

The Changing Economic Status of Women



*A study prepared for the
Economic Council of Canada*

*Jac-André Boulet
Laval Lavallée*



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The Changing Economic Status of Women

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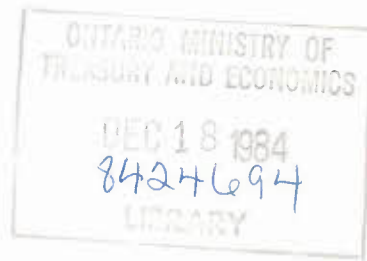
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The findings of this study are the personal responsibility of the authors and, as such, have not been endorsed by members of the Economic Council of Canada.

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Table of Contents

Foreword	vii
Acknowledgments	ix
1 Introduction	1
Highlights	1
Scope of Study	2
Choice of a Change-Oriented Approach	2
Male/Female Comparisons	3
A Descriptive and Statistical Approach	3
2 The Overall Situation	5
Sources of Change	5
Labour Market Participation	6
Employment Earnings	11
Occupational Diversification	14
Equal Pay for Equal or Equivalent Work	21
Adult Training Programs	24
3 Phases of the Life Cycle	27
Education	27
Full-Time Enrolment	27
Part-Time Enrolment	28
Labour Market Entry	31
Birth of Children	33
Reduced Family Responsibilities	34
Retirement and Pre-Retirement	35
4 Specific Problems	39
Single-Parent Families	39
Native Women	40
Technological Change	42
5 Conclusions	45
A Tables	49
B Methodological Considerations in the Measurement of Occupational Diversification	71

Notes	75
List of Tables and Charts	79

Foreword

Perhaps the most striking feature of the evolution of the labour force in Canada over the last three decades has been the steadily increasing number of women entering the job market. Women with preschool or school-age children, working part- or full-time, now account for a much larger share of the labour force. In addition, the number of women undertaking careers that require postsecondary education has grown by leaps and bounds. The increase in the female labour force has been particularly significant in the fields of medicine, law, business, public administration, and computer programming.

Despite this progress, women still face certain economic obstacles that work to their disadvantage in the labour market. Since it appears that the pace of future economic expansion will be somewhat slower than in previous decades, we might well ask if the participation of women in the labour force will continue to grow at the same rate and whether the entry of women into nontraditional occupations will maintain its momentum.

Compared with researchers in other disciplines, economists in Canada have tended to ignore the issues raised by the growing participation of women in the economy. In undertaking to explore this neglected area of research, the Economic Council of Canada has set itself several objectives designed to help establish a foundation for further research in this area, both by the Council itself and by others. These objectives are as follows:

- To describe the changes that have taken place in female labour force participation;
- To identify the occupations where women have made gains or have lost ground;
- To analyse the factors that contributed to this success or failure; and
- To put forward measures and policies, based on the results of its research, that are intended to promote equal opportunity for women in all aspects of the economy.

It was in the context of these objectives that the Economic Council set up a small research program on the role of women in the economy; the present study is one of the results. It goes without saying that the Council does not expect to be able to find solutions for all the problems facing women today. Nevertheless, it is hoped that studies such as this one will contribute, at least in part, to a better understanding and a more in-depth knowledge of the labour market activities of women.

It should be noted in closing that the findings of this study have not been endorsed by members of the Economic Council of Canada (as is the case for all studies commissioned by the Council) and that responsibility for its findings rests entirely with the authors. It is published under the authority of the Chairman of the Council, who has deemed that it is a competent treatment of an important issue

and worthy of public consideration. The authors retain full responsibility for the contents.

DAVID W. SLATER

CHAIRMAN

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We would also like to thank Michel Forand and David R. Miller, who helped prepare the final version of our paper in both official languages. We nevertheless remain solely responsible for any errors or omissions that might appear in the text.

1 Introduction

*Opportunity for Choice: A Goal for Women in Canada*¹ was published in 1976 by Statistics Canada in association with the C. D. Howe Research Institute. The title of this study was meant to evoke a society where everyone, man and woman alike, would be free to make a job choice knowing that he or she would reap the same benefits, suffer the same disadvantages, and incur the same costs as everyone else. In other words, the opportunity for choice would exist in Canada if a person's gender had absolutely no bearing on his or her share of the various social responsibilities and benefits, both emotional and financial, that are part and parcel of Canadian life (the one exception being, of course, the ability to give birth). In addition to this goal, the study set another, more general task for society: to expand the spectrum of choices available to all Canadians in such a way that the costs and benefits of each possibility are unrelated to sex.

The aim clearly must not be to create a society where the choices that Canadians can make are dictated to them. The goal is rather to place men and women on an equal social footing by eliminating any connection between a person's sex and the costs and benefits of personal choice. When this goal is reached, according to the study, we will have taken another important step toward the constitution of a society where every man and woman can make his or her way on the basis of his or her personal attributes, ambitions, and abilities, unencumbered by social prejudices related to sex.

A well-balanced presentation of the statistical evidence, *Opportunity for Choice* combined positive, forward-looking standards with a realistic appraisal of the situation. Recognizing the dangers inherent in an interpretation based on statistical averages, the study documented the complexities of female labour market participation and how it has changed in recent decades. It also demonstrated that obstacles to greater freedom of choice are varied, complex, and interrelated, and that the activities that influence this situation range far beyond the labour market itself. Yet, it also pointed out that in an economic system such as Canada's, designed to favour personal initiative, intervention in this area is limited. In this way the study provided a realistic framework for examining the problems faced by women of today.

We have endeavoured to maintain the same perspective in our work, while taking a closer look at the progress that women have made over the last few years, sometimes in the face of adversity. We wished to show that this breakthrough will most likely be followed by further advances by younger women over the next few years, especially if these developments are promoted and encouraged. As the chairperson of the Advisory Council on the Status of Women has noted, these young women represent "the key to future progress."²

If there is a common thread linking the various topics dealt with in this study, it is that they are all important to an analysis of the changing economic status of women; that is why their labour market participation is the focus of our attention. We will look in particular at how women have made, and continue to make, changes in their career profiles. The plight of retired women who, for one reason or another, have been unable to prepare themselves as well as men for the workforce will also be examined, and it will be seen that improvements in their financial status will require specific government action.

Highlights

Despite the important changes that have taken place over the past few years, our results often corroborate and support the conclusions of *Opportunity for Choice*. For example, despite increased female participation in the labour force, the problem of unequal allocation of domestic and family responsibilities still persists, one of the largest obstacles to equal opportunity. It was observed, for instance, that many couples, probably realizing that equal opportunity of hiring and promotion for women in the labour market is seriously compromised by family commitments,³ would prefer to sidestep the problem rather than cope with it. The fact that significantly more women with preschool children are in the labour market could lead one to think that family responsibilities are no longer such a hindrance to women entering or returning to the labour market. In fact, however, it turns out that women without young children have contributed far more to the increased number of working women. The absence of preschool children at home may be due to the fact that the couple decided to delay having children or not to

have children at all, or to the fact that the children are already attending school.

Moreover, it was found that a significant gap still exists between men and women with respect to working hours and that, while the overall earnings gap has shrunk somewhat, it is still large, varying widely according to age, level of schooling, and occupation. The 1981 Census revealed a significant shift by women into educational and occupational fields that were traditionally dominated by men, but specialization according to sex continues to be the rule in several areas in both education and employment.

Numerous factors have affected and continue to affect the economic status of women; perhaps the most important are the following:

- Socialization and division of labour based on sex, which relegates women mostly to family and household chores or to similar low-status jobs on the labour market;
- The concentration of women in certain disciplines in both educational institutions and professional development courses, resulting in their concentration in a limited number of fields in the labour market;
- The lower earnings and greater vulnerability of women to layoffs, which employers often justify by the fact that they are simply the secondary breadwinner of the family;
- The fact that women live longer than men; and
- The fact that women often lack financial resources when they are the sole supporter of a family and when they retire.

These factors affect women differently at different stages of their lives. For this reason the probable causes of recent changes will be discussed first, followed by a general description of the status of women in the labour market. We will then examine in some detail five periods in a woman's life: her schooling, her first entry into the labour market; the birth of her children, with its accompanying family responsibilities; the later lessening of these family responsibilities, which enables many women to return to the labour market; and finally her retirement.

The case of women without children, both single and married, will come up in the course of the discussion but will not be treated separately. However, special attention will be paid to the economic status of native women and women heading single-parent families. Finally, the possible impact of technological change will be briefly examined, followed by a summary of the main conclusions arising from the study.

Scope of Study

A number of other topics could have been included in the analysis, such as the division of financial resources and material goods between husband and wife; differences in the savings, investment, and consumption patterns of men and women; and the effect of taxation on the labour supply of married women. These have not been dealt with here.

We have also left untouched the question of the social problems that afflict women more often than men, some of which are present in the labour market, as well as the problem of how family and household responsibilities are divided between spouses. While the latter question has a considerable impact on a woman's chances of being hired or promoted, the considerations that have a bearing on the division of domestic responsibilities lie outside the domain of economics. Suffice it to say that subtle yet remarkable changes are taking place in this area.

It was decided to restrict the discussion to an examination of women once they have entered the labour market and the main factors (such as educational background) affecting their participation, since it is in this context that the route to financial self-sufficiency can be studied. Of all the changes in women's attitudes revealed by recent studies of this issue, a strong desire to achieve this kind of autonomy probably surfaces most often.⁴

For both men and women, participation in the labour market represents the means to achieve these ends. Employment earnings represent more than 75 per cent of personal income, on average, and paid employment provides the means to plan for financial security after retirement. It must also be recognized that we live in a society where employment or the lack of it has an important influence on social standing.

This train of thought led us to examine the plight of female senior citizens. Many women remained at home to look after house and family during their active years, and often they find themselves in retirement without sufficient financial resources to stay above the poverty line. The same is true of native women and women who head single-parent families, who often are unable to participate in the labour market as easily as others and so are left with only limited resources to care for their children and any other family dependants.

Choice of a Change-Oriented Approach

The evidence available suggests that the transformation witnessed over the past 20 years in female labour market participation are irreversible. For more and more women, having a job can no longer be

considered a passing phase of their life cycle, as it was in the past. This is indicated by the fact that for several decades now the gap between female and male participation rates by age has been narrowing. Although there have been temporary fluctuations, this trend has now taken the form of a steadily rising curve.⁵

This question could have been studied from a static point of view by comparing the situation in 1981 with that in 1971,⁶ without taking into account the various quantitative and qualitative changes that have taken place in the intervening period. However, unless the workers entering the market were clearly more numerous than those already in the labour force, this kind of approach could lead one to conclude that the pace of change is very slow. Here this is not the case. For example, no fewer than 1.8 million women entered the labour market between 1971 and 1981.⁷ This is a spectacular increase, twice as large as that between 1961 and 1971, and three times the growth recorded between 1951 and 1961. Yet it must be realized that there were already over 2.5 million women in the labour market in 1971. And although about 800,000 women (44 per cent) of the 1.8 million who entered the labour market chose occupations that were male-dominated in 1971, one million entered occupations traditionally considered female.

Orienting the study more towards the dynamic aspect of this phenomenon makes it easier to determine how women have brought about such quantitative and, more importantly qualitative changes in their labour market participation. Future changes can also be predicted, since, in the long run, it is the cumulative effect of these changes that alters the structure of the labour force. In addition, such an approach makes it easier to pinpoint trends that are likely to accelerate the pace of progress. Over the next few years, it will be mainly the young women who, between 1971 and 1981, succeeded in changing traditional female labour patterns who will be able to move up the promotional ladders in their places of work.

An analysis based solely on changes, however, might also give rise to the opposite and no less erroneous impression that things are progressing more rapidly than they actually are. Thus in the course of the analysis figures on the labour force at the beginning and end of the study period will be cited, in order to gauge their impact on the composition of the labour force and to place these changes in their proper perspective.

Male/Female Comparisons

Parallels will be frequently drawn in the study between the status of men and women. In no way

should this approach be seen as an attempt to establish the status of men as a model for women. First, many men have no great love for their own situation in life; and, second, it is far from clear that women want to participate in the labour market in exactly the same way as men do.

Nevertheless, one of the most convenient ways to assess the relative economic status of men and women is to compare their employment earnings. The average employment earnings of a particular group depend on the socioeconomic characteristics of its members that enable them to earn wages and on how these characteristics are perceived and rewarded by the market. As a result, it is difficult to compare the employment earnings of men and women without also comparing their labour force characteristics.

These considerations lead us to believe that an earnings gap between men and women is not necessarily an economic problem; it could be the result of different choices being made voluntarily under the same set of circumstances. That is not to say, of course, that men and women should be paid differently when they perform the same or equivalent duties within the same organization, requiring the same effort and with equal productivity.

A Descriptive and Statistical Approach

Rather than attempt to use theoretical models (none of which are unanimously accepted) in order to explain why there have been and continue to be significant gaps between male and female earnings, we have concentrated instead on describing the economic status of women, the progress they have made, and the impact of this progress on their overall situation.

In studies such as this, multivariate analysis is often used to try to explain the earnings gap. This approach consists in estimating the portion of the gap that is due to differences in the workforce characteristics of the groups in question and the portion that can be ascribed to market differences or institutional factors,⁸ and then attributing the unexplained part of the gap to discrimination.

Had we followed this approach, we would have arrived at the same conclusions as previous studies – i.e., that a substantial portion of the earnings gap between men and women can be explained by differences in schooling and in educational and occupational choices, as well as differences in the number of hours worked and in work experience. We would also have concluded that the above differences are not due to chance but often are conditioned by

4 Changing Economic Status of Women

family upbringing and education, as well as by social stereotyping of male and female roles in general.

Finally, we would have concluded that a significant portion of the earnings gap cannot be explained by these factors and that there are at least four reasons for this fact:

- All the socioeconomic factors that affect individual earnings are not known, and much additional work remains to be done on the various theoretical models designed to explain how earnings are determined;
- The statistical data on the various factors that influence the earnings of different groups of workers are not always available;
- In many cases, the available information represents only an abbreviated approximation of reality; and
- Exactly how the various known and measurable factors interact to determine what earnings people

get is still not completely understood; consequently, the form and specification of models are often hypothetical.

The foregoing is not meant to deny that discrimination exists in the labour market, but simply to suggest that the unexplained portion of the earnings gap between men and women is due in large measure to the lack of available data and inadequate analytical methods. Thus the label "discrimination" cannot be automatically applied to all the unexplained portion of the earnings gap, or even to the better part of it. It should be added that numerous theories on discrimination exist, that each has its particular flaws of logic or assumption, and that, as mentioned earlier, no one model has received universal acceptance.⁹

2 The Overall Situation

Sources of Change

The changes that have occurred in the labour force participation of women are the result of many factors, not the least of which is inflation-induced erosion of the family budget. According to the National Council of Welfare, if in 1979 no wife or mother in two-parent families had been working, the proportion of those families with incomes below the poverty line would have grown from 7 to 12 per cent, raising the poverty index by 55 per cent.¹

As a result of this increased participation by women, their share of two-parent family earnings rose steadily over the 1971-79 period, from 14 to 19 per cent for families with children under 6 years of age, and from 11 to 17 per cent for families with older children (Table 2-1). It should be noted, however, that the working woman's average contribution to the earnings of two-parent families remained around the 30 per cent mark throughout this period (Table 2-2). This means that even though more women than ever before are breadwinners, so that the total earnings of such families are higher, the average contribution of women to family earnings has not changed significantly. Thus the larger earnings enjoyed by such families are not so much the result of women receiv-

ing better average wages, but rather of the fact that more women are working.

Table 2-2

Average Contribution of Women in the Labour Market to Family Earnings in Two-Parent Families,¹ by Family Status, Canada, 1971, 1975, and 1979

	1971	1975	1979
	(Per cent)		
Two-parent families			
Without children under 16	34.5	33.8	32.4
With children under 6 only	27.9	28.6	28.2
With children aged 6 to 15 only	23.9	25.0	25.0
With children under 6 and children aged 6 to 15	21.6	21.8	25.3
Weighted average	28.9	28.9	28.7

¹ With the head aged less than 65.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, Survey of Consumer Finances, special tabulations.

Table 2-1

Total Contribution of Women to Family Earnings in Two-Parent Families,¹ by Family Status, Canada, 1971, 1975, and 1979

	1971	1975	1979
	(Per cent)		
Two parent families			
Without children under 16	21.5	22.9	23.3
With preschool children	13.8	15.2	19.1
With children aged 6 to 15 only	11.3	14.2	17.0
With preschool children and children aged 6 to 15	6.7	10.0	12.9
Weighted average	14.5	17.0	19.4

¹ With the head aged less than 65.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, Survey of Consumer Finances, special tabulations.

Beside the problems caused by difficult economic times, changes in the demand for certain occupations must be considered. On the one hand, a drop in the relative importance of jobs generally considered to be male preserves can be detected over the past few decades – in areas such as farming, fishing, lumbering, and mining – accompanied by a sharp increase in employment in the administrative, service and leisure sectors, as well as in other white-collar occupations such as teaching and nursing. On the other hand, increasing costs have prompted employers to favour part-time and short-term positions. This situation suited many women who were prepared to accept fairly low earnings, at least then, in exchange for greater job flexibility, which enabled them to meet their immediate family responsibilities, continue their education, or provide a second income for the family. The availability of part-time work has also enabled many women to find their first jobs, and so to become familiar with the realities of the working world before entering the labour market on a permanent basis. Others had no choice but to take whatever job

was available. This question will be examined in greater detail later.

Social and cultural changes have probably played an even more important role in the increased labour force participation of women by changing their perception of their own role in society. In addition, more efficient methods of birth control have modified their attitudes about how to divide their time between family and career. Other important factors include the higher levels of schooling women are attaining and the major changes occurring in family lifestyles as divorce and separation become more common.

Other factors could no doubt be added to this list, but as recently stated in a preliminary study by the OECD, it is extremely difficult to establish a direct link between increased female labour market participation, on the one hand, and the adoption of specific or general measures by governments, employers, or unions, on the other. As discussed above, such improvements are more the result of the interaction of diverse and complex factors, including the introduction of new technology and changing attitudes.

Labour Market Participation²

The last few decades have witnessed an unprecedented increase in the labour market participation of women in several industrialized countries, including Canada. In 1950, one Canadian worker in five was a woman. By 1980, this figure had doubled, and women are expected to make up more than 44 per cent of the labour force by the end of this century.³

The changes that occurred during the 1970s in female participation rates were not only the culmination of a long ongoing process, but they also presented the largest (thanks to the postwar baby boom) and most diversified numerical increase that the Canadian female labour force had ever witnessed.

Provided no new constraints emerge, this trend will go far towards shrinking, if not completely eliminating, the economic gaps that separate men and women.

Female participation rates have risen sharply since 1960 in Canada, the United States, Australia, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. In 1960, Canada was well behind those countries and was also trailing France, West Germany, Italy, and Japan. Today, however, along with the United States, Canada has surpassed all of those countries except Sweden, which boasts a female participation rate of over 60 per cent. Rates in France have fluctuated, eventually ending up about the same as they were previously, while they have fallen in West Germany, Italy, and Japan (Table 2-3).

Table 2-3

Female Participation Rates in Nine Industrialized Countries, 1960, 1970, and 1981

	1960	1970	1981
Canada ¹	30.1	38.3	51.6
United States	37.7	43.3	52.1
Australia	..	40.4	45.5
Japan	52.7	49.3	46.7
France	41.6	40.1	43.1
West Germany	41.2	38.4	38.5*
United Kingdom	39.5	42.0	46.6*
Italy	33.8	26.8	29.9**
Sweden	..	50.0	60.5*

*Preliminary figures.

**Rate in 1980.

1 The rates for Canada in this table, which are drawn from the Labour Force Survey, differ slightly from those in other tables, which are based on census data.

SOURCE C. Sorrentino, "International Comparisons of Labor Force Participation, 1960-81," *Monthly Labor Review* 106, no. 2 (February 1983).

Behind the aggregate figures, however, are differences in attitudes and in the changing age profile of female employment. In North America it is common for women to have part-time or summer jobs, and the participation rate of teenage girls is quite high. It is also high in the United Kingdom, where relatively fewer women go on to postsecondary education. In France, Italy, and Japan, however, teenage female participation rates are low. In almost all countries, the peak years of labour force activity fall between the ages of 20 and 24. The labour force participation of mature women is particularly high in Sweden, encouraged by extensive daycare facilities, creches and legislation that provides excellent paternity and maternity benefits. In Japan there is a moderate drop in female economic activity associated with marriage and with the birth and rearing of young children. Among women aged 55 and over, relatively fewer Canadian women continue to work actively compared with American women and those in most of the other major OECD countries (Table A-1).

An examination of labour force participation rates in Canada reveals, first, that the female rate rose significantly between 1971 and 1981, while the male rate rose only slightly (Table 2-4). The increase in the female participation rate was found in all age groups except among older women. For young women aged 15 to 19, the rate was almost as high as that of men. But the largest increase appeared in the 25-44 age group, where the rate rose by almost 50 per cent. This meant that the participation patterns of men and women had become more alike. Between 1951 and

1981, the dissimilarity index⁴ between men and women dropped from 10.8 to 3.6. According to Department of Finance projections, by the year 2000 the index should be no higher than 1.7. These calculations assume that by that time there will be no difference in the participation rates of men and women except during the childbearing period.⁵

As for male and female participation by level of schooling (Table 2-5), it can be seen that male rates again remained more or less unchanged, while female rates rose for all education levels, particularly for the lower levels; this tended to reduce the progress made at the higher levels. It can also be seen that better education had a greater influence on the female participation rate than on the male rate.

Once again family status influenced female participation rates, although to a lesser degree in 1981 than in 1971 (Table 2-6). Family status takes account of marital status and the age of children. According to the 1971 Census, just over one quarter of married women with preschool children were working, but this figure grew by 76 per cent over the next 10 years. The rate also showed a significant increase (47 per cent) for widowed, divorced, and separated women with young children. Single women with preschool children, however, posted a slight decrease. This was due mainly to a drop in the number of women aged 40 and over in this category (Table A-2), whereas this age group usually has a high labour market participation rate.

In general, family status did not present any more of an impediment to working women than to men. Thus, even though wide gaps persist between male and female participation rates, these gaps are not so much related to a particular family status, as they were in the past, but rather to the fact that women are still less likely than men to enter the labour market.

On the basis of historical trends in the sociodemographic structure of the female labour force, these higher participation rates should have led to a significant increase in the number of women with young children on the labour market. That was not the case, however. Even though the participation rates of these women rose sharply, their contribution to the huge number of women entering the labour market between 1971 and 1981 was slight. As shown in Table A-2, this large group – 1.8 million strong – can be broken down as follows: women without children, 1.1 million; women with children between the ages of 6 and 16, 400,000; and women with preschool children, 300,000. This means that women with few or no family responsibilities associated with young children were responsible for 83 per cent of the increased number of women on the labour market. The main factor behind this phenomenon was the slight decline between 1971 and 1981 in the number of women of working age with preschool children; the number of women in other family categories rose by almost 30 per cent over the same time period.

Table 2-4

Participation Rates of Women and Men,¹ by Age Group, Canada, 1971 and 1981

	Women		Men	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
	(Per cent)			
Age group:				
15-19	37.0	51.2	46.6	55.0
20-24	62.8	78.2	86.5	92.0
25-34	44.5	66.2	92.6	95.8
35-44	43.9	64.6	92.8	95.6
45-54	44.4	55.9	90.3	92.7
55-64	34.4	35.4	80.1	77.8
65 and over	8.3	5.3	23.6	17.1
All age groups	39.9	52.9	76.4	79.4
	(Thousands)			
Total participants	3,053	4,938	5,760	7,149

¹ For statistical reasons, the 1981 participation rates exclude persons living in institutions. Had these persons been included, the female participation rate for 1981 would have been lower by 0.7 percentage points, while the male rate would have remained the same.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table 2-5**Participation Rates of Women and Men,¹ by Educational Attainment, Canada, 1971 and 1981**

	Women		Men	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
	(Per cent)			
Secondary school or less	34.3	43.5	71.0	71.4
Nonuniversity diploma or certificate, or some university without degree	55.5	67.3	88.0	89.3
Bachelor degree certificate or diploma below bachelor's	63.2	75.9	90.0	91.9
Postgraduate university degree	69.4	80.1	91.1	92.2
All levels ¹	39.9	52.9	76.4	79.4

¹ For statistical reasons, the 1981 participation rates exclude persons living in institutions. Had these persons been included, the female participation rate for 1981 would have been lower by 0.7 percentage points, while the male rate would have remained the same.

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table 2-6**Participation Rates¹ of Women and Men, by Family Status, Canada, 1971 and 1981**

	Women		Men	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
	(Per cent)			
Married				
Without children under 16	40.6	49.8	73.5	72.7
With preschool children	27.1	47.7	94.0	96.8
With children aged 6 to 15	40.3	59.3	92.8	95.0
Single				
Without children under 16	53.5	65.7	63.4	72.8
With preschool children	45.1	44.9	84.2	84.8
With children aged 6 to 15	59.7	61.4	80.7	80.9
Other ²				
Without children under 16	28.6	32.0	56.2	64.3
With preschool children	39.0	57.5	85.1	90.0
With children aged 6 to 15	53.5	67.0	86.0	90.9
Total	39.9	52.9	76.4	79.4

¹ Since these rates are calculated on the basis of family status, they do not include people living in institutions, commercial establishments or community centres, eg. hotels, motels, hospitals, military camps, and prisons.

² Includes men and women who are separated, divorced and widowed.

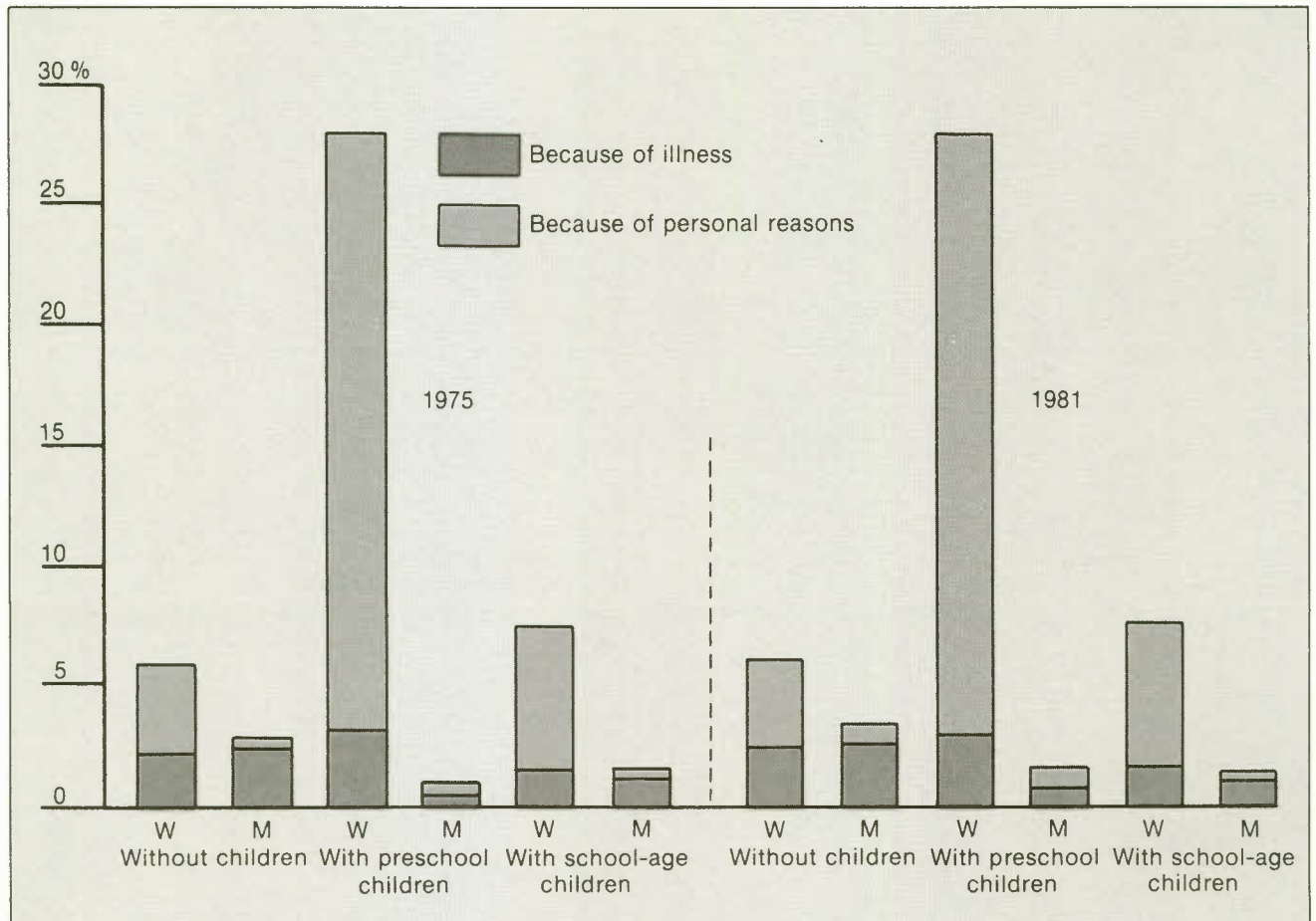
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

The labour market involvement of married women underwent a major change during this period. Fewer women saw marriage as a reason to interrupt their participation in the market, and couples tended to postpone having children or not to have any at all. While women with young children tended to participate less in the labour market and to leave their jobs more frequently than men, their male counterparts displayed exactly the opposite behaviour when they

had children; in some cases, they actually appeared more stable than men without preschool or school-age children (Chart 2-1). Absences from work show the same pattern (Chart A-1). Another way to appreciate the impact of family responsibilities on the economic status of women is to compare single women and men without children; these two groups display the same behaviour with respect to reasons for leaving work and absences from work not due to

Chart 2-1

Married Persons Who Have Left Work, by Family Status and Sex, Canada, 1975 and 1981¹



¹ The May edition of the Labour Survey was used in order to correspond as closely as possible with census data (June 1981).
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, special tabulations.

illness (Charts A-2 and A-3). This serves to illustrate that a couple's attitude towards having children influences their behaviour and, consequently, the pattern of female labour market participation.⁶

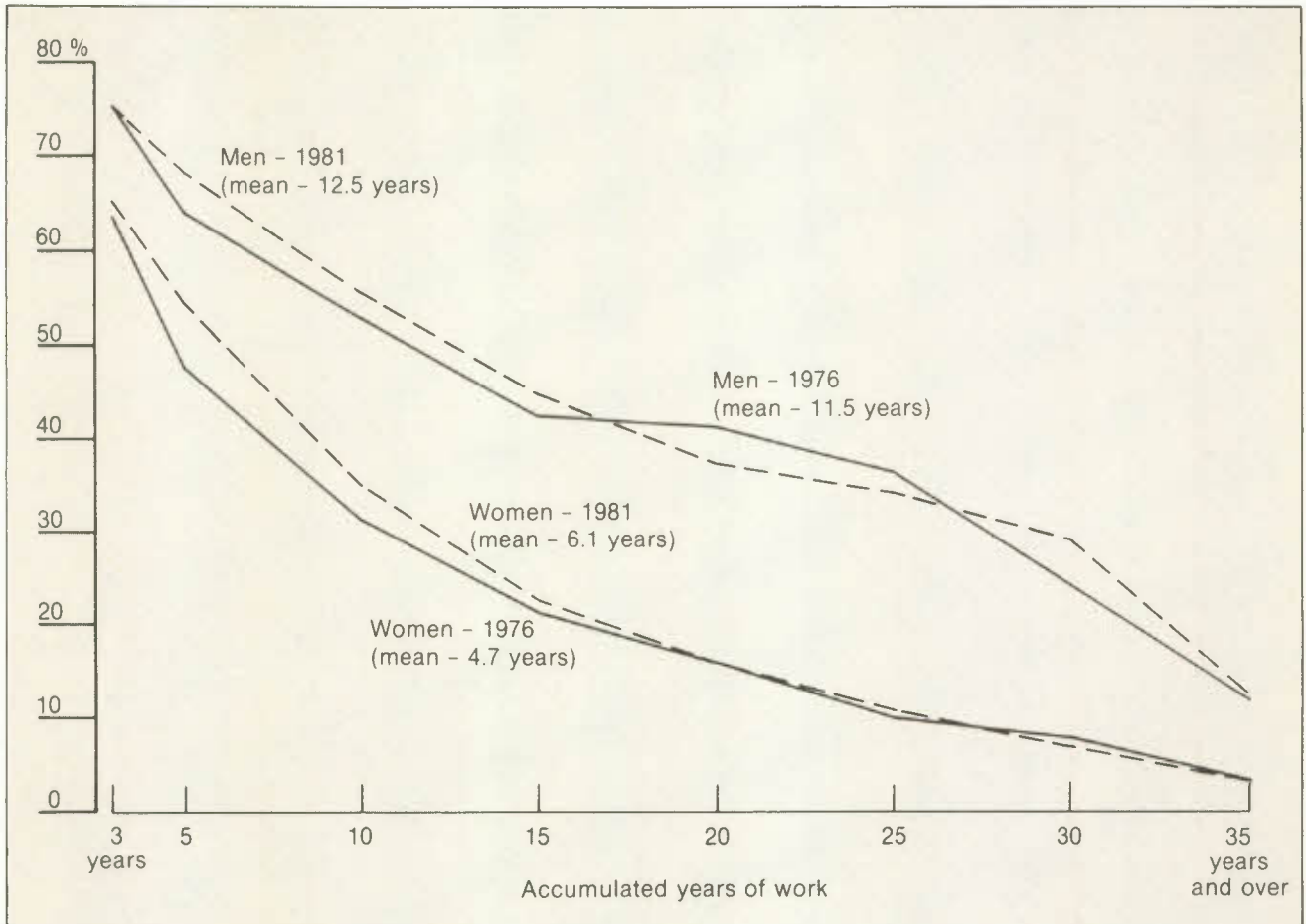
The impact of these responsibilities goes far beyond the participation rate, affecting the average performance of women with respect to various indicators. In 1976, for example, only 31 per cent of women had accumulated 10 or more years of work experience, while 52 per cent of men had done so (Chart 2-2). By 1981, these figures had risen to 35 and 55 per cent respectively. Some 37 per cent of men had accumulated 20 years of service with the same employer by 1981, while only 16 per cent of women had managed to do so.

