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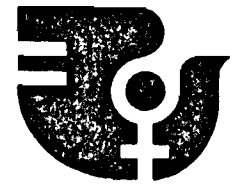


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WORLD CONFERENCE
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR
MEXICO CITY, 19 JUNE TO 2 JULY 1975

CONFERENCE BACKGROUND PAPER

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND TREATMENT FOR WOMEN
WORKERS 1/

Prepared by the International Labour Organisation

1/ Copies of the report of the International Labour Organisation will be available at the Conference.

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International Labour Conference
60th Session 1975

Report VIII

Equality of Opportunity and
Treatment for Women Workers

Eighth Item on the Agenda

International Labour Office Geneva

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CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I: <i>Background</i>	3
Women in the Workforce	3
Factors Affecting the Evolution of Women's Employment	18
Vocational Guidance and Training	21
The Search for Equality of Opportunity and Treatment in Employment and Occupation	33
Protective Legislation for Women Only: an Obstacle to Equality of Opportunity and Treatment?	44
The Right to Maternity Protection and Family Planning	48
Women Workers and Social Security (Other than Maternity Protection)	53
Strengthening the Social Infrastructure: Employment and Family Responsibilities	57
Women in the Third World	67
Administrative Arrangements for Handling Women Workers' Problems	72
CHAPTER II: <i>Promoting Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers</i>	77
Promoting Equality: National Action	78
Promoting Equality: the ILO Contribution	82
Action within the Framework of the United Nations Unified Long-Term Programme for the Advancement of Women	88
CHAPTER III: <i>Form of the Conclusions Which Might Be Adopted by the Conference</i>	90
A. Plan of Action for Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers: Suggested Points for Conference Discussion	91
B. Proposed Draft Declaration on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers	95
 <i>Appendices:</i>	
Appendix I: Summary of ILO Standards relating to Women's Employment	99
Appendix II: Part-time Employment: an International Survey	106
Appendix III: Conclusions of the Meeting of Experts on Equality of Remuneration (Geneva, May 1974)	109
Appendix IV: Activities and Campaigns of International Trade Union Organisations on Behalf of Women Workers	113
Appendix V: Programme of Concerted International Action for the Advancement of Women	120
Appendix VI: United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women	124

INTRODUCTION

The International Labour Conference, at its 57th Session in 1972, adopted a resolution concerning women workers. This resolution, in its operative paragraph, invites the Governing Body (1) to request the Director-General to bring up to date the report on women workers in a changing world, with particular reference to identifying the needs relating to equal opportunity and treatment and the problems arising from rapidly changing structures and conditions of work, and (2) to consider, on the basis of this report, placing the question of equality of treatment of women workers on the agenda of the session of the International Labour Conference to be held in 1975, which will be International Women's Year.

The Governing Body, at its 191st (November 1973) Session, decided to place the question of equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers on the agenda of the 1975 Session of the Conference for general discussion. The present report has been prepared as a basis for this discussion.

The report is thus necessarily of a rather general character and seeks, on the basis of recent developments in different parts of the world, to identify some of the main difficulties of promoting and achieving equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers and to suggest some of the main ways by which these difficulties may progressively be overcome.

The report is based in large part on a preliminary report, *Women workers in a changing world*, submitted to the Governing Body in 1973 as a basis for its decision to place the question of equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers on the agenda of the 1975 Session of the Conference. This preliminary report has been revised and supplemented in numerous respects, with a continuing accent on approaches to equality. A Panel of Consultants on the Problems of Women Workers, which met in Geneva from 20 to 24 May 1974, reviewed the preliminary report briefly with a view to considering the questions which might be put to the Conference and, so far as possible, the suggestions and opinions of the Consultants have been taken into account in preparing this report.

There is a basic similarity in women workers' needs and problems in most parts of the world, but there are also wide differences in the approaches and solutions adopted, rooted in the political, economic and social structure and in the cultural framework.

In the developed countries women are striving towards greater equality of opportunity and treatment in economic and social life and towards the elimination of persisting discriminatory practices in all aspects of their work lives. The past decade has witnessed growing demands for action on the part of all who, by their combined efforts, can contribute to advancement in the status of women and to their effective integration in economic and social life. Governments, in particular, have begun to

provide leadership to movements initiated by trade unions or women's groups and to recognise explicitly that they have a distinct and important role to play in combating sex discrimination. The many problems which remain are connected in most cases with a cultural transition to full recognition in practice of the egalitarian roles of men and women in society and of the continuing difficulties of combining home, family and work responsibilities.

Women in the developing countries have very serious and difficult problems of their own and these are accentuated by the crisis of underdevelopment, unemployment and family poverty in most of these countries. The great bulk of the women live and work in rural areas and yet, despite the productive force which they represent, rural development policies rarely take practical account of their needs and problems or seek to prepare them for the work in agriculture and in related rural crafts which, in fact, they undertake. Cultural factors often inhibit the employment of women in non-rural activities in the modern sector.

While it is clear that the framework for action to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for women differs widely from one region and country to another, particularly with regard to the stage and character of development and to the structural and cultural context, the pressure for action to improve their status in work life and in society has been steadily rising everywhere. International Women's Year provides an excellent occasion to take stock of the situation and to examine how far the mounting pressure has been translated into practical policies and measures and to see what more needs to be done at the national, regional and international levels.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE

*The General Picture*¹

Women make up more than a third of the world's economically active population and 46 out of every 100 women of working age (15 to 64 years) are in the labour force.

Although detailed data from the 1970 population censuses are not yet available for many countries, or have not been assembled in suitable form for making a far-reaching analysis of the participation of women in the labour force, the picture presented in the ILO's report, *Women workers in a changing world*, submitted to the 48th (1964) Session of the Conference, can be filled out; and some indications can also be given of the likely future trends, with the aid of the data in the ILO's compilation, *Labour force projections 1965-1985*. The figures presented in the latter are based mainly on the census results which had become available up to 1971 and include, inter alia, benchmark estimates for mid-1960 together with projections for five-year periods after 1960. The tables in the present section of this report show selected data, generally for 1960 (benchmark data) and 1975 (projections), drawn from this source.²

Since the basic pattern of women's participation in economic activity does not change rapidly and it is therefore reasonable to project forward the trends observed for the period 1950-60, these data may be judged adequate for giving a sufficiently reliable illustration of the situation in 1975 and of the changes since 1960. In addition, further studies carried out recently by the ILO, in the form of long-range projections of the world's labour force in 24 standard regions up to the year 2000, can be drawn upon for a broad indication of how the size of the female labour force and its regional distribution may evolve up to the end of the present century.

¹ Differences in national statistical practices affect the picture. In the non-market sector of the economy the distinction between economic and non-economic activities is seldom clear and the criteria used to make the distinction are arbitrary and vary from one country to another. In the less developed countries, where many women work but have a weak attachment to the "workforce", the diversity of practice regarding their inclusion in statistics of the economically active population is very great and makes cross-country comparisons of data very difficult. This is particularly true for the important category of unpaid family workers, which is largely made up of female household members working on farms and in handicrafts and shops.

² At this stage, approximately 50 per cent of countries (mainly developed ones) carrying out population censuses in 1970 or about that time have published information on the labour force. Preliminary analysis of these data and comparisons with the projections for 1970 and 1975 bear out the validity of the projections.

It is estimated that there will be about 562 million women among the world's labour force of 1,637 million persons in 1975. The distribution of these economically active women between more developed and less developed regions is estimated to be as follows (table 1):

TABLE 1.—DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE WOMEN AS BETWEEN MORE AND LESS DEVELOPED REGIONS, 1975

Region	Economically active women (millions)	Percentage of world total
World	561.6	100.0
More developed regions:	198.3	35.3
Europe	71.9	12.8
USSR	65.4	11.6
Northern America	34.1	6.1
Japan	21.6	3.8
Temperate South America	3.3	0.6
Australia and New Zealand	2.0	0.4
Less developed regions:	363.3	64.7
East Asia ¹	158.7	28.3
South Asia	142.1	25.3
Africa	45.6	8.1
Latin America ²	16.2	2.9
Oceania ³	0.7	0.1

¹ Excluding Japan. ² Excluding Temperate South America. ³ Excluding Australia and New Zealand.
Source: ILO: *Labour force projections 1965-1985* (first edition, 1971), Part V: World Summary.

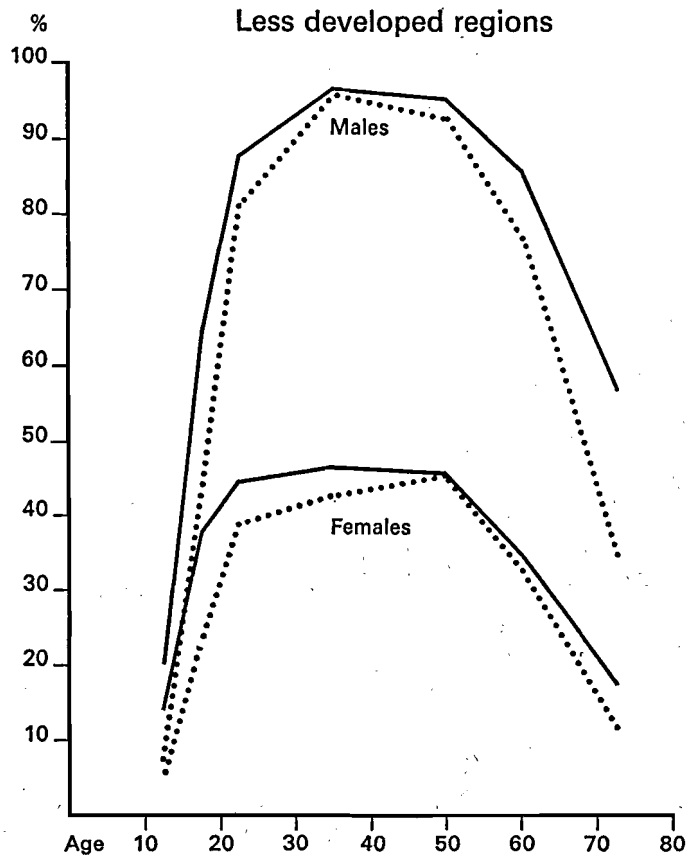
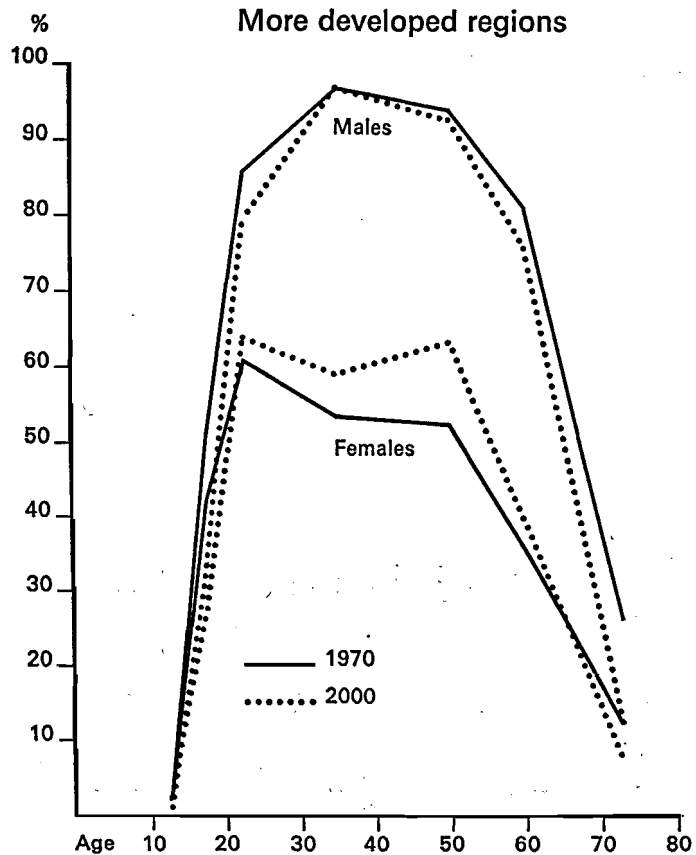
The estimated distribution by age-group of economically active women in 1975 is shown in table 2, with separate data for the more developed and the less developed regions.

TABLE 2.—FEMALES IN THE LABOUR FORCE, 1975

Age-group	More developed regions		Less developed regions		World	
	Number (millions)	Percentage	Number (millions)	Percentage	Number (millions)	Percentage
10-14	0.7	0.4	20.5	5.7	21.2	3.8
15-19	19.0	9.6	52.1	14.3	71.1	12.7
20-24	28.8	14.5	54.5	15.0	83.3	14.8
25-44	82.6	41.7	155.7	42.9	238.3	42.4
45-54	38.9	19.6	47.7	13.1	86.6	15.4
55-64	19.9	10.0	23.9	6.6	43.8	7.8
65 and over	8.4	4.2	8.9	2.4	17.3	3.1
Total aged 10 years and over	198.3	100.0	363.3	100.0	561.6	100.0

Source: *Labour force projections, 1965-1985*, op. cit.

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES



Source: ILO Statistical Branch.

The figures in table 2 indicate that in the less developed regions there are substantial numbers of girls aged under 15 at work and that altogether 20 per cent of the total female labour force in these regions is aged under 20 years; this compares with 10 per cent in the more developed regions. In the age span 20 to 44 years, there is a similar proportion of the labour force—about 60 per cent—in each case. However, women aged 45 and over make up 34 per cent of all female workers in the more developed regions compared with only 22 per cent in the less developed regions. On the basis of the above data, estimates of the average age of women workers give the following results: 38 years in the more developed regions and 34 years in the less developed regions, thus reflecting the effect of these differences in the age composition of the respective female labour forces.

Among the world's female population (all ages), the proportion participating in the labour force in 1975 is estimated to be 28 per cent. For the more developed regions the corresponding figure is 34 per cent while for the less developed regions the female labour force participation rate for 1975 is estimated to be 26 per cent. This difference is mainly due, on the one hand, to the relatively smaller proportion of the female population of working age (60 per cent in the less developed regions and 75 per cent in the more developed regions) and, on the other, to the lower levels of labour force participation in the less developed regions (see figure above).

The labour force participation rates of women are lower than those of men in all age-groups—primarily because they are considered to bear the bulk of housekeeping and child-raising responsibilities but also for a variety of other reasons which are mentioned later in this report.

There are, however, some notable differences between more developed and less developed regions as regards women's labour force participation rates for the different age-groups. The highest rate is found in the more developed regions and relates to women aged from 20 to 24 years (61 per cent in 1970). In the less developed regions the age-group showing the highest female labour force participation rate is the group 25 to 44 years (nearly 47 per cent in 1970). The differences in participation rates are illustrated in the figure which portrays the levels of the rates in 1970 for males as well as for females, by age-group, for the more developed and the less developed regions and, in addition, the projected rates for the year 2000.

According to recent long-range projections made by the ILO, between 1970 and 2000 the female labour force participation rates in the more developed regions are expected to continue to increase for age-groups from 20 to 64 years and to decrease for those under 20 and those over 65. These changes in activity rates, combined with changes in the age structure of the female population, are likely to increase the overall labour force participation rate of the female population in the more developed regions from 33 per cent in 1970 to about 35 per cent by the year 2000. Thus, the female labour force in the more developed regions—some 187 million in 1970—may be expected to increase by some 20 million each decade and to number about 208 million in 1980, 228 million in 1990 and 254 million by the year 2000¹; this over-

¹ Based on United Nations population projections by sex and age according to medium variant (as regards future mortality and fertility).

all increase of about 68 million represents a 36 per cent growth in the 30-year period, compared with a projected growth of 31 per cent in the male labour force.

In the less developed regions, in the 30-year period from 1970 to 2000 the female labour force participation rates are expected to continue to show a decline for each age-group, although not in all the individual regions. As a consequence, when account is taken of change in the age structure of the female population, the over-all labour force participation rate of females is expected to decline from about 26 per cent in 1970 to about 24 per cent in 2000. Accordingly, the female labour force in the less developed regions—some 332 million in 1970—has been estimated as reaching about 396 million in 1980, 486 million in 1990 and over 603 million in the year 2000, representing increases of 64 million, 90 million and 117 million in successive decades. The total increase would be some 270 million, or 82 per cent, i.e. somewhat less than the 96 per cent increase projected for the male labour force in the less developed regions.

In some regions such as South Asia and Africa the female labour force will double its size during the 30-year period. In Australia and New Zealand and in the less developed areas of Latin America the increase is expected to be even greater (128 per cent and 134 per cent respectively). The smallest relative increases are expected to occur in Japan (23 per cent), USSR (23 per cent) and the rest of Europe (31 per cent), regions where female participation rates were already quite high in 1970. For East Asia, Northern America and Temperate South America the increases are expected to amount to 59, 73 and 89 per cent respectively.

In general, over the 30-year period 1970-2000, the female labour force is expected to show a higher rate of increase than the male labour force in Europe, Northern America, Temperate South America and Australia and New Zealand, and about the same rate of growth as the male labour force in Japan, East Asia and the less developed areas of Latin America and Oceania. In the USSR the male labour force is expected to increase much faster than the female; in Africa the male labour force will increase only slightly faster. As a result of these projected trends, whereas women accounted for some 35 per cent of the world's workers of both sexes in 1960, by 1975 they are expected to constitute about 34 per cent and by the year 2000 about 33 per cent.

The relative importance of women in the total labour force in the eight standard major areas of the world varies considerably in some cases from the average for the world (some 34 per cent in 1975; see table 3). The lowest figure is found in Latin America with about 20 per cent; Africa, South Asia and Oceania have about 30 per cent, while in Europe and Northern America about 35 per cent of all persons in the labour force are females; East Asia has a rather high percentage (about 39), while the USSR has the extremely high level of around 49 females for every 100 persons in its labour force.

Within the broad geographic areas mentioned above, the 24 component regions show considerable variations as regards female labour force participation rates and also as regards the size of the female component in relation to the size of the total labour force (see table 4). Some areas have very high female activity rates, notably the

TABLE 3.—FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOUR FORCE
IN THE EIGHT MAJOR AREAS OF THE WORLD, 1960 AND PROJECTIONS FOR 1975
(Percentages)

Major area	Female activity rate		Active females as proportion of total labour force	
	1960	1975	1960	1975
World	29.8	27.9	35.0	34.3
Africa	25.4	23.0	31.5	30.9
Latin America	12.6	12.0	19.2	19.6
Northern America	24.2	27.6	31.4	35.0
East Asia	37.1	35.8	40.1	38.9
South Asia	25.4	22.4	30.6	29.7
Europe	29.3	29.3	33.6	34.4
USSR	48.5	48.0	51.6	49.3
Oceania	22.7	25.4	27.2	30.4

Source: *Labour force projections 1965-1985*, op. cit., Part V: World Summary.

USSR, Eastern Europe and Melanesia with over 40 per cent, Eastern Africa, Western Africa, Middle Africa, East Asian Mainland, Japan and South-East Asia with between 30 and 40 per cent.

The available statistics indicate, however, that there are still very low participation rates—not exceeding 12 per cent—for females in Northern Africa, Middle America (mainland), Tropical South America, Polynesia and Micronesia. Participation rates of between 12 and 21 per cent have also been noted in Southern Africa, the Caribbean, Temperate South America, Middle South Asia, South-West Asia and Southern Europe (see also tables 5 and 6).

Despite the low participation rates observed in a certain number of developing regions, it is estimated that the whole of the developing world contained nearly two-thirds of the world's female labour force in 1970. Again, despite the assumptions underlying the ILO's long-range projections—viz. that, in most of the less developed regions, female participation rates are likely to be lower in the coming decades (mainly because of the changes expected in the relative importance of the agricultural sector)—the relatively faster growth of population in the less developed regions of the world will result in these regions being expected to account for some 70 per cent of the world's female labour force by the year 2000.

A few examples may illustrate the general trend towards an increase in the female work participation rate and in the role of women in the total workforce.¹ In the United States the percentage of women workers among all women aged 16 and over increased from 34 per cent in 1950 to 43 per cent in 1971 and women made up 38 per cent of the total workforce in 1972 as against 30 per cent in 1950. In Canada the

¹ In some cases, the actual number of women at work may be somewhat less than it was ten years ago, the main reason being the extension of education, lower age of marriage and improved retirement benefits.

TABLE 4.—FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOUR FORCE
IN THE TWENTY-FOUR REGIONS OF THE WORLD, 1960 AND PROJECTIONS FOR 1975
(Percentages)

Region	Female activity rate		Active females as proportion of total labour force	
	1960	1975	1960	1975
Africa:				
Eastern Africa	31.0	28.9	35.4	34.9
Middle Africa	33.6	30.0	38.7	37.4
Northern Africa	3.9	3.9	6.7	7.2
Southern Africa	19.6	18.9	26.1	27.0
Western Africa	35.6	32.2	39.4	38.8
Latin America:				
Caribbean	20.7	20.0	28.3	28.2
Middle America (mainland)	9.3	9.1	15.3	16.0
Temperate South America	16.0	15.4	21.8	22.2
Tropical South America	11.6	11.2	18.0	18.7
Northern America	24.2	27.6	31.4	35.0
East Asia:				
East Asian mainland	38.3	36.4	40.7	39.3
Japan	36.0	38.8	38.9	39.1
Other East Asia	23.3	23.0	32.3	31.4
South Asia:				
Middle South Asia	23.5	20.7	28.3	27.6
South-East Asia	31.6	28.0	37.5	35.9
South-West Asia	20.7	18.0	26.7	25.6
Europe:				
Eastern Europe	41.4	42.0	42.4	42.2
Northern Europe	28.0	28.8	31.6	33.5
Southern Europe	20.1	19.9	25.3	26.4
Western Europe	29.2	28.9	34.1	34.6
USSR:	48.5	48.0	51.6	49.3
Oceania:				
Australia and New Zealand	19.9	23.8	24.9	29.0
Melanesia	45.5	41.6	40.4	40.5
Polynesia and Micronesia	9.5	10.2	14.9	16.2

Source: *Labour force projections 1965-1985*, op. cit., Part V: World Summary.

number of working women rose from 27 per cent of the total labour force in 1962 to over 33 per cent in 1972 and the female participation rate increased from 29 per cent to 37 per cent during the same period. Australia and New Zealand have also both registered very considerable increases in women's employment.

In Japan there has been a dramatic rise in the number of women in employment during the postwar period. In 1972 women workers represented 38 per cent of the country's entire labour force and 48 per cent of the female population of 15 years of age and over.

TABLE 5.—FEMALE ACTIVITY RATES IN SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1950-1975
(Percentages)

Country	Female activity rate		
	1950	1960	Projection 1975
Africa:			
Egypt	4.2	3.7	3.5
Ghana	36.2	31.0	29.2
Kenya	29.5	28.2	26.4
Nigeria	39.5	34.2	30.7
Latin America:			
Argentina	16.6	16.4	15.7
Brazil	10.5	11.3	10.9
Jamaica	29.6	26.7	23.8
Mexico	8.4	9.2	8.9
Northern America:			
United States	21.9	24.6	27.9
Canada	16.8	19.6	24.8
Asia:			
India	30.3	28.0	24.6
Indonesia	20.1	19.6	17.2
Iran	6.7	6.8	6.3
Japan	32.7	36.0	38.8
Khmer Republic	38.7	35.7	33.5
Thailand	53.3	49.8	46.3
Europe:			
Germany, Fed. Rep.	31.3	33.2	31.6
France	31.4	28.1	29.0
Italy	22.0	19.7	19.5
Norway	20.0	17.9	18.2
Poland	42.5	40.1	44.2
Sweden	23.0	25.6	29.3
United Kingdom	27.3	28.8	29.0
Yugoslavia	30.5	31.1	30.7
USSR:	48.1	48.5	48.0
Oceania:			
Australia	19.5	20.2	24.1

Source: *Labour force projections 1965-1985*, op. cit., Parts I to IV.

In recent years there have been notable increases in women's employment in Western European countries where their participation rate and share in the work-force have traditionally been low—e.g. in Switzerland and in the Netherlands. In the latter country the economically active female population increased by 38 per cent between 1960 and 1971 and, of all women aged 15 years and over, 26 per cent were working in 1971 as against 16 per cent in 1960. In the United Kingdom there has been some rise in the percentage of women in the labour force—from 32 per cent in 1951 to

TABLE 6.—FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES ACCORDING TO AGE-GROUPS,
1960 AND PROJECTIONS FOR 1975
(Percentages)

Region	Year	Age-group						
		10-14	15-19	20-24	25-44	45-54	55-64	65 +
World	1960	13.0	44.7	52.4	49.7	48.5	35.2	16.6
	1975	10.1	36.4	47.9	48.1	49.0	35.2	13.9
Africa:								
Eastern Africa	1960	24.7	44.9	49.8	51.6	55.1	50.0	29.3
	1975	22.0	41.5	47.0	49.4	53.0	48.6	27.4
Middle Africa	1960	24.7	50.0	53.0	57.2	57.3	43.4	22.1
	1975	18.9	42.7	48.0	53.4	54.2	41.3	19.7
Northern Africa	1960	4.0	7.7	6.8	5.5	6.3	5.4	3.0
	1975	2.9	7.6	7.7	6.0	6.6	5.2	2.6
Southern Africa	1960	4.6	35.8	42.5	32.2	29.9	23.7	12.4
	1975	2.9	30.0	43.4	33.1	30.9	23.3	10.7
Western Africa	1960	23.9	54.1	57.6	62.8	66.9	55.4	34.8
	1975	17.7	45.5	52.5	59.3	64.8	54.0	30.9
Latin America:								
Caribbean	1960	8.6	27.4	37.4	37.0	35.3	30.8	15.2
	1975	7.8	24.6	36.9	35.7	33.6	27.0	13.0
Middle America (mainland)	1960	3.2	17.2	19.6	15.9	15.5	14.2	11.3
	1975	2.1	15.9	21.8	16.4	15.3	12.4	7.8
Temperate South America	1960	3.2	30.3	37.3	25.3	18.9	12.2	5.9
	1975	1.4	23.5	38.7	25.9	19.4	12.1	4.2
Tropical South America	1960	6.4	23.1	23.6	18.7	16.9	14.1	9.2
	1975	4.0	20.7	25.9	18.9	16.7	11.9	6.1
Northern America:	1960	0.9	28.2	45.3	38.4	45.9	34.4	10.1
	1975	0.4	23.7	47.0	43.7	54.4	40.5	9.4
East Asia:								
Mainland Region	1960	14.1	59.6	69.1	66.3	60.9	42.9	23.5
	1975	9.5	47.6	60.9	61.5	58.2	41.3	20.8
Japan	1960	1.8	49.7	68.0	52.2	53.8	43.0	21.1
	1975	0.8	39.5	71.4	56.2	58.2	41.9	15.1
Other East Asia	1960	12.8	40.7	42.8	40.2	41.3	31.6	13.8
	1975	6.8	31.3	42.4	40.5	42.5	29.7	10.6
South Asia:								
Middle South Asia	1960	21.1	30.8	36.6	42.1	39.8	29.9	14.0
	1975	16.1	26.5	32.4	39.0	37.6	28.6	12.3
South-East Asia	1960	22.7	50.9	50.1	51.3	56.3	47.1	48.3
	1975	18.9	45.3	43.8	46.8	53.0	44.9	25.1
South-West Asia	1960	11.0	32.0	35.2	36.2	37.9	30.2	12.3
	1975	7.2	28.1	33.5	32.7	36.3	25.6	10.8
Europe:								
Eastern Europe	1960	2.4	55.5	70.0	66.2	64.1	44.4	18.0
	1975	1.1	41.7	71.4	68.9	68.3	44.7	14.0
Northern Europe	1960	0.6	64.2	61.3	39.0	40.8	28.7	6.3
	1975	0.3	53.0	62.8	43.9	48.0	33.4	5.5
Southern Europe	1960	8.9	38.6	41.4	28.3	24.0	17.2	8.3
	1975	4.3	31.4	42.6	31.2	27.3	17.8	6.1
Western Europe	1960	2.9	63.8	65.3	40.9	39.2	28.8	8.5
	1975	1.2	49.4	65.9	45.1	44.8	31.0	7.2
USSR:	1960	5.2	64.6	76.3	78.9	71.1	44.6	29.7
	1975	2.2	50.4	79.0	81.7	73.8	44.1	21.6
Oceania:								
Australia and New Zealand	1960	1.3	64.8	50.4	25.5	26.9	17.5	4.3
	1975	0.8	60.1	55.5	30.6	34.4	22.2	4.1
Melanesia	1960	35.7	70.1	73.3	76.9	75.7	54.0	28.0
	1975	32.1	65.0	68.1	72.6	72.2	51.7	26.3
Polynesia and Micronesia	1960	2.7	12.8	21.6	19.9	18.2	13.5	5.2
	1975	2.0	13.0	24.3	20.5	16.8	11.9	3.9

Source: *Labour force projections 1965-1985*, op. cit., Part V: World Summary.

36 per cent in 1971. In Austria, too, there was a comparable rise. In other countries, e.g. France, the women's participation rate has been fairly stable, while in Italy there has been a steady drop in the total female workforce between 1965 and 1970 and also in women workers as a percentage of the total workforce (30 per cent in 1962, 26.6 per cent in 1972).

In Eastern Europe women are encouraged to exercise the right to work and they continue to play a highly important role in economic life. In Hungary women constituted 42 per cent of the workforce in 1971 as against 38 per cent in 1963; in Czechoslovakia they made up 47 per cent of the workforce in 1969 as against 43 per cent in 1955; in Poland they formed 40 per cent of the labour force in 1972; and in Bulgaria, at the end of 1971, women in employment comprised 46 per cent of the total economically active population. In the USSR women now make up a little over 50 per cent of the total labour force and in Romania and the German Democratic Republic they represent nearly 50 per cent.

Within most countries there are quite striking regional differences in women's participation in economic activity; and during the past decade more attention has been given to studying these differences with a view to achieving a balance of development policy which will take account of all human resources. In France, for example, the Committee on Women's Work of the Ministry of Social Affairs, in a 1972 study, showed differences ranging from 46 per cent in the Paris region to 23 per cent in Languedoc, and in Canada, in the same year, women's participation rates ranged from 40 per cent in Ontario and Alberta to 27 per cent in Newfoundland.

Despite the very important role of women in the world's workforce, there are generally marked imbalances in their integration in the economy.

In the less developed countries the great bulk of the female labour force is still in agriculture (e.g. over 90 per cent in some countries in Africa). In most of the industrialised countries the percentage of women in agriculture is low (under 10 per cent in many cases and between 1 and 2 per cent in the United Kingdom and the United States). In almost all the developing countries, especially in Africa, the modern industrial sector absorbs only a very small number and a very low percentage of the labour force. In many of the developed countries this sector accounts for between a quarter and a third of all working women. However, the proportion of the total industrial labour force accounted for by women is still on the low side since men predominate in mining, construction and most branches of manufacturing. In some industrial branches long associated with home and family work (e.g. textiles, clothing and food) women generally predominate. The service sector, on the other hand, contains a high percentage of all women workers in both the developed and the developing countries and is growing fairly rapidly as an employer of women.

With some exceptions (e.g. in Asia), women form a large part of the total labour force in the professional and technical category, outnumbering men in some cases (largely because of the predominance of women in educational and health services). They comprise only a small proportion of administrative, executive and managerial workers. On the other hand, they make up a large part of the clerical workforce in many countries, particularly in the more developed ones, and form a high proportion

of the sales force in some countries. They are only thinly represented in the ranks of craftsmen, production workers and labourers in the vast majority of countries.

What emerges fairly clearly is that, in general, the occupations in which most women workers are concentrated are not the same as those in which most men are employed, for reasons which need to be further explored. It is also clear that this pattern of occupational distribution changes to some extent in the course of time as well as from country to country, again for reasons which need to be further explored.

There is, however, some evidence of a trend in many countries for women to break out of traditional occupational patterns and to move into new areas—new types of technical, scientific and industrial work (e.g. in the chemical, pharmaceutical and electronics industries) and new types of work in the service sector (e.g. in banks, insurance, real estate, hotels and tourism and new types of health and educational activities).

It nevertheless remains true that in most countries women continue to be concentrated in a limited number of occupations at, in most instances, relatively low levels of skill and responsibility.

More Married Women at Work

Over the past decade the trend towards an increase in the number and proportion of married women in the workforce has been accentuated. In many countries over a third of all married women are economically active and married women make up over half of the female labour force. Ten years or so ago the increase was very largely made up of married women beyond the usual child-bearing years. More recently there has been an upturn in the employment of younger married women in a good many countries.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate this trend. In Canada, in 1972, married women made up 57 per cent of the female labour force and one-third of all married women in the total population aged 14 years and over were in the labour force as compared with one-fifth in 1962. In the United States, in the same year, married women constituted 58 per cent of all women workers (almost 3 out of 5 women workers were married). In Denmark the percentage of married women employed outside the home increased by more than 50 per cent between 1965 and 1970; in April 1970 about half of all married women aged 15 to 74 years were gainfully employed, as against only one-third in 1965. In Finland and Sweden married women also comprise a high percentage of the total female workforce, with about half of the housewives working outside their homes. In Japan, in 1972, 46 per cent of all women workers were married (and an additional 10 per cent were widowed or divorced)—a distinct change from the situation in 1960 when only 25 per cent of all women workers were married. In Australia, in May 1973, 62.5 per cent of the female workforce were married women as against 48 per cent in 1966 and only 5 per cent in 1947; and in New Zealand, in 1972, nearly half the female workforce was married, compared with one-third in the 1950s.

In the countries of the European Economic Community about half at least of all working women are married (except in the Netherlands, where, however, the proportion of married women in the female labour force has been rising rapidly.)

In the USSR and the Eastern European countries the number of married women in employment and their proportion among all economically active women are both very high. In Poland, for example, the percentage of married women among female workers, which was less than 20 in 1950, rose to about 70 in 1970, and in Bulgaria, in 1971, 85 per cent of all employed women were married.

More Working Mothers

The increase in the number and proportion of married women in the workforce has been accompanied by an increase in the number and proportion of working mothers.

A few examples will illustrate this tendency. In the United States, between 1940 and 1972, the number of working mothers in the labour force increased more than eightfold. The labour force participation of women with children under 6 years of age increased from 12 per cent in 1950 to 30 per cent in 1971. It is estimated that in Canada 1 million children have mothers who go out to work.

