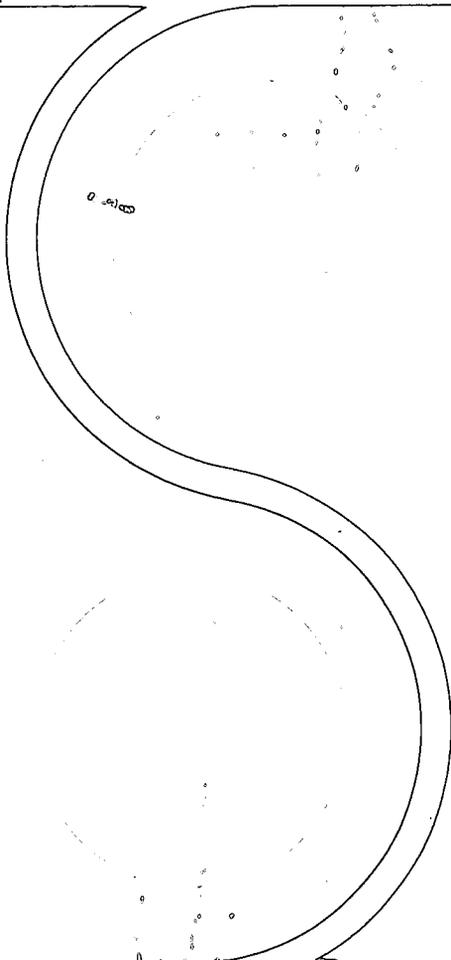


REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN CANADA

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REPORT
OF THE
ROYAL COMMISSION
ON
THE STATUS OF WOMEN
IN CANADA

Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada

TO HIS EXCELLENCY
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL

We, the Commissioners appointed as a Royal Commission, beg
to submit to your Excellency the following Report.

Florence Bird, *Chairman*

Jacques Henripin

John P. Humphrey

Lola M. Lange

Jeanne Lapointe

Elsie Gregory MacGill

Doris Ogilvie

Ottawa, September 28, 1970

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Terms of Reference

P.C. 1967-312

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 16th February, 1967.

Canada
Privy Council

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable Lester Bowles Pearson, the Prime Minister, advise that

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Mrs. John Bird, | Ottawa, Ontario, |
| Miss Elsie Gregory MacGill, | Toronto, Ontario, |
| Mrs. Ottomar Lange, | Clareholm, Alberta, |
| Miss Jeanne Lapointe, | Quebec City, Québec, |
| Mrs. Robert Ogilvie, | Fredericton, New Brunswick, |
| *Mr. Donald Gordon, Jr., | Waterloo, Ontario, |
| Mr. Jacques Henripin, | Montreal, Quebec, and |
| **Mr. John P. Humphrey, | Montreal, Quebec, |

be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act to inquire into and report upon the status of women in Canada, and to recommend what steps might be taken by the Federal Government to ensure for women equal opportunities with men in all aspects of Canadian society, having regard for the distribution of legislative powers under the constitution of Canada, particularly with reference to federal statutes, regulations and policies that concern or affect the rights and activities of women and, without restricting the generality of the foregoing, to inquire into and report on:

1. Laws and practices under federal jurisdiction concerning the political rights of women;
2. The present and potential role of women in the Canadian Labour force, including the special problems of married women in employment and measures that might be taken under federal jurisdiction to help in meeting them;
3. Measures that might be taken under federal jurisdiction to permit the better use of the skills and education of women, including the special re-training requirements of married women who wish to re-enter professional or skilled employment;

*Resigned effective November 1, 1967-P.C. 1967-2164 of November 21/67 refers.

**Appointed in replacement of Mr. Gordon-P.C. 1968-229 of February 2/68 refers.

4. Federal Labour laws and regulations in their application to women;
 5. Laws, practices and policies concerning the employment and promotion of women in the Federal Civil Service, by Federal Crown Corporations and by Federal Agencies;
 6. Federal taxation pertaining to women;
 7. Marriage and divorce;
 8. The position of women under the Criminal Law;
 9. Immigration and citizenship laws, policies and practices with respect to women;
- and

such other matters in relation to the status of women in Canada as may appear to the Commissioners to be relevant.

The Committee further advise that

- (a) The Commissioners be authorized to exercise all the powers conferred on them by section 11 of the Inquiries Act;
- (b) The Commissioners be authorized to sit at such times and at such places as they may decide from time to time;
- (c) The Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisers as they may require, at rates of remuneration and reimbursement approved by the Treasury Board;
- (d) The Commissioners report to the Governor in Council with all reasonable despatch, and file with the Dominion Archivist the papers and records of the Commission as soon as reasonably may be after the conclusion of the inquiry;
- (e) Mrs. John Bird, Ottawa, Ontario, be Chairman of the Commission.

R. G. ROBERTSON
Clerk of the Privy Council

Foreword

1. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada was set up on the 16th of February, 1967. Since then there have been a number of changes in legislation which are particularly helpful to women.

2. While welcoming the new climate of thought which led to these legislative changes, we feel that further amendments as well as changes in attitudes are necessary. They are discussed and recommendations are made in the Chapters that follow.

3. While our Terms of Reference instructed us to "inquire into . . . the status of women in Canada . . . to ensure for women equal opportunities with men in all aspects of Canadian society," nine areas of study particularly germane to the status of women were listed specifically. Several of the specific items listed in the Terms of Reference of the Commission are so wide and the subjects covered by them so extensive and diverse that they could have been the subject matter for a separate Royal Commission.

4. In studying the status of women in Canada, the Commission called for a presentation of briefs from organizations and individuals. A brochure, "What Do You Have To Say About the Status of Women?" was distributed across the country in supermarkets and libraries and through associations and the mass media.

5. We received 468 briefs and about 1000 letters of opinion. Many of these submissions entailed a great deal of research on the part of those who presented them, and proved to be invaluable to the Commission.

6. In April 1968 the seven Commissioners began a series of public hearings which were held in 14 cities in the 10 provinces. The Chairman and one other Commissioner also held hearings in Whitehorse and Yellowknife and conducted group discussions and interviews in four settlements in the Keewatin District and in Churchill, Manitoba. All the hearings were scheduled so that they would be held at times and places convenient for women and an atmosphere of informality and easy exchange was maintained.

Some 890 witnesses appeared before the Commission. In several cities a "hot-line" telephone service was set up so that people unable to come to the hearings could talk directly to a Commissioner. The Commission sat for 178 days over and above 37 days of public hearings.

7. A programme of research to provide background for the Report was set up at the beginning of the Commission. The Commission's secretariat, following the Terms of Reference, reviewed existing material and initiated new research when necessary. Forty special studies, some of which will be published separately from the Report, were commissioned.

8. Because the Commission thought it important that the Report receive wide distribution and that it be financially within the reach of most Canadians, we decided to reduce the great wealth of material which we had studied into a single volume.

Criteria and Principles

1. In a dozen succinct words the Universal Declaration of Human Rights¹ has clarified the issue of the rights of women: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

2. Canada is, therefore, committed to a principle that permits no distinction in rights and freedoms between women and men. The principle emphasizes the common status of women and men rather than a separate status for each sex. The stage has been set for a new society equally enjoyed and maintained by both sexes.

3. But practices and attitudes die slowly. As we travelled across the country, we heard of discrimination against women that still flourishes and prejudice that is very much alive. It became abundantly clear that Canada's commitment is far from being realized.

4. We have been asked to inquire into and report upon the status of women in Canada and we have done so in the light of certain principles. A general principle is that *everyone is entitled to the rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. We have examined the status of women to learn whether or not they really have these positive rights and freedoms both in principle and in practice. Some of our recommendations should establish a measure of equality that is now lacking for men as well as for women.

5. Explicit in the Terms of Reference given us by the Government is our duty to ensure for women equal opportunities with men. We have interpreted this to mean that equality of opportunity for everyone should be the goal of Canadian society. The right to an adequate standard of living is without value to the person who has no means of achieving it. Freedom to choose a career means little if the opportunity to enter some occupations is restricted.

¹ U.N. General Assembly resolution adopted unanimously December 10, 1948.

6. Our Terms of Reference also imply that *the full use of human resources is in the national interest*. We have explored the extent to which Canada develops and makes use of the skills and abilities of women.

7. Women and men, having the same rights and freedoms, share the same responsibilities. They should have an equal opportunity to fulfil this obligation. We have, therefore, examined the status of women and made recommendations in the belief that *there should be equality of opportunity to share the responsibilities to society as well as its privileges and prerogatives*.

8. In particular, the Commission adopted four principles: first, that *women should be free to choose whether or not to take employment outside their homes*. The circumstances which impede this free choice have been of specific interest to our inquiry. Where we have made recommendations to improve opportunities for women in the work world, our goal has not been to force married women to work for pay outside of the home but rather to eliminate the practical obstacles that prevent them from exercising this right. If a husband is willing to support his wife, or a wife her husband, the decision and responsibility belong to them.

9. The second is that *the care of children is a responsibility to be shared by the mother, the father and society*. Unless this shared responsibility is acknowledged and assumed, women cannot be accorded true equality.

10. The third principle specifically recognizes the child-bearing function of women. It is apparent that *society has a responsibility for women because of pregnancy and child-birth, and special treatment related to maternity will always be necessary*.

11. The fourth principle is that *in certain areas women will for an interim period require special treatment to overcome the adverse effects of discriminatory practices*. We consider such measures to be justified in a limited range of circumstances, and we anticipate that they should quickly lead to actual equality which would make their continuance unnecessary. The needs and capacities of women have not always been understood. Discrimination against women has in many instances been unintentional and special treatment will no longer be required if a positive effort to remove it is made for a short period.

12. With these principles in mind, we have first looked at women in Canadian society. Within this perspective we have gone on to consider the position of women in the economy, the education they receive, their place in the family and their participation in public life. We have considered the particular implications of poverty among women, conditions of citizenship and aspects of taxation, and the Criminal Code as it affects the female offender.

Canadian Women and Society

1. The rapid changes which have taken place in Canada, especially during the last 30 years, have profoundly affected the lives of women. Technological developments, urbanization, industrialization and the progress of medical and other scientific research have altered the way they live today, and will continue to alter it.

2. New methods of communication, especially television, have shown Canadians themselves and people in other countries in a new perspective. These and other developments have led people of all ages, but particularly the young, to question long accepted beliefs and traditions. Our society has become more permissive as a new generation reacts, often violently, against the domination of established authority and the old way of life. There is a growing belief that many of our attitudes are based on traditions and myths which do not reflect the facts and realities of today.

3. Although a rigid definition of woman lives on today as a stereotype despite rapidly changing circumstances, a new consciousness and concern about the status of women are indicated by the creation of a number of national commissions to study and report on the matter.¹

4. In the past, many thoughtful people have questioned women's place in society. Some men have realized that a world organized and ruled by men will be naturally inclined to keep women in subjugation. As John Stuart Mill put it: "Men do not want solely the obedience of women, they want their sentiments . . . not a forced slave but a willing one."²

¹ Including the following: President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities (U.S.), 1969-70. U.S. Status of Women Commission (1961-1963); National Commissions of Inquiry of France (1966-.....), of West Germany (1962-1966), of Denmark (1965-.....); National Study Committees of the United Kingdom, Finland, the Netherlands; Central Office on the Status of Women in Austria (1966-.....); Advisory Committee (Department of Labour) Belgium; Report of the Norwegian Government (1966). (In 1935, the League of Nations set up the first international study on women's status; the United Nations set up a Commission in 1946.)

² Mill, John Stuart. *The Subjection of Women*. London, Oxford University Press, 1912, (first published 1869), p. 443.

5. Men are becoming more conscious of the unbalanced nature of a social order in which everything centres on one sex alone. "It is understood that they, men, essentially constitute Man, and that women's part in mankind is merely accessory. It is a purely subjective attitude raised on an immense intellectual apparatus that makes prodigious claims to objectivity. Men have scarcely ever been able to see the basic unreality of this structure . . ."³ This Canadian writer adds that "the profound result of feminism has been to set up a variety of mutations in man, for humanity will never be adult without the full presence of woman."

6. Through the years, some women have protested at length, though often unheeded, in a world still insensitive to the social problem created by their status. Over recent years, the number of books on the subject has increased rapidly. Many have been widely read. Two of these, which were in the vanguard and may have been the source of aroused interest, were *The Second Sex* by Simone de Beauvoir,⁴ and *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan.⁵ Both authors assail the traditional and contemporary myths that have tended to keep women in a dependent and subordinate position.

7. In the United States, the last four years have seen the rapid growth of increasingly diversified groups of women that try to improve their collective lot as well as to combat discrimination. In some ways they seem to be a resurgence of the early feminist movements which battled for woman suffrage. However, reformist feminist groups today question all aspects of society. Some of them are not merely reformist but revolutionary in their aims, seeking radical changes in the economic system as well as in the institution of marriage and the nuclear family. Others agree that economics plays a fundamental part in their problems but maintain that this only involves an equal right to work which, in turn, must rest on equality in the educational system.

8. Similar movements are growing in Canada. For example, as of March 1970, there were local units of the Women's Liberation Movement in 16 cities from Vancouver to Halifax. Their articles, studies and discussions examine all kinds of global solutions as well as specific reforms.⁶ Other groups have been formed which are occupied solely with the status of women.

³ LeMoyne, Jean. *Convergence* (translated by Philip Stratford). Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1966, pp. 99, 101.

⁴ Beauvoir, Simone de. *The Second Sex*. Paris, Gallimard, 1949.

⁵ Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York, W. W. Norton and Company, Incorporated, 1963.

⁶ Benston, Margaret. "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation." Discussion Paper, Vancouver Women's Caucus, mimeographed, 1969-70.

9. Women made use of the public hearings of this Commission as a vehicle to express their aspirations. In our search for ways to ensure for women real equality of opportunity in Canadian society, we heard women, and also men, from coast to coast, tell of their hopes and frustrations concerning the status of women. The main aspiration was for elementary human rights and genuine equality: "... we subscribe to the fundamental principle of equality of the sexes as human beings and as citizens and we believe that any action either legislative, corporate or individual which infringes on that equality violates a fundamental human right."⁷

10. Other briefs stressed that women's sense of personal dignity is not being respected by the present political, economic and social structures of Canada: "Our government bodies are not unlike stag parties but the stakes here are human dignity and social progress not plastic poker chips."⁸ "It may not be the loss of dollars that bothers as much as the lack of dignity in not receiving recognition for labour willingly done."⁹

11. A woman suffers when she is not recognized as having an individual identity as a person with her own aspirations, strengths, weaknesses, tastes and ideas that are not necessarily those of all other women whether married or unmarried, whether wives at home or workers outside. She does not accept with good grace the easy generalizations, often accompanied by a superficial idealization of the concept of womanhood, that fill so much of the literature, thought and even languages of western countries. Many Canadian women protest against the stereotypes imposed upon them: "Women are not a homogeneous group, and their needs are variable in relation to their social and economic status, their role and contribution in employment, and their role and responsibility related to the needs of children."¹⁰ "Changes would have to be in the direction of acknowledging women as individual human beings, even in marriage."¹¹ "Women are adults not children to be protected, pampered and adored."¹² "Manpower counsellors, most of whom are men, think that all women have the homemaking instinct. This is no more realistic than assuming all men are mechanically minded."¹³ "(The married woman who works) is no longer regarded as the wife of Mr. X, but rather as Mrs. X, social worker, nurse, doctor, technician, or other specialist. When talking to her, one no longer feels obliged to begin by asking about her children, the subject that would previously have been

⁷ Brief No. 441.

⁸ Brief No. 194.

⁹ Brief No. 387.

¹⁰ Brief No. 70.

¹¹ Brief No. 329.

¹² Brief No. 279.

¹³ Brief No. 160.

assumed to be the centre of her life. One may speak to her of her profession since it is an open window, letting her look out on the world; one may also choose to talk with her about political, economic or social topics.”¹⁴

12. Many women insist that it is not the traditional division of masculine and feminine roles alone which must change, but the conventional image of marriage and the family as well. The desire for this change was expressed in many briefs: “If women are to attain equality there must be a change in the whole expectations of husband and wife. Marriage must become a partnership where each is free to pursue a career and is equally responsible for the home and family. The family unit would become strong again because men and women would less often look on marriage as a trap.”¹⁵ “Just as we regard the terms “father” or “husband” as indicating a human relationship, so we should regard the terms “wife” and “mother”. It does not follow that women need to make a career or a whole way of life out of being wives and mothers—just as men do not make marriage and parenthood their whole way of life.”¹⁶

13. Many women in briefs asked for the right to a degree of personal fulfilment. “To be a ‘person in her own right’—not just a husband’s alter-ego—a female child and teenager will have to be conditioned to regard marriage and child-bearing as a phase of life not the whole of it. Each female should be encouraged to discover her own particular gifts, talents, drives and to cultivate them for self-expression and for contribution to society. The Creator has endowed her with no less than the male. The mental climate in which she is reared should recognize and provide for her development to the fullest extent . . .”¹⁷ “Girls and women must be encouraged to seek self-fulfilment as human beings rather than merely as females.”¹⁸

14. In other briefs women pointed out that these profound and earnest desires can be realized by women only if they are given help, whenever necessary, to achieve the balance between their life at home and their outside interests. They asked that society as a whole and its institutions recognize that women’s minds are at least as important as their traditional domestic roles. “. . . (these roles) no longer express the profound reality of their lives. Women would, however, welcome a true understanding of their destiny and purpose in life.”¹⁹ “At the World Conferences of Churches

¹⁴ Brief No. 349.

¹⁵ Brief No. 32.

¹⁶ Brief No. 279.

¹⁷ Brief No. 112.

¹⁸ Brief No. 373.

¹⁹ Brief No. 326.

in Geneva in 1966, Margaret Mead observed that the church has traditionally granted woman a soul. She pleaded to grant her also a mind. The plea should be directed to all men."²⁰

Canadian Women in a Changing World

15. Canadian women have benefited, along with the rest of the population, from medical and social progress. Science has made it possible for both women and men to lead longer, healthier lives. At the end of the 18th century, the average life expectancy of both sexes was probably not more than 35 years. Since then, the toll of death through illness and epidemics has steadily declined. A decreasing number of women die in child-birth or are exhausted by numerous pregnancies. In 1931, the life expectancy of Canadian women was 62, compared with 60 for men. In 1968, in Canada, women could expect to live almost to the age of 76, and men to 69. (Life expectancy was approximately 66 years for Indian women in 1968 and 50 years for Eskimos—both sexes—in 1967.) In the Canadian population as a whole, there has always been a larger proportion of men than women but the ratio has steadily declined. In 1966, there were 101 males for every 100 females.

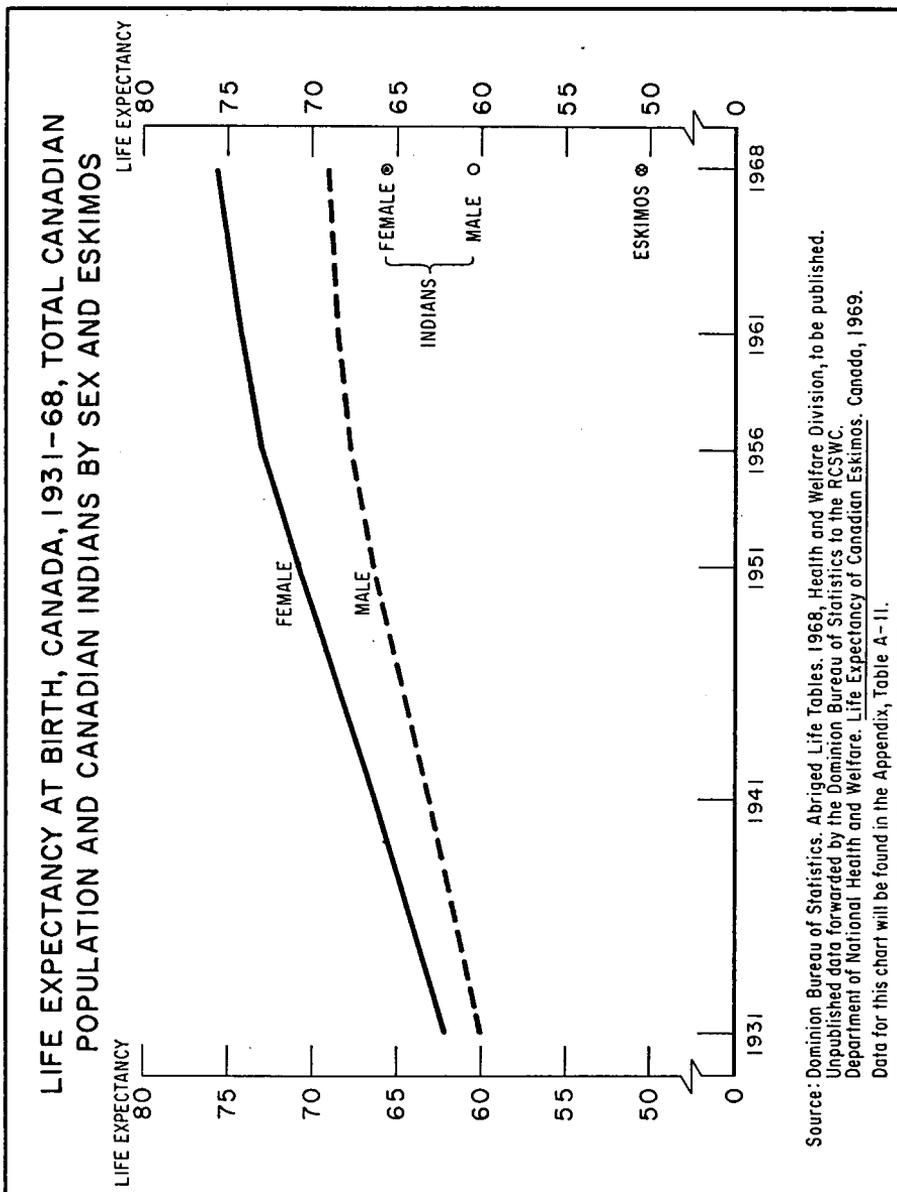
16. The fertility rate has been declining in Canada, as in many other western countries, owing to an increased use of birth control methods. In the middle of the last century, Canadian women who were still married at the age of 50 had borne an average of eight children. By the turn of the century the number had decreased to six, and, by 1961, to three, even before the wide spread use of the contraceptive pill. This means that the reproductive function no longer dictates the destiny of most women as it did in the past.

17. There used to be two cycles in the life of most women; the pre-marital stage and the period given over entirely to child-bearing and the rearing of children. Today, most women can look forward to a third and longer cycle between the ages of 35 and 76 because the majority give birth to the last of their children around the age of 30. In comparison with the life span of their great-grandmothers, this represents for women the equivalent of a second life.

18. Progress in medicine is helping women of all ages. Developments in gynaecology and hormone chemistry ensure better control over menopause, which used to disrupt the psychological or physiological balance of about 85 per cent of women—causing, for example, depression, insomnia, and

²⁰ Brief No. 7.

CHART - I



troubles of the circulatory system and metabolism.²¹ Today, doctors and psychologists report that the menopause is often followed by a period of renewed vigour. "Contrary to popular belief, aging does not start or speed up with the advent of the menopause. Ovarian function is a transitory phenomenon which is not essential to a woman's life, but rather additional to it."²² Some physicians think that many of the symptoms associated with the menopause are psychosomatic. More knowledge and understanding are now alleviating or eliminating the cause of these symptoms.

19. The new life cycle for women makes it imperative that girls should be prepared for energetic usefulness in the later years of their lives. All girls should be made aware of the choices and diversity that life can offer them. They should not restrict themselves to short-range occupations as stop-gaps until marriage. Rather, in recognition of their own talents and interests, their plans should be long-range and their choice should include parenthood, outside work, other activities, or whatever combination of all three they prefer. "With each passing day, the part of life ruled by biological factors becomes smaller, and that left to free choice, larger."²³

Effects of Technological Change

20. In Canada as elsewhere, one result of the industrial revolution has been that domestic production, part of which used to depend on women, is now carried out in factories. As this change occurred, women entered workshops and factories where they earned less pay than men. Many of the skills they had learned were rendered obsolete by the mass production of consumer goods. By 1891, one-eighth of the Canadian labour force was female. Women were a pool of cheap labour for industry. They were often exploited.

21. As the years went on, women were concentrated more and more in "traditionally" female occupations. Perhaps traditional attitudes about women's "place" in the home encouraged the idea that they did not really belong in the labour force. Even today, some people still consider women's work outside the home unnecessary; they are not yet fully aware of the need for two salaries in some households or of the number of women who are the sole providers for their families. Also often forgotten are some of the positive effects of women's paid work on society. The work women do for pay is essential work and the proportion of the Gross National Product and of tax revenues represented by women's participation in the

²¹ Wilson, Dr. Robert A. *Feminine Forever*. New York, Evans and Company, 1966.

²² Denart-Toulet, Dr. Anne. "Les deux âges de la femme". *Esprit*. May 1961, p. 791.

²³ Lilar, Suzanne. *Le malentendu du deuxième sexe*. Paris, P.U.F., 1969, p. 234.

world of work is substantial. Although labour unions have made contributions toward better working conditions for all employees, women have not as yet obtained equal opportunities with men at work in all sectors or acquired full representation in labour unions. According to a study prepared for the Commission: "when unionists discuss women at work, it is never in quite the same way they discuss men at work. There always seem to be implications, in the conversation, that woman's role is elsewhere."

22. Technological progress has transformed the familiar world of the home by eliminating or lightening many household tasks. Often, however, housework expands to fill the time available, as advertising exhorts women to add so-called refinements to housekeeping. Nevertheless, married women today have more time for outside activities than they ever had before.

23. In recent years, the increased participation of women, especially married women, in the labour force, has greatly changed their lives. In 1968, women workers accounted for 34.4 per cent of the Canadian labour force. More than half of them were married.

Social Change

24. Recent decades have been characterized by shifting patterns of population distribution. In the 15 years from 1951 to 1966, an ever increasing number of Canadians moved to the cities.²⁴ The trend to urban living has seen the development of large cities surrounded by suburbs. City living, for women, has meant easy access to a variety of services and has given them greater freedom while, at the same time, creating new problems and conflicts such as separation from a larger family group and a familiar community. Suburban living has drawbacks for women since it often isolates them from the activities, community services and programmes found in the central city.

25. The industrial production of a vast array of household goods has turned women into consumers on a large scale. Much of the advertising of consumer goods is directed at women because they do most of the daily shopping for the family. Buying goods and services has become so complicated that the formation of governmental and private agencies has become necessary in order to provide consumers with information based on research.

26. In industry, the nineteenth century work week of 50 to 60 hours has now been reduced to 37 to 40 hours with the result that the leisure time of the worker has increased, allowing more time for amusements, community

²⁴ In 1951, 31.4 per cent of the total population lived in urban centres of 30,000 or more, while in 1966 the corresponding proportion was 54 per cent. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Canada Year Book*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968, p. 194.

activity and family life. However, mothers of families who also hold outside jobs are often an under-privileged class as far as leisure is concerned. Canada, by signing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has accepted the principle that every person has the right to adequate rest and leisure but married women will not have that right until there are better community services, indispensable in an industrialized society, and until there is a change in attitudes concerning the responsibility of husband and wife for housework and child care.

27. Technological advance in the field of communications, especially in radio and television, has also brought about social change. It has been estimated²⁵ that, in 1969, Canadian adults spent an average of four hours each day watching television and about three and one-quarter hours listening to radio.

28. A nation-wide survey²⁶ has shown that newspapers reach as many Canadian women as men. Three-quarters of the women surveyed read the editorial page; nine-tenths, the general news. They are less interested than men in the financial pages. The women's pages are read by 88 per cent of women and 45 per cent of men.

29. The democratization of education has greatly affected the aspirations and expectations of Canadian women. Little by little, the doors of nearly all educational institutions have been opened to them over the last hundred years. In 1967, female graduates made up about a third of the 27,533 Canadian graduates in arts, pure science and commerce, and more than half the 7,590 graduates in education, library science and social work. And yet many fields of learning still remain substantially male preserves with only token female representation; fewer than five per cent of the 1,796 graduates in law and theology, fewer than 12 per cent of the graduating medical doctors and about six per cent of the graduating dentists in 1967 were women.²⁷ Moreover, institutions of higher learning have yet to adapt their general plans and structures to the needs of married women.

30. In the face of deep-rooted functional change, marriage and the family persist as an institution of particular importance to women. The importance of the family is due to the need of human beings, whether children or adults, to "belong" in a close social relationship with others. Functions of the family, however, which wives used to perform—such as the education of children, treatment of illness and care of the aged—are now undertaken

²⁵ "Average Listening and Watching Time, Television and Radio, by Sex, Canada, 1969". *Coverage and Circulation Report*. Toronto, Bureau of Measurements, November 1969.

²⁶ *Newspaper Research*. Toronto, Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers' Association, 1964, p.4.

¹ Based on a national survey of 11 Canadian dailies.

²⁷ *Op. cit.* Dominion Bureau of Statistics. 1968, p. 337.

increasingly by private or public institutions. Today 90 per cent of Canadian women marry and live in families and, because of the longer life span, may remain married for an average of 40 years. Divorce is now increasing and many divorced women remarry:

The Cultural Mould

31. Contacts with people and with the world in general are affected by stereotyped images partly due to education and upbringing and partly to experience with other people. "The real environment is altogether too big, too complex and too fleeting for direct acquaintance. We are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations. And although we have to act in that environment, we have to reconstruct it on a simpler model before we can manage it."²⁸ A fund of accepted notions promotes a certain degree of social balance and stability by enabling people to act in ways well understood by others. Nevertheless, very strict or out-moded mental stereotypes have a constraining effect that may interfere with personal liberty, since society will blame and reject those who depart from its usual standards. Consequently people gradually accustom themselves to conform to established rules. Society's ideas about them are made part of their own mental pictures of themselves, and in the end have a way of moulding their attitudes and their thoughts. All of this holds true for the stereotypes about women.

32. The traditional concept of the role of women probably began in pre-historic times when repeated child-bearing and inferior physical strength relegated women to a subordinate position which, centuries later, was rationalized in philosophical terms. Many philosophers and most theologians have consistently taught that the subordination of women to men is right and natural. Particular emphasis was put on the subordination of a daughter to her father and a wife to her husband.

33. They postulated the existence of an inferior feminine "nature", in opposition to that of man. Aristotle's theory that a woman's role in conception is purely passive was accepted for centuries. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that scientists demonstrated that both parents made equivalent contributions to a child's biological inheritance.

34. The three principal influences which have shaped Western society—Greek philosophy, Roman law, and Judeo-Christian theology—have each held, almost axiomatically, that woman is inferior and subordinate to man

²⁸ Lippman, Walter. *Public Opinion*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1922, p. 10.

and requires his domination. This attitude still persists today; for example, in most religions, a woman cannot be ordained or authorized to be a spiritual leader.

35. On the basis of ancient concepts, it has been all too easy to divide assumed male and female functions and psychological traits into separate, opposing categories. These categories, or stereotypes, have by no means disappeared from popular belief and thinking about the nature of women and men. Women are expected to be emotional, dependent and gentle and men are thought to possess all the contrary attributes: to be rational, independent and aggressive. These are the qualities assumed to be suitable for women in the closed world of the home, husband and children; and for men in the outside world of business, the professions or politics. The stereotypes and the models of behaviour derived from this assumption do not necessarily correspond to the real personalities of a great number of men and women.

36. Each culture imagines that the qualities and functions it attributes to men and women are part of the natural order. Anthropologists, however, report that tensions and balance between the sexes result in very different ways of life and role divisions from one culture to the next. Margaret Mead has pointed out, for example, that feminine and masculine roles are interchangeable in New Guinea. It is important to recognize that psychological characteristics of either sex, often taken for granted as derived from nature, may be based instead on cultural habits which in some cases have developed into ideologies.

37. Even among industrialized nations, there are substantial differences in the occupations considered "feminine" or "masculine". In the U.S.S.R., the majority of doctors are women; in Finland, most dentists are women and architecture is considered as suitable for women as for men. Until the development of obstetrics, only women assisted other women in childbirth; it would not have seemed fitting for a man to do so.

38. What then are the innate differences between men and women and what are the ones imposed by education and culture? Aside from physical differences, there has been no scientific proof of differences, either psychological or intellectual in the genetic inheritance of men and women.

39. And yet, women's child-bearing function and their physical differences have served as the basis for restrictive generalizations and overt discrimination. Regardless of age or circumstances, women are identified automatically with tasks such as looking after their homes, rearing their children, caring for others and other related activities. It is almost

as if we were to say that it is man's nature to work in an office or factory, simply because most of the men we know in cities happen to do so. This time-honoured custom of identifying woman, more or less exclusively, in terms of her relationships and functions of wife and mother has solidified into a confining mould.

40. In Canada as elsewhere, the cultural mould has been imposed upon and accepted by many women and tends to confuse discussions on the subject of the status of women. Several briefs pointed this out: "Women, too, in large part still believe that a woman's place is in the home, at least while her children are young."²⁹ "The all-too-prevalent opinion, common amongst women as well as men, that women with the odd exception are less ambitious, timid, less capable, less well-organized than men, is fallacious, if closely examined."³⁰

41. During the 1968 public hearings of the Commission, two Canadian daily newspapers published questionnaires "for Men Only"³¹ in order to obtain a sampling of men's opinions on the question of women. Such surveys are usually affected by different kinds of bias: for example, the sampling might not be representative of the whole population. Nevertheless they are not meaningless even though the results have to be interpreted with care. In these samplings the results showed, generally, traditional opinions. Many of the respondents declared that women tended to find more discrimination than in fact existed and that Canada did not need a Royal Commission on the Status of Women. More than half the replies received by the *Toronto Star* declared that woman's place is in the home. In the survey by *Le Devoir*, majority opinion favoured a male rather than a female superior on the job. Most respondents were of the opinion that women lack the emotional control demanded for combining a career with marriage and motherhood. On the other hand, the young men who responded to *Le Devoir*, and the husbands of working wives who replied to the *Toronto Star*, wanted greater liberty for Canadian women. Answers received by the *Toronto Star* were almost unanimous in their view that gainfully employed women should be legally responsible for the support of their families, and that they should be required, if necessary, to pay alimony in cases of divorce.

42. The feeling that women who have equal financial resources should have responsibilities equal to those of men may mark an important evolution of attitudes. The stereotype of the man as the sole family breadwinner yields to the new picture of the wife as his economic partner. Yet woman

²⁹ Brief No. 64.

³⁰ Brief No. 75.

³¹ *Le Devoir* (Montreal) and the *Toronto Star*, which received 492 and 739 completed questionnaires respectively.

remains mainly identified with her old role as housewife. When people try to reconcile these two different images—the traditional woman and the actual woman who is many-faceted, as a man is, and who often works for pay—the stereotype is not always discarded.

43. Many women, conditioned to be acquiescent and passive, reflect traditional views on their status and role. Surveys have revealed that these attitudes are held even among highly educated women, including college and university students.

44. The effect of imposed stereotypes has been clearly demonstrated by experiments in the United States. In one,³² a number of university women were selected to read six articles. Some concerned "masculine" subjects such as city planning, others treated neutral subjects such as the history of art, and still others were about such "feminine" interests as dietetics. In some booklets, three articles were signed with male and three with female names. In others, the male and female "authorship" was reversed. The women were asked to read and appraise each article, without having their attention called to the authors' names. In all cases, articles under male signatures received higher ratings. It was concluded, in the study, that the respondents' choices had been influenced by belief in the intellectual superiority of men.

45. Many women are afraid of not conforming to the subordinate role assigned to them by tradition. This can be so strong that it may make them belittle themselves. They have low expectations for their own achievement and, very often, accept work that makes far less than full use of their capabilities. In the words of a brief received by the Commission: "Too many of us are willing to accept a lower position and stay there, not even expecting or demanding to be promoted to a higher position, given that our training and experience and ability warrant it."³³

46. Another brief³⁴ was based on a survey covering 11,153 English speaking readers of a Canadian magazine. It reported that 73 per cent of the housewives and 54 per cent of the working women who responded believe that men prefer a woman with little ambition for a career. Other figures from the same survey indicated that 59 per cent of those questioned wanted to combine a career, marriage and motherhood; four per cent favoured a career and marriage, and three per cent preferred to remain single and have a career. Among the same group 44 per cent thought that men and women

³² Goldberg, Philip. "Are Women Prejudiced Against Women?" *Trans-Action*. University of Washington, April 1968, pp. 28-30.

³³ Brief No. 279.

³⁴ Brief No. 346.

should contribute equally to economic, household and family responsibilities, and 23 per cent were in favour of totally interchangeable social roles for men and women.³⁵ In a study carried out for the Commission in Quebec, the results showed that out of the 2,000 female respondents, seven per cent would choose a profession or responsible position such as that of school principal as their "ideal occupation". Less than 25 per cent mentioned work of a semi-professional nature. The remainder indicated that their ideal choices were jobs with less responsibility and authority.

47. The stereotype of the ideal woman has its effect upon Canadian women. It appears that many women have accepted as truths the social constraints and the mental images that society has prescribed, and have made these constraints and images part of themselves as guides for living. This theory could partly explain why some women are little inclined to identify themselves with the collective problems of their sex and tend to share the conventional opinions of society. Social scientists have noted a similar phenomenon in their study of certain minority groups,³⁶ or people treated as inferior. Their members often fail to identify with their own group. This is particularly true of individuals who cross the border separating them from the majority and who then adopt its attitudes and standards.

48. The concept of the psychological minority offers one possible interpretation of the effects upon women of stereotyping. Women do not, in fact, constitute a social group since they are found everywhere and in all classes. They cannot be isolated, as a collectivity, from the other members of society with whom they live in close relation. They cannot, moreover, be described as a demographic minority in society as a whole, though they are often a minority in the world of work and politics. But, according to some writers, a psychological minority group is an aggregation whose collective destiny depends on the good will or is at the mercy of another group. They—the members of a psychological minority—feel and know that they live in a state of dependency, no matter what percentage they may be of the total population.

49. Stereotypes are perpetuated by the mass media. Day after day, advertising reinforces and exploits stereotypes to achieve greater sales by repeating the idea that the "real" woman and the "real" man use this or that product. Although men as well as women are stereotyped, the results may

³⁵ The 3,245 additional answers from Quebec were roughly similar but indicated more personal independence.

³⁶ Similarities between women and racial minorities have been studied by a number of persons. See Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American Dilemma*. 2 Vols., Harper Brothers, 1944, p. 1077.

be more damaging for women since advertising encourages feminine dependency by urging women not to act but to be passive, not to really achieve but to live out their aspirations in the imagination and in dreams.

