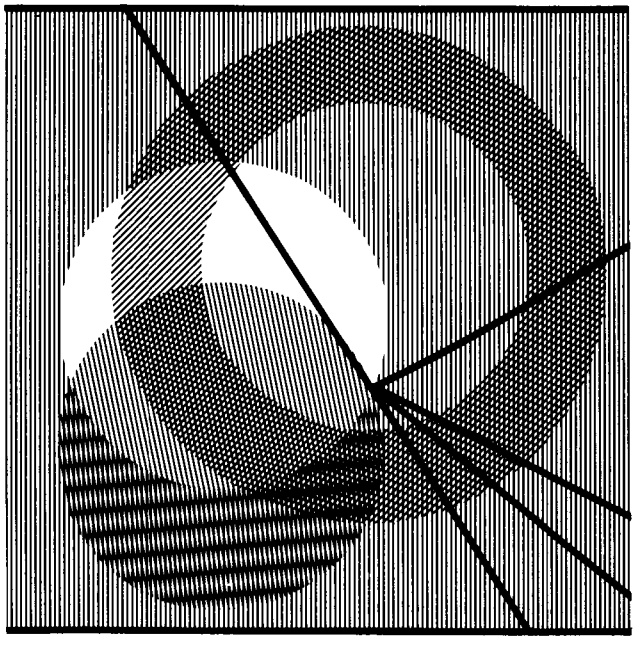
Women and Unemployment[1]



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The official unemployment rate in Canada has risen from 3.4 per cent in 1966 to 7.5 per cent in 1979.[2] However, some politicians and economists have been telling us not to worry. The 'real' unemployment rate, the unemployment rate for prime males (usually men between the ages of 25 and 64 although expert opinion varies on which men are in their prime) was less than 5 per cent in 1979, much closer to what they argue is normal unemployment. These are the people who need to work, who need to support their families. These are the breadwinners, the primary earners. These are the people who may suffer real economic hardship from their unemployment. But we should not become overly concerned about the unemployment of even these workers. Their unemployment is less significant than it might appear since they often come from multi-earner families; their wives and possibly their children are working. The family can survive.

True, those males not yet in their prime, those between

the ages of 15 and 24, do have much higher unemployment rates—over 13 per cent in 1979. However, according to this argument, they are often unemployed because they shop around, as Ostry (1968:8) puts it; they are too selective; they are "refusing to accept unpleasant, unattractive jobs, or jobs with no career prospects" (Sadlier-Brown, 1978:30); they drop in and out of the labour force when they feel like it, collect unemployment insurance, go to school, or both. They are voluntarily unemployed, perhaps even living off the state. Even for those few who are genuinely unemployed there is no economic hardship. They do not really need to work because they have prime age males, their fathers, to support them and because they do not have the responsibility of supporting others.

Women, it seems, are hardly ever in their prime, at least not in economic terms. While women's unemployment rate is rising, reaching almost 9 per cent for all women and over 13 per cent for young women in 1979,[3] their unemployment is not considered a matter of concern for a number of reasons. First, they are secondary workers. This term is used to imply a number of factors. They are secondary because: i) they "normally or regularly switch back and forth between labour force and non-labour force activities" (Buckley, 1972:7); ii) they only want to work part-time; iii) they lack commitment to the labour force; and iv) they are secondary earners.

Secondly, their unemployment may be easily dismissed because they do not need the money. They do not need to work because they have their husbands or fathers, those 'real' prime age workers, to support them. They are only working for pin money, for extras and we must all face the necessary belt-tightening, give up the luxuries. Women's unemployment does not create economic hardship.

Third, these women who do not really need to work are taking jobs away from those who do, the prime age males. Women are thus seen as the cause of the genuine unemployment that does exist. By implication, if the women would only go home where they belong, if they would only give up their pin money, we would not have an unemployment problem.

Finally, it is argued that women illegitimately collect unemployment insurance. Not only do they cheat by using the system for unearned gain, they take money that they do not really require to survive. Because they are secondary workers, because they do not need the money, because they take jobs away from men and because they only become unemployed and employed to collect unemployment insurance, the rising unemployment rate of women may be dismissed as unimportant, as an inaccurate measure of economic problems.

These arguments made by politicians and academics, their definitions of unemployment, may appear to be mere verbal battles, signifying nothing, and irrelevant to those who are jobless. But, as Sadlier-Brown (1978:29) points out, "a brief look at our changing perceptions of unemployment in this century reveals how powerfully our definitions of unemployment determine our policies for coping with it." Definitions are translated into policy. This process is becoming increasingly obvious in terms of women's unemployment. The government is dealing with the dramatically rising unemployment rates by defining female employment out of existence, by blaming women for the increase in unemployment and unemployment insurance costs, by cutting back in those areas where women are employed and by withdrawing funds from programmes designed to help jobless women.[4] Since this argument is used to justify and develop policy, part of the attack on the problem of women's unemployment is an attack on the legitimacy of this argument. This paper begins the process by examining, in some detail, the argument that female unemployment may be dismissed as unimportant because women are secondary workers, because they do not need the money, because they take jobs away from men and because they work only to qualify for unemployment insurance.

