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ROYAL COMMISSION
ON
EQUAL PAY
1944-46

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty
October 1946

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THE ROYAL WARRANT

GEORGE R.I.

GEORGE THE SIXTH, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, KING, Defender of the Faith, to

Our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir Cyril Asquith (commonly called the Honourable Sir Cyril Asquith), Knight, one of the Justices of Our High Court of Justice, King's Bench Division,

Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin Angela Olivia, Countess of Limerick, Commander of Our Most Excellent Order of the British Empire ;

Our Trusty and Well-beloved :

Jasper Nicholas Ridley (commonly called the Honourable Jasper Nicholas Ridley), Esquire, Officer of Our Most Excellent Order of the British Empire ;

Anne Loughlin, Dame Commander of Our Most Excellent Order of the British Empire ;

Dennis Holme Robertson, Esquire, Companion of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Professor of Political Economy, University of Cambridge, Fellow of the British Academy ;

Charles Stanley Robinson, Esquire, Commander of Our Most Excellent Order of the British Empire ,

John Brown, Esquire ;

Lucy Frances Nettlefold ; and

Janet Maria Vaughan (Mrs. Gourlay), Doctor of Medicine, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians ;

Greeting !

Whereas We have deemed it expedient that a Commission should forthwith issue to examine the existing relationship between the remuneration of men and women in the public services, in industry and in other fields of employment ; to consider the social, economic and financial implications of the claim of equal pay for equal work ; and to report :

Now Know Ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your knowledge and ability, have authorized and appointed, and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you the said Sir Cyril Asquith (Chairman) ; Angela Olivia, Countess of Limerick ; Jasper Nicholas Ridley ; Dame Anne Loughlin ; Dennis Holme Robertson ; Charles Stanley Robinson ; John Brown ; Lucy Frances Nettlefold and Janet Vaughan to be Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said Inquiry :

And for the better effecting the purposes of this Our Commission, We do by these Presents give and grant unto you, or any three or more of you, full power to call before you such persons as you shall judge likely to afford you any information upon the subject of this Our Commission ; to call for information in writing, and also to call for, have access to, and examine all such books, documents, registers and records as may afford you the fullest information on the subject and to enquire of and concerning the premises by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever :

And We do by these Presents will and ordain that this Our Commission, shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, Our said Commissioners, or any three or more of you, may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter and thing therein contained although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment :

And We do further ordain that you have liberty to report your proceedings under this Our Commission from time to time if you shall judge it expedient so to do :

And Our further Will and Pleasure is that you do, with as little delay as possible, report to us your opinion upon the matters herein submitted for your consideration.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's the Seventeenth day of October, one thousand nine hundred and forty-four ; in the eighth year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

Herbert Morrison.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON EQUAL PAY.

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Royal Commission on Equal Pay

(1944-46)

Report to

The King's Most Excellent Majesty

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

WE, the undersigned Commissioners, having been appointed

> " to examine the existing relationship between the remuneration of men and women in the public services, in industry and in other fields of employment ; to consider the social, economic and financial implications of the claim of equal pay for equal work ; and to report :"

NOW HUMBLY SUBMIT TO YOUR MAJESTY OUR REPORT AS FOLLOWS.

Introduction

CHAPTER I

Procedure

1. After our first meeting on 17th October, 1944, invitations were issued to a large number of bodies and persons to submit written statements of evidence bearing on that part of the subject of our enquiry with which they were particularly concerned. A notice was also issued through the Press inviting written evidence from any associations or societies or individuals who desired to submit evidence. Altogether we have received and considered 195 formal statements and a list of those who supplied them is given in Appendix I to this report.

2. We considered it unnecessary, and in the interests of despatch undesirable to hear oral evidence from the majority of those who had supplied written statements. The statements of those whom we heard (whose names are shown separately in Appendix I to this report) have been printed together with, or in Appendices I–VIII to, the published minutes of evidence. The statements submitted by a number of other witnesses who were not heard in oral evidence are printed in Appendices IX–XIX to the minutes of evidence. A list of the contents of all the Appendices to the minutes of evidence is given in Appendix I. C.

3. Oral evidence was heard in public ; but we also had the benefit of informal discussion at some of our private meetings with certain expert witnesses, the nature of whose written evidence appeared to make this the more profitable procedure.

4. In addition to the formal evidence which was given, government departments, associations and individuals have materially assisted us by readily replying to questions or supplying information in regard to points which

only emerged as our enquiry proceeded. We desire to record our sense of obligation to all those who have furthered our task by placing their skill and time at our disposal; and in particular to the economic and medical witnesses (whose evidence is contained in Appendices IX and X to the minutes of evidence) who gave a willing response to our request for advice on a number of technical questions in which they were expert.

5. The Commission spent 15 days in taking oral evidence from 27 witnesses, and, when so engaged, met as a whole. But, as has already been indicated, the main materials to be taken into account (and they were very voluminous and complex) were documentary. Moreover the Commission had of necessity to proceed principally by delegating specific branches of enquiry and other tasks to committees, groups, or individuals,—such bodies submitting the results of their labours at intervals to the Commission as a whole, for approval rejection or amendment. The full Commission, in addition to hearing oral evidence, met whenever necessary for the purposes just specified; and committees and groups to which it delegated particular tasks, on occasions too numerous to record.

Interpretation of terms of reference

6. Our terms of reference instruct us to extend our survey of the existing situation over all fields of employment. On a literal interpretation of this instruction the class of 'self-employed' persons, i.e. persons not employed under a contract of service, might be held to fall outside its scope. We have not so understood it: but in point of fact the issue of equal pay cannot arise in this field save in so far as scales of remuneration for such 'self-employed' persons are prescribed or recommended by some authority such as a professional institution or association.

7. More obscurity surrounds the meaning of the term 'implications' in the second part of the terms of reference. This we have felt bound to construe, after taking a ruling on the point, as meaning 'probable consequences' and no more. What is certain is that we are not asked to submit recommendations but only to provide an analysis from which those responsible for policy will draw their own conclusions. This was plainly stated by the then Prime Minister in an answer to a question in the House of Commons on 22nd February, 1945.*

8. We further think it reasonable to read the two main sentences of our terms of reference together. So read they implicitly enjoin us to confine our examination of the relationship between men's and women's remuneration to cases where men and women do 'equal work'; we are not, that is, asked to consider the level of women's pay in relation to that of men in general and without reference to the nature of the, possibly very different, activities for which these are the rewards. But no study of the former relationship can be adequate which does not take account of the latter, and reference is accordingly made to the latter at a number of points in the report.

9. A question of much greater complexity is that of the precise meaning to be attached to the crucial phrase 'equal pay for equal work'. This is a matter of such difficulty as to require a separate section for its discussion, but before we embark on this it will make for convenience to state clearly the sense in which we shall employ, whether in the following section or elsewhere in the report, certain recurring expressions whose meaning may not be immediately evident.

* *See* Hansard, 22nd February, 1945, Cols. 959–960.

Definition of certain expressions used in the report

10. The three expressions which we think it advisable to define once and for all at this point are the following.

Pay-differential. We shall use this term, or, where the context permits, ' differential ' simply, for the gap between a male rate and the corresponding female rate of pay, whether expressed as an absolute amount or as a ratio or percentage. In speaking of ' corresponding ' rates we mean that both rates are rates for ' the same work ' in the sense of that expression as explained in paragraphs 14–18. ' Rate ' is to be understood to refer both to payment on a piece and to payment on a time basis. On the other hand, it is to be distinguished from actual earnings.

Overall Value. In discussing the value of an employee to his or her employer it will be necessary on occasion to distinguish between the value of the services rendered in relation to a given ' unit ' of work, whether the unit be a job or a time, and the overall value of the employee's services over the whole period during which he or she remains in employment. It is clear that the latter may be affected by factors irrelevant to the former. If the total period of employment is markedly shorter than the normal full working life (as, for example, when a woman leaves her employment on marriage) there may be, in some employments, an inconveniently rapid labour turnover; or again, employees between whom there is nothing to choose as regards the work on which they are actually engaged may differ widely in their capacities to undertake, in due course, the higher responsibilities falling to their senior colleagues for whom replacements must eventually be found. Again, of two employees who are equally efficient while at work, one may be frequently absent from sickness or other causes, thereby causing delays and disorganisation in the work to be done.

Overlap area. It will frequently be the case that in some industry or group of occupations taken as a whole both men and women are employed while it is none the less true that the precise jobs on which members of both sexes work together interchangeably constitute only a part of that total field. We shall use the words ' overlap area ' in the narrower sense of a range of jobs on which men and women appear to be working together interchangeably, though, as we shall see, the boundaries of an overlap area so conceived are frequently impossible to draw precisely.

Meaning of ' equal pay for equal work'

11. ' Equal pay for equal work ' is primarily a battle-cry and in a battle-cry it is proper to expect power rather than precision. Expectation is not disappointed in this instance; the ambiguities of the expression are admitted and deplored by all who attempt seriously to grapple with the issue as a problem for peaceful debate, irrespective of the party to which they belong. But before ourselves indicating the nature of these ambiguities one general observation must be made if our own attitude is not to be misunderstood.

12. The cry of ' equal pay for equal work ' is a demand for something which is thought to be required by simple justice. It might be supposed, therefore, that when from the various possible interpretations we select one as the primary meaning which the words are to bear throughout our report, unless notice is anywhere given to the contrary, we are ourselves subscribing to the view that it would be proper that equality in this sense should be brought about. But this would be to misconceive our position.

The interpretation we shall treat as basic will be chosen for no other reason than that it appears to be the interpretation dominant in the minds of those

who put forward the claim. It is perfectly compatible with this choice that if the claim is justified at all it is justified, not in this but in one of its other possible meanings.

13. The difficulties of the expression are concentrated in the words ' equal work ', but even the conception of equal pay requires some elucidation. We do not allude to the question whether pay is to be understood in terms of what the employer makes over to his employee, or in terms of what standard of living the employee, having regard to the various personal responsibilities he sustains, can achieve in virtue of it. It is manifest that, as a matter of definition, the former of these alternatives is the only workable one. Nor are we concerned with the complexities of various forms of remuneration —basic wage or salary, bonus of one sort or another, payment in kind, and the like. Although for particular purposes these may require separate consideration it is clear to us that, again as a matter of definition, ' pay ' must be understood to cover them all. But ' equal pay ' denotes only a certain relation between the remuneration of the two sexes; it leaves open the question of the absolute level at which that relation is to be exhibited. In theory equality might be established in the first instance either by reducing the man's rate to the level of the woman's, or conversely by raising the woman's rate to the level of the man's, or by bringing the two together at some intermediate point. We are, however, satisfied that the most practical course is to understand by a policy of equal pay a policy of raising the women's rate to whatever is, at the relevant time, the male level of remuneration. This is unquestionably what the advocates of equal pay intend.

14. Our decision regarding the meaning to be attributed to the phrase ' equal work ' is, we are conscious, more open to argument. The first problem that confronts us here is how widely we are called on to extend our purview. At one end of the scale we find employments so closely similar that it would be usual to say that men and women engaged on them are doing ' the same work ' or ' identical work.' At the opposite extreme we have employments of utterly disparate natures—employments, in some cases, confined in practice if not by law to one sex only, such as those of the nursemaid and the coalminer—about which the question may be asked, but not, we think, answered, whether in some sense or other of the word the work which they involve is or is not equal. It may be asked, for instance, whether those engaged in these very diverse activities are or are not called on for equal effort and equal sacrifice. We doubt whether there is any standard of measurement by reference to which this might be decided, or any serious proposal that remuneration should be based on such a decision. We take it that, in the context of our enquiry, equality signifies at least some degree of similarity between employments: but we are unable to discover any general principle in the light of which to decide *what* degree of similarity is required in order that the work done in two employments may be described either as being unequal or as being equal. For instance the teaching of infants and the teaching of grown boys are in some respects similar and in other respects dissimilar employments; and the work of a weaver who does his own ' beaming-off ' is in some respects closely similar and in other respects dissimilar to that of one who does not. The boundaries round an ' employment ' can seldom be clearly and precisely drawn. In determining, therefore, the range of our discussion we have had to follow the guidance of common sense as best we can.

15. The next difficulty is that, even as applied to kinds of work so similar that they would commonly be spoken of as ' the same work,' the words ' equal work ' remain ambiguous in several respects. On the one hand work may be defined simply in terms of the nature of the thing to be done, whether

it be the filing and indexing of papers or cotton-weaving or the cleaning of railway carriages, without reference to the question whether one worker gives the employer a return of equal value to that given by another. On the other hand this disregarded factor may be treated as the essence of the matter and equality of work be understood to mean equality of the worker's value from the employer's point of view. Moreover, unequal value may exhibit itself in more than one way. In the first place workers engaged in similar work may execute it with different degrees of efficiency as measured by either the quantity or the quality of their product. For example one weaver may weave 25 per cent. more cloth of a given type and quality than can another weaver in the same time. Or we may take such an occupation as lens polishing ; here two workers may be working at the same speed, as measured by the number of ' pieces ' finished in a given period, but one of them may be working to a higher standard of accuracy than the other. These are both instances of the first type of unequal value. But secondly, as we have already indicated in paragraph 10, it may be relatively unprofitable to an employer to employ some particular class of workers, not because while actually ' on the job ' they are less efficient than their fellows, but either because the conditions under which he has to employ them involve him in special overhead charges or because for one reason or another they possess what we have termed a lower overall value.

16. We think that, if regard is to be had to the meaning attached to the claim of equal pay for equal work by most of those who urge it, it is convenient to understand by the expression the same thing as is expressed in the widely used phrase ' the rate for the job '. We propose therefore to leave inequality in respect of overall value out of account in deciding whether work should or should not be called equal and to this extent at least ' equal pay for equal work ' will not, as used by us, have the same import as ' equal pay for equal value to the employer '.

17. The difference of import will, however, go further than this, and for the reason that, as reflection shows, the phrase ' the rate for the job ' is unfortunately itself ambiguous. For apart from the difficulties, discussed in paragraph 14, of defining the boundaries of an employment or job, the phrase evidently carries different implications according to whether the method of payment actually in force is payment by time or payment by the piece. In both cases, indeed, the claim of the rate for the job means that all persons working at the job should be paid at the same rates : but this apparent similarity conceals a fundamental diversity of principle as regards the significance of the first type of inequality of value distinguished in paragraph 15. For in the case of piece-work the claim so expressed is, broadly speaking, compatible with the principle that pay should be proportioned as closely as possible to effective output, while in the case of time-work it is not compatible with that principle and is indeed definitely put forward in antithesis to it.*

18. Our definition therefore does little more than rule out, in conformity with what we believe to be in the minds of most of those who put forward the claim to equal pay for equal work, those considerations of special overheads,

* Our predecessors the Atkin Committee (paras. 211–214 of Cmd. 135 of 1919) interpreted the phrase ' the rate for the job ' as equivalent to the principle of equal time-rates and the phrase ' equal pay for equal work ' as equivalent to the principle of pay in proportion to efficient output, without regard to the factors of special overheads and overall value. Mrs. Sidney Webb in her Minority Report (Ch. II, 9) distinguishes three meanings of ' equal pay for equal work ',' viz. (1) equal pay for equal efforts and sacrifices, (2) equal pay for equal product, (3) equal pay for equal value to the employer. She appears to identify the first of these with ' the occupational or standard rate upon a time-work basis ', backed by a national minimum wage.

overall value, etc., which have been alluded to in paragraphs 10 and 15. It does not attempt to take the further step of identifying the claim with a single unambiguous principle. Still less, we must repeat, does the adoption of any particular definition prejudge in any way the question either of the justice of the claim in the defined sense or of the probable consequences of its being successfully pressed.

Scope and structure of the report

19. Our terms of reference dictate a division of our report into two main parts, the first presenting a factual survey of the existing relationship between the remuneration of the two sexes and the second devoted to an examination of the consequences likely to result from the abolition of all discrimination in pay between them when they are doing the same work. The scope and internal arrangement of these parts severally is explained in the introductory paragraphs of each of them, but it should be said here that, while the broad design of the report is as we have indicated, there are a number of facts regarding the employment of women which we have excluded from Part I and reserved for treatment in Part II. All facts which can be regarded as explanations of differentiation in pay can best be considered in discussing the implications of equal pay, and their mention is postponed accordingly. In a sense, therefore, the whole of our factual survey is not brought together into the section of the report that is so described; but though this may appear formally unsatisfactory we are clear that it is actually the only method by which each part can be made reasonably self-contained and intelligible.

20. There are two further observations which we think it as well to make at this point on what might otherwise appear to be accidental and unjustified omissions. In the first place we have not thought it necessary to deal at any point in detail with the history of the movement for equal pay. That does not mean that we have ignored the bearing on our enquiry of the gradual development of opinion and practice with regard to the employment and remuneration of women. Historical reasons play a part in accounting for the limitations which still exist in the field of employment open to women, and hence in determining the differentials in their rates of pay. Further, in this matter as in others, the extent to which at any time any change is both desirable and practicable is conditioned by the state of public opinion with regard to it at that time. We have endeavoured to take due account of both these aspects of our problem in Part II of our report.

21. The second restriction which we have deliberately imposed upon ourselves relates to the peculiar circumstances of the war period. Although a request issued in 1944 for an examination of the existing relationship between the remuneration of men and women is in terms a direction to take the conditions prevailing in that year as the subject of our factual survey, it is clear that a somewhat different course is in fact desirable. A study designed to provide a basis on which to examine the implications of what must be a long-term policy must rather, so far as possible, disregard merely short-term phenomena. On the whole, therefore, it is, in our view, rather the pre-war than the war-time situation which is of importance for our purpose. At the same time it is obvious that war-time developments and experiences cannot be ignored. The changes which have taken place, whether in the scope of the employments open to women or in the basis on which their remuneration has been determined, even if they are themselves transitory, may yet have disclosed factors of a more permanent significance of which due notice must be taken.

22. There is one aspect of the uncertainty regarding the future which is of such peculiar importance to any estimate of the consequences of equal pay that we think it necessary to single it out for special mention in this introduction. It is accepted policy to endeavour to maintain 'full employment,' or, as it is less popularly but more prudently expressed, 'a high and stable level of employment.' The bearing of this policy on our problem is not discussed in set terms till chapter XIII; but in writing our report we have tried to keep it throughout in mind.

Part I—Factual Survey

CHAPTER II

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES

Introductory

23. We propose, as a matter of convenience, to deal with the main classes of persons whom we regard as covered by our terms of reference, under the following heads, viz.:

persons in the service of the Crown, consisting principally of civil servants and members of the armed forces;
persons in the employment of local authorities;
professional persons whether remunerated on a fee or on a salary basis;
and persons employed in private industry and commerce.

Each of these categories of course requires further specification. In this and the following chapters we consider them in turn.

The Civil Service

24 The Civil Service comprises both non-industrial civil servants and persons employed in an industrial capacity. The line dividing these two categories in Civil Service practice is one which it would be difficult to draw with precision; but it is broadly correct to say that the latter is confined to, and fully comprehends, persons engaged in manual work of a type, and in grades, which would be recognised as industrial in the field of private employment. Both before and during the war the main government employers of industrial staffs have been the service departments and (since their creation) the supply departments related to them. The Royal Ordnance Factories and the Royal Dockyards may be cited as obvious instances.

25. No more than a brief reference to the position of industrial civil servants is here necessary. Prior to the war their total numbers, and in particular the number of women employed, were small in relation to the industrial field as a whole—approximately 240,000 of both sexes in April, 1939, of whom a mere 7,000 were women. Under war conditions these numbers greatly increased, as a result primarily of the multiplication and development of the Royal Ordnance Factories, to a total, in October, 1944, of over 700,000 of whom over 260,000 were women. But even with this increase it remains true that direct government employment is, in scale, a relatively unimportant fraction

of industrial employment generally. Moreover, as the Treasury have stated, " in fixing rates of pay for their industrial employees the Government keep in line with the agreements or awards relating to the particular industry " at any time in question : and since the fact is so there is nothing that falls to be said about the remuneration of such employees which will not be more properly said in our survey of the position in private industry.

The Civil Service—non-industrial

26. The Civil Service on its non-industrial side presents a very different problem demanding full independent discussion. There are no nationally negotiated agreements or awards in other spheres which can be carried over or applied inside the Civil Service and remuneration for non-industrial civil servants is prescribed directly. Moreover, the numerical strength of the non-industrial Civil Service is important relatively to the total number of persons of similar capacities and occupations in the country as a whole ; and much more so is the combined strength of this service and of the local government staffs —two services the conditions in each of which may be expected to react more and more sensitively to those in the other.

Numbers employed

27. In April, 1939, there were about 375,000 non-industrial whole-time civil servants, roughly 280,000 men and 95,000 women. By October, 1944, these numbers had been increased to 670,000, 350,000 and 320,000 respectively. What the post-war position will be is a matter for speculation, beyond the two very general propositions that there will be a large reduction below the 1944 figures and that, owing to the increased range of the responsibilities of the service, the reduction will not be large enough to wipe out the war-time expansion. It was very tentatively suggested to us [Q. 1,347] that a total strength of 500,000 might be assumed ; but even if that figure were certain the questions of the proportion who would be women and of their distribution throughout the service would remain unanswered. We return briefly to these questions in paragraphs 33–38 and 50. In the meantime it may be noted that in 1939 women constituted between 25 per cent. and 26 per cent. of the total. In 1944 this percentage had increased to 48 ; but the increase must be ascribed almost entirely to the temporary replacement by women of men on war service and to the needs of expansion being met to an abnormal degree by the recruitment of women, men being unavailable. It is noteworthy that already in 1929 about 25 per cent. of non-industrial civil servants were women.

28. The figures given above relate to the non-industrial Civil Service as a whole. We propose now and in what follows to ignore what are called the ' minor and manipulative grades '. We do so because, we are informed, nineteen out of every twenty of the persons employed in these grades are employed by the Post Office (e.g. as postmen, sorters, telegraphists, telephonists) and we have found it necessary to give separate consideration to the position in that Department.*

Size and nature of the overlap area

29. The total of non-industrial civil servants in April, 1939, exclusive of the minor and manipulative grades etc., referred to in paragraph 28 above was approximately 207,000, of whom 59,000 or 28 per cent. were women. What we have now to ascertain is the size and nature of the overlap area defined as in paragraph 10. It might be expected that this would coincide

* Cleaners employed in the Post Office numbering approximately 3,000 men and 1,000 women are also ignored in the passages immediately following.

with the scope of what, in the service, is termed aggregation, an expression which is explained as follows in paragraph 388 (vii) of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service 1929–31 : " While in some Departments women are employed on the same duties and work side by side with men, in others they are employed in separate branches and have separate avenues of advancement. These two systems are known respectively as aggregation and segregation. The latter system if rigidly observed amounts to the reservation of certain posts to men and to women respectively ". It may, however, happen (and the Post Office will provide a case in point) that the ground of segregation is a difference in the nature or conditions of the work of the two sexes which is compatible with the work being, in our view and for our purpose, the same. In such an event it is arguable whether or not the mere fact of segregation should be regarded as excluding the work from the overlap area. But such cases are exceptional and we can accept the general rule that where there is overlap there is aggregation and conversely.

30. From the first Treasury memorandum of evidence (as amended to take into account certain further tabulation work which has been carried out on the Civil Service census for 1939 by the General Register Office since that evidence was submitted) it would appear that roughly 47,000 men and 33,000 women were employed in what may be termed one-sex grades—80,000 in all. This should mean that some 127,000 persons were in the overlap area—though the statistics supplied by the Treasury for common grades in which both sexes were actually employed account for 119,000 men and women only. The difference of 8,000 thus unaccounted for affects mainly the class ' messengers, porters, cleaners, etc. ', whose numbers include some 6,000 who could not be assigned to one of the three categories ' men only ', ' women only ', or ' common '.

31. While, therefore, the size of the overlap area as a whole, and the ratio of women to men in it, must remain somewhat uncertain, it can be stated that the overlap area is between 119,000 and 127,000 or between 57 per cent. and 61 per cent. of the field of 207,000 under consideration (probably appreciably less than the latter figure, since segregation may be presumed to be extensive in the case of messengers, porters and cleaners) ; and that, if the 119,000 persons known to be within it are a fair sample of the total in this respect, women constituted about 17 per cent. Even on the extremest hypothesis regarding the proportion of women in the remainder of the area, the 17 per cent. would rise only to about 21 per cent., as compared with the 28 per cent. of the non-industrial service as a whole who were women. This lesser percentage is due to the size of the grades confined to women, that is to say (to all intents and purposes) the sub-clerical class of clerical assistants and the typing grades. These two heads accounted for more than 31,000, or nearly 54 per cent. of all the women in the non-industrial service. What this means is that, broadly speaking, in terms of the 1939 position, the equal pay issue directly affects from 57 per cent. to 61 per cent. of the service as a whole, but only directly affects 46 per cent. of the women in it.

32. So far we have discussed the overlap area only in general terms, as though in those respects which are of interest to our enquiry it were homogeneous throughout. But that was far from being the case. The classes and grades of which it was composed differed widely both as regards their size and the proportion of women in the total strength. Without going into full detail it is worth remark that, at the one extreme, the common grades in the administrative class included no more than 1,255 persons, while, at the other extreme, the common grades in the general and other clerical classes accounted for nearly 83,000. The percentage of women in these two totals

varied similarly—4 per cent. in the administrative class against 22 per cent. in the clerical classes. The clerical classes percentage is much the highest and is entirely responsible for raising the overall figure even as high as the 17 per cent. mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The percentage in the case of the administrative class though, with one exception, the lowest of all, is far more typical. The exception is the class of professional, scientific and technical staffs, where only 1½ per cent. of a total of 8,416 were women.

33. All this, however, relates to the past, and what is important for our purpose is not the past but the future; what one would wish to have is a corresponding picture of the post-war Civil Service. The lack of this would be of little consequence were it reasonable to suppose that no radical changes will occur, but this manifestly cannot be assumed. All we can here do, however, is to indicate a number of respects, other than an alteration of the pay position itself, in which past and future may differ; it will be sufficiently apparent from what we say how vain it is to attempt to estimate the amount of the difference.

34. As has been mentioned earlier, it was suggested to us that the non-industrial Civil Service (inclusive of the minor and manipulative grades) might settle down to a post-war strength of about half a million, an overall increase of one-third over the pre-war strength. The first uncertainty (supposing the total itself to be certain) concerns the distribution of this increase between the minor and manipulative grades and the remainder of the service. It seems clear that the bulk of the increase will be outside the minor and manipulative grades, any other hypothesis would make too generous allowance for Post Office expansion. But what will be the percentage increase in the rest of the field, between the two extremes of 33 per cent. and (assuming no Post Office expansion) 60 per cent., we cannot predict. Even if we knew this we still should not know how the increases in the various classes and grades that make up the service, outside the minor and manipulative grades, will compare one with another.

35. In the second place, we do not know what change there will be in the boundaries of the overlap area, though it seems safe to assume that grades reserved to women will remain so and that any change will take the form of an admission of women to grades at present confined to men. The existing position (ignoring war-time relaxations) is clearly indicated in the first memorandum of evidence submitted by the Treasury* and any more summary statement of it would be likely to mislead.† It is not within our province to observe on its reasonableness or to estimate its stability.

36. Thirdly, we do not know how far the pre-war proportion of women in the grades already open to both sexes will persist. As we have noted, there was very little change in the proportion of women in the Civil Service in the decade before the war. But the Treasury have pointed out [Qs. 1414–6] that the 1939 proportion was still affected by a recruitment policy that is no longer operative. Large numbers of ex-service men were still in employment, and entry to what are now the common grades of the Civil Service had been prior to 1925 almost wholly restricted to men. A better clue is to be found in the ratios of women to men among the successful candidates in the pre-war open competitions. If those ratios are taken at their face value this should mean that in the common areas the proportion of women would rise from 4 per cent. to 7 per cent. in the case of the administrative class, from

* See paras. 8–12 of Part A and Appendix 2 of Appendix I to minutes of evidence.

† One important change must, however, be noted. Women are now admitted to the senior branch of the Foreign Service, although their numbers are limited by the imposition of a 10 per cent. quota at the recruitment stage.

6½ per cent. to about 17 per cent. in the case of the executive classes, and from 22 per cent. to 38 per cent. in the case of the clerical classes. Assuming, however, that the wastage rate for women continues higher than that for men these percentages will need to be abated (and, it may be, to a very appreciable extent). What change of ratio might occur in the remainder of the overlap area, not less, in 1939, than one-fifth of the whole and possibly a good deal more, is quite unpredictable.

37. Moreover (the fourth uncertainty) we have so far ignored the exceptional and complicated arrangements for the immediate 'reconstruction' period of recruitment. Short-term though these arrangements are in their operation they will be long-term enough in their results to make any calculations which leave them out of account of very little worth: the effects of the arrangements made at the end of the 1914–18 war were still being felt twenty years later [Q. 1415] and while the effect of the present arrangements in diminishing the proportion of women in the service will be nothing like so great, they may be expected nevertheless to prevent for the time being any great increase in the proportion of women entrants in comparison with conditions immediately before the last war.

38. One final complication remains to be noted. If the bar on women remaining in the service after marriage were abolished an increase in the proportion of women to men might be expected to result. It is difficult to estimate the effect of this change, supposing it to take place, but the point is certainly not one that can be ignored.*

39. But apart from difficulties of this kind, which beset us in every sphere, we are able in the case of the non-industrial Civil Service to discriminate with some precision the areas of the common employment of men and women and to assert with confidence that the employment is truly common employment in these areas. This, it must be said, is an exceptional situation. Even within the Civil Service darkness begins to descend in the special case of the Post Office, and the shadows will tend to be deeper as we proceed. The degree of illumination we have enjoyed hitherto results from the fact that the classes and grades that constitute the Civil Service, and the nature and level of the responsibilities resting on those who serve in them, are carefully defined, and defined without any reference to the sex of their members; that, correspondingly without regard to sex, their members are treated as fully interchangeable within the same class and grade; and that the method of recruitment, at least in the case of the Treasury grades and the main departmental grades (that is to say in the great majority of cases outside the Post Office) is normally by open competition, acceptance or rejection being determined simply by the standard reached in this, irrespective of the proportion of women to men among the successful candidates that is thereby entailed. It is obvious that under such a system there can be no doubt about the extent to which men and women are engaged on work of the same character. The differentiation in pay between men and women, itself defined with great clarity in this field, can correspondingly be asserted to be genuinely and unmistakeably a differentiation related solely to their sex. It would be begging the question to assume that it is therefore unjustified; but at least an area has been delimited with reference to which the claim to equal pay has clear application and significance.

Remuneration

40. Unlike the question of the numbers and the distribution, by grades and sex, of non-industrial civil servants, which has just been discussed, that of the

* See Chapter XII.

relationship between the remuneration of the two sexes is, in its essentials, simple and straightforward. These essentials are set out in the report, dated 30th June, 1937, of the sub-committee of the Joint General Purposes Committee of the National Whitley Council.*

It will be sufficient here to call attention to the more important points of the report, adding a few observations on the results which flow from the application of the principles enunciated in it.

41. The points to which we desire to make special reference are those dealt with in (*a*), (*e*), (*f*) and (*h*) of paragraph 3 of the report, the effect of which is broadly that the maximum of the women's scale is to be not less than 80 per cent. of that of the men's scale (in practice it is somewhat more in many grades, though not in the very important junior executive and general clerical grades), subject to several important qualifications. The clearest of these qualifications is that the difference between the two scales at the maximum shall in no case exceed £175. Whatever may have been the reason for settling on this precise figure (and it does not seem to be related to any definite principle [Q. 1733]), the result is that wherever the man's scale rises above a rate of £875 p.a. the allowable differential drops below 20 per cent. This qualification of the general rule is, of course, entirely without effect on the clerical grades or on the ancillary technical, etc. staffs, but it has a relevance to the higher posts in all the other classes in which women are or might, under the present restrictions, be employed. It operates with particular force in the administrative class, where, in the normal tier of grades, only the recruitment grade of assistant principal remains unaffected. Thus in the grade of principal (men's scale, £800–1,100) the differential at the maximum could not exceed 16 per cent.; actually it is only 14½ per cent. In the grade of principal assistant secretary, where the 1939 rate for men was £1,700 p.a. the differential could not exceed 10 per cent. and was in fact fixed at that amount. Under the White Paper (Cmd. 6680) proposals of September, 1945, this grade became obsolescent on 1st January, 1946. The differential for the grade above—that of under-secretary, now rated at £2,000—is limited to 8¾ per cent. If a woman were to occupy the highest paid post in the Civil Service, that of permanent secretary to the Treasury, she would, at the new salary of £3,750, be entitled under the present rule to just over 95 per cent. of the remuneration of her male predecessor.

42. The second important qualification of what may be termed the 20 per cent. rule is that there shall be no differentiation at all between men and women at the *minimum* of a scale for a recruitment grade which forms the lowest tier of a class, that is to say that grade, in any class, in which newcomers to the service are normally entered; for example, in the case of the administrative class the grade of assistant principal, in the case of the general executive class the grade of junior executive officer. The report prescribes the further condition that the grade in question shall be one " in which the recognised method of filling vacancies is by appointment at the minimum of the scale of candidates at or shortly after the age at which they acquire the prescribed academic or professional qualifications ". It may be noted that although equality at the minimum of the scale is all that is strictly required, in practice, the Treasury have informed us, the scales of the main common established grades first diverge in the early twenties, when the men may be assumed to be acquiring or contemplating family responsibilities.†

43. The third important qualification of the 20 per cent. rule is, it is thought, designed to secure what is thought to be a reasonable relationship between

* For the full report see Appendix 4 of Appendix I to the minutes of evidence.

† See para. 23 of Part A of Appendix I and para. 67 of Appendix IV to minutes of evidence.

the remuneration of women in a give grade and that of men in the grade below it. Broadly, the qualification is to the effect that the women's maximum in the higher grade must be not less than the men's maximum in the lower grade. It will be noted that this does not guarantee that a woman civil servant will at any point earn *more* than a male civil servant over whom she may be set earns for the less responsible work that falls to him: nor need it be generally true that she will earn even as much. With the propriety or impropriety of such an arrangement we are not here concerned, but it is important that its nature should be understood. In this connection reference may be made to paragraphs 72–77 of the memorandum of evidence submitted by the Council of Women Civil Servants* and more particularly to the extreme cases mentioned in paragraph 77 " where women newly promoted to a grade above receive less payment than men newly promoted to the grade below and where it takes women in the senior grade longer to reach a maximum which is identical with the maximum of the men in the grade below " than it takes a man in that lower grade to reach that same maximum.

44. The 20 per cent. rule and the qualifications of it above mentioned relate expressly only to the maxima and, in the case of recruitment grades solely, the minima of scales; and although the relation between the pay of the sexes which they indicate is in fact roughly maintained at all points, we understand that cases do occur where the gap between the men's and women's rates *exceeds* 20 per cent. of the former in the course of a scale [Q. 1734]; but on the whole it would be true to say that in so far as there is divergence from the 20 per cent. rule it is in the direction of a reduction of the differential; that is, it definitely overstates the amount of the discrimination against women in the Civil Service to describe them as getting roughly four-fifths of what the men get. There is, however, nothing to preclude the occurrence of odd cases such as those mentioned by the Council of Women Civil Servants,† where the woman's maximum in a given grade may be as low as, or even lower than, the man's minimum in the same grade; and this is a point deserving of remark.

45. Sex-differentiation in pay is the rule in the Civil Service, and the foregoing paragraphs have explained how the rule operates. But it is not a rule without exceptions, exiguous though these are. During the war equal pay has been given to women ferry pilots and women flight engineers of the Air Transport Auxiliary. Apart from that, mention need only be made of women medical officers (and certain dental officers) and of women in the basic grade of the factory inspectorate, who constitute the only important cases of equal pay in the pre-war service.

46. What has been said relates to basic salary, but the same principle is followed in the payment of ' consolidation additions ', which are paid in consolidation of war bonus pending the construction of new inclusive scales for the Civil Service generally. In the case of staff of age 19 and less there is no discrimination between the sexes, at 20 there is a differential of about 6 per cent., and thereafter the normal 20 per cent. differential is applied. No additions are payable to staffs with salaries exceeding £1,500, except to the extent needed to prevent those with basic salaries just above that level from being worse off than those just below it. The most striking fact about the differentiation in the additions (as in the earlier bonus) is the range of its application. Apart from the junior staffs the rule admits no exception whatsoever; even the doctors fall within its scope.

The basis of sex-differentiation in remuneration

47. The Treasury base their practice of sex-differentiation (as also, it should be added, the exceptions to that practice noted in paragraph 45) on a principle

* See Appendix IV to minutes of evidence.

† See para. 70 of Appendix IV to minutes of evidence.

which they term the principle of 'fair relativity'. "What this means is that Civil Service pay is determined primarily in relation to the wage levels in broadly comparable occupations in outside employment. . . . The Civil Service has its own special conditions of service, which must be taken into account when comparing its wage levels with those outside; it has a graded system of salary scales which hamper comparison with this or that other employment. But the general level of Civil Service remuneration is adjusted to the corresponding level in comparable employment outside."* It should be observed that the Treasury do not apply this principle directly in determining the remuneration of women civil servants. Their procedure is to use the principle in order to fix the men's rates of pay and then to determine the women's rates in relation to the men's on the lines explained in the preceding paragraphs. The Treasury claim, however, that the resultant women's rates comply fully with the fair relativity principle.

48. In conclusion something must be said on the subjects of overtime and of pensions. As regards overtime, while it is true that men and women work the same hours and are paid for overtime on the same basis, the actual payments are related to salary and consequently reflect the ratio between the men's and women's rates which has already been discussed. In fact the only relevant result of overtime being worked is that the *absolute* amount of the difference between the reward of a woman civil servant and a man of corresponding grade and standing is increased. It should of course be borne in mind that overtime is paid for only in the lower ranks of the service. While overtime payments must clearly be regarded as remuneration for work done pensions are in a somewhat different position, but none the less they too must be taken into account. A specified pension entitlement is an element in the conditions of service attaching to a Civil Service career taken as a whole; it plays its part as an inducement at the recruitment stage and is an essential factor not only (as that implies) in a comparison between the attractions of the Civil Service and the counter-attractions of outside employment but also in a comparison between the position of men and women in the service itself. There is no occasion to go into detail here about the Civil Service pensions arrangements. It is enough to say that although men and women have the same retiring age and the amount of pension is in part a function of length of service (in which respect there is no sex-discrimination), it is also in part determined by the salary in the final years of employment and to that extent involves discrimination against women.†

The Post Office

Numbers employed

49. Special consideration must be given to the position of affairs in the Post Office. The pre-war number of full-time employees in the Post Office together with sub-postmasters and telephone caretaker-operators, was rather more than 260,000, industrial and non-industrial combined. Just over 20,000 of these were non-industrials employed in Treasury classes; these are covered by what has been said regarding the non-industrial Civil Service generally. The 50,000 or so industrials may similarly be here ignored. Although little more than 2½ per cent. of them are paid at trade rates and so come clearly within the scope of our survey of the general position in industry in chapter VI, the remainder‡—engineering, factory and stores staff—include few women and

* See para. 8 of Appendix II to minutes of evidence.

† On both overtime and pensions see paras. 14–15 and Appendices V–VI of memorandum of evidence by the National Association of Women Civil Servants—minutes of evidence, Part 9.

‡ These are not paid at trade rates only because they are employed on work peculiar to the Post Office, for which there is as a rule little or no counterpart in outside industry.

those, almost exclusively, employed on different duties from the men. There is, in fact, to all intents and purposes no overlap area.

The overlap area

50. Our concern is with the non-industrial classes which are peculiar to the Post Office and which are in great measure coextensive with the minor and manipulative grades excluded from our general account of the position in the non-industrial Civil Service. These Post Office classes numbered nearly 190,000 in 1939 and of this total rather more than half (52 per cent.) were employed in what is *prima facie* an overlap area. Of the remainder only a negligible number were women, principally sorting assistants; and there seems no reason to suppose that this grade will cease to be confined to their sex. As elsewhere in the Civil Service, it can be assumed that any extension of the scope of common employment will be by invasion by the women of grades at present reserved to men. These grades in 1939 included 47 per cent. of all Post Office non-industrial staffs outside the Treasury classes, three-quarters of them being postmen and their supervising grades. On the whole it does not seem that any very radical change in the nature of the overlap area is to be anticipated; this is a speculation for which we have no special qualifications, but it appears to be in line with the expectations of the Union of Post Office Workers [Qs. 3656–7].

51. About a third of the overlap area as defined in the last paragraph is immune from sex-differentiation as regards remuneration and all other conditions of service; but it is at the same time of so peculiar a nature that it forfeits the right it might otherwise have to be in the focus of our interest. Its nature can be illustrated by reference to what is much the most important of the grades involved, that of sub-postmasters and sub-postmistresses. These are usually local tradespeople acting as agents for the Post Office on a contractual basis; they are not technically civil servants at all. Their remuneration, which is related to the volume of business transacted at the office, is not strictly salary, but covers, without specific allocation, any expenses of accommodation and assistance also. It is not prescribed how much personal service the agents shall give and the proportion of the remuneration which will actually go to them as reward is correspondingly undefined. Thus the equality of treatment which is enjoyed by the two sexes in this particular category of employment is not really a case of equal pay in the ordinary meaning of the phrase.

52. We are left, therefore, with an apparent overlap area of nearer 70,000 than 60,000 full-time civil servants in the special Post Office grades, the great majority (say five-sixths) of whom pre-war were employed on, or on the supervision of, sorting, counter, telegraph and telephone duties. On those duties as a whole men and women were in roughly equal strength, but this way of putting the position obscures the fact that apart from the telephone work the ratio of men to women was about 2·3 : 1 whereas on telephone work women predominated by more than 5 to 1.

The night-duty question

53. But is all of even this area really and not only apparently one of overlap? If the tests of common recruitment and of aggregation be applied the answer is no. There is no common recruitment for these grades, and not merely is aggregation not universal but there is no simple formula defining what work is aggregated and what segregated. None the less, so far as we can ascertain, it cannot really be questioned that the work is in all essentials the same for both sexes, subject to one important qualification, namely, that the women are exempt from night duty, their attendance (in normal times) usually

being confined within the period 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. Female telephonists recruited since 1933 have, however, been liable for duty up to 11 p.m., but before the war they actually performed it at only a few London Exchanges up to 10.30 p.m.*

54. The question that here arises (and it is important also in industry) is, what significance has this discrimination between the sexes as regards night work. In the particular case of the Post Office a different answer is required according as sorting, counter and telegraph staffs on the one hand or telephonists on the other are our subject. In the former case it certainly operates to depress the number of women employed lest the men should be overloaded with night duties; but it is a much harder question whether it effectively constitutes them a different grade and so really removes all this category of work from the overlap area. On the whole it seems best not to regard the matter in this light, bearing in mind both that the men's night work forms only a small proportion of their total hours, and that when it occurs they, in a sense, get an *ad hoc* addition to their hourly rate, although it is given in the form of a time-allowance (a night hour being reckoned as one-and-one-sixth day hours) and consequently affects the amount of leisure time rather than of earnings. The case of telephonists is somewhat different. Here it has so far been broadly true that the men take all the night work and only the night work and the women all and only the day work, and the Post Office have told us that " the men have constituted a separate class of night telephonists with conditions so special that the two grades have not hitherto been regarded as parallel."† It might seem a natural inference that all that prevents the telephone work from becoming a woman's preserve is the night work restriction: but in fact the general rule has exceptions, not only in the sense that women sometimes work after 8 p.m. but, more significantly, in the sense that men have overlapped into the day work and, we were given to understand, may in future do so to a greater extent [Qs. 2009–10]. The duality of grades, such as it is, appears therefore to be losing some of its precision. None the less, from the oral evidence given by Sir Thomas Gardiner and the fact that notwithstanding the night-work factor the women's rate comes much closer to the men's rate than it would under the broad 20 per cent. rule for the Civil Service generally (to which the Post Office subscribes) [Qs. 2012–20], it appears necessary to accept the view that at present, anyhow, women and men, though engaged on the same functions, are working under such different conditions that they must be regarded as falling outside the overlap area strictly understood. We have here a relatively simple example of the difficulty there may be in deciding what work can be treated as identical, and what can not, for our purposes. We shall meet this difficulty in much acuter forms later on.

55. Telephonists being thus excluded, the Post Office overlap area has dwindled to comparatively small dimensions in which the men and women employed on sorting, counter and telegraph duties are the main constituent, and even within this reduced area we are faced, as we have seen, with a certain complication of the issue resulting from the night work position. Before proceeding to explain the relationship between the men's and the women's remuneration it will be as well to say a word about the scale on which this disturbing factor operates. From information supplied by the Post Office it appears that in none of the grades now in question was the percentage of night duty (i.e. attendance between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m.) to total hours of duty higher before the war than 2·17 per cent. in the case of women (counter clerks

* We understand that this exemption of women from night work is not required of the Post Office by law, but constitutes a voluntary arrangement in the light of the law on the subject as it affects industrial undertakings. [Q. 2062.]

† See para. 7 of statement of the General Post Office, minutes of evidence, Part 9.

and telegraphists). In the case of women telegraphists there was no night duty at all. The position of male counter clerks and telegraphists was not radically different (3·6 per cent.): but the proportion of night work for men in the other grades was markedly higher,—nearly 17 per cent. for the telegraphists, nearly 20 per cent. for sorting clerks and telegraphists, and over 26 per cent. for the male grade of sorters.* As already indicated, practically no women did night duty, but in the case of men, even excluding duties which did not reach five hours of night duty a day, the percentage with night duty averaged over all the grades concerned was 12·6, varying from 0·4 per cent. in the case of counter clerks and telegraphists to 11·7 per cent. in that of sorting clerks and telegraphists and 15·4 per cent. in the male grade of sorters.

Remuneration

56. Such is the background against which the pay differential between the sexes has to be seen. About that pay-differential itself little need be said. Broadly, we understand, the position is that, were it not for the night-work complication, the women would be entitled to maxima 80 per cent. of the men's as in the case of the Civil Service as a whole. Their non-liability to night work depresses this to 75 per cent. in the case of (*a*) telegraphists and (*b*) sorting clerks and telegraphists, and 77½ per cent. in that of counter clerks and telegraphists. It was, however, made clear to us in evidence that the Post Office do not regard the additional cut as adequately offsetting the exemption from night duties [Qs. 2055–9]; in the first place account must be taken also of the time-allowance for night duty as and when done (though that of course operates, to the limited extent to which it is called for, in the case of the women also), and in the second place the rate settled for the women was not, we gather, settled on the basis of a careful evaluation of the night-work factor at all but rather represents the result of a 'higgle' in which the Post Office as employer (such seems to be the claim) showed a more yielding disposition than was strictly necessary. It is worth adding that where war conditions have obliged women to undertake night duty certain allowances have been granted, the intention and general effect of which was to cancel the cut [Q. 2089].

The Armed Forces

The overlap area

57. The members of the Women's Royal Naval Service, the Auxiliary Territorial Service and the Women's Auxiliary Air Force numbered 447,000 in June, 1944, or about 10 per cent. of the number of men. The number had fallen to 147,000 at the end of May, 1946, or about 7 per cent. of the number of men on the same date, and is expected to be about 62,000 at the end of 1946, or just over 5½ per cent. of the number of men.

58. The salient fact, from our point of view, about the employment of women in the armed forces is that, as a matter of policy, the actual use of lethal weapons forms no part of their duties. It is true that this distinction between them and the men becomes a very fine one in the cases of A.T.S. personnel serving in anti-aircraft batteries, in some instances even with the responsibility for the actual operational direction of the battery, and W.A.A.F. balloon operators whose duties included the attachment of an explosive charge to the balloon cables; but in any event such cases are exceptional. It is more open to question how much reality there is in the contingent liability for combatant duties of large numbers of men the essence of whose employment is of a quite different nature. None the less, in

* This grade is confined to Inner London, where night work is particularly heavy. Though a purely male grade it is included here since its provincial counterpart is the common grade of sorting clerks and telegraphists.

characterising the respective men's and women's services each viewed as a whole, it must be accepted that the men's services are predominantly combatant services whereas the women's services are employed on non-combatant duties.

59. It follows that from one point of view there is no overlap whatever of male and female employment in the field now under consideration in that women cannot strictly be regarded as employed in the same conditions as men. From another point of view, however, which ignores merely contingent liabilities, it is equally clear that the overlap is appreciable, though its extent is ill defined. The paragraphs following illustrate the difficulties of defining it.*

60. In our enquiries of the service departments one question we put was the following: Where men and women are engaged on what is broadly the same work what difference, if any, is there in the establishment allowed according as men or women are employed? Do women replace men on a 'one-one' basis or in some different proportion? From the replies we received it appears that almost exactly one-half of the A.T.S. substitute for men on the 'one-one' basis and that, with the exception of the ship's cook branch, all W.R.N.S. do so, the position in the W.A.A.F. being, we gather, somewhere between these two. It might be thought that in these 'one-one' cases at least it could be assumed that the employments constitute an overlap area. But the assumption is unsafe. It is clear that the occupational descriptions are wide enough, at least in a number of cases, to permit of a variety of what are really, though not nominally, different jobs to be, so to say, 'carved out' of them; and it is possible that women in fact perform only some of these jobs while men are capable of performing them all. Such a situation need not reflect itself in the 'substitution-ratio'; its demands could be met by limiting, whether by explicit rule or, tacitly, in practice, the proportion of women in the establishment as a whole. But that it can exist is shown by those cases in the W.A.A.F.—electricians, fitters, flight mechanics and instrument repairers—where the substitution-ratio is affected in an interesting way. In these cases the basis of substitution varies with the percentage of airwomen to airmen as follows,—up to 25 per cent. the ratio is 1 : 1, from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. it is 1·1 : 1, from 50 per cent. to 75 per cent. it is 1·2 : 1; and we were informed that airwomen are normally employed only to the extent of 25 per cent. in these trades as it has been found that this provides sufficient work of a character which can be performed by them without physical difficulty. Similarly, in the case of the W.R.N.S. where, with the one exception already noted, women are invariably employed on the basis of a head for head replacement, we were expressly warned that this cannot be taken as evidence that in all such cases the work performed by the two sexes is the same, a main reason being that the woman rating is utilised for a lesser range of jobs. We cannot attempt to determine what part of the field of one-one substitution in each of the services consists in work that is genuinely the same for both sexes, though it undoubtedly exists and is of appreciable dimensions. Thus, in the A.T.S., it certainly includes the clerical employments, which account for 27 per cent. of the whole strength of the A.T.S., but it cannot be stated with assurance what more it covers.

61. In the previous paragraph we have explained why the existence of a 1 : 1 replacement ratio as between the sexes cannot be taken as proof positive that the work they respectively perform is the same in kind. We have now to point out, what is perhaps more obvious, that the operation of a different ratio in any occupation does not establish that the work undertaken differs

* In considering the Women's Auxiliary Services we have had before us memoranda supplied by the three Service Departments in addition to the evidence of the Treasury in Part C of Appendix I to the minutes of evidence.

in kind. It may of course do so, because it may reflect a narrower specialisation on the part of the women : but it is equally possible that it should reflect only lesser capacity over the same range of duties as is prescribed for the men. In any case, whatever the area of genuine overlap may be, and whatever the nature and scale of the differences in the work of the two sexes, the system of remuneration actually in force completely ignores such variations and treats all the women alike as regards the ratio between their reward and that of the men ; nor is it easy to see how on practical grounds such a course could be avoided.

Remuneration

62. During the war, for the women as for the men, remuneration was made up of two elements, a cash payment, described as pay, and provision in kind of, for example, accommodation and food (or cash allowances in lieu). The pay of women was two-thirds of that of men of comparable rank and trade or other special qualifications, while the allowances granted where provision in kind was not practicable were at the same rates as would be paid to men in similar circumstances. It has been explained to us that the pay ratio of 2 to 3 was based on a broad comparison with the general position in civil occupations, i.e., on the principle described by the Treasury as ' fair relativity '. The system of allowances served, however, to modify the operation of this principle in favour of the women ; since a large proportion of the remuneration of the armed forces was provided in kind, the total remuneration of women members bore a higher ratio than two-thirds to that of single men. The fraction was of course lower if comparison were made with married men, to whom marriage allowances were payable.

63. In the early part of 1946 new permanent rates of pay were fixed for men. A little later the Government announced that they had decided to continue the three women's services on a voluntary basis as a permanent part of the forces of the Crown, but that it was not possible for the time being to decide their permanent rates of pay and other benefits. Until such time as new permanent rates could be announced, certain increases were made in the existing rates. The effect of these increases in the pay of men and women has been to alter in a number of cases the two-thirds ratio referred to in the preceding paragraph. The new pay ratio ranges from 1 : 2 to 5 : 6 according to rank and the branch concerned. On the other hand, allowances as well as pay have in many cases been substantially increased, the new rates for women being the same as those for men. Taking women's emoluments as a whole, it is still broadly true that a woman receives something like four-fifths of the remuneration of a single man. We understand, however, that while the new rates for men, which are on a long-term basis, have been fixed, at any rate so far as ' other ranks ' are concerned, in relation to outside wages, the recently increased rates for women are on a purely arbitrary and temporary basis and are accordingly not to be regarded as properly comparable with the new post-war rates for men. The permanent post-war rates for women are expected to be fixed some time before 1st April, 1947.

64. In addition to the three main women's services so far discussed women are also employed with the armed forces as members of the nursing services*, in the V.A.D. service, as doctors and dentists with the Army Medical Corps and the Royal Air Force Medical service, and as doctors with the Royal Navy. The nursing services must be regarded as outside our present concern : their members who have the status of officers are paid, as nearly as differences in grading allow, Rushcliffe scales and the work they do is most naturally

* i.e., Queen Alexandra's Royal Naval Nursing Service, Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service and Princess Mary's Royal Air Force Nursing Service.

compared not with that done by men in the armed forces but with that of nurses in civil hospitals. The pay position of V.A.D's., whether employed on nursing duties or otherwise, conforms to the rule already described as applying in the three main women's services.* The treatment of women doctors and dentists on the other hand is, as in the case of the Civil Service, a striking exception to the general practice of differentiation between the sexes. Here, and here alone, equal pay has been established, and here it has been established notwithstanding that the exclusion of women from ships of war at sea and from forward battle areas constitutes a practical restriction on their employment to which there is no counterpart in civil life.

The Police, the Probation and the National Fire Services

65. A brief reference must be made to three spheres of public employment, the police, the probation and the national fire services. Of these only members of the national fire service are actually employed by the Crown, but the conditions of service, including remuneration, of all three are fixed or approved by a central government department: the Home Office, or in Scotland, the Scottish Home Department.

Numbers and pay of police

66. In 1939, the total establishments of police forces in England and Wales consisted of 63,228 men and 226 women, more than half of the women being found in the Metropolitan Police Force. In Scotland in the same year, the number of men was 7,252, and of women 36. The number of regular policewomen increased during the war period, and in February, 1946 stood at 462 in England and Wales and 48 in Scotland. We understand that it is the policy of the Home Office and the Scottish Home Department to encourage police authorities to employ policewomen where they can be usefully employed, and that the number will probably continue to rise during the next few years but that it will always remain very small compared with the number of policemen.

67. The rates of pay of policemen and policewomen of the rank of constable and sergeant are prescribed in regulations made by the Secretary of State. They provide for a differential of approximately 12 per cent. of the male rate; in the higher ranks the differential is somewhat greater. Policewomen are at present all unmarried or widows† and those of them who qualify for a rent allowance receive one at the same rate as single policemen. The various allowances for out-of-pocket expenses are the same as for the men.

68. Policewomen have exactly the same powers as men constables, and are employed on essentially the same work. As the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis informed us " any constable must in fact deal with any situation demanding action by the police which may confront him or her." But the allocation of particular duties to either sex is determined on the one hand by the greater suitability of men for controlling traffic, quelling riots and controlling crowds, and for night patrol duties, and on the other hand by the desirability of employing women specifically for duties connected with members of their own sex, and with children. We have been told by the Home Office and Scottish Home Department that the employment of policewomen is supplementary to and not in substitution for the employment of men in any particular force. " Broadly speaking, if the establishment of policewomen in a particular force is increased, no corresponding reduction is made in the establishment of men." Thus the position is that while over a wide range of duties men and

* Subject to the exception, not for our purpose important, of V.A.D's. in the R.A.F See para. 22 of Part C of Appendix I to minutes of evidence.

† The marriage bar in the case of policewomen has recently (July, 1946) been lifted.

women are similarly employed, it is seldom the case that the individual male constable who must be available (as a matter of ordinary duty, and not merely in an emergency) for the whole range of police duties, can be replaced by a policewoman.

Numbers and pay of probation officers

69. Salaried probation officers are appointed by local probation committees (or in England and Wales in certain areas by the Justices), but their scales of salaries, terms and conditions of appointment, and their qualifications are prescribed by the Secretary of State. Their salaries are payable by the local authority for the probation area and are subject to an Exchequer grant of 50 per cent. In 1945 there were in England and Wales 733 full-time probation officers, of whom 244 were women, and 377 part-time, of whom 201 were women. In Scotland the figures were 38 full-time officers, 13 women, and 26 part-time, 7 women. There were also in England and Wales 26 principal probation officers and 7 deputy or assistant principal officers. Three of these 33 senior posts were held by women.

70. The salaries scales for probation officers are the same for men and women for the first 11 years of service (£240 × 12—£360). Beyond this point the woman does not advance, while the man has further annual increments of £18 until he reaches the maximum of £450. There is a differential of 20 per cent. of the male salary rate for women's salaries in the supervisory posts.

71. The work undertaken by men and women probation officers is the same, and candidates for appointment are expected to have the same qualifications. It is interesting to note that before the war the experience of the Home Department was that the education and other qualifications of women candidates tended to be higher on average than those of the men. Apart, however, from administrative functions which normally fall only on the supervisory officers, men and women are not interchangeable, since both deal only with persons of the same sex. In this respect therefore the comparison lies more nearly with teachers with whom we deal in Chapter III than with civil servants.

Numbers and pay of firemen and firewomen

72. During the war women were employed in considerable numbers in the national fire service but the numbers have been greatly reduced. The extent to which they will be employed in the post-war fire service when it reverts to local authority control has not yet been decided. In March, 1946, the total whole-time strength of the national fire service in England and Wales was 30,348; of these 2,968 were women, of whom 1,389 were employed on executive and clerical duties, 927 on operational duties and the remainder on manual work. The corresponding figures for Scotland were 3,392, 477, 165 and 227 respectively.

73. The position of women in the fire service is analogous to that of women in the auxiliary services with which we deal in paragraphs 57–63, and can be described quite briefly. The primary duty of actual fire fighting falls exclusively on men, but over a wide area of administrative and lighter operational work women carry out the same duties as men, subject to small qualifications such as the necessity of providing in some cases for a greater number of reliefs where women are employed on control operations, and to the concentration of women on staff duties on work concerned with women personnel.

74. The pay of the basic grade of firewoman is two-thirds that of the fireman: this follows the practice adopted in the case of the women's auxiliary services. "In determining the rates of pay above the rank of firewoman", it has been explained to us, "regard is paid to the distinctive responsibilities falling upon each rank, and not to any relationship between the women's ranks and rates of pay and those of the men." There is no correspondence between the ranks of the two sexes.*

* See Addendum II to Part A of Appendix I to minutes of evidence.

CHAPTER III

THE TEACHING SERVICE

Introductory

75. The Civil Service, as the foregoing review will have suggested, presents as regards its non-industrial and common grades the conditions relevant to the application of equal pay in a highly simplified form. Such conditions include exact gradation of jobs, perfect interchangeability of men and women employees within each common grade, and, again within each common grade, presumptively equal efficiency of the two sexes, at least during the period when each is actively at work. Here, over a big field, are men and women doing identical jobs, doing them (subject to the last-mentioned qualification) equally well, and doing them for unequal pay. The simplicity of these conditions is in no other sphere of employment exactly reproduced. In the sphere, however, of employment by local authorities, there is a much nearer approximation to it than in that of industry and commerce. The largest single class of persons employed by local authorities is that of the teachers. It will, we think, make for clearness if we deal with them first, and with other classes of municipal employees separately and later.

76. The relevant factors in respect of the teachers include

the total number of teachers involved;
the proportions in which they consist of men and women;
the system, and comparative rates, of remuneration of men and women teachers; and
the method of recruitment.

We will attempt to deal with these factors in turn.

England and Wales

Numbers employed

77. In the matter of numbers a distinction falls to be drawn between the pre-war position; the war position; and the post-war position, so far as it can be forecast. Before the war, in 1938 there were about 200,000 full-time teachers in schools maintained or aided by local education authorities or grant-aided by the Board of Education (as it then was). (In this total inspectors and administrators are not included). About 170,000* of these were working in elementary schools, and about 30,000 in secondary schools on the grant list and in places of technical and further education. Almost precisely 25,000† of these latter were teaching in secondary schools. During the war some 20,000 men teachers joined the forces, and their place was filled almost entirely by women. These men will no doubt, so far as they have survived and wish to return to their old positions, be reinstated. In the post-war period when the Education Act of 1944 is in full operation—a process likely, as regards numbers of teachers, not to be complete for appreciably more than five years [Q. 2526]—the total of teachers is expected to reach

* A minute proportion of these (less than 2 per cent.) were not employed in public elementary schools maintained by local education authorities, but were distributed between public elementary schools and other elementary schools not so provided, nursery schools, and certified special schools for blind, deaf and epileptic children.

† This figure includes a large number of teachers not employed by local education authorities, since the classification used, covers, in addition to council schools, Roman Catholic schools, foundation and other schools, and Welsh intermediate schools. Approximately 60 per cent. of the total were employed in council schools.

280,000. This estimate of 80,000 teachers additional to the 1938 strength is built up as follows :—

(1) For raising the school leaving age to 15	13,000
(2) For reducing the size of classes to 30 (secondary) and 40 (primary).	20,000
(3) Nursery schools (8,000) County colleges (20,000) Further education (4,000)	32,000
(4) For raising the school leaving age to 16	15,000

The estimate is based upon assumptions as to the child population at the relevant date which are necessarily uncertain in so far as the relevant date is equally so. The only two certain factors are that the school leaving age must be raised to 15 not later than 1st April, 1947, and that it becomes the duty of local education authorities to establish county colleges not later than three years after the leaving age is raised to 15. [Q. 2520.]

Proportions of men and women

78. The total of about 200,000 pre-war full-time teachers was made up of about one-third men and two-thirds women. More than four-fifths of the 200,000 were elementary school teachers. These last consisted as to 71 per cent. of women and as to 29 per cent. of men. In mid-Victorian times the proportions of the sexes were much more nearly equal : but in 1896 they were almost exactly the same as they were in 1938 : and although in the intermediate years they fluctuated, they did so within narrow limits. In 1922 the women were 78 per cent. and the men 22 per cent. But this was the extreme of fluctuation. The following table submitted by the National Association of Schoolmasters and checked by us with the Ministry of Education gives the position in further detail :—*

Elementary teachers—England and Wales

	Percentage of men	*Percentage of women*
1872	49 [48]	51 [52]
1896	30 [28]	70 [72]
1922	22	78
1926	24	76
1930	26	74
1934	28	72
1938	29	71

It will be seen that taking an average over this substantial period women have outnumbered men teachers in a proportion of rather more than two to one. The actual ratio has, we think, been only in part the result of conscious policy. The following factors, some of which may be thought to be inevitable, have contributed to the female preponderance.

79. In the first place women (for reasons which are generally approved) monopolise the education of the youngest category of pupils of both sexes : children up to 7½ years of age. Secondly, women, though not here enjoying a monopoly, vastly exceed men teachers in the education of the 'junior schools'—viz. children of both sexes between the ages of 7½ and 11½. As regards children over that age, women predominate in the education of girls, men in the education of boys. The factors indicated above—and more

* The figures in square brackets for 1872 and 1896 are corrections of the N.A.S. figures by the Ministry of Education.

particularly the natural primacy of women in the education of the youngest class of pupil—explain why the majority of teachers have in fact been women: while leaving it an open question (and not one for us) what would be the optimum proportion as between men and women teachers as a whole. It should be borne in mind in this connection (since the contrary is sometimes assumed in current controversy) that over the whole field mixed schools are the rule,* one-sex schools the exception, though a fairly large exception. In elementary schools, in 1938, taking only teachers in charge of classes—about 145,000 out of the total 167,000—77 per cent. of the women and 50 per cent. of the men were teaching mixed classes. Not more than 20 per cent. of the women were teaching girls only and not more than 50 per cent. of the men were teaching boys only: 3 per cent. of the women were teaching boys only and 0·07 per cent. of the men were teaching girls only. If specialist teachers were included in the calculation the percentage of men teachers teaching boys only, and of women teachers teaching girls only, would be rather higher.

80. The foregoing relates in the main to elementary teachers generally. The proportions as between headmasters and headmistresses of elementary schools in 1938 were far more even than those of male and female teachers in general: 16,000 odd women to 12,000 odd men, a ratio of 57 per cent. to 43 per cent., as contrasted with the 71 per cent. and 29 per cent. for elementary teachers as a whole. The following table gives details:—

	Women	*Men*
Headships of schools for boys only	27	2,974
,, ,, senior mixed schools	19	1,137
,, ,, all-age mixed schools	3,877	6,030
,, ,, junior mixed schools	3,613	2,482
,, ,, infants schools	5,898	—
,, ,, schools for girls only	3,157	—
	16,591	12,623
Total number of head teachers	29,214	

81. In 1938 about 25,000 teachers were employed in secondary schools on the grant list in England and Wales. The ratio of men to women teachers in these schools was (and is) much more equal than that in elementary schools: (the actual numbers in that year being 12,982 men and 12,057 women). As in the case of the elementary schools, however, the proportion of headships held by men was much higher than the proportion of men teachers generally. Of 1,366 headships, 886 were held by men and 480 by women.

82. How far these proportions will be altered by the changes resulting from the 1944 Act cannot of course be precisely calculated, but the general tendency of the effects of that Act are clear enough. The proportion of men teachers may be expected to rise when the school leaving age is raised first to 15 and then to 16.† Assuming that this requires additional men and women in approximately equal numbers, and assuming that requirements be met, the resultant ratio might be of the order of 35 per cent. men to 65 per cent. women

* In Scotland the rule is almost without exceptions.

† We confine ourselves to the effects of the Act in the field of primary and secondary schools. Nursery schools will of course be a woman's province: on the other hand the requirements of county colleges and of further education will involve a much higher proportion of men than the existing overall percentage.

for primary and secondary schools taken together.* This, however, may be affected by the reduction in the size of classes; provision to that effect in the case of primary schools will probably tend to increase the proportion of women, since the bulk of classes of over 40 pupils are classes for the younger children.

83. It will be appropriate at this point to consider to what extent teachers, whether men or women, can be considered to be doing the same or equal work. We feel that this is a less intractable question than the corresponding question with regard to many other occupations. Our broad conclusion is that the work done by men and women in this sphere *is—mutatis mutandis*, and on the whole—'*equal*': 'parallel' in the one-sex schools, 'equivalent' in the mixed. Certainly many of the factors which in some other spheres make the work done by the two sexes incommensurable are here absent. Like can be compared with like, with allowances made which are not difficult to make. The only substantial difference is that the work of women teachers is mainly centred on the education of the younger classes of either sex, and on that of the older girls: while that of the men is mainly centred on the education of the less young of either sex, and on that of the older boys. The activity of teaching, subject to this difference in the human raw material to which it is applied, is in our view one and the same. It is worth noting in this connection that the National Association of Schoolmasters,† the one organised body of teachers in England and Wales to oppose the claim for equal pay, do not rest their case on an allegation that the work of the men is superior or more onerous, but on considerations of a quite different nature.

84. Although we consider that the whole field of teaching may be regarded as a field in which men and women do equal work, the overlap area, strictly defined as in paragraph 10, is of course much narrower. The sex of the pupils may make no difference to the demands made on the teachers' time and ability but it does in practice impose a restriction on the extent to which men and women can be interchanged. The restriction is of course informal and its proper limits are open to debate but broadly it can be assumed that it is essentially in the elementary junior schools, and the corresponding classes in the all-age schools, that it is, or is most nearly,‡ a matter of indifference of what sex the teacher is. The number of teachers in junior schools in 1938 was about 42,000—32,000 women and 10,000 men. It is somewhat speculative what was the number of teachers in all-age schools at that date teaching junior pupils, but an estimate may be reached on the following lines. Junior pupils were about 46 per cent. of the total number of pupils in all-age schools. As the average size of classes in these schools is probably higher in the junior age ranges than in the other age ranges perhaps about 40 per cent. to 42 per cent. of the assistant teachers in all-age schools may be taken as teaching junior pupils. On this basis we might say that something like 5,000 men and 13,500 women assistant teachers in all-age schools fell within the area of full interchangeability. The total thus reached of just over 60,000 teachers in that area must, however, be reduced, so far as the women are concerned, in two respects. In the first place, it includes all the teachers in junior departments, a few of whom would have been teaching classes of children below the junior age

* No satisfactory comparison of the post-Act and pre-Act positions is possible for the primary and secondary schools separately, since the dividing line between the old elementary schools and the secondary schools does not coincide with that between primary and secondary schools under the Act.

† The membership of the Association numbers about 10,000 [Q. 338], that is to say about one-fifth of the total of men elementary teachers in 1938.

‡ It may be observed that even if there is no single post which could not be filled equally well by a man or by a woman, it does not follow that all the teachers could without disadvantage be of the same sex. It might still be desirable that each sex should have a reasonable representation on the staff of a school.

ranges. Secondly, and more importantly, we should exclude teachers of classes for girls only, since even in the junior age ranges it is not (so to put it) a mere accident that men do not teach such classes. The extent of the reduction of the figure of 60,000 to be made on these two counts cannot be definitely ascertained from the pre-war statistics of the Ministry of Education; but we are advised by the Ministry that it might be as much as 10,000. We should thus reach the result that the area of full interchangeability comprised about 50,000 teachers, of whom about 15,000 were men, and 35,000 were women.* The absolute size of the area will of course increase with a reduction of classes, for children in primary schools, to a maximum of 40; a figure which it has been stated will be reduced further when circumstances permit. But there is no reason to suppose that it will be otherwise affected by the implementing of the 1944 Act.

Method of determining salaries

85. Before we proceed to a comparison of men's and women's salaries in the teaching profession it will be convenient to touch on the machinery and methods which have from time to time during the last 27 years governed their determination.

86. In 1918 a Departmental Committee sat on the question of teachers' pay; and accepted the broad principle that such pay should be sufficient to attract a sufficient number of suitable teachers of each sex in suitable proportions. The actual language the Committee used was the following:—

> "In our view any scale of salaries whether for men or for women should offer an adequate provision, and as the schools cannot be efficiently staffed by teachers of one sex, the cases of men and women call for separate consideration. By adequate we mean that the scale of salary offered must be good enough to attract a sufficient number of recruits suitable for the work to be done, to retain them while other careers are still open, and to secure service of the desired quality from those who adopt teaching as their life work. The ratepayers and taxpayers of the country cannot in our view with justice be asked to undertake the burden of paying, whether to men or to women, higher salaries than such as are adequate in the sense in which we have used the word; and we are satisfied that in existing circumstances a scale of salaries which is adequate for women teachers is not adequate for men."

In the next year—1919—the system for determining teachers' pay was set up which has become familiar under the name of the Burnham Committee or Committees. It had by that time become apparent that reform was needed in two directions. In the first place, the general level of teachers' salaries (viewed particularly in the light of the increased cost of living), was recognised as far too low: secondly, that level varied in a chaotic fashion in different parts of the kingdom.