In Western Europe and the Nordic countries the proportion of working mothers with small children is constantly increasing. In the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, more than a quarter of the economically active women have at least 1 child under 15 years of age. For every 100 persons in this category in 1950, there were 226 in 1957 and 374 (i.e. almost 4 times as many) in 1968. In France, in 1968, among mothers aged under 35, 51 per cent of those with 1 child were at work (32 per cent in 1954), 27 per cent of those with 2 children (15 per cent in 1954), and 12 per cent of those with 3 children (7 per cent in 1954).¹ In Finland a 1967 study showed that in small towns the percentages of women with children who were employed outside their homes were as follows: mothers with 1 child, 74; with 2 children, 56; with 3 children, 53; with 4 children, 48; and with 5 or more children, 44; a similar ratio was observed for larger cities. In cities and towns it was found that a little over one-third of mothers with children under 1 year old were employed, over half when the youngest child was between 5 and 6 and two-thirds by the time the youngest child reached school age. In Sweden, too, the past decade has seen increased employment of women with young children. In Austria the 1961 census showed that 26 per cent of mothers with children under 14 were working, while a 1969 micro-census raised this percentage (covering children under 15) to over 46.

In the USSR and Eastern Europe a very high proportion of the married women in employment have dependent children. In Poland about half of all women workers had children under 16 years of age in 1973.

In general, now as in the past, the rate of labour force participation for mothers is higher in the case of those who are widowed, divorced, separated or abandoned.

¹ In 1968 the number of employed women with a child under 3 years of age was 400,000; it is estimated that by 1975 this figure will have doubled.

More Women Working Part Time

Part-time employment has also continued to increase. In the developed countries more women are availing themselves of such opportunities and there have been indications that the demand for part-time work is considerably greater than the supply of such employment opportunities in a number of countries.

Although part-time employment is not for women only, it remains true that the bulk of the part-time labour force is made up of women. In some countries the number of women employed on a part-time basis is quite considerable and these women represent a sizeable proportion of the total female labour force. In Australia, in May 1973, there were about 504,200 women employed on a part-time basis; in Canada, in 1972, 25 per cent of all employed women worked less than 35 hours a week (mainly in trade and services) as compared with 19 per cent in 1962; in New Zealand, nearly a quarter of the women covered by the Labour Half-Yearly Surveys (April 1972) worked less than 30 hours per week compared with 14 per cent 10 years ago. In the United States there were 13,666,000 part-time workers, mostly women (again mainly in trade and services) in 1971. In the United Kingdom the 1966 census showed 2,500,000 women working part time; women's part-time employment in manufacturing industries totalled 471,700—representing 19 per cent of the total number of females employed in these industries; and by March 1974 this figure was over 21 per cent.

In Norway the wage census of 1971 showed that 3 per cent of the workers were part-time (0.6 per cent of the males and 14 per cent of the females). Sweden, according to a 1971 manpower survey, had about 475,000 women part-time workers (57,000 males). Japan had some 1,460,000 part-time women workers in 1972 and France had nearly 1 million in 1971.

In several Eastern European countries, too, there has been greater interest in part-time employment arrangements.

Work Cycle of Women

The theory of a three-phase life for women—initial period of work before marriage and up to the birth of the first or second child, withdrawal from employment until the last child has grown up, and return to employment until the normal age of retirement—can be contested on the basis of facts brought out in recent studies of the pattern of women's work and home life in a number of countries. The three-phase cycle is but one of many and it would be a mistake to relate social policy and services governing the employment of women to only one life style. Most of the national studies emphasise the need to keep options open and, above all, to think in wide and practical terms.

This means, first, concentrating on the needs of women who have virtually uninterrupted work experience and careers, either because they have to go on working or because they choose to do so. It means, second, making flexible and adequate provision for reintegrating women of all ages and at all stages into economic life if for some reason or another they have dropped out for a shorter or longer period.

In some of the more developed non-socialist countries there is evidence of a trend towards a continuous working career as against the three-phase life-work cycle; this sometimes takes the form of full-time employment, with sometimes some years on a part-time basis, but there is continuity of work life. The report of the United States Special Task Force entitled *Work in America* noted that, increasingly, women of all ages are year-round, full-time members of the labour force. There is also evidence from a number of countries that women's commitment to the workforce varies with the level of educational attainment.¹

In the socialist countries the educational and social system and policy presuppose an almost continuous working career on the part of the vast majority of women. On the other hand, non-participation after marriage remains a common pattern among married women in some countries, at least until the children have grown up.

Partly as a result of greater continuity of women's work cycle (either unbroken labour force participation or shorter periods of absence), it has been noted that women are perhaps becoming a less "special" kind of worker in many countries than in the past. In fast-changing economies, there are clearly demonstrable advantages in maintaining a continuing relationship to the employment market.

In many developing countries women—whether by necessity or by choice—tend to remain at work and the cycle of their work lives is largely continuous. This may be traced partly to family poverty, partly to the high rate of women's participation in agriculture and partly to other factors, including the liking for and tradition of working hard (as in Africa) and their primary responsibility for family maintenance.

Ambivalent Attitudes

Despite these trends towards an increase in the number and proportion of women, particularly married women, in employment, the cultural norms of many, if not most, countries remain ambivalent as regards the employment of women. Rarely, outside the socialist group, do they fully accept or endorse it. Political constraints reinforce ambivalent cultural attitudes and generate resistance to acceptance of the costs involved in making it possible for women to work outside the home, without discrimination, if they so wish. Hence, the persisting reluctance of society to adjust its structures to the changing roles of women and to assist in their integration in the workforce. Hence, too, the heavy burden of stress imposed on women by unrealistic and inequitable norms and the hard path which they have to pursue in their work and home lives and in society as a whole. There is a need for change.

The Problem of Unemployment among Women Workers

It is not possible to generalise concerning the unemployment situation of women since the circumstances vary so much from one country to another. Unemployment

¹ The work participation rate tends to be higher for more highly educated women. In the United States, for example, in 1972 over two-thirds of the women workers 18 years old and over had had at least a high-school education and a substantial percentage were college graduates or had had some years of college education. A number of European countries have found the same link between economic activity and education and return to and reintegration in economic activity.

rates for women exceeding those for men were noted at the beginning of the last quarter of 1973 in a number of industrialised countries, including Australia, Canada, Sweden and the United States (see table 7). Nevertheless, the female labour force participation rate has shown a strong upward trend in these countries in recent years. The same trend has been observed in Japan, but in that country unemployment rates have been minimal for both sexes. In the United Kingdom, in September 1973, the unemployment rate for females was only 1.2 per cent, compared with 3.3 per cent for males. In Australia, in November 1973, the reverse situation occurred—females 2.6 per cent and males 1.4 per cent. It is interesting to note, however, that the unemployment rate for married women (1.6 per cent) was only slightly above the rate for males. In the absence of any explanation, it could be inferred that new entrants and less experienced women workers were subject to a much higher rate of unemployment.

In Canada, the United States (October 1973) and Italy (July 1973) around 5 per cent of the female labour force was unemployed. In the United States (5.5 per cent for all females), White women had an unemployment rate (5 per cent) about half of that for non-Whites (9.2 per cent). Some groups of female workers encounter particular difficulties in obtaining employment, and the non-Whites in the United States are affected by a combination of such difficulties, including, inter alia, lower levels of education and training, as well as fewer opportunities in the area of residence and, perhaps, less geographical mobility for both social and economic reasons.

High rates of unemployment among both sexes continue to plague a number of countries. In Puerto Rico, for example, 1 male in 8 and 1 female in 8 in the labour

TABLE 7.—UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR FEMALES COMPARED WITH RATES FOR MALES

Country	Date	Unemployed persons as a percentage of labour force of same sex	
		Females	Males
Australia	Nov. 1973	2.6	1.4
Australia	Nov. 1973	1.6 (married women)	—
Canada	Oct. 1973	5.2	4.3
Italy	July 1973	4.5	2.6
Japan	Oct. 1973	1.1	0.9
Puerto Rico	Aug. 1973	12.5	12.7
Sweden	Oct. 1973	3.1	1.8
Trinidad and Tobago	June 1971	18.0	10.0
United Kingdom	Sep. 1973	1.2	3.3
United States	Oct. 1973	5.5	3.3
Whites	Oct. 1973	5.0	3.0
Non-Whites	Oct. 1973	9.2	6.5

force were fully unemployed in August 1973. Still worse situations have been noted recently in Trinidad and Tobago where, in June 1971, 18 per cent of females in the labour force were fully unemployed (males 10 per cent). These figures, moreover, do not take into account underemployment which, in some countries at least, affects females more than males.

In many developing countries—for most of which there are no reliable data available—there is plenty of evidence of much hidden unemployment, i.e. of discouraged persons, particularly women, not entering the labour force because job prospects were poor or leaving the labour force after a long spell of unemployment, intermittent work or underemployment. Without pursuing these points further, it suffices to note that the employment problems of women clearly should be taken into full account in national programmes for economic and social development.

FACTORS AFFECTING THE EVOLUTION OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

Complex factors affect the pattern and evolution of women's employment in the different parts of the world and in the individual countries. The weight and inter-relationship of these factors vary now, as in the past and in the foreseeable future, not only with time but also with structural changes and reforms and from one national economic, social and cultural context to another. Those mentioned below are illustrative, not exhaustive.

As has been pointed out many times, the only constant and universal factor remains the biological one. Women's right to maternity and their social function of reproduction must be fully protected. But the biological factor alone cannot explain the great diversity in the level and pattern of women's participation in economic life in different countries and regions. It is necessary to look further.

There are, of course, important structural factors at play. These factors—political, economic and societal—are essential elements in women's role in all walks of life, including economic life.

Historical and political factors have proved to be of critical importance in changing the status of women, in particular in countries which have achieved independence or undergone a national revolution or a complete change of political, economic and social structures leading to a new attitude towards the employment of women and a new framework for their integration in economic, social and cultural life.

Economic factors are of basic importance in determining the extent of the employment opportunities available to women. The national economic situation and trends continue to determine the structure and the climate within which women seek and find work. Experience under the ILO's World Employment Programme has shown how difficult it is, at a time of chronic and growing unemployment and underemployment, to ensure women's right to work on a footing of equality. In most cases women workers are seen as a threat to men, as intruders in a male domain. And even in many developed countries women's right to work is dependent on the buoyancy of the economy. In periods of economic recession it is easy to see how

fragile is their right to equality of opportunity and treatment in the world of work. At the level of the undertaking such economic factors as cost considerations may affect employers' attitudes and decisions about recruiting and promoting women and investing in their future.

While it is difficult to assess the impact of technological and scientific advances on women as a separate category (since such advances affect men and women indiscriminately), it is nevertheless true that technological change is a crucial factor in shaping the pattern of employment for women. On the positive side an expansion and improvement of employment opportunities for women seem to have occurred, opening more job possibilities and a wider range of occupational choice for them. There is no evidence to suggest that technological change has had an adverse effect on the over-all level of women's employment, thanks perhaps to a favourable conjuncture of economic and social factors and a high level of demand for women workers in the developed countries, combined with changes in family and social attitudes towards the employment of women. On the negative side, there is a certain risk that technological progress may pass women by unless they are brought more directly into the mainstream of change and are more directly exposed to the needs and requirements of a technological and scientific era. Moreover, sweeping advances in the tertiary sector, especially in clerical and office work, may endanger women's employment because of the large numbers of women in this sector and the fact that change means a smaller workforce, with possibly some alteration in the sex distribution. Finally, technological advance may bring a certain amount of "hidden unemployment" among women, particularly among married women by reason of their lesser commitment to the labour force and their lesser geographic and occupational mobility as well as by reason of other factors limiting their willingness to declare their availability for employment outside the home.

In most of the developing countries the impact of technological and scientific advance on women has been less direct and heavy. Increased mechanisation, new technology and changes in cultural attitudes and traditions must go together. True, mechanisation of agriculture and of other rural activities may give rise to some difficulties for women who now do the great bulk of rural work and who may be excluded from training in new technical ways of work. In the other sectors women are often averse to factory work and sometimes reluctant to work under men who are not their husbands or relatives; if they do take such work, they are more likely to be found in areas as yet less affected by technical change.

In the countries of the Third World, and elsewhere as well, there are persistent cultural constraints on the employment of women which tend to confine their contribution to economic life within unduly narrow limits. These are sometimes reinforced by psychological factors shaping women's image of themselves as workers or—some say—leading women to have "natural" inclinations towards certain types of occupations and work (e.g. those involving human contacts and service to others). But it may be that many of these psychological factors are the result of the long-standing auxiliary character of women's work and of traditions and societal attitudes dictating women's "place" in work, at home and in society as a whole.

Apart from these factors, there is the important but elusive factor of male and female "territory". Human resources moving out of agriculture are not being evenly distributed in other sectors of the economy. The tendency is for men to move into traditionally male-dominated branches of industry and commerce and for women to drift into the service sector or into certain branches of industry traditionally regarded as being for women.

Almost everywhere there remains a clear division of labour by sex with jobs labelled as "men's work" and "women's work". While the line of demarcation may vary with time and place, what is significant is the persistence of distinctions based on sex stereotypes.

As has often been emphasised, job labelling of this kind is both dangerous and discriminatory. It leads to recruitment based on sex rather than on capacity, and it perpetuates unproven beliefs about women's abilities and inabilities as workers. It places unjust barriers in the way of their opportunities for advancement. It creates a situation in which work traditionally done by men commands higher pay and prestige while that traditionally done by women is accorded lower pay and prestige and is consistently undervalued. It has no inherent logic. As the report of the United States Special Task Force put it: "Cross-cultural and historical materials suggest that the present occupational structure does not reflect basic and unchanging differences in temperament or ability between the sexes. More important, a rather extensive body of evidence shows that the present division of labour is not the result of differences in the quality or the demographic composition of the male and female labour force. Nor are there important differences between working men and women where schooling, age, race and geographical distribution are concerned." It is surely time that such labelling was eliminated, since it is too often based on unproven and unquestioned assumptions about women's capacities and inclinations and on prejudices held both by men and by women themselves.

A further important factor, which merits perhaps even greater precedence in the list of factors influencing the level and character of women's participation in the workforce, is education. There is a clear correlation between the education and training of women and their participation in economic activity. The general rule appears to be that the higher the level of education the greater the woman's commitment to the workforce, whether with or without short interruptions for child bearing and rearing. There is no such direct link between the level of education and the economic activity of men.

Another factor which influences women's participation in economic life far more than men's is the number and age of their children. As long as in most countries it continues to be assumed that the mother bears the principal responsibility for the care of young children, and as long as the social infrastructure in respect of child care remains inadequate for the demands made upon it, the presence of pre-school and primary-school children will tend to have a limiting effect on the labour force participation of married women.

Finally, fiscal policy often acts as a deterrent to the employment and careers of women, particularly married women, and it is therefore heartening that greater

attention is now being given to this matter. Many countries have adopted or are considering tax reforms which would, in one way or another, be more equitable for women in different situations.

All these various structural, economic and cultural factors tend to reinforce each other. Where there is a positive combination, the integration of women in economic and social life on an equitable footing can be achieved without undue difficulty. Where there is a negative combination, women remain at a distinct disadvantage in work life: if they choose to exercise it, their right to work without discrimination is impaired or nullified.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND TRAINING

How far can imbalances in the structure and level of women's employment be traced to deficiencies in their education, guidance and training? Or how far are the education, guidance and training of girls conditioned by the employment prospects likely to be available to them when they seek to enter the world of work?

There has been much speculation about these questions in recent years. Very considerable attempts have been made to ensure that girls have equality of opportunity with boys in education and training and that they receive impartial guidance in choosing an occupation. But in many countries these efforts have been largely thwarted by traditions, attitudes and prejudices limiting the practical employment prospects open to girls in certain areas and at certain levels of skill and hence conditioning the pattern of their education and training.

Educational Outlook

There is no doubt that, over the world as a whole, girls and women are at a disadvantage as regards education. Statistics issued by the United Nations Educa-

TABLE 8.—ESTIMATED FEMALE ENROLMENT BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION¹

	Year	Percentage of girls in total enrolment			
		Total	1st level	2nd level	3rd level
World total	1950	43	43	43	32
	1960	43	44	44	34
	1970	43	44	43	38
Developed countries	1950	47	48	47	34
	1960	48	49	48	36
	1970	48	49	49	40
Developing countries	1950	34	35	27	22
	1960	37	39	31	25
	1970	39	40	35	29

¹ Education is classified by level as follows: education at the first level, of which the main function is to provide basic instruction in the tools of learning; education at the second level, based upon at least four years' previous instruction at the first level, and providing general or specialised instruction, or both; and education at the third level, which requires, as a minimum condition of admission, the successful completion of education at the second level, or evidence of the attainment of an equivalent level of knowledge.

Source: UNESCO: *Statistical Yearbook*, 1972, table 2.3.

tional, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) show this clearly (see table 8).¹

There are, of course, vast differences between one continent and group of countries and another, the situation being at its best in the developed countries of Europe, America, Oceania and the USSR and at its worst in the developing countries of Africa and Asia.

Illiteracy remains prevalent among adult women; in 1970 it was low in North America (2 per cent) and in Europe and the USSR (under 5 per cent) and high elsewhere (27.3 per cent in Latin America, 56.7 per cent in Asia and over 80 per cent in Africa).²

In most countries girls still tend to drop out of school and university earlier than boys. This remains true, for example, in a good many of the more developed countries and in almost all the developing countries, despite considerable advances in the education of girls.

A further factor affecting the drop-out rate is that where parents have to make a choice between investing in the education of a girl or that of a boy, the preference is likely to go to the boy. And often an older daughter is needed at home to look after younger children.

Even where there is a satisfactory percentage of enrolment of girls as compared with boys at the primary and secondary levels, there is often discrimination against girls in the nature and the content of the education provided and the options offered. Moreover, girls' actual choices of optional subjects and study lines remain dominated by conventional attitudes. But it is now much more widely recognised than ten years ago that the aim should be to provide the same or very similar education for boys and girls, with an identical curriculum, at all levels of the educational system.³ The spread

¹ In considering statistics relating to girls at school, it should be noted that there are very large differences between countries and even within the same country between its different parts and different sections of the population. Moreover, statistics of enrolment for girls may be in some ways even less dependable than for boys. Finally, enrolment does not imply attendance, let alone full-time attendance.

* Illiteracy (inability to read or write).

ILLITERACY PERCENTAGE AMONG ADULT POPULATION 15 YEARS AND OVER

Region	1960	1970
Africa	M 73.4	M 63.4
	F 88.5	F 83.7
Asia *	M 45.3	M 37.0
	F 65.1	F 56.7
Latin America	M 28.4	M 19.9
	F 36.6	F 27.3

* Not including China, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.
Source: UNESCO: *Statistical Yearbook, 1972*, table 1.4.

³ In Norway, in the recent teaching plan for the nine-year elementary school, the principle has been explicitly stated for the first time that the teachers are obliged to give boys and girls the same education in form and substance.

of co-education has been a powerful factor in promoting equal education for girls.¹ However, even in co-educational systems there are still streams and options which place girls at a disadvantage, often for cultural reasons.

The educating of boys and girls together appears on the whole to be a recent development. Many countries regard co-education as an effective method of adapting to new patterns of behaviour, thus facilitating the integration of both sexes into modern society. The factors tending towards the expansion of co-education seem therefore also to combine to increase the access of women to education and thus even to their advancement.

The UNESCO secretariat prepared a report, based on a 1967-68 survey covering the member States and associate members, on co-education in the world so as to determine the influence of co-education on the access of girls to different types and levels of education.² In general, whether for fundamental, social and economic, utilitarian or pedagogical reasons, the countries' replies indicate a definite trend towards co-education. Out of 105 countries, 27 have instituted complete co-education and in the greater number of the others co-education institutions are now in the majority. Pre-school education is usually mixed; on the other hand, the proportion of co-educational establishments falls progressively from the first to the second level and especially in the technical and vocational sections, where the proportion is lowest, but it rises again at the third level where the instruction is almost entirely co-educational.

One of the main problems in eliminating discrimination against girls in education is to find ways of getting rid of fixed concepts and notions about the respective roles of men and women in society. The image suggested for girls in most parts of the world may not be conducive to their full development. Teaching materials, in particular, including books and manuals, often show rather out-dated cultural bias. A number of countries (e.g. in North America and the Nordic countries) have taken comprehensive action to eliminate bias of this kind.

Another problem has proved to be the persistent attraction of girls to certain branches of education and their neglect of others: for example, their marked preference for general academic work rather than vocationally oriented courses at the secondary level and for the arts and humanities rather than science, mathematics and technology at all post-primary levels. Many efforts have been made to demonstrate that girls have no innate handicap in fields important in modern society and becoming important in modernising societies, but the preferences seem to be very deeply rooted and to influence very considerably the further training and the employment horizons of women; a recent Danish study of schoolchildren illustrates this attitudinal situation.

The fact that in most parts of the world girls are still well behind boys as regards both the length of their education (if any) and its substance is a serious initial

¹ A UNESCO study of co-education (1969) points out that this form of education is often the result of a general policy in favour of the emancipation and advancement of women and their integration in economic and social development on a footing of equality (United Nations: *Study of co-education*, Report prepared by UNESCO for the Commission on the Status of Women) (document E/CN.6/537, 1 Aug. 1969).

² UNESCO: *Comparative study of co-education* (Paris, 30 Oct. 1970) (document ED/MD/15).

handicap for their future. Most of the recent studies on the status of women stress the importance of basic general education in connection with their advancement and role in society and their integration in economic and social development. The common conclusion is that the position of girls as compared with boys in the general educational system as a whole needs to be kept under review in order to remove any remaining discrimination and to promote the same opportunities for girls as for boys.

Vocational Guidance for Girls

Can vocational guidance be a tool for widening the occupational horizons of girls? The answer is certainly affirmative, but it must be recognised that vocational guidance is almost non-existent in the developing countries where women need help badly and that, in the developed countries, where it does exist, it has obvious imperfections for boys and girls alike. Moreover, experience suggests that girls can be helped only if the guidance provided dispels, in many respects, the myths concerning women's role and potential in society and work life and helps to overcome the heavy weight and the crippling effects of prejudice and tradition. Finally, it has to be recognised that one aim of vocational guidance is to correct the narrow and unduly romantic image of their future work lives which many girls tend to form.

Brought up with the idea that their principal if not exclusive role in life is to be a wife, mother and home-maker, girls often tend to overlook the fact that early marriage, family planning, improvements in household technology and in family expectations are changing the outlook and pattern of women's employment and life style. In most countries the mass media, as well as parents and even teachers, tend to boost the image of the "home woman" and to extol this image to girls making choices for the future. So girls are often torn by conflicting considerations in thinking about their future role. They need guidance which will help them resolve these contradictions in a realistic manner consistent with the role they will be called upon to play both at home and at work, consistent with the cultural context within which they live and work but not patterned on an image of their role which is no longer consistent with the facts. The whole concept of guidance must be expanded so that girls receive the necessary help and advice on a continuous basis, particularly during periods of confrontation and attitudinal change.

A second aim of guidance should be to warn girls against the attraction of the traditional occupations commonly considered suitable for women and to point out that these trades not only tend to be the least well paid but also have often been changed out of all recognition by technological advances. This is an important task because in most parts of the world girls still persist in choosing to prepare for or enter "women's occupations". Some of these—such as teaching and nursing—exert a natural attraction, but in other cases the attraction is merely an out-worn tradition no longer valid in terms of employment opportunities and prospects. Even in the case of science—chemistry or applied biology—boys tend to go in for manufacturing and girls for laboratory work—as assistants—and few go further.

A third objective of guidance should be more positive: not simply to help keep girls away from overcrowded traditional trades but to open their eyes to the new

possibilities offered by technological and scientific progress, which are equally available to women and to men provided that the former receive the necessary preparation. This becomes particularly important when economic development is accompanied by a decline in employment in areas in which women have traditionally played an important part—agriculture, textiles and small shops and industries.

A fourth and related objective of guidance is simply to call to the attention of girls occupations in which girls and women have not usually been employed.

The relative stagnation of the vocational choices open to girls, whatever may be the underlying reasons, becomes somewhat worrying as the pace of technological and scientific advance grows ever faster and ever more revolutionary.

Who helps in realising these objectives of guidance for girls? First, the schools, where first decisions are made which affect later prospects, and above all the teachers and school counsellors who influence these decisions. If girls tend to shy away from mathematics, science and technical disciplines, it is up to the schools and teachers to ensure that this is not the result of ignorance or false misgivings and that girls as well as boys are exposed to disciplines which play an important part in modern life. This is not always an easy task.

Parents also exercise an influence in the guidance process. For girls, it has been observed that the mother's influence tends to be particularly strong, particularly in cases where the mother has had an active and rewarding work life. But the father also has an important role in girls' occupational decisions, in encouraging or discouraging their aspirations and in displaying the same interest in their daughters' future as in that of their sons. The peer group is another very influential factor in occupational choice and often has a depressing effect on girls' aspirations and a limiting effect on their choices.

Many countries also have public vocational guidance services or centres which provide guidance of varying degrees of sophistication to boys and girls seeking advice at or near the time of leaving school. The counsellors staffing these services and centres have often been criticised for offering conservative occupational advice to girls and for not encouraging them to venture into new sectors. In their defence it must be said, first, that this is obviously by no means true of all of them—or even perhaps of the majority—and, second, that to encourage girls to pioneer in the world of work may mean that, after training for a new field, they may not be able to find employment in it because of prejudice and related cultural factors. Prudence is perhaps a necessary part of innovation. But experience in a number of countries suggests that concerted efforts by guidance staff to extend the employment of girls into traditional male types of work can have positive results if demand is high. On the other hand, some countries have reported disappointing results from campaigns to widen occupational horizons for girls—which again suggests the strength of the forces attracting girls to particular areas (including their realistic appraisal of their future employment prospects).

Campaigns of public information and education, linked with guidance and counselling in the wide sense, can sometimes help to bring girls and women into new occupations and levels of responsibility and to break down the “for women only” and “for men only” signs.

Vocational Preparation for Work Life

As UNESCO statistics indicate, the proportion of girls going on to secondary education is increasing almost everywhere, even though slowly, as is the proportion going on to higher education. But at both levels, even where girls number about the same as boys, they are to be found very largely in the arts, the commercial, social and domestic science faculties; in most countries, much smaller numbers of them are to be found in the scientific and technical departments. Again this may be due to the lack of encouragement from those influencing their vocational choices or to the difficulty anticipated in finding appropriate employment after training; and it may be due to other factors, such as the lack of adequate numbers of qualified teachers in the technical and scientific sectors, which may affect the instruction of girls more than that of boys. Whatever the cause, the fact is that many of the girls who have received the most education find themselves ill-prepared for the modern world of work and life.

In France, for example, it was hoped that girls would benefit greatly from the recent establishment of Institutes of Technology at the university level, but in 1969-70 girls made up only 21 per cent of the students in these institutes and were heavily concentrated in faculties preparing for work in the tertiary sector. They constituted 60 per cent of the students in applied biology and 30 per cent of those in chemistry, but only 2 per cent of those in electronics. In the USSR and the Eastern European countries, where the education of girls has reached superior levels and women form a very high proportion of the labour force, a few traces of the same pattern in the different branches of education and training can be discerned; and in some (for example in Romania) steps have been taken to prevent certain branches from becoming over-populated by girls or over-populated by boys and to interest girls in new types of education and training that are coming into being with technological and scientific progress.

A 1968 UNESCO comparative study on the access of girls and women to technical and vocational education concluded that there were few if any legal obstacles to their admission to such education but that in practice their opportunities were far from equal to those enjoyed by boys. Far more girls than boys were training for less highly skilled jobs and trades. Only a few girls were in training for the industrial sector while massive numbers were in training for the tertiary sector. They were concentrated on courses leading to work classified as typically "women's work" or on family-oriented or home-economics courses. Many countries reported a tendency towards greater access by girls to a wider range of technical and vocational training but drew attention to the need to encourage the trend in this direction by positive steps and long-term plans aimed at giving girls and women equal opportunities with men, both in the field of technical and vocational education and training and in the field of employment. Perhaps, as has been pointed out, if there were more women teachers in more varied fields in technical and vocational education and training schools and centres, girls and their parents would look more favourably on these types of preparation for work life.

Where two types of vocational education or training are available, one longer and more basic and the other shorter and more specialised, girls mostly opt for the shorter and more highly specialised—and this at a time when a broad initial preparation for a group of occupations is becoming essential to meet the changing requirements of work life. This is true, for example, in many Western European countries, including France, the Federal Republic Germany, the United Kingdom and also the Nordic countries. It is hoped that the wider use of training by stages or in modules and other innovatory methods of formal and non-formal training will help to counter weaknesses in the initial training of girls; this is probably true but it remains to be proved.

The same general picture emerges from a review of the position of girls in regard to apprenticeship. In countries in which this form of training is common, girls tend to undertake apprenticeship less than boys and to enter apprenticeship for recognised “women’s occupations” requiring a relatively short period of training. In the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, 84 per cent of the girls in apprenticeship in 1961 were concentrated in training for only 12 trades; by 1967 a quarter of them were training in other trades but even so more than half of all girls in apprenticeship were in training for only 4 trades. In Denmark only half as many girls as boys enter apprenticeship annually and almost all of these are in the commercial and hairdressing fields. In the United Kingdom, in May 1970, there were 110 females apprenticed to skilled crafts compared with over 112,000 males, and 420 females were receiving other systematic training compared with about 17,000 males; the position has not changed significantly in the last 4 years. Moreover, of the 7 per cent of girls going into apprenticeship, three-quarters go in for hairdressing. In New Zealand, the number of new female apprenticeship contracts decreased from 580 in 1970-71 to 538 in 1971-72—a very small percentage of the total of 8,701—and there were only 11 contracts in trades other than hairdressing. In Australia, faced with a somewhat similar situation, the Department of Labour has been actively encouraging the apprenticeship of girls to skilled trades other than the traditional ones (such as hairdressing). The United States has also set in motion a campaign (Apprenticeship Outreach) to find a place for women in apprenticeable occupations that have never before been considered usual “women’s work”: as the Secretary of Labor stated: “the ‘men only’ signs must come down”.

In Japan there is reported to be a comparatively small percentage of women in the various forms of basic, specialised and advanced training. In 1972, in the public vocational training courses, women constituted the majority of trainees in dress-making, Japanese typewriting, sewing, hairdressing, tailoring, clerical work, porcelain making, retail trade and tracing and drawing. With the longer period women now remain in employment, steps are being taken to encourage the vocational training of women both on and off the job and to broaden the range of occupations for which they train. In Canada, in 1972-73, just under half the women in training were aiming to become shorthand-typists or were training for the bookkeeping, accounting and related occupations. Women were concentrated in fewer areas of training than men: three-quarters of women trainees were receiving training in the nine areas with the

highest concentrations of women workers, while 58 per cent of men trainees were receiving training in the nine areas with higher concentrations of men.

The British TUC Special Report for the 1972 Women's Conference (*The roots of inequality*) deplored the fact that, contrary to expectations, the 1964 Industrial Training Act had failed to bring about any real improvement in the opportunities for training available to girls and women. It was significant that only 1 girl in 4 received training of any kind lasting one year or more. There are some signs of change, however, with the implementation of the Training Opportunities Scheme, offering a much wider range of courses intended to open the whole field of employment to women: by January 1973, 4,000 women were in training, compared with 1,000 in December 1971, though the majority were training at commercial colleges rather than in government training centres. The number of trainees increased over the same period from 19,000 to over 33,000. Although the percentage of women among the total in training rose, their numbers are still comparatively small.

In France the report of the Committee on Women's Employment on vocational training, issued in 1972, drew attention to the fact that the position of women as regards training remained unsatisfactory. There were fewer girls in the technical colleges, and they tended to take shorter courses than boys. The majority of the girls were training for work in the tertiary sector (office work, sales, commerce, services): 66 per cent (only 24 per cent of the boys) in public vocational education and 72 per cent in private establishments. More girls were taking the technical *Baccalauréat* examination but 93 per cent of them were taking it in tertiary-sector subjects. In the industrial sector girls were training for a disconcertingly small range of occupations, mostly in the clothing branch (where the demand for skilled labour was falling), while very few were preparing for other industries (e.g. mechanics, metal trades, electronics). There was a wide gap between their training and their subsequent employment: some 38 per cent of the labour force of the electrical construction industry is made up of women but hardly any girls at all were taking technical training for this industry. Whereas the economy was opening up many new and diversified opportunities potentially available to women, few girls were seeking to prepare themselves to fill these new openings.

What is the root cause of this? The above-mentioned French report, in stressing the relationship between training and subsequent employment opportunities for girls, noted the natural reluctance of girls and their parents to undertake any lengthy period of training if afterwards they might be unable to find employment: this was both a psychological fact and an economic consideration. Hence, very often the employment problems faced by qualified women, including employers' attitudes towards engaging them at the level of their skills, condition their training. In Belgium the 1972 report by the National Employment Office stated that women were afraid to venture into training for occupations traditionally held by men; specifically, they were afraid of not being accepted by men as co-workers on an equal footing and of being considered by employers as second-rate labour. The question is of concern to the Government, which decided to set up, under the National Employment Office, an advisory board specialising in the training of women and in their integration in the economy.

The European Economic Community is launching a concerted campaign in its member countries to encourage the access of girls and women to all kinds and levels of vocational training. The campaign will centre on more adequate and more appropriate use of the guidance and training systems and on approaches to employers to make them aware of the advantages of training women and employing them at the level of their qualifications. Similar efforts are being made elsewhere.

Training for Girls in the Third World

In the developing countries the picture is even more gloomy. What training there is for the modern sector is mostly for occupations from which women are excluded by tradition or practice. The various training patterns for the modern sector tend to follow the sex-role stereotypes of the old world and often fail to reflect the traditions of the countries of the third world. Few girls are engaged in training for the slowly growing industrial sector. Training opportunities are expanding for service occupations—in hotels, catering and tourism—and for certain kinds of office work, but only slowly. And in agriculture, where the bulk of the work is very often done by women, training is seldom given to girls and women—either for agriculture proper or for related rural activities and crafts. In the Arab countries, for example, a recent conference on the role of women in national development drew attention to the fact that the training offered to them was narrow and incompatible with the increased participation of women in all fields of work and that vocational training aimed at improving the productivity of rural women did not receive enough attention despite its importance for the economy.

There has been a growing awareness that the training network must extend wider opportunities to girls and women, whether by bringing them into existing programmes or, where necessary, by developing special programmes to enhance their skills in particular occupational areas. Women themselves are beginning to see this as an important link in their more effective integration in the development process.