WOMEN AS SECONDARY WORKERS

The description of workers as primary and secondary is curious. The meaning is unclear. Does simply being a man who has reached his twenty-fifth birthday make a worker primary? If so, less than half the labour force is primary. Does a male worker's financial responsibility for the welfare of others make him a primary worker? If so, only slightly more than one quarter of male workers provide the sole support for their families and many women also would qualify. Does primary refer to the importance of the job to the employer and the economic structure as a whole? If so, how did we develop such a perfect fit between males of a certain age and important jobs? And how is it that less than half of our jobs are important? If age and sex are the criteria, why is this distinction required and how is it useful? The only way the distinction makes sense is if we talk about jobs. Jobs are not primary and secondary in terms of their importance to the employer or the employee but in terms of their pay, prestige, skill, responsibility, attractiveness, working conditions and future opportunities. And while there is not a precise coincidence between these jobs and the sex and age of the workers, it is clear that women and young people are disproportionately slotted into jobs that are secondary in these terms[5] (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978). However, the term secondary worker is most frequently used to indicate that women are less important workers because they move in and out of the labour force, they work only sometimes and part-time, they lack commitment and they earn less than men.

It is difficult to evaluate the legitimacy of these claims, given the lack of relevant data, but to the extent that these patterns of female employment exist, they appear to be at least as much a result of the job as they are related to the sex of the worker. The information on the continuity of female employment is contradictory and limited. In responding to a questionnaire from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Sangster (1973:30) reported that "Recent Canadian data on this subject suggest that the proportion of women in the labour force who usually work a full year (51 weeks or more) is only slightly lower than the corresponding male proportion (77.7 per cent vs 80.9 per cent)." He (1973:34) goes on to say that, while we do not report general turnover rates in Canada, the specific studies that have been done indicate little difference in male and female separation rates, especially in what are here defined as secondary jobs. A footnote in the May, 1978 issue of *The Labour Force* refers to a forthcoming publication which shows that in 1976 only 68 per cent of the women, as compared to 82 per cent of the men, who worked some time during the year worked all year. In other words, women had more discontinuous work patterns than men. While the data appears somewhat contradictory, it would not be surprising if women do have a higher turnover rate than men. The Canadian Department of Labour (1960:32) found that "The proportion of continuous workers is greatest in occupations of the highest socio-economic class," but women are seldom found in these jobs. In addition, women are less likely to change jobs "if the occupation is managerial, professional or clerical than if it is commercial, factory or service" (Department of Labour, 1960:20). Like men, women are more likely to stay in the good jobs and to leave the ones that offer little in terms of rewards. However, they are more likely than men to have these secondary jobs and the jobs they do have are unlikely to encourage long term commitment. According to Shields (1972:5-6) discontinuous work patterns are "more influenced by the skill of the job, the age of the worker, the record of job stability, and the length of service than the sex of the worker." The jobs produce discontinuity.

Approximately 40 per cent of all women who experience discontinuity in employment do so because they are laid off or their jobs disappear (MacDonald, 1978). Women are not only in jobs that are discontinuous, they are also the first fired. For example, women are somewhat more likely than men to lose their job in the first six months of employment (MacDonald, 1978). As Gunderson (1976:104) points out, "Not having invested much in

their female workers, firms are not concerned about losing them permanently should they be laid off in a recession." It is also easier to fire women because they are less likely than men to be unionized and because they frequently have little seniority. Thus, discontinuity may become self-perpetuating: less job continuity producing less job continuity.

Almost one-third (MacDonald, 1978) of those women who leave their jobs do so to perform their other work, work in the home. Women are much more likely than men to leave their labour force work because of family responsibilities or because their spouse changes their residence. Men are more likely than women to leave a job because they are dissatisfied or for no particular reason. In other words, many women are forced to leave their jobs because they have two jobs, not because they lack commitment. Thus, although women may have more interrupted work patterns than men, the jobs themselves are often discontinuous and are those which are unlikely to encourage continuity. Furthermore, their position in the labour market ensures that they are the first fired and their other job at home may force them to work intermittently in the labour force. The better the job, the more likely people are to work continuously, but women are disproportionately slotted into the worst jobs (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978; Gunderson, 1976).

It has also been suggested that women's assumed higher turnover rate results from their lack of commitment to their labour force work. Marchak's (1973:206) research on white collar workers in British Columbia and Archibald's (1970:95) study of public servants show that women plan to stay in or return to their jobs. Available data (MacDonald, 1978) indicates women are less likely than men to leave their jobs because of dissatisfaction. Furthermore, they are less likely than men to benefit from sticking to their jobs (Archibald, 1970:95) and therefore have less to gain from remaining in the same job. Women's jobs and their work experience do not encourage commitment.