87. The Burnham Committees were formed in 1919. Between then and 1944 (when by the recent Education Act certain changes were introduced in their composition and powers) the scales recommended by the Committees, though possessing no mandatory force, were in practice almost always accepted

* In connection with the foregoing calculation, we would call attention to two points. First, the figures refer only to public elementary schools, the total number of teachers in which was 167,000, not the 170,000, mentioned in para. 77 (see footnote * to that paragraph). In the second place, we have assumed that heads of junior departments might be included in the area of interchangeability, but not heads of all-age departments.

and enforced by the local authorities. The President of the Board of Education had no direct power to make the scales obligatory; indeed an attempt to do so by regulation (in 1926) was challenged, and the Law Officers of the Crown advised that it was *ultra vires*. But indirectly the President could, in certain circumstances, bring pressure to bear on any local authority which was disposed to undercut the recommended scales, by withholding or reducing the grant-in-aid to which we refer below. The position has since changed. By the Education Act of 1944 (s. 89) the Minister of Education (as the President of the Board has by that Act become) has been empowered to approve scales recommended by the Burnham Committees and the scales so approved have become statutorily binding on the local authorities by virtue of an order (The Remuneration of Teachers Order, 1945) made under the Act. Between 1919 and 1944 the Burnham Committees (which were in effect self-constituted bodies) were three: the Elementary Committee, the Secondary Committee, and the Technical Committee. On each of these there was an employers' panel, a teachers' panel, and a neutral chairman. The employers' panel and the teachers' panel, on each of the three bodies, were equal in numbers. The bodies providing the representatives of the employers—the local authorities—were in each case the following:—the County Councils Association, the Association of Municipal Corporations, the Association of Education Committees and the London County Council. The teachers' panel in the different Committees was not uniform in composition. On the Elementary Committee it consisted, as to all its 25 members, of representatives of the National Union of Teachers (N.U.T.). On the other two Committees the National Union was represented by 5 and 4 members respectively, the rest of the Employees' panel being drawn from other appropriate bodies. Following the Act of 1944 the structure of the Committees was altered and their number reduced from three to two. The Technical Committee remained, the Elementary and Secondary Committee coalesced as the 'Main Committee,' with 26 members on each panel, of whom, on the teachers' panel, 16 were representatives of the N.U.T.

88. In early 1945 the new Burnham Committees propounded new scales, which were subsequently approved by the Minister under the 1944 Act and became obligatory on local authorities. These scales operate for three years from their introduction unless amended by a further order. The actual paymaster of the teachers was and is the appropriate local authority acting through its education committee: the fund from which teachers' salaries are defrayed by such authority consists in roughly equal moieties of the proceeds of the local education rates, and of central grants-in-aid provided by the taxpayer.

89. The above sketch indicates how the amount of the salaries payable was determined between 1919 and the time when the Act of 1944 took effect, and how they will be determined now it has taken effect. The point, however, which we are concerned here mainly to note is the following:

> From first to last, and in the latest as in the earliest scales, the Burnham Committees have based their recommendations on a differential between the salaries of men and women teachers.

Comparison of remuneration of men and women

90. This differential can be indicated roughly by saying that, subject to certain qualifications and refinements, women teachers of the same rank receive about 80 per cent. of what men teachers receive; that is to say, the relationship between the remuneration of the two sexes is very much what it is in the non-industrial Civil Service. Before going into more detail we would

say that the acquiescence of the teachers' representatives on the Burnham Committees in this differential (like the acquiescence of the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council in the case of the Civil Service) was throughout under protest and did not involve substantive approval. It was felt by the local authorities that the issue of equal pay was an issue of high policy affecting many spheres besides that of education and was for that reason not a proper subject matter for determination by the ordinary machinery of conciliation or arbitration within the teaching profession. It may be that, apart from this objection on grounds of principle, the local authorities were also concerned about the financial effects of equal pay, particularly if they felt that the Government would not accept the additional expenditure as qualifying for grant [Q. 333.]. Later still, the existence of the present Royal Commission was invoked by the local authorities as a ground for postponing a decision until the Commission's report was published.

91. The general pay position* is, we think, accurately summarised by the National Union of Teachers in the following passage from the memorandum which they submitted to us: †

> "It is . . . broadly true to state that at the minimum the woman receives about 90 per cent. of the man's corresponding salary, about 80 per cent. at the maximum. The women's annual increments are about 80 per cent. of the men's, and in respect of additional payments, a rough four-fifths ratio is maintained. These relativities are generally carried over into the new provisional recommendations for scales to come into operation in the next financial year." (This refers to the scales approved in 1945 and operative to-day).

The actual scales applicable to qualified assistant teachers in both primary and secondary schools are as follows:

Men: £300 rising by annual increments of £15 to £525.
Women: £270 rising by annual increments of £12 to £420.

Degree allowances, allowances for those who have spent three or four or five years in approved study or training, and allowances for special posts are also in the proportion of 80 : 100 as between men and women.‡ The same rule applies, though with less precision, to the salaries of qualified head teachers for each of the five grades of school (grading being in terms of the number of pupils on the roll)§.

92. A word may be added on pensions. Teachers' pensions, unlike those in the Civil Service, are on a contributory basis, teacher and employer each paying 5 per cent. of the amount of the salary. In other, and for our purpose more significant, respects, however, the position in the two services is essentially similar. For teachers, as for civil servants, the pension is calculated on the basis of the salary in the last years of pensionable service and of the number

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* It may be noted that while what follows applies to L.C.C. whole-time teachers, their part-time women teachers in places of further education are paid the same rates as the men.

† See para. 13 of memorandum of evidence of National Union of Teachers in Part 1 of minutes of evidence

‡ Salaries for teachers in technical colleges and institutes, etc., conform to the same ratio. In the case of lecturers and senior lecturers at training colleges there is no differentiation in the annual increment, and the ratio of salaries is somewhat more favourable to the women, though they are still held to between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the men's rates.

§ No provision is made for war bonus under the new scales, which may be regarded as consolidated; but while war bonus was payable the amounts for men and women respectively were different, in the usual 5 : 4 ratio.

of completed years of such service. Because of the first of these factors differentiation in pay is inevitably reflected in a corresponding differentiation in pensions.

Methods of Recruitment

93. Under the new Education Act the elementary schools catering for children over 11, and the junior technical schools, now fall in the category of secondary schools and the descriptions of the teachers employed have changed. This fact complicates an attempt to present a statistical picture of the teaching profession, but it may in general be said that, so far as primary and secondary schools are concerned—and these absorb the great bulk of the teachers—the same qualifications are required of both men and women teachers (a condition not fulfilled in the case of the largest class of teachers in Scotland). All teachers in both types of schools, apart from occasional teachers, must be either qualified or temporary teachers.* Apart from certain specialist qualifications or other qualifications accepted on merits by the Ministry as conferring the status of qualified teacher the four main avenues to this status are :—

(*a*) A course of training in a training college†, aided by grants from public funds, covering two years (in the case of domestic subjects, three years).

(*b*) A four years' course which may be financed by grants from public funds, involving three years of study for a degree course at a university and a year of professional training in teaching in a university training department.

(*c*) (for the time being) a university degree or its equivalent, whether secured internally or externally without training.

(*d*) (for the time being) a year's course of training in an emergency training college for candidates between the ages of 21 and 35, released from H.M. Forces and other forms of national service, the cost of which is covered, including maintenance, by grants from public funds. Successful students will then receive provisional approval as qualified teachers and will be required to serve a two years' period of probation, during which there will be opportunities for part-time study.

All these types of qualification now confer the general status of qualified teacher, the differences being reflected in the position of the teacher on the salary scale and in the type of post he or she is likely to secure. Secondary schools of the grammar school type would mainly require graduates and there is an increasing tendency to require trained graduates.

94. In March, 1938, the teaching body in what at that time constituted the elementary, secondary and junior technical schools (and under the new regulations of 1944 are primary and secondary schools) comprised about 163,000 who would have been regarded as qualified teachers and 24,900 temporary teachers. Of the qualified teachers about 32,000 were graduates or the equivalent, of whom 24,500 were trained and 7,500 untrained. Of the whole body of trained teachers, who numbered about 150,000, the great majority would have qualified by one or other of the two methods indicated in paragraph 93 (*a*) and (*b*). The output of trained teachers prior to the institution of

* The descriptions 'certificated,' 'uncertificated' and 'specialist teacher' in elementary schools have been discontinued. There are provisions for safeguarding the position of existing teachers. New temporary teachers are approved for a limited period of 5 years pending their securing full qualifications.

† Of the 82 recognised training colleges, including specialist training colleges for teachers of domestic science (but excluding art colleges or schools and colleges providing specialist courses in physical education for women), 50 belong to voluntary, mostly religious bodies, the remainder being provided by local education authorities.

the present emergency arrangements (of which the figures in this paragraph take no account) indicated that rather less than 75 per cent. qualified by means of a training college course and rather more than 25 per cent. through the university training departments.

95. For admission of candidates to training colleges and university training departments the general conditions as to age and academic attainments are laid down in the Ministry's regulations, and (subject to differences in the minimum age necessitated by war-time liability for national service) are the same for both sexes. The selection of candidates who comply with the regulations rests with the authorities of the college or department, subject to the students' right of appeal to the Ministry against exclusion on unreasonable grounds.

96. The total number of admissions to training colleges, emergency training colleges, or university training departments are controlled by the Ministry of Education. The ratio of admissions as between men and women is not in practice subject to central control. Generally speaking, the number and size of the men's and women's colleges, and the ratio between the sexes in mixed colleges is such as to secure, as a matter of long-term policy, the necessary replacements of wastage among teachers and the supplies needed for new developments. Any marked deficiency in the numbers of either sex would be met by extensions of existing colleges or by new colleges. In any particular year the ratio between the sexes would be determined by the accommodation available for either sex.

97. The following table shows the number of students of each sex, including both those aiming at elementary and those aiming at secondary teaching, admitted to training colleges and departments in the years 1927–37 inclusive.

Year.	*Men.*	*Women.*	*Total.*
1927	2,371	5,618	7,989
1928	2,210	5,554	7,764
1929	2,790	5,986	8,776
1930	2,772	5,820	8,592
1931	2,871	6,038	8,909
1932	2,442	5,321	7,763
1933	2,427	4,964	7,391
1934	2,087	4,521	6,608
1935	2,241	4,794	7,035
1936	2,217	4,580	6,797
1937	2,269	4,311	6,580

The rise during the years 1929, 1930 and 1931 was due to measures taken by the then Board of Education to stimulate recruitment in anticipation of the passage of an Education Bill raising the school leaving age from 14 to 15. Training colleges were asked to make emergency arrangements to admit additional students. The Bill did not become law and the Board then took steps to limit the numbers of admissions in order to mitigate unemployment among teachers.

Scotland

98. The position of teachers in Scotland is in some material respects different from their position in England and Wales and these differences should be noticed. They relate mainly to the differences between the qualifications for men and women teachers (which in England and Wales are the same): a factor whose relevance to differences in remuneration between the sexes obviously needs consideration. But although this is the principal point to be

noted we propose to consider the relevant factors as a whole, as in the case of England and Wales, though very briefly, under the heads which follow.

Numbers employed

99. On 31st March, 1939, the total number of teachers employed by education authorities in Scotland was 28,963. About 70 per cent. of these were employed in primary schools. On 31st March, 1942, the latest year for which figures are available, the number was 28,402. The provisions of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945, will require in due course certain additions to the pre-war strength. It is estimated that 2,270 additional teachers will be required when the school leaving age is raised to 15, and subsequently about 2,700 more for the staffing of compulsory day continuation classes.

Proportions of men and women

100. The proportions in which these teachers consisted of men and women respectively before the war differed very little from the corresponding proportion in England and Wales. On 31st March, 1939, women constituted 72 per cent. (20,184) of the total and men (8,779) 28 per cent. The percentages in 1942 were 78 and 22, the rise in the percentage of women teachers being attributable to the war-time substitution of women for men. In the ten years or so before 1939 there had been a shift in favour of the men, who had contributed about 32 per cent. of the entrants as against 68 per cent. women. The preponderance of women reflects the same general considerations as apply in England and Wales, subject to the qualification in the case of senior pupils that, since (with the exception of Roman Catholic secondary schools) all the schools are mixed the proportion of teachers of each sex need not reflect so precisely the sex distribution of the pupils themselves.

101. As in England and Wales the proportion of men in secondary schools was much higher than that in primary schools. In the latter they constituted only about one-quarter of the total, whereas in secondary schools the ratio approaches equality, women however slightly preponderating. Again as in England and Wales, but, it appears, even more markedly, the proportion of men to women as regards headships is much higher than the proportion of men to women teachers generally. Headships are held almost wholly by men in the secondary schools and the position in primary schools is not very different. The fact that the Scottish schools are almost wholly mixed schools is obviously relevant to this result and excludes any precise comparison with the position in England and Wales.

102. The same factors render it more hazardous than in the case of England and Wales to speculate about the limitations on the range of full interchangeability as between men and women teachers. That there is some limitation may, however, be assumed. The special merits of women as teachers of the very young must still be recognised: and although, in the case of older children, sex may be neither a qualification nor a disqualification for any particular teaching post it may well be held that in each school there should be some teachers of each sex.

Qualifications

103. As has been noted above the important distinction between the system obtaining in Scotland and that obtaining in England and Wales resides in the difference between the qualifications required of men and women as public teachers. Reverting to and expanding the figures set out in paragraph 100

above, we may classify the teachers covered by these figures in respect of qualifications as follows :—

31*st March*, 1939		*Women*	*Men*	
Teachers' general certificate	...	16,777	4,307	(' Chapter (IV) ' primary schools)
Teachers' special certificate	...	1,401	3,029	(' Chapter (V) ' secondary schools)
Teachers' technical certificate	...	2,006	1,443	(' Chapter (VI) ' technical instruction)

What do these qualifications mean ?

104. The general certificate (Chapter (IV)) is a qualification to teach primary school subjects and must be obtained by about two-thirds of the total number of teachers. (Children are at primary schools up to the age of 12). It is obtainable by women in two ways and by men in one only. Men *must* obtain a university degree in arts followed by one year (or one year and one term) of professional training in a training college. Women have a choice between this and a 3-years non-graduate course at a training college. However, it appears that many women reject the ' soft option ' offered and qualify by the more arduous method. The special certificate (Chapter (V)) is the qualification for teaching at secondary schools, and the technical certificate (Chapter (VI)) the qualification for technical instruction. These (contrasting in this respect with the general certificate) are the same for men and women teachers in the respective spheres involved : but as appears from the table above, affect only about one-third of the total body.

Remuneration

105. The current and proposed scales of salary for men and women were until some time in 1945 determined as follows. Education authorities were required to pay such scales as they thought fit, provided such scales did not fall below the minimum national scales laid down by the Scottish Education Department. The scales actually paid under these provisions in many cases exceeded these minima. Broadly speaking, although the scales actually operative varied from one authority's area to another's, they provided for women's salaries at a level of from three-quarters to eleven-thirteenths of those of the corresponding men. The differential appears to have been governed partly by tradition and partly by the same factor as that made explicit in the report of the English Departmental Committee quoted in paragraph 86, namely consideration of the salaries necessary to attract a sufficient supply of men and women respectively.

106. In the course of the year 1945 this system was in process of alteration. Under the new regime the National Joint Council (a body set up in 1939, and representing Scottish education authorities and teachers) was invited by the Secretary of State for Scotland to prepare revised salary scales : and the Council and the Secretary of State were agreed that these should be not minima but standard scales, to which, if confirmed by the Secretary of State, all education authorities in Scotland must conform. The National Joint Council submitted their recommendations for standard national scales in May, 1945, and in December, 1945, these were embodied in regulations prescribed by the Secretary of State with effect, as regards the operation of the scales, from 1st April, 1945 (S.R. & O. 1945 No. $\frac{1545}{S.\ 60}$). It should be mentioned here that the Secretary of State need not (as the Minister of Education in England and Wales must) approve (or disapprove) *in toto* the scales recommended to him. He must merely, in prescribing by regulations what scales should actually be obligatory, " have regard " to those recommended. (Education (Scotland) Act, 1945, Section 50 (2)).

107. The differential prescribed in the new basic scales for teachers with the same qualifications does not differ appreciably from that in force in England and Wales, but there is a natural discrimination between graduate and non-graduate women teachers in the earlier part of the scale. On the other hand there is no differentiation between the sexes as regards special payments for teachers of handicapped children, or as regards responsibility payments. (Responsibility payments did not in general vary between the sexes under the previous minimum national scales.)

CHAPTER IV

Local Government Services other than Teaching

The scope of the chapter

108. The employees of local authorities numbered, according to the 1931 census, about 730,000 males and 320,000 females, or 1,050,000 in all. By far the largest group is the industrial group, which accounts for over 450,000 employees, or 43 per cent. of the total. The next largest group is the teachers numbering some 230,000 (over 20 per cent.). The administrative, professional, technical and clerical group (excluding nurses) embraces nearly 100,000 men and women (over 9 per cent.), the police nearly 70,000 (nearly 7 per cent.), and nurses and mental attendants more than 52,000 (over 5 per cent.). The teachers we have already dealt with. The industrial workers, being indistinguishable, as respects both the work in which they are engaged and, in general, their remuneration and other conditions of service, from the general body of industrial workers dealt with in chapter VI, do not come up for separate treatment here. The police, because their conditions of service are settled by a central government department, we have thought it appropriate to deal with in the chapter relating to central government service. The nursing service, whether of local authority or other employers, is treated as a single unit along with the other professions in chapter V. The main subject of this chapter consists accordingly of the administrative, professional, technical and clerical employees of local authorities (other than nurses), numbering nearly 100,000, of whom about 78 per cent. were males and 22 per cent. females. There are in addition employees such as bath managers and bath attendants (who number between 4,000–5,000) who are largely if not wholly peculiar to local authority service. They comprise both men and women and thus may constitute an overlap area. We have no information about the conditions of employment of this group.

The administrative, professional, technical and clerical services

109. The National Joint Council for Local Authorities' Administrative, Professional, Technical and Clerical Services, which, with its provincial councils, recommends for adoption by the constituent local authorities scales of salary and other conditions of service, has classified the staffs within the scope of its interest in five divisions as follows :

Clerical divisions :

General Division. This division includes officers engaged on duties dealing with particular matters in accordance with well-defined instructions and regulations.

Clerical Division. This division includes officers performing duties of a clerical character which, having regard to their character and responsibilities, merit those officers being classified higher than the general division.

Higher Clerical Division. This division includes officers engaged as supervisors of large or important sections of clerical work or on more responsible individual work than that of the clerical division.

Miscellaneous Division. This division includes officers whose duties are not wholly clerical in character but are of a specialised nature, such as time-keepers, store-keepers, road foremen, and supervisors of many kinds. These officers will not normally be recruited as juniors by competitive examination.

Administrative, professional and technical division :

Administrative. The duties appropriate to this class are those concerned with the formation of policy, improvement of organisation, general administration of instructions of the employing authority and the control of departments, higher work in the legal, technical, accounting, and other departments ; it also includes subordinate officers engaged on professional or technical work of a minor character.

Professional and Technical. This class consists of officers with legal, medical, scientific, accountancy, secretarial, or other qualifications covered by a professional institute, including civil or mechanical engineers, surveyors, architects, etc.

Of these divisions the miscellaneous division apparently comprises only male officers.

Numbers employed

110. The census figures are not complete in regard to the sub-division of the whole body of 100,000 employees among professional, technical, administrative and clerical classes. The best estimate we have been able to make of a subdivision of this figure gives about 47,000 in the professional, technical and administrative classes combined, and about 53,000 in the clerical class. The proportion of women to men (which is about 2 : 7 for the whole group) is roughly 1 : 5 in the professional, technical and administrative group and roughly 1 : 3 in the clerical group.

The overlap area

111. The extent to which men and women are doing the same work depends upon the degree to which local government staffs are systematically graded : and this in its turn varies very widely with the number of staff and therefore with the size and population of the local authority area. At one extreme are the clearly defined grades of the London County Council, which may stand comparison in this respect with the Civil Service ; at the other extreme we have the *ad hoc* and personal basis on which, so far as we can ascertain, the staffs of the smallest authorities are appointed and remunerated.

112. The only statistical information we have on the extent and area of the overlap is derived from the results of an enquiry which was made by the National Association of Local Government Officers in December, 1944, into 1,920 cases of women working under various types of local authority, temporary employees being specifically excluded. Forty-six per cent. of the women in this sample were performing the same class of work as men and 54 per cent. a different class. The figures relate to all the four grades (i.e., administrative, technical, professional and clerical) combined and there is no subdivision. All we know is that 75 per cent. of the women in the sample were employed in the clerical, 14 per cent. in the professional, 10 per cent. in the administrative and 1 per cent. in the technical grade ; but these percentages afford no reliable guide to the relative importance of the several grades. We should

expect, however, both on general grounds and from the information we have otherwise derived regarding the professions, to find in the professional grade a high degree of what in the Civil Service is called aggregation. We should also rather expect to find a substantial degree of aggregation in the administrative grade except in regard to occupations such as those of park and cemetery superintendents which are virtually confined to the members of one sex. On the other hand, the position in regard to clerical work would, on the evidence of the National Association of Local Government Officers, appear to be one largely of segregation. Thus, the official journal of this organisation for February–March, 1946, spoke of the duties of men and women in the general and clerical classes as tending " to fall into more or less clearly defined groups . . . ."

Relationship between the remuneration of men and women

113. Prior to 30th January, 1946, the position regarding remuneration was as follows. Sex differentiation in pay prevailed over a large part of the field, though to this general rule there were a number of important exceptions to which we refer below. Where different rates were paid to men and women performing the same class of work, the extent of the differential varied according to the class of work concerned. Generally speaking, the women received salaries ranging from two-thirds to eleven-thirteenths of those of the men. In one case, Shop Acts inspectors, women appear to have received only about one-half, but in this case, as was explained to us, the figures for men and women are not comparable, those relating to women concerning assistant Shop Acts inspectors. A list given by the National Association of Local Government Officers of instances where the work is common to both sexes but for which the rates of pay differed, provides some details.† Unfortunately some of the categories enumerated in this list are very small, e.g., qualified legal assistants and relieving officers can each be reckoned by hundreds, librarians perhaps by thousands. The clerical officers are perhaps the most significant class : although much clerical work, e.g., shorthand-typing, machine operating, secretarial work, and telephone operating is practically a feminine monopoly and as such falls within the 54 per cent. It is unfortunate that we had no direct evidence as to the numbers or percentage of women (on the sample taken or generally) who were doing the same class of clerical work as men.

114. In connection with the foregoing paragraph it must be remembered that no general statement, however well based, regarding the relationship between the remuneration of men and women in local authority employment could give more than an indication of the average position. Scales had not yet been formulated on a national basis*. The position was that fifteen provincial councils covering England and Wales and representing both employers and employed, made recommendations for their respective provinces and another council had similar functions in respect of Scotland. These recommendations, however, did not deal with salaries (roughly speaking) above the £500 a year mark, higher salaries being a matter for local negotiation. Nor were they binding on the authorities, a minority of whom, moreover, were not even constituent members of the councils‡ ; and while in

† See para. 9 of statement by National Association of Local Government Officers in Part 4 of minutes of evidence.

* War bonus, however, was already determined nationally, and except in the case of boys and girls of 18 and 19 years old and of officers earning more than £1,500 p.a., was lower for women than for men, the respective weekly rates for adults being 23s. and 18s. 6d.

‡ The number of authorities not members of provincial councils is, we are informed, negligible in the case of county councils, county boroughs, and metropolitan boroughs and city corporations. On the other hand about 30 per cent. of boroughs and urban district councils and about 40 per cent. of rural district councils are not members.

the main they seem to have gained acceptance this was not universally true. But even if all the councils' proposals had been accepted by all the authorities in each area concerned there would still have been divergences, by no means confined to matters of detail, in the country as a whole. Thus, as regards the very issue in which we are interested, five of these councils—London, Middlesex, North Metropolitan, South Metropolitan and South Midlands—had declared in favour of equal pay for women performing duties similar to those performed by male officers, and one—London—went so far as to have no differentiated scales for women at all, the common rate being recommended even for so peculiarly a female class as that of shorthand-typists.

Recent changes in relative rates of remuneration

115. On 30th January, 1946, an agreement was signed by the two sides o the National Joint Council whereby national scales were approved with effect from 1st April, 1946. By this agreement equal rates for men and women were recommended in the administrative, professional and technical division (which is subdivided into eight grades with a total salary span of from £330 to £700 per annum) and differential rates for men and women in the three clerical divisions, the differential being 20 per cent. of the male rate; that is to say, the ratio is the same as in the case of the Civil Service, but more uniformly applied. As already stated, the miscellaneous division apparently includes no women. The effect of this agreement, if fully implemented, will be to bring the practice of local authorities throughout the country into line with that of the London County Council: to what extent it will be implemented, having regard to the fact that the recommendations are not mandatory and that a number of authorities are not represented on the National Council, it is impossible to predict with assurance; but it is natural to suppose that the recommendations will secure the same wide measure of acceptance as, we understand, has been accorded to the recommendations of the provincial councils hitherto. The Joint Secretary of the National Joint Council has in reply to an enquiry from us made the following statement with regard to the question of the observance of the recommendations of the Council:

> "The recommendations of the National Council and its affiliated provincial councils are not in themselves mandatory. There is, however, a strong moral obligation on the constituent local authorities to honour such recommendations, and it is now rarely the fact that a constituent authority persists in refusing to honour its obligations in this respect. The National Council being a voluntary organisation possesses no statutory powers, but under Article 5 (1) of the Conditions of Employment Order an obligation is imposed upon local authorities to observe recognised terms and conditions of employment. The National Council is representative of substantial proportions of employers and employees and therefore in accord with the provisions of the Order referred to, its recommendations apply with equal force to local authorities which are not constituent members."

We understand that under the provisions of the Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order, questions arising as to the terms and conditions which should be observed in particular cases may be reported under article 5 (3) of the Order to the Minister of Labour and National Service and if not otherwise settled are referred by him to the National Arbitration Tribunal established under the Order.

116. One particular point about the new agreement deserves comment. The differentiation, in the national scales, between men and women in the clerical divisions overrides the earlier decision of certain provincial councils in favour of equal pay at those levels. To this extent the new agreement

involves a contraction of the equal pay area. It should be added, however, that the acceptance by the staff side of the measure of sex-discrimination retained in the national scales is only, so to say, under protest and implies no change of policy on the part of N.A.L.G.O.

117. The result of the foregoing analysis (which excludes classes dealt with elsewhere in the report, namely teachers, police, nurses and industrial workers) is that the potential area of overlap is mainly in the professional, technical, administrative and clerical classes who, in 1931, numbered about 100,000 in all, and of which nearly a half belonged to the classes for whom under the agreement of January, 1946, equal pay is recommended. We are unable to state with any precision the number of employees in the clerical divisions today: but, as indicated in paragraph 559, it would appear that it must be considerably greater than the estimate of about 53,000 for 1931, referred to in paragraph 110.

The London County Council

118. The L.C.C. is an employer of men and women on such a scale and under conditions so germane to our enquiry as to call for a short section to itself. The Council employed in normal times rather over 61,000 persons, of whom about 25,000 were men and about 36,000 women. In a memorandum supplied by the Clerk to the Council, Sir Eric Salmon, these employees are classified in 15 groups.* In nine of these groups the issue of equal pay does not arise, either because (as in the administrative and the professional and technical groups) the principle is already in operation—a reason of peculiar importance to us—or because the group consists either of men only or of women only, or because (where it consists of both sexes) they do not do the same class of work. It may, however, be noted that where in a group monopolised in peace by men, women have been introduced during the war, the women are paid for some months at 75 per cent. of the men's rate, and thereafter at 100 per cent.

119. The more important of the other six groups, in which the issue does arise, are the following:

	Men	*Women*
clerical	2,600	680
education:		
inspectorate	34	21
teachers	5,500	10,500
nursing (in grades where both sexes are employed)	3,200	12,000

In the case of nursing, 500 of the men and 8,000 of the women are employed in general hospitals, etc., the corresponding figures for mental hospitals being 2,700 and 4,000.

120. It will be noted that these three groups, though only three out of fifteen, are numerically of great importance, containing as they do more than half the total number of L.C.C. employees. But only one, and that much the smallest of them, falls properly to be considered at this point. The salaries of whole-time teachers reflect the Burnham Scales, with which we have already dealt. Nursing staffs are paid on Rushcliffe scales, which we discuss in another context. The one group that concerns us here is the clerical group. In this group, broadly speaking, women were originally paid five-sixths of the men's salaries; a proportion which, it will be observed, serves as some confirmation of the more speculative figure given for local authority employment in the remainder of the country. This ratio has, however, subsequently been modified in favour of the women. By a revision made in

* See pp. 49 and 50 of Part 3 of minutes of evidence.

February, 1944, equality was established (following Civil Service practice) for the first six years (ages 16 to 21 inclusive). Thereafter a differential develops which at the maximum for the general clerical class reaches about 15 per cent. of the men's rate and at the maximum for the higher clerical class is approximately 10 per cent. of the men's rate.

CHAPTER V

The Professions

Professions other than Nursing

Introductory

121. Professional employment is remunerated on both a fee basis and a salary basis and we shall deal with the professions under both methods of payment. This will enable us to bring out the rather exceptional position held by professional women as contrasted with other categories of women employees. For our purposes we have taken the term professional to cover primarily those occupations which can be followed only after a specified course of training culminating in the attainment of a formal recognition of proficiency by some responsible authority; but we have not confined ourselves rigorously within these limits where it appeared to us that an occupation falling outside them would be generally recognised as a professional employment and could not be conveniently dealt with in another context. The term is not taken to include what may be described as administrative posts in industry and commerce, or, for example, Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament. We recognise that the evidence submitted to us, and the information we have gathered, cannot be considered as comprehensive,* but it covers a representative sample, from the study of which the following generalisations may be made.

Numbers employed

122. With almost no exception, save the important one of nursing†, to which we devote a separate section, men predominate to a great extent in all the professions although women entrants are increasing. Such details regarding recent numbers as we have ascertained are set out in the table at the end of this chapter. In the professions open to both sexes the training requirements and, unless noted, the work undertaken are identical.

Remuneration

123. As already indicated payment for professional services may be either on a fee or on a salary basis. In point of fact, at the present time, the majority of persons in the majority of the professions are remunerated by fee, but it appears probable that in the future there will be an increasing number of professional salaried posts. We have had evidence from some professional bodies that their recognised scales provide for the charging of identical fees by men and women and no case has been brought to our notice of women with professional status charging lower minimum fees than men with the same status.

124. The position as regards salaried posts is more complex, and a broad distinction must be drawn between employment in the public service and employment elsewhere. In the Civil Service, as we have already had occasion to notice, women medical and dental practitioners receive the same salaries

* The evidence on which this chapter is mainly based is that of the various professional organisations the names of which are given in the list of witnesses in Appendix I to this report.

† Physiotherapy, we understand, is a further exception.

as men but the principle of equal pay has not been accepted as yet for other professions. To avoid misconception it should be said that this does not necessarily mean that in the case of other professions sex-discrimination is actually applied: there may in fact be no women members of some given profession employed in the Civil Service at all. But so far as we can ascertain it is true to say that, apart from the exceptions noted, discrimination either is applied, or would be applied if the question arose. It must of course be remembered that, quite apart from any general change of policy, the situation in the professional field is peculiarly liable to modification under pressure from the individual recognised professional bodies, who are already committed to the principle of equality. For example, we understand that the Royal Institute of British Architects is at this time actively urging the case for equal pay for men and women architects in the government service. What has here been said of the Civil Service was also, so far as we are aware, true of local authority employment until recently, with the solitary though important exception of the London County Council, where equal pay for men and women in professional posts has long been the rule. The position has, however, been altered by the recent national agreement by which it is sought to bring local authority practice generally into line with the London County Council precedent.

125. It was put to us by a number of witnesses that the position outside the public services provides the sharpest possible contrast with the position in those services, in that, generally speaking, outside the public services there is no differentiation between men and women as regards remuneration. It has of course to be observed that the evidence of these witnesses was submitted before the recent development in the local authority field, referred to in the previous paragraph. In view of that development the submissions should now be read as contrasting only the national government service with outside employment; and so understood, they can still be accepted as in a sense correct. It is, however, right to add that to say that there is no differentiation in remuneration has not precisely the same force as to say that equal salaries are paid to men and women. The first of these formulae covers fees as well as salaries, and with fees we are not here concerned. Again, when remuneration is on a salary basis, the salary may be settled by individual negotiation or it may be simply prescribed for the post, e.g., when the vacancy is publicly advertised. It is only in the latter case that a comparison with the position in the Civil Service can quite safely be established. Where salaries are individually negotiated it is necessarily a matter of opinion whether sex plays any part as a determining factor. In general we should not suppose that it does (and certainly the various professional bodies do not desire that it should), but there is little in our evidence to guide us to a decision on the question of fact.

126. The following, however, appear from our evidence definitely to be cases where professional men and women actually receive equal salaries for the same work, outside employment in central and local government: doctors, dentists, physiotherapists, radiographers, university teachers, actors and actresses working for E.N.S.A., journalists and librarians in technical or specialised libraries in industry. In addition, we have been told, women pharmacists working for hospitals or for wholesale and manufacturing chemists receive, in general, the same rates as men. The Royal Institute of British Architects has laid down scales of salaries for architects which specifically provide that there should be no differentiation between men and women, and the Institute state that, so far as is known, no difficulties have resulted in the profession from the implementation of this policy, although salaries are a matter for arrangement between employer and employee. The

salaries of employed solicitors are similarly a matter of negotiation but the Council of the Law Society state that there is no evidence in their possession to suggest that any distinction is made on account of sex. The Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales expressed no opinion on this specific point as regards their members. As regards women who are not members of the Institute, the Institute's evidence was based on information from only 7 per cent. of their practising members and relates primarily to women taking the place of men under war conditions. The evidence laid stress on the difficulty of interpreting the expression 'the same work', but added that of the firms which do consider the work of their men and women employees to be the same "two-thirds state that women receive the same rates of pay as men. Although a few of the remaining firms pay women on a lower 'scale' than men, the majority state that they take various factors into account in determining relative pay—e.g., experience, ability and responsibility, length of service and age". To this may be added the evidence of a different witness to the effect that a survey of advertised posts over a period of about ten years indicated that roughly half of the junior vacancies for qualified accountants appeared to carry salaries which were the same for both sexes.

127. On the other hand a small section of the evidence submitted to us showed discrimination in salaries between men and women. Thus, in the largest field of pharmacy, namely retail pharmacy (which covers about 55 per cent. of women pharmacists), the current national scale of minimum wages, effective from 28th January, 1946, provides for lower rates for women.* Again, the very tentative opinion of the Council of the Auctioneers' and Estate Agents' Institute was that in their sphere the individually negotiated salary of a woman employed on the same work as a man would probably be about two-thirds of the man's salary. They added the comment: "As it is almost exclusively men who are employed on the professional work, the occasional woman has much prejudice to overcome, and this handicap would certainly be taken into account in settling the salary of a woman". But they observed that there was so little experience of such overlap between the sexes "that it is impossible to make any sweeping or authoritative statement". In the field of housing management it is not possible to make a direct comparison between the salaries of men and women. The management of house property is an occupation which has a different character according to the sex of the person performing it, the women being specially trained in the economic and social aspects of housing. It is, however, of interest to note the statement made by the Society of Women Housing Managers in their memorandum of evidence to the effect that in considering whether or not to admit men to their ranks they have been influenced by the fact that their salary scales would not attract men of sufficiently good quality. Two further fields in which there appears to be differentiation in pay on a sex-basis, namely welfare work and personnel and labour management, may for convenience be included in this part of our survey, even though they cover a somewhat indefinite range of jobs not all of which demand professional qualifications. It is difficult to make any clear-cut general statement regarding salary scales; but in the case of welfare work the average salary range for women appears to be £200–£800 and for men £300–£1,500 per annum. As to personnel and labour management, evidence submitted by the Women's Employment Federation suggests that "there is generally a differentiation in function between men and women in this field and women tend to be restricted to the welfare side where salary scales are low, averaging £275–£400. Professional qualifications are more usually demanded from women, but in spite of this

* See paras. 236 and 239(e).

their salaries are frequently lower for positions of comparable responsibility ". The Ministry of Labour pamphlet on personnel management in the ' Careers for Men and Women ' series clearly states that the salary scales for men and women are different, though the training is the same and no differentiation in the character of the work is mentioned.

Nursing

128. We have thought it necessary to consider nursing separately, and in more detail, because it presents features of peculiar interest from our point of view. It is a profession followed by a very large number of women, one in which they predominate by an enormous majority, hold a number of senior posts disproportionate to their numbers, and are universally recognised to excel, yet in which they receive lower salaries than men working in the same or comparable grades.

Numbers employed

129. The total number of persons employed in nursing (excluding private nursing) in Great Britain on 20th March, 1946, was 173,100, of whom 18,700 were males and 154,400 were females. The distribution between the types of institution was as follows :

	Males	Females	Total*
Hospitals (including sanatoria)	4,400	97,600	102,000
Mental hospitals	13,200	14,800	28,000
Nursing homes, district nursing, homes for the aged, children's homes, etc.	1,100	42,000	43,100
Total .	18,700	154,400	173,100

* In arriving at the totals, two women on part-time work (i.e. less than 30 hours a week) are counted as equivalent to one full-time worker

Remuneration

130. The scales of salary generally paid to nurses are those recommended by the Rushcliffe Committee in England and Wales and the Taylor Committee in Scotland. These two bodies do not differ in any significant way as regards composition, terms of reference and authority, and we shall therefore describe the former only. The Rushcliffe Committee came into existence in October, 1941, following the recommendation of the Athlone Committee in 1939 that there should be " salaries committees for the nursing profession . . . on lines analagous to the Burnham Committees which regulate the salaries of the teaching profession ". The Committee consists, apart from its independent chairman, of equal numbers of representatives of nurses and their employers, and its original terms of reference (since expanded) were as follows :—

> " To draw up, as soon as possible, agreed scales of salaries and emoluments for State Registered nurses employed in England and Wales in hospitals and in the public health services, including the service of district nursing, and for student nurses in hospitals approved as training schools by the General Nursing Council for England and Wales."

A special sub-committee was later appointed for mental nurses.

131. The Committee has presented two reports and a number of supplementary recommendations to the Minister of Health, and although these have no statutory authority they have in fact been generally adopted by employers. In its second report (dated December, 1943) the Committee discusses the relationship between male and female scales in the following terms :—

> " *General Considerations.*—The number of male nurses employed in hospitals (other than mental institutions) is small compared with the

number of female nurses, but they are nevertheless an important and indeed an essential part of the staff of many hospitals.

In existing economic circumstances it has been the practice to pay the male nurse, who is often a married man with family responsibilities, and whose opportunities for promotion are at present more limited than those of female nurses, a somewhat higher salary than a female nurse of similar grade. In framing our recommendations we have felt obliged to recognise this principle, and the scales of salary we recommend for male nurses are higher than the scales recommended in our first report (dated February, 1943) for female nurses of comparable grades; but in the higher paid grades the difference between the scales for male and female nurses is less than the difference between the respective scales in the lower paid grades.

Many members of the Committee have, however, been unable to accept as equitable the relationship between the salaries recommended for male nurses and those of female nurses, particularly in respect of the rates for male assistant nurses and those for State Registered female staff nurses and ward sisters. Having regard to present conditions and difficulties, however, they have agreed not to dissociate themselves from the recommendations contained in this report, though adhering to the principle, which they regard as a fundamental one, that the qualified worker should command a higher salary than the unqualified one."

132. It is not practicable to show clearly the lead which male nurses enjoy over female nurses over the whole field, because over a considerable part of the field the salary scales for the two sexes do not represent the respective remunerations which they receive. As regards three grades, however, it is possible to give figures which enable a valid comparison to be made of the relative financial positions of male and female nurses, and these (which were revised in July, 1946, to operate retrospectively as from January, 1946) are set out below as illustrating the extent of the differentials in this profession. The salary plus emoluments in the case of the women is to be compared with the salary (which is subject to no additions) in the case of the men.

	Women			Men	
Grade	Salary	Emoluments*	Total Remuneration	Salary (in the Administrative County of London)	Salary (outside London)
Student Nurse after State registration ...	£95	£75	£170	£258 4 0	£234 0 0
Staff Nurse ...	£120–£180	£100	£220–£280	£284 14 0–£336 14 0	£260–£312
Qualified Sister Tutor in charge . .	£270 × 20—£330	£140	£410–£470		
Qualified Male Tutor in charge ...				£435 × 20—£495	£410 × 20—£470

* Estimated value of services in kind such as board and lodging, laundering, etc.

Private nursing

133. In conclusion we must refer to the position as regards fees for private nursing. We understand that it is common ground between the Royal

College of Nursing and the Society of Registered Male Nurses that the same fees should be paid to men and women in private practice, and that the scales drawn up by the Royal College for the guidance of nurses, co-operations and associations do not distinguish between the sexes. On the other hand it appears from information supplied to us by the London County Council that some at least of the nurses' agencies licensed by the Council have fixed higher maximum charges for male than for female nurses.

TABLE

Numbers of men and women in certain professions

Profession	Basis of Figures	Date	Men	Women	Total
Nursing (excluding private nursing).	Central Statistical Office	Mar. 1946	18,700	154,400	173,100*
Doctors ...	Figures supplied by Government Actuary to Inter - departmental Committee on Medical Schools, covering civilian doctors under 80 normally resident in Great Britain and N. Ireland; including those who had joined the Services since outbreak of war.	1944	37,143	7,198	44,341
Dentists ...	Dentists' Register ...	1943	14,855	549	15,404
Pharmacists	Statutory Registers of the Pharmaceutical Society.	1943	22,557	2,667	25,224
Solicitors ...	Holders of annual practising certificates in England and Wales.		not known	164 (1944)	17,102 (1939)
Barristers ...	General Council of the Bar; information regarding numbers "attempting to earn a living at the Bar."	1939	3,500 (approx.)	150 (approx.)	3,650 (approx.)
Architects ...	Corporate Members of R.I.B.A. only.	1945	9,375	325	9,700
Accountants	Members of Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales only.	1945	13,313	102	13,415
Chartered Surveyors.	Qualified members of Chartered Surveyors' Institution.	1944	7,661	25	7,686
Auctioneers and Estate Agents.	Members of Auctioneers' and Estate Agents' Institute.	1944	6,488	12	6,500
Chemists ...	Fellows and Associates of the Royal Institute of Chemistry.	1944	—	261	Over 9,000
Librarians ...	Estimate made by the Library Association.	1939	3,000	3,000	6,000

* In arriving at the totals, two women on part-time work (i.e. less than 30 hours a week) are counted as equivalent to one full-time worker.

Other public employments in which equal pay operates

134. Other employments of a public nature which have been brought to our notice by many witnesses as cases in which the rule of equal pay operates

and which for want of any more suitable context it is convenient to mention here are the following, viz., Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament, officials of the United Nations Organisation and U.N.R.R.A., Magistrates and the British Broadcasting Corporation.

CHAPTER VI

Private Industry and Commerce

Introductory

The scope of our survey in this section

135. The last and by far the largest category of persons with whom we are concerned consists of those employed in private industry in the widest sense, i.e., including commerce and agriculture. In this field we are confronted with difficulties of a kind not present in the fields with which we have already dealt. Our instructions are to concentrate on the question of equal pay for equal work. In the case of private industry, unlike that of the other main categories of employment, nothing is more difficult than to reach agreement on the fundamental issue of when the work of the two sexes may be regarded as, for practical purposes, the same. Not only do the circumstances of particular industries and occupations exhibit infinite variety: but as between industry and industry, and within the same industry and even within identically named occupations, occasions for differences between the work of the two sexes appear to be almost unlimited. In these circumstances, nothing less than a complete survey of industry, branch by branch and occupation by occupation, would have sufficed for a completely informed pronouncement on the issue before us. A survey of such a character was within neither our competence nor the limits of time at our disposal. What we have found possible to do is to review briefly most of the areas of alleged overlap (including within that term 'similar' as well as 'identical' work) which have been brought to our notice, and to deal in some particularity with a selected number of those areas; and this procedure, we venture to think, will provide a picture of this field adequate for the purpose in hand. The Trades Union Congress, in putting forward to us their claim of equal pay for equal work in the industrial sphere, made it clear that in their view the introduction of equal pay, if it were to come, should be brought about not by any fiat of Government but through the ordinary machinery of negotiation. Lack of completeness in our assessment of the scope and results of such a change is, for that reason, perhaps less material than it would otherwise be.

Scope and nature of women's employment

136. With this explanation of the position we may proceed to our survey. A broad idea of the relative part played by women in the industrial life of Great Britain (in the extended sense indicated in paragraph 135) on the eve of the war is conveyed by the two following figures. At the population census of 1931, of the 17·6 million persons returned as 'occupied' other than in personal service or in the professions, 3.7 million or 21 per cent. were women. Much the same tale is told by more recent figures regarding persons insured against unemployment. In July, 1938, of the 12·7 million persons aged 18 and under 65 outside non-industrial government service and so insured, 3.2 million or 25 per cent. were women.

137. The two most prominent features of the pre-war industrial employment of women were its concentration in the earlier age-groups and its uneven distribution between industries.

138. Of the persons (occupied) in all gainful occupations in 1931, some 45 per cent. of those between 15 and 24 were women, but for the age-group 25–34 the percentage sank to less than 30, and for decennial age-groups between 35 and 64 lay in the neighbourhood of 20. The reason of course is to be found in the withdrawal of large numbers of women from gainful employment on marriage. About 95 per cent. of the male population between 15 and 64 was occupied, about 75 per cent. of the spinsters, but only about 10 per cent. of the married women.

139. Of the insured population of 12·7 million in July, 1938, mentioned above, 3·9 million (31 per cent.) were engaged in certain groups of 'heavy' industries;* of these only 0.1 million, or 2 per cent., were women. At the other end of the scale we may distinguish (of necessity rather arbitrarily) a number of industries or groups of industries which are most commonly thought of as 'women's trades'.† Of the 4.7 million insured persons in these industries (37 per cent. of the whole), 2.3 million, or 49 per cent., were women, the percentage of women rising to over 75 in hosiery and laundries, and approaching 90 in dressmaking and shirtmaking. Of the insured population of 4.0 million (32 per cent. of the whole) in the intervening industries‡, 0·8 million, or 20 per cent., were women.

140. Broadly speaking, on the eve of the war, the relative share of women in the country's industrial effort stood at about the same level as that to which it had settled down in the early 1920's, after the upheaval caused by the previous war. While the percentage increase, between 1923 and 1938, in the number of persons in private employment§ insured against unemployment was somewhat greater (28 per cent.) for women than for men (23 per cent.), the difference was not large enough to affect perceptibly the proportion between men and women insured, which stood for both years (to the nearest integer) at 74 to 26. There had occurred, however, some interesting changes in the *direction* of the women's effort. In clothing, indeed, the already high proportion of women had still further increased; but in some of the other recognised women's fields (distribution, catering, paper, tobacco, laundries) it had somewhat declined, while in glass and leather, and above all in certain branches of engineering and the lighter metal trades, it had very definitely increased. Specially noticeable is the trebling of the women's numbers in the group of trades dealing with electrical apparatus, bringing up the women's proportion from 32 per cent. to 41 per cent. Thus in the inter-war years, thanks to the introduction of new products and new processes, the opportunities for the employment of women seem to have become somewhat less specialised and more diffused.

141. There followed the war and a transformation of the position of women in industry. By July, 1944, the number of adult women outside non-industrial central and local government service insured against unemployment had increased since 1938 by 0·8 million,‖ and had come to constitute 37 per cent. instead of 25 per cent. of the insured adult labour

* Mining; metal manufacture; shipbuilding, building, contracting, brickmaking, etc.; transport; public utilities. The proportion of the whole labour force engaged in those industries is somewhat greater, since many railway and public utility employees are excluded from the insurance scheme.

† Clothing; textiles; food and tobacco; pottery; paper, printing, etc.; laundries, etc.; catering, etc.; distribution.

‡ Engineering, vehicle-making, electrical and miscellaneous metal trades (1·8 million); other manufactures (0·8 million); commerce and services, etc. (0·8 million); agriculture (0·6 million).

§ The expression 'persons in private employment' is here used to describe persons aged 18 and under 65 years outside agriculture and central and local government service.

‖ This increase took place in spite of the lowering of the age-limit of insurability for women from 65 to 60 years in July, 1940.

force.* This fact of course gives a very inadequate picture of the women's total war effort, since it takes no account of the million odd recruits to government service (military and civilian), of the 900,000 workers in part-time industrial employment, or of the whole-time workers of 60 upwards; but it serves as a background to a little further detail. In engineering and vehicle-building the insured women's numbers had increased by 770,000 and their proportion risen from 9 per cent. to 34 per cent. In commerce, etc., numbers increased by 38,000 and proportion from 33 per cent. to 62 per cent. On the other hand, in textiles and clothing numbers fell by 400,000 while proportion did not greatly change. These few examples must suffice to illustrate what happened—not merely a net influx into industry but a migration from more familiar to less familiar fields of work and a tackling on the grand scale of jobs normally performed by men. But indeed everybody knows what happened; what nobody knows for certain is how many of the $2\frac{3}{4}$ million women thus wholly or partially absorbed from the sphere of paid or unpaid domestic work will be found in industrial employment by the end of, say, 1947, or how far the distribution of the sexes by industries will have reverted to the pattern of 1938. By the end of 1945, as compared with mid-1944, the number of whole-time women workers had fallen by about 790,000 and the number of part-time workers by about 280,000. But the rate of withdrawal had been somewhat slower than was expected, and during the present year, in view of the manpower shortage, special appeals have been made to the women to stay on.

The extent to which men and women are engaged in the same work

142. It is generally recognised that the uneven distribution of the sexes between industries affords by itself an inadequate picture of the extent to which their respective contributions to the national industrial effort differ in character and content. Within any industry there exists a large number of different occupations, some of them constituting sub-divisions of the main conversion process which gives the whole industry its character and name, others—such as those connected with cleaning, sorting, packing and so forth—having no close affinity with it; it is not likely, for instance, that many even of the small number of women employed in the heavy industries in 1938 were actually engaged in heavy work. By 1931, the population census authorities had reached the point of recording some 20,000 occupation-descriptions and of reducing them for purposes of analysis to about 590 fairly manageable groups. Nine-tenths of these groups contained some women, over half of them more than 500 women, and about one-fifteenth of them over 20,000 women. It might be thought, therefore, at first sight that these occupational figures, while confirming the fact that the distribution of the sexes between different types of work is very uneven, nevertheless afford evidence that in very many cases men and women are engaged upon the same type of work. Closer enquiry, however, reveals that the nomenclature of occupations is a baffling and inconstant affair; and it seems to be largely a matter of chance and custom whether what are generally recognised in common talk to be different jobs are or are not dignified with the title of separate occupations. There seems to be no doubt that over the larger part of the field of manufacturing industry the jobs being done by men and women were different and were recognised to be different, even though they might sometimes be called by the same name. As the Trades Union Congress have put it in evidence, "apart from the special circumstances which arise in war-time, there

* This increase took place in spite of the fact that the raising of the annual income limit for insurance for non-manual workers from £250 to £420 in September, 1940, resulted in the addition to the insured population of a much larger number of men than women.

has been a fairly clear and well-established demarcation between men's and women's work throughout the greater part of manufacturing industry." The British Employers' Confederation expressed the same view when they said: "the field in which men and women are employed in precisely the same work and under identical conditions is very limited."

143. To this general rule there are a number of exceptions, of varying importance. In reviewing them it will be found convenient to treat of the field of private industry under the three headings of manual work in manufacturing industry, manual work in the distributive trades, and non-manual work (i.e., administrative, technical, accounting, clerical, typing and the like) whether found in commerce and finance, in distribution or in manufacture. For one thing, this sub-division corresponds to a natural distinction in the functions performed by the members of the different groups. More relevant to our purpose, because of their importance for a consideration of the consequences of equal pay, are two other respects in which the three groups mark themselves off conveniently from one another. The potentially diverse or even antithetical principles involved in equal piece-rates for piece-workers on the one hand and equal time-rates for time-workers on the other hand (the forms taken by the claim for equal pay in industry) make it essential to consider the positions of time-workers and piece-workers separately. Now it so happens that non-manual workers are remunerated—by salary or wage—on a basis of plain time-rates; manual workers in industry in what are predominantly women's industries, and particularly those in the overlap areas, are mainly remunerated on a system of payment-by-results,* while the method of payment for manual work in distribution is by time-rates, with the addition in some cases of commission on sales. The other respect in which this grouping will be found convenient is in connection with the question of the extent to which work and rates of payment are standardised. In manual work in manufacturing industry, grading of work and the application of standard rates to each grade—though it could no doubt be made much more comprehensive than it is at present—is nevertheless the general rule. In non-manual work we find two sets of conditions. In the larger concerns such as banks, insurance companies, friendly societies, approved societies and the like, and in a number of big business houses, and for clerical workers in a number of manufacturing industries such, for example, as coal mining and engineering, scales of salary or wage rates based on age or length of service or both have been largely established, together with a certain grading of the jobs for the purpose of the application of the scales. On the other hand there is a great number of small concerns, constituting what we elsewhere call "a vast sprawling terrain of clerical and administrative work", in which almost every job is *sui generis* and the rate of its remuneration is settled by a bargain between the employer and the individual employee. Much the same conditions as in non-manual work appear to have applied to manual work in distribution, though with the extension of the observance of the minimum rates of wages provided by the Joint Industrial Councils which have been established for practically every branch of the retail distributive trades, we should expect to see some growth in standardisation in this important section of distribution. Agriculture, in which before the war the number of women employed was small both relatively and in proportion to the number of men, does not fall readily into any of the above categories, and it will receive separate mention

* The estimated percentage of pieceworkers among women employed in some of the occupations employing the largest numbers of women in manufacturing industry are: cotton weavers, virtually 100 per cent.; wool textile weavers, about 98 per cent.; engineering, about 90 per cent.; hosiery, over 90 per cent.; pottery, over 85 per cent.; boot and shoe manufacture (both sexes together) about 90 per cent.

Manual work in transport is not to a material extent a woman's occupation and is omitted from our survey.

The relative weekly earnings of men and women

144. Before proceeding to describe the location and size and the other characteristics of the areas of identical or similar work in the main branches of private industry, we may present the salient facts about the relative earnings of the two sexes in the field of employment at present under consideration. As regards manual work in manufacturing industry, a general idea of the relationship between the earnings of men and women on the eve of the war can be derived from an enquiry conducted by the Ministry of Labour in October, 1938.* This brings out, for the industries covered, the average weekly earnings of adult men at 69s. and of adult women at 32s. 6d., or 47 per cent. of the figure for men.

145. In publishing the foregoing figures of earnings the Ministry of Labour pointed out that they were general averages covering all classes of manual wage-earners, including unskilled workers and general labourers as well as operatives in skilled occupations, and that they represented the actual earnings inclusive of payments for overtime, night work, etc., and of amounts earned on piecework or other methods of payment-by-results. The Department emphasised that in view of the wide variations, as between different industries, in the proportions of skilled and unskilled workers and in the opportunities for extra earnings from overtime, night work and increased output by piece-workers, the differences in average earnings shown should not be taken as evidence of disparities in the rates of wages prevailing in different industries for comparable classes of workpeople employed under similar conditions.

146. In fact, the disparity in earnings specified reflects partly the fact that in some of the industries in which the earnings of men are relatively high, there were comparatively few women employed, and partly the lower average earnings of women than men in industries where many women were employed—for example, 32s. 9d. against 64s. 3d. (51 per cent.) in clothing, 31s. 9d. against 57s. 3d. (55 per cent.) in textiles. The disparity of earnings in each industry was in turn associated with the fact that, in the majority of industries, minimum weekly wage-rates, whether fixed by collective bargaining or (as in the case of some 1·2 million workers) by statutory order under the Trade Boards Acts, stood at a lower level for women than men, women in most cases earning from a half to two-thirds of the men's rates. In some cases these minimum men's and women's rates applied generally to the trade in question, without more specific reference to occupation; in others they were occupational rates applying to occupations in which both sexes were employed. It follows from what has been said in paragraph 142, that this distinction is not as significant as might be thought at first sight. To give only one of many possible illustrations, men on ' pan work ' make brushes and brooms and bore holes in them as well as setting the brush materials in the holes, while women perform this last operation only; and the time-rates for the two sexes differed accordingly.

147. Coming to the war period, we find that the average weekly earnings of adult women† in manufacturing industries covered by an enquiry made by the Ministry of Labour were 63s. 2d. in January, 1945, or 94 per cent. higher than in October, 1938. The corresponding figures for adult men were 119s. 3d. and 73 per cent., so that the proportion of the women's figure to the men's

* For particulars see Ministry of Labour Gazette, August, 1945, p. 130.
† Counting 2 part-time workers as 1 worker.

had risen from 47 per cent. to 53 per cent. (The disparity between the percentage increases in hourly earnings was even greater (96 per cent. and 67 per cent.), since the hours of men had increased on the average and those of women slightly decreased.) This shift in favour of the women was of course largely due to the fact that in 1945 large numbers of women were engaged on work normally done by men and receiv ng pay equal to or approaching the men's rate. Thus, to take extreme cases, in iron and steel tube manufacture the average earnings of men rose by 75 per cent., of women by 134 per cent.; for road passenger transport the corresponding figures are 52 per cent. and 121 per cent. On the other hand, in some of the older common employments such as cotton and tailoring, the percentage rise in average earnings was less for women than for men, though this was not due as a rule to any increasing disparity of wage-rates; indeed the war-time rise in the minimum rates fixed by Trade Boards seems, according to calculations made by the Trades Union Congress, to have been appreciably greater on the average (around 45 per cent.) for women than for men (less than 40 per cent.).* In most of the industries concerned, the pay of women doing work normally done by men was regulated during wartime by collective relaxation agreements laying down that after a period of probation a woman shall receive the full man's rate for the job, provided she can perform it without additional assistance or supervision. These agreements have worked smoothly in some trades, less smoothly in others, notably engineering, where before the war the line between men's work and women's work was often vague and subject to dispute, and where in the interest of war production the character of many men's jobs was necessarily altered in certain respects so as to bring them more readily within the compass of the women. The clauses about supervision have also sometimes given rise to difficulty, it being alleged that an undesired pat on the back at the end of the day is sometimes held to count as supervision for the purpose of keeping down the rate of pay.

148. The figures of earnings quoted in paragraphs 144–147 do not cove agriculture, manual work in distribution, or non-manual work, and no official statistics of earnings are available for those branches of employment. All black-coated workers and many distributive workers are, however, employed on contracts of a week or longer period, as are also male workers in agriculture. Moreover, in this part of the field, night work is largely unknown, overtime payments are much less frequent than among manual workers in manufacturing industry and piece-working is exceptional. The extent to which weekly earnings differ from weekly wage or salary rates will accordingly be much smaller; and the relationship between women's and men's earnings will approximate more closely to that between their weekly rates. Even in agriculture, which in the matter under discussion most closely resembles manufacturing industry, it was found from an analysis of the wages paid in some 1,300 cases in Scotland that actual wages exceeded the minimum by only about 6 per cent. Since, as we shall see, the wage rates of women in these branches range from 60 per cent. to 90 per cent. or over of the wage

* Under variations in hourly minimum rates of wages which have recently been made by the Wages Councils for the ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring, the wholesale mantle and costume, the shirt and the corset trades, which took effect as from 13th May, 1946, and which were accompanied by a reduction from 48 to 44 hours in the number of weekly hours beyond which overtime rates become payable, the women's hourly wage-rates have been increased in most cases by the same amounts as the men's and consequently in a very much higher proportion. In the case of the first two of the trades mentioned—and the position in the other two is very similar—the percentage increase in, for example, the lowest hourly time-rate for women has been 30·4% compared with one of 19·4% in the lowest time-rate for men; and for this lowest grade the women's rate has jumped from 64% to 70% of the men's rate.

rates for men, the disparity between the weekly earnings of men and women may be expected to be much less here than in the case of manual workers in manufacturing industry who are paid by the hour and whose respective earnings are affected by the fact that women generally work shorter hours than men, do less overtime and do not work at night.

Piece-rates and their operation

149. In manual work in industry many of the women workers are employed on piece-work and in the strictly overlap areas apparently most of them are so employed. For this reason it may be found convenient to the reader if at this point we make a short statement of the facts regarding piece-rates and their operation which have a bearing on our enquiry.

150. Piece-work, or, more comprehensively, payment-by-results, takes one of two main forms. The first of these is straight piece-rates or prices, i.e., the payment of a fixed price for a specific job, which corresponds as regards labour to the normal method of payment for commodities. The second is the time-allowance or premium-bonus system. Under this system a time-allowance is made for a job, the worker is paid at the hourly time-rate for each hour of the time-allowance, and to the extent to which he finishes the job in a shorter time than that allowed, his hourly earnings rise above the time-rate, the excess being the worker's premium bonus. Under either system a worker's earnings depend on his speed of working. There are variants of these two main systems, into which it is not necessary for our purpose to enquire, the main effect if not the purpose of which is to give to a quicker worker a portion only and not the whole of the benefit of his greater productivity. Cotton-spinning is an occupation to which straight piece-rates apply. In engineering many and possibly a majority of the payment-by-result workers are remunerated on a time-allowance system.

151. Piece-rates are either pre-determined, in which case they are usually embodied in a piece-price list: or they are determined *ad hoc*, in which case they are commonly fixed in relation to a time-rate which is used as a rod for measuring the yield of the piece-rate. A prescription which is typical of the provisions of collective agreements in this matter is that operative in the engineering industry which requires that a piece-rate or a time-allowance shall enable a workman of average ability to earn at least a prescribed percentage above the time-rate for the operation or class of worker concerned. Percentages of the order of 25 are not uncommon in collective agreements. In engineering the percentage is $27\frac{1}{2}$, having been raised from 25 during the war. The formula adopted by the Trade Boards Acts was that each piece-rate paid should be sufficient to yield, in the circumstances of the case, at least the piece-work basis time-rate to an ordinary worker. Piece-work basis time-rates for this purpose were laid down by most of the Trade Boards, varying from about 10 per cent. to 25 per cent. above the general minimum time-rates for the particular operation or class of worker concerned; and these still apply under the determinations of the Wages Councils although the formula is no longer embodied in the statute. A piece-rate which has been fixed on the prescribed basis becomes payable to every piece-worker on the particular job, whether of average, or under-average, or over-average ability; and the hourly earnings of the different workers on a particular job vary with individual capacity. The degree to which they can vary depends among other things on the extent to which, as in purely hand work, a worker's output is in direct proportion to the effort he puts forth or, as in machine work, the speed of the machine is within the worker's control.

152. Where piece-rates for men and women are computed in the way described in relation to differential time-rates for the two sexes, it might appear at

first sight that this would imply differential piece-rates for the two sexes. This is, however, not necessarily the case. If, for example, the time-rates for men and women employed on some particular work are in the proportion of say 2 : 1 and the productivities of the two sexes are also in the proportion of 2 : 1, a little reflection will show that the application of either of the formulæ set out in paragraph 151 above would imply identical piece-rates for men and women and that no other relationship than equality between the piece-rates for the two sexes would satisfy the requirements of the formulæ.* Such a nice adjustment of relative productivity to relative time-rates is, however, not likely to be common in practice. There is some reason to believe in fact that in many cases the gap between the productivity of men and women is less than the gap between their respective time-rates: and in so far as this is so, the computation of piece-rates in relation to the respective time-rates for the two sexes must result in lower piece-prices for women than for men.

153. Many piece-price lists are of considerable age and in their original computation, as in their subsequent adjustments, no doubt the ordinary processes of give-and-take of collective bargaining have played their part, perhaps in some cases a greater part than the attempt scientifically to relate every item to some pre-conceived time-rate yield. Thus it comes about that, in terms of yield per hour to a particular worker, some items are 'better-paying' than others.

Manual Work in Manufacturing Industry §

The location and extent of overlap areas and the relationship between the rates paid to men and women therein

Introductory

154. The term overlap area, as we have seen, cannot be precisely defined. But occupations which there is a strong *prima facie* case for so describing appear to comprise: cotton weaving; beam warping in the cotton trade; weaving and warping in the wool textile industry and several occupations in the wool-combing section of the industry; certain important occupations in hosiery manufacturing and the clothing trades; flax scutching by hand; certain classes of work in engineering; box and packing-case making in London; french polishing and spraying in the furniture trade; the operations of cutting, machining and dressing or waterproofing in the garment-making section (oilskins) of the made-up textiles trade; the drawing of machine brushes

* Thus, if an ordinary male worker and an ordinary female worker were employed on an identical job, and their respective piece-work basis time-rates were 2s. and 1s. an hour, and the man performed the job in two hours and the woman performed it in four hours, the piece-rate required to yield his piece-work basis time-rate of 2s. an hour to the man would be 4s. (rate 4s., time taken 2 hours, earnings $\frac{4s.}{2}$ = 2s. per hour); and the piece-rate required to yield the woman her piece-work basis time-rate of 1s. an hour would also be 4s. (rate 4s., time taken 4 hours, earnings $\frac{4s.}{4}$ = 1s. an hour).

§ When we reviewed the evidence submitted to us and the other material we had been able to assemble regarding manual work in manufacturing industry, it became apparent that our factual information about wool textile weaving and about the clothing trades was inadequate for the proper treatment of these two important fields of potential overlap. We accordingly found it necessary, at a somewhat late stage in our proceedings, to have special enquiries into these trades conducted for us by trained investigators who were placed at our disposal for the purpose, on a sample basis—all that was possible in the time then available. These enquiries were conducted under the direction of Mr. F. J. Camm of the Ministry of Labour and National Service and we should like to express our appreciation of the valuable and punctual help which Mr Camm and his staff gave us in the matter. The results of the investigations are embodied in the sections of this chapter which deal with wool textile weaving and with the clothing industries.

for use in the textile trade; earthenware cup and saucer making in the pottery industry; printing-machine feeding on certain specified machines in London; fustian cutting by hand; a few operations in the rubber manufacturing industry; file cutting in Sheffield, South Staffs., and Birmingham; and on a very minor scale, a few operations in the stamped or pressed metal wares trade.* The Trades Union Congress also claims the existence of small overlap areas in boot and shoe manufacturing, and in the leather, printing, and tobacco trades.† In addition, *prima facie* evidence of the existence of common work is afforded by a number of collective agreements‡ and by a number of determinations of Trade Boards (now Wages Councils)§ which in both cases provide rates of wages, in some cases identical and in some cases differential, for men and women falling within the same occupational description. The collective agreements cover: clicking, lasting and closing, and also packing, in the shoe and slipper manufacturing industry in the Rossendale Valley; certain operations in the wool textile industry of the South of Scotland; mechanical cloth manufacturing in Bury and district; spinning and power-loom weaving in the Macclesfield silk industry; certain operations of flax processing; the work of plaiters, cutters and markers-off in the Manchester textile making-up and packing industry; certain operations in electrical cable making, in wire rope manufacture, in refractory brick manufacture in Scotland, in wall-paper manufacture, in roller leather manufacture and in buffalo picker making; and weavers other than blanket and pattern weavers, in the wool textile industry of the West of England. The Wages Councils Determinations which provide minimum rates of wages for male and female workers falling within the same occupational descriptions cover (apart from occupations mentioned above as appearing to constitute overlap areas) boot and shoe repairing and hand-sewn boot making; hand-loom weaving in the hair, bass and fibre trade; hessian weaving in the jute trade; certain operations of pan work and the work of drawing hands on machine brushes in the brush and broom trade; and cocoa making, sugar boiling and hand soldering in the sugar confectionery and food preserving trade.

155. While it is definitely known that in some of these *prima facie* areas of overlap, as for example in boot and shoe repairing and jute hessian weaving, either no women to speak of or no men to speak of are engaged, and in others, as for example fustian cutting by hand, the occupation is moribund, it has not been possible to resolve the doubts in all cases.

Cotton weaving

156. The overlap areas of whose magnitude we have particulars range in size from the operation of cotton weaving which accounted in 1931 for about 200,000 workers, (40,000 males and 160,000 females) to that of the operation of file cutting in Sheffield and in South Staffordshire and Birmingham which accounted in the same year for about 1,600 workers, (1,000 males and 600 females). As constituting the largest known overlap area and as the one about which our information is most complete, we think it desirable to describe the overlap area in cotton weaving in some detail. Except for some 1,000–1,500 workers on automatic looms,‖ males and females in cotton weaving are, nominally at all events, engaged on the same work and are paid on the same

* In this connection see especially Appendix XI. 2 and Appendices VI, VII and VIII to minutes of evidence.
† See Appendix VII to minutes of evidence.
‡ See Appendix XI. 2 to minutes of evidence.
§ See Appendix XI. 3 to minutes of evidence.
‖ Shortly before the war.

piece-rate list.* Some employers are said to give the men the better-paying work, but this practice is by no means universal, as the possibility of its operation depends on whether or not the type of loom which the man is working will take the type of fabric in question. Again, men on the whole work a larger number of looms than women. In the case of ordinary power looms (i.e., non-automatic looms) the number which a weaver looks after varies from one to a maximum of fourteen, fifteen or even sixteen; but such large numbers are rare and the most normal complement of looms is either three, four or six. While, however, in 1937, round about 55 per cent. of both male and female adult weavers were operating four looms, the proportion of weavers who attended more than four looms was about 30 per cent. in the case of the men as against about 16 per cent. in the case of the women. This tendency on the part of the men to work larger numbers of looms is stated to be due to some extent to a desire on the part of some employers to put as much money as possible into the pockets of the men in what, by male standards, is a poorly paid industry. But no doubt the factor of physical strength also comes in, as it does in the case of the wider and heavier looms, on which, because of the arduous nature of the work involved, men who are working less than four looms are usually found. On the other hand it appears that many women, by reason of age, infirmity and the like, prefer to look after fewer than the normal complement of the narrower and lighter looms.†

Beam warping in the cotton trade

157. Beam warping in the cotton trade is a process preparatory to weaving. Both men and women are employed in this occupation and on the same piece-rates. There is also an agreed minimum fall-back rate payable to men and women alike if their actual earnings on piece-work (together with certain flat-rate payments) fall below that amount. The number of warping frames operated by the men is on the average greater than that operated by the women. No separate particulars of the numbers employed on beam warping are available in the official statistics.‡

Wool-combing

158. Men and women are both employed in certain occupations in the wool-combing section (which is a wholly time-work section) of the wool textile industry and the time-rates of wages for the different occupations are governed by the terms of a collective agreement. The work is carried out by day and by night and, while all night work is done by men owing to the restrictions on the employment of women imposed by the Factories Act, the day work is shared between men and women. According to the Employers' Council, the men on day shift are employed mainly on scouring and carding processes and the women on combing and finishing processes: and at the present time rather more men than usual are employed on the day turn with the object of retaining a nucleus of men to be available for night shifts. While, however, the men and women on the day shift are generally speaking employed on different work, the men doing the heavy work, there are some occupations

* Except that the small proportion of weavers working on more than six looms are paid at a time-rate supplemented by a piece-rate (in 1935, a time-rate of 1s. an hour with a piece-rate of one-fifth of the earnings from all the looms operated by the weaver calculated on the price for six-loom weaving).

† The information in this paragraph is based mainly on "The Weaver's Wage" by E. M Gray (Manchester University Press, 1937), supplemented by a statement made by Mr. Gray to the Commission.