Relationships between Education, Training and Employment

Once a girl has made an occupational choice and has undergone the necessary training, what of her subsequent employment? What is the likelihood of her entering and remaining in the sector for which she has been trained—which may already be overcrowded and subject to rapid technological change? Quite apart from her acceptance by the employer, what other factors influence her future work life and the pattern of her career? With increased and longer education for girls, with attitudinal changes towards their role in work life, with modified patterns of participation in work life after marriage and childbirth, with smaller families and an eased burden of household work in the more developed countries, with a growing desire for higher family living standards and for economic independence, will there be consequential changes in the character of women's role in economic life? Will these justify further investment in women's education and training? Are the general expectations of employers and of girls themselves about the employment future false, especially at

higher levels of education? There could be much speculation on all these points. But far more research is needed into the whole complex relationship between the education and training of girls, on the one hand, and their subsequent employment on the other. The facts revealed by such studies might help to change attitudes both towards girls' education and training and towards their employment and might clarify some of the more puzzling aspects of their integration into and contribution to economic and social life. They might also help society in general to decide how much waste of educated manpower it can tolerate. They might show how returns on women's education and training could be increased by better occupational distribution and integration of women in the workforce. Finally, they might distinguish between discrimination and choice as regards women's occupational decisions and subsequent career patterns, with a view to finding means of overcoming actual discriminatory practices.

Training as a Means of Overcoming Sex-Stereotypes in the Labour Market

The fact that in most countries girls and women are still to be found preparing for typically "feminine" occupations has caused considerable concern in countries which have been trying to overcome the division of the employment market into "women's work" and "men's work".

It is interesting that the budget proposals of the Swedish National Labour Market Board for the financial year 1974/75 contained two proposals aimed at breaking down sex-linked occupational choice and recruitment practices. They follow recommendations made earlier by a committee on equality of opportunity for men and women. The Board proposed that a training grant of 5 Swedish crowns per hour (approximately \$1.00), should be paid for a maximum period of 6 months, to employers who train men for "women's" jobs and vice versa. This would be for an experimental period of 3 years. It also proposed that, on a 2-year experimental basis, employment subsidies of the same amount for jobs created under regional development schemes should be conditional upon at least 40 per cent of the new jobs going to each sex. The proposals have been approved by Parliament.

In the United Kingdom the Trades Union Congress has urged that special grants be made to firms which train girls and women for jobs outside the traditional range of women's work (especially at technician level). A number of other countries are considering ways of using training incentives as a means of encouraging more equitable distribution of men and women in the different occupations.

Further Education and Training

It is unfortunate but true that in many countries women in employment tend to be uninterested in, not to have the time for or to be systematically excluded from both further education and training for career advancement and from retraining schemes to promote the occupational mobility needed to cope with technological and scientific advances and new methods of work organisation.

It is highly important that all facilities for further education and training should be equally accessible to women and men and that employers should encourage full use of these facilities by men and women workers alike, making the necessary adaptations in work schedules and providing the necessary motivation.

The same applies to retraining to meet technological or other changes, whether for the same industry or occupation or another. Women are at a disadvantage in relation to such retraining because of general indifference to their plight in the event of technological or other unemployment, often because of their family circumstances and sometimes because of poor counselling.

Re-entry to Employment

For a variety of reasons connected with the ever-faster pace of scientific and technological advances and the bewildering rapidity of changes in manpower requirements, women seeking to enter or to re-enter employment after a comparatively long period of absence face special problems. They need help in choosing and preparing for work life outside the home. True, the growing accent on recurrent education and training for all workers is injecting a fresh note of flexibility into training opportunities and arrangements and this will probably be to the advantage of women and help them both to overcome handicaps of inadequate initial education and training and to re-enter employment after an interruption of their work career. At the same time, it is necessary to ensure that new possibilities and new methods of acquiring and updating skills are, in fact, available to and utilised by women.

After stressing the importance of a sound initial education and training for girls as a basis for their future work lives, the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965 (No. 123), urges governments to provide or help to ensure the provision of services to facilitate the entry or re-entry into employment of women who have been out of the workforce for a comparatively long time owing, in particular, to family responsibilities. The instrument specifies that such services should include counselling, information, training and retraining and placement facilities.

In some countries (such as Canada and Sweden) special consultancy centres operate in connection with adult education, and training institutions are available to married women wishing to enter or become reintegrated in the workforce. In Sweden courses organised by adult education bodies are made available by the State, which also provides premises, materials and instructors and, where appropriate, pays for a family aide to help at home while the woman receives training. Information media are used to inform women about training and employment opportunities and to encourage them to take advantage of these opportunities, choosing sensibly so as to avoid overcrowding of particular occupations. In Denmark, too, the possibilities for women to obtain the necessary training or retraining are very good indeed. In some provinces of Canada a great many counselling and education and training services are available to help mature women re-enter economic life; the same is true in many states of the United States. In Australia a recent government survey indicated that a number of refresher courses were available for women wishing to return to work after

some years' absence from their former occupational activity. In Japan the Women's and Minors' Bureau has initiated short-term training courses for older women who want to take up jobs after a long absence from work.

The most recent study on the subject, *Re-entry of women to the labour market after an interruption in employment*, by B. N. Seear, was undertaken for the OECD and published in 1971 (Employment of Special Groups 7). It contains detailed information on developments in Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. The study concluded that the re-entry of older married women to work life was a growing practice and an increasingly popular pattern of female activity. It noted that full-time jobs had been plentiful but that the jobs women found upon re-entry were largely confined to the traditional women's industries and occupations and to low-level work in industry, commerce, retail trade and other services. The demand for part-time employment tended to exceed the supply. The need for counselling and vocational guidance was stressed, particularly in the light of the handicaps so many women suffer through bad early vocational guidance or none at all. The study pointed out that there was a need, too, to correct defects in basic education, using properly timed day classes or educational television. Success had been achieved in training older women and the study suggested that on the basis of the facts a more optimistic view of retraining for such women could be adopted. Long training was a deterrent for older women, and many practical aspects of their training needed attention (adjustment of hours to meet their needs, provision of training grants and good personal relations to build up the older woman's confidence). Finally, the study pointed out that re-entry programmes for women, provided bad-risk programmes were carefully screened out, could be a very satisfactory investment for the undertaking and the community as well as for the woman herself.

Emphasis has been placed on flexibility in training arrangements, adapting them to the needs of women looking after homes and families. But, however flexible the arrangements, married women are further restricted in benefiting from them by the lack of geographical mobility stemming from their home and family responsibilities. This, as has been pointed out, implies the need for widely scattered local facilities serving well-defined neighbourhoods and for much greater use of radio, television and correspondence courses.

In connection with the spread of the concept of permanent and lifelong education and training, it is interesting to note that in a number of countries workers are paid allowances permitting them to follow approved types of training and that these allowances may be paid not only to employed workers but also to women who are still at home but wish to re-enter employment after an interruption for child-rearing. This is the case, for instance, in Canada, France and the Federal Republic of Germany.¹

¹ Under recent (1972) amendments to the Adult Occupational Training Act of Canada, a person eligible for training (i.e. anyone whose age is one year above the normal school-leaving age in his or her province, including a person working in the home, whether or not the person has ever been in the labour force) is eligible for a training allowance; this greatly improves opportunities for older women wishing to train or retrain for entry or re-entry into the workforce. In the Federal Republic of Germany, under the Promotion of Employment Act and subject to certain conditions, vocational training is possible for women who desire to enter gainful employment for the first time or to re-enter it.

Finally, the increasing interest in arrangements for paid educational leave may prove beneficial to women in the long run. The International Labour Conference, in 1974, adopted standards relating to paid educational leave. The Convention and Recommendation on the subject state that such leave shall not be denied to workers on the ground, *inter alia*, of sex. It is perhaps important for the future that, in applying the principle of paid educational leave, as well as that of continuing education, the special situation of women away from work life and acquiring their experience in the home context should not be left out of account.

THE SEARCH FOR EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND TREATMENT IN EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION

Girls and women continue to encounter discrimination in employment and occupation in most countries. The imbalance in their integration in the workforce can be traced in large part not only to the deficiencies in their education and training, which have been noted above, but also to practical discrimination in access to and advancement in employment and occupation.

An encouraging feature in the past decade has been the shift of emphasis from the prevention of discrimination in particular areas to the promotion of equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers in positive terms and on a broad front.

*Equal Pay—The First Step*¹

One of the most blatant forms of discrimination against women continues to be unequal payment for work of equal value. While the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value has by now been almost universally accepted, many obstacles continue to impede its full application.

First of all, a brief look at the record of progress. The Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), which commits governments to the principle of equal pay, to its implementation in sectors under their control and to the encouragement of application of the principle in the private sector, had been ratified by 81 countries by 1 November 1974. In the past decade (September 1964-September 1974) 33 States ratified the Convention—developing countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America and the more developed countries in Europe. But the record of progress as regards equal pay goes far beyond this to countries which have not ratified the Convention but which have accepted the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value and are now implementing it—for example, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand and the United States.

Acceptance of the principle of equal pay means that minimum wages must be the same for men and women, that in the public sector the same salary scale must apply to men and women without discrimination and that in the private sector action

¹ While equal pay may be seen as a first step towards equality of treatment for women workers, it must be recognised that unequal pay results from all the other inequalities and handicaps suffered by women.

towards equal pay, for example by the revision of collective agreements, must be stimulated and supported.

The general picture and the trends are encouraging. There has been a new emphasis on the concept of equal remuneration based on the value of the work performed and a move towards a wider concept of "work of equal value". There has been greater attention to the development of adequate machinery for enforcement. There has been wider recognition of the relationship of equal pay to the whole question of equal opportunity and treatment for women. But there are still many practical difficulties to be overcome.¹

These difficulties include inadequate data on women's wages and, especially, the lack of valid statistical information. In many countries, too, employers are reluctant to apply the principle fairly, even when they accept it, and reveal a tendency to evade equal pay by a variety of practices and by reference to "economic factors" or the need for "technological innovation".

There is no doubt that a major obstacle to achieving equal pay is the technical difficulty of job classification, comparison and evaluation—the difficulty, in other words, of finding a reliable and objective means of measuring job content and determining job comparability.² Moreover, even where some grading system for wage purposes has been adopted and separate grades for men and women have been eliminated, the trade unions complain that women often tend automatically to be placed in the lowest grade or in a special (also badly paid) grade for "light work". A related difficulty is the interpretation of equal pay for "work of equal value", especially in occupations in which women predominate.³ The concept of "work of equal value" conveys a notion of equivalence in terms not only of identity of tasks and job content but also of such factors as skill, effort and responsibility. The persistent subjective tendency to under-rate the work done by women, the occupations and jobs in which they are employed and the qualities which they possess (e.g. dexterity) continue to stand in the way of any objective appraisal of their work and skills. Why is it that so often when women enter an occupation in any large numbers wages fall or fail to rise? Why is it that wages are traditionally low in so-called women's occupations? It would appear that in male-dominated societies women's work is apt, without reason, to be regarded as of less value than that of men.

¹ These are outlined in the progress reports on equal pay which the ILO submits periodically to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women and are also indicated in the report of the Meeting of Experts on Equality of Remuneration (document GB.193/9/15). Moreover, the 1975 Session of the International Labour Conference will have before it a world-wide survey of the implementation of equal remuneration for work of equal value, based on reports from governments submitted under articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution, which will, inter alia, describe the practical difficulties of applying the principle.

Even in Western Europe difficulties persist in the full application of Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome and in November 1973 the Commission of the European Economic Community made a new plea for effective enforcement of the principle of equal pay in the member countries of the Community.

² In the Federal Republic of Germany, for instance, this problem has been acute and a special inquiry is being made into job evaluation and classification, the results of which will be submitted to Parliament and to employers' and workers' organisations.

³ In Norway, the Council for Equality of Men and Women has set up a committee to study the wage situation of groups of workers where women predominate and will compare their situation with groups where men predominate: one aim is to make the concept of work of equal value more precise.

Other factors are also involved, including long-standing public indifference to equal pay as an issue in the integration of women in economic life, the reluctance of women to make their claims for fear of jeopardising their employment opportunities, the lack of adequate factual information about the actual implementation of equal pay in different sectors, occupations and undertakings and the failure to explain any apparent shortcomings, and persisting or changing attitudes towards the employment of women and their role in development. There is a need for educational campaigns to promote the implementation of equal pay for women workers as a matter of right and for publicity campaigns to remind employers of their full obligations in this respect.

Sometimes, to help overcome these difficulties (actual or imaginary), a phased programme to introduce equal pay has been applied; where the phasing-out process has been carefully planned and supervised, the aim has been achieved, but where the process has been dragged out for no valid reason, the women workers have felt still further abused.

A multi-pronged approach, combining constitutional and legislative action with an explicit inclusion of equal pay provisions in collective agreements, the creation of effective enforcement and appeals machinery, technical improvements in evaluating job content and comparability, and a broad campaign of education and promotional activity (reaching those most closely concerned, e.g. managers and supervisors), can help to force the pace of progress and to guarantee women workers a right of which they should no longer be deprived.¹

However important it may be to achieve equal pay for equal work, this is only one aspect of the broader question of women's wages. Their chief characteristic almost everywhere is their low level as compared with those of men, as shown in table 9.

While failure to apply the principle of equal pay fully and fairly may be an element in this situation, it is not the only factor: others include the heavy concentration of women in badly paid industries and occupations, their often lower level of education, training and work experience, the handicaps imposed on them by society as a result of their multiple responsibilities and outright discrimination in employment. Moreover, women tend to work shorter hours than men and fewer bonus hours (e.g. at night or on Sundays or holidays). And where wages are determined with regard to length of service, women's generally lower seniority may be an additional factor.

Statistical data relating to the differences between the average wages of men and women in the various sectors and occupations, at a comparable level of responsibility, skill and other factors, are meagre and admittedly unreliable and often cover only the manufacturing industries, omitting the service sector where so many women are employed. But ILO studies of the position in industrialised countries suggest that

¹ The International Conference on Equal Pay organised by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (Brussels, October 1972) issued a statement outlining a number of constructive steps for achieving equal pay and stressed the important role of the trade unions in this area and the variety of means available to them to take action at all levels, from the workshop to the international field; in November 1973, the Executive Board adopted a programme of concerted action on equal pay. The other international trade union organisations (World Confederation of Labour and World Federation of Trade Unions) have also taken vigorous action to promote implementation of the equal pay principle.

TABLE 9. — DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S WAGES
IN ALL MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
(Average women's earnings as a percentage of men's)

Country	1963	1972	1963-72
Australia ¹	69.8	76.1	+6.3
Belgium ²	60.3	64.4	+4.1
Denmark ³	68.6	77.9	+9.3
Finland ³	66.6	71.3	+4.7
Germany (Fed. Rep.) ³	68.7	70.7	+2.0
Ireland ³	57.2	57.2	0
Japan ⁴	44.2	47.5	+3.3
Sweden ³	72.1	83.2	+11.1
Switzerland ³	62.7	64.7	+2
United Kingdom ³	57.2	59.3	+2.1

¹ Hourly rate. ² Daily earnings. ³ Average hourly earnings. ⁴ Production workers. Basic wage (monthly earnings).
Japanese Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1963 and 1972 (Monthly Labour Survey).

Source: ILO: *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1973.

women's wages are about 50 to 80 per cent of men's for the same work time. In terms of hourly wages, women's pay is now rising faster than that of men in many countries but the trend is less clear in terms of average annual earnings: in general, differences between men's and women's average annual earnings are greater than differences in hourly wages, largely because of greater differences in work time. It may also be noted that the differences at the national level between men's wages and women's wages for all manufacturing industries together are often greater than within a given industry—which usually suggests that women workers are often concentrated in industries where the average wage level is comparatively low. Moreover, women's employment is increasing in the service sector, in which wages are generally fairly low.

In the developing countries, as elsewhere, the comparatively low level of women's wages indicates the concentration of women in jobs and occupations low in the scale of skill and pay. In the public sector the differential may be less, but conclusive data are lacking.

The only ways to lessen or remove these differentials between men's and women's earnings, however calculated, are changes in the structure and character of women's education, training and employment and elimination of the distinctions between "men's work" and "women's work": changes aimed at removing persisting inequalities and discrimination and at overcoming the stereotyped sex-roles attributed to women in the world of work.

Women's Reliability as Workers

Can differences in women's wages be justified by differences in their work performance? Are women "reliable" workers? These questions are often asked and

all too often left unanswered, leaving the inference that there is little doubt that women are less steady workers than men.

A number of myths about women as workers are crumbling under the pressure of facts. Women are often accused of excessive absenteeism or of having a high rate of turnover. In the United States a Public Health Service survey of work time lost due to illness or injury in 1967 showed that women lost on the average 5.6 days as compared to 5.3 days for men. The statistics on labour turnover indicated that net differences for men and women were also small. In Canada absenteeism because of illness is not significantly different for women and for men: in 1972, 1.76 per cent of women full-time workers were absent from work for the whole of a particular week because of illness while 1.95 per cent of men full-time workers were absent for that same week. The rate of turnover for men and women is about the same. A number of European surveys have come to the same general conclusions. In the United Kingdom the Hunt Survey of Women's Employment carried out for the Government and issued in 1968 found that women are not necessarily less stable employees than men and that qualifications, skill and responsibility encourage women to remain for longer periods in their jobs.

Where higher turnover and absenteeism rates for women do occur in individual undertakings, studies suggest that they may well be related to the lower place women occupy in the occupational structure and to the fact that the great majority are in jobs where they have little skill or responsibility and little prospect for advancement or job satisfaction. Studies in France have brought out this correlation. A report prepared by the United States Women's Bureau concludes that, at similar job levels and under similar circumstances, women workers have favourable records of attendance and turnover. Analyses indicate that the skill level of the job, the marital status and age of the workers, length of service and record of job stability provide better clues to differences in job performance than does the fact that the worker is a man or a woman.

From Equal Pay to Equal Opportunity and Treatment

Equal pay is one basic step forward. But, as a British Prime Minister stated some time ago: "Laws can be made laying down that women should be paid equally for equal work, but a revolution in the hearts and minds of men will be needed if equal job evaluation is to be translated into real equality. Equal pay legislation, although vital, is only the beginning." It is necessary to get at the roots of discriminatory policies and practices and to move from the rather negative stance of combating discrimination to the more positive posture of promoting equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women in employment and occupation.

It is significant that the ILO Meeting of Experts on Equality of Remuneration (in Industrialised Countries), held in Geneva in May 1974, reached a similar conclusion and emphasised the need to deal with equal pay in the wider context of equal opportunity and treatment.¹

¹ See Appendix III (Conclusions of the Meeting of Experts), in particular points 1-3.

The Persistence of Discrimination

In the past ten years or so, there has been increasing public concern about the problem of sex discrimination in employment. It has become more widely appreciated that the problem had been underestimated and it has become more widely apparent that action to remove overt discriminatory barriers against women was not enough to eradicate the problems.

Some progress has been made, particularly in the elimination of legal discrimination, but from all sides, and from all surveys and studies of women's role in economic life, there is evidence of the stubborn persistence of the subtler types of discrimination which are hard to grasp, hard to fight and hard to eliminate. In the United Kingdom, the Labour Party Study Group pointed out in the Introduction to its 1972 "Opposition Green Paper", *Discrimination Against Women*, "This report demonstrates the existence of real problems. It notes the deep-rooted attitudes from which they so often stem as well as the difficult dilemmas raised by them. . . . We wish to enhance the dignity and independence of women, by establishing a more genuine freedom of choice in education, in training, at work, in private or public life. This will require fundamental changes in attitudes, not least on the part of women themselves who must be positively encouraged to take up newly available opportunities." And as the 1973 Economic Report of the President of the United States (which for the first time contained a chapter on the economic role of women) put it: "Women have gained much more access to market employment than they used to have, but they have not gained full equality within the market in the choice of jobs, opportunities for advancement, and other matters related to employment and compensation. To some extent the cause of this discrepancy is direct discrimination. But it is also the result of more subtle and complex factors originating in cultural patterns that have grown up in most societies through the centuries."

The Council of Europe, the European Economic Community and the OECD have also produced convincing evidence of continuing discrimination against women in economic life, as have reports made within the member countries of these institutions.

Canadian and United States reports on the status of women, as well as a series of other important reports in various parts of the world, have also underlined the gravity and complexity of the problem and the far-reaching and inter-related measures required to combat it effectively.

In the USSR and Eastern Europe where, generally speaking, women encounter little or no discrimination in law or practice, there are still reported to be practical difficulties connected with achieving the full equality of men and women in work and family life.

In many countries there may be equal access to employment in principle, but it remains true, as has been pointed out (for example in the case of Finland), that, especially outside the public sector, applicants for employment are very often selected on the basis of age and sex as well as of other factors which may be prejudicial to women.

A particular aspect of sex-based discrimination is discrimination (open or disguised) against married women and, while considerable progress has been made in eliminating it (for example, in Australia as regards the employment of married women in the federal public service, in Canada, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and the United States) there is no doubt that this type of discrimination is stubbornly embedded in the social and economic fabric and continues to affect the work careers of many millions of women.

Another special aspect of discrimination against women is that related to opportunities for promotion within a career structure—this may even be the most important area in a good many countries. Advancement should be based on individual ability and inclination without regard to sex, but in fact it is not. One of the problems is the difficulty of giving tangible proof of the discrimination which is known to exist: the discrimination is subtle but brutal. Moreover, men tend to be groomed, directly and indirectly, for promotion and advancement. Women tend to be excluded from this circuit. The result: women come much nearer to equality at the bottom rungs of the occupational structure than at the top, where they are at a great disadvantage. The rather general failure of women to reach high positions and to break through at the top merits serious consideration.

Moreover, it is significant that in many countries preference is shown to men even in “women’s” fields such as teaching, where men take over the bulk of administrative positions and top posts and are given preference in selection and promotion. The same is true in industry (for example, in the textiles and clothing industries, where men rather than women are to be found in the supervisory and managerial positions).

In 1971, the International Labour Conference had before it a second survey of the ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations on the implementation of the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention and Recommendation of 1958, which expressly forbade discrimination on the ground, *inter alia*, of sex. This survey was based on reports from 130 countries by governments which had ratified the Convention and those which had not. It was noted that since the first survey in 1963, many measures had in fact been taken to eliminate distinctions based on sex in regard to the access of women to certain types of post or relating to marital status or conditions of employment. In the second survey the Committee of Experts expressed the hope that governments would take steps to cut out of their legislation and regulations all provisions allowing discrimination on the basis of sex in employment and conditions of work which were not “strictly justified by the inherent requirements of certain jobs or the need for protection—which should moreover be continually reviewed in the light of changing circumstances”. In its conclusions, the Committee stated:

103. Discrimination based on sex is another form of discrimination whose elimination also calls for constant attention and the development of a series of positive measures in various fields. One view which is often implicit in governments’ reports is that such discrimination as may exist in this respect may be ascribed to sociological factors which must be left to evolve. Nevertheless, the efforts that have been made in some countries show that it is possible in the end to secure acceptance of the fact that many of the distinctions between the sexes which it has become customary to accept as ‘normal’ are really discriminatory;

and there is a risk that sociological practices and circumstances may not evolve in the desired direction unless specific efforts are made with this end in view.

104. Even today the law and official practice themselves often allow for distinction on the basis of sex the objective justification for which is not necessarily unquestionable. It should be stressed in this respect that such distinctions should be constantly reviewed in the light of changing circumstances to see whether they are really justified from the standpoint of the qualifications required by the nature of certain jobs or of the need for protection within the meaning of the 1958 instruments. It is more and more widely acknowledged that it is not fully legitimate to lay down that all women are physically unfitted for certain tasks, when, while this may be the case for most women, it is not necessarily true for all. Other requirements are social or psychological in character, and stem from the fact that contemporary living conditions and prevailing ideas would make it difficult for certain jobs to be performed by women. While such considerations may be understandable in certain circumstances and at a given point in time, they should be regularly re-examined extremely carefully, not only to take account of changing trends but in order to encourage such trends.

105. As regards the elimination of discrimination based on sex which derives—irrespective of any legislative provision on the matter—from opinions widely held in practice, governments' reports tend as a rule to stress the fact that labour legislation guarantees equality of opportunity and treatment to workers of both sexes. It should be pointed out, however, that in practice the extent to which training and employment opportunities, and the possibility of promotion in employment, are open to women appears in fact to remain largely outside the scope of such guarantees. Even in regard to general conditions of work, the principle of equal pay for equal work is not easy to put into practice where, for instance, different rates are paid because in practice certain tasks are performed mainly by men or by women, whereas if an objective evaluation of these tasks were undertaken it would be seen that they were of equal value. Broadly speaking, there are many fields of action where there is room for the development of national policies associating governments, employers and workers in the effort to create conditions which will enable every woman who so desires to have access to education and vocational training, and subsequently to the employment of choice, and to enjoy full equality of treatment in that employment. Whatever stage of economic and social development a country has reached, two fundamental considerations should be borne in mind in this connection: first of all, the primary objective is to remove the obstacles which stand in the way of freedom and equality in this field, and not to impose by force social changes affecting the role of women in society. Secondly, in view of their role in the family and in the community, the raising of the status of women—which implies their right to freedom and equality even if they do not all choose to avail themselves of it—is today looked upon as an essential prerequisite for economic and social development itself.¹

It is futile to dwell unduly on the persistence of discrimination against women, particularly as regards advancement in work life and career opportunities. What can be said is that during the last decade there has been more frank admission of its existence in practice and more positive effort to combat it at all levels. What is necessary now is to seek specific concerted measures to promote the advancement of women in economic and social life.

The Attack on Discrimination

If equal pay is only the first necessary step to achieve equal rights for women in employment, the next steps must be directed towards ensuring that all other forms of discrimination against women are fully and finally ended. Various kinds of discrimi-

¹ ILO: *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations*, Report III (Part 4B), International Labour Conference, 56th Session, Geneva, 1971.

nation may start in early childhood, persist throughout schooling and training at all levels, place barriers to women on the threshold of employment, plague them throughout their work life and then follow them into retirement.

Discrimination has to be fought on a broad front and by a series of specific actions within each area—for example, education and training, employment, advancement and retirement—and within each sector of economic and social life. It has to be fought with a variety of weapons: legislation—the value of which as a deterrent is becoming more fully appreciated; effective enforcement through court or other action and appeals procedure; research and study to bring out evidence about discrimination; seminars and workshops to discuss the problems in specific fields (e.g. university teaching) and to seek means of overcoming them; education programmes to enlighten managerial personnel and to overcome employers' reluctance to employ women and use them fully and to change their misconceptions about women's role; trade union programmes to familiarise men and women members with the problems of equality of opportunity and treatment for women and means of solving them; widespread campaigns to change public attitudes and create a climate of opinion favourable to women's integration in economic life on a footing of equality; and working groups at the undertaking or the department level to get at the facts of discrimination and to combat every trace of it, wherever it appears. Each country will have its own concerted programme of action and its own means of action, and these will differ. But within each country there is a need for commitment to action, for clear and specific goals and targets and for yardsticks to measure and evaluate progress towards eliminating sex-based discrimination.

A few examples taken at random will illustrate the trend of progress.

In the United Kingdom, as a result of a series of studies and hearings producing irrefutable factual evidence of widespread discrimination against women, pressure has been mounting to eliminate sex-based discrimination in employment and promotion. Anti-discrimination legislation has been introduced and reintroduced in both houses of Parliament and extensive hearings and consultations have been held. The Government is committed to the principle of equal status for women and is preparing legislation to curb sex discrimination which will include machinery for complaints and enforcement. The Trades Union Congress now supports legislation and has been pressing for practical action and attitudinal changes to eliminate discriminatory policies and practices based on sex or marital status.

In France the Government has committed itself expressly to improving the status of women, including women workers, and has taken specific steps to achieve greater equality of opportunity and treatment. It is significant that its efforts to this end are fully supported not only by the trade unions but also by the national council of French employers, who are recommending measures by employers to ensure a better integration of women in economic life and real equality of opportunity.

In Spain special efforts have been made to promote the status of women and a 1970 Decree to issue regulations concerning the labour rights of working women stipulates that women shall be entitled to work in employment in full equality with men for all legal purposes.

In Finland a committee on the position of women in Finnish society issued a comprehensive report in 1970 showing central areas of discrimination and making recommendations for overcoming discriminatory practices. In 1972 a Council for Equality was formally established in order to promote economic and social equality between men and women. The Terms of Employment Act of 1970 includes a clause outlawing sex discrimination in employment. In Norway there is also a Council for Equality of Men and Women responsible for following developments with a view to identifying areas of inequality and to removing obstacles to equality. In Sweden and Denmark, too, there has been continuous dialogue on the changing roles of men and women in society with a view to ensuring true equality of opportunity and treatment in employment and at home, including a more equitable sharing of parental and household responsibilities. In Sweden, for example, a special government committee has been appointed, under the Under-Secretary of State, to promote equality between men and women in both economic and family life.

In Japan, in June 1972, both the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors adopted a resolution calling, *inter alia*, for the banning of any and all discriminatory treatment against women workers on the ground of sex and for the taking of the necessary measures to achieve this end.

The Arab States have been giving new and special consideration to problems relating to the status of women, particularly women workers, and are working out a programme of progressive action to improve their lot.

In a number of countries the government has served as a pioneer in promoting equal opportunities for women. In the United States, for example, the Administration is committed to continuing to fight for equality of employment opportunity for women in private industry and in government, it being clearly recognised that women are not yet offered equal opportunities. The January 1972 State of the Union Message of the President stated that, while every woman may not want a career outside the home, every woman should have the freedom to choose whatever career she wishes—and an equal chance to pursue it. In 1969 a Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities was established and submitted a series of recommendations for eliminating discrimination against women. During the ensuing years, a great deal has been done to give practical implementation to many of these recommendations. To give but one or two examples, the Labor Department has issued guidelines to ban sex discrimination by government contractors; in 1972 the Equal Opportunity Act was adopted, amending Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and extending its provisions to state and local government employees and to educational institutions and private employers of more than 15 persons; and in the same year an Order requiring affirmative action programmes to eliminate discrimination against women became a reality. Law suits to give women equal employment rights under the Act have been filed and won. Guidelines on the prevention of sex discrimination and the promotion of equal opportunity were issued. The jurisdiction of the United States Commission on Civil Rights has been expressly expanded to include sex discrimination. The Civil Service Commission has been ordered to ensure equal opportunity for the employment and advancement of women in the career service and various

government departments have set up women's action programmes to see that this policy is pursued fairly and vigorously. Federal grants to universities whose recruiting practices discriminated against women have been cut off. In 1973 a special day was set aside for reflection on the importance and urgency of achieving equal rights and opportunities for women since the cause of equal rights and opportunities for women is inseparable from the cause of human dignity and equal justice for all. A federal Women's Week was observed in February 1974 to focus on increasing employment and advancement opportunities for women. A Presidential Proclamation (No. 4262 of 30 January 1974) drew attention to the importance of the contribution of women to the economy and to the need for continuing vigorous efforts to strike down barriers and abolish discriminatory practices relating to their employment and advancement and to change attitudes which prevent women from enjoying the full and equal rights that they deserve. But, despite all this, there is still a long way to go before the goals established by the Task Force are reached: 1976—the 200th anniversary of the country's independence—has been set as a target for eliminating sex discrimination from the national scene.

In Australia the Federal Government is committed to positive policies to eliminate discrimination against women and to promote wider and higher-level employment opportunities for them. It has introduced legislation to bar discrimination on the grounds of sex. The national and state committees on discrimination in employment and occupation which have been set up will be able to examine allegations of discrimination against women. The range of benefits under the Department of Labour's employment scheme is being examined with a view further to facilitating women's integration in the workforce and improving their work opportunities.

Within the civil service itself laws and regulations often explicitly outlaw discrimination based on sex but this does not ensure its automatic disappearance. In a number of countries governmental reviews of civil service personnel policies have brought to light the extent and character of discrimination and the need for express action to achieve equality of opportunity and treatment for women. In Canada the Public Service Commission is playing an active role in reviewing the personnel procedures of the public service in order to ensure real equality of opportunity in careers for women.¹ In the United Kingdom civil service special attention has also been given to this matter. Finland has set up a committee to ensure equality of men and women in the public service.

In many of the developing countries it is in the public sector that women enjoy the greatest equality of opportunity and treatment but they still suffer many career handicaps.

But, despite the positive influence of governments on efforts to promote equality of opportunity for women outside as well as inside the public sector, much more

¹ The Public Service Commission has set up an Office of Equal Opportunities for Women to promote equal opportunities by proposing programmes and special measures in the public service. The Office maintains a profile by department, group and level of all women in the public service, undertakes studies to assess trends in women's employment in the service and reviews career and occupational material produced by the Commission. It also issues information materials and publications.

involvement of institutions and people is needed. Above all, the comprehension and support of workers' and employers' organisations for programmes of action aimed at greater equality for women workers are essential. The trade unions have an outstanding role to play in education and action relating to equality for women in work life, and their full participation in general efforts towards this end and in specific efforts within the trade union framework is a *sine qua non* for change.¹ Women's organisations may also be in the front line of action—as many of them are in several countries. The understanding and conversion of employers' attitudes, from the national organisations to the individuals concerned with the employment of women, are also essential; and such measures as the holding of seminars for employers and management experts on the problems of women workers in modern society (the OECD held such a seminar in May 1973) can make a valuable contribution. Many other bodies, at all levels, need to be drawn into educational and promotional campaigns to advance the status of women.² State policies supported by trade unions, by women's organisations and other bodies and by the community at large can ensure positive results and lead to changes in structures, attitudes and practices which are essential for achieving true equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers.

PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN ONLY: AN OBSTACLE TO EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND TREATMENT?

In many countries industrial and social history has left a heritage of protective legislation applying to women only. This legislation, however well intended, has sometimes led to discrimination against them as workers and, apart from the recognised exception of maternity protection, has given rise to a certain conflict between the privileges conferred on women by such laws and the achievement of equality of opportunity and treatment.

The prohibition of underground work for women is the most common form of protective legislation applying to women only. In some countries the prohibition is inflexible and permits of no exceptions. In others there are exceptions for women holding managerial or technical positions or for those employed in health or welfare services and for women who may have to go underground during a course of training or, occasionally, in the performance of a non-manual occupation.

Most countries also specify a series of other occupations from which women are barred on the ground that the work is dangerous or unhealthy for them or, sometimes, of an immoral nature, or in which women's employment is subject to

¹ The German Confederation of Trade Unions designated 1972 "Women Workers' Year". Throughout this Year, the Confederation informed the public in greatly increased measure of the aims and successes of its work on behalf of working women and directed attention to the numerous disadvantages under which working women suffer and to the possibilities of improvements in this field. Concrete results were achieved in many areas.

² These include religious groups. Pope Paul VI has called for a charter for women which would put an end to actual discrimination and would establish relationships of equality in rights and of respect for their dignity, with due account of the different and complementary roles of men and women in society. A Committee for the family has been established and the emphasis is on the partnership of men and women at home, at work and in society.

prescribed conditions. In many cases physical strength was a primary factor in the prohibitions and restrictions; in other cases health protection from the standpoint of woman's function of reproduction was a leading factor; in still other cases, there appears to have been a notion of protecting women from work regarded as "unpleasant" and "unsuitable for women". There are rather considerable differences between countries and over time in the occupations considered as presenting special risks for women and it is thus essential to keep all prohibitions and restrictions under review in the light of changes of all kinds and to eliminate all arbitrary protective measures applying to women only which are not grounded on sound and up-to-date scientific and technological knowledge. The general trend seems to be to attack the hazards as hazards for all workers and to improve the standards of protection for men as well as women. In a fast-changing technological world, it is essential to ensure adequate and appropriate safety and health protection to workers in line with the real needs at any given time.