50. Woman is often presented as a sex object, defined as a superficial creature who thinks only of her appearance, who sees herself mainly in terms of whether she is attractive to men. She conforms to the beauty and youth standards which men are said to want of her. In a study prepared for the Commission, it was found that over 89 per cent of the women pictured in Canadian newspapers and magazines are less than 35 years of age. As presented by the advertiser, women are hardly ever associated with intelligence, sincerity, culture, originality or talent. Instead, they are depicted as being young, elegant and beautiful. "The mass media must in some way be encouraged to change their emphasis"³⁷

51. At least 30 of the briefs received by the Commission protested against the degrading, moronic picture of woman thus presented. These briefs objected to woman, in advertisements, being shown as fragile, without depth or reality, and obsessed by her desire to please masculine hero-figures as artificial as herself. Repetition is a "hidden persuader" in advertising, an especially effective tool influencing children and young girls to aspire to constraining models and low ideals. When women are shown in active pursuits, these activities are in the order of polishing furniture and preparing food. Some women's magazines contribute to the exaltation of housework as a fine art and very often persuade women that to conform to the image of housewife *par excellence* is a duty and that not to conform signifies inadequacy. Housework is rarely viewed in these publications, and in advertising, for what it is; a necessary task that is performed in order to make the family comfortable.

52. Stereotypes pass naturally from one generation to the next. Whatever sex-linked biological determinants of personality there may be, no one yet seems to have isolated them clearly, or surely. However, the standards and models of behaviour taught either explicitly or by example in the family begin to affect boys and girls from their earliest childhood.

53. The spontaneous definitions of father and mother gathered in a Montreal kindergarten in 1969³⁸ revealed how effectively sex role stereotypes are passed on to very young children. As we point out in the Chapter on education, many of the images held by children are related to cultural habits and the traditional division of tasks in the home such as that mothers do the

³⁷ Brief No. 371.

³⁸ Catholic School Commission of Montreal, May 1969.

cooking and that fathers are always working. Children absorb a concept of the exclusive roles of men and women which may restrain and limit the development of both girls and boys. They show the impact of early family influences on the acquisition of stereotypes.

54. Older children continue to be influenced by the family. A study prepared for the Commission surveyed the opinions of 8,000 children of ages nine to 15 in Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia in order to ascertain to what extent and in what ways they differentiated between the roles of girls and boys, and men and women. The boys made more of a distinction than the girls. In this sample, the French-speaking differentiated less than the English-speaking children between masculine and feminine roles. Children acquire most of their ideas about their parents' tasks through simple observation. "If sex makes a difference in the organization of the family, then it will make a difference in the thinking of children."

55. This study indicated that girls who do well in school conform less readily to accepted ideas about their sex. "Doing poorly academically was an accompaniment of thinking in traditional terms about the sexes." "Girls who sex-typed were less likely to do well academically than those who did not sex-type." School-aged children who "go steady" with someone of the opposite sex, tend to imitate traditional adult patterns earlier than other teen-agers, as might be expected.

56. Another study prepared for the Commission, conducted in a few Canadian technical schools and universities, revealed highly conventional views about men's and women's functions in marriage. "Among men and women there is yet a strong feeling that the wife should continue to perform a traditional role obligation." Fifty-eight per cent of those surveyed thought the woman should stop working after the birth of her first child. A higher percentage of girls than boys held this opinion, conforming to the expectations of society.

57. Expressed opinion is one thing—actual behaviour may be another. Despite their traditional point of view, as shown by these studies, young people are living lives that increasingly differ from those of their parents. Well over half the Canadian population is under the age of 30³⁹ and not all are conforming to all the old patterns. Some of them commonly express

³⁹ Fifty-six per cent as of June 1969. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Estimated Population by Sex and Age Groups*. Catalogue No. 91-202.

dissatisfaction with—and freely question—customs and institutions long taken for granted. And it cannot be assumed that the once accepted roles of men and women will be exempt. The behaviour of many young people, for example, in their choice of dress, music and life-style, may tell as much about their attitudes as their responses to formal surveys.

58. The role of women will necessarily change as society itself evolves. In making our recommendations, we have tried to take into account what may be in store for Canadians in the years to come. Predictions about what life will be like in the future are increasingly being used as tools for better understanding of changes in present society.

59. The psychologist, Carl Rogers, sees the man-woman relationship of the year 2000 as more enjoyable and less possessive, one which will be "... a potentially joyful and enriching part of a relationship. The attitude of possessiveness—of owning another person, which historically has dominated sexual unions—is likely to be greatly diminished. It is certain that there will be enormous variations in the quality of these sexual relationships—... It is becoming increasingly clear that a man-woman relationship will have permanence only in the degree in which it satisfies the emotional, psychological, intellectual, and physical needs of the partners. This means that the permanent marriage of the future will be even better... If a couple feel deeply committed to each other and mutually wish to remain together to raise a family, then this will be a new and more binding type of marriage. Each will accept the obligations involved in having and rearing children. . . ."40

60. Margaret Mead sees signs of a future in which there would be "an emphasis on very small families and a high toleration of childless marriage . . . parenthood would be limited to a smaller number of families . . . adults who functioned as parents would be given special forms of protection . . . There would be a growing disregard for sex as a basic mode of differentiation . . . Limitations on freedom would be removed from women as a social group. Boys and girls would be differentiated not by sex-typed personality characteristics, but by temperament . . . Over time there would be considerable individual rebellion against any form of social sex-typing that ignored personality differences."⁴¹

⁴⁰ Rogers, Carl R. "Interpersonal Relationships: USA 2000." *Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences*. Vol. 4, 1968, pp. 270-271.

⁴¹ Mead, Margaret. "The Life-Cycle and its Variations: The Division of Roles." *Daedalus*. Summer 1967, p. 371 and following.

61. The future of our country will be determined substantially by the direction we Canadians choose to take now. If women are to be able to make full use of their capabilities, help is needed from the whole society. Even so, women themselves must work for change: ". . . women are the best helpers of one another. Let them think; let them act; till they know what they need. We only ask of men to remove arbitrary barriers. Some would like to do more. But I believe it needs that Woman show herself in her native dignity to teach them how to aid her; their minds are so encumbered by tradition."⁴²

⁴² Fuller, Margaret. "Women in the Nineteenth Century." *The Writings of Margaret Fuller*. ed. Mason Wade, New York, The Viking Press, 1941, pp. 213-214. The article was originally published in 1845.

Women in the Canadian Economy

1. Women, like men, spend a substantial portion of their lives in the production and consumption of goods and services, and there is no reason to believe that their activities are any less essential to the economy than those of men. Nonetheless, there is great confusion about the contribution of women in the economic sphere.

2. This is not surprising for in some ways women have an ambiguous part to play. They produce goods and services but often receive no pay in dollars and cents. Their impact on consumer spending is substantial yet they frequently rely on money earned by others to meet their wants. More often than not, their spending reflects someone else's income and not their own.

3. If anything, the Gross National Product,¹ as measured, adds to the confusion. Because this measure of the economy does not take into account the unpaid production of goods and services by the housewife or the volunteer, certain goods and services commonly produced by women are sometimes included in it, and sometimes not. The man who marries his housekeeper, for example, lowers the Gross National Product and thus lowers the measured output of the economy, although his wife continues to produce the same level of goods and services she previously produced for pay. Even for paid employment, the measure of the Gross National Product can be misleading. Contribution is measured in terms of earnings, yet we know that women often produce the same goods and services as men for lower pay.

4. This Chapter deals with women's economic power in terms of their financial resources, their consumer spending and their participation in corporate policy-setting. But since our main concern is with women as present and future producers of goods and services, the Chapter is largely devoted to the

¹ "Gross national product, by totalling all costs arising in production, measures the market value of all final goods and services produced in the current period by Canadian factors of production." Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Canada Year Book*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968, p. 1058.

use being made of women's skills and abilities in the production of goods and services. It is also an analysis of their position in the light of the rights and freedoms recognized by the United Nations and set out in Canadian legislation. Basic to this analysis is our belief that women should be free to decide where their skills and abilities can best be put to use.

5. We found that women are encountering a number of problems in the economy. For some women the immediate need is to provide an adequate standard of living for themselves and their dependants. Yet these women are sometimes unable to work because of a shortage of child-care facilities, part-time employment and opportunities to learn a skill. If they are able to work, they are likely to face attitudes relegating them to lower paying occupations. It is often not recognized that the financial needs of women may be as great as those of men.

6. For many women, the problem is that they are not occupying the place in the economy for which they know they have the capacity. Some women want to share in the more responsible and varied economic activities now largely being carried out by men. Others are not sure they are using their skills and abilities in a way likely to provide the best returns to the economy or to their own development.

7. A number of factors have created these problems. Sex roles established in the family have followed women and men into the economic world. The economy looks to men, not to women, for leadership. Women are generally expected to depend on men for their livelihood and to put their family responsibilities first. In the world of paid work, they are usually offered employment in service or support fields.

8. Lack of recognition of women's potential is another factor that creates problems. There is bound to be misunderstanding since women have had so little opportunity to demonstrate what they are capable of doing. For one thing, they have not yet made an attempt in anything like significant numbers to break into some fields. Until they do so, opportunities in these fields will rarely come their way. But more than this, the management of the economic world seems reluctant to give them an opportunity to show what they can do.

9. In making proposals for change we have aimed at eliminating immediate and specific injustices. But we have also kept an ultimate objective in mind. Our recommendations should also lead to a future in which women and men will be recognized as contributing to the economy on an equal footing.

Part A—The Economic Power of Women

10. Women are sometimes said to own at least three-quarters of the country's wealth² and to dominate in consumer spending.³ If these claims have any foundation in fact, then women's status should be high since they have the capacity to put money into production and to influence the kinds of goods and services that will be in demand. But, while we could not establish just what women's financial assets are or how much they spend, we found no support for such claims. More than this, available information provides strong evidence that these claims may well be highly exaggerated.

11. No such claims are made regarding women's part in determining the policies set by governments and businesses that influence the economy in so many different ways. It is common knowledge that few women hold elected and political offices or reach the top of the ladder in the business world. They are seldom found on corporation Boards of Directors or have seats on stock exchanges.

12. The extent of a person's wealth is judged often on the basis of the money on hand and the money value of property that can include homes, land, corporation shares, bonds and bank accounts. And it is in this sense that we deal with the position of women. No information is available on the money value of women's bank accounts, stocks and bonds ownership, or on their real estate holdings. But information is available by sex on income, which can be broadly divided into two major sources: the income return on work effort and the income return on property owned. And because the latter is generated from a variety of sources such as bond and bank interest, dividends and mortgage income and real estate income, it is possible to gain some insight into the value of property owned by women as compared with that of men.

13. An analysis of the 1967 Individual Tax Returns published by the Department of National Revenue serves as a base for an examination of the relative position of women and men in terms of income. Table 1 shows income from sources other than investments and Table 2 gives a breakdown in income from various types of investments.

14. The information in these tables has certain limitations. It does not include people with incomes who filed no returns or those who failed to specify their ages. In some instances, a husband's reported income includes his wife's. However, of all income reported in 1967, women received a little over \$7.5 billion, or approximately 20 per cent. Even when the limitations of

² Ferguson, Charles H. *The Male Attitude*. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1966, p. 7.

³ Perry, Robert L. "Great Myth of Female Reign". *Financial Post Magazine Section*. Toronto, October 1968.

Table 1. Income From Employment and Other Non-Investment Income
Reported by all Individuals Stating Age, 1967

(All money figures are in thousands of dollars)

| Category | Male | Female | Total | Female Percentage of Total |
|---|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| Wages and Salaries..... | 24,686,149 | 6,392,345 | 31,078,494 | 20.6 |
| Commissions from Employment..... | 597,635 | 25,997 | 623,632 | 4.2 |
| Commission Income from Self- Employment..... | 134,316 | 5,826 | 140,142 | 4.2 |
| Business Income..... | 1,285,607 | 98,856 | 1,384,463 | 7.1 |
| Professional Income..... | 886,632 | 35,242 | 921,874 | 3.8 |
| Farming or Fishing Income..... | 770,106 | 24,724 | 794,830 | 3.1 |
| Superannuation or Pension..... | 391,833 | 114,168 | 506,001 | 22.6 |
| Old Age Pension and Benefits..... | 229,789 | 124,759 | 354,548 | 35.2 |
| Alimony Received..... | 823 | 31,813 | 32,636 | 97.5 |
| Miscellaneous Income*..... | 70,781 | 20,379 | 91,160 | 22.4 |
| TOTALS..... | 29,053,671 | 6,874,109 | 35,927,780 | 19.1 |

SOURCE: Department of National Revenue. Taxation Division. *Taxation Statistics—Analysing the Returns of Individuals for the 1967 Taxation Year and Miscellaneous Statistics*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969, p. 54-55.

*No breakdown available. May include investment income.

Table 2. Investment Income Reported by All Individuals Stating Age, 1967

(All money figures are in thousands of dollars)

| Category | Male | Female | Total | Female Percentage of Total |
|----------------------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------------------------|
| Rental Income..... | 92,011 | 50,930 | 142,941 | 35.6 |
| Gross Dividends..... | 378,367 | 219,822 | 598,189 | 36.8 |
| Bond and Bank Interest..... | 439,644 | 258,510 | 698,154 | 37.0 |
| Annuity Income..... | 17,549 | 8,866 | 26,415 | 33.6 |
| Estate Income..... | 40,743 | 89,168 | 129,911 | 68.6 |
| Mortgage Interest..... | 125,241 | 55,368 | 180,609 | 30.7 |
| Other Canadian Investment Income | 22,906 | 10,932 | 33,838 | 32.3 |
| Foreign Investment Income..... | 25,630 | 20,769 | 46,399 | 44.8 |
| TOTALS..... | 1,142,091 | 714,365 | 1,856,456 | 38.5 |

SOURCE: Department of National Revenue. Taxation Division. *Taxation Statistics—Analysing the Returns of Individuals for the 1967 Taxation Year and Miscellaneous Statistics*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969, p. 54-55.

the data are taken into account, it is clear that women's share in the total income received by women and men is not much more than one-fifth.

15. The most widely held forms of investment in property are in shares and bonds of corporations. Unfortunately, comprehensive information on the value of stocks and bonds held by Canadian women is not available. However, the statistics in Table 2 provide some insight into women's approximate relative earnings from stocks. In 1967, women received only 36.8 per cent of all gross dividends. If this can be considered as a rough indirect measure of relative ownership of corporate wealth in Canada, then it can hardly be claimed that women exercise dominant control in this area.

16. The investment income statistics do not reveal to what extent women invest their money themselves, rather than entrusting such decisions to a financial advisor. But transaction studies undertaken by stock exchanges do give some idea of the activity of women in this field.⁴ Although these studies are limited and vary regionally, they suggest that women account for from 15 to 20 per cent of the valued transactions of individuals.

17. A large part of the nation's wealth is held in real estate. Few statistics give the sex of the owner. However, it is possible to draw some inferences of the relative holdings of women in rented properties and mortgages from Table 2. In 1967, women received 35.6 per cent of rental income and 30.7 per cent of interest on mortgages. Even when the limitations of these statistics are taken into account, it appears that the holdings of women in rented real estate and in mortgages are far from dominant.

18. Life insurance is another indication of wealth since almost all life insurance purchased in Canada by individuals combines death benefits with savings and retirement plans. It has been estimated that in Canada in 1968 there were more than five million adult men and three million adult women with life insurance policies.⁵ Two aspects of life insurance are of interest in assessing women's wealth: first, the amount and type of life insurance they carry; second, the amount paid to them in benefits. Information on these two aspects was provided by the Canadian Life Insurance Association.⁶

19. Twenty-five per cent of the insurance policies combining death benefits with savings and retirement plans sold in Canada between 1965 and 1967 were bought by or for females of all ages. These policies represented only nine

⁴ Toronto Stock Exchange, Statistical Section. *Origin of Business Study*. Toronto, 1968, Table IV. Montreal and Canadian Stock Exchanges. *Fourth Transaction Study*. Montreal, 1965, p. 4.

⁵ Dimock, F. C. *Women as Policyholders and Beneficiaries of Life Insurance in Canada*. Toronto, Canadian Life Insurance Association, 1968.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

per cent of the total face value of all policies purchased. If this were true in 1968, some \$675 million in insurance was probably purchased by or for females.

20. A 1966 study showed that women buy relatively small policies. For that year, the average size policy for women was \$3,630, compared with \$12,390 for men. Women are reported to be more inclined than men to buy insurance that builds up cash values rather than insurance with a large element of protection. In buying insurance men stress the protection aspects, while women tend to stress guaranteed savings for retirement.

21. Women as beneficiaries are in a much different position. The great majority of policies name wives and children as beneficiaries. It has been estimated that females of all ages probably received more than 70 per cent of the nearly \$400 million in death benefits paid in 1968 by Canadian insurance companies. In addition, women would have shared in the benefits of many policies payable to estates.

22. The receipt of life insurance benefits, then, is one field in which women probably come close to the figure of 75 per cent that is sometimes mentioned. But in 1968, the average amount of policies in which wives were beneficiaries was probably only around \$3,000.

23. In conclusion, it is apparent that women do not have a dominant control of the wealth of the nation. How much closer to the mark are the claims of their domination of spending?

24. Any examination of consumer spending must inevitably concentrate on family expenditure. Unfortunately, the question of who controls family buying is an area of human behaviour in which social scientists have not yet reached a consensus. The problem lies in the definition of "buying". Obviously, it makes little difference who actually makes the purchase if the decision has been made in advance.

25. Recently, the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion reported the findings of a study conducted by International Gallup Polls.⁷ Since the questions in the study dealt with spending decisions in general and not consumer spending in particular, the results may be viewed as tentative for our purpose. However, when a national sample of Canadian families was asked how the family worked out decisions about money matters, 62 per cent replied that the decision was reached jointly by the husband and wife, 23 per cent replied that it was largely the responsibility of the husband, and 13 per cent that it

⁷ International Gallup Polls. "Who actually has most to say in spending family income". *The Gallup Report*. The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion. Toronto, October, 1969.

was largely the responsibility of the wife. In a United States sample, 68 per cent of family decisions on money matters were reached jointly, seven per cent by the husband, and 24 per cent by the wife.

26. In 1968, the Managing Editor of the *Financial Post* took another approach based on interviews with marketing men, magazine readership surveys and on private research commissioned by major corporations.⁸ His findings suggest that consumer spending on goods is about equally divided between women and men in dollar terms.

27. While this latter approach may not be the ideal method of determining the proportion of the consumer expenditure controlled by women, it has significance because it gives the "producers' eye view". If this is how producers think spending decisions are reached, they will govern their production and marketing accordingly. And, according to the findings, businessmen do not seem to think of women as the overwhelmingly dominant force in the consumer economy that they are often pictured to be.

28. Capacity to spend is often linked with capacity to obtain credit. It was made clear in briefs and letters to the Commission that women are not granted credit as freely as men. We learned of cases where women were unable to obtain mortgages although their income exceeded the income of their husbands. As one brief put it, women are sometimes "unable to secure loans, in their own names, for mortgages and other purposes simply because they are women."⁹

29. Women also reported the loss of credit cards through marriage despite the fact that they were still employed as before. For many of them, an offer to replace a card in the name of the husband added to the indignity. In other words, women are dissatisfied with their credit status and in some cases are suffering actual hardship because of it.

30. According to a study on credit prepared for the Commission, federal legislation affecting credit generally appears not to differentiate between the sexes in its application. There is, however, one exception. The National Housing Loan Regulations under the National Housing Act set out certain conditions which should be met if mortgage or home improvement loans are to be insured by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. These conditions are that the total annual mortgage or loan payment should not exceed a specified percentage of the annual income of the home purchaser or home owner.¹⁰ In computing this annual income, the lender may include up to 50 per cent of the income of the wife of the purchaser or owner. In case

⁸ *Loc. cit.* Perry, R. L.

⁹ Brief No. 328.

¹⁰ Called the "gross debt service ratio".

the significance of the use of the word wife is lost, the Regulations specify that, when the purchaser or owner is a married woman or a husband and wife jointly, the husband is deemed to be the purchaser or owner for purposes of computing the gross debt service ratio. The effect of these provisions is that the financial position of the husband will usually determine whether or not a mortgage or a loan will be approved regardless of the fact that the wife may be the purchaser or owner.

31. We realize that it may sometimes be an advantage to have the home in the wife's name and so we appreciate the need for provision that the husband may be deemed to be the owner for purposes of computing the gross debt service ratio. But there will be instances where the wife has the larger income or indeed the only income. We believe provision should be made for the wife to be recognized as the owner, or to be deemed to be the owner, for purposes of computing the gross debt service ratio.

32. Therefore, we recommend that the National Housing Loan Regulations be amended so that (a) for purposes of the gross debt service ratio, either husband or wife may be deemed to be the purchaser or owner and (b) up to 50 per cent of the income of the spouse of the purchaser or owner, or of the spouse of the person deemed to be the purchaser or owner, may be included in computing the annual income.

33. There are no provincial laws that affect the credit status of single women, but the situation of married women is different. In the nine common law provinces there are laws covering the responsibility of a husband for debts incurred by his wife. In the Province of Quebec lenders sometimes find it difficult to determine the legal status of a married woman for purposes of granting a loan,¹¹ and are not always sure of the legal status of separated and divorced women.

34. Even in the case of married women, no laws exist in any provinces that prohibit credit being extended to them. Differential treatment is largely the result of policies and practices probably arising from the legal responsibility of a husband for his wife's debts.

35. To obtain a picture of their credit policies and practices, nine chartered banks were consulted on behalf of the Commission. No stated policy exists that discriminates against women. Loan decisions are based on such criteria as ability to repay, security and the purpose of the loan. However, frequent mention was made of the position of married women in Quebec.

¹¹ The recently passed partnership of acquests legislation should relieve this situation. National Assembly of Quebec, An Act respecting matrimonial regimes. *Statutes of Quebec*. 1969, C.77. Assented to December 12, 1969.

Some banks in Quebec require women to produce their marriage contracts when taking out loans in their own names while others, wary of the possibility of legal complications, make it their policy to require husbands to sign.

36. When asked why women often suffer a drop in credit rating on marriage, banks explained that it is sound business practice to re-evaluate a client's credit standing after a change in status. If it was found that the financial position of a newly married woman had not declined, her privileges were not withdrawn. However, it was admitted that re-evaluation of the financial position of a woman on marriage often results in loss of her credit in her own name.

37. Seven retail outlets consulted were somewhat more hesitant to discuss their policies and practices. While the answers varied widely, they generally led us to the conclusion that single women are dealt with on the same basis as men, while married women are treated in a way so as to justify many of the complaints. Most of these retail outlets are apparently unwilling to extend credit to a married woman in her own right and frequently require the signature of her husband.

38. Replies to enquiries on policies and practices were received from 11 mortgage-granting institutions. The policy generally reported was that loans are made on the basis of criteria similar to those used by banks in judging loan applications, and that the sex of the applicant is of no importance. Mention was made, however, of the need to establish that a married woman in Quebec has the legal capacity to take out a mortgage on the property. Some companies insist that husbands participate in the transaction but this was explained as the normal procedure of requiring a guarantor for loans when the ability to repay is questionable.

39. All of this leads to one conclusion. Requests for credit, at least from married women, receive additional scrutiny. We are also concerned that generalizations regarding the financial dependency of women may be making it more difficult for them to obtain credit. With the number of married women now in the labour force, it is not a valid assumption that a married woman will have no income of her own. Nor is it justifiable to assume that all women stop working before their debts are paid or before they are sure their debts can be met. We hope that in the light of these facts, credit-granting institutions will ensure that sex is not a factor in reaching decisions about giving credit and loans.

40. These practices do more than imply that women are a poorer credit risk than men. In many instances, they place women in a dependent role that fails to respect their rights and freedoms. The requirement that a husband

sign a contract made by his wife for credit or a loan, and the issue of credit cards only in the husband's name are two such practices which women find unsatisfactory and even humiliating.

41. In Canada, large corporations are controlled, for the most part, by a small group of company directors and officers. Membership on these Boards provides an opportunity to participate in high level decision-making.

42. In order to obtain some idea of the opportunity women have to share in this kind of decision-making, we examined the sex composition of the boards and executives of 55 large firms.¹² We realized that such an examination would be limited in that there would be no absolute guarantee that all members of boards could be identified as women or men by their names. Nonetheless, the method of reporting board members suggested that the only women who would be missed would be those for whom neither marital status title nor first name was given. In view of the overwhelming preponderance of board members who could be identified as men, we are satisfied that our comparison of the numbers of women and men is valid.

43. The study revealed that women were almost entirely absent from the board room and the executive suite. Of the 5,889 directorships and 1,469 corporate offices selected,¹³ 41 directorships and eight offices respectively were held by women. Women held less than one per cent of the top corporate positions in Canada.

44. We would have liked to have been able to establish whether or not women directors and corporate officers are more common in some industries than in others. However, the number of women proved to be so small that no pattern could be validly established. For example, at the time of the study there was only one woman director and no woman corporate officer of a chartered bank. And in finance, trust, loan, and insurance companies there were only four women directors out of 697 and one woman corporate officer out of 73. There was, nonetheless, some indication from our sample that the fields of finance, mining and utilities may have a disproportionate shortage of women as compared to other fields. This probably has the greatest consequence in the field of finance because of its influence on other fields. On the other hand, there are probably more women directors and corporate officers in building supplies, printing and publishing, and furnishing and household goods.

45. Finance, mining and utilities are industries in which most of the producers are large corporations, while industries in which female directors

¹² Financial Post. *Survey of Industrials*. Toronto, 1968 and Financial Post. *Directory of Directors*. Toronto, 1967.

¹³ Corporate offices are executive offices of the firm, such as secretary-treasurer. A corporate officer may or may not be a member of the Board of Directors of the firm.

and corporate officers are somewhat less scarce are characterized by a relatively large number of small and medium-sized firms. This suggests that there may be an inverse relationship between the size of an organization and the degree to which women can attain corporate leadership.

46. There is no doubt that changes should be made in the composition of Boards of Directors of corporations so that there will be a more equitable sex distribution of decision-making power in the business world. Neither is there any doubt that the absence of women at the top means that the country is ignoring many first-class minds and abilities. Women who are voting shareholders in corporations may be able to help this situation by signifying their support for the appointment of knowledgeable women directors.

47. In 1969, for the first time, a woman became a member of a stock exchange in Canada. It was in the Canadian Stock Exchange that the first step was taken and to date no other stock exchanges have followed suit. Nor have any women worked as traders on the floors of the exchanges.

48. Toronto, Winnipeg and Calgary stock exchanges reported that their by-laws prohibit the appointment of women as members. We were informed by the Toronto Stock Exchange that it was then in the process of revising its by-laws in order to leave the way open for the appointment of women. Neither of the other two exchanges gave any indication that changes are contemplated. The Montreal, Canadian and Vancouver stock exchanges reported that no regulations prevent women being named as members.

49. The by-laws of the Montreal, Canadian and Calgary stock exchanges were reported as requiring that traders on the floor be men. Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg stock exchanges stated their by-laws had no such restrictions. Nonetheless, there is no woman trader on the floor of any exchange in Canada.

50. Formal restrictions, then, cannot be entirely blamed for the absence of women as members or as floor traders in stock exchanges. The Montreal and Vancouver stock exchanges, where no sex restrictions exist for members, stated that they cannot recall applications for membership for women. The Toronto and Vancouver stock exchanges were unable to recall any applications for women to act as floor traders even though women were free to serve in this capacity.

51. If Canada's commitment to the equality of opportunity for women is to be met, there should be no sex barriers to their serving in these two areas. We urge that stock exchanges eliminate all references to sex from their by-laws.

Summary

52. Our findings show that the extent of women's economic power is not impressive. Women receive less than 20 per cent of total earned income and appear to hold less than half of the securities and real estate in Canada. They cannot be said to be more than equal to men in consumer-spending and their credit is restricted to some extent by law and to a greater extent by policies and practices. They are virtually unrepresented on corporation Boards of Directors and on stock exchanges.

53. All of this means that women are not in a position to have as great an impact as men on the economy. Because their incomes are smaller they do not have as much as men to invest. Because they are not on corporate Boards of Directors they are not participating directly in any decision-making by corporations. And, while their impact on consumer-spending is comparable to that of men, it falls far short of counterbalancing the better position of men in other areas.

54. Quite clearly most of the economic power is in the hands of men. Traditionally the economy has been a man's world and practice today perpetuates that tradition. Such a world provides fertile grounds for nourishing the belief that women's inferior financial position is synonymous with an incapacity to make important financial decisions. And one of the unfortunate consequences of such a long-standing belief is that women themselves fall victim to it. It is not surprising then that many women lack confidence in their ability to handle financial affairs or to play a useful part in setting corporate policies.

55. Women should ensure that they are fully equipped to assume greater responsibility within the economy when the opportunity arises. However, the power to involve women in the financial world rests primarily with the companies and we believe it would be to their advantage to use that power. If, for example, companies extend consideration to women when appointing company directors and corporate officers, they will open up a much wider range of experience and talents from which to make a choice.

Part B—Unpaid Work

56. Both women and men have always produced some goods and services without pay. But for women, the unpaid production of goods and services has been, and continues to be, a major economic activity.

57. More goods and services are produced without pay in the home than anywhere else and most of this production is carried out by women. Women

in the labour force spend a significant proportion of their time on household duties. And over half of the adult female population, roughly comparable to 45 per cent of the paid labour force, are employed full-time in the care of their families and homes.

58. Goods and services are also produced without pay in many family enterprises. The children work after school, some members of the family assist in their hours off work and others help out between jobs. But the long-term source of unpaid help is usually the wife.

59. Women and men everywhere belong to volunteer associations, assist in community projects or provide services in a variety of other ways. In associations alone, there are probably some four to six million Canadians who contribute services of one kind or another. Women form a substantial portion of this work force.

60. Economists have long grappled with the problem of how to include unpaid work in the Gross National Product, expressed as it is in money terms. Some success has been achieved. The production of food by farmers for their own consumption, for example, is given an imputed money value and included. But the production of goods and services by the housewife, by the volunteer, and by the unpaid worker in a family enterprise continues to go unrecognized.

61. The Gross National Product, as measured, fails to reflect a large proportion of women's work, the full-time production of goods and services by over one-third of the adult population. In terms of hours spent in production, the omission may have even greater significance. More than one expert has estimated that the number of hours spent every year in household functions alone is greater than the number worked in industry.

62. There are problems in evaluating the unpaid production of goods and services in money terms for inclusion in the Gross National Product. Information is lacking not only on the number of hours spent in unpaid production, but also on the time devoted to particular tasks. And, except in those cases where goods and services of the same kind are produced by paid workers, there is no guide for imputing earnings for those who produce the goods and services for no pay. Many of the goods and services produced by the housewife, for example, have no counterpart in the employment world since they are related to her unique role of wife and mother.

63. Economists in some countries have attempted to place a monetary value on the work of the housewife and volunteer by taking into account only those functions having a counterpart in paid work. A Canadian study

prepared by the Commission estimated that the work of housewives amounted to 11 per cent of the Gross National Product. In 1968, 11 per cent of the Gross National Product in Canada would have been about eight billion dollars. An estimate made in the United States, based on a somewhat different method, imputed for 1965 a value of slightly more than 21 per cent of the Gross National Product for housewives' services.¹⁴ The same study also imputed a value of over two per cent for volunteer work. In Canada this would have amounted to some one and one-half billion dollars in 1968.

64. To view the housewife's work in the economic sense that money determines value is to distort the picture of her contribution to the economy. Such a concept, even if it imputes a money value to her work, fails to recognize those of her functions that can never be measured in money terms. Since these functions arise from her relationship with other members of the family, we deal with them in the Chapter on the family. This Chapter is restricted to our examination of those activities bearing some resemblance to activities in the paid world. They are viewed in occupational terms.

65. Many housewives are of course in the labour force and this aspect of their production is covered in the section dealing with paid employment. We do, however, give some additional consideration in this section to farm wives and to wives who work in other family enterprises. These women are usually in the ambiguous position of performing the functions of an employee and at the same time receiving no wages or salary for their work.

66. Like housewives, volunteers produce goods and services produced elsewhere for pay. And like housewives, they produce services that cannot be measured in money terms. In dealing with women volunteers, we go somewhat beyond the scope of this Chapter and report on the position of the woman volunteer not only in relation to activities contributing to the economy, but also in relation to activities affecting other aspects of Canadian society.

67. In each of these areas of unpaid production we found specific factors that are adversely affecting the position of women in the economy. But one fact stands out clearly. So long as most unpaid work is performed by women, their status will largely be determined by the economic importance society attaches to such work.

¹⁴ Kendrick, John W. "Studies in the National Income Accounts". *Contributions to Economic Knowledge Through Research*. Forty-seventh Annual Report of the National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1967, p 11.

The Housewife

68. There are well over three and one-half million women in Canada whose full-time employment is the care of their families and homes. These women comprise one of the largest occupational groups in the economy. Yet they are repeatedly asked, "Do you work or are you a housewife?"

69. That the functions of a housewife are not generally viewed as an occupation is apparent. Little has been done in the way of identifying or evaluating household functions. Nor have household functions been subject to the extensive methods studies to which other occupations have been exposed. There is a major obstacle in the way of a study of this kind. While there are certain responsibilities common to virtually all housewives, the magnitude of these responsibilities and the tools used vary greatly. Preparing meals for a large family without modern cooking equipment, for example, can be quite a different task from preparing meals for a family of two with all the household appliances available. More than this, the tasks of a housewife are greatly affected by the ages and numbers of children in the home.

70. But there is one aspect of the occupation housewife, the term used in many forms, that has attracted scientific interest. Studies conducted in several countries have sought to establish the time spent on household functions. Some have tried to determine how the housewife distributes her working hours.

71. Categories examined and the size and type of samples have varied greatly in the studies. Two of the more recent ones suggest that housewives with no outside employment work daily anywhere from six hours when there are no children up to 11 hours when there are two or more children.¹⁵ One of the studies found that, where there are children, on the average about one-third of the time is spent in child-care and two-thirds in housekeeping.¹⁶ The other study reported approximately one-third of the housewife's time was spent in cleaning, cooking and washing dishes.¹⁷

72. The housewife works fewer hours in the home when she has outside employment. When she has full-time outside employment both studies found that she probably works about four hours daily at home as well.

73. It is apparent that long hours are a characteristic of the occupation housewife. The housewife at home with no children may have shorter work-

¹⁵ Girard, A. "Le budget-temps de la femme mariée dans les agglomérations urbaines". *Population. L'Institut National d'Etudes Demographiques*. Paris, 1958, n°4, p. 607, and Dahlström, Edmund. *The Changing Roles of Men and Women*. London, Gerald Duckworth and Co. Limited, 1967, (translation), p. 31.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.* Girard.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.* Dahlström.

ing hours than women who work outside the home for pay. On the other hand, the housewife in the labour force and the housewife with two or more children are likely to work over 11 hours a day. An 11-hour work day on a regular basis would not be countenanced in industry.

74. Comparison with much earlier studies suggests that hours spent on housework have not decreased as much as one would expect in a technological age. The question therefore arises whether or not housework has been influenced by the same forces of technological change that have transformed and continue to alter the rest of the economy.

75. Mechanization of the old processes of spinning, weaving, cutting and sewing has transferred the manufacture of clothing from the home to the factory. Commercial laundries have taken over much of the cleaning. Truck-gardening, canning, freezing and pre-cooking have lessened the importance of the home in the production, preservation, and preparation of food.

76. Mechanization has also entered the home. Electric power, and its distribution over long distances, and the invention of the small, inexpensive, low-horsepower electric motor have made previously existing inventions practical for the home. A simple mechanical washing machine, for example, was available in 1869, but it took electric power to make it generally useful. Electrical appliances have been developed and their use has become widespread at an ever-growing pace. Table 3 shows the changes in the percentages of Canadian households owning various appliances from 1948 to 1968.

Table 3. Percentages of Canadian Households Surveyed that Had Certain Household Equipment, 1948-1968*

| Item | 1948 | 1953 | 1958 | 1963 | 1968 |
|-----------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|-------|-------|
| Hot and cold running water.... | — | 62.57 | 73.50 | 84.86 | 90.97 |
| Gas or electric stove**..... | 48.49 | 62.73 | 76.66 | 87.24 | 94.03 |
| Mechanical refrigerator..... | 29.26*** | 66.33*** | 86.24*** | 94.20 | 97.44 |
| Home freezer..... | — | 2.22 | 8.17 | 17.66 | 29.16 |
| Electric washing machine..... | 59.21 | 76.38 | 84.28 | 86.81 | 83.57 |
| Vacuum cleaner..... | 32.02 | 48.01 | 60.94 | 72.45 | — |
| Electric sewing machine..... | — | 23.43 | 36.30 | 49.03 | — |
| Gas or electric clothes dryer.... | — | — | — | 21.60 | 36.79 |
| Automatic dishwasher..... | — | — | — | 2.08 | 5.08 |
| Floor polisher..... | — | — | — | — | 55.01 |

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Household Facilities and Equipment*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1948, 1953, 1958, 1963, 1968. Cat. no. 64-202.

*Does not include households in the Yukon, Northwest Territories or on Indian reservations.

**Includes piped and bottled gas and oil or kerosene.

***Includes both gas and electric refrigerators. The number of gas refrigerators, however, dwindled rapidly, so that their exclusion from the statistics after 1958 probably makes little difference.

—No statistics available.

77. During the same period, some of the activities which had been previously carried on in the factories returned to the home. The home laundry has been greatly helped by the introduction of automatic washers and dryers, hot and cold running water, new detergents and additives, electric steam irons and by new fabrics that are easier to clean and care for. A durable press process on items such as sheets, shirts and slacks has come on the market. Sewing machines, electric scissors and standardized patterns have brought the making of at least some clothing back into the home. Supermarkets have provided one-stop marketing. The preservation of food has been transformed by the evergrowing number of home freezers.

78. Other functions, which had stayed in the home, have been greatly altered. Meal preparation has been changed by the introduction of a wide variety of appliances. New quick-freezing techniques for fresh food, along with improvements in canning and pre-cooking techniques and the addition of chemical fortification to foods, make it possible for the family to eat varied and nutritious meals with much less preparation in the home.

79. Perhaps the greatest change has been in cleaning, the everlasting and laborious task of the housewife. Modern heating and air conditioning systems mean less dirt and soot. A variety of new chemical products, from rug shampoos to stain removers, and new materials, including plastics, paints, wallpapers, tiles and treated fabrics take some of the effort out of cleaning.

80. Technology has also played an important part in the construction of homes, which are now better designed, and are easier to clean and maintain than in the past.

81. Technology has obviously helped the housewife in a great many ways, but it may be that technological change has so far only been sufficient to alter the old adage that "women's work is never done" to "women's work is from sun to sun". The disappearance of the extended family of the past, with female relatives who could help out, and the shortage of paid assistance have also served to counteract the impact of technological change on the housewife's time. Most housewives today must do all their work themselves.

82. While technology has had some impact on the time required to care for the child, many child-care functions remain relatively untouched. It has not done a great deal to reduce the personal help and attention required by a child.

83. Today's housewife has more to organize than in the past. Since the home is now dependent on outside agencies for many supplies and services, she must keep in touch with them, doing everything from shopping to calling:

the plumber, the electrician or the television repairman. Organization also involves planning and frequently budgeting. The modern housewife must decide not only how to organize various tasks, but also what activities should be carried out in the home: whether, for example, the time saved by using pre-cooked food is worth the extra expense. With advances in preventive medicine, she must also allocate time for regularly taking her children to the doctor and dentist. Many wives also act as family chauffeurs.

