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WORKING PARTY ON "THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY"

(26th - 29th November, 1974)

Point 9 of the Agenda: Equal Pay for Work of  
Equal Value

(Note by the Secretariat)

1. The New Zealand Authorities authorised the Secretariat to circulate the attached preliminary "Discussion of the Social Implications of Equal Pay". This document was prepared for the New Zealand Social Development Council for submission to a special working party for comments and recommendations. This may lead to some modification of the present text.

2. Since the New Zealand Social Development Council would appreciate receiving comments on the paper and any suggestions or references to other relevant work, it seemed particularly appropriate to circulate this challenging paper to the Working Party on the Role of Women in the Economy for:

- (a) its consideration during the discussion of issues related to equality of remuneration irrespective of sex; and
- (b) formulation of comments for transmission to the New Zealand Authorities.



DISCUSSION

OF THE

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

OF

EQUAL PAY

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

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## THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF EQUAL PAY

### INTRODUCTION

1. The purpose of this paper is to bring forward for community discussion and further study the social implications of implementing equal pay. The wise resolution of any further social and economic policy decisions arising from this proposal requires public understanding of its implications and the issues involved, both social and economic.

2. It is important to remember that any assessment of the social implications must be a theoretical analysis dependent upon the interpretation of the social values and attitudes implicit in the practical proposal of equal pay. Therefore, it is in the context of a practical proposal in the changing roles of men and women that the social implications of equal pay will be discussed in this paper.

### SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

3. While the main focus of this paper will be upon social implications it is appropriate to lead into this discussion with a summary of the opinions of economists on some of the more pertinent short and long term economic implications of equal pay.

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4. These likely effects have been summarised from:

- (a) submissions to the Commission of Inquiry into Equal Pay 1971 - in particular the submissions of the Labour Department;
- (b) the Proceedings of a Seminar on Equal Pay, Industrial Relations Centre, Victoria University 1970;
- (c) Report by the Manufacturing Development Council on Women in the Manufacturing Industry 1972.

A fuller analysis of these likely trends is included in a later section which discusses the labour market.

### Definition of Equal Pay

5. (i) The New Zealand Equal Pay Act 1972 defines Equal Pay as "a rate of remuneration for work in which rate there is no element of differentiation between male and female employees based on the sex of the employees". 'Remuneration' means the wages or salary and includes any additional emoluments of any kind by the employer to the worker and arising out of the worker's employment.

- (ii) The criteria for determining whether there is an element of differentiation is that "there shall be no discrimination for work which calls for identical or substantially identical degrees of skill, effort and responsibility and which is performed under identical or substantially identical conditions".

#### Timetable for Implementations

6. The implementation of equal pay is being phased in on an incremental basis over the period commencing April 1973 and expiring April 1977.

#### Likely Overall Economic Trends

7. Given a full employment policy, and a growing economy, there will be an increased overall demand for female labour despite a likely short-term retarding effect caused by the introduction of higher wages. (Paragraphs 97-99)

8. The financial incentive of higher pay is likely to attract more women especially married women into seeking and remaining in employment. Location, hours and adaptability of employers are likely to be stronger determinants than the economic incentive of higher rates of pay affecting what types of employment these women seek. (Paragraphs 100-103)

9. Moreover, the vertical movement (movement to higher positions) of women in the labour force is likely to be unaffected by equal pay. Factors such as education and continuity of service are far more important determinants of promotion. Increased vertical movement of the female labour force requires a further breakdown in the social attitudes affecting their employment both among women themselves and employers. (Paragraphs 104-106)

10. The redistribution of income affected by equal pay will act strongly in favour of two income families. (Paragraphs 74-84)





## THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF EQUAL PAY

### Setting for Discussion

11. The issue of equal pay is one of the more tangible issues of the movement towards the recognition of the changing roles of men and women. Thus there is a possibility that broad social effects might be attributed wholly to equal pay when in fact equal pay is only one of the many contributing factors. The introduction or failure to introduce equal pay will not solely cause nor will it completely stop any social change. Its introduction, however, gives a burst of acceleration to this movement and it is in this context that its social implications will be discussed.

12. Practical proposals, such as equal pay, concerning the employment of women, contain implicit assumptions and values regarding sex roles in the spheres of:

- (a) inter-personal relationships and inter-actions, particularly within the family;
- (b) the institutional structure of society.

The implementation of equal pay assumes change in the values operating in both spheres. It will act as an initiator of further changes.

13. Thus the implications of equal pay for both spheres are potentially radical and the possible effects are far reaching. In the personal sphere it calls into question the basis and quality of family life, inter-action between the sexes and the meaning of marriage. In the institutional sphere, it brings to the fore questions concerning the role of women in the labour force, the structure and function of work and the role of education.

### INTER-PERSONAL SPHERE

#### FAMILY AND PARENTHOOD

### Sociological Changes in Family Life

14. Family in pre-industrial times followed the extended family pattern. It was essentially an economically integrated and self-sufficient production unit. Industrial production meant the separation of production from family life. Influenced by considerations of efficiency, profitability and competition, industrial production was based on the employment of labour with economically dependent family members performing unpaid services in the home. It, therefore, became an important factor in the preservation of already established wide differences in sex roles. Also as industrialisation progressed kinship structures became smaller and more independent than the earlier extended families.



15. In addition, the corollaries of industrialisation; technological and scientific knowledge, urbanisation and increased leisure are reflected in the life cycle and life styles of today's families.

16. Gilson has computed the differences between stages in the New Zealand family life cycle at the turn of the century and in the 1960s(1). At the turn of the century, in terms of the wife's age, marriage occurred at about 26.5, birth of the first child at age 28 and birth of the last child at age 38.5. In the 1960s again using the wife's age, marriage was at age 22, birth of the first child at age 24 and birth of the last child at age 28. This compressed period of child bearing, together with the drop in the average marriage age means that full-time intensive child care is now completed when a woman is relatively young.

17. The effects of this compression of the child bearing - child rearing years together with an increase in longevity are:

- (a) to increase the number of years which the husband and wife have available for closer companionship. This will probably become an important consideration on the part of those contemplating marriage;
- (b) to free the mother at a young age to involve herself more fully in activities outside the home. With the labour demand characteristic of an urban, industrial nation like New Zealand many women can re-enter the labour force.

18. These effects are generating still further changes. Until recently, despite the growth of equality and democracy in society generally, there has been little incentive to re-organise household work or to re-introduce a more collective and widely distributed responsibility for child rearing. Now, however, with the increased participation of women in the production process these traditional roles are being questioned. More and more of what were previously considered essential aspects of the women's function are being transferred to social institutions. The implementation of equal pay is likely to apply further pressure in this direction.

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(1) Miriam Gilson - The Changing New Zealand Family - A Demographic Analysis (paper in Marriage and the Family in New Zealand, ed. S. Houston)  
Hick, Smith & Sons, 1970





## The Child Care Role of the Family

19. In New Zealand the basic family unit is the nuclear family. While psychologists and sociologists are unable to agree on many of the secondary functions of this family unit there is general acceptance that its primary function is the protection and upbringing of the children. A nuclear family fulfilling its function provides an environment for emotional, intellectual and physical development of its members.

20. The following section will concentrate on the effects of equal pay on child care role of the family. Later sections will discuss its effects on marital relationship and the decision making roles of husband and wife within the family.

21. Much of the responsibility for the intellectual development of the children has been handed over by parents to the State which is concerned with "formal" education at four levels: pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary: the means of making physical provision for family members has shifted from self-supporting production units to the earning of a family income which will pay for the needed consumer goods: so the transfer of these functions away from the family centre to social institutions has meant that the sole task left to the family as a unit is the least tangible and the most difficult one of the emotional development and support of its members.