‡ The factual information in this and the succeeding paras. up to and including para. 217 is, except when otherwise indicated, based mainly on Appendix XI. 2 and 3 to minutes of evidence and on statements made to us by the Wages Councils for a number of trades.

of an intermediate character on which both men and women are employed on the day turn, though not usually in the same establishment. Employers estimate that this common work would account for not more than one or two per cent. of the total number of workers employed in the wool-combing section of the trade as a whole. The common work includes such operations as backwash minding, comb-minding and breaking-off. The ratio of the women's rates to the men's rates on these common operations on day turn, which are provided by the collective agreement (dated November, 1945) is about 75 per cent. for each of the different operations. The agreement also provides differentials in the rates for men employed on day work and men employed on night work in the same occupations which range from about 7s. 6d. to about 13s. a week and average about 9s. 6d. a week.

Wool textile weaving

Number and distribution of workers

159. Wool textile weavers numbered in 1931 about 51,000, of whom over 7,000 were males and nearly 44,000 females. Men and women are employed in this industry in Yorkshire to a considerable extent in the same or very similar work. The spread of men and women is, however, by no means uniform over the field. In fact, in only two districts, those of Huddersfield and of Yeadon and Guiseley, are men employed in large numbers; and it would appear that these two districts account for a considerable proportion of the whole of the male workers employed in weaving. There is a very large number of establishments in the industry in which few or no male workers are employed.

The overlap area

160. In the areas of employment of both men and women, the work may be divided into (i) that in which men and women weavers at the same establishment are employed on the same number of looms of the same width running at the same speed; (ii) that in which men and women weavers at the same establishment are employed either on different loom complements or, where the loom complements are identical, on cloths of different build; and (iii) that in which the work is different. Of a sample enquiry made in July, 1946,* of 17 firms (9 in the Huddersfield district, 5 at Yeadon or Guiseley and 3 in other districts of Yorkshire) employing 572 men weavers and 854 women weavers, nearly a third of the workers were found to be, at the time of the enquiry, on work of class (i), nearly a third on work of class (ii), and over a third on work of class (iii). It may be noted that where the loom-complement for men and women is identical, while the work performed by men and women at any particular moment may not be the same, over a period of time most of the different jobs fall eventually both to the men and the women; and the size of the class (ii) area as shown by the figures falls to be reduced and that of the class (i) area to be correspondingly increased in a long-term view of the position. The significant fact is that in the case of nearly two-thirds of the workers in these areas, the work of the two sexes was the same or similar.

161. In addition to this considerable degree of overlap in the districts in which workers of both sexes are employed, there would appear to be no doubt that some of the weaving performed by women in the purely 'women's' districts is similar to that performed by men in other districts. The overlap area would accordingly appear to embrace a considerable proportion of the 51,000 workers employed in wool textile weaving.

* See footnote § on page 51.

Loom complements

162. The extent to which men and women work different loom complements is illustrated by the following particulars derived from the sample enquiry already referred to :—

CLASS (i)

	Men	Women
1 loom	91	269
2 looms	11	40
4 looms (automatic)	4	18
Total	106	327

CLASS (ii)

	Men	Women
Men on two looms and women on one loom...	127	192
Men and women on 1 loom	32	54
Men and women on 4 automatic looms	7	7
Total	166	253

In general it may be said that, outside automatic loom working, the practice of the Huddersfield district is for both men and women to work one loom and the practice of Yeadon and Guiseley for women to work one loom and men two looms.

The piece-rates paid

163. The majority of piece-work weavers in Yorkshire are paid on piece-price lists peculiar to the individual firms. There are only two agreed piece-price lists covering larger groups of workers, namely the Huddersfield list of 1883 and the Yeadon and Guiseley list of 1893, as revised in 1919*. The Yeadon and Guiseley list provides uniform prices for men and women alike. The Huddersfield list provides rates for women which are roughly 11 per cent. lower than the rates for men. The reason for the differential in the Huddersfield list was ascribed in evidence before the Atkin Committee† to the fact that men cost the employer less in supervision and could also, if necessary, work overtime. In the recent enquiry twelve of the seventeen firms stated that more or rather more assistance from the overlooker was required by women than by men. It was not suggested by any firm that overlookers in charge of men weavers were in fact looking after more looms than those in charge of women weavers. The Huddersfield list provides that on two-loom working the standard rates (for one-loom working) shall be reduced by 7s. in the pound (35 per cent.). As already stated, however, the prevailing loom complement in the Huddersfield district is one loom. In Yeadon and Guiseley in which two-loom working for men and one-loom working for women is common, the list makes no provision for a differential between the rates for one-loom and for two-loom working.

164. In comparing the earnings on one and on two-loom working, it must be realised that output (and consequent earnings) on two looms are not necessarily or in fact double the output and earnings on one loom. Time lost on stoppages on the two-loom system is more than double the time lost on the one-loom system, owing to the fact that on two-loom working the weaver, when attending to a fault in one loom, would normally stop the second loom in order to concentrate his attention on the fault.

* All earnings on piece-rates, whether based on the two standard price-lists for Huddersfield and for Yeadon and Guiseley, or on the price-lists of individual firms, are subject to general percentage additions of 18 per cent. on base rates and a further 99 per cent. overall.

† See para. 49 of report of Atkin Committee. (Cmd. 135 of 1919).

165. As regards automatic looms, the piece-prices are in general identical for men and women. Differential piece-prices for the two sexes were found at two firms, the women's rates being respectively 9 per cent. and 5 per cent. below the men's rates.

Average weekly earnings

166. The average weekly earnings over a period of four weeks, of men and women weavers engaged on identical or similar work, grouped according to the different loom complements and type of loom and according to whether the piece-rates for men were the same as, or higher than, the piece-rates for women, are shown in the following table.

(The figures in brackets indicate the numbers of workers employed by the firms within each category.)

Number of looms	Same piece rates for men and women			Men's piece rates higher than women's piece rates		
	Men	Women	Women's earnings as a percentage of men's earnings	Men	Women	Women's earnings as a percentage of men's earnings
	(1) s. d.	(2) s. d.	(3)	(4) s. d.	(5) s. d.	(6)
Ordinary looms :—						
One loom per weaver	94 9½ (18)	79 2 (39)	84	97 7 (105)	74 11 (284)	77
Two looms per weaver.	102 7 (11)	82 7 (40)	81	—	—	—
Two looms for men and one for women	127 5 (110)	83 0 (180)	65	114 8 (17)	66 2½ (12)	58
Automatic looms :—						
4 looms per weaver	102 1½ (2)	80 4 (6)	79	113 8 (9)	99 0 (19)	87

167. Where piece-rates are identical, it appears that, where the same number of looms is operated by men and women, the women's weekly earnings are about four-fifths of those of the men, and that where the men operate two looms and the women one loom the women's weekly earnings are rather less than two-thirds of those of the men. If in column (6) of the table the percentage is corrected to a basis of equal piece-rates, the women's weekly earnings, where the same number of looms is operated by men and women, represent 87 per cent. of the men's for one-loom working, and 95 per cent. for 4-loom automatic working, and where the men operate two looms and the women one, represent 65 per cent. of the men's.

168. Particulars of the hours worked per week were not available in all cases and it is not therefore possible to compare the hourly earnings of men and women. The average weekly hours worked by women in cases in which records of hours were available show that they were about 5 per cent. less than the men's average weekly hours. If the percentages of women's to men's weekly earnings shown in columns (3) and (6) of the table are further corrected to show earnings, not only at the same piece-rates, but for the same number of hours of work, the women's earnings, in cases where the same numbers of looms are operated, represent for one-loom weaving, about 91 per cent. and for two-loom weaving, about 85 per cent. of the men's earnings;

and, in cases where the men operate two looms and the women one loom, represent about 68 per cent. of the men's earnings. No corresponding figure can be given for four-loom automatic weaving,

Causes of lower earnings of women than men

169. It thus appears that the greatest difference in earnings between men and women arises in the case of, and is due to, the operation by the men of two looms compared with the operation by the women of one loom. Other causes of lower earnings on the part of the women are the payment to them in some cases of lower piece-rates and the working by them of slightly shorter weekly hours than the men. Even when a correction has been made to place men and women on the same basis in these two respects, there is still a residual difference in the weekly earnings of the two sexes. Part of this difference was ascribed by some employers to a greater amount of time being lost by women than by men on account of minor mishaps and stoppages. Men weavers could and did attend to minor stoppages and minor adjustments to looms, whereas women weavers usually had to call in the assistance of the overlooker. On the other hand, nearly half the employers seen stated that the time lost through minor mishaps and stoppages was about the same for men and women.

Age distribution of weavers

170. Particulars were obtained of the ages of all the men and women whose earnings were stated, and these on analysis showed the following result :—

	Men	Women
	per cent.	per cent.
Under 21 years	2	14
21 and under 30	8	16
30 „ „ 40	25	13
40 „ „ 50	25	39
50 „ „ 60	25	15
60 and over	15	3
	100	100

These figures show that the average age of the women was considerably lower than that of the men ; and it suggests that there is a larger proportion among the women than among the men of weavers whose earning capacity is limited by lack of experience, while on the other hand there is a larger proportion among the men than among the women of weavers whose earning capacity is affected by age. The average of the weekly earnings of the women weavers under 21 years of age proved to be about 11s. lower than the general average for all the women weavers and the average of the weekly earnings of the men weavers of 60 years of age and over proved to be about 16s. lower than the general average for all the men weavers.

Duties of men and of women weavers

171. In the case of nine of the seventeen firms there was found to be a difference between the duties of men and of women weavers, outside the actual weaving. In these nine cases the male weavers carried the woven cloth from the loom to the grey room, whereas the female weavers had this work performed for them by the overlooker or other male labour. In the case of seven other firms, however, there was stated to be no difference between the duties of this kind performed by men and women. The time occupied in carrying the pieces of cloth to the grey room is estimated to amount on average to not more than about twenty minutes each week.

Women would normally be debarred, under the provisions of regulations made under the Factories Act, from carrying cloth, because of its weight.

Wool warping

172. Evidence was given to the Atkin Committee in 1919 to the effect that where both men and women were employed as warpers in the wool textile industry, the piece-rates paid were identical for the two sexes. The evidence we had from the Trades Union Congress indicated that this position still obtained. The number of workers engaged in wool warping is not shown separately in the official statistics.

Engineering

173. The size of the overlap area in engineering is a matter on which, after considerable enquiry, we are left in much doubt. It appears to lie mainly if not wholly in the field of 'work commonly performed by women in the industry' (before the war). Particulars have been made available to us of the results of an enquiry instituted by the Engineering Employers' Federation as to the classes of workers by whom, before the date of the (women's) war relaxation agreement of May, 1940 (i.e., virtually before the war), certain classes of work regarded by the employers as women's work had been carried out in the establishments of several hundred federated firms. The work in question consisted of the quantity production of repetition jobs on eight kinds of machines, viz.: semi-automatic capstan and turret lathes working to stops, horizontal milling machines, the machines being set for the operator, and repetition viewing (i.e., simple inspection) involving the use of fixed gauges, clock gauges set to a fixed height and comparators. The enquiry revealed that, although a good deal of the work had been done by juvenile male workers, work on each of the eight separate machines and on repetition viewing was performed to a considerable extent both by females and adult males, the work being done largely by females at one establishment and by adult males at another; and that in a small percentage of cases both females and adult males were found on the same work in the same establishment. No figures were available as to the numbers of workers concerned in these cases and the Engineering Employers' Federation, while they expressed the view that the numbers would be very small compared with the total employed, were unable to give even an approximate estimate of the figure. The enquiry related to a particular range of work. We do not know whether similar enquiry into the employment of men on other ranges of women's work—and there are many such—would reveal similar results. All we can say with certainty is that there is a definite overlap area in engineering at the size of which we cannot make even a guess.

174. According to the Employer's Federation the employment of men on what is recognised as women's work arises for one of the following reasons, viz.: (i) shortage of female labour, as for example in Lancashire, owing to the large employment of women in the textile trade; (ii) such a small amount of women's work is involved that the man can do it together with his regular man's work; (iii) the volume of women's work involved is too small to justify the employment of women with the consequential provision of special cloakroom facilities which would be involved. The women in the overlap area are paid at piece-rates computed in relation to the women's schedule of time-rates and the men at piece-rates computed in relation to men's time-rates. This situation arises from the fact that under the terms of the agreements in force women on women's work are entitled to be paid only in accordance with the women's wage schedule, while, as the Employers state, "there is no recognised arrangement for reducing men's rates when employed on women's work . . ." It is not possible to state the relationship of the

piece-rates so computed, in general terms for the industry as a whole, for two reasons. The first is as follows. For women in the industry there is a single scale of wage-rates fixed by agreement, which is based on age, and is not differentiated according to the occupation of the worker. In the case of men, there are, for each district in which the industry is carried on, either agreed or recognised standard time-rates for (*a*) shop labourers, (*b*) foundry labourers, (*c*) skilled fitters and (*d*) moulders; but there is, so far as we are aware, no such comprehensive scheme of district standard time-rates for male workers employed in the large sphere of semi-skilled work which includes machine operating of all kinds and in which the field of common employment for men and women in this industry is found. The time-rates for men on semi-skilled work are, we understand, settled sometimes on a district basis, more often on a factory basis and very frequently individually between the employer and the particular worker. There is accordingly for the most part no standard time-rate for men employed on any particular semi-skilled work with which the standard time-rate for women can be brought into comparison. Moreover, even if the minimum time-rate for a semi skilled male worker could be ascertained in a particular case, the percentage of 27½ over the basic time-rate which (under the agreements in the trade) is required to be yielded to a worker of average ability by the piece-rates paid, is in practice frequently exceeded and sometimes to a different degree in the case of the two sexes. In spite of these difficulties, it is still possible to make some approach to a comparison of the piece-rates required to be paid to the two sexes. The lowest rate which would be paid to a man on semi-skilled work is at least a few shillings a week above the male shop labourers' rate. If the amount required to be earned by a man of average ability on such a rate (of say, 4s. above the labourers' rate) is compared with the amount required to be earned by a woman of average ability on the woman's rate, we reach a fair measure of the minimum difference between the lowest piece-prices which may be paid to workers of the respective sexes employed on women's work. On this basis the ratio of the women's piece-rates to the men's was in September, 1939, 54½ : 100 and in June, 1946, 68·5 : 100.

175. Our attention was called by the Unions to a number of cases in the engineering industry in which it was alleged that, contrary to the view expressed to us in evidence by the British Employers' Confederation that they knew of no cases in which different piece-rates were paid to men and women doing the same work under precisely the same conditions, differential piece-rates had in fact been paid. Particulars of these cases were submitted to the Engineering Employers' Federation for their comments. The cases resolve themselves into two groups: (*a*) those in which it is claimed by the Employers' Federation that the work is of a kind 'commonly performed by women in the industry' prior to the war; (*b*) those in which the Employers' Federation claim that a specific difference between the work of the women and of the men exists in respect of range, weight, skill and so on.* The reason advanced by the employers for the payment of differential piece-rates in the cases under (*a*) is, as already stated, that their agreements entitle them to compute piece-rates for women on women's work in relation to the women's time-rates but require them to pay men, even on women's work, at piece-rates computed in relation to men's time-rates. There are differences between the parties as to

* An instance is as follows. A.E.U. statement: "Type of work: lens polishing. Rates: men's piece-rates fixed to yield 2s. 2¾d. per hour (104s 9½d. per 47-hour week): women's piece-rates fixed to yield 1s. 6d. per hour (70s. 6d. per 47-hour week). Note: the work is identical, though men are working to 100 per cent. accuracy, women to 90–95 per cent. accuracy." Employers' reply to question whether the work and its conditions are identical: "No. Heavy work done by male labour, lighter by female. Men also do such lighter work as requires high grade accuracy."

what constitutes ' work commonly performed by women in the industry ' and it is apparently to such differences that the lack of smooth working of the women's war relaxation agreement in this industry is largely due.

The clothing trades

Introductory

176. The clothing trades which are covered by the following paragraphs include the various branches of both men's and women's tailoring and the making of dresses, blouses, shirts, collars, ties, overalls, and underclothing (excluding knitted goods). The boot and shoe manufacturing and hosiery industries are dealt with separately. The clothing trades as so defined accounted in 1931 for a personnel of nearly 550,000, of whom 146,000 were males and nearly 400,000 females. Of these, 98,000 men and 325,000 women, or 423,000 in all, were operating employees. These industries had been undergoing, for a considerable period before the war, a continuous development in methods of production which materially affected the classes of workers employed. The changes involved and their consequences are usefully summed up in the following passage from the Home Office Report of 1929 on " Women in Industry ".* " During recent years, the decline of the bespoke branch of the tailoring and dressmaking trades in favour of the ready-made clothing branches, coupled with the utilisation of electric power, has converted the clothing trade . . . into a factory industry. Side by side with the increase of power sewing-machines has grown up a system of sub-division of processes to such an extent that it has eliminated the necessity of much individual skill, and the handicraft worker is now only employed on the highest class of work. Men have retained a large proportion of what skilled work remains, the other processes are for the most part carried out by women. In the manufacture of lighter clothing such as underclothing, shirts, etc., the processes are practically all done by women, even the cutting, for which electrically propelled knives are used ; and in the heavier work of tailoring very few processes are now carried out only by men. Even pressing, until recently a man's job (with the exception of seam pressing), has been revolutionised by the use of steam presses which can easily be manipulated by a woman . . . Almost the only process entirely left to men is that of cutting . . ."

177. This process of evolution, which by no means ceased in 1930, had—almost inevitably—reached different stages in different parts of the field ; and this fact rendered the search for an overlap area one of great difficulty. In regard to this matter we had some evidence from the two sides of the industry but it was not very specific. The Trades Union Congress stated that " apart from certain operations such as cutting in the wholesale clothing and mantle and costume sections of the trade, there was an obvious similarity between the types of work performed by male and female workers in the clothing trades . . . In all the lighter sections of the trade " (i.e., the non-tailored garments sections such as dresses, blouses, shirts, overalls, underclothing, etc.) " the proportion of female workers employed even in the cutting rooms was if anything higher than that of men " ; and, in particular, pressing was mentioned as an operation in the garment trade in which men and women were employed on identically the same work. Mr. (now Sir Herbert) Kay, the Secretary of the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Federation of Great Britain, expressed on the other hand the view that there would be only a small proportion of cases in the clothing trades where men and women were doing the same job. Apart from these rather general statements, the Wages

* Cmd. 3508 of 1930.

Council for the ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring trade (which trade is typical of all the heavy end of the sewing trades) gave us the following information regarding the overlap areas in this branch of work. As regards cutters, one firm only is known to employ female ' measure ' cutters ; otherwise measure cutting is done by men. A few women are known to be employed as ' knife ' cutters but the number is small and knife cutting is not a usual employment for women. On the other hand, while the Trade Unions originally discouraged the employment of women on any cutting operations, cutting having been traditionally regarded as men's work, women have now been introduced into the work of cutting and trimming (other than measure and knife cutting) and men and women are both employed thereon, covering approximately the same variety of occupations. Fitting-up is another occupation in which both sexes are found. In ' tailoring ', by which is meant sewing by hand, the great mass of the work is done by women, but there are also considerable numbers of men employed in it. This operation embraces a wide range of processes from elementary finishing to the skilled work of lapel making ; and while the women are employed in all the operations, the men are to be found mainly on the skilled parts of the work. Pressing is an operation now performed by workers of both sexes, and many women are found on pressing, particularly on machine presses. The work of machining, pressing, under-pressing and warehousing, particularly the first named, is largely performed by women. On the other hand, the work of packers and porters is mainly in the hands of men. The Wages Council also brought to our notice two joint agreements in the trade, dated respectively January, 1938, and May, 1941, which throw some light on the question of overlap in this branch of work. The former agreement, while it specified *inter alia* that the operations of trimming and fitting-up or fixing were generally recognised as jobs on which women were and would continue to be employed, also clearly implied that men were to some extent employed on this work and expressly provided that neither would men so employed be replaced by women nor would the employment of women on these operations be extended on any scale. The agreement of May, 1941, provided that, for the period of the war only, women employed on (*a*) cutting, (*b*) marking-in or marking-up, (*c*) laying-up, and (*d*) chopping-out (for which the Wages Council have provided (July, 1946) general minimum time-rates for adult men and women of 2s. 2d. and 1s. 4d. an hour respectively and piece-work basis time-rates of 2s. 4d. and 1s. 5½d. an hour respectively) should, after an aggregate probationary period of 33 weeks, be paid the full minimum rate for men ; and the agreement went on to apply the same arrangement to women replacing adult men on fitting-up or trimming.

178. The minimum rates of wages fixed by the Wages Council (general minimum time-rates and piece-work basis time-rates—the Council not having fixed minimum piece-rates) are in all cases considerably lower for women than for men ; and the figures of rates for cutting, etc., quoted in paragraph 177 above are not unrepresentative of the general relationship of the minimum rates for the two sexes. The Wages Council informed us that when it originally fixed minimum rates the Trade Board (the predecessor of the Wages Council) had the task of providing minimum rates for a trade in which men and women were employed at widely different rates. Women were little organised and accepted lower rates in order to secure entry to the trade. The Board addressed itself to the situation as it was and attempted to put a floor to the wages structure and in adopting differential rates it followed what was the existing practice of the trade and of industry generally. In arriving at the actual rates, regard was had to the usual considerations present in wage negotiations.

As already explained in paragraph 152, the fixing by a Wages Council of differential piece-work basis time-rates for men and women does not in itself necessarily imply that the piece-rates paid to the two sexes are correspondingly differentiated or are differentiated at all: and, as will be seen from what follows in paragraphs 187 and 194 below, in a number of cases actually investigated of men and women employed on identical work in these industries, the piece-rates paid to the two sexes were in a majority of the instances found to be identical.

179. None of the evidence we received and none of the other information we were ourselves able to assemble carried us much nearer our goal of being able to assess the relative importance of the overlap in this group of industries and to ascertain the relative wage-rates and earnings of men and women employed in the overlap area. In these circumstances we had resort to a special enquiry on a sample basis into the clothing trades in London and Leeds, except as respects raincoat manufacturing, the enquiry into which was made in Manchester.* The following is a summary of the main results of this enquiry (excluding raincoat manufacturing which is dealt with in paragraphs 190 to 198 below).

Scope of the investigation

180. The enquiry embraced 72 firms employing in all 16,355 manual workers of whom just over 4,000 were men of 21 and over, nearly 9,000 women of 18 and over, and the remainder youths, boys and girls. Only the men and women were included in the scope of the enquiry. The industries covered by the inquiry included retail bespoke tailoring, ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring, wholesale mantle and costume manufacture, dress making (excluding the retail branch), shirt, overall, etc. manufacture, and tie making. The establishments visited were of various sizes, ranging from those employing four and five workers to one employing between four and five thousand.

Extent of the overlap area

181. Of the 72 firms, 40 stated that none of their men and women were on work which was either identical or similar, 27 had some of their men and women on identical work (whether or not they had men and women also on similar work) and 5 had men and women on similar work but none on identical work. Of the 4,024 men and 8,924 women workers who came within the purview of the enquiry, 219 men and 453 women were engaged on identical work and 69 men and 109 women on work which the firms regarded as similar but not identical. This means that rather more than 7 per cent. of the men employed by these firms were doing work which was either identical with or similar to the work being done by some women in the same firm, and rather more than 6 per cent. of the women were doing work either identical with or similar to the work being done by some men in the same firm. These figures take no account of any men employed at a factory on work on which no women were employed at that factory but whose work may nevertheless have been identical with or similar to the work done by women at another factory. Thus, men employed on say Hoffman presses in a factory in which no women were employed on Hoffman presses are not included in the above figures, although their work may be similar to that of women Hoffman pressers working at another factory where no men were so employed. The percentages given accordingly represent the minimum overlap in men's and women's work in these industries. From other information which is available about these industries, it would seem that the actual overlap areas are greater than the percentages stated indicate, though how much greater it is not possible to say.

* See footnote § on p. 51.

182. It would be idle to pretend that the size of the sample was anything but minute in relation to that of the industries concerned. Moreover, the investigating officers might naturally be expected to seek the overlap areas where they were most likely to be found. At the same time, even allowing for this last-mentioned factor, the sample cannot, we think, so far diverge from a good sample in the statistical sense as to be worthless as a measure of the order of the size of the overlap in this industry. Even disregarding completely the cases—which in our view are likely to be of quite considerable importance—in which men at one establishment are engaged in work identical with or similar to that of women in other establishments, and regarding only the cases of identical or similar work in the same establishment, the minimum overlap area in this industrial group would appear, on the basis of the numbers of workers referred to in paragraph 176 and the percentage figures referred to in paragraph 181, to be of the order of twenty-five to thirty thousand workers. The actual overlap area, not excluding that in different establishments, might not inconceivably embrace twice or thrice this number of workers.

Character of the overlap area

183. The character of the overlap is shown by the following table giving the numbers of each sex engaged in each occupation in which men and women were found to be doing identical work.

Occupation	Men		Women		Total (men and women)
	Time-workers	Piece-workers	Time-workers	Piece-workers	
Hoffman pressers	94	9	63	69	235
Other pressers (underpressers, top pressers and pressers undefined).	50	—	33	18	101
Total pressers . . .	144	9	96	87	336
Passers	9	—	53	—	62
Machinists	22	14	24	169*	229
Baisters	7	1	6	6	20
Vest makers (retail bespoke tailoring) ...	2	2	2	3	9
Trouser makers (retail bespoke tailoring)	—	2	—	1	3
Sewing in sleeves (ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring).	—	2	—	2	4
Alterations and repairs (retail bespoke tailoring).	—	1	—	1	2
Cutters	4	—	3	—	7
Total	188	31	184	269	672

* 150 of these were employed at one firm.

184. It will be observed that half the total number of workers included in the table are pressers. These pressers were employed at 18 firms, nearly all of which were either in the ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring or the wholesale mantle and costume trade—the heavy end of, respectively, men's and women's garment making. At fourteen firms at least (all engaged in the ready-made or retail bespoke tailoring or wholesale mantle trades) all the pressing was done by men and at 8 firms (mainly dressmaking and tie manufacturing) all the pressing was done by women.

Similar but not identical work

185. The following table giving the occupations in which men and women were engaged in the same firm in similar but not identical work shows that, as in identical work, practically half the workers concerned were pressers: and all of these were found in the ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring trade.

Occupation	Men		Women		Total (men and women)
	Time-workers	Piece-workers	Time-workers	Piece-workers	
Hoffman pressers	28	—	4	42	74
Underpressers	6	—	4	—	10
Passers	18	—	14	—	32
Machinists	2	—	27	—	29
Tailors (ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring)	2	—	1	—	3
Baisters (ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring)	2	2	3	2	9
Coatmakers (retail bespoke tailoring) .	3	—	1	—	4
Cutters	5	—	10	—	15
Stockkeepers . . .	1	—	1	—	2
Total	67	2	65	44	178

The differences between the work of men and women in these cases consist usually in men and women working on different garments, different qualities of goods, different portions of a garment; or are differences between heavy and light work. Thus a woman coatmaker in the retail bespoke tailoring trade may be working on light materials only, using a lighter iron for pressing, and using a treadle sewing-machine instead of a power-driven machine. A man baister may be employed on under baisting and a woman on outer baisting. Men Hoffman pressers may be pressing collars and coats only, and women pressing vests and trousers. A man cutter may be using a band-knife machine on the heavier and coarser materials, while a woman may use a hand-knife on the finer and better class materials. A man passer may examine overcoats and coats only, while a woman examines vests and trousers only.

In none of these cases is there evidence to prove that the difference in work is commensurate with the difference in wage rates.

Rates of payment for and earnings on identical work

Time-workers

186. At nearly every firm the time-rates paid to the women are considerably lower than those paid to the men. Taking the simple average of all the men and all the women enumerated in the table in paragraph 183, the following results are obtained.

	Average hourly rate		Women's average rate as percentage of men's average rate
	Men	Women	
	s. d.	s. d.	
Hoffman pressers	2 9	1 9½	65
Other pressers . ..	2 11	2 0	69
Other occupations	3 6½	1 11½	55
All occupations	2 11¾	1 11	64

It is probable that the results shown above give a fairly accurate summary of the relative wage-rates of the men and women concerned; and are sufficient to demonstrate that, on average, the women's rates are considerably less than the men's rates.

Piece-workers

187. At 12 firms only were both men and women found to be engaged at piece-rates of wages on identical work, the number of workers concerned being 31 men and 172 women. 150 of the 172 women were located at a single firm.

At 10 of these firms the same piece-rates were paid to both men and women; at the remaining two firms the women were being paid piece-rates which were lower than the men's piece-rates.

At the 10 firms where equal piece-rates were paid the average of the men's earnings in one week was 151s. 10d. or about 7½ per cent. greater than the women's average of 141s. 3d., but the average earnings per hour were practically the same for men and women (3s. 4¼d. for men and 3s. 4d. for women). The statistical basis of this calculation is, however, very slender since the workers concerned numbered only 16 men and 14 women.

At one of the two firms where unequal piece-rates were paid the men's rates for the operation of piecing-up were about 10 per cent. higher than the women's rates. The men's work covered a complete garment while the women's work was subdivided into five sections, and the difference in piece-rates was said to offset the additional supervision and overhead charges involved in the system under which the women worked. The actual earnings were roughly proportionate to the difference in the piece-rates.

At 6 firms women on the same work as the men were being paid at piece-rates while the men were on time-rates. The average hourly time-rate of the 89 men concerned was 2s. 7¾d. as compared with the average hourly earnings of 2s. 2¾d. of the 105 women.

Differences in the hourly rate of earnings of men and women piece-workers when engaged in occupations in which no discrimination is made in piece-work prices according to sex may be due to other factors than the mental or physical capacity of the individual. One such other factor is the allocation of work in cases where, within the range of a single occupation, there are piece-rates of varying amounts for different items of work.

Rates of payment for and earnings on similar but not identical work

188. At all the 11 firms where there were men and women engaged on work regarded as similar, the hourly time-rates of the women were lower than those of the men. The average rates of the 59 men and 65 women so employed were 2s. 10½d. and 1s. 9d. per hour, respectively, the women's average being about 61 per cent. of the men's, a slightly lower proportion than in the case of men and women time-workers on identical work.

At two firms there were 25 men and 42 women Hoffman pressers on similar work, the men being paid at time-rates and the women at piece-rates. At one of these firms the women's average hourly earnings exceeded the men's average time-rate.

Very few instances were revealed of men and women piece-workers being engaged on similar, but not identical, work.

Reasons for differences in wage-rates for men and women on identical work

189. The reasons adduced by the employers or their agents to explain the differences in rates of wages paid to men and women on identical work were usually one or more of the following:—

(1) The superior record of men as compared with women in regard to attendance and timekeeping;

(2) the larger and more consistent output of men;

(3) the superior skill and greater experience of men;

(4) the fact that payment of men and women at the firm was based on the skill and experience of the individual worker, or on a combination of merit pay and the Wages Council minimum rates;

(5) the greater domestic responsibilities of men;

(6) the differentiation between the rates of wages of men and women made by the Wages Councils' Orders.

The reasons were expressed usually in the form of generalisations without reference to particular individuals, and no statistical data regarding absenteeism or output were produced beyond the figures of earnings and hours worked.

Raincoat manufacturing

Extent of the overlap area

190. The enquiry in the raincoat manufacturing industry was made in Manchester, one of the principal centres of this branch of the clothing trades, and embraced 12 firms employing just over 2,000 wage-earners, of whom 350 were men of 21 years of age or over, 1,380 women of 18 years or over and the rest youths, boys and girls. It was stated that the proportion of male workers employed had declined considerably in recent years. Seven of the twelve firms stated that none of their men or women was on work which was identical or similar. Of the 350 men and 1,380 women who came within the purview of the enquiry 35 men and 101 women were engaged in occupations in which the work was identical for men and women, and 15 men and 6 women in occupations in which the work was regarded by the firms as similar but not identical. Thus about 14 per cent. of the men and nearly 8 per cent. of the women were doing work which was identical with or similar to the work being done by some workers of the opposite sex in the same firm. As in the case of the branches of the clothing industry already dealt with, these percentages are a measure of the order of the minimum size of the overlap area.

Character of the overlap area

191. The occupations in which men and women were found to be doing identical or similar work are shown in the following tables.

Occupations in which men and women were employed on identical work

Occupation	Men		Women		Total (men and women)
	Time-workers	Piece-workers	Time-workers	Piece-workers	
Machinists	3	28	1	96	128
Hoffman pressers	1	1	3	—	5
Underpressers	2	—	1	—	3
Total	6	29	5	96	136

Occupations in which men and women were employed on work which is similar but not identical.

Occupation	Men		Women		Total (men and women)
	Time-workers	Piece-workers	Time-workers	Piece-workers	
Hoffman pressers	—	3	—	1	4
Underpressers	1	—	1	—	2
Tailoring	2	—	3	—	5
Cutting*	9	—	1	—	10
Total	12	3	5	1	21

* Mantles and costumes as well as raincoats.

192. The difference between the work of men and women in cases in which the work was similar but not identical was in general that the men did the whole of a job and the women only a part (as e.g., in the case of cutters, the men cut garments throughout, the women cut linings and trimmings only; in the case of pressers, the men pressed garments throughout and the women pressed collars and shoulders only); or that the men did the more important operations (as e.g., in the case of tailoring, the operations of putting collars on by hand, putting sleeves in by hand and baisting under were performed only by men, while tacking and baisting was mainly done by women).

Rates of payment for and earnings on identical work

Time-workers

193. The average of the hourly rate for the six men was 2s. 6¾d. and that of the five women 1s. 9½d., or about 70 per cent. of the man's average rate.

Piece-workers

194. Twenty-eight men and 96 women at four firms were found to be engaged on identical work in the machining throughout of a complete garment, at piece-rates of wages. Each of the four firms stated that the same piece-rates were paid to men and women. Particulars of the weekly earnings and hours worked were obtained in the case of 20 men and 72 women at 3 firms, and yielded the following averages :—

	Weekly earnings	Hours worked	Average hourly earnings
	s. d.		s. d.
20 men ...	136 8	38½	3 7
72 women ...	80 10	34⅞	2 3¾

The women's average hourly earnings were thus about 64½ per cent. of those of the men.

The above results are vitiated to some extent by the fact that at one firm the particulars of 5 men and 34 women related to the week in which Whit Monday occurred. If the figures for these workers were excluded, the averages of the remaining 15 men and 38 women would be as follows :—

	Weekly earnings	Hours worked	Average hourly earnings
	s. d.		s. d.
15 men ...	153 7	40¾	3 9¼
38 women ...	105 10	39	2 8½

The women's average hourly earnings in this case are nearly 72 per cent. of those of the men. A small part of the difference between the earnings of men and women is due to the flat-rate hourly war bonus being rather less for women than for men.

195. The rate of hourly earnings varied considerably as between different individuals, as will be seen from the following figures :—

Hourly earnings	No. of men	No. of women
Under 1s. 6d.	—	13
1s. 6d. and under 1s. 9d. ...	2	9
1s. 9d. ,, 2s. ..	—	11
2s. ,, 2s. 3d. ...	1	6
2s. 3d. ,, 2s. 6d. ...	—	7
2s. 6d. ,, 2s. 9d. ...	2	8
2s. 9d. ,, 3s. ...	2	4
3s. ,, 3s. 3d. ...	1	6
3s. 3d. ,, 3s. 6d. ...	1	2
3s. 6d. ,, 3s. 9d. ...	—	2
3s. 9d. ,, 4s. ...	3	3
4s. and over	8	1
	20	72

196. There exists in this industry a standard price list for machining agreed between the North West and District Clothing Manufacturers' Association and the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, which came into operation in October, 1943, and which provides piece-rates for machining which are payable irrespective of the sex of the worker. The prices in the list are subject to certain war-time advances which consist of both percentage additions and flat-rate hourly amounts. The percentage additions are the same for men and women but the flat-rate amounts are slightly higher for men than for women.

Rates of payment for and earnings on work which is similar but not identical

197. As regards the time-workers, the average of the hourly time-rates of the 12 men concerned was 2s. 9½d. and that of the 5 women 1s. 7¾d., or nearly 59 per cent. of the men's average. In the case of the 3 men and 1 woman shown as employed in Hoffman pressing on piece-work (all at one firm), the men were pressing garments throughout and the woman pressing collars and shoulders only. The rates paid are accordingly not comparable. The earnings of the woman were lower than those of the men.

198. The only reason given for the difference in time-rates for men and women on identical work was that Wages Council rates and Trade Union rates showed differences.

The hosiery industry

199. The position in the Midlands hosiery industry regarding the employment of men and women on common work and in segregated occupations has been explained to us in a statement by the Secretary of the National Hosiery Manufacturers' Federation, with which the Secretary of the National Union of Hosiery Workers, though not a signatory to the statement, is, we are informed, in general agreement. Common work is mainly confined to (*a*) knitting and (*b*) countering (i.e. the matching, pairing and boxing of hose, prior to their being finally packed into cases). The operations of making-up (machining), seaming (joining selvedges), linking (joining toes of hose, ribs of shirts and pants, etc.), overlocking and flatlocking are regarded as exclusively female provinces. It is not possible to form even an approximate estimate of the numbers of men and women who are employed on operations common to both sexes. In both of the common operations—knitting and countering—the women are believed to be in a minority. As regards knitting, the number of machines operated by a worker depends on the particular garments or fabrics being knitted: but women normally operate a smaller number of machines than men. The industry is mainly a piece-rate industry, and generally speaking identical piece-rates are paid to members of the two sexes for the same work, both in knitting and in countering; and the other conditions of employment are identical.

200. It was stated to us in evidence by the Trades Union Congress that before the war, while in some cases identical piece-rates were paid for the same work, in other cases differential piece-rates were paid, varying according to factory or district: and particulars of two specific cases of differential piece-rates were brought to our notice which were referred to the employers' organisation for comment. Both cases were concerned with the knitting of women's seamless hose and in both it appeared that lower piece-rates had been paid to the women than to the men. The matter was disposed of on the coming into operation in April, 1945, as the result of a collective agreement between the Seamless Hose Manufacturers of Great Britain and the National Union of Hosiery Workers, of a new piece-price list for knitting women's seamless hose which makes no differentiation in the piece-rates for the two sexes. In commenting on the fact that in certain cases it had been found necessary to give women a smaller number of machines to work than men, the National Hosiery Manufacturers' Federation said it was hoped that ultimately all seamless hose knitting-machines would be worked by male operators.

File-cutting

201. Men and women are both engaged in the occupation of file-cutting by machinery in Sheffield and in South Staffordshire and Birmingham. In 1931, the numbers employed were about 1,600 all told, the men numbering half as many again as the women, and about 1,450 of the workers being found in Sheffield and about 150 in South Staffordshire and Birmingham. In Sheffield separate piece-price lists exist for the two sexes, the list for women containing prices for a smaller range of work than for men, e.g. not including prices for types of files beyond a certain specified length. For work of the same description the women's piece-rates are lower than those for men: and the reason given is that the women require more supervision than the men and also require help in the adjustment of their machines. In South Staffordshire and Birmingham also it is stated that the women require more supervision than the men and the piece-price list provides that women and girls shall receive the men's rates less 10 per cent. for supervision.

Box and packing-case making in London

202. An agreement of 1936 and a further agreement of October, 1942, between the London employers and the Trade Union contained rules regarding the classes of work in which female labour might, and might not, be employed. The agreements also provided that " where females are working piece-work they shall receive the same piece-work rates as those paid to adult male labour for a similar class of work. All piece-work prices to be fixed by male adult labour in conjunction with the females and the employers." There thus appears to have been a degree of segregation between the classes of work to be done by women and by men but also a certain range of common work. The restrictions on the employment of women were later relaxed for the duration of the war. The numbers employed in box and packing-case making in London in 1931 was between 1,600 and 1,700, of whom the large majority were men. It would appear, however, that since that time there has been a large influx of female labour into this trade and both the actual number of workers and the proportion of females to males may now be much higher.

203. In 1944 the Joint Industrial Council for the packing-case making trade established national minimum time-rates which are now (1946) 1s. 5½d. and 2s. 2d. an hour for adult female and male box-makers respectively, the women's rate being about 67 per cent. of the men's rate. There is no information, however, as to whether men and women employed on time-work in this trade are engaged in identical work.

The pottery industry

204. The Trades Union Congress informed us that in the pottery industry, in which over 85 per cent. of the workers are employed on piece-work, men and women are engaged to a large extent on identical or similar work ; that women are employed in the making of cups, saucers, plates, teapots, jugs, etc. under the same conditions as men ; and that on the average women's piece-work prices are about two-thirds of the men's. They also stated that in this industry the demarcation between men's and women's work was largely undefined. The Home Office Report of 1929 on " Women in Industry " stated that most of the work in this industry was piece-work and the rates for women were in general substantially lower than the rates for men. The one overlap area which we have been able to identify is that of earthenware cup and saucer making, the only two processes in which piece-rates have been established for the whole of the industry by collective agreement. In these processes both lower piece-prices and lower bonuses are paid to women than to men. The piece-prices for women range for the different articles between about 85 per cent. and 87 per cent. of the men's piece-prices : the men's bonus is 24s. and

the women's 18s. a week. According to censuses taken in the industry, the total numbers of earthenware cup and saucer makers in 1936 was 553, of whom about 60 were men and 500 women and in 1945 was about 400, of whom 24 were men and 368 women. Thus, in this branch of work the proportion of men to women is small (about 12 per cent. in 1936) and is diminishing (about 6.5 per cent. in 1945): and it appears that men are only employed for some special reason e.g., as being elderly potters not able to make any other article, or as being trainee plate-makers. The employers have stated that, in addition to earthenware cup and saucer making, men and women perform similar types of work at piece-work prices for making articles of dinner and tea ware from clay: but that taking the industry as a whole it cannot be said that the men's rates and the women's rates are for identical work. "Generally it can be said that the articles made by women are the less difficult shapes and the smaller sizes."*

Furniture making

205. The Trades Union Congress informed us that cases had arisen in furniture making in which the basing of the piece-rates for men and women on the differential time-rates which applied to the two sexes led to differential piece-prices, contrary to the claim of the employers that for identical work under precisely the same conditions men and women were always paid the same piece-rates. It appears that this is mainly a time-work trade and that only a minority of the workers work on piece-work (often in the form of 'task work'). A new national agreement for this trade was signed in February, 1946, which makes provision for equating the time-rates for women employed on men's work to those for men on similar work. It is not clear what effect this provision would have on the relative piece-prices for men and women when they are employed on piece-work, in so far as piece-working operates in this industry.

French polishing in the furniture trade

206. Men and women are stated by the Trades Union Congress to have been engaged before the war in identical work in french polishing and spraying in the furniture trade. The minimum rates of the joint agreements varied from district to district but a typical relationship between the women's and men's rates in 1939 was that of 1s. 1½d.: 1s. 8½d. (66 per cent.). There is now a national agreement under which the women's rates are about 67 per cent. of the men's. The number of workers returned in the 1931 census as being french polishers in the furniture trade was about 21,000, of whom over 15,000 were males and nearly 6,000 females.

Fustian cutting by hand

207. The Trade Board (now Wages Council) for the fustian cutting trade has fixed the same general minimum piece-rates for men and women and workers of both sexes were employed on the work. The numbers employed in 1930 were nearly 1,200, of whom the majority were women. The cutting of fustian by hand was, however, already being superseded by machine cutting when the Trade Board was established in 1931. The whole fustian cutting industry came practically to a standstill during the war and hand cutting, at least, is hardly likely to revive. The case is mentioned here, however, since historically it is instructive (see paragraph 222 below).

Silk spinning and power-loom weaving in Macclesfield

208. Time-rates of wages for silk spinners in Macclesfield are provided by a joint agreement which differentiates between men and women. The women's time-rate, in the case of both single-thread spinners and two-fold spinners, is

* Information supplied by the British Pottery Manufacturer's Federation.

about 80 per cent. of the corresponding men's time-rate. The total number of workers in 1931 does not appear to have exceeded a few hundred. Men and women appear to have been employed in power-loom weaving in the Macclesfield silk industry on the same piece-rates. The number of workers employed in 1931 was about 500 males and 1,700 females—a total of about 2,250.

Printing-machine feeding in London

209. Both men and women are employed as machine feeders in the printing trade and a joint agreement relating to this work in London provides identical time-rates of wages for male and female machine feeders on certain specified machines. It appears that, in general, the men are employed on the larger machines. The rates for day-work range from 99s. 6d. to 111s. according to type of machine. The agreement provides that the above rates shall be paid to female feeders in all cases in which they perform the usual work of an assistant, i.e. feeding, washing up, lifting paper on to feed board and taking printed paper down. In cases, however, where other labour is engaged for part of this work, certain adjustments are to apply, viz. a reduction of 8s. per week where the feeders are doing no work other than the actual feeding, a reduction of 4s. per week where, in addition to feeding, the feeder is lifting paper on to the board or is lifting paper down and a reduction of 4s. per week where in addition to feeding the feeder washes up.

The made-up textiles trade

210. In the oilskin clothing section of the made-up textiles trade (which is subject to a Wages Council) male and female workers are engaged in identical work in the following occupations, viz. (i) cutting, (ii) machining, and (iii) dressing or water-proofing of the cloth. (It appears that as regards machining, the number of male workers is decreasing and the work is now mainly confined, so far as men are concerned, to elderly workers). The minimum time-rates of wages (general minimum time-rates and piece-work basis time-rates) fixed by the Wages Council, for these, as for all other operations in the trade, are lower for women than for men, the general minimum time-rate for women employed as cutters or sewing machinists being 1s. 0½d. per hour or 62·5 per cent. of the rate of 1s. 8d. per hour for men similarly employed. The corresponding percentage for workers employed in dressing or waterproofing is 64·7 per cent.; and the relationship between the piece-work basis time-rates for the two sexes does not differ materially from that of the general minimum time-rates. The Wages Council explain that in fixing differential general minimum time-rates and piece-work basis time-rates for men and women they were following the custom in the trade and in general industry. We do not know, however, whether and, if so, to what extent workers on the common operations in this trade are employed on piece-work: or, if they are so employed, whether the men and women are paid the same or differential piece-prices. As we have seen in other sections of the clothing industry (paragraph 187) the payment of identical piece-rates to men and women is quite common, notwithstanding the fixing by the Wages Council of differential piece-work basis time-rates for the two sexes. In the present case we are without information on the matter.

211. It may be added that under a war-time agreement made in October, 1941, between the Trade Union and the six firms concerned, provision was made that women cutters employed in the manufacture of anti-gas clothing should, after 52 weeks at various lower rates, receive the full male rate.

212. It appears from statements made to us by the Wages Council and h Made-up Textiles Association Ltd. (which represents the employers in the heavy section of the trade, viz., the manufacture of tarpaulins, tents,

marquees, camp equipment, etc., as contrasted with the lighter work of oilskin clothing manufacture) that, apart from oilskin and anti-gas clothing, the work of this trade is largely beyond the compass of women because of its heavy nature, and that very few cases exist in which men and women are engaged in identical work. Where such cases do occur, the piece-rates are sometimes identical and sometimes lower for the women than for the men: and the women are stated to produce less than the men in a given time, thus earning less per hour even when the piece-rates paid are the same.

Drawing of machine brushes

213. Approximately equal numbers of men and women are employed in the drawing of machine brushes used principally in the textile trades, and the Wages Council which regulates minimum wage conditions in the brush and broom trade has fixed actual minimum piece-prices for this work. These are lower for women than for men, the women's rates ranging between about 53 per cent. and 64 per cent. of the men's rates. The Wages Council explain that when these piece-rates were originally fixed, they were computed so as to yield to members of the two sexes the respective piece-work basis time-rates for the two sexes. Probably, however, a more important factor in the differential is the fact that the piece-rates fixed for men are in respect of the processes of boring, drawing and trimming, whereas those fixed for women are in respect of drawing only.

Common processes in the rubber manufacturing industry

214. While most work in the rubber manufacturing industry is demarcated as men's or as women's work, for which differential minimum rates of wages are provided, a certain number of operations have been listed by the Wages Council for this industry as being men's work on which women may be employed and for which identical minimum rates (on the man's basis) are prescribed for the two sexes. Such work includes that of workers in charge of calendars, extruding machines, spreading machines or pans for vulcanising, and workers employed on dry or on wet mixing. The initial purpose of providing equal pay, on men's rates, for these operations is stated by the Wages Council to have been to discourage employers from putting women on them and to prevent sweated labour.

Processes in the stamped or pressed metal wares trade

215. The Wages Council for the stamped or pressed metal wares trade has provided general minimum time-rates and piece-work basis time-rates which differentiate between men and women in much the same way as do the minimum rates for the two sexes in Wages Council trades generally. It appears that in fixing the differential rates originally, the Trade Board had regard to existing agreements in the industry which followed tradition regarding differentiation between the sexes: and while there are stated to be instances, particularly in more recent times, when women would be employed on men's work and men on women's work, the question of special rates therefor seems never to have been considered.

Flax processing

216. Under an agreement between the employer's organisation, the Ministry of Supply and the Trade Unions concerned, rates of wages were fixed for men and women employed in various processes of flax processing. In the case of hand scutching piece-work operates, and the piece-prices for the women are 80 per cent. of the men's piece-prices. In a number of other processes the time-rates fixed for women are of the order of 76 per cent. to 78 per cent. of those for men.

Boot and shoe manufacturing

217. This industry has always employed a substantial number of female workers, the ratio of women to men prior to the war being estimated by the Trades Union Congress as roughly 2 : 3. For workers employed on time-work a national collective agreement has established general minimum day-wage rates which in 1939 were 61s. for adult males and 40s. for adult females and in January 1946, were 85s. for adult males and 62s. for adult females, irrespective of occupation, except for a provision that certain classes of workers are excluded from the application of these rates. The rates for piece-workers, according to the Ministry of Labour and National Service, are governed mainly by local piece-work statements applying to each of the chief manufacturing operations in separate towns or county areas, but subject to the general provision that the rates are to be so fixed as to give the average operative an earning capacity of 25 per cent. over the minimum day-wage rates. As most of the principal manufacturing departments are staffed almost wholly by males or by females, some of the individual piece-work statements are applicable to work which in practice is mainly allocated to male labour, and others to work which is mainly allocated to female labour. The clicking, press, lasting and finishing departments have been the men's preserves, and the closing and glossing or stock departments the women's preserves. A clause in the national agreement (of January 1938) provides that "it is undesirable that females should be employed amongst male operatives in the clicking, press, lasting and finishing departments, in which male labour is now almost exclusively employed. When females are employed, they shall receive the wage-rates appropriate to males when doing similar work : and that nothing in this clause shall prevent employers having specified operations done by female labour at female rates in connection with the clicking or press departments under separate working conditions, provided that such operations have been defined by the Local Arbitration Branch for their respective districts." The Trades Union Congress state that this clause has had a very limited application.

The relative earnings of men and women on common work

Cotton weaving

218. The particulars of weekly earnings published by the Ministry of Labour and National Service to which we have referred in paragraph 144 relate to large industrial groups, whereas, as we have seen, the strict overlap areas are in all cases of much more limited dimensions, being confined in some instances to a single occupation in a single district. No official statistics of earnings are available for such smaller industrial groups : nor unfortunately have we succeeded in most cases in securing unofficial estimates. Indeed for only one major overlap area—that of cotton weaving—are we fortunate enough to have adequate particulars. These are based on a census of earnings conducted among its members by the Weavers' Amalgamation in 1937, the returns from which were carefully analysed and summarised by Mr. E. M. Gray in his book "The Weaver's Wage."* In his introduction to this work Professor Jewkes states that Mr. Gray's findings, although based on material provided by the Trade Unions, "are wholly consistent with the evidence available on the employer's side". The following table and most of the factual material for the ensuing analysis is based on Mr. Gray's book, or on statements which he made to us in evidence.

* See footnote † to para. 156.

Weekly earnings for full-time employment of men and women cotton weavers of 21 years of age or over

Number of looms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 & over	Total
No. of male weavers	8	325	1,185	6,067	253	2,825	5	100	10,838
Percentage of male weavers...	0·07%	3·6%	10·9%	55·9%	2·3%	26·07%	0·05%	0·9%	100%
Average earnings of male weavers	£2 2 2	£1 18 10	£1 17 5	£2 0 3	£2 2 8½	£2 6 8½	£2 16 4	£3 4 4	£2 1 7‡
No. of female weavers	383	1,978	8,183	19,423	601	4,813	3	162	35,648
Percentage of female weavers	1·0%	5·5%	25·7%	54·5%	1·7%	13·7%	0·01%	0·5%	100%
Average earnings of female weavers... ...	£1 9 8	£1 9 5	£1 11 3	£1 17 9½	£1 18 11	£2 3 6½	£2 10 3	£2 11 11	£1 16 6‡
Average earnings of female weavers as percentage of those of male weavers.	70%	76%	83%	94%	91%	93%	89%	81%	87·7%

‡ *Note.*—This figure relates only to workers employed on not more than 6 looms. Payment for more than 6-loom working was on an entirely different basis from that for 1–6-loom working.

219. It is seen that in this by far the largest overlap area in manufacturing industry, the average weekly earnings of women on all the various systems of working up to and including six looms to a weaver was about 88 per cent. of the average weekly earnings of men on the same systems. The disparity between the relative earnings of the two sexes is due to a variety of factors, some of which have already been mentioned but all of which may conveniently be brought together at this point. These factors comprise : (i) the working by the men on the whole of larger numbers of looms and of wider and heavier looms ; (ii) the tendency on the part of some women, especially married women, even when nominally working a full week, to come a bit late and go a bit early, a loss of time which, though it may amount to only a few minutes a day, adds up in the course of the week ; (iii) the alleged tendency on the part of the women to work less strenuously than the men ; (iv) the practice on the part of some employers to allocate the better paying parts of the work to the men. Mr. Gray regards factor (iv) as one to which only a small part of the difference between men's and women's earnings can be attributed. The combined effect of the last three factors is presumably pretty accurately reflected in the relative average earnings of men and women on the two commonest loom complements, viz. four and six looms. It will be seen that the difference is no more than 6 or 7 per cent. This is indeed what we might expect ; for this is an occupation in which there is not much room for differences in output between workers, whether men or women, provided they are working on the same number of looms of similar type. The speed of the loom is dictated by technical factors and its output directly proportional to the period over which it is maintained in operation without breaks ; and the idiosyncracies of individuals only affect output in so far as one worker may be quicker or slower than another in mending the broken threads which are the principal cause of interruption in the running of the loom.

220. The prevalence of identical piece-rates for men and women appears to indicate that in this industry no great importance has hitherto been attached to these considerations of overall value which we have alluded to briefly in paragraph 10 and shall discuss more fully later. The occupation has hitherto been one which is picked up by the worker ' in the going '*. It is, moreover, much commoner in cotton weaving than in most industrial occupations for women both to continue in and to return to work after marriage. On the other hand it might be expected that the fact that men on the average work more looms than women would constitute a saving to the employer of overhead charges which, at identical piece-rates, would afford an inducement to extending the employment of men. This, however, is apparently not the case. Originally the piece-rates for six-loom weaving were fixed appreciably lower than for 4-loom weaving, the intention being to lower costs of production to the employer while still permitting higher wages to be earned. In 1935, however, the rates for the two systems were brought much closer together, and at the same time the employer under the six-loom system was required to provide certain auxiliary work, including cleaning and oiling and the carrying of weft and cloth, of which the weaver was relieved. As a result it was " generally agreed by the employers that the new bases have equated the prices on the various systems and will put a firm, irrespective of what system it is on, in a reasonably competitive position as compared with other firms on other systems ".† Under

* Latterly there have been signs of change in this respect. Definite schemes of training for weavers have been put into operation by a number of manufacturing concerns in Lancashire, particulars of which are set out in a pamphlet published in December, 1945, by the Recruitment and Training Department of the Cotton Board, entitled " Learning and Liking it—the Systematic Training of Juvenile Entrants in the Cotton Weaving Industry ".

† See para. 67 of Report dated 15th June, 1935, to the Minister of Labour by the Board appointed under Section I(i) of the Cotton Manufacturing Industry (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1934.

such conditions, the ability of the male weaver to work a larger number of looms appears to constitute no inducement to the employer to employ men rather than women.*

Other industries

221. Such information as we have been able to obtain about relative earnings in wool textile weaving and in the clothing trades has been set out in paragraphs 166–168, 186–188 and 193–197. In addition to this and to the detailed information regarding cotton weaving just given, we have certain statements of a general character made by the Ministry of Labour and National Service, based on wages enquiries made by the Department, which relate to earnings in one or two other overlap occupations. The Ministry state for example, in regard to beam warping in the cotton industry, that enquiries which have been made from time to time in past years have shown that, although the same piece-work rates are paid to men and women in this occupation, the actual earnings of the men engaged on beam warping have been higher on average than those of the women, mainly because the number of warping frames operated by the men has been greater on average than the number operated by the women. The evidence before the Atkin Committee was that in wool textile weaving and warping in Yorkshire, where men and women worked side by side, either as weavers or as warpers, the output and average earnings of the men were higher than those of the women.

222. An enquiry made by the Ministry of Labour in 1930 regarding the fustian cutting trade showed that the output and earnings of the men employed on the hand-cutting of slip goods and race goods, for which identical general minimum piece-rates operate for men and women, were considerably higher, on average, than those of the women. This was largely due to the fact that in general the men operated two knives and the women only one.

223. In hosiery also the earnings of women are, according to the Hosiery Manufacturers' Federation, lower than those of the men because of the smaller number of machines which they operate; but no particulars of earnings are available.

Summary of the position in manual work in industry

224. We must now attempt to summarise the position in manufacturing industry,† dealing first with the group of overlap areas where work is done on time-rates, and secondly, at greater length, with the group where it is done on piece-rates.‡ The first group, on any reasonably strict interpretation of 'overlap', appears to be small, though it is impossible to determine its precise extent. From the nature of the case, i.e. from the fact that the work is such that it has not been thought possible to put it on a piece-work basis, it is impossible to be sure how far the existing differentials reflect a difference in the average efficiency of the two sexes in the actual performance of the occupation in question; but there is reason to suppose that in some cases it over-reflects any such difference.

* Since the rates referred to were originally fixed in 1935, both they and other elements in the cost of production have undergone a number of changes, not all in the same degree: in consequence the Employers' Association find it impossible to say definitely what is the relationship to-day of the piece-rates for 4-loom and for 6-loom working, or whether the cost of production on 6-loom is or is not appreciably less than the cost of production on 4-loom working.

† This summary necessarily anticipates to some extent the enquiry into the causes of inequality of pay which will be undertaken in chapter VIII. We think, however, it is more conveniently placed at this point, so as not to overload that enquiry with factual detail.

‡ In what follows this expression will be used broadly to cover all systems of payment by results.

225. The overlap areas in which piece-work is the rule, though small relatively to the whole field of industry, are larger than those in which time-work is the rule, and the position with regard to them is more complicated. The most obvious line of division, though even this is not absolutely clear-cut, is between (i) occupations in which men and women are actually found to be working at identical piece-rates and (ii) occupations in which they are not.

226. The first of these classes of occupations, except for cotton weaving and hosiery (paragraphs 156, 199) is quantitatively not so important as first appears ; for in some cases where this situation prevails, (e.g. boot and shoe repairing), very few women are in fact employed, in others (e.g. wool weaving outside Huddersfield, Yeadon and Guiseley, and jute weaving, paragraphs 159 and 155) very few men. Where appreciable numbers of both sexes are employed, the average earnings of the men are generally higher than those of the women, the most common reason for this being that the men, at least on the average, operate more instruments (cotton, wool, hosiery and fustian cutting, paragraphs 219, 221, 223, 222). In the overlap area in the clothing industries, where this factor is absent, the small amount of evidence at our disposal does not suggest the existence of any difference in average earnings, except in some instances at least in the raincoat manufacturing trade (paragraphs 187, 194).

227. The second of these classes of occupations—those in which men and women are actually working at different piece-rates—appears to comprise at least four sub-classes.

(*a*) We have first a number of occupations in which men and women are working on piece-rates, whether derived from standing lists or from *ad hoc* determinations, which do not specifically differentiate between men and women, but the men are in fact working on some items and the women on others. This range of occupations covers some in which the tasks performed by women are almost completely demarcated (boot and shoe manufacturing, paragraph 217) and some in which the line of demarcation is very indistinct, since it turns on the extent—impossible to determine without the most meticulous enquiry—to which there is a custom in force of giving the men the better-paying work (clothing, paragraphs 153, 187). It also covers certain cases found in occupations mainly belonging to the first class referred to in paragraph 226 above, in which different piece-prices are fixed for work done on different instruments, and men are in fact working more difficult instruments (cotton, paragraph 156).

(*b*) Next we have a number of cases in which, while the piece-rates paid to men and women for jobs described in identical terms are different, the difference is moderate in amount—of the order of 10 per cent—is closely regulated by collective agreement, and is generally understood to be related to certain definite factors such as the amount of supervision required or the amount of help rendered in the setting or adjustment of machines (wool textile weaving in Huddersfield and file cutting, paragraphs 163, 201).

(*c*) Thirdly, we have a number of cases in which men and women are working at widely different piece-prices on jobs which are described in identical terms but in which it is claimed by the employers that there are in fact material differences in kind between the work performed by the men and that performed by the women (engineering and pottery, paragraph 175(*b*) and footnote, paragraph 204 *sub finem*).

(*d*) Finally, we have a number of cases in which the primary reason, at all events, for a wide difference in the piece-prices at which men and women are working on identically-described jobs is that these prices have been fixed with reference to minimum time-rates which differ as between the sexes more than in proportion to any difference there may be in their relative productivity (engineering and clothing, paragraphs 174, 189 (6) and also 152).

Evidently it is possible that a particular case should be an instance of (*c*) and (*d*) combined, i.e., the jobs done by men and women, though described by the same name, may actually differ in kind, but the extent of the difference in pay is arrived at by the process explained under (*d*).

228. It is this last class of cases, (*d*), which from the point of view both of analysis and of policy gives rise to the most difficult problems. At first sight it is difficult to see how such a situation, consistently with the pursuit by employers of their self-interest, can continue to exist. Where it *does* exist, it may give rise to a lively sense of injustice ; yet the consequences of attempting to alter it may be far from simple. To these matters we shall return in chapters VIII and XIII.

Manual work in Distribution

Numbers employed

229. The number of workers employed in the distributive trades in 1931 was just under 3 million, of whom one-third were women and two-thirds men.* These numbers and proportions had not changed appreciably by June, 1939.† Excluding non-manual workers (clerks, typists, commercial travellers, buyers and the like) and transport workers (carmen, motor drivers, van boys and van guards) and messengers (of which practically none are women), we are left with about 1,500,000 men and 700,000 women as the proper subject of study under this section. The census gives, as regards some sixteen trades which have both wholesale and retail sections, separate figures of the number of each sex employed in each of these sections. From these figures two important facts emerge. The wholesale sections of these trades account for only about one-fifth of the workers concerned, as against four-fifths in the retail sections. Moreover in the wholesale sections the ratio of women to men is about 1 : 4, whereas in the retail sections it is over 1 : 2. If the material were available (which it is not) to enable the numbers of non-manual workers and of transport workers to be excluded from these figures, the proportion of women in manual work in wholesale distribution would probably be found to be quite small.

Location and character of the overlap area

230. The principal manual occupations in the distributive trades are, apart from transport and messenger work, those of salesmen, saleswomen and shop assistants, of proprietors and managers of distributive businesses, of warehousemen, storekeepers and their assistants, of packers, wrappers, labellers and ticketers, and of roundsmen and van salesmen. Proprietors and managers of wholesale or retail distributive businesses, who account for nearly a quarter of the trade, will be largely, if not mainly, self-employed and to the extent to which they are not employed persons they do not come into our picture. Costermongers, hawkers, street sellers and newspaper sellers will in general not be persons employed under a contract of service and in any case they, together with roundsmen and van salesmen, warehousemen, porters and storekeepers, are almost exclusively male.

* Census of 1931.
† Statistics relating to the War Effort of the United Kingdom (Cmd. 6564).

The largest group of workers with whom we are concerned is therefore that of salesmen, saleswomen and shop assistants, who represent about 30 per cent. of the trade. The only other occupational groups in which workers of both sexes are employed in substantial numbers are those of packers, wrappers, labellers and ticketers, covering some 30,000 workers about equally divided between the sexes, and of warehouse and storekeepers' assistants who account for about 17,000 workers, of whom two-thirds are men and one-third women.

231. It thus appears that the principal field in which both men and women are employed in substantial numbers is that of shop assistants, and on a much smaller scale of heads of departments and branch and departmental managers (though the men in these two cases largely outnumber the women) in the retail trades. The work of van salesmen and of porters is almost exclusively, and the work of warehouse staff mainly, a male occupation. There are no separate particulars of the numbers of shop assistants alone employed in the various branches of retail distribution, but the figures for all workers, manual and non-manual, employed in each of the principal classes of retail trading throw a good deal of light on the position. The ratio of women to men varies considerably from trade to trade, but in the majority of cases the men outnumber the women: in meat (butchers) they are 9 to 1, in fish and poultry 6 to 1, in milk and dairy products over 4 to 1, in drysalting, oils and colours and in metals, metal goods and tools (ironmongers) 4 to 1, in grocery and provisions, in vegetable and fruit and in wines and spirits 3 to 1 and in books, newspapers and stationery and in drugs and druggists' sundries (pharmaceutical chemists) 2 to 1; in tobacco and in boots and shoes the numbers of men and women are about equal; while in drapery, hosiery, haberdashery, hats and millinery the number of women is twice, and in sugar confectionery three times, the number of men.

232. The figures set out in the three preceding paragraphs suggest that there is a considerable degree of segregation between the work of the sexes in this branch of industry, that a substantial potential field of identical work is to be found among shop assistants in retail distribution and that the extent to which overlap areas actually exist among this class of work is likely to vary much between one retail trade and another. This in fact proves to be the case: and in the view of the employers, the pervading and dominating element in determining how far the work of men and women shop assistants in any particular case is segregated or aggregated is found to lie in the factor of physical strength and muscular effort. Where heavy manual work has to be done, such as, for example, in milk distribution, in the pushing of milk barrows through the streets; in a number of trades, in the lifting of heavy rolls of material or heavy boxes off and on to shelves; in the provisions trade, in the handling of sides of bacon or sacks of sugar or boxes of butter; in the ironmongery trade, in the handling of bags of nails, refrigerators, and similar weighty articles, such heavy work will usually fall, even where both sexes are employed, to be done by the male members of the staffs; and while the men may spend part of their time in performing the same tasks as the women, the fact that they can also undertake, as the necessity arises, the heavier work which is beyond the capacity of the women, makes them more valuable employees. Thus in greengrocery the men are stated to do most of the heavy work and the early morning marketing while the women serve in retail quantities. In grocery and provisions, the provisions side is largely, but by no means wholly, in the hands of men and the grocery side of women. Ironmongery shops except on the lighter side are very largely staffed by males*. This element of physical strength, combined

* Memorandum by the Retail Distributive Trades Conference (Employers' Side), Part 15 of minutes of evidence.

with the unpleasant nature of the work, has no doubt been responsible for excluding women almost entirely from butchering and very largely from fishmongering. On the other hand, in shops for example such as those of boot and shoe retailers and tobacconists and in sweet shops it is difficult to see what essential differences there can be in the serving of customers whether it is performed by a man or a women. In the case of pharmaceutical chemists, it is claimed by the workers that men and women not only perform identical work but as dispensers are required to have the same professional qualification.

Another but less important factor in bringing about demarcation between the work of the sexes is the natural one which assigns to women the serving of women's clothing and to men the serving of men's clothing.

It is only fair to add that the Trade Unions consider that the element of physical strength as a factor in retail distribution can be overstressed ; and their general view is that this is a sphere of employment in which there can be no clear lines of demarcation between men's and women's work.

Extent of the overlap area

233. The evidence which we received from representatives of the two sides in retail distribution was consentient as to the location of the overlap areas : but there was a difference, at any rate of emphasis, as to the extent of the overlap. The Trades Union Congress went so far as to describe the work of male and female shop assistants as " work which involves precisely the same duties and can be described without qualifications as identical work." The Retail Distributive Trades Conference (Employers' Side) stated that " in the retail trades generally men and women are employed in the same class of work as managers, heads of departments, ... shop assistants " ; and " it would be generally true that a female would not be engaged precisely on the same work as a male although engaged on the same class of work ". The employers summed up their general view of the position by saying : " We have sought to show that there is what may be described as a ' black ' (male) and ' white ' (female) field of nominally common employment . . . . This leaves a smaller ' grey ' field of employment within which the women would be generally getting the same remuneration as men . . . . "

234. In connexion with the question of the importance of the physical basis for the assignment of tasks to the two sexes, it may be recorded here that the tendency in distribution generally would appear to be in the direction of reducing the call for muscular effort by shop assistants by reduction of size and weight of packages, better lay-out and so forth.

Rates of payment

235. With a fair knowledge of the location of the overlap area and not more than a very approximate idea of its potential maximum size, we may now proceed to review the position as to remuneration. Generally in the distributive trades pre-war joint agreements provided minimum weekly wage rates for women which for shop assistants ranged from 60 per cent. to 70 per cent. of the men's rates, rising to over 80 per cent. in the managerial grades.* These agreements related largely to firms members of the Multiple Grocers' Association and to retail co-operative stores. The minimum rates of wages in the milk distributive trade were determined by two Trade Boards (now Wages Councils), one for England and Wales and one for Scotland. The Scottish Trade Board fixed identical minimum time-rates for (*a*) foremen and forewomen (*b*) men and

* See Memorandum by the Trades Union Congress in Appendix VII to minutes of evidence II ; Qs. 3472–3484 ; and memorandum by Ministry of Labour and National Service in Appendix XI. 2 to minutes of evidence.

women engaged in collection and delivery by horse- or mechanically-driven vehicle and (*c*) roundsmen and roundswomen ; and a rate for women shop assistants which was 60 per cent. of the rate for men shop assistants. The Wages Council state, as regards the operations for which it fixed identical rates, that the jobs demand exactly the same work and the same amount of responsibility whoever performs them ; but the Employers' Side add that in fixing the rates it was appreciated that the effect would be that male workers would be retained on these operations in preference to female workers. In the case of England and Wales, the rates for the two sexes are different throughout. The pre-war minimum rates for women shop assistants in this trade ranged in the different areas from 59 per cent. to 64 per cent. of the men's rates ; and those for roundswomen ranged from 80 per cent. to 87 per cent. of the men's rates. The corresponding percentages at the present time (July, 1946) are from 66·7 per cent. to 70 per cent. in the case of shop assistants and from 81·1 per cent. to 86·2 per cent. in the case of roundsmen. This Wages Council explained that in fixing differential rates it had followed the general position of the trade and of industry generally.

