorandum written to Cecelia Sudia by H. Adams, the woman who compiles the published statistics for the Children's Bureau. The breakdown of adoptions by color for the years 1964 to 1966 are derived from proportions given in the summaries to the Supplements for their respective years. The figures on total agency adoptions are given in Table 21 and in the 1964 Supplement: Table 5 in the 1965 Supplement; and Table 4 in the Supplements for the years 1966 to 1969.

TABLE 7. NONRELATIVE ADOPTIONS AND OUT OF WEDLOCK BIRTHS FOR SELECTED YEARS, BY RACE (NONRELATIVE ADOPTIONS INCLUDE BOTH AGENCY AND INDEPENDENT ADOPTIONS.)

Year	Out of Wedlock Births*		Adoptions by Nonrelatives		Nonrelative Adoptions Per 1000 Out of Wedlock Births	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
1969	N.A.	N.A.	80,000	8,900	N.A.	N.A.
1968	155,200	183,900	78,500	7,800	505	42
1966	132,900	169,500	73,300	7,300	555	43
1964	114,300	161,300	65,200	6,400	570	40
1962	94,700	150,400	56,600	6,300	598	42
1960	82,500	141,800	52,600	5,200	638	37

*For an excellent article on illegitimacy trends and differentials see Ventura (1969).

Sources: Nonrelative Adoptions, Tables 8 and 11 in Adoptions in 1969: Supplement to Child Welfare Statistics.

Out of Wedlock Births, Table 4 in Trends in Illegitimacy: United States - 1940 to 1965 and the mimeograph tables issued supplementary to it for the years 1966 to 1968.

TABLE 8. NONRELATIVE ADOPTIONS PER 1000
OUT OF WEDLOCK BIRTHS, BY RACE, 1966

	White	Nonwhite	Ratio White to Nonwhite
D.C.	269	28	9.6
U.S.A.	555	43	12.9

Source: Tables 5 and 7 in this paper.

TABLE 9. ABORTIONS PERFORMED IN MARYLAND SINCE LIBERALIZATION
OF THE MARYLAND ABORTION LAW AS OF JULY, 1968

Fiscal Year	No. of Abortions	Per cent Women Receiving Abortions Who Gave Maryland Address
FY 1971 (July 1970 to June 1971)	7757	98
FY 1970 (July 1969 to June 1970)	5530	89
FY 1969 (July 1968 to June 1969)	2134	85

Source: Seegar, 1970a, 1970b, and 1971

TABLE 10. MARRIAGES OF RESIDENT BRIDES,
MARYLAND, 1964 to 1970

Year	Marriages of Resident Brides	Increase over Previous Year
1970	33,825	43
1969	33,782	1333
1968	32,449	2434
1967	30,015	1388
1966	28,627	921
1965	27,706	2065
1964	25,641	

The annual average increase in number of marriages of resident brides for the years 1964 to 1969 was 1628.

Source; Tables from the Annual Vital Statistics Report, Maryland for the appropriate years. Specifically, the figure for marriages of resident brides for 1964 is from Table 36; 1965, Table 44; 1966, Table 40; 1967, Table 40; 1968, Table 44; 1969, Table 42; and 1970, unpublished data from the Division of Biostatistics, State of Maryland, Dept. of Health and Mental Hygiene.

TABLE 11. MARRIAGES OF MARYLAND RESIDENTS,
BY AGE OF BRIDE

Age of Bride	1970	1969
Total	33,825	33,782
10-14	55	56
15	248	220
16	1136	1097
17	1962	1935
18	4072	4227
19	3946	3906
20	3567	3865
21	3190	3589
22	2856	3033
23	2188	1576
24	1295	1224
25	973	975
26	836	828
27	718	622
28	573	548
29	431	471
30-34	1617	1539
35-39	1115	1136
40-44	970	937
45-49	779	792
50-54	545	516
55+	749	688
NOT STATED	3	2

Source: Unpublished data from the
Division of Biostatistics, State of Mary-
land Dept. of Health and Mental Hygiene.

TABLE 12. AGE SPECIFIC MARRIAGE RATES
OF RESIDENT MARYLAND BRIDES,
1969 AND 1970

Age of Bride	Rate Declined From 1969 to 1970	Marriages Per 1000 Resident Women	
		1970	1969*
10-14	X	.27	.28
15		6.51	6.04
16		31.17	30.69
17	X	54.90	56.54
18	X	118.99	125.91
19		117.54	115.51
20	X	105.49	114.66
21	X	94.86	98.78
22	X	78.60	83.23
23		60.05	56.25
24		46.22	41.02
25		32.61	31.92
26		27.37	26.14
27		22.67	21.88
28	X	20.15	21.20
29	X	16.68	18.36
30-34		13.42	13.04
35-39	X	9.68	9.72
40-44		7.81	7.47
45-49	X	6.05	6.21
50-54		4.96	4.92
55+		2.17	2.11

*An approximation of the 1969 Maryland female population for a particular age was made by using the 1970 census figures for the age group a year older. Thus Maryland women age 10 to 14 in 1969 were assumed to be roughly the same in number as Maryland women age 11 to 15 in 1970. No adjustment was made for migration or death.

Source: Unpublished data from the Division of Biostatistics, State of Maryland, Dept. of Health and Mental Hygiene.

A FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF RELATIVE DEPRIVATION IN ACADEMIC WOMEN

More than a decade ago Stouffer and his associates documented, among members of the U.S. armed forces, a phenomenon they labelled "relative deprivation." The phenomenon appeared somewhat counter-intuitive, since those who felt most subjectively deprived were not those suffering the greatest objective hardship. Merton and Kitt (1950) have criticized the conceptual unclarity of the original formulation. It remained for Davis (1959) to go beyond both in what he modestly terms a formalization of the theory. His contribution consists of a logical formalization, in which the assumptions of the theory are made explicit, and a mathematical formalization in which propositions are derived and concluded in Bayesian language.

In the present effort, Davis' formalization will be used as a jumping off point for analyzing a phenomenon of some practical as well as theoretical interest, namely the resistance of professional women to the appeal of the women's movement, or what has been called Women's Liberation.¹ Although the analysis will focus upon women in academia, we expect that our observations would generalize to other categories of professional women. The present analysis goes beyond Davis in several important ways. (1) We take social comparison as problematic, and examine comparison and noncomparison as alternative outcomes. (2) We attempt to elucidate the determinants of each. Relative gratification or deprivation results from social comparison. (3) We attempt to examine the consequences of feelings of deprivation/gratification in terms of individual and collective action. By this route we come to orientation towards the women's movement as an outcome of the way in which an individual woman professor confronts the dilemma of social comparison. (4) We suggest a typology of postures academic (or other professional) women may adopt. We conclude with some speculations on the success of the women's movement in recruiting academic women.

The original formulation by Davis concerns situations where the different values a social variable can take are consensually or widely assigned different evaluations, that is, are held to be differentially desirable. The comparisons that persons make who differ in deprivation status constitute the subject matter of the theory. It is not clear from Davis' discussion whether a differential in evaluation may be considered the basis for deprivation categories--for example, where race or sex categories carry differing consensual evaluation.² Elsewhere in his paper Davis deals in terms of "objective deprivation" (e.g., in terms of rank and salary). The present analysis is complicated by an interaction between the two (as where a double standard for achievement is applied by sex³). Later in this paper we shall deal with this problem of the "nesting" of objective deprivation categories within sex categories.

Davis makes the simplifying assumption that comparisons are made on a random basis within whatever category of the population is under consideration. Such an assumption permits the use of the Bayesian analysis Davis adopts. In a major departure from Davis, however, we will assume that a hedonic principle operates. We propose that social comparisons are made in such a way as to avoid pain and provide pleasure. Davis' formulation offers no illumination concerning the determinants of others selected for making social comparisons, but in this paper we will argue that academic women seek to make gratifying comparisons and avoid depriving comparisons.

In its simplest form the theory applies to dyadic comparisons (although it also treats of comparison between an individual and a group). The focal person may be called Ego, and the comparison person Alter. Figure 1 provides the matrix for a simple comparison. Ego, being deprived, may compare himself with an Alter who is deprived or non-deprived; or Ego, non-deprived, may compare with a deprived or non-deprived Alter. The consequences of such comparisons are detailed below as they appear in Davis.

Propositions (i) and (iii) below refer to the Ego-Alter comparisons of Figure 1. Propositions (ii) and (iv) refer to comparisons between Ego and a group rather than an individual Alter.

(i) Comparison b in this matrix (Ego, deprived, compares with non-deprived Alter) gives rise to the subjective feeling called relative deprivation.

(ii) A corresponding comparison between a deprived Ego and a non-deprived group gives rise to the subjective feeling called relative subordination.

(iii) Comparison c in the matrix of Figure 1 (non-deprived Ego compares with deprived Alter) gives rise to the subjective feeling called relative gratification.

(iv) A corresponding comparison between a non-deprived Ego and a deprived group gives rise to the subjective feeling called relative superiority.

Figure 1. Comparison Matrix

		Alter	
		Deprived	Non-deprived
Ego	Deprived	a	b relative deprivation
	Non-deprived	c relative gratification	d

In the theory, both (ii) and (iv) give rise to feeling about social distance. Comparisons between Ego and a group result in a sense of his position vis-a-vis a particular category of which he is not a part, i.e., a feeling of being subordinate or superior to members of that category. Both (i) and (iii) give rise to feelings about "fairness," or the subjective feelings of differential treatment. These comparisons between Ego and an individual Alter imply a context in which both are members of the same category. Thus, "unfairness" represents the sense of being treated differently from one's peers, while "fairness" represents a feeling of common fate.

Davis uses the term "cross comparison" whenever Alter and Ego have different deprivation statuses. If Ego and Alter belong to another social category (distinct from that which forms the basis for deprivation status) in common, their comparison is called an in-group comparison. If Ego and Alter belong to different social categories (again independent of their deprivation status), their comparison is called an out-group comparison. It can thus be seen that in-group and out-group comparisons can crosscut the division based on deprivation status. Thus, for example, some members of an in-group based on sex are deprived (say with respect to status and income) and others are nondeprived. This would seem to work against the development of a feeling of "fairness" or in-group solidarity and any consequent orientation toward collective action. One theoretical possibility, however, is that the effective in-group becomes defined as all those sharing both deprivation status and another (or other) social categories with Ego.

The theory as stated by Davis concerns itself little with the conditions under which in-group vs. out-group comparisons are made, or, indeed, with the determinants of comparisons altogether. Davis leaves unspecified the question of how a dimension assumes salience such that it is used to define in-group and out-group for Ego. If the categories, in- and out-group, are to have any motivational consequences for Ego, some proposition regarding salience must be formulated.

Davis explicitly disavows any motivational consequences of Ego's experiencing deprivation/gratification (1959, p. 281). If we are to go beyond Davis' formulation, then, we must propose some principles which define the conditions for making (or refraining from making) social comparisons, and the selection of Alters with whom to compare. We have offered such formulations--albeit tentatively--above. We will now examine the situation of the academic woman, in the light of these formulations.

Taking the example of the woman faculty member, let us examine the possible comparisons she might make and her consequent subjective states. Within her sex, the professional woman tends to feel that her state is the more desirable, and that the prototypical housewife with no career is deprived. In this comparison the academic woman feels relatively gratified (as in cell c of Figure 1). As a result, she feels a psychological distance and lack of similarity with regard to the housewife. If she compares with housewives as a group, rather than with an individual, the result for the professional woman is a feeling of relative superiority rather than subordination. This felt distance is critical for her potential involvement in the women's movement.