22. To aid his emotional development, one of the child's most important needs is to have adults around him who understand him and his temperament and who are sufficiently interested in him to guide him and love him so that he can rely on them in the numerous small and some large crises that will occur during his life. Such a relationship, it should be emphasized is not only important for the child, it is a source of emotional growth to parents themselves.

23. The development of this type of relationship with a child needs time and opportunity for relaxation. Although there is a trend towards fathers taking an increased share in the management of the household and care of the children, it is still widely accepted that the main part of this burden should be borne by the mother.

24. Given these current patterns of child care and household management equal pay insofar as it will lead to increased participation of mothers in the working force must mean less time available with their children to develop sensitive and affectionate relationships. In cases where both parents are working full-time, children are separated from both parents for eight or nine hours a day. While the effects of this on the child may be counteracted by good substitute care, it could have profound effects on the mother's own relationship with her young children and, therefore, on their relationship in the



family as they grow older. In this way the implementation of equal pay may well apply further pressure in the direction of a breakdown of the nuclear family as the basic child rearing unit(1).

### Care of Children 0 to 3

25. This need for a mother to develop a close and mutually satisfying relationship with her young infant is the reason why most researchers and psychologists oppose full-time work for mothers of children under 3 years. It would perhaps be possible to successfully combine the two if children were cared for near their mothers, so that they could see and be with each other for parts of the day, and by such changes as would reduce the amount of time and energy needed for household chores, (e.g. in Kibbutz, Swedish Service Apartments and Chinese communal factories). Such measures, however, occur only rarely in our present society and therefore the answer to the question of how many hours in each day a child may be apart from his mother without detrimental effect is a crucial one. The best answer seems to be few enough to allow the mother to develop a sensitive and affectionate relationship with her child.

26. At this point it is perhaps relevant to emphasize that for various reasons deprivation and serious disturbances can occur whether or not the child is at home with his mother. Moreover, it is not advocated that mothers should be with their young children the whole of every day. To emphasize the exclusiveness of the mother-child relationship is to do a disservice to both mothers and children. Young children from an early age can be accustomed to be looked after for periods by people other than mothers. Both the child, mother and family in general are likely to benefit from such periods of separation.

27. To enable mothers of young children to be given more opportunities for partial relief from the constant care of their young children there is a need for many more creches, play groups and community groups where mothers can leave their very young children while they go shopping or to visit friends. These are becoming increasingly necessary as families become smaller and kinship more dispersed. Many mothers would find the strain of their young children easier if such facilities were offered and might be less tempted to take up work.

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(1) Parsons gives as the two minimal criteria of nuclearity:

- (a) that a solidary mother-child relationship, transcending physical care, must exist over a number of years;
- (b) that the mother should have a special relationship to the man who is the father of the child outside her own descent group.

(T. Parsons - Social Structures of Personality  
Free Press 1964)





28. If New Zealanders as a society wish to discourage substitute parental care for under 3s, and the evidence strongly points to its desirability for this age group(1) means must be taken which will counterbalance the economic pressures of equal pay that encourage the full-time employment of both parents.

29. The most fundamental requirement is increased parent education(2). Many Plunket, Play Centre and Parent Groups at present run excellent courses on child care and development but these reach only a limited and often already "converted" audience. The real need for parent education is at the secondary school stage when before they become parents all young adults can be:

(a) given an understanding of the basic physical and emotional needs of children and of the importance of early child care by the parent;

(b) taught the skills of parenthood so that the competent performance of them would be rewarding in itself.

30. Improved education in the skills and responsibilities of parenthood should aim at enabling young adults to assume parenthood with more awareness and confidence and to find its practice fulfilling(3).

31. The most effective economic policy measure to encourage the social objective of early child care within the family would be the payment of a child rearing allowance for each family where one parent is committed to the full-time care of a child under three. While cash is not the only, nor the most important motivation of human behaviour, it is true that in many instances mothers of young children take on employment for financial reasons. The implementation of equal pay gives an extra loading in the direction of outside employment.

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- (1) See Reference Bibliography - Child Care - Asterisked Books.
- (2) See also - Appendix I Towards a Social Welfare Review Report of Social Council, Welfare Working Party.
- (3) See also - Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Uses of Television in Education - Recommendation 3.11, 4.13.2.



32. The provision of an allowance, such as the £10 per week, independent of family benefit, suggested by the recent Royal Commission on Social Security together with the availability of adequate day care facilities for those families in which both parents choose to work, would mean that parents would have true options between home and work when the children are young.

33. Such a measure is particularly desirable because it positively acknowledges the importance of the occupational status of child rearing within the family as well as helping protect against the erosion of family income at a time when there is only one income earner.

#### Substitute Parental Care

34. For the currently increasing numbers of mothers with children who are taking up employment during their children's pre-school and school years, it is in the interests of the children and the community that adequate child care facilities and support services be available. Child development research outlines some preferred condition for child care.

#### Pre-School Children

35. During infancy and the toddler stage lowest in desirability is group care. For the needs of the child at this age individualised care by a suitable neighbour, friend or relation in a family setting is preferable. Where group care for this age does exist it is essential for the child that each child has stability of contact with the same adult(s) - (ideally just one) from day to day; that each adult must not have too many children, and that each adult must be properly trained in the many aspects of child care particularly the developmental needs.

36. For the pre-schooler beyond 3 years, provided the child has made secure attachment bonds with its mother, the effects of group care are unlikely to be harmful and if the periods of separation from his family are not too long, or physically and emotionally demanding, it may even be of positive benefit to the children. In fact for children of this age group who are beginning to develop socially, group care centres may have a number of advantages over individualised care provided such centres are:

- (a) able to offer part-time care for children;
- (b) staff are trained to meet the emotional and developmental needs of the children in their care.





Given such staff training and premises designed and furnished with consideration of the need for space and opportunities for play, then day care centres can offer the children whose mothers are working full-time or part-time, opportunities for mixing with others of their own age and a widening of the horizons which is an important need of children three years onwards. Moreover it can offer mothers some opportunity to discuss the progress and problems of their children with trained staff. Such opportunities could be extended still further if visiting child specialists were regular visitors at day care centres and parent discussion evenings were a feature of such centres.

### School Children

### After School Care

37. Currently most arrangements for the after school care of children are made individually within the family or among near neighbours. Apart from groups such as brownies and cubs and out of school sports groups, there are few organised programmes for the supervision of children after school. Within a few areas regular programmes have been voluntarily organised which take the form of art and craft and other developmental activities and adventure playground programmes.

38. The effects on children of having neither parent home after school is largely dependent on the quality of family life and the strength of the child's bonds with his parents. For the first years of school a child needs his family to share his new experiences and to whom he can bring home his new found friends. For the young child these needs are immediate and may be relieved if he returns after school to a warm understanding neighbour or sympathetic older brother or sister. His mother though, misses out on these important communications in their original freshness. For older children the retelling of the day's events can probably wait an hour or two if he knows he has a parent who can give time to him and his affairs. If, however, his mother and father are cross, tired and busy when they come home, then a really important feature of a child's family life is being missed and the parents' opportunity and responsibility to help their children's development is being partially laid aside.

39. Older children left at home to look after themselves and perhaps also to supervise younger brothers and sisters and prepare the tea may be subjected to the danger of excessive strain. For some the increased responsibility may be both acceptable and valuable but others may be emotionally unready to accept these burdens, particularly if a child feels himself to be different from others in his neighbourhood.



40. For older children and adolescents another aspect of the lack of adult supervision is the risk of being exposed to the temptations of some of the less savoury aspects of street life such as shoplifting and petty crime. This risk is particularly high in the inner city areas and the new outer suburbs where the surrounding neighbourhood community is usually very loose knit and uninterested in the welfare of local children.