236. Since the war, Joint Industrial Councils have been established for a number of retail distributive trades in England and Wales, including : retail food trades (covering grocers and provision dealers, retail fruit traders, fishmongers, cooked meats, fried fish and off-licence holders) ; retail drapery, outfitting and footwear trades ; retail bookselling, newsagency, stationery, tobacco and confectionery trades ; retail furnishing and allied trades (comprising the retail furniture and furnishing ; ironmongery and turnery ; china and glass ; hardware ; electrical goods ; cycles and accessories ; sports goods ; radio ; oils, paints and wallpaper trades) ; retail meat trade ; retail pharmacy ; and the hairdressing (including beauty specialists) craft. The rates for women (in July, 1946) under the retail food trades Joint Industrial Council range between 69 per cent. and 71 per cent. of the men's rates in the case of shop assistants, van salesmen and central warehouse staff and between 84 per cent. and 89 per cent. in the case of branch shop managers. We were informed by the Retail Distributive Trades Conference (Employer's Side) that most of the Joint Industrial Councils had fixed the same rates. The Retail Pharmacy Joint Industrial Council is not comprised within the Retail Distributive Trades Conference. The minimum rates fixed by this Council (operative as from 28th January, 1946) for qualified manageresses are about 92 per cent. of the corresponding rates for qualified managers, the rates for qualified women assistants range from about 90 per cent. to about 92 per cent. of the rates for qualified men assistants, the rates for women assistants who have completed a pupilage but not qualified range from about 84 per cent. to about 92 per cent. of the men's rates, and the rates for women shop assistants other than apprentices range from 71 per cent. to 73 per cent. of the men's rates. In retailing, the war thus seems to have brought about some closing of the percentage gap between the weekly remuneration of men and women ; and in the managerial grades at least the differentiation of work has also decreased. It is noteworthy that except in the case of co-operative stores there has been no ' substitution agreement ' parallel to those in manufacturing industry. There is one Joint Industrial Council in wholesale distribution—that for the wholesale grocery and provisions trade in England and Wales. The women's minimum rates for warehouse workers, vanguards, and mates are (April, 1944) about 66 per cent. of the men's minima. The rates paid by the Joint Industrial Councils are minimum rates and we were informed by the Retail Distributive Trades Conference (Employers' Side) that it was " a normal practice at least in the stores and I think in most drapery shops to pay a basic rate of wage and commission."

237. The reason for the differentiation in minimum rates for men and women which was advanced by the Employers' Side of the Retail Distributive Trades Conference, apart from the main factor based on differences in physique, was the greater 'loss risk' of women due to their shorter average working life and to higher absence rates on account of sickness and other causes.

238. The minimum wage-rates for grades of workers which are provided by the joint agreements in the cooperative movement and the decisions of the Joint Industrial Councils to which reference has been made above, no doubt represent a substantial measure of standardisation of work and of remuneration in a field of industry which, partly because of the large number of small concerns, was largely unorganised in this respect. The Joint Industrial Councils in retail distribution are, however, of recent origin: and we were informed by the Employers' Side of the Retail Distributive Trades Conference that because of the relatively low degree of organisation both among employers and workers in distribution, both sides in the industry were at one in regarding statutory backing for voluntary agreements as essential. In fact, the Joint Industrial Councils for the retail food trades, the retail drapery, outfitting and footwear trades, the retail furnishing and allied trades and the hairdressing (including beauty specialists) craft have already made application to the Minister of Labour and National Service under the Wages Councils Act, 1945, for the establishment of Wages Councils for their trades, on the ground that the existing machinery for the settlement of remuneration and conditions of employment is likely to cease to be adequate for that purpose and is likely to cease to exist; and these applications have been referred by the Minister to Commissions of Inquiry which are now sitting.

Summary

239. We may summarise our conclusions as to the facts regarding manual work in the distributive trades as follows:

(*a*) potential overlap areas are largely confined to the work of shop assistants and managers.

(*b*) the degree to which men and women shop assistants are engaged in identical work varies very much between one branch of retail distribution and another.

(*c*) there appears no doubt that in certain branches of retail distribution the work of women shop assistants is indistinguishable in all material respects from that of male shop assistants.

(*d*) the pre-war weekly minimum time-rates for women shop assistants ranged from about 60 per cent. to 70 per cent. of those of male shop assistants engaged in the same branch of retail distribution; the corresponding percentage in the case of the managerial grades rose to over 80 per cent. The pre-war gap between men's and women's minimum rates sensibly narrowed during the war.

(*e*) the only case in retail distribution in which the women's time-rates approach closely to those of the men is that of the qualified manageresses, qualified assistants and assistants who have completed a pupilage but not qualified, in the retail pharmaceutical chemists business. The women's rates in these cases rise to over 90 per cent. of the men's rates, but persons of these grades are perhaps more closely allied to members of the professions than to manual workers in distribution.

Non-manual work in Private Industry and Commerce

Numbers employed

240. The occupational group described in the 1931 census as ' Clerks and Draughtsmen (not Civil Service or Local Authority) ; Typists ' brings together from every branch of private industry, commerce, finance and transport a body of rather more than one and a half million persons of both sexes comprising secretaries and registrars of companies, institutions and charities, heads or managers of commercial office departments, draughtsmen, costing and estimating clerks, typists and other clerks. By far the largest group is that of ' other clerks ' which numbers rather over a million and is divided between the sexes in the proportion very roughly of 2 men to 1 woman. The other very large group consists of about 240,000 typists, of whom less than 2½ per cent. were men. Among the 60,000 draughtsmen only about 10 per cent. were women.

Location and character of the overlap area

241. While it is not possible to give any numerical estimate of the extent to which the work of so-called blackcoated workers is subject to demarcation by sex and how far it is common to men and women, certain facts stand out clearly. Thus typing and the operation of accounting machines are almost wholly segregated in the hands of women. Again, the field we are considering embraces on the one hand a minority of large concerns each of which will be employing blocks of workers engaged on the same or similar work and on the other hand a large majority of small or smallish concerns in which, to a great extent, each worker may well be doing a different job and at best not more than quite a few workers will be engaged on the same jobs. It is clear that in this last mentioned category of cases there is little opportunity for standardisation of either jobs or salaries ; and we should here seek in vain for any basis of comparison between the sexes in respect of work or of remuneration.

242. Among such concerns, however, as banks, insurance companies, friendly and approved societies, the railway companies, public corporations, large individual business houses and to a certain extent in manufacturing industry, a certain degree of standardisation of both work and pay had become established before the war and it is on the increase ; and in this part of the field there appears to be a definite and substantial overlapping between the work of the sexes, most largely in general clerical work. The Trades Union Congress and the British Employers' Confederation expressed somewhat different views as to the degree to which men and women were engaged in identical clerical duties, the former contrasting clerical occupations in this respect with manual work in industry in which demarcation has been the rule, the latter—who were, however, speaking only in relation to industry and not to the wider field including commerce and finance—tending to lay stress on " the different duties and responsibilities attaching to non-manual employment even in the same occupational grades."

243. It appears from the evidence we have had from the banking and insurance industries* that the opportunities for women were largely limited to routine clerical work or to general clerical work which, while being more than merely routine, was not of a highly skilled nature ; whereas, according to the Trades Union Congress,† in industrial and commercial offices women had greater scope although there was always a tendency for accounting work

* See Appendix XII, 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 to minutes of evidence.
† See Appendix VII to minutes of evidence.

to be more widely assigned to men than to women. Progress clerks in engineering shops and wages clerks at the actual collieries also, we were told, tended to be men, although clerical staffs at head offices would comprise both sexes. On the railways before the war, when about 12 per cent of the office staffs were women, " some of the work done by the women was closely similar in character to that done by male clerks." In general women have not yet succeeded to any very large extent in reaching the higher grades of administrative appointments in private industry and commerce.

244. The very limited extent to which women have attained to the higher posts in this field is to be explained, partly at least, by the limited opportunities which have been afforded them for adequate training. Representatives of the banking and insurance industries have described to us the reasons for this state of affairs. Men, they say, enter these industries as youths with the intention of making careers for life, and for the most part with the same employer until they retire on pension. To fit them later to assume positions of responsibility in a wide range of work they are, in their early years, given a long and thorough training, and an all-round experience—extending in the case of the Bank of England to at least five years. Women, on the other hand, enter these industries largely as a temporary occupation until marriage, an event which is frequently the occasion for enforced retirement. In the case of the Bank of England, it was stated, 60 per cent. of the women leave before completing ten years' service. (In the case of another large bank it is estimated that this percentage of leavers is reached before the completion of 8 years' service.) " In view of their short service women cannot participate in a full scheme of training." As a result " the senior clerical work and the administrative posts are specifically assigned to men ". The Bank of England thinks, however, that the post-war organisation may possibly afford limited opportunities for some of the more capable women to do more advanced work; and that with this in view it may be decided to organise a shortened training scheme for women after a few years' service.

Rates of payment

245. Where salary scales are in existence, either scales settled by the companies or agreed with staff associations or with trade unions, the scales sometimes take the form of a single scale of minimum salaries for males and a single scale of minimum salaries for females, with annual increments providing rises up to the age of 25 or of 30 or of 35 or of 40 years based either on age or on experience. In some cases the scales rise to the same age for both sexes; more frequently the women's scale stops at an earlier point than the men's. On the other hand, it is not unknown for several scales to be established for different grades of work for each sex. For instance, one large insurance company has provided separate scales running up to the age of 40, for male employees in the five categories of ordinary clerks division 2, ordinary clerks division 1, senior clerks, chief clerks and deputy departmental heads; and separate scales, running up to the age of 33, for female employees in the four categories of ordinary clerks division 2, ordinary clerks division 1, deputy supervisors and supervisors. Again, one large bank has three scales for females, the lowest for duties of an ordinary routine clerical nature, the next for work outside the ordinary routine and the highest for special work. Again, a leading firm in the 'Manchester' trade provides separate scales for its female employees under the three categories of (i) clerical, filing, etc., work; (ii) typists, invoice scrutineers and machine operators; (iii) special secretaries. It should be added that grading to this extent appears to be rather the exception than the rule in commerce. The reason is clear. Specialisation of duties is only practicable on an appreciable scale when the staffs are of considerable size; and large

offices are in a minority. Even in banking and insurance, the bulk of the offices are branch offices—in the case of one of the 'big five' banks the average number of persons employed is only between 6 and 7 per office.

246. In view of the fact that the scales for men often cover a greater range of age or experience than those for women, and that with a single ungraded scale for each sex the higher ranges of the men's scales relate to jobs of greater responsibility which may be outside the scope of jobs performed by the women, it is not easy to know how to compare the rates of remuneration of the sexes in this field. In the banks, for example, when the young men in the course of training are sharing in their junior years the work of older women who have been some years on the job, it may well happen that the males are paid less than the females. In the case of the Bank of England the men sometimes receive less but also sometimes receive more than the women on the same work. The Trades Union Congress* stated as regards clerical work in industry and commerce that under pre-war Union agreements, women's rates stood at about 65 per cent. to 70 per cent. of male rates on average; in a few cases equal pay was secured; and that during the war women had been employed more widely over the whole field of clerical work, including those spheres already noted as being more or less closed to them formerly, and their rates in relation to men's rates had risen in Union agreements to between 70 per cent. and 80 per cent. on the average. There are, however, many cases in which these percentages are departed from in both directions. Female clerks in the provincial newspaper industry receive 79 to 86 per cent. of the male rates at age 18 and from 67 to 69 per cent. of the male rates at age 25. Women clerks in the railway industry receive about 80 per cent. of the men's rates. The National Arbitration Tribunal has recently awarded minimum salary scales at a Yorkshire colliery which provide basic rates (exclusive of war bonus) for grade I clerical staff (i.e., other than those engaged on work requiring higher and special qualifications) which range from 26s. 6d. at age 14 to 84s. at age 25 for males, and from 26s. 6d. at age 14 to 72s. 6d. at age 23 for females (women's percentage of men's, 86·3 per cent. at maximum). With the inclusion of cost-of-living bonus the rates for women and men at the maxima of their respective scales are in the proportion of 88s. 6d. to 100s. (women's percentage of men's, 88·5 per cent. at maximum). In another colliery in South Wales the same Tribunal have awarded scales of which the rates at the maxima are, exclusive of war advance, in the proportions for women and men of 44s. to 82s. 6d. (women's percentage of men's, 53 per cent.) and inclusive of war advance in the proportions of 81s. to 119s. 6d. (women's percentage of men's, 68 per cent.). The rates for clerical workers in a large part of the engineering industry range from the age of 15 to the age of 21 and over, no higher rates than those which operate at 21 being provided. The rates for the two sexes at the age of 21 are, exclusive of war allowance, in the proportion of 42s. 6d. to 61s. (70 per cent.) and inclusive of war allowance (1946) in the proportion of 65s. 6d. to 90s. 6d. (72·5 per cent). The provision of war advances or war bonuses to the two sexes of amounts which are equal or which approximate to one another much more closely than the basic rates is a not uncommon cause of women's rates having risen to a higher percentage of those for men during the period of the war.

Summary

247. The facts in regard to non-manual work in private industry and commerce may be summarised as follows:

(1) The overlap area among black-coated workers is confined largely to clerical work of a not very highly skilled kind, and that mainly among concerns like banks, insurance companies, friendly and approved societies,

* See Appendix VII to minutes of evidence.

the railway companies, public corporations, and large individual business houses, where a certain degree of standardisation of work and pay has been established. On a much smaller scale there appears to be a certain degree of overlap also among draughtsmen and analytical and research chemists employed by large business concerns and among clerks employed in manufacturing industry.

(2) Under pre-war Trade Union agreements women's rates in clerical occupations in commerce and finance are stated to have ranged on average between about 65 per cent. and 70 per cent. of men's rates, and have risen since the war to between 70 per cent. and 80 per cent. of men's rates. Women clerks in the railway industry receive about 80 per cent. of the men's rates. The relationship between women's and men's rates in clerical work in manufacturing industry shows, in the few individual cases available, a rather higher range, viz., from 68 per cent. to 88 per cent.

(3) In these occupations, as to some extent in distribution, the differentiation of work has undoubtedly also decreased since the war: there seems no doubt that in many cases women have been filling posts normally filled by men without receiving the full equivalent of the men's pay. In banking in particular the range of duties discharged by women has been considerably extended; how far this is a stable position remains, as in the case of manufacturing industry, to be seen.

(4) The reason why women have not in general attained to the higher administrative and clerical posts in private industry and commerce was stated to be that in view of their generally shorter working life, it was uneconomic to provide them with an expensive training. This was also put forward on the employers' side as an explanation of the payment of lower salaries for women than for men.

Agriculture, including Horticulture

Numbers employed

248. Agriculture and horticulture, on holdings exceeding an acre in extent, accounted for the employment in June, 1939, of over 700,000 workers, of whom rather over six-sevenths were males and one-seventh were females. About 90 per cent. of the males and about 60 per cent. of the females were regular whole-time workers, the remainder being seasonal and part-time workers.*

The occupations in which men and women are employed

249. The regular male workers included special class workers such as horsemen or carters, cowmen, shepherds, stockmen and yardmen, poultry men, tractor men, forestry workers, bailiffs, waggoners, teamsmen, pigmen, milkmen, together with general labourers who performed any of the general farm operations. The special class workers were expected to perform all duties connected with their special work and, in addition, to give a hand in the general work in time of pressure of work such as harvest. In contradistinction to the regular male workers were the male casual workers in agriculture, not regularly employed on the same farm, and comprising such diverse groups as (*a*) agricultural specialists like thatchers, hedgers, ditchers, hay and straw binders, threshers, and lambing shepherds on hill farms—whose status was that of independent contractors and with whom we are not therefore concerned;

* Information furnished by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Department of Agriculture for Scotland. The occupier, his wife, domestic servants and children still at school are not included in these figures, but relatives of the occupier are so included.

(*b*) seasonal workers such as hop pickers who put in a few weeks only in a year on one particular operation, and other seasonal workers who went from one seasonal operation to another for the greater part of the year ; (*c*) local workers who, during slack times in their main employments, supplemented their incomes by engaging in seasonal agricultural work of all kinds. Before the war it was exceptional for women to be employed as general labourers on farms, or as special class workers like horsemen, cowmen, etc., although in one area in England and Wales the County Agricultural Wages Committee had fixed special rates for female stockmen and female carters, while in Scotland special rates had been fixed for specialist women workers in three of the eleven districts.

250. The regular female workers were employed to a large extent in specialist branches of the industry such as horticulture, poultry-keeping and so on. In the North of England and in Wales female workers on farms were generally engaged as part-time domestic workers and part-time agricultural workers, the latter work consisting largely of looking after poultry, rearing calves and other fairly light work performed in the neighbourhood of the farmhouse. In Scotland the regular employees were employed in the lighter forms of work such as hand-milking, washing dairy utensils and filling milk bottles in the dairying industry, and on the lighter routine work on arable farms, though at certain times of the year the women worked alongside the men. In general men were required to do the heavy work such as lifting, the handling of machinery, horse work and other arduous jobs. The casual women were engaged in the less heavy forms of seasonal work, including potato lifting and the cultivation and harvesting of horticultural crops. It has been stated to us in evidence that where women and men performed the same work on the farms the men were either only required to perform the tasks within the reasonable powers of the women—for example, in such operations as hoeing and topping roots when employees were working in squads it was usual for the women to set the pace—or two women were set to perform the work of a man, as for example in the handling of bags of potatoes or grain, in the loading of farmyard manure, or the forking of grain, hay and other crops.

The relative efficiencies of men and women in various occupations

251. An enquiry carried out in 1941 by the Agricultural Economics Department of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, regarding the relative value of the work done by men and women farmworkers showed that there was a small range of farm tasks such, for example, as pulling peas and runner beans, cutting and bunching flowers and picking small fruit, in which women were equal to, or slightly superior to, men, while in work such as loading potatoes, loading or spreading manure and tractor driving (including repairing), tasks in which great muscular or staying power or special mechanical aptitude was needed, the output of women was found to be about half that of men. In the vast majority of farm tasks—including hoeing and weeding and such miscellaneous work as attending cattle, driving hay mowers, rolling with horses, horse raking, tractor driving (excluding repairs), threshing, lifting swedes and turnips, riddling and sorting potatoes, cutting cabbages—the average work output of women appeared to range between 70 per cent. and 90 per cent. of that of men.*

The extent of the overlap area

252. It thus appears that there were no clearly established lines of demarcation between men's and women's work in agriculture and that while the physical character of the work of the industry had to a certain extent itself provided a

* See " Work Output Capacity of Women Employed in Agriculture " by J. H. Smith, M.Sc., in " Welsh Studies in Agricultural Economics "—University College, Aberystwyth.

natural distinction between the functions of the two sexes there was a substantial overlap area in this industry in which men and women were employed on identical jobs. The position in this matter has been summed up by a competent authority in these words : " before the war there were no tasks in agriculture exclusively performed by women, nor were there any tasks except a few really heavy ones requiring a man's greater strength or staying power which were never performed by women. In market gardening areas and in horticulture certain jobs were regarded as women's jobs—for example the harvesting of flowers, vegetables and small fruit : and, in general, where women's labour was available, attending poultry, and potato planting and picking were so regarded : but only in market gardening areas and in horticulture would men be reluctant to undertake such work."

War-time changes

253. During the war, there was a considerable increase in both the extent to which women were employed in agriculture and the scope of agricultural operations undertaken by them, to which changes the creation of the Women's Land Army was largely contributory. Thus, the number of women rose from about 93,000 in June, 1939, to about 204,000 in June, 1945, of which latter number the Women's Land Army accounted for about 65,000, all regular whole-time workers. In addition to employment in whole-time dairy work, market gardens, nurseries and poultry farms, a considerable number of women (in the main members of the Women's Land Army) took up such work as tractor driving, threshing, manure carting and spreading, the use of mechanical cultivators, pest destruction and fruit spraying. Milking as a whole-time job was extensively carried out by women.

254. During the war women thus showed the ability to undertake work in agriculture formerly considered beyond their physical capacity and undertook for the first time to any appreciable extent general all-round farm work hitherto performed almost entirely by men. Apart from milking, women were employed more extensively than before the war on cleaning down and mucking out and in calf rearing and similar duties involved in the actual care of cattle. Employment of women in connexion with horses, almost unknown before the war, is still not widespread, being confined on the whole to carting. Women (and these almost entirely members of the Land Army) have been required to satisfy to a large extent the expanded demand for tractor drivers. In connexion with tractor driving and other work in which physical strength is an important factor, it is understood that the effects of long hours of work, adverse weather conditions, difficult ground and mechanical failure became apparent where women were employed. The Trades Union Congress, in evidence, instanced as tasks now quite usually performed by women in which it was rare for them to be employed before the war, lifting beet and riddling potatoes.

255. It is perhaps not without significance in connexion with the question of overlap in agriculture that no provision has been made in this industry, as it has been made in so many others, for the payment of the men's rates to women employed during the war on men's work.

Rates of payment

256. Statutory minimum rates of wages are provided in agriculture through the machinery of the Agricultural Wages Boards for England and Wales and for Scotland respectively. Prior to the war the minimum rates had been fixed by 47 County Agricultural Wages Committees in England and Wales and by 11 District Agricultural Wages Committees in Scotland. One important difference is to be noted between the minimum wage-rates for men and women respectively

at that time. In the case of male workers in England and Wales employed by the week or longer period the orders contained a clause providing for payment of at least the minimum wage for each week, whereas in the case of female workers the minimum rates fixed were in most cases hourly rates and there was no guarantee of a full week's wage, although it appears that in many cases such as those of milkers, poultry workers, and full-time horticultural workers, weekly engagements were the rule and the workers were not stood off in slack periods. In 1943, however, the Agricultural Wages Board prescribed in all areas in England and Wales minimum weekly rates of wages for female workers carrying the same guarantee as in the case of men. In England and Wales the pre-war weighted average weekly minimum rate (for a week of 52 hours in summer and 49 in winter) for ordinary adult male workers was 34s. 7d. per week, and the unweighted average weekly equivalent for a week of 48 hours of the hourly rates for adult female workers was 23s. 4d.—the women's rate representing 67·4 per cent. of the men's rate. In Scotland the corresponding figures of weekly minimum wage-rates were about 33s. 9d. and 23s. 0d., and the corresponding percentage about 68 per cent. The ratio of women's to men's minimum rates at the present time (July, 1946) can be stated as being of the order of 75 per cent. in England and Wales and 67 per cent. in Scotland. The war has thus narrowed the gap between the rates for the two sexes in England and Wales and slightly widened it in Scotland.* While work in agriculture is mostly paid for on time-rates, there are a number of field operations, as for example the hoeing of root crops, on which a considerable number of women are employed at a piece-rate common to both sexes. In these cases it is understood that the relative earnings of the two sexes are related largely to their physical capacities. No material is available in regard to the relative earnings of men and women employed on time-work. The National Farmers' Union (England and Wales) state that during the period of depression after the last war and up to the outbreak of the war in 1939, the minimum rates tended to become the normal rates paid. In the absence of particulars as to the relative numbers of hours and the relative amounts of overtime worked by the two sexes, no valid inference about the relative earnings of men and women can, however, be drawn from this statement by the National Farmers' Union.

Summary

257. We may sum up the facts regarding agriculture as follows :

(1) While work in agriculture and horticulture before the war was partially segregated between the sexes, lighter work tending to fall to women and the heavier work falling to the men, there was a substantial area of overlap in which men and women were employed on identical jobs.

(2) During the war there was a notable increase both in the number and proportion of women employed in agriculture, and in the scope of the agricultural operations undertaken by women for the first time.

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* The minimum rates have recently been varied in England and Wales and the ratio of women's to men's rates here given is based on the revised rates. The Scottish Agricultural Wages Board are at present (July, 1946) dealing with an application for a variation of the minimum rates in Scotland and they have recommended a revision in regard to which they are required to consult the District Wages Committees before they can make an order giving effect to any alteration in the existing rates. Should the recommendation of the Scottish Wages Board ultimately take statutory effect, the ratio of women's to men's minimum rates at the age of 21 will be of the order of 75 per cent. in Scotland as it is in England and Wales. [This recommendation has now taken effect].

(3) Minimum rates of wages are provided under the machinery of the Agricultural Wages Boards for England and Wales and for Scotland respectively. The average women's minimum rate before the war was in England and Wales about 67 per cent. and in Scotland about 68 per cent. of the average men's minimum rate. It appears that actual wages tended to conform fairly closely to the minima. The corresponding percentage ratios at the present time (July, 1946) are 75 per cent. and 67 per cent.*

(4) The evidence available as to the relative values of the work done by men and women farm workers shows that in a small range of farm tasks of a lighter character women are equal or slightly superior to men, that in certain tasks in which great muscular or staying power or special mechanical aptitude is needed, the output of women is about half that of men, and that in the vast majority of farm tasks the average work output of women ranges between 70 per cent. and 90 per cent. of that of men.

CHAPTER VII

Equal Pay in certain other Countries

Introductory

258. We feel it desirable to complete this, the factual part of our report, with a comparison with the position as it exists in other countries. In attempting such a comparison we are, however, brought up against certain substantial difficulties. At an early stage of our deliberations we assumed that the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.) would have available the information that we were requiring and we are indebted to them for a supplementary memorandum of considerable length bringing up-to-date the information published by them in 1939 entitled " The Law and Women's Work ". It is on information obtained from these two sources that this section of our report is mainly based.

259. The first difficulty is that the information supplied to us by the I.L.O. deals almost entirely with the legal aspect of the employment of women, including laws and regulations covering the right of women to employments of various kinds, and wage regulations. The legal and actual positions with regard to the employment of women are, however, not necessarily the same: and without a comprehensive and detailed knowledge of the background and industrial set-up of the different countries concerned it is impossible to verify with any degree of accuracy the actual position with regard to the remuneration of women in those countries. To achieve a clear picture and a proper perspective full information would be required as to the extent to which general principles embodied in articles of the constitution or other general edicts are enforced as a matter of actual fact, the extent of the gainful employment of women and the percentage of occupations in which women and men are employed in appreciable numbers on similar work. Any such study would be very voluminous and we feel we are neither called upon, nor in a position to undertake it. Nor do we feel that, as regards countries where conditions differ greatly from those in the United Kingdom, such a study would be helpful.

260. The second difficulty with which we are faced lies in the fact that the amount of information submitted to us by the I.L.O. varies very greatly from country to country and, in regard to a numerical majority of them, is very fragmentary. In the circumstances, rather than attempt to give a partial and

* But see footnote to para. 256.

possibly misleading picture of the position in some 30 countries, it has seemed to us best to select four—the U.S.A., Australia, France and the U.S.S.R.—for fairly full treatment as being of special interest, while referring the reader for information about the rest to the above-mentioned volume entitled " The Law and Women's Work ".

261. We have dealt at a considerable—and possibly disproportionate—length with the position in the U.S.A. for the double reason that here relatively full information is available and the position in the U.S.A. is of particular importance for comparative purposes from the point of view of this report as that country is the one which (apart from the U.S.S.R.) has tended more than any other to the adoption of the policy of the rate for the job and proceeded furthest in the practical application of that policy.

262. We have been particularly fortunate in that, at the time of the preparation of our report, Miss Frieda Miller, Director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor was in London as adviser to the U.S. delegation to U.N.O. and has been kind enough to give us her assistance in the preparation of the paragraphs summarising the position in the U.S.A.

263. It should be stated that a substantial majority of the countries of the world have adopted the policy of equal pay for men and women in the Civil Services and in teaching. In private industry, while the general tendency would appear to be in the direction of equal pay whether enforced by government decree or industrial agreements, there is great variation in the law and practice of different countries. The U.S.A. would appear to be the only large scale industrial country in which endeavours are being made to enforce equal pay by legislative action, though certain countries having minimum wage legislation lay down equal minimum wages for men and women. In this matter the U.S.S.R. stands on a footing of its own.

264. A short summary of principles embodied in the Peace Treaty of Versailles and in the Constitution of the I.L.O. and of principles adopted by the I.L.O. at a number of Conferences, which bear on the question of equal pay, is set out in Appendix II to this report.

The United States of America

Public Service

265. In the U.S.A. women are employed in the public service by the Federal Government and the Governments of 48 States and by the governmental agencies of counties, municipalities and other local units within each State. Public education is excluded from the federal sphere, save that for certain educational purposes the Federal Government makes grants in aid to the States. Apart from the federal service it is extremely difficult to ascertain and state in general terms and, at the same time, with accuracy, the proportion of men and women employed over all or in particular categories of work and still more difficult to define the overlap area. The same is true with regard to the related questions of eligibility and remuneration of the sexes respectively.

Federal service

266. As a general rule, women are eligible for both elective and appointed offices in the three branches of the Federal Government and the conditions of examination, where this is the method of appointment, are the same for men and women. Since the first world war precedence is given to those who have

served in the armed forces of the country and also to the widows of such men and the wives of those disabled in the service. This has had considerable effect in keeping down the proportion of women entering the federal service but the last census in 1938 nevertheless showed a great increase in their numbers during the ten preceding years. While most of the women have been in the lower paid groups, increasing numbers of women have been nominated to positions of the highest rank in the diplomatic service (including Minister to Denmark and Consul at Geneva) and the judicial and administrative departments.

267. Figures for 31 December, 1938,* show that, out of 808,715 persons employed by the Federal Government of the United States 145,535 were women, i.e. 17·9 per cent. The number of women in the federal executive services had risen by May, 1943, to 999,500, or 35 per cent. of all full-time employees in these services.† As to distribution, women made up 8·3 per cent. of the total number of employees of both sexes engaged in technical, scientific and professional occupations; 14·8 per cent. of those engaged in managerial and administrative occupations; and 54·8 per cent. of those engaged in clerical occupations. 4·2 per cent. of the total of women employed were in 1938 in the technical, scientific and professional group as against 10·3 per cent. of men; and at the other end of the scale 55·8 per cent. were in the clerical group as against 10·1 per cent. of men.

268. In the federal Civil Service salary scales are calculated according to grade without distinction of sex. This rule was established by the Classification Act, 1923, whereby a uniform salary was paid for each grade and class of work in the departmental service without variation according to sex. Before then considerable variation existed. In the armed forces (which are paid by the Federal Government) men and women holding the same ranks in a given branch of the service receive the same basic rates of pay.

State Civil Services

269. The total number of employees in the non-federal public service (including state, county, municipal and other local units) was in 1943, 1,816,000, of whom 384,000 (or 21 per cent.) were women. Of the 48 States, by 1945, 22 had Civil Service systems established by law (six of them only since 1940). Generally speaking, both in the States which have public service regulated by law and in those which have not, regulations taking account of sex are rare. There are, generally, no obstacles to the appointment of unmarried women, although there may be to that of married women. There are, of course, exceptions with regard to posts obviously best filled by men (e.g. State police) and also in some States certain appointed officials and their deputies and personnel of specified classes are exclusively male.

Remuneration

270. Conditions as to remuneration observed by the States and by local authorities vary so much from one to another that it is not possible to summarise them. In States, however, having regularly established Civil Service systems it is usual for men and women to be paid at the same rates for the same job: though it must be borne in mind that in many departments of State government men and women are employed on entirely different types of work.

* *Employment of Women in the Federal Government 1923 to 1939*, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 182, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1941.

† U.S. Department of Labor, Labor Information Bulletin, August, 1943, p. 6.

Teaching

Numbers employed

271. The distribution of men and women in the teaching profession in 1939—1940 on the chief school levels is shown by the following figures* :—

Number of teachers and school officers classified by sex and by levels and types of schools, 1939–1940

Schools by level	1939–1940	
	Men	Women
Kindergarten and elementary schools :		
public	67,140	508,060
private	3,047	60,800
Secondary schools :		
public	126,837	173,440
private	11,547	18,583
preparatory departments of colleges ...	1,968	1,753
Higher education :		
Normal schools and teachers colleges :		
public	4,946	5,737
private	365	657
Universities, colleges and professional schools	80,936	24,176
Miscellaneous (schools for exceptional children, Alaskans and Indians, and private business schools)	4,345	8,946
TOTAL	301,131	802,152

These figures are not comparable with those we have given in respect of Great Britain, e.g., they include university teachers. They show that the proportion of men to women teachers in the U.S.A. in the year selected was about 27 per cent. to 73 per cent.

272. If regard is had only to men teachers in the public schools, including kindergarten, elementary and secondary schools, in the United States as a whole over a period of twenty peace-time years the proportion of such teachers has been rising slowly. In 1919–20 the percentage of men was 14·1 per cent., in 1930, 16·6 per cent., in 1935–36, 20·6 per cent. and in 1939–40, 22·2 per cent. The percentage fell slightly in 1941–42, to 21·3 per cent., no doubt reflecting the beginning of the effect of the war.

Remuneration

273. Teachers' salaries in public schools vary widely according to the State or to the school district. A number of legal measures have been passed, however, regarding the principles which should govern the remuneration of teachers. By 1946 legislation prohibiting salary discrimination on the basis of sex was in force in thirteen States. In addition, the teachers' salary schedule fixed by Congress for the district of Columbia is such as to assign equal salaries to men and women.

* The figures in this and the following paragraphs are derived from the biennial surveys of education in the U.S.A. published by the U.S. Office of Education.

274. A number of large cities and other individual school districts have also fixed salary scales which provide for minimum equal rates for both sexes. An enquiry made by the Research Division of the National Education Association of the United States showed that in 1944–45, out of 92 cities of over 100,000 population, 79 had no differential in salary scales for men and women teachers, while 13 reported some differential. Of 271 cities with populations between 30,000 and 100,000, 155 reported no differential; 78 reported some form of differential and for 38 no recent information was available.

275. The proportion of men to total teachers varies widely in both the equal pay and non-equal pay States: and it does not appear that there is any particular correlation between the operation of the equal pay principle, the proportion of men employed and the average annual salaries paid. This is illustrated by the following figures for the year 1935–36.

	Per cent. of men teachers	*Average annual salary of teachers, principals and supervisors*
Equal pay States		
		$
California	22·5	1,776
Louisiana	17·0	793
Maryland	16·7	1,455
Montana	19·5	1,073
Nevada	25·7	1,521
New Jersey	16·7	1,864
New York	17·0	2,414
Oregon	18·4	1,154
Texas	20·7	941
Washington	22·7	1,369
Wyoming	22·7	1,023
Non-equal pay States		
Alabama	19·1	606
Arizona	24·0	1,399
Arkansas	28·9	504
Colorado	20·7	1,248
Connecticut	12·6	1,679
Delaware	18·5	1,555
Florida	15·3	905
Georgia	16·8	587
Idaho	31·5	943
Illinois	23·0	1,369
Indiana	28·6	1,294
Iowa	17·9	875
Kansas	18·0	855
Kentucky	27·3	787
Maine	16·3	798
Massachusetts	19·1	1,834
Michigan	21·3	1,499
Minnesota	15·5	1,120
Mississippi	18·5	571
Missouri	24·4	1,048
Nebraska	14·2	772
New Hampshire	17·2	1,207
New Mexico	21·2	984
North Carolina	15·0	735

Non-equal pay States	*Per cent. of men teachers*	*Average annual salary of teachers, principals and supervisors*
		$
North Dakota	21·3	648
Ohio	26·7	1,522
Oklahoma	25·7	783
Pennsylvania	22·4	1,549
Rhode Island	15·8	1,664
South Carolina	16·5	637
South Dakota	20·7	711
Tennessee	25·2	718
Utah	35·6	1,177
Vermont	10·4	917
Virginia	14·4	810
West Virginia	29·7	1,091
Wisconsin	22·0	1,280
Continental United States ...	20·6	$1,283

276. The most recent comprehensive figures showing the proportion of men teachers in the individual States are for the school year 1941–42 and are tabulated below. States which had equal pay laws for teachers at that time were eleven in number, in addition to the District of Columbia. The national percentage of men teachers was 21.3 per cent.

Proportion of men teachers in public elementary and secondary schools in the United States, by States, 1941–42

Equal pay States		Non-equal pay States			
State	Per cent.	State	Per cent.	State	Per cent.
California	20·0	Alabama	16·4	Mississippi ...	19·2
District of Columbia	15·3	Arizona .. .	25·4	Missouri . . .	21·0
Louisiana	18·3	Arkansas	23·5	Nebraska . .	14·2
Maryland	18·7	Colorado	25·2	New Hampshire . .	21·0
Montana	23·9	Connecticut† . .	16·1	New Mexico .	21·6
Nevada	23·9	Delaware	22·1	North Carolina ...	14·9
New Jersey ...	20·2	Florida	14·4	North Dakota ...	21·5
New York	12·2	Georgia	14·6	Ohio	29·0
Oregon	18·9	Idaho	36·4	Oklahoma	25·9
Texas	21·1	Illinois	22·8	Pennsylvania .	25·8
Washington ...	27·3	Indiana	29·9	Rhode Island .	18·0
Wyoming	20·3	Iowa	13·8	South Carolina ..	15·2
		Kansas	19·5	South Dakota ...	19·1
		Kentucky	23·8	Tennessee ...	22·3
		Maine	18·1	Utah	38·8
		Massachusetts† ...	19·4	Vermont	12·3
		Michigan	23·2	Virginia	13·2
		Minnesota	18·0	West Virginia ...	29·2
				Wisconsin	22·6

† These are now equal pay States.

277. Between 1935 and 1941, 7 of the 11 equal pay States in respect of which information is available for both periods showed increases up to 4·6 per cent. in the proportion of men teachers. New York State, which showed the greatest decline in men teachers between 1935 and 1941, had by 1944 increased its men teachers to a point exceeding the 1935 proportion by 1 per cent.

Industry and Commerce

Federal legislation relating to equal pay

278. In the U.S.A. two Acts have been passed by the Federal Government which lay down equal standards of payment for men and women in industry and commerce. These are the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, and the Public Contracts (Walsh-Healey) Act of 1936.

279. The Federal Congress has exclusive power to pass and enforce legislation controlling 'inter-state commerce': viz, trading concerns whose operations extend beyond the borders of a single State. In pursuance of this power it passed, in 1938, the Fair Labor Standards Act. The interpretation of employment for inter-state commerce is ill-defined and this has resulted in much litigation. The wage and hour provisions of the Act apply to workers engaged in any inter-state commerce or in the production of goods for inter-state commerce. Thus, the Act applies to every worker engaged in

(*a*) inter-state trade, transportation, communication or finance, or

(*b*) handling, mining, transporting, in any manner working on, or in any occupation necessary to the production of, goods which move in inter-state commerce.

A worker may be covered by the Act if only a small percentage of the goods he works on is moved in inter-state commerce. Workers are regarded as being engaged in the production of goods for inter-state commerce where the employer at time of production has reason to believe that the goods will be moved in inter-state commerce or will become a part or ingredient of such goods (e.g. buttons on shirts). As an extreme example of this, a fertiliser plant in Texas whose product is all bought in Texas may be brought within the Act if the farmers buying the product raise cotton which will be moved out of Texas.

The Act provides for the determination of minimum wage rates without regard to sex. Though the principle underlying the Act is entirely different from that of the rate for the job, it does, to the extent of this statutory minimum rate, enforce the principle of the equality of the sexes in the sphere of inter-state employment. Employers who pay above this minimum are free to pay different rates to men and women—'equal work' is not in any way involved under the Act.

280. The Public Contracts (Walsh-Healey) Act of 1936 applies with certain minor exceptions to every Federal Government contract for the purchase of supplies or materials involving $10,000 or more, whether the contracts involve inter-state commerce or not. The Act does not apply to any contract awarded by a State or political subdivision thereof, even though federal funds may be used in payment for material, supplies, articles or equipment required under such contract.

281. The Fair Labor Standards Act provides for workers of both sexes a single minimum rate. This rate was from 24th October, 1939, to 24th October, 1945, 30 cents an hour (with power to the Department of Labor in certain

circumstances to raise it to 40 cents) and from 24th October, 1945, onwards, 40 cents an hour. The Public Contracts Act empowers the Secretary of Labor to determine, as regards workers covered by it, the prevailing minimum wage, and in doing so he must not discriminate between men and women, though different minima may be fixed for different geographical areas. It is immaterial whether the wage is paid on an hourly or a piece-work basis. The actual amount received by an employee must not fall short of the statutory minimum.

282. The Federal Government has power to prosecute criminally for violation of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Upon conviction the employer may be fined up to $10,000 and in the case of a second conviction he is liable to imprisonment up to a period of six months. The administrator may ask a Federal District Court to restrain violations of the Act by injunctions. The Walsh-Healey Act contains no criminal sanctions. It provides that any violation of the required stipulations in a government contract embraced by the Act shall subject the offending contractor to a civil action for the recovery of liquidated damages: and, if the Government desires to cancel the contract, for all losses consequent upon the Government securing completion of the contract in other quarters. Proceedings may be initiated by the Department of Labor either of its own motion, or on the application or complaint of an affected person.

State legislation relating to equal pay

283. Six States now have Equal Pay Acts prohibiting discrimination between the sexes in paying wages—Michigan (1919), Montana (1919), Illinois (1943), Washington (1943), New York (1944) and Massachusetts (1945).

284. The *Michigan* Act (No. 239, 1919, Sec. 556) which prohibits discrimination "*in any way in the payment of wages as between sexes*" and the payment "*to any female engaged in the manufacture or production of any article of like value, workmanship and production a less wage, be it time or piece work, than is being paid to males similarly employed in such manufacture, production or in any employment formerly performed by males.*"

285. The *Montana* Act (Act of 1919, ch. 147, Sec. 3090) requires "*equal pay for women for equivalent service*": and applies to all public and private employment.

286. The *Illinois* Act (Act of 23 July, 1943, Sec. I) prohibits the payment to any female engaged in the manufacture of any article in which both males and females are employed, of an "*unequal wage for equal work than is being paid to males engaged in such manufacture*". The Act, however, provides that female rates of pay may be varied on account of "*difference in seniority, experience, training, skill or ability or difference in duties or services performed (whether regularly or occasionally) or difference in availability for other operations, or any other reasonable classification, excepting difference in sex.*"

287. The *Washington* Act (Act of 22 March, 1943, Sec. 17–1) which applies to all private employment, forbids employers to "*discriminate in any way in the payment of wages as between sexes or (to) pay any female a less wage be it time or piece work, or salary, than is being paid to males similarly employed, or in any employment formerly performed by males.*"

288. The *New York* Act (April, 1944), provides that no discrimination on the grounds of sex be permitted in rates of pay where men and women are employed in any specific job classification. But factors other than sex, such as seniority, ability and job content may be lawfully considered as a basis for wage differentials. Section 199a of the Act reads in part as follows:—"*No employee shall, because of sex, be subjected to any discrimination in the rate*

of his or her pay. A differential in pay between employees based on a factor or factors other than sex shall not constitute discrimination within the meaning of this section."

Enforcement of State legislation

289. Under the American system, in some States the State Labor Commissioner (or Commission) is under a statutory duty to enforce *all* labour legislation. In others, he is only bound to enforce labour legislation so far as it is embodied in statutes which expressly provide that he is bound to do so. In States of this last class, he may, before assuming the responsibility of enforcement, have to obtain a special budgetary appropriation to cover the cost involved. In Illinois, Michigan, Montana and Washington the State Labor Commission has no statutory obligation to enforce the equal pay laws. The Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor has informed us that in Montana and Illinois no effort seems to have been made to enforce the equal pay laws, but that in Washington the State Labor Commissioner assumed responsibility for enforcement as soon as the relevant Act was passed. In Washington State enforcement is made on complaint i.e., if a woman worker complains that she is not receiving equal pay, an investigator is sent by the Department to determine the facts. If the complaint is found to be justified, an order is issued by the Department to the employer to make good the amount due and to make up arrears of pay. For the period of six months from the time the Washington Act became effective, 65 cases had been so dealt with.

290. In Michigan the Department of Labor undertook the enforcement of the Equal Pay Act through regular factory inspections, any apparent violation so discovered being followed by orders (correction orders) requiring the employers to pay the prescribed rates and to make up arrears.

291. New York State has dealt fully and thoroughly with the question of the enforcement of the State Equal Pay Act and the problems arising therefrom. In view of the importance of this matter, we have set out in full in Appendix III to this report some extracts from the relevant legislation and reports on its administration.

292. It may be interesting to note in this connexion that in the federal sphere an Equal Pay for Equal Work Bill was introduced in 1944 in the House of Representatives by the Chairman of the Labor Committee (Mary Norton). This Bill was not passed. In June, 1945, an Equal Pay Bill, S. 1178, was introduced in the United States Senate, but has not yet passed through all its stages. Equal Pay Bills were in 1945 introduced in the legislatures of 17 States. One of these (that for Massachusetts) has passed. In 1946 similar bills were introduced in two other States.

293. As in the United Kingdom there has been in the U.S.A. during the war a great increase in the employment of women and in the range of jobs on which they have been working ; and in addition to the legislation already referred to, a number of agreements have been made which provide, like similar agreements in the United Kingdom, that where a woman is employed on a man's job she shall get the man's rate. The expression commonly used in such agreements is ' the rate for the job ' irrespective of the sex of the worker.

294. According to information supplied to the I.L.O., a general policy of women's remuneration has been evolved in the U.S.A. which has led gradually to a wider application of the equal pay principle and to a narrowing of the gap between men's and women's wages ; and there is some reason to think that this evolution is a continuation of a pre-war trend.

Australia

Public Service

Government services other than teaching

295. No legal provision stands in the way of women's access to employment in public administration. Both in the federal service and in that of some of the States, however, women are generally employed only in the lower grades. Over 80 per cent of the women employed in the Commonwealth public service are in the position of telephonist, typist or office machinist and a roughly similar position holds in the State public services. Generally speaking, rates of remuneration for women are lower than those for men, both in the Commonwealth and State public services. This situation has largely come about in consequence of the Australian system of fixing basic wages, which is referred to more fully later on. Before September, 1939, the basic rate for women in the Commonwealth service was about 73 per cent. of that for men but the supplements for responsibility or skill were identical for both sexes. During the war, women replacing men in the public services have, in many cases, obtained salaries equal to the men's rates, more particularly in the Post Office ; scales of pay for women in the Australian Military service are approximately two-thirds of those prevailing for men.

Teaching

296. Public education in Australia is solely a State service : there is no federal public education service. The salaries of teachers are governed by State legislation. In New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania, women receive in the various grades salaries which are approximately 80 per cent. of the men's salaries. In Western Australia the proportion is approximately 85 per cent. and in Queensland approaches 90 per cent. In South Australia the proportion ranges in the various grades between about 65 per cent. and 75 per cent.

Industry

Determination of wage rates

297. Basic wages in Australia are fixed by various industrial tribunals operating under Commonwealth and State Arbitration Acts, and are varied from time to time according to changes in cost of living, constitution of the family unit, etc. As regards basic wages fixed by State tribunals, and affecting industries within the State subject to their jurisdiction, in the industrial legislation of New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia provision is made for tribunals appointed under the relevant Acts to determine the basic rates of wages to be paid to adult unskilled workers irrespective of the industry in which they are employed. In Tasmania provision for the declaration of a basic rate of wage is not included in the industrial Acts in force. The Wages Board system operates in this State, and each Wages Board determines the basic rate of wage to be paid to the unskilled worker in a particular industry or calling. In Victoria the same Wages Board system exists, but by amendments of the Factories Act, operative from 17th October, 1934, Wages Boards in fixing awards for each particular industry are obliged to adopt the same basic wage as that determined by the Commonwealth Arbitration Court.

298. The power of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court is limited by the Constitution to the settlement of industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of one State. In the exercise of its functions it determines, from time to time, a basic wage for unskilled male workers at the highest level that, in

its opinion, industry can support, and uses the wage so declared as a basis for all awards made by it in the exercise of its jurisdiction. That is, upon a new basic wage being declared, the awards made in the settlement of all interstate industrial disputes are re-opened and amended accordingly. This basic wage is constituted of a 'needs' element and a prosperity 'loading'. The 'needs' element represents the lowest wage which can be paid to an unskilled labourer on the basis of the 'normal needs of an average employee regarded as a human being living in a civilised community,' taking into account the needs of an average family. This is subject to periodical adjustment with the rise and fall of the cost of living, which differs slightly as between State and State, and metropolitan and country areas. The prosperity loading is a constant element, but is not uniform, being assessed in accordance with the economic circumstances of each State.

299. In addition to the 'basic' wage, these Commonwealth and State tribunals also determine: (1) what is known as the 'secondary' wage—'the extra payment to be made for trained skill or other exceptional qualities necessary for an employee exercising the functions required'; (2) certain 'loadings'. A 'loading' (other than the 'prosperity' loading referred to above) is an addition to the basic wage as compensation for some peculiar condition of labour or environment, and not (like the 'secondary' wage) as a 'margin for skill'.

Relationship of women's to men's wages in the interwar period

300. Such being in outline the rate-fixing machinery we have next to consider

(*a*) the ratio of women's to men's wages

(*b*) legislative provisions, if any, for equal pay.

We consider these points first in relation to the pre-1939 period.

301. The basic wages of women during this period were related to those of men in a proportion varying between 47 and 57 per cent., but latterly tending to settle down at 54 per cent. We would repeat that the basic wage for men and women was based on assumed needs: it was designed to enable the wage-earner to live in 'frugal comfort'. A man's needs were originally (as in 'Harvester' decision of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court in 1907) assumed to include those of a wife and three children. A woman was assumed to have no dependants to support.*

Australian legislation relating to equal pay

302. Of the various enactments, Commonwealth and State, relating to wages only two make any provision for the payment of equal wages for equal work in any sense of equal work. The Queensland Conciliation and Arbitration Act requires the Queensland Industrial Court to prescribe the same wages for 'persons of either sex performing the same work or producing the same return of profit to the employer'. This provision construes 'equal work' as including totally different jobs provided they are equally profitable to the employer: something quite different from the rate for the job.

303. In New South Wales, the chief industrial State, the Industrial Commission is the supreme rate-fixing body. This Commission, while it must fix the basic wage of women at not less than 54 per cent. of that of men, is empowered to decide 'any claims that the same wage shall be paid to persons of either sex performing the same work or producing the same return of profit or value to their employer. Here the same criterion of equal work is laid down. It will be noticed that in the case of Queensland the provision is mandatory and in the case of New South Wales permissive.

* We are indebted for much of the above information to Australia House.

Wartime developments

Increased employment of women

304. During the war, in Australia as elsewhere, women were introduced on a large scale into war industries, often replacing men in the trades which were previously male preserves. The total number of women wage and salary earners in civil employment rose from 437,100 in July, 1939, to 548,500 in July, 1941, 633,400 in July, 1943, and 635,200 in July, 1944; while the number employed in factories rose from 187,800 in July, 1941, to 227,900 in July, 1943, and declined to 214,700 in July, 1944.

Regulation of women's wages

305. This process, again as elsewhere, raised the question whether women introduced on men's work should be paid the men's rate or the rates normally paid for 'women's work' which at the minima were about half the men's. These like other industrial disputes were decided by the Commonwealth Arbitration Court and State industrial tribunals. Owing to the delays involved in this procedure, jurisdiction over such disputes was in the year 1942 transferred to a specially created Women's Employment Board, and later, in 1944, to the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration. Employers had to obtain the sanction of the Women's Employment Board before employing women on work previously reserved to men and the Board was empowered to regulate the conditions and rates of pay of women so employed. The principles laid down for its guidance were crystallised at the end of 1942 in Statutory Rules (Commonwealth of Australia) 1942, No. 548, as follows:

> "(8) The Board shall decide the rates of payment under this regulation which it considers to be just and proper in all the circumstances and shall, as far as is practicable, assess those rates by reference to such factors as it thinks fit and in particular to the efficiency of females in the performance of the work and any other special factors which may be likely to affect the productivity of their work in relation to that of males.
>
> (9) The rate of payment to be made to any adult female, in accordance with any decision under this regulation, shall not be less than sixty per centum nor more than one hundred per centum of the rate of payment made to adult males employed on work of a substantially similar nature."

306. The Board awarded that during a period of probation, fixed at two weeks, the rate of payment of women should be 60 per cent. of the men's rates, or the rate of payment fixed for women in the agreement, whichever was the higher. After the period of probation, the rate of payment for women was fixed at not less than 90 per cent. of the men's rate for similar work.

307. From the evidence before them, the Board concluded that women, while as a whole not as productive as men in some cases excelled them in efficiency or productivity. Instances are not lacking in which women's rates have been established at 100 per cent. of the men's rates after a specified period of probation. Various factors, however, lead to a smaller output by women. For heavy work, their smaller physical strength and the statutory limitations imposed for health reasons on the weights they are allowed to lift make it necessary either to increase the number of women employed or to engage a man to assist a group of women; another factor is the periodical spells of lessened efficiency and productivity peculiar to women. The chief reason for a smaller output by women, however, is absenteeism, which the Board found definitely greater among women.

308. This award was thus based on the principle of fixing wages according to work done and output. This principle is substantially different from the method of wage fixing ordinarily adopted by Australian industrial tribunals,

which is based in large part on the principle of the living wage based on needs, the basic wage being fixed, as already mentioned, at different levels for the two sexes. In this respect the wage policy on which the award was founded constituted an innovation in Australia.

Wartime readjustment of women's minimum wages

309. As has been noted, women admitted to men's work have in a number of cases been awarded men's rates. In the same industries and often side by side with these new workers, however, other women doing women's work were still working at women's rates equivalent to from 54 to 60 per cent. of the men's rates. The anomalies thus created gave rise to much discontent and constituted an obstacle to the redistribution of workers. Regulations were issued therefore giving the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration the power to make the necessary readjustments in industries considered vital to the war effort.

Family endowment

310. Under the Commonwealth Child Endowment Act, 1941, payment at the rate of 5s. per week is made for all children under the age of 16 in excess of one child in each family. Payment is made to the mother. About two-thirds of the cost of the scheme is covered by the proceeds of a tax of 2½ per cent. on payrolls exceeding £20 per week or £1,040 per year. The remainder is financed out of the general revenue of the Commonwealth.

311. The scheme at the outset is estimated to cost £13,000,000 per annum and apply to approximately 1,000,000 children. The number of first children excluded is estimated to be approximately 830,000 or 45 per cent. of the total children under 16 years of age. The Census of 1933 disclosed that the average number of dependent children under 16 years of age per married male was 1·36.

France

Civil Service

Recruitment, status and remuneration of women

312. Before September, 1939, the legal status of women civil servants differed considerably from one government department to another. Each was empowered to make its own regulations. Where these were concerned with the recruitment of administrative staff they were subject to revision from time to time by ministerial decree, viz., by decree of the Minister in charge of the department. Such recruitment was until 1934 in most departments conducted by competitive examination open to both sexes. Between 1934–36 this system was suspended by some departments as regards women and when it was reopened the proportion of women eligible for posts in each grade was limited by quota.

313. Where appointments were or are determined by the result of examinations open to both sexes, the pay is the same for men and women in the posts for which the examinations are held. Where men and women are recruited separately, the women's salary scales are lower than the men's. In the postal, telegraph and telephone services segregation is gradually giving way to aggregation and the rates of payment of men and women converging.

Teaching

Recruitment, employment and remuneration of women

314. In the teaching profession examinations for all appointments to elementary, secondary and university posts are open to women on the same conditions as to men; the assimilation of the training courses for men and women was completed in 1937. In the schools women are usually appointed to teach girls. In fact in both elementary and secondary education there are usually separate schools for boys and girls, and girls' schools are always placed under a headmistress. The universities are co-educational throughout and women are admitted to the teaching staffs of all faculties. Throughout the teaching profession salaries are the same for teachers of either sex where seniority and duties are equal.

Industry

General pre-war practice

315. Before the outbreak of the 1939 war the general position in France with regard to the employment and remuneration of women in industry and commerce was similar to that in the United Kingdom. The overlap area was not large and the level of women's wage rates was generally below that of men. Provisions for similar pay for similar work were included in a number of collective trade agreements, many of which were made binding by orders under the Act of 24th June, 1936. Other trade agreements, however, included provision for lower rates for women than for men. In the clothing industry the equal pay principle was adopted for some categories of work and not for others.

Public contracts

316. A decree was made in 1937 regulating conditions of work in government contracts. The decree provided that the following condition should be contained in such contracts:

> Art. 1 (2). (The payment) to workers of a standard wage equal, for each occupation and, within each occupation, for each category of workers, to the wage rate prevailing in the locality or area where the work is performed.

317. The I.L.O. read this condition as prescribing a uniform wage for men and women working on government contracts equal to that for men and women in the same locality not working on government contracts: though the actual provision appears to us ambiguous.

Position during and after the war

318. During the German occupation of France, what progress had previously been made in the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work, was nullified to a great extent under the influence of the German ruling according to which women's wages were fixed in theory at 75 per cent. of those of men engaged on similar work, this ruling being applied in the industries controlled by the Germans. Moreover, under the Vichy régime, comparable provisions were included in French legislation applying to unoccupied France. On taking over the administration of the country after the war, the Provisional Government of France at once set about restoring, partially at least, the *ante-bellum* state of affairs. The principle of equal pay for equal work was embodied as regards *minimum* wage-rates in a decree of 24 August, 1944, concerning the provisional raising of wages on the liberation of France which

contains the following article (No. 7): "If conditions of work and output are *equal, women's minimum wage-rates shall be equal to the minimum wage-rates of male workers.*"

319. In April, 1945, the Minister of Labour declared that the policy of the government was to observe as far as possible the principle of the rate for the job in order to eliminate unfair inequalities between men's and women's wages.

320. The position of the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour) in regard to women's remuneration was made clear at a meeting of its National Committee (Comité National), at which, in a resolution on general policy, the application of the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers was urged.

Family Allowances

Legislative provision

321. The system of family allowances in operation in France is the product of a long period of evolution, and the basis of the existing system is to be found in the French Family Code (decree of 29 July, 1939). Allowances were originally paid by individual employers acting from benevolent motives, and, from 1916 onwards, as a substitute for general wages increases which were being demanded. In 1918 the first equalisation fund was set up. This made it a matter of indifference to the individual employer whether his employees had children or not. In the same year allowances were granted to all servants of the central government. From this time onwards there was pressure for State action to generalise the system and in 1932 it was legally recognised, a national super-equalisation fund was set up, and provision was made for its extension to all industries and occupations. No radical change in the nature of the system was involved in this State action and although now the payment of allowances is an instrument of the Government's population policy, the system is a leading example of the operation of industrial equalisation funds financed by contributions from employers.

Scope

322. There are now three forms of allowance: the family allowance proper, the single wage allowance, and the mother-in-the-home allowance. Family allowances are payable to the families of all persons who derive their chief means of existence from work in some occupation. This includes employers and self-employed persons, with two or more children, in agriculture, industry, commerce, industrial homework, domestic service, the public services and the professions. (Old age pensioners are also included). The allowances are continued when workers are not working on account of accident, sickness, or invalidity. The other allowances, supplementary or alternative to this, are designed to meet special circumstances, as for example where there is only one bread winner, one child and the like.

Benefits

323. The family allowance proper is payable for children up to 15 years of age; it is continued for children up to 17 years if they are apprenticed and up to 20 years if they are continuing their studies. The rates of benefit fixed in 1941 were 10 per cent. of the average monthly wage of the Département for the second dependent child, an additional 20 per cent. for the third dependent child, and a further 30 per cent. for each subsequent child. In 1944 an increase of 80 per cent. in allowances to families with two or three children was granted. These rates are legal minima, and equalisation funds are free to pay higher rates and provide various services.

Finance

324. The cost of allowances to wage-earners (other than agricultural workers) is paid by employers whose contribution is proportionate to the amount of their payrolls. The State bears the cost of maintaining allowances at the full rate for workers on short time. The cost of allowances paid to persons in agriculture is met as to one-third by owners of land and as to two-thirds by the State. The State subsidises the funds for independent workers to the extent of one-third of the cost of allowances for those in certain occupations, such as private teaching, dispensaries, insurance, and some commercial work, and to the extent of two-thirds of the cost of allowances for other occupations, with the exception of the liberal professions, for which no State subsidy is payable.

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

Public Administration

Status and remuneration of women

325. In accordance with the principle of sex equality underlying all the provisions of the Soviet Constitution, women are eligible for all public offices and in practice hold important posts in all branches of the administration, including the diplomatic service. The Central Government has, from time to time, recommended local authorities to increase the number of women employed in the public service. Promotion is the same for both sexes and the principle of equal pay holds throughout.

Industry

Determination and application of wage rates

326. In 1918 a minimum wage applying to all occupations and regardless of sex, was established by decree. At the same time special Commissions were set up within each Trade Union, whose duty it was to revalue the different kinds of labour, establishing wage categories in each trade according to the skill and hazard of the labour performed. The principle of equal remuneration was thereafter established by law and section 122 of the constitution of 1936 confirmed that the rights of women workers as regards wages are equal to those of men.

327. So far as one can tell the law is fulfilled as far as the payment of equal rates, whether time or piece, for the two sexes is concerned. Nevertheless, as late as 1930, the average earnings of women were only about two-thirds of those of men. Thus, the daily earnings of women workers expressed as a percentage of the daily earnings of men were for all industry 67·4 per cent. and for individual industrial groups, as follows, viz.: cotton textiles, 76·7 per cent.; wool, 79·2 per cent.; linen, 67·3 per cent.; paper and printing, 70·5 per cent.; wood working, 60·1 per cent.; metal working, 64·3 per cent.; animal products, 78·7 per cent.; food, 80·9 per cent.; and chemicals, 71·3 per cent. This disparity in earnings can only be explained on the assumption that women are mainly engaged in the less highly paid jobs.

328. Since 1928, when the first Five Year Plan was put into operation various special measures covering the provision of training, crèches, communal meals, etc., have brought about a great extension in the employment of women in the U.S.S.R. From 1928 to 1935 more than six million women entered the labour force. The total number of employed women rose by 152 per cent. while the number of women employees in industry increased by 251 per cent.*

* E. Orlikova "The Soviet Woman in National Production—Problems of Economics" Moscow, No. 7, 1940. The further data in this section are taken from this source.

This percentage increase in the employment of women was much greater than the increase in the total number of workers of both sexes. While the total number of women workers was expanding, considerable changes took place in the distribution of female labour among the various branches of the economy, the proportion in heavy industries, construction work and transport being outstanding. In October, 1939, women workers represented 43·4 per cent. of all wage earners.

329. The importance of woman-power has increased not only as regards women workers in general, but also as regards technical and skilled personnel. In January, 1933, the percentage of women among the higher technical personnel was 9·2; by 1939 women made up one-fifth of this class as a whole and as regards particular industries they constituted in 1940 in e.g. printing, 45 per cent. of the linotypists and monotypists, 48 per cent. of the type-setters, 50 per cent. of the printers and 85 per cent. of the binders. Since 1937 particularly, women have taken up new skilled occupations in railway work, including those of engine drivers and firemen.

330. One would have expected that this successful push for the extended employment of women, especially in the heavy industries and among the higher technical personnel, would have resulted in a material rise in the ratio of women's to men's earnings above the 1930 level of about two-thirds. As to this, we have no later figures of earnings to enable us to judge.

Part II

The Implications of the Claim of Equal Pay for Equal Work

Introduction

331. In Part I we have attempted to present a picture of the wage and salary structure in various spheres of employment common to both sexes, with particular reference to the differences which exist between the remuneration of men and women in these spheres. In Part II we will try to analyse the probable consequences of introducing into this structure equality of pay.

332. In chapter VIII we shall try to give some account of the explanations currently advanced of the relative levels of men's and women's pay. In chapter IX we estimate those consequences—social or economic—of the introduction of equal pay which affect all spheres of common employment: in succeeding chapters consequences (of the same order) which touch and concern particular spheres in a special way. We shall review these consequencies, in chapter X, in relation to the Civil Service and local government service other than teaching: in chapter XI, in relation to teaching: and in chapter XIII in relation to private industry and commerce. Chapter XII is a brief excursus on the relation of the marriage-bar to our problem.

333. In chapter XIV we envisage the possibility of introducing equal pay into some one or more, but not all, of the material spheres, as contrasted with its application over the whole field of employment and we proceed to consider the question of government initiative in this matter and the bearing thereon of the Treasury's principle of 'fair relativity'. Chapter XV is a discussion of the relation of equal pay to (i) schemes of family endowment and (ii) the

legal privileges of women. Chapter XVI deals in omnibus fashion with the strictly financial, as opposed to the broader economic and social consequences of equal pay; and particularly with the character, amount and incidence of its direct cost.

334. It will be observed that, although we have been able to isolate for discussion certain implications of equal pay which are manifestly of a financial character, no attempt has been made to draw a clear line between the social and economic implications of the claim. It is broadly true that the consequences of equal pay considered in chapter IX are social rather than economic, but in the examination of specific fields of employment in the chapters that follow the two are inextricably interwoven. The truth is that while there may be social changes which are not at the same time economic there is no change of an economic order which does not in some degree involve wider social considerations.

CHAPTER VIII

Explanations of the prevailing difference between the remuneration of men and women

Introductory

335. If men and women are found 'doing the same work', i.e. working at what appear to be closely similar employments, for different rates of pay, experience shows that enquiry as to why this state of affairs prevails will elicit a great variety of different answers. It is the purpose of this chapter to set out and classify the most important of these answers and to offer some comment upon them, since clearly a study of the causes of any such inequality is a necessary step towards forming a view of the implications or probable consequences of attempting to remove it.

336. We may begin with two answers which are, so to speak, half-answers, in the sense that they do not profess to afford a complete explanation, but only serve to direct the spirit of enquiry a stage further on its way. The first of these is to the effect that the differential in the particular field of employment under examination is determined by the conditions prevailing outside that field. Sometimes, as by the Treasury with regard to the Civil Service, this answer is expressed in a form which lays stress on its *ethical* aspect; it is explained that the pay offered to men and women respectively is judged to be 'fair' relatively to that received by men and women respectively in other occupations of similar difficulty or status. Sometimes, as by the 1918 Committee of the Board of Education in the passage quoted in paragraph 86, stress is laid rather on the *economic* aspect; it is explained that the rates paid are those judged necessary to attract a sufficient number of suitable men and women respectively into the occupation in question, in view of the alternative possibilities which are severally open to them. It is evident that this type of answer, whether dressed up in ethical or in economic terms, may be perfectly correct so far as it goes, and yet leave everything still to be discovered about those outside forces which *cause* it to be correct. Thus as foreshadowed above in paragraph 8, a study of the causes of the differential in overlap areas leads inevitably on to a study of the forces governing the relative remuneration of men in general and women in general.

337. Something of the same kind applies to answers which run in terms of 'custom' or 'tradition'. Just as 'fair relativity' is an instruction to seek the ultimate causes of any given differential in some other *field*, so 'the

* This chapter and chapter XIII are subject to a memorandum of dissent by three members of the Commission—see page 187 below.

force of tradition ' is an instruction to seek them in some other *period*. It is a reminder that if we can discover influences causing women's labour to be less keenly desired than men's, or leading women to offer their labour on easier terms than men, the wage-structure generated by these influences will be apt to survive the weakening or disappearance of the influences themselves. So interpreted, the answer in terms of ' force of tradition ' will not be lightly dismissed by anyone with experience of the immense part played by inertia in the governance of human affairs. Economic behaviour is determined not merely by rational calculation but by assumptions derived from the sociological background,—by the prejudices of a previous age embodied in the customs and traditions of the present. We shall discuss later the effects of custom in prescribing that women shall not *do* such and such things : here we are concerned rather with its direct effect in prescribing that they shall not *earn* more than such and such pay. In the earlier days of women's employment it was apt to be taken for granted both by the employers and by the women workers themselves that they were ' worth ' substantially less than the men. Traces of this assumption tend to linger on, adding to the employer's reluctance to pay more than he must a further reluctance to pay more than he feels he ' ought '. We are impressed by the view of Professor Macgregor, who, after long experience of membership of Trade Boards, thinks " that there still remain conventional attitudes towards rates of pay which are women's rates, and that they derive from social attitudes "—a view which is confirmed by a number of the joint statements which we have received from the Wages Councils themselves. It seems natural to suppose that the spread of the differential, from some 50 per cent. of the men's rate in the lower ranks of industry to 10 per cent. or nothing at all in the higher ranks of some of the professions, is due partly to the fact that the traditional feeling of inferiority on the part of the women themselves has been shed more successfully the higher the standard of education.

338. At the same time it must, we think, be recognised that inertia cuts both ways. For if it makes some people prone to acquiesce in the continuance of a given state of affairs after the forces which brought it into existence have passed away, it seems to make others somewhat incurious as to what these forces may have been or whether they may not still in fact be at least partially operative. Some of our witnesses, in pointing out truly enough that inequality of pay as between the sexes is sanctioned by tradition, seem to us to have been too ready to jump to the conclusion that it is sanctioned by nothing else—that just because it is of old standing it *must* therefore be without rational foundation at the present time.

Differences in the demand conditions of men's and women's labour

339. We pass on accordingly to those answers which attempt to penetrate both behind the forces of custom and behind the position in particular overlap areas, and to analyse the relation between men's and women's rates of pay in terms of differences in the demand and supply conditions of male and female labour, each regarded as a whole. We may deal first with those answers which lay chief emphasis on the side of demand. According to this group of answers, men and women respectively get, roughly speaking, what they are ' worth ' ; and women are ' worth ' less than men because, relatively to the numbers of men and women respectively offering themselves for employment, the range over which men's services are, for one reason and another, more keenly demanded than women's exceeds the range over which women's services are more keenly demanded than men's.

340. Different answers lay different degrees of emphasis on the various causes of this difference in the intensity of the demand for men's and women's labour. Before setting them out in detail, we must consider one general objection which has been launched against this whole line of approach. Whatever the differences in the intensity of demand, it is asked, must not their force be completely blunted by the fact that in a society such as ours the number of women offering themselves for gainful employment is very considerably less than the number of men? The small proportion—some 10 per cent.—of married women normally 'occupied'—and the fact that even at the height of the war half the women of the country remained unavailable even for part-time employment—are evidence, it is urged, that the services of women are normally *scarce* rather than superabundant relatively to the demand for them. One of our expert witnesses, Professor Sargant Florence, who has developed this argument in detail with special reference to manufacturing industry, is led by it to ascribe the relative lowness of women's wages entirely to factors, especially the lack of combination, operating on the price at which women are prepared to *supply* their labour. To a discussion of these factors we shall turn presently (paragraphs 367 and 368 below): but we must make it plain at once that we are not disposed to regard the fact that a majority of women do not enter the labour market as in itself a valid reason for rejecting the view that the primary causes of the inequality between men's and women's remuneration are to be sought on the side of demand. For no material object or human quality derives value merely from the fact that it is uncommon, but only from the fact that it is scarce *relatively to the demand* for the services which it is capable of rendering.

341. We proceed, therefore, to set out and to comment upon the main reasons for which it is alleged that the demand for women's labour as a whole is less intense than for men's. It will, we think, be helpful to start by distinguishing between three groups of factors which we will label legal, natural and conventional. The first can be fairly rapidly disposed of, while the other two will call for more elaborate discussion.

Legal factors

342. The law prohibits the employment of women in all occupations underground in mines and in certain industrial operations, mainly connected with lead manufacture, which are specially injurious to women's health. It also contains a number of prohibitions of their employment at night or on Sundays and restrictions both on hours of work and overtime.* If these

* For example, the broad effect of the restrictions on the hours of work of women in factories is that, apart from overtime employment (which is authorized for dealing with pressure of work), the total hours of work must neither exceed 9 in any day nor 48 in any week. Moreover, the period of employment within which the hours actually worked fall must not exceed 11 hours in any day and it must not begin earlier than 7 a.m. or end later than 8 p.m. or, on Saturday, 1 p.m. The length of spell of continuous employment must not exceed 4½ hours unless an interval of not less than ten minutes is allowed in the course of a spell, in which case the spell may extend to 5 hours.

On a day on which a woman works overtime, her hours must not exceed 10 exclusive of the intervals allowed for meals or rest, or 12 inclusive of such intervals, or begin earlier than 7 a.m. or end later than 9 p.m., or on Saturday 1 p.m. The overtime for the factory must not exceed 100 hours in a calendar year, must not exceed 6 hours in any week, and must not take place in more than 25 weeks in any calendar year.