Change can be anticipated, however, among young women. For example, in the 20-24 age group,

only 6 per cent of women held a permanent position in 1976, compared with 21 per cent of men ("permanent" here meaning that the minimum expected length of employment is 20 years). By 1981, the figure for men had declined to 16 per cent, while for women it remained virtually unchanged (Chart A-4), which implies that their relative status had improved on this front. There was also a substantial increase relative to men in the number of women keeping the same job for at least five years, although the percentage of men remains higher in the under-40 age group (Table A-3). Overall, however, indications are that more women are starting to consider their labour market participation as permanent.

Between the two censuses, women succeeded in increasing their participation rate by 32 per cent, but their share of the total time spent by both men and women on paid employment rose by only 25 per

Chart 2-2

Distribution of Women and Men, by Accumulated Years of Work, Canada, 1976 and 1981


SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, special tabulations.

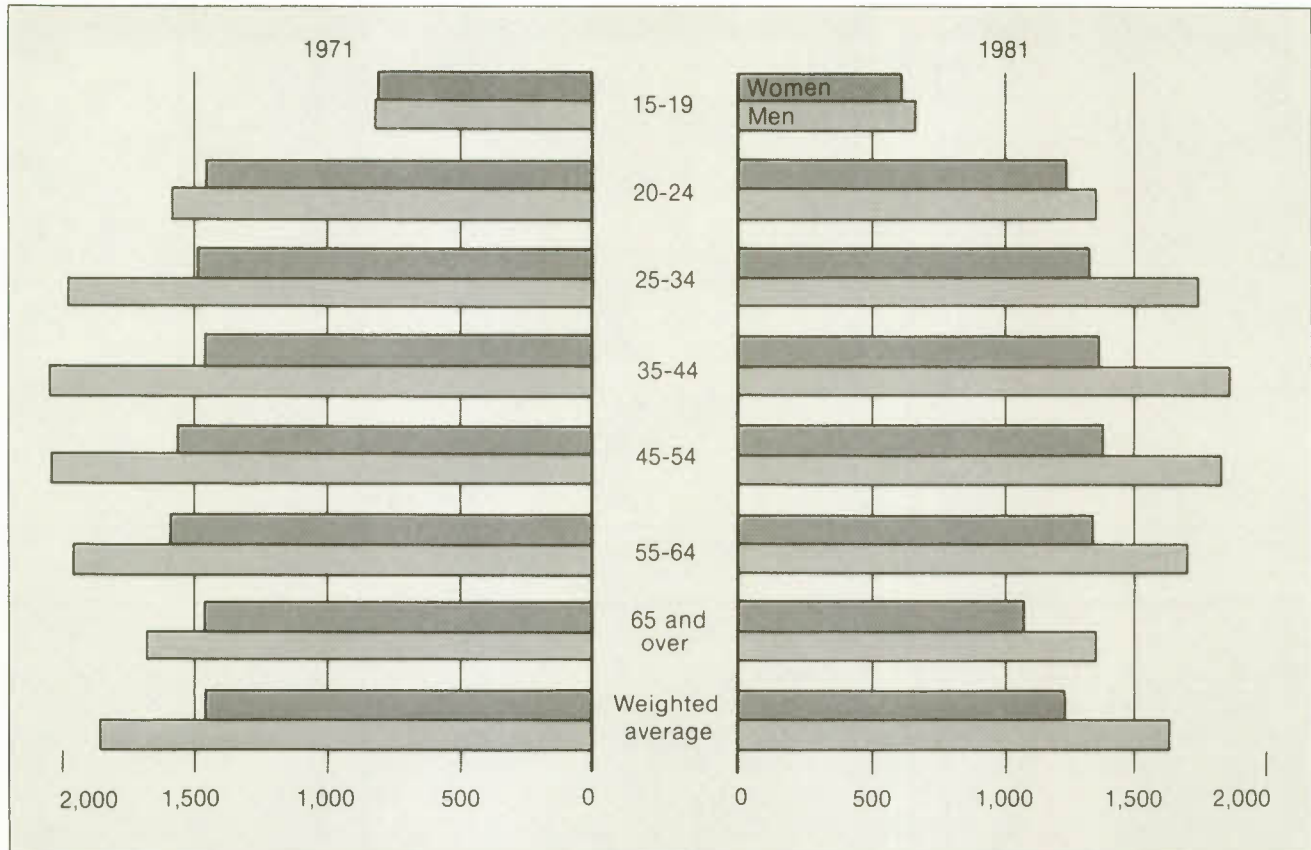
cent. In 1981, women spent an average of 1,247 hours a year working, compared with 1,431 hours in 1971 – a drop of 15 per cent. Men, on the other hand, saw their average hours decrease by 13 per cent (Chart 2-3). Not only were more women working, more were working part-time or for only part of the year. There were also more women on the unemployment rolls. Twenty years ago, the female unemployment rate was about 3 per cent; 10 years later it was close to 7 per cent. Since June 1982 the male unemployment rate, at 11 or 12 per cent, has remained just above the rate for women. This gap seems to be evening out, however, and the female unemployment rate could well exceed that of men in the near future.

On the surface, as measured by employment and unemployment statistics, the recent recession seems to have affected men more than women. However,

women have borne the brunt of the hidden effects of the recession, as measured by data on involuntary part-time work and the incidence of discouraged workers. The analysis of unemployment, nonparticipation, and worker discouragement will be left for another study.⁷

Statistics Canada's Labour Force Survey enables us to look at this question from another perspective (Table 2-7). The data for the years 1975 and 1982 – two recession years – reveal that the proportion of women working part-time rose from 20 per cent in 1975 to 25 per cent in 1982. In 1975, only about 11 per cent of these women had part-time jobs because they had been unable to find full-time employment; the others worked part-time by choice, because they wished to devote more time to their education or their families, or for other reasons. In

Chart 2-3

Number of Hours Worked¹ by Women and Men During the Year, by Age Group, Canada, 1971 and 1981


¹ Excluding those declaring zero or negative income for the entire year preceding the census—either 1970 or 1980. The average number of hours worked in 1971 and 1981 is calculated by multiplying the average number of hours worked in the week preceding the census by the average number of weeks worked during the year.

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

1982, however, 24 per cent of women working part-time would have preferred full-time work if it had been available. The proportion of men working part-time was only one-fourth of that of women, but they offered pretty well the same reasons as women for their choice of such a job, although age played a larger role.

Even today there are a great many men and women who work part-time by choice. The economic conditions of recent years have left more people unsatisfied, however. According to the preliminary results of an OECD study, this conclusion is borne out by comparable statistical data from three other countries — the United States, Australia, and Finland.

The groups experiencing the largest decline in time spent in paid employment were married women and single women with preschool children (Table A-4).

For women between the ages of 15 and 19, the reduction was approximately 32 per cent; for the over-65 age group, it was 35 per cent (Table A-5). The amount of time worked remained more or less the same for women with at least a university degree, as it did for men in this category (Table A-6). Overall, where women worked an average of 30 per cent fewer hours a year than men in 1971, by 1981 that figure was 32 per cent.

Employment Earnings

According to the Statistics Canada study, in 1970 women were extremely poorly off in terms of pay; the data revealed that the male/female earnings gap had not narrowed since the Second World War.

This situation is changing, however. In 1970, the average earnings of a woman were 51.2 per cent

Table 2-7**People Working Part-Time Involuntarily,¹ by Age Group and Family Status, Canada, 1975 and 1982**

	Proportion of women				Proportion of men			
	Working part-time		Working part-time involuntarily		Working part-time		Working part-time involuntarily	
	1975	1982	1975	1982	1975	1982	1975	1982
	(Per cent)							
Age								
15-24	22.2	31.3	13.8	29.8	17.1	24.0	9.5	24.9
25-54	19.2	21.9	9.5	22.0	0.9	1.7	27.3	51.4
55 and over	21.0	24.0	7.2	13.0	5.6	7.2	8.7	15.0
Family status								
Married	21.6	25.8	9.4	20.2	1.5	2.4	16.4	32.7
Single	20.3	27.1	12.9	28.3	16.3	20.5	10.1	25.8
Other	12.3	15.0	15.0	34.3	3.9	4.0	--	40.0
Total	20.3	25.1	10.8	23.6	5.1	6.9	11.3	27.6

¹ In other words, those seeking full-time work who could only find part-time work.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, *The Labour Force*, Cat. 71-001.

those of a man. Ten years later, this figure had reached 54.4 per cent (Table 2-8). As discussed earlier, this progress was mitigated somewhat by the fact that during the 1970s the average number of hours worked annually by women fell more rapidly than that for men. Had this decline not occurred, the average earnings gap would have been reduced still further.

The impact of this poor performance in terms of hours worked can be seen clearly in Chart 2-4; women between the ages of 25 and 54 were mostly responsible for the improvement in the male/female earnings gap, the same group that had the least reduction in hours worked. The greatest progress in terms of earnings was made by women with extensive academic backgrounds (Table 2-8).

Table 2-8**Average Annual and Hourly Earnings of Women and Men,¹ by Educational Attainment, Canada, 1970 and 1980**

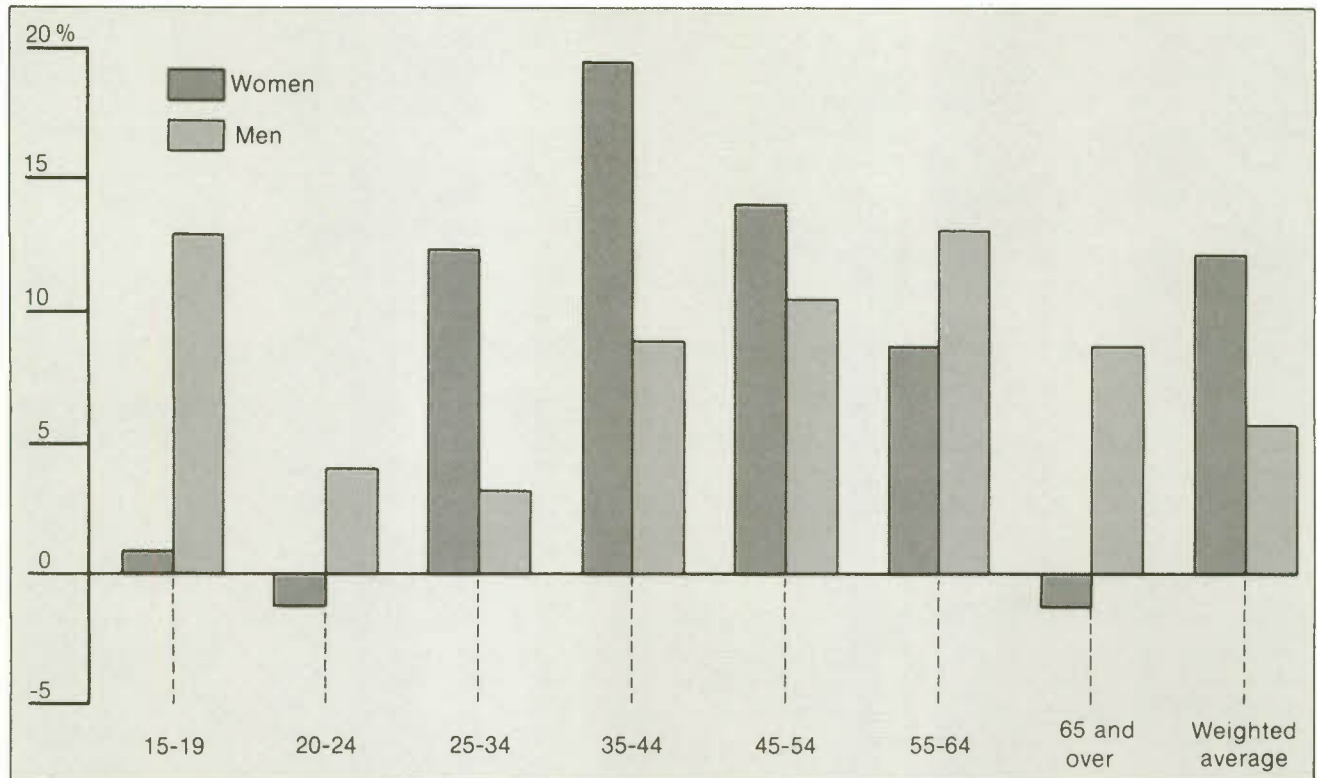
	Women				Men			
	Annual earnings		Hourly earnings		Annual earnings		Hourly earnings	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
	(Dollars)							
Secondary school or less	3,087	7,926	2.15	6.57	6,102	14,657	3.27	9.33
Nonuniversity diploma or certificate, or some university without degree	3,901	9,708	2.75	7.67	7,209	17,707	3.92	10.50
Bachelor degree, certificate or diploma below bachelor's	5,427	13,664	3.89	10.28	9,479	24,299	5.29	13.72
Postgraduate university degree	7,555	18,261	5.01	12.56	14,934	30,486	7.47	15.81
Weighted average	3,561	9,473	2.49	7.60	6,952	17,424	3.74	10.58

¹ Excludes those who reported zero or negative earnings for the year preceding the census - i.e., 1970 or 1980.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Chart 2-4

Change in Average Annual Earnings of Women and Men,¹ by Age Group, Canada, 1970-80



¹ Excludes those who reported zero or negative income for the whole year preceding the census—i.e., 1970 or 1980. For ease of comparison, 1970 incomes have been adjusted using the consumer price index for 1980.

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

An analysis of hourly wages gives a better indication of the overall progress of women. In 1970, a woman's average hourly wage was about two-thirds that of a man; by 1980, this figure had climbed to about 72 per cent. A study of wage earners conducted by Statistics Canada in January 1982 revealed that by 1981 even the wages of nonunionized women had reached three-quarters of those of men, and the wages of unionized women had reached 85 per cent of those of their male counterparts (Table 2-9). Although the gap between men and women in full-time positions is lower among unionized workers than nonunionized workers, the reverse is true when it comes to permanent part-time work.

In addition to better education, the increased unionization of women has certainly contributed to this improvement. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s,

Table 2-9

Average Hourly Wage of Women and Men, by Time Worked and by Union Membership, Canada, 1981

	Unionized		Nonunionized	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
	(Dollars)			
Permanent work				
Full-time	8.69	10.17	7.04	9.57
Part-time	8.80	11.08	6.40	7.08
Temporary work				
Full-time	8.08	9.69	5.72	7.29
Part-time	9.22	9.39	5.65	5.73

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, special tabulations.

not only did unions succeed in organizing many occupations traditionally dominated by women, particularly in the public sector, but employment in these activities expanded. In 1971, close to 560,000 working women were union members. During the next 10 years, the number of unionized female workers rose by 75 per cent to 980,000 members – a remarkable performance. It must be remembered that during this period a large number of women joined the labour force to work part-time in the service industries, where union representation is often quite low. By contrast, the number of male union members only rose from 1.8 million in 1971 to just over 2 million in 1981. The increasing unionization of female workers should continue to help reduce the earnings gap (Table 2-9). Overall, though, women remain less unionized than men: one in five women, but one in three men. It should be noted that in Quebec one woman in three is a union member and that the status of Quebec women in terms of relative earnings is significantly better than anywhere else in Canada.⁸

It must be recognized, of course, that rates of pay depend on many factors, in particular the value added per person-hour. This value tends to be higher the more concentrated and the more capital-intensive the industry, and the more highly skilled its workforce – all factors that are closely correlated with unionization.

The public sector, by recruiting more and more women into its ranks, has also helped to improve the labour force status of women. For example, in 1980 nearly 36 per cent of federal government employees were women, compared with only 28 per cent 10 years earlier. For several years now, the federal government has actually been recruiting more women than men: 52 per cent in 1980, 53 per cent in 1981, and 54 per cent in 1982.⁹ This trend would normally be expected to have a positive effect on women's wages since, generally speaking, the public sector is more highly unionized than the private sector, offers better pay, and has fewer part-time jobs. It would appear, however, that many women, particularly those of childbearing age, might be interested in working part-time if they were given the opportunity.¹⁰

The efforts of the federal government towards creating a more equitable balance between the sexes at management levels should also be singled out for mention. Between 1976 and 1980, the number of women in middle management positions increased by 894, compared with only 587 men. There were 173 more women working in upper management positions, versus only 19 men. Finally, 22 women and 19 men joined the ranks of senior management during this period. The female promotion rate is decidedly

higher than the actual representation of women in the civil service. The latest data are not yet available, but indications are that this trend will continue. It should also be noted that close to 54 per cent of women working in the civil service are under 35 years of age, while only 38 per cent of men fall into this age group.¹¹ Nevertheless, because the representation of women in such positions was so low to begin with, there is still a long way to go before the male/female ratio at all levels is close to being equal.

Occupational Diversification

In the opinion of many authors, the massive concentration of women in a restricted number of occupations has been largely responsible for the existence of a male/female earnings gap. This factor has created an excess supply of labour in certain occupations, which in turn has resulted in lower wages and less adequate working conditions. In light of this fact, it would seem that a more diversified occupational structure for women would not only bring their earnings more into line with those of men in the labour market as a whole, but also lead to improved working conditions in occupations where women largely predominate. A U.S. study indicated that the concentration of women in a number of mostly low-paid occupations was responsible for almost 40 per cent of the earnings gap between men and women. And everything indicates that this factor would have an even greater effect if it were possible to refine occupational classifications to the extent of grouping together only positions that require the same skills and consist of the same tasks.¹² It should be added that women are often concentrated in occupations or sectors where productivity is low for both sexes. It can thus be seen that the question of the occupational diversification of women is extremely important to their status on the labour market.

A somewhat different view was taken by the authors of *Opportunity for Choice*. While noting that many predominantly female occupations offer little hope of career advancement and little reward for personal initiative, it concluded that a moderate decline in occupational segregation would likely result in a widening of the earnings gap, since

Equalizing the occupational distribution would, to a large extent, transfer women from clerical and teaching occupations, where the earnings differential is small, to primary and blue collar jobs, where the earnings gap is large ... Females may be losing ground in occupations where the earnings gap is small and gaining where the earnings gap is large.¹³

This observation, based on a very broad occupational grouping, needs to be re-examined in today's

context. According to the U.S. study mentioned above, a much finer and more detailed definition of occupations and tasks is needed. Moreover, there were large shifts during the 1970s in the occupational choices made by women, and this has considerably altered the occupational structure of the female labour force and has surely helped to narrow the earnings gap.

At the present time, there are two ways that occupational diversification of the sexes can be realized: 1) by women entering traditionally male occupations – i.e., where men account for 50 per cent or more of the workers; and 2) by men entering traditionally female occupations – i.e., where women make up over 50 per cent of the workers. (For simplicity's sake, the terms "male occupation" and "female occupation," in the rest of this study. It must be emphasized that reference is being made strictly to numerical superiority, as defined above. The technical and methodological aspects of calculating male or female majorities in occupations are discussed in Appendix B.)

The two processes can operate simultaneously – which increases the possibility of more rapid occupational diversification – or only one or the other can come into play, as is currently the case. During the 1970s, of the net increase in the male labour force, less than 7 per cent occurred in occupations that were female-dominated in 1971, whereas 44 per cent of the increase in the female labour force occurred in "male occupations." Looking to the future, there is no reason why new jobs or occupations associated with the introduction of new technologies should be either "male" or "female." It is to be hoped that manpower training programs will carefully avoid sexual biases so that this kind of occupational polarization does not occur.

If the trend toward greater occupational diversification within the female labour force continues, we should be witness to the emergence of a labour market with progressively fewer male occupations, or rather one where male dominance will continue to fall as greater numbers of women choose to enter these fields. On the other hand, there will remain a certain number of occupations where female numerical superiority will persist, simply because large numbers of women will continue to enter these occupations and men will not. Some occupations with only a slight male preponderance will probably eventually fall into the category of female occupations, thereby increasing the number of professions where women outnumber men.

It is important to note here that occupational diversification is not a goal to be pursued at all costs.

For example, women would gain nothing by expanding into male-dominated fields that offer low earnings. Nor would men gain anything by choosing traditionally female occupations which already have an excess supply of labour. Research indicates that there is in fact a glut in the labour supply for certain female occupations. Therefore, at least for the short and medium term, we must not rely on the movement of men into female occupations to ensure a more equitable male/female ratio in all professions. For this reason it is felt that any study of the occupational diversification of women should concentrate on male occupations and measure how quickly women are making inroads into these fields.

Occupational diversification is a complex phenomenon, and one that cannot be adequately measured by an artificial "diversification index," such as that used by several authors to compare the occupational makeup of a group over time.¹⁴ As discussed in Appendix B, such an index is too general to satisfactorily reflect changes that, while significant, are rarely great enough to have a noticeable impact on the initial level of the workforce.

In 1971, nearly 1 million women (36 per cent of the female labour force) were working in fields dominated by men, while almost 5 million men (91 per cent) were working in the same occupations. If women had been able to maintain this ratio until 1981, there would have been 1.6 million women working in these occupations at that time. In this case, the percentage of women in male occupations would have been higher in 1981 than in 1971, simply because the number of women who had entered these occupations would have been higher, in relative terms, than the number of men.

Consequently, as long as the number of working women grows faster than the number of men (which should be the case from now until the year 2000 at least), and as long as women continue to enter male occupations in the same proportion as in 1971, it follows that these occupations will become less and less male-dominated. For instance, this process would have meant that the 16 per cent of women who were working in male occupations in 1971 would have grown to 21 per cent by 1981, if the original ratio had been maintained.

In fact, beside the phenomenon discussed above, female diversification has actually been growing. The age structure of the female labour force in 1971 had changed by 1981. If the female age structure in 1971 had been the same as 10 years later, the proportion of women in male occupations would have been 35 per cent instead of 36 per cent. Applying this percentage to the 1981 female labour force, the

expected number of women in these occupations works out to 1,549,000, whereas the actual figure is 1,721,000 – a difference of 172,000. The addition of this number gave even more impetus to the diversification movement.

As a result of these two phenomena, in 1981 39 per cent of women were working in occupations that in 1971 had been dominated by men, and the 16 per cent representation of women in these occupations in 1971 grew to 23 per cent by 1981.

It can thus be seen from this analysis that the 789,000 women who entered male occupations between 1971 and 1981 can be divided into two groups: 617,000 (78 per cent) whose presence maintained the process of diversification at its 1971 level of 36 per cent, and 172,000 others who boosted the rate to 39 per cent.

This line of reasoning demonstrates that the occupational diversification of women includes two trends: 1) a natural or automatic rise in the diversification rate due to the fact that more women are entering the labour market than men and that a significant proportion of them are electing to enter male occupations, progressively eroding the degree of male dominance; and 2) a supplementary component due to more women choosing such occupations and orienting their training towards such fields than in the past.

In order to appreciate this diversification process fully, another point should be made here. As mentioned above, 36 per cent of women were working in male occupations in 1971, and by 1981 this figure had risen to 39 per cent. These two figures are surely indicative of a cumulative historical process, since in all probability the same statistic in 1961 was less than 36 per cent, and so on down the line.

Once such a diversification process is under way, it generates its own momentum, and the pace can easily quicken as younger women break with tradition and enter occupations previously considered male preserves. This is exactly what occurred between 1971 and 1981.

A comparison of the situation in 1971 with that in 1981 reveals that the proportion of women under 40 working in male occupations increased significantly but that above the age of 40, the percentages generally remained unchanged or tended to decline (Table 2-10). This supports the hypothesis that women who return to work or who enter the labour market late in life generally opt more for traditional female occupations. This question will be examined in greater detail below.

The data on the changing occupational choices of women suggest that those who choose male occupations tend to remain on the labour market longer. This

Table 2-10

Diversification of Women Into Male-Dominated Occupations, by Age Group, Canada, 1971-1981

Age	Number of women in male-dominated occupations			Proportion of change due to:		Proportion of women in male-dominated occupations	
	1971	1981	Change	Natural evolution	Additional effort	1971	1981
	(Thousands)					(Per cent)	
15-19	101	181	80	79.0	21.0	37.3	41.1
20-24	139	288	149	50.9	49.1	25.6	34.5
25-29	92	254	162	61.8	38.2	28.2	37.3
30-34	76	216	140	84.9	15.1	33.7	37.4
35-39	85	178	93	97.4	2.6	38.0	38.5
40-44	97	156	59	101.1	-1.1	40.9	40.7
45-49	105	141	36	104.9	-4.9	43.1	42.6
50-54	89	127	38	102.7	-2.7	44.5	44.2
55-59	72	102	30	97.3	2.7	44.7	45.1
60-64	45	57	12	100.2	-0.2	45.5	45.5
Total ¹	932	1,721	789			36.0	39.2

¹ Includes persons aged 65 and over.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

indicates that the diversification movement will accelerate as these women become older and are replaced by younger women whose places will in turn be taken by still younger women, each successive generation displaying a greater propensity for occupational diversification. Moreover, technological advances are expected to have a negative impact on the availability of female occupations, and this will encourage women to move into male occupations or into new positions where neither sex predominates. And it is possible, in light of the above, that those women who continue to enter female occupations will be more likely to stick to their jobs than was previously the case. Consequently, the turnover rate in these occupations may drop in the future, which in turn may lead some women to select other occupations.

The natural or automatic diversification process will continue as long as more women than men continue to enter the labour market. By combining projections of labour force trends with the data analyzed above, it is possible to predict how male occupations will change as they become "feminized" over the next 15 years (Table 2-11).

In the table, the low projection to the year 2000 assumes that 1.9 million women will enter the labour market between 1981 and 1990 and 1.1 million during the following decade. The high projection assumes that these figures will be 2.1 million and 1.5 million respectively. In the case of men, it is assumed that 1.6 million and 0.5 million men, respectively, will enter the market during these two periods.

The results given in the table represent averages, but the calculations were based on data disaggregated by occupation. As the changes described in the table take place, occupations that were only slightly male-dominated in 1971 will gradually become female-dominated as female recruits continue to outnumber male recruits. In 1971 there were 40 occupations out of the 201 analysed that were female-dominated, and by 1981 there were 55. If the pace observed between these two years is maintained, there will be just over 60 such jobs by 1990, and close to 70 by the year 2000.

Progress may seem slow. For example, even if every woman entering the labour force over the next 20 years were to choose a male occupation, the overall representation of women in these occupations would only reach 35 per cent at best – that is, under the high assumption (Table 2-11). This would mean, however, that 52 per cent of women would no longer be in occupations that were female-dominated in 1971.

In short, even though women have made significant gains in terms of occupational diversification, there remains a great distance to cover before the representation of women in all occupations is the same as in the labour force as a whole. The reason for this situation is twofold.

First, some of the occupations in which women continue to enter are already heavily female-dominated and are expected to remain so for a long time

Table 2-11

Projected Change in the Proportion of Women in Male-Dominated Occupations¹ to the Year 2000

	Proportion of women entering male-dominated occupations						
	44 %	50 %	60 %	70 %	80 %	90 %	100 %
	(Per cent)						
Projection to 1990 (low projection)	26.0	26.9	28.3	29.6	30.9	32.1	33.3
Projection to 2000 (low projection)	28.5	28.9	29.6	30.4	31.1	31.8	32.4
Projection to 1990 (high projection)	26.6	27.5	29.0	30.4	31.8	33.1	34.3
Projection to 2000 (high projection)	30.0	30.6	31.5	32.4	33.3	34.2	35.0

¹ It should be remembered that women accounted for 15.9 per cent of male-dominated occupations in 1971 and 22.7 per cent in 1981. In the case of men, it was assumed that their concentration in male-dominated occupations would remain at 91 per cent. These figures are taken from Dan Ciuriak and Harvey Sims, *Participation Rate and Labour Force Growth in Canada* (Ottawa: Department of Finance, April 1980).

to come, since few men will enter them in the foreseeable future. As indicated earlier, unless it is a question of personal preference, it is not in the best interests of either men or women to enter these occupations, since this would only worsen the situation of excess labour supply that often exists in these fields. This would tend to keep wages at their present low levels or perhaps reduce them even further.

Second, some of those occupations already absorb a sizable segment of the female labour force and will continue to attract large numbers of women. This results in reducing the number of women who could opt for male occupations. For example, of the 1.8 million women who entered the labour market between 1971 and 1981, some 1 million women selected female occupations. The progress made by women opting for male occupations was thus mitigated by the choices made by the former group, a good number of whom were returning to work or making a late entry in line with traditional patterns. Table 2-12 shows this clearly. The representation of women in most female occupations increased, thereby contributing to the phenomenon of occupational concentration. On the other hand, female

representation also increased in most male occupations, increasing the diversification factor in these fields.