41. A review of the literature about the subject of delinquency shows that most studies find no difference between the children of working and non-working mothers. However, from those studies which did show an increased rate of delinquent behaviour in the children of working mothers, it appeared that the important factor was the lack of supervision and control which occurred. Where supervision was adequate the increased rate of delinquency disappeared.

#### Holiday Care

42. For parents who are unable to make leave arrangements to cover the holiday period the problems and difficulties in relation to the hour or two after school are so increased as to make them in some ways qualitatively different. Days without organised plans can be very long, children's resources are limited and the opportunities for dangerous activities, particularly within towns, are many and varied.

43. Many parents obviously try hard to limit the period of time that their children are left alone during the holidays by sending them to stay with relatives or friends for short times. For even quite responsible children left to manage by themselves the absence of adult supervision becomes a strain. The inadequate provision of care during the school holidays is one of the greatest problems for working mothers of school children.

#### Provision of Facilities

44. The community as a whole has done remarkably little to provide for the care of school children after school or during school holidays. Social workers and sociologists who recognise, objectively, the trend for more mothers to go out to work, employers who use women's labour and fix the hours, that part of the public which criticises mothers for neglecting their children and mothers themselves often appear to behave and function as though they have nothing to do with each other and as though they are not parts of the same community.

45. The provisions that a few local communities have voluntarily made are important if only to show what is possible; well thought out supervised after school and holiday programmes of activities and outings; the development and supervising of adventure playgrounds, the supervised use of school premises out of school hours, and the use of special facilities in libraries, museums and creches.





46. The adequate provision of after school and holiday care for children requires that such arrangements be extended and developed(1). Particular emphasis needs to be given to the availability of trained programme leaders and supervisors without whom even the best physical "facilities" prove useless.

47. According to the nature of their development such programmes and facilities would most probably also be available to children of non-working as well as those of working mothers, particularly in the case of holiday facilities. Such arrangements would doubtless prove to be as much a boon to one group as to the other.

#### Subsidies for Child Care

48. In considering the question of subsidies for child care it is important to remember that apparently minor decisions about child care services are intimately related to major decisions about our concept of society. Policies for equal pay, employment opportunities for women, education and social security all inter-connect and impinge upon policy for child care.

49. In answer to a recent Parliamentary question the present Labour Government enunciated its principles regarding child care policy. It stated that any policy decided upon must:

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- (a) be in best interest of families and children;
- (b) not cut across the responsibilities of parents, unions, employers and local bodies;
- (c) take account of educational policy and the direct family and individual welfare policies of the Departments of Education, Health, Social Security and Maori and Island Affairs.

50. As from January 1974 the Government has approved financial assistance for the day care of pre-school children in cases of social and financial need for such care. More specifically if and only if for each individual case:

- (a) being cared for apart from the parents during the day is in the best interest of the child concerned;

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(1) See also - Towards a Social Welfare Review.  
Summary of Recommendations 86.

- (b) the parents cannot afford to meet the full cost of this day care themselves.

The assistance will be paid to approved voluntary organisations and the care may be provided in a centre belonging to an organisation, in a day foster home, or the organisation may place a child in a privately run registered day centre and pay the fee involved. The discretion for determining which children will be eligible for assistance will rest with the voluntary agency with Department of Social Welfare control.

51. This scheme deals with a specific area of urgent welfare need (the Department of Social Welfare has estimated that the proposals cover a group of not more than 500 children). The conditions of these subsidies means that their implications in other areas of child care are minimal and the scheme should be able to be launched without detriment to the development of an overall policy on child care. However, with its implementation will doubtless come increased pressures for Government assistance from interested bodies just outside the bounds of current approval; and there is a danger that further moves could be made before Government has developed its overall policy.

52. The problems of developing such an overall policy are many and various. Decisions have to be made on:

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- (a) whom assistance should be aimed at (present proposals aim at children with clearly defined welfare needs);
  - (b) what types of care should be encouraged and for what age group;
  - (c) where state responsibility for finance lies vis a vis parents, employers and unions;
  - (d) how to make facilities for day care compatible with the existing educational and child care facilities in the community.

53. In the meantime, however, in the interests of the child of the community, the Government does have a responsibility to ensure that all children who are at present in child care centres for whatever reason, should receive the best care available. The Government can best ensure high standards through regulation and assistance with staffing and educational programmes.





54. In their manifesto the Labour Government has already promised that:

- (a) the Departments of Social Welfare and Education would be required to co-operate in the development of day care for the children of working parents;
- (b) to provide an advisory service that will enable a variety of child care services to be made available.

55. Areas in which Government initiative could be forthcoming are:

- (a) the increased use of local school facilities for purposes outside school hours, particularly in catering for the after school and vacation needs of school children;
- (b) assistance in the development of local authority organised community centres providing services which would include a wide range of creative activities for mothers and children, creche and play facilities, support and guidance services for parent and adult education;
- (c) the encouragement of provisions for part-time work and adjustable working hours so that parents are able to spend more time with their children;
- (d) the development of schemes for female employment which incorporate child care facilities into the work situation; such possibilities not only for mothers with pre-school children but also for mothers whose children need care during holidays and after school. In particular Government assistance could be given with setting up pilot schemes in areas of demonstrated labour shortage.

56. Whatever facilities are encouraged and developed the Government needs to ensure that all programmes for substitute care, most especially those for pre-schoolers are constituted so as to provide:

- (a) developmental rather than custodial care for the child;

- (b) services which complement and strengthen parent-child relationships(1).

#### Benefits of Working Mothers for Children and Family

57. It has already been pointed out that, particularly for families with children beyond toddler stage, increased participation by mothers in the work force does not necessarily hinder the children's development. While it is true that stability of human contact is important, it is not so much quantitative but qualitative contact that counts, and the stimulation and increased stability of the mother that may come from being in a working situation may well improve family communication.

58. There may be other positive advantages for the children as well as for the emotional health and growth of the family as a unit:

- (a) Children may be encouraged and expected to take a more active interest in the life of the household and of the family and may have greater opportunities to show their initiative and to grow independent.
- (b) Mothers who work outside their homes can share more interests with their husbands who are likely to share more evenly the household tasks and the care and upbringing of their children. Any tendency towards a close and rather exclusive relationship between mothers and their children could be replaced by a more balanced family pattern with the father playing a bigger role in family affairs.
- (c) The opportunities a working mother has for widening interests and social contacts may contribute to the breaking down of the family isolation engendered by the nuclear structure, bringing with it an increasing social and political awareness.
- (d) The sense of achievement which an outside job may bring to a woman is likely to permeate the whole of family life, contributing greatly to the happiness of the family unit.

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(1) See Social Council Paper 72/13 The Social and Economic Factors in Child Care Centres





- (e) The benefit of increased income may not merely relieve financial strain but contribute such material goods as a car, stereo set or holiday that can bring much pleasure and benefit to a family. Further education for the children may also be bought with the increased income.

### Marital Cohesion

59. The existing studies that attempt to elucidate the effect of the wife's work participation on the husband/wife relationship and marital cohesion succeed only in presenting a confusing and controversial array of data and assumptions. The fact of working is a particularly difficult variable to assess in terms of marital happiness.

60. At a level of generalisation, it is possible to distinguish two rival assumptions: the first is that the institution of marriage rests upon a pronounced role differentiation, i.e. that the need of husband and wife for one another and their mutual satisfaction can be assured most readily by differentiation of functions within the family. The second is that role equality within the family creates the pre-conditions for a wider area of common interests for husband and wife. According to this latter view, the work participation of the wife can actually rebound to the benefit of the marriage.