84. Perhaps one of the greatest reasons for the persistence of long hours for the housewife is the domestic equivalent of Parkinson's Law. As better organization and equipment make it possible for her to do the same work faster, she often raises her standards, and uses the increased efficiency to do more work in the same time. A 1945 study showed that women use appliances not to save time but rather to provide easier and better methods of accomplishment, in fact to raise the standard of living.¹⁸ It has been claimed that "every labour-saving appliance brings a labour-demanding elaboration of housework".¹⁹ But perhaps more than this, the housewife is spending more time in the care and personal development of her children.

85. In spite of the long hours, the role of housewife has many advantages and satisfactions. Some of the occupational advantages are not unlike those found in the operation of a small private enterprise. To a degree, the housewife establishes standards for herself, sets priorities, plans activities and allocates her time. She is involved in both project and financial administration. Satisfactions which many housewives derive from their work are the opportunities afforded to be creative, socially useful, and to undertake a variety of challenging tasks. Some housewives also value their work because it permits them to engage in useful outside activities.

86. But the housewife has problems and some of them are occupational in nature. One such problem is the lack of fringe benefits usually available to people in the labour force. As in the case of the owner of a business, there is no way to enforce time off and holidays for the housewife. The housewife works long hours and is usually on call around the clock and we believe that it should be made easier for her to get away from her responsibilities on a fairly regular basis. Our recommendations in the Chapter dealing with children regarding day-care centres and homemaker services may help to solve this problem.

¹⁸ Carola Woerishoffer, Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, P.A. *Women During the War and After*. Philadelphia, Curtiss Publishing Company, 1945, p. 37.

¹⁹ Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York, Dell Books, 1963, p. 231.

87. Another disadvantage of the occupation is that often the housewife does not have the stimulus of outside contacts. A study of British working wives found that 21 per cent work "for the pleasure of meeting other people, instead of being cooped up in their homes all day."²⁰ Proposals we make elsewhere regarding training, voluntary activities and information centres should help relieve the feelings of alienation which some housewives experience.

88. Probably the most frequently voiced dissatisfaction of married women who work in the home is the low status society gives to housework when they themselves feel the work they perform there is important to the family and society.

89. One writer²¹ has given an interesting explanation of why the work of the housewife has a low status in the minds of many people. Our social stratification is defined by occupations, with the educational system turning out boys and girls who are trained to perform specialized functions as individuals. Even our family system is "geared to the demands of a highly rationalized occupational system".²² The status of an individual depends on occupation rather than role in the family.

90. In such a system the author says society gives few rewards for housework, which is diffuse, non-specialized and unpaid. Today's job-oriented society is unsure of what to make of this type of work. The low status is passed on to the individual who works in the home, and her role is regarded by many in an ambivalent way. On the one hand, she is praised as a wife and mother. On the other hand, she is often judged by the standards of the world of work.

91. Although many housewives do not feel their status is low, the relationship of their unpaid housework to the economy should be clarified. Perhaps it would help if a way could be found to include their unpaid production of goods and services in the Gross National Product.

92. Related to the problem of low status is that of financial dependence. With rare exceptions, the woman who stays at home depends on her husband for money. While she may receive a family allowance cheque, the money is spent on the cost of keeping a child and cannot be regarded as payment for its care. Unfortunately we have no over-all solution for the financial depen-

²⁰ Rowntree, B.S. and G.R. Lavers. "Poverty and the Welfare State". The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, London, Longmans Green and Co. Ltd., 1951, in Myrdal and Klein. *Women's Two Roles*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, revised edition, 1968, pp. 84-85.

²¹ Kluckhohn, F. R. "The Cultural Factors in Social Work Practice and Education". *Social Science Review*. Vol. 25, March 1951, pp. 45-57.

²² *Ibid.* p. 45.

dency of housewives. But there is one area in which steps could be taken to give them some financial independence at least in their later years. Housewives should be entitled to pensions in their own right under the Canada Pension Plan or the Quebec Pension Plan.

93. The housewife who remains at home is just as much a producer of goods and services as the paid worker, and in our view she should also have the opportunity to provide for a more financially secure future. Canada has given some of its workers an opportunity to do this through the Canada and the Quebec Pension Plans. To neglect to do the same for some three and one-half million other workers in the home is to ignore the essential nature of their work.

94. The Canada and the Quebec Pension Plans do not entirely ignore housewives since they provide for a pension for a widow of a contributor. In other words, these Plans recognize that a widow should benefit from her husband's contributions.

95. This is in keeping with the concept of marriage as a partnership. But in recognizing only the rights of a widow to a pension on the basis of her husband's contributions, the Plans go only part way. For example, in the case of marriage breakdown, the former wife loses all claim to a widow's pension. This can cause hardship when the breakdown occurs late in life and the wife has had insufficient time to build up a reasonable pension through her own paid work. A second wife may reap the benefits of the contributions made by the husband during his first marriage.

96. Even if a divorced or separated woman enters paid employment, the pension she earns may be adversely affected by the years she spent in the home as a housewife. Pensions are related to earnings and her earnings prior to, during and after marriage are averaged over the number of years she could have been employed, and this includes the time that she remained in the home. While some provision is made for reducing the number of years to be averaged, there will be cases in which a divorced or separated woman will be unable to work a sufficient number of years to make up for a non-earning period as a housewife.

97. For all of these reasons provision must be made for the participation of housewives in the Canada or the Quebec Pension Plan. A comprehensive study will be required to determine the best way of achieving this. It will have to be undertaken by specialists in the field. However, two approaches seem to us to have considerable merit. The approaches, while differing in several important respects, can operate simultaneously.

98. The first approach is based on the premise that a wife at home should have a share in her husband's contributions at the time the contributions are made. This would be accomplished by crediting the housewife with a portion of the contributions of her husband and of the contributions made by his employer on his behalf. This approach would serve to correct the defects we have just described. In cases of marriage breakdown, for example, the woman would have contributions attributed to her for the period in which she remained at home during the marriage. If she did not enter paid employment after divorce or separation, her right to a pension would be computed on the basis of the contributions made in her name during her marriage and any contributions she had made before her marriage. And, if she entered paid employment, the contributions made in her name during marriage would count toward her pension since they would represent earning years.

99. Such an approach would have some implications for the marriages that remained intact. When the husband became entitled to a pension, a portion of the pension would be sent to the wife as her earned share.

100. When the housewife contributes to the plan as a paid worker, she should usually not be credited with any portion of the contributions of her husband. Whether or not it is always the case, the assumption must be made that responsibility for performing household functions after work is shared equally by the husband and the wife. But there would be cases where the earnings of the wife were low and a scale should be developed in which the portion of the husband's contributions credited to the wife would diminish as her earnings increased. Extra protection would also have to be provided for the widow with young children and a decision reached on the pension a husband or wife would receive on the death of the spouse.

101. The second approach that has merit would be to permit a housewife to build up a pension by means of the contributions she makes herself. In terms of the plan, she would be a self-employed worker and, in our view, this more nearly reflects what her position actually is. Since payment of a housewife's contribution might be a cost that some families could not afford, we think it would be advisable to make this approach optional. We realize that contributions to the plan are based on earnings and that therefore a means of establishing the earnings of a housewife might need to be found. As a possible alternative, we suggest that the feasibility be explored of the housewife paying what she can up to the maximum now prescribed in the plan.

102. We have described these approaches in terms of their application to housewives, but they apply equally to husbands who remain at home.

103. Therefore, we recommend that (a) both the Canada and the Quebec Pension Plans be amended so that the spouse who remains at home can participate in the Plan, and (b) the feasibility be explored of

- (i) crediting to the spouse remaining at home a portion of the contributions of the employed spouse and those contributions made by the employer on the employed spouse's behalf, and
- (ii) on an optional basis, permitting the spouse at home to contribute as a self-employed worker.

104. It is interesting to speculate what the future of the housewife may be. Some of the more imaginative predictions envisage the following changes in household tasks.

105. The trend to more and more mechanization will probably continue in the automated home, especially in the kitchen. Radiation units may be developed for sterilizing food so that it can be preserved indefinitely, and microwave ovens, for cooking it in a few minutes, will probably be common.

106. The rest of the house will also reap the benefits of automation. New surface coatings requiring little or no cleaning of walls and furniture have been predicted as well as electrostatic filters that will help to eliminate dust.

107. Even if all the many predictions for the future do not become realities, it is highly probable that many of the routine tasks of the housewife will gradually be eliminated. Nevertheless, it is apparent that technological change cannot be counted on to reduce significantly the hours required for child-care. Nor will it eliminate the planning and organization required for the management of the family. However, if these responsibilities are shared between husband and wife, the full-time housewife of the future will probably have more time for the creative and challenging aspects of her work.

The Farm Wife

108. In a number of ways, the situation of the farm wife in the economy is very different from that of the urban housewife. Certainly, like the urban housewife, the farm wife manages the household and cares for the children. But with no supermarkets, commercial cleaning establishments and other similar services close at hand, her housework is generally somewhat more difficult. Furthermore, the farm wife plays a virtually indispensable part in the successful operation of the farm.

109. In the last two decades, the impact of technology on the household functions of the farm wife has been even more dramatic than in the case of her urban counterpart. At the beginning of that period, the use of automatic

household appliances in farm homes fell far short of their use in urban homes. Automatic household appliances generally require gas or electricity and while one or the other became available to most urban homes long before the 1940's, the widespread use of electricity in rural areas did not begin until the 1950's, and it was not until 1966 that 88 per cent of rural homes had electricity.²³

110. But even when electricity made household appliances available to farm homes, the needs of the farm always came first; it is the family's livelihood. After World War II, limited resources had to be directed immediately to modernizing farming. In 1941, for example, there were 22 tractors per 100 farms in Canada; by 1961 there were 114 tractors per 100 farms. During the same period, the number of combines per 100 farms rose from three to 82.²⁴

111. While the farm wife has not yet caught up with the urban housewife in the use of the most modern equipment, the gap is closing. In 1948, for example, over 90 per cent of farm women were still burdened with wood or coal stoves. By 1968, almost 63 per cent had electric or gas stoves. While only about a third of farm homes had electric washing machines in 1948, by 1968 they were in nearly 95 per cent of the homes, surpassing the percentage of homes in large cities.²⁵

112. Although figures for home freezers were not kept for 1948, the figures given for 1968 show an interesting comparison between farm and city homes. In that year more than three times as great a percentage of farm as city households had home freezers.²⁶ It is probable that this is the appliance that makes the greatest difference in the household tasks of the farm woman.

113. The last two decades have also marked some significant changes in her farm functions. The majority of farm wives have always assisted in the operation of the farm. But the nature of their work has responded to modernization. In earlier days when much of the work was done manually, the husband and wife often worked side by side in the fields. As farm machinery was introduced, more of the wife's time was devoted to work near the home. And, with mechanization and other changes in farming, she became less and less needed for manual work.

²³ McKie, Craig. "The Family in Rural Canada". *The Family in the Evolution of Agriculture*. ed. Eve Kassirer, Ottawa, Vanier Institute of the Family, 1968, p. 12.

²⁴ Abell, Helen C. "The Adaptation of the Way of Life of the Rural Family in Canada to Technological, Economic and Social Changes". *The Family in the Evolution of Agriculture*. Ottawa, The Vanier Institute of the Family, 1968, p. 17.

²⁵ Dominion Bureau of Statistics. "Household Equipment" 1948. "Household Facilities and Equipment" special table, series B. Unpublished 1968.

²⁶ *Ibid.* DBS, 1948, 1968.

114. As the farm became more mechanized it also became more and more a business. Today, large farms require the keeping of detailed accounts of production and sales. Records must be kept of employees, and pay deductions made. In many farm families the wife has more formal education than her husband and is better equipped to do this work. The keeping of farm accounts is now a significant function of many farm wives.

115. The rapid introduction of labour-saving devices into Canadian farm homes in the last few years has not necessarily meant that the farm wife no longer works hard. Although the situation has improved, she has not quite reached the urban level of home mechanization, and studies show that even the urban housewife must still do a great deal of tedious work. More than this, there are many farm families that cannot afford the labour-saving devices. In 1967, the Agricultural and Rural Development Administration concluded that 44 per cent of Canadian farm families were poor.²⁷ The household and farm responsibilities of wives in these families may not be too different from those of farm women before the recent impact of technology.

116. In her household functions, the farm wife encounters much the same problems as the urban wife but sometimes these problems are more acute. The average farm wife has a larger family to care for than the urban housewife. In 1966, rural families had an average of 2.4 children, compared to only 1.8 children per urban family. Yet in a recent survey of farm women, only 10.6 per cent of the respondents said they were helped in their housework by a relative, which would include older children.²⁸ Nor, according to the survey, do they receive much help from other sources: only 3.0 per cent of the respondents had full-time household help. Of all the respondents, 85.9 per cent had to bear the full burden of housework.

117. Of the respondents in the survey, 73.4 per cent had no vacation at regular intervals. As one respondent put it, "Farm wives with small children are often hard put to manage their chores and their children and their homes. It is too much."²⁹

118. The use of the word "manage" is significant. Another problem of the modern farm wife is the management of time, money and resources for the farm and home. Planning and management on a farm are usually more difficult than in the city since there is seldom a regular source of income and

²⁷ Menzies, M. H. "Philosophical Dimensions of Rural Poverty in Canada". *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics*. Vol. 16, no. 3, October 1968.

²⁸ Family Herald Questionnaire. "What is your Point of View on Horizons for Farm Women?" *Family Herald*. no. 16, Montreal, September 26, 1968, pp. 57-59.

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*

the financial requirements of the farm vary from year to year. The farm wife must be able to manage on a smaller cash income and be flexible enough to adapt to changing conditions.

119. One of the more serious drawbacks of being a farm wife is that it requires living away from populated areas. In one sense, the farm wife is less isolated than the urban wife because she usually works with her husband in the operation of the farm. But she is much more isolated in terms of contacts outside her work. Even more than the city housewife, she is tied to her home. To the common problems of scarce babysitting and housecleaning services, which are even rarer in sparsely-settled rural areas, are added those of distance and communication. It is not usually feasible to transport children to day-care centres and kindergarten even though they may be available in the nearest town.

120. The farm wife, like the urban housewife, is usually financially dependent on her husband. Wives rarely receive a cash income for the work they do on the farm. Of the respondents in the survey who performed such work, over 95 per cent received no pay.³⁰

121. Briefs to the Commission described other dissatisfactions of the farm wife that were not as relevant to the urban wife. The farm wife actively participates in the family's source of livelihood and yet has no legal share of the assets accruing from it. Many briefs and verbal submissions proposed that the farm wife be allowed a legal half share in all assets acquired by the family during the marriage.

122. Since our hearings, amendments to the Income Tax Act have provided some measure of relief. With the removal of the gift tax on gifts made to a spouse, a husband may now give his wife a half share of his assets. The wife can be assured that her inheritance will not be taxed under the federal Estates Act on her husband's death. The Chapter on taxation deals in more detail with this subject. The Chapter on the family deals with partnership of acquests as a protection of the interests of women. The latter is particularly relevant to farm wives since they usually engage in activities directly contributing to the accumulation of farm assets.

123. Briefs mentioned another problem closely related to the fact that farm wives assist in the farm operation. In an occupational sense, they often work in the capacity of an employee. Yet if a wife is paid a wage or salary, Section 21 (2) of the federal Income Tax Act prohibits the husband from deducting this amount as a business expense. In the Chapter dealing with taxation we discuss this problem.

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*

124. Our discussion has centred around farm wives. But in some instances women are managing farms and ranches they own. The situation of these women is not very different from that of women in occupations and professions predominantly male. However, since certain farm and ranch activities are carried out through farm and ranch associations, it is particularly important that women members have the same opportunity as men to make full use of the advantages these associations offer. Representations have been made to the Commission that this is not always the case. We urge these associations to examine their policies and practices to ensure that nothing stands in the way of full participation by their women members.

125. What does the future hold for women on the farm? It is probably safe to say that their numbers will decrease. In 1941, there were 732,832 farms in Canada and in 1966 only 430,522.³¹ Surviving farms are likely to become bigger and to be run by fewer people.

126. If farming becomes predominantly big business, the farm women of the future may find their functions absorbed by the incorporated farm. In such an event, their work will not be very different from that of their urban counterparts and they may turn in increasing numbers to paid employment. But there is no reason to believe that this will necessarily be so. In the future when men and women are on an equal footing in the economy, the incorporated farm may offer just as many career opportunities for women as for men.

The Woman in a Non-Farm Family Enterprise

127. Unpaid women workers are to be found in small unincorporated family businesses such as stores, small factories, restaurants and motels, in home-based services and activities, and in the professions. For most of the last five-year period, the number of unpaid women workers in non-farm family enterprises has fluctuated between 50 and 60 thousand.³²

128. Unpaid wives, and sometimes daughters and sons, provide the small businessman or the professional man with a labour reserve on which he can quickly draw when the volume of production and sales increases rapidly or when there is a temporary overload of work. Seasonal fluctuations in numbers do not show a clear trend but there is a tendency towards peak employment of unpaid family workers in the summer and, in some years, in the late fall. In the summer, this may be the result of increased employment of

³¹ Dominion Bureau of Statistics. "Agriculture." *Census of Canada*. Cat. no. 96-601, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, June 1968, Table 2.

³² Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *The Labour Force*, monthly publication. February 1963 to December 1968, Cat. no. 71-001.

women in small motels and family tourist resorts. In the late fall, women are perhaps being called upon to assist in family stores and businesses in response to early Christmas shopping activities.

129. Very little research has been undertaken in the field of unpaid employment of women in non-farm family enterprises, so there is almost no information available on their hours of work or other working conditions. Nor did briefs we received deal with these matters. Some briefs did, however, express great dissatisfaction with Section 21 of the federal Income Tax Act which is apparently creating the same problems for these women as it creates for the farm wife. We can only add that the inequitable effects of this Section on the woman in a small family enterprise is a further example of the great need for the changes we propose in the Chapter dealing with taxation.

The Woman Volunteer

130. Worthwhile volunteer activities are important both to society and to the individuals who participate in them. But there is another reason for examining women's position in this field. Since women are rarely on policy-making bodies at any government level, volunteer activities have been their major means of exerting pressure for social change.

131. Because there is no way of knowing the extent and nature of all the voluntary activities that people undertake on their own, the position of woman must be viewed in terms of group activities. Within this framework, this section deals with the opportunities women have to satisfy their needs through these channels, the kind of voluntary contributions they make and the degree to which society is using their volunteer resources.

132. That women turn to organized volunteer activities to meet certain of their needs is apparent. Today probably between two and three million women, a volunteer force roughly comparable in size to the female labour force, are members of volunteer associations.

133. Motives prompting people to engage in volunteer activities are not easily distinguishable. It is difficult to establish, for example, whether a woman joins a service association primarily because she is seeking new social relationships or because she feels the need to be useful beyond the bounds of her traditional responsibilities. It is equally difficult to know whether a man joins, for example, a property-owners' association because he recognizes the strength of group action in the protection of common interests or because he is seeking new challenges that will tap unused skills and abilities.

134. Doubtless the same range of motives prompts both sexes, nonetheless, they will not exert equal pressure. In a society in which only one-third of

the women are in the labour force, more women than men will feel the need for some link with the larger world of the community. Fewer women than men will probably feel the need to improve or protect their occupational status.

135. The kind of associations that women join gives an indication of their current interests and indirectly their needs. A quick look at the development of women's associations shows how new interests have developed through the years to keep pace with a changing society.

136. It was during the nineteenth century that both women and men became very much aware of the advantage of joining with others to tackle social and welfare problems. Voluntary associations sprang up and spread across the country and included among these were women's groups. The first women's associations tended to be oriented to religious matters, welfare and patriotism. They were quick to realize the added strength they could achieve by organizing both on a national and international scale and by joining together in a loosely-knit federation.

137. As the horizons of women widened, new types of associations appeared. Of those reported in the *Directory of National Women's Organizations in Canada*,³³ the first national occupational association was founded shortly after the turn of the century. The first national political associations were formed a quarter of a century later and national service and civic groups also began around that time. Included among the objectives of many of these was the improvement of the status of women.

138. While the *Directory of National Women's Organizations in Canada* by no means covers all associations, it does give some indication of a change in emphasis during the last decade.³⁴ An examination of the yearly issues during that period indicates a decrease in membership in patriotic and in church and religious associations. Political, occupational, professional, service and civic groups seem to have grown at a faster pace than the adult population, and educational associations seem to have just kept pace. Although there is no similar information available on organizations open to both sexes, there is no reason to believe that their development has been much different.

139. One point stands out clearly in the history of women's associations. Society has always looked to them to meet service needs and they have responded. There is little doubt that the need to be socially useful has always been one of the reasons why women join voluntary groups.

³³ Canada Department of Labour. Women's Bureau. *A Directory of National Women's Organizations in Canada*. 1968-69.

³⁴ *Loc. cit.*

140. Through the years women have made an impressive contribution to the community. Regardless of their primary functions, the majority of associations include some aspect of service in their objectives and others generally become involved from time to time. If service contribution is any measure of the satisfaction of the need of women to be socially useful, associations have served their purpose in meeting this need. Women are contributing many millions of service hours annually through group activities.

141. To meet the needs of their members and the needs of society, associations have had to adapt to change. Perhaps the most striking changes have occurred in the welfare field. In this century, associations have moved from a position in which they tried to meet acute welfare needs, and society expected them to do so, to a position where many of these needs are now met by governments. Consequently, some associations have discontinued service projects of long-standing, and other associations are much more careful about undertaking services until they have assured themselves that similar services are not provided or planned for elsewhere.

142. But associations are generally more flexible than governments and are in a position to respond much more quickly to immediate needs. Many now find themselves filling a gap in a welfare programme until the need for the service is firmly established and government at some level is ready to provide it. A volunteer group, for example, undertakes to support a centre for latch-key children until funds are available from the municipality. Another group helps to staff a day-care centre until the municipality is in a position to provide paid staff.

143. With many of the critical welfare needs being met by government, associations are widening their scope to include rehabilitation and preventive welfare services. Women's groups are now providing services for juvenile delinquents and for offenders on their discharge as well as during periods of probation, detention and parole. They are working in day-care nurseries, providing assistance to Indians and Eskimos in a variety of ways, and giving care to the aged and handicapped.

144. Through the years, voluntary associations have provided educational services of one kind or another. But many traditional programmes have substantially changed and new programmes and techniques have been adopted. Included among these are youth and adult educational services, family life and cultural enrichment programmes, counselling, occupational and management training and the integration of immigrants. The granting of scholarships and bursaries has long been a popular means used by women's associations to raise women's educational level. Many of these programmes have been revised in view of the present system of student loans and the greater number of scholarships available.

145. Occupational associations, on the other hand, are a later development. Welfare problems are very old but women only began to enter professions and white collar occupations in any significant numbers after the turn of this century. Professional and occupational groups provide their members with an opportunity to keep up-to-date in their fields and to exchange ideas with colleagues. They also sometimes serve as a means for members to effect social and economic change related to their particular field of interest.

146. With some exceptions, professional and occupational associations are open to both sexes. But because of the sex-typing of some professions and occupations, membership is sometimes predominantly of one sex. Professional associations predominantly female have had a particularly important role to play in pressing for equality of status for their professions with those professions predominantly male.

147. This century has seen a growing number of women turn to volunteer associations as a means of meeting their needs for wider horizons and greater participation in public affairs. With communication media reaching virtually into every home, it is somewhat of an anachronism that some women feel more alienated from society than ever before. For many women, volunteer groups are a main source of new social contacts, the door to involvement in community affairs, and a means of improving their education and putting to use untapped skills and abilities.

148. Volunteer associations are more and more being called upon to interest their membership in such wide-ranging subjects as plans for a new community centre, safety promotion and housing; and the work of the United Nations. They are responding to this call and are striving to have a well-informed membership that will be able to participate effectively.

149. Women are also looking to associations to provide a particular kind of participation beyond their reach elsewhere. Although women are conspicuously absent in positions of power both in the economic and political worlds, through associations they have been able to exercise power and influence for social change in many areas, particularly in matters affecting the rights and freedoms of women.

150. Much of the credit for equal pay legislation is due to women's associations which tenaciously solicited provincial and federal governments. They have urged Canadian ratification of United Nations and International Labour Organization conventions relating to women. Estate taxes, jury duty and penal reform are but a few of the other matters on which they have approached governments. Not only have they been instrumental in bringing about reform but they have served the role of keeping governments informed of women's views on current affairs.

151. These are some of the needs that women are turning to associations to meet. And in many ways the task associations face in meeting these needs is becoming increasingly complex. Briefs told of serious problems. Some associations are suffering from shrinking membership and are at a loss for ways to combat it. Others are growing old: young women are not joining. Related to these problems is the lack of leaders and the lack of trained members. It is apparent that more training courses for volunteers should be available as we point out in the Chapter on education.

152. Shortage of funds is also a problem. With administrative costs soaring and, in some cases, membership decreasing, associations find it difficult to maintain even the services that they have been providing. Yet they know that these and other services are badly needed.

153. If these associations were forced to stop their service work, there is no doubt that some of it would have to be carried out by governments. But quite aside from the advantages to governments of free production of services, it is desirable that citizens should personally assume some responsibility for meeting the needs of society. A number of departments of governments have recognized the value of volunteer services and are providing financial assistance to a few associations in the form of grants. In some instances, a yearly sustaining grant is given to groups providing a continuing service which assists in implementing a government objective. In other cases, a project grant is awarded for the purpose of assisting an association so that it can undertake a short-term project.

154. We believe that greater consideration should be given to providing grants to associations performing useful social functions in fields particularly of concern to women. In our view, they should be made available both to associations performing long-term functions such as the operation of hostels or half-way houses and to those undertaking innovative and experimental projects. The flexibility and political freedom of associations make them particularly suitable for engaging in the latter.

155. Therefore, we recommend that the federal, provincial and territorial governments (a) make greater use of women's voluntary associations; and (b) increase their financial support to

- (i) women's voluntary associations engaged in projects of public interest, and
- (ii) voluntary associations working in fields of particular concern to women.

156. Some associations are able to see an end to the need for some of their traditional programmes and in some cases even their objectives, and yet, because they provide vital services to their members, disbandment is out of the question.

157. A number of briefs presented to the Commission suggested that a central agency at the national level could provide guidelines for the best use of volunteer resources in terms of the needs of today. Certainly it could serve a useful purpose as a clearing house for information on volunteer activities and as a source for research on the effective training and use of volunteers. More than this, it might well be in a position to foster the co-ordination of volunteer activities at all levels by encouraging the establishment of local and provincial volunteer bureaux. The adoption of a proposal made to the National Capital Commission some years ago for the establishment of a building in Ottawa to house the headquarters of national volunteer associations, could provide an admirable location for such a central volunteer agency.

158. The problem perhaps most frequently mentioned by briefs from women's associations was the lack of recognition society gives to the contribution that voluntary activities make to society. These associations are not just seeking praise for a job well done, but it is the conviction of many of them that lack of recognition is adversely affecting their ability to recruit members.

159. Part of the answer to proper recognition of the contribution of voluntary associations may well be better publicity about the value of their accomplishments. Responsibility for this must lie with the volunteer groups themselves. However, associations might give some thought to arranging jointly for publicity through a central agency such as a local volunteer bureau. A combined financial undertaking of this nature might make a more effective public relations approach possible.

160. Briefs repeatedly urged the recognition of volunteer work as experience for employment purposes. We support this proposal provided that the volunteer experience is relevant to the requirements of the paid position.

161. Therefore, we recommend that the federal, provincial and territorial governments include in their selection standards for appointment to positions in their respective governments, the assessment of volunteer experience in evaluating the qualifications of applicants. We believe that other employers would benefit from following the same practice.

162. A close relationship between governments and the people is difficult in a country the size of Canada, characterized as it is by a great diversity of interests, cultures and needs. Citizens will continue to seek a smaller, more personal world through which they can satisfy their needs, perceive and understand social change, participate in government and meet their obligations to society. Volunteer associations have provided such a world and will probably continue to do so.

163. As far as the associations listed in the *Directory of National Women's Organizations in Canada* are concerned, there are no grounds for predicting that women's associations will eventually disappear. The difference in total membership reported in the 1961-62 and 1967-68 issues is at best inconclusive.³⁵ As we have pointed out in the Chapter on society, in the last few years new women's groups have emerged. Much is being heard of the women's liberation movement, a movement taking form through a variety of associations.

164. With growing leisure, associations of a different nature will probably begin. There is already evidence that women are increasingly looking to volunteer work for a new challenge and an opportunity to use skills and abilities not being used elsewhere. The day seems to be disappearing when volunteers are willing to devote their time to routine service tasks and to leave all the more challenging work in the hands of professionals.

165. In the immediate future, governments should take a close look at the uses that can be made of women volunteers not only collectively but also individually. Particularly in the fields of health and welfare, governments have taken over many functions and projects formerly in the hands of women volunteers and have been somewhat loathe to use their services. But with the accent now placed on human resources development programmes in the field of preventive welfare, it is becoming increasingly apparent that volunteers are an essential source not only for the supply of workers but also for the direction of community programmes.

166. We believe nothing should be done to interfere with the autonomy of volunteer work. However, we urge governments to explore the new direction that volunteer work is taking and to find ways for government agencies to work more effectively with volunteers so that they may make a maximum contribution to the human resources development programmes within their communities.

³⁵ *Loc. cit.*

Summary

167. So far we have dealt only with the position of women in specific areas of unpaid production of goods and services. But what is the broader picture? Is it the choice of women that they carry the burden of unpaid production or are there outside forces that leave them little alternative? These are vital questions for, if the rights of women as individuals are to be respected, they must share in deciding what their role will be.

168. The widespread assumption that wives are responsible for the home has particular repercussions in today's world. It is apparent that many wives feel they are being torn between conflicting values. On the one hand, the traditional division of labour makes the care of the home and family the woman's responsibility. On the other hand, the need for more workers with the skills that some housewives possess is being emphasized in many quarters. With experts offering advice on all sides, even the best adjusted wife is likely to wonder whether or not she is on the right course.

169. Earlier we touched briefly on the financial dependency of housewives which results from their production of goods and services without pay. Perhaps more than anything else, this is responsible for the present position of women. It can have a destructive effect both on the housewife and on daughters who, because they take the housewife's state of dependency as a matter of course, may see little purpose in preparing for financial independence for themselves. More than this, the fairly common state of women's financial dependency follows those seeking to escape it through paid work. In the business world, the belief still remains with some employers that women should be paid less because they have husbands to support them.

170. One of the most destructive features of financial dependency is that it can undermine the confidence of the housewife in her own ability to make decisions not only within the home but also in the outside world. In a society in which income is one of the factors influencing status, she is already at a disadvantage. If she has a dependent role in the family, she will question her ability to be a leader in other areas where she will be competing with men. And, if men are accustomed to holding financial power within the family, they are unlikely to assume that women are able to wield such power outside the home.

Part C: Paid Work

171. In Canada some two and one-half million women are working for pay. They represent roughly one-third of the labour force and one-third of the female population old enough to work.

172. Women generally work in a few occupations labelled "female", earn less money than men and rarely reach the top. This has been the situation for so long that society takes it for granted. In fact, its very familiarity probably does as much to maintain the *status quo* as any of the arguments offered in its defence. Seeing women in lower-paying jobs and men in senior ones leads management to think in these terms when jobs are open, and so the system perpetuates itself.

173. Until the eighteenth century in New France, some women in towns, where most of the population was at first centred, worked as servants or shop clerks or ran businesses of their own successfully. In time, as this society became predominantly rural, women were employed as domestics or earned money through home industries such as spinning and weaving.

174. As Canada moved from a rural to an urban, industrialized society, some women continued to earn money by working at home. Farm women sold dairy or poultry products while city housewives made money by dressmaking, taking in laundry or keeping boarders. At the same time, with the growing production in factories of much of the consumer goods formerly produced in the home, opportunities to earn an income outside the home increased. Women who needed to earn money to support themselves or to supplement the family income provided industry with a source of cheap, unskilled labour.

175. Although information on the early employment of women in Canada is fragmentary, there is no doubt that the increasing impact of industrialization was being felt in the second half of the nineteenth century. Between 1860 and 1868 alone, the number of occupations in which women could earn a living doubled. By 1891, one in eight paid workers was a woman. The 10 leading occupations were: servant, dressmaker, teacher, farmer, seamstress, tailoress, saleswoman, housekeeper, laundress and milliner.³⁶

176. One account³⁷, written about 1890, reports that married women did not generally work outside the home if their husbands were able to support them. But some married women worked in canning factories in summer, and others in laundries and factories during the entire year. In one factory reported upon, most of the women workers were married.

177. During the second half of the nineteenth century women established themselves firmly in elementary school teaching. In the 1860's, a woman physician first practised medicine in Canada. Universities began to admit women for studies leading to other professions.

³⁶ Canada Department of Labour. *Women at Work in Canada*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1964, p. 1.

³⁷ Scott, J. T. *The Conditions of Female Labour in Ontario*. Toronto, University of Toronto, 1892, p. 25.

178. This century has seen a tremendous increase in the proportion of women in the labour force.³⁸ In 1901, the participation rate³⁹ of women was just over 16 per cent, and every subsequent census has shown an increase. Today, the participation rate is estimated at more than 34 per cent. The proportion of the labour force that is female has also doubled, from one in six in 1901, to about one in three today.

179. In recent years at least, the increase in the women's participation rate has been mainly caused by the growing number of married women in the labour force. In the early part of the century, information on the labour force activities of married women continued to be fragmentary. The 1921 census, however, revealed that the major factor contributing to the increased participation of women was the relatively greater participation of women 35 years of age or older. It is probably safe to assume that many of these women were married. Since the 1941 census much more has been learned about married women in the labour force. Their participation rate has increased from slightly less than four per cent in 1941 to more than 22 per cent in 1961, and to about 30 per cent today.

180. There is a lack of statistical information on the effect of the Great Depression of the Thirties and the two World Wars on women's participation rate. However, it is known that during the Depression there were some restrictions placed on the employment of married women who were not self-supporting and the two wars opened more jobs to women. During World War II many organizations recruited married women with families by offering flexibility in hours, part-time work and day-care facilities for children.

181. A turning point for working women, married and single, World War II gave them a chance to show more than ever before that they could perform a wide variety of tasks and carry much more responsibility. Married women also found that it was possible to work and, at the same time, manage a home and family, often without a husband's help.

182. Although many married women had started working to meet the national emergency, no mass exodus from the labour force followed the end of the war. Men released from the armed forces were legally entitled to return to their former positions temporarily filled by women, and some organizations, including the federal Public Service, restricted the employment of married women to help re-establish servicemen in civilian life. But women's participation rate did not drop much after the war and by 1956 it had again

³⁸ The labour force includes both people who are working and people looking for work.

³⁹ The participation rate of any age-sex population group is the proportion of that group that is in the labour force.

reached the 1947 level. As for married women, their participation rate had increased in 1951 to over 11 per cent—more than double the rate in the early years of the war.

183. The female labour force includes working women and women looking for work. Have women generally been successful in finding work?

184. One fact stands out clearly from an examination of the unemployment rates in Canada during roughly the last two decades: the unemployment rate for women has been continuously lower than for men. In 1947, the estimated unemployment rate for women was 1.7 per cent and for men 2.9 per cent. In 1967, these rates were 3.0 per cent and 4.6 per cent respectively, and for each intervening year the unemployment rate was lower for women. The greatest difference occurred in 1961 when the rates were 3.6 per cent for women and 8.1 per cent for men. The smallest difference was .7 per cent in 1951.⁴⁰ Apparently, women have had less difficulty than men in finding jobs.

185. The picture was not the same in the United States. During the same period, the unemployment rate for American women tended to be slightly higher than the unemployment rate for American men. From 1947 to 1966, the women's rate was lower than men's only in 1947 and was the same only in 1958. For the same period the total unemployment rate for Canada was sometimes higher and sometimes lower than that for the United States, but the unemployment rate for Canadian women was always lower than the corresponding rate for American women.⁴¹

186. The consistently lower unemployment rates for women compared to men in Canada are partly explained by the occupational distribution of women. Economists distinguish between two major families of industries: the goods industries and the service industries. Classified in the goods-producing industries are agriculture; forestry and fishing; mining, quarrying and oil wells; manufacturing; construction; and electric power, gas and water utilities. The service-producing industries include transportation, storage and communication; trade; finance, insurance and real estate; community, recreation, business and personal services; public administration; and defence.

187. Two economic factors⁴² have had, and still have, important implications for the employment of women. One is the faster growth rate of employment in most of the service industries compared with the slower growth rate

⁴⁰ Ostry, Sylvia. *Unemployment in Canada*. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968, Table 2, p.6; and Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Special Labour Force Studies, No. 2, Cat. no. 71-506, 1967.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Dominion Bureau of Statistics, as in footnote 40.

⁴² Economic Council of Canada. *Fifth Annual Review. The Challenge of Growth and Change*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968, pp. 66-72.

or decline of employment in most goods industries. The other is the greater opportunity for employment of women in most service industries than in goods industries. In 1946, 59.3 per cent of the labour force was employed in goods industries and 40.7 per cent in service industries. By 1966 these percentages had changed to 44.0 per cent and 56.0 per cent respectively. In 1969 the services industries employed almost 60 per cent of all workers, and roughly 80 per cent of the women workers.

188. Another factor may contribute to the lower unemployment rate for women. To be counted among the unemployed, a person must be seeking work. Married women often enter the labour force because they are offered a job without actively seeking work, and many of them may leave the labour force when they finish a job.

189. It is not clear why women's unemployment rates have been lower than men's in Canada and not in the United States. Canada seems to be unlike a number of other countries in this respect. It may be that married women in Canada have been less committed to working than women in some other countries. If this has been the reason, the gap between men's and women's rates may well narrow in the future since there is some indication that married women are becoming increasingly attached to the labour force.

Employment Patterns

190. The participation of women in paid employment is now well established.⁴³ The working life pattern of most single women is similar to that of men. Married women, on the other hand, usually move in and out of the labour force. The number who never return to paid employment once they have left to raise a family is becoming proportionately smaller. More and more married women enter the labour force either intermittently between the births of their children, or permanently when their youngest child has entered school. In 1968, of all married women (somewhat more than 4.5 million), 29.6 per cent were in the labour force. Of all women in the labour force 54.6 per cent were married.⁴⁴

191. The work cycle of many married women influences the over-all female participation rate. Statistical data show that the female participation rate is highest for the 20-24 age group. It declines sharply as many women leave the labour force to start families but before the age of 35 rises again

⁴³ Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Special Labour Force Studies, Nos. 1, 2 and 5. Cat. nos. 71-505, 71-506, 71-509, 1966, 1967.

⁴⁴ Canada Department of Labour, Women's Bureau. *Women in the Labour Force*. 1969, p. 11. Based on Dominion Bureau of Statistics Special Surveys Division, Special Tables, 12-month annual averages, 1968.

to a second but lower peak for the 45-49 age group. After 50, the female participation rate declines gradually, then more rapidly. High female participation rates and the re-entry process starting approximately in the mid-thirties are primarily urban phenomena, as shown in Chart 1.