That 70 per cent of all part-time workers are women is also used as an indication of their secondary status. Of those women who work part-time, almost one-third work in clerical jobs, one-third in trade and one-quarter in service.[6] They work part-time in these jobs because the jobs are part-time. Who would serve you your late-night donut, sell you your toys from Santa, add up your food bill on Friday night at the supermarket, take your cash at the self-serve gas station, process your income tax and type those extra letters if women did not work part-time? Many employers rely on part-time workers to operate their businesses, save money by doing so and would have difficulty replacing them with more expensive full-time employees. These are the jobs that are available to women and many must take them both because they are the jobs available and because their other work may make it difficult for them to participate full-time in the labour force. Given the paucity and expense of child care, after school, lunch hour and summertime facilities for children, it is not surprising that many women take these part-time jobs. When women do take these jobs, they are likely to make a full commitment to the work. One-quarter of all female workers have been with the same employer for more than five years. Over half have been with the same employer for over a year and recent data indicates that women are increasingly likely to stay with their part-time jobs.[7] The jobs are part-time because they save money for the employers, especially when they can get experienced and loyal employees at reduced rates. Some women may prefer part-time work but many have little choice.

This leads directly to the final factor relegating women to secondary worker status—women's wages. Women are secondary earners if this means they earn less than men. Women are paid less than men even when they perform very similar tasks. According to the Economic Council of Canada (1976:106-107), women are "overconcentrated in low-paying and underrepresented in high-paying industries. Similarly, they are overrepresented in the least organized sectors and underrepresented in those that are organized." But Ostry (1968b:45) argues that, even when this segregation is taken into account, there remains a

sizeable pay gap between female and male workers. And the gap may be widening. Gunderson (1976:122) suggests that "females may be losing ground in occupations where the earning gap is small and gaining where the earnings gap is large." Furthermore, women are more likely to be offered and have to take part-time work. Because women earn less than men, they are secondary workers: because they are secondary earners, their work is less important and so is their unemployment. Women's wages are secondary to those of men but this does not mean that the work is less important to women or to the employers. Employers hire women and pay them less because they are cheaper and because they lack the organization and resources to object.

Women may move in and out of jobs more frequently than men, they are more likely to work part-time and they do make less money than men. However, this is at least as much a result of the nature of the jobs available to women as it is a result of women's work patterns and preferences. The jobs, not the workers, are secondary.

WOMEN'S ECONOMIC NEED

It is strange indeed that economists and politicians suggest that women do not need to work. Clearly jobs in our society are not allocated on the basis of economic need. Only in the case of women, and possibly young people, is this question raised. If economic need were the criterion, then many of these same politicians and economists would have difficulty justifying their right to a job. People, male and female, young and old, should have the right to work for pay. But even if the criterion were to become economic need, many women would qualify for jobs.

Thirty per cent of women in the labour force are single. It is difficult to determine what proportion of these women could rely on a prime age male for support but, in 1979, 60 per cent of these single women were twenty years of age or more.[8] Surely it can be assumed that the overwhelming majority of these women depend upon their labour force income and not their fathers for support. The dramatic decline since World War II in the labour force participation of younger women suggests that most of those who can rely on others for economic support do so and therefore stay out of the labour force.

Almost ten per cent of the female labour force is separated, widowed or divorced. Some of these women may be provided for by 'real' workers but Boyd's (1977:56) research indicates that employment was the major source of 1970 income for nearly three-quarters of divorced women and for one-half of separated women. In other words, most of these women relied on their labour force jobs to meet their economic needs.

The other 60 per cent of women in the labour force are married. That married women's labour force participation is rising in spite of their poor job opportunites and low wages, in spite of the double burden of two jobs, in spite of the scarcity and quality of day care facilities, in itself suggests that they must need to work, that they must need the money. However, there is more direct evidence of their economic need. Boyd's (1976:55) research indicates that over 40 per cent of married women rely on employment as their *major* source of income. Furthermore, it is clear that many other women work because, without their earnings, the family would not be able to maintain its standard of living. As has been argued in *The Double Ghetto* (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978:chapter 6), women's income is the primary way low and middle income families have stabilized their living standard and prevented a decline. Dupont, speaking in the House of Commons (March 6, 1978: 3488), claimed that in 70 per cent of the families where the woman worked for pay, the husband earned less than the average income. Many of these families would probably be able to survive without the woman's earnings but survival would be the appropriate word. Some, however, would not be able to do so. It is primarily because of women's labour force participation that some families have been able to rise above the poverty line in the last decade. Between 1966 and 1977, the number of families

living below the poverty line has decreased by seven per cent (Shifrin, 1978). However, at least according to a study prepared for the Economic Council of Canada, the social security system became less progressive in terms of benefits paid (Cloutier, 1978:49). Furthermore, the National Council of Welfare (1979:21) estimates that in two spouse families, the number of poor families would double if wives had no earnings. This would suggest that it is women's work that is the major cause of the improvement. Clark, also speaking in the House of Commons (March 6, 1978: 3486), argued that almost 45 per cent of married women in the labour force belong to families which would live below the poverty line if they quit their labour force jobs.

Economic need is not the major criterion for job allocation in this country but, if it were, many women would have little difficulty in qualifying for paid work. Most women work for food, clothing and shelter, to send their children to school, not to buy pins.

MEN'S JOBS

Why are they men's jobs? If men have a prior right to jobs by virtue of their obligation to support their wives and families, then just over one-quarter of male workers qualify;[9] many women would also meet this criterion.[10] Over one-quarter of all males in the labour force are single, so they should not have more claim than single women if support for others is the qualifying factor. But even if we assume that men should have first claim on jobs, it is clear from research that men and women do not often compete for jobs; they are employed and unemployed in different industries and occupations.