An important feature of the original theory is that comparisons with similar others do not have motivational sequelae, at least not in terms of the subjective states (deprivation/gratification) with which the theory is concerned. On the face of it, the theory holds that only cross-comparisons result in relative gratification or deprivation, or in feelings of fairness. Thus of the comparisons in Figure 1, only b and c are discussed. The deprived housewives are left unmoved by comparing themselves with each other, as (more importantly for our particular example) are the professional women. The point here is that so long as the woman professor regards housewives as the deprived out-group, the result is a feeling of personal gratification and of superiority to the deprived group. Both these feelings militate against the woman professor's perceiving similarity and solidarity with the other women and contributes to her resistance to the Women's Lib appeal to "sisterhood." In this situation it is hard to imagine

the woman professor's experiencing a sense of shared fate vis-a-vis other women. According to the theory, any comparisons with Alters in her own deprivation status have no motivational consequences (i.e., she can feel neither relatively deprived nor gratified as a result). And by definition, the result of her comparison with the housewife is an increased sense of dissimilarity or social (and psychological) distance. To become involved in Women's Liberation would require 1) a personal experience of deprivation, and 2) a recognition that the deprivation attaches to a social category (sex). The two phenomena which are the subject of our discussion so far--social comparisons and the perception of in- and out-groups--are the mechanisms which mediate these psychological events. In the terms of the analysis we proposed above, the academic woman would have to perceive an in-group (by sex) within deprivation category (by rank, let us say) in order to participate in collective action as a member of an oppressed group. We will discuss the probability of such an event in later sections of this paper.

What about other possible comparisons? Academic women might choose to compare themselves with two other groups: their male colleagues (a group with whom they share skill and training characteristics) or their women students (a group with whom they share sex characteristics). It might seem that they would feel a greater kinship with the latter, with whom in a sense they share both defining characteristics. Women students are engaged in academic and intellectual pursuits, albeit as apprentices. A feeling of solidarity might predict the creation of a relationship in which women faculty members foster and encourage women students in their academic pursuits and aspirations. There is evidence--suggestive rather than systematic--that in some instances this is not the case. Unpublished data from a sample survey of students at the University of Chicago show that students of both sexes perceive male faculty members as offering more support for their graduate aspirations than female faculty members.⁴ While woman students perceive less support than men do from their male professors (27 per cent say male faculty are "very favorable" to the student's having a career, as compared with 46 per cent of the men students), they also perceive less support from the female faculty, their presumptive role models (27 per cent as compared with boys' 35 per cent). Academic women appear to give more encouragement to male students than to women students.

Explanation of this perhaps surprising finding falls outside the propositions of relative deprivation theory as Davis states them. However, we propose to extend his treatment by dealing not only with the effects of social comparisons but with their determinants. Factors which seem to affect the comparisons made by academic women include an emphasis on achievement (as opposed to ascription) and a strong individualistic ethic. The first divides the academic woman from the housewife, and the second from the woman student. We have already suggested that the academic woman derives gratification from differentiating herself from other women and asserting her superiority. This sense of superiority presumably rests on the talent, training and motivation for which, we may assume, she has repeatedly been selected throughout her life. Housewives, being quite dissimilar with respect to these dimensions, afford a comparison which does not threaten the achieved superiority of the woman professor. Women students, on the other hand, may be seen to be more similar, both in the degree of their selection and in the activities by which they are defined. They appear to share, therefore, the emphasis on achievement. The ethic of individualism ("merit will out") appears, in the mind of the professional woman, to be related to the perception of herself as an exception. To acknowledge women students as members of an in-group based on achievement might jeopardize this claim to uniqueness.⁵ Thus, making

the comparison with housewives and refraining from making a comparison with women students may be seen to have similar effects: the enhancement or maintenance of self-esteem.

This premise of the preservation of self-esteem is relevant to the last potential comparison with which we will deal: the comparison by the woman professor with her male colleagues. Given our argument that the woman professor tends not to compare with female students, might not the most logical comparison be with her colleagues (80 per cent of whom are men)? In such a comparison, however, the probability is very high that a deprived (in terms of rank and salary) woman will be comparing with a nondeprived man. What are the consequences? The theory says that the woman professor will, in the individual comparison, experience relative deprivation. Davis' theory, however, does not extend to a consideration of any effects this experience might have. For the purposes of our analysis, it is critical to do so. We will hypothesize that among the effects of relative deprivation is a feeling of personal failure. Insofar as the comparison is between individuals, we hypothesize that the discrepant comparison results in evaluation: The relatively gratified party feels superior and the relatively deprived, inferior. In the case of the nontenured woman professor comparing with a tenured man professor, she will begin to feel inadequate, anxious, depressed. These feelings will interfere with the several kinds of instrumental behaviors she might engage in, among them achievement and collective action.

However, if the woman professor compares with the group of non-deprived men, she will experience relative subordination vis-a-vis the group. This might translate as a sense of "second-class citizenship." If her thinking about the problem stops with her individual case, we are left with a woman experiencing an individual problem. If, however, she relates her problem to the group level, we may predict some further transformations of her feelings. If she recognizes sex as a dimension which defines an in-group and an out-group and recognizes the correlation of sex with deprivation, we may have the conditions for the formation of class consciousness.

Davis' formulation concludes with some speculations about sub-group formation--i.e., the creation of a perception of shared fate, or in-groupness. Using the concepts already introduced, he proposes that subgrouping will occur when social distance from the out-group is maximal and in-group "fairness" (or perceived similarity) is also maximal. Davis is here describing the conditions for in-group "consciousness" as that term is used in the women's movement. He goes further, predicting that consciousness increases (1) as a function of the degree of association between sub-group membership and deprivation, regardless of the total level of deprivation in the system; and (2) as the total level of deprivation in the system approaches .50. If, for example, the rate of non-promotion of academic women is very high, but their proportion is infinitesimal, the total level of deprivation in the system is little affected by sex. Similarly, where the level of deprivation for the whole system (including men and women) approaches 0, or 1.00, sex accounts for little variance.

Davis introduces some social structural considerations affecting the development of sub-group consciousness. Throughout this paper we have been concerned, as well, with psychological factors affecting consciousness. We will develop some of these notions and conclude with a consideration of both sets of determinants together. The psychological approach has led us to the assertion that an alternative to making these damaging comparisons is to refrain from doing so. This

behavior would be consistent with our general premise concerning self-esteem. We wish now to seek the specific determinants of the non-comparison, In order to do so we must once again go beyond Davis.

Davis refrains from dealing with the question of the perceived legitimacy of the correlation of deprivation status with other social categories. However, the notion of categories of deprivation status is primarily social (Davis, p. 281), and defined consensually. It is but a short step further to see that the association of deprivation status with other partitionings of the population may also be a social fact. The coincidence of deprivation status and other characteristics is expected, is accepted--in short, has legitimacy. Thus it is with sex--or, in a common parallel, with race. Acceptance of the legitimacy of the nested differences between deprivation categories may be as widespread in the deprived as in the nondeprived group (the phenomenon of "false consciousness"). Such acceptance seems implicit in Davis' failure to develop any consequences of felt deprivation. Nonacceptance of the legitimacy of differences might predict to social action outcomes, via the route of subgroup consciousness. Here the relevance to Women's Liberation is evident.⁶

Some data published by Simon *et al.* (1966) may be interpreted in the light of our discussion of alternative responses to objective deprivation. In a cohort analysis of men and women Ph.D.'s, she found all women suffered objective deprivation with respect to salary and rank (see Table 1). Only some of the women, however, complained that they were discriminated against.

TABLE I
SALARY, TENURE, PUBLICATION AND SEX IN A STUDY
OF RECENT PH. D'S*

	Women Affected by Nepotism	Women Academic Husbands	Women Non-academic Husbands	Single Women	All Men
Mean Salary (all divisions)	8581	8582	9088	9396	9859
Tenure					
Yes	25%	24.8	34.4	48.4	48.4
No	75%	75.2	65.5	51.6	51.6
Mean Publications	7.1	5.0	4.8	4.3	6.5

*This table collapses 3 tables in Simon *et al.*

Simon's sample is divided into the following categories: (1) women who complained that nepotism rules were being used to discriminate against them, (2) women who weren't making this complaint although their husbands were academicians, (3) married women whose husbands were nonacademicians, (4) single women, and (5) men. The comparison of interest here is between groups (1) and (2). Although all married women appeared to suffer comparable degrees of objective deprivation, only in the case of group (1) do we have data on feelings of deprivation. For group (2) (the in-group with respect to eligibility for discrimination based on nepotism rules), we have no such data. We shall assume that these women refrained from comparing with men (or single women). Either comparison would result in feelings of relative deprivation. We are tempted to interpret Simon's data to mean that many academic women appear to disqualify themselves from comparison with men because they are also wives and mothers. Although they work full time, they do not see themselves as part of an in-group composed of all faculty members, and hence (we would say) do not make the comparison. These women do not report being discriminated against. Other factors (mentioned above) militate against their comparing with other women. To the extent that they accept the legitimacy of men's commanding the higher ranks and salaries, they may refrain from making comparisons with men.

The other group of interest here, however, feel keenly discriminated against. In our interpretation, these women are making the cross-comparisons (with out-group men and likely with out-group single women as well) and experiencing sharp deprivation. Their high publication rate provides the basis for making a comparison with men,⁷ and sex provides the basis for making a possible comparison with the unmarried women. Figure 2 illustrates the situation of these women in terms of the theory of relative deprivation.

Figure 2. Tenure, Publication and Sex

		Tenured	Nontenured
Women	High Publication	a	b
	Low Publication	c	d
Men	High Publication	e	f
	Low Publication	g	h

According to the theory, the difference in felt deprivation is due to comparing with differing groups of alters. Women in cell b of Figure 2 (high publication, nontenured) compare with the other high publication groups (e and f), while the low publication nontenured women (cell d) compare with g and h. Women in cell a (high publication, tenured) make the same comparison as those in b, but without experiencing deprivation as a result. While those in d may feel some deprivation relative to those in g, it is likely to be less than that of the high publication, untenured group. (Davis, p. 288.)

A highly interesting sidelight of Simon's study is that there is no difference in objective deprivation between the two groups of women married to academic men (see Table 1). The difference in "consciousness" or sense of injustice appears to stem from the availability to the first group of a basis (which all members of the academic system accept as legitimate) for a favorable comparison with men. Their high publication rate explains both their willingness to make the comparison and their feeling of deprivation. The other group of women with academic husbands must, by our argument, refrain from comparing with men if their acceptance of objective deprivation is based on acceptance of the legitimacy of the sex differential.

This interpretation of Simon et al.'s findings suggests the possibility of constructing a typology of academic women's orientations toward their situation. The typology (potentially applicable to professional women other than academicians) is based on partitionings of the deprived female population in terms of individual vs. collective orientation and acceptance vs. rejection of the legitimacy of the correlation between deprivation and sex. We introduce such a typology below.