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61. In fact what actually seems to happen in marriage is that a couple establish a relationship which is bounded by "tension lines"(1). These represent a limit to which an individual's psychological defences are felt to be effective and beyond which each partner knows it is dangerous to push the other. For each individual the tension lines are formulated by their own identity concept, often independently of socio-cultural definitions. Manifestations of identity tension lines can be seen in issues of decision making, career and authority, income earning, even physical relationship. A given couple may have more than one identity tension line operating and with the development of the marriage relationship the tension lines will usually shift through time. When either individual is pushed into a pattern which is too discrepant with his or her sense of personal and sexual identity, defensive behaviour and the breakdown of the marriage relationship begin to develop. The form this takes - attack, withdrawal of support and so on, varies with the couple.

62. For the cohesion of the marriage relationship it is the attitudes and circumstances of the individual couple that are all important. For each couple the effects of a wife's employment on her relations with her husband may be more-or-less favourable according, among other things, to:

(1) This concept of "tension lines" is discussed in Chapter 9 of Sex, Career and Family - Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport (George Allan and Unwin 1971).



- (i) whether it is usual in a particular district or social group for married women to work;
- (ii) the wife's motivation for work and her attitude towards the job;
- (iii) the wife's attitude towards her role in the family and her husband's work;
- (iv) the husband's competence in and attitudes towards his own work and family role;
- (v) the husband's attitude to his wife's employment and the job itself;
- (vi) the wife's/husband's education level and social class, which correlates with income and capacity to take responsibility and solve problems;
- (vii) the job/income level of the wife relative to her husband;
- (viii) whether the wife is working full-time or part-time.

63. Equal pay by raising the desirability and status of participation in paid employment for married women will act upon many of these factors. How and to what extent these effects are ultimately reflected in the marriage relationship depends upon the interconnection of the changing attitudes and circumstances of the various couples. For instance, in a marriage where the matter of income is a crucial identity point, tensions may develop if the wife's income becomes greater than the husband's or if she is deploying it in ways which are unacceptable to him.

#### Sex Roles and Decision Making Within the Home

64. The discussion of the relative influence of husband and wife in the family touches upon many different areas of decisions. In many areas it is difficult to determine who has the most say. Widespread norms still accept child rearing, food purchasing and household care as the wife's special field of competence, while the husband is expected to exercise the influence in banking, family insurance and the family economy in general. Many of these traditional sex role norms, however, are changing.



65. The indications of most research in this area point to a strong tendency for working wives to take more part in family decision making, especially in areas once considered "male territory" than non-working wives do. Conversely in homes where wives work the husband generally takes a greater share in household tasks and child care than he otherwise would(1). Such changes are as a result not just of the husband and wife having independent incomes. Marriages in which the wife takes employment outside the home are more likely to be regarded as a partnership than those where the more traditional attitude of considering the husband to be the breadwinner and undoubted head of the household prevails.

66. Arguing from these findings it seems probable that the implementation of equal pay would increase the proportion of homes where joint decision making is the mode; through increasing the amount of a wife's income and hence independence; by a possible increase in the proportion of earning wives and, more indirectly, as the greater equality of the sexes in the economic system encourages more equality in attitudes and behaviour in the home.

67. Widespread changes in the way family decisions are made may well mean quite fundamental changes in the fabric of society. For instance, changes in the spending patterns of family income could have many repercussive effects throughout the economy.

#### Future Norms of Masculine and Feminine Behaviour

68. Behind questions concerned with decision making and the division of housework in the family is the very basic question of what being a man or woman in the social condition of the next few decades will mean.

69. The range of potential roles is much wider than in the past. Choice of patterns for a particular married couple spread over the whole range from the traditional segregation

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(1) See Chapters 7, 9. Sex, Career and Family - Fogarty, Rapoport & Rapoport. The Modern Family - R. Winch. Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family - Winch and Goodman. The Changing Roles of Men and Women - E. Dahlstrom.



where the husband concentrates on the world of work and the wife on her home by way of complementary jobs(1) or three phase(2) patterns up to full scale dual careers.

70. Self-evidence can no longer be taken as justification for the once conventional pattern. Choices now have to be justified according to each couple's circumstances and society should support and facilitate couples in working out the solution most suited to their own case in the circumstances of their own time and make it clear that so long as the solution discovered fits a couple's objective circumstances it will have social support.

71. The replacement of concepts of general masculine superiority with ideologies of equality and partnership, besides being a major change in itself has opened the way for the consideration of many others.

72. It is perhaps at this point pertinent to point out that some people want men and women to be treated not only as equal but also as interchangeable. This is a unisex static approach in contrast to the approach which seeks to give men and women equal rights under the law and in economic practice and to create a more open atmosphere for both in the home, work and community situation without forcing upon society notions about how whole groups ought to behave.

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- (1) The complementary job pattern is one in which house-keeping and child care is seen as primary for married women, and a job as complementary to her main role, but not a full commitment.
- (2) The three phase model is developed by Myrdal and Klein in their book Women's Two Roles especially Chapters 9 and 10.

"It is therefore suggested that women should visualise their lifespan as a succession of three phases, each dominated mainly by one function: a period of training and education, followed, if possible, by years devoted to raising a family; these in turn, being succeeded by a period during which past training and experience are put to wider social use." p. 253

In this three phase model it is assumed that education, family and work can be blended to a harmonious whole and that if women seriously choose and train for a further career they can achieve a clear direction for their lives.





73. Masculine and feminine roles do not need to become blurred. They can be rewritten in the light of the new conditions of family and working life. The upshot could be that a greater proportion of families will come to prefer a complementary job or three-phase pattern to the once conventional stereotype of segregated roles. This neither needs nor should mean imposing such patterns on sections of the population who may well want no such thing as official policy has tried to engineer in Eastern Europe. The task of social policy is to take lines of action which make real options available; the task of defining which patterns and roles are appropriate remains in the hands of individual families.

#### Family Income

74. Any married couple choosing to have a family usually foregoes income and always incurs increased expenses. Thus, in general the family is economically, both in real and relative terms, poorer than the non-family. These family "costs" have repercussions for the standards of living of different families.

Important determinants of family living standards are:

- (a) Family size and spacing.
- (b) The number of income earners in the family.

The manner and degree in which equal pay acts upon these two factors will be reflected in changes in family living standards.

#### Family Size and Spacing

75. Mention has been made of the trends in family size and spacing in New Zealand(1). Such trends follow patterns seen already in Eastern European countries where a high female participation rate in the labour force has been operating for a number of years(2). In these countries statistics show that there is a strong negative correlation between married women's employment and fertility. In particular those working mothers with the strongest work commitment who are likely to work most continuously, stop at one or two children. Children are closely spaced so that the time of child-bearing and rearing is reduced to a minimum.

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(1) Paragraph 16

(2) Sex, Career and Family - Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport. Chapter 2 - The Expense of Eastern Europe.



76. In countries where equal pay is law, it has been fully implemented too recently for any definite changes or re-inforcements in fertility and family spacing patterns to be attributed to equal pay itself. However, recent O.E.C.D. reports and statistical figures from these countries indicate that if current social and economic patterns persist equal pay will be seen to contribute to a declining birth rate: an average size of completed family which is moderate to small; a lower marriage age but with an increase in the average spacing between marriage and the birth of the first child. In addition, with better education and as family planning practices become more consistently and effectively used the number of high order births and the number of births occurring relatively late in the reproductive period should decline. In New Zealand, which has an already declining birth rate there are no reasons to believe that future trends will be dissimilar to those seen in other western countries.