Census data shows that men and women do different jobs in the labour force; that between 1941 and 1971 men and women were concentrated in different jobs in different industries. Some women have replaced men as janitors, waiters and elevator operators. Some men have replaced women as teachers and nurses—the only two attractive and decently paid occupations which account for a large number of women. So it is clear who is taking what jobs from whom.

The Labour Force Survey, which provides more current data than the Census, lacks detail. Furthermore, the changes in definitions, collection and presentation of data make it difficult to do historical analysis.[11] Nevertheless, some analysis is possible. Not surprisingly, the annual averages of employment and unemployment for 1979 show patterns of segregation similar to those revealed in the Census data. As Table 1 shows, women are more highly concentrated in the service producing sector. Within this sector, they are more highly concentrated than men in community, business and personal service (43.7 per cent of all women workers) and trade (18.9 per cent of all women workers). As in the Census data, further detail would probably reveal even greater segregation than that evident in the broad categories given here. Women's unemployment is also concentrated in these industries. Over two-thirds of unemployed women are seeking jobs in the service producing sector, with over half in trade and community, business and personal service. But less than half the unemployed males are seeking jobs in the service sector. Forty-one per cent of the unemployed males are in the construction and manufacturing sectors while less than 20 per cent of the unemployed females are in these industries. Furthermore, although one-third of all males work in these two industries, only 15 per cent of all females work here and most of these are in manufacturing.

The occupational divisions given in Table 2 reveal more clearly the limited competition between males and females. Over three-fifths (62.6 per cent) of all female workers are in just three different jobs—clerical, sales and service. These occupations account for less than one-third (20.0 per cent) of all male workers. Unemployed women are also concentrated in these occupational groups. Close to three-fifths (57.5 per cent) of unemployed women and less than one-quarter (23.9 per cent) of unemployed men are seeking work in these occupations. Furthermore, while almost one-third (31.0

per cent) of unemployed men are in product fabricating and construction, less than six per cent (5.8) of women are employed in these occupations. Almost 40 per cent (39.9) of unemployed males are in occupational categories where there are virtually no unemployed females and less than three per cent (2.9) of all females are employed in these occupations. (This includes natural sciences, religion, fishing, hunting and trapping, forestry and logging, mining and quarrying,—all negligible for women—machining, construction, transport equipment operation, other crafts and equipment handling). Women are not taking jobs away from men. Women and men are, for the most part, employed and unemployed in different jobs. Given women's wages and hours, men are unlikely to be willing and/or able to take the jobs women have now.

Finally, an analysis of unemployment rates by sex shows that there is no consistent relationship between high female employment and high male unemployment. Nor is the reverse pattern evident. As Table 3 shows, male and female unemployment rates were very similar until 1969. Since that time, female unemployment rates have risen steadily and have stayed above the rates for men.[12] But male unemployment rates have fluctuated. In 1979, both male and female unemployment rates dropped slightly. Female participation rates have risen steadily while male unemployment rates have fluctuated. The figures in Table 4 also suggest that there is no direct relationship between female employment and male unemployment. Women are not forcing men out of work. If all the women went home tomorrow (assuming that they have a home to go to), there would be work left undone and we would still have an unemployment problem.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Women are not only blamed for unemployment but also for the high cost and abuse of the Unemployment Insurance Programme. In *People and Jobs* (1976:152) the Economic Council of Canada argues that, "The increase in benefits had provided some disincentive to search for gainful employment or, more precisely, a stronger inducement to remain idle volutarily, particularly for women." Green and Cousineau (1976:112) are suspicious that "where there is more than one earner in a family some of what appears to be unemployment is really the enjoyment of leisure or the participation in non-labour market work activities." It is clear from their preceding discussion that those they primarily suspect are married women. These suspicions have been translated into action. Schwartzman,[13] a former employee of the Unemployment Insurance Commission, claims that benefit control officers are expected to cut off between 40 and 60 per cent of the people they interview. Married women and young men are particularly subject to close scrutiny because they are thought to be in the high abuse category. And the recent changes in the Unemployment Insurance Act are designed to disqualify young people and married women in particular.

Most of the arguments ignore or downplay the fact that this is an insurance scheme that people contribute to on the basis of employment and that people have a right to collect this insurance if they qualify, regardless of their sex or resources. It is not simply another government handout to the undeserving poor, as advertisements labelling claimants as cheaters would suggest. Nor is it primarily related to survival, as some recent critics have suggested. But the attack on women as abusers appears to be primarily related to their right to collect unemployment insurance when they have another job at home and men to support them. Little evidence has been produced to prove that women who do not qualify under the Act collect benefits. Changes in the Act suggest just the opposite. In order to prevent women from qualifying, they had to change the regulations. Furthermore, if unemployment insurance is viewed as an insurance scheme, "it turns out that families with working wives are not under-contributing towards the cost of unemployment insurance but rather are over-contributing" (Kapsalis, 1978:26), even though cost ratios for wives may be higher.