The Secretary of State has certain powers under section 73(6) of the Factories Act, 1937, to relax the restrictions on overtime in particular circumstances. He may, as respects a class of factory, increase for women, for not more than 8 weeks in the year, the hours of work and the period of employment allowed in a day; he may, as respects a class of factory, increase for women the factory allowance of 100 hours in a year up to 150 hours; and he may raise the limits of six hours in a week and 25 weeks in a year for a class of factory or, in the event of certain unforeseen emergencies, for a particular factory

prohibitions resulted in excluding women altogether from important branches of industrial activity in which they would otherwise be employed, they would operate by this route to depress the demand price for women's labour in the rest of the industrial field. It does not seem to us likely that this is in fact the case; we think that the *operative* reasons why virtually no women are employed in the heavy industries of the country are of a different character (see paragraph 343 below). Much more important, under modern conditions, is the possibility that the legal limitations on the hours of women's work renders them less useful to the employer in those occupations in which both sexes *are* employed and limits the extent to which female can be substituted for male labour in circumstances in which substitution would otherwise be profitable. In this connection we are disposed to draw a distinction between restrictions on (*a*) normal hours on the one hand and (*b*) night-work and overtime on the other. As regards (*a*), the results of collective bargaining have in general overtaken those of legislation, so that the latter is no longer an operative factor in rendering women's services of less value than men's.* As regards (*b*), however, the fact that work organised on a basis of continuous shifts cannot be assigned wholly to women, and the fact that they are not available to work overtime beyond a certain limit in times of pressure, *do* appear to us to be operative factors, both in reducing somewhat the value of their services relatively to those of men at certain points of common employment,† and in altering somewhat the balance of supply and demand to their disadvantage over the field of industry taken as a whole.‡

Natural factors

343. We turn to the answers which lay stress on the factors which we have labelled as 'natural'. The first and most obvious of these is the lesser physical strength of women. This, it is pointed out, operates to exclude them almost completely from those heavy industries in which some 4 million men in Great Britain are engaged, thus increasing the supply of women's labour relatively to the demand for it in other fields. It is important to note that the emphasis which is laid by many people on this factor does not imply the assertion that women are, in any absolute sense, 'less efficient' than men. On the contrary, it is generally agreed that in some occupations, especially those requiring delicate finger-work and those imposing on the worker a tedious routine, they are more efficient. On work lying well within their capacity, there appears to be no direct factual evidence that women fatigue more easily than men. Further, it is generally agreed that the tendency of modern invention and improvement, especially in the engineering and light metal trades but also elsewhere,§ has been to diminish the relative importance of sheer physical strength. No doubt too, as some of our medical witnesses have pointed out, if more effort were made to adjust working conditions to women's needs, the range of employments open to them could be increased.‖ Nevertheless, according to the argument

* According to figures published by the Ministry of Labour and National Service the average weekly hours worked in manufacturing and certain other industries in October, 1938, were 47·7 for men aged 21 and over, and 43·5 for women aged 18 and over: i.e. the actual hours for both sexes were usually below the legal maximum for women. In January, 1946, the comparable figures were 47·4 and 42·3.

† Cf what has been said about the Post Office in paras. 53–56

‡ For this reason, the conclusion of the Home Office Committee of 1929 (Cmd. 3508) that "the distribution of men and women in industry has been in the past and is being today, except in a few isolated cases, determined by factors quite independent of the legal restrictions on women's employment", seems to us to go a little beyond the mark.

§ Cf. what is said about distribution in para. 234.

‖ It was pointed out to us that in the fighting services it has been recognised that in the design of new weapons and apparatus it is more sensible to consider the capacities of the people who are to use them than to consider only mechanical requirements and then to look for men who can use the instruments without undue effort or fatigue.

here under consideration the range of occupations in which strength and endurance are of preponderant importance is still great enough to exert a strong influence upon the relative intensity of the demands for men's labour and women's labour in general, and so upon the relative rates of weekly reward which they are able to secure over the field of employment taken as a whole.

344. Another reason which is sometimes put forward for the superior demand for men's labour may be regarded as the obverse of what has already been said about the women's greater tolerance of routine work. Men, it is said, are in general more adaptable and versatile than women. It is conceded that this difference in flexibility may be partly due to differences in experience and training rather than to innate psychological differences. It is conceded too, that, with the simplification and standardisation of industrial processes, the range of occupations over which this consideration is decisive has diminished relatively in recent years. But over an important range of occupations where work is still unstandardised and liable to produce surprise situations of one sort and another, men, it is said, are in general more resourceful at dealing with such situations than women, and are therefore worth a higher retaining wage, even though when everything is running smoothly there may be little or nothing to choose between their performances.

345. If all this be accepted as true, it follows that we should expect to find that in those occupations in which both men and women are employed, and in which the engagement and dismissal of workers lies at the unfettered discretion of employers, the average man is more efficient than the average woman. For if it were not so it is hard to see why, at the prevailing relative wage-rates, the employer should continue for any length of time to employ men. We must repeat once more that such a situation, if it exists, would not imply any universal 'inferiority' of women to men. And in interpreting it, it would be a mistake to describe the relative efficiencies of men and women at the points of common employment as determining their relative weekly wage-rates; we should rather describe the relative wage-rates as being governed by the general forces of demand and supply and as themselves determining where the points of common employment shall lie.

346. It is extremely difficult to determine with certainty how closely the facts conform to this *prima facie* expectation. The British Employers' Confederation in evidence assert confidently* that "where women are employed on the same work as men, their output is in general lower than that of the men, thereby increasing the number of workers required for a given amount of production and the overhead costs involved in respect of accommodation, machinery, supervision, inspection and administration of labour generally". In support of this assertion they maintain† that where men and women are employed at identical piece-rates, the earnings of men are in general greater than those of women. Such enquiries as we have been able to make seem to confirm that this latter contention is true in the case of most though not all of the overlap areas concerned (paragraph 226). There are difficulties, partly connected with the matter of the allocation of better-paying work (paragraph 227(*a*)) in arguing directly from what happens under piece-work to what happens under time-work; and in some cases where the latter system prevails the very notion of a measurable quantum of output becomes almost impossible to apply.

347. The Trades Union Congress‡ seem to be more concerned to deny any universal 'inferiority' of women to men than to dispute the claim that their

* See para. 23 (g) of Appendix VI to minutes of evidence.
† Ibid. para. 20
‡ See para. 22 of Appendix VII to minutes of evidence.

efficiency is normally less in the actual areas of common employment. They do, however, appeal, as other witnesses have done, to certain statements made by Mr. Bevin, when Minister of Labour, to the effect that in war it had proved possible to substitute women for men in industry on a basis of one for one, instead of, as expected, on a basis of three for two. It is important, therefore, to remember that Mr. Bevin emphasised that this result was only attained thanks to the special efforts of " managements, production engineers, designers, craftsmen, machine-men, and all the rest ", the Trade Unions having been asked to " break down their operations to the finest point " in order to achieve it.* Evidently great care must be exercised in drawing inferences for normal times from this special wartime effort.

348. In discussing, in paragraphs 343 346 above, the relative ' efficiency ' of men and women, we have stretched the notion of efficiency so far as to include the quality of adaptability to variations in the content of the job to be performed. But we have not yet taken account of another factor on which many witnesses lay great stress—the fact that a majority of women regard paid employment as a more or less incidental stage in their whole life, retire from it at an early age in order to get married, and do not as a rule return to it. In the words of the British Employers' Confederation† " The shorter industrial life of women as compared with men means that in general women do not undergo the same degree of training or acquire the same breadth of experience. The result is that women tend to be employed on those tasks which can be more readily learnt and [on] work of a repetitive character. Further, the more rapid turnover of female labour, through their shorter industrial life, involves additional overhead costs in respect of the recruitment, training and administration of labour generally ".

349. To these general reasons for ascribing to women what may be called a lower ' career value ' than men the British Employers' Confederation add another which seems to require more careful scrutiny. " Further ", they write, " owing to their limited training and experience, women do not make the same contribution as men to the filling of the higher and more responsible posts which are necessary for the efficient conduct of industry." The argument, is, as we understand it, that it is necessary for an efficiently run business which has regard to its own future, to pay emoluments to younger workers in excess of the immediate value (so far as that can be measured) of their output, in the expectation that a certain proportion of them will in due course show themselves qualified to hold posts of responsibility ; but that there is no sufficient inducement for a business to adopt this course in regard to any clearly demarcated group of workers among whom experience shows that the proportion thus contributing to repay the investment made in the whole group would in fact be very small. As so stated, the argument is not disproved by pointing out, as is sometimes done, that if most women were as eager to attain proficiency and obtain promotion as most men there would not in fact be room for them in the higher ranks, since in many occupations there is already difficulty in providing opportunities for advancement to all who desire them. For that does not alter the fact that the group which actually produces the leaders is more valuable to the employer than the group which does not.

350. At the same time it seems probable that in many businesses the selection, for special training and remuneration, of aspirants to the higher posts takes place at an early age ; and it is not clear that in such cases the fact that the large majority of the persons so selected are young men is relevant to the

* See Hansard, May 16th, 1945, column 2527.
† See para. 23(b) of Appendix VI to minutes of evidence.

existence of a sex differential in the standard rates of pay of the great mass of adults who have *not* been so selected. Still less, where remuneration is in accordance with salary scales, does the explanation under review appear to be directly relevant to sex differentiation in the higher regions of such scales; for those regions will only be reached by women who have remained in continuous employment for a considerable number of years.

351. We come now to a further factor which has been distinguished in paragraph 10 as a separate element in causing differences in overall value. This is the higher absence rate of women, as a result both of sickness and of unspecified causes.* The higher absence rate is extremely variable from factory to factory and from occupation to occupation. These differences are apparent in both sexes but no significant case has been brought to our notice where the sex ratio has been reversed. On the other hand there are few strictly comparable studies of men and women working under identical conditions on the same job. In normal times the Industrial Health Research Board consider that absence due to all causes should not exceed 5 per cent. of the possible hours of work but in war-time they regard it as reasonable that this figure should rise to 6 per cent. to 8 per cent. for men and to 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. for women. Absence due to sickness and accidents accounts in their view for more than half the total time lost in both sexes † As they point out, "comparisons between the ratio of sickness absence for men and women are very rarely to be taken at their face value as there are so many differences between the two groups besides sex."‡ Further, the majority of careful studies have been made during war-time when this population, owing to conscription of women, could not be considered normal. For instance, married women formed a higher proportion of employed women and sickness absence among married women in 1944 exceeds that among single women by 65 per cent. It should be added that not only does the information at our disposal relate largely to women, but in the main it relates to industrial workers only. Bearing these provisos in mind it is nevertheless clear that, however the figures are broken down, in every group studied sickness absence in women is greater than it is in men, though the extent of the difference is variable and much more marked in war-time studies.

352. The higher sickness rate among women is attributed to two factors, first, fatigue dependent on the fact that the woman is doing two jobs, viz. (*a*) in paid employment and (*b*) in running a home, and secondly to poor nutrition. A considerable body of statistical evidence is available which shows that gynaecological disturbances are in no way responsible for the rates noted.§ The evidence that fatigue due to additional home duties is an important factor we accept. The importance of poor nutrition is less easy to determine. The assessment of nutritional levels is admittedly difficult. There is, however, evidence in a survey of nutritional levels in a cross-section of the population carried out by the Medical Research Council for the Ministry of Health in 1943 that as a whole the nutritional level found for women was less satisfactory than that found for men, though it showed considerable improvement over the levels seen before 1943. The reasons for the lower level in women are complex

* The figures on which the conclusions in this and the following paragraphs are based are collected in Appendices IV and V to this report. The figures are obviously unsatisfactory. The method of expressing absence rates is extremely variable, so that comparison is difficult and sufficient details to allow of adequate breakdown are rarely available. The adoption of a uniform method of collecting and analysing statistics about causes of absence in industry in adequate detail to allow of the necessary breakdown would clearly be of value for a wide variety of purposes.

† See Industrial Health Research Board Report No. 86, 1945.

‡ See Industrial Health Research Board Report No. 75, 1936.

§ See Appendix V to this report.

and not for discussion here, though it should be stated that it has been suggested* that since women are paid less than men they have less to spend on necessities, among them food. This low level may well account in part for the higher sickness rate in women. Increased fatigue due to the dual role of homekeeper and wage-earner is to some extent open to correction by provision of home help, industrial nurseries and other social services. The lower nutritional level should also be open to correction by the provision of adequate meals in places of work, by education in food values and by improvement in shopping and cooking facilities. The possible effect of equal pay on nutrition is discussed in chapter IX since here we are only concerned with possible reasons for the existing difference in wage-rates. We believe that by a reduction in fatigue and an improved nutritional level a decrease in the high sickness rate of women might be brought about. We are unable to say whether the rate could be reduced to the same level as for men by the means suggested. In fact we doubt if the devolution of the additional duties involved in the care of young children could ever be completely brought about, even if it should be thought socially desirable to make the attempt. We doubt, therefore, if it will ever be possible to reduce the sickness absence rates of young married women to that of men. In the case of single women it appears theoretically possible that relief from home duties and improved nutrition might at least considerably reduce their sickness rate.

353. Little is known with precision of the causes of absence other than sickness. The higher rate for women than for men is dependent in part upon the demands of the home, which have prior claim over the demands of the employer. Men generally regard their work in a more serious light and have a greater economic urge as traditional breadwinners to keep at work. The women will stay at home for more trivial causes (though this appears to be less true the more responsible the jobs), will arrive just a little later in the morning and leave a little earlier in the evening. The variation, however, as between factory and factory, in absence due to causes other than sickness suggests that these are largely remediable. It should be added that it is necessary to draw a clear distinction between manual and non-manual occupations. The absence factor is altogether less important in the case of the latter.

354. Our witnesses have disagreed as to how far absenteeism throws an increased cost on the employer and justifies him in considering that the cost of employing a woman to do a job is greater than that of employing a man. The Trades Union Congress maintain that the amount of dislocation caused by absenteeism is too slight [Q. 3164] to be a significant factor in determining wage rates—the employers consider it of material importance†. On the statistical evidence as to sickness rates available, which we admit is not altogether satisfactory, we would agree that in present circumstances it must be a factor in reducing the overall efficiency of women and we doubt whether, especially in the case of young married women, it is likely ever to be altogether eliminated, though we expect it may be greatly reduced.

355. It was stated by the British Employers' Confederation in their written evidence that the provision of additional welfare arrangements in the case of women involved additional costs which did not arise in the case of men and therefore reduced the net value to the employer of the women's work. We do not feel able to attach great quantitative importance to this point, especially in view of the growing tendency to assimilate the standards of welfare arrangements provided for the two sexes. In their oral evidence [Q. 2760] the Con-

* See Industrial Health Research Board Report No. 75, 1936.
† See para. 23 of Appendix VI to minutes of evidence.

federation themselves assigned it a relatively low place in their list of causes reducing the value of women's work.

356. The effect of the legal prohibition of the employment of women on night work has been discussed in paragraph 342. It is sometimes argued that this legal prohibition is securely based on natural causes. We have, however, been unable to find any evidence that women are less well suited to night work on physiological grounds than men ; in fact in that occupation which is by common consent *par excellence* a woman's profession, namely nursing, every member automatically does her share of night duty. Professor F. C. Bartlett goes so far as to suggest that " there is some evidence, not amounting to proof, that they [women] may be more tolerant of rapid changes of sleeping-time." On the other hand there may well be a risk that, owing to the pressure of domestic cares, a woman will be more likely to fail to take adequate rest during daylight hours than will a man.

357. Our own impressions on the matters so far discussed may now be summarised as follows. We think that the inferior physical strength of women, coupled with their shorter industrial life, their greater tendency to absenteeism, and a certain relative lack of flexibility in response to rapidly changing or abnormal situations, are still important influences tending to depress the *general* demand for their labour as compared with men's, and so to establish their *general* weekly wage-rate at a lower level. It does not follow that any one of these factors, e.g. physical strength, will be found to be of importance in every one of the occupations which for the time being are overlap areas. But we think there is a strong underlying tendency towards the overlap areas being established at points at which the relative efficiency of men and women, account being taken of all the factors which we have enumerated, is roughly proportionate to their relative weekly wage-rates as determined by the general forces of demand and supply—this situation being compatible with a much closer approximation to equality of *piece*-rates, where work is rewarded on that basis. This tendency is, however, in our view qualified and thwarted by certain forces requiring further discussion, so that in certain overlap areas the gap in time-rates, whether those rates are actually paid or are used as a basis for the calculation of piece-rates, is probably greater than the gap in efficiency (even in the comprehensive sense just explained)—one special class of cases of this divergence being that in which there is no clearly demonstrable gap in efficiency at all.

Conventional factors

358. All the factors discussed in paragraphs 343–356 may be classified as ' natural ' in the sense that, while some of them may be wholly or partially remediable, they do, in so far as and for so long as they operate, render the industrial quality of women intrinsically inferior in some respects (not, it must be once more repeated, in *all* respects) to that of men. We pass on now to consider those factors which we have labelled ' conventional '. It must be clearly understood that we are here concerned not so much, as we were in paragraph 337, with the alleged *direct* effect of custom or convention in keeping the wages of women lower than those of men for work of equal value as with its *indirect* effect in lowering the value of women's work through excluding them wholly or partially from certain occupations. Both these effects may indeed have a common origin in a general social attitude, rooted in the conditions of the past, with regard to the ' proper ' functions and position of women. Nevertheless the distinction between them is highly important from the point of view of the implications of a policy of equal pay. For if a low wage is directly due to ' custom ', the raising of the wage by an act of policy may once for all dethrone the custom which caused the wage to be low. But

if the low wage is due directly to customary restrictions on the opportunities of employment, it is not impossible that the raising of the wage by an act of policy should leave these customary restrictions unimpaired and free to exercise their influence in some other way. Whether or not this is likely in fact to be the case will be discussed in chapter XIII.

359. The conventions limiting the field for the employment of women may originate with the employer, or in some instances (such as distribution and the catering trades), where the consumer is in personal contact with employed staff, with the consumer. In such cases the main origin of the convention seems to be an over-valuation of those natural differences which have been discussed in paragraphs 343–346—a feeling that 'this is something which women can't do, or at any rate can't do as it should be done.' The dividing line thus drawn between 'men's jobs' and 'women's jobs' seems to be sometimes a highly artificial one, depending on the general social attitude regarding women's 'proper' position which prevailed at some previous date. Thus women have never established themselves as taxi-drivers because, when taxis were introduced, taxi-driving was not regarded as a suitable occupation for women; but changed opinion has put no bar to their employment as ferry-pilots. We believe that conventions and prejudices originating in this way have been crumbling fairly fast in recent years, and that, in spite of the exodus of women out of gainful employment after each of the two great wars, the record of what they were able to achieve in those wars has exerted and will continue to exert a lasting influence in breaking down whatever element of the old-fashioned or the irrational remains in the public's estimation of the capabilities of women.

360. More important, in our view, because more deeply-rooted in the natural instincts of self-preservation and family feeling, are those restrictions on the employment of women which are in effect imposed on the employer by his male employees, and which have their origin less in the sentiment that 'this is something which women can't do' than in the sentiment that 'this is something which only men should be allowed to do'. Sometimes these restrictions are formally embodied in collective agreements*; but much more often they are the subject of informal and unwritten understandings. These restrictions emanating from the pressure of male employees are, we think, not only more deeply-rooted than those emanating from the prejudices of employers or customers, but are also more strictly germane to the particular subject with which we regard ourselves as most directly concerned, namely the extent and causes of the pay-differential in the actual overlap areas. For while either type of restriction may take the form of the delimitation of 'men's jobs' from 'women's jobs', and thus contribute to depress the demand for women's labour in general, this type of restriction is much more likely than the other to take the form of open or tacit limitation of the *proportion* of women to men employed on what can fairly be described as 'the same job'. It is precisely this type of situation, i.e. one in which men and women are engaged side by side on what can with a considerable degree of accuracy be described as the same occupation, which gives rise to the most conspicuous complaints of unequal pay for equal work, such inequality extending not merely to basic time-rates but to the piece-rates derived from them (see paragraph 227 (*d*)); and it is difficult, as argued above in paragraph 345, to see how such situations could long persist in the absence of conventions and pressures designed to prevent the occupation in question from passing entirely into the hands of the women.

* Instances of such restrictions are agreements limiting to a small number of operations in each case the employment of women in the flour-milling industry, in the wrought hollow-ware industry, and in brass working in Yorkshire, and agreements restricting the employment of married women in the printing industry in Scotland and in wallpaper staining.

Differences in the supply conditions of men's and women's labour

361. We turn now to those answers to our problem which lay chief stress on the differences between the conditions governing the supply of men's and of women's labour. These fall into two groups according as they emphasise (i) the *general* causes leading women to offer their services on easier terms than men, or (ii) the *particular* circumstance that they are less well organised for combined action either than the men who seek employment or than the employers who offer it.

General causes of women's lower supply price

362. Most women, so runs the argument, unlike most men, do not expect, either now or in the future, to support a married partner or a family of children out of the proceeds of their labour; on the contrary, most of them look forward to being themselves supported in the relatively near future. Indeed, in some walks of life many women are receiving at least partial support even in the present; and in their case financial need of any kind plays a smaller part in furnishing the incentive to seek employment than does desire for company and occupation, for escape from the chores of home life, or—in the case particularly (though this is less true than in the past) of occupations such as those of nurses and trained social workers—for satisfaction of the impulse to do good, in conformity with the age-long tradition associating women with voluntary works of mercy.* It is not denied that a majority of women are in a much less fortunate position, being responsible for their own entire support, while some in addition have responsibilities for one or more aged or invalid relatives; nor is it denied that many young women feel impelled to contribute something by their savings during working years towards the setting up of the joint home. But such needs, it is contended, while in individual cases all too genuine and intense, are highly various and unstandardised; so that they do not in practice eventuate in the presentation of a claim for additional income comparable in uniformity and precision with the claim of the typical man to receive the wherewithal to prepare for and to assume the moral responsibility, backed as that is by the sanction of the law, for founding and maintaining a family group. The *claims* of women as a whole—and it is claims that count upon the market—are governed by the *needs* of those women who have themselves but only themselves to support—even this result having only been secured in relatively recent times and with the aid of the intervention of the law.

363. As a prelude to comment on this view, it is necessary to look more closely into the difficult question of the precise part played by 'family needs' in determining the wages of men. There seems to be little doubt that such needs figure largely in the discussions which take place over the actual fixing of wages in particular trades. This is most noticeably true of the lowest-paid labour: "when the bedrock minimum is being fixed" says Sir David Ross,† an experienced Chairman of Trade Boards, "elaborate evidence about the cost of living for an average family is always produced, and forms an important part of the basis on which the [men's] minimum is fixed." But the influence of such computations extends beyond the wages of the lowest grades; for, in the words of the same witness, "the wage-scales of semi-skilled and of skilled men . . . depend on the maintenance of what is thought to be a reasonable differential between the already fixed wages of unskilled men and

* This is a field in which the argument (para. 337) that custom has tended to preserve standards of pay which are only explicable in terms of an earlier phase of the organisation of society seems to have particular force.

† See para. 10 of Appendix IX. 8 to minutes of evidence.

the wages to be established for the other classes." The Trades Union Congress, indeed,* and still more markedly the Amalgamated Engineering Union†, appeared in their memoranda of evidence to assess much lower the part played by considerations of the family standard of living in actual wage bargains, though the former conceded that they had had a certain importance in the more or less remote past. After our oral discussions, however, we are hopeful that we are right in supposing that what these bodies were chiefly concerned to convey was something not very different from the difficult truth which we shall now endeavour to state in our own way.

364. Family standards of living are not absolute things, but depend largely on what it has in fact been found possible to achieve. In any given country, the business manager, the schoolmaster, the skilled craftsman and the unskilled worker have different notions of what constitutes a reasonable family standard of life; and in any given grade of life, the American's notion is ampler than the Englishman's, the Englishman's than the Italian's, the Italian's than the Indian's. In this country, to quote Professor Macgregor‡ "the development of capitalism has given mechanical aids to labour to an extent which has raised the productivity of labour, over about a century, to four times its initial amount, although population also increased four times. This higher standard of real earnings enables the married workman to support a family on a rising standard of comfort. It is wages which explain the standard of living, and not *vice versa*." Seen against this background, there is, in normal times, a much less violent antithesis than might at first be supposed between wage-claims phrased in terms of productivity and wage-claims phrased in terms of reasonable family needs. People ask in the particular for what it is being found possible that they should obtain in general. Strain and clash between the two criteria may indeed arise if, for any group or nation, standards previously established are being found to be no longer justified owing to a decline in productivity or in international demand; and had the Trades Union Congress memorandum of evidence been composed with the possibility of such periods of painful readjustment more clearly in mind, it would, we suspect, have been drafted with more emphasis upon needs and less upon productivity. But, broadly, we are in agreement with the picture of demand as the senior partner and family needs as the junior partner in the determination of the level of men's wages.

365. Now if this line of thought holds good for men's wages, it seems natural to suppose that it holds also for women's. The needs standard of the single woman, no less than that of the family man, must be thought of as elastic rather than rigid,—adjustable both upwards (with alacrity) and downwards (with pain and grief). Thus so far as we have yet gone, considerations of need seem to do less damage than might have been expected to the picture which emerged from paragraphs 339–360—the picture of the relative levels of men's and women's wages as determined primarily by the relative intensity of the demands (as limited by custom or convention) for their services, taken in conjunction with the relative numbers of the two sexes seeking employment. These last words, however, serve to remind us of a difference between the men's case and the women's which appears to be at any rate potentially important. Broadly speaking, it seems sensible to assume that virtually all men are and always have been and always will be in the market for employment. But experience shows that the proportion of women seeking employment is variable within limits in response to the influence of social forces. Ignoring the fluctuations due to war, the spread of feminist ideas has operated in recent decades

* See para. 26 of Appendix VII to minutes of evidence.
† See para. 5 of Appendix VIII to minutes of evidence.
‡ See para. 7 of Appendix IX. 5 to minutes of evidence.

both to enhance the demand for women's labour and to expand the supply, these influences tending in opposite directions as regards the effect on remuneration and leaving the more technical and economic causes of the enhanced demand for women's labour free to exercise a steady upward pull upon their rates of pay. If now an upward revaluation of the occupied woman's standard of needs were to coincide with a withdrawal of women from the market in response to a swing of social opinion in favour of motherhood and home life, such an improvement of standard might prove to be maintainable (at the expense of course of some other element in the community) even in the absence of a further rise in the intensity of the demand for women's labour. Such possibilities, while speculative enough, are not ruled out by the conclusion that, as a matter of historical fact, the ultimate regulator of the level of women's wages as of men's has been the state of productivity and demand.

366. If difficulty is still found in accepting the comparatively low place here assigned to family needs in governing the relative pay of men and women, it may be of assistance to refer to the interesting distinction drawn by one of our witnesses, Mr. R. F. Harrod,* between the economic forces establishing a certain state of affairs and the more profound social forces which permit it to continue. Accepting in the main the 'supply-demand' explanation of the relative levels of men's and women's pay, Mr. Harrod maintains that the resulting situation has proved tolerable and stable because it has been found to further certain deeper social purposes, namely " (i) to secure that the proportion of the national income flowing into the hands of parents is not unduly restricted; and (ii) to secure that motherhood as a vocation is not too unattractive financially compared with work in the professions, industry or trade." " If," Mr. Harrod continues " during the last two centuries the forces of supply and demand . . . had resulted in wages for women being two or three times as high as those for men, I have no doubt that the economic system would have been altered deliberately, or by a succession of subconscious motives, so as to yield a different result." Mr. Harrod may or may not be right about what would have happened in the highly improbable circumstances supposed; but we think it will be agreed that in these passages he sets the problem of the relation between the various forces at work in a fresh and helpful light.

Relative weakness of organisation among women

367. We are left finally with the group of answers which lay chief emphasis on the relative weakness of organisation among women. The reasons for this weakness have been so succinctly expressed by our predecessors the Atkin Committee that we cannot do better than quote the relevant paragraph (85) of their report:

> " *Women less organised*—Again the facts that girls and women have regarded their work as incidental rather than as a main purpose of their lives; that many of them have not been wholly dependent on this work; that they have been less accustomed to work together than have been boys and men in sides, teams, crews and squads; and that they have for so long worked in the main as isolated units in the home have resulted in their not attaining that power of organisation which, in the case of men, has enabled them, when settling wage questions, to meet the concentrated power of the employer on terms of increasing equality and so to get a truer interpretation of the law of supply and demand."

As a result of the causes described in this passage Trade Unionism developed much later among women than among men and has spread much less widely. In 1938, 15 per cent. of trade unionists were women,—a proportion comparing

* See paras. 48–52 of Appendix IX. 2 to minutes of evidence.

unfavourably with the other indices of women's share in industrial activity. The largest female occupation in normal times, domestic service, remains almost completely unorganised. Nor do numbers tell the whole tale; in general, though with notable exceptions, the average period of Trade Union membership is shorter, and the standard of attendance and keenness lower, among women than among men. Among black-coated workers organisations embracing both sexes appear to be both more usual and more active in support of the women's interests than in the industrial field.

368. The exact nature and extent of the influence of collective bargaining on the level of wages is a large and difficult subject, of which in this report we can only scratch the surface. The Trades Union Congress in their memorandum of evidence naturally made great claims on behalf of its efficacy,† —claims which to some of us appeared excessive; nor did our subsequent oral discussion produce complete harmony of view. [Qns. 3002–3008 and 3039–3042.] The points at issue are partly questions of emphasis, and of distinction between immediate and long-run effects, extended discussion of which in general terms would not be likely to carry us much further. Our attention has, however, been called to one particular account of the effects of the low bargaining power of women which, if it were accepted, would have such an important bearing on the implications of the policy of equal pay that we must allude to it in some detail. According to this account, published by Professor Sargant Florence over 15 years ago‡ and reaffirmed in his memorandum of evidence, there exists in general manufacturing industries a very large overlap area in which men and women are employed at unequal rates, although there is no significant difference in their efficiency. The main reason why, in these circumstances, women are not substituted for men is as follows. Most women who are at all eager for industrial employment being already employed, the employers concerned would, in order to attract additional women into employment, be obliged to offer much higher rates than those which they are paying to their existing women workers; and since they would have to pay these higher rates to their existing women workers as well, their total wage-bill would be increased instead of diminished by making the change.§ It might indeed be supposed that in this situation each employer in the locality would attempt to attract women *away from other employers* by the offer of slightly higher rates, and that this process of competitive bidding would go on until the women's wage had risen to the men's level. But the employers are in fact in a kind of tacit combination not to act in this manner; and the women, being unorganised, are unable to take advantage of the potentially favourable conditions of demand for their labour.

369. We do not doubt that in particular local and occupational pockets from which mobility is low, inferior bargaining power may still, though less frequently than in the past, hamper women in obtaining a wage reflecting their

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* See para 136. The same may be said even of the peak proportion, 23 per cent., reached in war-time (1943). The present position is presumably very unstable but it may be noted that after the last war the greater part of the war-time increase in the proportion (from 10 per cent. to 17 per cent.) was maintained.

† "In our view wage-rates—at least for manual workers—have largely been determined by the relative strength of the contesting parties in the process of collective bargaining . . . Looked at in this context the main reasons for the difference between the rates of wages of women as compared with men have to be traced to the relatively weaker position of women in the process of collective bargaining." (Paras. 24–5 of Appendix VII to minutes of evidence.)

‡ "A Statistical Contribution to the Theory of Women's Wages" (Economic Journal, March, 1931).

§ An arithmetical illustration is set out by Mr. Harrod in paragraphs 29–30 of Appendix IX. 2. to minutes of evidence.

true economic worth, whether or not they are working side by side with men. Indeed, in some cases, where piece-prices are fixed by individual haggling, it seems likely that the superior bargaining-power of the employer may operate even more effectively than is assumed in the above picture, and result in some women receiving lower efficiency wages not only than some men but than other women. But we share the difficulty felt by several of our economist witnesses in accepting Professor Sargant Florence's account as a valid *general* explanation of the relative lowness of women's wages. " In most industries " says Sir Hubert Henderson, " the potential shortage of available female labour is in normal times potential only. If it were actual, I do not believe that the customary differences between men's pay and women's pay would be long maintained." " Women workers " says Professor Hicks, " are not as a rule so specialised that a tacit combination of employers to keep down their wages is thinkable. A tacit combination of employers in a particular trade would not be sufficient ; nothing short of a combination between the employers of all sorts in a district would be enough." Nor can we forget that, as Professor Hicks adds, " There is no class of women workers so utterly unorganised as domestic servants ; and it is notorious that their wages (not indeed in individual cases, but in general) do respond fairly freely to the forces of supply and demand." We have no disposition to deny the need for collective bargaining or to under-rate its achievements : and we are ready to accord the inferiority in women's organisation a place among the determinants of the gap between the general levels of men's and women's wages. But we think its place is secondary to that of relative intensity of demand—this latter in turn being determined partly by natural causes and partly by the conventions and pressures of various kinds which, both generally and in particular overlap areas, hinder the extension of the opportunities for the employment of women.

CHAPTER IX

General Economic and Social Consequences of Equal Pay

Introductory

370. In this chapter we consider four types of consequences that may be expected to result from equal pay irrespective of the peculiar circumstances of particular types and spheres of employment : namely

psychological effects ;
effects on the health and efficiency of women as workers ;
effects on relative standards of living ; and
effects on marriage and the birth-rate.

Psychological effects

Effects on the women

371. The nature of the psychological effects of pay-equalisation can best be gauged by attending to the psychological features of the existing situation which result from inequality of treatment. In this connection it is important to distinguish two things not, we think, very clearly distinguished by witnesses, —on the one hand a sense of inferiority and on the other a sense of injustice. It is quite natural that these should not be distinguished : the sense that one is branded as inferior will at the same time be a sense of injustice given the conviction that the inferiority does not exist.

372. This conviction of equality may, however, in particular spheres of employment, be mistaken. It is true that, as regards certain wide areas of employment—notably the Civil Service and work of a similar type outside the service, and the teaching profession—nothing in our evidence warrants us in thinking that such inferiority exists : but in other, especially manual, employments this is by no means so clear. If in fact the value of the work done is unequal it would be unreasonable that the contentment of the inferior workers should be purchased by a pay concession which ignores this.

373. Subject to this qualification we can certainly say that the abolition of pay differentiation would have an important and beneficial effect on the happiness of the women affected. There is no doubt in our minds about the extent and intensity of the present discontent, although, it must be added, it is naturally most marked with those who envisage their work as a career and not as an interim activity to be terminated on marriage, and, consequently, it is most marked with the higher grades of women workers, i.e. teachers and civil servants.

374. Would there be any effect, however, going beyond the effect on the minds of the women themselves ? Further possible effects of two kinds may be distinguished. In the first place, it is often said that the actual efficiency of the women would be improved by this change in their mental attitude. As to this, such evidence as we have suggests that there is no vindictive reluctance to do the best work possible even as things are. But it is inevitable that the mere fact of discontent should, without deliberate purpose, to some extent lower efficiency. Some weight must therefore be attached to this point.

In the second place, it is also often said that differential pay operates to cause friction between male and female colleagues and, even more, between a woman superior and her male subordinates. The men may consider the woman to be below standard because she is paid less than they are or, were they in her position, would be, and the woman will naturally resent the imputation. This, we think, may happen* and is the more likely to do so the lower the standard of general education among those concerned. In so far as it does so, equal pay would provide the cure. But we do not regard this as a major problem.

Effects on the men

375. So far we have considered only the psychological effect of equal pay on the women. A word must be said about its effect on the men. In the case of the men far and away the most important result of equal pay would be the removal of a widespread fear,—the fear of undercutting : and in this connection what matters is not whether the fear is, in this or that instance, well-founded but the bare fact of its existence.

376. A second, more problematic, consequence of equal pay may be the creation of a sense of injustice in the men. This would occur if, but only if, *either* they believed their work to be superior to that of the women *or* they considered that there should be differentiation in pay for reasons not connected with the quality of the actual work performed ; for instance because men have family responsibilities and expenses from which women are relatively exempt. Discussion of the latter possibility we postpone. As to the former, we believe the field in which it could arise to be a limited one, and to fall mainly within the area of industrial employment, where it can most forcibly be urged that there is a differential efficiency of the two sexes. We should, however, add that in general our evidence from organised bodies of employees was in favour of equal pay, and that the men were in agreement with their women colleagues

* See Q.2312 for one alleged case.

in pressing for it. The exceptions to this general attitude comprised a majority of the male teachers in Scotland, a minority of the male teachers in England and Wales and that section of bank employees who are represented by the Bank Staffs Association.

377. It is possible, however, that even without their having an actual sense of injustice, men in an equal pay employment, particularly an employment in which women are in a majority, would feel that they were engaged on what was really 'a woman's job' and that there would accordingly be a falling off in the numbers or quality, or both, of the men coming forward for such employment. The possibility of such a development was put to us most specifically in the case of the teaching profession, by the then Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education, Sir Maurice Holmes. At the same time Sir Maurice Holmes pointed out that this consequence of equal pay, if it resulted at all, would be progressively less marked as the area over which a rule of equal pay operated was extended: it rests essentially on the hypothesis that some one employment, or limited range of employments, is singled out for the equal pay 'experiment'. [Qs. 2567–2570.] Sir Maurice Holmes' fears were not, however, shared by the National Union of Teachers, though they were by some of the other organisations from whom we heard evidence. The matter is more fully discussed in paragraphs 453 to 466 below.

Effects on the health and efficiency of women as workers

378. The possible beneficial effects of equal pay on the health and efficiency of women are dependent upon the fact that it would give the woman whose pay is low a potentially greater spending power. This if wisely used might enable her first to obtain some domestic help and secondly to afford a more nutritious diet, which, as explained in paragraph 352, may increase her efficiency by reduction of sickness absence and so diminish the gap in overall efficiency between men and women in certain overlap areas.

379*. It was, however, suggested by the Atkin Committee, in particular by their medical member Dr. Janet Campbell, that "competition with men on similar work for similar rates of pay has definite dangers for women, especially in borderline occupations between 'men's work' and 'women's work' where the physical strength of women is not much below that exerted by the men, and where temptation to show that a woman can do as much or more than a man may prove disastrous in the long run even to young and strong women by heavily overtaxing their nervous and muscular energy." This suggestion was based on the view that the overall efficiency of women must be taken as four-fifths that of the men. If this supposition is taken as correct for the whole of the overlap area we are considering, presumably Dr. Janet Campbell is right in assuming that equal pay would be detrimental to women's health and efficiency. But it must be remembered that the position as regards the overall efficiency of women in 1946 is not necessarily the same as it was in 1919. Firstly, there is some evidence that better conditions and a greater appreciation of the simple laws of hygiene have improved the general health of women. Secondly, proper appreciation of the necessity of adapting the job to the worker rather than the worker to the job, in the case of both men and women, may be expected to increase both the range of occupations open to women and their efficiency. Thirdly, as it appears possible (see paragraph 378 above) that equal pay, by raising the woman's spending power, might improve her health and therefore her efficiency, so it might be argued that even if there were increased competition in working with men, it would be equalised by the

* This and the next paragraph are subject to a reservation by three members of the Commission—see page 197 below.

increased efficiency due to increased spending power. Our own medical witnesses were not unanimous in the guidance they gave us on this point. Thus Dr. Sibyl Horner endorses Dr. Janet Campbell's view; "equal pay may be expected to produce keener competition between the sexes for the better paid work. There is a constant strain, which may be reflected in health, on the woman who has to prove by performance that she is as good as, if not better than, her male counterpart." Professor Ronald Lane's view is that "in those cases where there is a definite competition between men and women in industry a process of selection will operate, so that only the more capable women (physiologically and psychologically) will be left at the job. These women are likely, in the long run, to feel the strain of competing with those who have been better equipped by nature for this particular function." On the other hand, Professor McSwiney holds that "there would be no appreciable increased strain arising out of competition with men," and Professor Bartlett that there is "no factual evidence whatever that 'increased strain of competition with men' would produce an adverse effect on the health of women." Professor Killick states: "In my opinion, the risk of an adverse effect on women's health through the strain of competition with men is not a serious one. Individuals who suffer from psychological strain when they have to compete with others would suffer it as a result of competing with other women and in fact a certain proportion of women now working in factories do show signs of such strain. The payment of 'the rate for the job' regardless of the sex of the worker would not, I think, materially increase the element of competition. It might result in the elimination, or the transfer to other jobs, of individuals whose efficiency was below the average; such a result, however, would probably be in the interest of the health of the worker affected. To sum up, it is my opinion that payment to women of the same rates as men would tend to have a beneficial effect on their health."

380. Any assessment of the relative physical efficiency of men and women and the possible effect of strain of competition on the latter is complicated by the difficulty of making a precise assumption about the nature and extent of the area over which the establishment of a rule of equal pay, in the sense here relevant of equal time-rates, is to be conceived as operating to raise women's wages—a matter to which we return in chapter XIII. As we have seen, in manufacturing industry, which our medical witnesses had chiefly in mind, the overlap areas in the strictest sense are comparatively small, and are largely piece-work areas, in which the particular situation here envisaged, of women striving to prove themselves worth a given hourly or weekly rate, would not arise. It seems probable that over a wide range of occupations the woman is as efficient as the man as a physiological machine. In those cases where there is a definite competition between men and women a process of selection would operate so that only the more capable women (and more capable men) would be retained—competition would result in the displacement of the less efficient women as of the less efficient men, but would not affect adversely those who are retained.

Effects on relative standards of living

381. We have referred in paragraph 376 to the relation between inequality of pay and family responsibilities. We propose now to return to this subject, and to discuss the consequences for the standards of living of men and women respectively of establishing pay equality.

Responsibilities of men and of women for dependants

382. It cannot be questioned that where there is equality of income disparate liabilities must entail disparity between the standards of living possible to

those who earn that income. The questions to which we now turn are questions of fact :—are there disparities of liability as between men and women in respect of dependants ? and if so, what is the extent of such disparities ?

383. It is not disputed that if dependants be understood to cover only the earner's wife (or husband) and children the burden falling on the male sex taken as a whole is heavier than that falling on women : indeed, the average burden falling on the women under this head is negligible. But it is argued, first, that the whole conception of the ' average ' man or ' average ' woman is in this connection inappropriate or even meaningless ; and, secondly, that the definition of ' dependant ' indicated above is too narrow and that when it is broadened to take account of the earner's responsibility for the maintenance of other classes of persons the burden falling on women is a serious one both absolutely and in comparison with that falling on men.

384. As regards the first of these arguments it is of course perfectly true that men and women may be either married or unmarried, that many married couples are childless and that where there are children their number may vary greatly. Some indication of the actual position in these respects is provided in the memorandum submitted to us on behalf of the Family Endowment Society,* and we do not question the contention of the memorandum that pay-rates based on the supposed normal family " while providing for millions of imaginary children, would leave a large proportion of the real children with insufficient maintenance." Nor are there really any limits to the variety of types and degrees of responsibility of a less well defined nature than that for the maintenance of wife or child which may fall on persons of either sex. All this is true and important. Indeed from a common sense point of view it is much more important than any conception of the ' average ' position—a conception which is necessarily strained and artificial. But what this means is only that, whether or not there is any practicable better method, differentiation between the pay of the sexes is at least a very imperfect method of subsidising family responsibilities. That can be granted ; but in the present context it is irrelevant. It is irrelevant to the analysis of a situation in which it is assumed, first, that some part at least of the burden of dependency must be borne on pay and, secondly, that it is possible to differentiate in pay between the sexes but not between members of the same sex. That is the situation with which we are in fact confronted. The differentiation in standard rates of pay between the sexes already exists ; differentiation in these rates on the basis of, for example, marital status does not and is not advocated.† Our question is this : Let it be allowed that, whether sex-differentiation is maintained or abolished, no more than a rough approximation to equality of living standards as between persons working at the same jobs can be achieved , which alternative yields the *closer* approximation ? If we are to answer this question we must speak in terms of a sex taken as a whole.

385. Speaking then in these terms we may say that the ' representative ' employed man is a married man with some financial responsibility of parenthood upon his shoulders, while the ' representative ' employed woman is a spinster. The latter proposition is not likely to be disputed. The 1931 Census for England and Wales showed that about 77 per cent. of all occupied women aged 14 and over, and about 73 per cent. of those aged 18 and over,

* See para. 9 of memorandum of Family Endowment Society in Part 7 of minutes of evidence.

† We say *standard* rates advisedly in order to rule out of account the complicating factor of the family allowances schemes which are operated by some individual employers. We also ignore for the moment national family allowances schemes and income tax reliefs but we take note of all these factors later.

were spinsters. It is a more complicated matter to establish the average position of men; but it may be indicated in three ways.

386. First, we may note the proportion of occupied males who are married. According to the 1931 census this amounted to 60 per cent. in the case of occupied males aged 14 and above. For occupied males aged 21 and above the percentage was 70. At the same time, a further $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of occupied males were widowed or divorced, and these as a class would have some liability for the support of the former wife or of children. A considerable proportion, moreover, of those not married would marry subsequently, and the contingent liability for the maintenance of a family is relevant to the size even of a man's present income.

387. Secondly, it is of interest how many men have families of dependent children. On the basis of the material furnished by the working of the contributory pensions scheme which covers the bulk of the working population of Great Britain it appears that, at the present time, 55 per cent. of married men under the age of 65 have children under the age of 16.*

388. Thirdly, taking the entire male population of 20 years and over without regard to marital status, we are informed by the Registrar-General that the average number of children under 16 per man over 20 at the present time is about 0·6. We are further informed by the Government Actuary that the average number of children under 16 per married man aged under 65 is 1·0 and that the average number of children under 16 per married man with such children is 1·9.

The interpretation of dependency

389. As to the second of the arguments mentioned in paragraph 383, it is in our view right that in the present context dependency should be interpreted in the broader sense. It would be wrong to ignore moral responsibilities merely because they are not also legal ones, and to exclude from consideration cases of the support of aged parents, orphaned brothers and sisters and even persons less closely related. These moral obligations fall on both sexes (unlike the legal obligation to support children which falls almost exclusively on males) but for a number of reasons it would be impossible to establish their relative incidence without conducting a census specifically for the purpose on the basis of a questionnaire framed by adepts at such a task, if indeed even that would suffice. Failing such a census we can merely indicate the pitfalls that beset the path of the investigator, by way of preface to the conclusions, at best tentative, which we put forward.

390. The major difficulties are the following. First, there is the danger of the inadequate sample; and a sample may be inadequate for a number of reasons. It may be absolutely too small; and in fact no sample submitted by any witness (apart from government departments) covered as many as 2,000 cases, and only two approached that figure. Again, a sample may consist of answers to a questionnaire addressed to a larger number only some of whom replied; and there is inevitably a risk that those who reply will not be representative even of all the addressees, especially where the intention of the questionnaire is known and is related to what may be described, in no hostile sense, as 'making a case'. Thus of the two largest samples just referred to,

* For this information we are indebted to the Government Actuary. In this connexion attention may be called to Table B at the end of his Report on the Financial Provisions of the National Insurance Bill, 1946 (Cmd. 6730 of 1946). The table is based on statistics gathered at the National Registration of September, 1939, [which showed that of all males aged $19\frac{1}{2}$ and over, about 70 per cent. were married] and shows that the proportion of married men was highest—$86\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—for the 45–50 age group and was over 80 per cent. for all groups from 35–60.

one (National Association of Local Government Officers) represents 1,920 answers to an enquiry addressed to just over 3,000 persons [Qs. 1123–4], the other (National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs) represents 1,811 answers to an enquiry addressed to 5,000. Finally, there is good reason to suppose that the burden of dependency varies both as between different social and economic groups and as between different age groups. A sample confined (as in one instance was the case) to the 40–50 age group obviously cannot be taken as fair; but though this might have been avoided we could not expect our witnesses to avoid the other defect, which is inherent in the nature of their respective Associations. It happens that without exception they represented the black-coated class, with perhaps a bias in favour of the higher level in that class.

391. In the second place and passing over the very real difficulty of determining when one person genuinely is dependent on another at all, there is the problem of estimating how serious the burden is. A dependant is a burden of very different weight in different cases. Where the dependant is wholly dependent it is perhaps sufficient to distinguish only between adults and children. Thus Rowntree and Stuart in their study "The Responsibility of Women Workers for Dependants" (1921) took an adult as the unit and reckoned a child as two-thirds of an adult. But partial dependency presents a very different problem. Mere figures of the number of persons supporting dependants do not take us far. But any attempt to estimate the burden of dependency properly in each case as such or such a fraction of the burden of a total dependant is obviously confronted with difficulties which only the most meticulous investigation could hope to overcome.

Enquiries into dependency

392. Such is the background against which the information in our possession has to be assessed. It should occasion no surprise that we do not feel we can attach great weight to it. Even careful and expert enquirers like Mr. Rowntree and Miss Hogg*, both writing in 1921, have given widely divergent estimates of the position. The former concluded that 12·06 per cent. of women workers supported dependants, the latter that 33 per cent. did so, 28 per cent. partially and only 5 per cent. wholly. If, for the sake of argument, Miss Hogg's results are accepted as the better, it appears from her paper that the average number of dependants (adults and children combined in equal proportions) per woman worker† was at most 0·6 in the case of partial dependency and less than 0·1 in the case of total dependency. This result may be compared with the 0·6 of children under 16 per man of 20 years of age or over in 1946. In making the comparison, moreover, it must be remembered that wives have been left out of account (as some of our witnesses maintained they should be on the ground, which we shall not here attempt to argue, that the financial liability they constitute is offset by the expenses incurred by single persons on housekeepers) and that no notice has so far been taken of the men's responsibilities for the wider and vaguer class of dependants which, it is obvious, must be the main factor in the case of women.

393. Miss Hogg's figures are over a quarter of a century old. In the intervening period, the dependency upon men has apparently fallen and in a proportion roughly of 1·0 : 0·6, which figures represent, for the years 1921 and 1946, the ratio of all children under 16 to all men over 20. The potential dependency upon women has increased as the result of a shift in the age composition of the population arising from a heavy reduction in the birth-rate and the conse-

* See her study of the subject in "Economica" for January, 1921.

† Not per worker *with dependants*.

quential increase in the proportion of elderly people (the proportion of men and women over 65 years of age has increased in the last 15 years by 49 per cent.). On the other hand, during this period the burden of the aged has to an increasing extent been assumed by the State. We are not in a position to evaluate these different factors and to say whether in the result the position of women in the matter of obligations of dependency has improved or has deteriorated relatively to that of men. If the burden of dependency on women exhibited in our evidence proved on examination to be markedly more onerous than the figures in our last paragraph suggest, we might call attention to the fact that an investigation by the Fabian Women's Group as long ago as in 1915 appeared to show that 51 per cent. of women had dependants of one sort or another. It is clear from this that it would be unsafe to regard any difference between Miss Hogg's conclusions and those of our witnesses as a truthful reflection of the changes wrought by the lapse of time. It may be noted that one reason adduced by Miss Hogg to account for the divergence of her results from those of the Fabian Women's Group was that in the Group's enquiry disproportionate weight had been attached to the professional classes. Miss Hogg's own investigation was confined to working-class families. Some (including Mr. Rowntree) would question also whether the 1915 enquiry was, even apart from this factor, adequately protected against the dangers indicated in paragraph 390, and the same doubt must be expressed regarding the submissions of our witnesses.

394. But in any event analysis of their evidence reveals less difference from Miss Hogg's conclusions than a first reading suggests. We shall, we think, not be misrepresenting the general tenor of that evidence if we confine our attention to the two largest samples already mentioned. The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs reported that 36 per cent. of their sample group had some responsibility for dependants. In itself this is not strikingly different from Miss Hogg's figure: more striking is the information that 12 per cent., as against Miss Hogg's 5 per cent., had one or more people totally dependent on them. The average number of total dependants per member of the full sample was correspondingly about 0·2, against Miss Hogg's 0·1: the average number of partial dependants about 0·5 against Miss Hogg's 0·6. The National Association of Local Government Officers reported that 48 per cent. of their sample group lived at home but contributed to the general upkeep of the household and in many cases supported or partially supported aged parents, but it proved impossible to ascertain how many of these in fact expended more than they would have expended if they had each maintained an independent establishment for themselves. Only 32 per cent. of the sample actually maintained their own establishment. Of these, 22 per cent. (only about 7 per cent. of the whole sample) had total dependants and 24 per cent. (about 8 per cent. of the whole) had partial dependants. The average number of these total dependants per member of the whole sample was only 0·08 and of the partial dependants 0·09. These last figures must of course be increased, especially, presumably, as regards partial dependants, to take account of genuine cases of dependency on those not maintaining their own establishments; but in themselves they are lower than Miss Hogg's figures. Even relatively to the class of those who maintain their own establishments the figures are only 0·24 and 0·27 respectively.

395. We may now recur to the point mentioned at the end of paragraph 392. So far we have been measuring the full burden of dependency on women against men's responsibility for children only, and even on this basis it would appear that the responsibility of the average male is not less heavy than that of the average female. But men, like women, may have responsibility for other classes of dependants, even apart from wives whom once again we

propose not to take into account. Is it possible to compare the sexes in respect of their responsibility for dependants of these other classes? Two indications are provided by the evidence derived from a special income census for 1937–8 undertaken by the Board of Inland Revenue and by figures supplied by the War Office relating to the grant of ordinary dependants allowance to soldiers and A.T.S. auxiliaries respectively. For a variety of reasons, particularly in the case of the War Office evidence, the figures cannot be regarded as more than very indirectly relevant to the comparison we desire to make; nor would it be possible here to set out all the qualifications to which their interpretation must be subject. Nevertheless, the two pictures are so consistent and the general result so striking that we think it justifiable to put the figures on record.

396. The dependants covered by the Inland Revenue figures are of course only those in respect of whom allowances may be claimed in reduction of income tax. Excluding wives, children and housekeepers the result is as follows. For all income ranges from £200 p.a. and upwards, 6·73 per cent. of married couples* were responsible for dependent relatives (0·52 per cent. for two or more). The figures for single women and widows were 8·68 per cent. and 0·91 per cent. respectively. For incomes of less than £500 the gap between the two categories widens, but even in that range 6·36 per cent. of married couples had such responsibility as against 10·20 per cent. of single women and widows, the figures for two or more dependent relatives being 0·43 per cent. and 1·09 per cent. respectively. It will be seen that the burden on single women and widows is definitely the heavier, but none the less that on the married is very appreciable. We now come to the figures respecting this type of dependency on single men and widowers, to whom a comfortable position in this regard has been commonly attributed. They are striking, being markedly higher than those in respect of single women and widows:—

All income ranges ...	...	13·79 per cent. (1·77 per cent. with two or more dependants)
Incomes of £200–£499	...	15·20 per cent. (1·95 per cent. with two or more dependants)

The facts evidenced by these figures go some way to mitigate the force of the complaint about the disparity of the standards of living possible to single men and single women respectively. We would not suggest that they abolish it.

397. Ordinary dependants' allowance can be claimed by soldiers and A.T.S. auxiliaries in respect of their dependent (i) father or mother, grandparent, step-parent, foster parent, grandchild, brother or sister (including half-brother or half-sister), and (ii) wife or husband, legitimated or statutorily adopted child or step-child or illegitimate child where no affiliation order exists, for whom family allowance is not in issue. From a sample of 1 per cent. of the total number of dependants' allowances it appears that in the case of both sexes the vast majority (in the region of 90 per cent.) of applications are in respect of mothers. The number of dependants' allowances in issue per 100 soldiers (these of course may be either married or single) is 4·6: the number per 100 auxiliaries is 5·4. An examination of a 1 per cent. sample suggests that about 15 per cent. of the soldiers', and about 7 per cent. of the auxiliaries', dependants are wholly dependent. Once again it does not appear that what we may term the 'outer circle' of dependency is markedly a women's province.

* The statistics unfortunately distinguish only between (i) married couples, (ii) single men and widowers, and (iii) single women and widows. It is impossible to say how far the results for the first category would be affected if they were confined to cases in which the whole family income was the husband's income, but probably no radical correction would be involved.

398. The memorandum submitted by Miss Rathbone and Mrs. Hubback on behalf of the Family Endowment Society* says:

> "With regard to the question of the dependency of aged parents, invalid relatives, etc., this may rest either on men or women, but it seems likely that, failing adequate provision for children, the women workers of a family are usually expected to shoulder a good deal of this burden rather than to expect aid from married brothers with children. On the other hand, if the men of the family are childless, their higher pay may entail greater responsibility. Probably these two considerations about balance each other as between men and women, and we understand that such recent enquiries as have been made tend to support this view."

This seems to us fairly to state the general impression left on our own minds by the evidence we have examined. Although, we think, the responsibilities of married men in respect of dependants other than their wives and children cannot be said to be quite so weighty as those of single women, it appears to us that the gap between the two goes a very little way towards offsetting those responsibilities which are peculiar to the men. Looking at the matter from a purely economic angle† and still ignoring the effects of family allowance schemes and income tax rebates, we conclude that abolition of the existing differences between men's and women's pay would result in a greater divergence between the standards of living of men as a whole and women as a whole than there is at present. On either basis, whether that of pay differentiation or that of equality, there are bound to be both 'hard' and 'easy' cases, but the most significant effect of the change would be to add a large majority of the women in overlap areas to the easy cases, leaving the married man with a family, whose case is in any event not notably easy, economically worse off than any other member of the community.

Family allowance schemes and income tax rebates

399. This conclusion, as we have said, ignores the alleviations of the married man's lot provided by family allowance schemes and income tax rebates. Some of our witnesses, however, laid considerable stress on these mitigating factors; and we must consider their effects so far as it is possible to do so. In dealing with this question it must be made quite clear that we are concerned only with the effects of existing allowances and rebates; it is a different issue whether arrangements of these types should or can be made to operate on a more generous scale.‡ This being understood, we think it true to say that to existing family allowance schemes, at least, no great importance can be assigned. The relief afforded by the present national scheme is small, and indeed as regards the first child in a family non-existent. Few individual employers operate schemes of their own,§ and where they do the sums involved are not great. The most impressive cases are those (e.g. the B.B.C. and a number of universities and colleges) in which at the same time the man has no advantage over the woman in salary.

400. As regards tax rebates, perhaps the most helpful procedure in a position of great complexity is for us to set out in tabular form, for the present financial year (1946–47), the net income, after deduction of income tax, at three income levels, of, on the one hand (*a*) the single man, the married man with no children

* See para. 7 on pp. 121–2 of minutes of evidence, Part 7.

† We do not ignore its other aspects, well expressed by Mr. Day of the Staff Side of the Civil Service National Whitley Council [Qs. 1726–31].

‡ See chapter XV below.

§ This was certainly true before the war. During the war the number increased: but even if all the war-time developments were put on a permanent basis the statement in the text would, we think, be a fair one.

and the married man with respectively one, two and three children; and, on the other hand (*b*) the single woman in receipt of 80 per cent. of the men's rates. The net income, after deduction of income tax, of the single woman who was paid the full man's rate, is easily ascertainable from the table.

The sample cases we have chosen are for earned income levels of £250, £500 and £1,000 per annum.

Net income of married and single men at three earned income levels compared with that of single women in receipt of 80 per cent of the male rate, for the tax year 1946–47.

Gross Income		Net income after deduction of income tax				
		Single Person	Married with no children	Married with One child	Married with Two children	Married with Three children
		£ s d	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Women	£200 ...	188 0 0				
Men	£250 ...	224 17 6	244 3 9	250 0 0	250 0 0	250 0 0
Women	£400 . .	318 5 0				
Men	£500 . .	378 17 6	410 7 6	432 17 6	455 7 6	475 5 0
Women	£800 . .	560 15 0				
Men	£1,000 .	682 0 0	713 10 0	736 0 0	758 10 0	781 0 0

401. From the figures in the foregoing table it would have been interesting and helpful to our discussion to form an estimate of the relative standards of living possible to a single woman and to a married man with a wife and, respectively, no children and one, two and three children, at the various income levels, both under existing rates for the two sexes and under equal pay, when full account had been taken of income-tax rebates. To arrive at even approximate estimates of these standards it would be necessary to be able to assess, item by item, the necessary expenditure falling upon the man in respect of himself and his family which does not fall upon the single woman. When we reflected that in respect of all the items, expenditure would obviously vary with income level, that in respect of children, cost would vary both with the age of the child and with the number of children in the family, that the cost (if any) in the case of a wife would depend on whether her position was that of dependant, semi-dependant, or 'asset', and finally that the provision of housekeeping services in the case of the single woman (which must of course be taken into account if the comparison is to be a valid one) takes a variety of forms of varying cost, we reluctantly came to the conclusion that such assessment and such comparison, in the detail adumbrated above, were beyond our capacity to make, if indeed—which we rather doubt—the material for such assessment exists.

402. This is not to say that no conclusions at all are possible in regard to this matter. They can, however, be only of the broadest character. A considerable number of our witnesses made reference to this question; but in doing so, they did not confine themselves to the narrower issue which we have been just discussing of the effect of income-tax rebates, but were concerned with the relative standards available to men and women when all the factors involved had been taken into account, including also family allowances and the incidence of dependency. It will accordingly be convenient if from this point we proceed with the discussion on the wider basis of comparing the residuary net financial resources respectively available to the man of varying marital status and to the spinster, after allowance has

been made for the whole of the elements which go to the computation of such net resources. Some of our witnesses referred in this connexion to the benefits enjoyed by the married man over and above those enjoyed by the spinster, in the form of a home, wife and children. We should be the last to depreciate, in an appraisement of the whole question of equal pay, the value of such imponderables. But if, as some might say, they are above price, they are also above pricing: and if we omit them from the account it is solely for the reason that we know of no measure by which to assess them in terms of pounds, shillings and pence.

The evidence on relative standards of living for men and women

403. The evidence on relative standards of living divides itself pretty sharply into that which holds firmly that under equal pay women would enjoy a financial advantage over men, and that which suggests that such a view has less and less justification as the State takes on an increasing share of the financial responsibilities of the family by the provision of social services, free education, family allowances, etc.

404. In giving expression to the first of these views, Sir Maurice Holmes, formerly Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, asserted that in the teaching profession women were at present a little better off financially than men, and that under equal pay they would be very much more so, since neither income-tax rebates nor family allowances compensated, nor purported to compensate, for the full cost of having a wife and children [Q. 2572]. "It certainly appears to be the case," stated the Treasury, "that, even with a differential wage, the average woman is, in the present state of Society, on a higher economic level than her average male colleague."* Sir William (now Lord) Beveridge and the National Association of Schoolmasters are among others whose evidence was in much the same sense as the two witnesses just quoted: though it must be said that Sir William Beveridge drew a clear distinction between the case of the childless (whether man or woman) and that of the man with a considerable family. The expressions of the opposite view are those of the National Union of Teachers and the Staff Side of the Civil Service National Whitley Council. The former body held that when full allowance had been made for income-tax rebates, the provision of free education and benefits in kind for children, and family allowances, there seemed little justification for the view that equal pay would result in giving a lower standard of living to the man than to the woman.† The Staff Side of the Civil Service National Whitley Council was rather more guarded. ". . . women in general in a given grade might have a better standard of life in certain respects than men on the whole in the same grade, although that has to be qualified to the extent to which dependency of various kinds has to be borne by women . . . We often talk of the weight of dependency on the married man as though it were a dead-weight burden. It is not. The weight of dependency on many unmarried women, however, is a dead-weight burden . . . If judged on the purely financial basis his (the man's) own personal position may be less favourable than that of the individual unmarried woman, and though he may on the whole have less to spend on tobacco or other luxuries for himself than the unmarried woman has to spend on herself, that is because he is spending a fair amount of his money on things that give him a different kind of return and which he prefers." [Qs. 1726 and 1728.]

405. So far we have discussed the effect of equal pay on relative standards mainly in terms of the average member of each sex. Our reasons for taking

* See para. 16 of Appendix 11 to minutes of evidence.

† See para. 25 of memorandum by National Union of Teachers, minutes of evidence, Part 1, p. 11.

this course were set out clearly in paragraph 384, and we invite the reader to refresh his memory of them at this point. Nevertheless, to obtain a realistic picture of the whole situation it is necessary to look beyond averages. The average number of children under 16 per adult man is, as we have stated, about 0·6. But the average number of children under 16 per married man with such children is about 2, and it appears from the Government Actuary's information that about 46 per cent. of dependent children were members of families with 3 or more children. There can be no doubt that in the case of a man with a wife and 2 or 3 children the standard of living under equal pay would be definitely lower than that of the spinster. On the other hand, we must not ignore the more favourable position of the considerable body of men who, at any time, are not married or who, being married, have no dependent children.* At income levels at which the wife is an 'asset' rather than a dependant, a man who is married but without dependent children may enjoy a definite financial advantage over the spinster earning 20 per cent. less than himself; and this advantage would probably in many cases not be altogether lost under equal pay.

406. There is one further observation to be made before we leave the question of relative standards of living. The average male earner is a husband and father. The average woman in employment is not a wife and mother, and even the wives and mothers who are in employment are not normally the sole support of their families. It is moreover as well to remember that the average woman is not in employment at all. Even during the war only about half the women in the country were gainfully occupied and the great majority were not so occupied in pre-war years. It is manifest that the welfare of many more persons depends on the level of the man's rate of pay than on that of the woman's rate, and in any estimate of the consequences of equal pay this numerical fact must be given due weight.

The question of equity

407. It will be evident that, apart from the purely material aspect of these consequences, a question of equity is also involved. The claim for equal pay relies for its appeal largely on 'plain justice.' It is therefore relevant to inquire where, on balance, plain justice lies. In this connexion we have already pointed out that the average woman is not in employment at all. Moreover, the majority of those women who are employed (in industry at least) would not benefit directly by equal pay, because their work is not work which men also are doing. Whether or not they would benefit indirectly is a controversial question. Subject to this last consideration the establishment of equal pay would not only affect the comparative remuneration of a minority only of women (viz., employed women) as against that of men: it would at the same time disturb the balance between the remuneration of two categories of women in employment, on the one hand those who are employed inside and on the other hand those who are employed outside overlap areas. It must be clearly recognised that equal pay involves not merely equitable considerations but a clash of equities.

Relative standards of living of retired persons

408. So far, in this section, we have had in mind the standard of living of men and women earners while they are still in gainful employment. It is this that is directly affected by changes in the level of remuneration. But the effect of such changes on the standard of living of retired persons cannot be wholly overlooked, though we can deal with it only very briefly.

* It will be recalled that some 30 per cent. of occupied men over 20 are not married, and that of married men under 65 only just over a half have dependent children.

409. In this connection we would suggest that the burden falling on the average, that is to say the married, retired man is at least as much greater than that falling on the average retired woman as during the years of active employment. Few single women by the time they reach retiring age will have any responsibility for dependants whatsoever. In the case of the married man, although it may be generally assumed that by the date of his retirement there will be no dependent children, the probability is that his wife will still be alive and will be of an age such that it becomes somewhat severe to treat her not as a dependant but as a housekeeper, whatever may be the proper way of regarding her during her husband's earning years. Moreover, not only must the husband support his wife during his own lifetime ; he must make provision for what, considered actuarially, is her probable survival of himself.

Effect of equal pay on pensions

410. It is against this background that the effect of equal pay on pension or annuity must be considered. The effect will of course differ according as provision is made on ordinary insurance market terms or is (as in the case of the Civil Service and the public teaching profession) by way of a pensions scheme which relates pension to salary without regard to the woman's greater expectation of life. Subject, however, to what is said in the next paragraph, the advantage in both cases would, it appears, lie with the woman, though appreciably more so where schemes of the latter type are in operation. It is true that under the former method equal salaries should mean equal sums available for investment in an annuity, and that actuarially this must mean unequal annuities for men and women. The bachelor will thus reap a benefit attendant on the prospect of his relatively early demise even in a situation in which he has been deprived of all the advantages of higher pay, and the widower similarly. But the married man will be faced with precisely the same situation in respect of his wife as confronts the single woman in respect of herself and will in addition have himself also to consider. Thus the consequences of equal pay for comparative standards of living which we previously noted would be carried on into, and perhaps even accentuated in, the period of retirement.

411. In what has just been said we have taken no account of the possibility that the woman would retire from employment at an earlier age than the man. But though at present there is the same retiring age for both sexes in the Civil Service and the teaching profession, it is frequently, and perhaps even normally, the case in commercial and industrial employments that women are pensioned off some years earlier than men.* Where this is the rule then not only would any scheme which is on a strict actuarial basis operate to depress the woman's financial position (either by requiring heavier contributions during the period of paid employment or by reducing the annual rate of pension), but even schemes of the Civil Service type would have an effect the same in kind, if not in degree, by virtue of the length of service factor in the determination of the pension rate. Looking at the matter from a purely financial angle, therefore, and ignoring the fact (whether it be privilege or misfortune) that the woman will have earned her leisure by a briefer period of work, it may well be the case that, even under a regime of equal pay, the standard of living of the woman who has retired from employment would be no better than that of the married man in a like position. If this is true it carries implications regarding the plight of women where pay is differentiated which provide some measure of support for the equal pay claim on standard-of-living grounds, and the broad

* See para. 29 of Appendix VI to minutes of evidence. For the position in banks see Appendix XII to minutes of evidence. The principle of a lower retiring age for women is of course accepted in the National Insurance Scheme.

conclusion seems to be this: that whether or not equal pay would be consistent with equality of living standards after retirement depends above all on whether women retire earlier than men and, if they do, how much earlier.

412. There is one further point which, we think, should be borne in mind in any comparison of the relative positions of the married man and the woman who have retired from employment. Not only is it probable that the married man will no longer have any responsibility for dependent children; it may also be true that the children who were once dependent are now in a position, should it be necessary, to pay back something of their debt by giving support to their parents. The spinster who finds it difficult to live in reasonable comfort on her pension can make no comparable claim on her relatives (if she has any) who are still earning.

Effects on marriage and the birth rate

413. In the preceding section of this chapter we considered how equal pay would be likely to affect the relative standards of living of men and women earners and those dependent on them. But it may be argued that it is not so much numbers that govern standards as standards that govern numbers, and that hence equal pay might tend to discourage parenthood.

Effects on the men

414. For a number of reasons, however, this would be altogether too precarious a conclusion. In the first place, the motives that impel persons to marry and have children are not so completely at the mercy of nice calculations of less or more as this view would suggest or, perhaps, coolly reflective people would consider prudent. But even if they were, it does not follow that the standard of living aimed at would be defined in comparative terms, still less that it would be defined in terms of a comparison with women only (for it must not be forgotten that an unfavourable comparison with the position of the bachelor could be drawn even as things now are), and, it may be argued, equal pay need not absolutely, as distinct from relatively, depress the position of the family man. Granted that absolute uniformity of sentiment and action is not to be expected in these matters, the natural inference would thus seem to be that equal pay would not affect the conduct of the husband and father one way or the other; and this conclusion we could accept were it not for two considerations. The first consideration is that an increase in the total wage and salary bill would (assuming no change in productivity) reduce the purchasing power of all money incomes. How serious this reduction would be would depend on the magnitude of the increase. In the second place, there is the risk of an eventual depression of the common rate payable to both sexes below the level of the rate previously enjoyed by men alone. These are of course alternative rather than conjunct possibilities, but we cannot ignore the possibility that one or other of them would be realised. It is from this quarter that the real threat to the family would come. But even if the threat were vain and equal pay did not produce a situation in which men were deterred from marriage and parenthood, this does not mean that it would not accentuate the demand for further reliefs in respect of those responsibilities once they were incurred. We believe that it would, since any existing feeling that the man should get more than the woman on account of that burden would be transformed, with no diminution of force, into the feeling that the man with a family should have more than the single person of either sex. Nor is this view really inconsistent with the fact, earlier referred to [paragraph 376] that broadly speaking the men themselves are pressing for equal pay. Their attitude may not be one of objection to the

benefits which the married man enjoys (incidentally, so to say) in virtue of his being a man but only to the method, sex-differentiation in pay, by which at present they are provided. We return in chapter XV to the problem that this development would create.