192. The participation of married women in the labour force depends not only on their age, residence and job opportunities, but also on their level of education, the number and ages of their children and the income of their husbands. Women with very young children are less likely to join the labour force. The lower the income of the husband, the more likely it is that the wife will work, whatever the ages of the children, to help provide necessities. The more education a wife has, the more likely she is to stay in the labour force or return to it early. This tendency lessens as the income of the husband increases.

193. Women are chiefly employed in the service sector of the economy and in white-collar occupations. Table 4 gives the estimated distribution of paid female workers by industry. Table 5 gives their estimated distribution in selected occupations.

194. As Table 5 indicates, more women were employed in the clerical occupations than in any others. Service and recreation ranked second followed by professional and technical occupations. More than two-thirds of all women workers were employed in these three groups.

Table 4. Estimated Distribution of Female Paid Workers
by Industry, Canada, 1969

| Industry* | Number | Percentage |
|---|---------|------------|
| | (000's) | |
| All industries..... | 2,297 | 100.0 |
| Manufacturing..... | 405 | 17.6 |
| Transportation, Communication, and other Utilities..... | 107 | 4.7 |
| Trade..... | 393 | 17.1 |
| Finance, Insurance, Real Estate..... | 168 | 7.3 |
| Community, Business and Personal Service..... | 1,062 | 46.2 |
| Public Administration..... | 121 | 5.3 |
| Other Industries**..... | 45 | 2.0 |

*1960 Standard Industrial Classification.

**Industries with fewer than 10,000 women workers not included.

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Special Surveys Division, Labour Force Special Tables, 12-month averages, 1969, Table 3c.

CHART - I

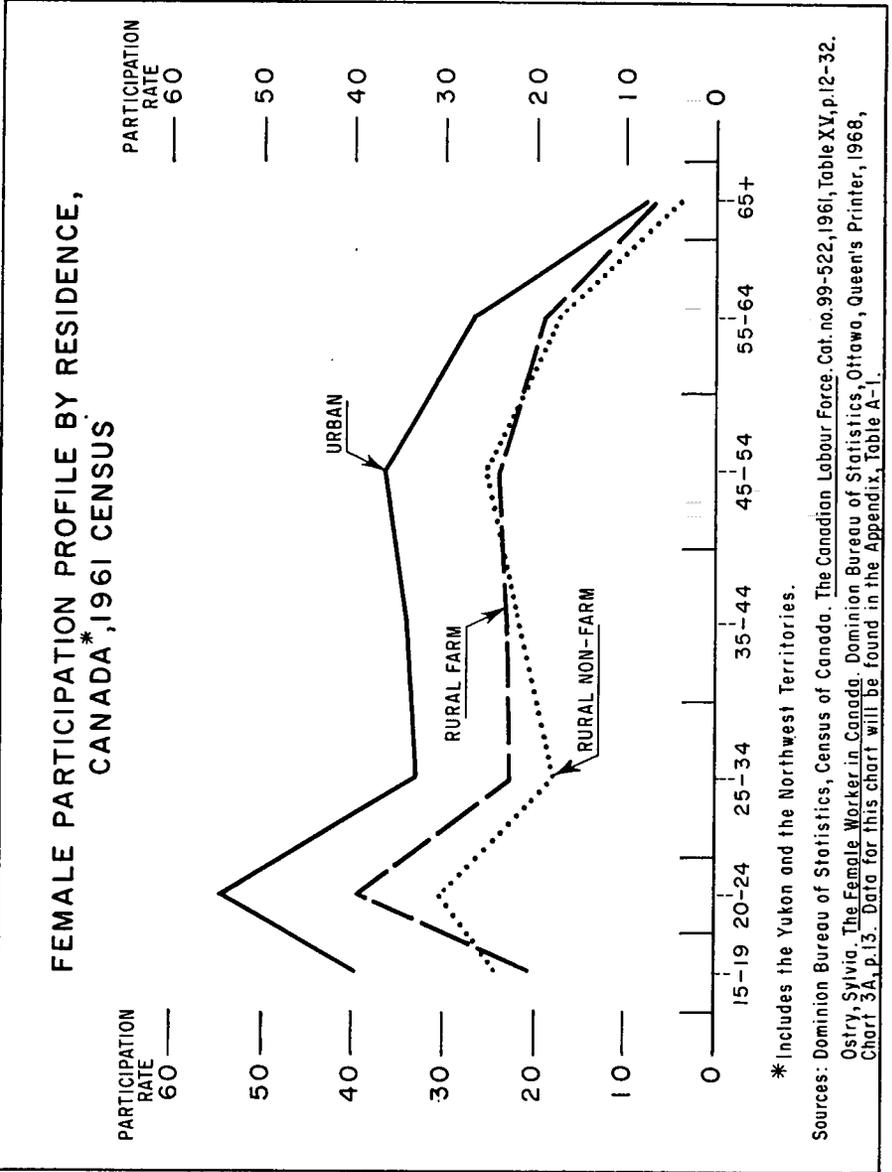


Table 5. Estimated Distribution of Total and Female Paid Workers in Selected Occupations and Percentage of Each Occupation that was Female, Canada, 1969

| Occupations* | Total Number of Paid Workers (000's) | Female Paid Workers | | Percentage of Occupation that was Female |
|---|--|---------------------|----------------------------|--|
| | | Number (000's) | Percentage Distribution | |
| All Occupations..... | 6,720 | 2,297 | 100.0 | 34.2 |
| Managerial..... | 466 | 53 | 2.3 | 11.4 |
| Professional and Technical..... | 970 | 423 | 18.4 | 43.6 |
| Clerical..... | 1,129 | 782 | 34.0 | 69.2 |
| Sales..... | 496 | 183 | 8.0 | 36.9 |
| Service and Recreation..... | 866 | 510 | 22.2 | 58.9 |
| Communication..... | 62 | 33 | 1.7 | 53.2 |
| Craft, Production Process and Related Workers..... | 1,887 | 275 | 12.0 | 14.6 |
| Labourers and Unskilled Workers..... | 315 | 20 | .8 | 6.4 |

*1961 Census Occupational Classification. Not included are:

—occupations with fewer than 10,000 females

—farmers and farm workers

—labourers and unskilled workers in agriculture, fishing, logging and mining.

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Special Surveys Division, Labour Force Special Tables, 12-month averages, 1969, Table 3c.

195. Women predominated in the clerical, service and recreation occupations but were less than half of those employed in professional and technical occupations. Although only 1.7 per cent of all women workers were in communications they made up slightly more than half of all the workers in communications. In management, women fared badly. Only 2.3 per cent of all women workers were in managerial positions and they occupied only about one-ninth of the positions.

196. This is the general occupational picture. But within these occupational groupings there are occupational variations. Some occupations are almost entirely filled by women while others, many more of them, are almost entirely filled by men.

197. This occupational segregation by sex, generally long-standing, has led to these occupations and professions commonly being referred to as "traditionally female" or "traditionally male". In Canada, traditionally female occupations include: secretary, stenographer, typist, telephone operator, housekeeper, domestic, waitress, and hairdresser. Traditionally female professions include elementary school teacher, nurse, dietitian and home

economist. The professions of librarian and social worker are often referred to in these terms but today are being entered by a growing number of men.

198. Traditionally male occupations, on the other hand, are legion. They include such well-known occupations as letter carrier, motor mechanic, railway engineer and bus driver. Professions such as physician, dentist, lawyer, engineer and architect are generally considered traditionally male.

199. There are differences in the educational level of women and men in the labour force. Slightly more girls than boys have been finishing high school and so, on the whole, women in the labour force are better educated at this level than are men. However, not as many women as men have university degrees and women's educational level is not necessarily higher for each occupational group. Table 6 gives the estimated educational level of the labour force by sex and occupational classification for 1967.

200. Since 1967, the latest available statistical information on educational level by occupations, there is evidence that the difference between the proportion of girls and boys graduating from high school is rapidly diminishing and may eventually disappear.

Table 6. Estimated Percentage Distribution of the Male and Female Labour Force by Level of Schooling and by Occupational Classification, Canada, 1967

| Occupational Classifications | Males | | | Females | | |
|---|---------------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------------|-----------|------------|
| | Elementary ⁽¹⁾ | Secondary | University | Elementary ⁽¹⁾ | Secondary | University |
| All occupations..... | 37.7 | 50.8 | 11.5 | 23.9 | 64.8 | 11.3 |
| Managerial..... | 20.3 | 59.8 | 19.9 | 23.9 | 68.0 | * |
| Professional and Technical.... | 3.1 | 35.5 | 61.4 | * | 52.0 | 45.8 |
| Clerical..... | 17.1 | 73.4 | 9.5 | 6.9 | 87.1 | 6.0 |
| Sales..... | 16.9 | 71.9 | 11.2 | 25.3 | 71.2 | * |
| Service..... | 42.2 | 54.2 | 3.6 | 45.0 | 52.6 | 2.4 |
| Transportation and Communication..... | 49.6 | 48.6 | * | * | 87.5 | * |
| Crafts, Production Process and Related Workers and Labourers ⁽²⁾ | 48.1 | 49.3 | 2.6 | 55.2 | 44.3 | * |
| Primary Industries..... | 62.7 | 34.7 | 2.5 | 54.4 | 44.1 | * |

(1)Includes "no schooling".

(2)Those labourers not included elsewhere.

*Estimates based on fewer than 10,000 persons not included.

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Labour Force Survey. Special Surveys Division unpublished, March 1969.

201. Women's higher level of education is not reflected in their earnings. Chart 2 illustrates the average earnings of full-year workers by sex for selected occupational groups for 1965, the most recent year for which statistics were available, and Table 7 gives the estimated percentage distribution of men and women by income groups and major occupations for 1965. In every occupational group, the average earnings of male workers were considerably higher than those of females. In some they were more than double. Some of the differences can be accounted for by the larger proportion of women working only part-time. Even among the full-year workers, there were probably more women than men who work fewer than the normal daily hours of work and so receive less than full pay.

202. Today, unions negotiate employees' pay and other conditions of employment. But in 1967, only 400,258 women, or about 17 per cent of all women workers, belonged to unions.⁴⁵ Of these women, 39.6 per cent were in the 25 labour organizations in which women members formed the majority. Of the 19.6 per cent of all union members which women represented, 6.5 per cent were in Ontario, 8.0 per cent in Quebec, 2.1 per cent in British Columbia, and 3.0 per cent in other provinces. The geographical distribution reflects the pattern of regional industrialization in Canada—Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia being the most industrialized.

203. Labour organizations reporting 10,000 or more women members were:⁴⁶

| | |
|--|--------|
| Quebec Teachers' Corporation | 41,553 |
| Canadian Union of Public Employees | 33,962 |
| National Federation of Services | 27,586 |
| Public Service Alliance of Canada | 27,382 |
| International Ladies' Garment Workers Union | 18,125 |
| Building Service Employees' International Union | 14,790 |
| Registered Nurses' Association of British Columbia | 10,944 |
| Confederation of National Trade Unions | 10,557 |
| Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America | 10,368 |

⁴⁵ Minister of Trade and Commerce. *Annual Report of the Minister of Trade and Commerce under the Corporations and Labour Unions Returns Act (1967)*. Part II, Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1969, pp. 62-69.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* page 63.

CHART-2

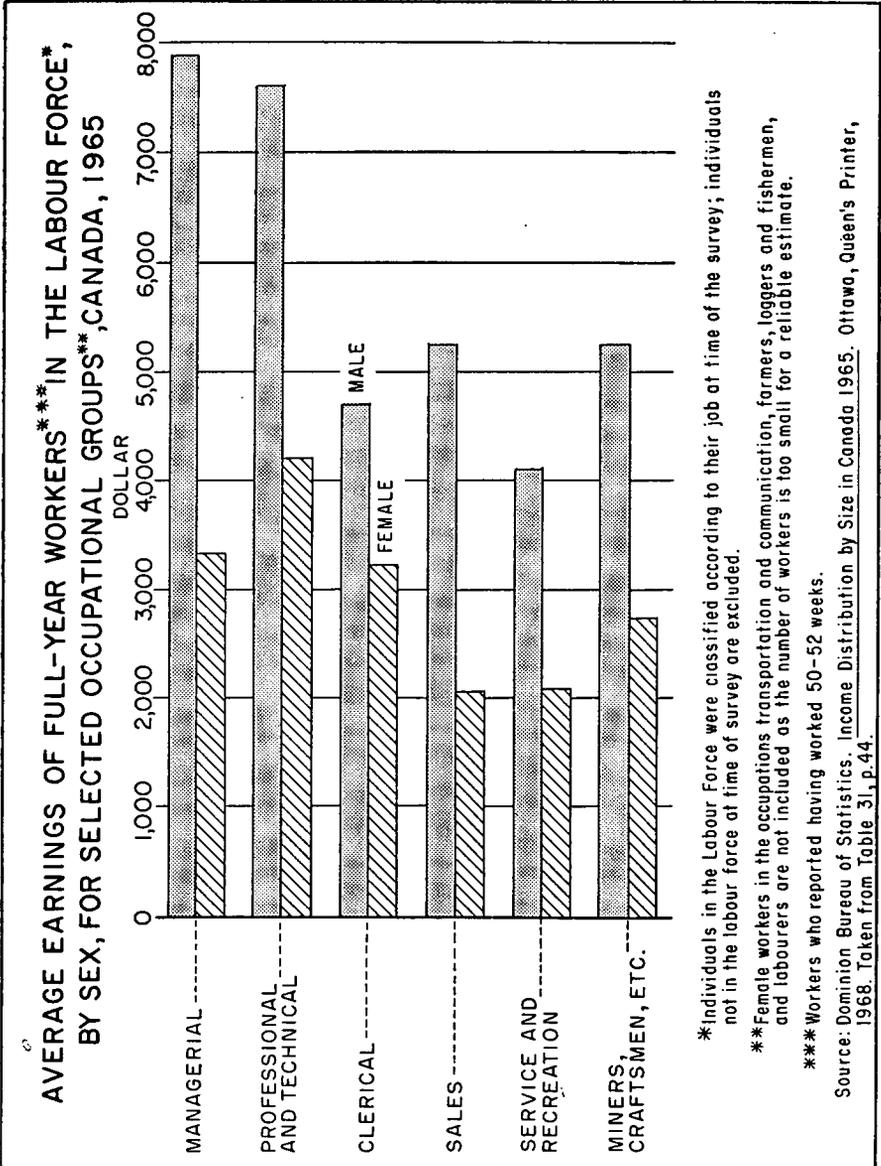


Table 7. Percentage Distribution of Individuals in the Labour Force* by Sex, by Income Groups, and by Average Earnings for Selected Occupational Groups,** Canada, 1965

| Income Group | Managerial | | Professional and Technical | | Clerical | | Sales | | Service and Recreation | | Miners, Craftsmen, etc. | |
|---|------------|---------|----------------------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|---------|------------------------|---------|-------------------------|---------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Under \$1000..... | 1.2 | 13.8 | 1.8 | 10.9 | 4.4 | 15.0 | 10.2 | 34.1 | 11.0 | 46.6 | 2.9 | 23.2 |
| \$1000—\$1999..... | 2.0 | 14.2 | 2.4 | 10.6 | 5.7 | 15.1 | 8.9 | 31.0 | 10.0 | 22.7 | 5.0 | 25.6 |
| \$2000—\$2999..... | 4.8 | 21.5 | 4.6 | 13.8 | 12.7 | 24.7 | 8.8 | 22.3 | 16.0 | 21.0 | 8.5 | 27.9 |
| \$3000—\$3999..... | 8.1 | 15.9 | 8.9 | 21.9 | 15.1 | 28.1 | 15.2 | 10.8 | 20.5 | 7.7 | 14.4 | 15.6 |
| \$4000—\$4999..... | 11.8 | 18.3 | 11.1 | 18.4 | 22.7 | 12.5 | 13.5 | 0.6 | 17.9 | 1.3 | 21.0 | 4.8 |
| \$5000—\$5999..... | 14.1 | 9.4 | 14.1 | 12.8 | 20.5 | 3.1 | 13.1 | 1.0 | 11.4 | 0.7 | 20.5 | 2.6 |
| \$6000—\$9999..... | 35.6 | 7.0 | 39.5 | 10.9 | 18.6 | 1.4 | 24.4 | — | 12.7 | — | 26.2 | 0.3 |
| \$10,000 and over..... | 22.6 | — | 17.5 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.1 | 5.9 | — | 0.6 | — | 1.5 | — |
| TOTALS..... | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Average earnings..... | \$7,501 | \$2,987 | \$7,133 | \$3,549 | \$4,255 | \$2,617 | \$4,682 | \$1,477 | \$3,462 | \$1,278 | \$4,682 | \$2,027 |
| Average earnings of full-year workers***..... | \$7,920 | \$3,351 | \$7,602 | \$4,226 | \$4,713 | \$3,263 | \$5,287 | \$2,077 | \$4,120 | \$2,099 | \$5,290 | \$2,756 |

*Individuals in the Labour Force were classified according to their job at time of the survey; individuals not in the Labour Force at time of survey are excluded.
 **Female workers in the occupations transportation and communication, farmers, loggers and fishermen, and labourers are not included as the number of workers is too small for a reliable estimate.
 ***Workers who reported having worked 50-52 weeks.

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Income Distribution by Size in Canada 1965*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968. Taken from Table 31, p. 44.

204. Female union members were found in major industry groups as shown in the following table:

Table 8. Distribution of Paid Female Workers and Female Union Members in Selected Industries, and Percentage of Female Workers in Those Industries Who Were Union Members, Canada, 1967.

| Industry | Paid Female Workers (000's) | Female Union Members | |
|--|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| | | Number (000's) | Per Cent of Total Female Workers |
| Manufacturing..... | 394 | 125 | 31.7 |
| Trade..... | 407 | 33 | 8.1 |
| Services..... | 1,048 | 138 | 13.2 |
| Transportation and Public Utilities..... | 88 | 36 | 40.7 |
| Public Administration..... | 106 | 65 | 61.3 |

SOURCE: Compiled from the *Annual Report of the Minister of Trade and Commerce under the Corporations and Labour Unions Returns Act (1967)*, Part II, Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1969, Table 28A; DBS, 12-month Annual Averages, 1967, Special Table 3C.

205. Although a few women have been union leaders or high officials in unions, the proportion of women elected to office does not begin to represent the proportion of women in total union membership. Nor is the proportion of women named to collective bargaining committees near the proportion of men.

206. Two studies undertaken for the Commission suggest that male unionists have an ambivalent attitude towards women in the work world. On the one hand they tend to retain the traditional view that women must be protected and that fundamentally their place is in the home. On the other, they recognize that women as union members have the same rights as men. Fortunately, there is some evidence of the growing realization that women who choose to work should have equality of opportunity in all respects. Of a sample of male unionists surveyed as part of one of our studies, 46.7 per cent felt that the labour movement had not shown enough concern for the future of working women. Twenty-nine per cent felt that the movement had, and 16.3 per cent were undecided.

207. Information on equal pay provisions in collective agreements was received on September 24, 1969, from the Canada Department of Labour through the Women's Bureau. The Collective Bargaining Division of that Department has estimated that between three and five percent of roughly 500

collective agreements in force in September 1969 for organizations with more than 500 employees (excluding construction) have a clause stipulating equal pay for female and male workers.

208. What we have just reported is the statistical picture of women's position in the work force today. But it does not tell us a great deal about women's rights and freedoms, their equality of opportunity with men or the extent to which their employment capabilities are being used. To learn this, we have drawn on a number of sources. Briefs, hearings, research, and the views of individual women have all helped. We have taken a brief look at some 36 organizations, public and private. We have examined the federal Public Service, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Canadian Forces, some federal Crown Corporations and agencies and the staffs of the Senate and the House of Commons. Studies of women in banks and department stores have been undertaken on our behalf. And finally we have dealt with certain other selected segments of the work force.

209. We have turned to these sources to learn whether or not women's rights as individuals are being observed in the areas of pay, benefits and terms of employment. We have weighed the opportunities of women to enter and advance in jobs and looked for ways to increase the use of their skills and abilities.

210. Basic to our examination has been the belief that women can be found with the same employment interests, aptitudes and capacities as can be found in men. There is no reason to believe that the ranges of intelligence of women and men are in any way different. And, while some interests and aptitudes are more common in one sex than in the other, virtually none are restricted to only one of the sexes.

211. Also basic to our examination has been the conviction that married women should be free to decide whether to remain in the home or to enter the labour force. We make proposals to make it easier for women to enter the labour force because we wish to ensure that women really have a choice.

212. One more point should be made clear. A number of our recommendations deal with minimum wage laws and equal pay legislation and we realize that some of these recommendations might adversely affect the employment of women, at least on a short-term basis. It is also possible, although highly unlikely, that in certain marginal areas an increase in the minimum wage rate for women to bring it into line with men's could shut down some work shops and thus put workers out of jobs. We recognize that, with effective equal pay laws, some employers might sometimes give preference in employment to men. Nevertheless our primary concern has been to bring to light any differential treatment on the basis of sex.

Pay

213. Through the years any discussion of differential treatment of women and men in employment has inevitably turned to pay. Before the last war the issue was usually whether or not there should be different rates of pay for women and men. Now the question is whether or not there are.⁴⁷ International, federal and provincial acceptance of the principle of equal pay has largely settled the former issue. What these jurisdictions have failed to do is ensure that the principle is universally observed.

214. In the legal sense, the post-war era has been tremendously important for working women. Since the first exodus of women from the home, their position in the work force had generally been subordinate to that of men. This was reflected in their absence at policy-making levels and in the fairly common practice of paying women less than men. The protests of women individually and in groups had failed to correct these injustices.

215. The birth of the United Nations in 1945 and its concern for human rights and fundamental freedoms acted as a spur to government action. With the adoption in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the rights of women to employment and equal pay became a Canadian policy. Article 23 of the Declaration proclaimed that: "(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. (2) Everyone, without discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work."

216. There are now other provisions specifically dealing with women's employment rights. In 1967 the United Nations' General Assembly unanimously adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. Article 10-1 of this Declaration states that women have: "(a) The right, without discrimination on grounds of marital status or any other grounds, to receive vocational training, to work, to free choice of profession and employment, and to professional and vocational advancement; (b) The right to equal remuneration with men and to equality of treatment in respect of work of equal value."

217. Canada, too, ratified the Convention Concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation, Convention 111, of the International Labour Organization. In doing so, Canada agreed to "undertake to

⁴⁷ Actually there are still some people who apparently think there should be different rates of pay for women and men. In rendering a decision regarding the claim of a policewoman for equal pay with policemen in 1968, a judge of the Ontario High Court stated "she is not being discriminated against by the fact that she receives a different wage, different from male constables, for the fact of difference is in accord with every rule of economics, civilization, family life and common sense." *Beckett v. City of Sault Ste-Marie Police Commissioners et al.* 67 *Dominion Law Reports*. 2nd ed., 1968, p. 294.

declare and pursue a national policy designed to promote, by methods appropriate to national conditions and practice, equality of opportunity and treatment in respect of employment and occupation, with a view to eliminating any discrimination in respect thereof."

218. Canada has not, however, ratified the International Labour Organization Convention Concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value (Convention 100). We believe that Canada should do this. Therefore, we recommend that a federal-provincial conference on labour legislation affecting women in Canada be called to prepare for Canada's ratification of the International Labour Organization Convention Concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value (Convention 100).

(a) *Equal pay*

219. Within Canada, legislation dealing with equal pay for equal work began to appear on the federal and provincial statute books. Ontario took the lead with the passage in 1951 of the Female Employees Fair Remuneration Act, subsequently replaced by other legislation. Other provinces adopted similar legislation, some as recently as 1969. In 1956, the federal government passed the Female Employees Equal Pay Act, applicable to employers and employees engaged in works, undertakings and businesses under federal jurisdiction and to federal Crown Corporations.

220. All provinces, as well as the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, now have anti-discrimination legislation.⁴⁸ In some cases specific terms prohibiting different pay rates on the basis of sex are included in legislation which also deals with other matters. In others equal pay is the subject of a special Act. Quebec legislation makes no particular reference to the subject of equal pay but does prohibit sex discrimination in employment. As Table 9 illustrates, equal pay provisions in Canada are far from uniform.

221. The Yukon Territory is the only jurisdiction that has neither legislation specifically prohibiting different rates of pay on the basis of sex nor legislation prohibiting sex as grounds for discrimination in employment. Therefore, we recommend that the Yukon Territorial Council adopt legislation prohibiting different pay rates based on sex.

222. The federal government is not entirely above reproach. The federal Female Employees Equal Pay Act applies to federal Crown Corporations but not to all federal agencies. It does not apply to the federal Public Service

⁴⁸ As of April 1970, Newfoundland's Human Rights Code had been passed but not proclaimed as law.

Table 9. Summary of Selected Provisions in Equal Pay Legislation in Canada

| Act | Proof Required | Exclusions | Action Initiated By | Maximum Penalty | | Protection of Employment | Provision for Restitution of Losses |
|--|---|---|---|---|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | | | | (Individuals) | (Others) | | |
| <i>Federal: Female Employees Equal Pay Act, 1956</i> | Employed by the same employer on identical or substantially identical work | Employers and employees not engaged in connection with any federal works, undertakings or businesses, and employees not employed in any corporation established to perform any function or duty on behalf of the Government of Canada | aggrieved employee | \$100 | \$500 Corporations | yes | yes |
| <i>British Columbia: Human Rights Act 1969, Pay Discrimination, Sec. 4</i> | Employed on the same work or substantially the same work done in same establishment | Domestics in private homes | not specified | None specified | | yes | yes |
| <i>Alberta: Labour Act 1955, Equal Pay Part VI</i> | Employed by the same employer on identical or substantially identical work | Domestics in private homes; labourers; municipal policemen | aggrieved employee (identity may be withheld) | \$100 | \$500 Corporations | yes | yes |
| <i>Saskatchewan: Labour Standards Act, Equal Pay Part V, 1969</i> | Employed on work of comparable character done in the same establishment | Managers; employees in an undertaking in which only family members are employed; employees in farming, ranching and market gardening | aggrieved employee | \$100 first offence \$200 other offences | \$100 | yes | yes |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|---------|--|-----|-----|
| <i>Manitoba:</i> Equal Pay Act, 1956. | Employed on identical or substantially identical work in the same establishment | Independent contractor | aggrieved employee | \$100 | \$500 Corporations; Trade Unions | yes | yes |
| <i>Ontario:</i> Employment Standards Act, 1968, Equal Pay, Part V | Employed on the same work requiring equal skill, effort and responsibility performed in the same establishment under similar working conditions | None | Director of Employment Standards; aggrieved employee | \$1,000 | \$1,000 | yes | yes |
| <i>Quebec:</i> Discrimination in Employment Act, 1964 | Discrimination in employment on the basis of sex | Employers with fewer than five employees; managers; foremen; superintendents; directors or officers; employers' representative in labour relations with employees; domestics | aggrieved employee | \$100 | \$1,000 Employers' Associations; Employees' Associations | no | no |
| <i>New Brunswick:</i> Female Employees Fair Remuneration Act, 1961 | Employed on the same work done in the same establishment | None | aggrieved employee | \$100 | \$100 | no | no |
| <i>Nova Scotia:</i> Equal Pay Act, 1969 | Employed on substantially the same work done in the same establishment | None | aggrieved employee or Director (Dept. of Labour) | \$500 | \$500 | yes | no |

Table 9. Summary of Selected Provisions in Equal Pay Legislation in Canada—*Cont.*

| Act | Proof Required | Exclusions | Action Initiated By | Maximum Penalty | | Protection of Employment | Provision for Restitution of Losses |
|--|--|---|---------------------|-----------------|---|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | | | | (Individuals) | (Others) | | |
| <i>Prince Edward Island</i> : Human Rights Code, 1968 | Employed on substantially the same work done in the same establishment | None | aggrieved employee | \$100 | \$500 Corporations; Trade Unions; Employers' Organizations; Employment Agencies | yes | no |
| <i>Newfoundland</i> *: Human Rights Code 1969, Equal Pay Sec. 10 | Employed on the same work done in the same establishment | None | aggrieved employee | \$100 | \$500 Trade Unions; Employers' Organizations; Employment Agencies | yes | yes |
| <i>Northwest Territories</i> :** Fair Practices Ordinance, 1966 | Employed on the same work done in the same establishment | Domestics in private homes; any employer with fewer than five employees; non-profit organizations | aggrieved employee | \$100 | \$500 Corporations; Trade Unions; Employers' Organizations; Employment Agencies | yes | yes |

*The Newfoundland Human Rights Code has passed the House of Assembly but had not been proclaimed as of April 1970.

**The Yukon Territory Fair Practices Ordinance does not prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex or provide for equal pay for women and men.

or to the staffs of the Senate and the House of Commons. Many women employees in the federal government are therefore not protected by law against sex discrimination in the matter of pay.

223. Perhaps this is not as serious as it sounds. Equal pay for equal work has long been an avowed principle in the federal government. With the exception of one or two questionable practices with pay implications which we discuss in the section on the Public Service, we did not find different rates in any segment of the Service. And we did find that the equal pay principle is enunciated in a number of collective agreements. However, we do not believe that enforcement of the principle of equal pay for equal work should be left to policy or the bargaining table.

224. There might be a certain incongruity in legislation that could oblige one Minister of the Crown to issue an Order to another Minister of the Crown. If the existing terms of the Female Employees Equal Pay Act were applied to the Public Service, this would happen if the Minister of Labour found that the provisions of the Act were not being observed in a government department. Perhaps this is why the Canada Labour (Standards) Code and the Canada Labour (Safety) Code were not made applicable to the Public Service. But the government has stated in Parliament that both Codes would apply as a matter of policy and has set up administrative machinery to ensure that the terms of the Canada Labour (Safety) Code are met.

225. For the Public Service Staff Relations Act, the problem has been handled differently. This act provides for collective bargaining in the Public Service and for establishment of a Public Service Staff Relations Board to administer the Act. The Board has no power to compel a Minister to comply with an Order issued by the Board for remedial action. But, if the Order is not observed, a report must be laid before Parliament by the Minister through whom the Board reports.

226. In spite of the difficulties of applying this kind of legislation to the Public Service, we consider that the Government of Canada as an employer, no less than other employers, should be held responsible by law for observance of the equal pay principle. We therefore believe that the Female Employees Equal Pay Act, with whatever special provisions may be necessary to make it workable for the Public Service, should be amended to apply to all employees of the Government of Canada. Therefore, **we recommend that the federal Female Employees Equal Pay Act be amended to apply to all employees of the Government of Canada.**

227. In spite of the fact that most employees in Canada are covered by legislation prohibiting different rates of pay on the basis of sex, briefs we received cited cases of different pay scales for women and men. Time after time it was made abundantly clear that some employers and unions are evading, if not the letter of the law, at least its intent. We were told of different pay rates for women and men in certain electrical and automotive industrial organizations and in printing shops.⁴⁹ Briefs described different pay rates in other industries too. The reasons for the differences were hard to find. We were at a loss to understand, for example, why an experienced female fish-worker would receive \$2.15 an hour while an experienced male fish-worker received \$2.83 an hour. We were even more mystified when we were told that an inexperienced male fish-worker was receiving \$2.37 an hour.⁵⁰

228. Perhaps the case of female Nursing Assistants and male Nursing Orderlies provides the most widely known example of controversy over whether or not two occupations are sufficiently similar to warrant equal pay under the law. Nursing Assistants care for female patients in hospitals and Nursing Orderlies care for male patients. In most provinces Nursing Assistants must have at least grade 10 or equivalent education and be provincially licensed or certified after completion of a training course usually 10 months long. Nursing Orderlies, on the other hand, generally have no such qualification requirements to meet and they are given in-service training. Yet the Commission was told of situations in which Nursing Orderlies got higher pay than Nursing Assistants.

229. We found strong support for the claim that some employers go out of their way to find, or make, a difference in the duties of women and men so that different rates can be paid within the letter of the law. The necessity to lift heavy weights occasionally is used sometimes to establish differential rates. We heard, too, that protective legislation is sometimes used as a pretext for paying different rates. The following quotation from a union brief vividly illustrates this kind of practice.⁵¹ "We know of another instance where female and male employees do exactly the same job—winding coils. In this instance the female employees are paid eleven per cent less than the males. The job content is the same, but the females can only work on two shifts. Legislation protects women from having to work the midnight to morning shift. The fact that the men are required to do the job on the third shift is considered enough of a change in job content to deny equal pay under the law as it now stands."

⁴⁹ Brief No. 99.

⁵⁰ Brief No. 184.

⁵¹ Brief No. 99.

230. For published instances of different pay rates for women and men, we turned to the report *Wage Rates, Salaries and Hours of Labour* published annually by the Canada Department of Labour. Table 10 is extracted from a page in the 1967 issue. Many more pages could have been used to illustrate what is all too common in that report.

231. In this era of employee participation in wage-setting, unions must share with employers the responsibility for ensuring that sex is not a factor in establishing rates of pay. A number of the equal pay laws have recognized this by prescribing penalties for unions and employee organizations violating the law. Yet some collective agreements have included separate rates of pay for women and men. In its brief⁵² one union bluntly stated: "We believe we are in a position to state however that unionized women enjoy, with but one exception, the same working conditions as men: working hours, paid holidays, job security, private social security, private social security schemes, and so on, . . . It has unfortunately been impossible, we must admit, to secure real implementation of the principle of equal pay for equal work in certain sectors."

232. We are aware of the danger of assuming that separate pay rates for women and men necessarily violate the equal pay principle. The different wage rates reported in the publication *Wage Rates, Salaries and Hours of Labour* could result from the employment of women and men in separate establishments which set their pay rates independently of each other. It could be argued that the separate pay rates appearing in collective agreements may be established because the work carried out by women and men is different. But we believe there is an even greater danger in assuming that separate pay rates must mean the work done by women and men is not the same. We cannot stress too strongly our conviction that separate pay rates for any job must be treated as highly suspect.

233. Two studies have looked at the comparable earnings of women and men in another way. Sylvia Ostry examined the 1961 census data to determine the pay differences between women and men for comparable work performed.⁵³ She found that "after 'accounting for' differences in the work year, occupational deployment and 'quality' of labour between the sexes, there remained fairly sizeable pay gaps between male and female workers in Canada."⁵⁴ In percentage terms, the earnings of women, when adjusted for the above factors, were 78 to 85 per cent of the earnings of men. Dr. Ostry

⁵² Brief No. 393.

⁵³ Ostry, Sylvia. *The Female Worker in Canada*. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968, Chapter 4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 45.

Table 10. Wage Rate Per Hour for Selected Occupations of the Hosiery and Other Knitted Goods Industry: Average for Canada and Average and Predominant Range for Selected Provinces, October 1967

| OCCUPATION | CANADA | | NOVA SCOTIA | | QUEBEC | | ONTARIO | |
|--------------------------------|---------|---------|-------------------|---------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| | Average | Average | Predominant Range | Average | Average | Predominant Range | Average | Predominant Range |
| | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ | \$ |
| <i>Hosiery-Circular</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Knitter, Male..... | 1.78 | -- | -- | 1.69 | 1.25 — 1.95 | 1.86 | 1.60 — 2.05 | |
| Knitter, Female..... | 1.25 | -- | -- | 1.36 | 1.20 — 1.46 | 1.23 | 1.05 — 1.40 | |
| <i>Underwear and Outerwear</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Circular Knitter, Male..... | 1.89 | 1.41 | 1.35 — 1.50 | 1.82 | 1.45 — 2.25 | 2.08 | 1.70 — 2.40 | |
| Circular Knitter, Female..... | 1.34 | -- | -- | 1.38 | 1.15 — 1.75 | 1.41 | 1.15 — 1.76 | |
| Hand Operator, Male..... | 1.54 | -- | -- | 1.44 | 1.05 — 1.85 | 1.97 | 1.40 — 2.27 | |
| Hand Operator, Female..... | 1.22 | .98 | .80 — 1.17 | 1.24 | 1.00 — 1.47 | 1.47 | 1.18 — 1.73 | |
| Cutter, Male..... | 2.00 | 1.48 | 1.33 — 1.70 | 2.11 | 1.60 — 2.75 | 1.92 | 1.69 — 2.11 | |
| Cutter, Female..... | 1.37 | .99 | .80 — 1.10 | 1.42 | 1.05 — 1.93 | 1.43 | 1.20 — 1.75 | |

SOURCE: Canada Department of Labour, Economics and Research Branch. *Wage Rates, Salaries and Hours of Labour, 1967, Annual Report no. 50.* Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968, Table 26, p. 92.

concluded that "it seems clear that some portion of the residual differential stemmed from 'discrimination'; i.e., from the fact that women were paid less than men for comparable work."⁵⁵

234. To find out whether women are being discriminated against in Canadian universities, a study was undertaken by the Canadian Association of University Teachers on behalf of the Commission. Based on data for the academic year 1965-66, the study reported the average salary of men in the academic profession as \$10,690. The women received an average of \$8,428 or \$2,262 less than the men. It was found that slightly more than half this difference could not be explained by any or all of the factors of age, degree held, field of specialization, university, region or academic rank. On the basis of this study, sex appears to be a factor in the lower earnings of the female academic.

235. When the salaries of women and men university teachers were matched on each of these factors, certain interesting findings emerged. The salaries of women with a Ph.D. or M.A. tended to be closer to the salaries of men with the same qualifications than was the case with women and men with a B.A. or no degree at all. In all fields except home economics, the typical male salary was always higher than the typical female salary. The difference was greatest in the fields related to medicine and least in those fields in which men tend to earn less than they do in other fields. At every career level, women's salaries were generally lower than men's, differences ranging from \$433 for associate professors to \$2,790 for Deans.

236. It is apparent that equal pay for equal work will not be a fact in Canada until all employers and unions accept the principle. Nor will it be a fact, human nature being what it is, until there is effective legislation to enforce the principle. By and large, Canadian legislation has failed to do this. Different pay scales do exist and women resent them. Yet no complaints have been made under the federal Female Employees Equal Pay Act. In the provinces with equal pay laws, only a handful of complaints has been received. Obviously the legislation is not effective.

237. A number of factors are combining to render the laws virtually inoperable. Unquestionably, the greatest obstacle is proving the law has been broken. As Table 9 indicates, proof must be given that work is "identical or substantially identical" or in some cases "the same work in the same establishment". Yet it is obvious that jobs rarely ever are the "same", "identical", or "substantially identical". No doubt it was never intended that proof in the narrowest sense would be required. Nonetheless, the burden

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 42.

placed on the employee of proving that, under the law, she is entitled to equal pay is almost overwhelming. The following extract from a brief⁵⁶ illustrates this. "A large manufacturing firm whose workers are represented by our Union, employs people in the classification of 'Janitor' and 'Janitress'. The duties of these people are essentially the same, that is—to clean the respective male and female washroom facilities. Despite the fact that the jobs are virtually identical, the male Janitors' wage rates are five per cent higher than those of the female Janitresses. One small difference in the job content is that the Janitor must wheel the garbage from his work area to the disposal area, whereas the Janitress places the garbage from her work area outside the washroom, from where it is taken to the disposal area by a male employee. This is not much of a difference, but it is enough to disqualify a claim for equal pay under present legislation."