It is difficult to obtain accurate historical data on the sex and age of people collecting unemployment insurance, especially on the amounts paid to men and women. The analysis often appears to be contradictory. It is clear that 43 per cent of all unemployed women and 45 per cent of unemployed married women lost their jobs or were laid off (Statistics Canada, December 1979:115) and therefore there can be little doubt as to the legitimacy of their claims. Nor can there be much doubt about the six per cent (Social Planning Council, 1978:12) of claimants who took maternity leave since the regulations make it difficult to take a job in order to qualify after pregnancy begins. About the others, it is more difficult to tell.

According to the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (1978:12):

> A comparison of the unemployment insurance claimant file with the official unemployment figures shows that young people and women significantly underuse the program, both in proportion to their numbers of officially unemployed and in relation to older groups and males.[14]

Table 5 dramatically illustrates this underuse. Columns 1 and 2, compiled by Statistics Canada to indicate the use of the unemployment insurance programme, suggests that young people and women receive more than their share of benefits. However, the addition of column 3 clearly shows that people under 25 and women over 25 are not getting their share of benefits. While these groups constituted two-thirds of the unemployed in 1972, they received only half of the benefits. By 1976, the gap had narrowed only slightly.

In addition, women receive less money even if their claims are deemed legitimate. In 1970, women had an unemployment rate higher than that of men yet they received less than 30 per cent of the total amount paid in benefits.[15] Although over one-half of the male unemployment insurance beneficiaries draw benefits which exceed the minimum wage in their province, this is the case for only one-tenth of the females. (Economic Council of Canada, 1976:21) Some, but not all, of this difference may be accounted for by the lower amounts paid to women because their wages are lower than male wages. However, some difference must result from women not claiming their legitimate payments.

Green and Cousineau (1976) in their report on unemployment written for the Economic Council of Canada, claim that the amount of benefit pay a person is entitled to, the strictness of the administration of unemployment benefits and the tightness of the market directly affect voluntary unemployment. The tighter the market, the lower the benefits due, the stricter the application of the regulations, the less voluntary unemployment. If this relationship is consistent, then we should now have few women voluntarily unemployed, given their low benefits, the tight market and the strict rules applied to them.

It should also be noted that employers may benefit from the unemployment insurance programme. As the Economic Council of Canada points out (1976:152), unemployment insurance may ease the responsibility and costs of lay-offs, sickness and maternity leave. It may encourage workers to take short-term jobs they would otherwise reject. And many of these workers are women.

There is little evidence to prove that women illegitimately collect unemployment benefits. There is the clear assumption that women should take the jobs when their labour is required but when they lose or leave their jobs they should go home and rely on their husbands for support, not unemployment insurance.

TOO MANY WOMEN AND OTHER PROBLEMS

Not all politicians have blamed male unemployment on women or suggested that women do not have the right to work. Marc Lalonde, former Federal Minister responsible for the Status of Women, repeatedly argued that women work for the same reasons that men do. In his

view, the main problem, the cause of high female unemployment rates, is that too many women have entered the labour force. However, as Table 3 shows, women as a percentage of the unemployed have gone up by over twelve percentage points in the last decade while women as a percentage of the employed have gone up by only six percentage points, and as a percentage of the labour force by only 6.8 percentage points. In other words, women have disproportionately suffered from unemployment. Even if their increased labour force participation is taken into account, the increase in unemployed women is almost double that of the increase in their employment and entry into the labour force. Compared to their counterparts in 1964, the frequency and duration of female unemployment have dramatically increased, while the reverse pattern is evident for men (McIlveen and Sims, 1978:31-33). In addition, the unemployment rate for women fluctuates inconsistently with their labour force participation, suggesting that there is not a direct relationship between their rising labour force participation and their unemployment. The employment/population ratio also fluctuates and even decreases, often when female participation increases, thus further providing evidence that the relationship is not direct. Women's unemployment cannot be explained only in terms of their rising labour force participation.

SUMMARY

The arguments dismissing female unemployment as unimportant are full of contradictions. It is argued that women's unemployment is not important but that neither is men's unemployment important because their wives are working. It is argued that women entering the labour force cause male unemployment and create economic hardship but at the same time it is claimed that many families have risen above the poverty line. However, those families that have improved their standard of living have done so because the women took paid employment. It is argued that women illegitimately collect unemployment insurance because they do not really want to work. The problem is not that women work in the labour force but that they do not go home when their job is finished. A decade ago, Ostry (1968b:7) explained low Canadian female unemployment rates by arguing that "they are less likely to remain in the market looking for work, but instead return to some non-labour force activity." Now women are staying in the labour force, in part, at least, because their economic needs are even more pressing.

Women's unemployment rates are steadily rising. They are now consistently higher than those of men, especially now that we count them more accurately. Furthermore, they are likely to increase. Job vacancies are down in white collar occupations, especially in clerical and service jobs where women are concentrated.[16] Jobs are declining in the health sector where women are employed in large numbers. The cutbacks in the education sector, the other place where women find their best jobs, are obvious to everyone. Cutbacks in federal government programmes are bound to hit women first because many are employed there and because they frequently lack seniority.

Female unemployment is a serious and growing problem, a problem that cannot be dismissed by arguing that women are only secondary workers, by arguing that they do not really need to work, by arguing that they take jobs away from men, by suggesting that they only work and become unemployed in order to freeload off the government through unemployment insurance. Most women need the money, most are involuntarily unemployed either because they lost their job or because they had to do their other job; most have legitimate claims on unemployment insurance benefits and few take jobs away from men. The problem is jobs, not women.