77. Arguments concerning the introduction of a child rearing benefit (Paragraph 31) have suggested that such a benefit could result in an increased birth rate; in particular if the Royal Commission on Social Security's proposal were to be implemented a family could sustain the benefit by having a child every third year. If the likelihood of this is considered sufficiently strong and undesirable then alternative proposals could incorporate population measures.

78. One such proposal suggests a two step allowance: (1)

\$10 per week for care of a child under 5.

\$5 per week for mothers whose youngest child is between 5 and 12.

The reason given for a five years full mothers benefit is "the assumption that having another baby after five years would not be very attractive and it seems unlikely that any mother will decide to have an extra child after twelve years for \$10 a week, when employment opportunities are available.

79. It is likely, however, that the contraceptive effects of equal pay and increasing employment opportunities for women would make such a population measure unnecessary. Observation suggested that many families are keen to have one, two or three children and then as soon as it seems possible, for the mother to go back to work(2).

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(1) The Mothers Benefit - Brian Easton (paper presented to National Conference of Parents Centres, November 1972).

(2) Urban Women (1972) - New Zealand Society for Research on Women.





### Number of Income Earners

80. The emerging pattern of family size and spacing means that many women are freed from heavy family duties after a short time and at an early age. Given that:

- (a) employment opportunities exist;
- (b) satisfactory child care arrangements can be made where necessary;

such women are free to take up employment if they wish. In this way many families will be able to supplement if not double the family income.

81. The average New Zealand family lives in an urban area and with the labour demand characteristic of urban industrial nations like New Zealand, many women can enter or re-enter the labour force. Given these opportunities one of the main limiting factors of their employment, both in the type of employment and hours able to be worked, is the difficulty of making satisfactory child care arrangements. The introduction of equal pay should stimulate an increase in the current pressure to improve such facilities for working mothers. An easing of this problem, particularly in the field of after school care and supervision of older children would make it probable that more married women would seek to return to paid employment and to achieve a more permanent status in the labour force. Such a trend would undoubtedly be reinforced as more and more families aspire to the living standards afforded by two incomes rather than one.

82. For women in rural areas employment opportunities are much fewer and where they do at present exist the introduction of equal pay will erode the former labour cost advantage and hence adversely affect employment opportunities for women unless offsetting regional incentives, for instance in the form of freight subsidies, are introduced. For families in areas so affected the opportunities for earning two incomes are already slight and likely to be more so with the implementation of equal pay.

83. For families who:

- (a) choose to have more than two or three children and/or space them at wide intervals;
- (b) choose or are forced by lack of facilities to have full-time parental care for their children until the youngest child is well into or beyond secondary school;



then the time for which such families will have effectively only one income is likely to be much longer than for the average family.

84. As more and more families move towards earning two incomes the burden of maintaining comparable standards of living becomes much heavier for the one income family. Such families could well become the new "poor" in our society. Such a possibility, together with other considerations for family, pursued in this section on family, indicate the strong need for a comprehensive family policy concerned with such matters as family incomes and needs and the employment of married women with children.

#### Equal Pay and Future Family Policy

85. Changes in social policy are at the basis of a dynamic society. The effects of any change in social policy, such as the implementation of equal pay, are wide ranging in their interconnections with other areas; in particular in this instance in its effects upon family life. The legal enactment of measures such as equal pay and the suggested compulsory maintained membership of the superannuation scheme for married women can be seen as steps forward in publicly establishing the political and economic autonomy and equality of women. If, however, as a society we wish to develop this changing status of women alongside the importance of family as the basic child rearing unit we must accompany the proposal of equal pay by legislation and educational planning giving effect to these values. We must avoid the ever present danger of allowing our social policy to become a whole series of ad hoc arrangements and adjustments to special needs and situations lacking any comprehensive overview.

86. Solutions to patterns of work and family living consistent with the human liberal approach of New Zealand society means that options to families need to be equally open. No single pattern is ideal and the choice of one or other option should be free from condemnation on general social grounds, as distinct from criticism of the suitability of each couple's choice to that couple's own circumstances.

87. The available options, however, must be based upon an informed and comprehensive understanding of the factors involved; particularly of the requirements of child care, family life, the life and work cycle of a woman and the way in which pregnancy and motherhood fits into this.





88. Moreover it has to be recognised that the problems and options are ones for men and women, not women alone. Statements such as the following made by N.A.C.E.W. and endorsed by N.D.C. Sub-committee on the Role of Women:

"measures are needed to help women cope with the dual responsibilities of home and work in the public sector"(1).

go only part way in recognising the implications of changes such as equal pay.

89. Therefore, it is of central importance for future policy that many of the problems to be solved and the general re-thinking of sex roles cannot be expected to sort themselves out automatically. It is not enough to make options available simply by freeing the "market" from restrictions, such as unequal pay, and then leaving individual couples to find their own ways. For real options to be available positive organised action is needed as well.

90. As regards family life, lines of action could include:

- (i) Liberalised labour legislation which would encourage and enable the father to take an active part in parenthood and to have the same rights and duties as a woman in the exercise of his parental role. Any reduction in the contribution to national income that such a shortening of men's work hours might cause would be more than likely offset by the extra working capacity made available by women, extra in terms not only of quantity but also of quality in the sense of stronger work commitment. The possible quantitative gain in working capacity is illustrated with a simple piece of arithmetic about the number of "careers" in a family:

$$1 + 0 = 1$$

$$\frac{3}{4} + \frac{3}{4} = 1\frac{1}{2}$$

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(1) The Employment of Women in the 70s - Statement by the National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women.

(ii) Appropriate social security provisions which will safeguard the right of a parent to stay home when the family needs require this. In particular such times would include:

(a) when a child is under three;

(b) when a child is sick.

The best parent to stay at home will not on every occasion or at every stage of the family cycle be the mother. Fathers too have the right to take out time for their family duties. Those rights must be protected by the nature of the social security provisions. As well as acknowledging the importance of the family in its child rearing role such provisions will help give protection against the erosion of family income during times in the family cycle when there is only one income earner.

(iii) Better provision of facilities for child care and home aid services(1) such as laundries, cleaning, restaurants and shopping in order that both men and women can more adequately be involved both at home and work.

91. At present there is no focus within or outside of Government for study, debate and action on sex roles in general rather than women's interests in particular whether in relation to family or elsewhere. The Commission of Inquiry into Equal Pay recommended a Royal Commission to review "the role of women in the community" once equal pay has been fully implemented(2).

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(1) Recommendations for home aid services are discussed in Towards a Social Welfare Review (Social Council, November 1973) P4 and No. 7 Summary of Recommendations.

(2) Equal Pay in New Zealand - Report of the Committee of Inquiry 1971. Recommendation 23.





92. The study of such a Commission would be valuable if:

- (a) the term of reference of the Commission were widened to review "the changing roles of men and women in the community";
- (b) the review were completed and its findings published before the full implementation of Equal Pay.

Five years, which is the planned time for the full implementation of equal pay, is too long a period to wait before initiating, let alone completing such a review. In order that future policy can be developed and implemented at the appropriate times it is essential that the findings of such a review be available before the effects of equal pay become fully operative.

93. On a more permanent basis it would be valuable to have a research and action body which deals in full breadth with the relationships of family, work and community towards each other. Such an institute would work outwards in feeding informed discussion and research findings and stirring up initiatives in the whole network of agencies concerned with aspects of these relationships. There are many analogies in other fields; the Institute for Environmental Studies or the Overseas Development Institute. The normal way to establish such an institute will be for interested individuals to take the initiative and seek finance from Government, industrial and charitable foundations. Alternatively it may be both more effective and efficient to have this particular study and action task centred in the functions of the proposed New Zealand Council of Social Welfare.