If the academic woman makes individual comparisons with successful male colleagues, she is, as we have noted, very likely to experience a sense of personal failure and despair. The individualistic ethos serves here to insulate her from the recognition that the disability attaches to a social category of which she is a part, rather than to her as an individual. We have already described the way the individualistic ethos operates to separate the woman academician from the (potential) in-group of other women. One possible outcome is thus that foreseen by Davis (p. 295), a state of anomie in which Ego feels distant from both the in-group and the out-group,

A second possible outcome is that Ego recognizes that sex is a category related to deprivation status. She may recognize that the probability is high that comparison with any male colleague will result in relative deprivation for her. A half-step further on an implied dimension of heightening consciousness (see Figure 3) is the recognition of social distance from the category, men.

Such a recognition does not, however, imply a feeling of in-group consciousness to which we refer below as a collective orientation. Rather, we may predict the ultimate response to social distance and relative subordination as a function of Ego's feelings about the legitimacy of the correlation between sex and deprivation status.

Ego may accept or reject the legitimacy of this correlation. This acceptance/rejection, combined with the individual collective orientation, yields a fourfold typology. Figure 3 introduces the types defined below.

It may be useful to consider the possibility that the orientations defined in Figure 3 represent a sequence through which an individual may pass. (For the individual to change from one orientation to another depends, of course, on some of the interventions with which this paper concludes.) We have suggested previously that a strong individualistic ethos is inculcated in all achieving women, so we will start with quadrant 1.

The Token is strongly individualistic and achievement oriented. She strives, achieves, and evaluates herself in the masculine mode. She was trained

by men and esteems her teachers, Perhaps she had a father who fostered her talents. She sees no contradiction in a male-dominated meritocracy. She makes a good token because she is an achiever, because she accepts her male colleagues evaluations and because she accepts their estimate of her as an exception. Because her orientation is not collective she does not ask why the faculty doesn't hire any (more) women.

The token is likely to espouse traditional definitions of sex roles because she looks to men for normative definitions. Consequently she accepts her slower advancement or exclusion from collegial relations because she is a woman. Moreover, because of her acceptance of traditional sex-roles, she works very hard as a mother and housewife. (Responsibility for both house and children are hers, even when she employs a surrogate.) She is likely to construe her dual role as "having her cake and eating it, too"--rather than to challenge the adjustments that are made in her career expectations as a function of her sex role.

The Old Feminist is, like the Token, an achiever within the traditional masculine definition of that term. She rejects the association between sex and deprivation status. The academic woman who adopts this stance is the lone embattled feminist who, 30 years ago, was refusing to accept the role of secretary on faculty committees. She is an individualist, and does not make common cause with other women. She is, moreover, unsympathetic with the Women's Liberation movement, especially with its expressive, acting-out, notably unmasculine style. In terms of Bird's (1968) typology, academic women of this persuasion are Old Feminists rather than New Feminists. Their assertion is that they are as good as any man, and they go about proving it within the constraints of masculine institutions and masculine modalities. By this means they challenge the advantage conceded men in academia.

Figure 3. Orientations Toward Being Deprived and Female

	Individualistic	Collective
Accept legitimacy of sex differentials	Token 1	Pussy Cat 3
Reject legitimacy of sex differentials	Old Feminist 2	Women's Liberation 4

One might speculate that the collective orientation of the Pussy Cat is a function of acceptance of traditional female role models. The identification with other women is not, as with the other collectively-oriented type, the result of perceived shared deprivation. Rather, the Pussy Cat accepts her share in the traditional scheme of sex-roles. She is very hostile to Women's Liberation, which threatens to upset her apple cart.

The acceptance of the advantage associated with male sex (or, more to the point, acceptance of the disadvantage of female sex) has an effect on the Pussy Cat's achievement behavior. The adaptation in this case is to adopt a different career expectation from that recognized as the mode. In this category we find women in "nonladder" positions in academia, as well as women who simply don't expect to achieve rank and pay commensurate with their male colleagues. They tend to feel that the tradeoff is beneficial to them. Thus, exclusion from collegial interaction frees them from demands on their time; nonpromotion saves them from "too much responsibility."

The rationalizations for the lowered expectations often include primacy of sex-role commitments--i.e., the demands of spouse and children. This double standard with respect to women's achievement is, of course, employed by men as a justification for limiting the opportunities and rewards made available to women in academia. Women with this orientation are achievers but not feminists.

The final type is defined by a collective orientation and the rejection of the legitimacy of deprivation status' correlation with sex. The Women's Liberationist is, like all the academic women we treat here, achievement oriented, but she may reject the orthodoxies of her male-dominated discipline (this is especially likely in the social sciences). She is likely to reject the ideology of value-free inquiry and devote herself to feminist scholarship. Within the university and the discipline she is likely to be action-oriented (even "disruptive"). She will not stay bought even though she may have been hired as a token. She will demand more egalitarian sex ratios.

With respect to sex-roles the Women's Liberationist is likely to reject traditional feminine modes and opt out of conventional gambits based on sex-roles. She will be considered stylistically "unfeminine." Her reference group will be other women's liberationists.

Given the foregoing analysis, what is the likelihood of developing in-group consciousness among academic women? For academic women to develop a sense of deprivation qua academic women, given Davis' analysis, clearly two sorts of changes are required: (1) an increase in the felt distance from the group of male colleagues, and (2) an increase in the sense of similarity or shared fate with other women. From Davis' last two propositions we can predict that structural factors may produce the first of these effects. Insofar as women continue to be passed over for salary and rank advancements (as is indicated by Simon's data), they will have evidence that deprivation is more highly correlated with their subgroup status (that is, their sex) than it is for the other subgroup.

Let us construct a Figure 4, assigning probability values to the cells of Figure 2. Let us suppose that the rate of deprivation (i.e., nontenure) for the table as a whole is .50, the maximum suggested by Davis. In addition to a high level of deprivation for the system as a whole, Figure 4 shows us a situation where a woman's chances of promotion are 1 in 5, regardless of her publication record, while a man's are 4 in 5. Under these conditions, women academicians should begin to feel social distance from the out-group of successful males.

The second effect, an increase in perceived similarity to other women, will not, we predict, occur as a consequence of structural effects. We have suggested above that perceived similarity is a determinant of sub-group formation,

Figure 4. Hypothetical Deprivation Levels in Academia By Sex

		Tenure	Non-Tenure	
Women	High publication	.10(a)	.20(b)	.30
	Low publication	.00(c)	.20(d)	.20
Men	High publication	.30(e)	.00(f)	.30
	Low publication	.10(g)	.10(g)	.20
		.50	.50	

or the definition of an in-group. We have, in the course of this analysis, examined three groups of persons with whom the academic woman might make social comparisons. None appears to be both similar (with regard to sex) and equal (with regard to status). The academic woman is comparatively isolated from equal-status contacts with other women. To the extent that this is so, the proportion of other women with the same achievement is crucial. Where it is negligible, the woman professor's premise that she is an exception is not challenged; there is no one for her to sub-group with. In order for sub-group consciousness to occur--and the possibility of collective action to be entertained--the individualistic ethic must be counteracted,

A tactic which should be successful in creating feelings of in-group "fairness" is a basic mechanism of the Women's Liberation movement. The women-only "rap group" is an area in which women discover that negative feelings and experiences are common rather than unique, and are shared by women in greatly different circumstances. This discovery is a strong antidote to the individualism which we have emphasized in the experience and self-concept of the professional woman. We may view the effects of the rap group (a "consciousness-raising" device) in terms of Davis' formulation, as (1) increasing perceived similarity with other women qua women, and (2) increasing the perceived level of deprivation in the system. The latter point may require explication. The sensitization that occurs in the "rap sessions" results in transferring the perceived locus of negative experiences to the system, outside of the self. For the first time, negative experiences are recognized as attaching to the sex category rather than to self. For many individuals, this results in a new perception of "the system" as punitive, and a consequent increase in the perceived level of deprivation. This shared perception of discrimination is yet another bond among the members of a rap group.

Our analysis leads us to conclude that an expanded formulation of relative deprivation theory is applicable to the situation of the academic woman, and perhaps to the professional woman in general. We have suggested extensions of that theory, in the direction of explicating some of the psychological factors involved in making and refraining from social comparisons. In particular, we have argued that the woman faculty member insulates herself from those comparisons

which would give rise to feelings of deprivation. Following Davis' speculations, we would predict that in the absence of interventions such as participation in "rap groups," academic women will remain immune to appeals to in-group solidarity as well as to comparisons with a favored out-group. Conversely, if a perception of common fate is established with other women, academic women may become capable of collective action against objective deprivation.

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Footnotes

¹In a recent study of Chicago area career women, for example, 75% reported themselves opposed to the Women's Liberation Movement (W. D. Wimbush, Harris Trust & Savings Bank).

²For research data indicating the preference of both boys and girls, adults and children, for the male sex category, see Brown (1957), Brown (1958), Kohlberg (1966), Smith (1939), McKee and Sherriffs (1957).

³Cf. Goldberg's study of the evaluation of an identical article attributed to "Joan McKay" vs. "John McKay."

⁴Women in the University of Chicago, Report of Committee on University Women, May 1, 1970, p. 95.

⁵These considerations relate not only to the area of relative deprivation but to the broader topic of tokenism; not only to academic women but to all those

who may have achieved the dubious rewards of tokenism. The author has currently in preparation a paper on the psychology of tokenism.

⁶The black power movement may be seen as a challenge to the legitimacy of existing correlations between objective deprivation and race. The rallying cry, "Black is beautiful" may be seen as the voice of a refusal to make damaging comparisons.

⁷It may be, of course, that failing to accept the legitimacy of differentials correlated with sex has caused these women to adopt the same career expectations as a man, and hence to publish.



Sarah Elbert Diamant

SEX AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE
Kathleen Archibald, Ottawa, Canada
Queen's Printer, 1970. 218 pp. \$3.25.

Archibald deals with "the effect of sex on employment in the Public Service of Canada" (p.1), and her conceptual framework is refreshingly progressive. Because she starts with an historical analysis, which notes that "the work roles of men and women are linked to their social roles and this is what makes the employment of women an issue...more importantly, there is disagreement about the kind of link that should exist" (p. 6), all else follows as the day the night. In periods of national emergency (war) married women are encouraged to join the ranks of the civilian employed in order to release men for national offense or defense. But, in peaceful times of economic disequilibrium, restrictions are often placed upon married women disqualifying them except where they are self-supporting. Archibald suggests that legislation would better serve the economy and the public well-being if it placed restrictions on moonlighting and employment of the wealthy, and prohibited a husband and wife both working. Similarly, maternity-leave of thirty-two weeks is presently permitted, with the average woman taking about half that time, but during these leaves women receive no pay and must continue to pay the full premium on health and superannuation plans. Fathers, on the other hand, are allowed one day off with pay for the birth of each child in their nuclear family. Archibald calls for one day of paid maternity leave for women.

Sixty per cent of the public service staffing commission directors believe that there is no discrimination in limiting the number of women employed in places where job tenure is important, if the turnover rate is higher for females than it is for males. This blanket statement discriminates against the majority of female job applicants and Archibald makes a neat proof by counterpoint: since the male crime rate is 600 times the female rate, does it follow that men are unfit for certain kinds of employment?

The statistics on occupational segregation are self-explanatory and come as no surprise to this reader. A few examples suffice to give a clear overview. Using an index of segregation which shows what percentage of women would have to change jobs for women to be distributed throughout the work force in the same proportions as men, it is found that the index for the Canadian public service is 73.1 per cent (this rate is higher than in the American civil service). While predominantly female occupations have become less segregated over time, predominantly male ones have become more segregated. In 1967 only 5 per cent of all men but 90 per cent of all female public service workers earned less than \$6,000. A man is twelve times as likely as a woman to earn a five-figure salary. The Johnstone survey of 1965 showed that women in public service have about the same educational level as men except for the group that is over forty-five, where women have almost one year more higher education on the average than men. While the separation rate of women is twice that of men, employers should be interested in the likelihood of keeping employees. Here the annual keepover rate is only 9 per cent less.