We cannot define away unemployment. We cannot pretend that 44 percent of the unemployed do not exist. The unemployment of women must be attacked directly, not redefined.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was published in R. Marvyn Novick, *Full Employment: Social Questions for Public Policy* (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, December, 1979).
2. Official statistics on unemployment underestimate actual unemployment. The hidden unemployed are not included and a significant proportion of the hidden unemployed are women who disappear into the home. For a discussion of hidden unemployment, see Gonick, 1978; Robinson, 1977; Report of the People's Commission on Unemployment Newfoundland and Labrador, 1978.
3. These figures on unemployment are taken from Statistics Canada, *The Labour Force*, December, 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001), Table 56.
4. For example, the Government no longer funds Womanpower and women as a group no longer qualify for the Outreach programme. The number of spaces in day care centres, an important prerequisite to being in the labour force for many women, is declining.
5. *The Labour Force* (May 1978), p. 70.
6. Calculated from Statistics Canada, *The Labour Force*, April, 1977 (71-001).
7. Calculated from *Ibid.*
8. Calculated from Statistics Canada, *The Labour Force*, December 1979 (71-001), Table 59.
9. Calculated from Statistics Canada, *Income Distributions*, 1976 (13-529).
10. See Statistics Canada, 1976 Census, (93-825) Bulletin 4.6 and The National Council on Welfare, *One in a World of Two's* (1976).
11. One often suspects that Statistics Canada is attempting to deny history. Publications are continually being suspended and of course now with the cutbacks, cancelled. There often appears to be a lack of policy that results in constantly changing classifications of data. This is particularly true of the information on unemployment insurance.
12. Please note that these figures are based on the revised labour force survey data.
13. In *Ontario Report*, 3, 2, (September, 1978).
14. In addition, a comparison of insurance claimants from March 1968 to August 1978 "shows a discernible downward trend" in use of unemployment insurance by women. (Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1978:13).
15. Calculated from The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Annual Report on Benefits Established and Terminated Under the Unemployment Insurance Act*, 1963-1971.
16. Statistics Canada, *Job Vacancy Survey*, March 1978 (71-002).

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Table 1

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY AND SEX, CANADA 1979

	Employment				Unemployment			
	Women as % of Industry	Men as % of Industry	Women as % of all Women Workers	Men as % of all Male Workers	Women as % of Industry	Men as % of Industry	Women as % of all Women Workers	Men as % of all Male Workers
All Industries	38.8	61.2	—	—	46.1	53.9	—	—
Goods - Producing Industries	21.5	78.5	18.5	42.9	25.4	74.6	19.7	49.3
Agriculture	25.3	75.0	3.0	5.7	38.1	61.9	2.1	2.9
Other primary Industries	8.8	91.2	0.6	3.9	—	89.3	—	5.5
Forestry	5.3	94.7	0.1	1.1	—	86.7	—	2.9
Fishing & Trapping	—	96.6	—	0.4	—	80.0	—	0.9
Mines, Quarries & Oil Wells	10.2	89.8	0.4	2.4	—	87.5	—	1.6
Manufacturing	26.5	73.5	13.7	24.0	39.5	60.5	15.5	20.4
Construction	8.0	92.0	1.3	9.3	5.1	93.9	1.3	20.6
Service Producing Industries	47.5	52.6	81.5	57.1	56.0	44.2	67.6	45.6
Transportation, Communications and Other Utilities	20.6	79.3	4.6	11.2	23.4	76.6	2.8	8.0
Transportation & Communications	21.3	78.7	4.1	9.7	23.3	76.7	2.6	7.3
Electric Power, Gas & Water Utilities	16.2	83.8	0.5	1.5	—	—	—	—
Trade	42.2	57.9	18.9	16.5	50.4	49.6	16.3	13.7
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	59.3	40.7	8.2	3.6	71.4	28.6	3.9	1.3
Community, Business & Personal Service	59.7	40.3	43.7	18.7	66.8	33.2	39.1	16.6
Public Administration	34.8	65.2	6.1	7.3	43.5	56.5	5.2	5.8
Unclassified	—	—	—	—	68.5	32.9	13.0	5.3

NOTES: In cases where the percentages given for males and females do not add up to 100, the fault lies with Statistics Canada. For example, in construction, the figures indicate that 5,000 women and 93,000 men are unemployed but that the total is given as 99,000 unemployed.

SOURCES: Calculated from Statistics Canada, **The Labour Force** (Cat. No. 71-001) December 1979. Tables 74 and 92, pp. 90 and 108.