238. The Acts are also unsatisfactory in a number of other ways. Except in Ontario and Nova Scotia, a complaint must be lodged by the person aggrieved. There is little doubt that many employees prefer to tolerate what they consider to be an injustice rather than risk the ill-will or the retaliation of their employers. Further, none of the Acts provide specifically for equal pay, on a *pro rata* basis, for part-time workers and not all of them provide for job retention and recompense for loss of wages and benefits when an employee's complaint is upheld. Finally, most of the penalties for breaking the law are so low that the employer is often financially further ahead if he pays an occasional fine and goes on breaking the law.

239. To ensure universal observance of equal pay for equal work in Canada, legislation is obviously needed that will be realistic enough not to demand unreasonable proof. We urge legislators to find a more appropriate way of defining the situation in which pay rates for women and men must be the same. In the meantime, we believe the United States Fair Labour Standards Act contains the most practical definition developed so far. It speaks of "equal work on jobs the performance of which requires equal skill, effort and responsibility and which are performed under similar working conditions." The present use in legislation in Canada of such terms as "same" and "identical" is much too restrictive. The term "equal" is more within the intent of the International Labour Organization Convention 100 which speaks of "work of equal value". We also strongly urge that legislation should recognize the responsibilities of unions as well as those of employers. Therefore, we recommend that the federal Female Employees Equal Pay Act, the federal Fair Wages and Hours of Work Regulations⁵⁷ and equal pay legisla-

⁵⁶ Brief No. 99.

⁵⁷ Regulations applicable to companies under contract to the federal government.

tion of provinces and territories require that (a) the concept of skill, effort and responsibility be used as objective factors in determining what is equal work, with the understanding that pay rates thus established will be subject to such factors as seniority provisions; (b) an employee who feels aggrieved as a result of an alleged violation of the relevant legislation, or a party acting on her behalf, be able to refer the grievance to the agency designated for that purpose by the government administering the legislation; (c) the onus of investigating violations of the legislation be placed in the hands of the agency administering the equal pay legislation which will be free to investigate, whether or not complaints have been laid; (d) to the extent possible, the anonymity of the complainant be maintained; (e) provision be made for authority to render a decision on whether or not the terms of the legislation have been violated, to specify action to be taken and to prosecute if the orders are not followed; (f) where someone has presented the aggrieved employee's case on her behalf and the aggrieved employee is unsatisfied with the decision, she have the opportunity to present her case herself to the person or persons rendering the decision who may change the decision; (g) the employee's employment status be in no way adversely affected by application of the law to her case; (h) where the law has been violated, the employee be compensated for any losses in pay, vacation and other fringe benefits; (i) unions and employee organizations, as well as employers and employer organizations, be subject to this law; (j) penalties be sufficiently heavy to be an effective deterrent; and (k) the legislation specify that it is applicable to part-time as well as to full-time workers.

(b) Minimum Wage Rates

240. The terms of the Minimum Wage Acts of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland permit the establishment of lower minimum wages for women than men. Quite aside from possible conflict between the Minimum Wage Acts and the equal pay laws, we cannot accept the tacit assumption that a living wage is necessarily lower for women than for men. Nor do we subscribe to the alternative assumption that the jobs of lowest value should always be filled by women. Therefore, we recommend that the minimum wage legislation of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland be amended to require the same minimum wages for women and men.

241. British Columbia has separate Minimum Wage Acts for women and men. This does not necessarily mean that minimum wages for women and men will be different—minimum wages are set by order for occupations and regions—but because there are two Acts these wages can be different. Differ-

ences in occupational coverage can also occur; one already has. The Male Minimum Wage Act excludes farm labourers and domestic servants; the Female Minimum Wage Act excludes farm labourers, domestic servants and fruit pickers. Therefore, **we recommend that British Columbia adopt a Minimum Wage Act applicable to both sexes that will require the same minimum wages for women and men and will contain no sex differences in the occupations covered.**

242. The payment of different rates to women and men is only one reason why women earn less than men. Another is that women seldom reach higher pay levels, except in occupations almost entirely filled by women. Later in this Chapter we have proposed ways of improving this situation.

(c) Occupational Segregation By Sex

243. Another reason for women's lower earnings is that occupations and professions predominantly female tend to be lower paid than those predominantly male. Just why this is so is not clear, but supply and demand are probably chiefly responsible. In a market economy, the supply of persons for a particular occupation and the demand for employees for that occupation usually play the biggest part in establishing pay levels. Certainly the supply of women for many traditionally female occupations and professions has kept pace with the demand. It is likely, then, that a major reason for lower pay rates in these occupations and professions is that a sufficient number of women have been available for lower pay than the pay necessary to obtain a sufficient number of workers in the occupations and professions that are predominantly male. It is equally likely that the rates will remain low until there is a shortage of workers available at these lower rates.

244. In a few traditionally female occupations and professions, such as that of librarian, demand exceeds supply and, as a result, in the last 10 years the average starting salary for librarians has increased almost 100 per cent.⁵⁸ The number of male librarians is increasing too; there is no way of knowing whether this is the result or the cause of higher pay.

245. Today, there is a shortage of available nurses. A brief from the Canadian Nurses Association⁵⁹ suggests that the cause of the shortage is not so much an inadequate number of trained nurses as the fact that nurses are entering other occupations with better pay and working conditions. The shortage has improved nurses' pay but not yet to a point that will bring

⁵⁸ Brief No. 300.

⁵⁹ Brief No. 309.

them back into the profession. The trend will probably not be reversed until nurses are offered not only higher pay but also working conditions commensurate with their professional skills and responsibilities.

246. Why have women remained in these lower-paid occupations and professions? Although some women feel their interest in a particular occupation or profession is more important than the money it yields, money is certainly the most common reason for women working. It seems evident that women simply do not have as many occupational alternatives as men. Until they do, the supply of workers in most of these female occupations and professions may go on meeting the demand.

247. Plans to marry undoubtedly limit the number of women's occupational alternatives. Many girls still look on employment as a stop-gap before marriage and take easily accessible work instead of qualifying themselves for a wider choice of jobs. More than anything else, traditional attitudes about the kind of work that women can or should do restrict women's occupational alternatives. These attitudes affect not only girls' expectations and hence their training, but also the kind of employment open to women. If employers think of engineers as men, for example, a woman engineer will have less opportunity than a man in the profession.

248. The sex composition of occupations and professions in other parts of the world shows that many of these attitudes have no basis in fact. In the early 1960's the percentage of physicians who were women was approximately seven per cent in Canada, 10 per cent in France and 75 per cent in the U.S.S.R. For lawyers, the percentages were three per cent in Canada, 26 per cent in France and 30 per cent in the U.S.S.R. And for dentists, the percentages were four per cent in Canada, 26 per cent in France and about 80 per cent in the U.S.S.R. In Canada, women represented less than one per cent of the engineers and in the U.S.S.R. about 30 per cent. In France, the proportion of women engineers was only slightly higher than in Canada.

249. A shortage of occupational alternatives for women, then, seems to be at the root of the relatively lower pay of women's occupations and professions. If women are to have more occupational alternatives, people must stop thinking of particular jobs as the domain of one sex or the other.

250. It is easy to say that sex-typing of occupations and professions can be eliminated by attacking it in the schools, and certainly a start must be made there. But school programmes designed to open up all occupations to both sexes will scarcely persuade girls to prepare themselves for male occupations if they know that women have few opportunities in actual jobs.

These programmes will not work unless the students can see that occupational segregation of the sexes is no longer a fact in employment. This means that attitudes in the work world must change. Employers can show that they are willing to change by hiring women in male occupations—and men in female occupations. Unless female occupations offer enough pay to attract men, the break with occupational segregation will begin only when women move into male occupations.

251. Unfortunately this will take time. We believe that the federal government can show leadership now by counteracting some of the ill-effects of occupational segregation on women's earnings. Under federal government policy, Federal Service pay rates are established by taking into account rates paid by the good employer outside the Service. As long as women's occupations and professions are relatively low paid outside the Service, under this policy they will be relatively low paid within the Service. We believe that, for a reasonable period of time at least, there should be a departure in the Government of Canada from this pay-setting policy for the professions of nurse, dietitian, home economist, librarian and social worker.

252. Although we recognize that it is difficult not to respect market forces, we also recognize that the mechanisms of the market are not always rapid enough to adjust to a need for higher pay in an occupation or profession. Our proposal is, in effect, that the federal government accelerate this adjustment in these traditionally female professions now short of workers. We suggest that this be done by setting their pay rates in relation to the pay rates of other professions on the basis of a comparison of the value of the work and the skill and training involved. This would be an equitable approach. Dietitians and social workers, for example, often have qualifications and responsibilities as high or sometimes higher than other professionals who are paid more. Therefore, **we recommend that the pay rates for nurses, dietitians, home economists, librarians and social workers employed by the federal government be set by comparing these professions with other professions in terms of the value of the work and the skill and training involved.**

Conditions of Employment

253. Employee benefits and other conditions of employment are closely related to pay. For the day-to-day benefits, provisions are generally the same for women and men. Although a survey of employment in 36 organizations prepared for the Commission revealed one case of difference in vacation leave for women and men and two cases of differences in sick leave, the sexes are usually entitled to the same time off and the same compensation for overtime.

254. In other vitally important areas their benefits are different. These differences, usually entrenched in legislation or social security programmes, are survivals of an earlier era. They provide women with less financial coverage than men, yet many single women and sole-support mothers have dependants and many families count on two incomes to provide an adequate standard of living.

(a) *Pensions*

255. Pension provisions often show sex differences. Many people in the labour force contribute to the Canada Pension Plan or the Quebec Pension Plan; many also contribute to company or union group plans. The Canada Pension Plan and the Quebec Pension Plan have several differences in the provisions for women and men. We found similar differences in many of the pension plans of the organizations we examined.

256. The most significant sex difference in the Canada Pension Plan lies in the benefits provided for the spouse and children of a contributor. The husband of a female contributor is not entitled to any pension unless he is disabled at the time of her death and was being maintained wholly or substantially by her before her death.⁶⁰ Nor are children of a female contributor entitled to any benefits unless "the child was, in prescribed circumstances, being maintained wholly or substantially" by her.⁶¹ Under section 527 (1) of the Canada Pension Plan Regulations, being maintained "wholly or substantially" means that "the support in cash, kind or services, other than services provided by way of normal household or family duties as a mother or wife, that a deceased female contributor had provided for the necessities of life, health, welfare, care, education or advancement of her dependent child or her disabled husband was, in the opinion of the Director, equal in amount or value to more than 50% of any such support provided for those purposes by (a) all persons in respect of her dependent child; or (b) all persons except his or her dependent child, in respect of her disabled husband."

257. Moreover, when a female contributor dies a declaration that the claimant has been wholly or substantially maintained by the contributor must be filed with the Director and signed by a responsible person who has personal knowledge of the facts but no direct interest in the matter.⁶²

⁶⁰ Canada Pension Plan, 1964-65. *Statutes of Canada*. C. 51, s. 44 (1) (c).

⁶¹ *Ibid.* s. 43 (1) (d) (ii).

⁶² Canada Pension Plan Regulations, P.C. 1965-1993 as amended, s. 528.

258. The situation is quite different if the husband dies or becomes disabled. No declaration of maintenance has to be filed with the Director before children are entitled to a benefit. The widow receives either an immediate or a deferred pension.

259. We cannot agree with this differential treatment. Even if the financial consequences are not the same, we see no reason why the husband of a contributor should not have the same protection as the wife of a contributor. Nor do we see any reason why the children should be wholly deprived of the financial support they have received from their mother. Admittedly, the assumption that the wife and children are financially dependent upon the husband's earnings had some relevance to economic reality in the past and some, though less, today. Nonetheless, the provisions are discriminatory and should be eliminated on those grounds. The Quebec Pension Plan has similar discriminatory features that should also be eliminated. Therefore, **we recommend that legislation on the Canada Pension Plan and the Quebec Pension Plan be amended so that the provisions applicable to the wife and children of a male contributor will also be applicable to the husband and children of a female contributor.**

260. We found that private pension plans in organizations we examined also generally failed to provide the same benefits to the spouse and children of a female contributor as those provided in the case of a male contributor. We believe this differential treatment should be eliminated.

(b) Workmen's Compensation

261. Workmen's Compensation is another form of income protection. It is under provincial jurisdiction and it provides by law for compensation to employees injured while on the job or for compensation to their families if the injury is fatal. There is a difference in the provisions dealing with the spouses of persons killed. The wife is covered whether or not she is presumed to be incapable of self-support but the husband is not covered unless he is an invalid and dependent on his wife. Yet a wife, by working, has usually assumed at least part of the family's financial responsibilities. Therefore, **we recommend that the provinces and the territories amend their workmen's compensation legislation so that the provisions applicable to the wife of the person deceased will also be applicable to the husband of the person deceased.**

(c) Insurance

262. Employee benefits sometimes take the form of insurance protection to which both the employer and the employee usually contribute. The most

common types of insurance protection are group health insurance, disability insurance, life insurance and unemployment insurance. Except for Medicare, the first three types are ordinarily schemes set up for particular organizations and, as one would expect, there is wide variety in the plans. Unemployment insurance, on the other hand, is provided for under the federal Unemployment Insurance Act.

263. On the whole, the organizations we studied reported no differences for women and men in group health insurance. In group life insurance, discriminatory provisions appear to be more common.

264. The study conducted on the academic profession illustrates the kind of differential treatment that sometimes exists in life insurance plans. In plans where the insurance was based on a percentage of salary, some spectacular differences were found. In one, a man's insurance was based on 250 per cent of his annual salary and a woman's insurance on only 100 per cent. In another, although the percentages of salary were the same for men and women, the maximum insurance available for married men was \$15,000, for unmarried men \$7,500 and for all women \$5,000.

265. We cannot stress too strongly our conviction that these sex differences in life insurance plans should not exist. There is no reason why the estate of an unmarried man should receive more than the estate of an unmarried woman. We also believe that life insurance plans should recognize that many unmarried contributors, both women and men, have dependants.

266. The federal Unemployment Insurance Plan is not above reproach. This plan, set out in the Unemployment Insurance Act, is intended to provide financial help to workers who have lost their jobs for reasons beyond their control and who are willing and able to take any suitable employment available. On the whole the provisions are the same for women and men, but there are a few differences in the terms and in the effect they may have on men and women, especially married working women.

267. Contributions made by women and men are the same but there is a difference in benefits when the contributor has dependants. Under the terms of section 47(3) of the Act, for example, a wife is a dependant if she is "being maintained wholly or mainly" by her husband. A husband, on the other hand, is a dependant if he is "dependent on" his wife.

268. Section 168 of the Unemployment Insurance Regulations defines this difference. Under its terms, a man may claim his wife as a dependant if her earnings, including unemployment insurance benefits, do not exceed \$25 a week. A woman may claim her husband as a dependant only if his income

from any source, including investment income and unemployment insurance benefits, does not exceed \$25 a week. This distinction, based on the concept of the husband as the wage-earner, is in our view discriminatory. Therefore, **we recommend that the Unemployment Insurance Act and Regulations be amended to provide a common definition for “dependants” of women and men contributors.**

269. Still another aspect of the unemployment insurance legislation adversely affects women. Certain kinds of employment are excluded from the plan, and in a number of these women predominate. Private duty nurses and household workers are cases in point. We believe that unemployment insurance should be available to everyone if they are working in an established employee-employer relationship. Therefore, **we recommend that the federal Unemployment Insurance Act be amended to apply to all employees working in an established employee-employer relationship.**

270. The payment of unemployment insurance benefits to working women during pregnancy and immediately after confinement has been a problem ever since the Unemployment Insurance Act became law. Because the plan is not intended to cover persons unable to work, it cannot be applied without a definition of the period during which pregnancy and confinement prevent a woman from taking a job. After several beginnings, the Unemployment Insurance Commission seems to have settled on a policy. In its *Digest of Benefit Entitlement Principles*, it states that a woman whose employment has been terminated because of her pregnancy is considered unavailable for work and therefore not eligible for payment of benefits for six weeks before and six weeks following her confinement.

271. We are concerned that this policy can discriminate against women who want and are able to work for some of this 12-week period. In the next few pages we make certain proposals for maternity protection which should settle this problem. In the meantime, we urge the Unemployment Insurance Commission to adopt a more flexible approach based on a physician's opinion of his patient's capacity to work during the six-week periods before and after confinement.

(d) Maternity Leave

272. The need for employment protection during and immediately after pregnancy was emphasized in many briefs and during the discussion periods at the public hearings. No data are available on the proportion of organizations in Canada with maternity provisions; a recent publication of the federal

Department of Labour⁶³ dealt only with organizations that had such provisions. Briefs made it clear that some employers give no protection whatever; they simply require women to terminate their services when they are no longer able to work. Some studies undertaken for us confirmed this.

273. Terms of maternity protection vary widely. Some arrangements are informal and may differ between individuals. In other organizations, provisions are set out formally in a collective agreement or by regulation.

274. Studies conducted for us and the study reported in the publication of the federal Department of Labour found that women rarely receive their salaries or wages for all or even part of their time of maternity absence. In the few cases reported where this was the case, the leave with full pay ranged from one to six weeks. Sometimes, however, employees receive pay through the use of sick leave which they have earned or pay through wage-loss insurance.

275. When maternity leave is provided it generally ranges between 12 and 26 weeks. The Department of Labour study found that the leave tends to be longer if it is written into a collective agreement. Pre-natal leave and post-natal leave are often prescribed separately. The duration of leave is sometimes based on the advice of a physician.

276. When an employee is given maternity leave she generally retains her seniority and often counts her leave in establishing further seniority. She can usually count on getting her job back.

277. Canada has accepted certain principles of maternity protection. Article 10, 2 of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, 1967 provides: "In order to prevent discrimination against women on account of marriage or maternity, and to ensure their effective right to work, measures shall be taken to prevent their dismissal in the event of marriage or maternity, and to provide paid maternity leave with the guarantee of returning to former employment, and to provide the necessary social services, including child-care facilities."

278. Canada has not ratified the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952 (Convention 103) of the International Labour Organization. This Convention provides for a minimum of 12 weeks of leave, six weeks of which shall be compulsory after confinement. It also provides for cash benefits, the benefits to be paid through compulsory social insurance or public funds. Cash benefits under compulsory social insurance must be no less than

⁶³ Canada Department of Labour, Women's Bureau and Economics and Research Branch. *Maternity Leave Policies*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969.

two-thirds of the woman's previous earnings. Rather than recommending that Canada ratify this Convention, in the next few pages we make proposals that fit into Canada's present social security system.

279. If Canada's commitment to maternity protection for women is to be met, women who have chosen to work should not be in danger of losing job, income, seniority or chances for promotion if they become pregnant. If their jobs are jeopardized because they are pregnant, their right to work and consequently their freedom of choice are infringed.

280. Economically—though not always ideologically—Canadian society accepts wives and mothers as members of the labour force. The fact that one worker in six is a married woman is an index of the nation-wide dependence on their services.

281. Society has a responsibility to ensure that the dual role of a working woman who becomes pregnant does not affect her health or her child's health. Employers have a responsibility to ensure that working conditions and terms of employment are fair to all employees, including those who are pregnant.

282. Today, maternity leave has been made mandatory by only the provinces of British Columbia and New Brunswick and, in certain areas, the federal government. The maternity legislation in British Columbia and New Brunswick requires the employer to allow the employee to be absent for the six-week period immediately before the expected date of her confinement and requires that she be absent, following her confinement, for six weeks, or longer if a qualified medical practitioner says this is necessary. The legislation prohibits her employer from dismissing her for reasons arising out of her absence unless she has been absent for at least 16 weeks.

283. British Columbia and New Brunswick have taken the lead in making maternity leave mandatory in areas under their jurisdiction. We feel, however, that employers should be prohibited from dismissing an employee on any grounds during authorized maternity leave. Such a provision would prevent an employer from citing a spurious reason for releasing a woman he was actually releasing because she was pregnant. It would also protect the expectant or recently confined mother who might be physically or psychologically unprepared to protest her dismissal. We recognize that an employer should not have to keep an absent employee on strength indefinitely and so consider it reasonable to limit the period during which the woman on maternity leave cannot be dismissed.

284. Later in this Chapter we recommend that the federal Fair Employment Practices Act be amended to apply to all employees of the Government

of Canada. We believe that maternity protection for these employees can best be achieved by including maternity provisions in that Act. Therefore, we recommend the amendment of the federal Fair Employment Practices Act and the adoption of provincial and territorial maternity legislation to provide for (a) an employed woman's entitlement to 18 weeks maternity leave, (b) mandatory maternity leave for the six-week period following her confinement unless she produces a medical certificate that working will not injure her health, and (c) prohibition of dismissal of an employee on any grounds during the maternity leave to which she is entitled.

285. Being entitled to maternity leave may relieve a woman's anxiety but it will not help her financially unless some pay is provided. We are gravely concerned that loss of earnings imposes hardship on many women during pregnancy. At a time when a woman incurs extra expenses, her pay cheque is usually cut off. Often her income is needed to provide a decent living for her family.

286. We therefore believe that women should get some compensation for loss of earnings during maternity leave. Through the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, Canada is committed to the principle, not just of leave, but of paid leave. More generally, insurance against loss of earnings is today widely accepted because the financial stability it provides is important not only to the individual or family but also to the economy. Workmen's Compensation and Unemployment Insurance are examples. A woman in the labour force who is temporarily out of work during the weeks immediately before and after confinement should be entitled to similar protection.

287. After giving due consideration to various ways and means of providing this protection we have agreed that it can best be done through the federal Unemployment Insurance Plan. We realize that the principles on which the plan is based would have to be modified. At present, to be entitled to unemployment benefits contributors must be willing and able to work. This would not be possible for a woman during the entire period of pregnancy or immediately after confinement. Contributors now normally must also have severed their connections with an employer. It is essential that a pregnant woman be given time off with security of tenure, that is, be given leave and not be released.

288. Although changes in these provisions would have to be made, it seems rational to adapt the existing machinery set up under the Unemployment Insurance Act. Both unemployment insurance and paid maternity leave are intended to provide compensation for temporary loss of earnings, and the

unemployment insurance plan already has a system for drawing contributions from the same sources that would be contributing to paid maternity leave. Therefore, we recommend that the Unemployment Insurance Act be amended so that women contributors will be entitled to unemployment benefits for a period of 18 weeks or for the period to which their contributions entitle them, whichever is the lesser, (a) when they stop paid work temporarily for maternity reasons or (b) when during a period in which they are receiving unemployment benefits, they become unable to work for maternity reasons.

289. We do not believe that paid maternity leave will be a heavy financial burden on the economy. Most working wives in Canada have fewer than three children and more than one-quarter of the women in the labour force are probably beyond the years of child-bearing.

290. We are aware that some non-working women may also badly need more money during pregnancy to pay for household help and the care of other children. It may be argued that, in removing one form of discrimination, we have introduced another. Unfortunately we have no solution to propose for non-working women. There is the compensatory factor, however, that working women will be directly contributing money to the plan.

(e) Other Conditions of Employment

291. In spite of Canada's commitment to equal treatment of the sexes, we found that men and women are sometimes employed on different terms. Some differences, intended to protect women from the physical hazards of employment, are well-meaning. Others are based on the premise that a woman's useful working years end at an earlier age than a man's. All fail to recognize that individual workers' capacities cannot be judged on the basis of their sex.

292. Long before society saw anything wrong in using women in unskilled work for low pay, it began to develop a conscience about their welfare. At the turn of the century, the appalling exploitation of women provoked laws designed to protect their health and morals while at work. Women, as well as children, were recognized as a group requiring special attention.

293. Working conditions have improved enormously but society still sees working women as a group whose welfare must be protected by law. Although the federal government has no legislation protecting only women, some other jurisdictions have such laws, some fairly recent. Some limit the weight that women can be required to lift or carry. Others specify safety precautions and precautions against fatigue.

294. The legislation often covers hours worked by women. The maximum number of working hours is sometimes set lower for women than for men. Sometimes the law prohibits women from working overtime for as long a period as men. Often the employer has to give a woman private transportation for her personal safety when her working hours require going to or from home between midnight and six in the morning, or he may be required to provide food facilities so that women on night shifts will not have to leave the premises.

295. We are opposed to discrimination in protective measures. If there are hazards in employment, these measures should protect all employees exposed to them. Protective legislation for women has the effect of restricting their job opportunities. If a woman cannot legally work the same maximum number of hours as a man, she may find it harder to get a job. She may also find that she cannot obtain work on night shifts because of the precautions the law requires be taken for her safety. Therefore, **we recommend to the provinces and territories that protective labour legislation be applicable to both sexes.**

296. Another serious discrepancy between the terms on which men and women are employed is a difference in retirement ages. Some companies require women to retire earlier than men. This practice is less common than it was; it is intolerable that it should exist at all. In addition to the inequality of opportunity to work after a certain age that this practice creates, it places a financial hardship on women. Women live longer than men, and earlier retirement means a shorter number of years to earn an adequate pension and a longer period to live on it. Surely this inequity is a violation of existing human rights legislation, including the Canadian Bill of Rights.

297. Everyone who uses the airlines knows that the stewardesses are usually young and attractive. A brief⁶⁴ told us why: "Despite the lip service given to the ideals of equality the echoes of the past still survive today. Discrimination against women has become much more sophisticated with youth and glamour having premium over experience and maturity. This is exploitation of sex in its worst form and is without regard to intellectual honesty or logical process. Probably no occupational group in modern Canadian society has been more subject to this type of prejudice than have the stewardesses employed by Canadian air lines as the Companies without exception adhere to the 'Bunny Club' philosophy. Up until 1965 marriage was cause for instant dismissal. In some air lines today, pregnancy is still reason for discharge. Stewardesses in some air lines upon initial employment are required as a condition of employment to sign agreements permitting the

⁶⁴ Brief No. 441.

employer to discharge them at age 30 or 32 while the Crown Corporation hires stewardesses on a ten-year contract basis. Stewards and Pursers are of course not subject to these provisions.”

298. We are concerned about the inequitable terms of employment that this brief describes. Although different air lines have different terms of employment, women’s tenure is generally restricted to about 10 years. No similar restrictions are placed on air line stewards. Therefore, **we recommend the elimination of any discrimination on the basis of sex in the terms and conditions of employment for air crew on air lines.**

Equality of Opportunity

299. Discrimination that takes some conspicuous form, such as unequal pay or penalization for pregnancy, can be singled out and corrected—sometimes through legislation, more often through changes in the policy and practice of enlightened employers. Establishing equal rights for women and men in these basic and clear-cut issues is an important step toward equality in employment, but it is still only a beginning.

300. Laws can give women equal rights on the job. Only a radical change in the attitudes of society can give them equal opportunities in employment and promotion. In practice their range of occupational choice is much narrower than that of men. By long custom, most occupations are sex-typed and relatively few are considered suitable for women. Girls are still conditioned and counselled to prepare themselves for these traditionally female jobs. They are also encouraged to think that the prospect of marriage makes it unnecessary for them to educate themselves fully for a working career.

(a) Entering Employment

301. Even a well-qualified woman will probably find it difficult to enter a field not traditionally regarded as female. Most employers prefer to hire men for jobs that lead to decision-making. Many advertisements are obviously directed toward men and the practice of running male and female help-wanted columns is still common in Canadian newspapers. Therefore, **we recommend that the provinces and territories adopt legislation prohibiting the advertisement of a job opening in a manner that expressly limits it to applicants of a particular sex or marital status.**

302. The recruitment literature and recruitment programmes of many organizations also tend to encourage occupational segregation. Even federal government publications, which meticulously avoid any statement that might be interpreted as sex-typing, are often illustrated with pictures that show

men and women in traditionally male and female occupations. Therefore, **we recommend that sex-typing of occupations be avoided in the text and in the illustrations of all federal government publications.**

303. The on-campus recruitment programmes annually conducted by firms seeking new university graduates are a useful index of women's opportunities in professional fields. Participating firms give students and University Placement Offices, some of which are operated by Canada Manpower Centres, information about the jobs they have to offer and the qualifications they require. Interviews with students are usually arranged through the University Placement Offices.

304. Information about vacancies is circulated in several ways, including the publication *Canada Careers Directory for University Graduates*. In an analysis of the 1969-1970 edition the federal Women's Bureau found that, of the 3,268 vacancies listed by banks, insurance companies, pharmaceutical and chemical firms and manufacturers of soap and detergents, 2,024 positions were open only to men. This left only 1,244 jobs in these companies for which the University Placement Offices would be able to arrange interviews for women.

305. We consider that University Placement Offices have a responsibility for preventing discriminatory practices from being exercised on campus. Therefore, **we recommend to the Canada Department of Manpower and Immigration and to the universities that University Placement Offices refuse to make arrangements for firms to interview students in connection with positions for which the firms have specified sex preferences or sex requirements.**

306. Married women encounter additional obstacles to entering employment. Some employers are unwilling to hire them because they think that they will not work for long. Others still disapprove of women combining jobs and family responsibilities. In fact, these responsibilities also prevent many women from joining the work force. Without child-care facilities or staggered work hours, mothers of small children cannot meet a conventional working schedule.

(b) Advancing in Employment

307. Inequality of opportunity does not disappear when women enter the labour force. Women's advancement is usually limited to intermediate levels. In 16 of 36 organizations surveyed for us, no women earned more than \$12,000. In the federal Public Service in 1968, the chances of a man

earning \$14,000 and over were 18 times as great as a woman's.⁶⁵ In the federal Crown Corporations surveyed, a man's chances seem to be even better.

308. Again, opportunity is limited by occupational segregation. The traditionally female occupations seldom lead to the upper echelons of management. Nor do they often provide the kind of challenge that can earmark an employee as a prospective occupant of the executive suite. This is of course part of the broader problem of dead-end jobs, and we believe that tailoring jobs to match employees' potential would help both men and women. But we also urge employers to develop programmes to move promising women out of these occupations and into the main stream.

309. Even when women are in work that can lead to senior levels, their opportunities are fewer than those of men. Teaching is an example. Briefs dealing with women teachers cited studies made at different times in several provinces. The following excerpts speak for themselves.

* In British Columbia in 1967, of the 245 principals in one area only five were women.⁶⁶

* In Alberta in 1966, a man was 7.5 times more likely to become a principal than a woman, although he was only 2.5 times as likely to have higher qualifications than a woman.⁶⁷

* In Manitoba in 1968, although there were only seven men teachers to every 12 women teachers, there were almost three and one-half times as many men administrators as women administrators.⁶⁸

* In Ontario in 1967, of the total 3,459 elementary school principals only 925 were women although there were more women teachers than men teachers; in Ontario Teacher's Colleges there were 270 men masters and 102 women masters but no women in administrative posts; in Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology there were 1,365 men instructors and only 176 women; in the Department of Education 88 senior positions were held by men and one by a woman and there were 380 men inspectors and supervisors and only 27 women.⁶⁹

* In Quebec, under the Catholic School Commission of Montreal, in 1968, 89 per cent of the elementary teachers were women but only 51.8 per cent of the principals were women; only 16.3 per cent of the staff of the Commission were women, none of whom held senior positions.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Archibald, K. *Sex and the Public Service*. Study commissioned by the Public Service Commission of Canada. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1970, Table II-3, p. 28.

⁶⁶ Brief No. 237.

⁶⁷ Brief No. 301.

⁶⁸ Brief No. 372.

⁶⁹ Brief No. 342.

⁷⁰ Brief No. 434.

* In Nova Scotia in 1961, there were 307 men principals and professors and only 70 women.⁷¹

310. The situation in universities is not much better. A study made for the Commission by the Canadian Association of University Teachers compared women university teachers with men university teachers who had the same amount of training and were of the same age, and found a higher proportion of men in the ranks of dean, department head, professor and associate professor. A brief⁷² presented by a group of women university teachers reported that a survey which they had conducted found that one out of every four full-time men faculty members was a professor but that only one out of 21 women was at that level. It also found that while the number of men in the survey was roughly six times greater than the number of women, there were more than 30 times as many men deans as women deans (excluding deans of Nursing Education and Home Economics).

311. One study of women in the mass media in a large Canadian city graphically documented their failure to reach senior levels. Reported by a national organization,⁷³ the study covered 28 employers with a total of 1,147 employees, 23 per cent of whom were women. Women represented 73 per cent of the people in the survey earning annual salaries under \$4,000; 35 per cent of those earning between \$4,000 and \$8,000; 2.75 per cent of those earning between \$8,000 and \$12,000; and 2.5 per cent of those earning over \$12,000. Although 85 per cent of the women surveyed said they were willing to assume more responsibility, no women were editors, news editors, city editors or night editors on any city daily newspaper. Regardless of their competence, women appear to be promoted only in "women's interest" areas.

312. The most serious obstacle to women's advancement is probably the fact that many employers think senior positions are for men. Consciously or unconsciously, these employers attribute to women as a group characteristics that result in their elimination from consideration. It is a fairly common practice to ascribe certain characteristics to a particular group. But the practice becomes highly suspect when those characteristics are automatically ascribed to each member of the group until it has been proven to be otherwise.

313. Time after time briefs told us that this is happening to women. An interesting experiment in the federal Public Service supports this claim.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Brief No. 433.

⁷² Brief No. 443.

⁷³ Brief No. 94.

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.* Archibald. Appendix C, p. 201.

To find out whether or not employers considering job applicants are influenced by their sex, officers were asked to rate the paper qualifications of a number of candidates. Given a male name, one candidate was rated first 86 per cent of the time. With a female name, the same candidate was rated first only 58 per cent of the time. Since the qualifications remained the same, the rating clearly differed on the basis of sex. When they thought the candidate was female, the raters scored against her characteristics that they apparently ascribed to women.

314. We are convinced that women will not have equality of opportunity so long as characteristics traditionally attributed to them as a group are attributed to them individually. They risk being automatically eliminated from consideration or being put to tests not required of male candidates. Either situation is intolerable from a viewpoint of equity and sound personnel practices. We urge employers to judge each woman's potential for advancement solely on her qualities as an individual. She should not be asked to prove her suitability in any way not required of other candidates.

315. Inadequate education and experience are often mentioned as deterrents to women's advancement. The number of women who attend university is much smaller than that of men; women who want professional or managerial jobs should recognize the value of a degree. The claim that women lack experience for senior positions has some foundation too. This is partly because many women drop out of the labour force for a period. But another reason why women lack experience for senior levels is that few can reach middle levels where the experience is gained. When women have the chance to move up according to their individual potential this claim will be less valid.

316. Employers also cite women's higher turnover⁷⁵ and absentee rates as reasons against their promotion. The validity of these reasons seems to us highly questionable.

317. Findings of studies on turnover rates of women and men are far from conclusive. The effect of sex is hard to isolate from other factors such as age, education, marital status, industry and place of employment. Level of employment is sometimes relevant because employees at routine levels and in dead-end jobs have less stake in a career. A study of the federal Public Service found that women's turnover rates were generally higher than men's, although this was not true in some age groups. It also found that women who left the service were more likely to return than were men. Their training and experience were thus less likely to be lost to the service.

⁷⁵ The turnover rate of a group of employees is the number of terminations of employment shown as a percentage of the total number of employees in that group for a specified period.

318. Most studies indicate that women are absent from work more often than men, but this may be related to their job level rather than their sex. Some studies indicate that employees in lower income brackets have higher absentee rates than those in upper brackets. The question is whether absentee rates in the low income brackets are higher because women are predominant there or whether women's absentee rates are higher because they are in routine low-level jobs.

319. In any event, differences in absentee rates of women and men are so small that they seem relatively insignificant. Women are reported absent about two days more than men in a year. This difference seems too slight to have any bearing on the future success or failure of an employee. We wonder whether an employer would choose between two men employees on this basis.

320. Some employers also claim that neither women nor men will work for women. Although it would appear that both women and men generally prefer to work for men, we saw no evidence that women are unsatisfactory supervisors. We consider it significant that people who have worked for a woman are less likely to prefer a male supervisor.⁷⁶ We are convinced that people will continue to prefer working for men until they get used to seeing women in senior positions. Those responsible for making selections for senior positions must ensure that they are not influenced by this preference. But more than this, if the preference is ever to disappear, we believe employers must make a special effort to see that qualified women are given every opportunity to advance.

321. Women themselves are often blamed for not reaching senior levels. Many employers think women are "until" workers. They see them as short-term employees who are working "until" they marry, "until" they have a family, or "until" they reach a short-term economic goal. Some employers are convinced that women are unwilling to assume responsibilities; they say this is why so few women apply for senior positions. As one employer said, "It is the girl who discriminates against herself—by being unwilling to assume responsibility."

322. Some of this is no doubt true and women must realize that dedication and self-development are important for success. But there is no evidence that unwillingness to assume responsibility is widespread among women or that this is characteristic only of women. There is also some indication that the number of "until" workers is declining.

⁷⁶ Judek, S. *Women in the Public Service*. A study commissioned by the Canada Department of Manpower, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968, pp. 41-43.

323. Some women unfortunately have no time or surplus energy for self-development. Few women who have to care for children or aged or disabled parents can afford help. Many others are in occupations that give them no chance to demonstrate their potential for senior posts. The awareness that women have less opportunity to advance is itself a powerful disincentive.

324. But some women do reach senior positions. Having gone through the mill, what do they think about the comparative opportunities of women and men? We asked this question of a group of women who had "made the grade". They generally agreed that women have fewer opportunities for advancement than men but that not all the blame lies with employers. They felt that the smaller proportion of women with university degrees severely handicaps women as a group, and that the breaks in most women's employment often deprive them of valuable experience and put them out of touch with current developments. They considered women less likely than men to increase their educational status after leaving school or to take advantage of training courses.

325. They also agreed that many women are strongly motivated and well-qualified and that even these women find it hard to reach senior levels. As one woman put it: "The natural inclination is to pick the man so that he (the employer) has no reason for picking the woman unless she has better qualifications."

326. They were convinced that successful women have to be better qualified and to work harder than men. Some felt the biggest hurdle is between the lower levels and middle management. At this stage the impact of adverse attitudes to women in management is most keenly felt.

327. The women talked freely of the problems they encountered in their careers. They pointed out that unless women press for advancement, they are assumed to lack ambition. If they do press for it, they are forever tagged as "aggressive", a trait that our culture still considers desirable in men but not in women. So women find themselves in the familiar dilemma of being criticized either way.

328. They found that even women at the top are handicapped by their sex. They often begin to manage in an environment charged with prejudices against them, and they have to learn to cope with this environment before they attempt to change it. In time, prejudices usually disappear within the organization but they are still sometimes encountered in business relationships with outsiders. It is sometimes difficult to persuade a businessman

that he is dealing with top management when management is a woman. All the women agreed it would be impossible for them to transfer from their senior positions to senior positions in other organizations.

329. Most of these women, when asked what had contributed most to their success, credited it to hard work and long hours. More than one woman expressed her good fortune in finding work to which she could be totally committed. Others felt that their parents had given them confidence to set high goals. The moral support of their husbands and unprejudiced employers was important, but less important than drives and standards learned from childhood.