On the other hand where women, because of their biological function of reproduction, do incur proven special health risks as new techniques and substances are introduced, they do require and should receive special protection and this should not be regarded as discriminatory or in conflict with the principle of equality of opportunity and treatment. Thus, in looking ahead, there may be areas in which protective legislation applying to women only may need to be supplemented.

It may also be noted that many countries have in the past placed restrictions on women workers' hours of work and overtime and that some, in Europe and elsewhere, still do so. A number of other countries have placed certain limitations on hours of work for women but have tended to be generous in granting temporary exceptions. Where hours of work for all are becoming shorter and are kept within reasonable limits, it would seem only logical to have the same rules for both men and women—in laws and regulations and in collective agreements. While the intention in the past has been to protect women from overwork, the practical effect has been in many cases to limit their employment opportunities and their incomes. During the past decade a number of countries have taken steps to remove restrictions on hours of work for women from the statute books, often as a direct result of measures to promote greater equality of opportunity and treatment for them.¹

The most controversial area as regards protective legislation applying to women only is the restriction or prohibition of night work by women. This is an area in which, for a variety of technical and cultural reasons, there has been an evolution in attitudes in many countries in recent years, although opinion remains divided. In 1973 the Office submitted to the Governing Body a study on the question of night work describing national law and practice in some detail and indicating the various trends of thought and action.

¹ In the United States, for example, in 1964, 40 states and the District of Columbia had laws laying down maximum daily or weekly hours for women in specified occupations or industries. By 1973 all states but one had repealed the law or modified its enforcement. This development is part of a broad shift from state labour laws exclusively for women towards equal employment opportunity laws for men and women. In New Zealand restrictions on the employment of women have been liberalised following the passing of the Equal Pay Act.

Briefly, the study shows a range of restrictions on night work for women in some countries but also noticeable trends elsewhere towards greater flexibility in legislation and application and in the granting of exceptions as well as towards the complete abolition of standards applying to women only. "The new tendencies—those indicating changes in the approach to the entire problem—are seen above all in the industrialised countries, where they can be accounted for by economic and technical as well as social and moral considerations. Emphasis in these countries is placed on the need to integrate women in the economy, the necessity of assuring them of equality of opportunity and remuneration and, consequently, of avoiding any discrimination, as well as on the advantage of not seeking to hamper women with protection they really neither need nor want".¹

It may also be noted that a few countries (for example, Denmark, Norway, Poland) have adopted regulations on night work that apply equally to men and women and that forbid night work in principle, except in specific cases. The Finnish Committee on the Position of Women in Society urged the repeal of the regulations prohibiting night work for women and, at the same time, advocated further efforts to improve the conditions of work of night workers and late-shift workers.

The ILO study mentioned above concluded that, while there was no consensus among governments and in employers' and workers' circles about leaving women free to choose for themselves, as responsible adults, whether to undertake night work or not, there were three distinct schools of thought. One favoured a general removal of restrictions on the employment of women at night, as a means of eliminating obstacles in the way of equal employment opportunities; another was for a more limited relaxation of existing restrictions and greater flexibility in national laws and practice; and the third favoured general regulation of night work for men and women alike as a means of safeguarding the health of all workers and of promoting the welfare of the family as a whole. The trade unions, in particular, view night work as a disagreeable necessity and do not wish to see any extension of it on the ground that costly machinery has to be fully utilised. To them, human beings and family life are more important.

In November 1973 the Governing Body of the ILO examined the Office draft report on the application of the night work Conventions but found itself unable to reach any conclusions on the basis of the limited number of replies from governments and because of the varying trends of opinion which emerged from the survey. It therefore asked the Office to continue to study the matter and to explore fully the various issues raised by the replies, and to submit the question to the Governing Body again once such exploration had advanced sufficiently to permit the formulation of proposals for future action.

In some of the more developed countries several recent expressions of opinion as regards protective legislation applying exclusively to women support the view that special restrictions originally designed to protect women now tend to be discriminatory rather than protective and that the same standards of protection should, as far as

¹ Document GB.189/21/11, "Draft Report on the Working of the Night Work (Women) Convention (Revised), 1948 (No. 89)", para. 128.

possible, apply to men and women workers alike. This is now a generally accepted principle in the United States where, for the most part, laws to protect women are regarded as discriminatory and contrary to the policy of equality of opportunity, treatment and advancement. The Task Force on Labour Standards of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women has expressly recommended that existing laws which prohibit the employment of adult women in certain occupations should be repealed. This, in fact, is the trend of state action and the Equal Employment Opportunity Guidelines on Sex Discrimination state that laws and regulations prohibiting or limiting women's employment discriminate on the basis of sex and are superseded by the equal opportunity provisions of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

In the Federal Republic of Germany it is significant that the 1972 report of the Federal Government on measures to improve the situation of women noted that many restrictions on the employment of women were largely outdated and that protection meant exclusion, interference with women's freedom of decision and a consequential narrowing of their employment opportunities. The report recommended that women be protected effectively, in so far as this continues to be necessary by reason of imperative and overriding grounds of occupational medicine, but that all those prohibitions and limitations which have lost their purpose and which restrict women's opportunities should gradually be removed. A certain amount of action has already been taken in this direction.

The recent report of the Finnish Committee on the Position of Women in Society states that the need for protective legislation is due to work hazards and that these hazards are common to all workers irrespective of sex; hence, except in cases involving the special demands imposed by pregnancy and maternity, protective legislation applying to women only is unnecessary. Where special characteristics are required (such as physical strength or dexterity), it is better to seek them out rather than selecting on the basis of sex.

The report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada came out decisively against discrimination in protective measures for the same reasons.

In Sweden and Denmark full acceptance of the principle of equality between men and women in employment and treatment has led to the abolition of protective legislation for women only.

This is one trend of opinion which is becoming increasingly apparent in national action. In Japan and a number of other countries, however, there are still opposing views, one which regards existing legislation for women as over-protective and the other which claims that the present level of protection is insufficient.

Thus, in conclusion, a note of caution may be sounded. Very often, well-intentioned efforts to protect women or remove protection go astray. There are dangers in appearing to attack in too general terms the concept of protective legislation applicable to women only. There will always remain a limited sphere in which women will need protection: that of maternity. Often this entails a heavy burden for employers and for the State and there are still many who would wish, for non-social reasons, to reduce the protection women really need in this area and in fields of occupational safety and health relating to the biological function of

reproduction. But the test for protection and for removal thereof should be periodic reviews of the situation to ensure that the protective framework is up to date in the light of scientific and technological advances. If this test for grounds of protection and removal of protection is adopted and this approach to revision is accepted, there would seem to be little danger or possibility that such distinctions in the treatment of men and women as might persist would constitute any serious obstacle to equality of opportunity for women.

It has been pointed out that it is not easy, over the world as a whole, to strike a balance at any given time between equality and discrimination, since special measures on behalf of women are dictated by their maternal role. But what is necessary is that in all other spheres a balance should be struck which is reasonable and equitable in relation to the real needs of all workers.

THE RIGHT TO MATERNITY PROTECTION AND FAMILY PLANNING

Maternity Protection

Maternity protection is a most important matter for working mothers and for society as a whole. Greater responsibility for maternity protection is being assumed by the State, on the ground that maternity is a clearly recognised social function. Recent trends in making such protection more adequate may be summarised briefly as follows; (1) extension of maternity protection schemes to new categories of women workers; (2) prolongation of the period of statutory or prescribed maternity leave; (3) more liberal provision for extended or extra leave during the child's infancy; (4) higher rates of maternity benefit; (5) more effective protection against dismissal during pregnancy and after confinement; (6) greater encouragement of breast-feeding and wider provision of nursing breaks for mothers; (7) more adequate attention to the safety and health of women during pregnancy and lactation (for example through transfers to lighter work); and (8) establishment by social security schemes or public bodies of day nurseries to care for the infants and children of working parents.

Considerable progress towards maternity protection has been made during the last decade. The ILO standards on this subject have continued to provide the framework for national action. Today, few countries lack some system of maternity protection for women workers.

Protection is provided either under social security schemes or collective arrangements, combined with labour legislation, or, failing such systematic means, by the unsatisfactory method of placing the responsibility of maternity protection directly on the shoulders of individual employers.

Some schemes provide universal coverage. In Australia every woman resident is entitled to a maternity grant, the amount increasing with the number of children. In New Zealand, too, the system covers all residents and provides hospital and medical benefits. In the United Kingdom, and the socialist countries of Europe, women giving birth to children, whether in employment or not, receive free medical and hospital care, with few conditions attached.

Maternity protection provided under social security schemes is the most common and widespread form. In French-speaking African countries, whose practice derives from the 1952 Labour Code, women workers who meet the qualifying conditions receive both medical benefits in kind and cash benefits. As a rule, they have the right to 14 weeks' leave and receive a cash grant equal to a percentage of their wage (usually about 50 per cent although in some countries, e.g. Guinea and Mali, combinations of benefits under social security and other schemes bring this percentage to 100). Some family allowance schemes also provide other benefits (e.g. layettes or infant food).

In Latin America maternity protection organised as a branch of social security covers, in principle, employed women and in some countries also self-employed women. Although the scope of protection has been expanded considerably in recent years, mainly by the traditional system of gradual extension of the social security schemes to new regions, coverage has not yet reached an adequate level and important sectors still remain without protection, especially among the rural population which constitutes the highest percentage of the total working population of the Latin American region. Certain countries provide maternity protection through special systems for specific categories of workers such as agricultural (Brazil), railway, bank and civil aviation workers and public employees (Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, etc.). Insured women medically certified as pregnant have the right in most countries to 12 or more weeks' maternity leave, at least 6 of which are to be taken after confinement; during this period they receive cash benefits equal to at least 50 per cent of their wage on prescribed conditions. In most countries this percentage varies between 66 and 100. In some countries (e.g. Brazil, Ecuador) the combination of benefits under the social security legislation and the labour code means that the woman worker receives her full salary throughout the period of prescribed maternity leave. Benefits in kind include medical care and hospitalisation where necessary.

In a number of Asian countries the maternity protection standards follow the lines laid down in the international labour Conventions as regards leave (12 weeks), benefits in cash and in kind and protection from dismissal. The schemes in the Philippines and the Republic of Viet-Nam provide only for cash benefits during maternity leave.

It is certainly in Europe that maternity protection is most widely developed, with standards equal to or higher than those in the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952 (No. 103), particularly as regards the coverage and range of medical benefits. Social insurance generally covers all economically active persons, including self-employed workers, and reaches a very high percentage of the total female population of child-bearing age. Medical care includes general and specialist care during pregnancy and confinement, hospital benefits and home visits and care where necessary. Under prescribed conditions, benefits may be paid for more than 12 weeks, extending to 26 weeks in some countries with the combination of sickness insurance and maternity leave. Maternity benefits have been increased, going from 50 per cent of wages to 90 and 100 per cent in certain countries (France, Federal Republic of Germany, Netherlands, Poland, USSR, etc.).

Despite world-wide progress in the protection afforded under social security and similar schemes, there are still a number of Asian and African countries which cannot yet afford such schemes and therefore have recourse to the traditional method of employer liability, combined in some cases with a welfare fund to which the women workers make some contribution. The employer's liability is generally laid down in the labour legislation and as a rule applies to industrial and commercial undertakings and, exceptionally, to certain large-scale agricultural undertakings. During the period before and after childbirth, the women workers of these enterprises are entitled to leave, varying according to the country from 4 to 12 weeks, and are remunerated in some form, again varying according to the country and, often, to the length of service, receiving from 25 per cent to 100 per cent of their wages. As a rule, the employer is also obliged to provide the necessary medical fees either from the resources of the undertaking or through agreements with established health institutions, but in some cases his liability is limited to cash benefits, the public health services providing the actual medical care.

A few countries still have no form of maternity protection. The woman's care during pregnancy and childbirth depends on the public health facilities and on those in workplaces; some form of limited protection may be provided for in her work contract or in a collective agreement.

For the future, it may be hoped that the trends identified at the beginning of this section will continue. The time has now come when society can and must reject any discrimination against women workers on the ground of their social function of maternity and the necessary temporary interruptions which this implies in the interests of mother and child. The stage has now been reached where in much of the world most women workers need not fear dismissal on account of pregnancy and need not suffer excessive financial loss during the prescribed period of maternity leave; sometimes there is no loss at all. Standards of medical care have been rising. In a number of countries women are no longer required to have their babies in hospital but may receive the necessary home care during confinement. They are increasingly assured of good general and specialist care, provided free of charge in many cases. They are finding it easier to make arrangements for maternity leave more flexible than those on the classic pattern.

There still are some gaps in coverage, e.g. for rural women, and deficiencies in standards and services to be remedied. But the situation has to be kept in perspective. There has been a remarkable evolution in social policy as regards maternity since the first hesitant steps at the turn of the century.

Nevertheless, even if the essentials of maternity protection are now being extended almost everywhere, women workers still have many practical problems connected with pregnancy, childbirth and the care of infants. While for obvious reasons the heaviest burden must necessarily rest with women, much can be done by husbands and by society as a whole to relieve the burden and to make parenthood a truly shared social function.

One of the more interesting recent developments in maternity protection has been the extension of the period of authorised maternity leave beyond the normal statutory

or prescribed period, without loss of employment rights, as recommended in the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965 (No. 123).¹ This extension of leave is now common practice in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. For example, in Bulgaria a working mother, following obligatory paid leave, may take further leave for between 8 and 12 months at a minimum basic wage and still further unpaid leave with employment rights protected until the child is 3 years old. In Poland, too, a mother may take leave until her child is 3 years old, with guarantee of re-employment and related benefits. In Hungary, after 5 months' maternity leave with full pay, a working mother may choose to remain at home until her child is 3 years old and during this period, which is counted as a period of employment for retirement purposes, she receives a monthly mother's allowance and the guarantee of returning to her former job. In the German Democratic Republic a mother may take 1 year's unpaid leave after paid maternity leave and during this extra leave her job is reserved and she returns to work without loss of seniority or pension rights. In Czechoslovakia there is provision for extended maternity leave of up to 2 years. In the USSR a working mother, following paid maternity leave, may take unpaid leave, with guarantee of employment rights, until her child is 1 year old. In Yugoslavia somewhat similar arrangements prevail. In Croatia, for example, a woman can exercise a choice as to the use of her rights in connection with childbirth: after the stipulated 105 days of maternity leave, she may extend her leave to 180 days or she may work a 4-hour day until her child is 8 months old, the rest of her salary for full-time work being paid by the Health Security Fund; and after either of these arrangements, she may prolong her leave until the child is 1 year old. On completion of maternity leave, the mother is guaranteed re-employment without loss of acquired rights and with a post and income commensurate with her technical qualifications. Certain other European countries have also introduced somewhat similar arrangements. In Spain, for instance, after the period of paid maternity leave, a working mother may take voluntary unpaid leave for an additional period of at least 1 year and not more than 3 years; at any time during this period she may apply for reinstatement and the undertaking is obliged to appoint her to the first vacancy which occurs in the same or a similar category. In Italy a woman may take an optional extra 6 months' maternity leave after the statutory compulsory and extended period; during this extra leave, which may be taken at any time up to her child's first birthday, her post must be kept available for her and the period of leave may not be deducted from her total length of service. In France a mother may take a year's leave following childbirth; and in Austria, within the framework of unemployment insurance, a working mother is granted 1 year of paid maternity leave following childbirth.

¹ Paragraph 10 (1) of this Recommendation reads as follows: "In the case of women who, on account of their family responsibilities arising out of maternity, do not find themselves in a position to return to their employment immediately following exhaustion of the normal period of maternity leave established by law or practice, appropriate measures should be taken to the extent possible to allow them a reasonable further period of leave of absence without relinquishing their employment, all rights resulting from their employment being fully safeguarded."

Few data are available as to the extent to which women do, in fact, take advantage of this right to extended leave following maternity leave.¹ Where such leave is unpaid, or paid at too low a proportion of previous earnings, there may be financial reasons for not staying away from work for any extended period following the end of the normal or statutory paid maternity leave.

Finally, confirming a new trend observed in Nordic countries in favour of making fathers also eligible for cash maternity benefits, a recent amendment to the Swedish National Health Insurance Act has converted maternity insurance to parents' insurance as of 1 January 1974. Under this new kind of national insurance benefit, either working parent may stay at home to care for a newborn child and collect the cash benefit. Sweden is the first country to enact legislation making cash maternity benefits payable also to the father and to rename the benefits "parents' benefits".² The husband rather than the wife may opt for the period of extended leave or the period may be divided between the mother and father, with the same safeguards relating to reinstatement in employment, seniority and pension entitlements. Benefits are related to the income of the parent remaining at home.

Several countries provide for a period of birth leave for fathers: in France paid leave of 3 days is reimbursed to the employer by the family allowance fund, while in Sweden the period is 10 days. In Norway it has been proposed that men workers whose wives are in gainful employment should be entitled to from 2 to 4 weeks' child-care leave during the first year of the baby's life and that benefits be paid to men workers during such leave.

Family Planning

During the past ten years, there has been a strong current of opinion and concerted action in favour of family planning policies which permit parents to decide freely and responsibly upon the number and the spacing of their children.³

Population issues are highly sensitive and here it is only necessary to record the increasing importance being given to the question of family planning by international and national bodies and the widespread consensus that there should be access to the information and services needed to ensure the exercise of individual choice in reproductive behaviour as a basic human right.

Rates of fertility influence the participation of women in economic life, more especially in the modern sector, and high fertility rates can lead to discrimination

¹ In Hungary, in any one year, it is estimated that over two-thirds of the gainfully occupied women bearing children avail themselves of the mother's allowance (the percentage being higher among manual than among non-manual workers). In Austria, it is said that over 80 per cent of the women take the year's leave after childbirth.

² The Finnish report on the position of women in society concluded that there are many arguments in favour of enabling men, too, to care for their babies. "From the woman's point of view, the longer the maternity leave is, the more likely it is to lead to discrimination against women in the labour market. This discrimination would decrease if men also took leave of absence for child care."

Some collective agreements in a few countries include provision for the right of fathers to opt for a period of leave for the care of an infant.

³ The Proclamation of Teheran, 1968. In this Proclamation the International Conference on Human Rights stated: "The protection of the family and of the child remains the concern of the international community. Parents have a basic human right to determine freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children" (para. 16).

against women as workers. A study submitted to the Second European Population Conference at Strasbourg, in September 1971, states that fertility in working women is considerably lower than that in women not at work . . . although it is not really known which is cause and which is effect.¹ Experience has suggested that the relationship between female employment and fertility depends primarily on the nature of the employment. A United Nations study on the inter-relationship of the status of women and family planning² makes this point and continues: "While agricultural and non-agricultural work at the subsistence level and work in the home are valuable and integral components of over-all production, they do not offer viable options to childbearing, nor do they lead to lower fertility if this is desired. On the contrary, such work seems to emphasise the advantages of having a large family. The impact of employment is strongest in the most economically advanced countries of the world and in urban centres of developing countries where women's gainful employment widens their horizons by taking them out of the home to work in skilled occupations." It follows, the report concludes, that "in order to improve the status of women, to provide women with the means to financial independence and reproductive choice, and to maximise women's contribution to society, all discriminatory attitudes and practices in the area of employment must be eliminated."

In many countries a large number of children is looked upon as a source of security for old age and as long as parents have to rely on this economic and social support in their later years they will doubtless continue to have large families. Hence there is a relationship to social security pensions, which free parents from reliance on their children's earnings and efforts.

Finally, in some developing countries where the population issue has become very topical and where family planning programmes are being vigorously applied, there has been a tendency to advocate a reduction of paid maternity leave and benefits (in cash or in kind). It would be unfortunate if population policies should lead to an erosion of the social security rights of women workers and of working mothers in particular.

The whole question of family planning in relation to women's participation in economic, social and cultural life and their right to work without discrimination would appear to merit considerably more consideration than it has yet received, with due regard being paid to the delicate cultural and other factors necessarily involved in a sensitive issue of this kind.

WOMEN WORKERS AND SOCIAL SECURITY (OTHER THAN MATERNITY PROTECTION)

There would appear to be little doubt that women workers are frequently at a disadvantage in social security schemes. There are a variety of distinct reasons for

¹ L. Tabah: *Rapport sur les relations entre la fécondité et la condition sociale et économique de la famille en Europe*: Council of Europe, 2nd European Population Conference (Strasbourg, 1971).

² United Nations (ECOSOC): Commission on the Status of Women: *Study on the Inter-relationship of the Status of Women and Family Planning: Report of the Special Rapporteur*, document E/CN.6/575, 27 Nov. 1973.

this. On the one hand, where the same rules apply to men and women, the cause may lie in differences in longevity, in work life etc. On the other hand, there may be rules which are different in respect of men and women; these are justified by some by reference to continuing differences in societal patterns.

As regards old-age pensions, the rates fixed for women are sometimes lower than those for men, on the basis of the same contributions, on the ground that since women live longer on average, actuarially longer payment has to be provided for. The discontinuity of many women's work lives and the character of their economic activity further serve to lower their entitlement even where, in law, the same rules apply to men and women. In many countries women employed before marriage and up to the birth of the first child fail to meet the qualifying conditions for receipt of a pension; there is now, however, at least a tendency not to permit young insured women, on marriage, to claim repayment of previous insurance contributions, repayment which, in the past, implied the loss of the contributions in question for pension calculation purposes even where the women later re-entered employment. Since in most countries qualification for a complete pension and the amount of the pension depend on the length of insured service, women who interrupt employment to take care of children tend to accumulate only a limited entitlement. Attempts are being made in some countries to mitigate the effects of interruptions in employment caused by family obligations: thus, in Austria a period of absence of one year following confinement is counted as a "substitute period" for pensions insurance; in the Federal Republic of Germany, the Arendt Plan has envisaged granting an insured woman one additional year's insurance for each child; in a number of countries—Belgium, Chile, Poland, Romania, the USSR—the qualifying period for pensions is several years shorter for women than for men. Part-time employment also tends to have an unfavourable effect on pension entitlement; in some countries part-time work is formally excluded from coverage or does not meet the earnings threshold for protection; in any case part-time employment tends to lower the amount of the pension. Again, there are measures in some countries to mitigate this effect; for instance, in Yugoslavia part-time work due to family obligations is counted as full-time work for purposes of pension insurance. Finally, where pensions are based on final, or average, earnings, they will reflect the generally lower level of earnings of women. This is true of invalidity as well as of old-age pensions. At the same time it should be recalled, for the sake of completeness, that many countries fix a minimum amount of pension; this prevents women from receiving derisory amounts. Generally, substantially higher percentages of women than men receive the minimum—e.g. in the United States 30 per cent as opposed to 10 per cent.

In a substantial number of countries the old-age pension entitlement of women is also reduced, on the basis of actuarial considerations, because the retirement age for women is lower than that for men, and pensions are thus likely to be paid over a longer period. A recent analysis of pensionable age by sex in 25 developed countries showed that in 15 of them there was a difference—normally of 5 years—in the age, and that in only 10 was there no such difference. The difference is variously justified by reference to the double burden carried by women during their working lives, by

their desire to retire with the husband (who is usually older), and by their inability to find employment after a certain age. It is of some interest that in the United States, where there is an optional possibility of retirement at 62 years instead of 65, with an important reduction in pension, about two-thirds of women who became entitled to a pension between 1968 and 1970 chose early retirement.

In many countries the relatively modest old-age benefits paid by public schemes are supplemented by employers' schemes. Statistics concerning the coverage of women workers by such schemes are generally difficult to obtain, although it would appear that women are often unable to participate in them because of the discontinuity of their work lives. One detailed analysis of relevant figures can be found in the 1971 survey of occupational pension schemes by the United Kingdom Government Actuary. He found that of 13.7 million men and 7.1 million women employed by public and private employers having pension schemes, only an estimated 8.7 million men and 2.4 million women were actually covered by the schemes. The main reasons for lack of coverage of the 4.7 million women not covered were: too young (1.1 million); service too short (0.6 million); too old (0.1 million); employment ineligible (2.6 million); refusal to join (0.3 million). Both among men and women lack of coverage was much greater among manual than among non-manual workers; only 0.6 million out of 3.1 million employed women manual workers were covered, while 1.8 million out of 4 million employed non-manual workers were covered. The fact that far fewer women were covered than men is also illustrated by a separate analysis of the private sector: of the 2.7 million manual women workers in the sector, 8 per cent worked in firms which admitted only men to their schemes, and 22 per cent in firms which admitted only men and non-manual women workers; of the remaining 1.9 million working in firms admitting all categories to their schemes, only 26 per cent—as compared to 61 per cent of men manual workers in these firms—were in fact members of the scheme. Of the 2.5 million non-manual women workers in the sector, 6 per cent were employed by firms which admitted only men to their schemes; over-all, 36 per cent of these women—as compared with 75 per cent of their male counterparts—were covered by occupational schemes.

One long-term social security benefit in respect of which there tends to be a substantial difference between men and women workers is that of survivors' pensions, both under general survivors' and under employment injury schemes. Virtually everywhere there is provision for widows' pensions, either without qualifying conditions or by reference to legal presumptions of need, such as present or past care of small children, the attainment of a certain age, etc. Frequently there is no provision for a widowers' pension at all; for instance, the report prepared for the 50th Session of the International Labour Conference on the revision of pre-war social security Conventions¹ showed that in Europe alone 13 survivors' schemes made no provision for widowers' pensions. Where there is provision for a widower's pension, it is most often made conditional on age or disablement. Children's benefits also are often payable only under the father's and not the mother's insurance. For instance, the

¹ ILO: *Revision of Conventions Nos. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 and 40 concerning Old-age, Invalidity and Survivors' Pensions*, Report V(1), International Labour Conference, 50th Session, Geneva, 1966.

United Kingdom 1973 Social Security Act, which makes recognised occupational schemes a part of national social security arrangements, requires such schemes to provide death benefits, whether for spouse or children, only in respect of male employees; a revision of the Act on this point is, however, now envisaged. These differences are often explained by reference to the differences in the typical contributions of husband and wife to the family; there have been cases in which, on these grounds, courts have regarded such differences as being compatible with constitutional equal rights provisions. There has, however, been a trend in recent legislation in a number of countries—e.g. Belgium, Chile, New Zealand, Norway—towards a greater assimilation of survivors' benefits due in respect of the insured employment of men and women; in a number of these cases this has involved a change from the entitlement to a widow's pension without qualifying conditions to an entitlement of both spouses on the basis of defined conditions of dependency.

Short-term cash benefits, such as unemployment benefit and sickness benefit, reflect, like long-term benefits, the generally lower level of earnings of women. In many countries such benefits are directly related to earnings. Even where there are flat-rate benefits, they may be fixed at different levels for men and women by reference to the difference in their average earnings; one argument made in this connection is that the benefit must not be financially more advantageous than remuneration for work. In Belgium there was prolonged judicial consideration of the question of whether a difference in flat-rate benefit for men and women was in conformity with a constitutional equal rights provision; in January 1973 the Supreme Court held that the difference was objectively justified by the difference in average earnings and hence constitutional.

Moreover, the work patterns of substantial numbers of women exclude them from short-term cash benefits, particularly as regards unemployment. In some countries—for instance Australia and New Zealand—unemployment benefit is not available to part-time workers at all; in others—such as Japan—unemployment insurance applies only to persons working at least three-quarters of normal hours. For sickness benefit, too, there may be qualifying conditions of minimum hours worked or minimum earnings. There is, however, some tendency towards greater understanding of the hardship involved in the case of women working part time by reason of their family obligations. Thus in Norway, where generally unemployment benefit is subject to the condition that the claimant is available for normal work, guidelines issued in 1965 permit the granting of benefit to persons who limit their availability to a working time not corresponding to what is normal in the occupation in question, if the ordinary time is not suitable for them, for instance because of responsibility for the care of small children.

In certain cases marital status may lead to differential treatment of women as regards short-term cash benefits, either generally, as in Australia and the United Kingdom, or in respect of benefits in the nature of social assistance, where the maintenance obligations of the husband may be taken into consideration.

As regards all branches of social security, it must, finally, be recalled that very substantial numbers of women are employed in occupational areas—industrial home

work and cottage industries, domestic service and family undertakings—in which there may be no social security coverage or large-scale evasion of obligations of coverage with the complicity of all concerned, and in which, even where there is coverage, entitlement to benefit may be subject to particularly onerous conditions, especially as regards unemployment benefit.

STRENGTHENING THE SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE: EMPLOYMENT AND FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

The key issue for working women is still how to reconcile their home and family roles with their new occupational status. This remains a problem everywhere, no matter in what terms it is posed.

Since the adoption by the Conference in 1965 of the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation (No. 123), considerable attention has been devoted to policies and action making it possible for women with family responsibilities who work outside their homes to do so without discrimination and encouraging the development of services to enable women as well as men to fulfil their various responsibilities at home and at work harmoniously.

At the same time, there is now far wider recognition that men as well as women have family responsibilities and that these charges should be more equitably shared by both parents.

Child Care

Despite the steady increase in the number of married women workers with young children, and despite the growing recognition of the importance of pre-school education from the standpoint of child development, the infrastructure of child-care services and facilities needed to ensure the welfare of the children and the peace of mind of their parents has in most countries been slow to respond to new needs. There is a shortage of such services and facilities almost everywhere for reasons which are not far to seek but which are very complex, whether they are economic and financial, political and ideological or cultural and social.

None the less, the past decade has seen some progress, though sporadic in character. More countries have come to appreciate that proper care for the young children of working parents is an obligation of the community and have evinced willingness to make greater resources available for this purpose. Moreover, attitudes towards the employment of married women and their right to work have evolved. As the Canadian Royal Commission on the Status of Women put it in its report (1971), the time is past when society can refuse to provide community child-care services in the hope of dissuading mothers from leaving their children and going to work: this flies in the face of facts. There has been a similar swing of opinion in the Netherlands, a country in which official policy in the past was unfavourable to the employment of married women with young children but has now come around to accepting it as part of the changing pattern and to seeking to meet the consequences within a framework of family policy. In Spain, too, there has been an evolution of opinion and of public

policy in the same general direction. A changing climate of opinion can also be seen in Australia and New Zealand. The trade unions in a great many countries are giving serious and continuing attention to the problem of child care and are putting it forward as a basic right for workers.

There are many different forms of child care and many different patterns of parental preference. Some countries (e.g. Canada, the United States and—of necessity—the developing countries) rely very heavily on care within the nuclear or extended family or on placement of the child with a nearby family or child-minder; in such countries only a very small proportion of young children will be served by group-care arrangements. Other countries (e.g. the USSR and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe) have built up very extensive networks of public facilities which cater for the care of children of different ages, and relatively few children are cared for within the home or by neighbours or minders. While parental preference may be a factor in a country, an equally powerful factor is the almost complete lack of parental choice in the many cases where community facilities are inadequate or almost non-existent and where private group-care arrangements are too costly to come within the reach of the mass of working parents.

Care of pre-school-age children

Facilities for the care and education of pre-school-age children have developed rather slowly in most countries during the past decade.

In the developing world concentration on the extension of primary education—a natural priority—has led to neglect of pre-school care and education. Moreover, pre-school services, however valuable in themselves, tend to be expensive and beyond the reach of developing countries with many needs and scant resources. As a result, these countries have little in the way of publicly subsidised or organised child-care services for the children of working parents. Those which have come into being have most often been set up at the initiative of voluntary organisations (women's organisations for the most part) and are run by local bodies of these organisations. Sometimes the nurseries are set up in connection with the state school system. At the same time there have been some interesting improvisations and experiments with economical and unsophisticated care arrangements (e.g. nurseries for the babies and young children of market women, seasonal group-care for young children during the peak harvesting period for certain perishable crops, initiatives taken by youth organisations). There are a number of private child-care institutions, but these are primarily for pre-school education on a part-time basis and do not cater for working parents but serve rather the upper-income class.

It is significant that, in regional and national meetings on or related to women's employment in developing countries, the need for expanding child-care facilities and services, especially for young children, has been given high priority. In a number of these countries (for instance Zambia), efforts are being made to formulate standards for pre-school care and to develop staff training. There is recognition of the need for better and cheaper facilities, locally made equipment and more relevant teaching

materials, with stress on inexpensive, locally available natural materials such as sand, water, clay, seeds, twigs and stones.

In some of the developing countries not yet able to build up a publicly subsidised network of pre-school facilities, employers of more than a certain number of women are obliged to arrange facilities for the care of children under a certain age.

In developed countries services for the care of young children outside the home take a variety of forms, ranging from child-minding, whether illegal or registered, to highly elaborate child development centres and clinics. While there is an over-all shortage of facilities almost everywhere, the shortage is most acute for the care of the youngest age group (up to 3 years old); partly due to a general feeling in many countries that, irrespective of pressure on parents to work outside the home, children in this age group are better off at home in the care of one parent or the other or of relatives, and partly due to the high cost of adequately run and supervised crèches for the day-care of babies and toddlers.

As already mentioned, in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States little recourse is had to group day-care for pre-school children and the exceptions generally cater for those over 3 years of age. There has been increasing pressure, however, on the authorities to encourage and promote community facilities (particularly by financial subsidy) and some progress has been made despite the persistence of somewhat ambivalent attitudes towards the outside employment of women with young children. Private facilities for pre-school education and training tend to be costly and thus beyond the means of most working mothers. For the future, an expansion of the network of publicly run or publicly subsidised and supervised non-profit-making day-care centres is predicted.

In Australia, for example, a 1969 survey indicated that the most popular way of caring for children under 6 years of age was to leave the child in its own home in the care of relatives and for the person responsible for the care of the child to work at home or on the same premises. It also indicated a high rate of demand for child-care facilities. In the past few years the Federal Government has been providing greatly increased financial and technical assistance. A Pre-Schools Committee makes recommendations to the Government concerning grants for the establishment and operation of pre-school centres and child-care centres throughout the country. Emphasis is placed on the provision of such facilities for the children of working parents and under-privileged families. A Child-Care Standards Committee is responsible for establishing appropriate standards for child-care centres financially assisted by the Government. In Canada and the United States most young children are still cared for in their own homes by the father, a relative other than the father or a non-relative, but there is pressure, expressed in practical terms, for an expansion of publicly subsidised and supervised child-care facilities, including licensed day care in centres and homes and in recent years the number of children receiving day care has increased considerably, in some areas dramatically.