Effects on the women

415. We have, however, to consider not only the effect of equal pay on the men, but its effect on the attitude and behaviour of the women, the potential wives and mothers. This is a somewhat more complicated question. In endeavouring to reach a view upon it we consulted several firms with experience which enabled them to speak on this question, namely, Boots Pure Drug Company Ltd., Standard Telephones and Cables Ltd., and Cadbury Bros. Ltd. The view of the first two of these witnesses was that the increase in women's earnings would encourage earlier marriage, since the woman would be better able to contribute to the capital required for setting up a home. Some confirmation of this opinion is to be found in a summary of the views of young people which we were able to obtain through the assistance of Mrs. Walter Elliott, who as Chairman of the National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs, arranged for this subject to be discussed in clubs up and down the country. Mr. L. J. Cadbury, chairman of Cadbury Bros. Ltd., however, dissented from the view of the other witnesses, remarking that "normally an increase in earnings is reflected more rapidly and certainly in higher living standards than in increased saving."

416. A further question to which we sought an answer was whether the increase in women's earnings which equal pay would entail would encourage women, when married, to remain in employment and to postpone or restrict the having of children, or would, on the contrary, encourage them to retire from employment and to have children earlier. Unfortunately not all of the evidence, such as it is, deals with this precise question. To some extent it relates rather to the question whether, in general, home life and children are preferred to a job or whether it is the other way round, and is silent on the crucial point as to the effect, if any, that equal pay would have on the position. The issue is, of course, further complicated by the fact that children and a job are not necessarily alternatives; but as to this it seems broadly true, as our evidence suggests, that they would be so regarded except at the higher salary levels. At those levels the interest of the work, status, and the money involved all combine to make continuance in employment peculiarly attractive, while at the same time the size of the total family income is more likely to permit of provision being made for the requisite help at home. But just in so far as the choice is not between earning an income and bringing up a family, the difference that equal pay would make to the former is not likely to affect the latter. The same cannot with any confidence be said, however, in regard to the great mass of women for whom the one activity excludes the other, and here our evidence suggests that equal pay really might make a difference. But in what direction it would tend to operate is disputed. The majority, who hold that equal pay would encourage earlier marriages, also hold, with only minor qualifications, that it would encourage the having of children, Mr. Cadbury once more dissenting. He calls attention to the fact that the higher the pay of the wife before marriage the more its loss would affect the income of the home if she ceases to earn, and some weight must undoubtedly be attached to this consideration. Those who take the contrary view naturally support themselves on the assumption that higher pay means larger savings. Mr. Cadbury, as we have earlier observed, does not accept this assumption. Were it accepted, however, it would be reasonable to suppose that the married couple might have their first child earlier than they otherwise would. But thereafter, where the

woman retires from employment, the level of the woman's rate ceases to be relevant.

417. The most that can be said on this matter remains conjecture, and the best conclusion we are able to reach is not only conjectural but meagre. On the whole we do not think that the number of marriages would be likely to be affected by the grant of equal pay. Any adverse effect on the size of families would probably occur to a marked extent only if equal pay brought about an absolute and not merely a relative worsening of the economic position of the married man. Whether earlier marriages would result there is some difference of opinion which we do not feel we have sufficient evidence to resolve: and a similar doubt surrounds the question whether there would be a tendency on the part of parents to begin their family earlier.

CHAPTER X

Economic and Social Consequences of Equal Pay in the Civil Service and in Local Government Service other than Teaching

Introductory

418. In the last chapter we discussed certain, essentially social, consequences of equal pay which might be expected to arise in a broadly similar form in any field of employment. We proceed now to discuss the consequences, social and economic, which we anticipate will be peculiar to various specific fields according to the differing natures of those fields and of the conditions under which women are employed in them. We shall examine each of the main fields surveyed in Part I, with the exception of the professions. That omission is possible precisely because sex-differentiation in pay is, in general, non-existent in professional employment save in so far as it is also public employment, in which aspect it will be tacitly covered by what is said elsewhere.

419. We begin with the Civil Service, by which we mean throughout the non-industrial Civil Service and local government service, excluding teaching, which is dealt with in the next chapter. The special position within the Civil Service of the Post Office is dealt with at the end of the present chapter.

The Civil Service

420. Our tentative estimate of the cost of equal pay in the Civil Service is £5 million to £10 million per annum. To these figures we will return in chapter XVI, only remarking here that in this, as in other fields, equal pay would entail, as an economic consequence, a transfer of purchasing power, in this case from the general body of taxpayers to the special class of women civil servants. The amount so transferred would be, of course, not the gross cost of equal pay but that cost less the fraction of it recoverable by taxation from the women civil servants themselves. We proceed to an examination of the effect of equal pay on the constitution and efficiency of the Civil Service.* This, we think, would probably be small. In our view, equal pay would not be likely either to result directly† in a change of policy regarding the employ-

* We do not attempt in this chapter to estimate the extent to which the effects of equal pay would be reinforced or offset by other changes, problematic or already certain, in the pre-war conditions of Civil Service recruitment and employment. What little we could say about the nature and tendency of these other changes has been said in paras. 34–39.

† It is possible that a change of policy might be an indirect consequence of equal pay if the direct consequences under existing policy were of a really serious nature. (See para. 430.)

ment of women or radically to alter the extent of that employment while the present policy continues. We shall deal with each of these points in turn.

Effect on the constitution and efficiency of the Civil Service

421. The present position as regards women's pay is indeed governed (though only indirectly, by the application by the Treasury of the principle of 'fair relativity') by *all* the factors mentioned in chapter VIII in so far as they operate to depress the level of women's remuneration in the country at large; and the fact that the Treasury stress the fair-relativity explanation of the existing differential must correspondingly not be read as excluding a justification of the differential on other grounds. But although it is as well that this should be understood, in point of fact, subject to the doubts to which reference is made in paragraph 430, no suggestion was put to us that, as regards work and output, women civil servants were inferior to men. It follows that the grant of equal pay would have no tendency to generate a policy designed to exclude women from the service on the ground that they were not 'good value' or to narrow the scope of their employment in it. Again, although the Treasury maintain that women suffer from certain disadvantages or limitations as employees—they mention particularly their higher sickness rates and the marriage wastage—they observe that "these disadvantages are of a kind to weigh with the employer when deciding whether to employ women at all, rather than in deciding what they should be paid."* Once more, therefore, it can be assumed that a policy of dispensing with, or restricting, the employment of women would not be among the direct consequences of equal pay in this field.

422. So much only need be said regarding the prospects of a deliberate change of policy consequent upon equal pay. We have now to give reasons for our view that in the absence of a change of policy the effects of equal pay would be strictly limited. Here the essential factor is the nature of the recruitment procedure now in force.

Effect on numbers of men and of women

423. Entrance to the main classes of the service is by competitive examination of male and female candidates conjointly. Recruitment therefore can take no account of the sex of the candidate. With this established as a general principle it is unlikely, and so far as we know untrue, that the sex of the candidate is taken into account even in cases in which recruitment to any common grade is not by such competition. It follows that the increased cost of employing women which would result from equal pay could not operate to exclude them from employment, just as their relative cheapness has had no tendency (as the staff figures for the pre-war period demonstrate) to bring them in in disproportionate numbers. (A like verdict can safely be passed on any suggestion that women would be placed at a disadvantage as regards promotion, although the obstacle to sex-discrimination in this case is not, as in the case of recruitment, inherent in the very nature of the procedure adopted [Q. 1678].) Any effect of equal pay would indeed be in the opposite direction; that is to say, its tendency would be to increase the number of women in the service. This might result either from a depression of the numbers and quality of men candidates or from an improvement in the numbers and quality of women candidates. We must now consider these two possibilities, both of which might of course be combined.

424. We are satisfied that, subject to what is said in paragraphs 431 and 432 below, there is little likelihood of a fall in the numbers or quality of male candidates. This view, which is also that of the National Staff Side†, seems

* See para. 6 of Appendix II to minutes of evidence.
† See para. 78 of Appendix III to minutes of evidence and Q. 1670.

to us securely based on the prestige which employment in the service enjoys. It is true that the Treasury anticipate that discontent among the men would result if women were paid the same rates as themselves*, but they do not go so far as to say that that discontent would actually check the recruitment of men to the service, and the fact that the Civil Service Staff Side organisations, representing mainly men, are pressing for equal pay raises a doubt whether there would be discontent at all. Moreover, the very fact that men preponderate would have some tendency to perpetuate itself; for while it continues to be the fact it would be difficult for any men, even if equal pay were confined to this one field, to think of the service as especially a woman's job and to prefer some other employment on that account. If the preponderance of men would be endangered by equal pay at all it would be, we conclude, not because the men withdrew but because they were driven out: which for reasons given above it is thought they could not be.

425. This brings us to the more difficult question of the effect of equal pay on the candidature of women: but here it must be borne in mind that the mere number of candidates is not the essential factor. If women are to be actually recruited in larger numbers than hitherto what is essential is that among the additional candidates who would be induced to apply by the grant of equal pay there should be some women of quality superior to that of some of the men who would otherwise be selected. The supply of women of the requisite quality is not inexhaustible; further, the attractive force of equal pay would presumably be confined to those in the total of suitably qualified women who would in any event wish to be engaged in some gainful occupation. Nor would its effect even on this much more restricted class be unopposed: other factors besides economic status determine the choice of a career, and the sense of vocation would in some cases act in the opposite direction. These are considerations of a purely general nature, but it would be easy, if they are not regarded, to exaggerate the significance of the changes that equal pay would bring with it. We do not, however, suggest that there would be no effect whatsoever on the proportion of women in the service, and we shall now endeavour to estimate the magnitude of that effect more precisely. In this connection we think it desirable to distinguish and deal separately with two aspects of the concession of equal pay either or both of which might be operative in particular cases—on the one hand the actual fact of equality with men, the status aspect; on the other hand the cash value of the increase in the women's pay, the money aspect.

426. The prospect of equality of status would probably affect most strongly candidature for the administrative class and for grades of similar standing in the Civil Service, and this for two reasons. In the first place, formal status, divorced from its cash advantages, carries especial weight with persons whose intellectual and social background qualifies them to seek entry into the Civil Service at this high level, and who intend to make employment in that service a life-career. Secondly, such persons are likely to be affected by the example of friends in the professions who already enjoy equality of status. Some attraction to the service there would doubtless be, however, even at subordinate levels, on one condition; namely that equal pay is restricted to the service or to the service and a very limited range of other fields of employment. Presumably the universal application of equal pay would have no beneficial effect on recruitment to the service at these levels, so far as the status aspect of the change is concerned.

427. As to the attractive force of the actual cash value of equality in pay, what matters is how women's rates, taken together with the other condi-

* See para. 17 of Appendix II to minutes of evidence.

tions of employment within the service, compare at present, and how, given equal pay, they would compare, with those for persons of similar qualifications outside the service. If existing conditions (inclusive of pay) in the service are better than those outside the money attraction will have already largely spent itself. If they are not better or, even, are worse, an improvement which takes them above the outside level would undoubtedly act as a magnet, and it can be assumed that the abolition of the pay-differential would constitute such an improvement if, and so long as, it was not countered by a corresponding improvement elsewhere. But how in fact do the rates compare? On this point the Treasury are satisfied that their procedure of assimilating male rates inside the service to those outside and then applying a (broadly) 20 per cent. cut in order to determine the women's rates results in women's rates at least as good as, and, they incline to think, better than those offered to women in such outside employment.* It is admitted on all hands that the comparison is a difficult one to make, and the Treasury's view was strongly contested by the Council of Women Civil Servants (speaking primarily with reference to the higher grades).† In our opinion, however, the latter body laid more stress than is justified on a comparison between salaries hitherto actually earned by women inside and outside the Service respectively; whereas what is of material importance is rather the salaries which women would be able to earn in the higher posts from which nothing in the structure and practice of the service excludes them, even though, as a matter of history, they have not as yet attained to these posts, or have done so only in very small numbers. When conditions of service, other than actual pay, are taken into account (for instance, leave and sick leave entitlements) the Treasury claim that Civil Service standards of employment are at least as good as those prevailing in other fields seems to us to be justified; but we should not pretend that as regards the higher levels in the service this is anything more than a general impression. As regards the lower levels the Treasury view perhaps receives confirmation from the silence of the National Staff Side on the point, taken with their agreement that, on existing standards, the service succeeds in recruiting a fair proportion of adequately qualified women [Q. 1667].

428. It is necessary at this point to take note of one specific argument adduced by the Council of Women Civil Servants in support of their view. This is the argument from the different proportions, as between men and women, of 'suitably qualified' candidates who take the administrative class and the special class (assistant inspector of taxes and Ministry of Labour third class officer) examinations.‡ The criterion of suitable qualification for sitting for these examinations which the Council employed in compiling their statistics is the possession of a university honours degree in the first case and a pass degree in the second. (No similar figures are available for the executive and clerical classes.) On this basis, it appears that 4·9 per cent. of suitably qualified men sat for the administrative class examination over the period 1930–39, as compared with 1·41 per cent. in the case of women. The corresponding figures for the special class examination are 3·83 per cent. and 2·48 per cent. The inference sought to be drawn is that the Civil Service is less attractive to women than to men of these qualifications and that the level of pay, and sex-differentiation in regard to it, are at least a considerable part of the reason for that state of affairs. The Council do not put the case more strongly than this, nor do they claim that even this can be proved. For our part, we think that there are too many unknowns to permit of any conclusive inference from the data. Not only may it be the case that (as stated by the Association of

* See para. 23 of Appendix II to minutes of evidence and Qs. 1368–71.
† See paras 97–98 of Appendix IV to minutes of evidence and Qs. 2183–88.
‡ See paras. 132–143 and Appendix 5 of Appendix IV to minutes of evidence and Qs. 2189–90.

First Division Civil Servants) the Civil Service has been insufficiently publicised as a career among women graduates,* but it certainly must be the case that a smaller proportion of women than of men graduates seek a permanent career at all. An appreciable number will be if not married at least engaged to be married by the date at which they would be sitting for the examination, and others not so definitely committed may none the less be looking forward to marriage within a few years. Any of these last who would not contemplate combining marriage with a career might reasonably prefer an interim employment of a different nature, and the existence of the marriage bar might deter those who did contemplate this combination. It should be observed that, on the 1930–9 figures, if the same proportion of women as of men with honours degrees had been candidates, and if women candidates had been as successful as men in proportion to their numbers, they would have constituted about 26 per cent. of the recruits to the administrative class. It is, to our mind, improbable that such a disparity as that between this figure and the actual figure of 7 per cent. is attributable solely or even primarily to the pay-differential.

429. On balance, therefore, it appears to us that while the grant of equal pay would probably have some influence on the number of women candidates for the Civil Service and might in consequence result in a larger proportion of women being actually recruited, there is no probability that this tendency would be at all marked except perhaps in the case of the administrative class. This seems to be also the Treasury view [Q. 1577]. We would not, however, go so far as to say that at the lower levels that tendency would be wholly inoperative even in the event of the principle of equality being universalised. There would still be a pull exerted on women in purely women's jobs outside the Civil Service, whose position would not be directly improved by the grant of equal pay. It is true that there would be sympathetic changes in the remuneration of some of these jobs which, though indirect, would yet be immediate, in the case of employees of persons or bodies who had themselves granted equal pay to women in areas of common employment—changes made either as a matter of equity or because it would not otherwise be possible to preserve the necessary relationships between salaries in a sensitively interdependent structure of grades. (Thus the Treasury themselves take for granted that they could not avoid granting sympathetic increases to purely women's grades, which in 1939 accounted for rather more than half of all the women in the service (see chapter XVI).) But such immediate sympathetic increases would not cover the whole area of purely female employment, and over the remainder of that area there would be some tendency to move into the new equal pay areas which would only be checked if and when, under ordinary market pressures, adequate counter-improvements in pay were made there also. But however small the change in the proportion of women in the service, and whatever the level at which it occurred, we cannot agree with the Treasury claim† that it would not confer any benefit on the service. We do not wish to argue that the increase in the number of women as such would do so; but by the very nature of the method of recruitment this increase would have as a corollary a raising of the quality of the successful candidates. At the same time it must be emphasised that this improvement in quality would be materially offset by the increase in cost.

430. Although any major change in the proportion of women to men in the Civil Service as a result of equal pay is improbable it is worth considering

* The Council themselves state that special publicity has been needed in the case of women: but if the facts of the pay position are a major stumbling block publicity can hardly be expected to remove it.

† See paras. 31 and 33 of Appendix II to minutes of evidence.

what importance it would have were it to take place. Its importance would vary from grade to grade, and as a Treasury witness pointed out " the clerical grades could obviously . . . . stand a much higher proportion of women than the higher grades " [Q. 1550] ; that is to say the point at which the efficiency of the service would come in question would be more quickly reached in the higher grades. The problem that would be presented appears indeed to be primarily an administrative class problem [compare Sir Eric Salmon, L.C.C., Qs. 714–6], not only because [Q. 1551] of the number of posts in that class at present reserved to men but, we suppose, also because of difficulties in filling the top posts with sufficiently experienced people unless wastage among women could be brought down to something like the male level. The abolition of the marriage bar could scarcely achieve this even on the most pessimistic view of its present effects. In fact, bar or no bar, women may have an importantly lesser career value than men in the administrative class.* A further ground for concern was also put to us by Sir Alan Barlow. He pointed out that the Civil Service had as yet no experience of women in the highest administrative posts,† and it was necessary therefore to confess to a certain degree of ignorance regarding their suitability for employment at those levels. It can no doubt be only a matter of opinion what, in view of considerations of the sort mentioned, is the maximum proportion of women in the administrative class compatible with ' safety '. The Treasury witness quoted earlier remarked [Q. 1550] : " I imagine that everybody would feel it necessary to sit up and take notice if the percentage of women in the administrative class rose to something of the order of 20 per cent. to 25 per cent." It is, we have suggested, unlikely that such a situation would result from the concession of equal pay ; but were it to do so the whole basis of recruitment might require reconsideration. [Q. 1552].

431. So far we have considered what effects a raising of women's rates to equality with those of the men might be expected to carry with it. We have assumed that the men's rates themselves would not be affected. But though this assumption was not questioned by any witness so far as the manner of the initial institution of equal pay was concerned, the Treasury argued that, by their principle of fair relativity, they might thereafter be bound to relate the common rate not to the men's rates in outside employment but, by some sort of compromise, to the general level of men's and women's rates combined.‡ If the Treasury did what they suggest (and it could only be done, it is clear, against the strongest possible opposition by the Staff Side [Qs. 1641–51]) the inevitable result would be that outside male rates, at their existing or any improved level, would exceed salaries of the men in the service. Innocent though the direct consequences of equal pay would be, this indirect consequence might have the most serious results for the recruitment of men. It is clear to us that there is no chance of such a state of affairs being allowed to continue even if it were allowed to occur ; and we do not think it could successfully be obviated by any device which did not put or keep the men on a level with their fellows outside the service, either by a frank reversal of the equal pay policy itself or by a frank abandonment of this interpretation of fair relativity. Even the grant of dependants allowances, written into the contract of service, would not we think wholly meet the case, supposing such an arrangement to be otherwise acceptable.§ Too many men would not be, or at the recruitment

* See Appendix V to the minutes of evidence.

† At the date of submission of the Treasury evidence no woman in the Civil Service was graded higher than principal assistant secretary. Since then, however, three women have become under-secretaries and two have become deputy secretaries.

‡ See para 22 of Appendix II to minutes of evidence and Qs. 1397–1410 and 1463–6.

§ See chapter XV.

date would not be sure of becoming, beneficiaries to an adequate extent. And although it was actually in connection with the supposition of such a serious development as we have described that the Treasury suggested that recruitment methods might have to be overhauled [Q. 1552], this clearly would not be a complete cure. It might be easy in this way (were it politically acceptable) to arrange for a reasonable proportion of men to be available for the service: it would be quite impossible to ensure their being of the requisite quality.

432. But even if the common rate were not depressed in the name of fair relativity it might happen that a time would come when, on grounds of general financial stringency, the cost of equal pay at the male level was judged to be prohibitively high. This possibility cannot be excluded; and should it be realised the only alternatives at that date would be either to let the rate for the women alone drop and thus to re-establish a differential or to put the common rate for men and women alike down by some lesser amount. Neither alternative would be easy of acceptance, but judged by their effects on the service the latter would appear the less likely to be adopted. What it would entail has been indicated in the previous paragraph: what the re-establishment of a pay-differential would entail can presumably be read, with sufficient accuracy, in the not unsatisfactory state of the service as it is today.

Conclusions

433. Our conclusions may be summarised as follows —

(i) There is no reason to suppose that the grant of equal pay in the Civil Service would have as a corollary a change in the policy of recruitment designed to restrict the employment of women.

(ii) So long as the present system of recruitment remains in force it is unlikely that equal pay would have the effect of increasing to any important degree the proportion of women in the Civil Service, although some increase may naturally be expected. This rests on the assumption that the common rate is not less attractive than the rates payable to men in other competing employments. Granted that this condition was observed any male discontent resulting from the mere fact of equality would, we think, be insufficient to affect recruitment or efficiency.

(iii) It is probable that such increase in the proportion of women as might occur would be most marked at the administrative level. It is precisely at that level that a large increase might prove embarrassing; but given the condition mentioned at the end of (ii) we do not think it likely that the actual increase even in the administrative class would be sufficient to create difficulties.

(iv) To the extent to which equal pay resulted, under the existing system of recruitment, in an increase in the proportion of women in the service, it would result also in an improvement in the quality of the persons recruited, inasmuch as the additional women recruits would be in lieu of men of inferior quality who would otherwise have been entered.

(v) The consequences of equal pay would be important—and adverse—only if the resulting common rate were not held at a level at which it competed effectively with the rates payable outside the service to men of the type and quality which the service required. We cannot believe, notwithstanding what was said to us by the Treasury witnesses, that such a situation would be allowed to develop: but if it were to be it could, we think, be remedied, *within the framework of an equal pay policy*, only by re-establishing the common rate on that higher level.

(vi) We have noted that an element in the Treasury's estimate of the cost of equal pay is the cost of 'sympathetic' increases of pay to women in Civil Service grades confined to that sex, who were in fact just over half of all the women in the service prior to the war. We have also noted that the increases of pay—whether direct or sympathetic—must constitute a transfer of purchasing power from the taxpayers as a whole to that small fraction of them who are women civil servants.

(vii) Finally, the discussion in the previous chapter of a number of general consequences of equal pay must of course be read as applying to the Civil Service as to other fields of employment. On the one hand, a sense of injustice would be removed from the women in the service. On the other hand, there would be a disturbance of the existing relationship between the standards of living possible to civil servants of the same grade, or broadly comparable grades, with the possibility of a resultant demand for measures of family endowment going beyond those at present in operation.

Local Government Service other than teaching

434. Little need be added regarding the effects of equal pay on local government employees in categories analogous to those just considered in the case of the Civil Service. It appears to be generally true that these employees also are recruited by competitive examination, and where that is the case what has already been said in discussing the Civil Service will apply here, subject to three observations.

Similarities and differences between local government service and the Civil Service

435. The first observation is this. If a local authority were not applying the principle of fair relativity and in consequence its female employees were being paid less than women in comparable employments outside, the introduction of equal pay for the employees of such local authority would be more influential in attracting more and better women than its introduction in the Civil Service. We cannot, however, estimate the probability of this: we can only say that it is likely to apply, if at all, only to the smaller and poorer authorities. The City of Birmingham Municipal Officers' Guild informed us that in that municipality the rates are in conformity with the requirements of fair relativity; and we confidently expect the same to be true of all major authorities, for the two-fold reason that their efficiency requires it and that they are in some measure, however limited, immune from the crude economic pressure which might move a private employer to keep his wages bill perhaps even unwisely low.

436. In the second place, although entrance to the service is by examination, it does not follow that in the selection of recruits no account is taken of sex. The posts to be filled may still be in some degree (as the National Association of Local Government Officers stated) earmarked for one sex. This element of segregation, the extent of which again we are unable to measure, certainly constitutes a relevant difference between the local authority field and Civil Service employment. While it would not operate to obstruct any improvement of the quality of the women entrants which equal pay might produce, it would prevent their numbers from increasing to the extent which might otherwise be expected.

437. Finally, it is of course the case that equal pay already exists in certain areas of local government employment, which we have indicated in paragraphs 114, 115 and 118. The further consequences of a general introduction of equal pay would thus be less marked than would be the consequences to the Civil Service.

Conclusions

438. To sum up; it appears to be true that the effects of equal pay in the local government and Civil Service spheres would be broadly of the same type and degree, but the probability is that in the former case they would, for reasons assigned, be slightly less impressive as regards the increase in the number of women employed and (less certainly) as regards the improvement in their quality, except perhaps in the case of certain small areas where rates may at present compare unfavourably with those offered by private employers.

The Post Office

439. The fact that the overlap area in the Post Office is characterised by a number of special features makes it necessary in considering the consequences of equal pay to give separate consideration to this field in the light of these special features.

The night duty factor

440. One main point of difference between the Post Office and the rest of the non-industrial Civil Service is that in the Post Office overlap area, although the men and women are employed on common work, the men are required to perform night duty while the women are as a rule exempt from it. It will be remembered in this connexion that the present proportion of the two sexes in this overlap area is 1 woman to 2·3 men; and that it was made clear by the Post Office that the proportion of women would have been much higher but for the necessity imposed on the Post Office of having sufficient men to prevent the men being overloaded with night duties. It will also be remembered that the differential in pay between men and women in this case is not the usual 20 per cent. of the Civil Service, but 25 per cent., of which 5 per cent. is theoretically attributable to the women's exemption from night duty; and that the Post Office regard 5 per cent. as too low a figure for the factor of difference in duties considered in isolation.

441. It appears to us that if the Government were to adopt a general policy of equal pay in the Civil Service, they would have to consider what precisely equal pay implied in the circumstances of particular cases: and that such consideration would be bound to take account of a difference like the one which here obtains between the sexes in regard to their duties, should this difference be continued as regards the whole or a portion of the women. We envisage three possible alternatives.

(i) that all the women would be eligible for and would accept night duty as required, and that in that case the existing pay differential would be completely abolished;

(ii) that none of the women would be eligible for or accept night duty, and that in that case the existing differential would be reduced but not completely abolished, leaving a margin to allow for the women being exempted from night work;

(iii) that the women would be given an option, that some of them would and some would not undertake night duty, and that the former section would receive the full rate of the men and the latter section the new differential rate referred to in (ii).

442. What are the prospects for these various alternatives? We cannot make any very confident prediction as to which of them is likely in fact to materialise and we must therefore consider the implications in all three cases. Before doing so, however, it is worth while reviewing the evidence we received on the question of the performance of night work by the women. The exemption

of women from night work is a voluntary conformity on the part of the Post Office with what is the legal requirement in industry generally. The Post Office do not feel that this comparison is necessarily right [Q. 2062] and they take the view that there is no reason at all why women should not do night duty. The objection to it, they say, comes from the women themselves [Qs. 2082–2085]. On the other hand we cannot ignore the possibility that the authorities responsible for the administration of the Factories Act might take a different view from the Post Office. Of the attitude of the workers we are uncertain. On the one hand the Union of Post Office Workers stated* that it was not their policy " to demand for women equal pay, and at the same time ask for favoured treatment in the matter of attendances ", adding in oral evidence [Qs. 3630–3632] that the women would have no *more* objection to night work than men if they were getting equal pay. On the other hand, they asserted that their policy as a Union in the treatment of problems of the application of the equal pay principle had not yet been worked out, while at the same time suggesting that the obligation to undertake night work, if imposed, should be laid only on new entrants and on volunteers among the existing staff. Apart from the attitude of the Union we have some reason to suppose that the parents of young girls object on behalf of their daughters to the late hours which night duty entails.

The effect of equal pay on numbers and quality

443. What of relative numbers and quality of the personnel under equal pay? Here we must consider separately the three possibilities referred to in paragraph 441. In the first case, that is to say with a complete assimilation of both pay and night work conditions for the two sexes, the necessity for maintaining a definite ratio between the number of men and the number of women would disappear. In this connexion we must now refer to another respect in which the overlap area in the Post Office differs from the overlap areas in the rest of the Civil Service. There is in the present case no common recruitment of the two sexes and no common competitive examination to act, as these act in the rest of the Civil Service, as a protection against any tendency to cut down the employment of women which might otherwise result from the increased cost of employing them consequential on equal pay. Nor, from the fact that, but for the night work factor, the Post Office would gladly employ many more women at the existing differential (see paragraph 440), can it be inferred with certainty that it would be equally ready to do so if the differential were abolished. Nevertheless, provided the women were not deterred by the prospect of night work, it seems probable that the raised rate of pay would attract women of higher quality than the men coming forward for similar work, and that the Post Office would therefore find it in its interest to recruit a higher proportion of women. It must, however, be remembered that recruitment for the work of telegraphists, sorters and counter clerks, which is what constitutes the overlap area in the Post Office, is only in part direct from outside and is in part from girl probationers and telephonists: and the attractive force of higher pay, being in the latter case at one remove, might not after all be very strong.

444. In the event of none of the women undertaking night work the Post Office would presumably still find it necessary to maintain something like the existing proportion of men to women. At the same time the increased pay might be expected to produce a higher quality in the new women recruits.

445. If the third of the three possibilities we have envisaged were the one which materialised, the position would depend very much on the proportion of

* See para. 8 of the memorandum of the Union of Post Office Workers in Part 15 of minutes of evidence.

women who accepted night duty with equal pay. If sufficient of them did so to make it unnecessary any longer to maintain a definite ratio of men to women, the numbers of women would presumably increase both because the higher pay would attract larger numbers and because for the same money the Post Office would improve the quality of its personnel by increasing the proportion of women to men in future appointments. But if only a small number of women accepted night duty, then in spite of the improved quality of women applicants, the Post Office would presumably be unable to reduce appreciably the present proportion of men recruited.

CHAPTER XI

Economic and Social Consequences of Equal Pay in Teaching

The effect of equal pay on the proportion of men to women teachers

446. For the purposes of the equal pay issue, education presents one highly exceptional feature: viz., that in the case of teachers, sex may itself be a qualification or a disqualification for the work in hand. What we mean by this can be illustrated most simply by the proposition that for the very young children of either sex, woman, *qua* woman, is the best teacher, even though men of higher teaching qualifications may be available: and that for the older boys, men, because they are men, are the best teachers, even though women of higher teaching qualifications may be available. The same proposition indeed is sometimes advanced in respect of the claim of women to be the best teachers of the girls of every age. We do not presume to advance these principles on our own authority. They are based on the evidence submitted to us, which in respect of the first two, if not all three, is consentient. There was not indeed agreement as to the ideal proportion of men to women teachers which should result from the application of these principles. But the validity of the principles themselves was, we think, unchallenged.

447. On a cognate issue the evidence was also all one way. All educational witnesses were agreed that any change, whether in respect of remuneration or otherwise, which was calculated to result in giving either sex a monopoly of teaching would be not merely undesirable, but calamitous, that the numerical majority of teachers should (for reasons outlined above) be women; and that the masculine minority should be substantial.

448. The ideal disparity between the numbers of male and female teachers has been a matter of contest, though the margin between the disputants has not been large. The acute question for the Commission has rather been whether the introduction of equal pay would not result in a greater disparity than was favoured by either disputant.

449. The actual proportions of male and female teachers have been indicated in some detail in chapter III. It will suffice here to recall that in England and Wales for the last half century the ratio of women to men elementary teachers has varied between 71 per cent. : 29 per cent. and 78 per cent. : 22 per cent., the former being nearer the average; and that the Scottish proportions have shown a remarkable approximation to the English. For half a century there have been rather more than two women elementary teachers to one man.*

* The inclusion of figures for secondary or other non-elementary teachers would not significantly affect these proportions, the elementary teachers being in an immense majority.

450. It is true that these proportions may be affected by the changes resulting from the Education Act of 1944 and the corresponding 1945 Act for Scotland. But in so far as the alterations in the proportions simply reflected such factors as the raising of the school leaving age and the restrictions on the size of classes (see paragraph 77) they would not represent any encroachment by either sex on the ground at present occupied by the other. The change in the proportions due to the removal of the marriage bar—and such a change could only take the form of an extension of the preponderance of women which exists already—would be a different matter. The degree of importance attaching to this factor is discussed in chapter XII.

451. The optimum proportion of men to women teachers is a matter of educational policy on which it would be beyond our competence to express an opinion. Wherever this point is fixed, it is accepted by all parties, as we have indicated earlier, that a substantial departure from it (resulting from a change in the system of remuneration) whereby either men or women would cease to be available in the minimum necessary quota, or of the requisite quality, would have serious educational consequences and should be avoided. We are therefore primarily concerned to enquire what numerical redistribution if any of men and women (with or without a change in the quality of either) would be likely in fact to result from a levelling up of women's salaries to men's. Without unduly anticipating what follows, we may say it has been argued that the quota or quality of the men entering the profession might be reduced either by psychological or by economic consequences flowing from equal pay. Psychologically, the effect of the change might (so the argument runs) be to lead men to regard teaching as a women's profession. On the purely economic side, the effect might be (in the long run) to depress the uniform rate established for the sexes, or to prevent it from rising in circumstances in which two separate rates for the sexes might have risen. Before attempting to estimate the probability of either development we may conveniently summarise the evidence bearing on these and cognate issues.

Summary of the evidence

452. As to England and Wales (we consider the Scottish evidence separately and later) this evidence included that of the Association of Education Committees, the National Union of Teachers, the National Association of Schoolmasters, the National Union of Women Teachers, the Ministry of Education, the Association of Headmistresses and the Association of Assistant Mistresses in Secondary Schools. Before considering the evidence of some of these bodies we should perhaps explain what certain of them are and whom they represent. The largest body representative of the public teaching profession (men and women) is the National Union of Teachers (the N.U.T.). Of the pre-war total of about 200,000 teachers, 150,000 belonged to this body. Of these about two-thirds were women. The N.U.T. has for some time been strongly in favour of equal pay. The National Union of Women Teachers is a very much smaller body; it is, as its name implies, a purely feminine organisation, and unlike the N.U.T. was formed expressly to promote the principle of equal pay: just as the National Association of Schoolmasters (a purely male organisation) was formed expressly to resist that principle. The latter has about 10,000 members. The names of the other bodies speak for themselves. In considering the evidence of the Association of Education Committees it is well to bear in mind that the Committees are the bodies which actually appoint the teachers.

453. The Association of Education Committees, while apparently prepared to contemplate equal pay if it could be accompanied by special schemes of substantial family allowances in professional employments, was of opinion

that in the absence of this compensating factor the quality (though not perhaps the quantity) of the male teachers recruited would seriously fall off. [Qs. 76–87.] They thought that what would cause the men's quality, in these conditions, to deteriorate would be the mere fact of nominal equality which would create an actual inequality in standards of living in favour of the women as against married men with children and the possibility that the uniform level reached by scaling up the women's salaries to the men's would in time decline, and leave male teachers who can at present support families unable to do so. (We revert to this point in paragraph 461.) The Association thought men ought to be about one-third of the total.

454. The National Union of Teachers, representing before the war as we have said three-quarters of the full-time teachers in the schools provided or maintained by local authorities, and consisting as to about two-thirds of its numbers of women and as to one-third of men, claimed for its conclusions as strong support from its male as from its female members. These conclusions were, shortly, (*a*) that unequal pay was tending to reduce the quantity or depress the quality of women entrants to the profession. (The Union invoked in support of this contention, *inter alia*, utterances of a number of women principals of training colleges. The quality of the men, according to this body, had not, over a period of years, declined). (*b*) That in the United States, a country throughout most of which either by law or in fact equal pay for teachers prevails, the ratio of women to men had not increased dangerously,* being in fact about 800,000 women to 300,000 men, a ratio not far removed from that obtaining in Great Britain (8/11ths as compared with 7/10ths).† (*c*) That it was improbable that an appreciable number of suitable men would be deterred from entering the teaching profession on the ground that men and women were paid alike. (*d*) That the contention that equal pay for men and women teachers would give a lower standard of life to the man was not well based (in their view the free secondary education would make a big difference to teachers) and was in any case irrelevant to the fixing of professional salaries. But they would welcome additional income tax reliefs and family allowances provided these were on a national scale.

(Sir F. Mander, one of the witnesses for the N.U.T., admitted that the differential was in his view referable in theory to the heavier responsibilities of men (" that is what the differences mean ") but argued like his colleagues that this, though an actual, was an unsound basis for differentiating salaries [Q. 309].)

455. The National Association of Schoolmasters in giving evidence in opposition to equal pay, based itself on two main arguments: (*a*) that the interests of education in general and of the boys in particular called for a ratio of 39 per cent. men to 61 per cent. women teachers; (*b*) that the concession of equal pay to women would reduce the male percentage below the 29 per cent. at which it stood in 1938. They based their advocacy of a reasonable pay differential largely on the peculiar family responsibilities of the married man teacher with children; and were insistent that the equalisation of women's with men's salaries would place the latter in a position of substantial economic inferiority to the woman teacher. Equal pay for women, they contended, meant in substance and in practice more pay for women—reckoned in terms of money's worth—leisure, opportunities of travel, reading and the like.

456. To these witnesses must be added the Ministry of Education. Sir Maurice Holmes, then Permanent Secretary of the Ministry, expressed the view that equal pay would be likely to discourage male recruitment, and not

* See para. 272. The proportion of men has in fact increased.
† But see para. 271.

only because of its effects on comparative standards of living. There would be a psychological disinclination to enter what would tend to be regarded as a women's profession; but this would naturally diminish in force the wider the field in which equal pay was applied. The attraction of the new conditions to women, on the other hand, would of course be reduced if equal pay were not confined to the teaching profession; in this connection the important point would be whether it was or was not extended to the other public services. Sir Maurice Holmes concurred in the view that there was a risk that, if the general wage level in the country were to rise, the employing authorities might not be willing to raise the uniform teachers' rate correspondingly to the level which, given the pay-differential, a purely male rate might have attained. [See particularly Qs. 2567, 2571, 2572, 2583, 2584.]

The question of the maintenance of the common standard of pay

457. There is one factor involved in what has just been said which deserves more extended notice: the argument that a common standard of pay established at the present male level might not be maintained. This argument, in so far as it depends on the fact that women preponderate in the teaching profession, could not be urged with the same force in the case of the Civil Service, which, so far as can be foreseen, is likely, even if equal pay were established, to remain preponderantly male. The argument takes some such form as this:—

(*a*) The teachers consist, and must continue to consist, mostly of women.

(*b*) Women teachers have shown themselves for a long time past willing to teach at salaries substantially inferior to those of men. The 'supply price' of their services has been lower.

(*c*) The effect of raising the women's pay to the level of the men's will be a uniform rate for the sexes which the majority of those who enjoy it—the women—will be less concerned to maintain than the male minority who monopolised it before.

(*d*) Under such conditions the danger of a fall in the common rate is one to be reckoned with, as a possibility at least, so soon as one of those spells of retrenchment sets in, which so often in the past have alternated with spells of generous expenditure.*

(*e*) Moreover, even apart from the risk of an actual fall in the money rate, its *relative* level might gradually decline as a result of failing to keep in step with rising levels of wages and salaries in other fields of employment.

Conclusions

458. We now have to express our conclusions, on the evidence which we have summarised, as to the risk of a material decline in the quantity or quality of male recruits to the teaching profession resulting from a system of equal pay. We may mention first, only to dismiss it as a factor of relatively small importance, that we had some evidence to the effect that some of the poorer local authorities have in the past only engaged women in the existing numbers for reasons of economy, and that if men and women could be engaged at the same rates of pay these authorities would be likely to employ a larger proportion of men. We cannot estimate precisely the probable importance of this factor, but on the whole it seems likely that its effect on relative numbers would in the long run be overborne by certain other consequences of equal pay—namely its effect in rendering the teaching profession (i) more attractive to women and possibly also (ii) less attractive to men.

* See para. 22 of Sir Hubert Henderson's memorandum, Appendix IX. 3 to minutes of evidence.

459. As regards (i), the natural effect of equal pay would be to cause more and better, or at any rate more or better, women to seek to enter the teaching profession. This effect would no doubt be damped down if equal pay were simultaneously introduced into other branches of the public service. We have had some evidence, too, to suggest that it might be retarded by the inelasticity of some of the training colleges in respect of the specialised accommodation provided for men and women respectively. This, however, could presumably only be a temporary obstacle, which would not in the end serve to prevent a change in the relative numbers of men and women seeking to enter the profession from being reflected in an actual change in the relative numbers engaged in it.

460. As to (ii), the question is more debatable. The N.U.T. and the N.A.S. were in direct conflict on this issue. Though it is not an issue which can be decided by counting heads, it is fair to repeat that the N.U.T., who do not think male recruitment will suffer by equal pay (but that female recruitment is suffering for want of it)*, represent not merely most of the women teachers but a substantial majority of the men. Nor is it unnatural to ask why a reform which merely betters the condition of the women without worsening (absolutely) the condition of the men, should discourage the latter: though this argument begs the question raised in paragraph 457 above to which we attach importance and to which we return below. In the conflicting state of the evidence offered by the N.U.T. and the N.A.S., special significance attaches to that offered by Sir Maurice Holmes on behalf of the Ministry of Education. Sir Maurice "found it difficult to escape the conclusion" that the men would (for good or bad reasons, but as a matter of psychological fact) be "discouraged" from becoming teachers, and this partly, but only partly, because equal pay would create a higher standard of living for the women, or enhance an existing one.

461. A more serious source of possible discouragement that this largely psychological one, is the purely economic factor considered in paragraph 457 above. If the apprehensions of those who advance the argument outlined in that paragraph are well-founded—and we cannot say we think them devoid of some substance—if, that is, and so far as, a uniform rate established for men and women is liable later to fall, or to lag behind, the rates obtaining for men in comparable employment outside teaching, then we are of opinion that a material drop in the number or quality of male teachers is a possibility which cannot be ignored.† If, however, there should be a parallel fall in outside comparable employments, this particular factor loses much of its importance; and if without such a fall or lag equal pay were simultaneously introduced in such comparable employments, the factor we have labelled psychological would also be much weakened. It has been suggested that a decline in the numbers of men might be stemmed by a quota system, if such a system were practicable: but if the fears indicated above were realised, ratio might be maintained at the expense of quality.

462. In the last paragraph we have formulated conclusions which in the condition of the evidence must be to some extent tentative, regarding the probable consequences of equal pay on the numbers and quality of men and women teachers respectively. There are, however, certain other consequences which fall outside this category. In the first place, having regard to the state of opinion on this question within the profession, the grant of equal pay would

* See the table given in para 97.

† See para 213 of the report of the Atkin Committee to whom it appeared that in the teaching profession the same rates paid to men and women would have the result of attracting women with a higher standard of qualification, and so of either driving out men or forcing a new differentiation of salary if men of equal qualification were required.

redress a sense of injustice which the majority of teachers, men as well as women, rightly or wrongly entertain. Secondly, the cost of introducing equal pay in teaching would amount, on certain assumptions, to about £14,500,000 for England and Wales, and about £2,000,000 in Scotland. The assumptions involved and the details of the calculation are set out in chapter XVI. Lastly we would call attention to the discussion in chapter XV of the question of equal pay and family endowment.

Scotland

463. Evidence on the position in Scotland was given before us by the Educational Institute of Scotland and the Scottish Schoolmasters' Association. These two bodies occupy somewhat the same positions as the National Union of Teachers and the National Association of Schoolmasters respectively. The Educational Institute has a membership of over 27,000, and represents more than 90 per cent. of all the teachers in Scotland. The Scottish Schoolmasters' Association, a purely male organisation, represents about 50 per cent. of the men teachers in Scotland. Its membership overlaps with that of the Institute and 95 per cent. of its members belong also to the latter body.

464. At the time of giving evidence to us the Educational Institute of Scotland was awaiting the results of a plebiscite among its members on the question of equal pay, and for this reason was unwilling to express very positive views. We formed the impression that it was pre-occupied with the problem of attracting sufficient candidates of both sexes to the profession, and that while it thought that the opening of new careers for women might make teaching relatively even less attractive to them than to men, it had no doubt that if a common scale were fixed on the basis of what was adequate to attract women, this would have a depressing effect on the supply of men. The results of the plebiscite, which were notified to us, showed a 77 per cent. majority in favour of equal pay. The votes of men and women were recorded separately, and this enables us to see what is possibly of more significance: that while 94 per cent. of the women were in favour of equal pay, 77 per cent. of the men were against it.

465. The Scottish Schoolmasters' Association contended that equal pay would mean the virtual extinction of the schoolmaster. It argued that there has been for some time past (including a considerable period before the war) a difficulty in recruiting sufficient men teachers, and invoked in support of this the 'Report of Supply' issued on 9th July, 1943, and the tables appended to it. From Table 2 ('Changes in the Proportion of Graduate and Non-graduate Entrants under Chapter IV') it appears that while, since 1934, there has been an almost continuous fall in the total number of entrants of both sexes the fall was under 16 per cent. in the case of women and over 35 per cent. in the case of men. Before the war, again, it is said that the ratio of men to women entrants for 'Chapter IV' fell in successive periods of four years from 25 per cent. to 24·5 per cent. and 22·4 per cent. From this it is argued that teaching in Scotland is becoming more and more a woman's profession: a tendency which equal pay for women is more likely to accelerate than restrain.* If the teaching profession in Scotland has in the past attracted too few men, it is not likely to attract more by raising the women's remuneration to that of the men, on whom the pull of competing professions may be expected to operate increasingly in proportion to the relative fall in their status as against women.

* It should, however, be remarked that information supplied to us by the Scottish Education Department, covering teachers certificated under 'Chapters V and VI' as well as 'Chapter IV,' and based on the numbers of outgoing students over the years 1929–30 to 1938–39, indicated a slight improvement in the overall recruitment of men teachers, as compared with that of women, in that period.

466. The conclusions which we have summarised in relation to England and Wales are in our view applicable equally to Scotland. We should explain that we have not, in reaching this view, ignored one feature in the Scottish situation which distinguishes it in a relevant way from that in England and Wales: viz., that a materially higher minimum qualification is required of men than of women in respect of 'Chapter IV' teachers (primary teachers) who constitute the great majority of the total. Women in Scotland can qualify by a (three years') non-graduate course at a training college. Men must obtain an ordinary degree in arts at a university and further undergo a course of one year and one term at a training college. The cost (in fees, leaving maintenance aside) for women is £30 15s. 0d. and for men £95 5s. 0d.*: a notable difference. Thus it is both more difficult and more expensive for males than for females to qualify for service as public teachers and this might be urged as an argument in support of unequal pay in the case of Scotland which is not available in the case of England and Wales. But the force of the argument is undermined by the fact that it could be urged only as against those women who take the 'soft option'—definitely a minority prior to the war—and in the new scales, as previously, there is already discrimination (whether adequate or not) against the non-graduate woman.

CHAPTER XII

The Marriage Bar and Equal Pay†

The connexion between the marriage bar and equal pay

467. The relevance of a marriage bar, where it exists, to the issue of equal pay is as follows. One ground relied on in justification of lower remuneration for women is that their career value is lower, by reason of their tendency to retire from employment at an early age on marriage. While this is in general true, women in employments where a marriage bar exists not unreasonably contend that while many of them would no doubt have retired on marriage in

* This, however, includes an allowance of £15 for books, the cost of which is additional to the figure given for women.

† The Government have just (August, 1946) published the report on "The Marriage Bar in the Civil Service," by the Civil Service National Whitley Council Committee (Cmd. 6886 of 1946) This Committee was appointed in consequence of an undertaking given by a former Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir John Anderson) to a deputation of Members of Parliament, that the marriage bar in the Civil Service should be reviewed by the National Whitley Council. The report deals with the history of the marriage bar, the method and results of its operation, the position of employers outside the Civil Service, the position in certain other countries, and the current views of Government Departments and of Civil Service Staff Associations. It sets out in tabular form summaries of the main arguments which have been advanced for and against the removal of the bar. It discusses in some detail the implications of a removal of the bar. It makes no recommendations. The Government, in announcing the forthcoming publication of the report, intimated that they proposed to reach a decision on the question in the autumn. Our own chapter was drafted prior to the publication of the report and we have left it substantially unchanged.

any case, the effect of the marriage bar is to compel all of them to do so, and to do so for good. Apart from this compulsion a proportion of them might have stayed, or, in the case at least of some forms of employment, might have returned when after a period of years they had founded their families. It is accordingly argued that to the extent that the bar forces them to fall out in circumstances in which they would not, if free agents, have done so (or would not have fallen out permanently), it is unfair to invoke women's marriage wastage as a justification for lower pay.

The operation and effects of the marriage bar

468. We proceed to consider: within what fields the bar prevails; how far, within those fields, it precludes the continuance in employment of women who, in its absence, would so continue; and in reference to what classes or grades its effects are disadvantageous or beneficial to the public interest.

469. The fields in question to-day are mainly the Civil Service and local government employment outside teaching. In teaching a bar was enforced by most local authorities before the war, was suspended temporarily during the war, and has now been abolished by the Education Act, 1944—since it has been increasingly appreciated that the married woman teacher has certain qualifications for teaching that are not offered by either men or spinsters. In manufacturing industry some individual employers impose a bar and in the case of clerical employees in banks a bar is common, but we do not in these last spheres attach much importance to its scope or its effect, because the persons affected, for lack of the means to employ domestic help, would in most cases withdraw on marriage anyhow. We therefore do not intend to dwell on these categories. The position in the Civil Service is that women in established posts are normally required to resign on marriage, but upon application by the woman concerned an exception may be made where her continued employment is thought advisable in the light of her special qualifications, or special experience in relation to the duties required of her, or of the special requirements of the Department in which she is serving. Since 1934, when these regulations were made, the bar has been waived in twenty-eight cases, nineteen of which have occurred in the years 1941–46. The majority of the women retained have been in the administrative, or professional, technical and scientific grades. According to the report referred to in the footnote to the heading of this chapter, " in recent years it has been the normal administrative practice to grant retention, on application, to any woman of at least 'principal' rank in the administrative class who has served for several years in that class to the full satisfaction of her Department ". About two-thirds of women civil servants marry and retire. In local government (except in the case of teachers) we understand that a bar is enforced by a great majority of the authorities.

470. How far in these last fields would women resign on marriage in the absence of a bar? Three pieces of evidence throw some light on this difficult problem. Two of them relate to teachers in days before the marriage bar had been wholly swept away in that sphere. The third is concerned with women in the administrative class of the Civil Service.

471. Sir Eric Salmon speaking for the London County Council gave us the following figures for the retirement of women teachers from the Council's service over a period of years during which a marriage bar was lifted, was re-imposed, and again lifted, from which it appears that the bar did have an appreciable effect.

Effect on wastage of removal of marriage bar—teaching staff only

	Total no. of women employed	Total no. of married women	Resignations on marriage
1922	14,377	3,000 approx.	
1923	13,760	not available	80
	Marriage bar re-imposed in 1923, but existing staff retained right to remain. This affects the figures for several years following.		
1924	13,938		66
1925	13,585		87
1926	13,779		88
1927	13,885		88
1928	13,644		110
1929	13,566		122
1930	13,532		118
1931	13,326		133
1932	13,102		140
1933	12,914		177
1934	12,689	Not available	170
1935	12,349		137
	Marriage bar lifted		
1936	12,263		77
1937	11,882		65
1938	11,464		66
1939	11,115		63
1940	10,360		41
1941	9,791		15
1942	9,221		10
1943	8,762		10
1944	8,437	2,000 approx.	18

472. The National Union of Teachers undertook research into this question, and supplied us with a statement from which we gather that 50 local authorities, which before the war had no bar, found that a high percentage of their women teachers who married remained permanently in their service. Some sample figures showing the proportion of married to single women employed are as follows:

Out of 1,280 women teachers employed, 629 are married.
" 394 " " " 153 " "
" 886 " " " 350 " "
" 1,698 " " " 612 " "

Out of 28 head mistresses of junior schools, 17 are married.

Here again it appears that with freedom of choice many women teachers prefer to combine marriage with a career.

473. Our third source of information is the memorandum submitted by the Council of Women Civil Servants.* The Council maintain that of all the women who entered the administrative class by examination between 1925

* See para. 120 of Appendix IV to minutes of evidence.

and 1939 something like 21 per cent. left as a result of the operation of the marriage bar and just over 15 per cent. left on marriage as a matter of preference. On these figures the removal of the bar would cut down marriage wastage by over 58 per cent., and would increase the number of women 'stayers' in the service by 39 per cent.

474. It is apparent that there is an appreciable amount of unwilling retirement among educated and trained women, but it must be borne in mind that the usefulness of the information about teachers is limited to the extent that teaching may be one of the occupations most easy to combine with marriage and child-bearing, by reason of its comparatively short hours and long holidays; and also that the analysis made by the Council of Women Civil Servants could not include an estimate of how many women who would not have retired on marriage, would have retired shortly afterwards to have and bring up children.

475. Assuming that in the Civil Service (and local government) the effect of the bar is to exclude from further employment many women who would have elected to remain in it, or to return to it after marriage, is it possible to say that the exclusion has different results in terms of the public interest, according to the class or grade of employee affected by it? That it may be beneficial in respect of one class, and baneful as to others?

476. The evidence both of the Treasury and of Sir Eric Salmon is that in the clerical and generally the lower grades of the services in question, the bar is a positive advantage as enabling a more rapid labour turnover of persons for whom no avenues of promotion exist. In respect of the higher flights, e.g., the professional, administrative and technical classes of the Civil Service, the position is different. Here the bar is harmful so far as it increases the natural wastage and results in a further shrinkage of the pool from which women in whom much training and experience has been sunk can be made available for filling the highest posts. As against this, however, may be set the risks of inconvenience and embarrassment to the public service from endeavouring to retain in employment women who may require considerable spells of maternity leave and whose domestic duties may restrict their mobility and their availability for the long hours of work which may be required at times of crisis and pressure.

477. A modified bar by which women were allowed to return after the absence of a few years, though working well in other forms of employment might, it is thought by some of us, lead to administrative difficulties in a system constituted on the lines of the Civil Service.

CHAPTER XIII†

Economic and Social Consequences of Equal Pay in Private Industry and Commerce

Implications of equal pay under a very broad interpretation of 'the rate for the job'

Introductory

478. In previous sections of this report we have emphasised the ambiguity both of the phrase 'equal pay for equal work' and of the phrase 'the rate for the job' to which we have decided, for the reason given in paragraph 12, to treat it as equivalent. We have emphasised, too, the difficulty of identifying

† This chapter and chapter VIII are subject to a memorandum of dissent by three members of the Commission—see page 187 below.

the field over which, in commerce and industry, men and women can truly be said to be engaged on the same—that is, on closely similar—work; and also the variety of explanations which have been offered both of the difference between the general level of men's and women's earnings and of differences between the earnings of the two sexes in particular overlap areas. All these ambiguities, difficulties and differences of opinion arise afresh in any attempt to elucidate the implications, i.e. to predict the probable consequences, of the establishment of a general rule of equal pay in the field of private industry and commerce. Nevertheless such an attempt must here be made.

479. We may begin by recalling certain distinctions already drawn. First, with our definitions, equal work does not mean equal value to the employer (paragraphs 15–16). A rule of equal pay would be an injunction to ignore, in the fixing of wages, those considerations of overall value which were briefly mentioned in paragraph 10 and discussed at greater length in paragraphs 348–356. Secondly, equal pay for equal work does not even mean pay proportioned to immediate effective output, except in those cases where it is technically possible for the claim of the rate for the job to be satisfied by the establishment of a system of identical piece-rates. In other cases, i.e., where the rate for the job must be interpreted as meaning equal *time*-rates, the change advocated would not necessarily represent a movement *towards* the closer adjustment of reward to individual achievement, but might well represent a movement *away from it*. Thirdly, a job is not the same thing as an industry, nor even as an occupation in the census meaning of that term (paragraph 142). We agree with the Trades Union Congress* that the establishment, in a certain sense, of the rate for the job would not necessarily obliterate the line of demarcation between jobs performed mainly by men and jobs performed mainly by women, nor even necessarily supersede the establishment of separate minimum time-rates for men and women in broad industrial groups. Any estimate of its precise effect must depend upon guesswork as to the width of the interpretation which, in interpreting a rule of equal pay, would in fact be given to the term 'job.' We propose to begin by assuming, as we think has been generally assumed in past discussions, that over the major part of the field the only practicable way of applying the rule would be to apply it, so to speak, with a broad brush to large occupational groups. We shall turn later in this chapter to other possibilities.

Effect of equal time-rates on production and on the employment of women

480. It will be recalled that our analysis in chapter VIII of the causes of the general inequality between the time-rates paid to men and women in industry led us to assign primacy of place to relative intensity of demand. If this conclusion be sound, it seems *prima facie* to follow that the consequence of attempting to impose equality of time-rates over large occupational groups would be, in the words of the British Employers' Confederation†, to "make female labour uneconomic and thereby militate against [women's] employment." The exact consequences would no doubt vary between the different parts of each occupational field. Thus in some cases there might be, even at the new rate, no inducement to substitute male for female labour, and the effect on production and on the employment of women would depend mainly on how sharply demand for the product reacted to the higher level of production

* See paras. 152–3 of Appendix VII to minutes of evidence.
† See para. 34 of Appendix VI to minutes of evidence.

costs.* It seems natural to suppose, however, that in many cases employers would take the first convenient opportunity actually to replace female by male labour, when and where available ; and that over a still larger field that gradual process of adaptation and experimentation which has facilitated the entry of women into new parts of the industrial field would be inhibited and checked.

481. This was the view which commended itself to the Atkin Committee in 1919, and which they expressed in very emphatic terms. †

> " Of the results of the universal adoption of the policy of equal time rates we were left in no doubt. There was complete unanimity on the part of the employers in every department of industry proper that it would drive women out, and the opinion of the general Unions was that it would have this effect on trades unsuited to women. The skilled men's Unions were now, as, according to the evidence before the Fair Wages Committee, they had been in 1908, of opinion that the policy would involve exclusion, and it was frankly admitted by some of them that this was what was desired . . . We are unable to recommend at this juncture of the national life a change bringing such doubtful advantages to men and fraught with such serious injury to women as we believe would result from the adoption of the formula of 'equal time-rates'."

While the Committee thus phrased their conclusion in terms of the consequences to 'men' and 'women,' in the restricted sense of the members of the two sexes employed in industry, it is evident that they had also in mind the consequences to the nation at large, in the shape of the reduction in the value of output which might be expected to ensue, whether the women excluded from the overlap areas were to leave industry altogether or to transfer themselves to the women's trades where the value of their output would be lower.

482. We proceed in paragraphs 483–498 below to consider three reasons which have been put before us why we should take a more optimistic view than our predecessors of the consequences, for the national output and for the employment prospects of women, of the establishment in industry of a rule of equal pay in the sense of equal time-rates. These reasons are connected respectively with the alleged advantages of wage standardisation, with the removal of the fear of undercutting, and with the prospects of 'full employment.'

Effects of wage standardisation

483. Some advocates of equal pay lay stress on the fact that the whole tendency of collective bargaining and industrial legislation has been in the direction of establishing standard rates of time wages, in which small differences of capacity between individuals are ignored. " It is an essential part of the principle of collective bargaining—now universally accepted in this country—that wage-rates should not be settled according to the various capacities of individual workmen, but for the whole of the workpeople employed in a particular industrial grade or occupation." ‡ The simplicity and certitude of this

* " There are certain jobs in engineering, for instance," said Sir Alexander Ramsay [Q. 2858] " which women would always be called upon to do, I think, because they can do it more suitably than any man, that is, very light fingering work . . . The only effect of putting women's wages up by a very appreciable amount would be that the cost of the product would go up and go up very considerably, and we would just have to take the economic consequences of that happening My own view is that, particularly in the export trade, those consequences would be quite serious ".

† Cmd. 135 of 1919, para. 213 ff. Much of the industrial evidence on which they based their conclusions still repays careful study (Cmd. 167 of 1919, Appendix I, Sections C and D).

‡ T U.C. memorandum : see para. 23 of Appendix VII to minutes of evidence.

system, and the guarantee which it affords against arbitrary or oppressive treatment, are held to outweigh any disadvantage it may have in failing to produce an accurate adjustment of reward to individual capacity or productive effort. And it is held by the advocates of equal pay to be anomalous and unnecessary to retain, as between men and women, a differentiation which has been abandoned as between individual members of either sex.

484. It seems to us that, from the point of view of economic consequences, this argument requires very careful scrutiny. From the standpoint of the employer of labour, all such standardisation of time-wages is, necessarily, what has been called a 'false standardisation' of the price of labour. Experience shows that when it is insisted upon as between individuals the employer will acquiesce in it within pretty wide limits, for the sake both of harmonious labour relations and of the actual saving of the trouble and expense which would be involved by continuous and meticulous enquiries into individual capacities. But it would be unwise to predict that he will display the same margin of tolerance if he feels himself confronted with false standardisation as between clearly distinguishable groups, whether the line of distinction be sex, race, age or any other clearly recognisable characteristic. Only those who are convinced that there is, on the average, no difference of efficiency, in the most comprehensive sense, between men and women in the overlap areas would, we think, be entitled to conclude that wage standardisation between the sexes would be no more dangerous than wage standardisation within each sex.

Effects of the removal of the fear of undercutting

485. It has been argued in paragraph 358 that a downward thrust has been exercised on women's wages by certain conventions and pressures limiting the field of women's employment. These affect our problem in two ways. First, by excluding women altogether from certain occupations, they tend to diminish the scarcity of women's labour in other fields and to cause the general level of women's wages to be lower than it would otherwise be. Secondly, in occupations where women have already obtained a foothold, they obstruct the further substitution of women's for men's labour in circumstances in which it might seem to be profitable; and hence appear as a principal cause why, in these overlap areas, men and women may sometimes be found working at time-rates which (whether actually paid as time-rates or used as a basis for the calculation of piece-rates) differ by somewhat more than the relative efficiencies of the two sexes for the work in question, even when the term efficiency is interpreted in the widest sense so as to take account of all the several elements which we have called overall value.

486. The question thus arises as to how the establishment of a rule of equal pay would affect these conventions and pressures. To this question two diametrically opposed answers have been given. On the one hand it has been argued that the acceptance by women of lower rates of pay has been an important factor in inducing employers to over-ride or ignore the conventions and pressures, and so in extending the opportunities for the employment of women. This argument, it is held, applies alike to occupations from which women have so far been altogether excluded and to those which are already, in greater or lesser degree, overlap areas. In the blunt words used 30 years ago by Professor Cannan "the enlargement of the field of women's employment . . . is hindered . . . by the cry of equal wages for men and women, as the most powerful lever for increasing the opportunities of women is taken away if they are not to do the work cheaper." On the other side it is argued that the fear of undercutting has been the most important factor in causing men to put obstacles in the way of the employment of women; that this fear would

automatically be removed by the establishment of the rate for the job; and that the indirect effects of its removal would outweigh the direct effects of the rise in wages in deterring employers from employing women.

487. The Trades Union Congress state* emphatically that "against the threat of undercutting the demarcation of men's and women's work provides only a partial protection, but a protection which the Trade Unions will only agree to dispense with when the threat itself has been removed." But their predictions † as to the actual effect on the employment of women of the establishment of a rule of equal pay were somewhat guarded. "In our view it is impossible to anticipate what would be the precise effect of the application of equal pay for equal work on the distribution of men and women in different employments. In some occupations in which women have only been employed because they were a cheap form of labour, an increase in their wages relative to those of men would no doubt lead to the increasing employment of men. On the other hand, in so far as the closing of the gap between men's and women's wages decreases the fear of women being employed only because their wages are less than those of men, there will be a widening of the opportunities of employment for women so that in some industries the proportion of women employed may increase." Miss Dorothy Elliot claimed to put before us the women workers' own point of view on this matter, in terms which can perhaps be described as courageous rather than confident of the issue [Q. 3066]. "There are the women who have faced this quite fairly and squarely, who have said: 'We know there is an element of uncertainty in this; you cannot tell exactly what effect it is going to have. On the one hand, demarcation may go and opportunities may open up. On the other hand, there may be prejudice against employing women if the higher rate is to be paid. We cannot settle this. We prefer the reasoning that the present situation is a wrong situation both economically from the men's point of view and on grounds of justice from the women's point of view, and we want to face whatever the consequences are.'"

488. Many of our economist witnesses expressed grave doubts as to whether the removal of the fear of undercutting would in fact eradicate the misgivings of the men. "Certainly" writes Sir H. D. Henderson‡ "it seems to me that the male employees would be short-sighted if they were to be thus re-assured, and were to disregard the possibility that the standard rate for a job might be reduced over a period of years if women came to be employed upon it in large numbers." "People," writes Professor Pigou§ "who have come through custom to think of themselves as having a vested right in an occupation will not be over keen to admit new competitors, even though there is no question of their accepting lower wages than themselves. For in any case the new competition will tend to depress the general rate of wages in the occupation—or to prevent it from rising—and may for a time cause unemployment there. This general dislike of competition is probably the main motive behind policies of exclusion, though it often camouflages itself as self-defence against 'unfair' practices." "The dislike of being undercut," writes Mr. Harrod‖ "is not the only cause of 'pressure' against women. The male employees dislike women taking their jobs; the undercutting may inflame that dislike, but is not the sole cause of it." Sir David Ross calls attention to the fact that the equal pay provisions in the war-time relaxation agreements did not prevent the Trade Unions from insisting that these agreements shall

* See para. 165 of Appendix VII to minutes of evidence.
† Ibid para. 166.
‡ See para. 10 of Appendix IX. 3 to minutes of evidence.
§ See para. 7 of Appendix IX. 6 to minutes of evidence.
‖ See para. 39 of Appendix IX. 2 to minutes of evidence.

be purely temporary, and takes this as indicating " an unwillingness (from fear of unemployment among men) to admit women to men's work even at equal wages."*

489. We shall reserve our final comment on these opinions till we have examined, in succeeding paragraphs, the bearing upon them of a policy of 'full employment.' But meanwhile there is a point of great importance which has been put to us very clearly by Mr. Harrod†, and which is not always perhaps appreciated. Even a complete removal of the pressures exerted by men against the employment of women could not be expected to do more than counterbalance the removal of that part of the pay-differential which is to be ascribed to the existence of these pressures. If, therefore, complete equality of occupational time-rates is held to be essential to secure the removal of these pressures, it could not be expected to extend on balance the openings for the employment of women unless it be true that the existence of the pressures is the sole cause of the differential in time-rates, there being no element of differential efficiency at all. Otherwise removal of the pressures by the establishment of equal time-rates would still leave a gap between the wage demanded and the wage which the employer is willing to pay. Only those who are convinced that there is *no* difference of efficiency, in the broadest sense, between men and women in the present overlap areas, and would be none in those occupations which might become overlap areas if the resistance of the men were withdrawn, can logically, it would seem, set much store by the argument that the establishment of equal pay, in the sense of equal time-rates, would undermine the pressures exerted by men against the employment of women.

Effects of a policy of 'full employment'

490. We pass to the third of the reasons for greater optimism which have been mentioned in paragraph 482 The danger of the displacement of women from the overlap areas was, it is urged, bound up with the existence of conditions of chronic deficiency in the aggregate demand for labour. Nowadays we live, as a result of the need to repair the damages of war, in a world of strong and active demand for labour of all kinds; further, it has become part of the declared policy of all parties to maintain this condition of 'full employment' in perpetuity. A policy, therefore (so the argument runs) which in "old, unhappy, far-off" times might have carried risks to the true interests of women, carries them no longer. The genial waspishness of Professor Cannan's evidence to the Atkin Committee‡

> " To prevent the rise of women's earnings in proportion to those of men while pretending to favour their claims, and to stereotype the inequalities of the present, no legislature could devise a more effective plan than that . . . of prohibiting the employment of women in each employment unless they can earn as much as a man . . . . ".

may have been justified in his own day; but his day is not ours, and his warning is out of date.

491. In commenting on this argument, we must distinguish between its two parts—the part which relies on the facts of 1946 and the part which relies on the promises for the future. As regards the former, it is undoubtedly true that there now prevails a strong and intense demand for labour of all

* See para. 7 of Appendix IX. 8 to minutes of evidence. These agreements have, it is true, been prolonged into the 'transition period', but again only on a temporary basis.

† See paras 35–36 of Appendix IX. 2 to minutes of evidence.

‡ P. 175 of Appendix II of Cmd. 167 of 1919.

or most kinds ; and it may even be that, owing to such factors as the world shortage of textiles, the pendulum of *relative* intensity of demand has swung with especial force in the women's direction.* Women are being besought to remain in industry, not turned from its gates ; and we find such anomalous situations as those disclosed in paragraph 174, where men are being put on to women's work through shortage of female labour. All this is evidently favourable both to the retention by women of their places in the overlap areas, and to their absorption, in the event of their extrusion from these areas, into what we may call the ' reception areas ' of the women's trades, without excessive loss of earnings. But we feel bound to remember that we have been asked to furnish material for judgment on a change which, if it were introduced at all, would be intended to remain in force not merely for a ' Dunkirk period ' of fevered demand and abnormal effort, but for as long ahead as can now be foreseen ; and we think that a warning note is not out of place. The general danger of basing wages policy on what has been called a ' false buyers' market '† has been much commented on in recent months. Less evident, but perhaps not less real, is the risk of a mis-gauging of the relative underlying strength of the markets for male and female labour. It is not without significance that the total numbers employed in supplying the armed forces are planned to have fallen from 3·9 million in mid–1945 to 0·5 million by December, 1946 : for it may well turn out that in this field, with its highly standardised production for a single buyer with a bottomless purse, the labour of women has stood at a discount smaller than that which will attach to it in production for normal markets. Against the shortage of textiles must be set the special drives for recruitment in the coal-mines, the iron-foundries and the building and building-material trades , nor, in estimating the future extent of what we have called above the reception areas for women, should it be overlooked that the wages arrangements proposed by the Evershed Committee for the cotton-spinning trade, to which we shall revert later on in another connection, are put forward on the express ground that they will " in practice tend towards the greater employment of male adult labour which, as already indicated, we regard as highly desirable in the interests of the industry."‡ To sum up, certain long-term influences which have been operating for the last two decades or more on the side of the higher valuation of the labour of women (in particular, increase of mechanisation and breakdown of processes) have by no means lost their force and may indeed turn out to have been permanently strengthened by the war. Nevertheless, the near future may perhaps prove less favourable to the claims of women than the immediate present.

492. Such speculation brings us to the second pillar of the argument under review—the declared intention of successive Governments to maintain conditions of high and stable employment. This is expected to affect our problem in two ways : first, directly, by relieving women from the consequences of asking what might, in less happy circumstances, have proved an uneconomic wage ; secondly, indirectly, by undermining the resistances which the fear of unemployment has caused men to offer to the employment of women, and so releasing the natural forces operating in favour of a relative expansion of the

* Evidence of this is perhaps to be found in the relatively greater advances recently obtained by women in agriculture, in the boot and shoe industry and in a number of branches of the clothing industries. See paras 256, 217 and note * to para. 147.

† " We have on our books at the present time orders running into many millions of pounds, both for home and overseas . . Their fulfilment depends on our ability to deliver promptly and at the right price Otherwise the end of the present false buying market will arrive rapidly and cancellation of existing orders will follow ". (Speech of Chairman of Austin Motors, *Times*, March 29th, 1946).

‡ See para 34 of Evershed report.

demand for women's labour. These two branches of the argument must be considered separately.