330. We received overwhelming evidence that inequality of opportunity for women to enter the labour force, to choose their employment and to advance is widespread. We have also seen some evidence of employment discrimination against women on the basis of marital status.⁷⁷

(c) Fair Employment Practices Legislation

331. All jurisdictions in Canada have legislation dealing with equality of opportunity in employment, but only Québec and British Columbia prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex.^{78 79} No province prohibits discrimination on the basis of marital status. It is clear that equality of opportunity for women is not assured under present legislation. Therefore, **we recommend that all provincial and territorial legislation dealing with equality of opportunity in employment specify that discrimination on the basis of sex and marital status be prohibited.**

332. At the federal level there are three pieces of legislation dealing with discrimination in employment. The Fair Employment Practices Act applies to employment in works, undertakings or businesses within the legislative authority of Parliament but, while it covers employment in federal Crown Corporations, it does not cover employment in the Public Service. The Act does not prohibit sex or marital status as grounds for discrimination. Sex discrimination in employment in the Public Service is prohibited by the Public Service Employment Act but no reference is made to marital status. Finally, the Fair Wages and Hours of Work Regulations, applicable to companies under contract to the federal government, fail to prohibit discrimination in employment on the basis either of sex or marital status.

⁷⁷ Nova Scotia and Newfoundland have some restrictions on civil service appointments of women not required to be self-supporting.

⁷⁸ The Newfoundland Human Rights Code, passed by the House of Assembly, has not been proclaimed as of April 1970.

⁷⁹ Ontario Bill 83, The Women's Equal Employment Opportunity Act, 1970, prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex and marital status. The Act has not been passed as of May 1970.

333. There can be no question that discrimination on the basis of sex is prohibited by the terms of the Canadian Bill of Rights. As a result of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Drybones case⁸⁰ it seems that prohibitions specified in the Canadian Bill of Rights will be implemented in all areas under federal jurisdiction. We nevertheless think that all legislation dealing with discrimination in employment should specify that sex is a prohibited ground for discrimination. We therefore believe that federal legislation should include prohibition against discrimination on the basis of sex as well as on the basis of marital status.

334. The staffs of the Senate and the House of Commons are not covered by any legislation dealing with discrimination in employment. We think all employees of the Government of Canada should be given the same protection and that this should be provided by the Fair Employment Practices Act. Therefore, we recommend that (a) **The Fair Employment Practices Act be amended to**

(i) **include "sex" and "marital status" as prohibited grounds for discrimination, and**

(ii) **apply to all employees of the Government of Canada; and**

(b) **The Fair Wages and Hours of Work Regulations be amended to include "sex" and "marital status" as prohibited grounds for discrimination.**

335. When the national employment services were transferred from the jurisdiction of the Unemployment Insurance Commission to the Department of Manpower and Immigration, that department assumed responsibility in its Canada Manpower Centres for the administration of Part II of the Unemployment Insurance Act. Section 22 (2) (b) specifies that it is the duty of the (Unemployment Insurance) Commission in organizing and maintaining the employment service to ensure that in referring a worker seeking employment there is no discrimination because of race, national origin, colour, religion, or political affiliation but nothing in that section shall be construed to prohibit the national employment service from giving effect to any limitation, specification or preference based upon a *bona fide* occupational qualification.

336. We believe that sex and marital status should be included as prohibited grounds for discrimination. Therefore, we recommend that the provisions now included in section 22 (2) (b) of the Unemployment Insurance Act, amended to include sex and marital status as prohibited grounds for discrimination, be included in legislation applicable to Canada Manpower Centres.

⁸⁰ The Queen v. Joseph Drybones, S.C.R. 1970.

Use of Women's Skills and Abilities

337. In the Canadian economy women represent the greatest untapped source of needed manpower. Subject to our conviction that married women should be free to decide whether or not to enter the labour force, we believe that the opportunity of fully using their skills and abilities in the labour force is vitally important to women themselves. The Economic Council of Canada has pointed out that the economy suffers when workers are not fully used: "The object of labour market policy, as we conceive it, is to bring about the matching of the supply and the demand for labour in specific localities and occupations in a way that manpower resources can be most productively utilized. It has as its purpose both the achievement of high employment and the utilization of the labour force at its maximum productive potential. Workers who are employed at less than their productive potential, whether it is because of problems associated with lack of occupational, industrial or geographical mobility, earn less than they are potentially capable of earning. They contribute less to national productivity than they are potentially capable of contributing. There is thus an important loss of goods and services to the country as a whole. The national economic loss from inefficient use of manpower resources can be just as great as the economic loss arising from unemployment."⁸¹

338. There are three main reasons why women's skills and abilities are not being fully used. Some women, and this is especially true of married women, have by choice remained outside the labour force. Other women who would like to enter the labour force are prevented from doing so by family responsibilities. Still others are working at jobs for which they have more education, experience or potential than they need for the duties or responsibilities of the positions they hold.

339. We believe that women's abilities will not be fully used, particularly at intermediate and senior levels, until there are more women in top management. It is unrealistic to think that firmly entrenched attitudes about women's capacities will be changed by a plea for justice or a more enlightened analysis of what women can do. We think these attitudes will change slowly or not at all until women have had a chance to show that they have capacities comparable to men.

(a) Federal Boards and Commissions

340. The federal government has so far shown little leadership. Brief after brief to the Commission deplored the virtual absence of women on

⁸¹ Economic Council of Canada. *First Annual Review. Economic Goals for Canada to 1970*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1964, p. 170-171.

federal Boards, Commissions, Corporations, Councils and Advisory Committees. And year after year, briefs from women's organizations to the Prime Minister of the day have urged the greater use of women in this capacity. A review made in 1969 by this Commission revealed that on the boards of directors of 97 federal agencies, Crown Corporations and Task Forces there were 639 men and only 42 women. Women comprised only 6.3 per cent of those appointed and 74 of these organizations had no women members. There are also some 73 departmental advisory councils and committees with a total membership in 1969 of 1,017 men and 102 women. Women's representation was nine per cent on these bodies, 47 of which have no women members.

341. Members are appointed by Order in Council or by other methods outside the competitive system prescribed by law for federal service positions. The federal government is therefore in an excellent position to take special measures, for a time at least, to appoint more women. We are convinced that qualified women are available and we believe that these bodies may profit from management that reflects the views and experience of women as well as those of men. Therefore, **we recommend that the federal government increase significantly the number of women on federal Boards, Commissions, Corporations, Councils, Advisory Committees and Task Forces.** Further, **we recommend that provincial, territorial and municipal governments increase significantly the number of women on their Boards, Commissions, Corporations, Councils, Advisory Committees and Task Forces.**

342. Women themselves must take responsibility for greater use of their skills and abilities in the labour force. They should actively seek advancement even though they may know their chances are small compared to those of men. They should also try to reach the highest educational level suited to their capacities.

343. Society does not make it easy for a housewife to improve her employment qualifications. Technical schools and universities rarely adapt themselves to her hours and she in turn can seldom fit the hours of these institutions because she cannot find or afford baby-sitters. Women who need new skills or refresher courses in old skills are often unable to take advantage of the federal-provincial programme of Occupational Training for Adults. In the Chapter dealing with education, we make proposals to correct this situation.

344. We urge employers to make greater use of the skills and abilities of their women employees. Equality of treatment of staff is generally a sound management principle. Any other course can lead to poor morale,

distrust of management by both those discriminated against and those favoured, and a reduction in productivity. To make full use of staff, employers should conduct comprehensive assessment programmes to identify employees' potential and needs, aim at tailoring jobs to coincide with employees' capacities and provide training programmes at all levels.

(b) Training

345. We were particularly interested in training for management positions, because women generally seem to stop short of this career level. We found that the training of women for advancement to the middle and upper levels of management is being badly neglected. Some organizations surveyed give no management training whatsoever to women. Only two women among some one hundred persons have participated in the recently introduced Career Assignment Program, a programme designed to provide future executives for the federal Public Service.

346. This failure to train women is hard to reconcile with employers' claims of a shortage of competent managers. There is no evidence that women are less likely to have management potential than men. Yet, if there is a shortage, employers are apparently "making do" with less than competent managers instead of developing the potential of women employees. We urge employers to establish special programmes to find and train suitable women for management.

(c) Flexibility in Working Hours

347. Employers can also make greater use of women who are not free during normal working hours. In occupations and professions where the supply of workers does not meet the demand, or situations where the work does not need a worker regularly or full-time, women who are unable to work normal hours could be usefully employed. Employers may find that they can increase productivity by using well-qualified women part-time rather than less-qualified persons who are available for the regular working hours.

348. So that women could use their skills without jeopardizing their family responsibilities, briefs urged more flexible hours of work such as later starting hours, extended lunch periods, earlier closing or shifts.

349. Some firms have demonstrated that flexible hours are feasible. A textile manufacturing organization has established a "twilight" shift from 5 p.m. to 11 p.m. for about 40 married women.⁸² They are covered by the

⁸² Brief No. 347.

company's collective agreements and are entitled on a *pro rata* basis to the same social and other benefits as full-time employees. A wire products manufacturer has developed a "Housewife Shift" through the co-operation of management and unions.⁸³ It has solved a labour shortage and provided extra income to families. This shift allows women to prepare the family dinner before reporting for work.

350. Briefs indicated, however, that the greatest use of the abilities of women with family responsibilities could be made not through shift work but through more part-time work for women.

(d) *Part-Time Work*

351. Of some 3,500 women surveyed in 1964 by the Women's Bureau of the Ontario Department of Labour, only 26 per cent were interested in full-time employment while 74 per cent were interested in part-time employment. A 1966 sample survey of women university graduates conducted by the Canadian Federation of University Women revealed that more than half the women who planned to work in the future would like part-time employment.

352. Part-time work is not always available even in professions where workers are in short supply. A brief from the Federation of Medical Women of Canada and other Canadian Women Physicians⁸⁴ proved an excellent source of information on women physicians' participation in the labour force, their interests and problems. Almost 80 per cent of Canadian women physicians continue to make use of their training. It is estimated that from 48.5 to 58 per cent of all married women physicians are working full-time. A substantial number of women are practising part-time which, in the medical profession, could extend to a 40-hour week.

353. Though women's participation rate is high in the medical profession, the profession suffers from the loss of the skills and training of some women physicians. Since rapid advances in medicine make it difficult for married women to re-enter the work force after a period of absence, briefs stressed the great need for more re-training facilities. They also strongly urged that women physicians should be given more part-time work. They suggested that medical programmes in government, industry and schools could be adapted to employ married women with family responsibilities, and deplored the inflexibility of some hospital staffing schedules that do not provide for part-time work.

⁸³ Brief No. 311.

⁸⁴ Brief No. 302.

354. For home economists and dietitians, the picture is much worse. There is still a chronic shortage of workers in both professions, yet there are relatively few openings for part-time workers. As a result, many of these women withdraw from the labour force when they have families.

355. Because society provides few opportunities for women to work part-time in the professions, it loses some services now in short supply and also gets little or no return for the investment made in the education of these women. We urge organizations employing workers in professions in short supply to make full use of women who are available for part-time work.

356. In Canada the number of part-time workers has risen steadily. According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics,⁸⁵ 22 per cent of the 2.3 million women employed in 1967 usually worked less than full-time, compared to 17.3 per cent of the 1.6 million employed women in 1961.

357. The latest occupational data available are based on 1961 census figures. At that time, the highest proportion of women wage-earners working less than 35 hours weekly were in sales, service and professional and technical occupations.⁸⁶

358. The publication *Part-Time Employment in Retail Trade*⁸⁷ has a chapter on part-time employment in two department store chains. It provides interesting information not only on employees who work regularly but less than the normal weekly hours but also on those whose employment is more sporadic or, as the publication calls it, "non-regular". In one company, the "non-regular" employees made up 49 per cent of the total staff. In the other company, they made up 27 per cent.

359. The two department store chains reported that women applicants for part-time work are usually over 35 years of age and that recently many women over 50 have been looking for work. Supervisors preferred the older workers who, they felt, had "greater consistency of performance, a more highly developed sense of responsibility, a more settled attitude toward their jobs and, most important, a greater ability to inspire confidence in the customer."⁸⁸

360. Both companies reported that part-time employees were hired at the same rates as full-time employees. There was evidence, however, that

⁸⁵ Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census of Canada 1961. Vol. 3, Part 3, Table 24. DBS. Special Tables, 12-month Averages. Labour Force 1967, Cat. no. 71-001. Table 3a.

⁸⁶ *Loc. cit.* Census of Canada.

⁸⁷ Canada Department of Labour, Women's Bureau. *Part-Time Employment in Retail Trade*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969, pp. 27-37.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. 31.

they were unlikely to advance. Regular part-time employees in both companies received the same vacations as full-time employees. Vacation pay was given to "non-regular" employees where provincial legislation required it. "Non-regular" employees did not usually receive paid holidays nor did they participate in company welfare plans. In one company they had no employee discount privileges.

361. The expanded use of part-time workers has advantages and disadvantages. People who encourage the use of part-time workers stress their importance as a source of supplementary manpower when labour or specific skills are scarce. They also emphasize that part-time employment can help to increase productivity by reducing fatigue and making better use of space and capital equipment.

362. Some employers argue that increased use of part-time workers would raise their administrative costs although this should be partly offset by the increasing computerization of records. They also claim that the allocation of work and privileges to a staff including both full-time and part-time employees increases administrative problems.

363. Full-time employees and unions also have reservations about the use of part-time workers. They fear that part-time labour, often lower paid, will offset the pressure of wage claims or that employers may replace full-time staff with this cheaper labour.

364. Some advocates of women's rights present arguments against the increased use of part-time workers. Much part-time work today requires no skills and some people fear this may affect women's wages on the whole. The identification of women with unskilled, irregular work may also blur the image of women's capacities in the work world.

365. Although we recognize the problems inherent in the increased use of part-time workers, we believe that organizations should look seriously for areas in which this type of worker can be employed to advantage. This will certainly make much needed skills available to them. Part-time work will also give women more to offer when they return to the labour force full-time, because they will be less handicapped by loss of skills and outdated experience.

366. We also believe that part-time work will help women to achieve equality of opportunity in employment. Women who need or want to supplement their income should have a chance to do so, a chance many can get only by working part-time. Part-time work may also alleviate the feeling

of alienation from society from which some housewives suffer. Therefore, **we recommend that the federal government undertake a study of the feasibility of making greater use of part-time work in the Canadian economy.**

367. We recognize one major problem in the use of part-time workers: the provision of fringe benefits for those not employed on a regular basis. We nevertheless believe that ways must be found to provide these employees with pay and working conditions no less equitable than those provided for the full-time worker.

The Government of Canada

368. The Government of Canada is the country's largest employer and also its largest employer of women. Some 475,000 people, including more than 81,000 women, are in all government services including the Armed Forces. In this Report we have used the term "federal employees" to mean employees of the Government of Canada exclusive of those in the Armed Forces, and the term "Federal Service" to mean the Government Service exclusive of the Armed Forces. In this sense there are some 380,000 federal employees, of whom about 80,000 are women. Although about 25 per cent of all federal employees are in the National Capital area, the Federal Service employs people in almost all parts of Canada.

369. The position of women employees in the Government of Canada deserves close examination, not only because the government employs a large number of women in a great variety of occupations, but because the government's employment practices should demonstrate its principles. Since Canada has officially subscribed to principles recognizing women's right to equality of opportunity, the Canadian government must ensure that its employment laws, policies and practices reflect and implement these principles. The government should also make its own adherence to principles conspicuous to other employers.

370. Government organization is complex and by no means all employees are appointed under the same authority, subject to the same terms and conditions of employment or paid under the same wage scales. We have therefore examined the position of women employed in five separate areas of the Government of Canada: the Public Service⁸⁹ which is made up of government

⁸⁹ There are different definitions of the "Public Service" in different pieces of legislation. In the context of the two background studies we used, and consequently in the context of our Report, the "Public Service" has a particular meaning. In general terms, it means those portions of the Federal Service to which the Public Service Employment Act applies. But it does not include all the employees under that Act. Much of the relevant data were available only on those portions of the Service that are now under the Public Service Employment Act and that had also formerly been under the old Civil Service Act, rescinded in 1967. In the context of this Report, then, the "Public Service" means the former "Civil Service."

departments and certain Boards and Commissions; some of the larger federal Crown Corporations and agencies; the Senate and the House of Commons; the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; and the Armed Forces.

The Public Service

371. Women have been employed in the federal Public Service from its earliest days.⁹⁰ In 1870, a matron and deputy matron of the Kingston Penitentiary were appointed and a woman was employed as "lock-labourer" at the Williamsburg Canal in 1871. By 1885, 23 of the 4,280 public servants were women, more than one-third of whom were junior clerks in the Post Office Department. Today, there are some 41,000 women in the Public Service.⁹¹

372. These women represent 27.3 per cent of the Public Service. Approximately 42 per cent of the women are single, 43 per cent are married and 15 per cent are widowed, separated or divorced. It has been estimated that 55 per cent of the women have one or more children, with about 20 per cent having children under the age of six years.

373. Chart 3 shows the distribution of full-time Public Service employees by salary and sex for the year 1967. Women tended to be concentrated at the lower pay levels, with 41 per cent of the women receiving less than \$4,000 per year as compared to seven per cent of the men. Slightly more than half the men received less than \$6,000 while nine out of 10 women received less than that amount.

374. In a number of ways the female work force in the Public Service is similar to the female labour force in Canada. Women represent approximately 27 per cent of the Public Service and 31 per cent of the labour force. In both work forces, roughly half the women workers are married. In both the Public Service and the Canadian labour force, women earn less than men.

(a) Pay

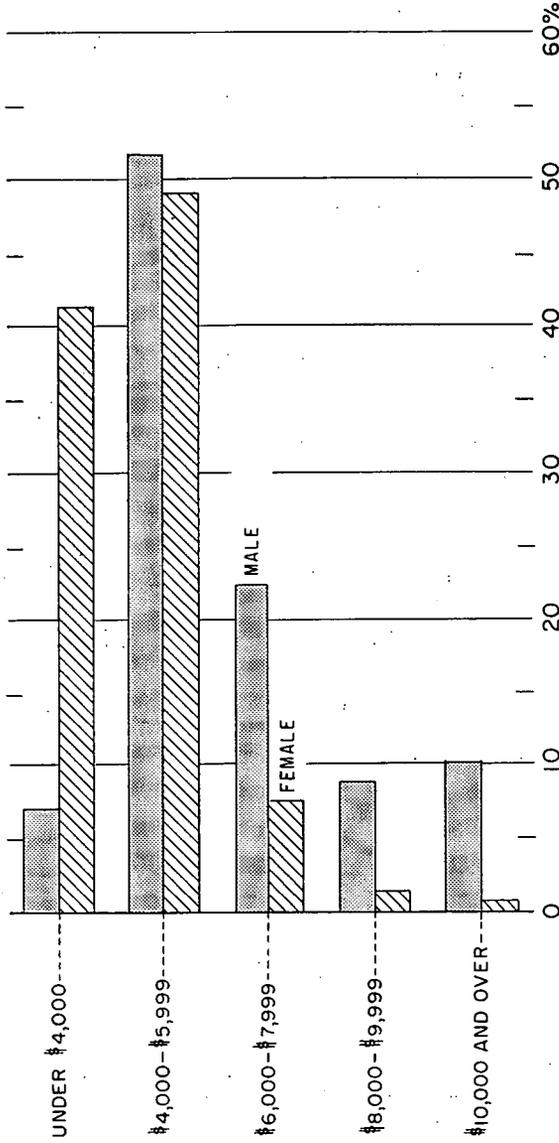
375. There is no equal pay legislation applicable to the Public Service. We believe the government should be held responsible by law for giving "equal pay for equal work" and earlier in this Chapter we have proposed

⁹⁰ The portion of this Report dealing with the Public Service has been based largely on the information provided by the following studies: Archibald, K. *Sex and the Public Service*. Study commissioned by the Public Service Commission of Canada, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1970. Judek, S. *Women in the Public Service. Their Utilization and Employment*. A study commissioned by the Canada Department of Manpower, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968. (The survey sample used in this study was restricted to employees of the Public Service in the National Capital Region which accounts for 38.1 per cent of the total number of female employees in the Public Service.)

⁹¹ This figure does not include several thousand women who are casual employees, prevailing rate employees, or employees excluded from the Public Service Employment Act.

CHART-3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE* BY SALARY AND SEX, JULY 1967



* Public Service as defined in footnote 89, Chapter 2.

Source: Archibald, K. Sex and the Public Service. Study commissioned by the Public Service Commission of Canada, 1970; Figure 11-2, p. 25. Data for this chart will be found in the Appendix, Table A-2.

that the Female Employees Equal Pay Act be amended to apply to all employees of the Government of Canada.

376. The Government has, however, always supported the principle of equal pay, and we found no different pay scales for women and men in the Public Service. But we did find one situation that seems to us to have discriminatory features. The predominantly female occupation Nursing Assistant and the predominantly male occupation Nursing Orderly have similar duties and responsibilities.⁹² The starting salaries for the two classes⁹³ in the Public Service are the same. Yet Nursing Assistants are required to have completed a course of training, usually 10 months long, and to be provincially licensed or certified. Nursing Orderlies, on the other hand, are trained on the job. More than this, Orderlies are automatically promoted to Specialist Orderlies, with higher pay, after their training and a period of satisfactory service; Nursing Assistants are not.

377. The fact that Nursing Assistants are frequently paid less than Nursing Orderlies outside the federal Public Service does not, in our view, justify this differential treatment. Therefore, **we recommend that the differential treatment of Nursing Assistants and Nursing Orderlies in the federal Public Service be eliminated.**

378. As elsewhere in the work world, one reason for women's lower earnings in the Public Service is that they are generally employed in the lower-paying occupations. Table 11 shows the distribution of women in six occupational categories and points up their concentration in support occupations which include clerks, secretaries, stenographers and typists.

Table 11. Percentage Distribution of Women in the Federal Public Service by Occupational Category, July 1967

| | |
|--|-------|
| Office Support and Administrative Support..... | 83.0 |
| Administrative..... | 5.5 |
| Technical and Inspection..... | 2.0 |
| Postal, Customs and Immigration..... | 2.0 |
| Professional and Scientific..... | 1.5 |
| Service and Maintenance..... | 0.5 |
| Hospital Classes..... | 5.5 |
| | 100.0 |

SOURCE: Archibald, K. *Sex and the Public Service*. Study commissioned by the Public Service Commission of Canada, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1970, p. 20.

⁹² Nursing Assistants and Nursing Orderlies are employed in federal government hospitals for treatment of war veterans, armed forces personnel, Indians and Eskimos.

⁹³ In the Public Service, positions are identified in terms of a "class" rather than an "occupation". Related classes are grouped together to form an "occupational category". For example the Information Services class and the Personnel Administration class both belong to the Administrative Category.

379. There are many classes in the Public Service in which there are few or no women. Some of these classes are made up of only senior positions and others have senior positions at the top of their pay scales. The virtual absence of women in these classes also pulls down the average of women's earnings. The Senior Officer Class,⁹⁴ the most senior level in the Public Service, includes Assistant Deputy Ministers. In 1967, of the 349 Senior Officers, only three were women. For the same year, in the Department of External Affairs six per cent of the Foreign Service Officers were women. In Trade and Commerce no women were Foreign Service Officers. Until two female trainees were appointed to this class in Trade and Commerce in 1969, it was evidently considered that Canada's diplomacy but not her trade could be entrusted to women.

380. Since administrative positions are usually among the more senior positions in the Public Service, the small proportion of women in this category also helps to widen the gap between men's and women's earnings. In 1967, women made up less than 10 per cent of the employees in five of the 10 administrative classes.

381. As elsewhere, women's lower earnings can also be attributed to the comparatively lower pay scales for traditionally female professions. We have recommended earlier in this Chapter that the pay rates in the federal government for nurses, dietitians, home economists, librarians and social workers be set by comparing these professions with other professions in terms of the value of the work and the skill and training required.

382. We would also like to draw attention to a practice that we consider an unfair way of establishing the pay for a traditionally female occupation. The level that a secretary can reach is based on the level of the person she works for rather than the duties she performs. In our view, this practice of "rug-ranking" seriously infringes on the rights of individuals to equitable treatment and places secretaries in a position in which their pay is dependent on the pay received by others. Therefore, **we recommend that the positions of secretaries in the federal Public Service be classified by one of the methods used for other classes in the federal Public Service.**

(b) Conditions of Employment

383. Except for certain provisions in the Public Service Superannuation Act and one regulation that covers the payment of an employee's moving expenses, the Public Service does not differentiate between men and women in its terms and conditions of employment. Maternity leave is the one piece of protective legislation applicable only to women.

⁹⁴ Since the Archibald and Judek studies were completed, the Senior Officer Class has been eliminated and the executive category substituted in its place.

384. Under the Public Service Superannuation Act, pensions for women and men contributors are computed on the same basis. But in its application the pension plan makes one serious distinction between men and women employees: it is designed to protect the widow of the male contributor but not the widower of the female contributor. The widow is paid an annuity equal to one-half the annuity her husband had earned. To cover the additional cost of a widow's annuity, male employees contribute to the Superannuation Plan at the rate of 6.5 per cent. Women contribute at the rate of only five per cent, and their widowers receive no annuity.

385. Briefs to the Commission urged that the Superannuation Plan be altered to provide protection for the husband of the woman worker. We believe this should be done. In our view the difference in provisions for female and male contributors cannot be justified if women and men are to be treated equally. Recognizing that removal of this differential treatment will increase the rate of women's contributions, we suggest that women must assume the burdens of equality of treatment as well as enjoy its benefits.

386. There is still another difference in the Public Service Superannuation Act. Under the terms of section 44 (1), supplementary death benefits are paid to the widow of a married male contributor. On the death of a married female contributor, they are paid to her estate. A woman can therefore will the supplementary death benefits to someone other than her husband. Since we see marriage as a partnership in which responsibilities and benefits are shared, we believe that the responsibilities of women and men to their spouses should be the same. Therefore, **we recommend that the federal Public Service Superannuation Act be amended so that (a) there will be no differences in the provisions on the basis of sex, and (b) the surviving spouse of a contributor will be paid the supplementary death benefits.**

387. The only other situation in which men and women in the Public Service receive different benefits occurs in the Removal Expense Regulations. These Regulations apply to expenses incurred when an employee is transferred from one place of duty to another or a person joins the Public Service to work in a place other than the place where he lives. Generally, the only expenses that may be paid are reasonable expenses incurred by the employee and his dependants. The sex difference in the provisions of these Regulations occurs in the definition of dependants. Dependants are defined as: (i) the wife of an employee; (ii) an employee's dependent child who has not passed his twenty-first birthday, or in respect of whom the employee is entitled to exemption under the Income Tax Act; (iii) any other relative of an employee who is a member of the employee's household and who is dependent upon him for support by reason of incapacity or ill-health,

provided the employee certifies that he is entitled to an exemption for this relative under the Income Tax Act. Therefore, we recommend that the federal Removal Expenses Regulations be amended so that the expenses paid for the wife of an employee will also be paid for the husband of an employee.

388. Maternity leave for the Public Service, the only protective legislation applicable specifically to women, was first introduced in 1958 in the form of leave given at the discretion of the employer. In 1962, at a time when maternity protection was not common elsewhere, the government showed leadership by making leave an entitlement. Nonetheless, the leave provided was, and continues to be, without pay.

389. When maternity leave was introduced, collective bargaining was not common in the Public Service and provisions for maternity leave were prescribed by regulation. While maternity leave is now a subject for collective bargaining, the Public Service Terms and Conditions of Employment Regulations still contain maternity provisions since some employees are not in bargaining units.

390. Collective agreements seem to be continuing the provisions set out by regulation. Like the Public Service Terms and Conditions of Employment Regulations, collective agreements provide for leave without pay. Some, however, give a day's paid leave to a father when his child is born. A mother receives no pay at all, even on the day of the birth of her child.

391. Earlier in this Chapter we pointed out the need for income protection for women absent from work for maternity reasons. To ensure this, we proposed that the Unemployment Insurance Act be amended to provide for payment of unemployment benefits to these women. We also proposed that employees of the Government of Canada be included in the programme. If these two proposals were carried out, women in the Public Service eligible for unemployment insurance benefits could collect some income during maternity leave.

392. The Public Service Terms and Conditions of Employment Regulations provide for two months' leave before the expected date of birth and six months' leave after the birth. Shorter or longer periods may be authorized under certain conditions. In terms of the length of leave, the federal government continues to show leadership. But we are concerned with the possible discriminatory effects of section 50 (2). This subsection permits the deputy head to "direct a female employee who is pregnant to proceed on maternity leave at anytime, where, in his opinion, the interest of the department so requires." We believe that a woman should not be compelled to go

on maternity leave any earlier than six weeks before the expected date of confinement and that she should be entitled to continue working during these last six weeks if a qualified medical practitioner certifies she is able to do her work. Therefore, we recommend that the federal **Public Service Terms and Conditions of Employment Regulations be amended by (a) deleting section 50 (2), and (b) substituting the provision that, during the six-weeks period preceding the expected date of an employee's confinement, a deputy head may direct the employee to proceed on maternity leave unless she produces a medical certificate that she is able to work.**

393. Collective agreements have so far included the provisions set out in the Public Service Terms and Conditions of Employment Regulations but there is no assurance that they always will. Adoption of our proposals that maternity leave provisions be included in the Fair Employment Practices Act and that it be applicable to all employees of the Government of Canada, would ensure that collective agreements could not include maternity leave provisions any less favourable than those prescribed in that Act.

394. During maternity leave the employee is required to pay the employer's contribution to the Superannuation Plan as well as her own. She must also pay her own and her employer's contribution to the Group Surgical-Medical Plan, which provides for certain expenses not covered by Medicare. We believe that the woman should not have to bear this financial burden at a time when she is suffering an income loss. Therefore, we recommend that the federal government continue to pay the employer's contribution to the superannuation and Group Surgical-Medical Plans when an employee is on maternity leave.

(c) Equality of Opportunity

395. As in most other organizations, women's opportunities of entering the Public Service and advancing in it appear to be fewer than those of men. The only protection against sex discrimination in the Public Service is in section 12(2) of the Public Service Employment Act which states that "The (Public Service) Commission, in prescribing selection standards under subsection (1), shall not discriminate against any person by reason of sex, race, national origin, colour or religion."

396. We have proposed that the Fair Employment Practices Act, amended to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex and marital status, be made applicable to the Government of Canada. We recognize this may constitute a problem since two pieces of legislation dealing with sex discrimination in the Public Service would be administered by two different parts of the Service.

The Department of Labour administers the Fair Employment Practices Act. As guardian of the merit principle, the Public Service Commission administers the Public Service Employment Act.

397. We have concluded that the advantages of having the Fair Employment Practices Act applicable to the Public Service override any advantages to leaving this matter to the Public Service Employment Act. The former Act contains machinery for investigation and penalties for violations; the latter Act does not. Moreover in its role as the appointing agency, the Public Service Commission is an employer like any private organization. We believe that another agency should be the guardian of fair employment practices.

398. Inequality of opportunity to enter the Public Service does not arise from limitations on women's rights to apply for positions. Openings in the Public Service are rarely, if ever, restricted to one of the sexes.

399. We did, however, find one situation in which this is not the case in practice. In bindery operations in the printing trades, only women are appointed to bindery positions level 1 and they are called "journeywomen". Only men are appointed to bindery positions level 2 (the next higher level) and they are called "journeymen". Therefore, **we recommend that federal Public Service bindery positions at levels 1 and 2 be open to women and men on the same basis and that the job title "journeywoman" be eliminated.**

400. In spite of the fact that virtually all positions in the Public Service are open to both sexes, we found evidence of subtle discriminations. Although Public Service advertisements, recruitment literature and recruitment programmes scrupulously avoid any statement that might be construed as a sex preference, we received examples of male-directed advertisements and recruitment literature that seemed to be perpetuating sex-typing of occupations and the subordinate role of women.

401. Briefs told us that women students believe that recruiting teams making campus visits for the Public Service are primarily interested in male students. They also protested because these teams rarely include a woman.

402. All these attitudes and practices contribute to occupational segregation by sex and, in our view, to further inequality of opportunity for women. That occupational segregation is a fact in the Public Service is demonstrated by the concentration of women in a few classes. If women are to have equality of opportunity in the Public Service, we believe that the Public Service must actively resist the traditional practice of sex-typing occupations. Because a woman's choice of career is often influenced by tradition, we also believe that the Public Service should emphatically proclaim that women are just as much

wanted in all occupations as men. Therefore, we recommend that, until the sex-typing of occupations is eradicated, the federal Public Service Commission and federal government departments (a) take special steps to increase the number of women appointed to occupations and professions not traditionally female, (b) review and, where necessary, alter their recruitment literature and recruiting programmes to ensure that it is abundantly clear that women are wanted in all occupations and professions, and (c) take special steps to obtain applications from qualified women when appointments for senior levels are being made from outside the service.

403. Women encounter obstacles not only in entering the Public Service but in reaching its higher levels. Although women in the professions have fared better than less well-educated women, the door to managerial positions has opened noticeably only in the last two decades.

404. That women do not reach the upper levels in the same proportion as men was recently demonstrated by an examination of women's and men's pay in 1968. In that year, the chances of a man receiving \$10,000 and over were 12 times as great as those of a woman. The chances of a man receiving \$14,000 and over were 18 times as great.

405. Employees usually advance by rising within their own classes. Most classes in the Public Service have a number of levels, each higher level representing increased responsibility and pay. An employee advances by moving from one level to a higher one in the same class, usually one level at a time.

406. A small proportion of women at the higher levels does not necessarily indicate that they are not advancing at the same rate as men. If there are fewer women than men at the lower levels, we can reasonably expect to find fewer women than men in senior positions. One way of comparing women's rate of advancement with men's is to compare the proportion of women at one level with the proportion of women at the next lower level.

407. The distribution by levels of women in selected classes in 1968 was examined. In the professional classes, the percentage of women dropped as the level increased, except for research scientists and statisticians where women more than held their own. In the Administrative and Foreign Service category, the percentage of women almost invariably dropped as the level increased. Of the total number of employees in the top levels for all classes in the category, only 1.7 per cent were women. In the category as a whole, 10.5 per cent were women.

408. In other categories the proportion of women also tended to decrease as the levels increased. This was particularly striking in the clerical and

regulatory group of the Administrative Support category where slightly more than half of the employees were women. In the first three levels women heavily predominated. In the highest level, they represented only 13.1 per cent of the employees.

409. This study indicated that women were generally not advancing to senior levels in the same proportion as men, even in those classes in which women predominate. The two studies of the Public Service examined the reasons commonly given for women's failure to advance: their higher turnover and absentee rates, lower level of education, and lack of experience.

410. It was found that over the most recent six-year period the turnover rates for women in the Public Service had been almost twice as great as those for men. When selected occupations were examined, the female rate was almost always higher. For a three-year average, the male rate in the selected occupations was 7.5 per cent and the female rate 14.9 per cent.

411. As Charts 4 and 5 indicate, age and pay levels were found to influence turnover rates. Chart 4 shows that women's turnover rates exceeded those of men for every age group but one. The one exception was in the under-20 age group where the male rate was almost twice the female rate. When the average rates for those under 25 years of age were computed, however, the male and female rates became 21 per cent and 24 per cent respectively. One study says, "A middle-aged woman is at least as likely to stay on the job as a young man. The probability of losing a man or a woman under 25 in a particular year is about equal: among those under 20, the man is twice as likely to leave as the woman".⁹⁵

412. As Chart 5 indicates, turnover rates for women were higher than those for men in all pay brackets except under \$4,000. For both sexes, the turnover rates tended to decrease up to \$8,000 and then generally to level off.

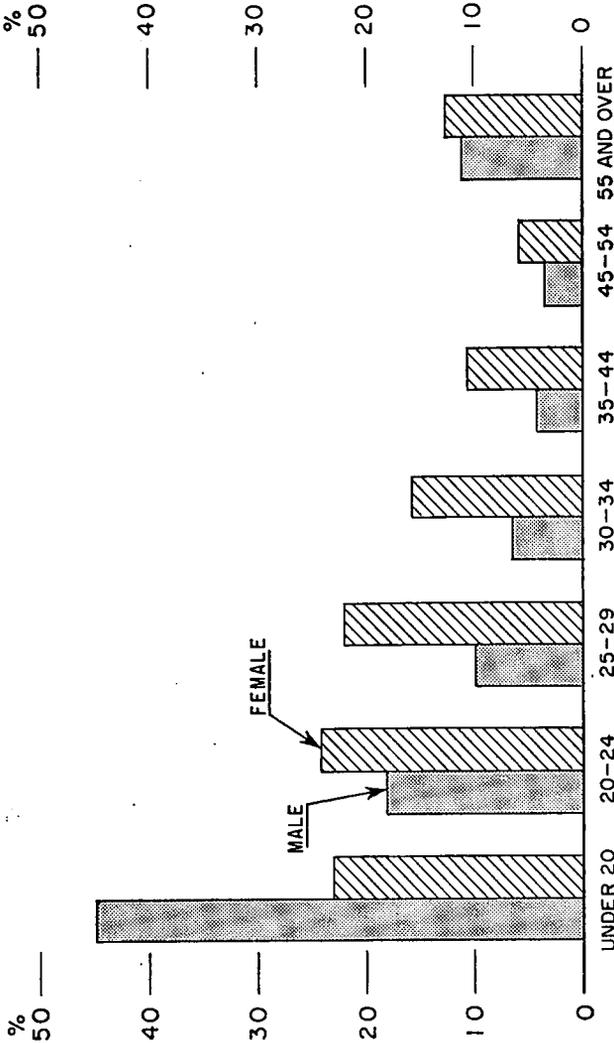
413. On the whole, then, the turnover rate of women is higher than that of men. But there is one compensating feature. There are a substantial number of employees who at one time left the service and have returned. One study has estimated that about three times as many women as men return to the Public Service.⁹⁶ Some of the costs incurred in losing an employee are therefore more likely to be recovered if the employee is a woman.

⁹⁵ *Op. cit.* Archibald, p. 78.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* Archibald, p. 83.

CHART-4

TURNOVER RATES* OF FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE, BY SEX AND AGE, 1967

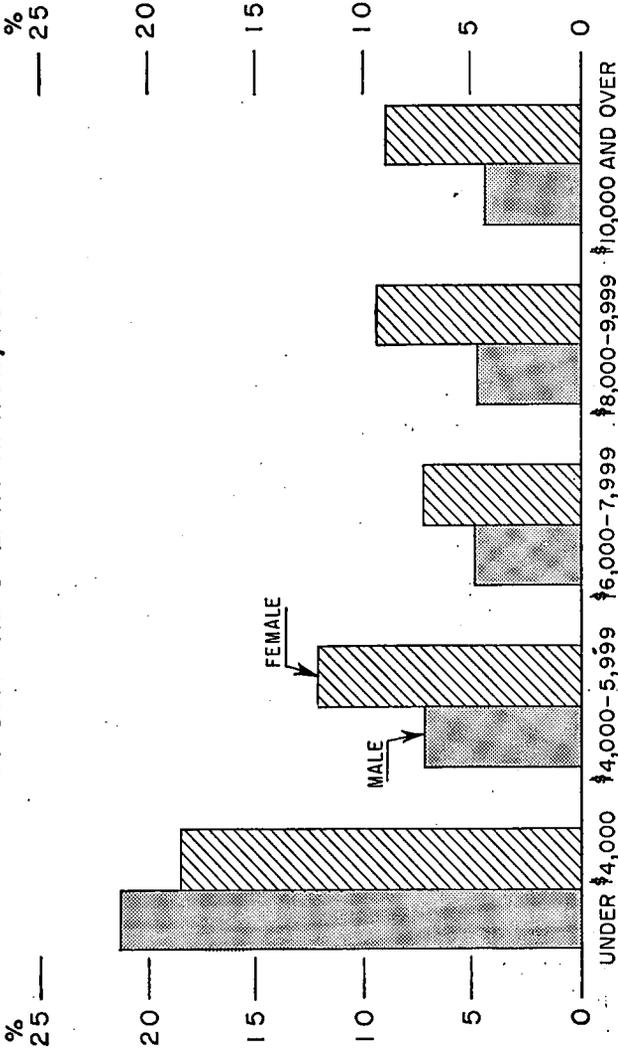


* Turnover rate is defined in footnote 75, Chapter 2.