There are three noteworthy features in this evolution. First, in general the more an occupation was male-dominated, the greater was the tendency for women to enter the field. Second, it was in male occupations that female earnings increased the most – 182 per cent between 1970 and 1980 (almost 11 per cent a year, compounded), versus 158 per cent in female occupations (a compounded annual increase of 10 per cent). This meant that by 1980 women working in male occupations enjoyed average incomes slightly higher than those in female occupations, whereas the reverse had been true in 1970. (A detailed list of occupations is given in Table A-7).

No only have women made great progress with respect to occupational diversification, but the greatest gains have been made in the most highly paid professions (Table A-8). For example, in 1981 there were 6,505 women doctors and surgeons, versus 2,810 in 1971; 700 women dentists versus 280

Table 2-12

Relative Position of Men and Women According to Level of Male Numerical Dominance in Occupations, Canada, 1971 and 1981

	Level of male dominance in 1971	Proportion of women		Average female earnings		Average male earnings		Female/male earnings gap	
		1971	1981	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
	(Per cent)	(Per cent)		(Dollars)		(Dollars)		(Per cent)	
Female-dominated occupations	0.0 - 4.9	96.6	97.7	3,975	10,475	6,260	14,452	63.5	72.5
	5.0 - 9.0	92.1	91.4	5,049	13,126	6,014	15,741	84.0	83.4
	10.0 - 14.9	88.5	91.2	2,377	6,791	4,000	9,099	59.4	74.6
	15.0 - 19.9	82.2	85.3	2,219	5,441	3,676	7,667	60.4	71.0
	20.0 - 24.9	75.9	79.2	4,134	10,723	6,138	15,122	67.4	70.9
	25.0 - 29.9	74.5	83.1	3,398	8,800	5,611	13,124	60.6	67.1
	30.0 - 34.9	66.6	65.2	5,443	14,637	7,892	22,272	69.0	65.7
	35.0 - 39.9	63.4	72.2	2,980	8,004	5,565	14,295	52.7	56.0
	40.0 - 44.9	57.8	71.5	3,444	9,080	5,270	12,639	65.4	71.8
45.0 - 49.9	52.2	60.5	3,717	10,300	6,825	17,492	54.5	58.9	
Male-dominated occupations	50.0 - 54.9	48.5	56.1	2,722	7,397	5,331	13,091	51.1	56.5
	55.0 - 59.9	43.7	37.6	3,945	11,287	7,006	16,467	56.3	68.5
	60.0 - 64.9	38.1	43.5	3,689	9,029	6,218	14,577	59.3	61.9
	65.0 - 69.9	33.4	42.2	3,064	7,952	5,706	11,714	53.7	67.9
	70.0 - 74.9	26.7	36.1	2,996	7,696	5,657	13,662	53.0	56.3
	75.0 - 79.9	22.6	26.9	4,843	13,532	9,820	24,214	49.3	55.9
	80.0 - 84.9	16.3	28.9	3,859	10,044	7,097	15,373	54.4	65.3
	85.0 - 89.9	13.7	26.5	4,286	12,384	7,149	18,625	60.0	66.5
	90.0 - 94.9	7.2	13.1	4,197	10,806	7,836	18,323	53.4	59.0
	95.0 - 100.0	1.9	5.1	4,456	12,010	7,039	18,748	61.0	64.1

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

in 1971; almost 5,000 women lawyers and notaries versus 770 in 1971; and so on (Table 2-13).

In short, the number of women in the 20 highest-paid occupations quadrupled between 1971 and 1981; the number of men only doubled over the same time period. Even though these women were for the most part relatively young (which was reflected in most occupations by a decrease in the average female age), their earnings as a proportion of those of men rose from 43 per cent in 1970 to 53 per cent in 1980. After adjustment for hours worked, the increase was actually from 54 to 65 per cent. This represents a tangible improvement, although it must be said that the initial disparities were substantial.

On the other hand, as shown in Table 2-14, the number of women working in occupations at the other end of the pay scale also increased significantly, thus illustrating how complicated this whole question really is.

Between 1971 and 1981 the number of women working in the 20 lowest-paid occupations rose from 750,000 to about 1.2 million, on balance offsetting the progress made in the 20 highest-paid occupations. The average annual wage for a woman in such an occupation was 57 per cent of her male counterpart's wage in 1970 and 64 per cent in 1980. When adjustments are made for hours worked, these figures climb to 71 and 74 per cent, respectively, which represents only a modest gain over 10 years. This, again, serves to demonstrate that if the analysis is based only on aggregate data, the inevitable conclusion is that women made little or no progress during this period. When more refined data are used, however, it can be seen that a significant number of women managed to climb to the highest levels, both in the hierarchical structure of occupations in the earnings scale.

These advances place Canada in an enviable position relative to other OECD countries. A recent

Table 2-13

Numbers¹ and Average Annual Earnings of Women and Men in the Twenty Highest-Paid Occupations,² Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81

	Women				Men			
	Number		Earnings		Number		Earnings	
	1971	1981	1970	1980	1971	1981	1970	1980
	(Dollars)				(Dollars)			
Directors general	1,480	2,535	14,745	28,952	39,445	36,320	26,823	59,131
Physicians and surgeons	2,810	6,505	11,774	30,708	25,345	30,255	27,469	57,273
Dentists	280	700	11,434	33,076	6,040	7,605	22,310	54,312
Judges and magistrates	70	200	10,185	31,144	1,195	1,770	21,785	50,791
Lawyers and notaries	770	4,890	8,874	18,416	15,340	26,530	20,218	38,380
Osteopaths and chiropractors	75	285	7,312	13,193	980	1,600	18,676	34,849
Optometrists	95	330	6,669	18,065	1,410	1,365	17,433	39,328
Sales, advertising and purchasing managers	700	13,475	6,288	14,199	15,000	68,925	16,055	28,227
Veterinarians	70	510	6,685	12,590	1,615	2,180	15,202	31,242
Architects	105	490	5,785	15,949	3,835	5,730	14,787	26,415
Air pilot, navigators and flight engineers	20	240	5,325	15,024	4,120	7,560	14,194	32,721
University teachers	3,850	8,030	8,902	19,707	19,355	24,780	14,390	33,274
Members of legislative bodies	100	510	5,371	9,910	1,010	1,795	14,074	30,168
Administrators - teaching	5,690	7,970	9,775	23,097	22,750	25,965	13,998	34,896
Personnel and industrial management	420	6,905	6,219	18,021	3,585	17,920	13,877	29,249
Management occupations	11,630	59,930	5,449	16,074	37,155	189,860	15,237	28,633
Administrators in medicine and health	2,305	5,560	8,622	22,020	2,520	5,245	16,281	34,084
Government administrators	1,510	6,485	7,254	18,870	13,795	22,865	12,971	29,680
Air transport foremen	30	135	8,219	19,179	1,250	1,785	11,378	29,668
Physicists	40	70	7,210	19,872	725	1,165	11,435	28,185
Total	32,050	125,755	8,118	18,253	216,470	481,220	19,024	34,520

1 Excludes those who reported zero or negative earnings for the year preceding the census - i.e., 1970 or 1980.

2 Using Statistics Canada's 1971 occupational classifications, 498 occupations have been combined into 200 groups. Of these 200 groups, the 20 best-paid occupations in 1970 have been chosen on the basis of combined female and male earnings.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table 2-14

Numbers¹ and Average Annual Earnings of Women and Men in the Twenty Lowest-Paid Occupations,² Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81

	Women				Men			
	Number		Earnings		Number		Earnings	
	1971	1981	1970	1980	1971	1981	1970	1980
	(Dollars)				(Dollars)			
Babysitters	17,490	37,505	661	2,640	645	1,315	920	4,311
Waiters(esses), hosts(esses) and stewards	105,885	205,810	1,766	4,418	22,530	35,690	3,182	6,677
Guides, hosts(esses), stewards and others	55,810	39,860	1,908	5,532	8,115	7,455	3,377	8,346
Other farm, horticulture, and animal husbandry	22,800	44,370	1,750	4,696	104,420	125,140	2,632	7,399
Inspecting and sampling, fabrication of textile products	2,035	4,610	2,690	7,320	385	900	5,014	12,311
Sewing machine operators	54,040	85,905	2,861	7,374	6,135	4,665	4,824	10,303
Other fabrication of textile products occupations	9,230	13,230	2,720	6,969	3,850	6,695	4,162	9,750
Other apparel and furnishing service occupations	21,850	24,335	2,693	7,065	10,080	9,780	4,492	9,853
Packaging occupations	35,520	45,025	2,913	7,814	27,495	29,185	3,823	9,073
Other occupations - fishing, hunting, trapping	445	1,870	2,121	4,390	23,980	31,325	3,366	10,044
Tailors and dressmakers	14,930	8,580	2,609	6,936	6,045	4,080	5,283	12,787
Chefs and cooks	35,215	73,820	2,566	6,127	37,195	67,080	4,196	8,284
Knitting occupations	1,990	2,160	2,566	6,867	1,565	1,505	4,534	10,735
Other service occupations	73,565	120,955	2,089	5,864	142,710	181,025	4,129	8,824
Other occupations - library file and correspondence clerks	26,700	39,180	3,235	7,420	6,185	6,690	4,422	8,834
Other sales occupations	165,595	286,395	2,060	5,371	177,130	228,870	4,800	11,783
Shoemakers and repairers	5,855	7,670	2,791	7,377	6,025	4,340	4,253	10,383
Barbers and hairdressers	33,235	46,150	2,872	7,332	20,375	14,530	4,766	12,451
Other occupations - health care	57,665	73,640	3,306	8,607	19,525	21,045	4,969	12,332
Labouring occupation - not elsewhere classified	10,190	14,360	2,712	6,842	74,190	64,645	3,936	9,145
Total	750,045	1,175,430	2,319	6,076	698,580	845,960	4,047	9,559

1 Excludes those who reported zero or negative earnings for the year preceding the census - i.e., 1970 or 1980.

2 Using Statistics Canada's 1971 occupational classifications, 498 occupations have been combined into 200 groups. Of these 200 groups, the 20 lowest-paid occupations in 1970 have been chosen on the basis of combined female and male earnings.

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

study by the International Labour Office compared the representation of women within certain occupations in seven different countries. The study found that the "professional and technical" categories and the "management and administrative" categories accounted for 24 per cent of working women in Canada, compared to 21 per cent in France and the United States, 17 per cent in Australia, 15 per cent in West Germany, and 13 per cent in Italy and the United Kingdom.¹⁵

These findings both confirm and qualify the observations made in *Opportunity for Choice*. Women are successfully diversifying their career choices and penetrating those occupations - particularly profes-

sional and managerial positions - which traditionally have been male-dominated and highly paid. There is still a very substantial clustering of women in the lowest-paid occupations, but within both the highest- and lowest-paid professions, the earnings gap has narrowed. When adjusted for hours worked per year, the gap shrinks some more, and it seems likely that it would narrow still further if adjusted for education and experience. Nevertheless, the gap can never completely disappear.

In this connection, it is worth noting the view put forward by the author of a study published a few years ago:

Unless an approach which seeks to remove structural barriers is adopted, it is likely that the same forces which operate to segregate women into low pay, low-status jobs in the traditional sector will appear in the nontraditional area as well. Thus the movement of women into nontraditional trades jobs in itself will not guarantee increasing equality in the labour market.

However, the movement of women into nontraditional jobs (in a wide sense) is an important initiative. Training, job creation and employer incentives to help women move into these jobs should focus on high productivity, stable industries.¹⁶

This observation is echoed in a study that analysed U.S. historical data; it was revealed that changes in earnings by occupation since the end of the last century suggest that men have shifted toward higher-paid occupations, leaving women to fill the positions that they have vacated.¹⁷ In support of this theory, the author cited the retreat of men from the "office clerk" category; today this occupation is female-dominated. A similar shift has also taken place in Canada.¹⁸

This scenario implies that in many cases (or at least more often than for men), women have been able to enter the labour market in greater numbers by choosing occupations that are "losing steam," with respect to either demand, job content, or salary level.

There are no absolute criteria for determining whether an occupation is "losing steam" or not. However, information from the census enables us to trace the evolution of the demand for various occupations according to relative changes in the number of people working in these jobs. It is also possible to trace the evolution of average hourly wages in these occupations.

Among the women who entered male occupations between 1971 and 1981, 12 per cent chose jobs where the relative position of men, in terms of average hourly wages, remained the same or improved, while only 8 per cent of men managed to do so.

On the other hand, 18 per cent of women who entered female occupations chose jobs where the relative position of men, in terms of average hourly wages, improved, whereas 31 per cent of men were able to do so.

These figures show that, over the 1971-81 period, of all workers entering male occupations, a greater proportion of women than men took jobs where men improved their relative position. For female occupations, however, exactly the opposite occurred, although the overwhelming dominance of female recruits make this not an unexpected result.

Another way to look at this situation is to examine changes in the relative position of women with

respect to average hourly wages. For male occupations, 20 per cent of women, versus 36 per cent of men, entered occupations where women maintained or improved their relative position. The corresponding figures for female occupations were 27 and 52 per cent, respectively.

From these figures it appears that more men than women entered occupations where women maintained or improved their relative position in terms of average hourly wages, which leads to the conclusion that improvements in the relative position of women in certain occupations do not inhibit men from entering them. It could also be concluded, however, that when women make gains in earnings, men have an easier access to these occupations. But the same thing could also be said of male occupations where men have improved their earnings, since the number of women entering these occupations has also increased.

These two phenomena seem to counterbalance each other, so that there is no definite conclusion to be drawn here. This can be confirmed by looking at shifts in the relative positions of occupations according to the average hourly wages of men and women *combined*. Over the study period, 30 per cent of women and 29 per cent of men entering the labour market swelled the ranks of occupations where relative earnings stayed the same or improved.

If changes in the number of workers in male occupations are analysed, it can be seen that only 8 per cent of women entering such occupations chose those where the number of men dropped during the 1971-81 period. As for female occupations, those where a relative increase in the number of men was noted attracted fewer women, all things being equal, than those where the number of men fell: 33 per cent in the former case, and 67 per cent in the latter. Overall, about 60 per cent of female entrants into the labour market during the study period chose occupations where the number of men also increased. At the beginning of the period, women made up 23 per cent of workers in these occupations, and by 1981 this figure had climbed to 30 per cent.

To sum up, there is nothing to indicate that women entering the labour market during the 1970s made poorer job choices than men.

Equal Pay for Equal or Equivalent Work

Any study of the occupational diversification of the female labour force would be incomplete without an examination of the relationship between earnings for men and women and the requirements of their jobs.

This is an issue of particular concern to women in low-paid jobs, although, of course, the application of this principle should not be limited to this type of position; as pointed out earlier, earnings gaps exist in all occupations. Here, it is the problems of women in the 20 lowest-paid occupations that will be examined – first, because the economic status of these women often gives a good indication of the difficulties faced by working women as a whole in terms of wages and working conditions, and, second, because if the equal-pay principle (which states that men and women should receive the same wages for doing the same job under the same circumstances) had been applied to these 20 occupations over the last 10 years, close to 1.2 million women would have seen their situation improve. This obviously represents a major challenge to governments.

The 20 lowest-paid occupations listed in Table 2-14 include close to 27 per cent of the 1981 female labour force. Although this is a high percentage, it represents a drop from 1971, when the figure was 29 per cent. This means that in this area women have made some slight progress. Thirteen per cent of the male labour force was working in these occupations in 1981, the same proportion as in 1971.

In 1970, on the average, the annual earnings of a woman in one of these occupations were equal to 57 per cent of those of men. By 1980 this figure had reached 64 per cent – a 12 per cent net improvement – although the average hours worked by women had dropped more sharply than for men. In 1970 a woman in one of these jobs worked an average of 1,276 hours a year, and a man 1,568 hours. By 1980, these figures had fallen to 1,031 and 1,307, respectively.

If the principle of equal pay for equal work (or better still, for equivalent work) were fully applied to these occupations – i.e., if men and women both received the same hourly wages – the situation of women relative to men on the market as a whole would not change as much as one might think. At the present time, a woman receives 54 per cent of a man's earnings in the labour force as a whole; strict implementation of the equal-pay principle in the 20 lowest-paid occupations would bring this figure to only 58 per cent.

If women received the same hourly wages as men and were also able to work the same number of hours, the ratio would rise to 60 per cent.

The issue of equal pay for equal work or work of equal value most often comes up, as we have already seen, in discussion of measures designed to improve the economic status of those women at the bottom of the pay scale, many of whom are not unionized. In other words, such measures are aimed more at these

women than at those in the middle-income brackets or in professional categories, for example. Surprisingly, close analysis of earnings reveals that in low-income brackets (as well as in other brackets), female average hourly wages are higher than those of men. For instance, in 1980 the average hourly wage for women earning less than \$15,000 a year was \$6.00, while that for men was only \$5.85. Just over 80 per cent of women (3.6 million individuals) and almost 45 per cent of men (3 million) fell into this income bracket in 1981.

The real cause of the earnings gap that disadvantages women in the labour market as a whole is their low representation in the higher income brackets. The important question is thus to determine what job characteristics enable a person to reach these levels. Between 1970 and 1980, even though the number of women in the over-\$20,000 income bracket (1980 dollars) increased sevenfold, while men merely doubled their numbers, only 8.4 per cent of women found themselves earning this kind of money, versus 36.5 per cent of men. On the evidence of judicial decisions on the equal-pay issue so far, it does not appear that court actions will permit many women to move from the under-\$15,000 to the over-\$20,000 bracket.

For example, if the 3.6 million women earning less than \$15,000 a year were to have their hourly wages boosted by 10 per cent (which is higher, on average, than the increases prescribed by the courts), while the earnings of men in this bracket did not increase at all, the earnings of women in the labour market as a whole would rise from 72 to 76 per cent of male earnings. This is a fairly modest gain in relation to the problems involved in this type of solution.

The implementation of an equal-pay policy is not so much based on a person's job characteristics as on the demands on duties of the job itself. If a woman in a low-paying job is better qualified than her male co-workers, and equal-pay policy will not benefit her as much as a policy designed to better adapt her abilities to the needs of the market. This would enable her to rise up the pay scale more rapidly, and society as a whole would benefit from a better alignment of labour market requirements to the abilities of its workers, both male and female.

Nevertheless, as discussed above, a more in-depth examination of the earnings differential between the sexes reveals that it is the lower level of average hours worked by women, relative to men, that is holding them back from wage parity in the labour market as a whole (Table A-9). This demonstrates that to reach the goal of equal pay, women will have to present job qualifications superior to those of men. Thus a better alignment of the needs of the labour

market to the job skills of women, if only insofar as hours worked, should help to improve their level of earnings.

The above facts point out that implementation of the equal-pay-for-equivalent-work principle in low-income jobs, a herculean task in itself, is not enough to bring female wages more in line with male wages in the labour market as a whole. The principle must continue to be upheld, naturally, but it must be realized that this is only part of the solution. More basic problems must also be addressed, such as the relationship between education and the requirements of the labour market, the balancing of family and occupational goals, and the need for greater occupational diversification. Progress has been made in these areas, but it has been mainly confined to young women. For older women, who do not have the specialized education necessary to occupy better-paying jobs, the problem is more difficult.

In this context, it is interesting to recall the results of the work of some U.S. researchers mentioned at the beginning of this chapter: the more occupational classifications are broken down and refined, the smaller is the earnings gap between men and women. This supports recommendations that one of the surest ways to improve the economic status of women is to prepare them to the same degree as men for occupations that command high salaries.

For example, it has already been mentioned that, on average, the hourly wages of women corresponded to 72 per cent of male wages in 1980. When, however, the *average* earnings gap is calculated for the 22 main occupational groups used in our classification system, this figure rises to 74 per cent. When the same calculations are made at the next disaggregation level (73 occupational classifications), the figure becomes 79 per cent. As the occupational groups are broken down further and further, female hourly wages approach those of men at a progressively slower rate, although the gap can never completely disappear. The gap could be reduced still further if the influence of certain socio-economic factors related to male/female behaviour patterns were taken into account. However, even after all these calculations, there would remain a difference between the earnings of men and women.¹⁹

These calculations demonstrate that even if a policy of equal pay for equal work were very strictly applied where it is most needed, while it would certainly improve the lot of women relative to men to some degree, it would do little towards eliminating the overall gap between their earnings. This may help explain in part why so few legal actions on this matter actually reach the courts. Since such cases often are

concerned with occupations at an even greater level of disaggregation than that of Statistics Canada's most detailed occupational classifications, earnings gaps between men and women are often too small to be worth filing a claim. Besides, the judgments awarded as a result of such proceedings, by the time they are put into practice, are usually quite small in monetary terms.²⁰

There is no gainsaying the fact that legislation on male/female wage parity serves a useful purpose. Indeed, as mentioned at the beginning of the study, there is no justification for paying different wages to men and women who have the same qualifications and perform equal or equivalent tasks within the same organization with the same level of productivity. Abuses of this kind, and even more flagrant examples, have certainly occurred in the past, and the mere fact that an equal-pay policy now exists in legislation has undoubtedly helped to rectify or improve some of these cases without their having to be brought before the courts. Moreover, the fact that recourse to the courts is now possible may be enough, if it is strictly enforced, to discourage those employers who might be tempted to maintain or reinstate such wage discrepancies.

In the long run, a more promising approach is to orient the education of women (while respecting their freedom of choice, naturally) more towards specialized fields, as is done for men. This does not prevent us in the meantime from promoting the extension of the concept of wage parity to levels where a fair comparison of different jobs is possible. Then it can be seen whether there are mechanisms in the market that cause a job to pay less, simply because it is considered "a woman's job." This will not only benefit women but also any men who may occupy such jobs.

This approach is not completely unrealistic. We have already seen that, where comparisons are possible, women are paid less than men and are let go more often than men because they are looked upon by employers as secondary breadwinners. Could it be that occupations that are considered as "women's jobs" have been adversely affected by this attitude and that this is why these occupations have been and continue to be low-paying positions?

If the equal-pay concept is carried too far, however, its application could involve enormous difficulties that could eventually lead to problems greater than those the principle is designed to prevent. Indeed, how can different jobs be fairly and equally evaluated, taking into account the various factors that affect wage levels, such as labour supply and demand, the personnel procedures of employers, and

job description and evaluation standards? The equal-pay principle will not be easy to put into practice; in some situations, a woman's employment opportunities may even be hurt if, for example, her earnings outstrip her productivity. The concept nevertheless deserves a closer examination, because unwarranted wage inequalities cannot be tolerated. Women in general will benefit from this action, since many work in companies where job security and personal bargaining power are very low.

Adult Training Programs

The main objective of the adult training programs offered by Canada Employment Centres is to enable eligible workers to complete their professional training or to acquire the skills necessary to enter other occupations. These programs can thus be of great benefit to women who are interested in entering nontraditional occupations.

Between 1973 and 1982, about 438,000 women and 764,000 men attended courses as part of the federal government's institutional-training program. In relation to the number of men and women in the labour market, the percentage of female participation in these courses was higher than for men. In our study sample, almost one quarter of the women admitted to the program had been at home for at least 24 of the 36 months preceding enrolment.

The industrial-training program has assisted some 100,000 women and 250,000 men since 1976. Very few women who are returning to the labour market participate in this program, since the latter involves subsidizing an employer to allow a worker to receive on-the-job training, and it is unusual for a woman re-entering the labour force to possess the prerequisites for the program.

Among the sample group used in the study,²¹ it was observed that women participating in the institutional-training program who were returning to work were more evenly distributed through all age groups than both men and women who were already working. Of this latter group, over 65 per cent were under 30 years of age (Table 2-15). It was also noted that men and women who were already working were more likely to sign up for specialized courses (i.e., courses oriented towards a particular occupation) than women returning to work. Three out of four men and two out of three women in the labour force elected to take these kinds of course.

Female participants in the institutional-training courses who were returning to work were more likely to be married than those already working (Table A-10). This shows yet again that family considerations no longer influence women the way they once did. It is also interesting to note that half of the women participating in the institutional-training program who were returning to work had been out of the labour market for over five years (Table A-11).

Table 2-15

Distribution of Men and Women Enrolled in the Institutional-Training Program, by Age Group and Nature of Course, Canada, 1973-82

	Women returning to work		Women already in the labour market		Men		Total
	Specialized course	General course	Specialized course	General course	Specialized course	General course	
	(Per cent)						
Age							
21-24	0.7	0.9	7.0	3.5	17.3	7.1	36.4
25-29	1.2	1.2	4.2	2.1	11.9	3.8	24.4
30-34	1.1	1.0	2.3	1.4	6.0	2.0	13.8
35-39	0.8	0.7	1.8	1.0	3.5	1.2	9.0
40-44	0.7	0.5	1.4	0.7	2.5	0.9	6.7
45 and over	1.1	0.5	2.2	0.8	4.2	1.0	9.8
Total	5.6	4.7	18.9	9.5	45.4	15.9	100.0

SOURCE: Employment and Immigration Canada, special tabulations from the longitudinal data file.

Table 2-16

Distribution of Women Enrolled in the Institutional-Training Program, by Chosen Occupation, Canada, 1973-82

	Women returning to work	Women already in the labour market
	(Per cent)	
Teaching	0.7	0.7
Health	10.1	8.3
Secretarial	58.8	57.3
Sales	2.3	1.4
Service	11.7	12.6
Manufacturing, repair	7.6	7.9
Other	8.8	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0

SOURCE Employment and Immigration Canada, special tabulations from the longitudinal data file.

Nevertheless, while the institutional-training program has enabled a significant number of women to continue their education – working women, as well as those entering or returning to the labour market – it has not contributed in any way to diversification in the female occupational structure. While 44 per cent

of women entering the labour market during the 1971-81 period went into male occupations, a very small percentage of the female program participants in our study sample made the same choice (Table 2-16). From this point of view, then, the program has made no contribution to female occupational diversification, although it is possible that the situation would have been even worse without the program. In this context, note that Employment and Immigration Canada has recently announced that the apprenticeship of new trades and new specializations will be made more accessible to women. Women's groups will also be able to apply for grants of up to \$50,000 from the Skills Growth Fund to develop projects for women with special training needs.

Recent experiments in the United States, involving the recognition of acquired skills, represent an interesting direction for future research as a means of encouraging more women to participate in training programs and to diversify their learning activities on the basis of skills acquired in the home and through volunteer work. This system should become increasingly popular in the United States and will enable women to pinpoint the fields and levels of study and the career areas that correspond best to their abilities.²² The Quebec Ministry of Education has already inaugurated a few projects of this kind.

3 Phases of the Life Cycle

Education

For many years, women in the labour force had a slightly higher average level of schooling than men (Table 3-1), but they were always outnumbered in institutions of higher learning. Twenty years ago, women accounted for only a little over one-fourth of university undergraduate enrolments and 15 per cent of postgraduate enrolments, and they tended to converge on a few areas of specialization. This situation has changed dramatically, particularly in the last 10 years or so.

Full-Time Enrolment

Between 1972 and 1981, the total number of women enrolled full-time in universities jumped from 119,000 to 183,000 – an increase of 54 per cent – while that of men increased from 203,500 to 219,000 – an increase of 7.5 per cent (Chart 3-1). Moreover, the gains made by women are not limited to enrolments. In 1972-73, 39 per cent of the total undergraduate student body was female; 10 years later (1981-82), this figure had climbed to 47 per cent – nearly half of all undergraduate enrolment. Yet the greatest progress was made at the master's degree and doctorate levels. Only 28 per cent of

enrolments at the master's degree level were women in 1972-73, but by 1981-82 this figure had reached 41 per cent. At the doctorate level, it was the same story: the female enrolment rate jumped from 19 to 31 per cent, even though Canada does not yet have a doctoral degree in nursing science, an area where women are heavily concentrated.¹

Two other trends are involved here. First, as they enter university, women are diversifying more than ever before in their choice of specialization; second, women who continue beyond the undergraduate level tend to be those who select nontraditional fields (Table 3-2). To illustrate, in 1972-73 just over 55 per cent of undergraduate female students opted for the humanities and teacher education, but by 1981-82 this figure had dropped to 48 per cent. At the master's degree level, the decline was even more noticeable – from 49 to 40 per cent – while at the doctorate level, the decrease was from 49 to 42 per cent. The number of women studying commerce has increased significantly: from only 2 per cent at the undergraduate level in 1972-73 to 10 per cent in 1981-82, a level that persisted to the master's degree level.

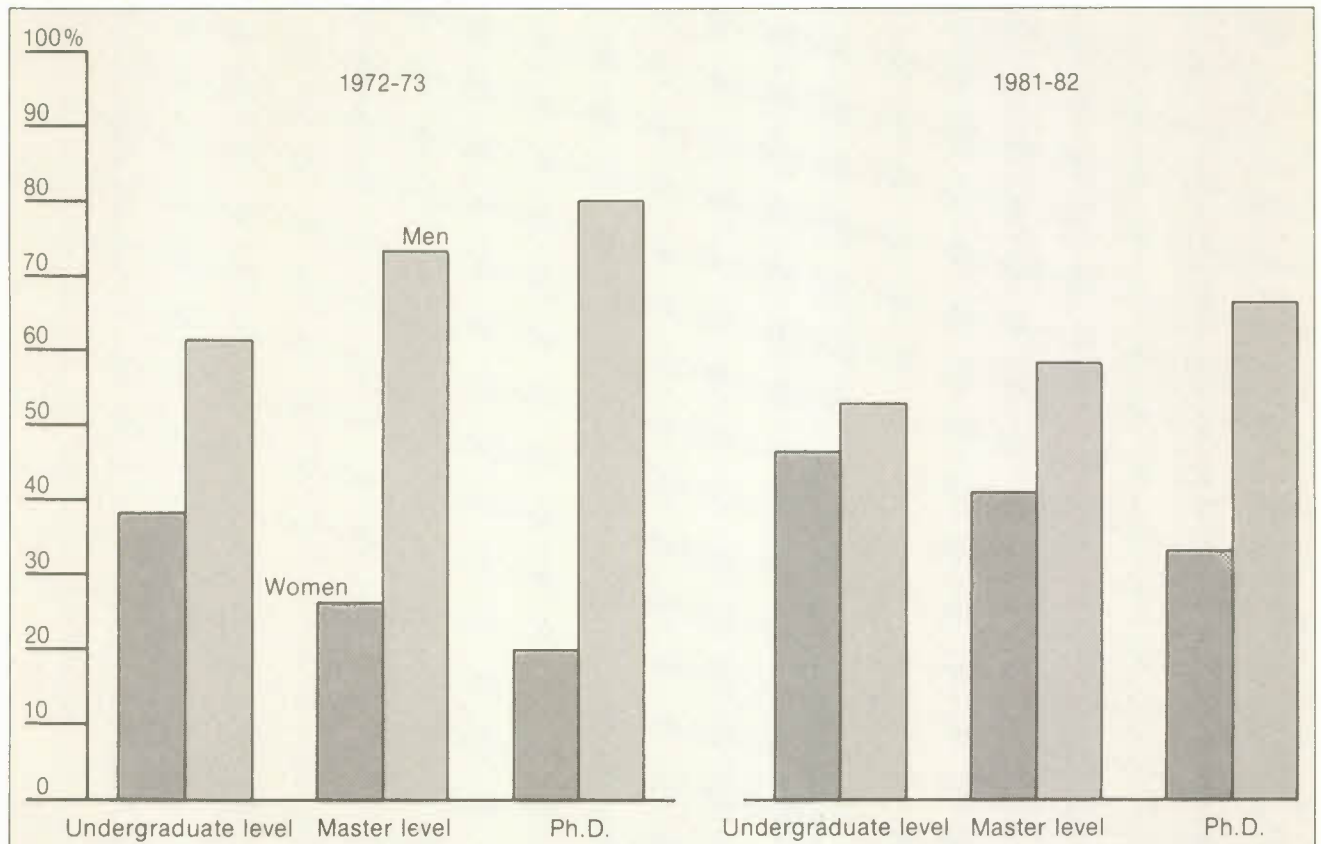
Table 3-1

Distribution of Labour Force, by Sex and Educational Attainment, Canada, 1961, 1971, and 1981

	Women			Men		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
	(Per cent)					
Primary or less	29.9	20.6	10.7	44.5	30.8	15.6
High school	62.4	66.1	53.5	46.4	53.8	46.4
Postsecondary	5.0	8.4	26.5	4.3	7.7	26.3
University degree	2.7	4.9	9.3	4.8	7.8	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(Years)					
Average educational attainment ¹	9.5	10.0	11.2	9.2	9.9	11.2

¹ The average was calculated by assuming 7 years for "primary or less," 10 years for "secondary," 13 years for "postsecondary," and 18 years for "university degree."