The bare facts on current employment discrimination are indeed indisputable. What is in dispute in both Canada and the United States is the direction of sex role differentiation in society. Here Archibald straddles the fence and, in good

social science fashion. attempts to maintain her balance by stating that, "when no costs are involved in increasing equity, freedom of choice, or the social health of Canada, or when costs are relatively minor initial ones, there can be little question as to how the public service should act. When the costs are substantial or continuing, however, or when noneconomic values conflict, reasonable men--and reasonable women--can be expected to disagree over the appropriate "action" (p. 9). She enumerates four basic values or objectives involved in the issue of sex and employment: "economic efficiency or effectiveness, equity, freedom of choice and the social health of the nation" (p. 4). On three of these her own statistics clearly point to the need for a radical change in employment procedures. The last, however, is really the basis for any reasonable discussion of sex and the public sector or, for that matter, of sex and the private sector.

Archibald maintains that equal opportunity and equal treatment are of different gender because, "benefits and conditions of employment if originally intended to respond to the family responsibilities of male employees, may not when equally bestowed upon female employees meet their family responsibilities" (p. 8). Does she really mean it when she proposes providing women with the one day paid "paternal" leave now granted to male public service employees? Will that suffice for female employees to meet their family responsibilities as it presumably suffices male employees? Such an assumption is exciting since it assumes that woman's biological sex alone does not predetermine her role as child-rearer and homemaker. For one moment the reader puts together Archibald's plea for hiring one member of a family (given say 1,000 families and 1,000 jobs) regardless of sex and her recommendation for a one-day paid maternal-paternal leave and finds her--a Feminist! But, alas, "the issue of greatest social concern is the potential between married women's responsibilities to their families, particularly to their children and their growing participation in the labor force" (p. 7). Archibald makes two rather contradictory statements of fact on this subject. First, she maintains that most Canadian women with children under six do not work and do not want to work; having preschool children deters female labor force participation more powerfully than any other variable. But, her second finding is that about 20 per cent of married and once married women in the labor force do have children under six (and slightly over half have children under sixteen). Since about half of all women in the labor force are married, this means that approximately 10 per cent of all women workers and of all women in the public service have children under six. Why do these women work if having preschool children is such a powerful deterrent? Archibald notes that the number of United States' working mothers with children under six rose 39 per cent between 1960 and 1967 either because "their husbands' incomes were too low or because they are well educated and presumably committed to a career" (p. 8). In either case the need for adequate child care is represented as a national concern here and in Canada. Archibald suggests (quoting Viola Klein's Women Workers: Working Hours and Service) part-time employment for women as a possible solution in "helping working wives and mothers bridge their two worlds" (p. 8). Archibald is then neatly back on the fence refusing to follow the implications of her own splendid research and tentative groping toward the goals she herself sets for public service employment. She simply cannot suggest part-time employment for men and women to help working husbands, wives, fathers, and mothers bridge two worlds.

"Sex Discrimination at Universities: An Ombudsman's View," by Alice H. Cook, Professor of Industrial and Labor Relations, former Ombudsman, Cornell University, in a paper presented in December 1971 to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, notes:

Men and women are different. This difference has been the subject of toasts not just by playboys but by scholars as well. It is a difference, however, which the academic world is only now beginning to deal with on any but men's terms. Under these terms, women are treated as equals, or almost, so long as they conform to the conditions of employment which are convenient to men and have been established by them...If in addition women choose to have babies, they will be mainly responsible for raising them, for keeping the homes in which children and father find nurture and comfort besides doing all that their male colleagues do in the classroom, the laboratory, the office and the committee room.

The radical solution which women's lib proposes is to educate or intimidate men into sharing these family responsibilities equally with their wives...If we are not to insist that the academic woman remain childless, on the one hand, or on the other that she carry a load so heavy only the extraordinary person can manage the burden, we must recognize that equality calls for certain institutional as well as personal approaches.

So then we are faced with at least two choices to fulfill Archibald's goals: either radical reorientation or sex role differentiation in family life and a concomitant institutional change in employment practices, or what Cook calls "a concept of equity based on a special life cycle, one which with the best will in the world cannot and need not be compressed into a mold by and for men."

Sex and the Public Service is a useful book, perhaps even required reading for public and private employers. Archibald and her staff have done an admirable and painstaking research job. Her confusion as to the direction of social change on sex role differentiation is understandable; many of us share it. She did say that "the government is more than an employer, it is also responsible for the welfare and progress of the nation as a whole. Thus it can be expected to lead other employers with respect to social responsibilities as it often has in the past" (p. 9). It would have been better, then, if she had clearly distinguished between uncertainty as to the direction of history and her own uncertainty as to the direction the Canadian government ought to take in its role. Freud remarked that he had difficulty in finding out what women really wanted. Some Feminists have replied that he might have tried asking them. In her interviews Archibald asked respondents to check True or False this statement: "If there were complete equality in the work world for men and women and women fully utilized it, home and family life would be radically transformed." (p. 198). Half of the women and 75 per cent of the men interviewed found that a true statement. Two other interesting facts were noted, first that while 62 per cent of the single women marked the statement true, only 31 per cent of the married women did so. Either the married women's experience has been that work alone does not transform sex role differentiation or the "radical transformation" is not so radical to those whose lives have been transformed as it were. Secondly, Archibald notes that several people remarked that there was nothing bad about a radical transformation although "there was no intention in the wording of the statement to imply it was" (p. 188).

If the direction of "social health" is in question one might better begin

by opening up the discussion with Archibald's data and asking women to define social health since previous definitions have been largely in masculine terms.

Jean Rosenberg

A REVIEW OF THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN MODERN ECONOMIC LIFE

In response to recent pressures, new courses on the role of women in the economy have been developed at several colleges. I have seen the syllabi of four of these, and I have been developing one myself (which I have not taught). With all this proliferation of interest, we ought to be formulating the goals and format of these courses very carefully, for it is all too easy to end up with either a rather unquestioning course on labor statistics or an exciting but confused course on women's liberation.

I assume that our purposes are to develop a radical understanding of our economy and society. We can start with a description of the division of labor by sex, specifically an examination of 1) the economic roles of women as producers, as consumers, and as property, contrasted with the economic roles of men, and 2) the sex roles which go with these. Their implications follow in terms of labor force participation, turnover, working conditions, distribution of income, promotion, responsibility, and prestige in society.

The analysis of these data may propose a variety of hypotheses. A conventional economic analysis would pose such questions as "How are the demand and supply curves for labor and the wage and profit rates affected by the described phenomena?" or "How is the consumption function affected?" or perhaps "How then do we define full employment, and should some measure of G.N.P. include the non-monetary production of housewives? How will this affect income analysis?"

A radical analysis would pose different questions. I offer these: How has the division of labor by sex changed over time? In response to what do the economic roles change? Do sex roles derive from economic roles? What purpose does the division of labor by sex serve in society? More specifically, what role does private property play in the development of economic roles? How does the family, extended and nuclear, maintain these economic roles? If women are themselves the means of production of the species, where do they fit in the class system? Is it useful to think of women as a class? Is the familiar notion of the class system reflective of male culture and unsuitable to describe women's experience? If so, how should it be reformulated?

The posing of such questions emphasizes the need for research in this area, since we know so little, especially about other present day societies and all past ones. One function of courses on women in the economy is to produce some new information.

Another function of such courses is to reveal the bias in economic theory as in all aspects of our culture: for example, the labor force is defined as labor services offered for production in the money economy. In an underdeveloped country, we are happy to include subsistence labor in our concept of the labor force. Why has women's work in the home been thus defined as virtually unproductive? or at least not within the economy or the interests of those who study production and consumption? I think it is essential that in teaching about the economic roles of women, we deal explicitly with this bias and attempt to formulate economic concepts independent of it.

Cynthia Lloyd has designed a course, *The Role of Women in Economic Life*, which seems, as far as I can tell only from the syllabus and readings, to be primarily directed to describing the current economic status of women by means of their patterns of labor force participation, discrimination, and the implications thereof for promotion and prestige. The bibliography has been assembled very responsibly and gives a full picture of one sort. I do not know how Ms. Lloyd fills out her syllabus in class, how she analyses the data she is revealing. I get the impression, however, from the impeccability of the sources and the relative lack of theoretical material, that the analysis is pretty straightforward economics, in fairly conventional terms, and is not carried to great lengths. This is not surprising in view of the difficulty of getting together a new course on a new topic. There is plenty of need, furthermore, for the presentation of this material, and no doubt this is a radical course, simply by virtue of its subject matter, for almost any economics department. I hope to see, however, the evolution of a more analytical and radical framework for courses on women in the economy. Only then, to my mind, will we begin to understand the phenomena which the statistics describe, our economic society and its development.



As contributors to the totality of thought on feminism, the Marxists have challenged the premise that patriarchy is the natural state. They have also challenged the role of woman in the family structure as a limitation on her capacity to produce in the labor force. This is the earliest proposal of the currently often heard demands for communes and day care centers to reduce housework demands on the female.

The actual experience of capitalism refutes Marx's contention that the entry of women and children into the labor market reduces the total family earnings to physical subsistence. Such a general expansion of the labor force, *ceteris paribus*, would decrease individual earnings. But in actuality, productivity levels per worker have also increased, increasing the individual earnings level in capitalistic countries. The Marxists justification for an alternative system to capitalism is undermined by the failure of "increasing misery" in this sense. The case for adjustments in family roles as a basis for economic equality remains.

The British Economists and the Equal Pay Controversy

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the British wrestled with the question of equal pay for women doing the same work as men. From this controversy has arisen the first rigorous economic analyses of the relative position of women in the labor market.

Millicent Fawcett, an active feminist of the time, was the first proponent of the "overcrowding hypothesis." Writing in the Economic Journal of 1918,¹⁷ she contends that trade union rules, employers' prejudices, and social custom have denied skilled occupations to women, causing overcrowding of women in the unskilled occupations and thereby inducing a downward influence on their general wage levels. She argues further that custom restricts women to fewer jobs than men, decreasing their alternative opportunities and therefore their wages.

F. Y. Edgeworth,¹⁸ writing in the same forum four years later, builds a more rigorous case for the "overcrowding hypothesis." He assumes three types of occupations: female occupations in which women are more efficient, male occupations in which men are more efficient, and mixed male-female occupations in which both sexes are equally efficient. He contends that salaries in these occupations, being the result of the interaction of the supply of labor with the demand for labor, are determined by the tastes of the society, the nature of competing alternatives for the worker, and the overall willingness of the worker to offer his services.

Edgeworth contends that higher salaries for males are the result of their unwillingness to work for a lesser amount than that which supports a family. He argues that females are generally subsidized in part by their families and tend to have fewer dependents so they are willing to work for less.

Ceteris paribus, if society prefers the output of male labor to female labor, Edgeworth further argues that the wages per time unit in male occupations will be greater than in female occupations. He incorrectly concludes that males will also earn more in the mixed occupations since higher salaries are necessary to keep them from transferring to male occupations.