#### Families of the Future

94. While at present in Western society the nuclear family is the basic family unit, changing social patterns and values will probably mean changes in family structure. Already there are moves towards group families and Kibbutz groupings even in New Zealand. Certainly a family can relieve its overload, gain and give close and continuing support, by using collective care for its young children or by identifying itself with a community, as in a service house or a Kibbutz. How far it is wise to do so is the decision of the individual and groups in society.

95. Such trends do not diminish what has been said above. No matter what the structure of the family its importance as a child rearing unit will continue to stand. Therefore, much emphasis must be given to the developing of policies which will encourage the dual responsibility of both mother and father in family life.



INSTITUTIONAL SPHERE

96. Within the institutional sphere the implementation of equal pay has implications for the Labour Market, Education, Voluntary Agencies and the structures of taxation, social security, property and pension rights.

LABOUR MARKETEffect on Demand for Female Labour

97. Employers who employ predominantly women (in New Zealand food, clothing, personal service and retail distribution industries) will be faced with quite a substantial rise in labour costs. In the short term equal pay is likely to have a retarding effect on the employment of women in some of these industries, in particular where female labour can be replaced by capital as in the tobacco industry. This tendency to become more machinery intensive will itself be influenced by:

- (i) the overall level of economic demand;
- (ii) the allowance for manufacturers to build equal pay into their cost structure for pricing purposes;
- (iii) changes in productivity;
- (iv) the use of a phase-in period to implement equal pay in which its inflationary effects can be absorbed into the cycle of economic growth.

98. Employment of women in the rural areas is likely to be adversely affected unless there are offsetting regional development incentives to restore the differential that existed between female wage rates and the transport and administrative costs of locating outside main centres.

99. The long term demand position for female labour will be influenced by the total demand for labour. At present women are still often treated as an auxiliary element in the labour force - a source of additional capacity in times of war and economic growth. In a growing economy such as New Zealand therefore, the demand for female labour is likely to continue and increase. The activity rate of women is rising and any substantial increase in the labour force must consist of women. The extent to which female participation becomes expendable will depend upon the changing ideas and attitudes in the labour market. A change in legislation such as equal pay can do no more than marginally accelerate such change.

Effects of Equal Pay on the Supply of Female Labour

100. The economic expansion of the post-war period has meant that there have been ample job opportunities for women wishing to take up employment and this has been a major influence on





the level of employment achieved by women. This trend is expected to continue. Table 1 indicates increases in the proportion of married women working of all ages up to 65. Largest increases have been made in the age group 35 to 54. If the trend continues it would appear that soon half the female labour force will be married women(1).

Married Women in Labour Force as a  
Percentage of all Married Women in  
the same Age Group

Age	1926	1936	1945	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
16 - 19	3.4	5.7	18.2	14.5	18.5	20.0	23.5	30.3
20 - 24	3.5	4.3	17.4	16.0	19.4	20.7	26.7	34.3
25 - 29	3.2	3.7	10.3	9.7	11.6	11.9	15.8	20.7
30 - 34	3.3	3.6	8.0	8.9	11.3	13.3		24.3
35 - 39	3.6	3.6	8.4	10.5	13.9	18.0	24.3	31.8
40 - 44	3.9	3.9	8.7	12.2	16.6	21.3		35.3
45 - 49	4.2	4.4	7.8	13.1	17.5	23.1	26.5	35.9
50 - 54	4.0	4.2	6.1	10.7	15.5	20.7		30.7
55 - 59	3.8	4.2	4.6	6.9	10.8	14.9	14.7	22.0
60 - 64	2.7	2.8	2.5	3.7	5.2	7.5		11.2
65+	1.7	1.6	1.0	1.4	1.6	1.7	2.1	2.4
Married Women of All Ages 16+	3.5	3.7	7.7	9.7	12.9	16.0	19.9	26.1

Source: N.Z. Census Volumes.

101. Despite the increase in female employment over the past 35 years, the New Zealand female labour force participation rate is not as high as that of some other countries. Table 2 compares the New Zealand data for 1966 with certain selected countries.

(1) See appendix 1.

Female Labour Force Participation Rates  
Certain Countries (15-64)

Country	Date	Participation Rate
United Kingdom	1966	50.1
Denmark	1965	47.6
Sweden	1965	44.3
France	1968	43.5
United States	1969 (Est)	42.4
Australia	1966	40.1
Canada	1961	34.9
New Zealand	1966	35.4

Source: ILO Year Book 1970.

Prevalent social and economic attitudes in New Zealand may help account for this lower participation rate:

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- (a) The male income earner has been considered the main, if not the sole, supporter of the family in maintaining an acceptable standard of living. Now changing patterns of consumption alongside rises in acceptable standards of living are diminishing the importance of the breadwinner role of the husband.
  - (b) Expectations that a mother will care for her own children. Moreover, since the New Zealand birth rate is significantly higher than most other western countries, more New Zealand women will have young families to care for.

Given the popularity of marriage, the higher New Zealand birth rate and the still widely accepted attitudes towards child care, it is believed that even after the introduction of equal pay this comparative level of participation is unlikely to change much in the near future.

102. With regard to the widows benefit, once equal pay is implemented the standard of living afforded by full-time work is likely to greatly exceed that which part-time employment plus benefit will afford. For this reason, any disincentive





which exists at present may well disappear when equal pay is implemented. However, for a widow with several dependent children, full-time work is probably not an alternative.

103. Seen in the setting of the overall trends associated with the supply of female labour the introduction of equal pay is only one feature in the changing scene. In all probability, equal pay will reinforce the overall change towards increasing availability of female labour. From the point of view of the individual women, it would appear that the introduction of equal pay would have the most implications for those women not presently working but whose decision to work could be influenced by economic considerations. For this reason in terms of labour force participation, the impact of equal pay should be felt mainly in the group of married women whose family responsibilities by their individual decisions enable them to work.

#### Vertical Movement of Women in the Labour Force

104. The vertical movement of the female labour force depends upon the attitudes of employers towards female employment and female employees towards their employment, past and potential service, and educational qualifications.

105. Equal pay is just one factor in the promotion of women's role in the labour force. As the report of the Manufacturing Development Council states "there is a need for employers to adopt attitudes towards their (women's) employment and the promotion of women and for women to adjust their views, expectations and particularly their educational endeavours to accord with the opportunities"(1).

106. Equal pay is a positive acknowledgement of a change of status for women. Unequal pay encourages long-term inadequate development of female potential. Equal pay should increase the respect held for the employed woman and conversely the respect she holds for the job.

#### Attitudes of Employers towards Women Employees

107. Surprisingly, in the short-term the introduction of equal pay may well slow down the movement of women into new and better forms of employment. While there was a wage differential employers were more apt to engage and undertake the additional cost of training women in non-traditional jobs. The process of widening job availability and opportunity is likely to be slowed down.

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(1) Women in Manufacturing Industry - page 17.



108. In the long run, however, it is likely that equal pay in obliging employers to pay more in many cases will in fact encourage demand for increased female skills. Employers will seek a better return for wage costs by investing more in women's training, thereby opening up greater opportunities.

109. The employer will also pay more attention to the efficient use of female labour. He may, therefore, become less permissive towards what he considers extraneous activities, such as shopping or family duties, during working hours.

110. If the social implications of equal pay for family life and parenthood as outlined in the previous section are understood by employers and the makers of labour policy the danger that restrictions would counterbalance the attractiveness for women of equal pay should be avoided. What is required is not policy restricting the time spent by women on family duties but policy and awards which acknowledge and encourage the family responsibilities of both men and women.

111. Thus suggestions made by persons and organisations to alleviate "the problems faced by working married women in the care of their families" need to be conceptually broadened to include the working married man in his role of co-responsibility for the family.