In the Nordic countries, where group day care for children is a long-standing arrangement, the network of facilities (in particular, day nurseries and kindergartens) has been expanding fairly rapidly during the past decade (e.g. during the 1960s the

number of day-nursery places trebled in Sweden, while in Finland the number of approved day-care centres increased by 62 per cent between 1959 and 1969), but there is still an admitted unfilled need for child care which reduces women's possibilities for work outside the home, particularly in rural areas. The aim is to continue to extend the system, with emphasis on group care in day nurseries and kindergartens and, to some extent, on approved and supervised care in private homes. The public authorities are playing a leading role in the expansion of the facilities. In Sweden the local authorities have the primary responsibility for developing and running child-care services, with central government grants to help finance these activities. A Government Commission set up to investigate child-care services, which reported in 1972, called for a comprehensive programme of expansion, with universal nursery schooling for all 6-year-olds as from 1975 and the planned development of nursery places for children under 6. In Finland opinion is generally favourable to group care for pre-school children as a means of providing—together with the home and parents—a richer and more dependable growing environment. A new law on the day care of children came into force on 1 April 1973, with the aim of increasing various kinds of child-care arrangements provided by local authorities until they meet the demand, in forms best suited for the welfare and rearing of the children.

In Western European countries also there has been progress with the development of child-care facilities, particularly for children over 3 years of age. In France the idea that the state should provide child-care facilities is well established: over 60 per cent of the children between 2 and 6 years of age go to nursery school; almost all 5-year-olds and three-quarters of the whole 4 to 6-year-old age-group attend some form of pre-school educational establishment. The facilities are varied, the schedules are flexible, seeking to ensure that the varying needs of mothers are met, and it is interesting to note that the training, salaries and hours of nursery and primary school teachers are the same. Despite the emphasis on these establishments, particularly the *écoles maternelles*, the targets have not been fully met. There is a particular shortage of crèches for the care of infants, though there has been some progress with the extension of approved and supervised *crèches familiales*. A five-year programme of expansion has been adopted with the aim of setting up and staffing 2,000 nurseries and day-care centres.

In Belgium, too, there is an extensive network of facilities for the care of children aged between 3 and 6 and a very high percentage of this age-group attend nursery schools, most of which are associated with primary schools. On the other hand, crèches for the youngest age group are in very short supply. Austria has a widespread system of kindergartens but very few crèches. In Italy there has been an expansion of nursery schools and a special fund for the extension of crèches for children under 3 years of age has been included in the 1972-76 development plan: it is planned to construct a minimum of 3,800 crèches by 1976. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the United Kingdom things have gone more slowly. In the Federal Republic of Germany, there are a good many nursery schools and kindergartens for the 3 to 5-year age-group but comparatively few of the children of working women are looked after through group-care arrangements, partly because

most of the facilities are privately run and are expensive. In the United Kingdom, in December 1972, the Government announced a new policy encouraging the extension of facilities for the education of pre-school children and involving, eventually, free nursery education for 3 to 4-year-olds whose parents wished them to benefit from it. In the Netherlands attitudes towards the development of child-care facilities organised with government support have become more favourable, as a result of a change in views on the employment of married women: the Committee on the Position related to the Employment of Women has made a series of strong recommendations to the Minister of Social Affairs concerning the assumption by the government (at both the national and local levels) of wide responsibilities for the creation and maintenance of day-care centres for pre-school children, complying with specified standards.

In Japan, according to a 1966 survey of married women, about 20 per cent of women workers avail themselves of day-care centres; over 70 per cent leave their children in the care of other family members or neighbours.

In the USSR and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, the development of child-care facilities has reached a high level. This is a reflection of the social philosophy of these countries in respect both of the equality of the sexes and of the care and up-bringing of children. In the USSR, in 1971, over 9.5 million children attended pre-school establishments and nearly 5 million went to seasonal kindergartens or other part-year establishments: these are publicly maintained and the parents pay only a small share of the cost, the amount depending on their earnings and on the size of their family. In Bulgaria over two-thirds of all children between 3 and 7 years of age attend nursery schools and the number of crèches (permanent and seasonal) is increasing steadily. In Czechoslovakia kindergartens and day nurseries catered for about 55 per cent of the 3 to 5-year-olds in 1969-70 and the network is growing because the facilities are still inadequate for the needs; crèches for the 1 to 3-year-olds served only about 13 per cent of this group but are also being expanded. In Hungary the percentages are about 58 per cent (3 to 6 years) and 8 per cent (up to 3 years) respectively. The German Democratic Republic has greatly extended its network: by 1971 there were places for some 73 per cent of all children aged from 3 to 6 and for about 28 per cent of those under 3 years of age. In Poland there has been a steady expansion of nursery schools and of other forms of care and education for pre-school children, and Romania is also making sustained efforts in this direction. In Yugoslavia the capacity of the network of nurseries and kindergartens was expanded by some 80 per cent during the 1960s but these centres still cater for relatively few of the pre-school children whose parents receive family allowances.

Industrial day care for the youngest children—i.e. facilities located where the mother works, or adjacent to the workplace—is now far less popular than neighbourhood day care.¹ In Czechoslovakia efforts are made to have crèches and nurseries

¹ However, industry is involved in day care for children and, apart from establishing and operating centres by individual undertakings or groups of undertakings, it can participate in various other ways—e.g. by stimulating community concern, by financial or material donations to community services and by helping employees to make satisfactory arrangements of their own.

located within about half-a-mile of children's homes, and in the Nordic countries (for instance Denmark) new day-care centres are being built as an integral part of large apartment or housing complexes. The big advantages of neighbourhood care are that it avoids long journeys for the young child and keeps him in a familiar environment and that such care can be closely co-ordinated with other day-care programmes there, particularly those designed for the higher age-groups.

School-age children

The provision of supervised group care for school-age children outside normal school hours and during holiday periods is a rather neglected area of child care. The socialist countries have taken the lead in this field, with extended arrangements for after-school care centres, leisure-time centres, school clubs, youth centres, school meals and canteens for care during the school year and vacation centres and camps for care during holidays not spent with parents. Elsewhere, the greatest progress in most countries has been in the provision of school meals (for instance, Belgium, Canada, France, the Nordic countries and the United States); there are also after-school supervision centres, leisure centres, play centres and holiday classes in many countries as well as vacation centres (either day or residential), while in the Nordic countries there is the addition of the "park aunts" system for after-school care.

There remains a shortage of such facilities, however, despite the relative ease and economy of their organisation, and consequently there remains also the problem of "latch-key children" who let themselves into empty homes or roam the streets until their parents return from work. There is a clear need for greater and more imaginative attention to the basic area of care for younger school children. The desirability of providing supervised care for children up to 15 or 16 years of age needs wider recognition. Moreover, the whole situation draws attention to the importance of harmonising, so far as possible, working hours with school hours.

Progress made

To sum up, there has been an undeniable expansion of child-care facilities and services during the past decade, but there is still an over-all shortage everywhere, particularly in respect of the care of very young children. While there has been planned extension of such facilities and services in some countries with fixed targets as to the percentage of children of different age-groups to be covered by group-care arrangements, elsewhere the growth has been unplanned, sporadic and haphazard. Sometimes, the facilities and services have been flexible and responsive to the needs of working parents, other times less so. Sometimes, too, the standards of child-care institutions (as regards hygiene and staffing for instance) have not been high enough or properly enforced. In any event, there has been wider recognition of the importance of adequate facilities and services appropriate for children of all ages and respecting the preferences of parents, as well as wider recognition of the value of such facilities and services for child growth and development; and this gives reason to

hope that the next decade will see faster progress in overcoming the shortage of such facilities and services in the interests of working parents and their children.

Overload : The Problem of Leisure

Despite the progress in a number of countries towards a greater sharing of parental responsibilities in the home, and of domestic tasks by other family members, the heaviest burden continues to remain with women almost everywhere.

All recent studies of the time budgets of men and women workers show that the time spent by women on household tasks far exceeds that spent by men on such tasks. Married women workers with children are the worst victims of this overwork.

International comparative research has been conducted into the distribution of time, by men and women, in urban and semi-urban areas in 12 countries in 1965-66.¹ It was carried out, under the auspices of UNESCO, by the Vienna European Co-ordinating Centre for Research and Documentation in the Social Sciences and considers the time spent by men and women on professional work (including travel time), on domestic activities, on physiological activities (sleep, hygiene, meals, etc.) and on free time. All the country studies showed that, almost without exception, married women generally worked longer hours at home than their husbands because of the traditional division of family chores and concept of sex roles. Because they were expected to conform to a certain image imposed by society, women, even when working full time outside the home, had to devote a large part of their so-called "spare" time to the care of their family.

On the whole, working mothers had less than two-thirds of the free time that their husbands enjoyed. Their total weekly hours of work amounted to between 70 and 80.

The recent report of the Finnish Committee on the Position of Women in Society noted that time studies had shown that married urban women workers averaged 4 hours a day on housework and men a little under 2 hours, and also that there was a clear division of labour by sex in the allocation of household tasks.

A 1972 Leningrad survey showed that women workers carried a far heavier burden than men and had very little time for leisure of any kind. Over two-thirds of the women complained of fatigue.

In France a survey carried out in 1966 and 1967 showed that working women spend nearly three times as long as men on household activities—3.2 hours as against 1.2, that they spend more time than men on child care, that they have fewer educational activities than men and that they have less free time.

In Sweden a 1965 survey indicated that women were carrying the burden of household work with little if any help from their husbands, but since then there has been a movement in favour of sharing such duties much more equally and a change of attitude on the part of the younger generation, all facilitated by modern household technology reducing drudgery and saving time. In Denmark a survey carried out at

¹ *International Comparative Research on Time Budgets—Report to the VIth World Congress of Sociology*, Evian, September 1966. An analysis of the findings of the country research is included in: F. Govaerts: *Loisir des femmes et temps libre* (Editions de l'Institut de Sociologie, Université libre de Bruxelles, 1969); and in a report to the XXIII International Congress of Sociology, Caracas, 1972.

the end of 1971 showed that women spend far more time than men on domestic work and have substantially less leisure time.

In Japan working women have been found to spend nearly 3 hours per weekday on household work as compared with a little over 1 hour spent by men on such work.

In most countries there tends to be a clear correlation between the time spent on child care and related activities and the age of the youngest child.

If overwork by married women workers has been recognised as a serious problem in the developed world, it also is an issue of concern in the developing countries, as can be seen in the conclusions of the various regional conferences held on the employment and status of women, including those of the Lomé Conference convened by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in 1972.

Where does the solution lie? Perhaps in three main directions. First, and as one of the prerequisites of sexual equality, a more equal and equitable sharing of the burden of housework and the care of children between men and women. Second, a greater rationalisation and mechanisation of housework so that both men and women have more leisure. Third, the shifting of a large part of housework outside the individual family.

Flexibility in Working Life and Time

As indicated in the preamble to the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965 (No. 123), many of the problems of working women can be substantially alleviated by measures affecting all workers, such as the progressive reduction of daily and weekly hours. The trend towards shorter hours and also towards longer and more frequent holidays, as it gains still more ground, will certainly benefit working parents.

A comparatively new concept of flexibility in working life and hours of work has emerged in the past decade. This is the planned introduction, within undertakings, of variable working hours—varying in starting time, in finishing time and even in the total number of hours spent at work.

Often introduced to alleviate transport difficulties, this system can also serve to meet the personal convenience of working parents. There have been a growing number of experiments with such arrangements in Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. The spread of such arrangements, where technically feasible, may also prove most helpful for the harmonious combination of work and family responsibilities.¹

The phrase "optional working hours" is felicitous. It reflects the growing concept of "optional working life", with a spread of leisure over a life span instead of a sudden concentration at the retirement age, with concern for continuing education and for paid educational leave and with efforts to humanise work and the work environment—all of which offer new options for men and women alike, instead of a rigid pattern presenting inconvenience and hardship for both.

¹ In September 1972 the OECD convened an International Conference on New Patterns for Working Time for which a series of reports was prepared, a number dealing with flexible working hours.

Greater flexibility of hours can help solve some of the problems arising out of differences between working hours and those of schools and child-care services. Many countries are giving attention to means of dovetailing these hours so as to reduce or eliminate differences, but it is not an easy task, especially where normal hours of work are still long.

Part-time work presents a partial solution for some women at certain stages of their lives and careers, always provided that it is organised and regulated fairly, in the best interests of both full-time and part-time workers.¹ The ILO carried out a study of part-time employment and the summary conclusions of this survey are appended to this report for information.²

Further experimentation with these and other such arrangements may prove to be helpful in the difficult task of combining home and work responsibilities but—and this is a serious note of caution—they should not be regarded as a substitute for action to strengthen the social infrastructure so as to permit full-time work wherever this is desired, or as a substitute for shorter working hours for all.

Time and Labour-Saving Devices

The elimination of household drudgery, especially through the provision at low cost, or through community services, of the facilities required to simplify and lighten household tasks—in the home, such things as automatic floor polishers, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators; in the community, such things as conveniently located and inexpensive catering, cleaning and laundering facilities—can be of immense value to working parents and can be made an integral part of local housing development or community development schemes and services. Unfortunately, not many countries give high priority to such measures and the poorest and neediest parents are the worst off. As pointed out at the United Nations Seminar on the Participation of Women in Economic Life (Gabon, 1971), special measures are necessary to encourage labour-saving devices, where appropriate on a communal basis, in order to lessen the heavy burden of women, in particular rural women.

Time Off for Family Chores and Emergencies

A few countries grant women workers in full-time employment and with family responsibilities a day off from work each month to do housework. There has been no suggestion as yet that, where such arrangements exist, the housework day might be granted to either the father or the mother.

In some countries women workers with small children are granted extra annual holidays and certain other privileges relating to hours and conditions of employment.

A small number of countries have made it the law or practice to provide for leave of absence from employment for a worker in the event of a child's illness. In some

¹ Part-time work is not "for women only". It is also engaged in by students (in some countries on a wide scale), by older people near to or after retirement, by persons whose health or other commitments do not permit a full-time schedule and by men or women who simply do not wish to work full time.

² See Appendix II.

cases this leave is given to women employees and entitlement is limited by the age of the child and subject to submission of a medical certificate—as in Italy (until the child's third birthday). In other cases—e.g. in Poland—either the mother or the father may take the leave and there is no age limitation but usually a medical certificate is required. In Sweden the trade unions are pressing for a law to introduce supplementary leave for either the mother or the father in the event of the illness of a child. In France, in the preparatory work for the VIth Plan, a working party proposed a special leave authorisation for mothers forced to stay away from work in order to look after a sick child. In Japan, if a woman worker whose child is cared for in a crèche has to stay at home because of the child's illness, her days of absence are treated as sick leave (half-pay). In many countries, as in Austria, the trade unions are pressing for paid leave for either parent for the purpose of looking after a sick child.

*Changes in Social Attitudes: The Importance of Research,
Information and Education*

Change in the position of women in economic life, the family and society implies change in the role of men in these spheres. In turn, this implies change in social attitudes, which themselves define and confine men's and women's roles in all walks of life. Problems may be discussed as "women's problems" but they must be considered as problems of men, women and children, of society as a whole.

A first need is for research throwing light on the position of women in economic life and on the problems which they face in coping with work and home responsibilities. In many countries, especially the more developed ones, the need for facts and figures to substantiate theories and policies and to dispel myths has been widely recognised: as has been said, research is an issue in itself. In recent years a great deal of research has been carried out with a view to laying an objective basis for sound policies and measures relating to the employment of women, and much of this has proved particularly relevant from the standpoint of the employment of men and women with family responsibilities. The Women's Bureaux in countries where these exist (e.g. Australia, Canada, Japan and the United States) have played an active role in undertaking or encouraging such information and research; various countries (e.g. the United Kingdom) have carried out surveys of women's employment which throw light on the problems of women with family responsibilities; and others have carried out broad surveys of the status of women (Canada, the United States) or of the position of women in society (Finland and Sweden).

It can certainly be said that during the past ten years there has been real progress in this whole area of public information with a wide-ranging dialogue probing many aspects of the situation and placing the problems of women workers in a new and wider societal perspective.

Research needs to be accompanied by campaigns of public information and education so that the facts and figures are appreciated by all concerned. A number of countries have made particular efforts to organise such campaigns (for example, through national, area and local study groups, seminars or workshops with the

participation of men and women, through the mass media, through the efforts of trade unions, through approaches to employers). Persistence is the keynote, for ingrained attitudes are slow to change.

WOMEN IN THE THIRD WORLD

While women in the less developed countries share many, if not all, of the problems of women in the more developed countries, they have problems of their own which merit particular consideration. These differ from one region and country to another, according to the stage of economic development, structural elements, and the cultural attitudes and traditions relating to women's employment, but there are a number of common factors.

The intention here is not to isolate the problems of women in developing countries but rather to emphasise their importance and the urgency of the need to come to grips with them—regionally and nationally. After all, some two-thirds of the female workforce is in the Third World—yet most of the attention of the whole world has been devoted to women in the developed countries. Only recently have the needs and problems of women workers in the developing countries come into clear relief and even now we know very little about them in practical terms.

Certain features of women's work in developing countries are common to all regions to a greater or lesser degree. First of all, there is a heavy concentration of women in rural areas and in agricultural work. In Africa, for example, it has been estimated that eight-tenths to nine-tenths of the women live and work in rural areas and that they perform three-fifths to four-fifths of the agricultural work of the continent. The percentage of the economically active female population in agriculture is very high in most African and Asian countries (in some cases, over 90 per cent and over 80 per cent, respectively) and is also quite high in some parts of Latin America. Rural women work in conditions of real hardship, with primitive traditional tools and little or no exposure to modern methods of farming. Drudgery in the fields is combined with household drudgery, multiplied by the lack or inadequacy of water and of cooking facilities and the absence of child-care services. When work in agriculture is modernised and partially mechanised, women are often excluded from learning the new techniques; where agricultural extension services exist, they seldom reach women. Women in agriculture and in rural areas are seldom covered by social legislation of any kind and cannot even avail themselves of the usual maternity leave. Their work often has no proper schedule and their total working hours (in the fields and at home) are excessively long and irregular. Their activity is most frequently unremunerative and unrewarding.

In most developing countries, especially in Asia and Africa, the modern sector is growing only slowly and, with some exceptions, offers relatively few earnings opportunities for women. It tends to be a male preserve. For the most part, women have to look to self-employment and to the handicrafts and small industries sector and to trade where there is scope, provided women have access to and receive the necessary training.

Second, there is a heavy concentration of women in work requiring little or no education or skill (e.g. domestic service in Latin America, construction work in Asia, petty trading in Africa). This means that women tend to be at the bottom of the occupational ladder and to suffer the hardship that goes with this.

There is admittedly a seepage of educated women into teaching, nursing, the public service, social and clerical work and into commerce and other activities in the service sector, including hotels, tourism and catering.

Thus, a typical situation is that, while the choice of professions and occupations open to women is expanding slowly and women are becoming more active at the top level, the bulk of the women work at the low level and in many countries relatively few women have found work at the middle level.

Third, there are cultural constraints in a good many developing countries which have a restricting effect on women's lives. Traditional and conservative family and social attitudes towards the employment of women outside the family circle tend to restrict women's participation in certain types of work considered unsuitable for them.

Fourth, though the absolute numbers of girls enrolled at each stage of schooling has increased during recent decades, often quite strikingly, this has not sufficed to bring their proportion in school enrolment up to a satisfactory level. In Asia, for example, the proportion of girls in total primary school enrolment increased from 35 to 38 per cent between 1950 and 1970, in the Arab States from 31 to 36 per cent and in Africa south of the Sahara from 30 to 41 per cent. At the secondary level, the proportion of girls in total enrolment moved from 30 to 32 per cent over the same period in Africa; in Asia there was no change from 35 per cent, and in the Arab States there was a considerable increase—from 23 per cent to 30 per cent. In Latin America the percentage of girls enrolled in the primary (48 per cent of total primary enrolment in 1950 and 49 per cent in 1970) and secondary (45 per cent in 1950 and 48 per cent in 1970) stages is almost equal to that of boys. At the third level the percentage of girls in total enrolment is not very high, although it is rising in most regions: in Asia, from 16 per cent in 1950 to 28 per cent in 1970; in the Arab States, from 12 to 24 per cent; in Africa, excluding the Arab States, from 10 to 16 per cent; and in Latin America, from 24 to 35 per cent.

These figures fail to reveal the gravity of the educational situation of girls because they do not show the drop-out rate, which is considerably higher for girls than for boys at all levels of the educational system. In many countries girls complete only two or three years of schooling, not enough for the retention of literacy or numeracy. Needless to add, the position is always worse in rural areas, especially the poorest ones.

The reasons for this are the usual ones: shortage of educational facilities and of teaching staff, family poverty, the difficulty of combining school with seasonal agricultural and other rural work, the cost of education even when "free", the irrelevance of curricula, the care by girls of younger children, early marriage and parental disregard for the education of girls and suspicion of its practical value. The inability of some developing countries to extend education to all children has meant that girls have been the first to suffer.

Some governments, aware of the need for women to acquire the basic education required to enable them to contribute effectively to development, have sought to promote increased and longer school attendance by girls. There is also a general tendency to introduce more practical subjects into the school curriculum and to review the entire school system from the standpoint of its relevance for boys and girls in rural and urban environments in developing countries and for the societies in which they live. A number of countries are experimenting with new patterns of education, combining formal and non-formal learning. These may make it possible to absorb more girls in the total structure and to improve their situation, particularly in the rural areas.

The vocational and technical education and training of girls are even more neglected. The opportunities open to them are very limited in most developing countries, being confined to traditionally feminine occupations. Few girls are enrolled in technical and vocational education (those who are being mainly in such courses as sewing, dressmaking, housecrafts, child care, embroidery) and few girls are to be found in vocational training outside the school system (and again largely in courses for "feminine fields"). There is sometimes a failure to distinguish clearly between home economics and vocational training for gainful economic activity. In areas where training is most needed, for example for agricultural work, few girls are included in the courses offered, though measures are now being taken to bring girls into agricultural schools, colleges and centres and into extension work and services. Again, some governments (e.g. Egypt and the Lebanon) are making special efforts to encourage the training of girls for some modern occupations such as laboratory technicians and industrial designers and to encourage their subsequent employment.

Of course, a primary factor is the framework of economic development and of new employment openings. Where there is serious unemployment and underemployment, opportunities for women to work outside the rural sector are limited and their activity is seen as unfairly competitive to that of men, even when, as in so many cases, the women's earnings are essential to family maintenance. The only real cure for this type of employment discrimination is employment-oriented development bringing enough work opportunities for all, irrespective of sex, and giving adequate and appropriate attention to the needs and potential of women in development.¹

Where job opportunities for all are severely limited and the rate of economic growth outstripped by the rate of population growth, women's chances of obtaining wage-earning employment are slim indeed, even where policies of non-discrimination have been laid down. But, as Sir Arthur Lewis put it (in *The theory of economic growth*): "To create more paid jobs for women is the surest way simultaneously to raise their status, to reduce their drudgery, and to raise the national output."

A further factor influencing women's employment in the developing countries is protective legislation and welfare arrangements for women which impose a heavy burden on individual employers and tend thereby to increase the reluctance of

¹ The comprehensive country employment strategy missions undertaken under the World Employment Programme provide information on the situation of women in developing countries (e.g. the reports on the Kenya and Ethiopian missions).

employers to employ women. Moreover, in countries where large families are common, absences due to childbirth are an additional inconvenience and any extended maternity leave beyond the normal or statutory period is likely to constitute still further grounds for employers to discriminate against women in employment. These questions raise important issues of policy and it seems rather urgent that they should be carefully studied to avoid misunderstandings on all sides.

It is said that high rates of fertility limit women's participation in the modern sector of developing countries and encourage discrimination against them as workers. On the other hand, with most women in agriculture and other rural work and in crafts or self-employment, it is alleged that there is little incentive to have fewer children. Large families are looked upon as matters of prestige in some countries as well as insurance against old age. Whatever the situation and the preferences, however, it seems important that women as well as men should have access to family planning information and facilities so that the number and spacing of children may accord with the wishes of the parents.

Given the gravity of the situation of women in the Third World, and their importance for national development, what can be done to improve the position?

It would seem essential that governments should appreciate at its true value women's actual and potential contribution to development and ensure that in planning for development women are taken fully into account. Neglect of half of a national population cannot be justified on any score.

Special initiatives are needed to integrate women more effectively in economic life, particularly in the rural sector. Women's role in rural development needs to be more fully explored. New methods of producing cash crops are changing the division of work between men and women. Rural women and girls need to be brought more directly into the whole formal and informal education and training structures and given opportunities for creating or supplementing family income, and improving levels of living. If productivity in rural areas is to rise, they, as essential family providers, need to know about agriculture proper, rural crafts, animal husbandry, food processing and marketing. The efficiency of women's work could be increased by improvements in water supplies and transport facilities. Women need to be encouraged to participate in rural organisations, including co-operatives.

In this connection it is significant that the UNESCO/FAO/ILO World Conference on Agricultural Education and Training (Copenhagen, 1970) made a strong recommendation, which remains as valid now as when it was formulated:

[An] area of special attention is that of rural girls and women. Both as agriculturists who undertake most of the food cultivation in many countries and also as mothers, their potential contribution to rural development is very great indeed. In far too many cases, this potential has neither been realised nor developed through providing access, on an equal footing with men, to agricultural education and training. Initial trials in the training of girls in agriculture, combined with home economics subjects, and using them in extension services and teaching have been most encouraging. A feature of this decade must certainly be to open the opportunities of technical and vocational education and training, as well as employment in rural services, to the girls and women of the countryside in order to enable them to make their full contribution, both in the home and in the community. As an investment in development, it would be difficult to think of a more important need.

Self-employment needs to be encouraged, for example by providing technical and financial supporting services to facilitate buying of raw materials, quality control, credit and marketing. In many cases (for instance, in Ahmedabad in India), groups of self-employed women have proved to be highly efficient. Handicraft training programmes require promotion along with training programmes for small entrepreneurs and cottage industries. Women need to be brought into active membership in co-operative organisations and other group associations and to be trained for leadership roles. They need to be eligible for loans and other forms of financial assistance on the same basis as men. Government initiatives in these areas can often be supplemented by pilot projects undertaken by women's groups or other non-governmental organisations.

Action is also needed to widen the opportunities for girls and women in the slowly growing modern sector. Otherwise there is a risk that women will be systematically excluded from this sector, even in types of work for which they have the necessary education and skills. Employers need to be encouraged to be more receptive to the employment of women and the trade unions need to give greater attention to problems connected with women's employment in the modern sector.

In the public sector and in the public service governments are in a position to set a good example by encouraging women's participation on a larger scale and at higher levels, without any discrimination based on sex or marital status.

It has been pointed out that there is a small élite of women at the top and a great mass of women at the bottom level, but that in between there is a need to develop work opportunities and suitable education and training for girls.

It is clear that women's participation in and contribution to economic life is conditioned by their education and training and that a key to improving their position lies in overcoming their handicaps as regards education and training and in encouraging girls to follow initial basic education with practical training.

A further key relates to changes in social and family attitudes and in the image men have of women in work life and the concept women have of their own role. As the Economic Commission for Africa has pointed out, attitudes nourish the persistence of established and imported patterns, whether or not these are based on realities or on myths—and attitudes are hard to change.

Concerted action on a broad front will certainly be necessary, combining government planning and initiatives with the efforts of all concerned with national and community development. Moreover, care is needed. The matter of women's role in society and at work in developing countries, as elsewhere, is delicate and apt to arouse emotions which are deeply rooted in cultural traditions. There are many unknown factors and there is a need for painstaking case studies of national situations to provide guidelines for policies that are practicable and suited to the cultural pattern at the particular stage of economic and social development.

The specific measures taken to raise the status of women in economic life will necessarily vary according to the national context of political, economic, social and cultural development. But what is needed everywhere is a heightened awareness of women's role in development and specific planning and action directed towards their

more effective integration in work life and in the society of their countries. Women are indeed the neglected resources for national development. A clearer and more realistic vision of their actual and potential contribution is essential.

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR HANDLING WOMEN WORKERS' PROBLEMS

The elimination of discrimination against women workers and the search for equality of opportunity and treatment for them call for arrangements whereby the problems can be identified, discussed and analysed and means of solving them found.

At its 48th (1964) Session the International Labour Conference adopted a resolution concerning women workers in a changing world which requested all member States to consider the desirability of taking appropriate steps (*a*) to establish a central unit for co-ordinating research, planning, programming and action on women workers' opportunities, needs and problems; (*b*) to develop systematic arrangements for consulting employers' and workers' organisations and other organisations concerned; and (*c*) to encourage the dissemination of information regarding all aspects of women's employment and conditions of work.

During the past decade there has been mounting interest in the establishment of some kind of governmental focal point for drawing attention to the constant and changing opportunities, needs and problems of women workers and for promoting the evolution of co-ordinated policies and activities relating to the employment and conditions of work of women. The administrative arrangements made vary from country to country, according to the views on the best ways of dealing with women's problems, as well as those of men, and according to the administrative structure and framework for action.

A number of countries have established women's bureaux within national departments of labour and social affairs. In most cases, these bureaux work as a servicing and co-ordinating unit rather than as an operational arm of government in the usual sense.

In the course of time the aims and activities of these bureaux have changed from an initial concentration on the protection of women to a primary concern with the promotion of practical equality of opportunity and treatment for them in employment. There has been increasing recognition that women and their work belong in the mainstream of the labour force and that the task of the women's bureaux is to assist in their integration in economic life on a footing of equality. The bureaux have to play an evolutionary rather than a static role and to be responsive to new needs and problems, as well as to anticipate them.

In North America, in the United States a Women's Bureau was set up in the Labor Department in 1920 to improve the status of women workers and to encourage comprehension of their needs and problems. Its main functions are to draw up policies and standards for improving the opportunities and conditions of women, to give leadership for programmes designed to solve specific problems of women workers, to serve as a source of information on women workers' employment and status and to

promote a climate of public opinion favourable to women's employment on an equal footing of opportunity with men. Much of the work of the Bureau is now concerned with the elimination of sex discrimination in education, training, employment and treatment. In Canada a Women's Bureau was established in the Federal Department of Labour in 1954 to bring about wider understanding of the role and contribution of women in the workforce. The Bureau has the main functions of encouraging and carrying out research on all problems relating to women (especially their employment); carrying out public relations and educational activities aimed at encouraging women to participate actively in economic and social life and at educating employers and the public on the need to utilise the potential of women fully; disseminating information relating to women's employment and conditions; and supporting programmes designed to ensure equal pay and opportunities for women.

In Latin America many countries have women's bureaux or departments or sections within the ministries of labour and social welfare or of social security and others have expressed keen interest in establishing such bureaux. The largest and most active is that of Argentina, established in the Ministry of Labour and Welfare in 1955 and reorganised as the National Women's Bureau in 1968. Its main tasks are to study and promote measures to integrate women in economic life, to suggest the adoption of measures for the advancement of women workers, to organise seminars, round tables and campaigns on subjects important to women workers and to engage in liaison activities with public and private bodies on all matters relating to working women. Chile set up a National Women's Bureau in 1969 and Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Peru and Venezuela all have special units for dealing either with women's problems or with women's and minors' problems; their functions vary from country to country but the tendency has been to widen their tasks, to make them more positive from the standpoint of women's employment as distinct from the enforcement of legislation relating to women and minors, and to distinguish more closely between the needs and problems of women, on the one hand, and of minors, on the other.

In Africa a number of countries (including Kenya) have expressed interest in the establishment of a women's bureau or similar arrangements; and Botswana has recently set up a women's bureau.

In Asia a number of countries have women's bureaux or similar arrangements for handling women workers' problems. The oldest is that established in Japan in 1947 within the Labour Ministry. In the Philippines there is also a Women's and Minors' Bureau, set up within the Department of Labor in 1960. Indonesia set up a Women's and Children's Service in the Ministry of Manpower in 1969, concerned primarily with the protection of women workers and the standards governing their employment. In Sri Lanka there is a special women's unit within the Ministry of Labour to look into the working conditions of women. Pakistan has set up a Women's Section in the Ministry of Labour and Works.

Australia set up a Women's Bureau within the Commonwealth Department of Labour in 1965. Its primary functions are to study trends in women's employment, to co-ordinate and disseminate information on women workers, to encourage a wider

understanding of the contribution women may make to economic life and to promote their effective use, and to maintain liaison with public and private bodies concerned with women's employment.

In Europe the pattern of arrangements for dealing with women workers' problems is more varied. In Western Europe the United Kingdom follows the principle that women's questions are best dealt with functionally by the relevant departmental division and that there would be no advantage in bringing them together into a central women's bureau. Within the Department of Employment there is, however, a special policy section whose main function is to study and deal with general problems relating to the development of employment and training opportunities for women. A number of countries (France, the Netherlands, for example) have advisory committees on the employment of women, serviced by small staffs working within the ministry with primary responsibility for this and related matters. In the Federal Republic of Germany the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs has a unit for questions relating to the economic activity of women and related matters which co-ordinates the elements of a programme for advancing the status of women in economic life. The Nordic countries tend to have no special governmental units dealing with women workers' problems as such but in Norway the Council for Equality is served by a research staff.

In the USSR and other countries of Eastern Europe, the trade unions play a most important part in ensuring equal opportunities for women and promoting their welfare. In the USSR, for example, there is a special Committee on Women Workers, set up as an advisory body to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions under its Presidium. The Committee examines all questions relating to women's employment and conditions and the implementation of the decisions of the Council on such subjects as improvements in working conditions, training and cultural development, upgrading and child care and related services of special interest to working women. The Committee helps to draw up long-term and current development plans and works closely with the various sections of the Council as well as giving practical assistance to trade union councils and committees at all levels. There are also advisory regional, local and plant committees on women workers' problems. The same general pattern prevails in the other Eastern European countries, where, as in the USSR, there are also national committees or councils on women's work, with organisational components at the regional and local levels. These deal with women's questions of all kinds, including those of special interest to women workers, in co-operation with the respective trade union women's commissions.

Many countries have recently established national advisory committees or councils to review problems relating to women's employment and conditions. These are usually made up of representatives of the government departments concerned and of employers', trade union and other organisations interested in women's employment and conditions. These committees are often in a position to play an important role in changing policies and attitudes towards the employment of women.