SOURCE Data from Statistics Canada.

Chart 3-1**Distribution of Full-Time University Students by Sex, by Level of Study, Canada, 1972-73 and 1981-82**

SOURCE Statistics Canada, Postsecondary Education Section, special tabulations.

The progress made by women in universities can also be assessed by looking at their numbers relative to men, by specialization (Table 3-3). It is very clear that although women continue to fill a large part of the openings in nursing science, teacher education, social services, and sociology, they are also making significant inroads into biology, veterinary medicine, zoology, dentistry, medicine, chemistry, economics, commerce, and law. The case of engineering also merits special attention: although there are still relatively few women in this discipline, their proportion of enrolments has climbed from 3 to 11 per cent over the past 10 years. The representation of women in agricultural science has doubled, and, as in engineering, the trend continues at the master's degree and doctorate levels.

Part-Time Enrolment

There are more women than men enrolled in part-time undergraduate courses, and their proportion

rose from 56 to 61 per cent between 1972 and 1982 (Table A-12). Although women are still outnumbered by men at the master's degree level, their numbers almost tripled during the same period; they now account for close to 41 per cent of enrolments, compared with 26 per cent in 1972. At the doctorate level, female representation has grown by 33 per cent, while the number of men has been declining; in 1982, women accounted for about 32 per cent of enrolments at this level, compared with only 21 per cent in 1972 (Table A-13).

Also, part-time female students at the undergraduate level are generally older than their male colleagues, and the gap has widened over the last 10 years. In 1972, 46 per cent of women and 39 per cent of men in these courses were over 30 years of age. By 1982, these statistics had risen to just over 56 and 47 per cent, respectively. This may be because women tend to return to school later in life. This age discrepancy

Table 3-2

Distribution of Female Full-Time University Students, by Specialization and Level of Study, Canada, 1972-73 and 1981-82

	1972-73			1981-82		
	Undergraduate level	Master's level	Doctorate	Undergraduate level	Master's level	Doctorate
	(Per cent)					
Agricultural and biological sciences	7.7	6.1	7.5	6.3	7.2	9.3
Agriculture	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.7	1.8
Biology	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.4	2.5	3.4
Veterinary medicine	0.2	--	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.4
Zoology	0.6	1.1	1.3	0.2	1.0	1.7
Education	43.2	17.3	11.7	39.8	19.1	16.9
Physical education	3.1	0.6	0.1	2.7	1.4	0.5
Engineering and sciences	0.6	1.3	1.7	2.6	2.7	2.1
Architecture	0.2	0.1	-	0.4	0.6	-
Engineering	0.3	1.0	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.8
Health sciences	10.0	5.5	5.7	8.7	7.9	7.9
Dentistry	0.2	0.1	-	0.3	0.1	-
Medicine	1.7	1.5	4.2	1.9	2.7	5.8
Nursing	4.5	1.6	...	3.7	1.7	...
Pharmacology	1.4	0.2	0.3	1.1	0.2	0.2
Humanities	11.9	31.7	38.1	8.4	20.7	25.0
History	2.0	2.9	3.4	1.1	2.0	3.3
Languages	7.8	15.5	30.4	4.9	8.8	17.2
Mathematics and physical sciences	3.2	5.6	7.9	3.9	4.3	7.2
Mathematics	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.5	0.7	1.3
Chemistry	0.6	1.5	3.8	0.5	1.1	3.7
Physics	0.1	0.4	1.2	0.1	0.3	0.9
Social sciences	17.5	30.6	26.6	27.1	37.9	31.4
Economics	0.5	1.1	0.8	1.4	1.6	2.4
Commerce	2.2	2.1	-	10.4	10.2	1.1
Law	1.5	0.2	0.5	2.4	0.8	0.2
Social services	1.7	8.8	0.4	2.0	5.2	0.7
Sociology	2.7	2.4	4.6	1.8	2.6	4.5
Total ¹	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1 Includes fields not stated and answers not applicable.

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Postsecondary Education Section, special tabulations.

between the sexes is not observed at the master's degree and doctorate level, however (Table A-14).

In addition 70 per cent of the women who enrolled in part-time undergraduate courses between 1972 and 1982 entered two fields considered to be male-dominated: commerce and science. At the master's degree level, the number of women in commercial studies also increased, and inroads were made in this field at the doctorate level. While most doctoral candidates follow more traditional lines of study than their undergraduate counterparts, if this latter group pursues their studies to the graduate level, this state of affairs will not last long.

Similar trends are found at the community college level, where over the past 10 years full-time female

enrolment has increased by 80 per cent, compared to a 50 per cent rise in full-time male enrolment.² In 1981 women accounted for about half the enrolments in such programs as management, general administration, computer science, and financial management, although there were still relatively few women in engineering and natural science.

As pointed out in the preceding section, the diversification of women into nontraditional specializations in both universities and colleges has already started to bear fruit. Since this diversification is expected to accelerate over the next few years, it should have a considerable impact on the occupational structure of the labour force. There is a good

Table 3-3**Proportion of Women Among Full-Time University Students, by Specialization and Level of Study, Canada, 1972-73 and 1981-82**

	1972-73			1981-82		
	Undergraduate level	Master's level	Doctorate	Undergraduate level	Master's level	Doctorate
	(Per cent)					
Agricultural and biological sciences	41.4	27.4	15.1	52.7	41.2	26.1
Agriculture	16.8	13.9	10.1	36.6	35.6	21.1
Biology	33.0	30.5	16.0	47.9	40.4	27.1
Veterinary medicine	18.5	8.3	13.6	48.8	36.5	37.5
Zoology	27.5	28.0	11.3	40.4	35.5	25.7
Education	49.7	43.7	29.9	57.7	57.7	48.4
Physical education	42.7	27.5	3.7	50.9	41.3	30.6
Engineering and sciences	2.7	3.3	2.8	10.6	10.5	6.9
Architecture	11.7	7.2	-	27.3	25.7	-
Engineering	1.7	2.9	2.9	8.5	7.3	6.3
Health sciences	46.2	29.4	15.7	63.1	57.8	33.3
Dentistry	8.3	16.7	-	22.7	26.2	-
Medicine	22.5	29.2	20.3	38.0	40.7	33.6
Nursing	98.1	95.0	...	97.4	93.5	...
Pharmacology	53.8	20.4	20.0	64.2	27.4	11.9
Humanities	51.9	42.5	34.2	59.5	53.6	41.4
History	33.0	27.6	19.1	42.4	39.5	31.3
Languages	65.0	51.7	45.6	74.2	63.5	52.6
Mathematics and physical sciences	25.3	18.4	7.7	28.1	21.2	13.8
Mathematics	30.3	23.0	7.9	35.4	23.4	16.9
Chemistry	21.0	21.2	9.4	29.9	25.7	19.3
Physics	8.2	5.7	4.4	11.3	9.6	7.2
Social sciences	30.2	23.4	23.5	44.9	40.8	37.4
Economics	12.9	11.0	6.9	28.0	25.6	16.1
Commerce	12.4	5.3	-	37.3	30.7	22.0
Law	18.0	7.7	33.3	39.9	37.0	15.9
Social services	72.4	53.7	34.8	81.4	69.2	59.0
Sociology	57.0	36.8	32.7	67.3	51.9	46.4

SOURCE Statistics Canada, Postsecondary Education Section, special tabulations.

chance that the record established by women in the 1970s, when 44 per cent of new female entrants to the labour market selected male occupations, will be surpassed in the 1980s.

The gains women have made are due, at least in part, to the vigorous efforts of provincial ministries of education and other organizations (including women's groups), which over the last few years have encouraged young women to continue their studies at higher levels and to expand the spectrum of their occupational choices. The success of these initiatives should encourage these organizations to continue their efforts in this regard and to search for ways to make their adult training programs even more effective.

Although progress of this kind in the schools should be reflected by improvements in the economic status of women in the labour market, there are indications that the struggle is far from over. A 1978 study by Statistics Canada surveyed 45 per cent of university and college graduates from the years 1976⁹ (excluding Quebec) and compiled extensive data on where they stood two years after graduation, as well as their opinions of their former study programs, their jobs, and their earnings (Table 3-4). The Statistics Canada study is the first of its kind, and it is to be hoped that it will not be the last.

The study recorded virtually no difference between male and female university graduates as far as satisfaction with job and earnings was concerned, as

Table 3-4

Employment Picture in 1978, by Sex, Two Years After Graduation

	University graduates		College graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	(Per cent)			
No relationship between job and field of study	18.4	19.2	9.1	13.8
Dissatisfied with job	12.5	12.2	11.2	14.3
Leaving job within 3 months	24.4	24.4	22.2	23.3
Dissatisfied with salary	18.2	18.9	27.5	22.4
Regret choice of field of study	25.2	23.9	26.3	24.9
Planning postsecondary enrolment in next 2 years for career prospects	39.5	39.0	32.6	37.3

SOURCE W. Clark and Z. Zsigmond, *Job Market Reality for Postsecondary Graduates: Employment Outcome by 1978, Two Years after Graduation*, Statistics Canada, Cat. 81-572 (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1981), Tables 6 and 7.

well as their rate of leaving work after three months and their desire to better their education through job-related studies. Slightly more men than women, however, saw no relation between their fields of study and their jobs, and a somewhat higher number of women found reason to regret their choice of discipline.

The differences between men and women were much more pronounced among college graduates. For example, more women were dissatisfied with their wages, while more men were dissatisfied with their jobs. Moreover, more men saw no relation between their job and their field of study, and more men were interested in taking additional courses at the post-secondary level to further their career. But here again, more women were dissatisfied with their choice of education program.

These results seem to indicate that the more men and women continue their education, the more their attitudes toward labour market conditions converge. This study confirmed another, more disturbing point, as did another more recent Statistics Canada study⁴ – namely, that given equal qualifications and equivalent duties, men are often better paid than women. Among university graduates there is a gap of 10 per cent in favour of men; the gap is 20 per cent among college graduates. At least part of the gap can be attributed to differences in educational choices. Fields traditionally dominated by women, which even today remain the choice of many women, generally command lower wages than male-dominated fields. Yet, given both equivalent qualifications and experience, more men than women attain high-level positions. In the experience of the authors, it is not unusual to see a woman with a better educational background earning less than her male counterpart.⁵

Labour Market Entry

When a group of workers has little success in reducing the relative gap in hourly wages that separates them from another group, the situation is usually due to one, or a combination, of the following factors.

- There may be factors in the labour market itself – discrimination, segregation, lack of access to existing information networks, and various institutional barriers – that are preventing the members of the disadvantaged group from exploiting their talents as fully as in another group. These factors are often cited as the reason behind the unequal economic status of men and women as far as both labour market access and promotion are concerned.

- It may be that women are failing to enter the sectors or specializations that are most in demand on the labour market and that command higher wages. Sex stereotyping (or the socialization process in general) may be at the root of such a situation if personal preferences are not involved. It was seen earlier that women have made great strides in this area.

- Finally, it could also be that the data used in the analysis are too general and so have partially masked countervailing tendencies in the labour market. For example, while women in some categories may have made significant inroads in certain sectors of the economy, other women may have lost ground, so that the gains of the former group are nullified by the lack of success of the latter. It is important to make a distinction between these two phenomena, so that the factors that aided the successful group can be identified and encouraged in the future.

The compensation phenomenon discussed above did, in fact, occur during the 1970s. As discussed in the previous chapter, a large group of women entered the better-paid male occupations, but an even larger group entered the lower-paid female occupations. In addition, as seen in the preceding section, in the last decade more young women have taken nontraditional routes to their education and have pursued their studies farther than ever before. The true extent of this movement, however, has been masked by the arrival on the market of large numbers of older women returning to work along traditional lines.

There are two possible explanations for the greater occupational diversification of women. First, the young women just entering the market may be making occupational choices that differ from those of their predecessors; and, second, older women entering the labour market may be changing the direction of their careers (if they are returning to work) or may be making nontraditional choices if they are entering the market for the first time. In actual fact though, older women did not contribute significantly to occupational diversification during the study period.

For men, labour market entry is usually made between the ages of 15 and 24, depending on the individual's type and duration of schooling. But, because so many women return to work or start to work late in life, a discussion of women cannot be restricted to such a well-defined age group.

One way to make a comparative study of the status of men and women in this regard is to compare the work force of a given age group in 1971 with the same "generation"⁶ 10 years later (Table 3-5). For example, there were nearly 271,000 working women in the 15-19 age group in 1971; 10 years later, the same group (now aged 25 to 29) had almost 680,000 members. This means that at least 409,000 women joined this group between 1971 and 1981. (Since some of the original 271,000 women must have left the labour force for various reasons in the meantime, the actual number of recruits is probably over 409,000.)

Up until age 54, the number of women entering or leaving the labour force during the study period exceeds the number of those who leave. Beyond that age, the numbers start to decline. By contrast, male entries and returns (the latter are probably small in number) increase to the age of 34, after which they drop off quickly.

Once again, the influence of family responsibilities on female labour market participation is clear from figures for the youngest group of women. Only 35,000 women had joined the ranks of the 20-24 age group by 1981, despite the fact that this generation had the largest increase in people of working age.

By making the assumption that entries to the labour market are made up to the age of 34 and that later additions are to be considered returns or late

Table 3-5

Change in Numbers of Men and Women in the Labour Force, by Age Group, Canada, 1971-81

Age	Female labour force			Male labour force		
	1971	1981	Change ¹	1971	1981	Change ¹
15-19	270,725			358,565		
20-24	542,900			768,905		
25-29	327,440	679,845	409,120	718,905	945,120	586,555
30-34	226,875	577,990	35,090	602,990	889,665	120,760
35-39	224,290	463,275	135,835	587,085	708,645	-10,260
40-44	238,140	382,605	155,730	580,180	569,155	-33,835
45-49	243,140	331,360	107,070	546,185	530,190	-56,895
50-54	200,240	287,915	49,775	450,745	502,095	-78,085
55-59	160,830	226,805	-16,335	338,360	429,120	-117,065
60-64		126,050	-74,390		279,675	-171,070
65 and over		41,570	-119,260		117,875	-270,485
Total	2,434,780	3,117,415	682,635	5,001,255	4,971,540	-29,715

¹ The change is calculated by subtracting the pairs of figures connected by arrows, and the result represents the number of persons by which the particular age group increased or decreased over the 1971-81 period.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

entries, it is possible to compare the 1971 workforce (with ages ranging from 25 to 54) with the 1981 workforce (with ages from 35 to 64). It can be seen that during that period, just under 450,000 women belonging to this age group entered the labour market, while the number of men shrank by almost 175,000. This means that at least one-fourth of the increased female presence consisted of women returning to work or making a late entry. For the most part, these women constitute a distinct group and tend to make different occupational choices than younger women, as will be seen further on.

There are at least two ways that the occupational diversification of the female labour force by age can be analysed. The first consists in examining the occupational profile of women in, for example, the 15-19 age group who were working in male occupations in 1971, and then to compare it with the 15-19 age group in 1981. This approach reveals whether any fundamental changes took place in the occupational choices of young women. The second approach is to compare the occupational profile of our 15-19 age group in 1971 with that of the corresponding group in 1981, now aged 25 to 29. Such an approach reveals how the workers who joined this generation in the intervening 10 years have changed its original profile.

Adopting the second approach, it can be seen that in 1971 some 37 per cent of women between the ages of 15 and 19 were working in male occupations. Ten years later, this figure had not changed (Table 2-10), even though the total number of working women in this age group had grown from 271,000 to 680,000. This means that of the 409,000 women joining the group during this period, the percentage of those who chose male occupations was identical to that of the original group of women. Was any progress made, then? The first reaction might be "no," but in fact significant gains were made.

It can be seen from Table 2-10 that in 1971 there were fewer women from the 20-34 age group working in male occupations. Because the percentage of women aged 25 to 29 working in male occupations did not change between 1971 and 1981, it can be said that the women who entered the market during this period helped make up this deficiency. Perhaps in 1971 it was more difficult to combine life as a wife and mother with a "man's" job rather than a "woman's" job. This could explain why the proportion of women between the ages of 20 and 34 in male occupations is so low, although the gap has diminished since 1971. Perhaps it is easier these days for a woman to combine a family with a "man's" career, or perhaps it is because women in these age groups are simply not having as many children as before, on the

average. Whatever the explanation, it must also be remembered that technical advances have been making such occupations less demanding in physical terms.

In 1971, 26 per cent of women in the 20-24 age group were working in male occupations. Ten years later, the figure for the same group had climbed to 37 per cent. During those 10 years, the number of women in this group rose from 543,000 to 578,000 – a fairly modest gain of 6 per cent. This implies that fewer women working in male occupations are leaving work to start a family, although they are forced to take time off when their children are born. Once again, this brings up the issue of the relationship between family life and a career in a male-dominated field.

More detailed information on the various age groups and their occupational diversification into male-dominated and better-paid occupations is presented in the appendix (Tables A-15 through A-18). These data show that the tendency of young women between the ages of 15 and 19 to enter female occupations (where women account for 85 per cent of workers) has dropped, while their representation in highly male-dominated occupations (where men account for at least 80 per cent of workers) has been on the rise. In fact, the higher the male dominance of a field, numerically speaking, the greater the degree of progress made by women of this age group. In contrast to some other groups, however, women in this category have not had great success in reducing the earnings gap with men. In many cases, the situation has actually grown worse. For women between the ages of 20 and 34, however, the progress made in terms of occupational diversification is very evident, and the most important gains in relative earnings were made in highly male-dominated occupations.

Birth of Children

On the average, some 140,000 women a year left work because of pregnancy between 1978 and 1981 (Table A-19), and an average of 70 per cent were eligible for unemployment insurance (UI) benefits. Since approximately 90 per cent of women who received maternity benefits were between the ages of 20 and 34, it appears that each year about 5 per cent of women in the age group quit their jobs because of pregnancy.

The UI program originally provided maternity benefits for a maximum of 15 weeks, using a fairly rigid formula for determining the number of weeks that could be taken before and after the delivery. In January 1976, the formula was made more flexible,

and it was improved still further in January 1984, when more latitude was introduced in the way women can use their benefit weeks. This may help explain why the average number of weeks of maternity benefits has grown steadily since 1976. Whereas in 1975 women received benefits for an average of 11.4 weeks, by 1980 this figure had reached 14.3 weeks (Table 3-6). The average age of women recipients has also steadily increased, which tends to confirm the theory that more and more couples are delaying starting their families.

Table 3-6

Average Weeks of Unemployment Insurance Benefits Received for Reason of Maternity, and Average Age of Recipient, Canada, 1975-80

	Average number of weeks of benefit	Average age of recipient
1975	11.4	26.2
1976	13.0	26.3
1977	13.6	26.4
1978	13.8	26.7
1979	14.1	26.8
1980	14.3	27.0

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, *Benefit Periods Established and Terminated Under the Unemployment Insurance Act*, Cat. 73-201, 1972-78, 1979, and 1980; and special tabulations.

As shown in Table 2-4, the labour force participation rates of women in the 20-34 age group grew considerably between 1971 and 1981. We have also just seen, however, how some of these women leave their jobs at one time or another to have a child. In some cases, work is quite short – indeed, this trend is growing at present – but sometimes the period of absence may be considerably longer. Some women eventually opt for part-time work. The impact of having children is shown clearly on Chart 2-3, where it can be seen that women in the 20-34 age group devote less time to paid employment on an annual basis than older women. This illustrates once again the extent to which family responsibilities restrict the ability of some women to obtain or hold down a job.

Governments have made some effort in the last few years to set up daycare services in order to increase both the access of women to the labour market and the number of hours they are available for work. According to a recent study, in 1980 there were 109,135 places available in daycare centres and approved kindergartens⁷ – only 5 per cent of the 2.2

million preschool children in Canada. This does not necessarily imply a severe inadequacy in the social infrastructure, however, since the vast majority of childcare arrangements are private. Another recent study showed that more than half of all preschoolers are looked after by someone other than their parents.⁸ Of this number, the parents concerned would alter the daycare arrangements in about 165,000 or a mere 15 per cent of the cases. Of these parents, only 48,000 (29 per cent) would like to be able to send their child to a daycare centre. Neither the age of the mother nor that of the child influenced these attitudes (Tables A-20 and A-21), which shows that young women currently do not have greater need of daycare services than older women and that the need for daycare is not more pressing for young children than for older children. It should lastly be noted that the level of dissatisfaction is more or less the same regardless of the parents' income (Table A-22). The same study also discovered that few women – only 1 in 25 – had had to quit or refuse a job during the study period because of problems with daycare arrangements for their children. Thus, even though the presence of children undoubtedly affects a woman's labour market availability, nothing in this study indicates that major changes in this area are a top priority for women at the present time.

Caution must nonetheless be exercised in the interpretation of these results, since wide variation exists in the availability and costs of childcare services. Moreover, the birth rate could rise in the near future, which might well lead to an increased demand for daycare. The present supply situation for these services reflects the fact that most women entering the labour market during the 1970s had few family responsibilities, since some 83 per cent either did not have any children or else had school-age children (Table A-2).

Governments must follow this situation closely and continue to monitor changes in the needs of women by means of studies such as the one conducted by Statistics Canada in February 1981. More importance must be placed on the attitudes of young couples, since these affect future needs. The government should assist in setting up daycare centres where the situation warrants and should encourage the development of alternative services in order to help alleviate the restrictions facing couples who want to start a family, particularly those at the low end of the pay scale.

Reduced Family Responsibilities

The group of women who return to the labour market following reduced family responsibilities defies easy definition nowadays. Once a wife has passed

the crucial age of 35, couples generally do not expect to have any more children, and their youngest child may already be attending school. This affords many women the opportunity to return to work or to enter the labour market for the first time. As mentioned above, it is clear that those women who contributed the most to the growth of the female labour force were in fact those with few or no family responsibilities.

This probably explains why a mere 4 per cent of women surveyed in the daycare study cited earlier indicated that the need to look after a child had interfered with their work to the point that they had been forced to quit or refuse a job, and why only 5 per cent stated that they would like to see an expansion in daycare services. In fact, only 15 per cent of working women have preschool children, while this is true of only 18 per cent of women who are not labour market participants.

In the past, it often could be taken for granted that a woman over the age of 35 was in a position to enter or return to the labour market because there were no longer any young children at home to be cared for. Nowadays this is equally true of many women in their 20s.

Of the total number of women who joined the labour force between 1971 and 1981, 625,000 were between the ages of 15 and 29 and without children. Some of this number will undoubtedly have children in the future; and, because of the lack of daycare services, some will probably be forced to leave their jobs temporarily. But this does not change the fact that women are having fewer and fewer children, on average and in total, and that the farther women pursue their education, the higher their rate of labour force participation.

In light of this information, employers who used to be loath to hire or promote a married woman in the belief that she would eventually leave the job to have children should reevaluate their hiring and promotion practices.⁹ Although the female participation rate reaches its peak between the ages of 20 and 24, it is nevertheless true that a dramatic increase occurred between 1971 and 1981 in the 25-34 age group (Table 2-4).

As far as the amount of time spent at work is concerned, in 1981 this statistic remained steady for women aged 25 to 54 at about 400 fewer hours per year than for men (Chart 2-3).

It was this same group of women who contributed the most to reducing the earnings gap between men and women (Chart 2-4); this is true even in terms of hourly earnings. It thus appears that the greater stability of women in the labour market has not only

resulted in higher earnings on an annual basis – which could conceivably be caused simply by an increase in the amount of time worked – but in better hourly earnings. This suggests that the job circumstances or professional qualifications of women have improved. It is interesting to note that in the 1971 Census, this age group had displayed the largest earnings gap in relation to men. Although this situation persisted in 1981, the gap was smaller.

In general, the group of women aged over 35 who were working or looking for work during the 1970s made no contribution to the diversification efforts of the female labour force. In fact, there was actually a slight decline, as seen in the previous chapter (Table 2-10).

Retirement and Pre-Retirement

For most working people, retirement involves a considerable drop in income. For nonparticipants in the labour market, who have not been able to accumulate benefits through any of the several programs available, retirement very often equals poverty. Women are much more often confronted with such difficulties than are men, and the situation is aggravated by the longer female life expectancy.

Canada's population is definitely growing older. The 1951 Census found that people over 65 years of age represented 7.8 per cent of the population. Thirty years later, they accounted for 10 per cent. Within this group, the proportion of women is also steadily increasing, from close to 50 per cent in 1951 to over 57 per cent in 1981. It is expected that by the year 2000 this figure will have passed the 60 per cent mark.

Poverty is more common among elderly women than among elderly men. In 1980, 21 per cent of families headed by a woman over 65 were impoverished, compared with 13.3 per cent for families with an elderly male head. The number of older women who live alone – widows for the most part – is three times higher than the number of unattached men; and in 1980, 65 per cent of unattached elderly women were poor, compared with only 52 per cent of men. Within the elderly population the risk of being poor increases with age: seven out of every ten women over 70 years of age in 1980 were poor.¹⁰

There have been many improvements throughout the 1960s and 1970s that have helped to bring the standard of living of elderly people closer to that enjoyed by the general population. But although poverty may have been reduced for senior citizens who are members of families, that is not the case for those who live alone (Table 3-7); their economic plight is the hardest of all. While in 1971 there was no

difference between men and women as far as the amount of transfer payments was concerned, a gap has appeared in recent years as a result of a discrepancy in favour of men in Canada Pension Plan (CCP) and Quebec Pension Plan (QPP) payments. But it is with respect to other sources of income that the relative economic status of women is most precarious, and overall their incomes are four-fifths of those of men. The fact that women have worked less than men and so have not had the opportunity to accumulate the same pension credits is a major cause of this problem.

Table 3-7
Income of Economic Families¹ with Head Aged 65 and Over, by Family Status, Canada, 1971 and 1981

	Average transfer income		Total average income	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
	(Dollars)			
Married couples	2,019	7,462	5,894	18,197
Other families	2,018	7,086	8,217	25,473
Unattached persons				
Men	1,310	5,002	3,252	11,021
Women	1,305	4,642	2,492	8,978

1 The economic family is defined as a group of persons who share the same living accommodations and who are united by blood, marriage or adoption.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, Survey of Consumer Finances, unpublished data.

One of the publications accompanying the federal government's recent Green Paper on pension reform states that the pension problems of women are partly the result of the difficulties that they face in the labour market.¹¹ Compared with men, women are much less often covered by employer-sponsored pension plans, because they tend to work part-time or in small, nonunionized companies where plans of this type are rarely offered. Women also earn less than men, and so their pension entitlements are smaller. Moreover, women run the risk of losing such protection because of their high job mobility and the fact that pensions in the private sector are frequently not transferable. In retirement, women suffer from the lack of indexing in most private plans and from erosion of the real value of benefits over their longer average life span. Women outside the paid labour force are often inadequately protected even by government programs. A major task ahead, therefore, in addressing shortcomings in social safety nets, will be to improve

the mix of public and private pension entitlements for the elderly, particularly for elderly women.

Thus there are two factors that combine to consign unattached elderly women to a life of poverty: their income from other sources is lower than that of men, and there are three times as many of them in this category. In addition, people in this situation do not enjoy the economic advantages of living as a couple, not to mention the higher total benefits received by two people. As of June 30, 1984, unattached pensioners and families with one pension (the other spouse being under age 60) receive a combined total of \$533.61 a month, made up of the Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS) and the Old Age Security (OAS) benefit. Families with two pensioners (one spouse aged 60 to 64) receive a total of \$944.78 a month.¹²

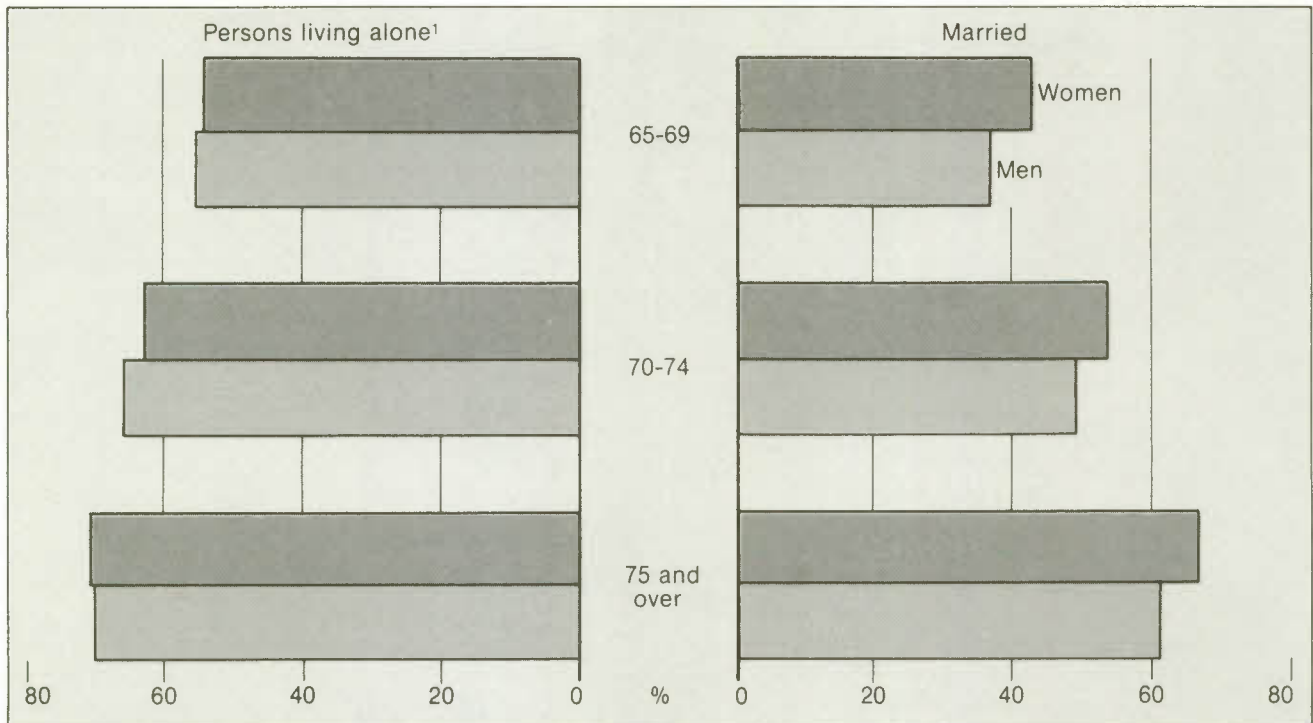
In reality, the basic problem does not stem from some discriminatory feature of the system against women, as shown by Charts 3-2 and 3-3. The maximum GIS is received by people whose total income aside from OAS payments is zero or close to it. The supplement is reduced by 50 cents for every dollar above this amount in the case of single pensioners, and by 25 cents for pensioner couples. In this respect, men and women are treated pretty well equally. However, an increase in payments, especially for single pensioners, would be of greater benefit to women by virtue of their greater numbers. Six provinces – Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia – have already taken steps in this direction by paying a supplement (the amount varying from province to province) to recipients of the federal GIS payments.