112. These suggestions include such measures as:

part-time work, flexible hours (glide time),  
multishift work, school holiday leave,  
maternity/paternity leave.

#### Female Attitudes towards Employment

113. Equal pay should increase the respect (i.e. commitment and satisfaction) held by women for their jobs. However, the growth of equal employment opportunities which should eventually come with equal pay (Paragraph 106) will only be sustained and extended by the determination of women to prove that they are able and willing to enter new occupations, learn new skills and assume greater responsibilities.

114. Their determination to do so will be subject to other factors:

- (1) the extent to which they are aware of society's changing attitudes and expectations of women's role in community especially, given current marriage and family patterns, of how much of their lifetime in fact is likely to be spent in employment.



- (2) their knowledge of what employment, career and promotion possibilities exist,
- (3) their general education and training for coping with home and work,
- (4) for married women with children, the security of adequate provisions for child care and home aid.



#### Awareness of Changing Roles

115. Through the stages of their upbringing and schooling both boys and girls need to be made aware of the new choice of life patterns opening up as a result of the changing status of women in the community. In particular there is a need for upgraded vocational guidance for girls so that they do not restrict the range of their future choices by the subjects they choose to study at the secondary or tertiary levels. Given those equal vocational opportunities that have existed over the past two decades or so, women's present lack of qualification in many of those areas would seem to be due to following traditional patterns of education and employment which conform with a self-concept and role expectation that sees employment largely as a pre-marital activity. "A sustained effort through various forms of publicity, and through the schools, the Vocational Guidance Service and voluntary organisations, to inform girls and young women of the likelihood that they may spend much of their adult lives in employment, and of the educational and vocation training opportunities open to them"(1).

#### Knowledge of Job Opportunities

116. There is a need for the scope of jobs available to women together with the prospects they offer in terms of financial return, skills required, challenges and responsibility to be communicated honestly and effectively - in particular at the school career decision stage and where women are seeking to re-enter the labour force after a period of absence. Steps required to achieve this include:

- (a) a continued upgrading of the vocational guidance and careers advisory service operating in the secondary schools and universities;
- (b) regular collation and publication for distribution on a national basis, all job opportunities in New Zealand with indication of those available for women;

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(1) Employment of Women in 1970s - N.A.C.E.W.



- (c) extension of the scheme operating through the Department of Labour in Auckland, which offers a service co-ordinating employer-employee needs and of giving attention to special groups, such as married women seeking re-entry into the labour force.

### Education and Training(1)

#### Schooling

117. "Society has therefore to educate girls and boys to enable them to take a full place in society and in the work force and also, even more importantly, to understand their responsibilities in marriage and parenthood. Unless both these aspects are firmly established as part of the educative process, the community may find an increase in marriage breakdown and deterioration in satisfactory child development. It is of prime importance that a family should be maintained and strengthened, but it has to be accepted that this may well be possible in rather a different pattern than in the past. Marriage can be more satisfactory if both partners develop their own individual potential, pursue individual interests as well as their family roles, and work out together a pattern of family life in which the emotional and physical well-being of the children is assured"(2).

118. There is a need for recruiting, training and promotion practices to be adapted to the typical life cycle of married women. Measures to aid re-entry into the work force after a period of child rearing include:

- (a) Extension of extra-mural studies and correspondence course available to help women keep in touch with their careers.
- (b) Greater use of radio and television as a means of instruction and information.
- (c) The use of general orientation and confidence building courses prior to re-entering the work force and off-job pre-employment training for specific jobs.

- (1) New possibilities for vocational guidance and training both for school leavers and women returning to the work force are discussed in the Hawkes Bay Community College Feasibility Study published by the Department of Education 1973, Section 5. This study also discusses the possibility of setting up a day care centre within the college to be used as a model for training purposes.
- (2) From Submission of Department of Health to Committee of Inquiry into Equal Pay.





Provision for Child Care and Home Aid

119. This area has been fully discussed in the previous section on family life.

EFFECTS OF EQUAL PAY ON VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

120. The N.D.C. Sub-Committee on the Role of Women has observed that the increasing participation of married women in the work force could lead to a decline in the gratuitous services available to voluntary agencies. The national Society for Research on Women conducted a survey of voluntary workers in the Wellington area, the aim of which was to ascertain the numbers and types of organisations that have difficulty in obtaining voluntary workers. However, the survey was not concerned with the reasons for shortages nor with current shortages in relation to past participation. Possibly data from the recently launched survey of the National Council of Women will show up any changing patterns that exist. In the meantime paucity of real statistical evidence means that all that can be discussed is the likely effects of equal pay and increased female participation in paid labour on the voluntary work force.

121. Of those women to whom social-psychological aspects of the work situation are more important than financial returns, some are likely to be involved in voluntary community work. For married women with young children such work has many advantages. The work is often part-time, hours can be flexible and the location usually convenient. Experience and qualifications are usually not required and yet like the woman in paid employment the voluntary workers enjoy the involvement in affairs outside the home and possibly a higher degree of personal job satisfaction than many women, particularly similarly unskilled workers, in paid employment. Considering such women's motivation for involvement in voluntary work the implementation of equal pay is unlikely to affect their participation.

122. Also, if as economists believe likely, there is in the short-term a fall off in the demand for unskilled female labour then more married women may well turn to voluntary work for the opportunity to develop confidence and skills which will later stand them in stead in a paid position, or as a convenient means of maintaining skills and outside interests between periods of employment.

123. It can be argued that the emphasis which equal pay places upon money in acknowledging the changing status of women in the labour market, may mean a relative downgrading of their contributions to voluntary work and hence to a fall in their participation in voluntary work. Such a trend would be reinforced if the current trend towards two incomes as "necessary" to provide basic family needs becomes the norm.



124. Yet the interplay of social, psychological and economic factors which influence people's decisions to undertake voluntary work are so complex that it becomes impossible to predict the likelihood of such a decline. As well as the above mentioned factors other considerations which have a bearing include:

- (a) the prestige and status of being associated with volunteer schemes;
- (b) the current social forces that are operating particularly through the media, are stimulating and encouraging a high degree of involvement in the community. Surveys in the United Kingdom suggest that voluntary bodies far from declining with increasing State welfare activity and female participation in the labour market, have actually grown in numbers and importance. In New Zealand this growth can be seen in the springing up of new voluntary organisations concerned with ecology and urban planning, international affairs, community centres and organisations, e.g. Citizen advice bureau and large aid work, craft and education activities. Associated with this involvement of voluntary groups in new kinds of activity is an increasing degree of co-operation with Government and statutory agencies. To grow as they appear to be doing voluntary bodies have needed to keep alive to the changing needs of the times and to the ways in which these could best be met.

125. State involvement in welfare schemes such as those for the aged and handicapped, home aid and community development, is likely to continue developing because of the political pressures exerted by:

- (a) the increasing political activity of voluntary bodies and/or the demands of a working population with less time available to voluntarily provide such services for themselves or others.

The extension of Government involvement into such fields means that through taxes the burden of costs of such services are shared more widely than when these services are provided by voluntary effort alone.





### THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS

126. In its report on "Women in the Manufacturing Industry" the Manufacturing Development Council expressed support for the "growth centre" approach to regional development, whereby townships which stand out as centres of activity in an area and which have a reasonably large population and ancillary services available, should be encouraged as points of regional growth. The Council also felt that the Government in promoting such "growth centres" should consider areas with low female participation rates, but which have the potential for increasing the labour force to a significant effect(1).

127. The Council sees growth centres as a more effective means of decentralisation than the sprinkling of industries in small scattered towns. Their existence would help minimise population movements, particularly of school leavers both male and female seeking work.