In perfect competition women would be substituted for men as long as their

*Smith, HELP-WANTED FEMALE: A STUDY OF DEMAND AND SUPPLY IN A LOCAL JOB MARKET FOR WOMEN

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*Women's Bureau, Handbook, Chap. 2

*Bergmann, "The Effect on White Incomes of Discrimination in Employment," JOURNAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, March/April 1971.

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*Women's Bureau, FACT SHEET ON EARNINGS GAP, 1970.

*Fuchs, "Differences in Hourly Earnings between Men and Women" MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW, May, 1971.

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*Friedan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, Chap 1,2,10.

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*Johnson, "The Economic Future of Sex" in Clarkson (ed.) Visions 2020.

*Carter & Glick, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE, A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDY

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*Women's Bureau, HANDBOOK, Chap. 4.

*N.O.W. "Token Learning, A Study of Women's Higher Education in America" Nov, 1968.

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*Epstein, WOMEN'S PLACE, Chap 4-5.

*Astin, THE WOMEN DOCTORATE IN AMERICA

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*Women's Bureau, Handbook, Chap. 6 & 7.

*Kanowitz, WOMEN AND THE LAW, Chap 4 & 5.

VIII. International Comparisons

- *Berent, "Some Demographic Aspects of Female Employment in Eastern Europe and the USSR" INTERNATIONAL LABOR REVIEW Feb., 1970.
- *Collver and Langlois, "The Female Labor Force in Metropolitan Areas: An International Comparison" ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE July, 1962.
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- *Dodge, WOMEN IN THE SOVIET ECONOMY
- *Gendell, SWEDISH WORKING WIVES; A STUDY OF DETERMINANTS AND CONSEQUENCES

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- Smith, Georgina. Help-Wanted Female; A Study of Demand and Supply in a Local Job Market for Women. New Jersey: Institute of Management and Labor Relations of Rutgers University, 1964.
- Smuts, Robert W. Women and Work in America. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- _____. "The Female Labor Force; A Case Study in the Interpretation of Historical Statistics." Journal of American Statistical Association. March, 1960.
- Stigler, G.J. "Opportunity Cost of Marriage; Comment." Journal of Political Economy. Sept-Oct., 1969.
- Takahashi, N. "Women's Employment in Japan in a Period of Rapid Technological Change." International Labour Review. Vol 98 (6), Dec., 1968.
- United-Nations Commissions on the Status of Women. Participation of Women in the Economic and Social Development of their Countries. New York: 1970.
- U.S. Congress. House Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Education. Discrimination Against Women, 1970, 91st Congress, 2nd session.
- U.S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Background Facts on Women Workers, 1970.
- _____. Facts About Women's Absenteeism and Labor Turnover, Aug., 1969.
- _____. Fact Sheet on the Earnings Gap, 1970.
- _____. Handbook on Women Workers, 1969. Bulletin #294.
- _____. Laws on Sex Discrimination in Employment, 1970.
- _____. Sex Discrimination in Employment Practices. A Report on a conference held at the University of California in Los Angeles. 1970.
- _____. Trends in the Educational Attainment of Women, April, 1968.
- U.S. President. Commission on the Status of Women, Report "American Women." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Gov't Printing Office, 1963.
- Waldman, E.K. "Changes in the Labor Force Activity of Women." Monthly Labor Review, Vol 93 (6). June, 1970.
- Woody, Thomas. A History of Women's Education in the United States. New York: The Science Press, 1929.
- Zellner, Harriet. "Discrimination, Occupation Segregation and the Relative Wage." Paper presented at the American Economic Association Meetings, December, 1971.

WOMEN'S WORK
ECONOMICS 980, JUNIOR ECONOMICS TUTORIAL

Students are expected to be familiar with the general theoretical work of the women's liberation movement. The following books (all in paperback) are particularly recommended:

Kate Millett, Sexual Politics
Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex
Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex
Eva Figes, Patriarchal Attitudes
Juliet Mitchell, Woman's Estate

For more general material, dealing particularly with present day society:

Robin Morgan (ed.), Sisterhood is Powerful
Leslie B. Tanner (ed.), Voices From Women's Liberation
Caroline Bird, Born Female
Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique
Germaine Greer, The Female Eunuch
Toni Cade, The Black Woman

Introduction

Week 1. Written Assignment: List the data you would collect in order to provide a statistical picture of women's lives in the United States today, e.g. marital status by age, race. If you have time, collect the most important data (you are encouraged to do this cooperatively.) A good place to start collecting material is The Statistical Abstract of the United States (available in the Documents room, Lamont).

In the tutorial we will discuss the data in the light of alternative theoretical analyses of women and the family. If you have not read any of the first five books listed above, choose one and start reading it.

I. The Development of the Family as an Institution

Week 2. England in the Seventeenth Century

Alice Clark, Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century, Chs. 1-3, 4 (pt.) 6(pt.), 7 (pp. 1-97, 236-243, 265-285, 290-308),

Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, Children in English Society, Chs. 2,4,5, (pp. 4-43, 75-90, 298-312),

Ian Watt, The Rise of the Novel, Ch. 6.

Margaret Benston, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation," Monthly Review Vol. 21, No. 4; reprinted in Tanner, op. cit. pp. 279-292, and as New England Free Press pamphlet,

Philippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood

The rest of Clark and of Pinchbeck and Hewitt.

Week 3. The Slave South

E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States, Chs. 2-4, (pp. 23-85).

B. A. Botkin, Lay My Burden Down, pp. 79-83, 89-92, 98-109.

Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Lady, Preface, Chs. 1-4, (pp. 1-102).

Kate Millett, op. cit. pp. 281-293.

Shulamith Firestone, op. cit. Ch. 5 (pp. 105-125).

Angelina Grimke Weld, Speech in Pennsylvania Hall, 1838, in Gerda Lerner, The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina, pp. 375-381

Gerda Lerner, "Black and White Women in the Nineteenth Century: Interaction and Confrontation," unpublished paper.

Week 4. The Family in the Twentieth Century

- Charlotte Perkins Stetson/Gilman, Women and Economics, Chs. 1,5 (pp. 9-22, 49-132).
Mirra Komarovsky, Blue-Collar Marriage, Chs. 1,3,4,5 (pp. 9-22, 49-132).
Simone de Beauvoir, op. cit., Ch. 16 (pp. 400-455).
Clifford Kirkpatrick, Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life, Ch. 4 (pp. 100-125).
Juliet Mitchell, "Women: The Longest Revolution," New Left Review Nov.-Dec. 1966,
reprinted as New England Free Press pamphlet, or Woman's Estate,
Chs. 5-9.
Leo Kanowitz, Women and the Law
Henrik Ibsen, A Doll's House
Barbra Balogun (Jackson), "Marriage as an Oppressive Institution," in Tanner,
op. cit., pp. 292-296.
Beverly Jones, "The Dynamics of Marriage and Motherhood," in Morgan, op.cit.,
pp. 46-61.
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Written assignment (5-10 pages)

What is a family? Discuss the definition you choose and the ways in which families have differed historically,

II. The Roles of Women

Week 5. Sexual Partner

- Simone de Beauvoir, op. cit., Chs. 16(pt.), 19 (pp. 409-423, 523-541).
Eva Figs, op. cit., Ch. 2 (pp. 32-63).
Lee Rainwater, And the Poor-Get-Children, Ch. 6 (pp. 92-121).
Kate Millett, op. cit., Ch. 1 (pp. 3-22).
Susan Lydon, "The Politics of Orgasm," in Morgan, op. cit., pp. 197-205.
Anna Koedt, "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm," in Tanner, op. cit. pp. 157-166.
Nanette Rainone, Martha Shelley, Lois Hart, "Lesbians are Sisters," in Morgan,
op. cit., pp. 349-361.
Betty Friedan, op. cit., 309-321.
Harold Greenwald, The Call Girl.

Week 6. Housekeeper

- Susan Edmiston, "While We're At It, What About Maids' Lib?" New York, June 28,
1971, pp. 24-30.
Betty Friedan, op. cit., Chs. 2,10 (pp. 28-61, 224-246).
Isabella Beeton, Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Managment, Chs. 1,2,50 (skim),
51(pt.) (pp. 1-24, 905-960 (skim), 961-2, 979-1024).
Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work, Ch. 11 (pt.) (pp. 260-269).
Pat Mainardi, "The Politics of Housework," in Morgan, op. cit., pp. 447-454, and
in Tanner, op. cit., pp. 336-342.
Simone de Beauvoir, op. cit., pp. 423-431.
Verta Mae Smart-Grosvenor, "The Kitchen Crisis," in Cade, op. cit., pp. 119-123.
Lee Rainwater, Workingman's Wife.
Mirra Komarovsky, op. cit., Ch. 3 (pp. 49-60)
Dennis Marsden, Mothers Alone, Ch. 3 (pp. 43-61).

Week 7. Reproducer and Child-Rearer

- Simone de Beauvoir, op. cit., Ch. 17 (pp. 456-497).
Dennis Marsden, Mothers Alone, Chs. 7, 12, 13 (pp. 115-135, 215-246).
Shulamith Firestone, op. cit., Ch. 4 (pp. 72-104).
Daniel Callahan, Abortion: Law, Choice and Morality, Ch. 5(pt), pp. 126-142.
J.A. and Olive Banks, Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England.

Louise Gross and Phyllis MacEwan, "On Day Care," Women: A Journal of Liberation, 1970, reprinted in Tanner, op. cit., pp. 199-207.
Peter Fryer, The Birth Controllers,
Harold Rosen (ed.), Abortion in America,
Benjamin Spock, Baby and Child Care.

Written Assignment (5-10 pages)

Does work within the home have a value? (You may either answer this question directly or question the appropriateness of the concept of "Value" in this context.)

Worker in the labor Force

Week 8. Life at the Bottom

Ivy Pinchbeck, Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution
Robert Smuts, Women and Work in America, Ch. 3 (pp. 69-109).
Sohourner Truth, speech at Akron, Ohio 1851, printed in The History of Women's Suffrage, Vol. 1, pp. , reprinted in Tanner, op. cit., pp. 60-62.
Jean Tepperman, "Two Jobs: Women who work in Factories," in Morgan, op. cit. (pp. 115-124).

Week 9. Social Relations of Production; A Sexual Perspective

Michael Fogarty et al., Sex, Career and Family, Ch. 11, (pp. 391-425).
Michael Fogarty et al., Women in Top Jobs, Pt. 3, Ch. 5 (pp. 191-202).
Letty C. Pogrebin, How to Make it in a Man's World, Chs. 3, 5 (pp. 63-89, 127-160).
Theodore Caplow, op. cit., Ch. 10 (pp. 230-247).
Judith Ann, "The Secretarial Proletariat," in Morgan, op. cit., pp. 86-100.
Elizabeth F. Baker, Technology and Women's Work.
National Manpower Council, WomanPower, esp. Ch. 3 pp. 86-109.
Week 10. Interaction between Work outside the Home and Family Life
F. Ivan Nye and Lois Wladis Hoffman (ed.), The Employed Mother in America, Chs. 2, 15 (pp. 18-38, 215-230).

Mirra Komarovsky, op. cit., Ch. 3 (pt.), pp. 61-73.