In the Netherlands, for example, the Ministry of Social Affairs has a representative advisory committee on the employment situation of women and girls which is

responsible for advising official and other bodies on subjects concerning the employment of women and girls. In the United Kingdom there is an Advisory Committee on Women's Employment to advise the Secretary of State for Employment on problems of employment policy relating to women. Italy has set up a National Commission on Women's Employment Problems. France has a special Committee on Women Workers, which advises the Minister of Labour, Employment and Population; its task is to study and advise on all questions relating to the training and employment of women and their status in economic life.¹ In Finland, Norway and Sweden there are Councils for Equality. In Spain a National Committee on Women's Employment was set up at the end of 1971, to advise the Minister of Labour on all matters relating to the integration of women in economic life. New Zealand has a National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women which advises the Minister of Labour and is responsible for creating the conditions that will enable women to make their full contribution to the national economy in a manner compatible with their individual freedom and their other responsibilities.

In Canada and the United States national advisory committees on women's employment and other aspects of their status in work life and society were recently established. In Canada the Advisory Council on the Status of Women is responsible for advising the Minister concerned on such matters relating to women's status as the Minister may refer to it or as it considers appropriate. In the United States there is an Advisory Council on Women to advise the Secretary of Labor on the concerns of women and to make recommendations on how the Labor Department, in particular, can best help to meet their needs.

Most of these various arrangements provide for the systematic consultation of employers' and workers' organisations and of other organisations concerned and there is thus machinery, of one kind or another, by means of which they can express their views.

Further evidence of increased interest in the establishment of women's bureaux or similar arrangements is to be found in resolutions adopted by recent regional meetings, including the Third Inter-American Conference of Ministers of Labour (1969). This was followed up by a Regional Seminar on the Role of Women's Bureaux in Ministries of Labour, held in Buenos Aires in May 1971 under the auspices of the Organisation of American States, which adopted recommendations spelling out the functions of women's bureaux and certain aspects of their organisation, staffing and financing.

The African Regional Meeting on Education, Training and Work Opportunity for Girls and Women, held in Rabat in 1971 under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, adopted a recommendation urging the setting up of permanent secretariats of national commissions on the status of women—or technical women's bureaux, as appropriate—which would help to ensure the full

¹ The Committee has played a very active and influential role in a number of fields relating to such matters as the employment and training of girls and women, equal pay and the social infrastructure; it carries out research and information activities as well as drafting laws and regulations.

participation of women in national development and their effective integration in the various sectors of economic and social development.

In accordance with resolutions adopted by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women and by ECOSOC, many countries in various parts of the world, including Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan and the Philippines, have standing national commissions on the status of women. These commissions, which have very broad mandates, will necessarily be concerned with women's participation in economic life as well as in other fields.

A number of other countries have also set up advisory bodies of one kind or another to examine matters relating, inter alia, to the status of women workers. In Canada a Royal Commission on the Status of Women made a report containing detailed recommendations on how to raise their status in all walks of life. Ireland set up a National Commission on the Status of Women, in 1971, which issued an interim report on equal pay in August 1971 and a further report on the status of women at the end of 1972. India, too, set up a National Committee on the Status of Women. These bodies are also capable of exerting an influence on public thinking, policy and action.

France, in addition to the above-mentioned Committee on Women Workers, established in July 1974 a special Ministry of Women's Affairs, with the task of directing action to improve the status of women.

Opinions differ as to which method or combination of methods is the most effective for identifying and dealing with women workers' problems. In some countries there is reluctance to institute special machinery of any kind on the grounds that it is unnecessary and undesirable to single out women as a separate group in any way, however well-intentioned the motive. Others consider that the handicaps under which women enter and work in the labour force are such as to make some special arrangements necessary to stimulate and co-ordinate action programmes to overcome these handicaps. The appropriate formula must be devised by the men and women of each country and must be subject to change as problems and attitudes change. But it is clear that, even in the most developed countries, there had been a deeply felt need to find some way to focus attention on the status of women, particularly women workers, in contemporary society.

The above examples indicate this growing national awareness of the need for some type of machinery, whatever its character, for examining the status and changing role of women in economic and social life and in society and for considering policies and measures which will not only expand and enlarge their opportunities for participation in the economy but also promote their integration in work life and in other spheres on a footing of partnership and equality with men.

It can only be hoped that the day will soon come when such machinery is considered unnecessary because women no longer have any special needs or problems and have been fully accepted as persons in their own right and on their own merits.

CHAPTER II

PROMOTING EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND TREATMENT FOR WOMEN WORKERS

The preceding chapter of this report has described a considerable improvement in the status of women workers in many countries in different parts of the world, together with a heightened awareness of the need for women to have equality of opportunity and treatment with men in the world of work: the trend is promising. But it has also shown clearly how much needs to be done at all levels to promote and ensure greater practical progress towards true equality for women workers in all fields.

As has been seen, in most countries the key problem areas relating to practical equality of opportunity and treatment for women are the following:

- (1) societal discrimination which starts in the cradle, with the early acquisition of different sex roles;
- (2) continuing distinctions in the early and later education and training of girls and women;
- (3) continuing distinctions in the vocational guidance, placement and employment of girls and women, resulting in an imbalance in their integration in the workforce, and the persistence of the concept of "men's work" and "women's work";
- (4) continuing practical barriers to their entry into certain fields of occupation and employment;
- (5) continuing practical barriers to their entry into employment at levels consistent with their qualifications and capacities;
- (6) continuing prejudices and misconceptions on the part of employers as to women's abilities and inabilities as workers;
- (7) continuing practical obstacles to their promotion and career advancement;
- (8) continuing difficulties as regards the full application of the principle of equal pay and status for work of equal value;
- (9) continuing problems of participation in work life on a footing of equality without discrimination; and
- (10) continuing apathy on the part of society combined with a reluctance to face realistically the very complex and difficult issues involved in achieving equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers.

This is a formidable list and reveals the formidable task ahead. The elimination of discrimination and the achievement of true equality of opportunity and treatment for women constitute a daunting challenge to the whole of society.

What can be done to bring about the changes in structures, attitudes and inter-relationships which are necessary to achieve equality between men and women in work life? Any approach has to proceed from the premise that, while action can be taken to overcome the specific handicaps of women, the problems of women are the problems of society as a whole and have to be looked at and solved within this broad context. Moreover, there are vast differences from country to country in the political, economic, social and cultural framework within which these problems arise. These differences affect both men and women but they have a particular bearing on the level and character of women's participation in economic and social life, often imposing constraints on women's role in development which do not extend to men.

Any approach must also take account of the fact that, despite all the literature, data, dialogue and action on women's situation in the past decade aimed at improving their status in economic and other walks of life, there are still complex and delicate problems connected with the changing and complementary roles of men and women in society, in work life and in the family.

It has become clear that policies and action to improve the status of women workers in specific fields—for example, vocational training or equal pay—must be an integral part of a comprehensive, long-term programme to promote equality of opportunity and treatment. This is perhaps one of the most important lessons of the past decade.

Finally, the frontiers of national policy and action are circumscribed by hard facts and in the Third World, in particular, by the phenomenon of underdevelopment.

What all this amounts to is that what can be done in one country at any time may not be feasible in another country, that there are general directions of policy and action on which there may be wide agreement but no common pattern of solution and that care must be taken to ensure flexibility and realism of approach.

PROMOTING EQUALITY: NATIONAL ACTION

The ILO Panel of Consultants on Women Workers' Problems (Geneva, May 1974) reviewed the various areas in which national action to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for women seemed to be needed and agreed on a number of points which they thought should be included in national programmes. These points have been incorporated in the suggested Plan of Action set forth in Chapter III below; the following comments may be made in connection with them.

1. *General Policy*

There should be a clear and unequivocal commitment on the part of the government, and on the part of the employers' and workers' organisations concerned, to take specific action to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers and to eliminate discrimination against them. There should be a further and

consequential commitment to set up appropriate and representative machinery as a focal point for planning, stimulating and evaluating such action and for supervising and enforcing the policy and programme of equal opportunity.

2. Women's Participation in the Workforce

Action is needed to remove the present imbalance in the integration of women in the workforce and to develop a balance based on individual aptitudes, interests and capacities, irrespective of the sex of the worker. This means putting an end to the practice whereby some industries and occupations are male preserves and others are reserved for women. It means widening the range of employment opportunities for women by breaking down the traditional barriers to their employment in particular areas of work and by eliminating discrimination against married women workers. It means developing and implementing human resources policies for integrating people in work life on the basis of their own aptitudes, interests, capacities and merits rather than on the basis of sex. It means action to promote the movement of women to higher levels of skill and responsibility and to top posts from which they have so often been systematically excluded. It means that in area and local development planning account should be taken of the needs of women as well as of men for work opportunities. It means that similar action should be taken at the level of national planning. And, finally, it means that adequate and appropriate attention should be given to special categories of women who may encounter particular difficulties, such as migrant women workers who are frequently the victims of discrimination and exploitation and who also run social risks.

3. Vocational Guidance and Training

It has been widely recognised that a key to the promotion of equality of opportunity for women workers is the shape and content of the initial education, guidance and training of girls and young women and of the further training and retraining of employed women and that specific measures are necessary to overcome discrimination based on sex and to promote forward-oriented guidance and training for girls and women.

The International Labour Conference discussed the question of human resources development (vocational guidance and vocational training) at its 1974 Session and will have a second discussion on this question at its 1975 Session. The section of the proposed text relating to girls and women, as given in Report VI (1) to the 1975 Session of the Conference, is included in the Plan of Action in Chapter III.

The Consultants also drew attention to several additional points to which they attached importance: (1) the need to introduce the notion and role of work life and its importance in the early years of the school curriculum for both boys and girls; (2) the advantages for girls of co-education and co-training; (3) the need for changes of attitude to make the climate more favourable towards the education, guidance and training of girls and women in relation to their more effective integration in the workforce; and (4) the need to provide employed women with full opportunities for

further training and retraining, as well as with the same opportunities as men for trade union, social and cultural training.

The other provisions of the proposed text concerning human resources development (vocational guidance and vocational training) to be discussed in 1975 apply to girls and women as to boys and men without discrimination.

4. Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment in Employment and Occupation

The general attack on discrimination against women workers and the promotion of equality of opportunity and treatment for them can be made more effective by the ratification and full implementation of the two international labour instruments closely concerned with this question, namely the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100) and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111), in so far as the latter is concerned with sex discrimination. In the process of implementation, the co-operation of employers' and workers' organisations is essential.

In many countries discrimination persists in certain areas of economic and social activity and, in particular, in respect of higher levels of skill and responsibility. It may therefore be necessary to make special efforts to ensure the progressive elimination of discrimination in these areas and at these levels.

It is difficult to exaggerate the positive role which governments can play in promoting equal opportunities for women and in developing affirmative and concerted action programmes to this end. Not only can governments pioneer in setting a good example in sectors under their control but they can also ensure that the principle of non-discrimination is given legal force and that strong enforcement machinery, including appeals machinery, is set up.

Measures to promote equal opportunities for women should include educational and promotional campaigns to develop more positive social attitudes and a more favourable climate of opinion relating to the employment of women at their full level of qualifications and experience. This is particularly important in connection with the employment of married women and women with family responsibilities.

Moreover, employers need to be encouraged to accept women and to appreciate their qualities as workers rather than under-valuing them on the ground of sex.

Trade unions have a specially important role to play in promoting the implementation of equal opportunities programmes, in defining the problems and in suggesting priority areas for action.

5. Review of Protective Legislation

If equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers is to be made a reality, measures must be taken in various fields which have an impact on women's employment. The issue of protective legislation (other than maternity protection) comes immediately to mind. The main task in this area is to keep such legislation under continuous review in order that it may be adequate and appropriate in the light

of up-to-date scientific and technical knowledge and in order that it may be revised, supplemented, extended to all workers or repealed according to national needs and circumstances.

6. *Social Security*

Social security schemes need to be examined and kept under review with a view to eliminating anomalies in the treatment of women and to abolishing, to the maximum possible extent and with due regard to such factors as the different work patterns of men and women where this is the case, discriminatory treatment of women in such schemes, including pension entitlement, the level of benefit and the rights of dependants.

7. *The Right to Maternity Protection*

Maternity must be recognised as a social function and the protection of this function must be recognised as a basic human right as well as a social duty. This means that measures need to be taken to create and extend the right to maternity protection where this does not exist and to improve the scope and standards of protection in keeping with the principles laid down in the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised) (No. 103) and Recommendation (No. 95) of 1952. In no circumstances should the costs of maternity protection be borne by individual employers. They should be met, in accordance with ILO standards, from social security or other public funds or by means of collective arrangements.

Moreover, in relation to maternity, women as well as men need full and free access to information and facilities concerning family planning and the right to decide, freely and responsibly, on family size and the spacing of births.

8. *Strengthening the Social Infrastructure*

If women's right to work on a footing of equality with men is to be a practical reality, measures have to be taken to make it possible for them to work outside the home without discrimination. These must include the provision of child-care services and facilities (for children of all ages), as well as services and facilities meeting the needs of other dependants of working women, and all other services and facilities which will assist working parents to combine home and work responsibilities harmoniously, with the minimum of household drudgery. Fresh emphasis needs to be placed on a more equitable sharing of household tasks, including child-rearing, among family members, in particular the husband and wife.

The combination of home and family with outside employment can also be greatly facilitated by encouraging the trends towards greater flexibility of working hours and shorter daily and weekly hours for all workers—men and women alike.

9. *Administrative Arrangements for Promoting Equality*

In order to stimulate the evolution of national action aimed at equality of opportunity and treatment for women, to pinpoint needs and problems and to co-ordinate the various elements of policy and activities, some kind of representative

machinery may well be considered desirable. It could take many different forms and will almost certainly vary from country to country.

One form might be a national commission on the status of women workers, made up of government representatives and representatives of employers' organisations and trade unions and drawn from all different walks of economic, social and cultural life, whose task would be to guide action aimed at promoting equality of opportunity for women workers.

Such machinery would require specialised and efficient servicing and would need to be supplemented by some kind of central unit—perhaps a women's bureau—to provide the secretariat and to undertake or to stimulate and co-ordinate the background work and research involved in preparing meetings and recommendations.

10. Women's Effective Participation in National, Regional and International Bodies

Women tend to be grossly under-represented—if they are represented at all—on national bodies concerned with decision making affecting their welfare and that of their families as well as their situation in economic, social and cultural life. The same is true of bodies operating at the internal area and community levels. Special steps are therefore needed to increase the numbers of qualified women on all such bodies and to promote their effective participation in them.

Women are also too often excluded from participating in regional and international conferences and meetings which are of as much concern to them as to men and to whose deliberations they have a contribution to make. This includes participation at ILO and ILO-sponsored conferences, meetings and seminars, as well as those convened by other inter-governmental bodies. Some means must be found to ensure the inclusion of women in equitable numbers in national delegations to such conferences, meetings and seminars.

* * *

The foregoing are ten areas in which action appears to be needed at the national level to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers. They are all inter-related—a fact which re-emphasises the need for a coherent and co-ordinated national action programme setting out relationships and targets.

PROMOTING EQUALITY: THE ILO CONTRIBUTION

In his Report to the 56th (1971) Session of the International Labour Conference the Director-General, discussing inequalities, posed certain questions relating to the status of women:

Wholly different from these inequalities in its nature, but like them a serious affront to social justice and a disturbing failure to develop the human potential of society, is the persistent inequality in the status of women in employment. The measures adopted in the earlier years of the Organisation to protect working women against bad working and living

conditions still have every justification in many cases; the emphasis, however, has now changed clearly to promoting greater equality of opportunities and treatment. . . . Nevertheless, acceptance of the principle of non-discrimination has not always been followed by measures to promote true equality and to overcome the prejudices and other obstacles in the way of the employment of women. Even in the advanced countries, where significant progress has been made in the emancipation of women, complex problems have arisen in attempts to secure them greater equality of access to employment and to vocational training, and even equality in remuneration. Old prejudices against the employment of women, although dying away, still persist in many cases; job openings for girls and women tend to be in the lower-level, least skilled and less well paid, occupations; many opportunities for vocational training are available only to men; the reconciliation of work on an equal footing with men with domestic responsibilities remains a problem. In many developing countries the scarcity of jobs in urban areas makes these problems still more acute and only a vast expansion of employment opportunities can provide for any real breakthrough. But special measures are needed to make women real partners in the development process. How can the ILO give fuller effect to the principle of non-discrimination on the basis of sex? What should be its contribution to the more effective integration of women into the fabric of economic and social life? ¹

These questions remain relevant today and it is suggested that they should be given specific attention with a view to framing the guidelines for a programme of action which will help the ILO to take the lead in equalising access to education and training, access to employment, opportunities for careers and advancement, earnings and the right to leisure and material security. Equality of opportunity and treatment for all human beings, irrespective of sex, must be a fundamental objective of the Organisation in the years ahead.

The ILO has always followed the policy that, apart from the limited areas in which standards have been prescribed for women only, women's needs and problems should be dealt with in the same general framework as those of men and should not be singled out for separate treatment. This should mean in practice that women workers should receive the same attention as men under all the major technical programmes of the Organisation, whether they relate to employment, hours and conditions of work, workers' education, small-scale industries and handicrafts or human resources development. It has been considered unnecessary and undesirable to draw up a special programme for women. The approach has been to isolate, within the general framework, areas which appear to be of special concern to women, for the reasons set forth in previous sections of this report, and to take only the special action that appears necessary to overcome the handicaps suffered by women.

The ILO's activities of special interest to women can be classified in four clear and well-defined, though inter-related, areas: study and research and information work designed to lead to a better understanding of women's needs and problems and of their integration in economic and social life; standard setting aimed at providing the framework for national policies for the protection (where necessary) and promotion of women workers; operational activities furnishing technical assistance to governments on questions of particular concern to women; and educational and promotional activities directed towards fostering an understanding of and interest in women

¹ ILO: *Freedom by dialogue*, Report of the Director-General, Part 1, International Labour Conference, 56th Session, 1971, Geneva, 1971, pp. 27-28.

workers' problems and engendering a favourable climate for their solution. Work at the international level is complemented by work at the regional level.

Promoting Equality: Stronger Regional Action

The great diversity of the economic, social and cultural situation of women workers in the different regions has meant that it has become increasingly necessary to tackle their problems more vigorously at the regional level.

What can be done to develop vigorous programmes of action at the regional level, particularly in Africa, Asia and Latin America, in order that the ILO may be more helpful in meeting realistically the enormous and urgent needs of women in the developing countries?

First, these needs have to be recognised by the countries of the region as being of great importance in the process of development and as meriting priority in the ILO's regional programme. This can be done, for example, as was suggested by the Consultants on Women Workers' Problems, by following up the discussion of equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers at the international level at the Conference with discussion of the same question at the more grass-roots regional level, that is by placing the question of equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers on the agenda of future sessions of the ILO regional advisory committees and, subsequently, of the regional conferences.

The Consultants suggested that one result of this might be the setting up of regional commissions on the status of women workers which would initiate regional programmes of action for the advancement of women in economic, social and cultural life and for the promotion of greater equality of opportunity for them within the framework of national development as well as assessing the progress made at regular intervals.

If such programmes are to be conceived and established, it will be indispensable to strengthen the regional field structure in order to equip it to assist in dealing more effectively with women workers' needs and problems within the framework of the totality of its activities on behalf of all workers. Sometimes, for economic or cultural reasons, special programmes for women may be indicated; sometimes action is needed to integrate women in larger numbers or at higher levels in already existing programmes accessible to men and women or to bring them into programmes hitherto reserved in practice for men.

At the very least, and as a first step, a special adviser on women workers might be attached to each regional field office in order to ascertain the needs and the possibilities of ILO action. The adviser would work in co-operation with the staff of the regional office and with other organisations concerned in the United Nations system (e.g. the FAO, UNESCO and UNICEF), with regional organisations of employers and workers and with non-governmental organisations engaged in practical activities to provide women with learning and earning opportunities.

Another approach at the regional level might consist of in-depth studies of the situation of women in selected countries. These can suggest the constraints on womens'

employment within different economic, cultural and structural patterns and can point the way to realistic action to relax, correct or modify them.

Activities undertaken under the World Employment Programme and under the technical co-operation country programmes within the developing world can also benefit women provided that full account is taken of them in planning, developing and carrying out activities under these programmes.¹ Experience has indicated that conscious attention has to be given to women if they are not to be overlooked or neglected in the development process. Where rates of unemployment or underemployment are high, women workers are apt to be looked upon—unjustly—as unfair competitors with men workers and hence are likely to be the victims of discrimination in planning and in practice. As a result, technical co-operation activities sometimes fail to take full account of the needs of women and to reach them effectively.

The Consultants on Women Workers' Problems expressed the wish that ILO technical co-operation and other activities in the various regions, whether under the World Employment Programme or under other programmes should lead to the more effective integration of women in development and that measures should be taken to ensure that these activities did not lead to the perpetuation, maintenance or furthering of discrimination against women. Care should be taken to facilitate the implementation of relevant international labour standards, and in particular of Conventions Nos. 100, 103 and 111.

One way of ensuring greater attention for women in ILO technical co-operation work would be to utilise far more women as experts.

Seminars and workshops convened by the ILO itself or in co-operation with other organisations may also find a place in the regional programme of activities of special interest to women. These may deal with specific aspects of achieving equality of opportunity for women and may form a part of the ILO's programme dealing with discrimination or its Workers' Education Programme.

Special action may be needed to develop leadership to assist in raising the status of women workers, particularly in rural areas where the vast majority live and work.

There can be no doubt that vigorous and realistic regional programmes to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers could enormously increase the ILO's capacity to deal with the needs and problems and to help in finding solutions for them in the structural, economic and cultural framework within which they arise.

Promoting Equality: International Action

ILO standards relating to women's employment are of two main types—protective (e.g. those concerning night work) and promotional (e.g. those concerning equal pay, non-discrimination). A summary of the relevant ILO standards is appended to this report (Appendix I).

¹ Arrangements have been made, in co-operation with the United Nations, to associate the women's consultant to the Economic Commission for Africa with the World Employment Programme Sudan mission by preparing a case study on women who are economically active which will be made available to the mission and by associating the consultant with the team at the stage of drafting its conclusions and recommendations.

Ratifications of the major instruments were as follows on 1 November 1974:

Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3)	28
Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952 (No. 103)	15
Night Work (Women) Convention, 1919 (No. 4)	57
Night Work (Women) Convention (Revised), 1934 (No. 41)	36
Night Work (Women) Convention (Revised), 1948 (No. 89)	53
Underground Work (Women) Convention, 1935 (No. 45)	77
Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100)	81
Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111) . .	84

Mention may also be made of the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965 (No. 123), which has had a considerable influence on the evolution of national policy and practice.

In accordance with the usual procedures and machinery, measures are taken to supervise the implementation of these standards. They are, at the same time, kept under review to ensure their current adequacy and appropriateness. The Consultants on Women Workers' Problems emphasised the need for reviewing the standards relating to the employment of women, including the Conventions relating to discrimination and equal remuneration, with a view to determining whether their provisions are still adequate in the light of experience acquired since their adoption and to keeping them up to date in the light of scientific and technical knowledge and preventing all discrimination against women workers.

The 1975 Session of the International Labour Conference will have before it a world-wide survey of the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951, and its supplementary Recommendation, based on the reports of ratifying and non-ratifying governments submitted under articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution. This will provide an opportunity to consider the adequacy of the instrument in the light of the experience gained since its adoption.¹

The question of the revision of the Night Work Conventions is under consideration by the Governing Body. After having examined a draft report on the application of the revised Convention No. 89, the Governing Body, having regard to the variety of proposals made for new or revised standards, did not feel itself in a position to reach a decision concerning the desirability of placing revision in whole or in part on the agenda of the Conference but it requested the Office to explore fully the various issues raised by the replies of the governments and organisations and to re-submit the question once such exploration had advanced sufficiently to permit the formulation of proposals for future action. This will be done.

At its 49th (1965) Session, the International Labour Conference adopted a resolution concerning periodic review of the effects of the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965 (No. 123). The resolution invited the Governing Body to request the Director-General to review at regular intervals to be determined by the Governing Body, with the first review to be made not later than

¹ The conclusions of the Meeting of Experts on Equality of Remuneration (May 1974) are appended to this report (Appendix III).

1975, the effects of the Recommendation, with a view to deciding on further action within the ILO to redefine the role and status of women in the world of work in realistic relation to the changing pattern of employment opportunities for all workers. This matter is now under consideration. It may be recalled that a resolution adopted by ECOSOC in May 1974 drew the attention of the ILO to the need to revise and to transform certain of its Recommendations into Conventions, including in particular Recommendation No. 123.

The maternity protection standards are also being kept under scrutiny and it has been suggested that a further review, in accordance with articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution, of the implementation of these standards should be undertaken in order to see whether they are still adequate in the light of modern concepts of the right to maternity protection and of national trends since the standards were last reviewed a decade ago.

Standards relating to the vocational guidance and training of girls and women—a high-priority area—are being developed by the Conference in connection with the new standards being formulated on human resources development (vocational guidance and vocational training). The principle of non-discrimination on the ground of sex in guidance and training has already been stated in the former instruments on these subjects. It is now proposed to spell it out more clearly, in relation to equality of opportunity and treatment for girls and women in employment and in society as a whole. The relevant part of the proposed text to be submitted to the 1975 Session of the Conference is given in the Plan of Action outlined in Chapter III below.

Reviewing existing standards on women's employment in order to ensure that they are still adequate and appropriate is one line of action. Parallel to it is the further step of examining whether new standards are needed to promote greater equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers. This is a matter which the Consultants suggested should be considered by the Conference. Such standards may not be intended for women only but may be of special interest to women for one reason or another.

There are certain occupational areas of special importance for women and these have been marked out for attention: teaching (in respect of which a joint ILO/UNESCO Recommendation was drawn up and adopted in 1966), nursing (which is being studied by the ILO together with the WHO), domestic service and industrial home work. Women's problems are dealt with together with those of men by the various Industrial Committees and are sometimes given special attention (e.g. by the Textiles Committee, the Plantations Committee or the Metal Trades Committee). The Conference may wish to suggest other occupational areas of special interest to women which appear to need further study and action. For instance, it may be thought that the Industrial Committees should perhaps take greater account of and pay more attention to women in the industries concerned.

Research and information work is the core of all other action to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers and a number of studies are planned in this wide area, either under the regular programme or under the research programme of the WEP. The Consultants on Women Workers' Problems emphasised

the importance of research and factual data in tackling questions relating to equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers and urged that everything possible be done to strengthen research activities and to disseminate facts and information. They suggested that research on problems of special interest to women might include the impact of technological progress on women's employment and conditions (including safety and health) and on problems relating to child and family care and other aspects of the social infrastructure. They suggested, further, that the ILO should take measures, in conjunction with other bodies, to collect and analyse statistical and other data useful for reviewing the status of women workers and measuring their total contribution to economic and social life.

International meetings for the exchange of experience have a proven value when they have a clearly specified purpose and when they lead to concrete results. The Consultants on Women Workers' Problems expressed the hope that meetings of the Panel, which they found useful, could be held at more frequent intervals.

There is a clear need to keep the status of women workers under review. The Consultants suggested that the contribution and status of women workers in a changing world might well be further examined by the ILO at the end of the Second Development Decade (i.e. in 1980) as a means of evaluating progress made towards greater practical equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers and of planning further action towards this end.

ACTION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS UNIFIED LONG-TERM PROGRAMME FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN

In 1962 the United Nations General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to study "the possibility of providing and developing new resources aimed especially at the initiation and implementation of a unified long-term United Nations programme for the advancement of women" and invited the Commission on the Status of Women to co-operate with the Secretary-General in this study.¹ As the discussions have evolved on the main goal of the programme, it has come to mean an international programme in which all interested organisations and agencies within the United Nations system would be encouraged to participate and in which all the various methods and techniques available, including technical assistance, would be used to prepare women for active participation in all aspects of national and international life.

In December 1970, after having adopted resolution 2626 (XXV) setting forth the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, which includes among its goals and objectives for the Decade the encouragement of the full integration of women in the total development effort, the General Assembly unanimously adopted another resolution² under the title "Programme of concerted international action for the advancement of women". It invites governments and all organs and agencies within the United Nations system to co-operate in

¹ General Assembly resolution 1777 (XVII) of 7 Dec. 1962.

² General Assembly resolution 2716 (XXV) of 15 Dec. 1970.

achieving as widely as possible during the Second Development Decade certain general objectives and minimum targets, which are annexed to the resolution. The general objectives include: the ratification of, or accession to, the relevant international conventions and recommendations relating to the status of women; the enactment of legislation to bring national laws into conformity with such instruments; the taking of effective measures to ensure the full implementation of these instruments; the development of large-scale educational and informational programmes to make all sectors of the population fully aware of the norms established, and to enlist support for measures aimed at realising the standards set forth; the assessment and evaluation of women's contribution to the various economic and social sectors in relation to national development plans and programmes; the study of the effects of scientific and technological change on the status of women; the elaboration of short-term and long-term programmes for the advancement of women within the framework of over-all national development plans or programmes; and the establishment of machinery and procedures to make possible the continuous review and evaluation of women's integration into economic and social life.

In compliance with these resolutions a variety of activities and/or programmes have been undertaken or sponsored by various United Nations bodies, including regional economic commissions and the specialised agencies, as well as by inter-governmental organisations aimed directly or indirectly at increasing the participation of women in national development.

More recently, in December 1972, the General Assembly adopted a resolution proclaiming the year 1975 International Women's Year, to be devoted to intensified action aimed, *inter alia*: at promoting equality between men and women and ensuring the full integration of women in the total development effort, especially by emphasising women's responsibility and important role in economic, social and cultural development at the national, regional and international levels, particularly during the Second United Nations Development Decade.¹ In this resolution the Secretary-General was requested to prepare, in consultation with member States, specialised agencies and non-governmental organisations, a draft programme for International Women's Year and to submit the programme to the Commission on the Status of Women at its session in 1974. This was done and the Commission drafted a programme which was submitted to ECOSOC and approved in June 1974.

¹ General Assembly resolution 3010 (XXVII) of 18 Dec. 1972.

CHAPTER III

FORM OF THE CONCLUSIONS WHICH MIGHT BE ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

The Governing Body placed the question of equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers on the agenda of the 1975 Session of the International Labour Conference for general discussion. The purpose of the discussion would be broadly similar to that of the general discussion at the 48th (1964) Session: to focus the attention of governments, employers' and workers' organisations and the public at large, including the many non-governmental organisations concerned, on issues connected with achieving equality of opportunity and treatment for women; to provide a forum for considering how opportunities for their participation in economic and social life can be enlarged, quantitatively and qualitatively, and how practical equality of opportunity and treatment for them can be effectively promoted and ensured; and to obtain the views of ILO constituents on the content and orientation of the ILO's programme of activities designed to promote and achieve true equality of treatment and opportunities for women workers.

In a general discussion the Conference is free to reach its conclusions in the way and in the form which it wishes, except that it may not adopt a formal international instrument (Convention or Recommendation). As the outcome of its work, it might adopt general conclusions, a resolution recommending the main lines of national action and directed primarily to governments and a resolution making recommendations to the ILO about its future work, at the regional and international levels, relating to and of special interest to women, and concerning in particular equality of opportunity and treatment for them. In addition, it might adopt a statement of policy on equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers in the form of a solemn Declaration on the occasion of International Women's Year.

As a basis for its discussion of any resolutions on recommended national action and on future ILO work which the Conference may wish to adopt, the points examined by the meeting of Consultants on Women Workers' Problems (Geneva, May 1974) are set out in part A of the Plan of Action given below; as regards a solemn Declaration, a possible basis of discussion is put forward in part B thereof.

A series of actions along these lines would place the full influence of the ILO behind world efforts to promote and provide equality of opportunity and treatment for women—which is one of the central themes of International Women's Year and is linked very closely with the other two themes, development and peace.

A. Plan of Action for Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers: Suggested Points for Conference Discussion

I. NATIONAL ACTION

1. General Policy

Commitment to take specific action within the framework of national development planning to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers in education, training, employment and occupation; and commitment to set up machinery on a tripartite basis, and including the participation of women, as a focal point for planning, stimulating and evaluating such action and for supervising and enforcing the policy of equal opportunity and treatment.

2. Women's Participation in the Workforce

Measures to be taken to improve the integration of women in the workforce, including, specifically, measures appropriate in the national circumstances:

- (a) to widen the range of employment opportunities for women, by breaking down traditional barriers to their employment in particular areas of work based on a sex-typed division of labour or on the grounds of their marital status;
- (b) to develop counselling, training and employment policies which take account of individual aptitudes, capacities and interests, irrespective of sex;
- (c) to promote the movement of qualified women into higher levels of skill and responsibility in the occupational structures;
- (d) to analyse internal regional differences both in women's rate of activity and in the character of their participation in the workforce with a view to providing equal work opportunities for both men and women in all regional development planning and action;
- (e) to ensure adequate and appropriate attention to women's integration in work life in all national economic and social development planning and action;
- (f) to ensure adequate and appropriate attention to special categories of women workers, including migrant women workers; and
- (g) to promote changes of attitude towards the employment of women, irrespective of marital status, including the promotion of more favourable and positive attitudes towards women's employment by employers and workers, by men and women themselves and by society as a whole.

3. Vocational Guidance and Training

Measures to be taken to promote equality of opportunity for girls and women in respect of vocational guidance and training to conform to the principles set forth in the proposed Recommendation concerning human resources development to be discussed by the Conference in 1975.¹ The relevant text is as follows:

¹ ILO: *Human Resources Development: Vocational Guidance and Vocational Training*, Report VI (1), International Labour Conference, 60th Session, Geneva, 1975, pp. 77-78.

B. Girls and Women

49. (1) Measures should be taken to promote equality of opportunity for girls and women in employment and in society as a whole.

(2) These measures should form an integral part of other economic and social measures taken by governments for improving the employment situation of women and should include as appropriate—

- (a) educating the general public and particularly parents, teachers, vocational guidance and vocational training staff, employers and workers, on the desirability of encouraging girls and women to play their full part in society and in the economy;
- (b) providing girls and women with vocational guidance on the same broad range of education, vocational training and employment opportunities as boys and men, and encouraging them to take full advantage of such opportunities;
- (c) promoting equality of access for girls and women to lines of education and to vocational training for occupations which have been reserved in the past for boys and men;
- (d) promoting further training for girls and women for posts of special value for their careers;
- (e) urging employers to provide girls and women with the same opportunities to gain work experience of special value to their careers as boys and men with the same educational and vocational training qualifications;
- (f) providing nursery and day centres in so far as possible, so that women with family responsibilities have access to normal vocational training, and, where such training would otherwise not be available to them, making special arrangements, for instance in the form of part-time or correspondence courses, vocational training programmes following a recurrent pattern, or programmes using mass media;
- (g) providing special vocational training programmes for older women wishing to enter employment for the first time or to re-enter it after a comparatively long period of absence, owing in particular to family responsibilities.

4. Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment in Employment and Occupation

Measures to be taken as necessary to ratify and apply fully both the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111), in so far as the latter is concerned with sex discrimination. Measures to be taken by workers' and employers' organisations, through collective agreements or in other ways, to assist in realising full implementation of the provisions of these instruments.

Measures to be taken to eliminate progressively all forms of discrimination against women in all sectors of social and economic activity and at all levels of skill and responsibility.

Measures to include government action to pioneer in promoting equal opportunities for women, including legislation relating to equality of opportunity for women workers and effective machinery for its enforcement, and to ensure strict application of the principle of non-discrimination in all sectors under public control.

Measures to include educational and promotional activities to develop more positive social attitudes towards the employment of women, including, in particular, married women and women with family responsibilities.

5. Review of Protective Legislation

Measures to be taken to review all protective legislation applying to women only (with the exception of maternity protection) in the light of up-to-date scientific knowledge and to revise, supplement, extend to all workers or repeal such legislation according to national needs and circumstances.

6. *Social Security*

Measures to be taken to eliminate to the maximum extent, and with due regard to such elements as the different work patterns of men and women, discriminatory treatment of women in social security schemes.

7. *Right to Maternity Protection*

Measures to be taken progressively to extend the scope and to raise the standards of maternity protection, in keeping with the principles laid down in the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised) (No. 103) and Recommendation (No. 95), 1952, it being understood that the costs would be borne by social security or other public funds or by means of collective arrangements.

Measures to be taken to ensure that women as well as men have access to information and facilities concerning family planning and the right to decide freely and responsibly on family size and the spacing of children.

8. *Strengthening the Social Infrastructure*

In order to make women's right to work outside the home without discrimination fully effective in practice, measures to be taken, along the lines laid down in the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965 (No. 123):

- (a) to develop services and facilities meeting the needs of children of all ages and other dependants of working parents;
- (b) to provide other means, particularly in the form of counselling and social assistance, of making it possible to combine home and work responsibilities harmoniously; and
- (c) to reduce household drudgery.

Educational and promotional measures to be taken as necessary and appropriate to encourage a more equitable sharing of household tasks, including child-rearing, among family members.

Special attention to be given to the question of flexible working hours for men and women and of shorter daily and weekly hours for all workers with a view to facilitating the harmonious accomplishment of family and work tasks and to promoting practical equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers.

9. *Administrative Arrangements to Promote Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers*

Measures to be taken as necessary and appropriate to establish a national tripartite commission on the status of women workers with members from all different walks of economic, social and cultural life, to direct action aimed at promoting equality of opportunity for women in economic life.

Measures to be taken as necessary and appropriate to set up a central unit (which might serve as the secretariat of the national commission on the status of women workers) for developing and co-ordinating research and statistics, planning, programming and action on equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers, for disseminating knowledge and information pertaining to women's preparation for work life, their integration in the work force and equality of opportunity and treatment for them, and for providing a mechanism for systematic consultation with employers' and workers' organisations.

10. *Women's Effective Participation in National, Regional and International Bodies*

Measures to be taken to ensure the effective participation of women in all national decision-making bodies, especially those dealing with equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers, and in all appropriate national and internal regional and community bodies.

Measures to be taken to ensure the inclusion of women in equitable numbers in delegations to the International Labour Conference, to regional conferences of the ILO and to other national, regional and international meetings convened under the auspices of the ILO and other intergovernmental organisations.

II. REGIONAL ACTION

Measures to be taken by the ILO to place the question of equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers on the agenda of future sessions of the regional advisory committees and regional conferences and steps to be taken for the establishment of regional commissions on the status of women workers which will initiate regional programmes of action for the advancement of women in economic, social and cultural life and the promotion of equality of opportunity and treatment for them.

Measures to be taken to strengthen the regional field structure so that these programmes can be implemented effectively and so that the ILO can co-operate closely on women's questions at the regional level with other organisations of the United Nations system and with non-governmental organisations (especially employers' and workers' organisations).

Measures to be taken, in co-ordination with other bodies as appropriate, to promote in-depth studies on constraints on women's employment within different cultural and economic patterns and on possible means of relaxing or abolishing these constraints.

Measures to be taken to ensure that ILO activities undertaken in the various regions, either by itself or in co-operation with other United Nations agencies in connection with the World Employment Programme or through technical co-operation projects, serve to promote the effective participation of women in development, and to ensure that these activities do not lead to the perpetuation, maintenance or furthering of discrimination against women and that due care is taken of the implementation of international labour standards, in particular Conventions Nos. 100, 103 and 111.

III. INTERNATIONAL ACTION

Measures to be taken to review and revise, as appropriate, ILO standards relating to the employment of women and in particular the relevant instruments, including Conventions Nos. 100 and 111, with a view to determining whether their provisions are still adequate in the light of experience acquired since their adoption and to keeping them up to date in the light of scientific and technical knowledge, and preventing all discrimination against women workers.

Measures to be taken to develop new standards in areas of special but not exclusive interest to women workers.

Measures to be taken to strengthen research activities on problems of special interest to women, including problems relating to the impact of technological progress on women's employment and conditions and problems relating to family care and planning and other aspects of the social infrastructure.

Measures to be taken to invite the Industrial Committees and analogous bodies to utilise a greater number of women experts, and to give greater consideration to the position and problems of women within the industries concerned.

Measures to be taken to review the contribution and status of women workers in a changing world at the end of the Second Development Decade and the beginning of the Third Decade; i.e. Conference discussion in 1980 to evaluate progress made towards greater practical equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers and to plan further action to this end.

Measures to be taken by the ILO in conjunction with other bodies to collect and analyse statistical and other data useful for reviewing the status of women workers and measuring their total contribution to economic and social life.

B. Proposed Draft Declaration on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Conscious of the resolutions, declarations, Conventions and Recommendations of the United Nations and the specialised agencies designed to eliminate discrimination against women and to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for them,

Convinced of the special importance of equal rights and opportunities for men and women in economic life and social development,

Aware of the invaluable role of women workers in every national economy and of the need to enable women to exercise their right to participate in the workforce, if they so choose, on a footing of equality with men and to maximise their contribution to development,

Concerned that considerable discrimination against women workers persists and is incompatible with the interests of the economy, the welfare of the family and of society and the fundamental rights of women,

Convinced that efforts must be redoubled to promote and ensure equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers in law and in practice,

Conscious of the important responsibility and contribution of the ILO in stimulating efforts to this end,

Aware of the great economic, social and cultural differences which exist among the various regions and countries of the world and which condition progress towards greater equality of opportunity and treatment,

Aware also of the constraints of underdevelopment and of the need steadfastly to pursue the goals of economic growth and equity through employment-oriented development,

Conscious that women's problems in the world of work can be approached and solved only within the same general framework of economic and societal development as those of men,

Desirous nevertheless of setting forth certain principles as targets to be achieved progressively in relation to the integration of women in economic life,

Solemnly proclaims this Declaration on the occasion of International Women's Year:

Article 1

There shall be equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers with men. All forms of discrimination against women which deny or restrict such equality are unacceptable.

Article 2

All necessary and appropriate measures shall be taken to review and revise existing laws, practices or customs which limit the integration of women in the workforce on a footing of equality with men.

Article 3

All necessary and appropriate measures shall be taken to educate public opinion and to foster social attitudes which encourage and ensure equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers with men.

Article 4

In the promotion of equality of opportunity and treatment for women in economic life, full account shall be taken of the principles contained in international Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the United Nations and by the specialised agencies relating to the prevention of discrimination against women.

Article 5

(1) Measures shall be taken to ensure girls access to all forms of vocational orientation and guidance provided to boys and to all forms and levels of basic vocational training for all occupations and professions in accordance with the principles laid down in the proposed Recommendation concerning human resources development submitted to the Conference at its 1975 Session.

(2) Measures shall be taken to encourage girls to make full use of available orientation, guidance and training facilities and to choose and enter all occupations freely, including those hitherto reserved in practice for men.

(3) Special measures shall be taken to facilitate the continuing education and training of women on the same basis as men, especially during periods of absence from the labour force.

Article 6

(1) With a view to facilitating women's integration in the workforce on a footing of equality with men, all necessary and appropriate measures shall be taken to encourage a more equitable balance in their distribution in the various sectors of the economy, in the various branches and occupations and at the various levels of skill and responsibility.

(2) In accordance with the provisions of the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111) and of the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Recommendation, 1958 (No. 111), there shall be no discrimination on the ground of sex in employment or occupation.

(3) There shall be no discrimination against women workers on the ground of marital status or of age.

(4) Special measures shall be taken to ensure that the potentialities and needs of women as well as those of men are taken fully into account in employment promotion programmes and strategies.

(5) Special measures shall be taken to facilitate the access of qualified women to top positions in both the public and the private sector.

Article 7

(1) Women workers shall be guaranteed the right to equal remuneration for work of equal value in accordance with the provisions of the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), and the Equal Remuneration Recommendation, 1951 (No. 90).

(2) Special measures shall be taken to ensure equitable remuneration for women in occupations in which women predominate and to measure the relative value of their work with full regard to the qualities essential for competent job performance.

(3) Special measures shall be taken, as necessary and appropriate, to raise the level of women's wages as compared with that of men's and to eradicate the main causes of lower average earnings for women possessing the same or similar qualifications and doing the same or similar work.

Article 8

(1) There shall be no discrimination against women workers on the ground of pregnancy and childbirth and women bearing a child shall be protected from dismissal during the entire period of pregnancy and maternity leave and shall be entitled to reinstatement in their employment without loss of acquired rights.

(2) All women workers shall be entitled to full maternity protection in line with the minimum standards set forth in the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952 (No. 103), and the Maternity Protection Recommendation, 1952 (No. 95).

Article 9

(1) Women shall be protected from the risks inherent in their employment and occupation on the same basis and with the same standards of protection as men.

(2) Measures shall be taken to extend special protection to women only for types of work scientifically proved to be harmful for them from the standpoint of their social function of reproduction and such measures shall be reviewed and brought up to date periodically in the light of advances in scientific and technological knowledge.

Article 10

In order to ensure practical equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers, all appropriate measures shall be taken to provide the necessary supporting services in the community, in particular adequate child-care services and facilities which meet the needs of children of all ages and the needs of their parents and which are either run or supervised by the competent public authority.

Article 11

There shall be no discrimination against women in respect of social security and the age of retirement, and anomalies in the treatment of men and women under such schemes shall be kept under continuous review.

Article 12

In order to raise the status of women together with that of men in developing countries, special efforts shall be made to ensure that women are accorded an equitable share of all resources—national and international—available for development and that they are closely associated with development planning and implementation, at the national and community levels.

Article 13

Laws shall be enacted and enforcement machinery shall be established to guarantee women workers equality of opportunity and treatment in respect of employment and occupation. These shall include provision for ensuring effective compliance including procedures for complaints, conciliation, appeal and recourse to the courts.

Article 14

Members shall strengthen their national administrative machinery as appropriate in order to give full effect to all measures aimed at preventing all forms of discrimination against women workers and at promoting and ensuring equality of opportunity and treatment for them and raising their status in economic life.

APPENDIX I

SUMMARY OF ILO STANDARDS RELATING TO WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

1. Almost all the 140 Conventions and the 148 Recommendations which make up the ILO's International Labour Code are of as much concern to women workers as to men workers. The standards range over a wide subject area, including, for example, social security, occupational safety and health, hours of work, vocational guidance and training, employment policy and freedom of association. Relatively few Conventions and Recommendations apply exclusively to women. These are of two main types—promotional and protective. The promotional instruments are aimed primarily at overcoming economic and social discrimination against women in the world of work. The protective standards are concerned with providing them with the special protection they require because of their biological and social function of maternity.

I. NON-DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN IN EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION

2. As indicated above, with the exception of certain instruments providing special protection for women, international labour standards apply equally to men and women. This principle of non-discrimination is made express in a number of instruments.

3. The Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention (No. 111), which was adopted by the Conference in 1958, lays down the principle of non-discrimination in employment and occupation on the ground, among others, of sex. It calls expressly for the declaration of a national policy of non-discrimination. Discrimination is defined as any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation, including access to vocational training, access to employment and to particular occupations, and terms and conditions of employment. Countries which ratify the Convention undertake to promote, by methods appropriate to national conditions and practice, equality of opportunity and treatment in employment for all, with a view to eliminating discrimination. Various approaches to wiping out discrimination are suggested—for example, abolishing discrimination in law, seeking employer-worker co-operation, developing educational programmes, and having the government set a good example. Governments also undertake to indicate in their reports on the application of the Convention the action taken in pursuit of the policy of non-discrimination and the results secured by such action. The Convention stipulates that special measures of protection or assistance provided for through other ILO instruments shall not be regarded as discriminatory. The Discrimination Convention has been ratified by 84 countries. It is supplemented by a Recommendation which spells out the measures to be taken in connection with implementing the national policy of non-discrimination.

4. The principle of non-discrimination in employment was also emphasised in the Employment Policy Convention (No. 122) adopted by the 48th Session of the International Labour Conference in 1964. The Convention provides that governments should pursue, as a major goal, an active policy designed to promote full, productive and freely-chosen employment and that there should be the fullest possible opportunity for each worker to qualify for, and to use his or her skills and endowments in a job for which he or she is well suited, irrespective of, *inter alia*, sex. A Recommendation (No. 122) on the same subject adopted at the same time reaffirms the same principle and lays down detailed provision on the best ways and means to achieve full employment.

5. Further instruments which state expressly the principle of non-discrimination include the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1962 (No. 117), which codifies and brings up to

date ILO standards in this field. The Recommendation states explicitly that training should be free from any form of discrimination on the basis of sex, among other grounds. The Vocational Training (Agriculture) Recommendation, 1956 (No. 101), provides that the programme of vocational training in agriculture should cover the whole agricultural population without distinction as to, *inter alia*, sex. The Employment Service Recommendation, 1948 (No. 83), provides that the employment service, in referring workers to employment, should not itself discriminate against applicants on the ground of sex. The Special Youth Schemes Recommendation, 1970 (No. 136), provides that special schemes should be administered without discrimination on the basis, among other things, of sex and that they should be used for the active promotion of equality of opportunity and treatment. The principle of non-discrimination is also included in the Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), which stipulates that each ratifying Member shall undertake to apply its provisions equally to all plantation workers without distinction as to sex, among other things, and also in Part V of the Social Policy (Basic Aims and Standards) Convention, 1962 (No. 117).

II. EQUAL REMUNERATION FOR WORK OF EQUAL VALUE

6. The Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), requires ratifying countries to promote the application of the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value regardless of sex and to ensure its application to the extent that national methods of wage determination permit. The principle of equal pay may be applied by national laws or regulations, by legally established or recognised machinery for fixing wages, by collective agreements, or by a combination of these methods. As one possible approach to application of the equal pay principle, and where such action will assist in giving effect to the provisions of the Convention, measures should be taken to promote the appraisal of jobs on the basis of the work to be performed. The Convention defines "remuneration" as including "the ordinary, basic or minimum wage or salary and any additional emoluments whatsoever, payable directly or indirectly, whether in cash or in kind". The term "equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value" refers to rates of remuneration established without discrimination based on sex. The Equal Remuneration Convention has now been ratified by 81 member countries of the ILO. It is supplemented by the Equal Remuneration Recommendation, 1951 (No. 90), which lays down, in some detail, certain policies and procedures for the progressive application of the principles laid down in the Convention.

7. A provision recommending the application of the principle of equal remuneration is also contained in the Plantations Recommendation, 1958 (No. 110), as well as in the Social Policy (Basic Aims and Standards) Convention, 1962 (No. 117).

III. MATERNITY PROTECTION

8. The protection of working women in connection with their function of maternity is dealt with in two Conventions—the Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3), and the Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952 (No. 103)—and two Recommendations—the Maternity Protection (Agriculture) Recommendation, 1921 (No. 12), and the Maternity Protection Recommendation, 1952 (No. 95). Of the two Conventions, the 1919 instrument has been ratified by 28 States and the 1952 instrument by 15 States.

9. The 1919 Convention is applicable to industrial and commercial undertakings. Industrial undertakings are stated to include listed activities in the fields of mining and quarrying, manufacturing, construction and transport; commercial undertakings are stated to include any place where articles are sold or where commerce is carried on. It is left to the competent authority in each country to determine the line of division which separates industry and commerce from agriculture. With respect to agriculture there is no provision in the Convention, but the 1921 Recommendation stipulates that protection similar to that provided for in the 1919 Convention should be ensured to women wage-earners employed in agricultural undertakings. Undertakings in which only members of the same family are employed are excluded from the scope of the Convention.

10. The scope of the 1952 Convention is much wider: it embraces industrial undertakings (defined substantially as in the 1919 instrument) as well as non-industrial and agricultural occupations, including women wage-earners working at home. In this connection the term "non-industrial occupation" includes not only commercial establishments, but also postal and telecommunication services, offices, newspaper undertakings, hotels and restaurants, hospitals and analogous institutions, theatres and domestic work. A ratifying State may take exceptions to the application of the Convention in respect of certain occupations, such as agricultural occupations other than work on plantations, domestic work for wages in private households, etc.; these, however, are considered to be in the nature of temporary derogations. The exception in respect of undertakings in which only members of the employer's family are employed is no longer automatic either; but such undertakings may be excluded by national laws and regulations.

11. Both Conventions, which apply to all women employed in the undertakings or occupations covered, without any distinction whatsoever, provide for the following minimum protection:

- (a) a compulsory period of leave for six weeks (in the 1952 instrument at least six weeks) after confinement;
- (b) an entitlement of the woman to a further six weeks of leave which, under the 1919 instrument, falls to be taken before confinement and under the 1952 instrument either before confinement or after the compulsory period referred to in (a), or partly at the one time and partly at the other;
- (c) the provision, during the leave referred to in (a) and (b), of cash benefits sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of the child from insurance or from public funds;
- (d) medical care by a qualified midwife or doctor;
- (e) the possibility, for a nursing mother, to interrupt work for the purpose of nursing her child;
- (f) the prohibition of dismissal of the woman during the leave referred to in (a) and (b) or during any extension of such leave in case of illness medically certified as arising out of pregnancy or confinement.

12. The later instrument treats these various points in greater detail and in some respects with greater flexibility. Particular mention should be made of the following: a minimum rate for cash benefits paid from insurances is laid down; interruptions of work for the purpose of nursing are required to be counted as working hours; and great care is taken to make express what is merely implied in the 1919 text, namely that employers shall not be individually liable to pay cash maternity benefits and therefore that such benefits must not represent a financial burden for the individual employer.

13. The 1952 Convention is supplemented by Recommendation No. 95 which suggests various possible improvements on the protection provided under the Convention, e.g. the extension of maternity leave to a total of 14 weeks; a higher rate for cash benefits; more extensive medical care; benefits such as the provision of layettes and the supply of milk; facilities for nursing care; and, under some specified exceptions, employment security throughout the period of pregnancy. In addition, there is a section on the protection of the health of employed women during the maternity period, which recommends the prohibition of the employment of pregnant women and young mothers on certain specified types of work prejudicial to their health, combined with an entitlement to transfer, without loss of pay, to lighter work.

14. In addition, the Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), which is designed to expedite the application to plantations of certain key provisions of existing Conventions pending the more general ratification of these Conventions, contains a section on maternity protection. Essentially this section reproduces, in somewhat different terms, the key provisions of the two Maternity Protection Conventions. It does, however, contain two provisions not contained in either of these instruments: it provides that no pregnant woman shall be required to undertake any type of work harmful to her in the period prior to her maternity leave and, in addition to the absolute prohibition of dismissal during maternity

leave, it prohibits the dismissal of a woman solely because she is pregnant or a nursing mother. The Convention has so far been ratified by 10 States.

15. Finally, it may be recalled that the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952 (No. 102), deals with the manner of providing maternity cash benefit and maternity medical care, the categories of persons to whom these benefits are to be granted, and the level to be attained by the benefits. That Convention—which is divided into a number of Parts relating to different types of social security benefits—has been ratified by 22 States, of which 14 have accepted the Part relating to maternity benefit.

IV. NIGHT WORK

16. The employment of women during the night is regulated by four instruments: the Night Work (Women) Convention, 1919 (No. 4), the Night Work (Women) Convention (Revised), 1934 (No. 41), and the Night Work (Women) Convention (Revised), 1948 (No. 89), as well as the Night Work of Women (Agriculture) Recommendation, 1921 (No. 13). All three Conventions are in force. Fifty-seven States have ratified the 1919 Convention, 36 States have ratified the 1934 Convention and 53 States are bound by the 1948 instrument. The 1919 and 1948 Conventions remain open to further ratification: the 1934 instrument has been closed to ratification since the coming into force of the 1948 Convention in 1951.

17. The 3 Conventions are applicable exclusively to employment in industrial undertakings. The term " industrial undertakings " is stated to include listed activities in the fields of mining and quarrying, manufacturing and construction; for the rest it is left to the competent authority in each country to determine the dividing line which separates industry from agriculture, commerce and other non-industrial occupations. Undertakings in which only members of the same family are employed are excluded from the scope of the instruments.

18. The 1919 Convention applies to all women employed in industrial undertakings without any distinction whatsoever. The 1934 Convention states that it does not apply to women holding responsible posts of management who are not ordinarily engaged in manual work. The 1948 Convention excludes from its scope women holding responsible posts of a managerial or technical character as well as women employed in health and welfare services who are not ordinarily engaged in manual work.

19. All 3 instruments lay down the principle that women shall not be employed during the night in any public or private industrial undertaking. However, they have different definitions of the term " night ". The 1919 Convention states that the term " night " signifies a period of at least 11 consecutive hours which must include the interval between 10 o'clock in the evening and 5 o'clock in the morning. The only flexibility which it admits is to provide that in those countries where no government regulations as yet apply to the employment of women the term " night " may provisionally and for a maximum period of 3 years comprise 10 consecutive hours including the same compulsory period. The 1934 Convention contains the same definitions as the 1919 instrument but adds a proviso enabling the competent authority, after consultation of the employers' and workers' organisations concerned, to make the compulsory period the interval between 11 p.m. and 6 a.m. where there are exceptional circumstances affecting the workers in a particular industry or area. The 1948 instrument lays down an altogether more flexible definition: the term " night " signifies a period of 11 consecutive hours including an interval prescribed by the competent authority of at least 7 consecutive hours falling between 10 p.m. and 7 a.m.; different intervals may be prescribed for different areas, industries or undertakings, but the employers' and workers' organisations concerned must be consulted before an interval beginning after 11 p.m. is prescribed. The possibility of flexibility contained in the other two instruments is also retained.

20. All 3 Conventions allow for exceptions in cases of *force majeure*, cases of unforeseeable non-recurring interruptions of work and cases where the work has to do with raw material liable to rapid deterioration. All 3 further permit the general reduction of the night period in countries where the climate renders work by day particularly trying to the

health provided that compensatory rest is accorded during the day and for a reduction of the night period to 10 hours on 60 days of the year in undertakings influenced by the seasons. The 1948 instrument further admits of a suspension of the prohibition of night work in case of national emergency, subject to consultation of employers' and workers' organisations and notification to the Director-General of the International Labour Office.

21. Recommendation No. 13 recommends that member States take steps to regulate the employment of women wage-earners in agricultural undertakings during the night in such a way as to ensure them a period of rest compatible with their physical necessities and consisting of not less than 9 hours which shall, where possible, be consecutive.

V. UNHEALTHY EMPLOYMENTS

1. *Underground Work*

22. The employment of women on underground work is regulated by the Underground Work (Women) Convention, 1935 (No. 45). The Convention has been ratified by 77 States. The Convention lays down the principle that no female, whatever her age, shall be employed on underground work in any time. Mines are defined as including any undertaking, whether public or private, for the extraction of any substance from under the surface of the earth. National laws or regulations may exempt from the prohibition women holding positions of management, women employed in health and welfare services, women who spend a period of training in the underground parts of a mine and any other women who may occasionally have to enter the underground parts of a mine for the purpose of a non-manual occupation.

2. *Protection against Lead Poisoning*

23. The employment of women on painting work involving the use of white lead is dealt with in the White Lead (Painting) Convention, 1921 (No. 13). The Convention, which has been ratified by 49 States, prohibits the employment of women in any painting work of an industrial character involving the use of white lead or sulphate of lead or other products containing these pigments.

24. In addition, the Lead Poisoning (Women and Children) Recommendation, 1919 (No. 4), recommends that in view of the danger involved to the function of maternity, women should be excluded from employment in a number of specified processes involving the use of zinc or lead and be permitted to engage in processes involving the use of lead compounds only where certain safety and health measures are complied with.

3. *Ionising Radiations*

25. The Radiation Protection Recommendation, 1960 (No. 114), provides that in view of the special medical problems involved in the employment of women of child-bearing age in radiation work every care should be taken to ensure that they are not exposed to high radiation risks.

26. No provision concerning the employment of women of child-bearing age in radiation work was included in the Radiation Protection Convention, 1960 (No. 115), in view of the fact that scientific knowledge in this field had not yet permitted the competent international organisations to arrive at sufficiently precise practical conclusions. However, the International Labour Conference adopted a resolution inviting member States to keep this problem under review, and requesting the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to continue the study of the question, and to consider the possibility of placing on the agenda of an early session of the Conference the question of the action to be taken.

4. *Protection against Hazards of Poisoning Arising from Benzene*

27. The Benzene Convention, 1971 (No. 136), provides that women medically certified as pregnant, and nursing mothers, shall not be employed in work processes involving exposure to benzene or products containing benzene. The Convention is supplemented by a Recommendation (No. 144), which contains the same provision.

VI. MAXIMUM PERMISSIBLE WEIGHT

28. The Maximum Weight Convention, 1967 (No. 127), provides that the assignment of women and young workers to manual transport of loads other than light loads shall be limited and that where women and young workers are engaged in the manual transport of loads, the maximum weight of such loads shall be substantially less than that permitted for adult male workers.

29. The Convention is supplemented by a Recommendation (No. 128) containing a section on women workers. It provides that as far as possible adult women workers should not be assigned to regular manual transport of loads. Where adult women workers are assigned to such work, provision should be made as appropriate to reduce the time spent on actual lifting, carrying and putting down of loads by such workers and to prohibit the assignment of such workers to certain specified jobs, comprised in manual transport of loads, which are especially arduous. No woman should be assigned to manual transport of loads during a pregnancy which has been medically determined or during the ten weeks following confinement if in the opinion of a qualified physician such work is likely to impair her health or that of her child.

VII. WELFARE AND PREVENTIVE HEALTH MEASURES

30. The Welfare Facilities Recommendation, 1956 (No. 102), which lays down principles and standards concerning feeding facilities, rest and recreation facilities and transportation facilities for all workers, contains two special provisions relating to women workers. First, it recommends that in undertakings where any workers, especially women and young workers, have in the course of their work reasonable opportunities for sitting without detriment to their work, seats should be provided and maintained for their use. Secondly, it provides that rest rooms should be provided, *inter alia*, to meet the needs of women workers.

31. The Occupational Health Services Recommendation, 1959 (No. 112), lists among the functions of occupational health services the "pre-employment, periodic and special medical examinations . . . prescribed by national laws or regulations . . . or considered advisable for preventive purposes by the industrial physician", and specifies that such examinations should ensure particular surveillance over certain classes of workers, including women.

VIII. EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN WITH FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

32. The Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965 (No. 123) urges governments (a) to pursue a policy which will enable women with family responsibilities who work outside their homes to exercise their right to do so without being subject to discrimination and in accordance with the principles laid down in the Discrimination Convention and in other ILO instruments, and (b) to encourage, facilitate or undertake the development of services to enable women to fulfil their various responsibilities at home and at work harmoniously. It underlines the need for measures to encourage public understanding of the problems of this category of women workers with a view to developing community policies and a climate of opinion conducive to helping them to meet their family and employment responsibilities. The Recommendation also urges the competent authorities to collect information about the need for child-care facilities and to take the necessary measures to ensure that this need is met through services operating on agreed standards and supervised by public authority. With a view to enabling women with family responsibilities to become integrated in the labour force on a footing of equality and to re-enter it after a comparatively long period of absence owing in large part to such responsibilities, the Recommendation stresses the need for measures to ensure non-discrimination in the education and training of boys and girls and to encourage girls to prepare themselves seriously for their future work lives and also calls for the provision of services to facilitate re-entry into employment, such as counselling, employment information and placement services and training and retraining facilities. Provision is also made for allowing women who do not wish to return to work immediately after maternity leave an additional period of leave without relinquishing their employment rights. Finally, the Recommendation calls for

attention to matters which have particular relevance for women with family responsibilities, such as the harmonisation of working hours and hours of schools and child-care services and the provision at low cost of the facilities needed to simplify and lighten household tasks.

IX. LABOUR INSPECTION

33. The Labour Inspection Convention, 1947 (No. 81), provides that both men and women should be eligible for appointment to the inspection staff. Where necessary special duties may be assigned to men and women inspectors. A similar provision is included in the Labour Inspection (Agriculture) Convention, 1969 (No. 129).

APPENDIX II

PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT: AN INTERNATIONAL SURVEY ¹

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XIV. SUMMARY—CONCLUSIONS

The preceding material shows that the last ten years have witnessed an expansion of part-time employment in the developed countries and a growing interest in this form of work by the public authorities and, to a certain extent and for different reasons, by employers and workers. In the developing countries part-time employment is generally confined to jobs which are not by their nature full-time and to occupational groups with technical or professional skills in short supply (often, it would seem, in the form of two part-time jobs a person); in other sectors, it is most often involuntary in character because of the shortage of full-time jobs.

Definitions of part-time employment continue to vary not only from country to country but also for different purposes within countries. While in principle the term can be taken to mean work on a regular and voluntary basis for a daily or weekly period of substantially shorter duration than current normal or statutory work, it is difficult in practice to discover how far it is indeed voluntary (especially in developing countries) and to exclude persons working on two part-time jobs or a part-time job additional to a full-time job.

Statistics relating to the size of the part-time labour force are hard to come by and must be read and interpreted with caution. During the last ten years, however, there has been an evident expansion of part-time employment in many of the developed countries of Western Europe, in North America and in Australia and New Zealand and a new interest in part-time arrangements in eastern Europe.

Although the bulk of the part-time workers are women, and mostly married women, part-time work is not "for women only". It is also engaged in by students (in some countries on a wide scale), by older people at or near or after retirement and by persons whose health or other commitments do not permit a full-time schedule. It may also be sought by people, men or women, who simply do not wish to work full-time and opt for a part-time job.

While the range of occupations in which part-time employment is known is widening, and while this tendency is promoted by technological change, the concentration remains in the service sector—sales, retail trade and personal services—very largely in unskilled occupations, on the one hand, and, on the other, in highly skilled professional, technical and cultural services where it is one way of making use of or spreading specialisations in short supply. The former group predominates numerically everywhere; with some exceptions, part-time work mainly occurs in the service sector at low levels of skill and at high levels of monotony. It would be interesting to know whether this is really necessary or whether it is simply an historical pattern.

It would appear that the demand for part-time employment, despite the expansion of opportunities for such work, outruns the offer of jobs on this basis. It is clear, however, that firm evidence of definite interest in part-time employment is hard to come by and that many factors influence individual decisions where a choice is available—which is far from always being the case.

The reasons why employers engage part-time workers and why workers seek such work have not changed over time. Employers use such workers for jobs which do not require full-time workers, to meet general or specific manpower shortages, to cope with peak hours or

¹ Document ILO/W.4/1973 (Geneva, 1973) (mimeographed).

rush periods, to extend plant utilisation and sometimes to retain the services of experienced employees or to meet the desires of would-be employees. Workers who seek such work include those unable, often because of family responsibilities, to work a full day or week, students and older people to supplement grants or pensions and others who wish such work for various individual reasons, including grounds of health.

Attitudes towards part-time employment have evolved somewhat since the last survey. A good many governments are more interested in and sympathetic to part-time formulae. A good many employers, whether under economic stress or for other reasons, are willing to organise such employment or explore the possibilities, to accept the consequences and disadvantages and to reap the advantages. The trade unions seem less directly opposed to such employment but stress its disadvantages, particularly as regards income, security, promotion and the general integration of women into the workforce, and they fear that its spread among women will lead to a persistence of the concept of women as a marginal group in the labour force: they remain convinced that, on the whole, the best solution is shorter daily and weekly hours for all workers. One important factor in the evolution of attitudes towards part-time employment has been and will doubtless continue to be the growing practical concern with new patterns of working time arising out of a variety of developments, including interest in lifelong education and training, in the spread of leisure, in the humanisation of work and in flexibility of working hours and of the age of retirement.

Channels of recruitment and placement of part-time workers tend to be the same as those of full-time workers: the public employment service, private employment agencies, advertisements and personal contacts and inquiries. The only perceptible change in recent years has been the greater concern of the public employment service with this type of employment, expressing itself in various ways in different countries, mostly in the form of special arrangements to facilitate the recruitment of part-time staff (e.g. special units or "corners" in employment offices, specialised staff, advertising, mobile units), particularly in times or in areas of manpower shortage but also in order to meet a rising demand for less than full-time employment.

The actual arrangement of part-time hours varies considerably with the nature of the work to be performed and, to some extent, with the other commitments and the preferences of the part-time basis and there are many different formulae. In recent years, there seems to have been a trend towards greater variety and greater flexibility in the patterns, with little change, however, where the work has by its nature to be done at fixed times.

So far as conditions of employment are concerned, the main change has been the greater awareness of the need to regulate the conditions in which workers are employed and jobs are done on a part-time basis. There has been a certain amount of legislation and revision of collective agreements and arbitration awards so that they now cover the part-time as well as the full-time workforce. However, there has been no clear trend towards the assimilation of the conditions of employment of part-time workers and full-time workers or otherwise. Moreover, what standards there are in relation to part-time workers usually apply only to those who work a minimum number of hours daily or weekly (most often half-time). There has been wider acceptance of the principle that the wage rates of part-time workers should correspond to those of full-time workers, actual earnings being proportional to the number of hours worked. But there are situations in which part-timers receive higher or lower earnings, proportionally, than full-time workers. In such matters as weekly rest, holidays with pay, public holidays and sick leave, the principle that there should be no discrimination between full-time and part-time workers is well accepted, but the conditions under which these entitlements are offered are often such that part-time workers are in fact excluded from their enjoyment.

Part-time workers enjoy security in employment only when they are in jobs which by their nature give rise to claims to tenure. Where they are in indefinite employment relationships, they do have such security in a number of countries, that is, they cannot be dismissed except for reasons regarded as justified and have the same periods of notice and indemnities as full-time workers. But where a choice has to be made—e.g. in time of depression—part-time workers are the first to suffer; with exceptions (where the work is part-time by its very nature), what security they have is severely limited.