493. The first raises difficult questions about the administration of a policy of full employment. Confidence in the efficacy of such a policy is based on belief in the power of Government, by a variety of fiscal and other measures, to prevent the total flow of money expenditure from falling below some assigned level. But the volume of employment associated with any given flow of total money expenditure depends on how much has to be paid out to each person, i.e. on the level of money wage-rates. Suppose now that, at a time when employment is already active, a substantial rise in money wage-rates is exacted by some numerically important section of workers. The older type of monetary policy would have put obstacles in the way of a corresponding expansion in the flow of total money expenditure, so that the wage *bill* would not have been raised in proportion to the rise in wage-*rates*, in other words unemployment would have begun to make its appearance. Under the newer type of monetary policy it is not altogether clear to us what is expected to happen in such circumstances. Is it to be anticipated that measures will ever be taken which, while they might be of a different and more refined character than the old, would have the same restrictive effect on employment? Or is it rather to be anticipated that the Government, in pursuit of the objective of full employment, would always be prepared to raise the target level of the flow of total money expenditure to keep pace with whatever bargains about the level of money wages were arrived at by the several parties concerned? It would seem that such a policy, even if it succeeded in preserving full employment for the time being, might succeed only at the cost of setting up dangerous inflationary stresses, both external and internal, in the general social and economic framework, whose ultimate consequences, on employment as on everything else, could not be regarded without grave apprehension.

494 Such difficulties and dilemmas, it would seem, might arise even in the case of a uniform advance of money wage-rates which did not distort the existing wage structure. But there are further difficulties about visualising the combination of a full employment policy with a large scale disturbance of existing relativities in the matter of wages. We doubt whether the mere assurance that such a policy was in operation would deter employers of labour from endeavouring to circumvent the false standardisation occasioned by the large scale application of a rule of equal pay. In order to induce them to keep the women in full employment at the new common rate, would it be necessary for the Government to fix the target for the total flow of money expenditure so high as to afford the employers a continuing windfall bonus on the employment of the men? Or would the same end be sought by offering a differential subsidy on the employment of women? Or would it be found necessary in the end to take authoritarian measures to freeze, industry by industry and firm by firm, the existing distribution of employment between the two sexes? It seems that such measures, however efficacious for the moment, might well lay up trouble for the future by riveting a heavier burden of costs on some branches of production than on others, and so stimulating the contraction of the one group and the expansion of the other for reasons unconnected with any shift in social demand.

495. So much stress has been laid by some people on the sovereign power of the policy of full employment to smooth away any obstacles there may be in the way of a policy of equal pay that we have felt bound to reflect upon these difficult issues and to record briefly the tenor of our reflections. We do not feel qualified to pronounce finally upon them, nor have we sought access to the inner counsels of those upon whom the responsibility will rest

of administering in detail the policy of full employment in such manner as not to conflict fatally with other objectives such as the efficient conduct of industry, the internal stability of the currency and the satisfactory management of the international balance of payments. We feel, however, that we are not going beyond our last in offering the following reflection. As we see it, the policy of high and stable employment is a precious and tender plant, which has not yet—for the occasion has not yet arisen—been successfully transplanted from the greenhouse of speculation and plan-making into the cold air of the real world. Its prospects of success depend on the co-operation of many individuals and groups, from some being demanded the active qualities of initiative, enterprise, and mobility, from others the more passive contribution of moderation and self-restraint in the pressing of claims. Nothing could give it a more unfavourable start than to be used as a shield or blanket for the protection of group-policies which, in the bleaker days of a strict gold standard and a mobile bank rate, might have been expected to bring their own swift retribution.

496. We turn to the second of the two branches of the argument distinguished in paragraph 491— that which brings us back again to the resistances offered by men to the employment of women. We have quoted in paragraph 488 a formidable array of opinions, not yet many months old, to the effect that the establishment of a rule of equal pay would not of itself break down these resistances. But it will be noted that most of these opinions are based on the argument that the cause of the resistances is not merely fear of *undercutting* but fear of *displacement*, so that removal of the former fear would leave the latter still in existence. The question therefore which we have now to ask ourselves is whether these opinions must be regarded as already out of date. Can the policy of full employment be relied on to remove the fear of *displacement* so thoroughly as to permit the removal, by a policy of equal pay, of the fear of *undercutting* to exercise its full effect ?

497 To this question we cannot bring ourselves to give an affirmative reply. We agree that the proved success, over a number of years, of a high employment policy should assist materially in reducing the resistances offered by men to the employment of women ; but we should expect it to fall far short of removing them completely. In interpreting the past policy of the men, it is not easy to distinguish between the fear of complete unemployment on the one hand, and, on the other, the fear of the supersession of a particular skill or displacement from a particular billet : yet much turns on this distinction. We do not believe that in the swiftly moving modern world any Government is in a position to guarantee to all male workers continuous employment *in their existing skills and situations ;* and as long as this is the case we should be surprised if the men were to rid themselves completely of the apprehension with which they have hitherto regarded these forces of invention and technical change which have been working over many decades to facilitate the absorption of women into industrial and commercial employments.

Conclusion as to effect of time-rates applied to broad occupational groups

498 We must now attempt to summarise our own conclusions about the subject matter of paragraphs 490–497. We recognise that there are forces working in both directions ; but we do not think that either the present facts or the future promises about full employment justify us in turning a deaf ear to the warnings which were given to and accepted by the Atkin Committee, and which have been repeated before ourselves, about the probable effects on national output and on the employment opportunities for women

of the establishment in industry of equal time-rates for men and women by broad occupational groups. We feel constrained to agree with Professor Hicks that the probable consequence of a large scale application of the policy of equal time-rates would be " not merely . . . that the process of penetration would be checked, but much (perhaps most) of the ground gained could not be held," since *in general,* for the reasons set out in chapter VIII above, " at equal pay for men and women a man will always be preferred."* A policy of high employment, pursued successfully over a period of years, could, we think, prove a powerful ally to a wise wage policy in promoting the forces making for a progressively higher valuation of women's labour. We do not think it could be relied upon to neutralise the effects of a wage policy which, in the absence of a deliberate high employment policy, would not have been adjudged wise.

Implications of equal pay under a very narrow interpretation of 'the rate for the job'

The economic consequences of equal piece-rates

499 We pass now to an entirely different conception of the way in which the principle of the rate for the job might be applied in industry. This is that its application should be limited to those cases in which it can be clearly shown that men and women are being paid widely unequal sums for doing equal amounts of work so closely similar that it would commonly be described as identical. This class of cases seems to be virtually co-extensive with the sub-class of cases of work at unequal piece-rates isolated in paragraph 227(*d*) ; and since, while it may not be large, the industries in which there is reason to suspect its existence are important, including as they do engineering and clothing, it is worth while to consider what would be the probable consequences of a policy of this kind. To simplify discussion, it will be assumed that the enforcement of the principle of the rate for the job in these cases would not necessarily be interpreted as meaning *absolute* equality of piece-rates, but might permit of deductions up to the order of say ten per cent. from the woman's wage for proved and agreed factors such as extra help or supervision (see paragraph 227(*b*)). Thus in the following paragraphs the words ' equality of piece-rates ' will be used to signify equality of piece-rates subject, where agreed to be appropriate, to such deductions.

500. A policy of equality of piece-rates is free from the major objections which can be urged, on grounds of false standardisation (paragraph 484 above), against a policy of equal time-rates. It does not, however, allow for the possibility that the average woman may occupy machinery, floor-space etc., for a slightly longer time per unit of output than the average man, and thus be responsible for a slightly larger share of overhead costs. Nor does it allow anything for the various elements of overall value distinguished in paragraph 10 and discussed at length in paragraphs 348 to 356. The fact that in the weaving branches of the main textile industries equality of piece-rates already prevails may, it is true, be taken as an indication that in those trades these considerations have not hitherto been regarded as of significant importance† (cf. paragraph 220). But it does not follow that they could be neglected with impunity in other industries ; the matter would presumably require detailed discussion industry by industry. It is worth recalling that the Atkin Committee, while they came down on the side of equality of piece-rates, did not feel able to speak of its probable effects in very confident terms.

* See paras. 16 and 13 of Appendix IX. 4 to minutes of evidence.

† Even there, however, the practice of giving the better-paying work to men may be, in part, a way of taking some account of overall value.

After setting out at length the various elements in the superior overall value of men, they continue as follows.*

> "To these advantages, which we believe in existing circumstances to be real and are certainly general in the minds of employers, there must be added a predilection of men to employ men when they can get them. In these circumstances there can be no fear that the adoption of the principle of equal pay for equal work † will lead to the unemployment of men. The fear is rather that it may fail to secure its object of extending the employment of women in directions in which it would add most to the productiveness of the country and react most on their own value with consequent improvement in their position."

501. Even apart from this point, however, the consequences of the establishment of equality of piece-rates in any given overlap area, thus narrowly interpreted, would seem to be difficult to predict without further analysis of the exact situation prevailing in the area in question. Broadly speaking, the kind of disparity of pay which we are discussing seems to be compatible with any one of four different situations, though the boundaries between them are not clear cut,—that being indeed one of the main causes of difficulty. (1) The work is mainly in the hands of men, and likely to remain so, only a few exceptional women being engaged on it (e.g., heavy made-up textiles, paragraph 212). (2) The work is in process of passing into the hands of women, having done so in some localities or establishments and not in others (e.g. engineering, paragraph 173, clothing, paragraphs 183-185, 191 and 210). (3) The work is in process of passing into the hands of women in all establishments, but a few men are still retained as a result of custom, sentiment, pressure and so forth (e.g. pottery, paragraph 204). (4) The work is firmly in the hands of women, but a few men are doing it for such casual reasons as that at the moment there is nothing more important for them to do (e.g. engineering, paragraph 174 (ii)).

The level at which equal piece-rates would be established

502. As foreshadowed in paragraph 13, we have hitherto throughout our discussion maintained the assumption that if a rule of equal pay were to be established in any area, it would be established initially by raising the woman's rate to the level of the man's. We very much doubt, however, whether it is realistic to maintain this assumption intact in the present context. In the third of the situations distinguished in the last paragraph, it seems pretty clear that any attempt to interpret the rule of equal pay in this sense would entail such a high prospective increase in the cost of the work that immediate endeavours would be made by the employers concerned to eliminate the remaining male employees, in order to achieve freedom from the millstone of the rate which had applied to the men, in negotiating the future rate for the job. In this particular case therefore we should expect the policy of equality of piece-rates to lead to the displacement not of women but of men,—either at the employer's initiative, if, as seems to us unlikely, the new common rate were fixed initially at or near the rate which had applied to the men, or more gradually, through the retirement of the men, if it were fixed at or near the rate which had applied to the women. In the fourth situation, it seems to be even more clear that men would speedily be taken off women's work if keeping them on it were to lead to a claim that all the women should be paid at the men's rate.

503. On the other hand, in the first of the situations distinguished in paragraph 501, establishment of equality at the men's level would be the

* Cmd. 135 of 1919, p. 188.

† It will be remembered (see note to para. 17 above) that the Atkin Committee use this phrase as equivalent to 'pay in proportion to efficient output' and in *contrast* to the phrase 'the rate for the job'.

natural course ; nor, though there would be some increase in costs, would it seem likely to lead to any significant displacement of women's labour. Indeed the number of women working at this particular job might well in time increase, in so far as a number of women of high natural quality were led to seek, and to equip themselves for, such higher grade work instead of being deterred from doing so through fear of being kept on a woman's wage.

504. It is the second of the situations distinguished in paragraph 501—the situation in which work is regarded and paid as man's work in some localities and establishments and as women's work in others—that seems to be at once the commonest and the most fruitful source of trouble. To establish equality at the higher level would gratify the sense of justice, which is rightly more offended by inequality of piece-rates than by inequality of time-rates. Yet much that has been said in paragraphs 485–498 about the economic consequences of establishing rigid equality of reward seems to be relevant here as well ; for unless the argument of these paragraphs is rejected as unsound, it remains true in the situation under discussion that the expansion of the opportunities for women's employment would be checked.

Implications of equal pay under an intermediate interpretation of 'the rate for the job'

The possibility of a more detailed grading of jobs

505. Finally we must consider certain interpretations of the policy of equal pay intermediate between the very broad interpretation adopted in paragraphs 478–482 and the very narrow interpretation adopted in paragraphs 499–504. In the first place, it has been suggested that much of the present sense of injustice would be removed if standard time-rates (each, in appropriate cases, with its associated bundle of piece-rates or time-allowances) were to be fixed not by broad occupational groups but by occupations or 'jobs' much more closely classified and defined, the standard rate for the occupation being paid to the worker whether male or female. A variant of this system would permit reference to be made, in the original classification of jobs, to the sex by which it is expected that, in the vast majority of cases, the work will in fact be performed. It is along these latter lines, apparently, that the Evershed Committee visualise the re-casting of the wage structure in the cotton-spinning industry. "It has seemed to us," they write,* "that the proper course is (*a*) to define those occupations which should be regarded as primarily occupations for men and those occupations which should be regarded as primarily occupations for women : and (*b*) to fix rates of wages appropriate to the several occupations and (*c*) to recommend that the wages so fixed should be payable whether the operative concerned is in fact a man or a woman ; for in the circumstances we see no justification for paying different wages to male operatives doing a fixed task from the wages payable to a female doing the same task."

Effect of standard time-rates for each closely classified occupation irrespective of sex

506. Such a policy need not lead, it would seem, to any very large or damaging displacements of labour ; but it would seem too that its results might prove somewhat disappointing in practice to the advocates of equal pay, both those whose primary concern is with the general level of women's wages and those whose primary concern is with the security of men's employment. For where men and women have been engaged hitherto on tasks which are called by the

* See para. 34 of Evershed report.

same name, but which differ in arduousness and responsibility or skill, a strong motive would be given to employers to insist that they be called henceforth by different names, so that a different rate can be established for each without infraction of the rule of equal pay. " I am fairly certain," writes an experienced banker, " and our various general managers agree with me, that the adoption of the principle of equal pay would lead to a segregation of women in certain classes of work even more marked than obtains at the present time." " If all that was laid down," writes Professor Hicks,* " was that there was to be no discrimination between men and women in any particular occupation, all that would happen would be to draw a hard and fast line between men's and women's occupations. In fact, as things are now, most occupations (in a narrow sense of the term) are in practice† predominantly reserved either to male or female labour. What would happen would be that nearly all occupations would in practice† become strictly reserved, but wages in the women's occupations would be lower." Whether these lower paid occupations were or were not openly described as ' primarily for women ' would probably make little difference to the level of earnings obtainable in them ; this would continue to depend on market forces, interpreted and tempered by collective bargaining. And from the men's point of view also less might be found to have been achieved than had been hoped. We feel bound to refer again to the significant passage in the Trades Union Congress memorandum of evidence‡ in which it is hinted that the ' piecemeal ' establishment of ' the rate for the job ' would not in itself be regarded as adequately protecting the men's interests against the infiltration of female labour. Such a development, it is suggested, must only be regarded as a prelude to an attempt to force up the general women's time-rates to the level of the men's in each broad industrial group—the policy whose implications have been examined in paragraphs 478–498. It is for this reason, among others, that we feel that our discussion of that policy should not be regarded as superfluous or out of date.

The assessment of ' job-content '

507. That, however, is not the end of the matter. A further suggestion is sometimes made, namely, that the programme of classification and grading described above should not simply take for granted the existing situation as regards the supply of and demand for the various types of labour, but should be based on a thorough and scientific assessment of the ' job-contents ' of different jobs, by means of which the objective differences between jobs in respect of physical difficulty, skill, disagreeableness and so forth would be evaluated in money terms.§ This suggestion, which is of course already partially in force in certain industries, raises very large issues of wage policy, extending far beyond the particular question of the relation between men's and women's work ‖; and it is impossible for us to discuss it with any completeness. Nevertheless some comment on it must be made from the point of view of our particular problem.

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* See para. 17 of Appendix IX. 4 to minutes of evidence.

† We have ventured to add these words ' in practice ' to Professor Hicks' text to make it plain that, in our view at least, the ' reservation ' predicted would not necessarily be a matter of formal regulation or agreement.

‡ See paras. 152–153 of Appendix VII to minutes of evidence.

§ It is along these lines, apparently, that the New York State Department of Labor is attempting to interpret the provisions of the equal pay law there in force (see Appendix III to this report).

‖ Mr. C. A. Lidbury, in an interesting letter to *The Times* of May 8th, 1946, proposes that the system should be applied to determine relative wages not merely as between different jobs in an industry but as between different industries.

508. We do not doubt that a policy of this kind would go further to assuage the sense of personal injustice than the less radical policy described in paragraphs 505 and 506. For the sense of injustice is aroused not only when people receive unequal pay for work which is felt to be equal, but also when they receive, for work which is admitted to be unequal, pay whose inequality is felt to be disproportionate to the inequality in the work. Nor do we doubt that there is room for an extended application of the principle of job-content in the pricing of tasks which are very fairly similar without being identical. At the same time there are difficulties about a wide extension of the principle which are not always clearly appreciated.* It might, for instance, be found that one job 'contains' twice as much physical strength as another, half as much natural aptitude, three-quarters as much experience, and one and a quarter times as much disagreeableness. Is the weight to be assigned to each of these factors to be decided *a priori* by some kind of inner light? Is there not rather entailed a reference to the underlying conditions, in respect of each factor, of general supply and demand? And once these old friends or enemies are re-admitted into our particular problem, we seem to be back very much where we were. Thus it would seem that the policy of scientific re-grading, like the narrower policy of equality of piece-rates, might in certain cases result in larger and perhaps juster incomes for specially well-qualified women, and perhaps stimulate their supply (cf. paragraph 503); but that over a larger range it would be more likely in practice to confirm the concentration of the higher grade work in the hands of the men. It will be recalled (see paragraph 491) that this is the avowed purpose of the re-grading in the cotton-spinning industry proposed by the Evershed Committee, which is expected in practice to decrease the proportion of female labour employed. There may be special considerations connected with the history of the cotton industry and the social economy of Lancashire which render this a reasonable objective in this particular case. But to adopt it as a *general* objective of national wage policy would seem to imply a deliberate attempt to reverse the process which, by opening the doors of industrial employment to women, has been operating over a number of decades both to increase the real national income and to enhance the women's own earning power.

509. We have to recall that we are dealing with a system where the number of women in gainful employment and their occupational distribution are neither determined by the fiat of the State on the one hand, nor governed by unfettered competition, free from conventions and pressures, on the other. It is a system which is not static, but in which the course of demand and the technique and organisation of industry are continually changing. Finally, it is a system which is not closed, but which will be exposed in a few years' time to the full blasts of competition in the world market. In these circumstances we cannot but fear that a thoroughgoing application of the principle of job-content, while free from some of the objections which can be brought against some other interpretations of the principle of equal pay, would operate on balance to increase the rigidity and stratification of our industrial structure, and to hinder the community in making the best possible use of the capacities of those of its women members who are prepared to render industrial service.

Conclusions.

Justice and expediency

510. Some of our witnesses have felt able to go a long way towards striking a final balance on the difficult questions of policy to which this analysis leads

* Mr. Lidbury, in the letter referred to, suggests that the 'job-content' system would prescribe a raising of wages in the export trades and—subject to the safeguarding of vested interests—a lowering of wages in trades making for the home market. He does not make it plain whether he is meaning to advocate a consequential subsidy on exports.

up. Thus in the judgment of Professor Pigou * it would be " *bad policy* † to prevent women from offering to do the work cheaper than men " in any particular occupation, provided, of course, that the rate at which they are offering to do the work is not lower than that obtainable by women in other comparable occupations. In the view of Professor Macgregor‡, on the other hand, " the country's interest in the national dividend is important, *but not an over-riding consideration.*"† We ourselves are not called upon by our terms of reference to attempt any final summing-up of the relative importance of ensuring exact justice between individuals on the one hand and oiling the wheels of economic progress on the other. But we feel bound to call attention to two points which are, we think, relevant to a final decision.

511. First, the cases of departure from perfect individual justice which are apt to arise under a system of unequal pay are, as it seems to us, illustrations of a broader principle in human affairs, which applies also to matters quite unrelated to our present problem. The achievement of perfect justice in respect of reward between individuals at every moment and at every point appears to be scarcely compatible with the working of an economic system in which it is desired on the one hand to preserve free choice of occupation and on the other to make provision for continuous adaptation to changes in technique and in demand. For in such a system it is only through the emergence of inequalities in the reward obtainable for similar effort that the desired flexibility is maintained. If every such inequality is forcibly ironed out so soon as it appears, its economic function remains unfulfilled. It may not be just that work by hand or brain in a rising trade should command a higher reward than work by hand or brain in a decaying trade , yet if it is prevented from doing so it is hard to see how, except under a completely regimented system, response to the changing needs of the community could be secured. The analogy with the problem which has been referred to us for consideration is not complete ; but it is close enough to suggest that here too the ultimate question for decision is *what price*, in the shape of departure from exact distributive justice as between individuals, is worth paying for *what degree* of social advantage of other kinds.

Alternatives to an equal pay policy

512. Secondly, we would emphasise that the alternative to a policy of equal pay in industry and commerce is not necessarily the absence of any policy at all with regard to the status and the wages of women. We have already expressed (in paragraph 359) our belief that the war has done much to break down the prejudices of the public, and (in paragraph 498) our hope that a successful policy of high employment will do much to break down the resistances of the male workpeople, against the employment of women. But there is and will remain much scope for enthusiasm and effort in consolidating these favourable influences and bringing them to their full fruition in raising the demand for women's labour. Again we have already commented (in paragraph 337) on the strong element of custom which appears to persist in Wages Council (late Trade Board) determinations, and also (in paragraph 369) expressed our suspicion that " in particular local and occupational pockets, from which mobility is low, inferior bargaining power may still, though less frequently than in the past, hamper women in obtaining a wage reflecting their true economic worth, whether or not they are working side by side with men." The conviction that in such cases valuable results have been and can

* See para. 12 of Appendix IX. 6 to minutes of evidence.
† Our italics
‡ See para. 14 of Appendix IX. 5 to minutes of evidence.

still be secured both by State intervention and by organised collective bargaining is not, in our view, indissolubly bound up with the pursuit of the particular objective of equal pay, whether the latter be defined in broad or in narrow terms.

CHAPTER XIV

The Question of Government Initiative and the Principle of 'Fair Relativity'

Introductory

513. From the foregoing discussion it will be clear that in the case of private industry and commerce there stand in the way of an immediate, and perhaps also of an eventual, application of an equal pay policy, difficulties of a nature and magnitude not paralleled in the case of the non-industrial sections of the public services, whether national or local. These difficulties arise from doubts as to the precise extent to which men and women are employed on what is substantially the same work, from differences of opinion as to how, when so employed, the efficiency, in the broadest sense, of the women compares with that of the men, and from the fact that not even the representatives of organised labour desire to see the principle of equal pay introduced in the industrial field by direct government action.

514. These considerations tell also against the probability that any Government, even if in general sympathy with the claim for a rule of equal pay, would feel able to take the initiative in introducing such a rule forthwith in its own industrial establishments. In these establishments, there are, as the Treasury say*, "ignoring war conditions, few cases where men and women are employed on the same work . . . Further, in fixing rates of pay for their industrial employees, the Government keep in line with the agreements or awards relating to the particular industry . . . Before the war, government employment covered an extremely small part of the industrial field . . . Very few women were employed on the industrial side at all. In no respect could the Government, as employer, attempt to exercise a dominant influence in the sphere of industrial wages".

515. Hence, if equal pay is to be introduced immediately and as an act of deliberate policy in any sphere, the area of its introduction would have, it would seem, to be confined within the limits of non-industrial government employment, central and local, including the teaching profession. We should expect whatever is done in any part of this field to have strong reactions on what is done in other parts of it. Further, the field seems to us to be sufficiently large to make it likely that whatever is done within it will, though not perhaps immediately, have repercussions of one kind and another upon the practice of private employers of the types of labour from which the non-industrial public services are recruited.

The Treasury view as to government initiative

516. It is necessary, therefore, at this point to revert to the argument, strongly urged by the Treasury, that in this matter it would be peculiarly inappropriate that the Government should take action independently of employers in the country at large. Such action, it is contended, would be incompatible with the principle of 'fair relativity' by which the Government as employer should especially be bound, precisely because the terms that can be offered to its employees are, as regards their upper limit, not settled by the ordinary market pressures. In default of any such 'natural' basis these

* See para. 1 of Appendix II to minutes of evidence.

terms must, it is said, be settled on the basis of a deliberately adopted principle, and the only principle compatible with the Government's double responsibility, to the employee and to the taxpayer, is that of conformity with good outside practice. " If the pay of public servants is fixed at an unduly high level in relation to the rates general in outside employment, this would have the effect of raising public servants into a privileged class, and would be an injustice to the rest of the community which must always foot the bill."*

517. Before commenting on this argument in its general form, we must refer briefly to an event which has occurred since the Treasury witnesses appeared before us and which bears upon its detailed application. This event is the decision† by the National Joint Council for Local Authorities' Administrative, Professional, Technical and Clerical Services to recommend the adoption of salary scales which differentiate between men and women in the clerical divisions but not in the administrative, professional and technical division. This event has afforded some confirmation of a view to which, after a study of the position in the professions, we were already inclining—namely that the cogency of the fair relativity principle, as an explanation of differential scales, is much less evident in respect of the higher than of the lower grades of the national Civil Service. The Treasury witnesses were indeed asked whether it would be possible to divide the Civil Service into areas of equal pay and unequal pay along these lines ; but they gave us to understand that, while such a course would be theoretically possible, the relationship between the various Civil Service classes and grades, in respect both of the rates of pay given and of the manner in which one grade leads to another in the avenue of promotion, ruled it out of practical politics. It may be that in the Civil Service there are complications of this order which do not arise for the London County Council or local authorities generally ; but in view of the action of the National Joint Council we imagine that this question is receiving further consideration.

518. The National Joint Council, in commending their scales, make a point of affirming that they have been arrived at " in accordance with the Fair Wages principle. Local Authorities should not take the lead in determining salary standards, but should be ' in the first flight of good employers '." Their abandonment of differentiation in the higher grades affords, therefore, no ground for rejecting the view that the wholesale adoption of a rule of equal pay in the public services would involve a definite and deliberate infraction of the doctrine of fair relativity. This must, we think, be frankly faced as one of the implications of an equal pay policy. For the reasons given in paragraph 431 we do not think it would be wise to attempt to cover up this infraction by giving a new turn to the doctrine in the manner suggested by the Treasury in their oral evidence [Q. 1400] : that is, by relating the common rate in the Civil Service to some sort of average of the men's and the women's rates in comparable employment outside. On the other hand, the infraction of the doctrine in this particular respect need not, of course, be held to entail its total repudiation. If the Government decided, for what it regarded as overriding reasons of public policy, to procure the raising of the pay of women in the public services to the men's level, it would be open to it to couple this action with a declaration that the men's rates should continue to be based on the principle of conformity to those obtaining in comparable outside employment and not on any attempt to evaluate directly the social importance of the work performed. How far the two horses of unqualified equal pay and qualified fair relativity would prove easy, as the years go by, to drive in double

* See para. 11 of Appendix II to minutes of evidence.
† See para. 115.

harness is a matter which we have already discussed, with reference to the Civil Service and the teaching profession respectively, in paragraphs 432 and 461.

The so-called 'vicious circle'

519. It has been put to us by several witnesses that adherence by the Treasury to the doctrine of fair relativity has resulted in the creation of a vicious circle. Other employers, it is said, both public and private, who are convinced on merits of the wisdom of a policy of equal pay, are unable or unwilling to act without a lead from the central government—a lead which the Treasury is inhibited by its own doctrine from providing. We think there is force in this argument as regards the public and semi-public services—a force which is not much diminished by the event on which we have commented in paragraph 517 above, or by the fact that certain employers of relatively small numbers of somewhat specialised talent, such as the B.B.C., have felt able to go their own way. We do not think that any great extension of the area of equal pay is to be looked for except as the result of a directive from the highest political level that, in this particular application, the principle of fair relativity is no longer to be regarded as paramount over all other considerations.

520. As applied, however, to the relation existing in this matter between the public services in general and private industry and commerce, the metaphor of the vicious circle seems to us to require careful scrutiny. To paint the picture with a broad brush,* we have on the one hand a relatively compact group of services within which the work of men and women is highly interchangeable and the recruitment of the men and women to do that work is conducted in accordance with automatic tests of individual merit. On the other hand, we have a vast sprawling terrain of clerical and administrative work within which the work of men and women is to a large extent segregated, and recruitment lies at the discretion of individual employers. It seems evident that the introduction of a rule of equal pay might have very different effects in two such differently constituted areas. In the first it would tend to increase the opportunities for the employment of women and to raise the average level of their earnings closer to that of the men's. In the second it might well have very different results. Any undue and over-hasty pressure of the claim for equal pay in private employment (in this connection we have in mind throughout clerical and administrative work) where in fact equal work did not exist—or possibly even in some few cases where it did—might result in a diminished readiness to employ women.

521. In the light of this picture, we have to reckon with the possibility that the lead which is being demanded in some quarters from Government in this matter might prove to be a false lead, a real equality within the public services being taken as a precedent for establishing, with very different results, a false equality elsewhere. The risk of such a consequence is not, in our view, in the least decisive against the establishment of equal pay in the public services if, on a balance of conflicting equities and other considerations, it is held to be in the public interest to do so. But it is a reason against attaching undue weight, on the side of equal pay, to the supposed advantages of breaking the vicious circle.

522. For the reasons given above we think it would be wrong to argue from the consequences of establishing equal pay in the public service to the consequences of establishing it in private industry. But this is not to say that its introduction into the first of these spheres would have no effect on women's

* For it may be that the lower divisions of local government service are more properly to be regarded as falling within the second of the two areas here distinguished The official journal of N.A.L.G.O. (February—March 1946) speaks of the duties of men and women in these divisions as " tending to fall into different more or less clearly defined groups."

wages in the second. On the contrary we think that it might well exert an upward pull on the wages of women in comparable private employment, especially if there were, as we anticipate, in the public service not only increases in women's pay in the grades common to both sexes but sympathetic proportional increases in the purely feminine ones. Such a development might be expected to proceed gradually, and to centre mainly on clerical occupations. In addition to the purely economic pull, there would no doubt be a tendency to invoke the Government example as one to be followed by private industrial employers.

CHAPTER XV

Equal Pay and Family Endowment: Legal Privileges of Women

Equal pay and family endowment

The relation of family endowment to equal pay

523. We have listened to much evidence and argument about family endowment schemes. Such schemes impinge on the issue of equal pay at more than one point: and assume a particular interest, when the possibility, dealt with in the last chapter, of a system of equal pay limited to the public services is under examination.

524. One point of impact is the following. The existing differential is sometimes (as we have indicated in chapter VIII) defended on the ground that pay has in the past borne, and in any case should bear, some relation to needs, and that the needs of the father of a family greatly exceed those of a woman, married or unmarried. It is contended that if equal pay were established by raising women's pay to the level of men's, while nominal remuneration would be equated, the disparity between the living standards of the two (which it is said already exists in the sphere of public employment in favour of women as against married men, notwithstanding the differential) would be perilously widened. To this contention many answers are advanced. The most austere (and one belied by our existing system of reliefs) is that men marry and have children at their peril, and cannot legitimately expect either employers or the State or anyone else to compensate them for these voluntarily contracted responsibilities. Another is that while they may be morally entitled to look to some quarter for relief, the wages structure is not the proper medium for supplying it. In any case, so runs the argument, if compensation there must be, the existing differential is an extremely clumsy device for giving effect to it. The differential operates with a complete disregard for relevant individual needs. Through its operation the childless man enjoys the same advantage over the woman as the father of one child: the father of one child, as the father of ten: while a woman who happens to support a number of elderly or infirm relations receives materially less than a bachelor who happens to support no one. If, it is argued, some special dispensation (in addition to the existing income tax reliefs) is required or justified in favour of the married man with children, let it assume a more selective and discriminating form. Let its benefits be limited to husbands and fathers, and proportioned to the number of the offspring. This, it is suggested, could best be achieved by family allowances.

525. This is one point of contact or impact between family endowment and equal pay. But there is another. So far we have been considering the equal pay policy, while a corrective of certain injustices, as a possible source of others, and family allowances as a possible means of redressing those others. Equal pay might, however, have consequences in the field, not of equity or ethics, but of practical expediency, which equally called for some counterpoise. Supposing for instance equal pay were established in the teaching profession and that some of the consequences we envisaged in chapter XI, as possible, in fact materialised: viz. so great a disparity between the (family) men's and women teachers' standards of living as to deter men from entering or staying in the profession in the minimum necessary numbers, or seriously to lower the quality of those who did. To meet such a situation, again appeal is made to the expedient of family allowances.* In the case of teaching, the Atkin Committee in 1919 recommended that in order to maintain the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' in cases in which it was essential to employ men and women of the same grade, capacity and training, but where equal pay would not attract the same grade of men as of women, it might be necessary to counteract the difference of attractiveness by the payment to married men of children's allowances, and that this subject should receive consideration from the Government in connexion with payments to teachers to which the Government contribute.†

526. There seems to be little doubt that, whether for good or bad reasons, equal pay would in fact increase the demand for family allowances. We therefore proceed to consider the main types of scheme which have been suggested.

National schemes of family allowances

527. Family allowance schemes fall into two broad categories: those of nation-wide application—national schemes; and those whose operation is confined to the members of a particular occupation or group—occupational schemes. Two forms of monetary relief‡ on a national basis are already in operation. the national scheme for family allowances embodied in the Family Allowances Act, 1945, and the system of income tax rebates. Nothing, we think, sufficient for the purpose we are considering, namely, to compensate the father of a family fully for the loss of the differential, is furnished by either of these sources of relief on their present scale, or can be anticipated from any practicable extension of income tax rebates so far as the lower income groups are concerned. For instance, the married man with £400 a year and 3 children receives a net income greater by about £79 than the spinster or unmarried man. a margin quite disproportionate to the added responsibilities which he shoulders. As to extensions of income tax rebates, the prospect, in this income tax group, is not less unpromising. For example, a man with an income of £300 p.a. and a wife and two children pays, in existing circumstances, no income tax at all, so that any increase in rebate would be ineffective. There is of course the possibility that the present system of flat-rate allowances might be replaced by some measure of grading on the principle of relating tax to taxable capacity. For instance, relief might take the form of say a 10 per cent. abatement of the income for each child, subject to both a 'floor' and a 'ceiling'. But such a change could not benefit anyone with

* See for instance memorandum of the Association of Education Committees, Part 1 of minutes of evidence.

† See paras. 213 and 10 (9) of the Atkin Committee report

‡ There are of course also various forms of relief in kind, e.g. free secondary education, free meals and free milk. These and their possible extension must not be overlooked; but it is impracticable to deal with them here.

an income of less than £500 unless the floor were raised above £500, nor, unless it was raised very considerably, would owners of incomes somewhat above £500 benefit very materially. In particular, while the administrative class of the Civil Service might receive substantial relief, the majority of the teachers would not be materially affected. In any case, either a readjustment of reliefs under the present system or a regrading on the proportional basis would, if introduced, have to operate not only in favour of public servants, but of everyone.

528. As to the relief provided by national schemes of family endowment, the position is not more encouraging. It would seem clear that neither the existing scheme, nor any amplification of it which can reasonably be hoped for in the near future, could serve the purpose at present in view. The scheme now in force provides nothing in respect of the first, and only 5s. (less income tax) in respect of subsequent children under 16. Evidently benefits of this order, though acceptable, are not very significant in relation to the general run of salaries in the teaching profession. Such schemes, however valuable in general, would do little to redress the inequality in living standards resulting from the abolition of the differential in the public services. In any case the form and future of national schemes, so far as directed to any special social purpose, would seem to fall within the province of the Royal Commission on Population, for determination in the light of the more fundamental problem upon which that Commission is charged to report.

Occupational schemes of family endowment

529. We pass, accordingly, to schemes limited in their operation to particular occupational groups. Within these occupational schemes two main types can be distinguished:

(*a*) Those in which an addition, in respect of a wife and children, to basic salary is made a term of the contract of employment. Such schemes are, we understand, operative in the London School of Economics, in several of the universities, and in the B.B.C., and are under consideration in other universities.

(*b*) Those in which the allowances are not provided for in the contract of service, but are to be raised by a levy on the members of the occupational group generally in favour of such of them as have wives and children. Such schemes also exist, but in this country seem to be confined to particular firms or institutions.

530. The evidence given before us on occupational schemes related mainly to schemes of type (*b*) above. There was, among witnesses who dealt with the point, on the one hand a widespread feeling that extended family allowances were a natural corollary of equal pay. Equally widespread, however, was an unmistakeable and emphatic opposition to occupational schemes, at any rate to schemes of type (*b*), which would finance the allowances out of the resources of the occupational group itself. Yet (leaving aside for the moment type (*a*) schemes) the only obvious alternative—national schemes—were freely admitted to be inadequate to the purpose at present, and likely to remain so for some time.

531. Almost all the witnesses with whom we discussed the question strongly contended that occupational schemes were unsound in principle. It was objected that schemes of this nature distorted the proper relationship between employer and employee, according to which reward should be related to the work performed and not to the personal circumstances of the individual worker; that they threatened to undermine the rate for the job; that while every man had a responsibility for his own family, and the State might be held to have a responsibility towards the families of its citizens generally, the

members of an occupational group had no concern with the family burdens of those who happened to fall within that particular group. It would be superfluous to cite all the testimony to this effect; it will suffice to call attention to the very clear exposition of this point of view given by Mr. Day on behalf of the Staff Side of the Civil Service National Whitley Council [Q. 1639]. Underlying the view as here expressed is the assumption that, whether or not the occupational scheme were financed by undisguised levy upon the members of the group, the money for it would in fact have to be found out of what would otherwise be paid, or retained, by the members as salary: it would not be in reality, whatever it might be in appearance, something purely additional.

532. We do not think this assumption is necessarily well founded, at all events where (i) public servants are to be the sole beneficiaries and (ii) schemes of type (*a*) above are concerned. In the case of an occupational group of public servants, it would presumably be open to the Government, if it thought it wise and was prepared to face the increased expense, to couple with the introduction of equal pay a scheme making family allowances part of the contract of service. It can be urged in favour of such a plan that it would help to maintain the attractiveness of the occupation in question to men in circumstances in which, as has been argued in paragraph 431 and in paragraph 461, it might otherwise in the course of time have been impaired by a fall, absolutely or relatively to other occupations, in the common rate established under equal pay. But it is precisely because they fear that arrangements of this kind would increase the probability of a fall in the common rate—a probability which otherwise they do not rate highly—that the Staff Side of the Civil Service National Whitley Council have, it would appear, resolutely set their faces against them. [Q. 1676.]

533. Nevertheless, if family allowances are to be resorted to at all for the purposes considered in this chapter, those which belong to type (*a*) seem to be the most eligible. Those of type (*b*) seem to be disqualified by their widespread unpopularity, and national schemes by the inadequacy for the purpose assumed of the allowances provided, or likely in the near future to be provided, by them.

Legal privileges of women

534. Another topic for which we have been unable to find hitherto an appropriate place perhaps bears a rough analogy with that considered above, which indeed at one point it overlaps. This would seem to justify its inclusion in the present chapter.

535. In some respects women still enjoy legal privileges or immunities denied to men. These privileges (with one exception) would seem to have, at best, a remote bearing on the problem of equal pay. But they have often figured in debates on that subject. On the one hand they are invoked as affording ground for withholding equal pay from women; on the other, it is said that if equal pay is granted, they should be abolished. We will briefly examine these contentions, having first set out the nature of the privileges involved.

536. The privileges are almost entirely confined to *married* women.* Of those which survive the most material for our purpose are the following three:

(*a*) The husband's legal obligation to support his wife and children, coupled with the absence of any obligation on the part of the wife to

* There are exceptions, e.g. a single woman is exempted from liability to pay damages (as opposed to costs) when cited as an 'intervener' in a successful divorce petition. Contrast a male 'co-respondent'.

contribute anything to the support of her husband and children, however rich she may be and however poor he.*

The woman's privilege here is merely the obverse of the man's obligation which under the name of dependency we have discussed at length in chapter X and in the preceding section of this chapter.

(*b*) A wife, when cohabiting with her husband, has 'presumed' authority to pledge her husband's credit for 'necessaries' suitable to his station in life or the station in which he 'permits' her to live. This liability of the husband's is not very onerous, since the presumption of authority can be so easily rebutted. It is displaced for instance on proof that the husband has given to the tradesmen involved (or by an announcement in the press, to the world at large) warning not to give her credit: or that he has prohibited her privately from pledging his credit: or that he gives her a substantial allowance for household expenses: or that she is already sufficiently supplied with the articles in question.

In one aspect, however, of this minor matter, the implied authority of the wife may be thought to operate oppressively. A wife's costs in a divorce suit brought by her are treated as 'necessaries' and payable by the husband: often in cases even when the petition fails.

(*c*) A husband is liable for the payment of his wife's income tax, here again however poor he may be, or however rich she is, and is liable to imprisonment if he fails to do so. The right to separate assessment of the two incomes is imperfectly realised, and even when there is such a separate assessment the husband may have his goods distrained on if the wife fails to pay her share.

The income tax position as between husband and wife is dealt with a little more fully in an excursus at the end of this chapter for which we are indebted to an eminent authority on this subject.

537. We think it worth adding a list of feminine privileges now abolished, because the fact of their abolition has been imperfectly realised by some controversialists.

Until the Married Women and Joint Tortfeasors' Act, 1935,

(1) a husband was liable for torts (e.g., libel, slander, trespass, negligence, etc.) committed by his wife;

(2) a judgment obtained against a married woman could only be enforced against her separate property: it could not be enforced against her 'personally'. This meant two things, first that if, possessing means to pay the judgment debt, she refused to do so, she could not, like a man in similar case, be imprisoned under the Debtors Act, 1869: and secondly that (unless engaged in trade) she could not be made bankrupt;

(3) where money was settled on a married woman subject to 'a restraint on anticipation' of the income, she could not dispose of or charge the income before it accrued to her. The object of this was to protect her property from her husband, but its effect has been in many cases simply to protect it from her creditors, who could not enforce judgments against income subject to the 'restraint' before it reached her hands. Worse still, even when it did reach her hands it could not be made available to answer liabilities under any contract entered into by her at the time when the income had not accrued due, and was still covered by the 'restraint';

* An exception to this rule, but one of trifling scope, is provided by Section 41 of the Poor Law Act, 1927.

(4) a husband could be sued (jointly with the wife) for debts or other liabilities (whether by contract or for any wrong) contracted or incurred before marriage, to the extent of any property of hers which he had acquired through the marriage (Married Women's Property Act 1882, ss. 14–15);

All of these last privileges—(1) to (4) above—were abrogated by the 1935 Act.

(5) the presumption that a wife committing a crime in her husband's presence did so under his coercion was done away with (substantially) in 1925.

538. To revert to the surviving privileges referred to in paragraph 536: (*a*) has been covered by what we have already said on the subject of dependency, family allowances and the like. The remaining question is whether the wife's possession of presumed authority to pledge her husband's credit, with no corresponding right in the husband, coupled with the wife's privileged status in the matter of income tax, justify, or materially help to justify, differential rates of pay as between the sexes. We think this question should be answered in the negative. The wife's authority to pledge her husband's credit is an obvious convenience for house-keeping purposes, is rarely abused in practice, and, when it is abused, is, as we have indicated, easily displaced or revoked. If it is judged unfair, the remedy is not, we feel, to be sought in the wages or salary structure, but in an amendment of the law of agency. And although the income tax position would appear, on paper, very severe on the husband, there again we feel the remedy should be sought in a suitable reform of income-tax law. Assuredly the existence of a harsh fiscal provision should furnish no argument against equal pay if equal pay is otherwise justified.

Excursus on the income-tax and sur-tax position as between husband and wife

539. Generally speaking the income of a married woman living with her husband is treated as the income of the husband and is assessed to income-tax in his name, if and in so far as liable to be directly assessed such as trade or professional earnings, income from abroad and interest on government stocks not liable to deduction. The charge is on the husband, the debt for the tax assessed is his debt and he cannot recoup himself out of his wife's income. If he fails to pay after judgment has been obtained against him on the assessment no doubt the Crown can execute against him personally, i.e. he can be imprisoned for failure to pay. Similarly if a collector seeks to enforce payment by distress he can distrain upon the goods of the husband.

540. These remedies of the Crown are applicable in the case of direct assessment made upon the husband for the wife's income. In the case of income liable to deduction of tax at the source the company or other person paying dividends etc. will deduct tax from the wife and at that stage the husband has no concern in the matter.

541. For the purpose of claiming exemption and reliefs on account of total income the husband, generally speaking, must return the income of his wife whether taxed by direct assessment upon him or taxed by deduction and the allowances given will be the allowances appropriate to a married man, larger in principle than those applicable to a single person.

542. For the purposes of surtax the husband, generally speaking, is similarly chargeable for his wife's income and must return it (whether

taxed by deduction or by direct assessment) along with his own as part of his total income. The assessment to surtax is made on the husband alone and he is liable to pay the tax without recourse against his wife.

543. A husband can avoid being charged by direct assessment for his wife's income by making an application (and his wife can do the same) that each spouse should be separately assessed and this applies both to income tax and surtax. But the total tax recoverable is not thereby reduced, as the allowances and surtax are computed on the basis of adding the two incomes together as in the normal course, and dividing the total tax thereby arrived at between the two incomes proportionally. If no application is made for separate assessment the general rule applies.

544. If the requisite notices have been given the debts upon the income tax assessments and the debts upon the surtax assessments will be the debts of husband and wife respectively and there will not be a single debt due from the husband alone and the tax assessed upon the wife will not be recoverable (except by distraint) from the husband. But even where there has been a separate assessment the goods of the husband are still distrainable for the wife's debt.

545. The assessment of a husband for his wife's income tax applies only when husband and wife are living together, i.e. are not permanently separated. If there is permanent separation the wife is for income tax purposes treated as if she were a *feme sole*.

546. The recent 'pay as you earn' enactments and regulations made thereunder provide for a married woman in an employment being treated administratively as if she were not married and tax is collected by deduction from her wages by her employer. But in the adjustment of the personal allowances the husband's reliefs will be reduced so as to accord with the proportion of the tax deducted from the wife's earnings by the employer.

CHAPTER XVI

The Financial Consequences of Equal Pay

Meaning of 'financial consequences'

547. We have thought it convenient to deal in a single chapter with the financial consequences of equal pay in all the spheres concerned. By the 'financial consequences' we mean primarily the direct money cost to the payer of the additional wages or salaries in question. With the remoter or more general economic effects of equal pay—for instance the question whether the increase in salaries and wages involved would be likely to result in enhanced output—we are not in this chapter concerned. In the case of public employments, where as a rule quality and not quantity is involved, such factors are in any case incapable of precise measurement. Such of them as can usefully be considered have already been dealt with in earlier chapters.

548. Even the conception of 'direct money cost' requires some further discussion. In the first place, it clearly includes increases in pensions as well as in current wages and salaries. Secondly, as it seems to us, it includes the cost of such 'sympathetic' rises in women's pay in non-overlap areas as may be adjudged to be directly due to the establishment of equal pay in overlap areas. Thirdly, it might, we think, be held to include also the cost of any scheme of family allowances which might be the con-

comitant or pre-condition of the establishment of equal pay. Even the first two of these additive factors are, however, less capable of precise estimation than the direct increase in wages and salaries in the overlap areas. As regards the third, it is impossible for us to divine whether the operation of equal pay in any sphere would be made contingent on the introduction of a scheme of family allowances, or the nature of such a scheme, if any. We shall find it convenient, in the remainder of this discussion, to use the phrase ' gross cost ' in a sense which excludes this third additive element, though the possibility of its existence must not be forgotten.

549. From the gross direct money cost, as conceived above, of establishing equal pay in any field, it would be necessary for some purposes to deduct the increased taxes, direct and indirect, which would be paid out of the enhanced incomes of the beneficiaries. But of course this relief would not, in all cases, accrue to the persons or bodies bearing the gross cost. Thus in the case of the Civil Service the gross added outlay on salaries and the increased yield of taxes would both affect, and in the first instance affect only, the Exchequer, i.e. the taxpayer. In the case of teachers employed by local authorities the gross outlay would be borne by the taxpayer and the ratepayer in the proportion (assuming the present ratio to persist) of 55 to 45 ; but the offset would accrue to the Exchequer, i.e. the taxpayer. In the case of private industry and commerce the gross outlay would be borne in the first instance by the private employer, and the ultimate burden shared in unpredictable proportions between him and the consuming public, except in so far as the change resulted in improved methods of production ; the increased yield of taxation would go entirely to the Exchequer*. It is evident that with taxation at its present levels these offsets to the gross money cost of equal pay in any sphere would be important, but too many uncertain factors are involved to permit of its estimation for any of the separate spheres now to be considered.

Private industry and commerce

550 These spheres are the familiar ones of employment by the State, by local authorities, and by private employers, industrial or commercial. In our opinion and that of all witnesses who spoke on the point, no informative estimate can be arrived at of the probable cost in the third of these spheres. Too many imponderable or conjectural factors are involved to make any attempted computation useful. If, tomorrow, every private employer were to pay all his women employees who were doing the same work as men employees the man's wage, and dismissed none of the women, he would naturally have to meet a heavier wages-bill. But the extra cost would be smaller or larger according to the interpretation placed on ' the same work '. If this interpretation were strict, involving substantial identity of job, the cost would naturally be much smaller than if ' the same work ' were stretched to include jobs which were in fact different but loosely comparable as involving a similar degree of effort, sacrifice or skill. We have inclined to the first and narrower of these interpretations as a criterion of the overlap areas within which, alone, equal pay would operate. The restriction of equal pay to those areas, which relatively to industry as a whole are small, would obviously reduce its cost. A second factor tending further to reduce it is the existence, within these areas, of patches in which men and women employed on the same job are paid at identical piece-rates (as in cotton weaving) ; here there would be no additional cost because equal pay is in force already. This leaves over that part of the overlap area in which a lower time- or piece-rate obtains for

* We ignore any effect which the increased pay might have in increasing the *rateable* capacity of the recipient, as this effect (a very indirect one at best) would in all probability be trifling.

women than for men on the same jobs—a part most difficult to delimit. Whatever its dimensions, the cost of equal pay within it could not simply be computed by assuming that all the women there are retained at the higher wage; for whatever the scale of its operation there is at least doubt whether the establishment of a rule of equal pay in private industry would not lead to some reduction in the number of women finding industrial employment without their necessarily being replaced by men.

The non-industrial Civil Service

551. As regards the gross cost of establishing equal pay in the whole-time non-industrial Civil Service [see paragraph 29 ff.], the evidence tendered by the Treasury (which on questions of fact, including this question, was not challenged by representatives of the staff) was as follows.* On the basis of the pre-war (1939) rates of pay, total numbers and ratio of women to men (25 to 75), the annual cost in wages and salaries would have been £2·8 million, or 3½ per cent. of the then wage and salary bill of £80 million. Of this total £1·1 million is accounted for by increases in pay in the common grades outside the Post Office, £0·8 million by sympathetic increases in pay in the all-women grades outside the Post Office, and £0·9 million by increases in pay, both direct and sympathetic, in the Post Office grades.† The extra cost of pensions, overtime and marriage gratuities would have raised the £2·8 million to about £3·0 million. Taking account of the 'consolidation additions' recently made to basic rates, the Treasury have now substituted £4 million for £3 million as an estimate of what the gross annual cost would now be of establishing equal pay in a service of the size and sex-composition of 1939. Of this £4 million, £3·6 million is for increases in wages and salaries, £2·6 million of this being for direct increases in the common grades, and £1·0 million for sympathetic increases in the all-women grades.

552. On the basis of the war-time (October, 1944) numbers and sex-distribution, the gross annual cost would have been very much greater, namely about £13 million. But at that time numbers (taking into account the war-time influx of unestablished workers) had risen from about 375,000 to about 670,000, and the sex-distribution had altered so greatly (owing to men joining the armed forces, women taking their places, and additional women being engaged) that of the increased total 350,000 were men and 320,000 women. Of the £13 million about £11·75 million would have been on account of the common grades and about £1·25 million on account of sympathic increases in the all-women grades.

553. We have endeavoured to form an idea of the probable position when this part of the Civil Service has settled down to its peace-time strength and sex-composition. As regards numbers, we have recently been informed by the Treasury that though any close prediction is out of the question, the probability is that the peace-time numbers will be of the order of 500,000, and may well be somewhat above rather than below that level. The numbers will certainly fall short of the war-time peak, and as certainly exceed the pre-war norm, owing to the amount of social legislation passed in the interval or projected for the near future. The distribution of these numbers between the sexes is equally incapable of precise estimate. The question is considered in some detail in paragraphs 35–38. All that can be said is that the reinstatement of men who served in the armed forces in place of war-time women substitutes, and the shrinkage in the numbers of the service as a whole (which

* See paras. 24–28 of Appendix II to minutes of evidence

† It was assumed that, whether the women in the Post Office did night-duty or not, their pay would be raised right up to the men's level.

it is assumed will be largely brought about by discharging women taken on during the war) will tend towards a restoration of the pre-war ratio.

554. In these circumstances it may be thought rash to say more than that, when everything has settled down, the gross annual cost of establishing equal pay would be more than £4 million and less than £13. The Treasury have declined to estimate within what limits, narrower than these, the figure might fall. If, however, we conjectured, on the basis of total numbers of rather more than 500,000, that the figure might fall between £5 million and £10 million, we should not, we think, be so wide of the mark as to make the conjecture valueless.

The women's auxiliary services

555. We have seen in paragraph 57 that the number of women in the auxiliary services at the end of May, 1946, was 147,000, or about 7 per cent. of the number of men on the same date, and that the number was expected to be about 62,000 at the end of 1946, or just over 5½ per cent. of the number of men on the same date. The Treasury estimate that on the present rates of remuneration the cost of equal pay in the women's auxiliary services would be roughly £6 million on the basis of numbers and proportions at the end of May, 1946, and roughly £3 million on the basis of the expected numbers and proportions as at the end of 1946.

Teachers employed by local authorities

556. For England and Wales, the Ministry of Education estimate that the annual cost of raising the salaries of women teachers to the men's level would be about £14·5 million.* This estimate is based on three assumptions: (i) that the full increase in the number of teachers contemplated by the Education Act of 1944 has been realised, (ii) that the proportion of women teachers has been slightly reduced below the figure of two-thirds which prevailed in 1938, and (iii) that at the date of the change the salary scales approved in 1945 are still in force. As regards the first assumption, the component elements in the projected increase in the number of teachers from 200,000 in 1938 to 280,000 have been set out in paragraph 77. These changes will take place at various dates of which only the first is certain; the last is not thought likely to be accomplished within five years [Q. 2526]. If equal pay were to be established before the expansion of numbers were complete, its cost in the first year of its establishment would of course be less than the figure given above. The second assumption rests on the premiss that, with the growth in the number of older boys owing to the raising of the school-leaving age, a slightly higher proportion of men teachers will be required and will be forthcoming. The third assumption is to this extent precarious, that the 1945 Burnham scales only apply for three years and will, by the time the number of teachers reaches 280,000, have become due for review—indeed it is possible for these scales to be revised even within their three years' currency.

557. In spite of the uncertainties in these assumptions, we think that the annual figure of £14·5 million for England and Wales is a valuable indicator of the order of expense involved. Unlike the Civil Service figure, however, it does not include anything for additional pensions, for which the Ministry of Education have found it impossible to provide an estimate. The question of sympathetic increases of pay does not arise in this sphere. The figure of £14·5 million represents an increase of 11·6 per cent. on the salary bill and 6·3 per cent. on the total expenditure which, it is expected, would otherwise prevail when the changes contemplated by the 1944 Act are complete. Of

* See pp. 184–6 of minutes of evidence, Part II.

the £14·5 million, if the present formula were maintained, £8·0 million would fall on the the taxes and £6·5 million on the rates. The former figure is equivalent to an increase of about 0·8 pence on the standard rate of income tax. The latter represents, over the average of the country as a whole, an increase in rates of 5·2 pence in the pound; but this average of course conceals widely different burdens in different areas.

558. The corresponding figure for Scotland appears to be about £1·7 million rising to £2 million. The figure for Great Britain thus becomes about £16·5 million.

Other employees of local authorities

559. Under the head of employees of local authorities other than teachers, we have two main bodies of persons to consider, viz. the administrative, professional, technical and clerical services other than nursing, and nurses. We have seen in chapter IV that the only class in the administrative, professional, technical and clerical services which is not among those for whom, under the National Joint Council agreement of January, 1946, equal pay is recommended, is the clerical division which in 1931 numbered about 53,000 employees of both sexes, of whom about 14,000 were women. We do not know the extent of the overlap between men and women in this occupation; and we are consequently limited to making an outside estimate of the cost of equal pay in this field by computing very roughly the sum which would be required to bring all the women employed in this division up to the level of the men's rates for the equivalent grades. In doing this we are not prejudging the question how and over what area in this field the principle of equal pay would be applied. This cost would, we estimate, on the basis of the numbers employed in 1931, be of the order of £0·75 million. It has not been possible to ascertain to what extent, if any, the number of employees of local authorities in the clerical division has increased between 1931 and the present time. The membership of the National Association of Local Government Officers, which comprises administrative, professional, technical and clerical, but not manual, employees of local authorities is at the present time, August, 1946, about 140,000, and it is estimated by that organisation that some 80,000 of these will be in the clerical division. This last figure, which of course represents a minimum for the present number of clerical employees, suggests that on the basis of to-day's numbers, our estimated cost would be subject to a very considerable increase.

560. Our view that the residual problem of equal pay in this field is of comparatively small dimensions is supported by some evidence which we received (prior to the above-mentioned agreement of the National Joint Council of January, 1946) from County Councils as to the estimated cost of equal pay in their areas. A substantial number of the Councils outside the area in which equal pay ruled at the time estimated that if teachers and nurses and police were excluded the cost of equal pay for equal work would be of the order of 1 per cent. or less of the wages and salaries bill, and some went as far as to say that it would be only a fraction of 1 per cent. or would be negligible.

561. We have given in chapter V the number of men and of women employed in nursing (excluding private nursing) at a recent date, and the relative rates of total remuneration of the two sexes in a number of the most important grades, lately settled by the Rushcliffe Committee. On the basis of these figures and of certain particulars (furnished to us by the Ministry of Health) of the subdivision of non-private nurses into the different Rushcliffe grades, we have found it possible to make a very rough estimate of the cost of raising the rates of the general body of non-private female nurses to those of male

nurses of the corresponding categories. Our estimate is that the figure is of the order of between £6·8 and £7·6 millions. In this case, as in that of the clerical employees dealt with above, we have no basis for discriminating between those women who would and (if such there be) those who would not, have their rates raised to the men's level under a policy of equal pay. We have had to content ourselves with including the whole body of the nurses and thereby arriving at a figure which may be no more than an upper limit of the cost. Nor have we precise information to enable us to say what part of the estimated maximum cost of equal pay is properly to be attributed to the nurses employed by local authorities. A computation based on the proportions in which non-private nurses were employed by local authorities and by other employers respectively in 1931, suggests, however, that the local authorities' share of the total increased cost of from £6·8–£7·6 million might be of the order of £2·5–£3 million.

562. It will be recalled that the only fairly firm figures given above—those for the non-industrial Civil Service and the teaching profession—are on a slightly different basis. It will also be recalled that neither of them makes any allowance, either on the one hand for the proceeds of taxation paid on, or as a result of, the increases in pay, or on the other hand for the cost of any scheme of family endowment which might be associated with the establishment of equal pay.

Conclusions of this Report as a whole—Summary

563. It may be a convenience to the 'general reader' who cannot contend with the whole of this report, to be referred to the passages in it where some of the Commission's conclusions are briefly crystallised.

This procedure is not indeed possible in respect of the application of the rule of equal pay to industry and commerce—in that sphere our conclusions are subject to dissent between our members, and even in its absence would not lend themselves readily to condensation. Neither of these objections, however, applies in the other two material spheres—the sphere of the Civil Service on the one hand, or of the teachers (and local government officers generally) on the other.

Our conclusions as to the social and economic effects of applying equal pay

(1) **to the Civil Service** are dealt with in chapter **X** and summarised in that chapter in paragraph 433 (as to the Post Office in paragraphs 443–445 inclusive);

(2) **to Teachers,** are dealt with in chapter **XI** and summarised in respect of England and Wales, in paragraphs 458–462 inclusive and in respect of Scotland, in paragraph 466;

(3) **to Local Government Officers other than Teachers,** are dealt with in paragraphs 434–438 and summarised in paragraph 438.

The passages above referred to deal with those social and economic consequences of equal pay which are likely to differ according to the sphere in which the principle is given effect to. Those consequences of its application which in our view are common to all spheres are considered at large in chapter IX. (We say 'in our view' notwithstanding that on one point raised in this chapter we are not unanimous.)

The above observations relate to social and economic consequences, which our terms of reference distinguish from purely financial consequences of equal pay. These last are dealt with, in relation severally to each of the material fields, in a single chapter, XVI.

It would be impossible to overestimate, or indeed to measure, the services rendered to us by our two successive Secretaries—Professor W. G. Maclagan and Mr. F. Popplewell, O.B.E., each of whom brought very special though different qualifications for the work in hand—our Assistant Secretary, Miss Wilma Harte, and the other members of our staff. We are deeply in their debt."

ALL OF WHICH WE HUMBLY SUBMIT FOR YOUR MAJESTY'S GRACIOUS CONSIDERATION.

*CYRIL ASQUITH (*Chairman*).
ANGELA LIMERICK.
*JASPER RIDLEY.
†ANNE LOUGHLIN.
*D. H. ROBERTSON.
JOHN BROWN.
C. S. ROBINSON.
†JANET VAUGHAN.
†L F. NETTLEFOLD.

F. POPPLEWELL (*Secretary*).
WILMA HARTE (*Assistant Secretary*).
28th October, 1946.

* Signed subject to reservation on paragraphs 379 and 380, as set out in note on page 197.
† Signed subject to dissent from chapters VIII and XIII, as set out in memorandum on page 187.

Memorandum of dissent by Dame Anne Loughlin, Dr. Janet Vaughan and Miss L. F. Nettlefold from Chapters VIII and XIII dealing with Explanations of the Prevailing Differences between the Remuneration of Men and Women and with the Economic and Social Consequences of Equal Pay in Private Industry and Commerce.

Our signature of the main report is subject to dissent from a large part of Chapter VIII, which is concerned with explanations of the prevailing differences between the remuneration of men and women and from Chapter XIII, which discusses the economic and social consequences of equal pay in private industry and commerce.

As respects Chapter VIII :

Introductory

1. Our reading of the evidence and of the opinions put before us by witnesses differs considerably from that of the majority.

Before discussing the text of the main report in detail, two preliminary points must be made. First, we are less impressed than the majority appear to be by expressions of opinion unsupported by concrete evidence, even when the opinions come from authoritative bodies. When confronted with any existing state of affairs there is a tendency in the human mind to explain it somehow or other, without due examination of the evidence, and any explanation which seems at all plausible is apt to become current, even when in origin it may be merely what psychologists describe as ' rationalisation ', without any basis in reality. We suspect that many of the views put forward by witnesses are in the nature of rationalisations, and we wish to distinguish clearly between opinions and evidence.

2. Secondly, it is necessary to observe that, as set out in paragraph 136 of the main report, the number of women seeking employment before the war was roughly one-quarter of all workers, *i.e.*, the number of women was about one-third the number of men. Therefore, to account for the lower wages of women in terms of supply and demand, it is not sufficient to show that there are more jobs to which men are better suited than women, than jobs to which women are better suited. It is necessary to show that there are more than three times as many jobs to which men are better suited. This basic fact seems to have been lost sight of in a large part of the majority's argument.

We now turn to the various explanations of relative wage-rates discussed by the majority.

Legal factors

3. Among legal regulations restricting the employment of women, we agree with the majority in attaching little importance to any except the prohibition on night work and the limitation upon overtime. We would agree that in the past and at present these restrictions may reduce the value of women's labour in a limited range of employment. Whether these restrictions are in themselves necessary is a disputable point. Medical evidence suggests that women are at least as well suited to night work as men,* while restrictions on the length of hours worked will become of decreasing importance as standard working hours are reduced.

* *See* para. 13 of Appendix X. 1, para. 58 of Appendix X. 2, para. 22 of Appendix X. 3, para. 12 (iv) of Appendix X. 4 and para. 27 of Appendix X. 5 to minutes of evidence.

Natural factors

4. We now turn to the ' natural ' factors. Historically, the greater physical strength of men has obviously had a large influence in determining the demand for male labour, but its importance is being continuously reduced with the development of modern technique. This operates in two ways. Firstly, the newer industries such as plastics, radio, etc. are of a nature demanding manual deftness or machine operations rather than physical strength. Similarly modern developments of old industries, such as the substitution of extruded and stamped brassfoundry for the old casting, tend to cut out heavy manual work. Secondly, the war has greatly accelerated the use of mechanical devices and ' gadgets ' to reduce the physical effort demanded in numerous operations in nearly all industries. The following illustrations of such developments may be given. Where heavy materials are handled from bench to floor and eventually to a truck for transport, the heavy work of lifting can be eliminated by the provision of separate platforms to the trucks on to which the work can be slid from the benches. Large shells can be hoisted from truck into machine by small permanent hydraulic cranes arranged at the machines, and in addition the hydraulic power may be used to operate the trucks and provide the necessary pressure for holding the tools against the revolving metal. Women are enabled to condition heavy vehicles for passenger and road transport by the provision of special ' aids ', such as longer spanners and longer tommy bars, and gadgets for handling, which compensate for their lesser physical strength. Such examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely. The whole trend of modern production methods is towards the substitution of mechanical for muscular power—a substitution greatly assisted by the availability of easily installed fractional horse-power power units.

5. No quantitative analysis of jobs has been made, but we find it hard to believe that at the present time more than three-quarters of all industrial jobs require physical strength beyond the capacity of women. The so-called ' heavy industries ' employ only 4,000,000 men.* Moreover we believe that, with a small expense of capital and of ingenuity, the amount of muscular effort required would be reduced in a large range of jobs, and that this would be of advantage to employers and to male workers as well as to women. Professor Bartlett goes so far as to say, " Where, if at all, a limit is passed beyond which it becomes uneconomical to expect from any large number of women the degree of muscular effort required, I do not pretend to know. I suspect that if there is any such limit, the operation in question is ill designed, whether for women or for men, and could be so re-designed as to bring it well within the range of activity of normal human functions. That, however, is little more than an opinion, though it could be strongly supported by the results of a number of recent investigations into the effect of the instruments and conditions of work upon operational efficiency."†

6. The next alleged natural disadvantage of women is lack of adaptability and capacity to deal with ' surprise situations '. This appears to be based mainly upon war-time experience, when large numbers of women with short training were called upon to perform a wide variety of jobs entirely new to them. It is certainly to be expected that experienced workers should show greater capacity to deal with emergencies than raw hands, but the view that women are inherently lacking in adaptability seems highly unplausible in view of the ' surprise situations ' which constantly arise in the natural and traditional sphere of women's work, housekeeping and the care of children even in normal times, not to mention the conditions ' a morning after a blitz.'

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* *See* para. 343 of main report.

† *See* Note at beginning of Appendix X. 1 to minutes of evidence.

7. The majority accept in part the view of many witnesses that the superior 'career value' of men contributes to their higher wage-rates. In this connection there seems to be a widespread confusion of thought. The fact that the majority of women workers stay in industry for a shorter time than the majority of men, and that most women are less eager than most men to acquire skill and to obtain promotion, would account for the fact that the average earnings of all women are less than the average of all men. We should certainly expect, under a regime of equal pay and equal opportunity, that more men than women would be found in the most highly skilled, responsible and highly paid posts. But this neither accounts for, nor justifies, sex-differentiation of rates of pay at any particular level of skill.

8. Finally, some importance is attached by the majority to the greater absence rates and poorer time-keeping of women than of men. This has been discussed at some length by the majority and we agree with them that the evidence suggests that it seems to be due to the family responsibilities of women, and to their psychological attitude to employment, rather than to physical reasons. We would also agree with them on the urgent need for the general adoption of a uniform method of collecting and analysing statistics about causes of absence in industry arranged in such a way as to allow of the necessary breakdown. We dissent from the view that these factors justify lower rates of pay for women than for men on comparable jobs. It is both unfair and economically undesirable that an individual woman should be penalised, even if she is never absent, and an individual man benefited, even if his attendance is poor, because, on the average, men have a better record of attendance than women. Some incentive for good attendance, irrespective of sex, would be the appropriate way of dealing with this problem.

9. We agree with the majority in attaching little importance to the 'family needs' argument in the determination of wage levels to-day, though we believe that it has been an important historical factor in maintaining the differential. We do not, however, follow the majority in their acceptance of Mr. Harrod's argument that it is a fortunate dispensation that women earn less than men (for whatever reason) because this tends to drive women into matrimony.* We should like to remark in passing that the majority here seem to have fallen into a major inconsistency—they hold that the introduction of equal pay would tend to exclude women from industry; to be consistent, therefore, they should surely advocate equal pay, for total unemployment would be a more powerful incentive to marriage than mere low earnings.

10. The majority summarise their position thus: "there is a strong underlying tendency towards the overlap areas being established at points where the relative efficiency of men and women, account being taken of all the factors which we have enumerated ['career value' etc.], is roughly proportionate to their relative weekly wage-rates as determined by the general forces of demand and supply" (paragraph 357), though this conclusion is modified by the further statement: "this tendency is, however, in our view qualified and thwarted by certain forces requiring further discussion," namely, certain conventional factors. On imponderable factors such as 'career value' quantitative evidence is, in the nature of the case, almost impossible to obtain, and even on efficiency in the narrow sense of production per hour when on the job, little clear and conclusive evidence has emerged from the enquiries of the Commission. Such evidence as there is does not appear to us to support the majority's view. There was

* Mr. Harrod claims as one of the 'social causes for unequal pay' "to secure that motherhood as a vocation is not too unattractive financially compared with work in the professions, industry or trade." (*See* paragraph 48 (ii) of Appendix IX 2 to minutes of evidence.)

agreement among witnesses that the efficiency of women in the Civil Service, in local government and in the teaching and other professions was equal to that of men. In the case of industry and commerce it was less easy to obtain precise information ; the most relevant data which we have received concerns the earnings of men and women respectively in a few occupations where they are on equal piece-rates. In these, the women earn on the whole somewhat lower weekly wages. But we cannot deduce from this that women *as such* when on the job are less productive than men. The weekly pay packet is affected, as has been repeatedly pointed out to us in evidence, by hours worked ; piece-work earnings for the purpose of comparison should be reckoned on an hourly rather than a weekly basis, in order to estimate efficiency when on the job. Moreover, hourly earnings are influenced by a number of factors besides individual efficiency. There seems to be a tradition in some occupations of giving the ' best-paying work ' to men. More important, the average age of women in industry is less than that of men. Figures showing that a group of women earn less than a group of men, on equal piece-rates, may therefore merely reflect the fact that less experienced workers produce less than more experienced. Finally, we have been given averages only, without figures for the dispersion of earnings around the average, with the exception of a small group in the raincoat industry * It is probably true generally, as in the example quoted, that the highest earnings for a woman exceed the lowest earnings for a man on equal piece-rates. Very little, therefore, can be deduced about relative efficiency without knowing more about the individual output of the workers concerned It may well be that differentiation of rates according to sex introduces scarcely less ' false standardisation ' into the wage system than would be introduced by a single scale of rates for all workers.