128. For the smaller New Zealand town and outlying suburban areas of a main city, with a pool of women who would work given the opportunity another suggestion is the establishment of light industry close to residential areas, with jobs structured for part-time employment. Workshops, sub-assembly and group assembly production are particularly well able to be structured for part-time employment, which could utilise the available labour at the same time as making provision for the fulfilment of family responsibilities.

### SOCIETY AND THE PURPOSE OF WORK

129. Thinking about equal pay and other measures which encourage women to take up "gainful" employment brings to mind questions concerning the values and aims of the society in which we live. It is not at all obvious that society's welfare will be enhanced by an increase in the proportion of the population actively engaged in paid labour. The production of commodities, i.e. goods and services to which we attach a monetary value, will increase but this must be at the expense of a reduced production of non marketable goods and services. Society may benefit from the change but then again it may not.

130. If in society's search for a more satisfying life for men and women, new definitions of roles mean adopting a cause which will induce an increase in the number of people producing tradeable commodities then the community will have a parallel opportunity to reduce some of the pressures upon those presently engaged in commodity production. This could be readily achieved by increasing provisions for long service leave, reducing overtime and reduction of the working week. These opportunities for achieving a balance of society's interest exist quite independently of equal pay, but that might well facilitate the realisation of them.

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(1) p. 26, p. 27.

EQUAL PAY AND FORMAL STRUCTURES OF SOCIETY

131. Equal pay embodies concepts of women's autonomy and equality in the pay structures of our society. The implications are that these concepts will now need to become more clearly defined in matters such as access to jobs and job security, pension rights, acquisition and ownerships of property, loans and mortgages. Measures taken in this field will be important not only for their direct and material effects but also for symbolising equality in status, opportunity and obligation.

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### CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

132. The implications for equal pay need to be seen in their widest sociological and ideological setting. Equal pay is a specific issue in the current debate on the changing roles of men and women. The development of further social policies requires an overall perspective of the values operating in this debate.

133. All too often the debate on sex roles has become a controversy between housewives and working mothers. This slant has tended to produce an ideological position which aims to secure for every woman the right to draw the line freely between home and work. While this ideology may seem admirable it is in fact narrow and insufficiently perceptive of wider possibilities. Equal pay is but one aspect of the equalisation of men and women. Full equality cannot be realised so long as the choices are opened only to women. The choices must also be available for men.

134. With this understanding of the implications of equal pay, this paper has discussed lines of action which aim at promoting conditions in which men and women can, if they choose, become more adequately involved both at home and at work. Most importantly these measures include:

- (i) A broad basic education for both boys and girls which will encourage and enable them both to take a full place in society and in the work force and to understand their responsibilities in marriage and parenthood.
- (ii) Conditions on the labour market which make it easier for both men and women to combine employment with care of the children and home. An expansion in part-time work has been indicated as a suitable measure. Reduction of the working week would also make it easier for parents to manage their jobs and households at the same time.
- (iii) A redistribution of income to families for the cost of child birth and child care. Social security allowances should be paid which safeguard the right of a parent to stay home when children's needs require this; in particular the payment of a child rearing allowance for each family where one parent is committed to the full-time care of a child under three.

- (iv) The better provision of facilities for developmental child care and comprehensive home aid services. Measures in this line would also include improved housing and consumer goods and the expansion of collective services.

135. On a narrower base equal pay will lead to a call from both women and employers for increased job opportunities and responsibilities. Measures discussed which relate specifically to the development and maintenance of the skills and responsibilities of women employees include:

- (i) The upgrading of vocational guidance service, job description and job design so that the scope of jobs available in terms of financial reward, challenges, job satisfaction and responsibility, particularly those available to women, are communicated honestly and effectively. Regular publication on a national basis of all job opportunities in New Zealand, with indication of those available for women would also be valuable.
- (ii) Recruiting, training and promotion practices adapted to the typical life cycle of the married woman - in particular measures to aid re-entry into the work force after a period of child rearing.
- (iii) Extensions to all work centres of the scheme operating through the Department of Labour which offers a service co-ordinating employer-employee needs and of giving attention to special groups such as married women in the labour force.

136. To avoid running the risk of allowing New Zealand family and labour policy to develop by a piecemeal method of facing and yielding to a succession of separate issues it is recommended that:

- (i) A Royal Commission be set up during the five year phase-in period for implementing equal pay, with the purpose of reviewing "the changing roles of men and women in the community"; and that its findings and recommendations be published before the final date for implementation.





- (ii) A permanent research and action institute be established whose studies would deal in full breadth with the relationships of family work and community and whose findings would be directed outwards to the many agencies concerned with aspects of these relationships.

137. This study has tried to look beyond immediate and short-term effects on the economy and labour market of implementing equal pay to indicate what may be some of its longer term implications for family and work life. The introduction of equal pay is seen as a change in society's attitudes and values and will inevitably mean changing roles for both men and women in the home and at work. With this in mind the aim of future social policy should be in the context of freedom and equality, to establish and clarify options so that each person may select the role pattern best suited to his own circumstances.

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APPENDIX

UNMARRIED WOMEN IN LABOUR FORCE  
AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL UNMARRIED WOMEN  
IN THE SAME AGE GROUP


Age	1926	1936	1945	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
15 - 19	53.5	57.5	73.5	77.6	79.3	(1) 88.2	83.4	72.5
20 - 24	69.7	72.4	87.5	89.1	90.4	91.1	92.2	88.9
25 - 29	69.7	73.3	81.3	82.4	80.3	79.0	81.9	81.3
30 - 34	64.3	69.3	73.4	74.9				73.3
35 - 39	60.0	63.1	67.5	69.8	68.8			70.3
40 - 44	51.9	57.3	61.9	64.3		67.8	71.9	67.7
45 - 49	45.9	49.9	51.4	57.6	56.3			64.0
50 - 54	36.7	41.8	41.5	45.8		57.1	59.4	54.5
55 - 59	29.3	32.6	28.1	33.2	28.6			43.4
60 - 64	17.4	19.2	13.9	16.6		30.2	33.2	23.4
65+	6.6	7.1	4.0	4.6	5.0	4.3	4.6	5.5
Single Women of all Ages 16+	50.8	52.3	54.4	52.2	51.6	53.2	54.8	46.7

(1) Proportion based on males or females under 20 years of age  
(in the labour force).



APPENDIX (Cont'd)

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEN IN LABOUR FORCE AS  
PERCENTAGE OF ALL MEN IN THE  
SAME AGE GROUP



Age	1926	1936	1945	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
16 - 19	89.3	87.9	81.2	81.8	81.0	(1) 84.1	(1) 78.9	68.6
20 - 24	97.2	97.5	94.6	95.9	96.0	94.6	93.6	91.0
25 - 29	97.9	98.9	96.3	97.7	98.5	98.5	98.6	97.8
30 - 34	98.0	98.9	96.9	97.8				98.7
35 - 39	98.3	98.3	97.2	97.8	98.2	98.3	98.9	98.8
40 - 44	97.9	97.2	96.8	97.5				98.6
45 - 49	92.2	96.9	95.0	97.0	97.0	97.3	97.4	98.0
50 - 54	95.3	95.4	91.4	93.8				96.3
55 - 59	91.5	92.4	87.2	86.6	80.3	81.7	83.4	92.2
60 - 64	83.8	83.5	70.0	61.5				69.2
65+	47.5	40.0	30.7	26.5	25.3	22.0	23.6	21.3
Total Men of all Ages 16+	91.8	90.4	83.7	84.2	85.1	85.5	85.5	85.1

(1) Proportion based on males or females under 20 years of age (in the labour force).