Week 11. Analyses of Discrimination and Oppression

Gary Becker, The Economics of Discrimination
Marilyn Goldberg, "The Economic Exploitation of Women," The Review of Radical Political Economics, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 1970), pp. 35-47.
Juliet Mitchell, Woman's Estate.
Simone de Beauvoir, op. cit., Ch. 21 (pp. 562-591),
Shulamith Firestone, op. cit. Conclusion (pp. 205-242).
Betty Friedan, op. cit., Ch. 14 (pp. 326-364).
Margaret Benston, op. cit.

Written Assignment (20-30 pages)

Suggested topics for the term paper:

1. How does the life of upper class women compare with that of working class women? Explain the reasons for the differences and similarities.
2. Why are women paid less in the labor force? Outline the different theories used to explain this and your reasons for preferring certain theories over others.
3. "It's a man's world." "The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles." (Communist Manifesto) Discuss.
4. Almost all secretaries are women. Why?

5. Has the position of women improved since 1950? Use empirical material to support your arguments, Other topics may be approved. Students are expected to have an outline of their papers ready before Thanksgiving, Papers must be submitted by January 17, 1972, at the latest.

Teaching a course on women

In both tutorials (on women) I had a mixed class, each tutorial having three women and three men (not by design). I have found it hard to teach some of the men, whose sympathy is with the women's movement, but whose interest lies elsewhere. I find myself to be intolerant towards men, and, apart from trying harder, have no suggestions as to how to deal with this problem. I envy those who teach only women. On the positive side, I found, somewhat to my surprise, that mixed discussions on the subject of sexual relations were good, although this may be primarily to the credit of the particular men in the tutorial.

Part of the problem of hierarchy within the tutorials was done away with by working politically with the women students in the women's movement; I found that the women were able to criticize me freely as a result, I also experimented with a revolving leadership, which I found good when the reading material was self-explanatory, but frustrating (to all of us) when I had assigned reading material in devious ways. Given that good, direct, readings are hard to find, and that it was accepted by all that I should do the work of determining what was worth reading, I think that in the future, I will have to lead tutorials whenever the purpose of the reading is unclear.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF WOMEN IN AMERICA

This course will examine the history of women's economic roles and how these are related to their social roles. Most attention will be paid to the effects of the industrial revolution and urbanization on the division of labor, the family, and sex roles. We will use American history as the case study of women and capitalist development,

- A. The division of labor and sex roles in pre-capitalist eras:
V. Gordon Childe, What Happened in History, ch. 3 and 4.
Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex.
Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex.
F. Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State.
Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood.
Eva Figs, Patriarchal Attitudes, ch. 1 and 2.
- B. Women and the Capitalist Revolution
1. Early Modern Europe
Philippe Ariès, op. cit.
Eva Figs, op. cit., ch. 3
2. The Industrial Revolution
In Europe:
Alice Clark, The Working Life of Women in the 17th Century.
Ivy Pinchbeck, Women Workers in the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850.
Eva Figs, op. cit., ch. 4.
Ivy Pinchbeck and M. Hewitt, Children in English Society.
J. A. and Olive Barks, Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England.
In America:
M. J. Buhle, A. G. Gordon, Nancy Schrom, "Women in American Society, An Historical Contribution," Radical America, July-August, 1971.
Rolla M. Tryon, Household Manufacturers in the U.S. 1640-1860, ch. 3.
Norman Ware, The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860, ch. 5-7,
Edith Abbott, Women in Industry.
Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Women and Economics.
Edith Abbott, "Harriet Martineau and the Employment of Women in 1836",
J. Pol. Econ., vol. 14, 1906, pp. 614 ff.
Robert Starobin, Industrial Slavery in the Old South.
E. M. Lander, "Slave Labor in the South Carolina Cotton Mills,"
J. Negro Hist., vol. 38, pp. 101-170.
3. Female job classifications - Why?
Janet M. Hooks, Women's Occupations through Seven Decades, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1947.
Edwin Groess, "Plus Ça Change? The Sexual Structure of Occupations Over Time," Social Problems, Fall, 1968.
Georgina Smith, Help Wanted - Female.
- C. Sex Roles and Family Structure in 19th Century America.
Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class, ch. 3, 4, 7.
J. S. Mill, The Subjection of Women.
Ann Firor Scott, The Southern Lady.
Gerda Lerner, "The Lady and the Mill Girl," Mid-Continent American Studies Journal, Spring, 1969.
Barbara Weiler, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," American Quarterly,

vol. 18, 1966.

- Frank Furstenburg, "Industrialization and the American Family, a Look Backward," in J. N. Edwards, The Family and Change.
- D. Sex Roles in Modern America: Woman as Housekeeper, Consumer, Worker, Property. Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique
- Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex
- Wm. H. Whyte, Jr., "The Wives of Management," Fortune, Oct., 1951.
- Verna Tomassen, "Women as Property," New Republic, Sept. 19, 1970.
- Mirra Komarovsky, Blue Collar Marriage.
Twentieth Century Fund, Working Women.
- D. McNulty, "Differences in Pay Between Men and Women Workers," Monthly Labor Review, Dec., 1967.
- Cynthia Epstein, Women's Place, Options and Limits in Professional Careers.
- Alice Cook, "Women and American Trade Unions", Annals of Am. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science, Jan., 1968.
- Willacy, Hazel M., and H. J. Helaski, "Working Women in Urban Poverty Neighborhoods," Monthly Labor Review, June, 1970.
- Klein, Viola, and Alva Myrdal, Women's Two Roles.
- Pat Mainardi, "The Politics of Housework," in Robin Morgan, Sisterhood is Powerful.
- Jean Tepperman, "Two Jobs: Women Who Work in Factories." in Robin Morgan, op. cit.
- Caroline Bird, Born Female.
- Germaine Greer, The Female Eunuch.
- Weisstein, Naomi, Woman As Nigger, reprint from Psychology Today.
- Ann Firor Scott, The American Woman--Who Was She?

Francine B. Weisskoff

WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES ECONOMY
College Course 116
TRINITY COLLEGE
Department of Economics
Spring Term, 1972

Books Recommended for Purchase:

Benston, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation" (reprint)
Bird, Born Female
Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement 1890-1920
Kreps, Sex in the Marketplace
Mitchell, "The Longest Revolution" (reprint)
Morgan, Sisterhood is Powerful
Oppenheimer, The Female Labor Force in the United States
Rainwater, Coleman, Handel, Workingman's Wife
Reed, "The Myth of Women's Inferiority" (reprint)
Smith, Help Wanted Female
Smuts, Women and Work in America

It is suggested that students write to: U. S. Department of Labor
Women's Bureau
Washington, D. C.

for free copies of the following:

1969 Handbook on Women Workers
Facts About Women's Absenteeism and Labor Turnover
List of Current Publications

In preparing term papers, the following sources may be useful:

Strober, Bibliography on Women in the Labor Force (and Related Problems).
[on reserve]
Ferriss, Indicators of Trends in the Status of American Women [on order for
the Library]

Books and articles marked with an (R) will be on reserve at the Trinity College
Library when we are covering that topic.

Course Requirements:

Students will be required to write a term paper and complete a take-home
final examination.

I. Introduction [Jan. 21-26]

Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement 1890-1920, all.

II. Women in Technologically Primitive Societies [Jan. 28]

Reed, "The Myth of Women's Inferiority" (R)

Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development, Chs. 1, 2 (R)

Recommended:

Engels, Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Ch. 2.

DeBeauvoir, The Second Sex, pp. 56-89.

Boserup, Chs. 3-12.

III. Historical Perspective on Women's Economic Role [Feb. 2-18]

Brown and Seitz, "Historical Perspectives," in Morgan, Sisterhood is

Powerful, pp. 3-28.

Abbott, Women in Industry, Chs. II-IV, VII (R)

Smuts, Women and Work in America, Chs. I-IV.

Oppenheimer, The Female Labor Force in the United States, all.

National Manpower Council, Womanpower, Ch. V, (R)

Recommended:

Chapters of special interest in:

Flexner, Century of Struggle (R)

Baker, Technology and Woman's Work (R)

Unpublished papers:

Nisonoff on women workers in the textile mills (R)

Talk on women and trade unions (R)

IV. The Family [Mar. 1-17]

A. Theoretical Overview

Benston, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation"

Mitchell, "Women: The Longest Revolution"

B. The Role of the Housewife and Economic Class

Caplow, The Sociology of Work, pp. 260-269 (R)

1. Working Class Women

Rainwater, Coleman, Handel, Workingman's Wife, Chs. I-VII.

Recommended:

Rainwater, et al., Ch. VIII.

Komarovsky, Blue Collar Marriage, Ch. 3, (R)

2. Middle and Upper Class Women

Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, Chs. 2, 10 (R)

Whyte, "The Wives of Management," Fortune (Oct. 1951) (R)

Whyte, "The Corporation and the Wife," Fortune (Nov. 1951) (R)

C. The Economic Value of Housework

Kreps, Sex in the Marketplace, Ch. 4.

D. Women as Consumers

Rainwater, et al., Chs. IX-XI.

Friedan, Ch. 9.

Willis, "Women and the Myth of Consumerism" (R)

Bird, "Women's Liberation: Good or Bad for Business." Signature
(June 1970) (R)

Recommended:

Rainwater, et al., Ch. XII.

Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class, Chs. 4, 7.

V. Women and Market Work [Mar. 22 - May 3]

A. Overview

Kreps, Ch. 1.

Weisskoff, "'Women's Place' in the Labor Market" (R)

B. Labor Force Participation

Kreps, Ch. 2, pp. 17-40.

Smith, Help Wanted Female, Chs. 5-7.

Willacy and Hilaski, "Working Women in Urban Poverty Neighborhoods."
in Monthly Labor Review (June 1970) (R)

Recommended:

Women's Bureau, Facts About Women's Absenteeism and Labor Turnover

McNally, "Patterns of Female Labor Force Activity," in Industrial Relations (May 1968) (R)

Wilensky, "Women's Work: Economic Growth, Ideology, Structure," in Industrial Relations (May 1968) (R)

C. Employment of Women Workers

Case Studies: Read any five of the following articles from Morgan:

Gilbert, "Women in Medicine"

Furman, "'A House is Not a Home': Women in Publishing"

Hobson, "Women and Television"

Schnall, "Women in the Military"

Gelder, "The Trials of Lois Lane: Women in Journalism"

Judith Ann, "The Secretarial Proletariat"

Glossman, "Women and the Welfare System"

Tepperman, "Two Jobs: Women Who Work in Factories"

Strong, "The Hooker"

Weisskoff, "Women in the U. S. Economy," section on Employment Distribution (R)

Review Oppenheimer, Ch. 3

Bird, Born Female, Chs. 3-5

Smith, Chs. 2-3.

Recommended:

Caplow, Ch. 10.

Gross, "Plus Ça Change. . .? The Sexual Structure of Occupations Over Time," Social Problems (Fall 1968).

D. Women in the Professions

Epstein, Woman's Place, Introduction and Chs. IV-V.

Kreps, Ch. 3.

Recommended:

White, "Women in the Law," Michigan Law Review (April 1967).

E. Earnings

Weisskoff, "Women in the U. S. Economy," section on Earnings (R)

Smith, Ch. 4.

Kreps, pp. 40-46.

Stein, "The Economic Status of Families Headed by Women," Monthly Labor Review (Dec. 1970) (R)

Recommended:

McNulty, "Differences in Pay Between Men and Women Workers." Monthly Labor Review (Dec. 1967).

Sanborn, "Pay Differences Between Men and Women," Industrial and Labor Relations Review (July 1964).