Last, there is the problem of widows in pre-retirement. At the present time, a wife whose husband reaches retirement age and is entitled to the GIS is eligible for a pension if she is 60 years old, while a widow of the same age is not eligible. Often, it is the widow who bears the greater financial burden, and many of these women find themselves in dire economic straits, especially if they have not worked themselves or if their husband's retirement plan does not provide adequate survivor benefits. The federal government, when reviewing the OAS program, as well as the CPP and the QPP, should take the opportunity to correct this anomaly in the system that discriminates against widows.

Times do change, and one of the great advantages enjoyed by the increasing numbers of working women is their eligibility for CPP, QPP, and private pension plan benefits after they have worked the minimum number of contributory years. Women in several categories are still at a disadvantage, however. First, there are those women who worked for a

Chart 3-2

Proportion of Women and Men Aged 65 and Over Receiving Guaranteed Income Supplement (Whole or Partial Benefit), by Family Status and Age Group, Canada, June 1982



¹ Includes single, divorced, and widowed persons.

SOURCE Based on data from Health and Welfare Canada.

time and then left work to remain at home. Even though they contributed to the CPP or QPP both before and after their period of absence, until recently their noncontributory years were ineligible for pension benefits. The QPP now contains a clause stipulating that years of absence due to childrearing are exempt from this rule; the CPP has a similar clause, which was endorsed in principle in the 1983 Ontario budget. The extension of this measure to all Canadian women would surely help to improve their economic status at retirement age. The next step might be to raise the ceiling on allowable income tax deductions for contributions to RSPs and RRSPs in order to encourage spouses to accumulate pension credits in their own names. This measure was, in fact, announced in the February 1984 federal budget. Another measure suggested by the National Action Committee on the Status of Women is that real increases in the universal OAS/GIS entitlements, taking into account available resources, should be directed to the income-tested GIS, as it is "a more efficient medium if alleviation of poverty is the objective since its benefits can be concentrated on those who are in

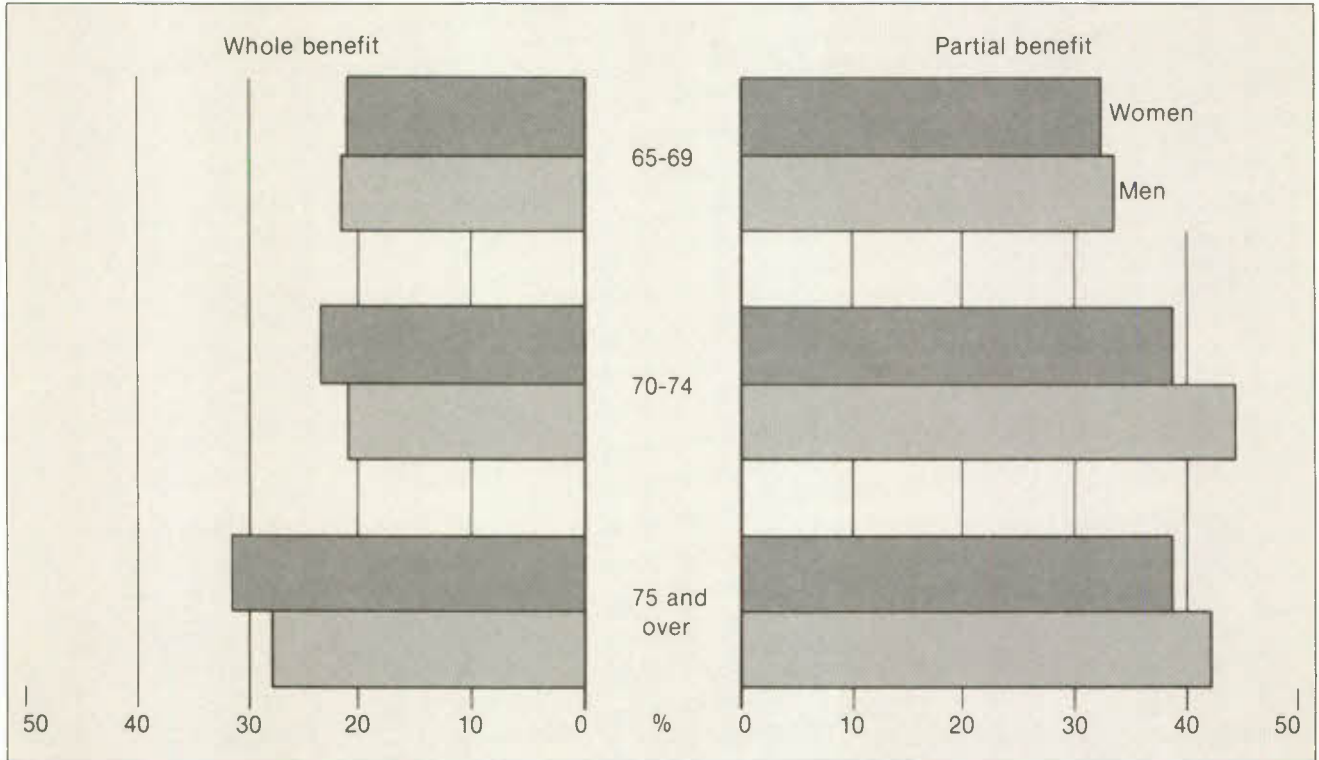
need."¹³ The February 1984 federal budget took a step in this direction by raising the GIS by \$50 a month for single pensioners and by guaranteeing the same minimum income to those who receive a partial OAS benefit as to other senior citizens.

There are also many women who have remained housewives for most of their lives. These women have usually worked very little, if at all, and they are only indirectly eligible for CPP or QPP benefits through their husbands. If they are widowed, survivor benefits are usually minimal. The plight of older, unattached women demonstrates that the concept of women as dependents must be abandoned once and for all – but it is a concept that lingers on in some existing schemes. In most private plans, as well as in the CPP and QPP, the contributor suffers no loss of benefits if the spouse dies, but the reverse is not true. Moreover, should a divorce or legal separation occur, either before or after retirement, the woman's pension eligibility may well be in jeopardy.

It is important that reform move in the direction of recognizing the contribution made by women to a

Chart 3-3

Proportion of Women and Men¹ Living Alone Who Receive Guaranteed Income Supplement (Whole or Partial Benefit), by Age Group, Canada, June 1982



¹ Includes single, divorced, and widowed persons.
 SOURCE Based on data from Health and Welfare Canada.

marriage partnership, whether or not they also are gainfully employed. For example, it would improve the economic status of a considerable number of older women if the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans were to extend the principle of joint family assets and sharing of pension benefits – as presently provided for in divorce cases – to make it universally compulsory and equally applicable in cases of legal

separation, incapacity, or the death of one spouse. Several of the recommendations made by the Parliamentary Task Force on Pension Reform in its last report are a step in this direction.¹⁴ The February 1984 federal budget also proposed improvements in this area, but the consent of the provinces is required before they can be made law.

4 Specific Problems

Single-Parent Families

The incidence of single-parent families grew by 25 per cent during the 1970s (Table 4-1), so that now one out of six families has only one parent.¹ According to a Statistics Canada study, only one seventh of fathers who attempt to gain custody of their children actually manage to do so.² This explains in part why five out of six single-parent families are headed by women.

Twenty years or so ago, widows and widowers made up close to three-quarters of single-parent family heads; today they account for less than half. There is nothing to indicate that this trend, which is primarily due to the sharp increase in separations and divorces, will slow down in the coming years. In 1970,

almost 30,000 couples were divorced. In 1981, there were nearly 68,000.³

Few single-parent family heads are men. And women in this situation are usually not in an enviable position. The employment earnings of many of these families are very low, and transfer income is not enough to rescue them from poverty. The 1979 Survey of Consumer Finances revealed that in 44 per cent of the cases, the income of single-parent families probably placed them below the poverty line. In addition, judicial decisions have tended to award custody of the children (along with modest child support) to the mother, which has helped perpetuate the sharp differences between the economic status of men and women.⁴

Table 4-1

Incidence of Single-Parent Families – Official Rate¹ and Real Rate,² Canada, 1961-81

	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	Change	
						1961-81	1971-81
(Per cent)							
Total families (thousands)	4,147	4,526	5,053	5,728	6,325	52.5	25.2
Single-parent families (thousands)	347	372	477	559	714	105.8	49.7
Real rate (per cent)	11.4	11.2	13.2	14.0	16.5	44.7	25.0
Official rate (per cent)	8.4	8.2	9.5	9.8	11.3	34.5	18.9

1 As calculated by Statistics Canada.

2 Excluding families without children.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1961 and 1981 Censuses; and David-McNeil and Morin-Fortier. *Autonomie économique des femmes*, p. 26.

We are not aware of any cross-Canada study that adequately measures the size of the problem of nonpayment of child support and its various socio-economic consequences. The provinces are taking an active role in this area, however, and studies have been carried out in the last few years that have examined the situation in a particular province in some depth.⁵ The studies conducted in Alberta are the most complete. The federal government is also involved with the question.

Various works indicate that the situation is pretty much the same in all provinces. A divorcee without children – or one who was not awarded custody of the children (if any) in the course of separation or

divorce proceedings – is unlikely to see the courts grant her support payments. Child support is awarded to only about one-third of divorced or separated women with children. Moreover, less than half of debtor ex-husbands live up to their financial obligations, and many of those who do, pay less than the full amount ordered by the courts. Furthermore, if the mother delays too long instituting proceedings to recover what is owed to her and her children, judges are often reluctant to grant arrears.⁶ Ex-husbands offer many reasons for nonpayment, but it appears that in most cases it is not because of financial difficulties that the court order is ignored. Some provinces have taken stronger action to compel the payment of support, and the situation in these provinces has improved.

This issue is difficult to analyse because child support falls under provincial jurisdiction, and each province addresses or defines the matter differently. Not all the provinces have reciprocity agreements on child support; where they do exist, they are not always easy to apply. This makes it easier for ex-husbands to abdicate their responsibilities.

The situation is often complicated by the fact that separated or divorced men often remarry or live with a woman who is herself separated or divorced and heading a single-parent family. Such a situation makes it more difficult for the ex-husband to meet his responsibilities toward the children of his first marriage, while at the same time the woman he is living with has less need of child support from her ex-husband. The frequency of situations of this type is apparently relatively high.⁷

Several authors believe that the amounts awarded by the courts are too low and that they should be subject to an automatic indexing clause, as has been the case in Quebec since 1980. One-third of the ex-husband's net income should be allocated for support payments; according to a recent study, the average amount stipulated by the courts is only 20 per cent.⁸

Given the problems encountered in collecting adequate support from their children's fathers and the demands in time and money created by their family responsibilities, combined with the disadvantages that women face generally in competing in the labour market, it is not surprising that so many women heading single-parent families resort to welfare at one time or another. In 1978, over one-third of social assistance recipients were sole-support mothers. The economically disadvantaged status of this group is confirmed by Statistics Canada's low-income calculations, which show that three out of seven families headed by women were below the poverty line in 1981.

The economic problems of single-parent families are complex and cannot be solved simply by calling for more generous social assistance programs. The solution lies in a more efficient system for determining child support levels, as well as in programs to help these women return to the labour market and to work enough hours to achieve financial self-sufficiency. Daycare subsidies for families in need represent a step in the right direction. Adult training programs should also prove useful. It is worth noting in this respect that, effective September 1, 1983, childcare allowances paid by Employment and Immigration Canada were doubled for eligible men and women participating in the National Training Program.

The effectiveness of these programs could be further enhanced if there were some financial incentive for single-parent mothers to participate. A first step could be the reimbursement of expenses involved in program participation, so that the participants' standard of living would not be adversely affected. At present, welfare benefits in Quebec are doubled for participants in such programs who are under 25 years of age.

The economic position of single-parent families could be improved still further if the federal government were to amend the Income Tax Act so that the current exemptions for wholly dependent children would become income tax credits for taxpayers whose taxable income falls below a certain level. In addition, the provincial governments – in collaboration as needed with the federal Department of Justice, Revenue Canada Taxation, and Employment and Immigration Canada – should crack down on spouses or parents who deliberately ignore a judicial order to pay child support and should allow the wages of such persons to be garnisheed. The creation of a national record of divorces, as recently proposed to the provinces by the federal Department of Justice, constitutes a step in the right direction. A series of recommendations on childcare and child support legislation will shortly be submitted to both the federal and the provincial governments by a conference of deputy justice ministers.⁹

Native Women

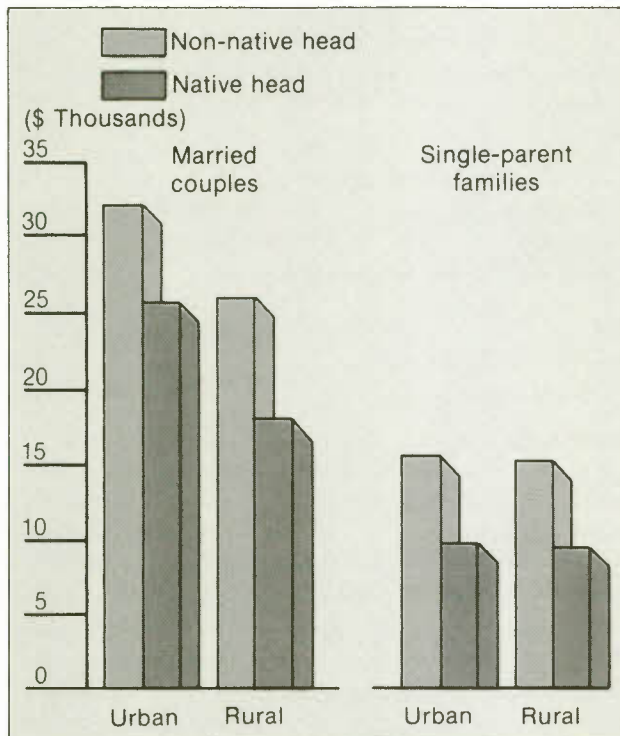
Canada's native population consists of the following groups: status Indians, nonstatus Indians, the Métis, and the Inuit.¹⁰ Since the most complete information currently available is on status Indians, the following analysis will deal with this group.

Although the living conditions of Canada's Indians have improved over the last 20 years, earnings among this group are still clearly lower than those of the Canadian population as a whole (Chart 4-1). As well, their average level of schooling is much lower; their labour market participation is weak; and they tend to be concentrated in certain economic sectors, notably self-employment.¹¹

Indian women account for a little over 1 per cent of the female population of Canada. The economic problems they face are generally the same as those confronting other Canadian women, although Indian women share certain particular problems with Indian men. Some 30 per cent of Indian women live off-

Chart 4-1

Average Income of Non-Native and Native Families with Dependants, Rural and Urban, Canada, 1980



SOURCE Based on data from Statistics Canada.

reserve, a slightly higher proportion than for Indian men.

The economic status of Indian women living on reserves is more difficult than that of other Canadian women, for several reasons¹²:

- There are few employment opportunities on or near the reserves and so it is more difficult for Indian women to find jobs in the service and manufacturing sectors, where most of the increase in the number of working women has taken place;
- Roughly 65 per cent of the Indian population lives on reserves designated as rural or isolated areas,¹³ where female participation rates are generally lower;
- Birth rates among Indian women are almost double the Canadian average¹⁴; and, in the present state of affairs, having children generally tends to restrict the ability of women to participate in the labour market;
- The proportion of single-parent Indian families headed by women is almost twice as high as in the

Canadian population as a whole, and family size is also larger.¹⁵

– According to the Indian Act, if a status Indian woman marries a non-Indian, a nonstatus Indian or a Métis, she loses (for herself and her descendants) her Indian status and related benefits, such as: the right to live on a reserve; the preferential treatment that bands give female heads of single-parent families and their children; the benefits of the various government programs for Indians, such as free tuition and living allowances if she or her children attend university; and her share of the future band fund.

Despite these obstacles, Indian women have become more interested in pursuing their education in recent years; in fact, their degree of interest is higher than that of Indian men and, all things being equal, of Canadian women as a whole. In the institutional-training program run by Employment and Immigration Canada, 50 per cent of participating native people were women in 1981-82, compared with only 29 per cent of non-Indian participants. In the industrial-training program, these figures were 32 and 27 per cent, respectively.¹⁶

Not so long ago, few Indians attended universities. Only 131 individuals did so in 1965, but now there are nearly 3,000.¹⁷ Here, again, Indian women are very much in evidence; they account for 60 per cent of Indians with a university degree, while among the rest of the population women represent only 43 per cent of university graduates. Another noteworthy fact is that in disciplines where either men or women have tended to predominate, there is a more equal representation by sex among Indians. Indian women are also widening the spectrum of their educational choices.¹⁸

Besides initiatives taken by Indian women, governments have also been taking steps in the last few years to improve the economic status of these women.¹⁹ These measures are designed to assist and complement those taken by Indians themselves and are aimed at promoting economic development and job creation both on and off the reserves. In addition, these initiatives should help to expand the range of women's economic activities and encourage the hiring of women, as has been taking place in other areas of the economy. It should be noted that \$345 million from the Ministry of State for Small Business and Tourism has been earmarked for the use of native people between now and 1988 to assist them in taking control of their own economic development. The money received from settlements of native claims should also provide Indians and other native peoples with the resources necessary to step up the pace of economic development in their communities.

Governments have also taken steps to make available to Indians services and educational programs that correspond to their needs and aspirations, in accordance with their desire to control their own education. Since these programs were started, school attendance has increased and the dropout rate at the secondary level has fallen noticeably. It is to be hoped that this will lead in turn to even higher university enrolments. The number of students in Indian-administered schools is expected to climb from its 1981-82 level of 10,000 to 20,000 by 1986.

In March 1984, the federal government announced that it would table in the House a bill to amend the Indian Act in order to eliminate provisions of the Act that discriminate against women. This bill is another initiative that will have important social, cultural, political, and financial consequences.²⁰ Noteworthy among the changes to be made is that Indian women who have lost their Indian status as a result of discriminatory provisions of the Indian Act can reclaim these rights, both for themselves and for their children.

Technological Change

It is the fear of many women that the new technology being implemented in offices and industries will eliminate many jobs traditionally handled by women and render their skills obsolete. Such worries centre in particular on advances in microelectronics and information systems. A recent study of the impact of computers and high technology on employment in OECD countries concluded that in Canada women will most likely bear the brunt of technological change in these areas, since they are generally more involved with the processing of information.²¹ The author of another study felt that the increasing number of female office workers, coupled with a rapidly decreasing demand for such skills in the public sector, banks, financial institutions, and elsewhere, will result in nearly one million women being unemployed by 1990, unless appropriate measures are taken.²² This figure is vigorously contested by other studies, however.²³

It goes without saying that the effect of technological developments and their propagation on demand for various occupational skills, on job disappearance, and on earnings and working conditions can be assessed only in a highly speculative context for both men and women, especially as far as the loss of jobs is concerned. Very often, studies of this question assume that the introduction of new technology will increase output only in terms of productivity and that no new jobs will be created. In fact, however, history teaches us that while jobs are often lost in the short term when new technology is implemented, the

increased productivity that results has a positive effect on economic growth in the medium and long terms. And it must be recognized that the primary influence on employment levels is economic growth, not technological change. In other words, once the various economic mechanisms come into play, jobs lost in one sector are compensated by new jobs in others. For this reason, this question must be analysed in the context of the overall economic situation.

A recent analysis came to the conclusion that production, consumer expenditures and income would all rise with the introduction of new technology, that real earnings would increase, and that the overall effect on employment would be quite small.²⁴ Moreover, given a strong economic recovery over the next few years, there should be considerably more jobs created than new technology might displace.

A Labour Canada task force recently appointed to study this issue also came to the conclusion that, according to the documents it had studied, there was reason for cautious optimism and overly pessimistic predictions of the effect of technological change on unemployment were in all likelihood erroneous.²⁵

Nevertheless, it would certainly be unwise to ignore the cautious note struck by several other studies. There will be major changes in certain occupations and industries. For many people, such changes could even result in more than one career change in the course of their working life. However, the majority of people concerned with this issue, notably employers and union leaders, agree that the worst possible approach – from the point of view of the economy and so of employment – would be to fail to incorporate technological change into our production processes and so lose the chance to maintain or improve Canada's competitive position on world markets.

While many authors concur that a catastrophe is not in the offing, they also agree that the introduction of new technology will have a greater impact on female jobs than male jobs. There are more women in vulnerable positions, and often their level of job mobility, seniority, and union representation are not as high as for men. Thus it is not surprising that women are somewhat more apprehensive than men about the situation; their position, being more tenuous, merits special attention.

It is to be hoped that governments will see fit to increase their efforts, particularly in the area of training, to promote computer literacy, to revise manpower training programs, and to acquaint employers and unions with the need to be ready for the major changes that are already taking place in the job market. The stakes are high indeed. The results of a study carried out by the Economic

Council indicate that a more systematic and comprehensive system is needed in Canada for forecasting manpower requirements, and that companies should devote more money to professional development. Most employers surveyed by the study had made provision for some professional training, but only one in five was offering programs lasting over a year.²⁶

The solution does not lie only with governments, employers, and unions, however. As discussed earlier, more and more women, especially in the younger generations, are entering occupations not traditionally considered female, particularly in the field of computer systems management. Nevertheless, it is also evident that young women still have a tendency to neglect the sciences and mathematics in their education. In so doing, they are shying away from academic studies that are essential for the majority of the new jobs that will be created as new technology is introduced into various fields, particularly those jobs requiring a computer science background. The Science Council has recently released some shocking findings on this topic: the majority of schoolgirls avoid science courses whenever possible. The Council makes a number of priority recommendations, including the necessity of making sure that more young women receive training in the sciences.

The Council believes that family values have a great deal to do with the poor attitude of girls toward science, but insists that the educational system itself must try to give science courses a better image in their eyes. Science programs at the primary level must be adapted to women's preschool education (or lack of it), and teaching methods that reinforce stereotyped sexual roles in society must be avoided. The Council rightly points out that the study of the relationship between science, technology, and society can enhance the human aspect of science studies. It recommends that teaching materials, particularly science textbooks, include discussions of the work of women scientists and inventors, and that guidance counsellors discuss with female students the necessity of preparing for a career and the employment possibilities in scientific and technical fields.²⁷

The situation is often even more difficult for older women, because few of them have a firm scholastic base in science and mathematics. Some 15 per cent of older working women have school-age children and so have relatively little time to spend on specialized training courses in new fields. Close to 18 per cent of older women outside of the labour market are also faced with this problem.

5 Conclusions

The labour market underwent major changes during the 1970s, the most important undoubtedly being the growth of the female labour force by almost 2 million individuals. Another new trend was that just under half of this group chose occupations that had been male-dominated in 1971. It was in these occupations that women made the greatest strides in terms of earnings and working hours. In general, it can be said that women who made the greatest progress were those who decreased their working hours the least, increased their education the most, and chose to enter nontraditional occupations.

These gains were offset, however, by the tendency of an even larger group of women to follow traditional occupational paths. This countervailing phenomenon manifested itself in five ways: 1) the positive effect on earnings as a result of the significant increase in the participation rate of women with university diplomas was attenuated by an increase in the number of women with only a secondary school education or less; 2) the increase in the number of women in the higher-paid occupations was counterbalanced by an even larger increase in the lowest-paid occupations; 3) the unprecedented increase in the number of women entering male occupations was attenuated by an even greater increase in the number of women entering female occupations; 4) the significant increase in workforce stability for women between the ages of 25 and 54 was counteracted by a significant increase in the number of working women between 15 and 19 years of age; and 5) the fact that the gap in hours worked in relation to men narrowed for women in the 25-54 age group was offset by a widening of the gap in other age groups.

Overall, however, women have managed to reduce somewhat the earnings gap that separates them from men – only on an annual basis, but to an even greater degree on an hourly basis, once the reduction in hours worked is taken into consideration. This reflects the fact that their working conditions and/or occupational skills have improved.

If current trends in the labour market persist, the 1980s will be witness to an even more dramatic improvement in the economic status of women than that seen in the 1970s. Although the group of women that served to attenuate the earnings gains made by others will continue to increase their participation rate, their numbers will not increase at the same rate,

for demographical reasons. On the other hand, the participation rate and numbers of those women who made the greatest progress can certainly be expected to continue to grow. Young women who entered the labour market during this period, equipped as they are with more extensive and diversified educational backgrounds, constitute a large reservoir of talent from which future promotions will be drawn. Their contribution will be all the more significant because they have opted more often for male occupations. The rise of young women through the ranks in both the public and the private sector in coming years will serve as a test of the labour market's reaction to the presence of greater numbers of highly trained women. Furthermore, the greater job stability of women between the ages of 25 and 54 should have the effect of making women generally more acceptable in the eyes of employers for possible participation in promotion-oriented training programs. Finally, the economic recovery offers better prospects for improving the status of women than a period of stagnation and lagging economic growth, since recovery opens up a wider array of employment opportunities.

However, this does not mean that, left to itself, the present state of affairs will eventually give way to parity between men and women in all aspects of economic life. In fact, given their essential role in the reproduction of society, women should not necessarily strive for complete parity.

Young women who entered the labour market in the last decade have opted for male occupations to a greater extent than their counterparts in the previous decade. The occupational profile of older women, however, is similar in many ways to that of the corresponding age group in the 1960s. Most women in this group who return to school to further their education continue their studies in the area of their original specialization. This is also true of adult women entering the labour market for the first time who enroll in courses to improve their qualifications.

It is also important to remember that almost half of the women who entered the labour market during the 1970s were of childbearing age but had no children as yet. Governments must ensure that the desire on the part of these women (or of couples) to start a family will not be restricted by financial difficulties that can be easily rectified through the provision of

adequate daycare services and by other measures designed to reduce the impact of starting a family on the careers of both spouses. This need is particularly acute for low-income couples. Such measures include: the development of job-sharing policies, the expansion of part-time employment opportunities, the implementation of parental leave (as recently put forward in proposed amendments to the Canada Labour Code), and the development of professional family sitters as an adequately paid occupation with full access to social benefits.

If major changes can only be expected as a result of young women entering the labour force, economic parity with men will obviously not be achieved overnight. Nevertheless, the constant influx of young women will eventually bring about the transformation of the structure of the labour force, as long as additional barriers do not arise. Such barriers could be, for example, the introduction of new technologies to which the predominantly female work force is unable to adapt, or a program designed to expand part-time and job-sharing opportunities that is oriented only toward traditionally female occupations. These difficulties will be compounded if companies and unions remain indifferent to the special status of women, or if men prove unwilling to integrate women into their information networks.

In short, while considerable progress has been made toward overcoming the disadvantages women encounter in the labour market, there persists an underutilization of talent and resources that, while it affects women the most, penalizes society in general. There are four kinds of difficulties that women still face, difficulties in diversifying their education to the same extent as men in preparing for a career or occupation; difficulties in finding positions commensurate with their qualifications as easily as men do; difficulties in obtaining a level of earnings comparable to that of men for equivalent work; and difficulties compared with men in receiving professional-development training to aid their chances of promotion within their particular institution or company.

Recommendations for alleviating this situation that have either been proposed or adopted by governments include the following: the removal of sex bias from socialization and educational processes; equal pay for equal or equivalent work; positive action; training for adult women returning to the labour market, with the emphasis on nontraditional occupations or careers; part-time work and job-sharing; professional development courses; and, finally,

daycare centres and parental leave to make it easier for spouses to continue to work while meeting their family and household responsibilities.

Some of these measures have been discussed in this study, and others have been suggested. It must be recognized, however, that putting them into practice can improve the lot of women only slowly and gradually. This is perhaps particularly true of policies designed to encourage young women to diversify their studies and occupational profiles. The recent proposals of the Science Council in this regard should be singled out for mention. One recommendation is that a national information service be set up by the federal government to make the public more aware of the need to encourage young women not to neglect scientific and technical fields in their education.¹

It hardly needs to be pointed out that in the present state of affairs, the way that family and household responsibilities are divided has a direct influence on the ability of some women to work outside the home, particularly by reducing the hours they are available; their availability for overtime work, training programs, and promotions; and their ability to relocate to gain promotion. Such factors go a long way towards explaining the earnings gap between men and women.

While women have made real and encouraging progress over the last decade, it cannot be forgotten that such gains must be pursued on an ongoing basis; it is to be hoped that in a few years, no one will be inspired to compose a passage similar to the following excerpt from John Stuart Mill, written over a century ago but still relevant today:

"The claim of women to be educated as solidly, and in the same branches of knowledge, as men, is urged with growing intensity, and with a great prospect of success; while the demand for their admission into professions and occupations hitherto closed against them, becomes every year more urgent."²

Nevertheless, there remain women for whom the labour market does not represent the means to alleviate or solve their economic problems. In 1970, the Royal Commission on the Economic Status of Women stressed that some women are locked into an even more difficult dilemma because they cannot participate in the labour market for reasons of age, health, or family status.³ Such women are simply unable to work and so are consigned to a life of poverty. Immediate action along the lines suggested in this paper is particularly urgent for these women.

Appendixes

A Tables

Table A-1

Female Participation Rates in Nine Industrialized Countries, by Age Group, 1981¹

	Teenagers ²	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over	Average
(Per cent)								
Canada	52.2	73.0	62.7	61.6	54.1	33.7	4.3	51.6
United States	52.9	68.9	65.5	65.5	59.9	41.3	8.1	52.1
Australia	61.5	71.1	52.5	58.2	47.8	21.8	2.8	45.5
Japan	18.5	69.7	47.9	59.5	60.5	43.6	14.9	46.7
France ³	24.8	68.5	67.7	61.4	55.8	38.3	4.3	43.1
West Germany ⁴	41.4	71.1	59.5	55.1	49.6	28.5	3.0	38.5 [*]
United Kingdom ⁴	64.5	68.5	56.3	68.3	67.8	39.0	2.9	46.6 [*]
Italy ⁴	24.2	51.5	47.1	38.6	31.1	14.4	1.8	29.9
Sweden	56.0	81.6	81.4	84.8	83.3	55.6	2.5	60.5 [*]

^{*}Interim figures.

1 The figures for France, West Germany, the United Kingdom, and Italy have not been adjusted to conform with the definitions used in the United States. In addition, the above figures are based on the civilian non-institutional population except in the case of Japan, West Germany, and the United Kingdom, where the figures include people in institutions.

2 Aged 14-19 in Italy; 15-19 in Canada, Australia, Japan, and West Germany; 16-19 in the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and Sweden.

3 1979 figures.

4 1980 figures.

SOURCE Sorrentino. "International Comparisons of Labour Force Participation, 1960-1981." *Monthly Labor Review*. Vol. 106, N° 2. (February 1983).