Source: Archibald, K. Sex and the Public Service. Study commissioned by the Public Service Commission of Canada, 1970. Figure IY-2, p. 80. Data for this chart will be found in the Appendix, Table A-3.

CHART - 5

TURNOVER RATES* OF FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE BY SEX AND SALARY RANGE, 1967



* Turnover rate is defined in footnote 75, Chapter 2.

Source: Archibald, K. Sex and the Public Service. Study commissioned by the Public Service Commission of Canada, 1970. Figure IV-3, p. 80.

Data for this chart will be found in the Appendix, Table A-4.

414. Absenteeism in the Public Service is usually related to sick leave and to special leave for family or other emergencies. Sick leave is generally called "casual" when the period is short and no medical certificate is required. Where a medical certificate has been necessary, the sick leave is called "certified".

415. Absenteeism has been decreasing in the Public Service. In the calendar year 1962, men used an average of 6.91 days of certified sick leave and women used 9.36 days. In the fiscal year 1966-1967, certified leave had dropped to 4.09 days for men and 4.41 days for women. The difference between men's and women's total average sick and special leave usage was only 1.24 days for that year.

416. Married women used the most sick leave, followed by the women and men "formerly married". Rates for married and single men were only slightly lower than those for single women. Married women used the largest number of days of special leave, but the number of days used by a married woman did not seem to be related to the size of her family.

417. The claim that women lacked the necessary education for advancement was examined. Like the Canadian labour force in general, at the high school level the education of women in the Public Service was found to be somewhat higher than that of men. Again like the labour force, the proportion of women with university degrees was lower. In so far as senior positions requiring a degree are concerned, then, the lack of the required level of education may contribute to women's not advancing to the relatively small group of positions requiring a degree.

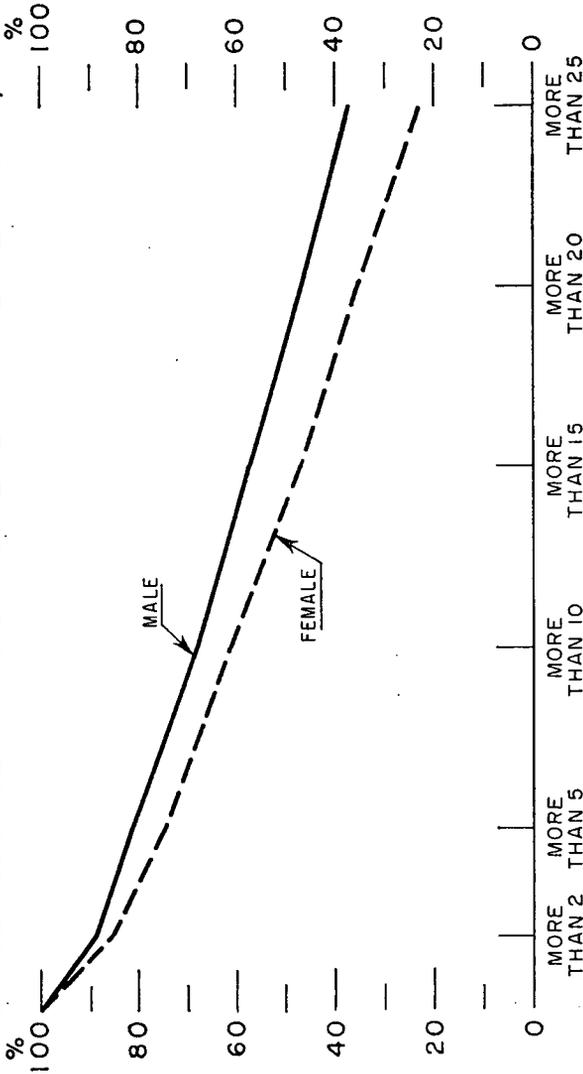
418. The kind of university education women have seems to be related to their advancement. It has been estimated that only 40 per cent of the women making more than \$10,000 annually and only 25 per cent of those making more than \$12,000 are in traditionally female professions. This suggests that the traditionally female professions provide less opportunity than other professions for advancement to senior pay levels.

419. Men in the Public Service average slightly more years of working experience than women. As Charts 6 and 7 illustrate, in 1967 the difference between the sexes was not great either in terms of total years of employment or years in the Federal Service. The fact that women usually enter the Service at an earlier age than men explains why women with breaks in service are able to almost catch up with men.

420. But when the pay levels reached by women and men with the same education and experience are compared, some curious findings emerge. As one study put it, women "tend to do less well in the Public Service, relative

CHART -6

CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF SAMPLE* OF MALE AND FEMALE PUBLIC SERVANTS BY TOTAL YEARS OF EMPLOYMENT**, 1967

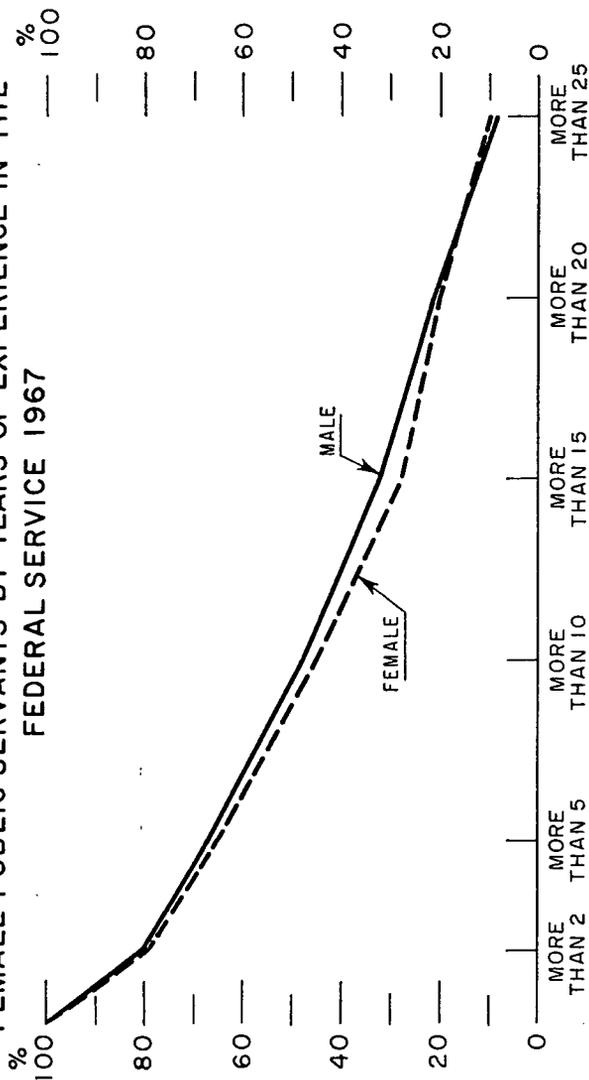


* Excludes postal, customs and immigration category, so 80 per cent of the men in Judek's total sample are missing for this reason or as non-respondents, compared to eight per cent of women.
 ** Respondents were asked to include self-employment and military service but not "summer jobs, casual employment, jobs after school, etc." Experience in the Federal Service is added in.

Sources: Judek, S. Canada Department of Labour. *Women in the Public Service. Their Utilization and employment.* Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968, p. 52.
 Archibald, K. Sex and the Public Service. Study commissioned by the Public Service Commission of Canada, 1970.
 Figure IV-4, p. 81. Data for this chart will be found in the Appendix, Table A-5.

CHART - 7

CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF SAMPLE OF MALE AND
FEMALE PUBLIC SERVANTS BY YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN THE
FEDERAL SERVICE 1967



Sources: Judek, unpublished data in computer print-outs.

Archibald, K. *Sex and the Public Service*. Study commissioned by the Public Service Commission of Canada, 1970. Figure IV-5, p.81.
Data for this chart will be found in the Appendix, Table A-6.

to men, the more work experience and the more education they have, up to and including a bachelor's degree".⁹⁷ A woman with a bachelor's degree and 26 years of experience is probably the worst off; her salary is only 56 per cent of the salary of a man with the same education and experience. Women begin to do better with a master's degree and, with a Ph.D., do almost as well as men. There is evidence, then, that the failure of women to advance cannot be wholly attributed to the inadequacy of their education or experience.

421. What do employees themselves say about the opportunities of women in employment in the Public Service? One of the studies questioned 42 women in senior positions and a matched sample of 20 men.⁹⁸ Both sexes felt that there was less discrimination on the basis of sex in the Public Service than in industry, business and the professions. Nonetheless, 75 per cent of the women and 50 per cent of the men believed discrimination against women did exist. Several women felt that women had less chance to achieve management positions. Six women said they had been told explicitly that they could not be appointed to certain positions because they were women.

422. Imaginative programmes can help to eradicate inequality of opportunity and to foster women's advancement in the Public Service. But we are convinced that adverse attitudes to women's advancement are so ingrained that only deliberate policies can correct the long-standing imbalance of men and women at senior levels. We believe that this can be done within the merit principle. Therefore, we recommend that the federal Public Service Commission and federal government departments have as an objective the elimination of the imbalance in the proportion of women and men in senior positions and (a) as much as is feasible, emphasize potential rather than experience as a basis for appointment or promotion; (b) ensure that vacancies are open to employees at a classification level low enough to permit consideration of qualified women; and (c) when a job opens, make sure that women candidates get full consideration including the evaluation of their experience in volunteer work and running a household if it is relevant.

(d) Use of Women's Skills and Abilities

423. Although the Public Service is gradually making greater use of women, it is not yet taking full advantage of their skills and abilities. In 1965, the Royal Commission on Government Organization noted this:⁹⁹ "The government as an employer has, on the whole, discriminated against women less

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* Archibald. p. 87.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* Archibald. Appendix B., p. 179.

⁹⁹ The Royal Commission on Government Organization. *Report*. Vol. 1, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1965, p. 379.

than have most employers in commerce and industry. On the other hand, it would be to its advantage were it to make more effective use of the talents and qualifications of women because of the wide range of employment opportunities which are suited for women . . .” We believe that means must be found to move women with potential out of the traditionally female occupations and professions and into the stream that leads to senior levels. Therefore, we recommend that the federal Public Service Commission and federal government departments (a) introduce programmes that will ensure the consideration of secretaries for administrative positions, and (b) open up intermediate and senior administrative positions to women in traditionally female professions.

424. If women are to be fully used, they will have to be fully trained. As a route to senior positions, the administrative trainee class is one of the key entrance classes in the Public Service. The class is open to university graduates and to students in their graduating year and recruitment is carried out annually on university campuses. The purpose of the programme is to find people who can learn to take over senior managerial and executive responsibility as quickly as possible. Successful applicants are given positions in departments and enrolled in a two-year development programme.

425. We were told that some departments are unwilling to accept women administrative trainees and so we examined the opportunities that women have had in the last three years to be appointed to this class. If departments have reservations about accepting women, the statistical information on the recruitment and appointment of women and men does not reveal it. We found no evidence of discriminatory treatment in selection or placement.

426. Nonetheless, if the feeling persists that departments look to the administrative trainee programme to produce senior personnel who are male and not female, it can discourage women applicants. And, if indeed departments do view only the men as potential senior employees, this view will doubtless be reflected in the kind of training assignments given to women.

427. Since the administrative trainee programme is an excellent way of bringing into the Public Service women with the potential to move up to senior positions, we believe the Service should go out of its way to attract more women applicants. This could be done by special recruitment literature to inform women that the government welcomes women applicants, by recruitment teams actively seeking interviews with women students, and by informing University Placement Offices of the government's objective to attract more women to the Service. We also think that departments should make it clear to those involved in the training of women administrative trainees that they are to receive the same kind of training assignments and

opportunities as the men. Therefore, we recommend that (a) a special effort be made to attract more women applicants for administrative trainee positions in the federal Public Service, and (b) federal government departments ensure that women administrative trainees are given the kind of training assignments that will prepare them for advancement to the senior levels.

428. We are concerned that only a small proportion of women employees are being trained for management. Some courses are open only to employees below a specified age and earning more than a specified salary. Since women have less opportunity to advance than men, we believe these requirements may be eliminating women with qualifications and potential comparable to those of some men who can take the courses. We understand that these requirements have been occasionally waived to admit a few women; we think the situation of women warrants greater use of this special measure. Therefore, we recommend that action be taken to increase greatly the enrolment of promising women in federal Public Service management courses, including the step of waiving salary floors and age ceilings where necessary in their case.

429. To ensure that the Public Service makes the best use of available talent, the Public Service Commission recently introduced the Career Assignment Program (CAP). The programme is primarily for Public Service employees but some people from outside the Public Service are admitted.

430. Officers chosen for their proficiency first attend an "in-residence" management course and are then given a variety of job assignments designed to broaden their experience and test their capability for senior executive positions. The programme will be expanded to provide more experience in private business, international agencies and other levels of government in Canada.

431. Although CAP is designed primarily for officers in the 30 to 40 age group, priority was first given to more senior personnel. In the first year most participants were over 40 years of age with the range from 31 to 56 years. In each subsequent course the average age dropped until by the fourth course it was 39 years.

432. The relationship between age and level of responsibility remains part of the selection criteria for 1970. Although the maximum age remains 50, the average age of participants is expected to fall as preference is given to those in the 30 to 40 age group. The present age and salary criteria for admission are as follows:

| <i>Age</i> | <i>Salary</i> |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| 46-50 years | \$19,000 minimum |
| 41-45 years | 17,000 minimum |
| 36-40 years | 14,250 minimum |
| 35 years or under | 13,000 minimum |

433. It is expected that slightly more than 100 officers will take the full programme each year. The responsibility for finding and choosing candidates rests with the departments. The Career Assignment Office of the Public Service Commission is responsible only for ensuring that the mix of those selected reflects a fair distribution between departments and a balance of occupations and ages. It has not been found necessary to impose any departmental or occupational quotas.

434. Only two women had participated in CAP by the end of March 31, 1970 and only one had been chosen for the full programme starting in April 1970. We believe it essential that a substantial number of women enter this programme. As we understand it, the programme is a source of future executives. Women are finding it difficult to reach senior levels now; if they are not well represented in the programme their opportunities will be further reduced. We believe that women's position will not improve until they get a chance to show that they can handle senior responsibilities. The Career Assignment Program can give them this chance.

435. If many women are to participate, the age and salary criteria for admission to the programme may have to be relaxed. We do not think this will necessarily lower the calibre of participants. Women have not progressed at the same rate as men. It is therefore likely that some older women at lower salaries may have the same potential as men who meet the present criteria of age and salary level.

436. In time, with adoption of the recommendations we have made in this Chapter, no special measures for women should be needed to ensure their participation in the Career Assignment Program. If all departments genuinely try to make full use of their women employees, special measures will not be needed now. We regret the necessity to promote women's opportunities by means of special safeguards. At present, however, it seems to us essential that these opportunities should be protected by setting a minimum female enrolment in each CAP course. **Therefore, we recommend that, for the next 10 years, the number of women enrolled in each course in the Career Assignment Program of the federal Public Service be no less than 10 per cent of the total number of people enrolled in the course.**

437. We examined the use made by the Public Service of the skill and training of housewives who want part-time or evening and night work. Although many part-time workers were used during World War II, we found that few women today are regularly working part-time. In office and administrative support classes, women may be appointed for short periods to re-

place absent employees or to handle an overload of work, but these women usually work full days. A few officers are occasionally called in for short periods of work.

438. Recently the Public Service Commission showed leadership by recruiting housewives for part-time work in professions short of workers. Jobs were first offered to librarians, economists and statisticians, then to professions in the Administrative and Foreign Service category and in the Scientific and Technical category. Although not many people were hired, the programme provided a chance to see whether the idea of giving more part-time work to housewives was practical. Hours of work and vacation leave were geared to home responsibilities. Normal fringe benefits were given on a *pro rata* basis.

439. Ottawa gives housewives an unusual opportunity to work for a few months every year. The Taxation Data Centre annually employs large numbers of workers for periods of at least four months, usually beginning about March. In 1969, 600 clerks were hired to work full days and 225 clerks to work three and one-half hours every evening. About 400 full-day typists and 500 evening typists were trained and then employed as keypunch operators. A large number of experienced operators and some supervisors were also appointed. Pay ranged from \$246 a month to \$440 a month and employees received vacation pay when the work was finished.

440. Most members of this seasonal staff are housewives who look forward to the chance to earn extra money and to join the work force for a short time. The work comes at a good time of the year for women with children at school and it is long enough to give housewives a change from their home activities. While the turnover rate is high, many return year after year. Others take advantage of the training and take full-time jobs in the Public Service or elsewhere.

441. We believe that the federal Public Service should explore the greater use of part-time employees. Apart from its advantages for the women who are hired, the government may well find it solves the problem of obtaining satisfactory employees in shortage areas. Part-time work can also help to keep married women's skills and experience from being outdated when the women are free to work full-time.

442. Where part-time workers are employed, we believe that their employment conditions should be comparable to those of the full-time worker. We have noted that, under the Public Service Terms and Conditions of Employment Regulations, part-time employees are not granted the pay increases provided for in most positions. Therefore, **we recommend that (a) the federal Public Service Terms and Conditions of Employment Regulations**

be amended so that part-time employees will receive pay increases on the same basis as full-time employees, and (b) collective agreements for the federal Public Service contain this provision.

443. Before leaving our assessment of the position of women in the Public Service, we have a final point to make. Over a hundred-year span, the federal government has yet to appoint a female Deputy Minister of a department. This must mean one of two things: either there have been no women as well qualified as the men appointed to this office or women have not been considered. We cannot say which reason is true. We leave this to the government of the day to answer.

444. We would also like to point out that there are no women who are Assistant Deputy Ministers of departments. Although these positions are filled under the Public Service Employment Act, they are sometimes a stepping stone to Deputy Minister appointments. We think it regrettable that women are not gaining experience as Assistant Deputy Ministers.

Crown Corporations and Agencies

445. Many employees of the Government of Canada are not in the Public Service. Of some 380,000 employees in the Federal Service, approximately 138,000 are in Crown Corporations and agencies. These organizations employ more than one-third of the male employees in the Federal Service but less than one-fourth of the female employees. Women, about 15,000 in number, represent only 11 per cent of the total strength of Crown Corporations and agencies.

446. Federal Crown Corporations and agencies carry out a wide variety of functions and usually operate independently of a government department. They range in size from such giants as the Canadian National Railways with thousands of employees to very small organizations such as the Canada Deposit Insurance Corporation with only three employees.

447. Although they differ in many ways, these organizations have one thing in common: they are not subject to the legislation dealing with appointment and terms and conditions of employment for the Public Service. Thus, their personnel laws, policies and practices can differ from the Public Service and vary from one corporation or agency to another. For this reason the position of women in the Federal Service cannot be assessed on the basis of the Public Service alone. However, because there are well over 50 federal Crown Corporations and agencies which vary in their policies and practices, we have had to restrict our examination to only a few.

448. Because of their size and comparability with private enterprise, Air Canada, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Canadian National Railways, three of the largest Crown Corporations, were included in the study on the status of women in 36 organizations. In another study conducted for us, the position of women was examined in four other reasonably large and representative Corporations and agencies—the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the Defence Research Board, the National Film Board and the National Research Council. It also included an examination of women in the Bank of Canada, a Crown Corporation with status somewhat different from that of the other Corporations. In all, it covered approximately 7,600 male employees and 3,000 female employees. In this section we deal only with the study of these five Crown Corporations and agencies.

449. The collection of data for this study posed certain problems. Corporations and agencies, operating as they do under different legislative authorities, do not necessarily compile the same personnel data or keep records in the same way. Nonetheless, by gathering extra information from discussions with personnel managers and interviews with women and men in senior and intermediate positions, we were able to get a fairly clear picture of the position of women.

450. The government's policy to grant "equal pay for equal work" extends to Crown Corporations and agencies but not all of them are subject to the federal Female Employees Equal Pay Act. Our study found no separate wage scales for women and men. Some of the women and men interviewed, however, expressed the view that the higher pay authorized for exceptional performance is sometimes being used to discriminate between the sexes.

451. Women employed in Crown Corporations and agencies, as in most other places, earn less than men. In the study, 80 per cent of the women and 22 per cent of the men earned less than \$6,000 yearly. Only 2.6 per cent of the women earned \$10,000 or more, compared to 29.4 per cent of the men. And only one-half of one per cent of the women earned \$14,000 or more, compared to 15.9 per cent of the men.

452. As usual, occupational segregation seems to be a major factor in this difference in salaries. In the organizations surveyed, more than four-fifths of the women were in administrative support occupations. They comprised 76 per cent of all employees in these lower-paying occupations. They held only 15 per cent of the administrative positions and six per cent of the professional positions. In the creative field they occupied 18 per cent of the positions, but this figure represented only one per cent of the total number of women.

453. This difference in pay can partly be accounted for by the fact that proportionately fewer women than men reach the higher levels. Although all the organizations in the study disclaimed any official policy restricting the level women can reach, it was clear that the attitudes of some people in these organizations were effectively excluding women from managerial, professional and creative positions. Of the senior and intermediate employees interviewed, 71 per cent of the women and 41 per cent of the men said that they were aware of prejudice or discrimination against women. Only one woman was in a position to influence policy. In general, the women interviewed in all five organizations felt there was a tacit understanding by the management that there should be no women on management teams.

454. The usual reasons were given for not promoting women: lack of educational qualifications, lack of mobility, high absentee rates and high turnover rates. Although we strongly object to the use of purported group characteristics in assessing the potential of individuals, we did examine women's records in these four areas.

455. In the Corporations and agencies surveyed, we found that the educational levels of women and men were very similar to those found in the labour force in general: 58 per cent of the women, and only 29 per cent of the men, were high school graduates. At the post-secondary school and bachelor degree levels there were proportionately about half as many women as men. Only two per cent of the women had a higher degree than a bachelor degree compared to 15 per cent of the men. This is particularly significant in a work force that includes two scientific research organizations. We suggest that these organizations could make significantly better use of women's ability by actively seeking out women employees in scientific fields and subsidizing them in courses leading to a postgraduate degree. Therefore, we recommend that federal Crown Corporations and agencies (a) ensure that women scientists and technologists receive equal consideration with men for appointment, and (b) make a special effort to give graduate women employees a chance to take post-graduate degrees.

456. We found no reliable data on the relative willingness of women and men to be transferred to other localities. Of the senior and intermediate men and women interviewed in the study, 58 per cent of the men and 76 per cent of the women had never been transferred. This indicates that mobility is not always a factor in selection for advancement.

457. Not all organizations were able to supply absentee and turnover rates. For those supplying data, women on the average were absent two and one-half days a year more than men. Information on turnover rates

was available only from some organizations and covering only short periods. Women's rates were reported as higher than men's but, except in one organization, the differences were small.

458. It is apparent, then, that the position of women in Crown Corporations and agencies is no better than elsewhere in the Federal Service. It can be improved by definite and realistic efforts to combat occupational segregation by sex. In the earlier part of this Chapter, we have elaborated on the adverse effects of occupational segregation and have proposed ways to eliminate it. And we have also pointed out the need for short-term compensatory measures. Therefore, **we recommend that federal Crown Corporations and agencies (a) develop transfer and promotion measures that will encourage women to move out of the traditionally female occupations into other occupations, and (b) emphasize in recruitment programmes that all occupations are open equally to women and men.**

459. Occupational segregation is only part of the problem. Because women are not reaching senior levels, organizations are losing the skills and abilities some women could contribute. Therefore, **we recommend that each federal Crown Corporation and agency devise a long-term plan for the better use of womanpower within its organization.**

460. Training is an important way of ensuring that the potential of employees is realized. We found that women were given much less training than men. In two organizations with men and women employees roughly in the ratio of two to one, training was given approximately eight times as often to men as to women. We are convinced that women have greater potential than these figures seem to indicate. Therefore, **we recommend that, where the size of staff warrants it, federal Crown Corporations and agencies appoint one or more qualified people whose primary duty for the next five to eight years will be to provide for the training and development of women in their organizations.**

461. In some of the organizations studied, fairly extensive rotational programmes between field and head offices are part of management training. Some administrators apparently hesitate to include women in these programmes. Therefore, **we recommend that federal Crown Corporations and agencies with rotational programmes between field and head offices ensure that women are considered for rotation on the same basis as men and are not judged in advance on their freedom to rotate.**

462. We found evidence that women are not generally involved in decisions on promotions to senior positions. Selection committees for intermediate and senior positions are usually composed entirely of men; recruiting teams sent

to university campuses rarely, if ever, include a woman. Therefore, we recommend that federal Crown Corporations and agencies (a) review their selection procedures to ensure that women are used in recruitment and selection programmes, and (b) have senior women officers on their personnel administration staffs.

463. Most of the organizations studied have maternity leave provisions identical or similar to those of the Public Service. At least one collective agreement provides for maximum leave of four months instead of the eight months provided for in the Public Service. One organization gives maternity leave on an *ad hoc* basis. In no case is leave with pay provided. Earlier in this Chapter we have recommended that the Fair Employment Practices Act be amended to include entitlement to maternity leave and that the Act be applicable to all employees of the government Service. We also have recommended the application of the Unemployment Insurance Act to women during maternity leave and to employees of the Government of Canada. Adoption of these recommendations will entitle women in Crown Corporations and agencies to maternity leave and, during the leave, to unemployment insurance benefits that they may have earned.

464. Some of the organizations studied are under the Public Service Superannuation Act while others have separate plans. We found that separate plans contain the same kind of differential treatment of women and men that exists in the Public Service Superannuation Act.

465. Substantial differences were found in insurance plans of some Corporations and agencies. In one, a married or single man is covered for a base rate of \$3,000 plus an additional \$3,000 for every \$1,000 of his yearly salary. If he earns \$10,000 a year, for example, he is covered for \$33,000. A woman, on the other hand, is covered for a base rate of \$3,000 plus an additional \$2,000 for each \$1,000 of her yearly salary. With a yearly salary of \$10,000, she is covered for only \$23,000.

466. In another Crown Corporation with a group life insurance plan, for single men and women and for married women with no dependants the coverage is the equivalent of one year's salary up to a maximum of \$20,000. For a married man or a once-married woman with dependants, the coverage is the equivalent of two year's salary up to a maximum of \$40,000. A number of single women have requested coverage for their dependants. So far this has not been granted. Therefore, we recommend that different provisions on the basis of sex be eliminated from superannuation and insurance plans for federal Crown Corporations and agencies.

467. Adoption of our proposals will be a step toward improving the position of women in Crown Corporations and agencies. But we believe that the Government and these organizations themselves must let it be publicly known that they are committed to giving women equal opportunity to get jobs, to be fairly paid and to use their skills and abilities fully. Therefore; **we recommend that federal Crown Corporations and agencies (a) make clear to educational institutions, and to the public, that career opportunities within their organizations are open to women and that they are encouraging women to prepare themselves for such careers; and (b) require each private organization with which they do business to include in each contract, a clause that prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of sex.**

Staff of the Senate and the House of Commons

468. The Parliament buildings at Ottawa are the centre of activity for another class of federal employee. A study conducted on our behalf reported that in 1969, 1,291 workers provided services for Members of the Senate and the House of Commons.

469. These included 223 Senate employees under the supervision of the Clerk of the Senate, and 1,068 House of Commons employees under the supervision of the Clerk of the House of Commons. The Senate and the House of Commons determine personnel policies for their respective staffs; they tend to follow policies established for the federal Public Service. Certain services common to both the Senate and the House of Commons, such as the health units, the restaurants, and the distribution of documents, come under the administrative control of the House of Commons. The Speaker of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Commons are jointly responsible for the Library of Parliament. The Library was not included in our study.

470. Of the 1,291 employees on the two staffs, 657 were women and 634 were men. These figures are misleading; only 249 of the women were full-time employees, but 517 of the men worked full-time. There were 170 women who worked part-time the year round and 233 women who worked only during parliamentary sessions. There were no male part-time workers and only 96 men were employed for sessions. The few remaining employees were employed casually or under contract.

471. The age distribution of women on the staffs of the Senate and the House of Commons differs from the age distribution of women elsewhere in the Federal Service and women in the labour force in general. The percentage of women in each age group, following more closely the pattern of men, appears to increase up to age group 45-54.

472. Here, as everywhere else in the Federal Service, women earn less than men. On the whole, however, the gap is much smaller because proportionately more women and fewer men are in the higher wage brackets here than in the rest of the Federal Service. In 1969, 14.2 per cent of the women earned \$10,000 or more as compared to 23.5 per cent of the men. But the men were well ahead of the women in the top pay brackets. Slightly more than four per cent of the men and less than one-half of one per cent of the women earned \$14,000 or more.

473. Men predominated in administration and women in administrative support. Almost one-third of the staffs were in operational occupations; although men predominated here too, 25.2 per cent of the women employees were in this kind of work. Except in the Library of Parliament, which was not included in our study, there were virtually no professional workers.

474. Women are never appointed as messengers or as protective staff. The physical demands of the work are given as the reason for ruling out women in these fields. A further differential practice appears to discriminate against women in the cleaning service. Charwomen are appointed only part-time and at an hourly rate. Men cleaners, on the other hand, work full-time and are paid an annual rate. We believe these sex barriers to employment should be eliminated. Therefore, **we recommend that sex-typing of the occupations of employees working in the Senate and House of Commons be discontinued.**

475. Although we found no formal barriers to the promotion of women, it is apparent that women have not been appointed to senior positions. Therefore, **we recommend that the Clerks of the Senate and the House of Commons devise a long-term plan for better use of womanpower and for opening senior positions to women as well as to men.**

476. Since benefits and terms of employment are generally the same as those found in the Public Service, the few differences for men and women in the Public Service also exist for the staffs of the Senate and the House of Commons. They are covered by the Public Service Superannuation Act and amendment of that Act, as we have recommended, will remove inequitable treatment for women working in the Senate and the House of Commons as well as for women in the Public Service. The same maternity leave is provided as in the Public Service and our recommendations for the Public Service should also benefit employees of the Senate and the House of Commons.

477. Finally, we must again emphasize our concern over the lack of any legal requirement for equal pay for equal work or any legal prohibition of

discrimination in employment on the basis of sex. We reiterate our conviction that the federal government should set for itself the same requirements that it expects from others. The legislative changes we have recommended would provide such protection for women employees in the Senate and the House of Commons.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police

478. The federal government also employs women in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Although uniformed women are now common in municipal police forces, the uniformed service of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has remained strictly a male preserve. The Force does, however, employ hundreds of women in a variety of civilian occupations. Most of these women, and some men, are appointed under the Public Service Employment Act and they have been included in the portion of this report covering Public Service Employees.

479. But there are other employees who, although not in uniform, are still part of the organization. Like the uniformed members, they are hired and promoted by the Force itself, are governed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act and contribute to the pension plan of the Force. Unlike the uniformed members, they are not "peace officers". They do not carry out the same duties, are not subject to identical disciplinary measures and are not paid under the same scale. Of these 1,000 "civilian members", 100 were women in 1969.

480. Seven of these women were employed as messing officers, supervising food services at Headquarters and at Divisions across the country. No men worked in this capacity. Eleven women worked as translators in different parts of the country. The remaining 82 women were employed in the National Police Services Directorate where many worked as scientists or technicians in the Crime Detection Laboratories or as fingerprint technicians in the Identification Branch.

481. The same pay scales apply to civilian women and men performing the same work and we found no evidence that the opportunities of women for advancement are more limited than those of men. Except for the pension plan, conditions of employment of women and men civilian members are the same. Like most other women in the Federal Service, women contribute at a lower rate to the pension plan. Their dependent children receive the same benefits as the children of men civilian members. But, while they receive a pension on the same basis as men, their husbands receive no pension when

they die. We believe that sex differences in pension plans should be eliminated. Therefore, **we recommend that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Superannuation Act be amended so that its provisions will be the same for both female and male contributors.**

482. There are no restrictions against the employment of married women. One condition operates in the married woman's favour. If she chooses she is almost invariably allowed to leave before her term of employment is up without payment of the sum usually required from others who do not complete their terms.

483. Maternity leave is less favourable than that provided in the Public Service. Only three months' leave is given. Adoption of our recommendations for inclusion of minimum maternity leave provisions in the Fair Employment Practices Act and for the application of this Act to the entire federal Government Service would ensure maternity leave protection for these women. However, since there are Public Service employees in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who are entitled to more generous maternity leave provisions, we believe the Force should offer its other women employees the same leave as is provided for in the Public Service Terms and Conditions of Employment Regulations.

484. Finally, we believe enlistment in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police should be open to women. Briefs we received protested because women who have been apprehended are sometimes searched by male police officers or constables. Although we understand that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has women on call for this purpose, we think the larger centres should use women police officers. More important, we are convinced that enlisted women could make a special contribution, particularly in the North, in other aspects of police work. Certainly many municipalities have found it advantageous to have women on their police forces. Therefore, **we recommend that enlistment in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police be open to women.**

The Canadian Forces

485. Canada today has some 1,600 women in its Armed Forces, approximately 1.6 per cent of the total strength. At the end of January 1969, there were 1,082 women in other ranks and 529 women officers. About 400 of the officers were nurses.

486. As Table 12 shows, women are employed in a relatively small number of trades, most of them in the administrative, technical, and paramedical fields. Several reasons are given for the restriction of women to this somewhat narrow scope. It has been found uneconomical to train women for trades

requiring long and expensive training because they have a shorter average length of service than men. Many of the trades open only to men are in the combat arms or at sea, where women are not allowed to serve. Finally, women must be placed in trades which are common enough that groups of at least 35 would be stationed at each base. This is the minimum number that justifies the expense of providing special quarters, facilities and supervision. Nursing Assistant, the female equivalent of the male Medical Assistant, is the only trade open only to women.

487. The pay scale for women and men is now the same but, as Table 12 indicates, most women are working in trades in the lower pay fields. Because the more highly paid trades usually require long training periods, women are seldom enrolled.

Table 12. Distribution of Women by Trade in the Canadian Forces, 1969

| Category of Trades | Trade | Pay Field* |
|---|---|------------|
| Trades which women can enter after basic training | Dental Assistant..... | 3 |
| | Nursing Assistant..... | 4 |
| | Administrative Clerk..... | 3 |
| | Accounting and Finance Clerk..... | 3 |
| | Supply Technician..... | 4 |
| | Radar Plotter..... | 4, 7** |
| Trades which women can enter after satisfactory service in a basic trade | Teletype Operator..... | 4 |
| | Operating Room Assistant..... | 5 |
| | Communications Operator..... | 5 |
| | X-Ray Technician..... | 5 |
| Trades for which women are no longer recruited, but in which some are still serving | Physical Education and Recreation Instructor..... | 3 |
| | Radar Operator (39)***..... | 4 |
| | Meteorological Technician (7)..... | 4 |
| | Safety Systems Technician (5)..... | 6 |
| | Photo Technician (3)..... | 5 |
| | Avionics Technician (1)..... | 7 |
| Refinishing Technician (1)..... | 4 | |

*The trade determines the pay field. There are five pay fields, numbered 3 to 7, for non-officer ranks. Pay field 3 carries the lowest pay rate, and pay field 7 the highest.

**The pay field is higher for sergeants and above.

***The numbers in the brackets represent the numbers of women remaining in the various trades.

SOURCE: Information supplied by Canadian Forces Headquarters, Ottawa, March 1969.

488. It is apparent that restrictions on the number of trades open to women generally reflect the concept of women as a group rather than as individuals. Some women do remain in the Service longer than men and some women are already in the trades now closed to women. Enlistment in a trade generally means that training will be given in that trade and we consider that women should have the same opportunity as men to have the scientific and technological training that the Armed Forces provide. We also propose that all trades be open to women because we believe that women who have volunteered should be ready to undertake all the duties and responsibilities that membership in the Armed Forces entails. Therefore, **we recommend that all trades in the Canadian Forces be open to women.**

489. Women have less opportunity to enter the Armed Forces than men because they are generally required to have higher qualifications. A woman must be 18 years old and have Grade 10 standing. A man need be only 17, with Grade 8 standing. Because there are more women applicants than can be accepted, the higher standards serve as a screening device. Married women are not allowed to enter the Forces because they are considered less free to move to new postings.

490. We believe that the exclusion of married women is unjustified discrimination. We recognize that mobility is important in the Service but consider that the married woman should be allowed to decide for herself whether or not she can accept enlistment under this condition. Therefore, **we recommend that the prohibition on the enlistment of married women in the Canadian Forces be eliminated.**

491. Women's opportunity to advance in the Forces is difficult to assess. Statistics on levels reached are influenced by the fact that the average length of service for women is only two and one-half years. Of the 1,600 women in uniform, it has been estimated that only about 450 have more than 10 years' service.

492. Table 13 shows the distribution by rank of women and of the Forces as a whole. Whereas there are almost twice as many Corporals as Privates in the total Forces, among service women the reverse is true: there are twice as many Privates as Corporals. This is probably due to the short average length of women's service. A woman who left the Forces after two or three years would have just reached the top pay level for a Private. Among the officers, there is a disproportionate number of women Lieutenants. Since promotion to Captain is virtually automatic with the passage of time, this also is probably because many women officers leave the service before they have served the number of years normally required for promotion to Captain.

Table 13. Distribution by Rank of Women and of the Forces
as a Whole, Canada, 1969

| Rank | Number of Women | Total Number in the Forces |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| Colonel and above..... | — | 456 |
| Lieutenant-Colonel..... | 2 | 950 |
| Major..... | 29 | 3,000 |
| Captain..... | 238 | 6,969 |
| Lieutenant..... | 247 | 2,800 |
| Second Lieutenant..... | 13 | 231 |
| SUB-TOTAL (Officers)..... | 529 | 14,406 |
| Warrant Officer 1..... | — | 1,035 |
| Warrant Officer 2..... | 1 | 2,600 |
| Warrant Officer 3..... | 8 | 4,900 |
| Sergeant..... | 32 | 11,000 |
| Corporal..... | 282 | 36,000 |
| Private..... | 759 | 20,000 |
| TOTAL..... | 1,611 | 89,941 |

SOURCE: Information supplied by Canadian Forces Headquarters, Ottawa, March 1969.

493. Women and men have the same chance of being considered for promotion. Women write the same qualifying examinations, compete for many of the same positions, and go before the same promotion boards as men. In recent years, women have been admitted to the Staff School and, even more important, to the Staff College, the gateway to senior positions.