Fuchs, "Differences in Hourly Earnings between Men and Women," Monthly Labor Review (May 1971).

VI. Selected Issues in Women's Employment [May 5-10]

Possible topics: Welfare

Child Care

Unionization

Employment Legislation

I have found that it is helpful to rough out a syllabus before the start of the semester, but to postpone the preparation of the final reading list until after the first meeting of the course. This enables me to determine which topics are of particular interest to the present group of students and approximately how much time to spend on each area. By drawing materials from related disciplines, I have found it possible to broaden the scope of the course and the complexity of the questions under discussion. The major problem areas are, to the best of my knowledge, weaknesses in the literature itself. These would include: historical changes in attitudes towards women working outside the home, and factors responsible for these changes; the evolution of the family and its relationship to the economic

structure; class and race differences among women and the significance of such differences for women's liberation.

Sarah Diamant: Instructor

BLACK AND WHITE WOMEN: A SEMINAR IN INTER-RACIAL PERSPECTIVES
Female Studies 401

Description

The purpose of this course is to provide a framework in which the life experiences of black and white women can be explored, shared and understood. The course will focus on a comparison of black and white women within the context of American social institutions. Women of both races will be viewed from a variety of perspectives in an effort to understand their historic role, sociological status and psychological orientation.

The course will begin with an analysis of the effect of slavery on the relative positions of black and white women and on their attitudes towards each other. An attempt will be made to identify the experiences common to both black and white women with special reference to feelings of invisibility, poverty, welfare, participation in revolutionary struggles, relationships to those in dominant positions, child-rearing, educational opportunities, employment patterns, the family and varieties of sexual relationships.

Special attention will be focused on the similarities and differences in early orientation and development of both black and white women.

Structure

For maximum effectiveness enrollment should be limited to approximately 40 students, preferably 20 black women and 20 white women. Due to the sensitive nature of the material it is felt that the course should be conducted by two instructors--one black woman and one white woman. While academic credentials would be an asset it is felt that other qualifications may in the end be more important, such as group leadership skills, experience in community organizing, sensitivity training.

Sources

Sources will include social science data, literature, historical studies, and the life experiences of the participants. In addition, since women have played such a prominent role in the arts, a special effort will be made to acquire materials such as recordings and films that reflect their contribution in this area.

American Black Women and White Women - A Discussion in Interracial Perspective.

Book List

*Starred items should be purchased - copies of all books and articles will be on reserve at Uris Library.

1. Lay My Burden Down, edited by B. A. Botkin, Univ. of Chicago Press.
- *2. Uncle Tom's Cabin, Harriet Beecher Stowe.
- *3. The Journal of Charlette Forten, edited by R. Billington.
- *4. Industrial Slavery in the Old South, Robert Starobin.
- *5. Sex and Racism in America, Calvin C. Hernton.
6. The Negro in Mississippi, Vernon Wharton.

7. The Urban Frontier, Richard Wade.
- *8. The American Woman, Who Was She? edited by Ann Firor Scott.
9. Everyone Was Brave, W. O'Neill.
10. Native Son, Richard Wright.
11. And the Poor Get Children, Lee Rainwater.
12. Strange Fruit, Lillian Smith.
13. American Dilemma, Gunnar Myrdal.
14. SNCC, The New Abolitionists, Howard Zinn.
15. The Black Panthers Speak, Phillip Foner ed.
- *16. Black Skin, White Mask, Frantz Fanon.
- *17. Tomorrow's Tomorrow, Joyce Ladner.
18. Soul On Ice, Eldridge Cleaver.
19. Moyinhan Report and the Politics of Controversy, Rainwater and Yancey ed.
- *20. Sisterhood is Powerful, Robin Morgan ed.
21. A Century of Struggle, Eleanor Flexner.
22. Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women, Sarah Grimke
- *23. Daddy Was a Numbers Runner, Lee Merriwether.
- *24. I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, Maya Angelou.
- *25. The Political Role of Women, Maurice Duverger.

Articles

1. E. Lander, "Slave Labor in the South Carolina Cotton Mills" Journal of Negro History, xxxviii, p. 101-170.
2. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," American Quarterly xviii, pp. 151-175.
3. Edith Abbott, "Harriet Martineau and the Employment of Women in 1836", Journal of Political Economy, v. 14, 1906, pp. 614 ff.
4. Frank Furstenberg, "Industrialization and the American Family," Am. Soc. Review xxxi, pages 326-337.
5. Putney Middleton, "Dominance in Decision in the Family, Race and Class Differences," Am. Journal Sociology 65. May 1960.
6. Geda Lerner, "Black and White Women in the 19th Century, Interaction and Confrontation" unpublished paper.
7. Linda LaRue, "Black Liberation and Women," Transaction, Nov, Dec, 1970, vol. 8, pp. 59-64.
8. Nathon and Julia Hare, "Black Woman 1970," Transaction Nov, Dec, 1970, vol. 8, pp. 65-89.
9. Elinor Langer, "The Women of the Telephone Company," N.Y. Review of Books, March 12 and 26. 1970.
10. Toni Morrison, "What the Black Woman Thinks about Women's Lib." N.Y. Times Mag. Aug. 29, 1970.
11. Ingrid Bengis, "Angela Davis - A Primer in C. Minor", Village Voice, Oct. 22, 1970.
"Heavy Combat in the Erogenous Zone", Aug. 12, 1970.
"Truce in the Erogenous Zone," April 8, 1971

Topics and readings are scheduled according to lecture dates; readings are intended to cover both lecture topics and discussions for the given week.

A. Social Roles of Black and White Women in the antebellum period,

Sept. 9 and 13

1. The Slave Woman and her family, the cultural and psychological effects of slave orientation. With the attempted destruction of indigenous black cultures and family life there was a creation of "new types" epitomized in white literature and black literature as "Aunt Jemima" and "Sapphire" and "Topsy". What were the actual circumstances of life for the Black slave woman in the South as recorded in slave narratives and in the research of American historians on slave life? What is the relationship between Mammy, Scarlett O'Hara and Butterfly McQueen?
2. Discussion of the effects of the fictionalized stereotypes on the modern Black woman's image of her heritage? To what extent are white women affected by these myths?

READINGS: B.A. Botkin, Lay My Burden Down, female slave narratives of Joanna Draper, pp. 98 - 102, Katie Row, pp. 103 - 109.

E. Lander, "Slave labor in South Carolina Cotton Mills", Journal of Negro History, xxxviii, p. 101 - 170.

R. Starobin, Industrial Slavery in the Old South, Oxford, 1970.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Sept. 16 and 23

3. The antebellum white woman and the problem of Gentility. The 19th Century American white woman was expected to light the lamp of culture and yet to sustain her family in a rapidly changing economic and social environment. The family was both the repository of true virtue and the training ground for the competitive, laissez faire society. "The hand that rocks the cradle could also cradle the rock."

READINGS: Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood", AMQ xviii, pp. 151 - 175.

William Bridges, "Family Patterns and Social Values in America 1825-1875", AMQ xviii, pp. 3-11.

Edith Abbott, Women in Industry, "Harriet Martineau and the Employment of Women in 1836" Journal of Pol.Eco.v. 14, 1906 pp. 614.

Calvin C. Hernton, Sex and Racism in America, Chapter 1.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin.

4. Discussion of the ambivalences and tensions in the role of white women in the antebellum society. Does Harriet Beecher Stowe portray such ambivalences and tensions in her description of Mrs. St. Clair? What is the relationship between little Eva and Topsy in the novel and what can it tell us about the idealized portraits of Southern black and white female children?

Sept, 30 and Oct. 7

5. Feminism and Anti-Slavery - a consideration of the similarities and differences between the two movements, a) the sexual role and status of the Black Woman slave b) the sexual role and status of the free White Woman c) Black and White Women working together - Sojourner Truth and Sarah Grimke, Charlotte Forten and Harriet Beecher Stowe.

READINGS: Gerda Lerner, "Black and White Women in the 19th C. Interaction and Confrontation." unpublished paper
Charlotte Forten, Journal: A Free Negro in the Slave Era.

Discussion: The antislavery movement encompassed many themes, some of which joined emancipation to Feminism and many of which did not. Both Feminists and Abolitionists feared that the separate causes could lose male support by a union. Yet, many of the earliest anti-slavery tracts by white women likened the enslavement of Black people to their own "enslavement" in a male dominated white society. Many of the popular religious anti-slavery tracts including Uncle Tom's Cabin argued that slavery prevented the fulfillment of a sacred family life in which women were the moral and spiritual angels as well as the frugal, efficient housewives. They felt that slavery must be ended to save the domestic institutions from sinful corruption and decadence. Are these conflicting positions meaningful to black and white women today?

B. Civil War to the Vote, an economic and social transformation of the role of Black and White Women in American society.

Oct. 14 and 21

1. The Family and the City
2. The Black Family and the Black Woman in Reconstruction - the changed role of marriage and the shifting role of women in the Black family.
3. The Redemption period and its impact upon the Black family and the Black woman.

READINGS:

Wharton, Vernon, The Negro in Mississippi, Chapter 9.

Spero and Harris, The Black Worker, Chapters 2, 16.

Richard Wade, The Urban Frontier.

Frank Furstenberg, "Industrialization and the American Family", Am. Soc. Review xxxi, 326-337.

E. Franklin Frazier, Negro Family, Parts 2,3,4.

Theodore Dreiser, Sister Carrie.

Discussion: Some historians have argued that emancipation and the increasing industrialization and urbanization of American life actually widened the gap between the women's movement for equal rights and any concern some of them may have had for Black Rights before the Civil War. We are examining some of the changes in white family life and some of the changes in status for the white women which preceded the now famous woman's suffrage movement. We are also examining the impact of immigration, industrialization and urbanization on the Black family and the Black woman. Does it seem that the status of the Black woman and the White woman grow more similar or more disparate in this period? Does the Black woman's relationship to her family change as the economic burden of support falls increasingly on her shoulders? What sorts of ambiguities and tensions must she resolve to remain "feminine" in this period? In the competition between immigrant males and Black males for unskilled and semi-skilled jobs Gusman has now shown that the Blacks lost ground in the late 19th century, does this bode anything for the problem of assimilation and racism? What are the bases for social success in American society in this period and how do Black women and White women fare?

C. The Women's Movement - implications for the White and Black Women in America, Was it a White Woman's Movement and if so why?

Oct. 28

READINGS:

Connie Brown and Jane Seitz, "You've Come a Long Way, Baby" in Robin Morgan ed. Sisterhood is Powerful, pp. 3-28.

Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle, chapters 1,6,7,10, 11,12.

O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, Chapter 1-3, 5.

Discussion: In an earlier section we studied the conflicting strands of Feminism in the antebellum period noting the potential for a recognition of the underlying similarities in the plight of Blacks and White women and also the fear that Feminism meant the destruction of domestic institutions of marriage and family and that in fact much anti-slavery work was directed at the preservation of these very institutions through the abolition of slavery. The Women's Movement was faced with charges that equality for women would mean the destruction of Family and Domestic Harmony. For some of the more radical feminists this charge was certainly true. But, the Movement was divided and the more moderate women refuted the charges and sought to prove that equal rights for women could only improve the moral condition of American life and that indeed women were historically a force for more effective social control. As our readings show, the question of Women's Rights became for a majority of the women in the movement a fight for Suffrage. Some now argue that the Feminist Movement sold out the Blacks and sold out its radical wing to get the vote. Can we understand the spectrum of feminist thought and place it in the context of the dominant institutions of the period?