Table A-2
Change in the Female Labour Force, by Age Group and Family Status, Canada, 1971-81

	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65 and over	Total
Married												
Without children under 16	16,140	94,905	116,700	62,275	41,765	63,760	69,440	77,035	60,170	26,165	1,330	629,685
With preschool children	-70	18,425	111,170	120,615	28,800	-4,435	1,720	-860	-350	-110	-85	280,730
With children aged 6 to 15	10	1,960	14,745	86,890	122,600	66,005	15,465	3,570	485	-155	-180	311,730
Single												
Without children under 16	153,485	166,205	79,105	36,140	9,430	-2,025	-5,025	-3,520	-4,840	-5,090	-6,355	444,365
With preschool children	550	3,680	2,075	1,275	345	75	-70	-20	-35	-15	-5	8,000
With children aged 6 to 15	-55	310	1,705	2,340	1,750	580	140	10	-20	-20	-25	6,835
Other												
Without children under 16	-315	2,695	16,155	17,055	12,815	11,750	10,620	11,595	11,220	6,685	-8,175	100,590
With preschool children	-90	1,450	4,420	7,610	1,490	-495	-560	-340	-200	-135	-70	14,970
With children aged 6 to 15	-	55	3,345	16,930	19,975	8,665	1,950	30	-445	-215	-140	50,950
Total	170,185	289,685	349,420	351,130	238,970	150,835	99,335	92,240	71,875	32,850	1,330	1,847,855

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table A-3**Probability of Retaining One's Job At Least Five Years, by Age Group and Sex, 1976 and 1982**

	Women		Men	
	1976	1982	1976	1982
	(Per cent)			
Age				
20-24	7.1	10.1	9.6	12.8
25-29	9.1	13.6	15.7	20.8
30-34	12.9	17.0	19.3	22.9
35-39	16.0	19.9	19.2	22.9
40-44	19.2	22.2	22.1	22.0
45-49	18.8	22.8	22.4	19.2
50-54	19.3	23.8	19.5	22.4
55-59	19.3	18.8	18.7	18.5
60-64	6.6	5.9	6.3	7.4

SOURCE Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, special tabulations.

Table A-4**Average Number of Hours Worked Annually by Women and Men, by Family Status, Canada, 1971 and 1981**

Family status	Women		Men	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Married				
Without children under 16	1,583	1,391	1,942	1,758
With preschool children	1,189	982	2,031	1,863
With children aged 6 to 15	1,366	1,257	2,067	1,895
Single				
Without children under 16	1,355	1,142	1,391	1,205
With preschool children	1,575	1,055	1,750	1,433
With children aged 6 to 15	1,738	1,494	1,860	1,720
Other				
Without children under 16	1,630	1,449	1,824	1,618
With preschool children	1,380	1,215	1,896	1,679
With children aged 6 to 15	1,573	1,440	1,980	1,772
Total	1,431	1,247	1,862	1,647

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table A-5**Average Number of Hours Worked Annually by Women and Men, by Age Group, Canada, 1971 and 1981**

Age	Women		Men	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
15-19	807	611	816	688
20-24	1,466	1,228	1,577	1,368
25-34	1,487	1,331	1,972	1,772
35-44	1,474	1,357	2,058	1,883
45-54	1,558	1,379	2,042	1,843
55-64	1,590	1,338	1,969	1,710
65 and over	1,463	1,081	1,673	1,363
Total	1,431	1,247	1,862	1,647

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table A-6**Average Number of Hours Worked Annually by Women and Men, by Educational Attainment, Canada, 1971 and 1981**

Educational attainment	Women		Men	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Secondary or less	1,439	1,207	1,868	1,571
University without graduation or trade school diploma	1,462	1,265	1,908	1,686
Undergraduate work or certificate	1,294	1,329	1,660	1,771
Bachelor, master, or doctorate	1,509	1,454	1,999	1,928
Total	1,431	1,247	1,862	1,647

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table A-7
Numbers and Average Annual Earnings of Women and Men in 201 Occupations,
Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81

Rank ¹ 1970 1980	Number						Average earnings				Female/male ratio	
	Women		Men		Men		Women		Men		1970	1980
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
1	1,480	2,535	39,445	36,320	14,745	28,952	26,823	59,131	55.0	49.0		
2	2,810	6,505	25,345	30,255	11,774	30,708	27,469	57,273	42.9	53.6		
3	280	700	6,040	7,605	11,434	33,076	22,311	54,312	51.2	60.9		
4	70	200	1,195	1,770	10,185	31,144	21,785	50,791	46.8	61.3		
5	770	4,890	15,340	26,530	8,874	18,416	20,218	38,380	43.9	48.0		
6	75	285	980	1,600	7,312	13,193	18,676	34,849	39.2	37.9		
7	95	330	1,410	1,365	6,669	18,065	17,433	39,328	38.3	45.9		
8	700	13,475	15,000	68,925	6,288	14,199	16,055	28,227	39.2	50.3		
9	70	510	1,615	2,180	6,685	12,590	15,202	31,242	44.0	40.3		
10	105	490	3,835	5,730	5,785	15,949	14,787	26,415	39.1	60.4		
11	20	240	4,120	7,560	5,325	15,024	14,194	32,721	37.5	45.9		
12	3,850	8,030	19,355	24,780	8,902	19,707	14,390	33,274	61.9	59.2		
13	100	510	1,010	1,795	5,371	9,910	14,074	30,168	38.2	32.8		
14	5,690	7,970	22,750	25,965	9,775	23,097	13,998	34,896	69.8	66.2		
15	420	6,905	3,585	17,920	6,219	18,021	13,877	29,249	44.8	61.6		
16	11,630	59,930	37,155	189,860	5,449	16,074	15,237	28,633	35.8	56.1		
17	2,305	5,560	2,520	5,245	8,622	22,020	16,281	34,084	53.0	64.6		
18	1,510	6,485	13,795	22,865	7,254	18,870	12,971	29,680	55.9	63.6		
19	30	135	1,250	1,785	8,219	19,179	11,378	29,668	72.2	64.6		
20	40	70	725	1,165	7,210	19,872	11,435	28,185	63.1	70.5		
21	35	60	755	835	4,773	14,770	11,483	27,134	41.6	54.4		
22	1,175	7,355	74,950	119,650	6,774	17,541	11,246	27,515	60.2	63.8		
23	1,920	4,135	22,340	11,645	6,068	16,978	11,427	29,382	53.1	57.9		
24	2,080	5,375	7,180	6,195	6,184	15,310	12,304	24,404	50.3	62.7		
25	55	145	1,085	1,145	7,387	16,639	11,035	24,725	66.9	67.3		
26	140	680	4,465	6,110	6,658	15,167	10,989	28,289	60.6	53.6		
27	540	2,560	3,250	6,075	7,880	16,562	11,230	22,168	70.2	74.7		
28	160	475	15,305	20,265	6,881	17,002	10,735	26,418	64.1	64.4		
29	130	445	6,715	10,795	4,995	14,889	10,531	23,971	47.4	62.1		
30	330	855	24,610	31,385	4,739	14,576	10,160	26,763	46.6	54.5		
31	55	175	7,005	7,550	5,026	18,001	10,114	26,728	49.7	67.3		
32	25	315	2,905	7,265	6,339	16,870	10,017	25,285	63.3	66.7		
33	13,345	37,020	67,375	58,380	6,202	15,592	10,550	24,594	58.8	63.4		
34	170	1,095	5,725	9,705	4,794	15,782	9,936	24,112	48.2	65.5		
35	70	175	7,520	10,325	7,296	15,584	9,631	24,438	75.8	63.8		
36	250	440	18,305	19,055	4,950	14,225	9,523	22,991	52.0	61.9		
37	15,160	41,270	86,815	100,715	5,666	16,013	10,121	25,998	56.0	61.6		
38	-	75	5,375	5,530	-	18,906	9,254	24,157	...	78.3		

39	44	Foremen/women: other transportation equipment operating	30	95	905	920	4,535	12,740	9,383	22,333	48.3	57.0
40	61	Foremen/women: printing	515	1,130	6,125	5,270	4,979	13,506	9,567	21,754	52.0	62.1
41	25	Ship officers	-	110	7,970	8,200	-	17,062	9,173	25,832	...	66.0
42	46	Foremen/women: electronic equipment fabricating	480	905	7,390	8,240	4,754	13,260	9,437	22,271	50.4	59.5
43	57	Foremen/women: other construction trades	330	880	55,560	60,155	6,560	14,382	9,143	20,667	71.7	69.6
44	80	Other occupations in social sciences	1,910	5,795	3,750	5,070	7,772	14,639	9,780	22,429	79.5	65.3
45	55	Mathematicians and related occupations	760	2,170	2,940	4,295	5,511	14,063	10,011	24,295	55.0	57.9
46	48	Agriculturists	255	1,015	5,655	7,360	4,339	11,036	9,285	22,771	46.7	48.5
47	37	Fire-fighting occupations	-	255	18,020	23,800	-	13,659	8,936	22,892	...	59.7
48	52	Commercial travellers	1,445	10,540	52,230	89,565	4,555	13,447	9,049	21,932	50.3	61.3
49	42	Occupations in social sciences	3,140	9,885	8,060	15,910	5,982	15,193	10,056	25,486	59.5	59.6
50	73	Supervisors: office machine operators	1,325	4,315	2,505	3,405	5,733	15,417	10,570	23,660	54.2	65.2
51	33	Police officers and detectives	1,145	3,135	41,025	54,985	4,882	14,325	8,872	24,342	55.0	58.8
52	39	Conductors and locomotive operators	-	345	18,395	17,280	-	11,644	8,729	22,781	...	51.1
53	65	Foremen/women: other products fabricating	375	650	6,635	5,700	4,583	13,398	8,957	20,639	51.2	64.9
54	51	Chemists	775	1,765	6,270	7,290	6,141	14,636	8,983	22,638	68.4	64.7
55	60	Foremen/women: motor transport operating	225	680	12,035	13,000	4,347	13,934	8,740	20,685	49.7	67.4
56	69	Systems analysts, computer programmers	3,160	16,735	19,030	41,480	6,363	15,436	9,013	21,153	70.6	73.0
57	41	Foremen/women: mechanics, except electrical	210	520	27,505	32,985	5,893	13,392	8,639	21,875	68.2	61.2
58	47	Inspecting occupations: electrical power equipment repairing	270	720	2,620	3,935	5,145	14,350	8,960	22,632	57.4	63.4
59	43	Other air transport occupations	120	820	3,850	6,675	4,609	14,663	8,716	22,272	52.9	65.8
60	68	Foremen/women: other processing occupations	110	120	535	460	6,762	16,114	8,957	20,449	75.5	78.8
61	56	Biologist	680	2,090	2,215	4,665	5,964	15,642	9,384	22,998	63.6	68.0
62	70	Foremen/women: other equipment operating	110	195	660	680	5,514	13,124	8,997	21,201	61.3	61.9
63	78	Foremen/women: rubber and plastic products fabricating	105	430	2,515	3,570	4,776	11,417	8,617	19,394	55.4	58.9
64	40	Foremen/women: forestry and logging	45	225	6,725	6,775	5,439	7,663	8,422	22,557	64.6	34.0
65	53	Government inspectors	805	4,010	16,230	10,510	5,808	15,703	8,527	21,970	68.1	71.5
66	76	Foremen/women: food and beverage processing	885	1,405	11,385	10,510	4,540	10,857	8,620	19,652	52.7	55.2
67	45	Foremen/women: excavation, grading, paving	115	95	18,325	15,295	5,955	16,485	8,298	21,439	71.8	76.9
68	62	Inspectors and regulatory officers	235	915	3,270	5,670	4,286	12,969	8,539	21,416	50.2	60.6
69	96	Supervisors and foremen/women: not elsewhere classified	790	2,200	12,565	8,490	4,053	10,085	8,507	18,024	47.6	56.0
70	98	Other sales occupations: services	140	250	2,720	2,270	3,740	7,658	8,381	17,185	44.6	44.6
71	59	Funeral directors, embalmers	10,630	44,030	61,340	82,950	4,725	13,942	8,746	23,888	54.0	58.4
72	83	Supervisors: library and archival sciences	530	1,255	630	815	6,732	15,561	9,296	21,288	72.4	73.1
73	85	Foremen/women: wood products fabricating	40	185	2,340	4,085	6,897	13,515	8,028	17,630	85.9	76.7
74	81	Supervisors: other sales occupations	135	335	1,600	1,750	5,210	11,280	8,216	19,435	63.4	58.0
75	95	Supervisors: other clerical occupations	16,500	18,755	31,855	12,550	5,765	13,999	8,988	19,998	64.1	70.0
76	77	Supervisors: material distributing	925	2,425	12,740	16,070	4,926	13,128	8,096	19,360	60.8	67.8
77	100	Supervisors: sales occupations (commodities)	37,555	62,400	204,045	138,885	4,035	10,101	8,530	18,904	47.3	53.4
78	66	Supervisors: mail reception and distribution	2,955	4,035	5,185	6,080	5,495	15,361	8,992	22,862	61.1	67.2
79	64	Other stationary engine equipment operating occupations	290	875	37,535	41,035	4,474	11,388	7,713	20,154	58.0	56.5
80	67	Foremen/women: material handling	525	915	14,930	11,730	4,268	12,421	7,797	20,293	54.7	61.2
81	49	Health diagnosing and treating occupations	730	1,865	550	1,350	5,026	13,777	11,023	31,587	45.6	43.6
82	87	Foremen/women: textile processing	480	725	3,045	2,970	4,417	11,366	8,098	18,150	54.5	62.6
83	93	Occupations in writing	5,500	15,175	11,095	17,925	5,127	12,959	8,808	19,446	58.2	66.6
84	75	Other electrical power equipment repairing occupations	635	2,880	80,040	101,040	4,345	13,556	7,563	18,786	57.5	72.2
85	54	Captains and officers of fishing vessels	-	20	1,835	2,280	-	5,302	7,499	21,103	...	25.1
86	74	Inspecting occupations, except electrical	50	120	2,025	2,765	4,419	10,087	7,535	19,252	58.6	52.4

Table A-7 (cont'd.)

Rank' 1970 1980		Number				Average				Female/male ratio	
		Women		Men		Women		Men		1970	1980
		1971	1981	1971	1981	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
87	124	1,650	3,850	4,420	3,920	4,549	10,953	8,490	17,182	53.6	63.7
88	84	695	1,485	7,040	10,215	4,181	11,841	7,584	18,387	55.1	64.4
89	72	13,290	18,835	1,040	1,795	7,120	18,791	7,923	21,960	89.9	85.6
90	112	220	1,225	1,130	1,630	4,451	10,333	7,697	18,766	57.8	55.1
91	82	1,675	5,270	83,140	47,560	4,939	11,023	7,193	18,722	68.7	58.9
92	79	170	385	5,710	7,725	6,637	12,150	7,146	18,659	92.9	65.1
93	104	440	1,710	6,640	7,740	3,909	10,396	7,320	16,909	53.4	61.5
94	106	5,805	21,340	6,400	8,360	5,275	13,707	8,601	20,606	61.3	66.5
95	102	2,695	7,545	25,580	30,040	3,725	9,849	7,361	17,629	50.6	55.9
96	107	670	1,630	365	480	5,973	14,352	8,924	19,751	66.9	72.7
97	89	2,885	12,715	66,720	97,315	4,584	11,237	7,086	17,517	64.7	64.1
98	71	177,140	213,935	90,455	116,535	6,015	16,216	8,545	24,377	70.4	66.5
99	110	1,515	3,510	9,775	12,545	3,595	10,377	7,296	16,560	49.3	62.7
100	90	265	1,335	50,815	60,540	4,174	13,265	6,799	16,854	61.4	78.7
101	97	2,910	4,570	17,625	16,105	4,264	11,358	7,146	17,752	59.7	64.0
102	91	2,825	4,295	38,180	60,610	3,514	10,027	6,830	17,213	51.4	58.3
103	94	1,730	3,600	210,485	289,055	4,232	11,986	6,594	16,496	64.2	72.7
104	86	24,710	52,165	24,715	45,540	4,739	12,995	8,406	21,930	56.4	59.3
105	92	715	985	2,885	4,475	4,165	10,794	7,152	17,980	58.2	60.0
106	116	190	105	3,390	2,700	4,480	8,083	6,643	15,074	67.4	53.6
107	105	12,070	18,110	203,085	246,600	3,469	9,146	6,585	16,155	52.7	56.6
108	131	1,445	1,505	3,640	1,895	3,708	10,050	7,477	15,882	49.6	63.3
109	113	5,295	11,910	1,650	2,915	6,039	13,836	7,466	20,248	80.9	68.3
110	99	6,285	12,495	120,075	156,170	3,514	9,420	6,509	16,726	54.0	56.3
111	139	7,155	21,750	21,640	28,695	3,846	8,978	7,103	15,155	54.1	59.2
112	101	80	115	4,650	4,515	3,043	10,504	6,289	16,285	48.4	64.5
113	127	2,040	1,000	7,775	2,425	3,095	7,215	6,939	16,132	44.6	44.7
114	118	1,660	2,930	85	185	5,974	14,612	8,794	17,500	67.9	83.5
115	88	435	1,160	5,965	7,570	4,211	12,774	6,179	17,427	68.2	73.3
116	103	1,585	2,470	3,820	7,675	4,127	10,845	6,781	17,641	60.9	61.5
117	115	4,050	7,365	29,555	23,055	3,494	9,724	6,231	16,449	56.1	59.1
118	114	275	875	3,780	6,510	2,913	9,638	6,045	15,640	48.2	61.6
119	108	2,890	9,780	198,640	257,750	3,127	8,948	5,868	15,831	53.3	56.5
120	125	5,850	12,230	34,685	55,290	3,576	9,703	6,181	14,973	57.9	64.8

121	109	Other wood and pulp processing occupations	1,525	4,280	53,155	70,330	4,015	10,693	5,810	15,599	69.1	68.5
122	162	Farm management occupations	545	2,680	17,195	12,640	3,863	6,406	5,788	11,292	66.7	56.7
123	119	Supervisors: stenographic and typing occupations	2,360	3,365	3,030	5,400	3,948	11,443	7,047	16,812	56.0	68.1
124	121	Inspecting and testing occupations: electronic equipment fabricating	2,180	3,840	450	325	5,121	13,817	8,432	21,013	60.7	65.8
125	130	Bus drivers	2,800	12,210	27,950	37,325	2,081	5,973	6,044	15,778	34.4	37.9
126	142	Supervisors: food and beverage preparation	14,805	24,730	23,640	30,050	3,702	8,790	6,845	14,579	54.1	60.3
127	129	Other construction trades occupations	2,845	7,220	316,975	391,010	3,556	7,677	5,576	13,527	63.8	56.8
128	120	Postmasters	2,890	3,020	2,750	2,695	3,676	10,083	7,419	19,796	49.5	50.9
129	126	Inspecting and testing occupations: rubber and plastic processing	600	830	1,045	1,795	3,343	9,813	6,686	15,549	50.0	63.1
130	117	Other excavating, grading and paving occupations	390	1,130	64,025	90,550	3,822	10,946	5,424	14,852	70.5	73.7
131	122	Therapists	4,850	10,960	1,115	1,960	4,999	13,843	7,133	17,372	70.1	79.7
132	152	Other occupations in performing and audio-visual arts	3,475	7,390	10,400	18,845	3,093	8,446	6,091	12,387	50.8	68.2
133	134	Claim adjusters	3,340	6,285	2,875	2,910	3,927	10,944	6,918	17,708	56.8	61.8
134	123	Ship crew occupations	-	195	7,260	7,600	-	8,468	5,308	14,400	...	58.8
135	133	Other occupations in life sciences	3,555	3,980	6,300	7,910	4,100	9,435	5,945	15,116	69.0	62.4
136	146	Occupations in social work	14,575	51,030	14,910	26,170	4,489	10,079	5,955	14,728	75.4	68.4
137	148	Other material distribution occupations	21,820	53,800	117,220	164,075	3,400	9,017	5,421	12,411	62.7	72.7
138	140	Longshoremen, stevedores and freight handlers	-	1,655	38,970	45,095	-	8,814	5,104	12,607	...	69.9
139	149	Other rubber and plastic processing occupations	3,930	7,430	13,185	20,555	3,027	7,945	5,688	12,787	53.2	62.1
140	151	Upholsterers	1,140	2,565	6,945	8,785	3,507	8,593	5,325	12,129	65.9	70.8
141	143	Other product fabricating occupations	11,895	16,650	42,345	54,480	3,048	7,721	5,616	13,239	54.3	58.3
142	156	Occupations not stated	183,385	107,790	369,320	153,135	3,086	7,969	5,876	12,914	52.5	61.7
143	135	Other occupations in medicine, health and radiology	28,800	62,140	10,055	15,850	4,333	11,697	6,699	17,847	64.7	65.5
144	145	Electronic equipment fabricating occupations	8,700	9,970	9,525	11,545	3,714	9,267	5,995	13,779	62.0	67.3
145	141	Inspecting and testing occupations: other product fabricating	935	1,160	755	785	3,473	9,902	6,591	15,350	52.7	64.5
146	144	Other occupations in law and jurisprudence	595	4,075	2,540	3,010	4,171	11,036	4,981	12,733	83.7	86.7
147	158	Photographic processing occupations	1,740	3,960	2,775	3,870	3,381	8,403	5,673	12,882	59.6	65.2
148	137	Other processing occupations	2,385	1,730	3,695	3,400	4,168	12,419	5,089	13,048	81.9	95.2
149	136	Other machine operators	75	170	85	165	3,270	9,451	5,993	16,495	54.6	57.3
150	150	Inspecting occupations: food and beverage	1,805	4,395	2,760	4,435	2,714	7,431	6,008	15,235	45.2	48.8
151	147	Occupations in religion	2,030	3,015	19,110	20,155	3,222	7,654	4,840	12,180	66.6	62.8
152	153	Other occupations not elsewhere classified	7,000	10,500	46,045	60,125	3,123	7,187	4,907	11,866	63.6	60.6
153	128	Graduate nurses and nurses-in-training	96,890	161,155	4,275	7,815	4,603	13,399	5,841	16,152	78.8	83.0
154	161	Other protective service occupations	4,785	19,065	51,260	72,625	2,444	5,557	4,811	11,753	50.8	47.3
155	178	Other printing occupations	2,375	5,615	4,840	7,615	3,025	6,370	5,380	11,740	56.2	54.3
156	166	Other wood product fabricating occupations	1,435	4,305	16,220	31,585	2,977	7,188	4,726	10,779	63.0	66.7
157	165	Patternmaking and cutting occupations	3,115	4,100	6,750	6,645	2,841	7,733	5,335	12,001	53.3	64.4
158	111	Farmers	6,580	14,170	197,495	176,025	2,701	9,344	4,546	15,617	59.4	59.8
159	155	Inspecting occupations: wood product fabricating	40	150	60	430	3,803	7,786	4,927	12,141	77.2	64.1
160	160	Other general office clerical occupations	121,235	198,990	86,675	66,660	3,604	9,341	5,694	13,827	63.3	67.6
161	138	Other forestry and logging occupations	1,095	4,040	57,255	62,940	1,841	4,480	4,482	13,106	41.1	34.2
162	172	Taxi drivers and chauffeurs	790	1,945	23,575	22,940	2,922	7,344	4,419	10,331	66.1	71.1
163	132	Inspecting occupations: other processing	530	810	245	445	3,778	11,384	5,619	16,709	67.2	68.1
164	154	Other office machine operating occupations	35,475	69,070	11,270	18,340	3,850	10,186	5,944	14,307	64.8	71.2
165	170	Other food and beverage occupations	26,980	51,095	74,970	93,070	2,535	6,390	4,989	12,221	50.8	52.3
166	167	Electrical power equipment fabricating occupations	6,290	9,455	2,450	4,670	3,631	9,463	5,823	12,122	62.4	78.1
167	164	Furriers, milliners and hat makers	1,195	1,495	1,185	1,460	3,228	8,028	5,225	12,806	61.8	62.7

Table A-7 (concl'd.)

Rank ¹	Number						Average				Female/male ratio	
	Women		Men		Men		Women		Men		1970	1980
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
168	780	4,590	2,175	5,875	3,617	8,260	4,384	12,130	82.5	68.1	12,130	82.5
169	25,285	29,210	16,450	16,875	2,463	6,016	6,698	12,806	36.8	47.0	12,806	36.8
170	4,485	6,625	2,120	2,810	3,283	8,511	5,864	13,334	56.0	63.8	13,334	56.0
171	1,745	16,695	10,960	15,250	2,569	5,528	4,343	8,313	59.2	66.5	8,313	59.2
172	8,980	12,015	14,360	14,660	3,060	7,508	4,704	11,333	65.1	66.2	11,333	65.1
173	311,675	446,000	10,035	5,630	3,956	10,050	6,761	14,362	58.5	70.0	14,362	58.5
174	24,140	39,450	2,185	3,695	3,909	10,422	5,105	12,719	76.6	81.9	12,719	76.6
175	10,645	13,935	4,625	8,930	2,990	8,021	6,335	13,558	47.2	59.2	13,558	47.2
176	3,795	12,605	10,355	17,945	2,173	4,577	4,640	9,788	46.8	46.8	9,788	46.8
177	90,625	155,655	49,280	57,700	3,141	8,509	5,493	15,144	57.2	56.2	15,144	57.2
178	246,450	565,905	82,655	95,660	3,377	8,563	5,721	12,839	59.0	66.7	12,839	59.0
179	1,345	4,175	560	1,750	3,552	9,282	4,733	11,845	75.0	78.4	11,845	75.0
180	2,005	2,640	28,475	31,430	3,072	8,021	3,927	10,689	78.2	75.0	10,689	78.2
181	2,060	2,815	1,080	1,810	3,184	8,143	5,114	12,108	62.3	67.3	12,108	62.3
182	10,190	14,360	74,190	64,645	2,712	6,842	3,936	9,145	68.9	74.8	9,145	68.9
183	57,665	73,640	19,525	21,045	3,306	8,607	4,969	12,332	66.5	69.8	12,332	66.5
184	33,235	46,150	20,375	14,530	2,872	7,332	4,766	12,451	60.3	58.9	12,451	60.3
185	5,855	7,670	6,025	4,340	2,791	7,377	4,253	10,383	65.6	71.0	10,383	65.6
186	165,595	286,395	177,130	228,870	2,060	5,371	4,800	11,783	42.9	45.6	11,783	42.9
187	26,700	39,180	6,185	6,690	3,235	7,420	4,422	8,834	73.2	84.0	8,834	73.2
188	73,565	120,955	142,710	181,025	2,089	5,864	4,129	8,824	50.6	66.5	8,824	50.6
189	1,990	2,160	1,565	1,505	2,566	6,867	4,534	10,735	56.6	64.0	10,735	56.6
190	35,215	73,820	37,195	67,080	2,566	6,127	4,196	8,284	61.2	74.0	8,284	61.2
191	14,930	8,580	6,045	4,080	2,609	6,936	5,283	12,787	49.4	54.2	12,787	49.4
192	445	1,870	23,980	31,325	2,121	4,390	3,366	10,044	63.0	43.7	10,044	63.0
193	35,520	45,025	27,495	29,185	2,913	7,814	3,823	9,073	76.2	86.1	9,073	76.2
194	21,850	24,335	10,080	9,780	2,693	7,065	4,492	9,853	60.0	71.7	9,853	60.0
195	9,230	13,230	3,850	6,695	2,720	6,969	4,162	9,750	65.3	71.5	9,750	65.3
196	54,040	85,905	6,135	4,665	2,861	7,374	4,824	10,303	59.3	71.6	10,303	59.3
197	2,035	4,610	385	900	2,690	7,320	5,014	12,311	53.6	59.5	12,311	53.6
198	22,800	44,370	104,420	125,140	1,750	4,696	2,632	7,399	66.5	63.5	7,399	66.5
199	55,810	39,860	8,115	7,455	1,908	5,532	3,377	8,346	56.5	66.3	8,346	56.5
200	105,885	205,810	22,530	35,690	1,766	4,418	3,182	6,677	55.5	66.2	6,677	55.5
201	17,490	37,505	645	1,315	661	2,640	920	4,311	71.8	61.2	4,311	71.8

1. Occupations are classed in decreasing order of overall average annual earnings in 1970. Their rank in 1980 is also noted for comparison purposes.
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table A-8

Average Earnings of Women and Men, by Occupational Income Bracket,¹ Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81

Occupational income bracket ¹	Distribution of female labour force		Average earnings				Relative male/female gap	
	1971	1981	Women		Men		1970	1980
			1970	1980	1970	1980		
	(Per cent)		(Dollars)				(Per cent)	
1 - 10	0.3	0.7	11,185	20,275	23,168	41,737	48.3	48.6
11 - 20	1.0	2.2	7,339	17,613	14,365	29,810	51.1	59.1
21 - 30	0.3	0.5	6,326	16,529	11,024	26,979	57.4	61.3
31 - 40	1.1	1.9	5,888	15,778	10,105	25,039	58.3	63.0
41 - 50	0.4	0.9	5,852	14,348	9,138	22,531	64.0	63.7
51 - 60	0.2	0.6	5,999	15,148	8,813	21,718	68.1	69.7
61 - 70	0.5	1.2	4,738	13,744	8,597	22,434	55.1	61.3
71 - 80	2.3	2.1	4,639	11,387	8,434	19,448	55.0	58.6
81 - 90	0.9	1.1	6,100	14,716	7,508	18,832	81.2	78.1
91 - 100	7.5	6.1	5,888	15,375	7,585	19,715	77.6	78.0
101 - 110	2.4	2.9	4,277	11,299	6,688	16,754	64.0	67.4
111 - 120	0.8	1.0	3,721	10,066	5,971	15,781	62.3	63.8
121 - 130	1.3	1.6	3,844	9,390	5,687	13,973	67.6	67.2
131 - 140	2.5	3.4	3,612	9,234	5,500	12,892	65.7	71.6
141 - 150	8.9	4.5	3,282	9,308	5,840	13,311	56.2	69.9
151 - 160	9.5	9.6	3,912	10,542	4,852	13,612	80.6	77.4
161 - 170	4.0	4.4	3,093	7,945	5,136	11,946	60.2	66.5
171 - 180	27.1	28.6	3,604	9,087	5,341	12,839	67.5	70.8
181 - 190	16.4	15.3	2,461	6,230	4,428	10,195	55.6	61.1
191 - 201	12.6	11.4	2,133	5,430	3,146	8,060	67.8	67.4

1 The occupations listed in Table A-7 are represented here in groups of 10, based on the 1970 classification.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table A-9**Average Number of Hours Worked Annually by Women and Men, by Occupational Income Bracket, Canada, 1981**

Occupational income bracket (\$)	Number of hours worked		Male/female ratio
	Women	Men	
0 - 499	315	491	0.64
500 - 999	328	421	0.78
1,000 - 1,499	491	596	0.82
1,500 - 1,999	497	664	0.75
2,000 - 2,499	576	701	0.82
2,500 - 2,999	632	734	0.86
3,000 - 3,499	707	775	0.91
3,500 - 3,999	766	836	0.92
4,000 - 4,499	854	918	0.93
4,500 - 4,999	921	1,012	0.91
5,000 - 5,499	1,016	1,105	0.92
5,500 - 5,999	1,051	1,130	0.93
6,000 - 6,499	1,150	1,190	0.97
6,500 - 6,999	1,210	1,269	0.95
7,000 - 7,499	1,296	1,319	0.98
7,500 - 7,999	1,351	1,418	0.95
8,000 - 8,499	1,415	1,425	0.99
8,500 - 8,999	1,476	1,499	0.98
9,000 - 9,499	1,517	1,510	1.00
9,500 - 9,999	1,549	1,590	0.97
10,000 - 10,999	1,600	1,647	0.97
11,000 - 11,999	1,652	1,683	0.98
12,000 - 12,999	1,672	1,751	0.95
13,000 - 13,999	1,695	1,797	0.94
14,000 - 14,999	1,705	1,827	0.93
15,000 - 15,999	1,708	1,862	0.92
16,000 - 16,999	1,718	1,870	0.92
17,000 - 17,999	1,729	1,898	0.91
18,000 - 18,999	1,742	1,912	0.91
19,000 - 19,999	1,748	1,928	0.91
20,000 - 20,999	1,738	1,935	0.90
21,000 - 21,999	1,743	1,947	0.90
22,000 - 22,999	1,726	1,949	0.89
23,000 - 23,999	1,751	1,958	0.89
24,000 - 24,999	1,757	1,965	0.89
25,000 - 25,999	1,774	1,975	0.90
26,000 - 26,999	1,763	1,972	0.89
27,000 - 27,999	1,790	1,986	0.90
28,000 - 28,999	1,805	1,984	0.91
29,000 - 29,999	1,827	1,987	0.92
30,000 - 31,999	1,821	2,017	0.90
32,000 - 33,999	1,833	2,023	0.91
34,000 - 35,999	1,839	2,040	0.90
36,000 - 37,999	1,854	2,042	0.91
38,000 - 39,999	1,894	2,046	0.93
40,000 - 41,999	1,855	2,078	0.89
42,000 - 43,999	1,954	2,079	0.94
44,000 - 45,999	1,872	2,108	0.89
46,000 - 47,999	1,821	2,083	0.87
48,000 - 49,999	1,829	2,111	0.87
50,000 - 54,999	1,768	2,138	0.83
55,000 - 59,999	1,852	2,151	0.86
60,000 - 64,999	1,813	2,188	0.83
65,000 - 69,999	1,756	2,161	0.81
70,000 etc.	1,862	2,209	0.84

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table A-10**Distribution of Women Enrolled in the Institutional-Training Program, by Family Status, Canada, 1973-82**

	Women returning to work	Women already in labour market
	(Per cent)	
Married	60.2	39.2
Single	8.1	39.4
Divorced	7.7	6.7
Separated	19.0	11.8
Widowed	5.0	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0

SOURCE Employment and Immigration Canada, special tabulations from the longitudinal data file.