11. Our reading of the evidence is different from that of the majority. In our opinion, while the evidence does not clearly show that women are always equally efficient with men in the overlap occupations, it does support the view that any difference in efficiency is considerably less than the difference in wage-rates, which often amounts to women being paid about 60 per cent. of the men's rate. For instance, the ratio of the women's minimum piece-rates to men's in semi-skilled work in engineering in September, 1939, was $54\frac{1}{2}$: 100, and in June, 1946, was $68\frac{1}{2}$: 100,† while in a special enquiry made for the Commission in the clothing trade the time-rates for women on identical work with men averaged 64 : 100.‡

12. In the few cases in which men and women are paid the same piece-rates on identical work, where we were able to obtain figures, the difference in earnings, if it existed at all, was considerably less than these ratios. In the case of the wool trade where it was impossible to make any correction for the relative ages of men and women employed, the women's hourly earnings for one-loom weaving represented about 91 per cent. of the men's, and for two-loom weaving about 85 per cent.§ In the raincoat industry women's average earnings were nearly 72 per cent. of the men's, but the sample was extremely small and the results vitiated by the fact that the women's flat-rate hourly bonus was less than the men's. In the case of a small sample of men and women engaged in identical work in the clothing trade paid on the same piece-rate, the average hourly earnings for men and for women were approximately equal (3s. $4\frac{1}{4}$d. for men and 3s. 4d. for women). At one firm where unequal piece-rates were paid differences in earnings were roughly proportionate to the difference in the piece-rates.|| At one firm where men were paid at time-rates and women at piece-rates the women's average hourly

* *See* para. 195 of the main report.
† *See* para. 174 of the main report.
‡ *See* para. 186 of the main report.
§ *See* para. 168 of the main report.
|| *See* para. 187 of the main report.

earnings exceeded the men's average time-rate.* In the case of cotton-weaving, by far the largest overlap area in manufacturing industry, the average weekly earnings of women on all the various systems of working, with no corrections introduced for any of the disturbing factors already discussed, were 88 per cent. of those of men on the same systems.† In some instances where both sexes were working on four looms the average weekly earnings of women were 94 per cent. of those of men.‡ As was pointed out to us in evidence by Mr. E. M. Gray, general average figures are misleading. They are affected largely by differences in the numbers of looms worked and to some appreciable extent by the number of hours. "Except as indicated in the case of workers operating the largest number of ordinary looms and in the case of automatic looms generally, this differential cannot be attributed to any difference in capacity."

13. Admittedly, the available evidence based on piece-rate earnings is scanty and unsatisfactory, but though we would agree that in the past women may have been less productive than men in many occupations and that this was a justified factor in maintaining the wage differential, we cannot, on the evidence available, accept the view that to grant the rate for the job in modern working conditions would introduce 'false standardisation', because women to-day as a whole are less efficient than men as a whole.

Conventional factors

14. The majority do not base their case mainly upon the evidence. They appear to rely chiefly upon an *a priori* argument: "We should expect to find that in those occupations in which both men and women are employed, and in which the engagement and dismissal of workers lies at the unfettered discretion of employers, the average man is more efficient than the average woman. For, if it were not so, it is hard to see why, at the prevailing relative wage-rates, the employer should continue for any length of time to employ men."§ Later they emphasise that the choice of the employer is not wholly unfettered. Certain 'conventions and pressures' restrict the sphere of employment of women. Amongst these the most important are "those restrictions on the employment of women which are in effect imposed on the employer by his male employees, and which have their origin less in the sentiment that 'this is something which women can't do' than in the sentiment that 'this is something which only men should be allowed to do.'" In our opinion this is an extremely important element in the situation, and accounts more than any other factor for the low demand for women workers. At any moment of time there is strong resistance to allowing women into any occupation which they have not already entered. This resistance is an expression of that fear of competition which runs through all economic life, often to be found thinly concealed by the most far-fetched rationalisations. It is without doubt, largely, though not entirely, due to the fear of unemployment and it is enhanced by the very fact that women's wages are lower than those of men. As the Trades Union Congress said in evidence: "We believe it to be beyond dispute that the relative rates of wages paid have been a substantial factor in determining the allocation of certain jobs to men and others to women. The trade unions have been compelled, not only to uphold, but to promote, a clear demarcation between men's and women's work—where such demarcation was possible—in order to protect the men's and thus indirectly the women's rates of pay. Admittedly there is something like a vicious circle involved in this situation, since the limited opportunities for

* *See* para. 188 of the main report.
† *See* para. 219 of the main report.
‡ *See* table in para. 218 of the main report.
§ *See* para. 345 of the main report.

industrial employment that were available to women have tended to crowd them into certain occupations and to keep down the rates of wages paid in these occupations. Nevertheless, it would be folly to expect such demarcation practices to disappear as long as a substantial gap between the rates paid to men and to women continues to exist throughout the greater part of industry."*

15. For whatever reasons, men certainly have strongly resisted each extension that has taken place in women's activities, and this sentiment, though weakening, is still an important factor in restraining employers from offering new types of work to women.

16. There is another reason preventing employers from taking advantage of the ' good bargain ' presented by women who can be had at a wage-differential greater than their efficiency-differential, to which the majority in our view attach too little weight. This is the fear of ' spoiling the market ' by bidding against each other for cheap labour. It is true, as Professor Hicks points out, " a tacit combination of employers [to keep down the wages of women workers] in a particular trade would not be sufficient ; nothing short of a combination between most of the employers of all sorts in a district would be enough."† But, without any conspiracy or combination, there is a strong conventional element in the behaviour of employers, and the generally accepted view of what is the ' right ' rate for a particular kind of worker is sufficient to keep wages down so long as it is not challenged either by trade union action or by acute scarcity of labour.

17. Fear of contention with their male employees, reluctance to start competition for women workers, which might end by driving up their wages all round, and a general prejudice against the employment of women in any new sphere, seem to us to be sufficient to account for employers refraining from employing women in place of men when there would be a moderate financial advantage in doing so. We therefore cannot accept the theoretical reasoning of the majority according to which the lower wages of women are sufficient evidence of lower efficiency.

Relative weakness of organisation among women

18. Since we do not accept the majority view that the lower wages of women are primarily accounted for by lower efficiency in the relevant range of occupations, it follows that we attach far more importance than they do to bargaining power. If women were strongly organised a situation in which they receive low wage-rates relatively to their comparative efficiency could not persist. In fact women workers are less organised than men. Taking the figures for the end of 1939 (*i.e.*, before war production had exerted much influence), together with the Ministry of Labour man-power figures for mid-1939 (excluding the Forces and private domestic service), the approximate proportions of working men and women who were Trade Unionists just before the war were :—men 37 per cent., women 11 per cent. Even at the end of 1944 when Trade Union membership had increased for both sexes there was a wide disparity, men 61 per cent., women 29 per cent. In our view lack of organisation is an extremely important factor in accounting for the persistence of unequal rates of pay for comparable work. We are not impressed by Professor Hicks' example of the rise in wages of domestic workers in spite of their lack of organisation. It is true that a very acute scarcity of labour is even more effective than collective bargaining in raising wages. It does not follow that collective bargaining is ineffective. Indeed, it seems to us clearly contrary to the lessons of experience to argue that relative weakness in organisation is not a cause of relative low earnings.

* *See* para. 17 of Appendix VII to minutes of evidence.
† *See* para. 12 of Appendix IX. 4 to minutes of evidence.

Conclusion

19. To sum up: the theoretical argument advanced by the majority to account for the lower wages of women in terms of lower efficiency, used in its widest sense, seems to us unconvincing and on the evidence their case is not proven. In our view, so far as such a complex matter can be summarised in a few words, the main cause of the low earnings of women is their exclusion from a number of trades in which they would be efficient workers (given opportunity and training), combined with weak trade union organisation.

As respects Chapter XIII :

20. Since our diagnosis of the causes of the lower wage-rates of women differs from that of the majority, our analysis of the consequences of introducing equal pay, *i.e.* the rate for the job according to the definition given in paragraph 16, also differs from theirs. The argument of the majority is set out in three sections according as the phrase ' the rate for the job ' is taken in ' a very broad ', ' a very narrow ' or ' an intermediate ' sense. The last two interpretations do not seem to raise any point of principle not covered by the first. Our analysis, therefore, of the consequences of introducing equal pay is based upon the broad interpretation of the phrase ' the rate for the job '.

21. On its own ground the argument of the main report appears to us somewhat obscure. If it were the case, as they assume, that women are less efficient than men in considerably more than a quarter of all occupations (while women provide roughly a quarter of the labour force) then, if the rate for the job were everywhere enforced, men would become a ' good bargain ' to employers. In times of general unemployment it would follow that women would be unemployed rather than men. This consequence is surely not undesirable? The question of family needs is here of great importance, since, speaking broadly, there is less human suffering caused when a million women are unemployed than a million men. On the other hand, when the general level of employment is high, pressure to substitute men for women would lead to an excess demand for men, and by one means or another premiums would be paid to men (prejudice and tradition now enforcing rather than impeding a financial motive) so that ' equal pay ' would be not so much undesirable as impossible to enforce. These points are not made by the majority, but they seem to follow from their general argument.

22. Our own view of the consequences of introducing the rate for the job is different, because we do not accept the premise that, in modern conditions, existing wage differentials reflect efficiency differentials over industry as a whole. In our view unequal pay is an important element in maintaining unequal opportunity. Both from the point of view of individual liberty and satisfaction and from the point of view of national productivity, it is desirable to break down artificial barriers and to permit each individual to find, as far as circumstances allow, the use for which his talents best suit him. As the Trades Union Congress argued in both written and oral evidence, whatever shifting in the spheres of employment of men and women resulted from the adoption of the principle of the rate for the job, such shifting " would result in a far more efficient use of man- and woman-power than is at present the case . . . If the Government ensures by its policy that there are jobs at reasonable rates of pay for all who want them, the change in the distribution of men and women in particular industries and occupations would not be harmful providing it did not take place too precipitately ",* since, if the employer has to pay men and women the same, it will be essential for him to employ them on those jobs to which they are best suited . . . " What really matters from the point of view of the work is the most efficient use of man and woman power in

* *See* para. 166 of Appendix VII to minutes of evidence.

industry . . . the artificial demarcation of functions which arises from a purely artificial differential in wage-rates is actually hindering efficiency in industry, and they (the women) believe their future is the future of all workers and depends on industry being as efficient as it can be made " [Q. 3069].

23. We do not pretend that the enforcement of the rate for the job, taking a broad interpretation of the term, would by itself remove all restrictions on the sphere of women's work. Prejudice, convention and sectional privilege would remain to be combated. Fear of unemployment will persist, for some time at least, as the majority point out, even if a successful employment policy is put in hand. But we believe that the general acceptance of the principle of the rate for the job would make an important contribution to breaking down barriers to the employment of women, because it would remove one of the main elements in the objection of male workers to opening new jobs to women, *i.e.*, fear of undercutting. Moreover, prejudice and convention would be weakened by the very fact of granting equal pay. As Mrs. Barbara Wootton wrote in evidence : " Absence of discrimination between male and female wages might be an important secondary influence in undermining the convention of female inferiority. Lower pay is an obvious badge of inferiority, and without this label candidates for jobs might be more likely to be considered on personal merits. The word ' secondary ' in this context should, however, be stressed. Equalisation of pay will not of itself induce a different attitude towards the place of women in society . its significance would be that it might reinforce a half-formed belief that the present method of discrimination is unscientific, and out of keeping with modern standards. But the roots of that belief must be independently formed."* Public opinion has been continuously shifting away from traditional views of the economic position of women, and this movement has been much speeded up by experience in the recent war. It may be that we are at a psychological moment when the enunciation of the principle of equal pay would crystallise sentiments at present vague, and would have an important influence in breaking down the non-economic as well as the economic barriers which have hitherto restricted the sphere of employment of women.

24. We cannot attempt to predict what reshuffling of jobs between the sexes would follow upon the establishment of equal pay, but it seems clear that in modern industry jobs are interchangeable between men and women over a wide and growing sphere. During the war agreements were made between the employers and the trade unions in a large number of industries by which, after a period of initial training, women took over men's jobs and received the men's rates of pay as long as they were able to work without increased supervision or assistance. Among the Unions affected were the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, the Foundry Workers', the Boiler Makers', the Brass and Metal Mechanics' and the Electrical Trades Unions. Similar agreements were made in the ship-building trades, chemical industries and the garment making industry. In the box and packing case making industry in London an agreement in 1936 and a further agreement in October, 1942, provided that "where females are working piece-work they shall receive the same piece-work rates as those paid to adult male labour for a similar class of work." Rules regarding the class of work on which female labour might and might not be employed were first introduced but relaxed during the war. In the hosiery industry in 1945 agreement was reached on a new piece-price list for knitting women's seamless hose which makes no differentiation in the piece-rates for the two sexes. These agreements testify to the fact that in a wide variety of trades and crafts women are interchangeable with men.

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* *See* para. 9 of Appendix IX. 10 to minutes of evidence.

25. In the light of war-time experience, and in view of the constantly increasing mechanisation of industry, our expectation of the long-run consequences of adopting the principle of the rate for the job is the reverse of that of the majority. We should expect it to widen the sphere of women's employment and to set up a tendency to scarcity of labour in occupations formerly filled exclusively by women ; this would lead to a rise in wages and improvement of conditions in those occupations, and so tend to level up the earnings of women as a whole. (This process is already seen at work in the sphere of nursing and domestic service.) From the long-run point of view, therefore, we do not share the fear of the majority that equal pay would work to the disadvantage of women.

26. From a short-term point of view, however, the outlook seems less clear. Although we have stated that the evidence, scanty though it is, does not support the view that the productivity of women is normally significantly less than that of men in a wide range of occupations, we do not wish to dispute that there may be cases where women are at present employed merely because their wages are lower than men's in relation to productivity. In such cases the introduction of equal pay might lead to the dismissal of women where men were available to take their place. In jobs paid on time-rates, if a large number of women were unable to come within the range of tolerance of difference in productivity paid at the same rate (which it must be remembered is fairly wide in most occupations), they would be dismissed. In jobs paid on equal piece-rates (no discrimination being made in the allocation of work) it would have no particular significance if the average earnings of women were less than those of men, since each individual's earnings would reflect his or her own productivity. There might, however, be a tendency to dismiss the least productive workers.

27. Apart from the question of relative productivity there is probably still a general tendency for employers to prefer a man to a woman at equal rates. It must therefore be contemplated that the general introduction of the rate for the job would raise the demand for men relative to women in a number of occupations. In our view this would be a transitional phenomenon, compensated in the long run by the opening of new occupations to women.

28. The effect of such transitional dislocations is likely to be greatly reduced at the present time when there is an overall scarcity of labour. Indeed in many industries there is an especial shortage of women workers. This has been commented upon for instance in the working party reports on hosiery* and boots and shoes.† Similar conditions exist in the clothing trade and others. In present circumstances there seems little danger of causing unemployment among women. In the same way any rise in the relative price of commodities produced mainly by women that might result from a rise in women's wages, leading to a possible limitation in the production of those commodities, would cause little dislocation in the present period of overall scarcity and high employment. On the other hand, if the pessimistic expectations of the majority about employment are fulfilled, and the principle of equal pay were introduced in a time of bad trade, while the dislocation caused by the introduction of equal pay might be greater, there would be compensating social advantages in bringing about some rise in the demand for men's labour relatively to women's in a time of general unemployment.

29. These considerations apply to the transitional effect of introducing the rate for the job. In the longer run we should expect an increase in general efficiency as the result of reshuffling labour so that each individual finds the appropriate niche.

* Working Party Reports, Hosiery, 1946, p. 97.
† Working Party Reports, Boots and Shoes, 1946, p. 174.

30. The majority advance a further argument against equal pay, that is, the fear that the policy of ' full employment ' is likely to be jeopardised by any general rise in money wage-rates. Similarly a fear of rising money costs was expressed by witnesses in connection with our export trade. As a representative of the British Employers' Confederation said in evidence : " I am definitely nervous that the social and cultural commitments we have entered into would have to be paid for from industry, and they can only be paid for from an industry in which you have full production and that is really competitive. If it is not competitive you will not in fact get full production. If we do not get full production we shall have a difficulty in paying our national bill ; and so personally I attach the utmost importance to our being able to produce, not by exploitation, of course, but certainly economically." [Q. 2700].

31. These are admittedly difficult and dangerous problems, but it is both undesirable and impracticable to preserve stability of wages by freezing the present structure of relative wage-rates. Numerous changes in relative wages between occupations are called for at present for reasons of supply and demand as well as for reasons of social justice. Unless a general wage policy is to be undertaken—which does not seem likely in this country—the problem of redressing anomalies in the wage structure without causing inflation can only be solved gradually, as productivity increases. It is not indeed the wish of the representatives of labour that a sudden and widespread rise of wage-rates should occur, nor do we wish to enter into an academic argument as to whether inflation could be prevented if such a rise took place. But we do wish to dissent strongly from the view that the fear of inflation should be allowed to prevent changes in relative wage-rates which are economically desirable on their own merits. Certainly, from a long-run point of view, freezing relative wage-rates in a manner which hampers the development of national productivity cannot be a sound method of promoting exports or preventing inflation.

32. In conclusion, since we attach great importance to the beneficial effect upon productive efficiency which we believe would follow from a greater freedom for the individual to find the work best suited to him or to her, irrespective of sex, we cannot agree with the majority that it is necessary to make a choice between ' exact justice ' and 'oiling the wheels of economic progress.'* On the contrary the claims of justice between individuals and of the development of national productivity point in the same direction.

ANNE LOUGHLIN.
JANET VAUGHAN.
L. F. NETTLEFOLD.

* *See* para. 510 of the main report.

Note of Reservation by Lord Justice Asquith, Sir Jasper Ridley and Professor D. H. Robertson on paragraphs 379 and 380 of the report dealing with the question of overstrain.

While the whole matter seems to us somewhat speculative, the view taken by our colleagues of the ' overstrain ' question in paragraphs 379 and 380 seems to us too optimistic.

We pretend to no medical knowledge, but we find it hard to believe that the improvement in the general health of women during the last twenty-five years has rendered obsolete Dr. Campbell's discussion (Atkin Report, pp. 218–220) of certain basic physiological differences between the sexes. Dr. Campbell's conclusions do not appear to us to have been dependent on the particular figure of four-fifths, which was used by the Committee (Report, p. 189)—not by Dr. Campbell individually—purely, as it seems to us, for illustrative purposes.

To Professor Killick's argument that it would be better for the health of women who cannot stand the pace of mixed occupations to suffer ' elimination or transfer to other jobs ', we would reply in the words of the Atkin Committee (ibidem) " A woman working within her own strength may produce with ease and comfort four-fifths of a man's output, though it may strain her powers to equal his output . . . It does not by any means appear in the interests of the country as a whole, apart from the particular interests of men or women, that women should be excluded from an occupation in which men are employed merely because their output in that occupation is normally less than men's ".

As our colleagues say, the range of occupations over which these considerations are relevant depends on the interpretation given to a rule of equal pay. An extended interpretation would extend their relevance to various branches of manufacturing industry, as well as to agriculture and some branches of the distributive trades.

Our colleagues endorse Professor Lane's account of the ' selection ' process that would occur in certain occupations, but come to a diametrically opposite conclusion as to its effects. To us Professor Lane's own conclusion seems the more plausible. And the ' selection ' would not, it seems to us, be a once-for-all event, leaving no damage behind. Rather it seems likely that the relatively high wages offered in such overlap areas would continue to attract a succession of women entrants, a proportion of whom would always be attempting to work beyond their strength, and discovering gradually that they could not stay the course.

CYRIL ASQUITH.
JASPER RIDLEY.
D. H. ROBERTSON.

APPENDIX I

A. LIST OF BODIES OR INDIVIDUALS WHO GAVE ORAL EVIDENCE, WITH NAMES OF WITNESSES

Department or organisation	Name and designation of witness	Volume of minutes of evidence	Number of Appendix to minutes of evidence
Amalgamated Engineering Union	Mr. Jack Tanner, President	14	VIII
Association of Assistant Mistresses in Secondary Schools.	Miss G. E. Ford, M A., Past President, and Miss O M. Hastings, M A., Organising Secretary.	4	—
Association of Education Committees.	Dr W. P. Alexander, Ed.B., M.A , B Sc , Secretary, and Mr. F. H Toyne, B A., Director of Education, Brighton, and Member of the Executive of the Association.	1	—
Association of Head Mistresses ...	Dr M S Smith, President, and Miss D D Howard, M.A., Chairman of Salaries and Pensions Sub-Committee of the Association	4	—
British Employers' Confederation	Sir John Forbes Watson, Director , Mr E M. Amphlett, M C , Secretary of Employers' Federation of Papermakers and Boardmakers , Mr. George B. Fielding, Director of Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Association , Mr. Herbert Kay, C B E., Secretary of Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Federation and other Employers' Organisations ; Mr. Kenelm Kerr, O B.E , Assistant General Manager (Staff) L.N E R and Representative of Railway Companies' Association , Mr. J. R. Pheazey, Standard Telephones and Cables, Ltd., and Representative of Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation , Sir Alexander Ramsay, O.B.E , Director of Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation ; Mr. A E. Low, Secretary of Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation, and Mr H M. Piper, C B.E , Secretary of the British Employers' Confederation.	12	VI
British Federation of Business and Professional Women.	Miss Caroline Haslett, C B E , Comp I E E , President , Miss Mary Field, M.A., Chairman of the Individual Members' Group , Miss D M. Vaughan, Hon. Treasurer of the Individual Members' Group , Miss D McClellan, Hon. Secretary, and Miss Cox, B A.	10	—
Civil Service National Whitley Council (Staff Side).	Mr. A J. T. Day, O B.E., Chairman of the Civil Service Equal Pay Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Civil Service National Whitley Council ; Miss A. T. Bone, Member of the Executive Committee of the Inland Revenue Staff Federation ; Mr A J Brown, Editor of " Taxes " and Member of the Inland Revenue Staff Federation , Mr L John Edwards, General Secretary of the Post Office Engineering Union, and Mr L. C. White, General Secretary of the Civil Service Clerical Association.	6	III
Council of Women Civil Servants	Miss A. W Hastings, Chairman ; Miss A H M Kilroy, Principal Assistant Secretary, Board of Trade , Mrs A M Reisner, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Labour and National Service, and Miss H. E. Clinkard, Temporary Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Supply	9	IV

County Councils Association ...	Sir Samuel Gurney-Dixon, Vice-Chairman of the Hampshire County Council; Sir Cecil Oakes, C.B.E., Clerk of the Peace, East Suffolk, and Mr. W. L. Dacey, Assistant Secretary.	3	—
Educational Institute of Scotland	Miss Margaret J. Pringle, J P., President; Mr. James Watson, J.P., M.A., B.Sc., Convenor of the Parliamentary Committees, and Mr. John Wishart, M.A., General Secretary.	2	—
Education, Ministry of	Sir Maurice Holmes, K.C.B., O.B E, Permanent Secretary, and Mr. M. P. Roseveare, Senior Chief Inspector.	11	—
Family Endowment Society ...	Mrs. Eva M Hubback	7	—
General Post Office	Sir Thomas Gardiner, G.B E, K.C.B, Director General, Mr. D J. Lidbury, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Assistant Director General, and Mr. L A. Jones, Assistant Secretary, Establishment Division.	9	—
London County Council . .	Sir Eric Salmon, M.C., D L, Clerk of the London County Council	3	—
London County Council Staff Association.	Miss P. Knox, Chairman of the General Committee, Mr H. G. Puddifoot, B Sc, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Miss B. Turner, Secretary.	4	—
London and National Society for Women's Service.	Miss Philippa Strachey, Secretary, and Miss Ethel Watts, Chairman of the Executive Committee	10	—
National Association of Local Government Officers.	Mr. H. Allen, Chairman of the Service Conditions and Organisation Committees; Mr. A. A. Garrard, President, and Mr J B. Swinden, Deputy General Secretary	4	—
National Association of Schoolmasters.	Mr. E Rushworth, President, Mr. J Mason, Vice-President; Mr. J. H. Evans, Member of the Executive, Mr. H. Gordon, Member of the Executive, and Mr. R. Anderson, General Secretary.	1	—
National Association of Women Civil Servants.	Miss M E Faulkner, President; Miss H. C Hart, B A., General Secretary; Miss E Godwin, Staff Officer, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries; Miss D Ormiston, Higher Executive Officer, Foreign Office, and Miss W. M. Dodd, Staff Officer, Ministry of Production.	9	—
National Union of Teachers .	Mr. G C. T Giles, B A., President, Miss I. Haswell, Vice-President; Mrs. E. V. Parker, Member of the Executive, Mrs. L Manning, J.P, Secretary to the Organisation Committee, and Sir Frederick Mander, M A, B Sc., General Secretary.	1	—
National Union of Women Teachers.	Miss H. K. Allison, President; Miss E H. Hamlyn, Vice-President; Mrs. F. E. Key, Editor and Trustee; Miss A A. Kenyon, Trustee, and Miss A. M. Pierotti, General Secretary.	1	—
Retail Distributive Trades Conference (Employers' Side).	Mr. A. H. Mathias, Chairman of the Conference and Chairman, Retail Drapery Outfitting and Footwear Trades Joint Industrial Council (Employers' Side); Mr. F. W. Lawe, Chairman, Labour Committee of the Retail Distributors' Association, and Personnel Manager, Messrs Harrods Ltd., Mr. Frank Gratwick, F.C.I.S, General Secretary, National Chamber of Trade, and Mr. W. Herman Kent, O.B E., F.C.I.S, Secretary to the Conference.	15	—
Scottish Schoolmasters' Association	Mr John Cape, M.A, President, and Mr W McL Dewar, M A., Ex-President and Editor of Publications.	2	—

APPENDIX I (*continued.*)

Department or organisation	Name and designation of witness	Volume of minutes of evidence	Number of Appendix to minutes of evidence
Trades Union Congress	Miss Florence Hancock, O B E, National Woman Officer, Transport and General Workers' Union; Mr. A. Roberts, General Secretary, Amalgamated Association of Card, Blowing and Ring Room Operatives, Mr. G. Woodcock, Secretary of Economic and Research Department of the T.U.C; Mr. A Flanders, Research Assistant, T.U C.; Miss B Anne Godwin, Assistant General Secretary, Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union, Miss Dorothy Elliott, O.B.E, National Woman Officer, National Union of General and Municipal Workers, and Mr. G. Chester, C B E, General Secretary, National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives.	13 and 14	VII
H.M. Treasury	Sir Alan Barlow, K C B, K B E, Joint Second Secretary; Mr. H. Wilson Smith, Under-Secretary, and Miss E A. Sharp, Principal Assistant Secretary, Establishment Division.	5	I, II and V
Union of Post Office Workers ...	Mr. C. J. Geddes, General Secretary, Union of Post Office Workers; Miss W. E. Rowe, Assistant Secretary, Telephones; Mr W R Williams, Assistant Secretary, Indoor, and Mr. Hardcastle, Research Officer.	15	—
Sir William Beveridge, K.C.B., M P.		8	—

B. LIST OF OTHER BODIES AND INDIVIDUALS WHO SUBMITTED MEMORANDA OF EVIDENCE

(In cases where the Royal Commission decided to print a memorandum, a reference is made to the appendix to minutes of evidence in which it will be found)

Professor P. Sargant Florence	Appendix IX
Mr. R. F. Harrod	,,
Sir Hubert Henderson	,,
Professor J. R. Hicks	,,
Professor D. H. Macgregor	,,
Professor A. C. Pigou	,,
Mrs. Joan Robinson	,,
Sir David Ross	,,
Professor W. Hamilton Whyte	,,
Mrs. Barbara Wootton	,,
Professor F. C. Bartlett	Appendix X
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Professor E. M. Killick	,,
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Dr. Aubrey Lewis	,,
Professor B. A. McSwiney	,,
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Admiralty.
Air Ministry.
Assistance Board.
Board of Inland Revenue.
Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis.
Department of Agriculture for Scotland.
Department of Health for Scotland.
General Register Office.
Government Actuary's Department.
Home Office.
Industrial Health Research Board.
Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.
Ministry of Health.
Ministry of National Insurance.
Ministry of Supply.
Scottish Home Department.
War Office.
Wages Councils for the following Trades :
- Boot and Shoe Repairing.
- Brush and Broom.
- Made Up Textiles.
- Milk Distributive (England and Wales).
- Milk Distributive (Scotland).
- Ready Made and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring.
- Rubber Manufacturing.
- Stamped or Pressed Metal Wares.

Office of the High Commissioner for Australia.
Office of the High Commissioner for Canada.

Belgian Embassy.
French Embassy.
Netherlands Embassy.
Miss Frieda Miller of the United States Department of Labor.
Association of British Chambers of Commerce.
Association of First Division Civil Servants.
Boots Pure Drug Co. Ltd.
British Broadcasting Corporation.
British Dental Association.
British Federation of University Women.
British Furniture Trades Confederation.
British Medical Association.
Mr. L J. Cadbury, Chairman of Cadbury Brothers Ltd
Chartered Surveyors Institution.
Chief Constables of England and Wales.
Chief Constables of Scotland.
City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh.
City of Birmingham Municipal Officers Guild.
Corporation of Dundee.
Council of the Auctioneers' and Estate Agents' Institute of the United Kingdom.
Engineering and Allied Trades Shop Stewards' National Council.
Fairey Aviation Joint Shops Stewards' Co-ordinating Committee.
Federated Association of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland.
Food Manufacturers' Federation.
Mr. E. M Gray, Director of the Cotton Board Recruitment and Training Department.
Imperial Chemical Industries.
Incorporated Association of Electric Power Companies.
Incorporated Association of Purveyors of Light Refreshments.
Institute of Chartered Accountants.
International Labour Organisation.
Joint Standing Parliamentary Committee.
Law Society.
Library Association
London Aircraft Productions Shop Stewards' Committee.
London Chamber of Commerce
Made Up Textiles Association.
Married Women's Association.
Medical Women's Federation
Metropolitan Boroughs Standing Joint Committee.
Municipal Passenger Transport Association.
National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs.
National Association of Probation Officers.
National Association of Women Pharmacists
National Council of Women.
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
National Federation of Hosiery Manufacturers.
National Federation of Professional Workers
National Federation of Women's Institutes.
National Joint Council for Local Authorities' Administrative, Professional, Technical and Clerical Services.
National Labour Organisation.
National Union of Journalists.
Open Door Council.
Oxford University Women's Appointments Committee.
Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress.
Rotax Shop Stewards' Committee
Royal Institute of British Architects.
Royal Institute of Chemistry.
Scottish Federation of Grocers' and Provision Merchants' Associations.
Scottish Police Federation.
Scottish Trades Union Congress.
Society of Women Housing Managers.
Standard Telephones and Cables Ltd.
Standing Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals.
Standing Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations.
Surrey Combined Probation Area Committee.
Watford and District Manufacturers' Association.
Wholesale Textile Association.
Willesden Borough Education Committee.
Woman Power Committee.
Women's Employment Federation.

Women's Farm and Garden Association
Mr. A. W. Acworth.
Mr. G E Boyer
Mrs. E C Bradbury
Rev. W. Bryan-Brown
Mr G W Butler.
Mr F W Deakin.
Mrs E A S. Dixon
Miss Rosa W Dixon.
Miss L L Ferard
Miss Lily Ha mmond
Mr C Hayes.
Miss Rosa Hinton.
Miss Anna B Irving.
Mr M. A B Jones
Mr A J Lissaman
Mrs. E. H Llewellyn.
Mr Robert E M.Cutcheon.
Miss Eileen O'Brien
Mrs Zenka Porteous.
Miss H L Richardson
Rev. C. F Russell
Mrs. G. Scott Stevenson
Mr Leonard Shaw
Professor A N Shimmin.
Mr Douglas Smith
Miss E Spencer
Mr Lewis S Sturge.
Mr H Verney
Miss Violet E Wooldridge.

C. LIST OF APPENDICES TO MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

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APPENDIX II

(See paragraph 264 of report)

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION AND THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL PAY

Article 427 of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, 1919, approved the principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value. This principle was embodied in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation which by Article 41 includes among the general principles which are " of special and urgent importance, and which all industrial communities should endeavour to apply " the following:

" Seventh—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value."

This principle was re-affirmed at the International Labour Conference in 1928.

In 1937 the Government delegates of the United States of America moved a resolution on women's employment which was unanimously adopted by the International Labour Conference. General principles of social policy are formulated therein concerning various aspects of the position of women workers, and the governing body was requested to draw these principles to the attention of all Governments " with a view to their establishment in law and in custom by legislative and administrative action." Among the principles was the one that " it is for the best interests of society that women should have full opportunity to work and should receive remuneration without discrimination because of sex."

The International Labour Conference at its 26th Session, held in Philadelphia in 1944, adopted a Declaration concerning the aims and purpose of the International Labour Organisation. Section II of this Declaration of Philadelphia begins as follows :

" Believing that experience has fully demonstrated the truth of the statement in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice, the Conference affirms that :

(*a*) all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity."

In addition the Philadelphia Conference adopted an Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation which set out eleven general principles and suggested methods of application. General Principle IX reads :

" The redistribution of women workers in each national economy should be carried out on the principle of complete equality of opportunity for men and women in respect of admission to employment on the basis of their individual merit, skill, and experience, and steps should be taken to encourage the establishment of wage rates on the basis of job content, without regard to sex."

Paragraphs 37(1) and (2) of the " Methods of Application " of the above general principle read as follows :

" 37(1). In order to place women on a basis of equality with men in the employment market, and thus to prevent competition among the available workers prejudicial to the interests of both men and women workers, steps should be taken to encourage the establishment of wage rates based on job content, without regard to sex.

(2) Investigation should be conducted, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, for the purpose of establishing precise and objective standards for determining job content, irrespective of the sex of the worker, as a basis for determining wage rates."

His Majesty's Government reserved its decision whether to adopt Principle No. IX and paragraph 37(1) of the " Methods of Application " until the Royal Commission should have reported.

APPENDIX III

(See paragraph 291 of report)

THE NEW YORK EQUAL PAY ACT, 1944

Under the Act additional powers and duties are conferred on the Industrial Commissioner, in connection with the payment of wages ; these include in particular .

(*a*) the duty to investigate and to attempt first to adjust equitably controversies between employer and employee in respect of wage claims ;

(*b*) the power to take assignment of wage claims in trust for the assigning employee ; the commissioner may sue employers on wage claims made under the law ;

(*c*) the power to institute proceedings on account of any criminal violation of the provisions of the law regarding the payment of wages.

The Industrial Commissioner for the State of New York appointed in June, 1944, a committee to assist him in preparing the programme for the administration of the new Labor Act provisions. The work of the committee consists in :

(*a*) analysis of particular types of occupations for the purpose of establishing a standard of equalisation for the evaluation of wages ;

(*b*) the formulation of a programme of education whereby both employer and employee will be fully informed of all the elements and principles of equal pay and will additionally be provided with a comprehensive analysis of the law, its provisions and purposes ; and

(*c*) the recommendation of methods of enforcement , some emphasis is put on the educational work to be done and the results which are expected from it.*

* *New York State Department of Labor, Press Release,* 1 June, 1944.

In July 1944, the New York State Department of Labor issued a statement of the principles which will guide them in the interpretation and application of the Act. These principles were formulated as follows :

(*a*) rates of pay for women must be the same as for men where quantity and quality are comparable, on the job where the replacement took place ;

(*b*) rate differentials for women may not be based on slight or inconsequential changes in job conditions where the replacement took place ;

(*c*) where additional costs are incurred for extra supervision, extra set-up men or extra more-men, such extra costs may be given appropriate weight in establishing an equitable rate for women ;

(*d*) a differential in rate or classification may not be established for women where additional supervision or service is required if it does not increase labour costs.

Consequently the rates previously in effect for men for a specific job classification are applicable to women, unless :

(*a*) there has been a definite change in the job content or work assignment which results in lessening the degree of skill or responsibility and which warrants the creation of a new job classification , or

(*b*) there has been a definite change in the conditions under which the job was previously done, which changes result in extra labour costs being incurred for extra supervision or service ; or

(*c*) lower standards of production must be established for women, reflecting differences in output as compared with men on the job in question.

In particular, the Act prohibits two job classifications for the same job, on the grounds that one is performed by men and the other by women, unless there exists a definite difference in the assignment of duties and responsibilities between the two jobs, which would warrant separate wage rates or separate wage-scales.

We have been authoritatively informed that in the first period during which the Act was effective the Department directed its main attention to acting on complaints It was subsequently decided to institute regular inspection and, in July, 1945, 122 investigators were at work with a view to covering all establishments in an eighteen-monthly period. Co-operation had been received from the great majority of employers.

APPENDIX IV

STATISTICS RELATING TO SICKNESS AND OTHER ABSENCE RATES IN MEN AND WOMEN

Introduction

We have thought it convenient to bring together the figures and statements relating to sickness and other absence rates in men and women in different employments which we have used in preparing our Report. Some of these have been included in statements of evidence submitted to the Commission, others have been extracted from published documents to which we have had recourse. Not all the figures which have been given to us by witnesses have been included, since these, in some instances, illustrate no new point, and in others are too incomplete to be of statistical significance.

In Part I are tables of and statements about relative absence rates of men and women in different types of employment classified according to the employer, as follows :

I. Crown employment

II. Local authorities

III. Industry

The source of our information is given in each case. Where figures given to us were not in a form in which they could easily or usefully be reproduced we have prepared summaries.

In Part II are tables (in most cases in abbreviated form) extracted from reports of the Industrial Health Research Board which illustrate some of the many factors which are known to influence absence rates. In assessing the significance of any absence rates which have not been analysed it is essential to recognise that they may have been affected by one or more of these factors, and probably by others not at present identified.

Part I

I. *Crown employment*

The Civil Service

In their written evidence the Treasury made the following statement regarding sickness rates in the Civil Service :

> " Another important factor in comparing the utility of men and women is their sickness and ill-health retirement rates. Those for women are markedly higher than those for men. Complete statistics of comparable rates in the Civil Service before the war are available only for the Post Office, but there is no reason to think that the rest of the service would not show precisely the same trends."
>
> (Para 42 of Appendix I to minutes of evidence.)

The figures for the Post Office are as follows :

" Sickness Rates of Post Office Employees—1932–34

Age Group	Average number of days' sickness per employee per year : Men†		Women		Approximate ratio of average number of days' sickness per annum per female employee to corresponding average per male employee	
	Administrative and Clerical Grades					
Under 20	6·4	6·6	6·8	9·7	1·06	1·47
20–24	5·2		9·7		1·86	
25–29	6·8		10·7		1·57	
30–34	6·8		11·2		1·65	
35–39	7·8	7·7	11·0	11·9	1·41	1·55
40–44	7·7		13·2		1·71	
45–49	8·8	8·9	14·6	15·2	1·66	1·71
50–54	9·1		16·0		1·76	
55–59	10·6		20·0		1·89	
All ages						
Averages before standardisation	8·3		11·1		—	
Standardised averages*	8·0*		13·4*		1·68	
	Indoor Manipulative and Supervising Staff					
Under 20	5·5	7·4	7·7	11·3	1·40	1·53
20–24	7·4		11·5		1·55	
25–29	7·4		11·6		1·57	
30–34	7·9		12·5		1·58	
35–39	8·6	8·6	13·5	14·2	1·57	1·65
40–44	8·7		15·2		1·75	
45–49	9·6	9·9	15·7	17·0	1·64	1·72
50–54	10·3		18·7		1·82	
55–59	13·4		21·0		1·57	
All ages						
Averages before standardisation	9·1		12·7		—	
Standardised averages*	9·2*		15·1*		1·64	

* Standardised averages for all ages are given in order to facilitate comparison between the various groups. For this purpose the age distribution of each of the groups was assumed to be identical with that of the combined age distribution of the two male groups.

† All men's figures are for non-disabled men : war-disabled men (who have a higher sick rate than the non-disabled) have been excluded from the comparison.

Ill-Health Retirement Rates of Post Office Employees—1932–34

Age Group	Average number per annum of retirements on ill-health grounds per thousand employees: Men†	Women	Approximate ratio of average annual rate of ill-health retirement per female employee to corresponding rate per male employee
	Administrative and Clerical Grades		
Under 35	0·7	3·0	4·3
35–44	0·7	3·8	5·4
45–54	2·3	8·9	3·9
55–59	7·6	29·5	3·9
All ages			
Averages before standardisation	2·2	4·6	—
Standardised averages*	2·0*	8·3*	4·2
	Indoor Manipulative and Supervising Staff		
Under 35	1·4	4·4	3·1
35–44	1·1	5·0	4·5
45–54	4·1	13·4	3·3
55–59	14·4	48·0	3·3
All ages			
Averages before standardisation	3·9	6·6	—
Standardised averages*	3·7*	12·7*	3·4

* Standardised averages for all ages are given in order to facilitate comparison between the various groups For this purpose the age distribution of each of the groups was assumed to be identical with that of the combined age distribution of the two male groups

† All men's figures are for non-disabled men: war-disabled men (who have a higher ill-health retirement rate than the non-disabled) have been excluded from the comparison."

An article by Sir Henry Bashford, M.D (Treasury Medical Adviser) on War-time Sick Rates in the Civil Service, gives the following figures for the rest of the Civil Service:

"Average Sick absence in days of Established Staff—1943

(63 Departments, excluding the Post Office)

Men		Women		
Above the rank of Clerical Officer	Clerical Officer	Above the rank of Clerical Officer	Clerical Officer	Clerical Assistant
(11,524)	(10,307)	(3,249)	(6,358)	(713)
11·6	15·39	15·8	17·3	22·2 "

(Monthly Bulletin of the Ministry of Health and the Emergency Public Health Laboratory Service, February, 1945.)

The Armed Forces

These statements were given to us by the Service Departments in written evidence about the Women's Auxiliary Services.

A T.S

"Though the A.T.S. hospitalisation rate is lower than that of soldiers, their admission rate to camp reception stations is consistently and considerably higher It is not at present possible to say to what extent, if any, the lower rate of the more serious sickness in the A T.S is due to their lower average age. The following figures show mean monthly admission rates to hospitals and camp reception stations per 1,000 strength:—

1944	Hospital		Camp Reception Station	
	Soldier	A.T.S.	Soldier	A.T.S.
July . ..	16·2	11·8	not available	
August . .	15·2	10·4	15·9	34·5
November ...	19·8	11·6	19·9	38·4
December ..	16·9	10·4	19·9	34·6

No information is available for the whole Army to show the relative proportions of the two sexes who report sick, but an investigation in an ordnance depot showed that in the 6 months July-December, 1944, 10·9 soldiers per 1,000 reported sick as compared with 35·7 A.T S

From the figures for camp reception station admissions and the example quoted above it is concluded that A T.S. report sick more easily than soldiers, and that they are encouraged to do so both by the medical and A T.S. authorities " (War Office)

W A A F

" The sickness rate for all types of sickness in the W.A.A F. has always been double that of the R A F , both for major and minor diseases." (Air Ministry)

W.R.N S

" With one or two exceptions the sickness rate for women was at least 40 per cent. higher than that for men." (Admiralty)

II. *Local Authorities*

Teachers

The London County Council made the following statement about teachers .

" The average number of working days' absence a year is as follows .—

Men 4, single women 8, married women 11 The difference between the absence of single and married women is owing to illness of their husbands and children. Although this is not ' sick leave ' it should be mentioned.

The figures in relation to married women do not include absences on account of confinement " (Minutes of evidence, Part 3)

The Association of Education Committees at our request obtained from education authorities figures about comparative absenteeism These were submitted with a caution as to the difficulty of interpreting them, and are as follows —

" Cheshire County Council Education Committee

Elementary Schools—Absences of Men and Women Teachers, from April, 1944, to February, 1945

Men			Women		
No. of absentees	No. of individual absences owing to illness	No of individual absences for other reasons	No of absentees	No of individual absences owing to illness	No. of individual absences for other reasons
135	197	34	1,116	1,628	560
	231			2,188	
No. of Men on Staffs of Elementary Schools (excluding those on War Service)—307.			No. of Women on Staffs of Elementary Schools (excluding 5 on War Service)—1,525.		

*City of Manchester Education Committee

Men:	1938–39.	1943–44
Average number of teachers employed throughout the year ...	1,038	627
Number of teachers with absences during the year	566	339
Percentage of incidence of absences during the year	54·5%	54%
Total number of days absent	6,235	5,183½
Average number of days absent per teacher absent	11·01	15·29
Women:		
Average number of teachers employed throughout the year ...	2,418	2,995
Number of teachers with absences during the year	1,650	1,794
Percentage of incidence of absences during the year	68·2%	59·9%
Total number of days absent	27,119½	34,664½
Average number of days absent per teacher absent	16·43	19·32

These figures exclude leave of absence for maternity.

City of Sheffield Education Committee

Teachers in all Schools and Institutions (1943–44)

	Percentage of Teachers absent each school meeting		
	Personal Illness	Other Causes	Total
Single Women ..	2·57	0·30	2·87
Married Women ...	2·50	1·16	3·66
Total Women ...	2·55	0·54	3·09
Men	2·40	0·22	2·61
All Teachers ..	2·52	0·48	3·00"

The County Councils Association supplied the following table showing absences of men and women teachers in Glamorgan compiled from a detailed survey of absences from 1930–31 to 1932–33 of 763 men and 1,562 women teachers :—

"No. of days of absence	1930–31		1931–32		1932–33		Average for 3 years	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1–10 ...	40·2	36·0	43·8	39·1	40·4	39·0	41·5	38·0
11–20 ...	16·1	16·0	13·1	14·4	17·0	17·8	15·4	16·1
21–30 ...	5·8	6·0	6·0	6·1	10·5	10·2	7·4	7·5
31–40 ..	2·6	3·0	2·4	2·3	3·8	5·1	2·9	3·5
41–50 ..	1·6	2·1	1·0	1·3	2·0	2·1	1·5	1·9
51–100 ...	2·0	2·3	2·0	2·8	1·6	3·6	1·8	2·9
101–150 ...	Nil	0·4	0·7	0·4	1·0	0·6	0·5	0·5
Over 150 ...	0·1	0·4	0·8	0·6	0·8	0·8	0·6	0·6"

Non-Teaching Staff

The London County Council have furnished the following particulars regarding their administrative and clerical staff in the Education Department in the years 1934–38 :—

"Incidence of sickness, men and women, in Education Department (administrative and clerical staff) 1934–38 inclusive

Men :

Year	No. of men in department	Total days absence	Days absent per unit of total staff
1934 ...	606	5,402	8·9
1935 ...	623	3,869	6·2
1936 ...	628	5,640	9·0
1937 ...	642	6,099	9·5
1938 ...	637	5,657	8·9

Over the five-year period the absence amounts to 8·5 days per unit of male staff per year.

Women :

Year	No. of women in department	Total days absence	Days absent per unit of total staff
1934 .	168	1,662	9·9
1935 ..	169	1,362	8·0
1936 ...	168	1,685	10·0
1937 ...	174	1,992	11·4
1938 ...	188	1,126	6·0

Over the five-year period the absence amounts to 9·0 days per unit of female staff per year."

III. *Industry*

Ministry of Supply

Particulars of Shifts lost by Industrials employed in the Ministry of Supply expressed as a percentage of total possible shifts

(Abbreviated from Table supplied by the Ministry of Supply)

Type of Factory	Total Strength Men		Total Strength Women		Certified sick and injured		Leave		Casual		Total	
	Jan. 1944	Mar. 1945	Jan. 1944	Mar 1945	M	F.	M	F	M	F.	M	F.
Filling ...	35,476	36,920	58,240	46,932	3 89	6 31	1 17	3 86	4 97	9·10	10 05	19·19
Explosive	11,720	11,333	9,955	9,813	3 19	7 20	1 50	2·95	2·47	6 16	7·17	16 31
Engineering Heavy . .	14,487	14,431	10,775	7,865	4 33	7 11	1 14	3 13	2 80	5 64	7 91	15 87
Engineering Shells ..	7,528	7,116	6,833	5,853	4 37	8 05	1 27	3 03	2 81	5 47	8 45	16·35
Engineering Light ..	18,333	15,595	32,292	20,488	4·33	7 91	1 24	3 39	2 75	6 07	8 32	17·37

Imperial Chemical Industries

I C I Metals Division, Kynoch Works, Wilton, Birmingham

Analysis of sickness absenteeism (excluding staff) for the year 1937

	Number of Workers	
31st December, 1936 ...	Males 3,465	Females 2,284
31st December, 1937 ...	Males 4,027	Females 2,503

	Percentage of total possible man-hours lost due to sickness	Percentage of total possible man-hours lost due to sickness
	Male	Female
January, 1937	6·43	9·93
February, 1937	5·15	7·45
March, 1937	3·71	4·80
April, 1937	3·13	3·92
May, 1937	2·75	3·46
June, 1937	2·67	3·97
July, 1937...	2·43	3·88
August, 1937	2·42	3·66
September, 1937	2·64	3·94
October, 1937	2·53	4·09
November, 1937	2·82	3·82
December, 1937	3·08	3·74

†I.C.I. Explosives Division: Sickness Absence 1937

	Number of Workers		Percentage of total possible man-hours lost due to sickness	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
January ...	3,343	1,549	6·78*	10·8*
February ..	3,375	1,578	2·38	5·14
March ...	3,442	1,611	1·97	2·85
April ...	3,480	1,604	1·90	2·78
May	3,590	1,652	1·56	2·29
June	3,754	1,741	1·61	2·42
July	3,899	1,727	1·69	2·29
August ..	4,066	1,783	1·44	2·37
September	4,331	1,791	1·49	2·62
October ..	4,614	1,828	1·89	2·83
November ..	4,714	1,832	2·06	3·45
December ...	4,767	1,801	2·23	3·26

* Influenza Epidemic.

† The great majority of the workers covered by these figures were employed in Scotland

London Passenger Transport Board

Incidence of Sickness among employees of the London Passenger Transport Board during 1944

	Male Conductors	Female Conductors
1. Central Buses :		
(*a*) Average number employed during the year	5,471	5,002
(*b*) Total man days lost through sickness	125,106	204,924
(*c*) Sickness percentage	7·3%	13·1%
2. Country Buses :		
(*a*) Average number employed during the year	197	1,649
(*b*) Total man days lost through sickness	3,852	42,060
(*c*) Sickness percentage	6·2%	8·2%
3. Trams and Trolleybuses :		
(*a*) Average number employed during the year	2,842	2,692
(*b*) Total man days lost through sickness	93,122	143,430
(*c*) Sickness percentage	10·5%	17·0%

(*Abbreviated from Statement made in the House of Commons on 2nd May, 1945, by the Ministry of War Transport*)

*Sickness Figures of a large Departmental Stores

Date Year ending 31st January	Days Lost Per Person		Number of Staff		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
1945	6·40	10·02	1,357	2,110	3,467
1944	5·57	10·04	1,472	2,294	3,766
1943	4·67	8·29	1,584	2,394	3,978
1942	4·77	7·25	1,686	2,380	4,066
1941	6·50	8·50	—	—	4,281
1940	4·91	6·86	—	—	5,795
1939	4·68	8·13	3,476	3,338	6,814
1938	3·43	5·61	3,450	3,195	6,645
1937	3·82	6·10	—	—	6,666
1936	3·39	5·24	—	—	6,450
1935	3·38	5·10	—	—	6,317

* It should be noted that welfare arrangements are known to be good in this store which may account for the relatively low sickness absence even during the war years.

The Municipal Passenger Transport Association (Incorporated)

"Particulars regarding "sickness" and late attendance rates of Platform Staff of the Road Passenger Transport Industry (Tramways, Trolleybuses and Motor Omnibuses) for Winter, 1944-45, and Summer, 1944

The schedule below is based on the methods of calculation advocated on page 22 of "Industrial Health in War", (Emergency Report No. 1, dated 15th March, 1940, of the Industrial Health Research Board), viz. :—

"There are several ways of calculating sickness absence, but experience has shown that the simplest is to find out the total number of days lost through sickness during the selected period, and to divide this by the average number of people employed during that period. Thus, if a staff of 400 men lost in a year 2,528 days, then 2,528 divided by 400 equals 6·3 is the sickness rate per man per year. This is the most important rate to work out.

The calculation of the average number employed is not difficult for stable organisations. The number on the books at the beginning of the year, added to the number at the end of the year, divided by 2 gives a working figure, e.g., if the staff on 1st January were 500, and on 1st December 560, then 500 + 560 = 1,060 and 1,060/2 = 530, which would be the average number employed.

In stable organisations during normal periods the yearly figure is the one most commonly used, although for practical purposes weekly and monthly rates are often worked out".

In the schedule below the 'selected period' is four weeks To avoid small decimals, the rates have been expressed 'per 100 employees'.

Item	During the four weeks ending on the last making-up day immediately before :—				
	January 23rd, 1944	January 21st, 1945	February 20th, 1944	February 18th, 1945	July 23rd, 1944
1. "Sickness" Rate (absent through sickness or without leave). Average No. of days absence per 100 employees per four weeks .—					
Male Conductors	266	332	299	379	177
Women Conductors ..	450	585	483	594	401
2. Late Attendances (whether work was found for the late arrivals or not). Average No. of late attendances per 100 employees per four weeks .—					
Male Conductors	43	35	40	55	42
Women Conductors	85	93	95	93	87
Data on which the above rates are based					
3. No. of undertakings employing male drivers and conductors . .	81	81	81	81	81
4. Average No. of men on the books during the period :— Male Conductors	4,873	4,957	4,977	5,141	4,826
5. No. of undertakings employing women conductors	75	76	75	76	75
6. Average No. of women conductors on the books during the period...	18,349	19,007	16,008	19,092	18,349
7. Total No. of days' absence during the period :—					
Male Conductors	12,949	16,478	14,880	19,480	8,527
Women Conductors	82,534	111,095	77,256	113,328	73,497
8. Total No. of late attendances during the period :—					
Male Conductors	2,107	1,717	1,999	2,826	2,024
Women Conductors	15,588	17,681	15,238	17,853	15,909"

Part II

Factors other than sex which are known to affect sickness absence rates are: (i) general conditions such as distance from work, welfare facilities and management, all of which may vary from factory to factory; (ii) age; (iii) civil state; (iv) type of employment; (v) shift system This list is by no means complete but statistical evidence on other factors is not available.

I. *Variations in general conditions from factory to factory*

Objections might be raised to the figures shown in the following table* illustrating absence rates in 40 different munition factories on the grounds that the numbers employed in different factories are different, and nothing is known about age, civil state or type of work. It is thought however, by those who know the factories concerned, that such factors will not alone account for the big differences shown in some instances. Note particularly factory XXI, where the total time lost by women was 21·6 per cent compared with 6·8 per cent. in factory XXXIV. The difference is greater than that attributable to differences in age, civil state or in any other detailed analysis of absence rates and can be presumed to be due to other causes.

Figures for average percentage of time lost† from 40 munition factories provided by the Industrial Health Research Board, with permission of the Ministry of Supply

Factory	Date	Total Men	Total Women	Average Percentage of Time Lost	
				Men	Women
I	1943	837	699	7·5	16·4
	1944	795	631	7·2	15·7
II ..	1943	3,738	1,292	7·5	16·9
	1944	3,342	1,212	6·8	16·2
III	1943	490	347	9·2	15·4
	1944	461	322	8·1	13·7
IV	1943	589	553	10·9	15·2
	1944	535	482	9·6	14·7
V	1943	4,277	8,905	11·5	18·9
	1944	4,214	6,910	10·4	16·4
VI	1943	13,065	5,666	7·7	21·2
	1944	11,738	4,489	8·2	20·2
VII .. .	1943	1,656	522	6·3	14·5
	1944	552	39	3·8	11·5
VIII . ..	1943	7,665	8,563	11·2	21·0
	1944	6,313	5,865	9·2	17·7
IX .	1943	3,406	7,671	8·4	17·1
	1944	2,965	5,887	8·7	16·1
X .	1943	2,218	5,973	6·5	18·2
	1944	1,643	4,244	7·1	18·4
XI .. .	1943	2,164	233	7·6	10·7
	1944	1,650	160	7·5	8·7
XII	1943	1,915	4,890	7·0	15·6
	1944	2,376	5,076	7·6	17·9
XIII . ..	1943	1,079	3,133	7·2	17·5
	1944	923	2,562	6·7	16·4
XIV	1943	1,173	2,859	11·9	19·6
	1944	1,083	2,109	11·9	23·6
XV	1943	581	1,339	7·5	16·7
	1944	498	1,076	6·2	15·1
XVI ...	1943	1,415	959	9·5	18·9
	1944	708	650	9·4	18·6
XVII .	1943	4,851	4,940	9·7	19·7
	1944	5,055	4,695	10·8	21·3
XVIII ..	1943	1,904	2,043	8·0	17·4
	1944	1,639	1,230	7·5	14·7
XIX ..	1943	3,797	10,606	9·2	18·5
	1944	3,341	7,303	9·0	17·3
XX	1943	1,246	5,448	8·2	18·0
	1944	1,172	4,792	8·1	16·6

Factory	Date	Total Men	Total Women	Average Percentage of Time Lost	
				Men	Women
XXI .	1943	2,619	9,888	8·7	21·6
	1944	2,912	8,852	9·4	21·5
XXII ...	1943	954	740	7·8	15·6
	1944	819	666	7·6	15·3
XXIII ...	1943	4,006	1,431	8·2	14·0
	1944	3,609	1,211	9·0	14·0
XXIV ...	1943	1,531	1,894	8·2	12·3
	1944	1,436	1,584	8·2	13·1
XXV ..	1943	1,040	1,602	8·0	15·3
	1944	995	1,451	8·0	15·2
XXVI .	1943	1,161	1,292	8·2	13·3
	1944	1,124	1,130	7·2	14·9
XXVII .	1943	809	1,323	9·0	19·7
	1944	792	1,189	8·6	17·8
XXVIII .	1943	7,031	11,614	9·2	21·9
	1944	8,977	9,351	10·1	20·9
XXIX ..	1943	4,414	7,285	10·0	17·6
	1944	3,704	4,884	11·0	17·5
XXX . .	1943	2,331	3,666	7·0	18·0
	1944	1,741	2,090	6·3	15·9
XXXI	1943	4,076	5,944	7·3	16·3
	1944	2,906	3,536	8·1	16·7
XXXII	1943	1,062	311	7·6	13·5
	1944	936	242	6·7	13·2
XXXIII .	1943	2,370	3,859	8·1	18·4
	1944	2,178	2,790	7·1	14·7
XXXIV	1943	874	394	7·3	10·4
	1944	771	321	5·7	6·8
XXXV .	1943	1,435	939	7·6	14·2
	1944	1,263	807	6·1	14·0
XXXVI .	1943	560	548	8·1	16·2
	1944	502	593	7·2	15·0
XXXVII	1943	374	767	6·3	14·5
	1944	412	630	6·0	11·5
XXXVIII	1943	654	2,526	8·0	14·1
	1944	451	994	6·1	12·1
XXXIX ...	1943	1,023	1,526	8·8	17·3
	1944	679	969	7·9	15·4
XL	1943	1,848	3,205	10·3	15·9
	1944	1,925	3,155	8·2	16·1

* This table is abbreviated from complete tables submitted to us by the Industrial Health Research Board

† Time lost includes sickness, illness, absence without permission and absence with permission.

II. *Age*

The effect of age on sickness absence rates is illustrated in the table for the Post Office shown in Part I. Additional evidence is given in reports of the Industrial Health Research Board from which the following tables are taken.

1. Average number of working days lost through sickness per person for three age-groups and for each of five years (Industrial Health Research Board Report No. 75, 1936, Table II)

Age Group	Average No. concerned		1926		1927		1928		1929		1930		Average for 5 years	
	M.	W	M.	W.	M.	W.	M.	W.	M.	W.	M.	W.	M.	W.
15–24	642	1,261	1·8	3 1	3 0	4·1	2·8	3·8	3·8	5·5	3·0	3·5	3·0	4·0
25–44	1,471	1,165	2 4	3·0	2·5	4·3	2 8	4·2	4·1	6·4	2·6	4·1	2·9	4·4
45–49	679	157	2·3	3·1	2·7	5·1	2·4	5·9	4·1	6·3	2·1	4·7	2·8	5·0

2. Number of women workers and average number of absences per worker in each age group. (Industrial Health Research Board Report No. 86, 1945, a study of certified sickness among Women in Industry, Table VI.)

Age Group	Number of workers			Average number of absences per worker			Ratio	
	Married	Single	Both	Married	Single	Both	Married	Single
15–19 ...	38	355	393	1·03	0·52	0·57	1·98	1·00
20–24 ..	461	898	1,359	1·06	0·70	0·82	1·51	1·00
25–29 .	508	321	829	1·07	0·75	0·95	1·43	1·00
30–34 ...	475	193	668	1·04	0·70	0·94	1·49	1·00
35–39 ...	452	122	574	0·95	0·68	0·89	1·40	1·00
40–49 ...	528	80	608	0·86	0·49	0·81	1·76	1·00
50–59 . .	83	28	111	0·61	0·32	0·54	1·91	1·00
All Ages . .	2,545	1,997	4,542	0·98	0·66	0·84	1·48	1·00

3. Average length (in days) of the sickness absence in each age group (Industrial Health Research Board Report No 86, 1945, a study of certified sickness among Women in Industry, Table IX)

Age Group	Number of workers			Average length of sickness absences		
	Married	Single	Both	Married	Single	Both
15–19 . .	38	355	393	18·3	15·9	16·3
20–24 ...	461	898	1,359	17 9	15·5	16·5
25–29	508	321	829	15·2	13·1	14·5
30–34 . .	475	193	668	17·6	17·6	17·6
35–39 ...	452	122	574	18·1	21·0	18·6
40–49 ...	528	80	608	20·2	22·3	20·4
50–59 ...	83	28	111	21·2	26·6	22·0
All Ages ...	2,545	1,997	4,542	17·8	15·9	17·1

III. *Civil State*

As stated in the report married women in one enquiry lost 65 per cent more time through sickness than single women Tables below illustrate this point However, evidence submitted by the Industrial Health Research Board suggests that any analysis of absence records according to the civil state of women must be treated with caution, because in practice the age distribution of married and single women is very different; and in some occupations classification may be inaccurate to an unknown but not negligible extent · e g., if marriage is likely to entail dismissal some women conceal their marriage from their employers while others remain single in a legal sense only.

1. Average number of cases of sickness absence per 100 workers in a period of six months. (Industrial Health Research Board Report No 86, 1945, Table I).

	Married	Single	Both
Number of cases	98·2	66·3	84·2
Number of workers	2,545	1,997	4,542

Thus for every 100 women in the sample there were on the average 84·2 cases of sickness absence in the last six months of 1942. This does not mean that 84·2 per cent. of the women were absent through sickness, since some were absent more than once.

Average number of days of sickness per worker in a period of six months (Industrial Health Research Board Report No. 86, 1945, Table II)

	Married	Single	Both
Days absence	17·45	10·57	14·45
Total number of workers ...	2,545	1,997	4,542

Percentage of women with no sickness absence in period of six months (Industrial Health Research Board Report No 86, 1945, Table VII)

Married	Single	Both
38·4	54·0	45·3

IV. *Type of employment*

1. Average number of working days lost through sickness absence in different occupational groups. (Industrial Health Research Board, Report No. 75, 1936, Table VII.)

Group	Average No. concerned		1926		1927		1928		1929		1930		Average for 5 years	
	M.	W.	M.	W	M.	W.	M	W	M.	W.	M	W.	M.	W.
Selling	1,084	916	3·3	4 3	3 3	5 5	3 3	5 5	4 4	8 0	2 8	5·2	3 4	5·7
Clerical	984	1,047	1·8	2·5	2 2	4 2	2 7	3 7	4 1	5·1	2 4	3·1	2 6	3·7
Work rooms	310	670	1 0	2 1	0 7	2 7	1 4	2 6	2·6	4 4	1 8	3 3	1 5	3 0
Distributive	505	—	3·0	—	3·8	—	3 3	—	5 2	—	3 8	—	3 8	—

Note : Children under 15 are included in these figures.

2. Amount of sickness absence among women, in different occupational groups (Industrial Health Research Board Report No 86, 1945, Table XIX).

Group	Number in group			Average number of days of sickness per worker		
	Married	Single	Both	Married	Single	Both
Production .	1,735	1,540	3,275	18·4	11·2	14·9
Examining . .	660	252	912	16·0	9·8	14·4
Clerical	62	150	212	7·0	5·0	5·5

3. Amount of sickness absence among women in different groups of production workers (Industrial Health Research Board Report No. 86, 1945, Table XX.)

Department	Number in group			Average number of days of sickness per worker		
	Married	Single	Both	Married	Single	Both
Case	39	78	117	34·4	11·2	19·0
Bullet	64	128	192	15·8	9·8	11·8
Shell	54	46	100	14·0	5·0	9·8
Fuse	14	31	45	32·4	6·8	14·7
Inspection ...	54	72	126	14·2	7·5	10·5
Loading	16	38	54	12·7	3·5	6·3

V. *The effect of shift systems*

Few studies on the effect of working on a shift system as opposed to permanent day work have been made. The table shown below concerns a small number of workers only, but the figures become more significant when it is remembered that the workers on a permanent day shift include a higher proportion of women who because of minor ailments or inferior physique might be expected to be more prone to sickness.

Amount of sickness absence among women employed on different shift systems (number of days lost expressed as percentage of the total number of days possible) (Industrial Health Research Board Report No. 86. Table XXI.)

Factory	Shift System	Number in group			Average number of days of sickness per worker		
		Married	Single	Both	Married	Single	Both
B	Two-Shift	354	351	705	23·7	12·9	18·4
	Day-Shift	95	128	223	20·6	9·6	14·4
E	Three-Shift	214	286	500	0·94	0·56	0·72
	Day-Shift	246	254	500	0·77	0·43	0·59

APPENDIX V

FIGURES RELATING TO THE EFFECT OF MENSTRUATION AND GYNAECOLOGICAL DISTURBANCES ON SICKNESS ABSENCE

For detailed discussions of the effect of menstruation and gynaecological disturbances on sickness absence rates in women reference should be made to the written evidence of our medical witnesses [1] The conclusion reached by a special investigation on the influence of the menstrual cycle on mental and muscular efficiency carried out for the Industrial Fatigue Research Board in 1928 was that "the results . . . whilst indicating the existence in some individuals of slight variations in efficiency and functional activity during the menstrual cycle, confirm the more recent work on the subject in indicating that this strictly physiological phenomenon has, as a rule, no noticeable effect on working capacity amongst normal healthy women" (Industrial Fatigue Research Board, No 45, 1928.)

The following information has been taken from memoranda submitted to the Commission *

Dr Sibyl Horner (Appendix X 2)

Light engineering work including clerical staff, effect of menstruating

Total number of women	Percentage requiring short rest before return to work	Percentage to be sent home
1,756	0·85	0·96

Scattered staff selling goods

Total number of women	Time lost per woman employed in six months
1,629	0·1 day

Dr Aubrey Lewis (Appendix X 5)

Women clerks	Days lost per 100 women per month
7,000	0·6

Professor Lane (Appendix X 4)

"Menstrual disorders at work—Attendances at First Aid Room

(1,000 women, 500 in each group)	From machine departments		(Sedentary) From assembly departments	
	Once in six months	More than once	Once in six months	More than once
Number attending ...	91	27	88	32
Requiring rest ...	6	6	11	15
Sent home	5	3	5	1 "

" In a factory of 1,000 girls, in which the work is more strenuous, the number of women attending the First Aid Room at the onset of menstruation is negligible. This is in marked contrast to the position which existed some years ago when it was regarded as fashionable to spend an hour in the rest room on these occasions.

* See Appendix X to minutes of evidence

It will be seen from the above table that while the incidence of mild menstrual disturbance is almost identical in both groups, the number requiring rest is considerably greater from the sedentary departments, while the number of severe cases of dysmenorrhoea, needing to be sent home, is the same in each group of this random sample, and just over 1 per cent. in 6 months.

In another factory in which work is more strenuous, 74 girls from a total female works population of 1,000 have sought medical advice for menstrual disturbances—22 of these were for dysmenorrhoea, i.e , an incidence of 0·7 per cent. per annum (in 3 years).

In another light engineering factory employing 3,250 women, during 1944 on 8 occasions only was it necessary to send a woman home on account of dysmenorrhoea. In no case has it been necessary to send the same woman home on more than one occasion. This represents 0·25 per cent. of the number employed.

This evidence supports the statement that

(*a*) menstruation need cause little trouble in industry and is not responsible for women's inferiority in many industrial jobs.

(*b*) the incidence of dysmenorrhoea of such a degree as to cause loss of time from work is low (less than 1 per cent.)

(*c*) sedentary work is likely to give more trouble in this respect than work involving movement and moderate physical exertion "

"*Gynaecological Conditions.* The following facts support the statement that gynaecological disorders do *not* account for the difference in male and female sickness rates.

A special enquiry was carried out among 100 women aged 19–45. They were carefully questioned as to disabilities caused by menstruation and whether they had been absent from work on this account In 10 cases there were such absences and the total number of days lost in the year by these cases for this reason was 70·5.

Year	Male		Female	
	Days lost by sickness per individual	Days lost gen. tract disease per individual	Days lost by sickness per individual	Days lost gen. tract disease per individual
1936 . . .	3·82	0·06	6·1	0·11
1937	3·43	0·07	5·61	0·29
1938 ..	4·68	0·03	8·13	0·39
1939	4·16	0·00	6·5	0·22
1940	6·5	0·00	8·5	0·11
1941 ...	5·37	0·05	7·2	0·32 "

Dr Catherine Swanston (Appendix X. 8)

" I have no evidence to show that factory work produces any deleterious effects on the female pelvis, except perhaps in the heavy industries On the contrary, figures taken from the certified sickness records of the Royal Ordnance Factories for the second half of the year 1944 indicate that gynaecological troubles account for only a small amount of time lost.

The average female strength for each month under review was just over 100,000 and the average number of gynaecological cases arising monthly was 350, exclusive of pregnancy. The total days lost amounted to little over 33,000 for the period, which was about 3·0 per cent. of all female certified sickness. The amount of time lost and case incidence was highest in Engineering Factories where there is a fair amount of heavy work and lowest in Filling Factories where much of the work is light and sedentary.

It is appreciated that some of the malaise and incapacity due to menstrual ills is reflected as uncertified sickness or casual absence, and this is probably impossible to estimate accurately. In 1943, I investigated this in one of the Filling Factories and obtained the following figures for the period August, 1942–February, 1943. The average number of women workers was 9,500 of whom 6,000 were married and 3,500 single.

Certified Sickness

	Cause	Percentage of all Sick Absence	Number off in any one week	Average
Married	Genito-Urinary ...	3·4	8–26	14
	Pregnancy	3·1	6–22	12
Single	Genito-Urinary ...	1·0	1–8	4
	Pregnancy... ...	1·0	0–5	2–3

Uncertified Sickness

	Cause	Percentage of all Sick Absence	Number off in any one week	Average
Married	Genito-Urinary ..	1·0	12–40	21
	Pregnancy. . ..	1·1	4–22	12
Single	Genito-Urinary .	1·1	7–45	21
	Pregnancy. . ..	1·4	0–15	3

While it is doubtful whether these figures for uncertified sickness can be accurate enough for statistical purposes, it is an interesting point that there appears to be a large number of workers with short periods of uncertified sickness due to genito-urinary causes † This may be due to menstrual disturbances for which a day or two off is taken but no doctor's certificate obtained."

† This sentence reads somewhat differently from the corresponding one in Dr. Swanston's original memorandum published in Appendix X. 8 to the minutes of evidence. When the present Appendix was being prepared after the publication of Appendix X. 8, Dr. Swanston was asked by the Commission to clarify the statement in her original memorandum, which she has done in the above revised statement

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