Table 2

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION AND SEX, CANADA 1979

	Employment				Unemployment			
	Women as % of Occupation	Men as % of Occupation	Women as % of all Women Workers	Men as % of all Male Workers	Women as % of Occupation	Men as % of Occupation	Women as % of all Women Workers	Men as % of all Male Workers
All Occupations	38.8	61.2	—	—	46.1	53.9	—	—
Managerial, Administrative	25.4	74.6	5.0	9.3	42.9	57.1	2.3	2.7
Natural Sciences	12.1	88.0	1.1	5.1	—	81.8	—	2.0
Social Sciences	49.7	50.3	1.8	1.2	62.5	—	1.3	—
Religion	—	89.3	—	0.4	—	—	—	—
Teaching	56.3	43.8	6.1	3.1	75.0	25.0	3.1	0.9
Medicine & Health	76.4	23.6	8.7	1.7	87.5	—	3.6	—
Artistic and Recreational	34.7	66.0	1.2	1.5	45.5	54.5	1.3	1.3
Clerical	77.2	22.9	34.0	6.4	81.6	18.4	26.4	5.1
Sales	39.9	60.2	10.7	10.3	51.7	48.3	8.0	6.4
Service	53.9	46.2	17.9	9.7	61.4	38.6	23.1	12.4
Agriculture	22.4	77.6	2.9	6.3	28.6	71.4	2.1	4.4
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping	—	96.4	—	0.4	—	80.0	—	0.9
Forestry and Logging	—	96.6	—	0.9	—	93.3	—	3.1
Mining and Quarrying	—	98.3	—	0.9	—	100.0	—	1.1
Processing	18.1	81.9	1.8	5.1	38.9	63.9[1]	3.6	5.1
Machining	5.7	94.3	0.4	4.2	—	90.5	—	4.2
Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing	23.5	76.6	5.6	11.6	36.0	64.0	7.0	10.6
Construction Trades	1.4	98.7	0.2	10.3	—	97.9	—	20.4
Transport Equipment Operation	5.3	94.7	0.6	6.4	—	97.0	—	7.1
Materials Handling	18.9	81.1	1.2	3.4	27.3	69.7[1]	2.3	5.1
Other Crafts and Equipment	16.9	82.4	0.6	1.8	—	71.4	—	1.1
Operating	—	—	—	—	—	—	13.0	5.4

NOTE 1: Figures given by Statistics Canada account for percentages greater than 100.

SOURCES: Calculated from Statistics Canada, **The Labour Force** (Cat. No. 71-001) December 1979. Tables 74 and 92, pp. 90 and 108.

Table 3

PARTICIPATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX, CANADA, 1966-1979

	Unemployment Rates		Participation Rates	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
1966	3.4	3.3	35.4	79.8
1967	3.7	3.9	36.5	79.3
1968	4.4	4.6	37.1	78.6
1969	4.7	4.3	38.0	78.3
1970	5.8	5.6	38.3	77.8
1971	6.6	6.0	39.4	77.3
1972	7.0	5.8	40.2	77.5
1973	6.7	4.9	41.8	78.2
1974	6.4	4.8	42.9	78.7
1975	8.1	6.2	44.2	78.4
1976	8.4	6.4	45.0	77.7
1977	9.5	7.3	45.9	77.7
1978	9.6	7.6	47.8	77.9
1979	8.8	6.6	48.9	78.4

SOURCES: Statistics Canada, For 1966-1977 Historical Labour Force Statistics-Actual Data, Seasonally Adjusted Data (Cat. No. 71-201) Ottawa, 1978. pp. 69, 71, 83, 85. For 1978, Labour Force Annual Averages (Cat. No. 71-589) Ottawa, 1979. Table 1. For 1979, The Labour Force (Cat. No. 71-001) Ottawa, December 1979. Table 56.

Table 4

UNEMPLOYMENT, EMPLOYMENT AND LABOUR FORCE BY SEX, CANADA 1966-79

	[1]Men as % of Total Unemployed	[1]Women as % of Total Unemployed	[2]Unemployment Rate (Both Sexes)	[3]Men as % of Employed	[3]Women as % of Employed	[4]Employment/ Population Ratio (Both Sexes)	[5]Men as % of Labour Force	[5]Women as % of Labour Force
1966	68.3	31.8	3.4	68.7	31.3	60.1	68.7	31.1
1967	68.6	31.4	3.8	67.9	32.1	59.5	67.9	32.1
1968	68.4	31.8	4.5	67.3	32.7	57.8	67.3	32.7
1969	65.2	35.1	4.4	66.8	33.2	57.5	66.7	33.3
1970	65.6	34.7	5.7	66.4	33.6	55.5	66.4	33.6
1971	63.3	36.8	6.2	65.8	34.2	55.1	66.4	34.8
1972	60.9	39.1	6.2	65.5	34.5	56.6	65.2	34.8
1973	57.2	42.6	5.6	64.9	35.1	60.0	64.5	35.5
1974	57.2	42.6	5.3	64.4	35.6	62.3	64.1	36.0
1975	57.0	43.2	6.9	63.7	36.3	60.4	63.3	36.7
1976	55.8	44.2	7.1	63.1	36.9	59.1	62.6	37.4
1977	55.8	44.1	8.1	62.7	37.3	58.7	62.1	37.9
1978	55.1	44.8	8.4	61.7	38.3	57.4	61.1	38.9
1979	53.9	46.1	7.5	61.2	38.8	58.6	60.7	39.3

SOURCE: For 1966-77, calculated from Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics - Actual Data, Seasonal Factors, Seasonally Adjusted Data (Cat. No. 71-201) Ottawa, 1978. For 1978, calculated from Labour Force Annual Averages, (Cat. No. 71-589) Ottawa, February 1979. Table 1. For 1979, The Labour Force (Cat. No. 71-001) Ottawa, December 1979. Table 56.