The situation of part-time workers under social security schemes is difficult to distinguish. Clearly, there is no problem where social security schemes cover all residents of

a country and are unrelated to employment status. Statutory schemes covering employed persons do not generally exclude part-time workers but some of the qualifying conditions (e.g. hours worked or minimum earnings) do in fact exclude some part-timers from coverage for certain benefits (e.g. unemployment benefit). Individual employer schemes may or may not cover part-time workers: there is no clear picture. Generally speaking, qualifying conditions are the same for part-time and full-time workers, but it is not clear how part-time service is taken into account in calculating minimum periods of employment where this is a qualifying condition. Part-time workers may also be excluded from benefit by conditions relating to minimum hours or earnings. Some of the most stringent conditions relate to unemployment benefit. Benefits in kind are not usually related to earnings or contributions. Nor are all cash benefits. But where they are so related, the benefits will necessarily reflect the low earnings of part-time workers. In some cases, however, the application of minima and of ceilings may give part-time workers a higher percentage of their earnings than full-time workers.

In the great majority of countries part-time workers enjoy the same rights as other workers in respect of participation in trade union activities and in the life of their undertakings. But while in principle they have the same rights, in practice they tend to be less interested in exercising them.

The increasing concern with part-time employment and the difficulties to which it may give rise suggests that the time may now be ripe for formulating international standards which would regulate such employment in the interests of both part-time and full-time workers and of their employers as well as in order to promote orderly employment structures. It would admittedly be difficult to draw up such standards for reasons already noted in this survey—the problem of defining part-time work in sufficiently precise terms, the problem of distinguishing between part-time work and multiple jobholding and technical problems relating to treatment on a pro rata basis and coverage under social security schemes. However, it would seem possible to find some reasonable common denominators to serve as a basis for a useful set of guidelines.

APPENDIX III

CONCLUSIONS OF THE MEETING OF EXPERTS ON EQUALITY OF REMUNERATION ¹

(Geneva, May 1974)

At the end of their discussions, the Experts adopted the following Conclusions. These Conclusions are not presented in order of priority and may apply to different degrees in different countries.

GENERAL MEASURES

1. Inequality of remuneration between men and women persists in many industrialised countries in spite of the laws and regulations in force. To achieve true equality of remuneration, action must be taken in respect of all the factors constituting obstacles to the advancement of women and to equality of rights in all fields, and particularly in general education and vocational training, employment, promotion, job classification, conditions of work and actual wages, both direct and indirect. In this regard, the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100) and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111), should be taken jointly into consideration and serve as a guide.

2. Every effort should be undertaken to promote the wider ratification and effective application of both the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111), as the two instruments are complementary in so far as the latter is concerned with sex discrimination.

3. For these purposes, priority should be given by governments and employers' and workers' organisations, as appropriate, to eliminating discrimination and creating proper conditions in the following fields:

- (a) general education, vocational guidance and training both before and during the worker's career;
- (b) labour administration, hiring, employment and assignment of manpower in the different sectors and branches of activity, career planning and promotion;
- (c) wage policies and job evaluation and classification;
- (d) conditions of work and welfare facilities;
- (e) attitudes regarding women, woman's image of herself, and the respective roles and responsibilities of men and women; and
- (f) the role of workers' organisations and the active participation of women in workers' organisations at all levels, particularly in positions of responsibility.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION

4. As a minimum, provisions concerning equality of remuneration between men and women should be included in general standards, particularly those relating to human rights and discrimination.

5. Specific provisions of general scope in legislation or contractual arrangements of binding character concerning equality of remuneration between men and women should be adopted. They should prescribe criteria relating to equality of remuneration for work of equal value in conformity with the principles set out in the relevant international standards.

¹ Document GB 193/9/15.

ENFORCEMENT

6. A special effort should be made to ensure the continuing enforcement in undertakings of laws and regulations relating to equality of remuneration by qualified inspectors or by other suitable means and to inform and advise those concerned on the prevention of discrimination and on disputes machinery.

7. Appropriate machinery for recourse, investigation, conciliation and arbitration should be established to permit the speedy examination of complaints. Plaintiffs should receive the necessary assistance and should be protected against possible reprisals.

STATISTICS

8. Statistics that can be used to measure trends in the level and composition of women's earnings, the differences in wages between men and women for work of equal value and progress made in applying the principle of equality of remuneration should be developed. To this end, governments should carry out, by means of appropriate statistical methods, regular national wage-structure surveys, giving distributions according to such factors as sex, skill levels, age, seniority, industry and size of establishment. In this regard, member States should be encouraged to make greater use of the instruments and resolutions on labour statistics adopted by various ILO meetings which should serve as a guide.

COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS

9. Collective agreements (and such other instruments as works agreements, individual contracts of employment and public service staff regulations) should be in conformity with the principle of equal pay. Provisions contravening the principle should be amended or considered null and void.

10. Where public authorities have the power to extend collective agreements and make them binding, conformity with the principle of equal pay should be a condition for doing so.

11. Where equal pay has not yet been achieved, collective agreements or legislation should specify methods of implementing it in conformity with international standards.

12. Methods of implementation should include—

- (a) the abolition of separate scales for men and women;
- (b) the determination of wage rates according to the same criteria for both;
- (c) the calculation of wage supplements on the same basis for both; and
- (d) the establishment of procedures and machinery (in which women workers should participate in equitable proportions) for settling disputes relating to equal pay.

JOB EVALUATION AND CLASSIFICATION

13. In conformity with the definition of the principle of equal pay for "work of equal value", job evaluation and classification systems should be based on criteria that are identical for men and women.

14. Job classifications and wage scales in collective agreements should be the same for men and women. Wage supplements should be calculated according to the same criteria for men and women. To the extent possible, efforts should be made to harmonise the systems and methods of classification between different sectors.

15. Employers' and workers' organisations should consider reducing the number of job classifications established in collective agreements.

16. Basic research on job evaluation and classification should be carried out and the results widely disseminated.

17. Although subject to limitations, job evaluation is one of the methods of implementing the equal pay principle. Where it is used, women workers should actively participate in job evaluation and classification exercises and should be fully informed concerning the

techniques being used. This will help to ensure that the criteria and weights selected for use do not undervalue the characteristics of the jobs most often performed by women.

LOW WAGES

18. To reduce income inequalities between men and women, especially where the differentials between the lowest and highest paid categories or between the minimum rates in collective agreements and those actually paid have the effect of perpetuating these inequalities, employers' and workers' organisations should make efforts to reduce such differentials.

PUBLIC INFORMATION

19. Public authorities and employers' and workers' organisations should take more effective action regularly to inform the public, and particularly women, of their rights in relation to equal pay and discrimination and procedures for ensuring respect for those rights, and to develop a climate of public opinion in which violations of the principle of equal pay are morally reproved.

20. Such information should cover laws, regulations, collective agreements and the situation in practice; it should be prepared in a readily understandable form and should be disseminated by means of all appropriate media, forums, and educational methods.

FUTURE ILO ACTION

21. The ILO should strengthen its activities relating to equality of remuneration and equality of opportunity between men and women.

22. The ILO should be encouraged to deal with equal remuneration in the wider context of equality of opportunity and treatment. Its activities should reflect the link between the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111). They should be aimed at achieving the implementation of both instruments in view of the inseparable relationship between the two.

23. To this end, Convention No. 100 should be re-examined with a view to determining whether its provisions are still adequate in the light of experience since its adoption.

24. The ILO should initiate as soon as practicable, or continue to carry out, research on topics including but not limited to—

- (a) overt or hidden discrimination in vocational training, guidance, employment and promotion and the establishment of favourable conditions in these fields;
- (b) the use of job evaluation and classification in implementing equal pay;
- (c) the relationship between social security systems and equality in employment;
- (d) the development of community social services (in particular, the creation of accessible child-care facilities) designed to ensure equality of opportunity in fact;
- (e) the effects of protective legislation on equality of opportunity;
- (f) the implications of quota or other comparable affirmative action systems as transitional measures intended to eliminate discrimination;
- (g) the results obtained through national programmes and machinery aimed at promoting equality; and
- (h) the relationship between the low wages of women in certain branches of the economy and the conditions in these branches as regards level of technology, equipment and production costs and also the relationship between all these factors and the large proportion of women employed in these branches.

25. It should seek to promote more precise knowledge of the extent and nature of the problem of inequality in employment including remuneration by—

- (a) publishing on the occasion of the International Women's Year a detailed study, based on the latest available statistics, on the employment status of men and women and the differences in wages between men and women; and

(b) assisting in the improvement of the statistical methodology through which the trend of the earnings levels of men and women and progress in achieving equal pay should be monitored, encouraging the improvement of national statistics and regularly disseminating statistical data to all those concerned.

26. It should intensify its public information activities on equal pay and discrimination and provide support to national educational and informational programmes, including those of employers' and workers' organisations.

27. The ILO's activities concerning equal pay and discrimination should cover developing as well as industrialised countries.

APPENDIX IV

ACTIVITIES AND CAMPAIGNS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS ON BEHALF OF WOMEN WORKERS

International trade union organisations have played a major role in furthering progress towards greater equality of opportunity and treatment in respect of vocational training, employment and conditions of work and life for women over the past ten years.

In resolutions and charters adopted during congresses or special meetings devoted to the problems of women workers, they have outlined in broad terms policies and claims which have served as inspiration for numerous national trade union organisations.

The texts which follow—supplied by the organisations concerned themselves—summarise the positions adopted by these international trade union bodies on the major problems involved in the enhancement of the status of women.

* * *

I. INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU)

The ICFTU Eighth World Congress (1965) adopted a comprehensive charter on the rights of working women that has been influential in guiding the course of subsequent action.

In 1968 the ICFTU organised its Third World Conference on women workers' problems in Düsseldorf (Germany). The Conference adopted a resolution on social and family policy demanding that the aspirations and needs of workers be met by the provision of adequate social welfare facilities including crèches, day nurseries and other child-care services, social and family aid services, family advice centres and collective services for assistance to households, as well as by the adoption of a housing policy designed to rationalise work and household equipment; and that provision must also be made for the training of qualified teaching and other personnel within the scope of an over-all educational programme.

After noting that human and social progress and family well-being imply, among other things, a balanced population growth, the resolution considers that all peoples must have access to contraceptive techniques and benefit from the information and education necessary for their use, and approves and encourages the setting up of a large number of family planning centres; the extension of scientific research into contraception; and the rejection of any legislation liable to limit or prevent the access of populations to information on means of contraception and their use.

The Conference also adopted a resolution on the employment of women in the context of technological changes and economic expansion demanding, *inter alia*:

- (a) that girls, just as much as boys, have access under the same terms and conditions to a solid basic general education, preferably and as soon as possible on a basis of co-education, and to vocational guidance and training fully adapted to the changing pattern of employment and the new possibilities opened by technological progress and inherent in social and economic development;
- (b) that within the scope of continuing education, vocational training or retraining, at all levels, whether on the job, in institutions or otherwise, be provided on the same conditions for women as for men, upon taking up or resuming employment, and also whenever changes come about due to technological progress;
- (c) that in the event of re-employment or redundancy, the same criteria be applied to men and women workers without discrimination on the ground of sex and that the workers be given the same choice as to compensation or adaptation;

- (d) that new employment or promotion openings be filled on the basis of individual capacity and merit without regard to sex or traditional concepts of "men's work" and "women's work";
- (e) that the principle of equal pay for work of equal value be applied with vigilance, and that this principle be taken into account whenever job evaluations and job descriptions for new employment are drawn up;
- (f) that all due attention be given to the new safety and health problems, and that the national trade unions take action to ensure that the employers are aware of their responsibilities in this respect.

The third resolution adopted by the Conference dealt with the full and effective integration of women in the trade union movement and called on individual unions and national and international trade union organisations to adapt where necessary their structures and policies to that effect.

The resolutions of the Conference were endorsed by the Ninth World Congress (1969) which also adopted a resolution detailing practical measures for the participation of women in policy-making at all levels in the economic, social and trade union fields.

The same Congress adopted also two other resolutions, one on equal pay for work of equal value and one on equality of education and vocational training. The Constitution of the ICFTU was also amended to ensure that the ICFTU/ITS Committee on Women Workers' Questions is represented on the ICFTU Executive Board.

The ICFTU Tenth World Congress in 1972 adopted a resolution requesting the revision of the Charter of the Rights of Working Women in the light of the rapid changes in the labour force and in society as a whole, and that this revised Charter be submitted to the Eleventh Congress in 1975. It also adopted a resolution on women workers which invites national trade union organisations to intensify their fight against sex discrimination, in particular by:

- (a) giving priority to equal pay;
- (b) demanding equality of access to education, training and employment;
- (c) undertaking studies on women's participation in work life and disseminating the results;
- (d) insisting that the question of equality for women workers be placed on the agenda of the 1975 Session of the International Labour Conference;
- (e) taking the necessary measures to ensure the integration of women in the trade unions and their participation in decision-making bodies; and
- (f) carrying on information and education work to arrive at the formation of new attitudes towards the role of women in present day society.

The ICFTU Tenth World Congress also reviewed the tasks and programme of the ICFTU and the Executive Board consequently adopted, in July 1972, a statement reiterating its objectives with regard to the employment of women—elimination of all discriminations based on sex, eradication of prejudices with regard to the role and employment of women, creating the conditions for equality in employment—and outlining the free trade union programme to achieve these objectives: i.e. take all steps to ensure:

- (a) that women and girls have the same rights and opportunities as men and boys in schooling, vocational training, further training, retraining and any form of education throughout their lives;
- (b) that in developing countries women benefit on the same terms and conditions as men from the measures taken and the programmes organised for increasing employment;
- (c) that for equivalent qualifications and abilities no discrimination is exercised against women with regard to opportunity of employment, promotion and access to higher jobs;
- (d) that women receive an equal remuneration for work of equal value;
- (e) that all discrimination with regard to social security be eliminated;
- (f) that the health of working women be adequately protected;

- (g) that all women have the possibility of planning their families and a free choice with regard to motherhood;
- (h) that maternity protection be the responsibility of society, that the health and welfare of the mother and child be ensured and that in particular compulsory maternity leave, with the possibility of its being prolonged if necessary, security of income during maternity leave, security of employment and of all which is linked to employment before and after maternity leave, be covered;
- (i) that, in order to assist families, services be set up such as crèches, nurseries, adjustment of school hours, community facilities, etc., the functioning of which should be based on the notion of service and not that of profit.

In the same year (1972), the ICFTU convened an International Conference on Equal Pay which issued a statement welcoming the priority given to this question, pointing out ways of achieving equal pay and charging the ICFTU/ITS Consultative Committee on Women Workers' Questions to prepare a co-ordinated programme of action on equal pay to be carried out on a concerted basis at the national and international levels.

The co-ordinated programme of action has been finalised and has been adopted by the ICFTU Executive Board in November 1973. Affiliated organisations are taking steps for its implementation or the adjustment of their existing activities in this field.

The ICFTU is actively engaged in reviewing the working conditions of women. In respect of night work, it has adopted the following recommendations of the ICFTU/ITS Committee on Women Workers' Questions:

Night work is detrimental to the health of all workers, both men and women, and to their family life. It limits their opportunities to acquire further education or training and to take part in political, cultural and even trade union activities. Technological progress should serve to improve the quality of life of the workers rather than to increase the profits of the firms which employ them. Trade unions should therefore strive to have night work banned for as many workers as possible—and this might mean educating male workers accordingly. Where night work is unavoidable, authorisation for it should be granted only subject to the approval of the workers' organisations and to a substantial improvement in working conditions.

The ICFTU Executive Board has decided to organise in 1975 a world conference on equality of rights and integration of women in economic and social fields and in trade unions. Preparations for this conference are going ahead.

In addition, it should be mentioned that one of the courses of the regular ICFTU/ORIT training programme for Latin America is particularly devised for women students. In Asia and Africa, women are increasingly taking part in the regular training programme sponsored by the ICFTU.

At the last Congress of the Inter-American Regional Organisation of the ICFTU (ORIT), a resolution was adopted creating a directorship for women workers' questions within the Regional Secretariat. The Congress also adopted a revised programme with a view to organising a regional conference for women trade unionists in the near future.

The ICFTU/ITS Committee on Women Workers' Questions has played a prominent role in formulating the ICFTU policy, programme and activities on behalf of working women.

The Executive Committee of the European Trade Union Confederation has decided to create a "women trade union leaders' group". Its first task is to ensure that the demands of working women are included in the social action programme of the European Community. In particular, it is planned to give priority to the following points at the European Social Conference (composed of governments, the EEC Commission, employers' and workers' representatives):

- (a) the setting up of crèches through legislation and with the assistance of the European Social Fund;
- (b) information on the myth of specific women's jobs, and showing the various job opportunities, in particular through the projection of short films in schools and on television;

- (c) European rules for certain problems, such as the access of women to skilled employment and the suppression of job admission examinations open only to men;
- (d) re-evaluation and upgrading of certain jobs without mention of sex and establishment of a "model list" for jobs and occupations.

The group will also press for the adoption by the Council of Ministers of the Commission's Directive on Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome.

II. WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (WFTU)

It is with constant attention that the WFTU follows the progress of the irreversible trend towards participation by women on an ever-increasing scale in the life of the community, seeking appropriate ways and means of helping them to resolve their many problems.

The WFTU has never failed to take into account the importance of the role of women workers, not only allotting them a special place at each of its meetings, congresses, general councils, conferences on vocational training, functional literacy teaching, etc., but also organising a series of activities specifically of concern to women, the most recent of which was the Third World Trade Union Conference on the problems of women workers and the claims to which these problems give rise. This Conference focused attention on the question of employment and the rights of women in the working world. Accordingly, we reproduce below extensive extracts from our Charter of Claims, adopted by 230 delegates representing 165 trade union organisations from 68 countries.

1. *Right to Work—Guaranteed Employment*

Genuine economic development policy entailing far-reaching economic and social reforms whereby the creation of new jobs in sufficient numbers should be ensured.

Recognition, guaranteeing and enforcement in practice of the right to work without discrimination.

Institution and development of welfare facilities so as to enable women effectively to exercise this right.

Abolition of all discriminatory clauses or practices in respect of the engagement or dismissal of women workers, irrespective of the type of employment (part-time or seasonal).

Prohibition of dismissal in all cases unless preceded by action to provide alternative employment, so as to guarantee fully the rights of women workers and assure them of an equivalent position.

Access to all types of employment, without restrictions, including positions of responsibility and management.

Application of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and, in particular, of paragraph 2 of Article 10, which reads: "In order to prevent discrimination against women on account of marriage or maternity and to ensure their effective right to work, measures shall be taken to prevent their dismissal in the event of marriage or maternity and to provide paid maternity leave, with the guarantee of returning to former employment, and to provide the necessary social services, including child-care facilities."

2. *Vocational Training and Advancement*

A solid general educational grounding is indispensable if a woman is to have freedom of choice of occupation and the opportunity to continue learning throughout her life.

Vocational training should be accessible to all, free of charge, and free from any form of discrimination on the basis of race, nationality, sex, political opinion, trade union membership or social origin.

Guaranteeing of the right of women to vocational training and their inclusion in the appropriate category.

Provision of facilities for general and vocational training and advanced training for women workers at their workplaces and at special centres during working hours remunerated as such.

Remuneration in respect of days of special leave to sit training, promotion and vocational retraining examinations.

Freedom of access for women and girls to the occupation of their choice, and right to education, training and advanced training on a permanent basis, so as to give them effective opportunities for advancement in keeping with the exigencies of technological progress and economic and social development.

Right of women workers to functional literacy teaching in the national languages so as to enable them to become more active participants in their work and in the community.

3. *Remuneration*

Substantial increases in wages and guaranteed wages.

Fixing of the same guaranteed living wage for men and women workers.

Ratification and effective application of ILO Convention No. 100 concerning equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value. Practical affirmation of the principle that the value of a woman's work is in proportion to her participation in the productive work process and her vocational qualifications.

Abolition of discrimination on the basis of race, territory or sex in determining wages and promotion.

No further waiving of the age limit for young people.

Granting of unemployment benefit without discrimination.

4. *Hours and Conditions of Work*

Shorter working hours for all, without discrimination in respect of wages, this being a matter of particular importance to women workers.

Granting of and respect for a period of weekly rest.

Entitlement to an annual holiday with pay of a guaranteed minimum of two weeks.

Paid breaks during the day for women workers engaged in arduous or assembly-line work.

Possibility of retiring at an earlier age than men without reduction in pension.

It is essential for the protection of women's health to establish a normal work pace based on realistic and scientific standards and assignments.

Scientific and technological progress, mechanisation, automation and the use of electronics should lighten the task of women workers.

States should ratify and guarantee the application of ILO Conventions Nos. 4 and 89, which prohibit the employment of women at night, and the Conventions prohibiting the employment of women on work endangering their health:

- in particular, and as an immediate step, pregnant women and mothers of young children should not be required to perform their work at night;
- it should be prohibited for women to be employed in arduous or unhealthy occupations where it is not yet possible to eliminate the causes which make them so.

The rules concerning occupational hygiene, health and safety for women must be strictly observed.

A system of social security guaranteeing, inter alia, protection of psychophysical health at workplaces through the intermediary of sanitary organisations for the prevention of occupational diseases caused by:

- excessive pace of assembly-line work;
- the use of toxic substances;
- inadequate ventilation at workplaces.

In countries where there is no social security legislation such legislation needs to be introduced and fully enforced.

5. *Rights of Mothers and Protection of Children*

Apart from the financial burdens and contingencies covered by social security in the case of the entire working class, women workers are entitled:

- to special protection, including free medical care, during pregnancy and confinement and following childbirth;

- to free medical care for their children;
- to the granting of pre- and post-natal maternity leave of a minimum duration of 12 weeks, without loss of seniority privileges;
- to payment of their wages in full during maternity leave;
- to grants on the birth of a child and to family allowances;
- to a nursing allowance and the supply of a layette;
- to the granting of, and remuneration in respect of, leave to take care of a sick child as a form of legal social security benefit;
- in the case of mothers on their own or women breadwinners with one or more dependent children, to supplementary allowances and every facility for giving their children a decent upbringing.

All discriminatory practices in connection with the health regulations and the social security legislation must be abolished.

Motherhood, a social function useful to society, confers upon a woman worker rights which the State and her employers must assume responsibility for and guarantee.

States have an obligation to establish a number corresponding to needs of crèches, day nurseries, kindergartens, reception centres, where children can go after school, and infant schools, staffed by medical personnel and specially trained teachers responsible for operating them. States must also promote facilities permitting of the exercise of the right to planned parenthood.

Establishment of holiday centres or camps, educational and cultural centres, sports and recreational facilities and other establishments necessary for the development and health of children of school age.

6. Trade Union Rights—Participation in Activities and Shouldering of Union Responsibility

To obtain satisfaction of the general demands of the working class as well as the more particular ones of women and girl workers, the trade unions must be allowed to exercise trade union rights and freedoms to the full, first and foremost in the undertaking, at the workplace itself.

Active participation by women workers in the life, activities and struggles of trade unions, and their promotion to positions of union management, are decisive factors in securing and furthering economic and social rights both for women workers and for the whole of the working class.

The Eighth World Trade Union Congress was held in October 1973, and, in the Charter of Trade Union Rights and Economic and Social Claims of Workers in Capitalist Countries Today, there is also a chapter on the woman worker in the capitalist world, which reveals that by 1980 there will be more than 650 million women workers, that 50 per cent of unemployed persons of 25 years of age are women, and that 1 woman in 4 works in an occupation for which she has been trained.

We may also mention the activities of our trade unions internationals, and, in particular, that of the chemical workers, which held a conference on the problems of women workers in the rubber and pharmaceutical industries in April 1973. Others constantly active are the TUIs of textile workers and of workers in commerce, the latter of which also held a conference in Cyprus in October 1971, etc.

Mention should be made of the conference organised in May 1973 by the French CGT under the title "Live Better, Live Differently", which was attended by 2,300 delegates; the seminar organised by the WFTU in February 1973 in Somalia at which 156 women took part in a debate on the obstacles barring the way to their emancipation.

A WFTU delegation went to seven African countries, attended a large number of meetings and visited numerous undertakings. We were able to observe the great battle being waged by women in order to put an end to illiteracy and give women access to vocational training. In Morocco, for instance, women and girl workers stage difficult strikes to secure respect for their rights. They carry on the struggle despite brutal attacks by their employers and measures of intimidation of all descriptions.

In February, in co-operation with UNESCO, the WFTU will organise a seminar in Dahomey on the theme: "Education, Literacy Teaching, Vocational Training and Employment for Women in A Changing World". The WFTU is actively engaged in the battle for genuine vocational training and for effective recognition of the value of women's contribution to the economic, social and intellectual life of their countries, which will put an end to the unjust and persistent career discrimination to which women are still subjected throughout the capitalist world.

In concluding this brief outline, we wish to point out that the WFTU has to its credit years of campaigning for the advancement of women. Its Eighth Congress, held in October 1973, and the Third World Trade Union Conference adopted two important documents summing up the claims and aspirations of women today.

With the aid of national confederations and of its women's committees, of special conferences and of trade unions internationals, the WFTU Working Party dealing with this category of workers ensures that permanent contacts are maintained with their members in order to determine their needs and the means of satisfying them.

III. WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (WCL)

The efforts of the World Confederation of Labour to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers—regarded as one of the essential pre-requisites for bringing about a more satisfactory sharing of responsibility between the sexes—already have a long history. The Fourth World Conference of Women Workers, held in Milan in November 1970, adopted a resolution on the vocational training of girls and women in which it stressed the need to supplement ILO Recommendation No. 117 (1962) so as to make it state in more detail the principle of non-discrimination on the basis of sex. It adopted another resolution on equal pay urging that progress be made in this respect and requesting the ILO to carry out an inquiry into existing or proposed methods of job evaluation in its various member States and on that basis to devise in due course appropriate international standards. Another resolution called on the ILO to intensify its work on behalf of women. It also urged that the ILO's regional activities in Latin America be conducted separately from those in North America and that the ILO pursue its efforts in all its fields of competence to promote active participation by women in social, economic and cultural development at all levels and throughout the world.

The Fifth World Conference of Women Workers will be held in 1975, and preparatory work for it has already begun.

An international seminar was organised by the International Council for Women Workers of the World Confederation of Labour in Brussels in 1972 on the subject of economic and social training for women workers. The Council has also studied the problems involved in integrating women more fully in trade unions and in enabling them to participate in trade union activities.

A Pan African seminar on the conditions of work and the promotion of women workers was held in December 1968 at Cotonou in Dahomey. This seminar, attended by representatives of organisations in Congo-Kinshasa, Togo, Gabon, Ethiopia, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Cameroon and Senegal, was organised by the Pan African Workers' Congress (PAWC) in co-operation with the International Labour Office. The claims it agreed upon, which are in line with the aspirations of women workers and take into account their position and role in traditional society, have been submitted to the national and international organisations.

APPENDIX V

PROGRAMME OF CONCERTED INTERNATIONAL ACTION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN

RESOLUTION 2716 (XXV) OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1970

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 1777 (XVII) of 7 December 1962 initiating the study of a unified, long-term United Nations programme for the advancement of women,

Recalling also the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, adopted on 7 November 1967, and the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, adopted on 11 December 1969,

Noting resolution IX of the International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran in 1968, on measures to promote women's rights in the modern world, including a unified, long-term United Nations programme for the advancement of women, which established guidelines for such a programme,

Noting also that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2571 (XXIV) of 13 December 1969 and with paragraph 79 of Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, concerning the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, arrangements should be made to keep under systematic scrutiny the progress towards achieving the goals and objectives of the Decade, to identify shortfalls in their achievement and the policies that are not consistent with the attainment of those objectives and to recommend positive measures, including new goals and policies as needed,

Expressing the hope that general and complete disarmament under effective international control will allow for the use of the resources released progressively for purposes of economic and social progress of all peoples, including the elaboration of programmes designed to advance the status of women,

Believing that a programme of concerted international action, planned on a long-term basis, will advance the status of women and increase their effective participation in all sectors,

Considering that the success of such a programme will require intensified action on the part of member States, at the national and regional levels, as well as maximum use of the methods and techniques available through the United Nations system of organisations,

Believing that an important step in the further development of such a programme would be the establishment of concrete objectives and minimum targets;

1. Recommends that the objectives and targets set forth in the annex to the present resolution should be achieved as widely as possible during the Second United Nations Development Decade.

2. Invites States Members of the United Nations or members of specialised agencies and all organs and agencies within the United Nations system to co-operate in achieving these objectives and targets, and hopes that adequate staff and resources will be made available for this purpose.

3. Recommends that concerted efforts should be made to increase the resources available for technical co-operation projects which advance the status of women and that consideration be given to allocating a specific percentage of the available funds for this purpose.

4. Requests the Secretary-General to make available to the Commission on the Status of Women, if possible at its twenty-fourth session, information on the extent to which women are participating in, and benefiting from, technical co-operation projects.

5. Recommends that conferences, seminars and similar meetings at the regional and international levels should be organised with the participation, wherever possible, of ministers, high government officials and specialists concerned with problems of development, and of representatives of non-governmental organisations concerned with this problem, to consider ways and means of promoting the status of women within the framework of over-all development.

6. Draws attention to the important role that may also be played in this respect by the regional training and research centres for social development to be established pursuant to Economic and Social Council resolution 1406 (XLVI) of 5 June 1969.

7. Suggests that the continuous education of adults be encouraged with a view to changing in particular their attitude of mind towards the roles to be played by men and women in order to help them to assume their responsibilities in society.

8. Notes, notwithstanding the provisions of all the preceding paragraphs, that the family, as the cornerstone of society, must be protected.

ANNEX

I. GENERAL OBJECTIVES

1. The ratification of, or accession to, the relevant international Conventions relating to the status of women.

2. The enactment of legislation to bring national laws into conformity with international instruments relating to the status of women, including in particular the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women.

3. The taking of effective legal and other measures to ensure the full implementation of these instruments.

4. The development of effective large-scale educational and informational programmes using all mass media and other available means to make all sectors of the population in rural as well as urban areas fully aware of the norms established by the United Nations and the specialised agencies in the Conventions, Recommendations, declarations and resolutions adopted under their auspices, and to educate public opinion and enlist its support for all measures aimed at achieving the realisation of the standards set forth.

5. The assessment and evaluation of the contribution of women to the various economic and social sectors in relation to the country's over-all development plans and programmes, with a view to establishing specific objectives and minimum targets which might realistically be achieved by 1980 to increase the effective contribution of women to the various sectors.

6. The study of the positive and negative effects of scientific and technological change on the status of women with a view to ensuring continuous progress, especially as regards the education and training as well as the living conditions and employment of women.

7. The elaboration of short-term and long-term programmes to achieve these specific objectives and minimum targets, where possible within the framework of over-all national development plans or programmes, and the provision of adequate funds for programmes which advance the status of women.

8. The establishment of machinery and procedures to make possible the continuous review and evaluation of women's integration into all sectors of economic and social life and their contribution to development.

9. The full utilisation of the desire and readiness of women to devote their energies, talents and abilities to the benefit of society.

II. MINIMUM TARGETS TO BE ACHIEVED DURING THE SECOND UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT DECADE

A. Education

1. The progressive elimination of illiteracy, ensuring equality in literacy between the sexes, especially among the younger generation.
2. Equal access of boys and girls to education at the primary and secondary levels and at educational institutions of all types, including universities and vocational, technical and professional schools.
3. Decisive progress in achieving free and compulsory education at the primary level and in achieving free education at all levels.
4. The establishment of the same choice of curricula for boys and girls, the same examinations, equally qualified teaching staff, and the same quality of school premises and equipment, whether the institutions are co-educational or not, and equal opportunities to receive scholarships and grants.
5. The achievement of equality in the percentage of boys and girls receiving primary education and of a substantial increase in the number of girls at all educational levels, in particular in the field of technical and professional education.
6. The establishment of educational policies that take account of employment needs and opportunities and of scientific and technological change.

B. Training and Employment

1. Provision of the same vocational advice and guidance to members of both sexes.
2. Equal access of girls and women to vocational training and training at all levels, with a view to achieving their full participation in the economic and social life of their countries.
3. Universal acceptance of the principle of equal pay for equal work, and the adoption of effective measures to implement it.
4. Full acceptance of the policy of non-discrimination in relation to the employment and treatment of women, and measures to give effect to that policy on a progressive basis.
5. A substantial increase in the numbers of qualified women employed in skilled and technical work, and at all higher levels of economic life and in posts of responsibility.
6. A substantial increase in the opportunities for involvement of women in all facets of agricultural development and agricultural services.

C. Health and Maternity Protection

1. The progressive extension of measures to ensure maternity protection, with a view to ensuring paid maternity leave with the guarantee of returning to former or equivalent employment.
2. The development and extension of adequate child care and other facilities to assist parents with family responsibilities.
3. The adoption of measures for the creation and development of a wide network of special medical establishments for the protection of the health of the mother and child.
4. Making available to all persons who so desire the necessary information and advice to enable them to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to prepare them for responsible parenthood, including information on the ways in which women can benefit from family planning. Such information and advice should be based on valid and proven scientific expertise, with due regard to the risks that may be involved.

D. Administration and Public Life

1. A substantial increase in the number of women participating in public and government life at the local, national and international levels. Special attention might be paid to training women for such participation, especially in middle-level and higher posts.

2. A substantial increase in the number of qualified women holding responsible posts at the executive and policy-making levels, including those related to over-all development planning.

APPENDIX VI

UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

In November 1967 the General Assembly unanimously adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. This international instrument sets forth general standards in all fields which the Commission on the Status of Women has studied since its inception in 1946 and calls for measures to guarantee their implementation.

The substantive articles of the Declaration deal with: political rights (article 4); right to a nationality (article 5); rights under civil law (article 6); discriminatory provisions under penal law (article 7); traffic in women (article 8); educational rights (article 9) and economic rights (article 10).

Article 10, which deals specifically with women workers, reads as follows:

1. All appropriate measures shall be taken to ensure to women, married or unmarried, equal rights with men in the field of economic and social life, and in particular:

- (a) the right, without discrimination on grounds of marital status or any other grounds, to receive vocational training, to work, to free choice of profession and employment, and to professional and vocational advancement;
- (b) the right to equal remuneration with men and to equality of treatment in respect of work of equal value;
- (c) the right to leave with pay, retirement privileges and provision for security in respect of unemployment, sickness, old age or other incapacity to work;
- (d) the right to receive family allowances on equal terms with men.

2. In order to prevent discrimination against women on account of marriage or maternity and to ensure their effective right to work, measures shall be taken to prevent their dismissal in the event of marriage or maternity and to provide paid maternity leave, with the guarantee of returning to former employment, and to provide the necessary social services, including child-care facilities.

3. Measures taken to protect women in certain types of work, for reasons inherent in their physical nature, shall not be regarded as discriminatory.