Table A-11**Distribution of Women Enrolled in the Institutional-Training Program Who Are Returning to Work After An Absence of At Least Two Years, by Number of Years, Outside the Labour Market, Canada, 1973-82**

	(Per cent)
2-5 years	46.9
6-10 years	31.9
10 years and over	21.2
Total	100.0

SOURCE Employment and Immigration Canada, special tabulations from the longitudinal data.

Table A-12
Undergraduate and Occupational Program Enrolment, by Sex and Specialization, Canada, 1972-73 and 1981-82

	Full-time				Part-time				Proportion of Women			
	Women		Men		Women		Men		Full-time		Part-time	
	1972-73	1981-82	1972-73	1981-82	1972-73	1981-82	1972-73	1981-82	1972-73	1981-82	1972-73	1981-82
Agriculture	466	1,588	1,955	2,163	19	73	55	102	19.2	42.3	25.7	41.7
Architecture and landscaping	233	797	1,561	1,838	5	54	46	190	13.0	30.2	9.8	22.1
Arts	36,266	47,581	43,097	38,457	25,037	27,918	19,160	13,373	45.7	55.3	56.6	67.6
Arts and science	8,735	9,340	11,452	9,196	7,032	5,000	4,300	2,835	43.3	50.4	62.1	63.8
Commerce and business administration	2,147	15,852	15,871	27,324	723	6,327	4,592	9,302	11.9	36.7	13.6	40.5
Dentistry	153	451	1,682	1,540	-	3	3	8	8.3	22.7	-	27.3
Education	15,102	18,700	9,321	5,552	14,756	12,809	6,864	4,791	61.8	77.1	68.3	72.8
Engineering	329	2,797	19,461	29,543	16	112	803	1,988	1.7	8.6	2.0	5.3
Environmental studies	175	736	675	1,327	1	123	19	249	20.6	35.7	5.0	33.1
Fine and applied arts	3,094	5,280	1,933	3,083	625	2,502	279	908	61.5	63.1	69.1	73.4
Forestry	40	395	1,013	1,443	-	14	6	60	3.8	21.5	-	18.9
Household science	3,511	3,168	96	91	298	379	5	13	97.3	97.2	98.3	96.7
Journalism	523	617	441	375	33	48	15	30	54.3	62.2	68.8	61.5
Law	1,458	3,854	6,600	5,809	14	150	41	161	18.1	39.9	25.5	48.2
Medicine	1,520	3,151	5,282	5,054	10	64	20	86	22.3	38.4	33.3	42.7
Music	1,585	1,864	1,268	1,357	212	359	133	220	55.6	57.9	61.4	62.0
Nursing	4,426	5,632	88	150	722	1,731	18	112	98.1	97.4	97.6	93.9
Optometry	58	190	273	214	-	-	1	1	17.5	47.0	-	-
Pharmacology	1,315	1,744	1,124	974	7	45	15	33	53.9	64.2	31.8	57.7
Physical and health education and recreation	3,886	6,278	5,010	5,330	127	540	253	549	43.7	54.1	34.4	49.6
Rehabilitation medicine	1,123	2,080	104	265	147	301	6	19	91.5	88.7	96.1	94.1
Religion and theology	538	704	1,262	1,904	515	763	366	337	29.9	27.0	58.4	69.4
Science	10,109	17,260	28,588	32,283	1,514	3,254	3,880	5,391	26.1	34.8	28.1	37.6
Secretarial science	491	535	11	1	33	226	-	3	97.8	99.8	-	98.7
Social work	1,632	3,108	678	710	140	1,142	114	388	70.6	81.4	55.1	74.6
Veterinary medicine	158	504	698	528	2	5	3	4	18.5	48.8	40.0	55.6
Others not specified	311	644	275	547	60	263	71	114	53.1	54.1	45.8	69.8
Total	99,384	154,910	159,819	177,104	52,048	64,185	41,068	41,267	51.6	46.7	55.9	60.9

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Cat. 81-204.

Table A-13

Part-Time Enrolment at Master's and Doctorate Levels, by Sex and Specialization, Canada, 1972-73 and 1981-82

	Master's level				Doctorate level			
	Women		Men		Women		Men	
	1972-73	1981-82	1972-73	1981-82	1972-73	1981-82	1972-73	1981-82
Education	1,229	4,157	3,031	3,708	87	304	341	394
Fine and applied arts	92	210	43	131	9	18	19	13
Humanities	1,093	1,315	1,508	1,199	321	247	770	418
Social sciences	841	2,903	3,468	5,654	255	321	803	680
Commerce and business administration	68	1,100	1,524	3,175	-	8	12	54
Law	31	118	109	272	3	1	34	11
Psychology and social services	218	582	288	357	134	168	283	182
Agriculture and biological sciences	104	195	279	297	24	21	144	97
Engineering and applied sciences	23	161	1,127	1,917	6	8	256	240
Health professions	100	314	140	213	27	45	92	87
Medicine and dentistry	49	105	116	171	18	32	83	69
Nursing science	33	139	4	-	1	-	-	-
Mathematics and physical sciences	86	136	518	640	24	42	320	255
Others ¹	41	20	92	23	3	2	19	8
Total	3,609	9,411	10,206	13,782	756	1,008	2,764	2,192

¹ Includes "not specified."

SOURCE Statistics Canada. *Enrolment in Universities*. Cat. No. 81-204.

Table A-14

Distribution of Part-Time University Enrolment, by Sex and Age Group, Canada, 1972-73 and 1981-82

	Undergraduate				Graduate			
	1972-73		1981-82		1972-73		1981-82	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
	(Per cent)							
Under 21 years	4.8	3.9	4.8	4.7	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
21-24	23.4	22.7	17.9	22.0	15.6	10.0	7.6	7.0
25-29	26.3	34.7	20.9	26.1	36.2	39.4	29.6	31.5
30-34	16.5	18.0	19.5	20.9	17.2	25.2	26.0	30.0
35-39	10.7	9.3	15.9	13.0	10.4	12.2	16.8	17.7
40 and over	18.4	11.3	21.0	13.3	20.3	13.1	20.0	13.8
Total ¹	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Excludes persons not reporting age.

SOURCE Statistics Canada. Cat. 81-204.

Table A-15

Average Earnings of Women and Men Aged 15-19, by Level of Male Numerical Dominance in Occupations, Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81

	Female labour force		Average earnings				Male/female ratio	
			Women		Men			
	1971	1981	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
	(Per cent)		(Dollars)				(Per cent)	
Male dominance of occupations (per cent)								
0 - 4.9	14.5	8.8	1,528	4,011	1,217	2,868	125.6	139.9
5.0 - 9.9	0.4	0.2	1,784	3,807	2,881	5,906	61.9	64.5
10.0 - 14.9	4.6	1.9	1,162	3,204	1,186	2,472	98.0	129.6
15.0 - 19.9	12.7	16.3	879	2,155	961	2,547	91.5	84.6
20.0 - 24.9	1.2	1.1	2,118	5,277	1,987	5,396	106.6	97.8
25.0 - 29.9	14.7	18.9	1,462	3,335	1,733	3,644	84.4	91.5
30.0 - 34.9	1.7	1.2	1,484	2,886	1,687	3,647	88.0	79.1
35.0 - 39.9	6.5	5.8	1,342	3,473	1,273	3,677	105.4	94.5
40.0 - 44.9	6.2	4.6	1,550	3,900	1,351	3,298	114.7	118.3
45.0 - 49.9	0.1	0.1	1,996	4,460	2,336	5,185	85.4	86.0
50.0 - 54.9	13.8	18.1	888	2,323	1,157	2,941	76.8	79.0
55.0 - 59.9	0.1	-	2,195	5,242	3,843	5,867	57.1	89.3
60.0 - 64.9	0.8	1.0	1,568	3,888	1,898	4,685	82.6	83.0
65.0 - 69.9	12.7	8.7	1,187	3,089	1,294	3,047	91.7	101.4
70.0 - 74.9	2.0	2.5	1,231	2,465	1,517	3,615	81.1	68.2
75.0 - 79.9	1.1	1.0	1,722	3,907	1,892	4,783	91.0	81.7
80.0 - 84.9	3.0	4.0	1,001	2,904	1,130	3,307	88.6	87.8
85.0 - 89.9	1.5	1.8	1,602	3,573	1,408	3,866	113.8	92.4
90.0 - 94.9	1.3	1.8	1,526	3,335	1,828	5,087	83.5	65.6
95.0 - 100.0	1.0	2.1	1,943	4,128	1,880	5,410	103.4	76.3

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table A-16

Average Earnings of Women and Men Aged 15-19, by Occupational Income Bracket,¹ Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81

Occupational income bracket ¹	Female labour force		Average earnings				Male/female ratio	
			Women		Men			
	1971	1981	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
	(Per cent)		(Dollars)				(Per cent)	
0 - 10	-	0.1	3,839	5,936	2,907	8,057	132.1	73.7
11 - 20	0.2	0.1	1,955	6,682	2,435	7,208	80.3	92.7
21 - 30	-	-	1,725	6,797	2,223	9,507	77.6	71.5
31 - 40	0.2	0.1	1,965	4,508	2,237	6,204	87.4	72.7
41 - 50	0.1	0.3	1,544	4,515	2,595	5,976	59.5	75.6
51 - 60	0.1	0.2	2,115	4,404	2,623	5,817	80.6	75.7
61 - 70	0.2	0.3	2,176	4,737	2,308	5,626	94.3	84.2
71 - 80	0.3	0.6	1,813	5,029	2,217	6,864	81.8	73.3
81 - 90	0.2	0.3	2,045	3,556	1,932	4,897	105.8	72.6
91 - 100	0.8	1.0	1,824	4,065	2,028	5,764	89.9	70.5
101 - 110	1.5	1.3	1,475	3,809	2,237	6,126	65.9	62.2
111 - 120	0.6	0.7	1,726	4,318	1,818	5,408	94.9	79.8
121 - 130	0.5	0.8	1,747	3,752	1,744	4,911	100.2	76.4
131 - 140	2.5	3.1	1,359	2,908	1,649	3,979	82.4	73.1
141 - 150	10.8	5.6	1,298	3,846	1,449	4,101	89.6	93.8
151 - 160	6.7	5.4	1,397	3,495	1,515	3,956	92.2	88.3
161 - 170	3.6	3.8	1,540	3,614	1,690	4,214	91.1	85.8
171 - 180	27.0	28.6	1,648	3,673	1,403	3,508	117.5	104.7
181 - 190	21.4	24.6	1,012	2,437	1,153	2,846	87.7	85.6
191 - 201	23.3	23.0	886	2,218	942	2,773	94.1	80.0

1 The occupations listed in Table A-7 are represented here in groups of 10, based on the 1970 classification.
SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table A-17**Average Earnings of Women and Men Aged 20-34, by Level of Male Numerical Dominance in Occupations, Canada, 1971 and 1981**

	Female labour force		Average earnings				Male/female ratio	
			Women		Men			
	1971	1981	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
	(Per cent)		(Dollars)				(Per cent)	
Male dominance in occupations (per cent)								
0 - 4.9	21.6	17.7	3,991	10,480	5,393	13,119	74.0	79.9
5.0 - 9.9	2.0	1.6	4,439	11,584	5,361	13,879	82.8	83.5
10.0 - 14.9	3.1	2.2	2,605	6,848	4,064	9,517	64.1	72.0
15.0 - 19.9	4.1	4.8	2,402	6,178	3,661	8,114	65.6	76.1
20.0 - 24.9	2.3	2.5	4,039	10,508	5,766	13,683	70.0	76.8
25.0 - 29.9	14.3	17.1	3,452	9,100	5,090	12,115	67.8	75.1
30.0 - 34.9	13.5	6.0	5,291	13,772	7,152	18,951	74.0	72.7
35.0 - 39.9	5.1	4.7	3,080	8,240	5,175	14,056	59.5	58.6
40.0 - 44.9	5.7	5.8	3,479	9,235	4,935	11,974	70.5	77.1
45.0 - 49.9	0.2	0.2	3,690	10,342	5,825	15,420	63.3	67.1
50.0 - 54.9	6.3	8.4	2,928	7,921	5,183	12,655	56.5	62.6
55.0 - 59.9	0.1	0.1	3,685	10,335	6,428	14,459	57.3	71.5
60.0 - 64.9	1.2	1.1	3,624	8,703	5,432	13,302	66.7	65.4
65.0 - 69.9	8.9	4.9	3,316	8,555	5,719	11,698	58.0	73.1
70.0 - 74.9	1.4	2.2	3,196	7,744	5,247	12,586	60.9	61.5
75.0 - 79.9	1.7	3.4	4,063	12,222	7,285	18,328	55.8	66.7
80.0 - 84.9	2.8	4.7	3,730	9,842	6,173	13,472	60.4	73.1
85.0 - 89.9	2.7	5.9	4,013	11,781	6,410	16,179	62.6	72.8
90.0 - 94.9	1.5	2.4	3,684	10,556	6,586	15,643	55.9	67.5
95.0 - 100.0	1.5	4.3	4,155	11,808	6,443	16,457	64.5	71.8

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table A-18

Average Earnings of Women and Men Aged 20-34, by Occupational Income Bracket, Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81

Occupational income bracket ¹	Female labour force		Average earnings				Male/female ratio	
			Women		Men			
	1971	1981	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
	(Per cent)		(Dollars)				(Per cent)	
0 - 10	0.2	0.8	7,375	16,944	14,009	27,755	52.6	61.0
11 - 20	0.8	2.0	5,593	15,208	10,463	22,837	53.5	66.6
21 - 30	0.2	0.7	5,896	15,235	9,044	22,575	65.2	67.5
31 - 40	1.0	2.1	5,140	14,793	8,343	20,787	61.6	71.2
41 - 50	0.5	1.1	5,310	13,701	8,204	20,226	64.7	67.7
51 - 60	0.3	0.9	5,739	14,587	7,705	19,074	74.5	76.5
61 - 70	0.4	1.3	4,214	12,661	7,465	19,472	56.5	65.0
71 - 80	1.4	1.9	4,416	10,973	7,494	17,530	58.9	62.6
81 - 90	.9	1.1	5,429	13,210	6,918	17,227	78.5	76.7
91 - 100	10.6	6.4	5,455	13,980	6,782	16,795	80.4	83.2
101 - 110	2.5	3.0	4,253	10,651	6,239	15,528	68.2	68.6
111 - 120	0.8	1.0	3,611	9,829	5,631	14,748	64.1	66.6
121 - 130	1.0	1.5	3,844	9,576	5,437	13,145	70.7	72.8
131 - 140	2.5	3.7	3,606	9,375	5,096	12,297	70.7	76.2
141 - 150	9.0	4.7	3,563	9,884	5,769	12,671	61.8	78.0
151 - 160	11.0	10.4	3,929	10,664	4,801	12,581	81.8	84.8
161 - 170	3.8	4.8	3,312	8,050	4,822	11,343	68.7	71.0
171 - 180	32.0	31.4	3,647	9,300	5,026	12,445	72.6	74.7
181 - 190	11.5	11.5	2,564	6,503	4,446	10,659	57.7	61.0
191 - 201	9.5	9.6	2,281	5,628	3,395	8,678	67.2	64.9

¹ The occupations listed in Table A-7 are represented here in groups of 10, based on the 1970 classification.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Censuses, special tabulations.

Table A-19

Women Absent From Work Because of Pregnancy, With and Without Financial Compensation, Canada, 1978-81

	Women absent from work because of pregnancy ¹	Financial compensation received		Unemployment insurance benefits received	
		Number	Proportion	Number	Proportion
		(Thousands)	(Per cent)	(Thousands)	(Per cent)
1978	120	87	72.1	79	65.8
1979	156	123	78.5	114	73.3
1980	130	100	76.8	90	69.1
1981	150	117	78.3	106	70.8
Average	139	107	76.7	97	70.0

¹ Women for whom the more recent absence from work that year was due to pregnancy.

SOURCE Statistics Canada, *The Labour Force*, Cat. 71-001, November 1982.

Table A-20**Distribution of Preschool Children Whose Parents Are Dissatisfied With Daycare Arrangements, by Age of Mother, Canada, February 1981**

Age	Total number of children	Number of children whose parents are dissatisfied	Proportion of complaints
	(Thousands)	(Thousands)	(Per cent)
15-24	167	21	12.4
25-34	793	119	15.0
35 and over	173	25	14.4
Total	1,133	165	14.5

SOURCE Statistics Canada, "Childcare Survey," *The Labour Force*, Cat. 71-006, August 1982.

Table A-22**Distribution of Preschool Children Whose Parents Are Dissatisfied With Daycare Arrangements, by Parents' Earnings Bracket, Canada, February 1981**

	Total number of children	Number of children whose parents are dissatisfied	Proportion of complaints
	(Thousands)	(Thousands)	(Per cent)
Under \$15,000	186	32	17.2
\$15,000 - \$24,000	369	53	14.4
\$25,000 - \$34,000	220	34	15.5
\$35,000 or more	182	28	15.4
Not available	177	17	9.6
Total	1,133	165	14.5

SOURCE Statistics Canada, "Childcare Survey," *The Labour Force*, Cat. 71-006, August 1982.

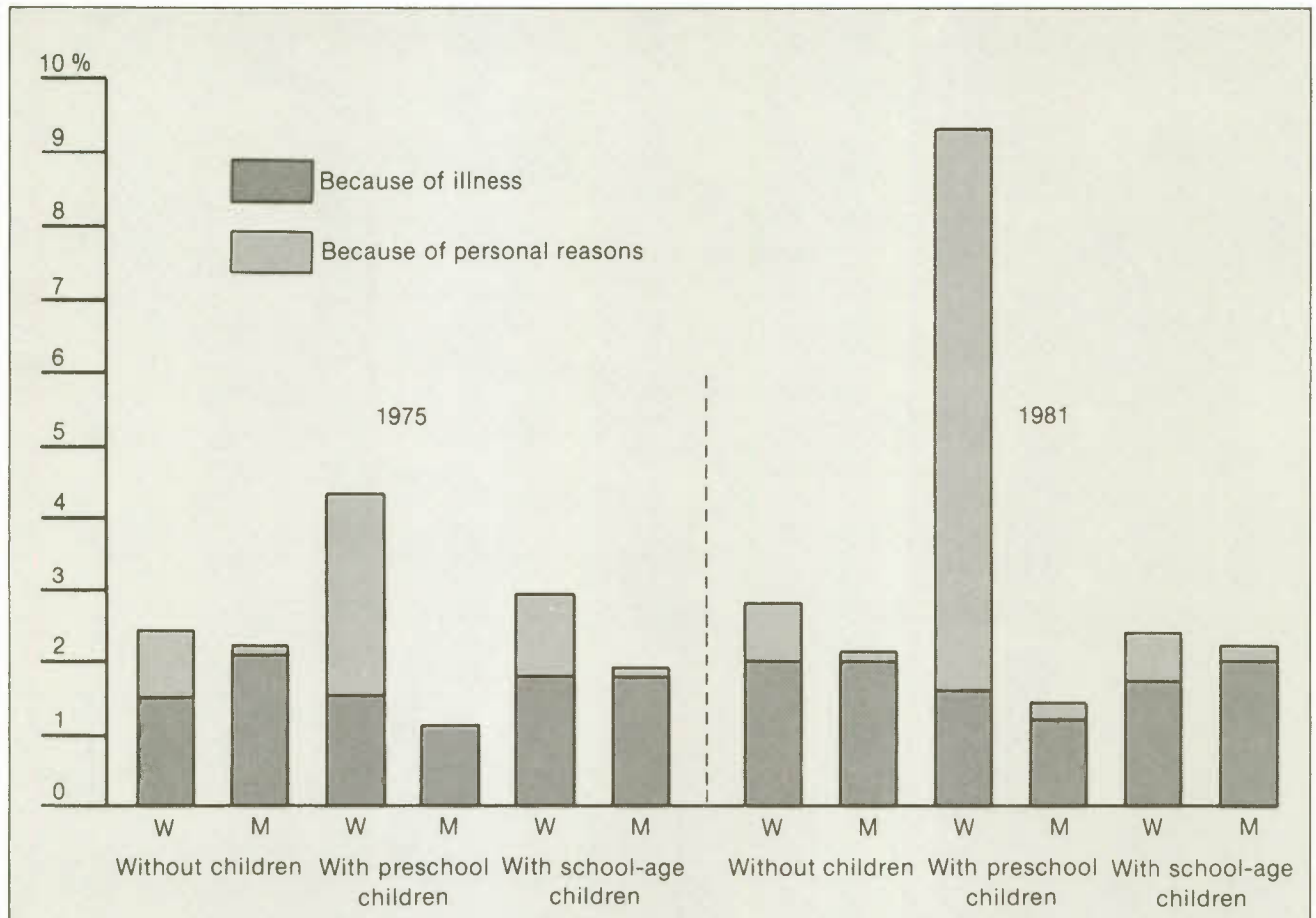
Table A-21**Distribution of Preschool Children Whose Parents Are Dissatisfied With Daycare Arrangements, by Age of Children, Canada, February 1981**

	Total number of children	Number of children whose parents are dissatisfied	Proportion of complaints
	(Thousands)	(Thousands)	(Per cent)
Under 1 year	155	17	11.0
1 year	132	20	15.2
2 years	160	27	16.9
3 years	171	37	21.6
4 years	223	34	15.2
5 years	292	30	10.3
Total	1 133	165	14.5

SOURCE Statistics Canada, "Childcare Survey," *The Labour Force*, Cat. 71-006, August 1982.

Chart A-1

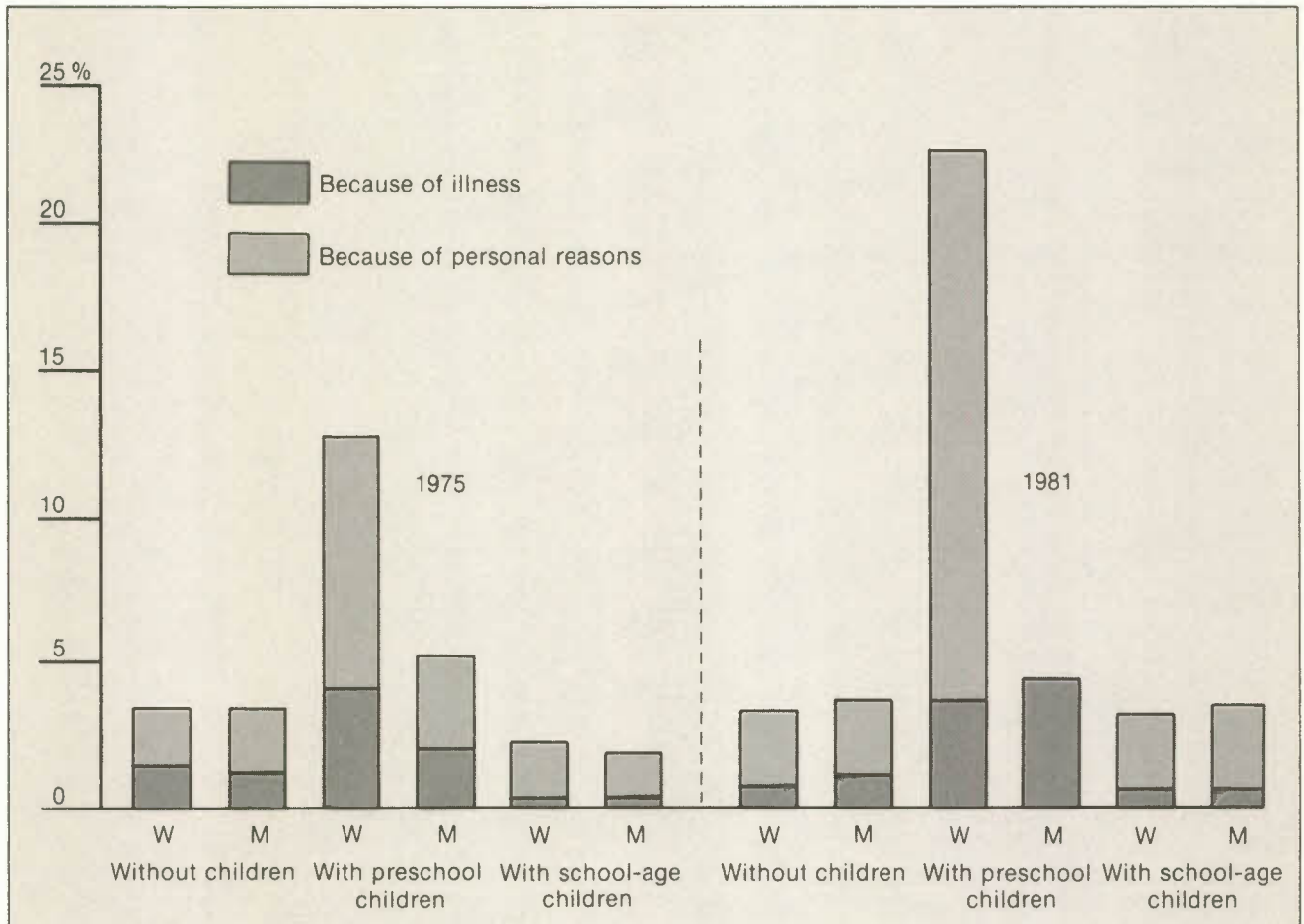
Married Persons Temporarily Absent From Work, by Family Status and Sex, Canada, 1975 and 1981¹



¹ The May edition of the Labour Survey was used in order to correspond as closely as possible with census data (June 1981).
 SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, special tabulations.

Chart A-2

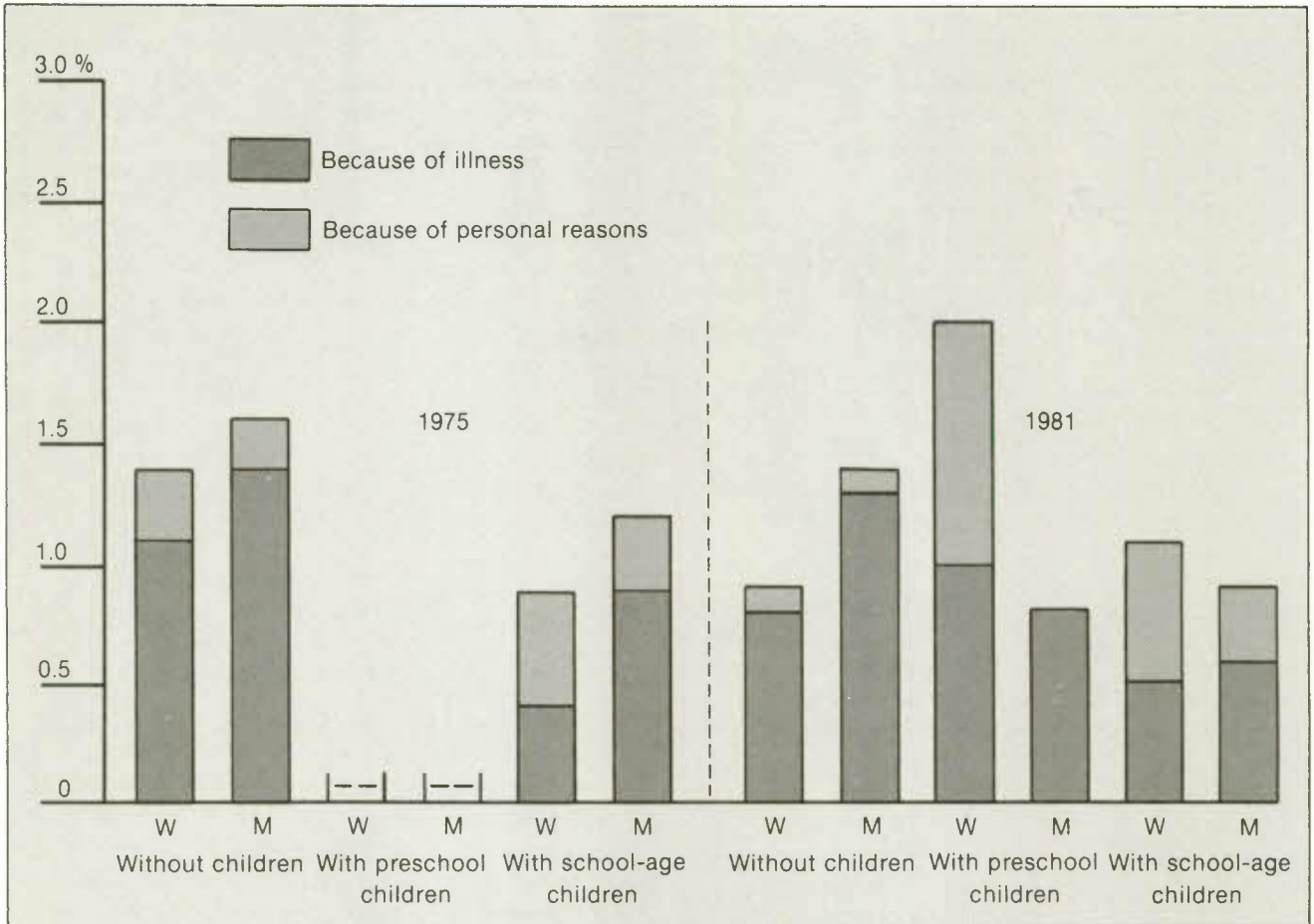
Single Persons Who Have Left Work, by Family Status and Sex, Canada, 1975 and 1981¹



¹ The May edition of the Labour Survey was used in order to correspond as closely as possible with census data (June 1981).
 SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, special tabulations.