D.. The Roaring Twenties to the Silent Fifties - Where did the Role of White Women in American Society both touch and diverge from the role of Black women?

Nov. 4, 11, 18

1. The White Woman in myth and reality, sex symbol, domestic paragon and worker. This period marked the emergence of the New Woman who struggled to fulfill her cultural identity as consumer, worker, wife. We have to examine here a spectrum which encompassed Hemingway's Lady Executive and Doris Day's cheerful housewife and bedmate.

READINGS: Robin Morgan ed, Sisterhood is Powerful, pp. 37-124.

2. The Black Woman's struggle to survive as a worker, wife and increasingly as a sex symbol to White America through the emergence of Black entertainers, Blues, etc,

- a) the fragmentation of the Black family
- b) the Black dayworker, the inheritor of the "mammy" role,
- c) welfare
- d) Black music - special listening and talking session.

READINGS: Ann Firor Scott, The American Woman, Who Was She?
Lillian Smith, Strange Fruit.

Putney Middleton, "Dominance in Decision in the Family, Race and Class Differences"

Rainwater and Yancey, Moynihan Report and its Critics,

Richard Wright, Native Son.

Gunnar Myrdal, American Dilemma, Appendix 5.

Lee Rainwater, And the Poor Get Children.

*We assume that the class will have read at least one of the fictional works previously and ask that they choose one more novel and also read the articles listed.

Discussion: The idealized portraits of both Black and White women in this period do not reflect the data assembled on real conditions. But, significantly this gap contributes to the emergence of both the Black Movement and the Women's Movement. Some social scientists find the immediate roots of both movements in the Civil Rights Movement which brought Black and White

Women together once more. Before we discuss the '60's and '70's can we trace the conditions in the first half of the twentieth century which laid the groundwork for these two movements? White women made significant gains in this period. How does such an observation jibe with the fact of the resurgence of a Feminist Movement in the current period? Black women, while denied many of these gains, still achieved more in this period than ever before since Emancipation, yet they were the first leaders of the Civil Rights movement--Rosa Parks, Fannie Lou Hamer, Brenda Travis, et al. Are there any similarities then between the felt needs of Black Women and White Women in this period?

E. The Current Struggle for Liberation: Black Liberation and the Women's Movement.
Nov. 22 and 24

1. The role of Women in the Black Liberation Movement. The Black Woman meets an unparalleled identity crisis as she works to develop her joint racial and sexual identity. In many respects this course has sought to reveal the similarities and bonds between Black and White Women. Yet, we grow increasingly aware that the Black Woman faces significantly deeper tensions and problems than ever before.

READINGS:

Howard Zinn, SNCC, The New Abolitionists

Ann Firor Scott, The American Woman, Who Was She?, pp. 121-128,

"The New Woman in the South", South Atlantic Quarterly, 1, LXI (August 1962), pp. 473-483.

"Black Panther Women Speak", The Black Panthers Speak, Philip Foner, ed.

Black Skin, White Masks, Frantz Fanon

Eldridge Cleaver, Soul On Ice.

Joyce Ladner, Tomorrow's Tomorrow

Robin Morgan, Sisterhood is Powerful, selections on and by Black Women.

Ingrid Bengis, "Angela Davis - A Primer in C. Minor", Village Voice.

Linda La Rue, "Black Liberation and Women", Transaction.

Toni Morrison, "What the Black Woman Thinks about Woman's Lib.", N.Y. Times.

Discussion: The history of damaged relationships between Black men and women here plays a crucial role in our studies. The Black woman seeks her role in the struggle for Black Liberation and faces both white societal role models and her own ambiguous relationship to Black men - White men - White women - Black women. If our previous readings and discussions indicate that the Black men's role in a predominately white society has forced his reliance upon Black women's earning power and emotional strength then we must consider the difficulties of the Black Woman in both helping her men to Liberation and liberating her own identity as a woman and a Black. We may ask ourselves what parallels exist for white women in a society which has denied her individual identity but which has also to a great extent created insecurities and tensions for white men - the "living with the master" syndrome.

2. The White Women's Liberation Movement - where we find ourselves and where we are headed. We shall consider the nature of domination-subordination patterns in current American society as they pertain to women. The Women's Movement for white women contains diverse elements ranging from demands for equality of employment (NOW) to radical restructuring of basic institutions both domestic and social.

READINGS: Ingrid Bengis, "Heavy Combat in the Erogenous Zone" and "Truce in the Erogenous Zone"
 Robin Morgan, Sisterhood is Powerful
 Eleanor Langer, "Inside the N.Y. Telephone Co."
 Doris Lessing, Golden Notebooks

Discussion: The White Women's Movement seems to contain many of the strains of conflicting demands that marked earlier Feminist struggles. The Liberal tradition emphasized the need for job equality, day care, and increased political power for women. The more radical groups range from Radical Lesbians who feel that male-female relationships are inherently degrading to women to Radical Feminists who insist that radical social change is necessary and that such change must be revolutionary in scope and purpose and must include the transformation of the role and status of women, possibly eliminating the nuclear family and the institution of private property. There are of course many paths between these extremes and we intend to consider the various alternatives at some length and as in the case of the Black Movement with considerable attention to personal experience.

5. Black and White Women in the Seminar--a consideration of our own individual identities and relationships.



Martha Jane Soltow

WOMEN IN LABOR UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES,
1825 - 1935; A BIBLIOGRAPHY

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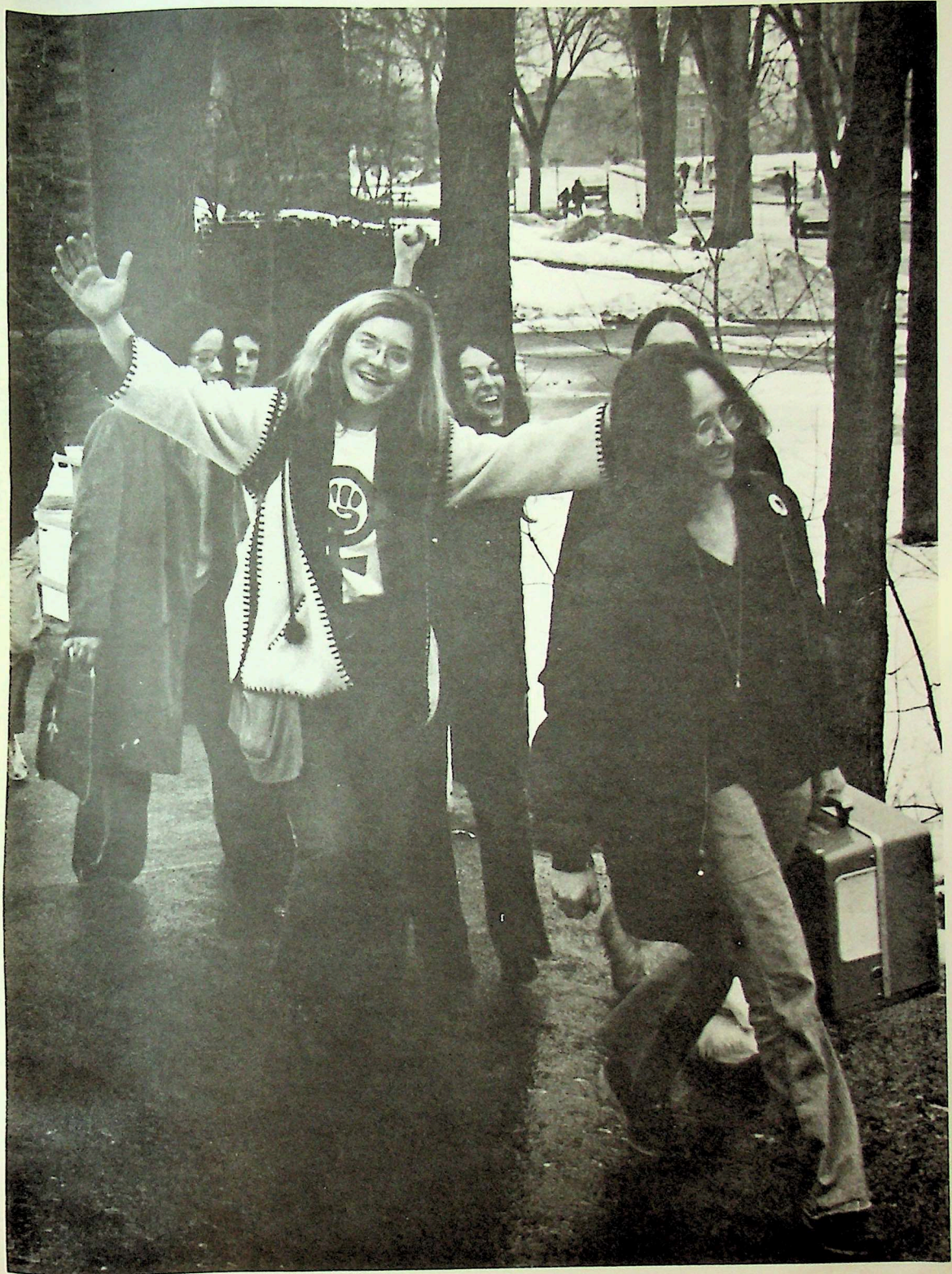
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There are a few sources yet to be examined; the American Federationist, volumes 1-16; Life and Labor, volumes 9-11; and One Big Union Monthly in addition to several books not yet examined at Michigan State University. In the case that this would be accepted for publication, I would hope that a note could be inserted to this effect.



(an I say

And it's hard to see the mountains
when you're sitting on the subway
It's hard I said to feel the wind
When you're idling in some welfare office
but I'm not a case, I'm not a number
I can do quilback
Myter, I can ride with no
saddle and hey, listen,
my brother with his own carved
arrows can stalk a deer
Why? are you checking boxes
when I am trying to talk, no
I do not have outside income
but there is a tall
cottonwood I know and sometimes
I go to see the leaves and this
morning I heard a meadowlark
when is the end... to die if not the end
when is the end... to die if not the end
he said, I made my ears like a fox stand
to hear and I never even go in
a bark so I got no account
There is an old man I heard
saying, "make moccasins..."
no he does not give me money, he
said to the people
"make moccasins for your children, it
is time to go" and I guess we are going
on the plains south where you are always saying
we are going because the old man is
many winters wise. I went someday to bring
when the sun makes white sparks on
the creek like daying fire, I
went to bring some kinnikinnik to him
he remembers the red willow smoke and a
buckskin bag and why do your eyes
say I tell lies? I never been insane, I
never been in jail, I do not drink, I am not
an addict, I have no car, I do
not have syphilis or radities, I did
have TB, I did drop out, and I
did get fired, I did not commit mail fraud, I
did not overthrow the government [lately]
with your peyal flying, myter;
(an I say there is a good red road
and a sacred hoop of our people
which has broken but I would like
to help mend so the old man would
be happy. My brother
brought fresh meat to him
but the old man says there is not
much time before he will feed the wolves.
I want him to know that the
rivers run free — I do not have
a pen to sign here — the forests grow
tall, the plains — I was just in my mind
thinking myter during this investigation —
of the plains where the dirt is living
and wild horses disappear behind a hill,
I wanted to see the old man at dawn stand
on the living plains with his
horse near, see him raise his
arms to the sky, hear him say
"Thank you father"

... again



— Doty Bird