494. The conditions of employment for men and women differ in a number of ways. Women are required to enlist for an initial engagement of only three years as compared to five years for men. We believe the length of the initial engagement should be the same for women and men. Therefore, **we recommend that the length of the initial engagement for which personnel are required to enlist in the Canadian Forces be the same for women and men.**

495. If a woman marries she is generally allowed to remain in the Forces but she is not retained if she has a child. An unmarried mother is also released but she may be permitted to re-enlist. We believe that women with children should not be required to leave the Armed Forces unless family responsibilities make them unable to work satisfactorily. Therefore, **we recommend that release of a woman from the Canadian Forces because she has a child be prohibited.**

496. Because of this policy to release women with children, there is no provision for maternity leave. But, because there are women in the Armed Forces, we believe that the Armed Forces, like every other organization, should provide maternity leave. Our proposals for inclusion of maternity leave provisions in the Fair Employment Practices Act and its application to all segments of the Government of Canada would provide maternity leave for these women.

497. Until recently, women members of the Armed Forces contributed the same proportion of their pay to the pension plan as men. However, a recent amendment to the Canadian Forces Superannuation Act provides that women's rate of payment to the Plan be reduced from 6.5 per cent to five per cent in line with the provisions for women in the Public Service. Like most pension plans for the Government Service, this plan has some discriminatory features. Therefore, **we recommend that the Canadian Forces Superannuation Act be amended so that its provisions will be the same for male and female contributors.**

Summary (Government of Canada)

498. This, then, is the position of women in the Government of Canada. On the whole, the treatment of women seems to be more equitable than in many other organizations. Women and men have the same wage scales and, except for superannuation plans and some insurance plans in Crown Corporations and agencies, the same benefits and terms of employment. The merit system within the Public Service prohibits the restriction of positions to one sex without an irrefutable reason. In most areas of government maternity leave is an entitlement and allows a generous length of absence. In fields in which labour is scarce, some arrangements have been made to employ women part-time or to set more flexible hours for them. In its personnel laws and policies, then, the government can hardly be accused of failing to observe its commitments to the rights of women, except perhaps in relation to paid maternity leave, superannuation protection and some insurance plans.

499. Nonetheless, we found evidence that women do not have equal opportunity to enter and advance in Government Service, and that their skills and abilities are not being fully used there. Attitudes and practices seem to be at fault. As elsewhere, occupational segregation by sex is being perpetuated. Proportionally fewer women than men are being trained to the full extent of their potential, or being promoted to senior levels. Finally,

superannuation plans provide no protection for a widower of a female contributor and thus fail to recognize that the working wife usually shares her family's financial responsibilities.

500. Like other employers, the government can take action to eradicate these inequities. We have made a number of recommendations. But we believe that the government has a further responsibility, a responsibility of a very special kind. It should demonstrate that Canada's commitments to working women can be put into practice, and show other employers how to do this. We think the government can take some important steps that will provide this example as well as improve the position of women in the Government Service.

501. The government should make it known that it is fully committed to equality of employment opportunity for women and to the greater use of womanpower. It should also indicate that it is prepared to take special short-term measures giving women special treatment when it considers this essential to achieve its objectives. Therefore, we recommend that **(a) the federal government issue a policy statement to the Ministers of all federal government departments, the heads of Crown Corporations and agencies, and the Speakers of the Senate and the House of Commons, expressing its intention to**

(i) ensure equality of opportunity in employment for women and the greater use of womanpower, and

(ii) undertake short-term special measures where these are necessary to achieve its objectives; and

(b) an information programme be undertaken so that management and supervisors at all levels in the Government of Canada be made aware of the government's policy regarding its employment of women.

502. But policy statements and dissemination of information will not be enough. We are convinced that the government as an employer must create a special programme to promote equality of opportunity for women with men and the greater use of womanpower within the federal Government Service. The government has used this method to carry out its plan for bilingualism in the Public Service.

503. Since responsibility for recruitment and for personnel administration in the Government of Canada is prescribed by law, a Women's Programme would have limited means to enforce action to improve the position of women. But such a programme could, we believe, have a strong impact by providing advisory services and developing ways of accomplishing the government's objectives. It would, for example, examine the training women

receive and propose ways to extend it; it would also find means to ensure that competent women are not overlooked when staff are rotated and promoted.

504. This Women's Programme should be closely related to the organization concerned with over-all short and long-term planning. Advisory organizations are at a disadvantage because they have limited power for action. This can to some extent be counteracted by the level of support directly behind the organization and the importance given to its functions by the government. The Women's Programme will need as much support as possible because its work will concern a substantial portion of the Government Service and because it will undoubtedly encounter some hostility and indifference to its objectives. It will also have the difficult task of working in an area where many who believe in the objectives fail to realize they are not putting them into practice. Recognizing these handicaps, we think the best way to make sure that the organization is effective is to establish it as a secretariat of the Privy Council Office.

505. For the programme to have a full effect, each government organization will need at least one employee to maintain liaison with the secretariat and to promote its objectives within the organization. This employee should be senior enough to report to those directly responsible for establishing practices for the organization.

506. The government, Parliament and the public must be kept informed of progress toward attaining the government's objectives for women in the Government Service. Government organizations should be required to make periodic reports to the secretariat and an annual report for the Government Service should be tabled in Parliament. Therefore, we recommend that (a) a **Women's Programme Secretariat be established in the Privy Council Office for promoting a programme for equality of opportunity for women in the federal Government Service and the greater use of their skills and abilities;** (b) a **Women's Programme Co-ordinator be appointed to each federal government department, Crown Corporation and agency, to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Canadian Forces, and to the staff of the Senate and the House of Commons to promote within the organization the objectives of the Women's Programme and to maintain liaison with the Secretariat;** (c) the federal government organizations referred to above be required to give periodic progress reports to the Women's Programme Secretariat of objectives undertaken; and (d) an annual report be tabled in Parliament on the progress being made in the federal Government Service toward the objectives of the Women's Programme.

Other Sectors of the Economy

Women in Chartered Banks

507. Since banks employ a large number of women, the Commission sponsored a study of employment opportunities and practices in banks. Of the 83,929 persons employed in the eight banks surveyed, 56,208 or two-thirds were women. They worked in head offices and in more than 5,900 branch offices dispersed throughout the country.

508. The study revealed that 89.7 per cent of all women earned less than \$5,000 yearly in occupations such as teller, ledger-keeper, typist and other routine office jobs, while 72.3 per cent of all men earned more than \$5,000. The over-all statistical picture suggests that the \$5,000 mark represents a threshold into career officer jobs, including positions in bank management and specialist bank occupations.

509. At the time of the study there were 29 women bank managers and 709 women accountants, the title used for the position of office manager in most banks.¹⁰⁰ Since there are nearly 6,000 branches, the number of women in these positions is not impressive. The position of accountant is an intermediate position in which women are generally considered to perform very well. In specialist occupations the best opportunities for women appear to be in the personal loan field, in economic research, investment analysis, computer systems and electronic data processing.

510. The banks reported a variety of training programmes designed to improve the knowledge and skills of employees or to prepare young bank officers for management. Career development is primarily oriented to male employees. Although the demand for university graduates is increasing, the principal source of young recruits for banking is still the high school. Male high school graduates are trained for a career in bank management or specialized occupations of equivalent rank. Female high school graduates are usually predestined for dead-end support functions. Female university or community college graduates (in Quebec CEGEP graduates) are slated for certain types of work in research, investment analysis, and computer programming. Women sometimes become management trainees but in most banks this takes the special effort and initiative of an interested woman and the support of her manager. At the time of the study the banks employed several thousand male trainees but only 128 female trainees in seven banks reporting on this phase of training.

¹⁰⁰ The first appointment of a woman bank manager was made in 1961.

511. The relative immobility of many married women apparently limits the advancement of women to higher positions. Wide experience, often best acquired through successive postings in different economic environments, certainly helps the development of a bank employee. For some executive positions in banks, however, the most useful training is in head or regional offices. Moreover, the largest concentration of bank branches is found in large urban areas. It is therefore difficult to understand why, in positions above the rank of branch manager or equivalent, the study found only one woman compared to 326 men.

512. The findings of the study indicate that the position of women in banks is similar to their position elsewhere. Although management seems readier to accept women in more senior positions than in the past, women are still far from enjoying equal opportunity and full use of their capabilities.

513. Since the scope of banking activities is expanding and widening, women should have better prospects than ever before. They should reasonably expect that a career in banking will allow them to realize their potential. Before this will happen, we believe certain positive steps must be taken. The federal Female Employees Equal Pay Act and the Fair Employment Practices Act are applicable to Chartered Banks and so our proposals for changes in these Acts will apply to women employees in banks. Mandatory maternity leave will be provided, for example, and equality of opportunity prescribed under the law. Beyond this we believe banks themselves should introduce certain reforms. Therefore, we recommend that Chartered Banks (a) make it known that they intend to give women equality of opportunity; (b) eliminate the practice, where it exists, of requiring a longer attachment period for women than for men before promotion to management; (c) ensure that they have a record of women qualified for promotion to be considered as vacancies occur; (d) provide more opportunities for women to participate in both in-service and outside training programmes with the objective of their constituting at least 25 per cent of those trained by 1975; and (e) encourage their women employees to improve their knowledge and capabilities through management training courses and educational courses, such as those of the Institute of Canadian Bankers, in reasonable expectation that successful completion of these courses will lead to opportunities for promotion.

Women in Department Stores

514. Long before women had established a place for themselves in offices, they were firmly ensconced in retail stores. Stores continue to be an important source of employment for women who have no special training and women

seeking careers in certain aspects of merchandizing. The hours that stores are open and their peak sales periods lend themselves to the employment of fairly large part-time staffs. Of the full-time and part-time employees in department stores, approximately two-thirds are women. Most of the part-time staff are married women.

515. To provide insight into the position of these women, a study of women in department store chains was undertaken for the Commission. In all, 38 stores were covered. All regions of Canada were represented and all major downtown stores in the chains and a number of suburban stores were included. The study covered a total of 22,978 full-time employees and 25,035 part-time employees. The number of women full-time employees exceeded the number of men by some 3,000. The number of women working part-time was almost four times as great as the number of men.

516. It was found that women working full-time or part-time were predominantly employed in the lower-paid sales clerk positions (80 per cent) and as cashiers. On the other hand, 72.5 per cent of the higher paid sales positions were held by men. These were sales positions requiring detailed knowledge of products and considerable skill in salesmanship. Pay for such positions is often salary and commission or straight commission, and the products sold are usually higher priced goods such as furniture and power tools. Women were in the majority in supervisory positions but more than three-quarters of the most senior departmental positions, those of managers and buyers, were held by men. Women's earnings were found to be consistently lower than those of men with the same or even fewer years of service. This was true in non-sales departments as well as sales departments.

517. One interesting aspect of this study was the allocation of work to women and men in sales departments. A distinct pattern prevails from coast to coast. Some features of the pattern are readily understood. A woman expects to be served by another woman when shopping for clothes for herself and her children and a man prefers to buy some of his clothing and footwear, but perhaps not necessarily his shirts, ties and socks, from a male sales person.

518. Other reasons for the division of sales labour are not so clear. Women usually make decisions about home furnishings but furniture, most types of floor covering and major electrical appliances are more often sold by men. Women tend to sell toys, books and housewares. Men sell sporting goods, hardware and automobile accessories. The same division of work does not carry through to the functions of department manager and buyer. Women, for instance, sell piece goods and books but men usually do the managing and the buying of this merchandise.

519. The study explored preferences for a sales person of a particular sex and found that employers, employees and the shopping public all have preferences. Often the preferences reinforce each other and support the traditional aspect of the staffing pattern. There are minor regional variations. Traditional attitudes are most emphasized in the Province of Quebec and least on the West Coast. The notion of "men's jobs" in retailing has implications not only for women's employment opportunities but also for their earning potential. The better-paid sales positions are usually found in departments predominantly staffed by men.

520. Most stores admit to their managerial training programmes some women, but in fewer numbers than men. Equal pay for male and female trainees recruited at the same educational level is by no means the rule, although the male and female differential decreases with increasing educational qualifications. More women are admitted to training programmes in eastern Canada than in western Canada.

521. Promotion opportunities for women appear to be best in large stores in eastern Canada. The study covered approximately the same number of female full-time department store employees in both parts of the country, but the ratio of women in department management positions in western and eastern Canada was found to be one to three. In the whole of Canada the number of men in management and executive positions in 1967 was four and one-half times the number of women in the same occupational categories.

522. Women in department stores, then, do not appear to be faring as well as they should. Although the study revealed no separate rates of pay for women and men, except perhaps at the training level, it showed that senior positions are largely occupied by men. Yet most employees of department stores are women and it seems likely that women who can do senior jobs well can be found. Therefore, we recommend that department stores (a) ensure that women employees are considered for advancement on an equal basis with men; (b) investigate why, in areas where the staff is predominantly female, it is the practice to fill the senior positions with men; and (c) make a special effort to train more women employees for managerial positions.

523. We have received the complaint—not in relation to the department store study—that a form of labour exploitation of women is taking place in some retail stores. It is claimed that many part-time workers are employed on a day-to-day basis and that care is taken that they do not work for periods of such a length as to require the employer to provide fringe benefits. In such circumstances, the part-time worker can do nothing to improve her situation. If she lodges a complaint, she may not be called in to work. We have also

been told that some stores prefer to hire part-time workers who are below the age that would make payment of the minimum wage necessary. Therefore, we recommend that retail stores review their practices to ensure that exploitation of part-time workers does not exist.

Production of Goods at Home for Outside Consumption (Homeworkers)

524. The transition from a rural agrarian society to an urban industrial society has not meant that all women who want to earn money have had to work outside their homes. Today, there are several thousand women in Canada who work at home and on their own time for industry. A number of women are also self-employed at home in the production of handicrafts for sale.

525. People who work at home for industry are called homeworkers. The majority of homeworkers, usually women, are apparently to be found in Quebec and Ontario. Quebec has been, and continues to be, the centre of the garment and needle industry, and this industry is by far the largest user of homeworkers. Principal users include manufacturers of women's dresses and sportswear, children's wear, jewellery, leather goods and artificial flowers. Much of the homework in Ontario, on the other hand, consists of small assembly jobs, packaging, telephoning and direct mail advertising. Although the number of homeworkers appears to be decreasing, in 1969 there were more than 1,000 employed in the glove industry alone. Since Manpower Centres do not recruit or place these workers, information about work opportunities is usually spread by word of mouth.

526. Many homeworkers in Quebec are housewives in rural areas who work in the winter months to supplement family income. City women, including many new Canadians, also help to support their families in this way. The women are usually trained in embroidery and other needlework and are often used for finishing goods.

527. Before the unionization of the garment trades, there was notorious abuse of homeworkers and homework is still considered indefensible by many in Quebec. When it is used as a source of cheap labour, homework can undermine occupational standards within an industry and exploit those homeworkers who have no collective means of demanding appropriate wages and adequate terms and conditions of employment.

528. As protection against exploitation, legislation covering homework has been in effect in Quebec for a number of years. Today, the homeworker is protected by the application of the Collective Agreement Decrees Act of

1964.¹⁰¹ Under this Act, a collective agreement for any trade, industry, commerce or occupation may be ordered binding on all the employees and employers in the province or a region in the province who are within the scope determined in the decree. Section 9 of the Act provides, among other things, that wages and hours of labour set out in the agreement will be obligatory. The Act requires the formation of a parity committee, made up of parties to the agreement, to supervise and enforce the terms of the decree.

529. Decrees that declare collective agreements binding throughout the province or a region can, but are not required to, contain specific provisions dealing with the registration of homeworkers, their rates of pay and terms of employment. It is by means of such provisions that the homemaker in Quebec is protected. Yet in spite of the protective legislation and the efforts of parity committees it is claimed that some exploitation of homeworkers still continues. Since homeworkers are geographically scattered, it is almost impossible to enforce the legislation.

530. Payment to homeworkers is generally on a piecework basis rather than on an hourly rate. They are rarely given vacation pay and are not eligible for workmen's compensation. Participation in the Unemployment Insurance Plan and the Quebec Pension Plan is apparently far from common.

531. In Ontario, approximately 450 firms employ some 3,500 homeworkers. The terms of the Employment Standards Act of 1968 apply to homeworkers as well as to other employed persons. Minimum wage standards apply to homeworkers although almost all are paid on a piecework basis. They are entitled to vacation pay within the terms of the Employment Standards Act and are covered by the Industrial Safety Act. Although they are not eligible for workmen's compensation, some are covered by the Unemployment Insurance and Canada Pension Plans. Provisions in Part VII of the Employment Standards Act forbid the employment of homeworkers without a permit and require the employer to keep a record of the names, addresses and wages of all homeworkers he employs. This provides some safeguard that the terms of the Employment Standards Act and Regulations will be met.

532. Although those who produce handicrafts for sale are not homeworkers in the sense the term is used in industry, the conditions under which they work are similar in some ways. For many Indians and Eskimos, the production of handicrafts is a source of livelihood or a useful income supplement. Some Indian handicrafts are marketed through the Arts and Crafts

¹⁰¹ Collective Agreement Decrees Act. *Revised Statutes of Quebec*. 1964, c. 143, section 2.

Centre of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and the Canadian Guild of Crafts markets Eskimo work. However, some native people are paid salaries for their work as, for example, the printers of stone prints at Cape Dorset. Others market their handicrafts themselves, or take part in the co-operative management of their production and sale.

533. As a source of income for women, homework has advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, it is convenient for the woman tied to her home by family responsibilities. On the other hand, there are inherent dangers of her exploitation. Very little information on homework is available and we are therefore unable to propose action to ensure equitable treatment of homeworkers. We are concerned about the employment conditions of homeworkers, however, and we believe that this area should be examined in depth. Therefore, we recommend that the Canada Department of Labour conduct a survey of the use of homeworkers, including handicraft workers, their wages and their other conditions of employment.

The Paid Household Worker

534. The paid household worker has special problems that call for special consideration. The occupation is predominantly female, but while we will refer in this section to female workers, we intend our proposals to be equally beneficial to male household workers. All household workers are particularly vulnerable to exploitation because they have little protection under the law, no occupational standards and no employee organizations or unions to represent them.

535. Through the years, the demand for household workers has varied with the economy. Before Canada became industrialized, housewives were helped by unmarried daughters or other women relatives living at home. As the country grew more urban and more industrialized, more families employed household workers who usually worked long hours for low pay. Today, with a large number of married women in the labour force, there are not enough household workers to meet the demand.

536. At present, domestic work has so many disadvantages that few people will undertake it. The Commission received no formal briefs from household workers, but many others spoke on their behalf. Concern was expressed over the adverse effects of the occupation's low status both on the employees themselves and on the quality and quantity of available workers.

537. Household work is low on the occupational scale for three main reasons. First, it is generally considered as labour that requires no formal

training. Although some courses teach domestic skills, most women in domestic work have learned these skills either on the job or within their own families. Actually technology has removed many heavy or tedious household tasks such as washing by hand, and a household worker has become a kind of technician who knows how to use modern appliances and make nutritious, well-balanced meals. Moreover, in the absence of the housewife, administration of the household as well as the care of children is often left in her hands.

538. Second, outmoded attitudes toward the household worker also contribute to the low position of household employment on the occupational scale. Canadian society professes to set a high value on home and children, yet downgrades the person who in some ways serves as a mother substitute. Too often, employer-employee relationships are archaic.

539. Third, terms and conditions of employment for the household worker generally fall far short of those accepted as a matter of course in other occupations. Here society, as well as the individual employer, is at fault. Although household workers are included in equal pay legislation in all but three of the provinces and the Northwest Territories, they are excluded from the legislation that would give them minimum pay protection. Nowhere in Canada are they covered by a minimum wage Act. They are not excluded from the Canada Pension Plan and the Quebec Pension Plan but the informality of most arrangements for household work often results in their not being covered. Unemployment insurance is not available to them and they are rarely covered by workmen's compensation. No laws prescribe their maximum hours of work, time off or vacations. With so little protection, household work has become a last resort.

540. Some Canadian communities have visiting homemaker services which supply temporary household helpers when a mother's illness prevents her from caring for her family and home. They also help ill or elderly people who live alone. Visiting homemakers, many of whom have been formally trained, are employed under contract by a private or public agency. This businesslike arrangement helps to ensure uniform pay and working conditions commensurate with their duties and responsibilities. The Canadian Welfare Council provides agencies with a guide to desirable standards of employment.¹⁰²

541. A number of European countries, such as Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland, have moved well ahead of Canada in recognizing the social and legal rights of household workers. In some countries special legislation

¹⁰² Canadian Welfare Council. *Employment Standards and Job Description for Visiting Homemakers*. Ottawa, March 1965, pp. 3-8.

protects their pay and working conditions; in others they are covered by legislation that applies to other workers. In some, homemaking is recognized as a career and training in household skills and management is offered to high school graduates and experienced housewives and mothers. Frequently, emergency visiting homemaker services are subsidized by government and administered sometimes by local governments, sometimes by private welfare agencies.

542. The United States has taken a different approach to improving the status and employment conditions of the household worker. A National Committee on Household Employment, formed in 1965, has used volunteers and public and private funds to make a nationwide survey of household employers and employees. It has also set up demonstration projects to provide guidelines for recruitment, training, placement and job development. The Committee has already developed a Code of Standards for the employment of household workers. The Code defines the duties and responsibilities of workers and covers such matters as wages, hours of work, vacation, sick leave, social security and liability insurance.

543. We believe that Canada must take action to improve the situation of the household worker. In a society in which workers in most areas are protected by law and represented by unions, it is indefensible that any occupation should be subject to the exploitation common in household work. Given suitable working conditions and the respect household work deserves, it might attract women, and perhaps men, with domestic skills and interests. Because of the high proportion of working mothers and single parents, our economy badly needs these skills but grants them little financial reward or social status.

544. In the Chapter on education we make recommendations about training household workers under the Occupational Training for Adults Programme; their adoption would help to raise the status of this occupation. Household work would also benefit from the implementation of our recommendation for the extension of the Unemployment Insurance Plan to all persons working in an established employee-employer relationship. Household workers should also be covered by minimum wage laws and entitled to workmen's compensation. Any employment conditions prescribed by law for other workers should also be applicable to them.

545. Therefore, we recommend to the provinces and territories that household workers be covered by minimum wage laws, workmen's compensation and other labour legislation applicable to other paid workers.

546. Fairness demands some uniformity in policies and practices. Because there is usually only one household worker in a home, neither household workers nor families that employ them have a collective means of protecting their interests or knowing whether their expectations are reasonable. We believe governments should be responsible for providing the information about household workers that both workers and employers need.

547. Therefore, we recommend that each provincial and territorial government establish a Household Workers Bureau which, with its network of local offices, would be responsible for (a) establishing and promoting employment standards for different categories of household workers; (b) maintaining a list of available workers according to their competence, training, experience, health and other relevant qualifications; (c) directing available household workers to families which require them; (d) maintaining a record of families which use or require the services of the Bureau, with indications of the conditions of work of each of them; (e) supplying these families with information relating to desirable conditions of work and social security benefits; (f) promoting the training of household workers according to the needs of the market; (g) initiating, if necessary, training courses for household workers; (h) ensuring that household workers are not exploited; and (i) conducting studies and providing information on the current market situation of household workers.

548. We recognize that neither legislation nor the machinery we have proposed will necessarily solve problems inherent in the employee-employer relationship. We therefore suggest that household workers should be attached to a central agency. The higher status and better working conditions of visiting homemakers show that this method works well.

549. To give all household workers a chance to be employed under these conditions, provinces and territories should promote the establishment of agencies with which household workers and people looking for household workers could register if they wished. When it placed a worker in a job the agency would become her employer, responsible for settling with the family for whom she worked terms and conditions of employment and the fee to be paid to the agency for her services. The agency would pay the employer's contribution to such plans as the Unemployment Insurance Plan and the Canada or Quebec Pension Plan, and would deduct the worker's contribution to such plans from the fee it paid her. The agency could also offer especially well-qualified household workers career opportunities by directing them to positions with scope and wages in keeping with their ability and experience.

550. The agency might be a Crown Corporation or a household worker co-operative. A co-operative would give household workers a voice in establishing their working conditions and a share in any possible profits. Since household workers are not organized, provinces and territories might have to set up these co-operatives.

551. Therefore, we recommend that provinces and territories promote the establishment of agencies or co-operatives to (a) act as the employer of household workers to be assigned to suitable employment, and (b) collect for the services of the household workers, make income tax, social security, and other payroll deductions, and ensure that they have equitable pay, approved employment conditions and the protection provided by law.

552. We realize that our recommendations would increase costs for families that employ household workers. Some families who can now afford help they genuinely need might find it no longer within their financial reach. This problem will be discussed in the Chapter on the family.

Women in the Arts

553. How are we to judge the status of women in the arts in Canada? Artistic achievement is measured as much in public recognition and personal satisfaction as in money. In terms of equal pay, there appears to be little discrimination against women in writing, the theatre, or the visual or performing arts. Applications to the Canada Council, which since 1957 has subsidized a great many Canadians in all branches of the arts, appear to have been reviewed without regard to sex. It is the same in the market place. Where there are union contracts, as with actors and actresses, equal rates apply. Where there are professional fees, as in writing and performing, quality and popular demand determine the fee. It has been suggested that women painters receive lower prices because collectors, speculating in new paintings by artists whose work is potentially valuable, think women are less likely to keep working until they realize their early promise.

554. In the arts, pay is often poor. Many actors, actresses, dancers and musicians, male and female, still earn extremely low annual incomes. Creative writers in prose can seldom live on the proceeds of their writing; poets never. The Canada Council has done an immense service by proving how much artistic talent can come to light if some public money is used to help artists.

555. Women in the arts work as creators, interpreters, administrators, supporters and teachers. We have considered the opportunities of women to participate, advance or excel.

556. Although fewer women than men have achieved prominence as creative artists, those few rank with the finest the country has produced. Art galleries give testimony to the excellent paintings and sculpture by Canadian women. Eskimo women of extraordinary talent have created stone carvings and prints which are outstanding works of art by any standard. Women who are novelists and poets, writing in French or English, have received acclaim from distinguished critics as well as from the public.

557. A study prepared for the Commission points out that many talented women have been held back from the highest development of their art by personal counter-demands. Creative art often calls for detachment from the needs of home and family, long stretches of time dedicated to the art alone, some economic independence and, as Virginia Woolf expressed it, "a room of one's own". Dr. Jean Boggs, director of the National Gallery of Canada, said in an interview for the study: "It requires a kind of discipline which is difficult. It's a very lonely life. It demands a singleness of spirit." In our present society, many women are enmeshed in family responsibilities. When new social attitudes encourage gifted women to give up other duties and devote themselves more fully to art, a higher proportion of our most highly acclaimed creative artists may be women.

558. Women as interpreters of the arts have been remarkably successful. There are singers of international reputation; in ballet, Canada has produced outstanding women dancers; Canadian actresses have won recognition at home and abroad.

559. Tradition has limited the number of women players in symphony orchestras. The Montreal and Toronto symphonies, for example, each muster about 100 players. In Toronto, 17 of them are women, and in Montreal, 26. There are 10 women out of a total of 44 players in Ottawa's National Arts Centre orchestra. The recently formed National Youth Orchestra has 45 girls out of a total of 106 players, and the new National Youth Training Orchestra has 18 girls out of 35 players. The number of women players seems to be increasing, but they have few opportunities to lead in the established orchestras. The study on women in the arts comments, "Apart from the National Youth Orchestra, which for half its sessions has had a female concertmaster and which frequently includes young women as principals of string and woodwind sections, the number of Canadian women who have held positions as concertmasters and principals can be counted on the fingers of one hand." Orchestra conductors are nearly all men, except for the leaders of special groups such as the Montreal Women's Orchestra and the Manitoba Consort which has revived Elizabethan music and instruments.

560. One Canadian critic has said that actresses are also handicapped because most plays have more parts for men than for women. Traditionally on the stage, as in everyday life, the role of doctor, politician, diplomat, lawyer or businessman is played by a man. Actors are therefore considerably more in demand than actresses.

561. Administrators in the arts include theatre managers and artistic directors, and curators of art galleries. In this field there are some eminently successful women, such as the director of the National Gallery of Canada; the former curator of prints and drawings at the National Gallery and directors of well-known art galleries in Montreal and Toronto; the founders and directors of the National Ballet Company and *Les Grands Ballets Canadiens*. But again, except in ballet, such positions are more often filled by men.

562. Theatre managers, orchestra and gallery administrators must deal with the business community, and the general prevalence of male executives in other occupations carries over into the arts. The National Theatre School, the *Théâtre du Nouveau Monde*, the Canadian Theatre Centre, the Stratford Festival Theatre and the Shaw Festival are almost exclusively run by men.

563. As supporters, promoters and founders of the arts in Canada, women are outstanding. From pioneer times, when cultural pursuits were regarded as essentially feminine, women have been indefatigable in building the volunteer community support without which art cannot exist. Many art galleries and orchestras could not have survived without the money raised by women's committees, which also put on publicity campaigns and undertook countless unpaid jobs.

564. As music teachers, women predominate at the elementary school level but are outnumbered by men at college and university levels.

565. Professional occupations in the arts have advanced slowly in Canada, and the participation of women has in general proceeded at the same pace. Overt discrimination is much less apparent than in other sectors of the national economy.

566. We believe that equal opportunity for women in the arts should be advanced through the conscious collaboration of such leading institutions as the Canada Council, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Theatre School, the Stratford Festival, the Shaw Festival and the schools of fine arts.

Summary (Paid Work)

567. This Commission found women in paid work handicapped by discrimination in policy and practice. Briefs, individual submissions and special studies documented specific injustices within the work world, and suggested how social pressures and attitudes, less easily defined but no less strong, prevent women from competing equally with men.

568. We learned that:

- pay rates for women and men are often different;
- pay is generally lower for traditionally female professions than for other professions;
- equal pay laws are inadequate;
- pension and group life insurance plans often provide less protection for the husband of a female worker than for the wife of a male worker;
- paid maternity leave is rare;
- women have less opportunity to enter and to advance in many occupations and professions;
- compared to men, few women reach senior levels;
- women's skills and abilities are not being fully used.

569. Differential treatment prevents many women from entering the labour force. Married women are at a special disadvantage. Sometimes they have to work to help support their families. Sometimes a housewife feels the need for a different kind of challenge than housework offers, or looks to employment to relieve a sense of isolation from society. Wives and mothers should be neither prevented nor inhibited from taking paid work. Often they are denied this right by lack of equal opportunity at work and lack of child-care facilities.

570. Women in the work world face equal frustrations. Many have no chance to develop their potential. Some accept this, more or less philosophically, and set their sights lower. Others are discouraged when they find men with less ability promoted over them or offered jobs from which they are implicitly barred. Women with leadership talents are especially penalized by management's traditional attitude that women should be confined to support roles. For a genuinely capable woman, influence behind the scenes is no substitute for real authority.

571. Inequality of opportunity for women often undermines their self-confidence. Reason tells them they have potential; practice implies they have not. To seek promotion directly only emphasizes the paradox. Sex discrimination is seldom overt and so a woman is never certain whether she has failed

because she is a woman or because she has over-estimated her own capacities. Some women react by placing the blame squarely on sex discrimination. Others refuse to admit that sex discrimination exists and look for other reasons for their lack of advancement. Those who lack self-confidence may develop a feeling of inferiority that destroys the potential they once had.

572. We have made a number of recommendations for change. In broad terms, we believe a climate must be created in which commodity production will no longer be seen as primarily the responsibility of men, with women helping out in subordinate jobs as the need arises. Responsibility and authority must be placed in the hands of individuals able and willing to take it. In making recommendations for equality of opportunity for women and the full use of their abilities we have aimed at fostering such a climate.

573. We also see a need for a change in some of the concepts on which employment practices are based. Women have long been a disadvantaged group in the field of employment and the fact that the work world is geared to the lives of men is largely responsible. Hours of work are generally those when men are free, and many women are not. Very little attempt is made to adapt hours to times when women can work or to provide part-time employment. A premium is placed on employment experience, yet the labour force activities of many women are interrupted by family responsibilities. More than this, little is done to fashion jobs that will develop the potential of those women whose experience does not follow the lines to which the work world seems to be geared.

574. We believe that men and women will not be treated as equals until employers learn to understand the capacities of women and the importance of the full use of womanpower. We therefore urge continuing research programmes on the employment of women and a wide distribution of the findings to employers and to women. The attention of employers and the public must be drawn to any discrimination practices on the basis of sex.

575. As we have pointed out, women themselves should also assume some responsibility for improving their position in paid employment. More women need to take training in a greater variety of occupational skills and to be educated for many more of the professions. We firmly believe that women must break their occupational bonds. They must develop enough self-confidence to raise their career sights, refuse to work for less pay than men and stand up for their rights in the face of discrimination. This will take courage. In employment the days of pioneering are not yet over for women. Change will only come about when women occupy decision-making positions in numbers large enough to form a pattern which employers will accept without question, and which other women will readily follow.

576. More is needed than the enlightenment of employers and the determination of women. Society as a whole must see the need for equal treatment of the sexes in employment. It must recognize that discrimination is a divisive factor that wastes human resources, fails to recognize individual capacities and goals, and undermines the basic structure of our society. Although education in home and school should attack differential treatment, the most immediate responsibility rests with government. As the key instruments of society, governments at all levels must take action to bring about change.

The Future (Paid Work)

577. Since we intend our recommendations to improve the situation of women in the future as well as the present, we have briefly considered future trends.

578. Many labour force projections suggest that at least into the 1980's an increasing proportion of the labour force will be women, mainly because a greater proportion of married women will be working. A study made for us supported these projections.

579. This study also examined participation rates for women by age groups. On the basis of present trends, it predicted the following changes in participation rates for women, from 1970 to 1980:

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 14-19 years | 31.0 to 34.1 per cent |
| 20-24 years | 57.9 to 65.0 per cent |
| 25-34 years | 36.5 to 46.8 per cent |
| 35-44 years | 39.6 to 51.4 per cent |
| 45-54 years | 43.8 to 58.8 per cent |
| 55-64 years | 32.7 to 45.1 per cent |
| 65 years and over | 6.9 to 8.5 per cent |

580. Most women in the labour force work in the service industries. More women work in the community, business and personal service group of these industries than in any other group. Since the service industries employ an increasing proportion of the labour force, they will probably use more women each year. On the other hand, diminishing employment in the goods industries will probably cut job opportunities for both women and men, and perhaps drive men into competition with women in the service industries.

581. Technology is expected to increase the need for professional and technical workers and reduce the demand for semi-skilled workers. Women without university degrees or technical training will therefore be at even more of a disadvantage than they are in the present labour market. Economists also predict the disappearance of many middle management jobs, generally the top level for women in business today.¹⁰³ Unless they equip themselves for senior positions, women may find themselves even lower on the occupational ladder than they are now.

582. A study for the Commission on the introduction and impact of technological changes on female occupations suggests that the implications of the computer surpass the most imaginative speculations. Whether or not the changes in the foreseeable future will be as dramatic as this implies, it is likely that traditional occupations and professions will be substantially different, and entirely new occupational fields will open up.

583. Clerical occupations will be radically affected by electronic technology. Unskilled clerical work in data collection, information retrieval, tabulation and the keeping of accounts and records will probably be almost entirely eliminated. Instead, the automation of these tasks will increase the demand for workers skilled in electronic data processing.

584. Secretarial work will probably survive in a very different form. Already the secretary's traditional skills of shorthand and typing are being threatened by technological innovations. However, her functions will probably become more technical and responsible, particularly if predictions materialize on the use of computer terminals in offices.

585. Health services are also likely to call for more technical expertise in electronic data processing, automated monitoring of patients, computer-assisted diagnoses and advances in instrumentation and operative procedures. Freed from some routine duties, nurses will take on new responsibilities and authorities. The growing use of technical aids and a new comprehensive approach to medical practice will increase demand for paramedical personnel.

586. Teaching methods may be altered by the widespread use of educational technology in the form of instructional aids such as comprehensive data banks and two-way electronic communication channels in the classroom. The librarian of tomorrow may well become an "information officer" as electronic technology makes possible the development of national knowledge

¹⁰³ Michael, Donald H. "Some Speculations on the Social Impact of Technology." *Technological Innovation and Society*. eds. Dean Morse and Aaron W. Warner, New York, Columbia University Press, 1966, p. 130.

and information networks. Law practice will also be affected by the increased mechanization of information storage and retrieval. Engineering is already being dramatically changed by the computer. So is architecture.

587. All the predictions indicate that the growth of computer science and technology will create even greater demand for workers such as systems analyst and computer programmer, and that new occupations will develop with new uses for computers.

588. New occupations will probably appear in other fields such as urban and rural planning, the conservation of natural resources, and ecology; and leisure-oriented industries and services may also be expected to create new careers.

589. Because advances in technology will substantially change job content, workers will need very different job preparation. Some traditional skills are even now becoming obsolete and others will follow. The worker of the future, then, cannot expect to pursue a specialized occupation for his entire working life. The changes may be so great that past work experience may no longer be the important aspect in promotion that it is today. With the emphasis shifting to initiative and ability, a shortage or lack of work experience may no longer handicap women.

590. Predictions about other aspects of employment suggest further opportunities for women. The trend is toward a shorter work week; a four-day work week may be common by the 1980's. The work day may be significantly shorter and shift work may increase.

591. We confidently expect that the situation of women will be generally improved in the future the experts foresee. A shorter work day will make it easier for married women to work full-time, thereby avoiding some of the problems part-time work often presents. The combination of a shorter work day and available shift work will allow husbands and wives to work at different times so that they can take turns looking after their family and still spend time together.

592. New occupations will be opening up that are not yet sex-typed. Nor do we believe that there will be the same tendency to sex-type occupations in the future. The complexity of the business world and the sophisticated techniques that technology will introduce will place a high premium on education and technical competence. Employers will not be so able to afford the luxury of indulging in sex preferences when selecting employees. The next generation of men will probably find the competition of women quite natural in a way that their fathers did not.

593. This emphasis on education and competence will be an advantage to women only if they match men's qualifications, which we consider more likely in future. When computers are widely used in the work world, for example, schools and universities will have to provide more computer education courses. As girls at school realize that they will probably go on working after they marry or when their children grow up, they will qualify themselves for jobs equal to their ability.

594. There is, however, one aspect of the future that can be particularly disadvantageous for women. Skill and job obsolescence is a problem that will be particularly acute in the future. Even more than in the past, women who wish to re-enter the labour force will find their skills and experience outdated. Many permanent employees will also be faced with job obsolescence but it will probably be common practice for redundant workers to be trained in new skills. It is important that the provision of training for married women wishing to enter the labour force also becomes the practice.

595. We hope that the adoption of our recommendations will help more women to find satisfaction in paid work. Freed from the tensions that spring from prejudice against women working, they will have a wider choice of occupation and a more realistic expectation of a career that matches their capacities. Their position, successes and difficulties will be the same as those of working men.

596. But the impact of our recommendations will reach even further. By the full use of their skills and abilities, women will be able to make a greater contribution to the economy than ever before. The beneficial effects on the economy of increased production cannot help but work to the advantage of all Canadians.