Chart A-3

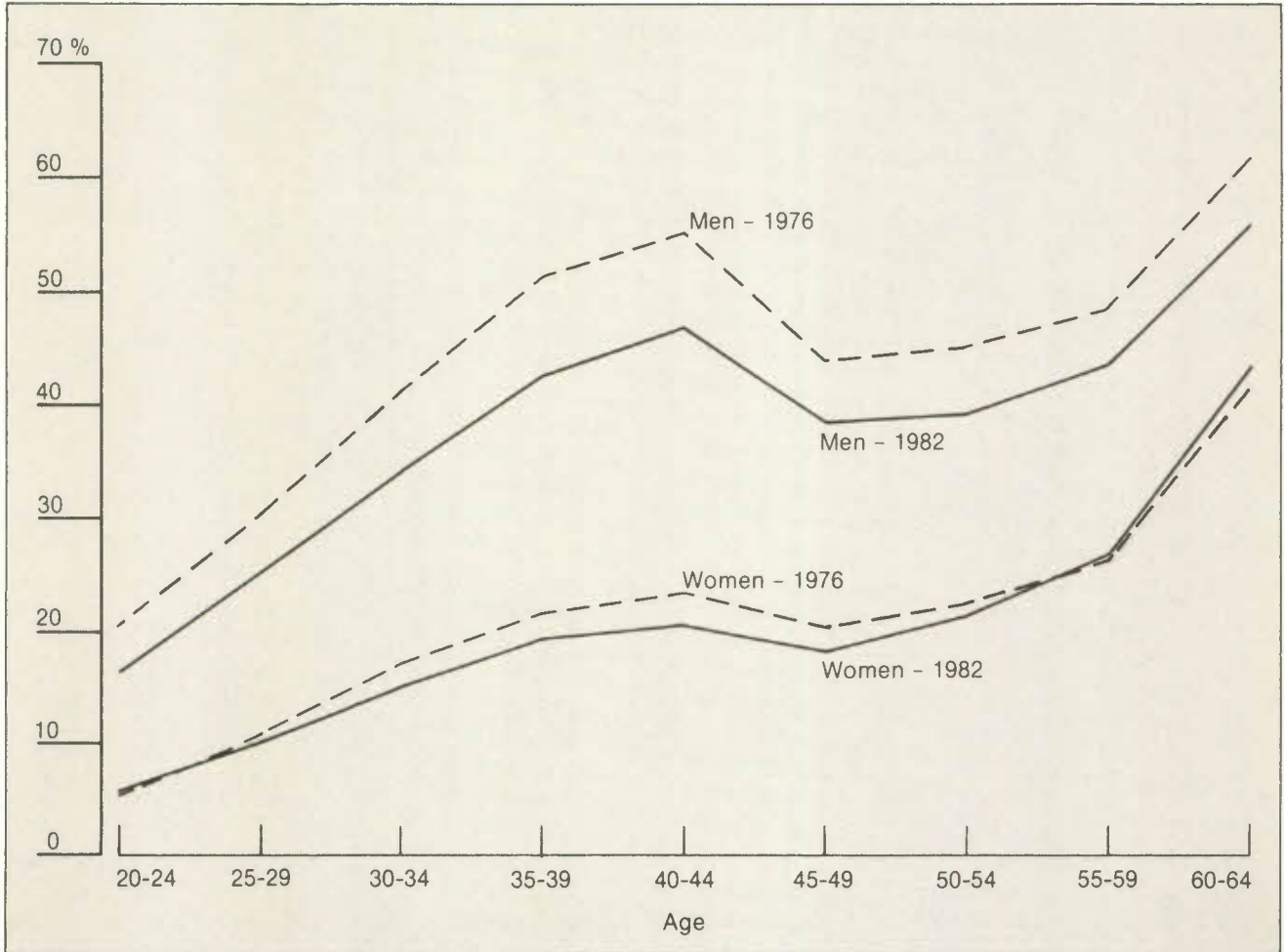
Single Persons Temporarily Absent From Work, by Family Status and Sex, Canada, 1975 and 1981¹



¹ The May edition of the Labour Survey was used in order to correspond as closely as possible with census data (June 1981).
 SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, special tabulations.

Chart A-4

Proportion of Workers in "Permanent" Positions, by Sex and Age Group, Canada, 1976 and 1982



SOURCE Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, special tabulations.

B Methodological Considerations in the Measurement of Occupational Diversification

Most research that attempts to assess how far women have to go before achieving earnings parity with men is implicitly based on an important assumption: that the ultimate goal is for the representation of the sexes to be exactly equal in all occupations, or at least as close to this "ideal" as possible.

The authors of such works take for granted that there are no differences in personal preference between men and women when it comes to the choice of an occupation. However, differences do indeed exist. One need only look at the relative lack of success of federal manpower training projects such as the institutional-training program and especially the industrial-training program, which were supposed to encourage women to enter so-called "male" occupations. The data available at present do not lead us to believe that this situation could disappear entirely even if men and women were raised in exactly the same way from birth and even if market barriers that affect women more than men were completely eliminated.

Once these two hypotheses are abandoned, an index to measure the degree of correspondence between the occupational profile of men and women can be easily set up. This index, known as a "dissimilarity index," was first used by Staehle in a study on prices,¹ a field where the two hypotheses discussed above have no relevance.

The dissimilarity index can be expressed as follows²:

$$S_t = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n \left| m_{it} - f_{it} \right| \quad 1 < t < N$$

where m_{it} is the proportion of the male labour force in occupation i at time t , and f_{it} is the proportion of the female labour force in the same occupation during the same year.

The possible values of index S range from 0 to 100, with 0 signifying that the same relative percentages of men and women are found across all occupations, so that in each occupation the proportion of women is the same as in the labour force as a whole. An index

of 100, on the other hand, indicates that the occupation in question is composed exclusively of men or women. The index thus can show the smallest percentage of women (or men) who must change occupations before disaggregation will yield the same representation for both sexes, the occupational profile of the other sex remaining unchanged.

There is an alternative form of this index, calculated by adding up the absolute values of the differences between the percentage of the female labour force in each occupation and the percentage of the total labour force in this occupation (or h_{it} , given occupation i at time t):

$$I_t = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n \left| f_{it} - h_{it} \right|$$

There is a direct relationship between these two variants. It is easy to prove that:

$$I_t = (1 - p_{ft}) S_t$$

where p_{ft} is the proportion of women in the labour force at time t . Consequently, the higher the percentage of women in the labour force, the lower the value of I — as long as the occupational diversification patterns of women entering the labour market are similar to those of the women already in the workforce. For this reason, some researchers feel that this variant has an edge in international comparisons; we do not share this opinion, however.

Let us assume that the occupational diversification of the female labour force is identical in two separate countries (and that the classification systems used in these countries are also the same), but that participation rates differ. The value of I for the two countries will not be the same because of the different participation rates, even though the index purports to measure occupational diversification. On the other hand, if women continue to increase their participation rates while altering their diversification patterns (which is what is occurring at the present time), no conclusions can be reached, since the index by itself

does not reveal to what extent the increased participation and occupational diversification rates contribute to the drop in the index.

Thus this index by itself is not all that useful, because: 1) there is no logical relationship other than mathematical between the increased participation rates and a constant level of female occupational diversification (and if only the participation rate changes, not diversification, it can be expected that the diversification index will stay the same); and 2) two different countries can have identical indexes, not because their occupational diversification patterns are similar, but because their participation rates are different. In addition, it must be remembered that in international comparisons there are problems related to the definitions used when occupations are sorted into categories, as well as differences in the disaggregation levels of occupational classifications.

The S index also poses a problem. A rise in the index from one year to another may reflect an increased concentration of women in certain occupations, or it may just as well be caused by changes in occupational structure – particularly if such changes lead to increases in the relative size of female occupations. In this instance, a rise in the S index does not necessarily mean that the economic status of women has deteriorated, and it can even be an indication of improvement.

If an index such as this is to be used to keep track of changes in female occupational diversification, there are two separate phenomena to be distinguished: 1) that caused by changes in the occupational structure or in the relative size of occupations; and 2) that caused by changes in the gender profile of occupations (in other words, the phenomenon that we actually want to measure).

Attempts to distinguish between these two phenomena have also run into the same problems: measurement techniques are neither skewsymmetric, transitive, nor robust. This creates an artificial third factor known as the "interaction effect," and so far no valid theoretical interpretation has been formulated to deal with this problem. For example, in trying to use this kind of index to measure changes in female occupational diversification between 1971 and 1981, the results for the two phenomena discussed above will be different depending on whether 1971 or 1981 is taken to be the base year for the index. And if data for a third year are added, the calculations collapse. Finally, it should be noted that both of these phenomena are highly susceptible to differences in the degree of occupational disaggregation used for the purposes of the calculations – in addition, of course, to the interaction effect.³

The most fundamental criticism that can be leveled at the various composite or aggregate indexes, however, is that they are of no help whatsoever in formulating policies designed to remedy a given situation. In our case, the task is to encourage occupational diversification in the female labour force while respecting freedom of choice.

Even though such indexes can not be faulted on technical grounds, at the best they can only indicate whether the occupational choices of women are becoming more diversified or not; to determine, for example, if changes are occurring in the right direction or whether further stimulation is required, other procedures are needed. In other words, if the goal is not simply to chart the phenomenon but also to explain it, composite indexes are of little help and may even cloud the issue.

A Proposition

Before starting to analyse occupational diversification in the female labour force, it is a good idea to establish the goal of such an analysis, and particularly its relevance for economists.

As demonstrated in this study, it is the low level of occupational diversification among women and an excess female labour supply situation in some occupations that have contributed significantly to the existence of a gap in employment earnings between men and women. It follows that improvements in occupational diversification should lead to a reduction of these gaps. But what indicators should economists monitor to see whether change is proceeding in the right direction? What trends should be encouraged to this end?

These questions can best be answered by first addressing other, more technical points. For example, what level of occupational disaggregation should be used for the study, if its aim is to arrive at specific recommendations?

The best response to this question is probably that the ideal level of disaggregation is that which corresponds best to the kind of education and skills demanded by a career – in other words, the level most conducive to an assessment of the relationship between a particular kind of training and an identifiable need on the labour market. This will make it easier to come up with specific corrective measures that have a real chance of doing some good. In the case of the status of women, this approach appears particularly suitable when it is remembered that it is increasingly apparent that female concentration in certain occupations has its roots in schooling.⁴

Statistics Canada's occupational classification system fulfills these requirements to a degree, especially when it comes to occupations requiring a university education. As a general rule, the greater the educational investment of an occupation in terms of human capital, the more likely it is that the occupation will merit its own place in the classification system.

This probably explains why there are so many more male occupations in the classification system. Even though the average level of educational attainment for women has been slightly higher than that of men for some time, it is well known that fewer women continue on to university, and, *a fortiori*, that fewer women hold university degrees. Although this situation is definitely changing, in the meantime the smaller number of female occupations probably results in an overestimation of the various indexes used to measure occupational diversification in the female labour force.

Excessively heterogeneous groupings are more commonly found in occupations that require a lower investment in terms of human capital, in the sense that the requisite skills exhibit considerable variation; or it is also common to discover occupations too highly disaggregated for our purposes, so that regrouping is necessary. This is why we have reduced the number of our occupational categories to 201 from Statistics Canada's 485, while retaining all female-dominated occupations. This is still not necessarily the best classification system, since several Statistics Canada categories could be further disaggregated.

Once this step has been completed, changes in the occupational profile of women in these jobs during a given period can be examined by separating them into male-dominated and female-dominated occupations at the beginning of the period. This reveals the extent to which diversification has taken place, if at all. Moreover, the characteristics of the women who contributed most to this phenomenon can be isolated (according to age, schooling, and family status, for

example). This information has direct relevance to policy formulation.

Before proceeding to this stage, however, it would be best to decide what constitutes a male occupation. For the purposes of our study, such an occupation is one where 50 per cent or more of the jobs are occupied by men. Other authors have proposed different criteria, defining male occupations as those where the proportion of positions occupied by women is less than in the labour force as a whole, for instance. However, by 1981 women already represented over 40 per cent of the labour force, so that according to the latter criterion any occupation where the proportion of women is under this figure would have to be considered male-dominated. We feel this would be misleading, for at least two reasons. First of all, the definition of an occupation as a male occupation should be based on intrinsic characteristics, and not on exogeneous factors. And since the female participation rate is on the rise, while there is little change in the male rate, female labour force representation will continue to increase. Consequently, the line dividing male from female occupations will be continually shifting, making comparisons over time difficult. Moreover, an occupation that is female today may not be so tomorrow, not because there are fewer women working in the field, but simply because the representation of women in the labour force as a whole has grown. In this way, an occupation can change its identity without any changes occurring in its actual characteristics. This kind of criterion may be useful in drawing the line between over- and underrepresentation of women in some occupations; this is obviously a normative, rather than pragmatic, usage of this criterion. We, on the other hand, do not see any reason why a group of occupations could not exist where men and women might be represented unequally, yet receive similar wages. In other words, from the point of view of economic analysis, there is nothing wrong with an occupation being a "female" occupation — that is, having more than 50 per cent of its workers female. However, if there is an excess labour supply in the occupation, then it makes economic sense to encourage diversification in a context of free choice.

Notes

CHAPTER 1

- 1 *Opportunity for Choice: A Goal for Women in Canada*, ed. Gail C. A. Cook, Statistics Canada in association with the C. D. Howe Research Institute (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1976).
- 2 Lucie Pépin, President's Letter, *Annual Report 1982-1983* (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council of the Status of Women, 1983), p. 1.
- 3 For more information on this topic, see Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Women and Employment* (Paris: OECD, 1980).
- 4 See, in particular, Jeannine David-McNeil and Annette Morin-Fortier, "Autonomie économique des femmes," a paper prepared for the Fédération des femmes du Québec, May 1983.
- 5 Kim Clark and Lawrence H. Summers, *Labour Force Participation Timing and Persistence*, Working Paper no. 977 (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, September 1982), p. 44. For information on Canada, see Sylvia Ostry and Mahmood A. Zaidi, *Labour Economics in Canada*, third edition (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), Table II-1, p. 33. For each census year between 1901 and 1971, the following female participation rates were established: 16.1, 18.6, 19.9, 21.8, 22.9, 24.1, 29.7, and 39.9 per cent.
- 6 Caution must be exercised in analysing these figures. Data on incomes are for the years 1970 and 1980. Data on participation rates, occupational diversification, and hours worked, however, are for the years 1971 and 1981. This situation arises because the census questions relating to information on the respondent (occupation, educational background, age, and so on) require a response as of the time of the census, whereas information on income is based on the calendar year preceding the census. Instances of a negative reported income have been excluded. Persons who reported working in 1970 or 1980 but who neglected to declare any employment earnings for these years have also been excluded. Consequently, in the 1971 Census 1.9 per cent of men and 7.1 per cent of women have been excluded from the calculations, and 2.9 and 3.5 per cent, respectively, have been disqualified in the 1981 Census. While it is unfortunate that some people must be excluded, this is inevitable if the averages are to be kept accurate. Most of the disqualified respondents (particularly the women) had said they were working, but had not reported any income from employment.
- 7 Here, we are dealing with women reporting positive employment incomes.
- 8 For a list of various institutional factors and labour market barriers that can affect the economic status of women, see Jac-André Boulet and Laval Lavallée,

"Women and the Labour Market: An Analytical Framework," Discussion Paper no. 207, Economic Council of Canada, Ottawa, December 1981. The socialization process, barriers to women entering certain fields or occupations, and the unequal division of family and household responsibilities are examples of such factors.

- 9 For a critical analysis of the various theories, see Morley Gunderson and Frank Reid, *Sex Discrimination in the Labour Market: Theories, Data and Evidence*, Women's Bureau, Labour Canada (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1983).

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- 2 These figures are from the 1971 and 1981 Censuses. They do not include anyone declaring a zero or negative income for the census year, except in the case of participation rates. These latter rates include inhabitants of the Yukon and Northwest Territories, Indians on reserve, military personnel, and inmates; for this reason they differ slightly from Labour Force Survey figures.
- 3 Employment and Immigration Canada, *Labour Market Development in the 1980s* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1981), p. 58.
- 4 This index measures the amount of change necessary to bring the representation of one group in line with that of another. The closer the index gets to 0, the greater the similarity between the two distributions. Changes in the index do not necessarily reflect changes in participation rates by age group, since the index is also affected by any changes in the relative size of age groups during the study period.
- 5 On this topic, see Dan Ciuriak and Harvey Sims, *Participation Rate and Labour Force Growth in Canada* (Ottawa: Finance Canada, April 1980).
- 6 For a more general and theoretical analysis of the impact of marriage and children on the economic status of women, see Albert Breton, *Marriage, Population, and the Labour Force Participation of Women*, Economic Council of Canada (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1984).
- 7 Abrar Hasan and Patrice de Broucker, *Unemployment, Employment and Non-Participation in Canadian Labour Markets* (Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada, forthcoming).
- 8 Jac-André Boulet and Laval Lavallée, "L'évolution des disparités linguistiques de revenus de travail au

- Canada de 1970 à 1980," Discussion Paper no. 245, Economic Council of Canada, Ottawa, October 1983.
- 9 Public Service Commission of Canada, *1982 Annual Report* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1983), Table 33, p. 84.
 - 10 Public Service Commission of Canada, Human Resources Planning Division, *Women in the Canadian Public Service 1980* (Ottawa: PSC), p. 15.
 - 11 Ibid, Table 4, p. 10 and Table 10, p. 18.
 - 12 National Research Council, Committee on Occupational Classification and Analysis, *Women, Work and Wages: Equal Pay for Jobs of Equal Value*, ed. D. J. Treiman and H. I. Hartmann (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1981), p. 33.
 - 13 *Opportunity for Choice*, p. 122.
 - 14 For other references, see in particular Catherine Sofer, "Emplois féminins et emplois masculins – Mesure de la ségrégation et évolution de la féminisation des emplois," *Annales de l'INSEE* 52, 1983, pp. 55-84.
 - 15 Diane Werneke, *Microelectronics and Office Jobs: The Impact of The Chip on Women's Employment* (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1983), p. 30.
 - 16 Carol Swan, "Women in the Canadian Labour Market," Task Force on Labour Market Development, Technical Study no. 36, Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa, 1981, pp. 79-80.
 - 17 Claudia Goldin, "The Historical Evolution of Females' Earnings Functions and Occupations," Working Paper no. 529, National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1981.
 - 18 Sylvia Ostry, *The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force*, 1961 Census monograph (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967), p. 29.
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 - 22 For an in-depth analysis of this question, refer to the work of Marthe Sansregret, including *The Recognition of Women's Experiential Learning in the United States* (Quebec: John Abbott College and the Direction générale de l'éducation des adultes, ministère de l'Éducation, 1983).

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- 2 Statistics Canada, *A Statistical Portrait of Canadian Higher Education: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1983), p. 26.
- 3 W. Clark and Z. Zsigmond, *Job Market Reality for Postsecondary Graduation: Employment Outcome by 1978, Two Years After Graduation*, Statistics Canada, cat. 81-572 (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1981).
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- 10 Ken Battle, "Some Aspects of the Economic Situation of Canada's Aged," Health and Welfare Canada, *Rapport* 5, no. 3 (December 1982), pp. 1,6-8.
- 11 Government of Canada, *Better Pensions for Canadians: Focus on Women* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1982).
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- 1 David-McNeil and Morin-Fortier, "Autonomie économique des femmes," p. 29.
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- 3 Statistics Canada, *Vital Statistics, 1981, Vol. II – Marriages and Divorces*, Cat. 84-205 (Ottawa: January 1983).
- 4 McKie et al., *Divorce: Law and the Family in Canada*, p. 225.

- 5 See in particular, Julien D. Payne, "Income Support Systems for Family Dependents on Marriage Breakdown: An Examination of Fundamental Policy Questions," The Institute of Law Research and Reform, University of Alberta, Edmonton, June 1982; The Canadian Institute for Research, "Matrimonial Support Failures: Reasons, Profiles and Perceptions of Individuals Involved," The Institute of Law Research and Reform, University of Alberta, Edmonton, March 1981; Ellen C. Schmeiser and David Macnak, "Proposal for a System of Automatic Enforcement of Maintenance Orders in Saskatchewan," Joint Committee on the Unified Family Court Pilot Project, Saskatoon, April 1981; Andy Wachtel and Brian E. Burtch, "Excuses: An Analysis of Court Interaction in Show Cause Enforcement of Maintenance Orders," Social Planning and Research, Vancouver, April 1981; Pierre Blouin and Diane Perreault, "Les pensions alimentaires," Politique de sécurité du revenu, ministère du Travail et de la main-d'œuvre, and "Les ordonnances de pensions alimentaires et les jugements en séparation ou en divorce," Direction des politiques de sécurité du revenu, ministère du Travail, de la main-d'œuvre et de la sécurité du revenu, Quebec, May 1979; Gail Cook, "Approaches to Economic Consequences of Marriage Breakdown," Proceedings of Judicial Conference on Family Law, Vancouver, April 26-29, 1981; Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services, *Study Report on the Parental Support Program*, Research and Demonstration Section (Toronto: Policy Analysis and Financial Planning, March 1977).
- 6 McKie et al., *Divorce: Law and the Family in Canada*, p. 255.
- 7 The only data we were able to find were supplied by a study carried out in Calgary and Edmonton. They indicate that when divorced or separated men marry, or live with, divorced or separated women, in over one-third of the cases the women have children from a previous marriage. See Canadian Institute for Research, *Matrimonial Support Failures*, p. 176.
- 8 McKie et al., *Divorce: Law and the Family in Canada*, p. 222.
- 9 Federal/Provincial Committee on Enforcement of Maintenances and Custody Orders in Canada, *Final Report*, June 7, 1983.
- 10 The word "Indian" refers to a native person who is subject to the provisions of the Indian Act. The names of these persons, who may live on or off-reserve, are registered with Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Other native persons of Indian or Metis blood are subject to the same laws as all other Canadians. There are about 330,000 status Indians in Canada, as well as some 600,000 nonstatus Indians and Metis. Some of this latter group may live on reserves.
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- 13 Andrew J. Siggner, "An Overview of Demographic, Social and Economic Conditions Among Canada's Registered Native Population," Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Ottawa, September 10, 1979.
- 14 Siggner, "An Overview"; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Corporate Policy Sector, Research Directorate, "A Demographic Profile of Registered Indian Women," Ottawa, October 1979.
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- 20 See Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *The Elimination of Sex Discrimination from the Indian Act* (Ottawa: August 1982); and Government of Canada, First Ministers' Conference, Ottawa, March 8-9, 1984.
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- 22 H. Menzies, *Women and the Chip: Case Studies on The Effects of The Introduction of Computers on Employment in Canada* (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1981).
- 23 For a discussion of the various works devoted to this issue, see Pierre-André Julien and Jean-Claude Thibodeau, "Impact de la micro-électronique sur l'emploi - Bibliographie récente commentée," research paper, Laboratoire en économie et gestion des systèmes de petites dimensions, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, May 1983.
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- 25 Labour Canada, *In the Chips: Opportunities, People, Partnerships*, Report of the Labour Canada Task Force on Micro-Electronics and Employment (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1982).
- 26 Economic Council of Canada, *In Short Supply: Jobs and Skills in the 1980s* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1982), p. 44.
- 27 Science Council of Canada, *Science for Every Student – Educating Canadians for Tomorrow's World*, Report no. 36 (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1984).

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- 2 John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women*, first edition (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1869), p. 29.
- 3 Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, *Report* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970), p. 309.

APPENDIX B

- 1 H. Staehle, "A Development of the Economic Theory of Price Index Numbers," *Review of Economic Studies* 2, 1934-1935.

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- 3 For a more extensive discussion of this point, see Jac-André Boulet and J. C. Robin Rowley, "Measurement of Discrimination in the Labour Market: A Comment," *Canadian Journal of Economics* 10, no. 1 (February 1977), pp. 149-154; also Jac-André Boulet and Paul Robillard, "Suggestion d'une technique pour différencier les effets de composition régionale des effets de composition industrielle," in *Comptes rendus, Congrès sur la méthodologie de l'aménagement et du développement*, ACFAS, 1977, pp. 86-92.
- 4 See in particular Jane Gaskell, "Education and Job Opportunities for Women: Patterns of Enrolment and Economic Returns," in *Women and the Canadian Labour Force*, proceedings and papers from a workshop held at the University of British Columbia, ed. Naomi Hersom and Dorothy E. Smith (Ottawa: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, February 1982), pp. 256-306.

List of Tables and Charts

List of Tables

2-1	Total Contribution of Women to Family Earnings in Two-Parent Families, by Family Status, Canada, 1971, 1975, and 1979	5
2-2	Average Contribution of Women in the Labour Market to Family Earnings in Two-Parent Families, by Family Status, Canada, 1971, 1975, and 1979	5
2-3	Female Participation Rates in Nine Industrialized Countries, 1960, 1970, and 1981	6
2-4	Participation Rates of Women and Men, by Age Group, Canada, 1971 and 1981	7
2-5	Participation Rates of Women and Men, by Educational Attainment, Canada, 1971 and 1981	8
2-6	Participation Rates of Women and Men, by Family Status, Canada, 1971 and 1981	8
2-7	People Working Part-Time Involuntarily, by Age Group and Family Status, Canada, 1975 and 1982	12
2-8	Average Annual and Hourly Earnings of Women and Men, by Educational Attainment, Canada, 1970 and 1980	12
2-9	Average Hourly Wage of Women and Men, by Time Worked and by Union Membership, Canada, 1981	13
2-10	Diversification of Women Into Male-Dominated Occupations, by Age Group, Canada, 1971-81	16
2-11	Projected Change in the Proportion of Women in Male-Dominated Occupations to the Year 2000	17
2-12	Relative Position of Men and Women According to Level of Male Numerical Dominance in Occupations, Canada, 1971 and 1981	18
2-13	Numbers and Average Annual Earnings of Women and Men in the Twenty Highest-Paid Occupations, Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81	19
2-14	Numbers and Average Annual Earnings of Women and Men in the Twenty Lowest-Paid Occupations, Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81	20
2-15	Distribution of Men and Women Enrolled in the Institutional-Training Program, by Age Group and Nature of Course, Canada, 1973-82	24
2-16	Distribution of Women Enrolled in the Institutional-Training Program, by Chosen Occupation, Canada, 1973-82	25
3-1	Distribution of Labour Force, by Sex and Educational Attainment, Canada, 1961, 1971, and 1981	27
3-2	Distribution of Female Full-Time University Students, by Specialization and Level of Study, Canada, 1972-73 and 1981-82	29

3-3	Proportion of Women Among Full-Time University Students, by Specialization and Level of Study, Canada, 1972-73 and 1981-82	30
3-4	Employment Picture in 1978, by Sex, Two Years After Graduation	31
3-5	Change in Numbers of Men and Women in the Labour Force, by Age Group, Canada, 1971-81	32
3-6	Average Weeks of Unemployment Insurance Benefits Received for Reason of Maternity, and Average Age of Recipient, Canada, 1975-80	34
3-7	Income of Economic Families with Head Aged 65 and Over, by Family Status, Canada, 1971 and 1981	36
4-1	Incidence of Single-Parent Families – Official Rate and Real Rate, Canada, 1961-81	39
A-1	Female Participation Rates in Nine Industrialized Countries, by Age Group, 1981	49
A-2	Change in the Female Labour Force, by Age Group and Family Status, Canada, 1971-81	50
A-3	Probability of Retaining One's Job At Least Five Years, by Age Group and Sex, 1976 and 1982	51
A-4	Average Number of Hours Worked Annually by Women and Men, by Family Status, Canada, 1971 and 1981	51
A-5	Average Number of Hours Worked Annually by Women and Men, by Age Group, Canada, 1971 and 1981	51
A-6	Average Number of Hours Worked Annually by Women and Men, by Educational Attainment, Canada, 1971 and 1981	51
A-7	Numbers and Average Annual Earnings of Women and Men in 201 Occupations, Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81	52
A-8	Average Earnings of Women and Men, by Occupational Income Bracket, Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81	57
A-9	Average Number of Hours Worked Annually by Women and Men, by Occupational Income Bracket, Canada, 1981	58
A-10	Distribution of Women Enrolled in the Institutional-Training Program, by Family Status, Canada, 1973-82	59
A-11	Distribution of Women Enrolled in the Institutional-Training Program Who Are Returning to Work After An Absence of At Least Two Years, by Number of Years Outside the Labour Market, Canada, 1973-82	59
A-12	Undergraduate and Occupational Program Enrolment, by Sex and Specialization, Canada, 1972-73 and 1981-82	60
A-13	Part-Time Enrolment at Master's and Doctorate Levels, by Sex and Specialization, Canada, 1972-73 and 1981-82	61
A-14	Distribution of Part-Time University Enrolment, by Sex and Age Group, Canada, 1972-73 and 1981-82	61
A-15	Average Earnings of Women and Men Aged 15-19, by Level of Male Numerical Dominance in Occupations, Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81	62
A-16	Average Earnings of Women and Men Aged 15-19, by Occupational Income Bracket, Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81	63
A-17	Average Earnings of Women and Men Aged 20-34, by Level of Male Numerical Dominance in Occupations, Canada, 1971 and 1981	64

A-18	Average Earnings of Women and Men Aged 20-34, by Occupational Income Bracket, Canada, 1970-71 and 1980-81	65
A-19	Women Absent from Work Because of Pregnancy, With and Without Financial Compensation, Canada, 1978-81	65
A-20	Distribution of Preschool Children Whose Parents Are Dissatisfied With Daycare Arrangements, by Age of Mother, Canada, February 1981	66
A-21	Distribution of Preschool Children Whose Parents Are Dissatisfied With Daycare Arrangements, by Age of Children, Canada, February 1981	66
A-22	Distribution of Preschool Children Whose Parents Are Dissatisfied With Daycare Arrangements, by Parents' Earnings Bracket, Canada, February 1981	66

List of Charts

2-1	Married Persons Who Have Left Work, by Family Status and Sex, Canada, 1975 and 1981	9
2-2	Distribution of Women and Men, by Accumulated Years of Work, Canada, 1976 and 1981	10
2-3	Number of Hours Worked by Women and Men During the Year, by Age Group, Canada, 1971 and 1981	11
2-4	Change in Average Annual Earnings of Women and Men, by Age Group, Canada, 1970-80	13
3-1	Distribution of Full-Time University Students by Sex, by Level of Study, Canada, 1972-73 and 1981-82	28
3-2	Proportion of Women and Men Aged 65 and Over Receiving Guaranteed Income Supplement (Whole or Partial Benefit), by Family Status and Age Group, Canada, June 1982	37
3-3	Proportion of Women and Men Living Alone Who Receive Guaranteed Income Supplement (Whole or Partial Benefit), by Age Group, Canada, June 1982	38
4-1	Average Income of Non-Native and Native Families With Dependents, Rural and Urban, Canada, 1980	41
A-1	Married Persons Temporarily Absent From Work, by Family Status and Sex, Canada, 1975 and 1981	67
A-2	Single Persons Who Have Left Work, by Family Status and Sex, Canada, 1975 and 1981	68
A-3	Single Persons Temporarily Absent From Work, by Family Status and Sex, Canada, 1975 and 1981	69
A-4	Proportion of Workers in "Permanent" Positions, by Sex and Age Group, Canada, 1976 and 1982	70

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