[1] Calculated from pages 54, 55 and 57.
[2] Page 68.
[3] Calculated from pages 34, 35 and 37.
[4] Page 98.
[5] Calculated from pages 20, 21 and 23.

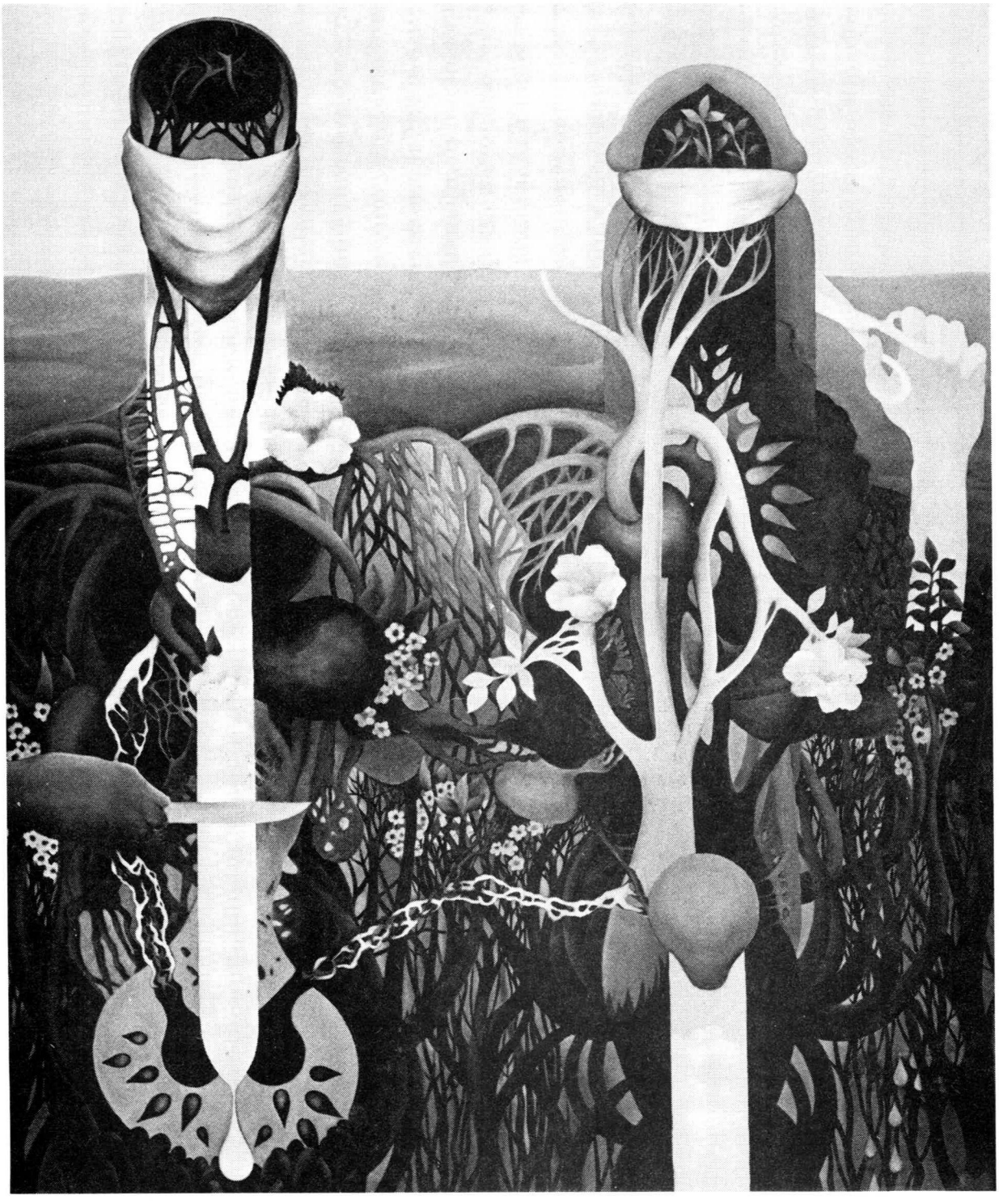
Table 5

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BENEFITS FOR ALL WOMEN AND MEN UNDER 25 YEARS[1]

	Per Cent of All Benefits	Per Cent of Labour Force	Per Cent of Unemployed
1972	50.6	49.3	66.9
1973	52.4	50.6	69.4
1974	53.3	51.1	70.3
1975	54.4	51.8	70.4
1976	56.5	52.3	71.7

SOURCES: Columns 1 and 2: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force. Feature: Income, Annual Labour Force Pariticipation and Family Status 1971-73-75. (Cat. No. 71-001) Ottawa, September 1978. p. 70.
Column 3: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics: Actual Data, Seasonal Factors, Seasonally Adjusted Data (Cat. No. 71-201) Ottawa, January 1978. Calculated from pp. 54, 56 and 58.

[1]The data are from taxation statistics and thus are based on tax filers.



COUPLE I
Carol H. Fraser, 1970,
Oil on Linen, 50" x 40"
In the collection of the Nova Scotia Gallery of Art.